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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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Britons Abroad

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

Proefschrift

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*Маме и папе
с благодарностью*

То Джоер

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Introduction

The idea for the present thesis was born out of personal experience: being Russian by birth and moving to the Netherlands at the age of 22 in pursuit of an academic career, I understand well enough what it meant, and means, to be an immigrant. While we are often told and taught that all experience in the modern world is strikingly different from the ancient, movement from one place to another, and the experience of displacement, whether voluntarily or forced, is a universal human experience.

Studies on mobility have for a long time been popular topics in archaeological research; yet archaeological interest in migration has had its ups and downs. Archaeologists have either approached the subject of migration positively as a signifier of cultural change, or have tried to retreat from ‘migrationism’ theories, discussing the negative effects of theories of migration on our understanding of cultural change in the material record. The movement of people and objects has been attested in all periods of human history. In the Roman Empire the evidence for such movement is abundant, and issues of mobility and migration have played some role in archaeological and historical discussions. Conquests of various territories first by the Roman republic and later by the Roman Empire resulted in a wide range of individuals and communities being on the move, with both voluntary and forced migration being common. In recent years, the mobility within and outside the Roman Empire has started to be approached from the perspective of ethnic identity, i.e., research into the ways the movement to a new territory influenced the (re)formation of the ethnicities of the host societies and the newcomers.

This book is a study of ancient mobility over a period of three centuries, from the early first to the late third centuries AD. The main focus of the study is the mobility of materials and people, and the ways objects and people interact dialectically when brought to a new environment. The spotlight is cast on one of the most well-researched provinces, Roman Britain, and on its inhabitants.

In recent decades publications have appeared in the UK concerning the presence of migrants of various origins in Roman Britain (cf. works of Clay 2007; Leach *et al.* 2009; Swan 2009a; Leach *et al.* 2010, to name a few). In view of the number of contemporary projects that focus on the presence of foreigners in Roman Britain, a question that is worth asking is if there has been any research on the presence of Britons overseas. Apart from an attempt by Romanian archaeologists to investigate the presence of British auxiliary units in Roman Dacia (cf. work of Marcu 2002 – 2003) and one publication looking at Britons in the Roman army (cf. work of Dobson and Mann 1973) there has not any research. The major obstacle is that “there were not many Britons abroad”, a response that this author has frequently had from scholars when mentioning her project¹.

This study attempts to close the gap by looking at Britons who, voluntarily or forcedly, moved overseas in the period of the first to third centuries AD. The primary questions are as follows:

1. Is it possible to trace the Britons abroad and in what ways can we identify their mobility?

¹ Another almost equally common response to being told about the project is the fact that the migration of Britons to the Continent is being approached by a Russian studying in the Dutch university, which indicates that the Romano-British scholarship is too focused on the internal issues within the Roman province of Britannia, acknowledging movement to Britain but refusing to see Britons themselves as migrants.

2. How did Britons, who had settled abroad, identify themselves? What changes can be seen over time in terms of personal and communal identification? What are the factors of such changes?
3. Was there a unified element in the (ethnic) identities if we compare those people who stayed put with those who migrated? In other words, where did their 'Britishness' lie?

We must also acknowledge the possibility that other people lived in, moved to or traded with Britain and, at some point in time, chose to return to their native lands on the Continent. These people might also be called immigrants, as opposed to emigrants, since their native land was somewhere else. Three terms will be used in this thesis: (i) 'mobile Britons' to denote the native Britons who moved to somewhere else in the Empire; (ii) 'immigrants' to point to more or less anyone who lived in Britain and was not native to the British Isles; and (iii) 'migrants' to denote the two aforementioned groups of people in general. While the first group of people could also be called 'emigrants', I have deliberately chosen to refer to them as 'mobile Britons' for reasons of convenience, since the terminology applied to any community on the move varies between notions of emigrant or diaspora, which cover two completely different experiences of living in a displaced condition, a subject discussed in Chapter 1.

Another term that needs clarification is 'Briton(s)', as it is of central importance in the present work. Technically speaking, in the modern sense, 'being British' applies to those people who were born in the British Isles, i.e., in Scotland, Wales or England. It is, therefore, a modern construct. The word 'Britons' is used somewhat loosely in many contexts to describe the population of Roman Britain in modern scholarship in the same way that the ancient document, the Vindolanda tablets, refers to 'poor wretched Brits' or *Brittunculi* (Vindolanda 164), used there as a pejorative term representing the point of view of the invaders and colonisers. Both notions are constructs, whether modern or ancient, to denote the population using generalised terms. The convenience of generalisation allows the use of the word 'Britons' to mean all peoples who were born within the physical boundaries of the modern British Isles in the period of the Roman Empire and in this meaning it is used here. In essence it refers to all 'British-born', even second generation immigrants from the Continent.

The chronological boundaries of the present work are a period of three centuries from the early first to the late third centuries AD. This time span has been chosen for the following reasons. Britain officially entered the orbit of the Roman Empire in AD 43, when it became one of the Roman provinces after the invasion of Emperor Claudius. Yet, a century or so before AD 43 Britain had already enjoyed a dialectical relationship with the Continent in terms of trade, and various aspects of foreign relations, and admitting migrants from Gaul and military troops of the late Roman republic (cf. description of Britain at that time in Caesar *De Bello Gallico* IV 20-35, V 1, 8-23; cf. also Morris 2010, 51-52, 151-152). Britain began to be mentioned in a variety of literary sources (see here chapter 2), and from the mid-first century, mobility between Britain and the Continent started to increase, reaching its peak in the late first/early second centuries when troops from Britain were summoned for the wars of AD 69, for the Flavian campaigns and the Dacian wars of AD 101 – 106.

The final period, from AD 212 to 260, was a period when it ceased to be common for people to mention their origins in written documents. The year AD 212 was marked by an edict of Caracalla, whereby Roman citizenship was granted to all freeborn men and women of the Roman Empire. As a result, the documents which had been given to those granted citizenship, the so-called military diplomas, where place of origin had been usually recorded (see chapter 2), ceased to be issued. This makes it impossible to search for mobile Britons and to investigate changes in the naming of the origin beyond that date. It was also a period of instability marked by disturbances in political,

economic and social life within and beyond the borders of the Roman worlds. The years around AD 260 saw the incursion of groups of people across the borders of the Roman Empire resulting in the failure of the Roman provincial borders. These events provided a fertile ground for the birth of the period known as Late Antiquity, with its very different political and social order.

The geographical scope of the present work does not have strict borders: the whole Roman Empire with its numerous provinces is considered. This research approaches the study of mobility and social changes in moved communities through a province-by-province study of archaeological sites and their assemblages. The research area is not limited to the physical borders of the Roman Empire, but goes beyond them to the territory known as *Barbaricum*.

The research deals with a number of concepts. The three most important ones - identity, migration and diaspora - are the subjects of Chapter 1 ('Identifying identities in material culture'). This chapter discusses the concepts' definitions, their material aspects (archaeology of identity, migration and diaspora) and charts the development of each concept within Roman studies, covering, in addition, the existence of identities, migrants and diasporas in the Roman context.

The data collected and analysed for the present book came from a variety of sources, broadly ranging from ancient literature to artefactual evidence, as discussed in great detail in Chapter 2 ('The sources'). The potential of these sources to inform us about the mobility of Britons on the Continent and the variety of their identities as well as the movement of immigrants and their relationships with Britain are covered there. The data itself is included in Appendices II, III, IV and VI.

This thesis charts the mobility from Britain to the Continent, which also includes the mobility of troops raised from the population of this Roman province, the subject of Chapter 3 ('British auxiliary and *numeri* units'). Because the units were named 'British', one would assume the presence of Britons in significant numbers serving among them. In order to be able to gauge the level of mobility of and the effect of living abroad on Britons, it is important to trace when, how and why particular British auxiliary units were raised, discuss the recruitment pattern and understand the social conformity within these troops. Due to a variety of ways the contemporary scholarship in various countries has approached the topic of the Roman army, the first part of Chapter 3 presents a review of previous work and outlines trends within the study of the Roman military ('*Forschungsgeschichte*'). The main body of Chapter 3 is devoted to the analysis of the epigraphic and archaeological material relating to the presence and service of 15 British auxiliary units and 13 *numeri Brittonum*. The epigraphic database, which includes military diplomas and various types of inscriptions mentioning these troops, is placed in Appendix III. This chapter is a unit-by-unit study, where each unit is discussed in a similar way, starting from the reconstruction of the unit's history, received awards, and the unit's garrisons, followed by the names of the personnel and a discussion of the personnel's (possible) origins, and ending with the presentation of the archaeological finds from the sites of that unit's stations.

Chapter 4 ('Britons in legions and non-British auxiliary units, and civilians') traces the occurrence of Britons who were enlisted in non-British units as well as the civilians spread across the whole Roman Empire. This chapter updates the lists of Britons living abroad presented in Dobson and Mann (1973, 198-205) and Birley (1980, 101-106). The mobile Britons are listed according to their status, starting from those who served in the legionary forces and followed by auxiliaries; the final group discussed includes traders and civilians, i.e., those whose professions were not recorded on the inscriptions.

The artefactual evidence for the presence of Britons abroad is analysed in Chapter 5 ('British-made objects as indicators of the presence of migrants from Britain'), whilst the data is included into the catalogue placed in Appendix VI. The catalogue itself does

not have drawings of the artefacts themselves, but rather provides a detailed description of the objects' type and state of preservation. Particular British-made objects are the focus of this chapter, namely British-made brooches, though other British-made objects reported from various sites in the Empire are also covered. This chapter is a province-by-province study of archaeological sites and their assemblages, starting from the British-made objects recorded in Germania Superior and ending with the artefacts found in North Africa. Various approaches are taken in this chapter in order to gain a comprehensive view of the spread of the British-made objects abroad and the ways they reached their final destinations. To fully explore the presence of Britons overseas, one needs to combine the epigraphic and archaeological records, because the data from these two different types of sources can be combined and contrasted in order to shed light on the complexities thrown up by the evidence as well as by the absence of such evidence.

A comparison of the results from chapters 3, 4 and 5 is undertaken in the penultimate chapter, Chapter 6 (*'E pluribus unum: Britons abroad through the textual and artefactual evidence'*), in order to link the findings from all three chapters and to assess: 1) how 'Britishness' and British identity operated on a variety of levels, i.e., communal and individual, 2) how human mobility and mobility of the artefacts relate to each other, and 3) the level of movement of British-born and continental-born people to and from Britain.

A general summary and final conclusions are offered at the end of the thesis, showing how the findings discussed in Chapter 6 contribute to our knowledge of personal and communal mobility within the physical boundaries of the Roman Empire and beyond it.

1 – Identifying identities in material culture

This section discusses the three main notions used in the present thesis: identity, migration and diaspora and their relation to material culture, in particular Roman material culture. Each notion is defined, typified and discussed. ‘Roman’ identity, migration in the Roman Empire and the formation of diasporas in the Roman provinces are considered here, with the emphasis on the expression of each type of identity (ethnic, migrant and diasporic) in the record of material culture. While not trying to propose a rigid terminology for each notion, I would like to present, in each case, points of discussion and outline aspects that might aid the understanding of the expression of migrant ethnic identity in the material record, a subject which is difficult to approach within archaeology (Grahame 2001, 159-160).

1.1 Identity

1.1.1 *Definition of a term*

As a research theme, identity has become increasingly popular in the Anglo-Saxon humanities and social sciences in the last few decades (specifically for archaeology cf. Wells 2001, 20; Diaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005, 1; Insoll 2007, 1; Pitts 2007, 693; Mattingly 2009, 283; also cf. Pitts 2007, 696, fig. 1 on the increasing number of publications in Roman archaeology dealing with the topic of identity in the past two decades, mainly in English-language scholarship). Yet, in spite of the theoretical and methodological discussions on how identity is formed and negotiated, there have been less discussions of how identity itself can best be studied (Pitts 2007, 699). While each study group has its own definition of the notion of ‘identity’², the concept itself can be considered in terms of two categories: practice and analysis (Brubaker and Cooper 2000, 4; Ve 2006, 15).

The first category is based on an Aristotelian approach, whereby identity is defined according to the principle “a thing is itself” (Aristotle, *Metaphysics* VII, 17). This category emphasises the universality and sameness in things, the possession of identical traits among members of a group (Brubaker and Cooper 2000, 7; see also Insoll 2007, 2 for a discussion of the term ‘identity’ in modern English dictionaries, where the preference tends to be given to the notion of ‘sameness’). It says that things are “identical with one another and at the same different from others” (Brubaker and Cooper 2000, 5), i.e. a rose is a rose, and cannot be a tree. This category evokes the original meaning of the word ‘identity’, which derives from the Latin root *idem*, ‘the same’, implying continuity and essentialism (Rowlands 2007, 61).

² Revell 2009, 7; Mattingly 2009, 284; Archaeological perspective: Jones 1997, 13-14: identity based “on shifting, situational, subjective identifications of self and others, which are rooted in ongoing daily practice and historical experience, but also subject to transformation and discontinuity”. Archaeological perspective influenced by the social sciences: Diaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005, 1: “individuals’ identification with broader groups on the basis of differences socially sanctioned as significant”. Cultural anthropology perspective: Byron 1996, 292 : “anthropological uses of ‘identity’ are ambiguous. In one sense, the term refers to properties of uniqueness and individuality, the essential differences making a person distinct from all others, as in ‘self-identity’. In another sense, it refers to qualities of sameness, in that persons may associate themselves, or be associated by others, with groups or categories on the basis of some salient common feature”. Sociology perspective: Johnson 2000, 151: “identity, social, see self”; 277: “the self is a relatively stable set of perceptions of who we are in relation to ourselves, to others, and to social systems”. Underlined are essential differences between the various perspectives of the term ‘identity’: comparative in archaeology (me and all others); perceptive in sociology and social science (how I and others see me); dualist from the anthropological point of view (I/others).

The second category allows for the recognition and analysis of the ‘selfhood’ within, and by, a certain social being. Here the emphasis lies on the duality of the nature of ‘identity’, where ‘selfhood’ is perceived by self and by others, allowing the understanding, formation, negotiation, fragmentation, fluctuation, *etc.* of the self³. The real and constructed self co-exist within one unity, the division being reinforced by the opposition and contrast. This is where identity, better understood in its plural form – identities – are categorised as fluid, dynamic and unstable; they are constantly changing, depending on situations in which agents find themselves.

The notion of identity is multivalent and highlights various modes of perception and covers two different realms⁴, yet both usages are mutually constitutive in order to have meaning and existence (fig. 1.1). In other words, two realms are connected and define each other: an ‘a’ is shaped by the self and the other perceptions, which in their turn define themselves in relation to an ‘a’ (constructed self cannot exist without a static ‘a’ and vice versa)⁵.

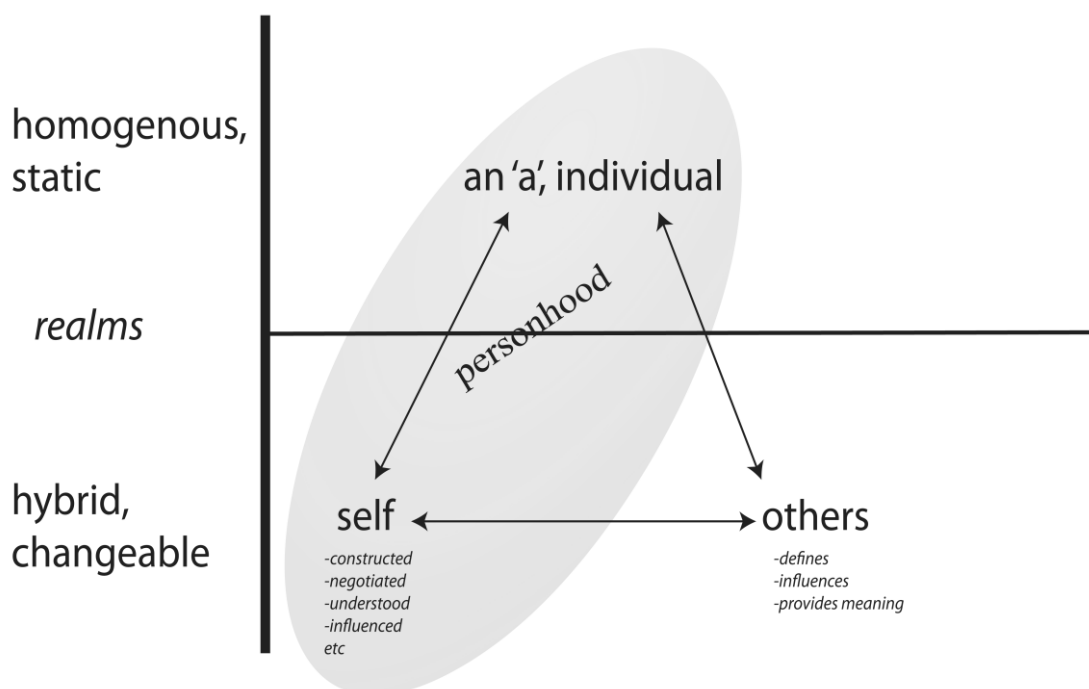


Figure 1.1 Schematic examination of the notion ‘identity’

³ Versluys forthcoming, 2012a: “It is only in confrontation with the Other that we begin to understand and investigate ourselves and our own culture”. Diaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005, 1: “[identity] is inextricably linked to the sense of belonging. Through identity we perceive ourselves, and others see us, as belonging to certain groups and not others”.

⁴ Brubaker and Cooper 2000, 8: it “highlights fundamental sameness - sameness across persons and sameness over time [...] and uses both reject notions of fundamental or abiding sameness”.

⁵ Cf. Gardner 2007a, 239: “identity is one of the qualities of human life that connects agency and structure. Individuals are shaped by identities as structural categories, but they also internalize those categories to define themselves”. In his interpretation agency, although a rather nebulous term, “is something that people ‘have’ – a capacity for acting in a particular, self-conscious way [and] what people ‘do’ – the particular way they engage in the world through a flow of interactive practices” (Gardner 2007a, 18). The ‘have’ part of agency is what is here understood as a static ‘a’, while the ‘do’ aspect – self-identification and self-opposition to the ‘other’. Under ‘structure’ Gardner (2007a, 18) sees the ability to affect and shape, i.e. to structure, the world of agents, who at the same time affect and shape the world themselves. Identity therefore plays a crucial role as “a key symbolic medium through which agency and structure interrelate” (Gardner 2007a, 18). In this sense, identity is an action, a shaper of the dialectic opposition of the self and other. Here, however, identity is understood as an idea, subjectively formulated by ‘self’ and ‘other’ in order to define the static ‘a’.

While the first category has one level, an ‘a’ or ‘sameness’, the second category by its dual nature implies various levels of identification; i.e. an individual or a self has many identities, based on gender, ethnicity and culture, age, status, class and religion⁶. Because of the multi-dimensional nature of the second category, “any investigation of identity also needs to take place through multiple scales of analysis” of these various levels of identification (Revell 2009, 8) rather than studying solely one type of identity⁷. Another important point is that all these categories cross-cut each other at some point, though not all are equally important for all individuals, or at any one time (Hall 2007, 338). The identification of the ‘other’ has various levels, which form and influence the perception of the ‘self’. ‘Self’ and ‘other’ are also dependant on each other: context plays an important role here because how one sees oneself and how one is perceived by others differs from one situation to the next (Brubaker and Cooper 2000, 14). We should not forget that “self- and other-identification are fundamentally situational and contextual” (Brubaker and Cooper 2000, 14). In this realm ‘self’ operates on the individual level, “where a person experiences many aspects of identity within a single subjectivity, fluid over the trajectories of life”; the ‘other’ is defined by social experiences and formal associations formed by the categories of society (Meskell 2007, 24). This second level also suggests that “identities are not given” (Rowlands 2007, 68), but acquired through associations.

1.1.2 *Cultural and ethnic identities*

This section does not aim to provide a rigid taxonomy of different types of changeable identities or discuss in detail each type, considering that within Roman archaeology some types have received little or none coverage⁸. The main focus is on the cultural and ethnic identities, where the emphasis is on their inherited differences and possible interrelations⁹.

Cultural and ethnic identities have enjoyed the longest interest in modern scholarship (Gardner 2007a, 198; Pitts 2007, 695; Revell 2009, 8; Antonaccio 2009, 3 and 46). It is not the intention here to provide an analysis of all published literature about cultural and ethnic identity (see Brather 2004, 11-27; Lucy 2005b, 87-91; Gardner 2007a, 198-199 and Meskell 2007, 25; Hodos 2009, 5-13 for further literature and for a discussion of the development of ethnic and cultural studies), but rather to give a general introduction and to discuss some crucial points.

Ethnicity has usually been considered to be based on ‘racial’ characteristics: the same origin, language, descent; in other words, something that people share based on their blood ancestry or inheritance (Lucy 2005b, 86; also see Brather 2004, 77-88 on the notion of ‘race’ in discussions of ethnicity). However, contemporary studies indicate that ethnicity is more “an idea than a thing” and is primarily based on social relationships,

⁶ The usual characteristics implied to describe various facets of identity (Pitts 2007, 694), where ethnic and cultural identity are juxtaposed with one another, which will be discussed later.

⁷ E.g. the plea by Meskell 2007, 33 for “multidimensional analysis”; also Gardner 2002, 329 commenting on approaches to study material culture, the subject that will be discussed below: the “multi-dimensional nature of social life can only be explored through [a] multi-dimensional approach”.

⁸ Identities excluded from this list are national identity and identity of nations (because these are modern constructs, cf. Guibernau 2007, 11: “national identity is a collective sentiment based upon the belief of belonging to the same nation and of sharing most of the attributes that make it distinct from other nations. National identity is a modern phenomenon of a fluid and dynamic nature”, but see 14-15, 19-21); political identity (defined by Grahame 2001, 159 as “citizenship, membership of a body politic, party affiliation and nationality”).

⁹ For the overview of other identities, the author refers to the following publications with further literature: on gender identity - Diaz-Andreu 2005 and Meskell 2007; on age - Lucy 2005a; on status and class - Babić 2005; on religious identity – Edwards 2005.

similar ways of behaving and is something that can be learnt, rather than something one is born into (Lucy 2005b, 86). Contemporary scholarship is therefore moving away from dealing in whole bounded entities (as ‘ethnic groups’ are often understood) to complex dimensional groupings grounded in social conditions and cultural practices (Jones 2007). Rather than identifying “salient markers” of ethnic and cultural identities, the preference is now given to the interrogation of “social domains in their cultural context” (Meskell 2007, 30).

Ethnic identity is usually understood as a part of cultural identity¹⁰, although in some cases the concepts of cultural and ethnic identity are used interchangeably (Friedman 1990, 26-27; Grahame 2001, 159; Lucy 2005b, 101; Antonaccio 2009, 33)¹¹. However, ‘culture’¹² and ‘ethnicity’ are not embedded within each other: cultural similarities are not necessarily bounded by ethnic boundaries and an ethnic group is not necessarily limited to one culture¹³. The problem lies in the interpretation of the role of agents and their perceptions of ethnicity, and the relationship between agents and “cultural contexts [...] in which they are embedded” (Jones 2007, 48). For instance, ethnic affiliation can easily be changed by the agent through mobility or social associations; in other words, ethnicity is highly mutable depending on the context in which the agent finds himself (Friedman 1990, 27; Brather 2004, 568; Lucy 2005b, 97; Gardner 2007a, 198-199; Whittaker 2009, 191, 193).

One solution is the introduction of the concept of *habitus*¹⁴, which deals with “subjective ethnic classifications [...] grounded in the social conditions and cultural practices characterising particular social domains” (Jones 2007, 49). In this sense, identification of ethnicity is based neither on the similarities and differences of social domains, nor is it produced as a result of social interaction manipulated to achieve specific interests; rather it is embedded in a shared *habitus* enhanced by the usage of symbols (Jones 2007, 49; also see Lucy 2005b, 96 on the importance of the symbols “to reproduce feelings of ethnic belonging”). Ethnicity is born out of cultural *differences* (thus not similarities!) that are first recognised and understood by groups. Later these differences are internalised “within the shared dispositions of the *habitus*” (Jones 2007, 50). In other words, the formation of ethnicity is an ongoing changeable process and “involves the objectification of cultural difference vis-à-vis others in the context of social interaction” (Jones 2007, 51)¹⁵. It should be pointed out that ethnicity is not universal and depends on certain conditions to prevail (Grahame 2001, 158): ethnic

¹⁰ Cf. Jones 2007, 44: “cultural identity in Europe, whether [...] European, national, or ethnic”.

¹¹ Brather 2004, 111-112 goes even further to differentiate between the notions of ‘ethnic identity’ and ‘ethnicity’, where he understands the former as “*grössere geschlossene Gruppen die Individuen in den Mittelpunkt gerückt*”, the latter as “*das Verhalten von Gruppen in bestimmten Situationen – die ‘Objektivierung’ ethnischer Zugehörigkeit durch die Bezugnahme auf einzelne soziale und kulturelle Merkmale*“.

¹² Cf. discussion on the notion of ‘culture’ from an anthropologist’s point of view in Friedman 1990; for an archaeological view, and on cultural identity see Brather 2004, 52-76; Hodos 2009, 3-4.

¹³ Jones 2007, 48 describing the subjective instrumental approach to ethnicity, while emphasising that this subject is a neglected area of research; cf. also Lucy 2005b, 91-92: “different social groups may share a relatively homogenous material culture, while still maintaining ‘ethnic’ orientation or identity”; Whittaker 2009, 189: “ethnicity is not the same as culture, let alone an identifiable material culture”.

¹⁴ The concept of *habitus* was introduced by Bourdieu and defined as a “generative and unifying principle which retranslates the intrinsic and relational characteristics of a position into a unitary lifestyle, that is, a unitary set of choices of persons, goods, practices” (Pitts 2007, 701 citing Bourdieu 1998, 8). Pitts (2007, 701) notes that “*habitus* is rooted in the material conditions of everyday existence and is learned or acquired through interactive practices, in a process of familiarity rather than learning, which comes about by the act of living in a world composed of some given order”.

¹⁵ Cf. also Jones 2007, 54: “ethnicity is a dynamic, contested phenomenon, which is manifested in different ways in different contexts, with relation to different forms and scales of interaction. [...] the representations of cultural difference involved in the articulation of ethnicity are transient, although subject to reproduction and transformation in the ongoing processes of social life”.

relations are established when one group identifies itself in opposition to another using the terminology of cultural differences and only when “such cultural differences are perceived as *important*” (Lucy 2005b, 95, my emphasis). Moreover, the process of differentiation is “a dialectic, a continuing communication, rather than simple binary opposition” (Lucy 2005b, 96). To summarise, ethnic identity is a created cultural idea embedded within, and formed by, social practices and formulated through dialectic opposition.

The idea discussed here avoids defining ethnicity in terms of origins and blood relations¹⁶ but rather emphasises that its primary reference is subjectivity¹⁷ and individual associations influenced by dialectic social interactions, and suggests that it is a social practice based on “shared ways of doing things” (Lucy 2005b, 101). Yet the notion of shared origins plays an important role in creating and maintaining ethnic identity, although this may stem from modern constructions of what ethnicity is, and was not necessarily valued to the same extent in the past (Lucy 2005b, 98, 100 and 109; Pitts 2007, 700). Ethnic identity is also closely interwoven with other identities, such as status, gender and religion, and can be constructed as a result of power relations and political systems; all these aspects are fundamental to the creation of ethnic groups (Brather 2004, 568; Lucy 2005b, 100; Gardner 2007a, 201; Derks and Roymans 2009, 1).

Coming back to the opposition of cultural and ethnic identities, ethnicity is therefore a subjective phenomenon drawing its sources from cultural associations and practices, and in which the agents’ actions are crucial in forming, maintaining and dissolving ethnicity. Cultural identity is a pool from which ethnic manifestations can be extrapolated; it has properties that are common to all other kinds of identity but to some extent can be realised in itself and it mostly operates on the communal level¹⁸. It is, however, not a static self-evident product, but a practiced one - an “instable product of the practice of meaning, of multiple and socially situated acts of attribution of meaning to the world” (Friedman 1990, 23; see also Hodos 2009, 4).

Having discussed here an approach to cultural and ethnic identities through the concept of *habitus*, another approach based on the ‘structuration theory’ will be briefly addressed. It should be noted that this theory neither strictly deals with nor tries to explain cultural and ethnic identities, but it provides the starting point for a discussion of all identities and the relationship between agency and structure mediated by identity (cf. Gardner 2002, 326; 2007a, 202-203). Yet the introduction to this theory is crucial for the understanding of how cultural and ethnic identities operate on various levels.

The ‘theory of structuration’ was introduced by Giddens (1979; 1984) and is based on the ‘duality of structure’, where “structure is both medium and outcome of the reproduction of practices” (Giddens 1979, 5)¹⁹. Agency is itself “united with structure in

¹⁶ Contra Friedman 1990, 26 where cultural identity is understood as a generic concept, while ethnicity is a part of this cultural identity. Referring to the blood, ethnicity here is inherited and not practiced.

¹⁷ Lucy (2005b, 96) notes that subjectivity is not a final resource; the ethnic identity of a group/individual can also be born out of definition and categorisation constructed by another group. See also Ve 2006, 19 on the identity that male members of the juridical court attributed to female rape victims in Norway.

¹⁸ Cf. Rothe 2009, 6: “[ethnic identity] fails to circumscribe the complex processes at work when a community becomes part of the *cultural* world of an empire”; See also Versluys (forthcoming, 2012b) who sees the connection between collective and cultural identities: “[...] collective identities [which are] images that a group constructs of itself in order for its members to identify with. Nations are probably the clearest examples of these collective self-definitions. If people identify themselves with such an image we speak of cultural identity.” He defines cultural identity as “the (successfully functioning) imagined collective identity of a group”.

¹⁹ Cf. also Gardner 2007a, 43: “The concept of ‘structuration’ specifies more closely how the duality of structure works over time, referring to the ways in which social structures and systems are continually created and maintained through people’s interactions”.

the context of specific activities or practices” (Gardner 2007a, 43). On the level of the relationship between agency and structure the ‘duality’ also exists, where both (agency and structure) are mutually constitutive and dependant (Giddens 1979, 69; Gardner 2007a, 43; cf. also Revell 2009, 10: “social structure and individual lives should not be seen as a dichotomy, with one taking precedence over the other. Instead they form a duality, each the precondition and the product of the other”). Moreover, the unifying principle of agency and structure, practice (also known as *habitus*), develops as a result of interaction between this agency and structure. Interaction in its own turn can develop through either evaluation and transformation of the actions and the rules by individuals (called discursive consciousness) or repetition of actions (called practical consciousness) (Gardner 2007a, 44). The deepest level of interaction, which is repressed, is unconsciousness (Gardner 2007a, 45).

The terminology used to outline structuration theory can be applied to understand the division between ethnic and cultural identities as well as their operation on various levels (fig. 1.2). Ethnicity, being an agent of culture and structured by it (as in the theory of *habitus*), develops through an interaction (called differences in *habitus* theory) of social practices, norms and actions. It is continually created, developed, maintained and abandoned, whereas culture is its general application, that can be used, i.e. it is something that agents nominally ‘have’, while ethnicity is something that agents choose to ‘do’ (using Gardner’s (2007a, 18) terminology on the meaning of the word ‘agency’). Ethnicity is united with cultural identity in the context of specific activities and practices²⁰. Practices or interactions can be transformed because they can be evaluated by individuals (discursive consciousness in structuration theory); ‘routinised’ by repetition (practical consciousness in structuration theory) or operate on the unconsciousness level.

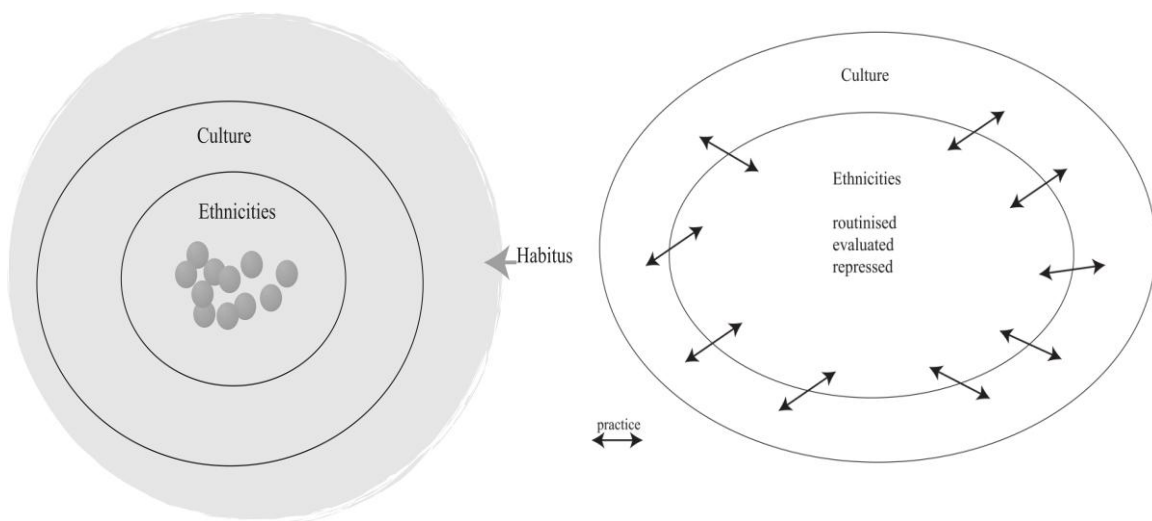


Figure 1.2 Cultural and ethnic identities, using the theories of *habitus* and structuration

The division of the practices on the discursive, ‘routinised’ (practical or habitual in Gardner 2007a, 130) and unconsciousness levels allows a deeper understanding of how ethnic identity operates. While both discursive and habitual levels make it possible to consider acquired ethnic identity (evaluated in relation to other ethnicities) and birth

²⁰ Cf. Gardner 2007a, 43: “agency is united with structure in the context of specific activities or practices”.

identity (origin, descent, blood relations, the national identity one is born into), the unconsciousness level brings an affective, emotional dimension to it²¹.

1.1.3. *Identities' relation to 'self' and 'other'*

The popularity of 'identity' studies leads to identity being studied for identity's sake (Insoll 2007, 4); because identity is multifaceted and implies diversity within the 'self' and 'other' such studies focus on "diversity for diversity's sake" (Pitts 2007, 693), cataloguing the oppositions or differences that form any type of identity. Shortcomings in studies of any type of identity lie in their terminology: modern theoretical applications pollute our understanding of past identities (Insoll 2007, 4; Meskell 2007, 32). What we understand as, for instance, age identity might not have been of any importance to the people of the past, instead being understood as an expression of what is known today as gender identity²². Moreover, ascribing a particular type of identity to past actions "forces a confrontation with different kinds of identities and different process of identification" (Gardner 2002, 324). By applying a label of a particular kind of identity we are, at the same time, creating a new identity. Moving away from making catalogues of binary oppositions and labeling them with modern notions to experiences of agents and their actions through social practices provides a new refreshing shift in contemporary scholarship (Meskell 2007, 30; Pitts 2007, 701). In other words, by shifting the focus from 'identification' to 'experience' (also known as practices, interaction, *etc.*) we might avoid the labeling and cataloguing problem.

While diversity of identities should not be undermined when one approaches aspects of identity, other aspects, outlined in the discussion on ethnic and cultural identities, should be brought into the equation: routinisation and evocation. Routinisation is rooted in habitual and mundane activities (although not static!), while evocation implies affection and an emotional relationship with social practices. Habitual actions complement the discursive ability, i.e. the ability to make decisions, whether deliberate or not, to change the way of doing things (Gardner 2007a, 243, though he emphasises the intentionality of decision making). Individuals, because of the routinisation of some actions (practical level), know "how to function in their daily existence", which gives them the possibility to get by within their world (Revell 2009, 12); discursive ability provides the framework for negotiation.

So how does this relate to 'self' and 'other'? Social aspects, practices and interactions determine and negotiate with the actions of individuals dialectically: 'self' is expected to act according to the norm socially constructed by the 'other', at the same time the 'other' is determined by the constructed norms imposed by the 'self'²³. The different identities - gender, age, status, cultural and ethnic - are all negotiated and performed by the 'self' and 'other' either at the same time or selectively, depending on

²¹ Cf. Gardner 2007a, 130: "People do not just think about what they are doing in a purely cognitive sense, but also have feelings about it". It should be pointed out here that Gardner (2007a, 202-203) has a different vision of the relationship between structuration theory levels and identity than the present author. E.g. "Certain aspects of identity may require active signalling, to others and/or to oneself; these are equally likely to be amenable to explicit discussion on some level. However, social identities must also be routinised in practice (i.e. become part of practical consciousness) if they are to form a significant element of an individual's own sense of self-identity. It is fundamentally through such routinisation that identities serve to structure human interactions, at the same time as they are themselves reproduced" (Gardner 2007a, 202-203).

²² Cf. Hodos 2009, 18: "what may be regarded as an ethnic indicator may equally reflect other socially constructed identities beyond ethnicity".

²³ Cf. Gardner 2007a, 239-240: "individuals are shaped by identities as structural categories, but they also internalise those categories to define themselves. Equally, structures are shaped by the actions of people, but those people are living largely according to the rules of behaviour that their identities afford them". Also Revell 2009, 10

the social and temporal context(s). The identification or sense of belonging to a particular identity (for instance, to the same gender or status group) runs through the understanding of differences embedded within social practices that can be routinised, evocative and/or interactive, and entirely dependent on the context (i.e. there should be certain important conditions).

This second level of identity relates to the aforementioned first level, homogenous and static an 'a'. It is a socially real body constructed from 'self' and 'other', where a complex cluster of different types, yet associated, identities form individual traces of an 'a'. This model of identity therefore emphasises the multiple categories of identification (negotiated between the 'self' and 'other') existing within an individual, i.e. an 'a'.

1.1.4. *Materiality of identity in (Roman) archaeology*

"Each time the same object would give rise to a new meaning, though all former meanings would resonate together with the new one" (Kundera 1995, 84)

The way various identities are manifested in the usage of material culture is central to archaeological studies, yet 'the archaeology of identity' is a problematic sub-discipline. All identities are multifaceted, multidimensional, negotiated between dialectic interaction of 'self' and 'other'. Because items of material culture were used for particular purposes in daily life, they were actively involved in the social practices of human beings (Lucy 2005b, 102). Therefore, material culture is an active participant in social practice as well as its producer (Wells 2001, 29; Lucy 2005b, 102; Pitts 2007, 701). Through the use of objects identities are articulated, negotiated and can interact with each other. In other words, material culture plays an active role in shaping various identities as well as contesting them, because it is a medium as well as a product of human action (Revell 2009, 3)²⁴. This implies that a particular identity cannot be 'read off' a particular object; rather material culture is used and manipulated to construct various shifting identities (contra Mattingly 2004, 22; see also Eckardt 2005, 157). An object itself can be used in a variety of ways with different 'identities' ascribed to it by different users and because identities are multifaceted *etc.*²⁵. Moreover, individuals using particular objects in their expression of identities might use different objects when expressing the same identities in different (or sometimes even in same) contexts (Gardner 1999, 404; Wells 2001, 25; Jones 2007, 52). The material aspect of identity is a complex pattern of overlapping and changing (personal) perceptions dependant on context. Another problem has to do with our modern perceptions of various types of identities; identities ascribed to a person or an object in the past might have been very different from the identities ascribed by a contemporary viewer (Pitts 2007, 700). The challenge is to assess which objects stood for which identities, taking into the account that a particular identity cannot be read from an artefact, and under which circumstances these identities flourished or were disbanded (Derks and Roymans 2009, 4 on ethnicity). To understand this, i.e. which, when and how particular identities were expressed in artefacts, is, in fact, impossible because material expression of identities is loaded with various meanings. What we need is to understand the actions employed to produce, use and discharge a particular object or assemblage of objects.

Identities are embedded within the social practices (actions) of everyday life, and this provides a solution for understanding the materiality of identity. A key to

²⁴ Cf. Mattingly 2004, 22: "material culture was used at every level in society to express identity".

²⁵ But Antonaccio 2003, 62-63 with further examples: "identities were indeed recognised in material culture", meaning that peoples in the past were able to recognise differences in objects, which leads to the assumption that they used objects "to make different sorts of statements in antiquity".

understanding the meaning of actions is understanding the contexts in which objects were used (Hill 2001, 17; Gardner 2007a, 49). The construction of various identities goes hand in hand with use of objects in particular (social routinised/discursive) contexts. Therefore the study of social contexts²⁶ is crucial. Moreover, we need to move away from simply charting the signifiers of identities in various contexts; an understanding of the relationship between identities expressed in material culture usage and of “what these identities actually amount for” is important (Pitts 2007, 702).

Introducing the concept of routinisation in the discussion of identities provides another tool for studying materiality. In spite of the fact that “material culture meanings certainly can be multiple and fluid” (Gardner 2007a, 201), because of the physical permanence of an object (an ‘a’ dimension of material culture) and because of its permanence embedded within routinised practice (i.e. similar objects used similarly in similar practices), the static routinised dimension of material culture gives a clue as to the expression of routinised identities (the term ‘routinised identities’ was discussed above). In other words, while identities of objects varied in various contexts, they are also linked by common practical threads (Gardner 2007a, 241). The commonality of practice in the usage of objects allows an understanding of the meanings “most commonly constructed by people in particular contexts” (Gardner 2007a, 241).

Investigating how individuals create/reproduce their identities through the usage of objects, while being at the same time shaped by them, leads to a one-sided picture: the identities of objects and users under consideration are limited to the period when the objects were used by a particular group. What is excluded from the narrative is the study of the biographies of objects²⁷: the development of the meanings attached to the objects by their users. The purpose of an object established at the time of its creation by one group fades from the research when one studies the object used in the social practices of another group. New identities are established when a particular object enters a new realm, i.e. a change of owner means that the owner also acquires a new identity with the purchase/construction of an object²⁸. Therefore, objects “do not always retain their original meaning when recontextualised”, however, some of them “may still retain particular resonance for their users” (Antonaccio 2009, 35), adding a new dimension to the meaning of objects and making it possible to research object biographies. The resonance of former meanings in objects has been described as ‘material resonance’ (Antonaccio 2009), when objects are associated with particular meanings, i.e. place of production (material ethnicity), first encounter with the object, first usage, *etc.* Objects are therefore a sum of material resonances, in which an individual has a free (deliberate or not) choice of choosing the object’s identity in order to construct his/her own. According to this theory objects are agents in themselves, since they are active participants in communication with human agents and definers of the social practice; yet, it should not be forgotten, that objects cannot exist without the human agent, because it is ‘he/she’, who provide objects with all their meanings, resonances and associations. Objects are formed by agents as well as forming them, as in ‘the duality of structure’ theory.

²⁶ Here ‘context’ is understood not in its strict archaeological meaning (final ‘resting’ place of an object - its findspot), but in a more fluid sense, i.e. the uses of an object in various contexts during its ‘lifetime’ (before it ended up in the place where archaeologists found it).

²⁷ Cf. Antonaccio 2009, 46: “typological and chronological lineages for objects – a way of thinking that employs the metaphor of coming into being, changing over time, grafting on new characteristics or losing them in the process, and eventual demise. [...] objects have biographies – sometimes in the form of genealogies of their own, histories of their origins and exchanges”.

²⁸ Cf. Eckardt 2005, 140: “[...] objects [are] used in very specific ways to express meanings that have little to do with the meanings those objects had in the context of the originating culture”.

Therefore, objects' origins, its age (usage) and development (collection of biographies) are part of a discourse when approaching the materiality of identity. Because humans have the ability to associate a thing, or things, with some other place (Antonaccio 2009, 47) or cherish objects for particular associations, it gives us a criteria of evocation and affection, the so called unconscious level of identity, a subject which remains somewhat undeveloped (cf. Gardner 2007a, who finds the subject engaging but fails to explain it or apply it in his study).

1.1.5. *Identifying 'being Roman' in the Roman Empire through the material culture evidence*

The theme of 'Roman identity' has usually been approached through the discourse of Romanisation (Hill 2001, 15; Revell 2009, ix). Discussions have usually centered on the Roman/native polarity²⁹, where changes in material culture have been understood as the transformation of less civilised 'natives'/'barbarians' into civilised 'Romans' resulting in the homogeneity of cultures and societies living within the Roman Empire and the formation of bounded autonomous group known as 'Romans' (for the critique of such approach see Hill 2001, 12; Gardner 2007a, 31-33; Pitts 2007, 693; Revell 2009, ix and 6). Lately, however, fueled by the discussion surrounding the redefinition or abandonment of the term 'Romanisation'³⁰, scholarship has turned away from the idea of 'becoming Roman' towards the terminology of 'being Roman' (Revell 2009, ix, also 7 for further literature). Stepping away from presenting "a homogenous, monolithic experience" of what it meant to be Roman, the discussion is now centered on understanding how various individuals experienced being part of the Roman Empire emphasising "a multiplicity of Roman identities" (Revell 2009, ix; see also Wallace-Hadrill 2007, 356; Hingley 2009, 58). In other words, this scholarship devotes attention to the fragmentation of Roman identity and perceives the Roman Empire as a heterogeneous society with variety of individual and group responses to 'being Roman'. Due to the re-orientation of contemporary Roman scholarship towards more diverse approaches to 'Roman' identity, the term itself has received much attention and, to some extent, has become a substitute for and synonym of the 'R' word (as in Mattingly 2009, 285, 2011, 208 but see Pitts 2007, 693; Collins 2008, 45; Revell 2009, x, 8). Because the study of 'Roman' identity deals with cultural and ethnic identity, much of the work concentrates on these subjects, putting aside subjects of gender and age identities, as well as creating a theoretical and conceptual vacuum in the absence of agreement on a suitable substitute for the 'R' word (Hill 2001, 15-16; Pitts 2007, 694; esp. 697, fig. 2;

²⁹ E.g. Hingley 2009, 55-57 on the development of the idea of Roman-native polarity, where he traces its origins to the perspective of the Roman elite.

³⁰ It is not the intention here to discuss the extensive literature on and about the "Romanisation" debate. A good starting point is to consult Hingley (2005) and Schörner (2005) for further literature on the whole discussion. The "R" word in contemporary scholarship is avoided and various new terms have been introduced including 'discrepant experiences' (Mattingly 2004, 2011) 'bricolage' (Terrenato 1998), 'creolisation' (Webster J. 2001), 'acculturation' (Deppmeyer 2005; Naerebout 2009) and 'globalisation' (Pitts 2008; Pitts and Versluys forthcoming). The reason for the exclusion of this important discussion here is the aim of this thesis: it looks at the possible formation, maintenance and abandonment of the personal ethnic identity in moving Britons living within communities with various ethnic identifications rather than at the impact of Roman-ness on one particular community. Indeed the formation *etc.* of British ethnic identity abroad was influenced and probably reinforced by Roman cultural identity, but other cultural and ethnic, and other identities of Britons and other communities played an important role. In other words, Roman-ness and its impact on British identity was part of a complex dialectically negotiated process. The avoidance of the discussion on Romanisation by the present author is also embedded within her own attitude towards the discussion itself, which can neatly be summarised by a quote from Shakespeare (Romeo and Juliet, Act II, scene II): "What's in a name? That which we call a rose by any other name would smell as sweet". In other words, a rose would still be rose whatever you called it; the process would also still be the process, whatever name or description you gave it.

Derks and Roymans 2009, 8; Pitts and Versluys forthcoming). It is important to realise that cultural or ethnic identification might have been of short duration (Mattingly 2009, 292; 2011, 212; cf. Hodos 2009, 18), where other aspects of identity came to prevail at some later point after (physical, i.e. military occupation of provinces, or mental, i.e. learning ‘the Roman way of life’) incorporation into the Roman Empire; we must acknowledge, however, that discourses of ethnicity played a significant, yet not necessarily important, role in the Roman world (Mattingly 2011, 210).

‘Roman’ is not a fixed entity, various individuals may have understood and experienced ‘being Roman’ in a variety of ways (Hill 2001, 14); yet, the composing elements of Roman-ness were common to all societies of the Roman Empire. Unifying elements (to name a few) could have consisted of language (Latin), ideas of personal hygiene (baths), usage of structured space in urban centers (each town was centered on a forum) and objects shared in the same ways amongst various groups of people (e.g. amphorae containing wine or *garum*, fish sauce)³¹. In other words, one would recognise the Roman world when entering it, while individual experiences of this world would be strictly personal. The term ‘Roman’ should be understood in a holistic way, implying persons or the material culture of these persons who lived within the boundaries³² of the Roman Empire (Revell 2009, xi). In the end, it becomes impossible to construct a single experience of ‘being Roman’, which is unnecessary, because ‘being Roman’ was always different (Revell 2009, xii)³³. Moreover, the formation, negotiation, *etc.* of various identities should not be regarded as ‘end products’, especially in the Roman case, when ‘being Roman’ was not the final domain to acquire, but could be abandoned at some point for some other ‘-ness’³⁴. The focus on the ‘Roman’ aspect dilutes the understanding of individual experiences of the Roman Empire, where ‘being Roman’ may have not been a necessity, but rather a fashion, and the Roman citizenship might have been acquired for purely economic or personal reasons without being seen as the end product of what constitutes the ‘being Roman’ package³⁵.

That the study of ‘being Roman’ is to some extent connected to the study of cultural identity of population in the Roman Empire has been noted above; yet most modern scholarship focuses primarily on the diversity of local responses to Roman power (Pitts 2007, 695; e.g. studies of Woolf 2000; Grahame 2001; Gardner 2002, 2007a; Revell 2009; Mattingly 2009, 2011). In other words, the focus is mostly on how Roman-ness was constructed rather than how diverse the Roman Empire was in terms of ethnic and other identities, where ‘being Roman’ was only part of a set of several identities (e.g.

³¹ For instance, for Revell (2009, 5) the unifying elements of Roman-ness are urbanism, the emperor, and religious practice.

³² While ‘boundaries of the Roman Empire’ is again rather nebulous term (i.e. where the Empire or its material manifestation ends and where it starts), the physical expression of the boundaries, such as walls, palisades *etc.*, can be considered to indicate the territories under Roman rule. Cf. the discussion in Versluys forthcoming 2012b, who also struggles to define the boundaries of the late Roman Republic.

³³ This is in contrast to Whittaker (2009, 202) who suggests that ‘being’ or becoming Roman can be measured by political integration; he stresses that being Roman was to follow the rules and obligations of the Roman state; yet “adoption of Roman political practice carried with it cultural implications, such as the means by which a community organized its religious practice or its social organization”. Such idea carries a rather negative view on ethnicity, because “archaeology cannot dig up ethnicity” (Whittaker 2009, 202) - the assumption that is contested in the present thesis; yet it shows that there are different views of the relationship between ethnicity and archaeology, which should also be acknowledged.

³⁴ Cf. Wallace-Hadrill 2007, 360: people can become and unbecome a Roman, because it was simply a legal status, “unaffected by cultural choices”.

³⁵ Cf. Versluys forthcoming 2012b on idea of ‘becoming Egyptian’, which has nothing to do with ethnic identity, but is rather connected to ways of being buried and ideas regarding the afterlife.

van Dommelen 2001; Marshall 2001; Hingley 2009, esp. 68)³⁶. There are, of course, exceptions which approach regional identity through the study of manifestations of cultural, ethnic and other identities through material culture and epigraphy (Pitts 2005; Collins 2008; Derks 2009; Rothe 2009; Roymans 2009b)³⁷. The danger which needs to be avoided here is falling into the trap of the ‘diversity for diversity’s sake’ approach, where the emphasis lies on simply cataloguing the diversity that existed within the Roman Empire (Pitts 2007, 696). That the population of the Roman Empire was diverse in their expression of various cultural, ethnic, gender, *etc.* identities is clearly understood³⁸; it is necessary to move beyond such a one-sided approach in order to realise that diversity is a point of a departure in itself rather than an end product of the Roman Empire (Pitts and Versluys forthcoming). Studies should incorporate the act of negotiation and/or interaction of various sets of identities in the context of the Roman Empire (Pitts 2007, 696)³⁹ as well as acknowledge that the Roman Empire was subject to change and transformation itself because of its artificial ‘universalisation’ of various ethnics (Wallace-Hadrill 2007, 364). We need to approach the process from the diversity-in-unity perspective rather than focusing on unity-in-diversity perspective, of course acknowledging that the formation of local identities cannot have taken place in isolation, but was the result of understanding the differences, negotiation and opposition between the Roman Empire and its subjects, and the subjects themselves (Hingley 2009, 70; Mattingly 2011, 206). In a sense, the coming of Rome enhanced the formation of new sets of cultural identities as well as expanding the ‘settled’ boundaries of ethnic and other identities, while changing in the process itself (i.e. transforming the ‘being Roman’ package at the same time).

It should be noted that studies on Roman-ness and other identities avoid, consciously, the identity of an individual, but rather approach identity at the level of the community for reasons to do with the multi-layered identities that an individual has⁴⁰. The study of individual identity through material evidence is, therefore, impossible; only the examination of epigraphic data can provide information for this level⁴¹. Yet, because identity exists on any level, how one (an individual) relates to another, to a community or to a state forms the basis for our understanding of how a materiality of identity might operate on an individual level. In this vein, Gardner (2002, 345, fig. 7; 2007a, 240 fig. 5.3) identifies “a stratified model of identification” of Roman identity, which consists of three levels: from the macro level of military, ethnic, state identities to the meso level of communal, age, status and religious identities down to the micro level of individual identity. All levels come into existence when put in special contexts of interaction

³⁶ Cf. Versluys forthcoming, 2012b, who indicates the focus of contemporary Roman scholarship, where “the main unit of analysis used is the nation state, with the inherent notions of imperialism, colonialism, cultural superiority and national identity”.

³⁷ Mattingly 2011, 215 suggests the decomposition of ethnic identity in the Roman Empire, where ethnic differences were evoked by and in people during the organisation of resistance to colonial violence. In other cases, ethnic distinctions became extinct “as new multiplex strategies for displaying individual and communal identity were developed”. However, eliminating ethnic identity from the discussion can bring us to the point of non-existence of ethnicity, which, of course, should be avoided.

³⁸ Cf. Hingley 2009, esp. 55: “hybrid Roman identity” and 61: “The Roman Empire [was] a highly variable series of local groups, roughly held together by directional forces of integration that formed an organized whole”.

³⁹ Mattingly 2009, 285 following his own discourse on the interaction between local and global in the Roman Empire, suggests that “we need to engage with both the local and the global aspects of identity”, or, in other words, to engage with all levels of identities, as outlined by Gardner 2002, 2007a.

⁴⁰ Cf. Collins (2008, 47), who lists 18 roles a legionary legate in the Roman Empire might have had or used, excluding psychological and physical characteristics.

⁴¹ E.g. Derks and Roymans 2009, 6: “For the issue of multiple ethnic identity more potential is to be expected from epigraphic data, as inscriptions can provide an unparalleled source for research into subjective and context based constructions of ethnicity at the level of the individual”.

between people (Gardner 2007a, 240). This approach suggests that while individuals understood different things differently in different contexts, on the micro or global level of the empire, all people possessed a sort of “unifying identity” giving them the possibility to understand and use things in the same way (Gardner 2007a, 241).

There are various approaches used in modern Roman archaeology to study Roman-ness as well as cultural and ethnic identities through the evidence of material culture and epigraphy. These approaches are centered around four major aspects of human daily life: the appearance (body, dress, personal hygiene, treatment of the body during life, upon and after death); treatment of food (preparation, consumption, eating); settlement space (organisation, construction, dwelling, division of activities within the space); consumption (economic factors, exchange (buying/selling), requirements for specific goods) (Hill 2001, 17). The evaluation of these themes takes place in a variety of ways (to name a few):

1. Because humans present an image of themselves through practices that take place in space, the analysis of public architecture of the Roman Empire (architecture also being part of human action and experience), provides evidence of how people incorporated the physical and symbolic markers, such as building decoration, access and visibility, into their daily use to act in a Roman way (Revell 2009, 12-13; for the analysis of evidence see 15-23, esp. 40-79). The focus is not on the building themselves but on how people used them, moved through them and occupied them on a daily basis (Revell 2009, 23).
2. Manifestation of individual, communal and global identities in material culture is approached through the analysis of contexts of find assemblages (coins, small finds, pottery and animal bones) and space these contexts are shaped by (plans of sites and buildings), using material, temporal and social dimensions (Gardner 2007a). The study of artefact usage within space and contexts aids the exploration of how various practices humans are engaged in, such as exchanging, dressing, eating, dwelling, building and writing, manifest themselves in the negotiation of identities on different levels (micro, meso and macro).
3. The multilayered study of four distinct groups, such as elite, military, urban and rural communities, living in a particular province or region of the Roman Empire and examination of each community through “a number of factors that bore particularity”, such as status, wealth, location, employment, religion, origin, *etc.*, gives possibility to research “a degree of uniformity in diversity” within the Roman provincial context (Mattingly 2011, 217 and 219). The (similar or different) ways particular aspects of material culture were taken up and maintained by four communities provide hints as to the degree of either regional variation or uniformity among provincials in the Roman Empire (Mattingly 2011, 235)⁴².

The primary focus of the present thesis is on the expression of cultural and ethnic identities in moved Britons through the aspect of the appearance, the subject which will receive a significant coverage in the Chapter 2 (The Sources). As for now I would like to emphasise that the symbolic meaning embedded within the objects⁴³ draws attention to

⁴² The problem with this approach is its use of the provincial boundaries, which were to some extent artificially imposed on the peoples. The ‘real’ boundaries for particular communities in the Roman Empire were not confined to provincial borders but might have grown and extended beyond the imposed walls and palisades.

⁴³ Cf. Millet *et al.* 1995, 2: “material culture [...] does not simply reflect human behaviour, but is also the bearer of symbolic meaning”; e.g. Wells 2001, 22: “objects that people make and use are also media of

the study of routinised or conservative identity elements such as language, religion, art and dress (Rothe 2009, 2). Dress is a visible ‘object’, implying highly personal characteristics, because it is worn by a person and “linked with the identity an individual wishes to express” (Rothe 2009, 2). The study of cultural identity through the means of dress avoids the danger of material culture evidence being used non-reflectively without understanding the intention behind its usage (Rothe 2009, 2). Dress behaviour provides medium for communication of various types of identities between a wearer and their audience, and sometimes points to intentionality, i.e. that something can be worn to express a specific identity (Rothe 2009, 2), which is the main reason why the aspect of appearance has been chosen as a research medium in the present thesis.

1.2. Diaspora

1.2.1. *Definition of the term*

The word ‘diaspora’, deriving from a Greek verb and preposition, meaning ‘to sow’ and ‘over’, was applied by Greeks to describe human migration and colonisation, specifically referring to the colonisation of Asia Minor and the Mediterranean, rather than to the dispersal of a people (Mélèze Modrzejewski 1993, 66; Cohen 1997, ix, 2; Lilley 2004, 289; Eckardt 2010c, 99). In a scholarship it was used for a long period of time to refer to the Jewish diasporic experience to denote Jewish dispersal and scattering from Palestine around the third century BC (Mélèze Modrzejewski 1993, 72; Barclay 2004, 1; Lilley 2004, 290; Eckardt 2010c, 99)⁴⁴. The word was written down with the capital D, as Diaspora, and in the scholarly texts was synonymous for the Jewish population. By the 1960s it had come to denote the dispersal of all peoples who maintained ties with and “retained a sense” of their homeland, especially used to describe a scattering and dispersal of the peoples from the British Isles through the process of colonisation, i.e. Irish or Scottish diaspora (with small ‘d’!) living in America, Canada or Australia (Barclay 2004, 1).

In the contemporary world, the meaning of this word varies greatly (Anthias 1998, 557 for further literature; see also Clifford 1994, 303) and sometimes it is used by communities with strong collective identities, although they are not agents of colonisation or victims of persecution (Cohen 1997, ix). Because “there is an increasing awareness of the diversity of diasporic communities” (Eckardt 2010b, 7), over thirty new groups can now be called ‘diasporas’, while in the traditional sense, there are three big, so called historical, diasporas – the Armenians, the Greeks and the Jews (McCabe *et al.* 2005, xviii). In general, communities that experienced separation, where their movement to another territory was dictated either by circumstances (banishment) or by personal wishes (in a search of a new and better life), but continued to dream of home while living in exile because of the mostly low adaption in the new settings can be called a diaspora (Clifford 1994, 304; Cohen 1997, ix-x). The formation of a diaspora community does not start at the moment when a particular group arrives in another territory: the group’s members can merge with the new community and lose their previous identity; others may disappear as a separate ethnic group through intermarriage with the locals (Cohen 1997, 24). A diaspora is born at the moment when strong ties to the past (space and time dimension) are recognised or when the community struggles or refuses to assimilate (Cohen 1997, 24). Because the term diaspora is used by some communities as a self-descriptive notion, in the majority of cases this notion is used

communication, transmitting information of different kinds from one individual to another and between groups”.

⁴⁴ Cf. Cohen 1997, 21: “all scholars of diaspora recognize that the Jewish tradition is at the heart of any definition of the concept”.

“casually, in an untheorized or undertheorized way” (Cohen 1997, x; also see Anthias 1998, 557 and Gourgouris 2005, 383-384).

Therefore, the main features of diasporic condition are dispersal, uniqueness, distinction from the host societies, forced exile, assumed unhappiness, attempts to maintain ties with the original country and kin, resistance of singularity of location (Clifford 1994, 305; Cohen 1997, 26; Shukla 2001, 551; Lilley 2006, 37)⁴⁵.

Spatial fluidity, mobility and/or social heterogeneity feature in the diasporic communities where the focus lies on creating and maintaining a distinctive identity from groups that surround this community as well as from the groups left at the migration source-area, and is rooted in the manifestation of differences (Lilley 2004, 300; 2006, 568; Gougouris 2005, 389; see also Eckardt 2010c, 107). The growth of the realisation and understanding in the community of their significant differences with the host population prompts the formation of special social conditions, when “diasporic communities construct themselves in terms of difference [from the host population and] from the original homeland community” (Eckardt 2010c, 109). However, a diaspora is not a monolith; there can be different groupings within a diaspora based on age, status and ideas of authenticity (more on that later), as well as different motives for dispersal⁴⁶, and outside a diasporic group, where coalitions are formed on a trans-communal level based on common ground, i.e. similar religious affinity (contemporary Turkish and Moroccan diasporas are connected through their shared Islamic affiliation); class and racial subordination (Caribbeans’ and African Americans’ experiences in USA) or shared histories of colonisation and displacement (Clifford 1994, 315; Brighton 2009, 14). Such coalitions can be disbanded and new ones can be formed based on other allegiances.

It should be emphasised that two visions exist in contemporary scholarship as to what a diaspora actually is: a society characterised by one or all of the features described above or a social condition produced through the experience of living in one place and being of another (Lilley 2006, 34 with further literature)⁴⁷. The latter implies that the formation of diasporic identities (more on them later) should not necessarily be bounded by dispersal over large distances or across physical boundaries (Lilley 2006, 36 contra to Cohen 1997 who sees diaspora in relation to fixed territorial boundaries).

1.2.2. Typology

Cohen (1997, 178) in his seminal work ‘Global diasporas’ proposes the following division of diasporic communities⁴⁸:

⁴⁵ Cf. Cohen (1997, 26) who outlines nine features that are shared by most of the diasporas:

⁴⁶ Within a particular diasporic group various social conditions may have featured as push/pull factors for the movement: as pointed out by Anthias (1998, 564), the Greek diaspora in London and the Greek diaspora in Germany are not the same in terms of reasons for migration and projection of cultural distinctiveness, while both groups share the commonality of dispersal and solidarity in terms of the return movement and strong ethnic consciousness; in other words, what binds them together is an “*attribution of origin*” (Anthias 1998, 565, original emphasis).

⁴⁷ Cf. Anthias 1998, 560: “the term is often limited to population categories that have experienced ‘forceful or violent expulsion’ processes, it may also denote a *social condition*, entailing a particular form of ‘consciousness’”.

⁴⁸ This typology has, however, its shortcomings: firstly, it is a comparative typology, where attention is not paid to how communities are related to one another; secondly, it is a descriptive typology where the allocation of a group is based on its origin and the “intentionality of dispersal”; thirdly, the typology is based on the motivation for the movement (which is mostly socially based) rather than taking into account individual experiences or identities (Anthias 1998, 563). Moreover, this typology is based on the strict relation between diaspora and ethnic origin, where the latter is understood as shared blood ancestry or inheritance. Failure to go beyond ethnicity as blood relationship and to go further beyond the ethnic idea itself, i.e. to explore the inter-ethnic processes, results in a lack of concern for other important features in diasporic communities such as class and gender (Anthias 1998, 562).

1. Victim/refuge type. Characterised by forced exile and unwilling dispersal to other territories; in most cases a traumatic dispersal; constant reference to a collective memory and myth about the homeland. Examples: Jews and Palestinians, Africans of 17 – 18th centuries, Armenians in the early 20th century.
2. Imperial/colonial type. Characterised by voluntarily exile; expansion because of colonial ambitions; settlement for colonial or military purposes; authorised by government or authorities. Examples: ancient Greek, British (Empire), Russian (Empire).
3. Labour/service. Characterised by voluntarily and forced exile; expansion from a homeland in a search of work; consists of an ‘unskilled immigrant group’ that came into a subordinate position through lack of opportunity or prejudice in their own homeland. Example: Chinese, Indians.
4. Trade/business/professional/entrepreneurial. Characterised by voluntarily exile; expansion in pursuit of trade and business; develops without the approval of the authorities in the home countries and usually later transformed into imperial diasporas. Examples: British colonisation of USA and Australia.
5. Cultural/hybrid/postmodern. Characterised by collective identity of homeland which is a changing set of cultural interactions; various forms of movement – visiting, studying, tourism, seasonal work as opposed to the movement of whole families from the homeland (as in the other four types); mobility of ideas with humans rather than humans only (e.g. linguistic patterns, religious practices, music genres, i.e. various cultural phenomena); ‘home’ is an abstract symbolic idea rather than a physical manifestation of a land. Example: Caribbean peoples, today’s Chinese.

It is not necessary for a community to belong to one of the types only; some groups might take two or more characteristics of various types, others might change their group ‘membership’ over time, i.e. a trade diaspora might become, over some time, an imperial diaspora (Cohen 1997, x, see also Clifford 1994, 306).

As has been already pointed out, a diaspora sometimes is regarded as a condition, rather than a group distinctive in terms of the aforementioned characteristics (Anthias 1998, 565; Lilley 2006, 34 with further literature). Such a condition comes into existence “through the experience of being *from* one place and *of* another, and it is identified with the idea of particular sentiments towards the homeland, whilst being formed by those of the place of settlement” (Anthias 1998, 565, original emphasis). Central to this ‘condition’ is the idea of place rather than the actual physical place: this place is wherever one constructs it, does not need to have physical boundaries and is not necessarily in ‘the far and foreign land’. Such diaspora groupings do not claim to inhabit or to return the original territory to settle but rather needs a new territory to claim their distinctiveness and to construct the (new) homeland (Anthias 1998, 566).

Growing out of the idea of diaspora as a condition, the realisation has been advanced in recent scholarship for the location of diaspora within the settlers as well as indigenous communities. While the settlers, usually falling into the type of imperial and/or trade diasporas, have been recognised as diasporas, the indigenous populations have mostly been described by the term ‘host’ society. Yet, both groups have had the experience of relocation, where the indigenous society has been put under the pressure of the colonisation process to abandon their homelands in order to give a place for the settlers communities (Lilley 2006, 29). Both communities are therefore “victims of the colonial circumstances” (Lilley 2006, 29), where settlers are becoming a foreign majority and constructors of the own (new) homeland and where hosts, indigenous communities and the native minority, feel as foreigners in their own homeland. This leads to the formation of a new type of diaspora – the so called indigenous diaspora (Lilley 2006). As already

briefly described above, indigenous diasporas “need not involve dispersal over large distances or across major political boundaries”, rather their attachment to the lost homeland is based on “their tangible and intangible historical heritage [...] because history is part of them” (Lilley 2006, 36-37; see also Clifford 1994, 309-310 for further discussion on diasporic identities of indigenous peoples).

In general, it can be said that “all or most communities have diasporic dimensions (moments, tactics, practices, articulations); [s]ome are more diasporic than others” (Clifford 1994, 310), which makes it difficult to define the terminology of diaspora sharply. Yet, ‘the dwelling-in-displacement’ from (an idea of) home forms the centerpiece in any diasporic community.

1.2.3. *Diasporic identity*

‘Longing for home’ forms the center of the diasporic identity, wherever one’s home lies, i.e. a long or short distance away, or in someone’s mind (the so-called ‘idea of a lost homeland’). Yet, in order for a community to start expressing diasporic features, it does not necessarily have to be oriented to roots in a specific place or have a desire for return, since, as has already been mentioned, it is more of a condition centered around an idea of a place. ‘Home’ or ‘place’ are not fixed and bounded, but flexible and creative, meaning that a new society can be recreated at any location using symbolism of distinctiveness. This ‘idea’ can be a shared experience, connecting “multiple communities of a dispersed population” (Clifford 1994, 304). ‘Home’ might mean different things in each community or within one community, as well as the sense of attachment to it, but the physicality of ‘displacement’ in each community is real (Barclay 2004, 2).

Because diasporic communities are settled in new places but their home is elsewhere, the identities that form in such communities are dualistic: a particular member of a particular diasporic community has both local and translocal affinities. In that sense diasporas have multi-locale attachments, i.e. they belong both to here and there, but they are permanently ‘not-here’ to stay (Clifford 1994, 311; Barclay 2004, 2). Such conditions create an ambiguity in identity and an ambiguity in cultural self-expression, where refusal of “the binary options of becoming wholly like, or remaining wholly unlike the host culture” dominates (Barclay 2004, 2)⁴⁹. Such a condition is rooted in the concept of the ‘changing same’ (Shukla 2001, 552), where one is defined by ‘being one *and* something else’ at the same time (cf. Clifford 1994, 308 and 322; Radhakrishnan 2003, 120 calls it “hyphenated identity” as in Asian-American).

The promotion of distinctiveness also lies at the heart of diasporic identity: while the expression of the (lost and idealised) homeland forms the point of departure, the (conscious) exhibition of differences with the host society aids the emergence of solidarity, pride and authenticity within the community in exile, which experiences powerlessness and minority status. It is a glue that holds a diasporic community together.

Another aspect of diasporic identity is the connection with the past. Any member of a diasporic community has their own history of displacement; this history is real, tangible and material (Hall 2003, 237)⁵⁰. The past in diasporic groups is constantly reinvented and constructed through memory, narrative, myth and symbols associated with the lost home (Hall 2003, 237). The similarity in the displacement narrative and continuity in the evocation of the past gives a diaspora a ground to hold on to while

⁴⁹ Cf. Clifford 1994, 307: diasporic cultural forms “are deployed in transnational networks built from multiple attachments, and they encode practices of accommodation with, as well as resistance to, host countries and their norms”.

⁵⁰ The material aspect of the past will be discussed later in this chapter.

living in the place, which carries with it the experience of discontinuity with this past and the home.

Ethnicity and diaspora have a strong relation to each other⁵¹, but there is more to a diaspora rather than shared ethnic origin. Modern understandings of the concept of diaspora see it as ‘an idea’, similar to ethnicity, which is also ‘an idea’ embedded within and formed by social practices. Ethnic origin is not necessarily rooted in territory or land, blood relations or ancestry. Similarly diasporas communities long for an imagined or idealised home that only exists in one’s mind. Anthias (1998, 571) sees a diaspora as “a particular type of ethnic category, one that exists across the boundaries [...] rather than within them”, an understanding that emphasises the border-less nature of both ethnicity and diaspora but fails to avoid the ethnicity-less of diaspora⁵². One needs to start looking beyond the ethnic component of diasporas. Because ‘home’ is, to some extent, an abstract idea, marginalised in diasporic communities in order to form alliances based on the distinctiveness and differences with the host population, ethnicity too becomes abstracted and evoked only when there is a need to establish, negotiate, maintain and abandon diasporic claims.

The cornerstone of the ethnicity consists of individual associations influenced by dialectic social interactions, in turn based on shared ways of doing things; ‘shared’ is also a key word in diasporic communities. A community creates an image of ‘a home’ (subjective aspect), but it is a shared idea, where all individuals within the community contribute to its construction, each with their own interpretation. All other applications of ethnicity, such as practiced, routinised and evoked, also find their niche in this terminology: feelings of a home or lost homeland (evocative dimension); interaction of ‘an old home’ with ‘a new home’ (discursive dimension); practice of ‘a home’ in a new society (routinised dimension). One again, ‘a home’ is not necessarily a physical, bounded territory, but can be an imagined and abstract idea, which might include various elements apart from an idea of a land, such as religion, language, music or appearance⁵³.

The diasporic experience is always gendered and the female experience of displacement, notably, provides new ground for the formation of a new set of identities within the diasporic groupings: the acquirement of new roles and facing new demands in the new society opens various possibilities for the negotiation of gender relations and traditional roles, resulting in the quasi-independence of female members. The gendered experience of living somewhere else constitutes, and to some extent influences, the position of a diasporic group in a new society. The quasi-independence of a female member of a community may destroy the patriarchal stereotypes of what is expected from women in general, resulting in the defragmentation of a group into authentic or true holders of ‘an idea of a home’ and an inauthentic group, which selected a different path in constructing and maintaining ‘an idea of a home’ (Anthias 1998, 572). Gender relations within a diasporic group may be affected by the ‘host’ society as well, when women or men chose different gender roles in contrast to those of their homeland because of interaction with the rules and views on gender of the host society (Anthias 1998, 573). It has been noticed that diasporic women, while being free from performing stereotypical roles, tend to be, or to become, conservative when it comes to issues of dress (appearance), language (teaching the children mother’s ‘diasporic’ tongue), food (preparation and way of consumption), values and morals (Clifford 1994, 314, see also

⁵¹ Because diasporas are rooted in origin and dispersal from the original homeland, the affinity of people within a diaspora is usually reduced to a similarity in ethnic based traditions. This understanding of diaspora, however, uses a notion of ethnicity in which the emphasis is on origin in the construction of diasporic identities and solidarity, but it fails to examine trans-ethnic commonalities (Anthias 1998, 558).

⁵² Cf. also later in Anthias 1998, 576: “diaspora itself relies on a conception of ethnic bonds as central, but dynamic, elements of social organization”.

⁵³ This is not a rigid taxonomy; other aspects can be proposed as well.

Rothe 2009, 70-72 for a discussion of women as ‘guardians of ethnicity’⁵⁴. In this sense, diasporic women are caught between two worlds: while trying to sustain and reconnect with their homeland, they are constructing a new homeland in an alien world.

Defragmentation within diasporic groupings can be also affected by class rules and status relations leading to its individuals becoming excluded from membership. The experience of a middle class Greek family in London may differ drastically from the experience of an economically successful Greek family in London. The position within the host community may also produce a particular class structuration - the unequal distribution of⁵⁵ and prohibition on acquiring resources⁵⁶ affects how different members of diasporic groupings settle in a new society (the rich may become richer, the poor poorer). Therefore, internal and external factors formulate the narrative of how a diasporic group is regarded in relation to a successful or negative experience of living in exile.

The discussed here intersection of abstract ethnicity, gender and class constructs multiple, but also uneven and contradictory, social patterns, which form the diasporic identities; individuals are positioned differently according to their interpretation of tradition or authenticity (Barclay 2004, 3; Anthias 1998, 574; see also Radhakrishnan 2003, 127 on authenticity within diaspora). Diasporic identities are not fixed, but are constantly being remade, defragmented and multiplied, where different alliances and affinities form and are formed by the experience of exile (Clifford 1994; Cohen 1997; Hall 2003). They are the product of mixing, dualistic dimensions (here and there) and of multiple memberships, gender, status and age⁵⁷ specific. The similarity in the displacement narrative and evocation of distinctiveness indeed forge solidarity between the individuals living in exile, but diasporic groupings differ within themselves on various levels and aspects, making them diverse and heterogeneous at the same time; only through dialogue and interaction are the bonds tied⁵⁸.

1.2.4. *Materialities of diaspora*

Diaspora as identity has multiple meanings, symbols and levels, therefore, the ‘archaeology of diasporas’⁵⁹ has similar problems as the ‘archaeology of identity’. Objects were certainly used in the daily lives of diasporic groups with the intention of promoting their distinctiveness, as they were actively involved in the formation, negotiation, maintenance of some diasporic threads within the displaced communities. The differences and similarities in the usage of particular objects may have provided the grounds for diversity or homogeneity within the multiple-leveled diasporic groups (as discussed in the previous section). However, as has already been pointed out a particular identity cannot be ‘read off’ objects, which makes the material identification of diasporic identity problematic. How is a collective (shared), subjective memory of a (lost,

⁵⁴ Cf. also Anthias 1998, 571: “women are the transmitters and reproducers of ethnic and national ideologies and central in the transmission of cultural rules”.

⁵⁵ I.e. good goods for the own society, bad goods for the displaced people.

⁵⁶ I.e. prohibition on buying certain goods, on applying for financial support, education, *etc.*

⁵⁷ Age in diasporic identity was not discussed here, but it is fundamental feature of diasporic communities and the formation and expression of diasporic identities; for the discussion on age experiences and differences in diaspora see Radhakrishnan 2003

⁵⁸ This suggests a hybrid nature of diasporic groups, where hybridity is defined as a ‘space between two extremes’, produced as the result of communication and negotiation between the host and newcomer society (Antonaccio 2003, 59), but see Anthias (1998, 575-576) for problems of hybridity.

⁵⁹ Cf. the discussion by Lilley 2004, 294-295 on the relationship between archaeology and diasporic studies. For the literature on the archaeology of diasporas, see the African Diaspora archaeology network (www.diaspora.uiuc.edu). The focus of this network is on African diaspora archaeology rather than archaeology of diasporas in general. For the archaeology of the Irish diaspora see Brighton 2009 with further literature.

imagined, real, non-physical) homeland constituted in and through the use of material culture? How are objects applied to negotiate the various aspects of identities existing within a community, when each individual has own interpretation of authenticity but also communal interpretation of solidarity? And this is especially problematic considering that objects are given meanings by agents, who create multiple readings of objects depending on physical and metaphorical context, practice and feelings. Another problem is the strong relation of diaspora groups with their past: the materials and symbols applied by a displaced people represent not ‘the homeland of today’, but ‘the homeland of yesterday’ (Brighton 2009, 19). In other words, objects have the meanings of the past, yet they are also active participants in constructing ‘the diasporic identity of today; we need, therefore, to understand how the diasporic identity of ‘today’ was constructed in the past through the usage of the material culture.

As diasporic communities have biographies of displacement, movement and settlement, so do objects, as has been discussed above, have their own biographies starting from the origin (making), age (usage) and movement through space (from maker to owner to owner to to discharge, abandonment, deliberate death⁶⁰). In each phase objects are supplemented by a new narrative, i.e. new meanings are given to them, while all the older meanings attached to them continue to resonate (cf. the citation by Kundera at the beginning of the section ‘Materiality of identity in (Roman) archaeology’). The study into the biography of object(s) allows to understand how the act of displacement affected the objects’ usage within the diasporic group and how the presence and incorporation of new objects (produced in the new social environment as by the host as by displaced community) affected the diasporic groups.

The theory of material ethnicity outlined above also provides the possibility to trace the negotiations, maintenance, *etc.*, of identities within and outside diasporic groups. Objects in the new environment appear to be recontextualised (their original meaning is not retained), but they may still retain particular resonances for their users (Antonaccio 2009, 34-35). This is especially relevant when discussing ‘the longing for home’ in diasporic groups, because the resonance of ‘a home’ in the usage and practice of the objects in a particular context may reflect ‘the shared ways of doing things’ as envisaged in the (lost, imagined, *etc.*) homeland. Using the concepts of routinisation, discourse and evocation can here provide an overview of how objects are used to express particular ideas, identities and dimensions. Routinisation is embedded in the social practices of diasporic groups who continuously exploit the idea of ‘a home’ in the use of the objects. Routinised practice keeps them in touch with their ancestors, with places and people left behind, claims authenticity and forges solidarity. The feelings about and evocation of ‘a home’ give a texture to the identities of the displaced: objects may sometimes be valued for their particular associations with home. The discursive elements appear when the identity of ‘here and there’ comes into play: objects mediate relations between the societies of ‘here’ and ‘there’, give meanings to interaction and contest them. In other words, the way objects were used, positioned in a society and contextualised shed light on the ways diasporas approached material culture in the host society as well as embedded the objects of the past in the displaced conditions of the present. It draws a picture relating to the social identities, rather than focusing explicitly on ethnic origin and its projection in the diasporic community; the study of the biography of objects’ use aids the exploration of the changing status, gender and age identities in the present of the diasporic community, which focuses on their identities on the past.

⁶⁰ ‘Deliberate death’ refers to the termination in the use and placement in a burial, hoard or sacral place of the object, whereby it loses its functional propose and is taken out of circulation in the real world.

1.2.5. Identification of diasporas in the Roman Empire through the evidence of material culture⁶¹

Roman archaeologists have increasingly been concerned with the meaning of diversity within the Roman Empire and the ways movement of peoples stimulated diversification within the Roman provinces and within particular settlements. Interest is being shown to the subject of diasporas as one of the contributors to the diversity within the Empire and, at the same time, to static homogeneity within communities (cf. ideas of solidarity and authenticity within diasporic groups). The subject and its theoretical implications has been borrowed, though not wholesale, from current trends in anthropological and social studies, as well as from the archaeology of the modern period which focuses on African, Caribbean, Irish and Asian diasporas (i.e. the diasporas known and settled in USA). The concept of diaspora has been featured prominently thanks to the studies of Jane Webster on archaeology of Roman slavery, who argues for a diasporic definition of the Roman slavery (Webster J. 2005, 2008 and 2010) and to the project conducted by University of Reading under the supervision of Hella Eckardt entitled 'A long way from home – diasporas in Roman Britain' (conducted in the period 2007 – 2009)⁶², which has recently resulted in a major publication (Eckardt 2010a).

The subject of the Roman diasporas⁶³ has been approached from a variety of ways: epigraphic analysis of the presence of foreigners at particular sites in order to consider the mechanisms for projection of the 'ethnic' origin (Noy 2010); material culture analysis, in particular the grave goods relating to personal ornament in order to understand the social identities of gender, status and to some extent ethnic origin (Cool 2010); study of the Roman military communities (especially the soldiers' families), and tradesmen, for whom the diaspora was the natural habitat (Derks and Roymans 2009, 5; Hingley 2010) but the majority of studies have focused on the identification of foreigners through the study of the funerary evidence, using the scientific techniques such as isotope analysis and forensic ancestry assessment (Evans *et al.* 2006; Eckardt *et al.* 2009; Chenery *et al.* 2010; Leach *et al.* 2009 and 2010; Eckardt 2010c; Killgrove 2010; Prowse *et al.* 2010; cf. also Eckardt 2010b, 8-9).

The project conducted by University of Reading used the multidisciplinary approach, comparing the evidence obtained from the analysis of epigraphic sources with the data based on isotopic and osteological research of funerary remains, and contrasting it with the picture drawn from the analysis of material culture leading to a discussion of the life of foreigners in the diasporic conditions. There are, however, drawbacks. The definition of diaspora is taken at the face value⁶⁴ as well as the words 'migrant' and

⁶¹ This section will avoid the substantial discussion on *The Diaspora of Antiquity*, the Jews, because the primary focus of contemporary scholarship is on finding other diasporic communities in the Roman world, rather than focusing solely on the Jewish experience. There are substantial publications covering the Jewish diasporic experience in the Roman world, for further literature see Cohen 1993; Cohen and Frerichs 1993; Honingman 1993; Méléze Modrzejewski 1993; Barclay 2004; Gruen 2004; Williams 2004.

⁶² That the concept is a center of attention can be seen in the number of sessions devoted to the subject of Roman diasporas in the Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference and Roman Archaeology Conference: each year there is at least one session organised (TRAC/RAC 2010 held in Oxford: 'Roman Diasporas – archaeological approaches to mobility and diversity in the Roman Empire' organised by H. Eckardt; TRAC 2011 held in Newcastle: 'Moved communities: social projection and cultural conformity in the archaeology of the Roman limes' organised by T. Ivleva and I. Oltean; TRAC/RAC 2012 in Frankfurt: 'Materialising diasporas in the Roman Empire: cultural resistance, the pioneering spirit and social exclusion' organised by G. Schörner, T. Schierl and F. Teichner).

⁶³ Only studies mentioning the term 'diaspora' are mentioned here. For other publications relating to Roman mobility and the presence of migrants, see below.

⁶⁴ Eckardt (2010c, 107) quotes Cohen (2008 is an edition of his 1997 publication) for "a convenient list of the characteristics of diasporas" without providing a critical analysis of this typology; neither there is any attempt to discuss issues of diasporic identities or perceptions within the diasporic groups from gender, status or age perspective.

‘diaspora’ are used as synonymous throughout the whole volume. The idea of a diaspora as a condition, as in a social condition produced through the experience of living in one place and being of another, is not considered, while this is a fundamental philosophical paradigm that shapes diaspora communities and distances them from the migrant communities (as will be discussed in detail below). In general, the project is confined to the plotting on the map the possible birth origin of the deceased, emphasising once more the diversity and multi-cultural make-up of the Roman Empire. Another issue is the use of the data for the osteological and isotope analysis, that come from the skeletons, which means that only evidence from inhumation burials can be used, making the large number of cremated people invisible for the purposes of assessment⁶⁵. The methodological problem is the usage of the currently-known and modern data for isotopes and DNA that is matched to the data obtained from the skeletons in (Late) Roman burials⁶⁶. The problem is recognised (Eckardt 2010c, 121), but its impact still needs to be assessed, and might result in the reconsideration of the scientific results and therefore some key assumptions.

In spite of these critical remarks, the studies and the framework do have great appeal for researching material culture in relation to the diversity and ‘multi-cultural’ characteristics of the (Late) Roman Empire and the ways material culture in burials can and should be interpreted (cautiously, taking the context, site location and settlement history into account). The project shows how material culture was manipulated, contested, (re)contextualized and deployed in practice to express various sorts of identities at death and at the time of burial, emphasising that other identities, rather than ethnicity, may have been most significant to migrants (Cool 2010, 43; Eckardt 2010b, 11; 2010c, 124-125). Moreover, it provides an important insight into levels of personal mobility in the Roman Empire and a possibility to chart the mobility of an individual from the time of his/her childhood⁶⁷.

The question can be asked whether the borders and categories of the concept ‘diaspora’ can be analogous to the kind of contexts and systems that existed in the Roman Empire. As has already been pointed above, an idea of ‘a home’ does not necessarily have to be confined to a physical, bounded territory, but may include various aspects such as religion, language, music and appearance. Moreover, the condition of dispersal and movement does not work for indigenous, internal types of diaspora, which have not experienced the act of migration and continue to live in their own land, but ‘feel’ like foreigners⁶⁸. More fundamentally problematic is the dependence on artefacts as markers of difference, i.e. the assumption that foreign groups would use distinctive objects to express their difference. Difference may come in variety of forms, invisible to archaeology, such as language or regional accents (though the analysis of the epigraphic material does provide a window, as in Clay 2007 and 2008 on the presence of *Germani* on Hadrian’s Wall), the act of eating or cooking (cf. preparing food in similar vessels as in the host society, but cooking it differently). Moreover, the evidence for foreign ancestry comes from the burial record, while identities projected at death may vary significantly from identities projected during a lifetime, as epigraphic research has shown on numerous occasions (cf. Hope 2001a, 2001b, 2003; Carroll 2006). It has been

⁶⁵ The problem was realised by the Eckardt team at the early stage but was not overcome (Eckardt 2010c, 109).

⁶⁶ Cf. Prowse *et al.* 2010, 189-190, when discussing the possible origin of a person, whose DNA analysis points to East Asia, buried in a Vagnari Roman cemetery: “all modern mtDNA matches to her available haplotype sequence are from Japan” (my emphasis). One might ask about the possibility of making a comparison with the evidence obtained from the burials in East Asia dated to the same period as the burials at Vagnari.

⁶⁷ In other words, where one had spent the first years of one’s life.

⁶⁸ Cf. Webster J. 2010, 56: “colonized native minorities, uprooted literally or figuratively by the colonial system, may be considered as diasporic”.

noticed (Cool 2010, 42; Eckardt 2010c, 120) that on some Roman sites persons buried with 'local' goods were of foreign ancestry, indicating the adoption of the material culture of the host society, while those with 'foreign' goods were of local ancestry, suggesting, possibly, second or third generation migrants. However, the question can be posed whether these persons deliberately or unconsciously wore or used objects that showed their difference during their lifetime, but at or after death the difference or foreignness became less important. There are, of course, possibilities to overcome these problems.

Cool (2010, 41) emphasises that material culture, as a bearer of various symbols and biographies, of a community or person under suspicion of being foreign, should be put in a broader context in order to understand the changing patterns in the usage and "seeing if it differs in any way from what might be expected". The solution would be the study of the material culture of a population on a particular site, comparing it with the material record of funerary practice. In other words, to compare the objects of the living with objects of the dead to understand the changes in the use taking into the account other external forces of influence, such as commerce or political (in)stability⁶⁹. Approaching the assemblages of objects circulating on a site from different angles and contrasting them with the evidence obtained from the scientific analysis of the skeletons and from the study of epigraphy might allow the possibility to draw a broader picture of the existence of various (migrant, foreign and local) communities living on one site. However, whether the results obtained will allow us to talk about diasporic nature of one community living on a site, is another problem.

As pointed out above, the theory of material ethnicity is suitable when discussing 'the longing for home' in diasporic groups because the routinised aspect embedded within the ethnic materiality of objects sheds light on such practices as 'shared ways of doing things'. By identifying the material culture on a site which was constantly used and reused by a community with foreign affinities, one should make a second comparative analysis between artefacts used in the community's possible homeland and artefacts used by this community in the host society in order to single out the potential markers of 'shared ways of doing things', which are at the same time "being continuously created in practice through routine activity" (Pearce 2010, 88). The artefacts should come from a variety of contexts, so that all levels of the community in living and dying characteristics would be covered. This view, of course, faces challenges from the archaeological record itself, because "the vagaries of archaeological survival dictate that we usually have at our disposal [a fraction of] evidence and can establish affinities from only a limited number of indicators" (Pearce 2010, 93). Yet, taking on a positive view, using the available evidence, one may create a map of the 'deviant' markers and its variants, one that shows how the activity and practice of people in a particular community fit or do not fit in the standard scheme of the activity and practice on a site. The picture drawn here gives a view of these markers as intentional, while it is important to emphasise that they are also reflexive. They shape, and are shaped by, a society from two angles - newcomer and host. What makes the diaspora community stand out in the material record is its deliberateness and unintentionality, routinisation and discourse at the same time.

Returning to the Roman Empire, where, as has been discussed already, multiple identities, categories and concepts were embedded within the concept of 'Roman-ness', being a diaspora would encompass the aspect of 'being Roman' at the very end of the identities spectrum, while on the communal and individual levels the dominant criteria

⁶⁹ The choice of objects available for use might be confined to the location, i.e. the position of a settlement far away from trading routes or, on the contrary, precisely on a trading cross roads; near or far away from the provincial borders. The community does not have a choice of what to use because the choice might be limited, resulting in the adoption of objects because of their availability.

would be being different and solid in cultural expression, being flexible and conservative in practices and activities. Material culture in this sense stands as a representative of negotiations between various groups of people under regional and temporal circumstances. In general, diasporas in the Roman Empire faced the challenges of coping with both the local mix of various ‘ethnicities’ at the provincial level and with the general Roman-ness of all communities, with both of which they had a choice of either interacting or not.

1.3. Migration

1.3.1. *Definition of the term*

Migration is understood to consist of spatial, geographical changes in a residence, either permanent or semi-permanent, and always involves a place of origin and a destination (Lee 1966, 49; Lucassen and Lucassen 1997, 32). It implies two different processes: immigration and emigration, where the former implies the mobility to, the latter from a particular place. The term ‘migrant’ itself encompasses a bewildering variety of mobile people, such as permanent emigrants and settlers (those who are here to stay), professionals or trade migrants (those who commute across borders), refugees and asylum-seekers (van Hear 1998, 41). Individuals might shift between categories: those who come as visitors might become asylum-seekers for a permanent residence (van Hear 1998, 41).

The decision to migrate takes a variety of form, from the individual motivation to factors beyond the individual reach. Reasons individuals have for migrating are to some extent personal, and include “social and cultural motivations, such as enhancing status, and above all concerns about safety and security” (van Hear 1998, 14). Households also may play an important role when it comes to deciding to migrate. The major considerations here are to minimise the risk for the movement of the whole household and to decide who stays put and who moves (van Hear 1998, 15). Chain migration helps in the development of migrant networks and institutions, and comprises and links people who move and who stay put, providing information and building networks for (future) migrants of a particular community (Anthony 1997, 24; van Hear 1998, 15). Factors that are beyond the individual decision-making for migration are orders shaped by the so called ‘micro-political economy’, by which is meant “the distribution of power and resources globally and regionally, reflected in the structure and distribution of production and consumption; in patterns of trade and financial flows; in the development of transport and communications; in the distribution of military might; and in population, environment and other elements of global imbalance” (van Hear 1998, 16). In general, individual decisions to migrate may have been shaped by a complex decision-making process, influenced to some extent by migrant networks and economic push factors.

The movement to and settlement in another territory is, in most cases, a painful experience for most individuals, who face issues such as discrimination, racism, and sometimes expulsion and rejection. Migration brings stress to any society, be it the one on the move or the one who admits. Yet we need to take into account that the negative monolithic experience is not necessarily an outcome of migration; smooth and carefree processes of mobility are known as well (Lucassen and Lucassen 1997, 21). While in the short-term perspective migrants appear to maintain their cultural bonds and distinctiveness, in the long-term migration always leads to assimilation and adaptation of the cultural norms of the host society, when “migrants or their descendants [usually second or third generation of immigrants] do not regard themselves primarily as different from the native-born population and are no longer perceived as such” (Lucassen and Lucassen 1997, 23).

1.3.2. *Typology*

The consideration of typology of migration reveals a variety of forms and types of movement (Lucassen and Lucassen 1997, 10; van Hear 1998, 40). While there is no space here to discuss all approaches⁷⁰, I will focus on two major typologies which approach the process of mobility from the vertical and horizontal perspective, where the former describes the processes of mobility itself (inward, outwards, onward, *etc.*) and the later the objectives for mobility (free/unfree or voluntary / involuntary).

There are five essential components of all migratory movements: outward mobility – from a place of origin to other place; inward – leaving a place in order to arrive at another place; return to the place of origin or residence; onward – arriving at some other place (as opposed to inward mobility); staying put or non-movement, because all migrants leave a community behind (van Hear 1998, 41). In each type migration can be categorised as either voluntary or involuntary (Lucassen and Lucassen 1997, 11). Involuntarily migration is usually taken to mean a forced transportation or movement of peoples, i.e. transportation of prisoners or convict labourers. Free migration is usually based on a deliberate choice of individuals to move to another territory in search of work, for a better quality of life or for personal pursuits. Yet, few migrants are influenced by free will to migrate; all types of migration include an unfree component, a compulsion to move, although each individual is allowed to make choices (van Hear 1998, 42). Labour migrants and refugees, for instance, have less choice and fewer options when it comes to migration (Lucassen and Lucassen 1997, 14). Migrants, who have the possibility to choose whether or not to move, when and where, how, for how long and how far away, fit into the groups of professionals, students, traders or those seeking a family reunion or family formation.

The group that usually receives the least attention from the scholars, are the ‘staying-put’ communities, who “opt to stay behind, and those household members who remain at home as part of a household insurance strategy which involves the migration of other members” (van Hear 1998, 46). The reason to stay may be influenced by unfree factors, such as the obligation to remain, because of physical immobility, lack of recourses, or free factors, such as provision of support for future migrants or maintenance of ‘safe heavens’ in the case of failed migration.

1.3.3. *Diaspora versus migration*

The terms ‘diaspora’ and ‘migration’ are used by some scholars as synonyms, although the terms themselves and the processes they describe are diametrically opposed. A diaspora is considered to be a much more complex process than migration, because a diasporic community is “neither a wandering body of people, nor simply a community of ‘immigrants’ absorbed into a new home” (Barclay 2004, 2)⁷¹.

Diasporas emerge through migration; they are created “as a consequence of both voluntary and imposed migration to one or various countries” (Sheffer 2005, 361). While it is true that some diasporic communities show features of ‘diasporas’ prior to movement, especially those who are forced to exile, others at the very beginning show

⁷⁰ Other significant typologies are represented by Petersen 1958 and Lee 1966, the most influential one being that of ‘push-pull factor’ model, where push dimension has been considered to represent mostly negative factors such as economic decline in the place of origin, no, or poor, employment opportunities, and pull factors represent a positive influx, i.e. better or more lucrative employment opportunities in the place of destination, opportunities for education, *etc.*

⁷¹ Cf. Gourgouris 2005, 384, who indicates a conflation or confusion between migration and diaspora. In the contemporary world, it often occurs that “migrant communities seem to turn [or to invent] themselves into diasporic communities, perhaps in an attempt to invent themselves a frame of reference difference from the 19th century standard”.

migratory features, only making the crucial decisions of whether to settle permanently in the new society and join the existing diasporas, or to conform to the norms and attributes of the host society (Sheffer 2005, 361)⁷². Some migrants go even further in their search for a 'suitable' host society; secondary or tertiary migrations are known⁷³. Only when migrants reach the place that suits their original reasons for migrating, are they faced with the choice of whether to assimilate or join diasporic groups. The final decision is primarily based on ties with the original homeland, "the personal and collective history" and memory of (an idea) of a homeland (Sheffer 2005, 362). In other words, people in diasporas have two homes (the original, the lost one, and newly acquired), while migrants only one (the one they settled in). This axis is an element that allows a distinction to be drawn between migrant and diasporic groups. The readiness and capability of the people who have moved to maintain their original homeland identities and to promote their distinctiveness are two other crucial elements of the difference. The continuation or dissolution of homeland identities depends to some extent on the opportunities provided by the host society, when migrants start to receive offers and rewards from a host community only "if the migrants [would be] ready to give up their identity and undertake the problematic process of full integration that eventually may lead to assimilation" (Sheffer 2005, 364). In this sense, host societies play a part in the suppression or emergence of diasporic identities.

Another aspect of the emergence of diasporas from migrant groups is the presence of a community or organisation to take care of newcomers and to help prolong their attachments to the lost homeland, as Sheffer (2005, 364) points out, "without such organizations diasporas can neither exist nor thrive in what basically are socially and politically hostile environments". The presence or establishment of such organisations helps in creating solidarity within diasporas, a diasporic aspect that has been already discussed above, but one that is lacking in migrant communities.

1.3.4. *Archaeology of migration and materiality of mobility*

The relationship between archaeology and migration has had its ups and downs, with archaeologists either having approached the subject of migration as a signifier of cultural change positively, or having retreated from 'migrationism' theories, to discuss the negative effects of the theory of migration on explanations of cultural change in the material record⁷⁴. The problem that archaeologists have with migration is the assumption that it always brings about (cultural) change and is a strategy based on individual choice. Yet, migration does not necessarily bring (visible) changes in the material record, since two distant communities might use the same or similar sets of objects and share the same way of use; at the same time the presence of non-local elements in material culture does not necessarily indicate the presence of immigrants on a site. Moreover, because migration also covers the people who stay put, the question is whether the material culture in these communities underwent any characteristic changes when part of the community moved away (i.e. the movement of professionals or craftsmen).

The important axis in the materiality of migration is to understand how and with whom objects arrived at a particular site and how they participated in the establishment, maintenance or change of existing identities in the host and newcomer societies. Isotope studies, as discussed above in relation to diaspora communities, have made a great

⁷² Sheffer 2005, 361 notes the survey results, which confirmed that few migrants upon their arrival at a place of destination are able to make final decisions regarding their stay, i.e. "whether they intend to live permanently outside their homeland or whether they wish to maintain connections with it".

⁷³ Living temporarily in one host society and moving shortly afterwards to a second or sometimes third place.

⁷⁴ For a full discussion on changes and evolution of the relationship between archaeology and migration, see Chapman 1997, esp. 13-14, fig. 1; Hamerow 1997, 33-35; and also Anthony 1997 for further literature.

contribution to our understanding of the relationship between (possible foreign) artefacts found in burials and (possible migrant) individuals buried with them⁷⁵. When isotope analysis is not possible, i.e. when objects have been found in contexts other than burials or together with cremated remains, an examination of the specific context sometimes provides a clue as to how unusual and non-local artefacts might have ended up in particular contexts and what might have prompted their appearance on a site, especially when epigraphic evidence is available for additional analysis (see for instance Cool 2004). The so-called ‘social distribution’ of objects, when particular types of artefacts seem to appear at particular sites, the difference in the usage of these objects between sites provides another spy hole for studying the materiality of migration⁷⁶. Making comparisons between particular types of artefacts and types of sites they were more commonly associated with, i.e. investigating the site-type distribution of artefacts, makes it possible to establish the processes and influences on patterns of distribution of non-local objects and aid in the identification of factors that affected their presence. Therefore, two analyses of identification should play a key role here: firstly the investigation of sites where the objects are presumed to have originated and secondly the investigation of sites where the objects can be categorised as non-local in order to match and identify (possibly deviant) patterns in their usage and placement in particular contexts⁷⁷.

1.3.5. *Migration in the Roman Empire*

The theme of the presence of foreigners in the various provinces of the Roman Empire is not new, and numerous publications have appeared on this subject over the past few decades, varying in the range of the content and depth of the analysis (see below)⁷⁸. The majority of these studies have concentrated on the analysis of epigraphic material, which is understandable, considering that studying inscriptions is the first step in obtaining any information regarding the presence of migrants in any given province. The presence of foreigners in the center of the Roman world, Rome, has been analysed through the study of individual names and places of origin stated in inscriptions (Noy 2001, 2010). The first publication (Noy 2001) is, to date, the only comprehensive epigraphic analysis of all foreigners who left their visible mark in Rome. It is not only a catalogue of all foreign residents - it is also an analytical study discussing the issues relating to the status, employment, integration of and attitudes toward foreigners. Such a comprehensive analysis is missing from the works of those who approached the presence of migrants of various origins in Roman Britain, i.e., the general study by Rowland (1976) and the detailed studies on particular migrant groups such as North Africans (Thompson 1972), Pannonians (Birley E. 1988) and Dacians (Wilmott 2001 with the main focus on the history of a Dacian auxiliary unit); with the notable shift in perception in the work of Clay (2007) on Germans where the ethnic (re)adaptation of these migrants is investigated with the help of onomastic, linguistic and pictorial analyses.

Other provinces of the Roman world have also received attention: the epigraphic material of Roman Spain (Haley 1991), Gaul (Wierschowski 1995, 2001), Lusitania

⁷⁵ Cf. Swift 2010, 238: “isotope studies in conjunction with material culture studies allow us to examine constructions of identity through material culture in a more nuanced way [...] it is possible to identify unusual material culture and burial practice which stands out from that of the local population”.

⁷⁶ The term ‘social distribution’ was introduced by Eckardt 2005 and is used by Swift 2010 in her analysis of the presence of artefacts associated with migrants at various sites in Western Europe of the Late Roman period.

⁷⁷ For the successful analysis see Eckardt 2005, 145-156; Swift 2010, esp. 265-271.

⁷⁸ It is not an intention of this section to provide a critical examination of these studies taking into account the amount of work that appeared in recent decades, but rather to give a brief evaluation of their interpretative potentials and the levels of contribution to our understanding of migration in the Roman Empire.

(Stanley 1990), Raetia (Dietz and Weber 1982), and Germania Superior and Inferior (Kakoschke 2002) have been studied in order to determine the levels of inward and outward mobility within these provinces. However, these publications range in their depth of analysis. Works of Wierschowski and Kakoschke stand out for their detailed erudite study covering aspects of foreign involvement in the life of these Roman provinces and providing biographic and contextual analysis for nearly every migrant recorded, making them more than catalogues of names and ethnic origins.

On the more provincial level, epigraphic sources combined with the analysis of few archaeological finds have provided insight into the mobility of particular groups in certain provinces: North Africans in Germania Inferior and the “Lower Rhineland” (Neder-Germanen) population in North Africa have been considered by den Hartog (2010); the occurrence of “Dutch” in Roman Romania has been investigated by Haalebos (1999); the presence of Syrians on a frontier post in Pannonia Inferior has been studied by Fitz (1972); and the presence of Dacians in Egypt and the expression of Dacian (military) identity abroad has been analysed by Dana (2003) and Oltean (2009). The mobility of some communities outside their region or *civitates* has received attention in the epigraphic studies of Krier (1981), who looked into the migration of Treverans in the Roman Empire, and of Kakoschke (2004), who studied Germans abroad. Here the imbalance in the approach to the data analysis is the most apparent. Den Hartog’s and Haalebos’ articles are more directed to the general public, because they focus on the presence of migrants from “Roman Netherlands” in diverse Roman provinces. Fitz’s work met severe criticism (cf. Mann 1974), due to his selective approach of fitting examples to support his case and underestimating the presence of other foreigners on the site. Dana and Krier’s studies present yet another catalogue of the individuals settling abroad. In this list the work of Oltean stands out for bringing the discourse a step further by treating the Dacian emigrant community as a group rather than looking at particular individuals. Moving away from the cataloguing of who moved where and why, she provides evidence for the destruction and consequent reformation of the Dacian emigrant military identity by looking through a sociological prism.

From this brief examination of epigraphic research on migrants, we can conclude that the majority of the research simply charts the mobility of particular group of people and pinpoints their place of residence. There is not much discussion on the issues relating to the changing nature of personal and ethnic identification, the complexity of moving to another territory or problems of adaptation. In this sense the works of Clay and Oltean are notable exceptions. Moreover, it is clear that the focus in most of the cited research was on those people who mention their origin directly. More on the onomastics would have been helpful, since such analysis makes it possible to study the mobility of those people who preferred not to indicate their ancestry. Such works did appear recently, e.g., the onomastic analysis of the names recorded in inscriptions from Raetia (Kakoschke 2009) and Gallia Belgica (Kakoschke 2010). Another issue absent from the epigraphic studies is the consideration of the representations of foreign objects or foreigners themselves on the monuments, on which the text was inscribed. Depictions, as part of the monuments, form one piece together with the texts, and the way the stones were decorated sometimes supported the inscriptions “in images”⁷⁹. Only the work of Booth (2005) looked at the role of foreigners in Ancient Egypt through analysing the non-stereotypical artistic representations, but the research missed on the exploration of the texts. The absence of a synthesised approach probably resulted from the subject boundaries where the depictions are usually the subject for art historians and inscriptions for classicists. On the bright side, even though the majority of the studies

⁷⁹ Cf. Hope (1997) analysis on the relation between words and texts on the tombstones.

noted here presented catalogues, they have still made us aware of the high levels of mobility within and between particular provinces.

Material culture has also been used to identify migrants at particular sites and in particular regions. The analysis of the burial rites has pointed to the presence of Germanic and Sarmathian individuals (Clarke 1979; Hills and Hurst 1989) in Roman Britain; Syrians have been attested in Rimini and communities from the Near East in Budapest (Póczy 1964; Galli 1998). While these studies mainly concentrated on the questions of who, where and when, analysis of burial rites of possibly Pannonian communities in Roman Britain (Cool 2004, 2010) was a step forward in our understanding of the multiplicity of identities projected at death by migrants since any sort of identity projected is and can be manipulated. This research has offered ideas that some grave assemblages regarded first as a symbol of particular ethnic identity might not have been ethnic at all, but rather stood for something else.

A changing thought is reflected in studies where attention is given to the objects of personal use. Analysis of pottery assemblages on the Antonine Wall and Hadrian's Wall have led researchers to suggest the presence of North African (Swan 1992, 1997) and Frisian (Jobey 1979, Peeters 2003) individuals; Gaulish communities spread across the Roman Empire were identified in a similar way (Swan 2009a). An important outcome of these studies is a realisation that the migrants preferred to use the very same vessels they had back home. However, these objects were not exports but were locally made using traditional forms and technology (cf. van Driel-Murray 2009, 818, citing Peeters 2003, 16-18). These contributions suggest there might have been at least a desire to do things as they were done back home in migrant communities, greatly enhancing our understanding of how mobile people constructed their homes while living abroad. That such a desire was not only limited to cooking or pottery making is indicated in the research of personal ornaments such as belt fittings, bracelets and brooches (cf. Swift 2000, 2010; see also my own preliminary publications, Ivleva 2011a, 2011b). Although both pottery and accessory assemblages were effectively used to locate particular migrant communities on various continental sites, the studies emphasised in many ways that the occurrence of these objects does not necessarily mean that particular ethnic identity was exhibited through their use. It only hints at a possibility that the migrants' lifestyles were not only limited to the adaptation to the new host culture, but they were also a form of continuation of the past habits. The danger of simply "reading-off" ethnicity from the objects is clearly understood in modern scholarship, although it is still somewhere in between, neither fully looking beyond ethnicity as a manipulated nationality nor holistically approaching the subject by combining as many contextual elements as possible, i.e., everyday life, service, family, *etc.*

Another type of evidence can be used to research the levels of migration in the Roman Empire: the skeletons found in inhumation burials at various sites (cf. works of Evans *et al.* 2006; Eckardt *et al.* 2009; Chenery *et al.* 2010; Leach *et al.* 2009, 2010; Eckardt 2010c; Killgrove, 2010; Prowse *et al.* 2010). Osteological and forensic techniques are then used to assess ancestry, and strontium and oxygen isotope data indicate where particular individuals spent the first years of their lives. The data can be contrasted with the material record found in the burials to compare personal and birth identities (i.e., "real" identities received through birth, and "constructed" during the lifetime). The main issue is that these techniques can only be used when the body of the deceased has survived more or less intact, but knowing that cremation was a widespread practice in the period discussed, such analysis is not possible for many burials.

In general, three types of evidence are available to scholars who wish to approach the subject of mobility in the (Late) Roman Empire: epigraphy, material culture and isotopes. Ideally, in order to determine the numbers of migrants at any given site and to discuss the real and constructed (imagined) identities of these migrants, one needs to

locate a cemetery where the tombstones are still standing, inscribed with names, origins and age of the buried individuals, to excavate the bodies of the deceased in order to scientifically determine their ancestry and compare it with the information on origin inscribed on the stones, and to contrast this with the material culture with which these individuals were buried⁸⁰. Unfortunately, such amounts of information are not available on any site that has been excavated so far. Researchers either have to be satisfied with one type of information (mostly epigraphy), or with two (skeletons and artefacts), although the data for analysis is only available for inhumation burials.

As can be seen there is enough evidence to chart the movement of people and objects in the Roman Empire. The question is what had prompted these people to move? The forces behind migration in the Roman Empire can be confined to military and imperial orders, administration and trade opportunities, although some individuals migrated not because they had a choice, but because they were forced to do so (Eckardt 2010c, 102). Recruitment into the Roman army was done either by agreement (i.e. conscripts serving in the legionary and auxiliary forces) or by forced levy (i.e. hostages after a war for the auxiliary forces), making recruits migrants by force. Migration by imperial orders (forced by its nature) is attested in the organised movement of barbarians from one province to another, and for movement from beyond the frontiers to the Roman provinces (cf. Modéran 2005 for discussion and further literature). Traders and administrators, who moved on the regular basis, but were still able to maintain links with their homelands, crossed long-distances or alternatively were bound to intra-province migration (Eckardt 2010c, 102).

1.4. Identifying migrant and diasporic identities in material culture

Notions of identity, migration and diaspora make up the intellectual tools used in this thesis in order to gain insight into how migrant and diasporic identities were literally and conceptually constructed by peoples moving from Britain at the time of the high Roman Empire. By considering each notion in relation to material culture and crossing the boundaries of ethnicity as one aspect of identity, the present section offered some perspectives and views on issues of migration and diaspora within the Roman Empire.

The general view in archaeology on any sorts of identity is that identity is constituted rather than essentialised (apart from the realm of an ‘a’ identity, as discussed above) and open to movements and changes, depending on the context and on various factors of influence. Identities are fluid, dynamic and unstable; they are constantly changing, depending on the situation in which the agent finds him/herself. An individual has many identities, one of which is ethnic, which, unsurprisingly, is also multifaceted. Ethnicity has different ‘faces’, which could be based on status or age rather than origin, and be constructed, manipulated or/and multi-layered. In other words: the identities – ethnic, cultural, national *etc.* – expressed by an individual or group are multi-layered, with each layer being expressed at a particular time through a particular medium in a particular set of circumstances⁸¹. In migrant and diasporic communities the construction of identities goes through identity stress when new forms of identification are constructed, manipulated or adjusted to circumstances, bringing us to the level of multiple ethnic identities (for the discussion on identity stress see Oltean 2009, 92-93). A person expresses not only his or her own set of identities (let’s say ‘Spanish’) but also identities acquired during the period of living in a foreign territory (‘English’) and new identities

⁸⁰ The most ideal situation is of course to excavate all the cemeteries which were in use on a site, since it most likely have been a norm to have more than one at any time (I. Haynes, per. comment).

⁸¹ Cf. the concept of code switching identity as in Versluys forthcoming, 2012b: “in one context you take on identity *x*, while a different context ask for the display of identity *y*”, see also Wallace-Hadrill 2007, 356-357 for the code switching in the Roman world.

constructed by an individual as a result of being a migrant ('Spanglish'). All three identities (and there could be more) co-exist, shaping an individual and making him or her unique.

The recognition that identities can be constituted and reconstituted over periods of time provides a conceptual problem when approaching the materiality of migrant and diasporic identities because of the multivocal nature of the material culture itself⁸². The central question for the discussion here is: how is it possible to approach through archaeology the multiple identities of an individual, considering that the material culture this individual (who had a choice either to become a migrant or to join diaspora) was using, while expressing and reflecting the person's unique ethnicities and other identities, played an active role in shaping and contesting them (Antonaccio 2009, 34)? Because migrant and diaspora identities are embedded within the notion of a home, where migrants choose to loose it, and diasporas constantly reinvent and promote it, the subject of the material expressions of a home or origin can be approached from the following perspective. It has been proposed that "getting at [origin] through archaeology is to study social practices that determine 'shared ways of doing things'" (Antonaccio 2009, 51, note 10, after Lucy 2005b, 101). If mobile individuals behave similarly, wear the same dresses and continue to worship the same gods as at home *etc.*, then it can be argued that one of their origin-based identities, the ancestor-based one, can be determined through such shared communal ancestor-based ways 'of doing things'. Rowlands (2010, 235) points out that in spite of all differences, reinventions, constructions and negotiations, the process of making oneself distinct or different is brief, because "we do, after all, make meaning by making order, and we make order by cognising and recognising categories". At the end of the day, it all comes down to the habitual practice, habits the person grew up with or got used to. 'Sharing' ways of doing things and structuring things by the 'order' can be considered components of routinised identities⁸³, which are based on and bounded by *habitus*. The expressions of the routinised identities are confined to what is available from the pool of the past, therefore, making it possible to approach the complex matter of 'a home' in migrants and diasporas.

Objects move with humans. Persons and things are interrelated because both of them have biographies of movement as well as the aspects of origin, development and death. Therefore, the process of accessing the changing materiality of identities, including origin, may be approached through the category of 'biography'. While it is clearly understandable that all identities of mobile individuals cannot be put onto the identities map, one side, one part/piece of identities, plausibly the routinised ones, can be drawn while studying the persons' and objects' biographies and their dialectical interrelations.

Another aspect that has received only cursory attention here is the evocative value of things and the ways the everyday objects become part of the inner life of persons. This is when commodities and ordinary things come alive: their routinised usage makes them invaluable (Turkle 2007, 312). Things carry various meanings for their users and through use they become animated within and by meanings; in this sense, objects retain something of their users. It is precisely through the animation that objects have an influence on their users, while being influenced by them as well. Such influence evokes the feelings of attachment, based on the objects' value as memory containers (associations with or remembrance of particular event, or of (deceased) family member) or based on the objects' everyday presence in life (habits of usage)⁸⁴.

⁸² Cf. Derks 2009, 241: "material culture is by definition multivocal".

⁸³ Routinised identities are only one set of identities individual have. Evocative or unconscious as well as discourses identities also form the personality and individuality of a person.

⁸⁴ In the book of essays edited by Turkle (2007) objects come alive and become representatives of various feelings, affections and relations: objects fulfill the role of desire, history and exchange, transition,

Objects were taken abroad by moving individuals for reasons. While some may have been brought for purely practical purposes, other may have been valued for specific associations. The idea of value was exploited by Vives-Ferrándiz (2010, 191) who approaches the objects value through the term ‘appropriation’, “an important material dimension in relation to the use of things when they change hands and contexts”⁸⁵. People are attached to things; they ascribe (material or emotional) value to them, because at some point in time they became linked to the objects through their daily usage. The appropriation of the valued objects into new physical circumstances, i.e. when individuals transit or settle in a particular territory, would imply two scenarios: the continuation of the same usage or changes in usage, which are aspects of the discourse practice, envisioned in tension between the past and present. Rather than working out the consequences of such tension, it is important to understand the reasons behind bringing objects to a new place, to understand their value and the level of feelings and associations, i.e. the evocative dimension of objects’ identities. The exploration of the evocative value of objects takes us further in understanding how evocation interferes with materiality of an idea of a home, because this idea has a dimension of affection and feeling too.

memory and death, play and growing, containers of new vision and future; they facilitate mourning, hopes and familiarity, comfort and discomfort.

⁸⁵ Cf. Eckardt 2005, 140 who uses this term to describe changes in the processes of consumption of material culture: “‘appropriation’ emphasizes the active process by which any objects (whether mass-produced or not) can become meaningful in society by being incorporated into the personal and social identity of the consumer in an active process of cultural construction”.

2 – The sources

Various types of textual, artefactual and to some extent pictorial evidence can potentially be used to determine the presence of British emigrants on the Continent. The theme of the presence of foreigners in the various provinces of the Roman Empire has usually been tackled from a historical and epigraphic perspective, although the archaeological record was also used to study the migrant and diaspora communities, as has been indicated in the previous chapter. This chapter will present the various sources that can be used to study the migration and formation of British emigrant communities, describing their advantages as well as indicating their shortcomings.

2.1. Ancient sources

Surviving textual evidence for the presence of British emigrants overseas is far from abundant; yet it covers some major historical events in which Britons - i.e. recruits, soldiers or civilians of British descent - took part as well as records the number of hostages taken after various military campaigns. It also gives us references to the service of military units drafted from the British population.

Caesar tells us nothing about the movement from Britain to the Continent after his military campaigns in 55-54 BC, pointing only that captives were taken (Caesar *De Bello Gallico* IV 38; V 23; also the campaigns of 51 BC - VIII 48; Dio 39.52; 40.3; see Creighton 2006 for the discussion of the early years in Britain after Caesar's campaign). Strabo also informs us that he saw Britons (*ἀντίπαιδας* = boys) in Rome, although he does not tell us what their status was – whether they were slaves, hostages, travelers, or business people, *etc.* (*Geography* IV.5.2). There is evidence that during the reign of Caligula a son of a British king had sided with Romans, although it is unknown whether this person and his followers were brought over to Rome or were given a settlement somewhere on the Continent (Suet. *Caligula* 44). Another British king brought to Rome was Caratacus, captured after the campaigns of the governor Publius Ostorius Scapula in the lands of the Silures and Ordovices in modern Wales (Tacitus *Ann.* 12.36).

A few passages in Tacitus, which are largely confined to the first century and the events of AD 69, are the only relevant literary evidence we have for the service of the British military units on the Continent. Tacitus records the service of the British legions and two British auxiliary units, *ala I Britannica* and *cohors III Britannorum*, in the army of Vitellius during the Civil wars of AD 69 (Tacitus *Hist.* I 70; II 57; II 97; III 15, 22, 41).

Two, probably three, epigrams of Martial are addressed to a certain Claudia Rufina – a British-born woman living in Rome in the late first century AD (Martial *Epig.* 4.13, 8.60 and 11.53). So far this is the only reference in the ancient texts of a British female émigré living in Rome.

Later written evidence is confined to the *Historia Augusta* and consists of a reference to the reign of Antoninus Pius, which has been interpreted as indicating the relocation of some tribes from southern Scotland to Upper Germany in the mid second century (Hist. Aug. *Antoninus Pius* V 3; VI 1). Dio (72, 9) reports for the year AD 185 that 1500 men of the British army marched to Rome. The part played by the British legions in the conflict between Clodius Albinus and Severus is recorded by Herodian (III 6.6; III 7.2-3).

In addition to these passages, some ancient texts refer to contacts between Britain and other Roman provinces, but they bear little relation to the main purpose of the

present work⁸⁶. Although interesting in a historical sense, it is impossible to use them to reconstruct migration patterns from Britain to the Continent.

The evidence for the migration of Britons in the literary sources is limited and unbalanced in consequence, for instance there is only one indication for population movements between the years AD 69 and 141 – 142. The limited picture of migration provided by the literary sources can be balanced by examining other sources such as archaeological and epigraphic evidence, which also aid in producing a more coherent narrative for migration.

2.2. Epigraphic evidence

The epigraphic evidence comprises various types of “writing engraved, etched, incised, traced, stamped, or otherwise imprinted into or onto a durable surface” (Bodel 2001, 2). In order to get some control over this vast assemblage of material, for the purpose of the present work the following inscribed documents were chosen: military diplomas, funerary and votive inscriptions, *cursus honorum* tablets, tile stamps and building inscriptions.

The choice of the epigraphic record is an obvious one, since inscriptions have been successfully used in many studies to trace mobility in the provinces of the Empire (e.g. Noy 2001; Kakoschke 2002 and 2004; Oltean 2009). Funerary, votive and other types of inscriptions preserved and conveyed information of various nature and can be seen as having played an important role in reflecting identities (cf. discussion in Hope 2001a). At the individual level they allow us to follow the life of a particular person, since from each inscription a number of ‘facts’ about a person’s life can be extracted: name, occupation, origin, family structures, accomplishments, *etc.* Posing various questions to a text on an inscription, we can extract the necessary information. The collective answers to the questions can be compared with similarly acquired data to yield a broad picture of a particular socio-cultural phenomenon⁸⁷. When left by emigrants, inscriptions can indicate the choices they made when stating their origin, the places they settled in and their reasons for migration overseas.

Together with inscriptions, military diplomas will be used in the present work to determine the ways in which British emigrants drafted into the Roman army indicated their origin. In addition, military diplomas are the sources usually used to trace the mobility and to reconstruct the recruitment pattern of particular auxiliary units, in the present case, that of British auxiliary units. Because the present work also pays considerable attention to the establishment and development of military troops raised in Britain and transferred to the Continent, other, rather impersonal, types of inscribed materials will equally be used, e.g. building inscriptions and stamps on *tegulae*.

Using epigraphic together with textual sources yields particular results, especially when both illuminate, but from different angles, the same historical events and establish the broader context for the events described (Bodel 2001, 42). Although there is always a danger that the inscribed material distorts and misrepresents the historical narrative, there is little choice, considering that textual evidence is sparse. Moreover, while epigraphic evidence is a useful tool for determining various aspects of a person’s life, it should not be taken at face value; the information provided was often ‘cleaned up’. What

⁸⁶ Strabo (*Geography* IV 5.2) describes the routes by which Britain could be reached from the Continent; Suetonius (*Nero* 18) informs us about the possible army withdrawal from Britain during the reign of Nero; Cassius Dio (71.16.2) describes the relocation of Iazyges from the Sarmatian *Barbaricum* to southern Scotland during the reign of Antoninus Pius.

⁸⁷ Rives 2001, 125: “Perhaps the most obvious task [of investigators] is that of accumulation: by setting inscriptions against one another and studying them as a whole we can learn much more than we can from individual examples”.

was included, and in what form, was not solely determined by the commemorator, but “by what was considered appropriate to communicate or to record [...] on particular objects in a particular place at a particular time” (Bodel 2001, 34)⁸⁸.

2.2.1. *Military diplomas*

Military diplomas, also known as citizenship certificates, are small bronze tablets, issued to individual soldiers who served in auxiliary forces, recording the privileges granted to them upon their discharge and completion of a term of 25 years of military service. Only praetorian, auxiliary and fleet soldiers were given such diplomas, because they record the grant of Roman citizenship to them, their wives and their children; legionaries, being Roman citizens upon recruitment, did not receive these documents. The main purpose of this legal document was to register proof of citizen status for a soldier and his wife as well as to legalise potential marriage, so that citizenship would pass onto soldier’s children (Keppie 1998, 84; Lambert and Scheuerbrandt 2002, 9, 39-40; Pferdehirt 2002a, 178)⁸⁹.

A complete diploma consists of two bronze plates of rectangular shape, measuring about 15 by 13 or 21 by 16 cm depending on the period of issue⁹⁰, with text on both sides, bound together by bronze wire and sealed with witnesses’ seals (Keppie 1998, 84; Lambert and Scheuerbrandt 2002, 11). The text of the grant was repeated twice on the inside and outside of the tablet in order to avoid fraud and forgery (Keppie 1998, 84; Lambert and Scheuerbrandt 2002, 11-12; Svensson 2008, 41). If there were any suspicions of fraud, Roman provincial officials could break the seals and compare the outer with the inner text.

The text of a diploma was largely predetermined⁹¹ and divided into two parts: official and individual. The official part was standardised: starting with the Emperor’s names, titles and positions held it proceeds to listing the auxiliary units, veterans of which were also granted citizen rights on the same day and ends with the name of a province and its governor, followed by the text of the citizenship law. The individual part, though standardised in its appearance as well, started with the issue date of the certificate (month and names of that year’s consuls), followed by the unit’s name, its commander, the soldier’s rank, his name, his origin and eventually the name of his wife and her origin, and/or their children’s names. The military diploma ended with a statement that witnesses had signed this document and that a copy of it was preserved in Rome.

A military diploma’s text contains various facts that can be used by scholars to reconstruct the historical narrative for army movements and soldiers’ mobility. Because a complete certificate provides a precise date of issue, usually established by the Emperor’s titles and positions held, and the consular date, it gives a snapshot of the provincial army of a particular province on one particular day. In other words, the diplomas are indispensable for studying troop movements and their personnel (Svensson 2008, 47). The recipient’s name was usually recorded in full: his cognomen and patronymic were given followed by his origin, given either as a province, a town or a small settlement, in some cases a tribe. This type of information provides scholars with evidence on recruitment policy to a particular unit, on the names of tribes and settlements in a particular province, on personal names popular with the members of a

⁸⁸ Cf. also Bodel 2001, 46: the information was often “filtered through the medium by which it is transmitted”.

⁸⁹ More on the issue and propose of this certificates can be found in works of Dušanić (1986), Mann and Roxan 1988, and Mann 2002.

⁹⁰ For the discussion see Lambert and Scheuerbrandt 2002, 7-12.

⁹¹ The wording of diplomas, however, underwent some minor changes over the years, cf. Roxan 1986; Pferdehirt 2002a, 13-14, 31-33, 44-46; Svensson 2008, 44-53

particular tribe. The names of wives and children also give a snapshot of social relations between soldiers and civilians and of the spread of Roman culture within military circles (whether children were given provincial or Latin names). The findspot of a diploma provides us with some hints to where veterans preferred to settle after being discharged, e.g. whether they preferred to settle down in proximity to their military camp or rather to return home⁹².

2.2.2. *Funerary monuments*

Epitaphs are probably the most plentiful form of inscriptions, accounting for two thirds of all known inscribed stones (Bodel 2001, 30; Keppie 2001, 99; Carroll 2006, 16; Malone 2006, 9). Inscribed tombstones are particularly useful to historians and archaeologists alike because they provide “a macroscopic and a microscopic view of the ancient world” (Bodel 2001, 30). At a general level they have the potential to aid in reconstructing a broad picture of a particular socio-cultural phenomenon; at an individual level they permit glimpses into private lives (Bodel 2001, 31; Hope 2003, 116; Carroll 2006, 24). This section will outline the general traits of funerary inscriptions and specify the types of evidence relevant to the later discussion of migration and mobility of Britons⁹³.

Funerary monuments provide various types of evidences to work with: verbal (inscriptions), pictorial (images and sculpture), physical (size and type) and locational (position and visibility of the monument) (Hope 2001a, 7). Yet it is important to realise that epitaphs are “both text *and* archaeological artefact, and neither of them is or can be completely or mutually exclusively objective”; epitaphs are therefore usually seen as “text-aided archaeology” (Carroll 2006, 24).

The epigraphic formulae of an epitaph usually consisted of the following elements: name, origin, age at death, status, rank and length of service for soldiers, names of heirs and family members. While funerary epitaphs are similar in their general layout, there were various words, expressions and abbreviations used throughout the Empire to express sentiments on the loss of life of dear ones (Carroll 2006, 133; see Adams and Tobler 2007, 42-46, esp. 43, fig. 32 and 33 for emotive words used on tombstones).

The most obvious value of epitaphs is of course their texts: inscriptions contain various pieces of information that can be used in multiple ways⁹⁴. The name of the deceased and his/her commemorators are usually used to study nomenclature and the geographical distribution of popular and rare names⁹⁵. Names also can help to determine the ethnic background of their holders; when this is not possible, they can at least

⁹² This is of course a rather difficult matter, considering that many diplomas were recovered not where they were left by their original owners. Children of the soldiers might have misplaced the diploma, bringing it with them across provincial boundaries: cf. diploma issued to a Batavian soldier in AD 113 but discarded 60 years later in Regensburg (RMD 86; van Driel-Murray 2012, 116). Diplomas might have been valued for their metal composition: some were gathered together as scrap metal (I. Haynes, pers. comment).

⁹³ For the general discussion on death and commemoration in the Roman Empire in English see Hope (2001a; 2007; 2009a), Hope and Huskinson (2011); Carroll (2006), Carroll and Rempel (2011).

⁹⁴ Information could be conveyed not only in textual, but also in pictorial forms (Hope 2001a, 7; Carroll 2006, 142). While this is an important and significant medium for the transmission of personal identity, this thesis will not deal with this form of an expression of identity. The main reason for this is lack of evidence, as will be discussed below. In general, there are numerous studies which deal with the pictorial motifs carved on tombstones, to name a few: Garbsch 1965; Holder 1980, 144-164; Marinescu 1982; Ferdière 1993; Freigang 1997a; Hope 1997 and 2001a; Adams and Tobler 2007; Rothe 2009.

⁹⁵ Mócsy (1983); OPEL; Minkova (2000); Raybould and Sims-Williams (2007a; 2007b; 2009) are the studies used here. These works provide “an invaluable key to the distribution of *nomina* and *cognomina* in the European provinces. [...] The sample size is large enough [...] to conclude that the distributions presented are meaningful” (Malone 2006, 22). For discussion of the usage of onomastics in historical studies see Salomies 2001

provide some information on their probable provincial origin (Rothe 2009, 28). Names equally have the potential to reveal the legal status of the deceased and in some cases his/her family members (Hope 2001a, 21)⁹⁶.

The indication of status and occupation are useful for studying social mobility, e.g. the individual's position in society achieved through promotion; names and the origin of heirs, commemorators and family members can be effectively used to study the formation of families, established relationships and ties the deceased had while alive. Epitaphs also indicate the patterns of social change or stagnation: the adoption or rejection of Roman names, naming of children with local, non-Roman or, on the contrary, the choosing of typical Roman *nomina* and *cognomina*.

For the present study epitaphs are of particular relevance to the study of migration, because information on the origin of a deceased was included in the text in many cases. These details aid in mapping the movement of Britons across the Empire. Moreover, inscriptions left by emigrants can indicate the choices they made when stating their origin, the places they settled in and their reasons for migration overseas. Because part of this work also concentrates on the study of development, mobility and recruitment patterns of British auxiliary and *numeri* units, the mention of tribe and origin on epitaphs helps to deduce much about changes in recruitment practices over the centuries. The findspots of the funerary monuments of such servicemen aid in understanding the movements of particular units; if a monument mentions a veteran, it may show the preferred places of settling down upon being discharged (Malone 2006, 9).

It is important to realise that because epitaphs were erected upon the death of a person, it was the family members and colleagues who in most cases chose the text to be inscribed. While there are cases where a tombstone was ordered 'while alive' (*vivus fecit* formula) or by the survivors but according to a person's will (*ex testamento issuit*), the text of an inscription was probably an invention of a commemorator, meant to demonstrate his/her personal preferences rather than those of the deceased. Such 'invented' texts may not quite correspond to reality and, although they were supposed to describe the traits of deceased personality during life, they also reflect, to some extent, the personality and wishes of the commemorators. In some cases, for instance, commemorators failed to mention the origin and in the absence of such the onomastic analysis of a person's name can suggest their geographical origin, as discussed above. It is unclear, however, what might have made people hide their origin, but if this occurs on more than one inscription, this may suggest that such an origin was not 'popular' or that it was not the custom to mention one's place of birth. If emigrants were living in a community where the origin of the deceased was known or the community itself consisted of a rather significant emigrant population, the indication of origins might have been considered irrelevant.

2.2.3. Dedications and votive monuments

A substantial amount of the evidence for the religious beliefs of individuals, state religions and local cults can be obtained from dedicatory inscriptions. These inscriptions record the construction of temples or shrines, as well as personal vows and votive commemorations towards gods and goddesses. Such votive texts were usually inscribed on altars of various shapes and forms, and placed either in sanctuaries or in a private setting, i.e. the home or own land (Keppie 2001, 93). The text was regarded as a sort of a message from an individual or a community, depending on who placed and paid for the altar, to the gods and goddesses.

⁹⁶ I.e. *tria nomina* equals Roman citizenship; a single name – slave or non-citizen; a single name with a father's praenomen – freeborn, but without citizenship (Hope 2001a, 21, but see Rothe 2009, 27, esp. note 315 with further literature).

Dedicatory texts vary in their purposes. If a person wanted something to be accomplished - a safe journey or successful business deal, or cure from an illness - he or she would give an offering, i.e. erect an altar, in gratitude for the (future) assistance and involvement of the gods or goddesses⁹⁷. Other individuals wanted to have their own household shrines, so that they can make offerings at home, without having to visit the sanctuaries or temple precincts.

The texts on such dedications usually had a standardised layout. In the first line a name of a god or goddess was recorded to whom the offering was made, followed by a dedicator's name. In some cases, the dedicator also indicated his or her social status; if the dedicator was an army man, then usually his rank and a unit's name would be recorded. Votive inscriptions usually end with a standard formula of either *dono dedit* translated as 'gave this as a gift' or *votum solvit libens laetus merito* – 'gladly, willingly and deservedly fulfilled his vow'.

Dedications could be made either by individuals or whole households or communities; in the army votive monuments were usually the duty of the officers of units. In general, votive inscriptions provide similar types of evidence to epitaphs for the purpose of establishing the mobility of emigrants: the name of an individual can give a clue as to his or her origin, the findspot of a dedication - a place of a settling. Extra information relates to religious choice: which gods or goddesses the emigrants preferred to worship whilst abroad; whether or not there was a continuation in the rituals they used to have back in the homeland.

2.2.4. *Cursus honorum inscriptions*

Cursus honorum, or 'a course of offices', was the sequential occupation of public or military offices by politicians or military men and involved a basic progression through certain posts in ascending order: for the senatorial class it would have consisted of the posts of legionary tribune, quaestor, aedile, praetor, consul and censor; for equestrians - posts as administrators in local government, military posts known as *tres militiae* (the prefect of a cohort, a military tribune in a legion, the prefect of an ala), senior administrative posts (a governorship, financial offices, *etc.*); each post was held for one to three years. Usually high-ranking officers of senatorial or equestrian rank displayed the posts they had held through the means of the inscriptions to advertise their achievements to the public. The inscriptions containing such texts sometimes took the form of epitaphs – after the death of an honorable person, his status and the positions held during his lifetime were inscribed on his tombstone. In other cases, the posts held were inscribed on marble tablets to praise the achievements of an individual person – such stones were usually ordered and paid for by the community this person was born to or was patron of, in order to honour this person and, to some extent, emphasise the status of the community itself. Such inscribed stones were usually placed in public places or, in the case of tombstones, in cemeteries.

Cursus honorum inscriptions provide us with considerable detail regarding individual careers. The texts of such inscriptions usually started with the name of the person, origin and social status, i.e. whether he was of senatorial or equestrian rank. After this brief introduction, the course of the offices itself was placed, which in some cases started with the most recent position this person had obtained, in others with the earliest.

Although these inscriptions "rarely shed much light on specific activities of the legion[s]" and auxiliary units (Malone 2006, 7), they nevertheless contain information on the command structure of the troops, i.e. the name of the commander, his origin and

⁹⁷ Sometimes dedications were made in advance so as to secure the accomplishment of an action, sometimes after the events had turned out in accordance with the wishes of a dedicator (Keppie 2001, 93).

period of service. Such inscriptions are suitable for studying social mobility within the military ranks and shed some light on the commanders of the British auxiliary and *numeri* units, e.g. whether or not the preference was given to Britons to supervise Britons.

2.2.5. *Inscribed stones and tiles relating to construction work*

These particular types of inscriptions refer to the construction works undertaken by auxiliary units and do not tell us much about the mobility of emigrants, but because part of the present work discusses the development and movement of British auxiliary and *numeri* units, these are useful sources for studying the mobility of these troops and for reconstructing the history of a particular unit.

Auxiliary troops, apart from guarding, supervising and protecting, participated in the construction, repair and renovation of various military installations, frontier stretches, i.e. roads, walls and palisades, as well as supplying building materials for civilian and military needs (roof tiles, bricks, *etc.*). These activities have left their mark in the form of stamped tiles and building inscriptions, since they record unit(s), which participated in construction activity or supplied materials.

The stamps are simple in their layout: due to shortage of space they only provide the name of unit(s) in an abbreviated form. The name included the unit type, i.e. ala or cohort, its number and actual name. Tile stamps can be used to identify the area of a unit's activity: their presence on a particular site does not necessarily indicate that the unit was garrisoned there or undertook any construction activity⁹⁸. Only when the tiles of a particular unit have been found in abundance at one particular site where there is also evidence for tile ovens, can it be securely argued that this was the unit's station.

Building inscriptions are actually a detailed version of the information provided on stamped tiles. The texts usually start with praising of the ruling Emperor and his family, in some cases followed by the name of gods and goddesses; the unit's commander and the unit's name were always recorded. Sometimes a reason for the (re)construction or renovation was given. The concluding line records the year in which the activity took place. Building records are usually found on sites where an auxiliary unit or *numerus* undertook construction, therefore providing us with valuable information for the location and activities of a particular unit and help to chart the mobility of a unit over a period of time.

2.2.6. *Dating of the epigraphic material*

The epigraphic material can be dated by the means of information it contains, although a text should be in complete form to give us an exact date for its issue, because it names the ruling Emperor⁹⁹ and consuls¹⁰⁰ or records a particular event¹⁰¹.

⁹⁸ Cf. Malone 2006, 18: "these products [legionary tile-stamps] appear to travel further than the legionaries themselves".

⁹⁹ This gives the possibility to date an inscribed text within his reign.

¹⁰⁰ Allows the possibility to date the text within the year.

¹⁰¹ Provides a *terminus post quem* for when the inscription was made.

Table 2.1 Dating of epigraphic material by the means of information it contains

Military diploma	If complete: day, month, name of two consuls. If incomplete: name of the ruling Emperor, number of times this Emperor held the power of tribune and/or consul; name of a provincial governor.
Epitaphs	Epigraphic formulae, onomastic conventions, reference to major events (participation in war)
Dedications	Epigraphic formulae, onomastic conventions, name of the ruling Emperor, name of a governor of province, names of two consuls, reference to major events (participation in war)
<i>Cursus honorum</i>	Name of the ruling Emperor
Stamped tiles	-
Building inscriptions	Name of the ruling Emperor, sometimes names of two consuls, sometime exact date of dedication

In other cases inscribed texts are tacit and do not offer us any direct clues. In such circumstances inscriptions can be approximately dated via changes in epigraphic formulae and onomastic analysis.

Table 2.2 Changes in epigraphic formulae (after Holder 1980, 144; Kakoschke 2002, 21-22; Malone 2006, 11)

50	Transitional period: Flavian dynasty to ca AD 100	150	200	250
<i>Dis Manibus</i>	<i>Dis Manibus</i>	<i>DM</i>	<i>DM et memoria/DMS(acrum)</i>	<i>DM et memoria/ DMS</i>
<i>Hic situs est</i>	<i>HSE</i>			
Name of the deceased in nominative	Name of the deceased in dative	<i>DM</i> plus name of the deceased in dative	<i>DM</i> plus name of the deceased in dative	
Filiation	Filiation	Filiation		
Origo	Origo	Origo		
Indication of voting tribe (<i>tribus</i>)	Indication of voting tribe (<i>tribus</i>)			
<i>annorum</i>	<i>annorum</i>	<i>annorum/annos/vixit</i>	<i>Qui vixit</i> plus indication of days, months and years	<i>Qui vixit</i> plus indication of days, months and years
	<i>stipendiorum</i>	<i>stipendiorum / militavit</i>	<i>Militavit</i>	<i>militavit</i>
		<i>Iovi Optimus Maximus</i> abbreviated as IOM	<i>IOM</i>	<i>IOM</i>
		<i>In honorum domus divinae</i> abbreviated as IHDD	<i>IHDD</i>	<i>IHDD</i>
		<i>Genius/genius loci</i>	<i>Genius/genius loci</i>	

Epigraphic formulae should, however, be used with some caution for the reason that none of the chronological indicators can aid in distinguishing between a person who died, for example, ca AD 70 and a person who died a decade later (Malone 2006, 11-12). Another problem in using these indicators is the variation in formulae usage between provinces and between social groups, i.e. some formulae were adopted considerably faster in one region than in another. For instance, the abbreviated formula HSE disappears from inscriptions in the late Flavian period, although it is still found on the Danube in the second century (Holder 1980, 144). Within military circles some expressions may have been favoured and adopted faster than by civilians and vice versa.

A name of a person can also aid in dating of an inscribed text. An Imperial *gentilicium* of a person, in most cases, indicates a grant of a citizenship by a particular Emperor either to the person himself or to his or her family, which provides us with a *terminus post quem* for the inscription.

Table 2.3 Dating by onomastic analysis

Person's <i>praenomen</i>	Imperial <i>gentilicium</i> and/or	Citizenship during the reign of
Titi Flavii		Flavian dynasty (Vespasian and Domitian, as most likely)
Marci Ulpri or Ulpri		Trajan
Aelii		Hadrian or Antoninus
Aurelii		Marcus Aurelius until Caracalla

In general, all factors, such as the texts themselves, epigraphic formulae, names and filiations should be applied in combination to arrive at an approximate date. It must be emphasised, however, that many inscriptions cannot be dated precisely: in most cases only a period can be provided with some certainty, for example, late first or late second century AD.

2.3. Pictorial evidence

The third type of source that can be used to trace Britons overseas and provide some insight into the expression of personal identity is pictorial evidence. If inscriptions were accompanied by portraits, reliefs or statues, these can give us evidence to discuss choices of dress and the personal preferences of this particular person in what should be depicted. Portraits contain plenty of information relating to the personal identity as well as telling us about “the gender, occupation, wealth, status and ethnicity” of those depicted (Rothe 2009, 18), as has been shown in a number of studies on the choices of dress on funerary depictions in particular regions¹⁰². However, not only portraits can shed the light on the ethnicity of the individual commemorated, decorations might also provide some clues as to origins. As an example, the depiction of a traditional Dacian sword, *falx*, on a slab from the Birdoswald fort on the Hadrian’s Wall, recording the construction work of a Dacian unit, has been considered to be a conscious choice made by soldiers to emphasise the ethnic origin of their unit and its members (Wilmott 2001, 122, fig. 1).

Because a link exists between depiction and origin of a commemorator/commemorated, pictorial evidence has the potential to allow the study of

¹⁰² Čremošnik 1964 for the Danube area; Garbsch 1965 for the dresses of Norican-Pannonian women; Wild 1968 on the Ubian female dress; Böhme 1985 on dress in the German provinces and Gallia Belgica; Freigang 1997b on the clothes on the tombstones in the northeast part of Gallia Belgica; Rothe 2009 for the expression of cultural identity through dress in the Rhine-Moselle region.

the projection of ethnic identity within an emigrant community. This can be of particular importance for comparing the ways Britons overseas named their origins on inscribed texts and the ways it was depicted on a monument, e.g. ethnic dress, use of special ornaments and symbols particular to Roman Britain, representations of traditional weaponry or armoury. Yet, this is rather problematic. In Roman Britain itself the number of funerary and dedicative stones is significantly low compared with other provinces of the Roman Empire: 454 tombstones have been recorded in this province (Adams and Tobler 2007; Hope 2009b, 369). The analysis of these 454 funerary monuments has shown that it is impossible to ascribe particular reliefs or motives to what one might call Romano-British tradition (Adams and Tobler 2007, 47). While in other communities on the Continent, it was women who were most likely to be depicted wearing traditional costumes, while males were usually dressed in Roman-style garments (Garbsch 1965; Wild 1968; Rothe 2009, 69-70), in Roman Britain males were more likely to have been portrayed, while females were usually commemorated by an inscription only (Adams and Tobler 2007, 47). When in rare cases the clothes worn by women were depicted, usually only an outer garment, a cloak, was shown (Allason-Jones 2005, 106); males were mostly commemorated as military men, depicted as troopers or in scenes of riding down a barbarian (Adams and Tobler 2007, 47-48, fig. 36). Such scenes do not allow the possibility to glimpse the traditional British male or female costume, leaving us with a lacuna regarding the typical choice of dress displayed on the monuments of people living in Britain and does not give us any material to compare with the situation on the Continent. Regarding decorations, the usual repertoire of the motifs was employed by the artisans in Britain: ornate leaves, rosettes and the crescent moon (Adams and Tobler 2007, 51).

In general, due to the relative absence of pictorial traditions in the depiction of individuals or motifs in Roman Britain itself, research here is significantly limited. Moreover, actual depictions of the deceased are extremely scarce on stones known to have been made by and for Britons living throughout the whole Roman Empire. The only known example is the tombstone of Titus Flavius Virilis which depicts a man, plausibly Virilis himself, holding a book (appendix II). This can hardly be considered in any way representative of how other mobile Britons wanted to be depicted. For these reasons, pictorial evidence will be completely omitted in this research, but the author does not want to discourage further research into this area. It is still possible to conduct a study on how soldiers in British units tended to be depicted on their funerary monuments and to make comparisons between various stylistic features preferred by craftsmen working for British troops stationed abroad.

2.4. Artefactual evidence

The fourth type of evidence that can be used to trace British emigrants is artefactual. This category is an extensive one, comprising various types of artefacts¹⁰³, which have been used in other studies to indicate the presence of particular migrant communities at particular sites. Pottery, one of the most common finds at any Roman site, has been considered to have played an important role in the formation, projection and negotiation of various types of identities, as well as hinting to the origin of its users¹⁰⁴; it therefore gives us the possibility to point to the presence of ‘foreigners’ at a site.

¹⁰³ The best list of artefacts used in one particular province, Roman Britain, can be found in Allason-Jones 2011, who also notes (2011, xiii) that “one could not hope to produce a volume which dealt adequately with the full range of artefacts to be found across the whole Roman Empire”.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. especially Swan’s research (1992; 1999; 2009a) on the occurrence of vessels typical for North Africa as indicators of the presence of North Africans at York and forts on the Antonine Wall or the occurrence of tripod-vessels as signifiers of the presence of Gauls.

Garments and accessories make up the bulk of relevant evidence for the study of the expression of the emigrant ethnicity and identities. The existence of regional dresses and accessories within one province, or even region, in the Roman Empire has been acknowledged (Swift 2000, 2011), allowing us to discuss the expression as well as negotiation of a person's various identities, not least, their origin¹⁰⁵. Yet due to the absence of pictorial evidence for the ways garments were worn, as discussed above, we do not know what kind of clothes were worn by British population or how they wore them, although the attempts have been made to reconstruct their clothing style (e.g. Wild 1985; Croom 2002). Therefore, there is not enough relevant artefactual evidence to consider the expression of identities through dress. The garment accessories forming part of the dress and being regionally-specific, may also have played a role in projecting the personality and/or origin of the wearer (Swift 2011, 206).

The most common types of dress accessory are brooches, followed by bracelets, finger- and ear-rings, necklaces, hair-pins and belt sets¹⁰⁶. Out of these personal ornaments, brooches are most useful for exploring the projection and 'social performance' of cultural and other identities (discussed below). The main reason is their association with a more provincial, in our case British, character. Finger-rings are relatively uniform in their design and usually display a similar iconography on their intaglios: mostly Graeco-Roman themes, but never regionally-specific symbols (Croom 2004, 295; Swift 2011, 209-210). There are 14 types of ear-rings found in Britain, all of them similar to examples found elsewhere in the Roman Empire; while some of them are more commonly found in Britain, this may be due to the accident of discovery or recognition (L. Allason-Jones, pers. comment; cf. also Allason-Jones 1989). Regarding hair-pins, the head at the top of the pin was usually made in variety of shapes extremely popular all around the Roman Empire (Croom 2004, 293; Swift 2011, 198; L. Allason-Jones, pers. comment); jet pins with cantharus decorated heads may be solely British, but none have been identified on the Continent¹⁰⁷. Britain introduced two types of bracelets: the so-called 'cogwheel' and 'multiple motif' (Swift 2000, 210-211); yet both types were produced and worn in the fourth century, which is beyond the scope of the present work and their Continental distribution has been already studied by Swift (2000)¹⁰⁸. Necklaces were mainly composed of glass beads (jet and amber were also used), where beads were shaped in variety of forms and arranged probably according to colour and shapes (Swift 2011, 197). It is hard to establish whether certain arrangements were particular to one region or province because during most of excavations the arrangement has not been preserved (Swift 2011, 197). A belt plate, specifically a British type, has been dated to "the very late Roman period", again the period which is beyond the scope of the present study (Swift 2011, 201); yet there are parallels between some British belt plates and a belt plate with buckle located at one Continental site (Morris 2010, 193, no 7). All in all, what is left of personal ornaments are brooches, the design of which was mostly confined to particular regions and provinces (Croom 2004, 293).

Brooches served to hold two pieces of a person's clothing together and were positioned on the upper part of a dress, which covered the upper torso/chest area. Because they functioned as cloths-fasteners, brooches were worn in basically every province of the Roman Empire, where three main categories of brooches were used: bow

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Rothe 2009, 5: "dress as a language with its own different types of 'words'"; "what makes dress [...] so valuable is its ability to express various types of identity at once"; also see Swift 2011, 209.

¹⁰⁶ Swift 2011, 194 with reference to Roman Britain, but the same types of personal ornaments were worn in other Roman provinces.

¹⁰⁷ L. Allason-Jones also pointed out to me that there may have been bone pins made especially in North Britain: a few bone pins with discs of jet jammed onto the heads appeared at three sites in this region. Elsewhere they are non-existent; I have not been able to find similar Continental specimens.

¹⁰⁸ For the use of bracelets to study the regionality in dress accessories see also Sas 2004.

(arched in profile), plate (flat) and penannular (ring-shaped) (Swift 2011, 194). Functional in their purpose, their position in a highly visible place on a dress invites further discussion on their significance, i.e. brooches were worn to be seen. Being passive, functional tools, used to secure clothing, they might have also been active participants in constructing identities of the wearer, therefore providing scholars with more information than merely style, typology and possibly the province of manufacture. A brooch can no longer be used as “just another archaeological artefact” but should be seen as “a communicative tool allowing different types of identities to be expressed or created” (Jundi and Hill 1998, 136). Conveying various meanings and sending signals that might relate to status, religious preference, gender or the age of the wearer and perhaps reflecting foreign origin, brooches make a useful tool in determining the self-representation or self-identification of wearers wherever they lived or settled (cf. Harrison 1999, 114, 115; Swift 2000, 211; Antonaccio 2003, 63; Cool 2010, 39-41; Pitts 2010, 53; Pudney 2011, 116). Although it must be taken into account that if objects have been found overseas, i.e. not in the province of their manufacture, the meaning and the various identities ascribed to them will be different in another context, in other provinces, in other communities (Swift 2003, 56; for changes in meaning of brooches cf. Philpott 1993, 167-170; Böhme-Schönberger 2008)¹⁰⁹.

Brooches were personal items used to secure clothing and, while crossing the Channel, emigrants, in our case from Britain, most likely wore them or had them as part of their personal belongings. They were everyday items and this is the main reason why brooches ‘travelled’. A study on fourth-century regionality in dress accessories has suggested that on the balance of probabilities imported fourth-century objects on the Continent had likely arrived at their destination “with the person wearing the objects” (Swift 2000, 208). By the same token it is possible to assume that in earlier periods¹¹⁰, British-made objects travelled overseas with individuals who arrived from Britain. Because of this, brooches are in less danger of being regarded as trade items, in contrast to pottery, although small-scale trade in exotic metal objects such as brooches cannot be ruled out¹¹¹. Because brooches are significant as negotiators of identity and personhood¹¹² and because they were less likely to be trade items, another artefact helpful for studying British migration – British-made pottery found on the Continent – will be excluded from the present study. This should not, however, discourage other scholars from approaching the subject of British migration through the study of British-made vessels, because successful studies by Swan (1992; 1999; 2009a; 2009b) indicate that such research of pottery ‘movement’ is possible. It has also been mentioned above

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Greene 1987, 117: “the same artifact could possess different ‘meanings’ in different social settings, which could by implication change through time or even coexist within a single society which was itself changing”. He also points to changes in the meaning of symbols used as decorative elements on brooches. As an example, Greene (1987, 126) charts the changes in the eagle-brooches worn in Gothic society: “[T]he eagle as a brooch began life as a symbol of qualities emulated or admired by Goths (Hunnic hunting, Roman imperial authority) and was then transformed into a symbol of Gothic self-awareness”.

¹¹⁰ It is understood that in the earlier or later periods different circumstances for ‘the movement of objects’ could have prevailed, but see Curta 2005, 124: “[T]heoretically, the dissemination of a brooch form or of ornamental details may indicate one of three types of movement: of brooches (through gift-giving or trade), with or without their owners; models of brooches, including templates for the reproduction of ornamental patterns; and of craftsmen, carrying manufactured brooches or models”.

¹¹¹ Swift 2011, 213 points to a distinction that should be made between objects of trade and objects that “occur in too small a quantity [...] to be the product of trade”. For British-made brooches the latter is true. While some types appear to be relatively numerous in Britain, overseas they are found in limited numbers: 1 or at most 3 percent of the total number found on any given site (see for instance Böhme 1972, 47; Grünwald 1990, 58; Riha 1979; 1994 among others).

¹¹² Cf. studies of Jundi and Hill 1998; Harrison 1999; Swift 2000; Curta 2005; Pudney 2011; Aarts and Heeren forthcoming.

that clothes are also of particular importance for the study of the expression and negotiation of identities as well as ethnicity.

There are at least eight major British brooch types, from which various derivatives are known, which, while Continental in their origin, were modified and manufactured in the British Isles: Colchester and its derivatives ('dolphin' and 'Polden Hill'), T-shaped and its derivative - brooch decorated with headstud, dragonesque, umbonate, trumpet and its various derivatives, knee, plate and gilded circular or oval brooch with a central setting of coloured glass. In the present work the typological system employed by Hull and outlined in the publication of Bayley and Butcher (2004, 230-240, appendix 2) is used, except in the case of trumpet brooches, where the classification of Böhme (1970) is given preference (T157A/F in Hull corpus = 2A in Böhme; T153, 158 = 2B)¹¹³.

British-made brooches were distinctive in their design, decoration and form in relation to local products in other parts of the Empire. The presence of the headloop, purpose-made for the attachment of a chain at the top of the T-shaped, headstud and trumpet brooches, and the small loops around the outer edges of the umbonate brooches, are typical British characteristics. Headstuds have received their name from "the eponymous raised stud near the top of the bow", which is considered as another typical British feature (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 164). British-made brooches are also distinguishable by their unusual decorative techniques. For instance, trumpet brooches often have acanthus-shaped moulded decoration in the middle of the bow (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 160). Enamelled patterns, lattices, peltas, triangles and curvilinear motifs on the trumpet and headstud brooches are also identifiable features of British-made brooches. The umbonate brooches, for instance, were decorated with concentric rings of small triangular or pelta-shaped enamel cells. The distinctiveness of British-made brooches also lies in their various forms, which appear to be unique to Britain: the 'dolphin' shape of Colchester and its derivatives and the 'Polden Hill' types, the trumpet shape of trumpet brooches and its derivatives, the T-shaped form of the headstuds, the raised central rosette of the umbonate and dragonesque form.

The dating of brooches presents problems: the total date range for which the brooches were in use will always be uncertain (Snape 1993, 6), although "there are a few points in the time scale which are fixed by site evidence" (Butcher 1977, 44). In the present thesis the dating of brooches is based on evidence from sites: where the context was known and datable, the relative time span of the brooch's use and its appearance on the site, i.e. the *terminus ante quem*, was established. Where the context is not reported in a publication, dating is based on the general knowledge of the occurrence of a type (cf. table in appendix V). In general, some brooches were manufactured well before the mid-first century – one of the famous examples is the dragonesque type (Jundi and Hill 1998, 132). The trumpets, headstuds and umbonates were in production well before the end of the first century, most likely those types were introduced during the early Flavian period (Butcher 1977, 44; Bayley and Butcher 2004, 160, 163, 165, 173). During the Antonine period new types seem to have developed: trumpet-head brooches with disk-, half-disk- and pelta-shaped plates and the body shaped like a fly (Butcher 1977, 44; Bayley and Butcher 2004, 169–170). British plate brooches with gilding and gemstones are usually considered to be of third century date (Snape 1993, 6).

It should be emphasised that some brooches were used longer than others, which can be determined by their condition (signs of extensive wear or repairs). Other brooches could have been kept in production for more than half a century or have seen continued

¹¹³ Mackreth (2011) uses an even more developed typology, where each sub-type has numerous sub-sub- or sub-sub-sub- types, depending on a variety of factors ranging from the attachment of a pin or decorations on the bow to the main distribution areas of a particular (sub-sub-*etc.*) type. As such, it leads to greater confusion than the typology provided by Hull.

use because of fashion (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 165 give an example of headstud brooches which occur in the forts on Hadrian's Wall). Such biases were also taken into account in this research.

Brooches were worn by both men and women at shoulder level to attach the outer garment to the tunic. Because most brooches, not only British-made, were decorated with various patterns, motifs and symbols, their essential function, to fasten clothes, was linked to a secondary function – decorative (Allason-Jones 2005, 121). In other words, the ornamental potential of the brooches was likely to have been “fully appreciated and exploited”, making them more than “purely utilitarian object[s]” (Johns 1996, 147). Only one, sometimes two, brooches were actually needed to connect two pieces of clothes together, but a third brooch was sometimes added to a dress, purely for the nonfunctional purpose. It has been noted for British evidence that pairs of brooches started to occur in Romano-British burials in the mid to late second century, while in earlier periods, especially in the mid first century, the preference was for single brooches (Philpott 1991, 131). This seems to signify a change in fashion, with the emergence of the trend for wearing brooches in pairs.

Some brooches were worn in pairs (not always matching), joined by a chain; headloops were designed especially for the attachment of strings of beads or chains (Johns 1996, 149), as has been supported by the archaeological record. Some researchers have suggested that it had been a female custom (Croom 2002, 138; 2004, 294); yet there is no pictorial evidence from Britain itself to strengthen the idea further that the chained brooches were exclusively used by women. Because of this, British brooches are usually considered ‘sexless’ and as not necessarily indicating the gender of the bearer (Allason-Jones 1995, 24; 2005, 121; Johns 1996, 149). However, wearing brooches in pairs seems to have been, in general, a female custom, since no tombstone from the Roman Empire depicts men wearing them in this fashion. Danubian funerary stelae show that it was indeed so: they are full of depictions of women wearing pairs of brooches without a chain (Allason-Jones 1995, 24). Wearing brooches in pairs was probably a female Continental custom, while headloops and the addition of chains or beads can be considered to be a British ‘invention’¹¹⁴. Bayley and Butcher (2004, 214) notice a significant distinction between some brooches with headloops. On some brooches the loop appears too small to have been able to support a chain and on many the headtab is solid and so has no function; others have a much larger headloop, suggesting they were indeed worn with a chain. Were, then, the latter female types while the former were worn by males?

Brooches, in our case British-made, are found in a variety of archaeological contexts, suggesting that their purpose was not limited to being a dress accessory or to pinning down the garments. Brooches have appeared on the sacred sites, presumably serving as votive deposits, and in hoards. Such treatment of objects primarily intended as lifestyle accessories and for decoration implies changes in the value and meaning of brooches, i.e. from secular to sacred for votives, from active to non-active for brooches in hoards. In contrast, the occurrence of brooches with objects found in rubbish pits indicates their non-value, i.e. after fulfilling the purpose of decoration and pinning, they were no longer needed and were thrown away¹¹⁵. All three contexts (votive, hoard and rubbish) imply

¹¹⁴ It should be pointed out that the wearing of brooches in matching pairs did not necessarily indicate gender; other identities could have been projected as well. Cf. Curta's (2005) research of a female “Slavic” bow fibulae that was exclusively worn by women, yet it stood not for ‘womanhood’ but was status specific; “wearing a fibula [...] may have given the wearer a social locus associated with images of power”.

¹¹⁵ But see Pudney (2011, 121-122) who indicates the deliberate positioning of brooches in pits during the abandonment of a place. In other words, this implies that what others may see as a rubbish thrown away

the death of usage, whereby brooches were taken out circulation and were intentionally refused their primary purpose; yet in each case the symbolism of putting the objects to death plays on a different level, high symbolic meaning may have been at a stake for brooches given away as votive offerings, high (economic) value for brooches in hoards, where low or no meaning might have been attached to brooches thrown away in rubbish pits.

Another possibility for a brooch to enter the archaeological record was to be (accidentally) lost. In many cases, brooches seem to appear in the context of roadsides or fields, i.e. places without a site or any site nearby, or beneath the floor of a building, where no other objects were found. However, one may ask how it was possible for brooches to be lost, especially when they were used to hold pieces of garments together. Would not an owner have noticed the loss of the object and simply have picked it up? This might not have happened if a brooch fell into a hole in a floor or was dropped in a place that was difficult to reach. Even nowadays, girls lose their ear-rings, bracelets or rings in a similar way. Brooches can be lost without noticing in cases when they were not used as garments' holders, i.e. being a third decorative brooch, as discussed above. Allason-Jones (2001, 22), for instance, suggests that the occurrence of the brooches in some turrets on Hadrian's Wall indicates that "soldiers not only wore brooches but also lost them with a great deal of unmilitary carelessness".

Burials are other places where brooches appear in significant numbers. While some brooches were placed as grave goods or put on top of the cremated remains to hold wrappings containing the cremated bone together, others were placed in the ditches outside the grave, probably some time after the burial had taken place or during the feast (Philpott 1991). It should also be taken into account that significant number of brooches could have been placed with a body of a deceased and completely burned, therefore not surviving to enter the archaeological record. Each act could have had a special significance and importance for the relatives of the deceased, through which various forms of perceived identities could have been projected and communicated by the descendants rather than representing the personal and actual identity of the deceased¹¹⁶.

The occurrence of brooches in diverse contexts allows various interpretations in terms of their significance for displaying various sets of identities or for the rejection of such. Practices of depositions indicate the choices, views and actions of owners (Pudney 2011, 126) and the ways the personal and object's identities were manipulated, protected and refused. While the archaeological contexts in which objects are found, represent the final and ultimate deposition, i.e. the object's death, the ways and the state objects reached their resting places give us possibility to discuss their biographies.

In our case brooches, being personal items, travelled with their owners among their personal possessions: it is doubtful that owners would have thrown away brooches while crossing the Channel. Therefore, brooches can be related to the activities of certain individuals who took a decision to come over from Britain to the Continent. There are various types of migrants who might have brought brooches overseas:

1. The first and the most obvious group are traders, yet, as has been emphasised above, brooches are not often regarded as export items. However, brooches could have been brought not necessarily for trade, but as part of the personal possessions of merchants themselves or their household.

during the abandonment of a site, may not have been the case: brooches and other objects were deliberately abandoned and deposited.

¹¹⁶ Cf. the evidence from Wales, which shows that the rural communities there tended to include brooches in burials, while urban and military communities did not (Pollock 2006), probably a representation of different types of identities expressed at the moment of a burial.

2. The second group is military men, including veterans, who returned home at the end of their service; soldiers (legionary, auxiliary and *numeri*) on active duty travelling with their units from and to Britain.
3. The third group consists of followers of the first two groups: households, slaves, partners, wives and children.
4. Craftsmen can be suggested as a fourth group: potters, smiths travelling with their patterns, stonemasons, *etc.*
5. Brooches might have reached a particular site in an indirect way: the object could have been brought by one of the persons mentioned above, sold on the local market and so have joined the objects in circulation on a site.

I have deliberately excluded the origin of the people with whom British brooches might have reached the Continent. Britons just like other ‘nationalities’ can be part of any group: British soldiers settling with their unit at a fort, or British wives following their veteran husbands to their own homeland, can be equally substituted with the soldiers travelling with their units from Britain to the overseas post or partners following their military men to Britain and returning with them upon being discharged. Only in-depth analysis based on an object’s biography, site location, history of a settlement, epigraphic analysis and study of context might provide us with a clue as to the origin of the migrant held responsible for bringing a British brooch to a site.

2.5. Advantages and disadvantages of using literary, epigraphic and artefactual evidence as sources to study mobility

In summary, the following material was proposed here as a tool to study mobility of Britons: passages from ancient sources; funerary and votive monuments, military diplomas and inscriptions recording the building activities of British auxiliary and *numeri* units; brooches as personal accessories. In total, 21 passages referring to the presence of British hostages and civilians on the Continent and in Rome, and the activity of British legions and auxiliary units have been identified. A total of 242 military diplomas and 115 various inscriptions has been noted, which record the service of British auxiliary units and their soldiers of various origins. The *numeri Brittonum* units and their soldiers have been identified on another 52 inscriptions. Regarding Britons who served in other than British auxiliary units, three military diplomas and 19 funerary and votive inscriptions have been found up at present recording their service abroad. Eight inscriptions record the presence of British civilians. A total of 242 British-made brooches, found on 102 sites across the Empire, have been recorded; the provenance of 19 brooches is unknown¹¹⁷.

The data from two different types of sources, material culture and written texts (ancient literature and epigraphy), can be combined and contrasted in order to shed light on the complexities thrown up by the evidence as well as by the absence of such evidence. Both types possess qualities that make them useful to study the questions central to this thesis, such as movements and identities of Britons. Written evidence highlights the ways in which writers or clients (in case of epigraphic sources) construct identities from the pool of fluid and complex social situations, i.e. from the much contested and multidimensional reality to produce one dimensional abstract form of identification (Gardner 2002, 331). While written texts provide us with the nominal aspects of identity, material culture allows us to build up a more complex and diversified picture.

¹¹⁷ 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). In my preliminary publication (Ivleva 2011a) a typo occurred: the number of brooches and sites was recorded as 241 brooches found on 103 sites, instead of 242 brooches on 102 sites.

Ancient literature provides us with points in time, i.e. specific dates, events and participation in wars, which help to chart the movement from Britain overseas chronologically. They record mostly the transfer of legions and units stationed in Britain, i.e. the transfer of military personnel, in some cases with their households. The origin of these people was, of course, omitted from the historical narratives, but the epigraphic evidence can provide us with some detail. The shortcomings of the literary sources lie in their somewhat indirectness and omissions. They portray the general trends and their narratives are populated by high status people rather than by individuals of lower rank (which is the sphere of epigraphy).

Brooches were considered here to be a useful tool to chart the movement of people arriving from Britain on the Continent; however, these objects have limitations regarding how representative they are of the population. The sexless nature of brooches (cf. Allason-Jones 1995, 24) makes it difficult to investigate the presence of migrant women; in contrast, the presence of female migrants can be detected fairly easily through analysis of the epigraphic sources. A brooch without context does not allow any conclusions concerning a person's religious belief, status or age. An inscription or military diploma at least often provides these data, adding to them the ethnic origin of the deceased or of a soldier and his wife. Moreover, the occurrence of British brooches overseas can indicate not only the presence of Britons, but also that of non-Britons, who, after living in Britain for some years, chose to return home¹¹⁸. Special care should also be taken to study the context a particular brooch ended up in: an object can indicate the movement of a particular individual, but it can also indicate movement *through* a settlement as opposed to *settling in* a settlement; in addition it cannot indicate that a whole community was living at a certain place on a permanent basis (Gardner 2007a, 157).

Brooches are particularly valuable as sources to study the projection and negotiation of personal identity, but, because "material culture is by definition multivocal" (Derks 2009, 241), various identities, not just ethnicity, might have been projected, which also depended on the circumstances in which the brooch was worn. Epigraphy and military diplomas, on the contrary, are static. Once made and erected, they convey sets of messages about an individual, which were usually subjective and carefully chosen prior to the making of the monument or diploma. They represent an individual at the time of receiving Roman citizenship, making a vow or at the time of death. These messages are overt demonstrations of the identities projected. They are snapshots of the identities individuals wanted to project, in contrast to material culture in general, where such snapshots of identities are extremely rare and open to speculation and assumption.

The military diplomas, funerary and votive monuments in the catalogue (cf. appendices III and IV) cannot be regarded as statistically representative of all mobile Britons in the period studied. Not everyone was able to commission a funerary or votive monument; not every brooch brought survived to enter the archaeological record. All conclusions that will be drawn here will be based on the surviving evidence; nevertheless, the wealth of information these sources contain helps to study the movement, settling down of those who emigrated from Britain and to identify them through origin and name.

¹¹⁸ For instance, returning veterans, who are known from the evidence of diplomas (Tully 2005, 380 after Roxan 1997c, 483-481; 2000, 307-326).

2.6. A conceptual model for archaeology of identities as expressed in written and artefactual evidence (theory application)

The first two chapters on theory and sources have set up the background to the aspects of archaeology of (diaspora and migrant) identities and have covered the materials with which to approach these issues. This section will briefly synthesised the theoretical background with practice. The synthesise is focused on the relation of the concepts of discourse, routinisation and evocation with the duality of an 'a' and changeability (cf. chapter 1), and discusses how these modes will be used in the present thesis.

Three processes of discourse, routinisation and evocation in sociology are based on the three main models of human action: normative, rational and emotional man (Dürrewächter 2009, 18, also for further literature). Normative man and his actions are formed by the norms and expectations of society; such behaviour, bounded by norms, becomes repetitive and individuals merely follow solutions provided by earlier choices that have been proved to work (Dürrewächter 2009, 18). This brings us to the routine engagement with the objects, where they are used because they are needed and because their usage has become a habit. Rational man has goals and ability to evaluate various means in order to achieve them, he makes conscious decisions based on calculations, comparisons and subjectivity (Dürrewächter 2009, 18). He enters in discourse with objects and his surroundings, evaluates responses and acts according to subjective analysis or objective responses. Emotional man complements rational and normative man; feelings, which are unpredictable, dominate him and the choices he makes are uncontrolled, decisions - unconscious, yet, the uniqueness of his responses provides a texture to the actions of rational and normative man (Dürrewächter 2009, 19). Emotional man approaches objects not because he has to (normative or routinised aspect) or needs them (discursive or rational aspect), but because they, objects, evoke feelings, emotions and affections in him. Human actions are the combinations of these categories, where norm, intentionality and affection play a significant part in the relation between humans and objects.

The three-men system and three-level process of identification demonstrates how humans and objects "entangled" with each other (cf. Hodder 2012 book title). The aspect of engagement or entanglement comes into play, when "the thing in its own right" (Hodder 2012, 2)¹¹⁹ is being an agent of and for other agents without losing its 'thinghood'¹²⁰. Neither precedes nor proceeds but is firmly entrenched within one another forming a totality of duality (fig. 2.1)¹²¹.

¹¹⁹ Following Heidegger (1962, 105): "the 'Things' [...] are 'in themselves'; and they are encountered as 'in themselves' in the concern which makes use of them without noticing them explicitly".

¹²⁰ On the things and thinghood see Heidegger 1962, esp. 95-98; cf. also Brown 2001.

¹²¹ E.g. Van Oyen 2012, 49: "there is no place left for any notion of essence or substance superseding the concreteness".

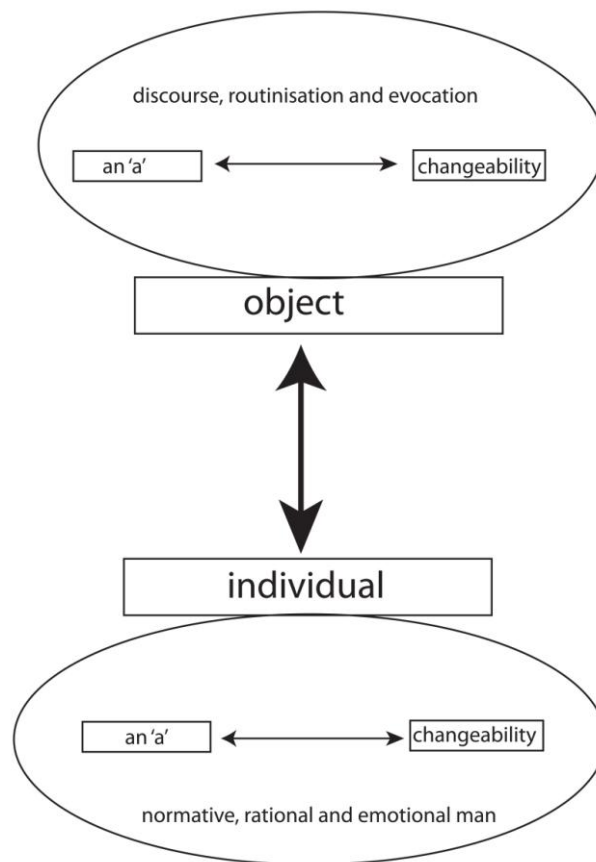


Figure 2.1 Relation between objects and humans

A totality of duality is used here to emphasise the modes of material and written evidence. Written evidence operates on two levels, while it is a sum of all identities, discourses, normative practices and affections an individual (i.e. a maker) had at his/her disposal, the manipulation, negotiation, objectivity as well as subjectivity forms the very basis for the changeability and flexibility of words. The material aspect of written evidence, i.e. the physicality of words written or inscribed on a solid background (stone, papyri or bronze tablet), is an 'a' aspect, while the ability to change, destroy, and influence the words adds the second realm. Every word can be manipulated, but when a word enters an 'a' realm it becomes the solid manifestation and ultimate expression of what wanted to be expressed, manipulated, negotiated or changed.

The duality of brooches is expressed in their physicality as things and changeability as objects in use¹²². The physicality (un-changeability) of brooches is expressed in the material(s) they are made of, the descriptive aspects such as shape, colour and size, in the functional usage – to pin clothes together¹²³. Brooches denote different things to

¹²² On the ontological difference between things and objects, see Hodder 2012, 8-13, esp. 13: “[...] entities (bounded essences) and objects (that stand up against humans) can only be known by humans through their character as things (that gather humans and other things into heterogeneous mixes)”, following up on Heidegger 1971, 161-185, esp. 164-167.

¹²³ E.g. Hodder 2012, 8: “Things bring people and other things together”, compare with the brooches’ main aim to join two parts of clothes together.

different groups of people, such as their maker(s), owner(s) and observer(s). As bearers of various symbols, they can be distinct for various groups for their sacred or profane (functional) meaning, can be actively or passively judged, be part of the contest for identity or simply serve as clothes fasteners¹²⁴. We give brooches meaning, while their physicality (especially colour and shape) evoke responses and meanings¹²⁵.

The model of duality of the evidence gives us two levels of analysis in discussing the identities of mobile individuals. The physical uniqueness of texts¹²⁶ and brooches¹²⁷, and their distribution patterns point to places with a likely presence of (a group of) individuals who moved from Britain. The physical presence of British-made brooches does not indicate the presence of British-born people and is not evidence of the ethnicity of their owners or bearers (as ethnic identity cannot be read from objects produced by a people with a particular ethnic origin). At the same time physical testimony that someone was British- or Roman-born, does not indicate the real feeling of what it meant to be a Briton or Roman. Therefore, rather than showing ‘origins’, the physicality of objects and texts provides us with spots in space and time to chart movement from Britain to the Continent¹²⁸.

Moving on to the next level of analysis, which resides in the realm of changeability, the nature of words and brooches as well as the analysis of their biographies introduces us to the identification of identities which are a sum of (wished, desired, chosen, manipulated, *etc.*) identities projected. The normative, rational and emotional man may choose the ways in which he uses objects and expresses the words. While some objects and words are used on a daily basis and are expected to be used according to the norm, some or the same objects or words can be chosen and taken out of the comfort zone of norm, and used to express a particular (manipulated, negotiated, discoursed) wish, desire or identity. Mobile individuals experience identity stress when moving and settling in a new setting, and the usage of objects or words undergoes the same stress, where new or negotiated usage is applied to them. The realm of changeability can be therefore best approached through the study of the biographies of objects and words, where a central role is played by comparative analysis of past and present usage, taking into account surrounding factors such as a site’s history, its location, the context of a find and the physicality of the find itself. Through such an approach it will be possible to overcome the limitations of form following function, i.e. brooches used only for pinning the clothes. In this sense, physicality is used as a means to explore immateriality, where both (physicality and immateriality) are two sides of one coin.

¹²⁴ Cf. Hodder (2012, 9) talking about when a thing becomes an object at the moment one starts to study a thing.

¹²⁵ I would like to note here that the discussion from now on will proceed with dealing of brooches as objects. ‘The thing’ status of brooches should be understood in their physical testimony, but their physicality, the effect of being ‘the thing’ is not going to be fully explored (thus *contra* to Hodder’s (2012, esp. 10) appeal), since it is not the main objective of the thesis.

¹²⁶ Each inscription is unique, because it records a life/commemoration/votive offering of an individual, who is an unique human being.

¹²⁷ The uniqueness of British brooches lies in their design, shape, enamel patterns, which in comparison with brooches common on the Continent, would stand out on a site with homogenous material culture.

¹²⁸ Cf. Heidegger (1962, 109) analog of ‘a hammer’ as equipment, where ‘a hammer [...] is constituted by a serviceability, but this does not make it a sign’. E.g. a brooch is an equipment to hold clothes together, but it is not a sign of anything else rather than of ‘the thing to hold’.

3 – British auxiliary and *numeri* units

This chapter aims to reconstruct the history and the ethnic composition of British auxiliary and *numeri* units in the Roman Imperial army. The chronological limits are AD 43 – 212/260, as has been explained in the introduction to the thesis.

The aim of the chapter is threefold: to reconstruct the history of British auxiliary and *numeri* units, to catalogue the soldiers, ranging from equestrian commanders to infantry and cavalrymen, and to examine the employment of Britons in the British *auxilia* in order to understand the extent to which the Roman Empire relied on manpower from the British tribes.

The chapter starts with a brief discussion of the *Forschungsgeschichte* followed by the main study of the units is divided in two large parts: auxiliary and *numeri* units raised from Britain. Each part is subsequently divided into smaller sections, where each unit is analysed individually, starting with the two *alae* and 13 cohorts, followed by the *numeri Brittonum* units. In the end there are two conclusions: first one regarding the formation, development, distribution and recruitment policy of the British auxiliary units, second one regarding the *numeri* units.

The discussion starts with the reconstruction of a unit's history, outlining awards a unit received during its service, followed by the description of posts in various provinces and listing the soldiers' names. The discussion ends with the ethnic composition of a particular unit over time. Material culture is also analysed, though considerably limited, since the evidence available varies from site to site: some military installations have been extensively published and had hundreds of artefacts unearthed, while for other sites the publication and excavation history is somewhat problematic. The preference is given to the occurrence of British-made objects with the purpose to collect and analyse the evidence for the possible presence of Britons on a site when epigraphy provides no evidence. The author understands that such choices limit the discussion on the ethnic composition of the units and social interaction of the soldiers with the locals as seen from the contrasted evidence of epigraphy and archaeology¹²⁹, but hopes that this study will motivate scholars to look into this issue in the future, when more archaeological evidence becomes available.

3.1 Forschungsgeschichte

The number of works published on the study of the Roman Imperial army in any modern language is hard to count, though the major studies such as those by Le Bohec (1994), Webster G. (1998), Southern (2006), and the *Companion to the Roman army* edited by Erdkamp (2011) deserve a special mention. When it comes to studies of Roman *auxilia* the number of books decreases, though every aspect of the auxiliary units has been thoroughly covered by many scholars. While it is impossible to mention all publications on this subject (the best summary is that of Roxan 1995), some of the most influential (i.e. not only descriptive but raising important issues and collecting various evidence) will be discussed in some detail. The scope has been limited to English-language scholarship alone, thus, the review cannot claim to be truly representative of the total Roman army studies.

The earliest compilation of all auxiliary units of the Roman army known at that point in time must be that of Cichorius (1894 for *alae* and 1900 for cohorts), published in the first and fourth volume of the Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll *Real-encyclopädie der Altertumswissenschaft*. The next, more substantive, account of the *auxilia* was that of

¹²⁹ Cf. Stoffels (2009) on the idea of local recruitment and the occurrence of locally-produced pottery at the site of a legionary fortress on the Hunerberg, Nijmegen, The Netherlands.

Cheesman (1914), confined to the development of the auxiliary units from the time of Augustus with the focus on the first two centuries. His area of coverage was much wider than that of Cichorius. Cheesman (1914) discusses the origins of infantry and cavalry regiments in general, poses some questions on recruitment policy based on his studies of the military diplomas, and, for the first time, discusses, though briefly, the units with the title *numeri*.

More than eighty years of archaeological and epigraphic discoveries expanded knowledge of the Roman *auxilia* and led to the appearance of two major studies, those of Holder (1980) and Saddington (1982). Holder's work provides an introduction to the structure, development and distribution of auxiliary units across the Roman Empire with explanations on the units' various titles, epithets and numerals, and providing the information on the dating of epigraphic evidence. One of the major outcomes of his studies was the realisation that from the Flavian period onwards auxiliary units stopped receiving recruits from their home provinces and local recruitment was practiced everywhere (Holder 1980, 180).

Saddington's research, though chronologically limited, provides a detailed account of all known auxiliary units, their origins and developments from the time of Caesar to Vespasian. The analysis of the units' titles and the discussion of the role of the *auxilia* in the Roman Imperial army are two of the main contributions of his study (Bowman 1985, 137).

More recent studies are those written by Spaul (1994; 2000), which are detailed studies of individual units arranged by the provinces from where these units were raised, using many references for the first time. What makes his work stand out from that of Holder and Saddington is that he provides essential information about the names, status and titles of the various officers and soldiers who served in the *auxilia*. Although his work is now out of date, some of the references to the primary sources, i.e. military diplomas, and *AE* and *CIL* volumes, are misleading and some of entries can be criticised, it is nevertheless a good collection of the evidence for the history, distribution and prosopography of the auxiliary units and their servicemen.

General studies on the other type of auxiliary unit, the *numerus*, are few. Only three surveys have appeared, though they are profoundly detailed and cover all the then known *numeri* units posted in the various provinces (e.g. Southern 1989; Németh 1997; Reuter 1999). While Southern and Németh list all known *numeri* formations and reconstruct their histories, Reuter tries to establish a theoretical basis for the study of these units and provide an explanation for the units' various titles.

Apart from the general studies on the auxiliary units, detailed regional surveys, which focus on the auxiliary units posted over period of time in a particular province, and studies on auxiliary deployment during the reign of a particular Emperor have also appeared in contemporary scholarship. Basically each province, which had military installations and frontiers has been subject to research: Britain (Jarrett 1994), Germania Superior (Oldenstein-Pferdehirt 1983), Germania Inferior (Alföldy 1968; Polak 2009), Raetia (Kellner 1971), Noricum (Ubl 2005), Dalmatia (Alföldy 1962, 1987) Pannonia (Radnóti and Barkóczy 1951; Lörincz 2001), Pannonia Superior (Lörincz and Visy 1987), Dacia (Russu 1974b; Beneš 1970; Petolescu 1997, 2002; Tentea and Matei-Popescu 2002 – 2003; Németh 2005, 2009), Moesia (Beneš 1978), Moesia Inferior (Matei-Popescu 2001 – 2002; Tentea and Matei-Popescu 2002 – 2003), Thracia (Roxan and Weiss 1998), Egypt (Maxfield 2000), Mauretania Caesariensis (Benseddik 1979), Mauretania Tingitana (Roxan 1973), Syria (Dabrowa 1979; Weiss 2006); for the provinces Noricum, Pannonia, Moesia, Dacia in general see Wagner (1938), the North African provinces in general see Le Bohec (1989) and Hamdoune (1999), the Near Eastern provinces in general see Speidel (1984a, 1984b). As for surveys of auxiliary deployment during the reigns of particular Emperors, scholars have mostly concentrated

on the Emperors who reigned in the late first-early second century, because of the availability of good epigraphic evidence (see Saddington 1975, 1982; Le Roux 1986; Knight 1991; Haalebos 2000a; Holder 2003, 2005, 2006a)

Detailed studies of individual units are numerous; however, studies focussing on units raised from one particular ethnic entity are few. Not every entity, from which the Roman army raised auxiliary units, has been covered by contemporary scholarship. The following studies stand out: Santos Yanguas (1979) on *cohortes Lusitanorum*; Drioux (1940, 1946) on *cohortes Lingonum* and *Nerviorum*; Bogaers (1969) on *cohortes Breucorum*; Devijver (1982) on *cohortes Cilicium*; Dabrowa (1986) on *cohortes Ituraeorum*; Graf (1994) on *cohortes Petraeorum*; Smeesters (1977) on *cohortes Tungrorum*; Strobel (1987) on *cohortes Batavorum* and Zahariade (2009) on *cohortes Thracum*¹³⁰.

Studies of the British auxiliary units in general are even fewer, though the work of Romanian scholars on the presence of some British cohorts in Dacia must be praised (Gudea 1977a, 1983; Németh 1984, 1995; Isac 1987; Isac and Marcu 1999; Benea 1997; Marcu 2002 – 2003). Two studies, from where this work takes its lead, are those of Dobson and Mann (1973), and Saddington (1980). While the first one discusses processes of recruitment into the army of Roman Britain and the recruitment of Britons in units stationed elsewhere, the second work attempts to establish the possible period when particular British auxiliary units were raised and to explain differences in the naming pattern. Since their publications archaeological and epigraphic discoveries have added considerably to our knowledge of British auxiliary units and the purpose of this chapter is to provide the analysis of the new and contemporary evidence, revising the ideas as proposed in Dobson and Mann, and Saddington.

3.1.1. *Theoretical aspects of the Roman army and the issue of identity*

Recent scholarship tries to focus more on the social make-up of the Roman army and on auxiliary identities in particular, which vary from the cultural and ethnic identities of units and their servicemen to the cultural interactions in the frontier zone and in the forts themselves. The increasing prominence of this theme, which has not previously received proper attention from scholars of the Roman army, can be connected with the growing number of studies with a focus on identity, “the unifying theme in the humanities and social science since the 1990s” (Pitts 2007, 693).

Four major approaches are now dominant in theoretical studies of the Roman army: investigating the cultural identity of the various auxiliary units (the discussion either on particular ethnic units, such as Batavians, e.g. Roymans 2004; Clay 2007; general considerations on the nature and the forging of regimental identity, e.g. Saddington 1997, 2009; Haynes 1999b; Gardner 1999, 2001, 2007a, 2007b); gender issues (mainly concerning the presence of women in the forts, e.g. van Driel-Murray 1994, 1995, 1997, 2009; Allison 2006); interaction between military and civilians (e.g. Alston 1999; James 2001; Haynes 2001) and the army as a community (Goldsworthy and Haynes 1999; James 1999; Collins 2006; 2008). A more prominent role is being given, thanks to the research of late Vivian Swan (2009a; 2009b), to the pottery and small finds, objects that have been less commonly studied in association with the Roman military.

The recognition that the army can no longer be regarded as a simple war machine, but was a community which shared similar values, social and moral codes, as well as the same ethnic consciousness, was promoted in the proceedings of a conference held in 1997 (Goldsworthy and Haynes 1999). This military community was bonded by similarities and collective identities, but it was also distinct in its differences where

¹³⁰ Cf. also studies covering the units raised from particular provinces, i.e. Gayet (2006) on *cohortes Gallorum* and Petolescu (1980) on *cohortes Dacorom*; or Holder (1998) on the units with title Aelia.

various communities existed within the larger military one (Haynes 1999a, 7; Collins 2008, 48). One auxiliary unit was similar to another in a sense that the soldiers had the same clothes, lived in the similar buildings, used similarly divided the space in their fort, but the units were different in their ethnic composition and cultural backgrounds. These differences were emphasised through various media such as dress, use of space, display on monuments or depictions on insignia (Haynes 1999a, 4; Saddington 2009, 87). Such usage of ethnic emblems “enhanced a sense of regimental identity promoted to a certain degree of ethnic continuity among *auxilia*” (Saddington 2009, 88). Moreover, such communities not only encompassed the soldiers, but also included civilians of various sorts, such as the dependants and families of soldiers, traders and individuals who provided services to support the military communities (Collins 2008, 49).

In general, as Pitts (2007, 697) puts it, the focus “has shifted away from charting troop movements and identifying historically attested units to more anthropologically informed studies of the Roman army as a diverse community” (cf. also Gardner 2002, 325). This more holistic approach is beginning to offer a broader view of the social impact of the Roman army on the native population, on the projection of cultural (dis)continuity in the ethnic auxiliary units and the formation of soldierly communities, brotherhoods, within the *auxilia*. There, however, remains an underlying emphasis on the expression of cultural and ethnic identities or on differences between soldiers from various backgrounds in one unit. The identity was not only limited to origin, though a crucial factor (Saddington 2009, 87), but also included status and rank in the military, family relations, personal experiences such as temper or physical appearance (Collins 2008, 47). Rather than focusing on the identities and their differences solely, future research needs to focus on looking through ethnicity as one aspect of identity, since soldiers and their followers might have been more concerned with other identities, such as status, i.e. legionary versus auxiliary, or class, i.e. infantries versus sign-bearers.

3.2. British auxiliary units: history, prosopography and archaeology

3.2.1. *Ala I Britannica*

History

The *ala* was mentioned for the first time in Tacitus’ *Histories* (III 41) in his description of the events in AD 69, the Year of Four Emperors. Tacitus (*Hist.* III 15, 22) tells us that before the second battle at Cremona, in the autumn of AD 69, the forces of Vitellius consisted of “reinforcement from Britain, Gaul and German” and “detachments from three British legions” (the 2nd, 9th and 20th). Moreover, after the battle, Vitellius’ general Valens “asked for help and received three cohorts together with the cavalry regiment from Britain” (Tacitus *Hist.* III 41; Morgan 2006, 220). This cavalry regiment is considered to be *ala I Britannica*, a British unit that took the side of Vitellius in the Civil wars. Moreover, it is known that a British unit was in Rome for the suppression of the revolt of Vindex in AD 68 (Tacitus *Hist.* I 6; Murison 1993, 13), which culminated with the battle at *Vesontio*, modern Besançon, in the same year (Murison 1993, 21; Morgan 2006, 22-24).

Tacitus writes (*Hist.* I 6) that after the death of Nero, the newly proclaimed Emperor Galba, on entering Rome in AD 68, noticed that “[...] the capital was crowded with a quite unusual garrison. In addition, there were numerous drafts from Germany, Britain and the Balkans”. The British draft was the very same unit that had taken part in the battle of *Vesontio* in the previous months (Tacitus *Hist.* I 6). What happened with the unit after the assassination of Galba in the first month of AD 69 is unknown. It would be logical to think that the unit joined the forces of Otho in Rome and during the battle at Cremona fought on the side of Otho’s generals. However, the *ala* is mentioned as being

part of Vitellius' forces in late AD 69, which suggests that it joined Vitellius' army. Was this ala in the forces of Vitellius the same unit/detachment as the one in the army of Nero and later Galba? I would argue that this is highly unlikely. According to Tacitus (*Hist.* I 60-61), when Vitellius was proclaimed the new Emperor in Lower Germany after the assassination of Galba he received support from the legions and units stationed in Britain, although "the detachments would arrive only after the campaign against Otho had been won" (Morgan 2006, 81). Probably this was when, after Vitellius had gained power in April AD 69, "the cavalry regiment from Britain" was formed. What happened with the British detachments in Rome Tacitus does not tell us, but it is likely that they joined Otho's forces as did other units in Rome (Murison 1993, 105; Morgan 2006, 101-102). This actually mean that there were two cavalry regiments: one, which was raised ca AD 68 or before that; another – specially for Vitellius' forces in AD 69.

What happened with the British regiment(s) after the Vitellian forces were defeated Tacitus does not tell us. Both units would have had a choice of either joining once more Otho's forces (Murison 1993, 105; Morgan 2006, 101-102), or Cerialis, Vespasian's general (Kennedy 1977, 252). The latter is more likely due to the presence of the (joined?) unit in Upper Germany in the 70-80s transferred there together with Cerialis' forces who had fought against Civilis during the Batavian revolt of AD 69 – 70 (Lörincz 1979, 357-358; 2001, 16). This can be supported by evidence for the service of two soldiers whose origins lay in this province (II.1 – *Sequanus* soldier; II. 3 – a soldier from Mainz)¹³¹. The Batavian revolt of AD 69 – 70 might have triggered the relocation of forces previously stationed in northern Italy in the aftermath of the Civil wars to the lands of Upper and Lower Germany (Strobel 1988, 178).

After the Batavian revolt the unit could have been transferred for some time back to Britain as is evident from the occurrence a military diploma found in Britain (I. 2), plausibly issued for the army of Pannonia. Tully (2005, 380-381) has convincingly argued that this diploma was issued to a Briton, who, after 25 years of serving in the unit, preferred to return after AD 102 from Pannonia, where the unit was located at that time, to his home in Britain. Following this line of arguments, this Briton must have been recruited ca AD 77. This further suggests that between the years of ca AD 70 – 80 the ala was indeed relocated to Britain for some time and that at that period it accepted local, i.e. British-born, recruits. The archaeological evidence (discussed below) in a way also points to the same conclusion, though it must be emphasised that, at present, the conclusion is too tentative to be considered in its own right.

The unit was probably back once more to Upper Germany during the campaigns of Domitian in this area, i.e. the Chattian Wars of AD 82 – 83 (Kennedy 1977, 252). This can be supported by the imperial *gentilicia* of the three soldiers, who were plausibly granted citizenship in the aftermath of these wars (*Titi Flavii* - II. 1-3)¹³².

¹³¹ The tombstone of Draccus from the tribe *Sequani* was erected during the years of AD 85 – 96 (II.1). Draccus died after completing 22 years of the service which indicates that he was recruited ca AD 63 – 74. Another soldier, Verecundus, died after 19 years of military service (II.3). As epigraphic formulae on his tombstone suggest, he died somewhere between the years of AD 96 – 110, which places his recruitment in the years of AD 77 – 91. Draccus and Verecundus were most likely recruited between the years of AD 70 – 79, i.e. Draccus not later than AD 74 and Verecundus not earlier than AD 77. Kennedy (1977, 252) suggests that these recruits were replacements for the heavy losses in the ala in AD 69, which places their recruitment in AD 70 – 71.

¹³² That three soldiers were granted citizenship in the aftermath of this campaign is evident through the service of Caelius, son of Saco, who died in AD 96 the latest. On his monument the unit's title still carries the epithet *Domitiana*, which ceased to exist after the Domitian's *damnatio memoriae*. Since Caelius was recruited ca AD 86, when the unit was in Pannonia (he died at the age of 30 in AD 96 and was plausibly recruited at the age of 20 in ca AD 86, i.e. 96 – 10 = 86) and at the time of his death did not have citizenship or an imperial *gentilicium*, this suggests that his comrades in the unit with the imperial *gentilicium* were granted the citizenship before AD 86.

In the early 80s Domitian started to strengthen the frontiers of the Danube after the attacks of the Dacians on Moesia and ordered additional troops into the area (Jones B. 1992, 137 mentions three diplomas of AD 80, 84 and 85). In the preparations for the upcoming war, the ala was also transferred to Pannonia, but after AD 85, since it is not mentioned on the diplomas issued between the years of AD 80 – 85 from the army of Pannonia¹³³ and due to the unit's participation in the Chattian Wars. The epigraphic record indicates that, while being stationed in Pannonia, the unit took part in *expeditio Germanica*, AD 89 – 96 (Lörincz 2001, 16; Tully 2005, 379).

The ala was part of the support troops during the first Dacian War, AD 101 – 102, since it is attested as being part of the army of Pannonia in AD 102 (I. 1-2), and probably took an active service¹³⁴ in the second, AD 105 – 106 (II. 6 Lörincz 1979, 358, 2001, 16; Tully 2005, 379; Ilkić 2009, 150). It is unknown if the unit returned to Pannonia immediately after the wars ended or was for sometime stationed in the new province, because on diplomas issued on the same day in AD 110 (I. 3-4) the ala is attested as being part of the army of Dacia and Pannonia Inferior at the same time. Spaul (1994, 71) suggests that this was either a mistake of the engraver or an indication for the relocation of the unit from one province to another. Some researchers, following up on the ideas of Radnóti and Barkóczy (1951, 195) and Lörincz (1977b, 363; 2001, 157), believe that there were two alae with the title *I Britannica* (Tentea and Matei-Popescu 2002-2003, 263; Holder 2006a, 144; Matei 2006, 57). Indeed, on the diploma issued for the army of Dacia the unit appears without the title *milliaria* and the epithets *Flavia Augusta* (I. 3), while on the Pannonian diploma it has all these designations (I. 4). It is therefore suggested that the later unit was stationed in Pannonia, took part in the Dacian Wars and after they ended, returned to Pannonia Inferior (Tentea and Matei-Popescu 2002-2003, 263; Holder 2005, 82, 2006a, 144 supposes that this ala was mentioned for the first time on the diploma issued for the army of Pannonia in AD 71 and mistakenly recorded as *ala I Brittonum*, RMD V 324). The former unit was also in Pannonia, took part in the Dacian Wars and was still present in Dacia as late as AD 123 (here I. 10-11; RMD 21, 22; Lörincz 1977b, 366; Tentea and Matei-Popescu 2002-2003, 263; Holder 2005, 82). What happened with this unit after AD 123 is unknown, but it was no longer mentioned as part of the army of Dacia or any other provinces (Ciongradi *et al.* 2009, 210). The absence of any further evidence for the service of the second ala with the title *ala I Britannica civium Romanorum* casts doubt that there were two alae with a similar title.

What is certain is that the *ala I Flavia Augusta Britannica milliaria* was recruiting in Pannonia Inferior in AD 110: an *Eravisci* soldier was discharged in AD 135 after 25 years of service, which places his recruitment in AD 110 or earlier (Roxan 1999, 254).

In AD 114 the unit was sent on a mission, but returned to the province by AD 123 at the latest (I. 10-11). This period coincides with the Parthian War of Trajan, AD 114 – 117, and two inscriptions from Turkey (II. 7-8) support an idea that the ala took part in this war (Radnóti and Barkóczy 1951, 195; Kennedy 1977, 252; Mitford 1980, 1197; 1997, 143, note 34; Maxfield 1983, 148; Roxan 1999, 254; Lörincz 1979, 358; 2001, 16; Tully 2005, 380). Roxan (1999, 254) was convinced that the ala returned to Pannonia Inferior in the early 20s of the second century AD, since the unit accepted local, *Eravisci* and *Azali*, recruits around that date (I. 19 and 20). Lörincz (1979, 358; 2001, 16), however, suggests that the ala returned immediately after the war came to an end, i.e. in AD 117/118 (Tully 2005, 380 also follows this idea).

¹³³ This also coincides with the period when the soldier Caelius was recruited, after AD 86 (contra Strobel 1988, 179, who proposes that he died shortly before the ala was decorated by Domitian for its participation in the Pannonian wars, i.e. ca AD 89 – 92, placing therefore his recruitment on ca AD 79 – 82).

¹³⁴ As is evident by the granting of '*bis torquata*' award, but see below.

The ala was afterwards stationed in Pannonia Inferior until the mid third century AD. A detachment of the unit was sent in the mid second century to Mauretania Caesariensis to take part in the Moorish wars of Antonius Pius, in AD 149 (I. 23; II. 9-11; Benseddik 1979, 27, 196; Spaul 1994, 70; Lörincz 1979, 358; 2001, 16; Tully 2005, 380; Ilkić 2009, 150). Probably another detachment or possibly the whole unit was relocated to Syria in the mid third century to prevent the attacks of the Sassanid king Shapur in AD 252 in the so-called Persian War of Trebonianus Gallus (II. 18-22; Balty 1987, 229; 1988, 102; Balty and van Rengen 1993, 14; Lörincz 1979, 358; 2001, 16, 177; Tully 2005, 380). According to the date of the recruitment of the soldiers, who died as a result of this war, the ala was still in Pannonia Inferior as late as ca AD 250¹³⁵.

Table 3.1 Position of *ala I Britannica*

AD 69	Flavian dynasty	Dacian Wars	Early second century	Late second century	Third century	Detachments
Northern Italy	Britain (ca AD 70 – 80) ? Germania Superior (ca AD 70 (?) – 86) Pannonia (AD 86 – 105)	Pannonia (until AD 105) Dacia (AD 105 – 106)	Pannonia Inferior (AD 110 – 252)	Pannonia Inferior (AD 110 – 252)	Pannonia Inferior (AD 110 – 252) Syria (AD 252 - ?)	Parthian Wars (AD 114 – 117) Mauretania Caesariensis / Moorish wars (AD 149)

Awards

Milliaria - the discussion is ongoing as to when the unit was doubled in size and received the title *milliaria*. The period before or after AD 69 has been proposed (Strobel 1988, 180 and Kennedy 1977, 252; Spaul 1994, 70 respectively). Tacitus does not mention the size of the unit (Tacitus *Hist.* III 41: “*venere [...] cum ala Britannica*”).

Domitiana / Flavia Augusta (after *damnatio memoriae* of Domitian in AD 96) – for service to Domitian during one of his campaigns (Spaul 1994, 70; Tully 2005, 379 names the Danubian campaigns as one of the possibility).

Civium Romanorum – Kennedy (1977, 252) calculates that the title was awarded for battle honours between AD 70/1 – 92/3. Since the soldier Caelius (II. 4) was not awarded with citizenship during his service (AD 86 – 96), but the ala at the time of his death had the honorific title *civium Romanorum*, which it probably had at the time when Caelius entered the unit, this, then, dates the award to before AD 86. The Chattian wars of Domitian, AD 82 – 83, can be proposed as one possibility (Maxfield 1983, 149 names three more: the Batavian revolt, AD 69 – 70; the trans-Rhine expedition, AD 74; the campaign against the *Bructeri* in AD 77 – 78). *Expeditio Germanica* in AD 89 is also named as a campaign that resulted in the awarding of citizenship to the unit’s soldiers (Lörincz 1979, 358; 2001, 145; Tully 2005, 379), though, based on the calculations proposed here, this argument is unsound.

Bis torquata – was awarded to the unit for participation in the Dacian Wars (Lörincz 2001, 16), but it is uncertain if the award was received for participation in two wars or was given twice for taking part in the same one, that of AD 105 – 106 (Maxfield 1981, 172, 221; Tully 2005, 379 implies the former idea).

¹³⁵ One soldier was recruited from the Pannonian town of *Mursa* in AD 244 (II.18); a decurion - from the Pannonian *Savaria* in AD 232 (II.19). Other soldiers were possibly Thracians, recruited ca AD 241/2 (II. 20-21). It is likely that all these soldiers were recruited into the ala when it was still stationed in Pannonia.

Maxfield (1983, 150) notes that it is impossible to precisely date when the ala was awarded with particular titles, because of the unit's involvement in various wars over a period of three decades.

Forts

The whereabouts of the unit when it was serving in northern Italy, and later in the Upper Germany, are unknown. Spaul (1994, 70) places the unit in Rimini at the time of Civil wars, probably because Vitellius stationed his forces there before advancing to meet the army of Vespasian at Bevagna. The occurrence of British-made brooches in the region of northern Italy and Switzerland invites the suggestion that the unit was garrisoned somewhere there (as will be further discussed in the chapter 5).

There is no indication where the unit was stationed in Upper Germany, though the occurrence of British brooches on the line of the Lower Germany forts from Xanten to Bonn might indicate the movement of *ala I Britannica* (i.e. from Lower to Upper Germany). The occurrence of two British brooches, identified as mid first-century productions, at Moers-Asberg and Bonn forts might indicate the movement of the ala prior to AD 69. At other forts the British brooches found are dated to the early Flavian period, which suggests that they could have been brought when the unit was relocated once more from Britain to Upper Germany somewhere in 80s of the first century¹³⁶.

The unit was positioned in Pannonia at two forts during the late first century period: ca AD 86 – 97 in *Vindobona*, modern Vienna in Austria (Genser 1986, 502; Börner 1997, 243; Lörincz 2001, 16; Harl 2003, 53; Visy 2003a, 144; Kronberger 2005, 27), and between the years AD 97 – 101 at *Odiavum*, modern Almasfüzitő in Hungary (Horvath 2003, 82; Visy 2003a, 146; Wilkes 2005, 200).

After its participation in the Dacian Wars, the unit, though returned to Pannonia Inferior, was placed at different forts, first at *Intercisa*, modern Dunaújváros in Hungary, until AD 114 (Lörincz 1977b, 367 places there the *ala Britannica civium Romanorum*; Visy 2003a, 146; 2003e, 118; Wilkes 2005, 205 places the unit presence between AD 101 – 105), then later at fort *Bononia - Malata*, modern Banoštor in Serbia (Lörincz 2001, 16; Kemkes *et al.* 2002, 52; Visy 2003a, 149; Vasić 2003, 144; Wilkes 2005, 207).

The whereabouts of the ala, when it was taking part in the Parthian Wars, can be proposed to be around the ancient *Amaseia* and *Nicopolis*, both of which lie on the road towards the Euphrates frontier area¹³⁷ (Maxfield 1983, 148; Wagner 1985, 13, abb. 18; Marek 2003, 183, karte V).

During the unit's detachment mission in Mauretania Caesariensis in AD 149, *vexillatio* was supposedly garrisoned in Tipasa, where two inscriptions mentioning this detachment were found (II. 9-10).

The location of the unit in the mid third century, when it was serving in Syria, is thought to have been the military fortress of the town *Apamea* (Balty 1991, 22; Balty and Van Rengen 1993, 14).

¹³⁶ In this way supporting the theory of Kennedy and Tully that the ala returned to Britain after the Batavian revolt to be relocated on the Continent for a second time after ca AD 80 to the Upper Germany.

¹³⁷ In the reconstruction of the Trajanic army movements in the first year of Parthian War, AD 114, it has been proposed that the main objective was to reach Satala, "where [Trajan] was to be met by reinforcements from Cappadocia and the Danube" (Lightfoot 1990, 117). Both *Nicopolis* and *Amaseia* lie on route to Satala, the road that Trajan and his army most likely took (Lightfoot 1990, 117).

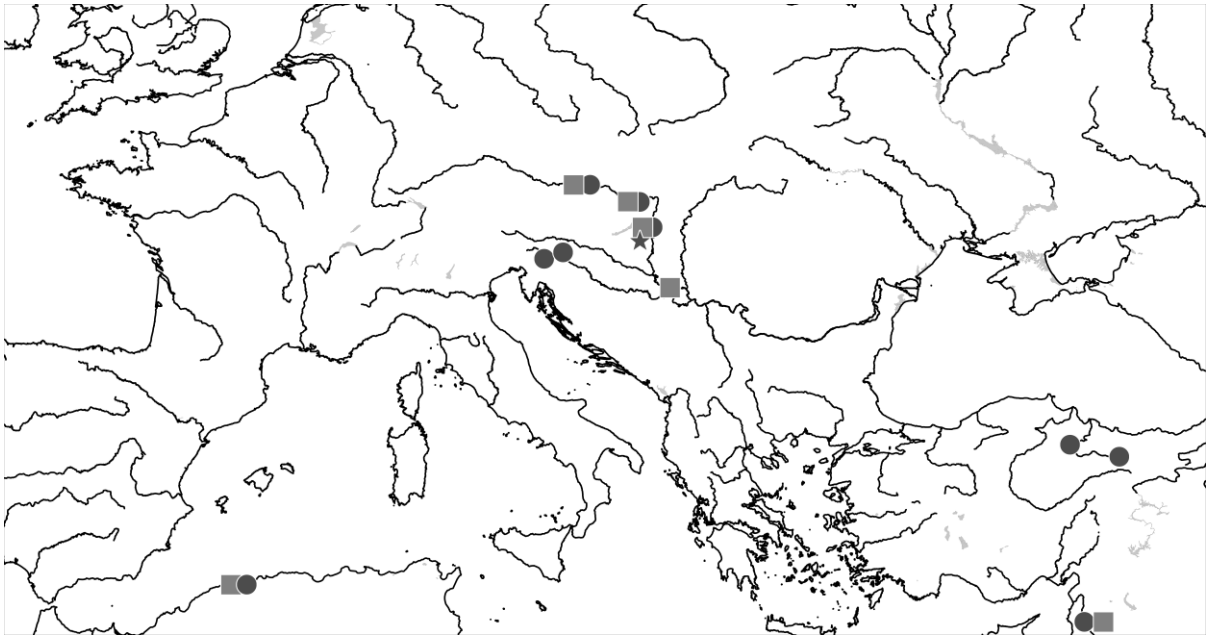


Figure 3.1 Geographical location of the military diplomas (star), inscriptions (circle) and forts (square) of *ala I Britannica*

Personnel (in chronological order)

Prefects/commanding officers:

Italicus: decurion, ca AD 96/97, II. 3

Publius Cassius Secundus: prefect, serving his fourth *militia* in ca AD 105 – 106/107, II. 6

Quintus Stadius, son of Quintus (...): prefect, serving his fourth *militia* in ca AD 114 – 117 (?), II. 7

(...) us Bon(...): prefect, serving his fourth *militia* in ca AD 114 – 117 (?), II. 8

Quintus Porcius Potitus: prefect, serving his fourth *militia* in AD 135, I. 14

Marcus Licinius Victor: prefect, serving his fourth *militia* in AD 148, I. 19, 20

(...) Festus: prefect, serving his fourth *militia* in AD 157/158, I. 34

Titus Varius Clemens, son of Titus: prefect, serving his fourth *militia* in AD 146 – 148, II. 12 – 17

Aelius Valerius: decurion, ca AD 232/233 – 252/253, II. 19

Dio(n): decurion, serving in the unit in AD 252, II. 20

Principales:

(Titus Flavius) Proculus: standard-bearer, ca AD ? – 96/97, II. 3

(Titus Flavius) Priscinus: standard-bearer, ca AD ? – 96/97, II. 3

Ulpus Enubico: *sesquiplicarius* / commander receiving pay and a half, ca AD 99/106 – 114 the latest¹³⁸, II. 5

(...), son of Atti(...): *duplicarius* / double paid commander, ca AD 102 – 127, I. 13

Fuscus, son of Luco: *sesquiplicarius* / commander receiving pay and a half, ca AD 123 – 148, I. 19

Marcus Ulpus Faustianus: *librarius* / scribe or clerk, ca AD 137 – 149, II. 11

Iulius Martialis: *duplicarius* / double paid commander, serving in the unit in ca AD 149, II. 9

¹³⁸ The *ala* was garrisoned at *Intercisa* until AD 114, after which it was relocated to Pontus. Hence, Ulpus Enubico's should be placed at the latest before AD 114. Taking into account his imperial *gentilicium* Ulpus, i.e. he gained citizenship during the reign of Trajan, he must have taken part in the Dacian Wars together with his unit, meaning that his year of enlistment must have been in the period before AD 101 – 106.

Soldiers:

- Titus Flavius Draccus: cavalryman, ca AD 60/71 – 85/96, II. 1
Titus Flavius Bardus: veteran, ca AD 71/72 – 96/97, II. 2
Titus Flavius Verecundus: cavalryman, ca AD 71/72 – 96/97, II. 3
Ignotus: cavalryman, ca AD 77 – 102, I. 2
Caelius, son of Saco: soldier, ca AD 86 – 96, II. 4
Atressus, son of Ressimarus: soldier, ca AD 110 – 135, I. 14
Reidomarus, son of Siuppo: soldier, ca AD 110 – 148, I. 20
Aelius Publius: veteran, ca AD 114 – 149, II. 10
(...), son of (...)ntus: soldier, ca AD 132/133 - 157/158, I. 34
Aurelius Disas: horn-blower, ca AD 241 – 252, II. 21
Aurel(ius) Firminianus: cavalryman, ca AD 229 – 252, II. 22
Aurelius Maximianus: *strator praefecti* / groom to a prefect, ca AD 244 – 252, II. 18
Aurelius Mucatralis: trumpeter, ca AD 242 – 252, II. 20
Aurelius Passer: horn-blower, serving in the unit in AD 252, II. 20
Aurelius Pimetaica: cavalryman (?), serving in the unit in AD 252, II. 21
Aurelius Probinus: cavalryman, serving in the unit in AD 252, II. 22
Septimius Lutacianus: cavalryman, serving in the unit in AD 252, II. 18

Relatives (in alphabetical order)

- Ingenus: possibly son of T. Fl. Verecundus, II. 3
Licinius Memor: brother of T. Fl. Bardus, II. 2
Numpidia: wife of Aelius Publius, II. 10
Ressa(tus): brother and an heir of Ulpus Eubico, II. 5
Saco: father of Caelius, II. 4
Succo: brother and an heir of Ulpus Eubico, II. 5
(...)lina: daughter of (...), son of Atti(...), I. 13

Origin of personnel

Known origin:

The soldier and citizen Draccus, probably enlisted in the aftermath of the Civil war of AD 69, came from the *Sequani* (north-east France). The origin of the cavalryman Verecundus, who served in the ala during the reign of Domitian, was recorded, but only three letters have survived, MAG, which were restored as *Mogontiacum*, modern day Mainz in Germany (Lörincz 2001, 174). Fuscus, son of Luco, from the tribal entity *Azali*, Reidomarus, son of Siuppo, and Atressus, son of Ressimarus, both from the tribal entity *Eravisci*, were enlisted from local Pannonian tribes, when the unit was garrisoned there in the aftermath of the Dacian Wars.

The soldier whose name did not survive (hence, *ignotus*), was probably a Briton who, after serving 25 years in this unit, returned back to his homeland (for the discussion see Tully 2005, 380-381).

The unit's prefects stated their origin directly either on their monuments or on the diplomas issued to the soldiers of their ala. A prefect of the ala in the second quarter of the second century, Quintus Porcius Potitus, hailed from the tribe *Codurci*, in the Roman province Aquitania, in modern south-east France. Titus Varius Clemens was from the town of *Claudia Celeia* in Noricum, present-day Celje in Slovenia (Šašel 1983). Marcus Licinis Victor hailed from the capital of Pannonia Superior, *Savaria*, present day Szombathely in Hungary, as did Aelius Valerius, decurion in the ala in the mid third century. Publius Cassius Secundus probably came from *Emona*, present-day Slovenian capital Ljubljana (for the discussion see Šašel and Šašel 1977). A groom to a prefect in the mid third century, Aurelius Maximianus, hailed from *Aelia Mursa*, a Pannonian *municipium* and present day Osijek in Croatia.

Table 3.2 Known origin of soldiers of *ala I Britannica*

Origins	Numbers
British tribes / Britannia	1
Gallic tribes / Gallia:	
<i>Sequani</i>	1
<i>Codurci</i>	1
Pannonian tribes / Pannonia:	
<i>Azali</i>	1
<i>Eravisci</i>	2
Town of <i>Savaria</i>	2
Town of <i>Emona</i>	1
Town of <i>Aelia Mursa</i>	1
Noricum:	
Town of <i>Claudia Celeia</i>	1
Germania Superior:	
Town of <i>Mogontiacum</i>	1

Origin based on prosopographical and onomastic analysis:

Titus Flavius Bardus The cognomen *Bardus* suggests that he might belong to a Celtic-speaking tribe, since *bardo-* is a Celtic name element (Alföldy 1969, 162; Mócsy 1983, 44; Minkova 2000, 122; Raybould and Sims-Williams 2009, 18). The cognomen as *Bardo* is mentioned on three inscriptions from Noricum (Mócsy 1983, 44) and on *CIL* XVI 5 the person named *Bardus* indicated his origin as *Helvetus* (OPEL I 112). *Bardus* served for 25 years and died as a veteran around AD 96 – 110, making the likely date for his recruitment between AD 71 – 85. The earlier date, i.e. ca AD 70/71, seems likely taking into consideration the enlistment of Sequanian soldier(s) (one of whom was *Draccus*) ca AD 70/71 in the aftermath of the events of AD 69¹³⁹. Adjacent to the tribal territories of *Sequani* are the lands of the tribe *Helvetii*, where we do know the cognomen *Bardus* occurred. It seems reasonable to suggest that members of both tribes supplied recruits to the unit to replace the soldiers died in AD 69, pointing to *Bardus*' origin as Sequanian or Helvetian. Moreover, according to the text on the tombstone, *Bardus* had a brother called *Licinius Memor*. It is hard to say whether *Memor* was also a soldier in the same *ala* or whether he just happened to live with *Bardus* after he was discharged. The last suggestion seems most likely for another reason: *Memor* did not have any *praenomen* or *nomen* to show that he had been discharged from the army; *Licinius* is a typical civilian name and was popular everywhere, especially in southern Gaul (Mócsy 1983, 164; OPEL III 26-27; Minkova 2000, 194). His cognomen *Memor* was widespread, but well presented in Italy and the Gallic provinces (Mócsy 1983, 185; OPEL III 75).

Caelius, son of Saco *Caelius* died at the age of 30 and was buried by his father *Saco*; he was recruited ca AD 86, when the *ala* arrived in Pannonia. Since the father was able to bury his son, it means that the *ala* cannot have been stationed very far away from his home. Moreover, the father's name of this soldier, *Saco*, is a personal Celtic name widespread in Pannonia (Mócsy 1983, 249; OPEL IV 42). This therefore invites the suggestion that *Caelius* was a Pannonian.

Ulpus E nubico *Ulpus E nubico* died at the age of 35 and was buried by his two brothers who probably did not serve in the Roman army. This means that the *ala* must have been stationed close to *E nubico*'s homelands as well, somewhere in Pannonia. The names of the brothers are typical Celtic personal names and are widespread in Pannonia and Noricum (*Ressa(us)*, see Alföldy 1969, 115; Mócsy 1983, 242; OPEL IV 27;

¹³⁹ Cf. Kennedy (1977, 252), who points out that the *Sequani* were most likely subjected to a levy in order to recover from the losses the unit had received during AD 69.

Raybould and Sims-Williams 2007a, 70; Succo, see Alföldy 1969, 302; Mócsy 1983, 276; OPEL IV 97; Raybould and Sims-Williams 2007a, 78). Notably, the similarly sounding name to the soldier's cognomen was found on an inscription from Noricum (Enobux: *CIL* III 4725, OPEL II 118). The soldier's cognomen itself is a compound name, containing the Gaulish elements *eni-* and *bogio-* (Delamarre 2001, 136; Raybould and Sims-Williams 2009, 20 and Delamarre 2001, 70; Evans 1967, 152 respectively). His *nomen gentilicium*, Ulpus, was especially widespread after Trajan's reign in the Danube provinces and indicates that he gained the citizenship in time of Trajan (Mócsy 1983, 317; OPEL IV 179-181; Minkova 2000, 91). In addition, the time of recruitment – before AD 101 – suggests that his origin should be searched for in one of the Pannonian tribes.

Aurelii: Disas, Mucatralis, Passer, and Pimetaica The *cognomina* Disas (a variation of *Dizas*), Mucatralis and Passer are frequent in names of Thracian origin (Minkova 2000, 152-153, 225). The cognomen Pimetaica is probably a variation of another frequent Thracian name – Roimetalca (Dana 2005, 295 argues convincingly that the name on the inscription *AE* 1993, 1595 should be read Roimeta(1)ca instead of the proposed Pimetaica). That these soldiers with the same imperial *gentilicium* were of Thracian descent is supported by the service of the *ala* in Pannonia Inferior the mid third century, the period when the soldiers were enlisted.

Table 3.3 Origin of the soldiers of *ala I Britannica* based on prosopographical and onomastic analysis

Origin	Numbers
Borderland Germania Superior / Gallia Belgica	1 (+ a brother) = 2
Pannonian tribes / Pannonia	2 (+ one father, and two brother) =5
Thracian tribes	4

Questionable origin:

The names of fellow soldiers of Verecundus - Priscinus and Proculus -, are said to be widespread everywhere in the Empire, making their origin hard to identify (Mócsy 1983, 232 and OPEL III 162 for Priscinus; Mócsy 1983, 233 and OPEL III 166 for Proculus). However, the following points need to be taken into account. The majority of soldiers serving in the unit ca AD 96 were enlisted when the *ala* was garrisoned in Germania Superior or was on move from northern Italy to this province. Since both standard-bearers had popular names, this implies a relatively long exposure of their families to Roman culture and the Latin language. In contrast, the soldiers recruited when the *ala* was in Pannonia, all had typical and widespread Pannonian names, a further indication that both Priscinus and Proculus were enlisted before the unit was relocated to this province.

Following this logic, the same can be proposed for the two soldiers serving in the *ala* in the mid third century, Aurelius Firminianus and Aurelius Probinus. At that point in time the *ala* was brought up to strength with recruits of Thracian origin. Notably, both soldiers, Firminianus and Probinus, had the same imperial *gentilicium* as their fellow Thracian soldiers, an indication of a citizenship grant at the same time, thus, of the service or the enlistment in the same period. In addition, the decurion of one of the *turmas* in this period, Dio, originated from a Greek speaking family, thus possibly Thracian, since the cognomen was widespread within the Greek speaking population (Alföldy 1969, 188).

A veteran Aelius Publius had a wife, Numpidia. Her origin is hard to identify since a name with the same spelling does not appear in any onomastic studies, except the name Nymphidius, which is well attested in various Roman provinces such as Hispania,

Dalmatia, Moesia and Pannonia (Mócsy 1983, 205; OPEL III 108). It seems reasonable to see in the name Numpidia a female equivalent of the name Nymphidius. The origin of Aelius Publius was not recorded on the tombstone and his name does not give a clue to his origin, except that his citizenship was given to him during the reign of Hadrian. His recruitment falls at the time, when the unit returned from the Parthian expedition. Plausibly after the ala's return to Pannonia, to compensate for war losses, local recruitment started to take place. Taking this into account a Pannonian origin for both Publius and Numpidia can be proposed.

The year of enlistment is known for three soldiers, (...), son of Atti(...), Marcus Ulpus Faustianus and (...), so of (...)ntus. Following up the general idea that the local recruitment was taking place *en masse* in the second century, the origin of these three soldiers should be searched in Pannonia.

Table 3.4 Questionable origin of the soldiers of *ala I Britannica*

Origin	Numbers
Borderland Germania Superior and Gallia Belgica	2
Pannonia	4 (+wife of Aelius Publius) = 5
Thracia	3

Unidentifiable origin The origin of three prefects, Quintus Stadius, (...)us Bon(...), (...) Festus, one decurion, that of Italicus, a *duplicarius* Iulius Martialis, and cavalrymen Septimius Lutacianus remains obscure.

Children On the tombstone of T. Fl. Verecundus there is another name – Ingenuus. It has been suggested that this was his son since there is no indication what rank this person had or that he served in the unit (Spaul 1994, 70). The name Ingenuus means freeborn and was very widespread, especially in Celtic-speaking provinces (Alföldy 1969, 222; Mócsy 1983, 151; OPEL II 194). Perhaps his father Verecundus wanted to emphasise that his son had been born free and had Roman citizenship at birth. Another soldier, (...), son of Atti(...), had also given his daughter a Latin sounding name, (...)lina (Weiss 2009, 241).

Table 3.5 Origin of soldiers in *ala I Britannica*: total summary¹⁴⁰

Origin	Numbers
Britannia	1
Gallia	2
Borderland Germania Superior and Gallia Belgica	4
Pannonia	12
Noricum	1
Thracia	7
Unknown	6
	Totals: 33

¹⁴⁰ The possible origin of Faustianus was not included into the final table, since it is unknown in which ala he served, i.e. this one or ala I Brittonum (for discussion see below), thus, making the ideas proposed here less certain.

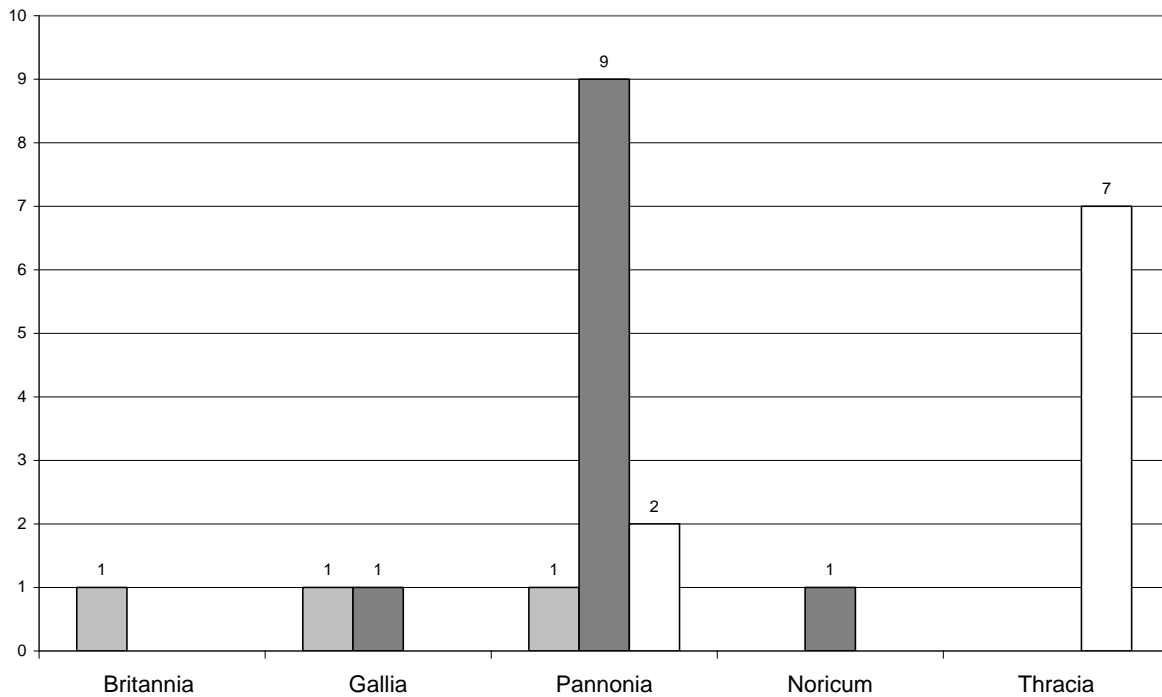


Figure 3.2 Origin of the soldiers of *ala I Britannica* divided per century. Note: light grey stands for the late first century; dark grey for the second century; white for the third century

Archaeology

It has been suggested that the *ala I Britannica* was part of the army of Vitellius in AD 69 and was taken directly from Britain overseas. This makes it plausible that the members of this unit brought British brooches with them on the transfer. There is no direct evidence where the unit might have been positioned, though the occurrence of brooches dated to the mid-first century in the lands of the *Helvetii* and two small Roman provinces in the Alps, *Graiae* and *Poeninae*, can be used as an indication that the unit had passed these lands (for the discussion see chapter 5, section 5.4.2.1).

The unit's destiny after AD 69 is unknown. Two possibilities have been proposed: the unit was sent back to Britain; the unit was relocated to Germania Superior, where it was stationed until ca AD 86. Where the *ala* was garrisoned between the years of AD 69 – 86 remains obscure, though the occurrence of British brooches dated to the Flavian period on the line of the limes forts from Xanten to Bonn and in the Wetterau-Taunus frontier region can be considered as an indication of the unit's position (for the discussion see chapter 5, sections 5.1.2 and 5.2.2.4).

Only two British brooches were reported from two military installations in Pannonia: Győr, and Szöny, both in Hungary. At the places where the *ala* was located in the late first – mid second centuries, no finds related to Britain have been located (for Vienna see Harl 1979; Neumann 1967, 1968, 1972; Kronberger 2005, 122-124; for Dunaújváros see Lőrincz and Szabó 1990; Lőrincz *et al.* 1986; some publications on the forts next to Almásfüzitő and Dunaújváros (for a full bibliography see Visy 2003b, 246 and 250) were not available to the author; excavation reports on the fort *Bononia-Malata* have not been published (Vasić 2003, 144; Wilkes 2005, 207)). However, *Odiavum* fort is located westwards from the legionary and auxiliary fortress *Brigetio*, Szöny, where a British headstud brooch was found. There is no epigraphic indication that any other British auxiliary unit was posted at Szöny, although Hungarian archaeologists have suggested that around AD 80 *cohors I Britannica* garrisoned the auxiliary fort (Számadó and

Borhy 2003, 78). The context where the headstud brooch was found was not recorded by Kovrig (1937, 71, no 140); it could have come from the cemeteries, legionary fortress, *canabae legionis* or auxiliary fort. Although it is uncertain whether either soldiers of *ala I Britannica* or *cohors I Britannica* can be considered likely candidates for bringing this brooch to *Brigetio*, the relation between a British brooch and the service of a British unit seems to exist. Regarding another site where another British brooch was found, Győr, none of the units epigraphically attested there ever served in Britain (e.g. *alae I Ulpia Contariorum*, *I Augusta Ituraeorum*, *Pannoniorum* and *Aravacorum*; Jarrett 1994); yet it is tempting to suggest that some members of the British units stationed at *Brigetio* or *Odiavum* helped in the construction of the *Arrabona* fort¹⁴¹ sometime in the 80s AD.

The fortress Tipasa (Algeria), where the detachment of the *ala* was presumably stationed in the mid second century, has been excavated to some extent. The major features of the fort, i.e. its gates, ramparts and turrets, have been excavated, as well as the necropolis in the western side of the site (Duval 1946; Bouchenaki 1975)¹⁴². The results of these excavations have been published, though no small finds have been reported.

The small finds from the military fortress in the town of *Apamea* (Syria) have not been published (Balty and Balty 1972 with main focus on the monuments and pottery; Balty 1987, 2000 main focus on the various monuments).

The site of the ancient city of *Amaseia* is a part of the contemporary city with the similar name, Amasya in Turkey. Various ancient monuments are known at present, dating from the Hellenistic to Roman period, such as a royal palace, memorials of the Pontic kings and Roman arches (MacDonald and Stillwell 1976, 47; Marek 2003, 28-29, abb. 38 and 39). No finds, except coins, are known from this site (Ireland 2000; cf. also Anderson *et al.* 1910).

The site of *Nicopolis* in Armenia Minor (the Roman provinces of Pontus and Bithynia) is an extensive ruined field with a small circuit of walls of Late Antique date (MacDonald and Stillwell 1976, 626). It is uncertain whether the site has been excavated and to what extent, though it was visited in the early 20th century and described in detail (Cumont and Cumont 1906, 296-317).

3.2.2. *Ala I Brittonum*

History

The unit might have been raised by Domitian, but refused to use its title *Flavia* not to show its Domitianic origin (Spaul 1994, 72; Lörincz 2001, 17; Eck 2003, 223 summarises this idea). The diploma from AD 71 (I. 1) indicates that the unit might have been already in existence in ca AD 45/46, since in AD 71 it discharged a soldier of Thracian origin, although it is doubtful that the *ala* was raised within three years of the Claudian invasion of Britain (Eck 2003, 224; Holder 2006b, 713). It is plausible that the unit was indeed raised before AD 70, because of its active service in AD 71: the reign of Nero has been suggested as a plausible period (Eck 2003, 224; Holder 2006b, 713). The Thracian recruit could have served in another unit, prior to his transfer to the *ala I Brittonum*, where he might have taken a job training the men of the newly raised *ala* (Holder 2006b, 713).

The location of the unit prior to the start of the Dacian wars was proposed by Eck (2003, 224) to be Pannonia¹⁴³, supported by the fact that the soldier enlisted in AD 98 was from the Pannonian town *Sirmium* (I. 6-7; Lörincz 2001, 17), though when the unit

¹⁴¹ This fort lies first to west of *Brigetio* fort.

¹⁴² The publication of Briggs and Stearns (1963) was not available.

¹⁴³ Contra Holder (2005, 80-81; 2006b, 713), who warns that it is not at all clear from the evidence of diploma.

was relocated to Pannonia is uncertain. It is plausible that it was there as early as AD 86, when it took part in the Pannonian wars of Domitian. The unit is absent from the military diploma issued for the army of Pannonia in AD 102 (*ala I Britannica I. 1*), but it does not mean that the unit was not there. It might not have had men eligible for the citizenship grant.

There is no direct evidence that the *ala* participated in the Dacian Wars (contra Lörincz 2001, 17), though it might have been in Dacia in AD 110 (I. 2). In the previous section the possible presence of the *ala I Britannica* in Dacia in AD 110 has been discussed. The general idea is that there might have been two *alae* with a similar title, i.e. *ala I Flavia Augusta Britannica* and *ala I Britannica civium Romanorum*. Was this twin *ala I Britannica civium Romanorum* actually *ala I Brittonum civium Romanorum* (Russu 1973, 34)? In other words, did the engraver of the diploma make a mistake? The former *ala* disappears from military diploma records as early as AD 123, while the latter was still ‘in existence’ in AD 161/163 (I. 13-16).

The location of the unit between the end of the Dacian Wars until AD 123 is considered to be the province of Dacia Superior (Matei 2006, 58), though it is uncertain for how long the unit was positioned there before being relocated elsewhere (Lörincz 2001, 17 suggests that the *ala* took part in the Sarmatian campaigns in AD 117/118 and returned to Pannonia Inferior).

The military diploma issued in April AD 123 (I. 3) indicates the position of the unit in the province of Dacia Porolissensis, although the two diplomas issued later this year, in August (I. 4-5) record two units: *ala Brit c R* located in Dacia Porolissensis and *ala Britann c R* located in Pannonia Inferior. Which of two *ala Brit* is our *ala*? Pferdehirt¹⁴⁴ (2004, 68) convincingly proves that the first *ala Brit c R* is our unit. For the diploma issued in April AD 123 Matei (2006, 58) notes that the phrase “*translatis in Dacia Porolissensi*” (I. 3) might indicate two things. The first is the actual relocation of the unit from one Dacian province to another, i.e. from Dacia Superior to Porolissensis. The second is the territorial reorganisation of Dacia Superior, parts of which were assigned to the new Dacia Porolissensis. The units stationed in this particular part of Superior were also assigned to Porolissensis.

The *ala* left Dacia Porolissensis, although when and to where is uncertain, due to the problems with the reading of diplomas (I. 6-12). Firstly, on the diploma issued for the army of Pannonia Inferior for the year AD 146 (I. 7-8) *ala I Brittonum civium Romanorum* is clearly recorded, but on the diploma issued for the same province seven years earlier, AD 139 (I. 6), this is not the case. Only in one publication, that of *CIL XVI* 175, was the reconstruction proposed that *I pr* stands for *I Br(ittonum)*, while in following publications it was identified as *ala I praetoria civium Romanorum* or as *ala civium Romanorum*. Secondly, on the diplomas issued between the years of AD 135 – 145 and AD 157 *ala I civium Romanorum* is mentioned as the third *ala* serving in Pannonia Inferior, although on the diplomas issued for the army of Pannonia Inferior for the period of AD 146 – 148 and AD 162, the third place is occupied by the *ala I Brittonum civium Romanorum* omitting the *ala I civium Romanorum* (Roxan 1999, 269-271). On the diplomas issued for AD 159 the *ala I Brittonum* is recorded fifth in line. In general, the following situation seems to occur: whenever the *ala I civium Romanorum* is mentioned, the *ala I Brittonum civium Romanorum* is absent from the record and vice versa (cf. table 3.6).

¹⁴⁴ She also discusses various ideas proposed by different authors (Pferdehirt 2004, 65-69).

Table 3.6 The troops stationed in Pannonia Inferior and discharging soldiers from AD 135 – 159 according to the information from military diplomas (after Roxan 1999, 269-272)

AD 135 (RMD IV 251)	AD 139 (CIL XVI 175)	AD 143 (RMD IV 266)	AD 146 (ZPE-166-285; 135-195)	AD 148 (CIL XVI 179 and 180)	AD 157 (RMD II 102-103)	AD 159 (CIL XVI 112-113)
Alae: 5 1. I Thr. Vet. 2. I Fl. Aug. Britannica 3. I c. R. 4. I Aug. Itur. 5. Pr. c. R.	Alae 5: 1. I Fl. Britannica 2. – 3. I c. R. 4. Pr. c. R. 5. I Aug. Itur	Alae 5: 1. I Fl. Aug. Britannica 2. I Thr. veter. 3. I c. R. 4. Pr. c. R. 5. I Aug. Itur.	Alae 5: 1. I Flav. Britannica 2. I Praet. c. R. 3. I Britton. c. R. 4. I Thrac. vet. 5. I Aug. Itur.	Alae 5: 1. I Flav. Britannica 2. I Thr. vet. 3. I Britton c. R. 4. I Praet. c. R. 5. I Aug. Itur.	Alae 5: 1. I Thr. vet. 2. I c. R. 3. I Praetor. c. R. 4. I Fl. Aug. Britt. 5. I Aug. Itur.	Alae 5: 1. [I Fl. Britann] 2. I Thr. vet. 3. I Aug. Itur 4. [I Pr. c. R. or I c. R.] 5. I Brit. c. R.

There are several possible explanations for this situation: 1) both units were located in Pannonia Inferior simultaneously, but were discharging the soldiers in different years, i.e. when the soldiers from the *ala I c. R.* were eligible for grants, soldiers of the *ala I Brittonum c. R.* were not, and vice versa; 2) *ala I c. R.* and *ala I Brittonum c. R.* is the same unit, the omission of the epithet *Britton* from the diplomas AD 135, 139, 143 and 157 is a mistake of the engraver; 3) *ala I c. R.* and *ala I Brittonum c. R.* is the same unit, the occurrence of the epithet *Britton* in the diplomas AD 146, 148 and 159 is a mistake of the engraver; 4) both alae served in Pannonia Inferior, but were constantly transferred in and out of the province. Suggestions two and three are the most feasible, though contradictory. It should be taken into account that *ala I Brittonum civium Romanorum* has been recorded on two diplomas issued for the army of Pannonia Inferior in AD 162 (I. 13-14), an indication that by that time our unit was indeed serving there. Epigraphic evidence supports the idea of the unit's service in Pannonia Inferior (II. 2-3 and 5), but the epigraphic formulae do not give the possibility to date them precisely, roughly dating them to the late first – late second centuries AD. This poses a problem, since we do know of the unit's service in Pannonia prior to the Dacian Wars, preventing to ascribe particular inscriptions to particular periods (e.g. before or after Dacian Wars).

On the basis of the proposed here analysis, it seems reasonable to suggest two following scenarios:

1. The ala was relocated to Pannonia Inferior ca AD 162 in preparation for the Marcomannic wars of Antoninus Pius. The whereabouts of the unit prior to AD 162 are uncertain, but can be proposed to be Mauretania Caesariensis. There an inscription was found erected for Marcus Ulpus Faustianus (II. 4), the scribe of *ala Britt[...]* *veteran(orum)*. The epithet *veteranorum* indicates that either two units with a similar title were posted in the same province, or that one of the units was stationed long enough in a particular province (Holder 1980, 18-19); therefore the epithet *veteranorum* on the tombstone of Faustianus indicates the presence of two 'British' alae in Mauretania Caesariensis in AD 149. From the epigraphic record of the previously discussed *ala I Britannica* it is known that its detachment was sent there during the Moorish wars of Pius, i.e. ca AD 149 (*ala I Britannica*, I. 23; II. 9-11). It seems reasonable to suggest that another unit, our *ala I Brittonum c. R.*, was also posted there from ca AD 123 until ca AD 162 and was the oldest

unit garrisoned in Mauretania Caesariensis at the time when the *ala I Britannica c. R.* was transferred from Pannonia Inferior¹⁴⁵. Also, this means that the engraver on the diplomas for AD 146, 148 and 159 made a mistake.

2. The *ala* was relocated to Pannonia Inferior ca AD 146. The omission of this unit from diploma for AD 157 is an engraver's mistake. The whereabouts of the *ala* are uncertain, but can be proposed to be Dacia Porolissensis for some time in the second quarter of the second century.

As it can now be seen, the reconstruction of the unit's history is fraught with difficulties and omissions. In general, it can be proposed that the unit was raised before AD 70, making the participation of the *ala* in the events of the Civil wars plausible. Before AD 98 the unit was stationed in Pannonia, though it is uncertain when it was relocated there. Evidence tells us that in the early second century the unit was garrisoned in Dacia Superior, later in Dacia Porolissensis, ca AD 162 in Pannonia Inferior.

Table 3.7 Position of *ala I Brittonum*

AD 69	Flavian dynasty	Dacian Wars	Early second century	Late second century	Third century	Detachments
Northern Italy (?)	Pannonia (AD ? until 98)	-	Dacia Superior (AD ? until 123) Dacia Porolissensis (AD 123 – ?)	Pannonia Inferior (ca AD 162)	-	-

Awards

Civium Romanorum – Lörincz (2001, 145) believes that the unit got this title before the end of the 90s AD. Petolescu (1997, 80), on the other hand, suggests that the *ala* got its award for participating in the Dacian Wars. If three monuments (II. 2-3 and 5) were made before the end of the first century, then the citizenship was indeed granted to the *ala*'s soldiers for participation in the Dacian Wars because this award is not recorded on these inscription, but it is on the diplomas¹⁴⁶ for AD 123 and 162 (I. 4-5, 13-14).

Forts

The findspot of two dedicatory altars (II. 2-3) suggests that the *ala* was garrisoned at the *Alta Ripa* fort in Pannonia Inferior (Lörincz 2001, 17; Visy 2003a, 148; 2003c, 126), though it is uncertain when. Visy (2003a, 146; 2003c, 126) and Lörincz (2001, 17) place the unit there in the period from AD 118/119 up to the Marcomannic wars, but it is possible that the *ala* was not in Pannonia in this period, but was there earlier, before the start of the Dacian Wars (as indicated in the scenario 1).

¹⁴⁵ This would also mean that Faustianus would have served in our *ala* rather than *ala I Britannica*.

¹⁴⁶ The only diplomas where it is certain which unit was meant.

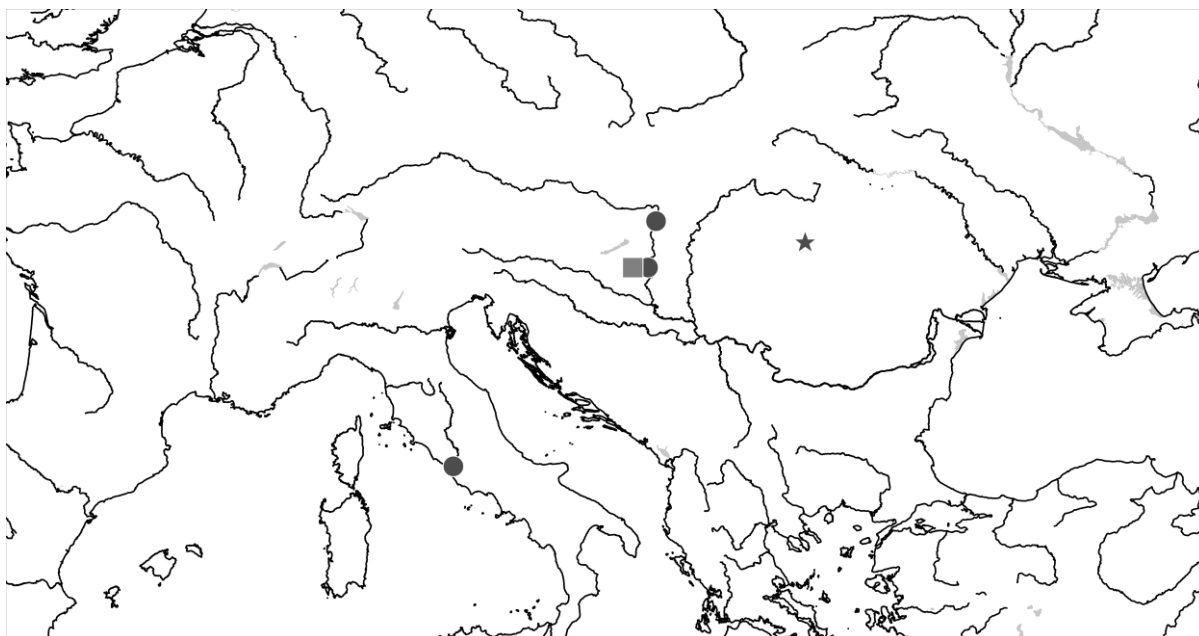


Figure 3.3 Geographical location of the military diplomas (star), inscriptions (circle) and forts (square) of *ala I Brittonum*

Personnel (in chronological order)

Prefects/commanding officers:

Marcus Coelius Honoratus: prefect, serving his fourth *militia* in ca AD 71, I. 1

Marcus Minicius Marcellinus: prefect, serving his fourth *militia* in ca AD 123, I. 4

Marcus Domitius Secundinus: decurion, serving in unit either ca AD 70 – 100 or ca AD 120 – 150, II. 3

Principales:

Marcus Ulpius Faustianus: *librarius* / scribe or clerk, ca AD 137 – 149, II. 4

Soldiers:

Cersus, son of Denturasadus: soldier, ca AD 46 – 71, I. 1

Glavus, son of Navatus: soldier, ca AD 98 – 123, I. 4

Marcus Ulpius Crescentinus: cavalryman (?), early second century, I. 1

Claudius Celer: veteran, ca AD 70 – 100 or ca AD 120 – 150, I. II

Caius Cominius Cominianus: cavalryman, ca AD 70 – 100 or ca AD 151 – 153, II. 5

Relatives (in alphabetical order)

Cominius Celer: brother of C. Cominius Cominianus, II. 5

Flavius Quintinianus: relative (?) to M. U. Crescentinus, I. 1

Iubena, daughter of Bellagentus: wife of Glavus, son of Navatus, I. 4

Iulius: relative (?) to M. U. Crescentinus, I. 1

Origin

Known origin:

Two of the unit's soldiers stated their origin directly on the diplomas issued to them. One, Cersus, was a Thracian; another, Glavus, came from the town of *Sirmium* in Pannonia Inferior. A cavalry man, Marcus Ulpius Crescentinus, was by birth from Pannonia Inferior.

The origin of the prefect Marcus Coelius Honoratus is not indicated on the diploma (I. 1), but it was suggested that he hailed from the town *Italica* in Baetica, since he belongs to the Sergian voting tribe (*Tribus Sergia*) and his *gentilicium*, Coelius, is widespread in this region (Eck 2003, 225).

The origin of the prefect Marcus Minicus Marcellinus is also not indicated on the diploma (I. 4); however, another Marcus Minicus Marcellinus from the *legio XXII Primigenia* stated his origin as the town of *Lindum*, modern day Lincoln in the UK (Russu 1974a, 174). This legionary's votive inscription was found in Mainz (*CIL XIII* 6679). If we consider that the prefect of the *ala* and the senior centurion from the legion is the same person, it means that Marcellinus' first appointment was in Mainz as centurion, then he was a commander of the unknown cohort *quingenaria* and cohort *milliaria*, and, as a third equestrian *militia*, he held the position of prefect of the *ala* (Russu 1974a, 174). The appointment of a Briton over the British *ala* seems logical. This might also indicate that British recruits were still serving in the *ala*, since the appointment of a Briton, who knew the language and fighting style, was required.

Table 3.8 Known origin of soldiers of *ala I Brittonum*

Origins	Numbers
British tribes / Britannia: Town of <i>Lindum</i>	1
Thracian tribes / Thracia	1
Baetica	1
Pannonian tribes / Pannonia: Town of <i>Sirmium</i> Pannonia Inferior	1 1

Questionable origin:

The origin of the cavalryman Cominianus and his brother¹⁴⁷ Celer is uncertain, but it is possible that they were Pannonians. Cominius Celer was able to bury his serving brother four years after he was enlisted in the army, an indication the *ala* was garrisoned not far away from homelands of the soldier Cominianus. The cognomen of this soldier gives no indication as to his origin: it appeared once on the inscriptions of Gallia Narbonensis and Lugdunensis (Mócsy 1983, 85; OPEL II 70), while the cognomen from which the name Cominianus derived, Cominius, prevailed in Celtic speaking areas (Mócsy 1983, 85; OPEL II 70).

In the preceding section the origin of Marcus Ulpius Faustianus has been identified as Pannonian, since he was recruited at the time when the *ala I Britannica* was stationed in that province. Taking up the idea proposed in this section that Faustianus actually served in the *ala I Brittonum*, his origin, then, needs to be searched for in Mauretania Caesariensis, where the latter *ala* was probably garrisoned at the time of his enlistment.

Table 3.9 Questionable origin of soldiers of *ala I Brittonum*

Origin	Numbers
Mauretania Caesariensis	1
Pannonia	1 (+ 1 brother) = 2

Unidentifiable origin:

The cognomen of Marcus Domitius Secundinus was widespread everywhere, particularly in Celtic speaking provinces (Mócsy 1983, 258; OPEL IV 58; Minkova 2000, 249), which makes it difficult to place his origin.

The origin of Claudius Celer remains uncertain.

¹⁴⁷ That they were blood related is supported by their identical *praenomen* – Cominius.

Wives:

The origin of Iubena, wife of Glavus, was recorded on the military diploma: she hailed from the Pannonian tribe, *Eravisci*.

Table 3.10 Origin of soldiers in *ala I Brittonum*: total summary¹⁴⁸

Origins	Numbers
British tribes / Britannia	1
Thracian tribes / Thracia	1
Baetica	1
Pannonian tribes / Pannonia	3
Unknown	2
	Total: 8

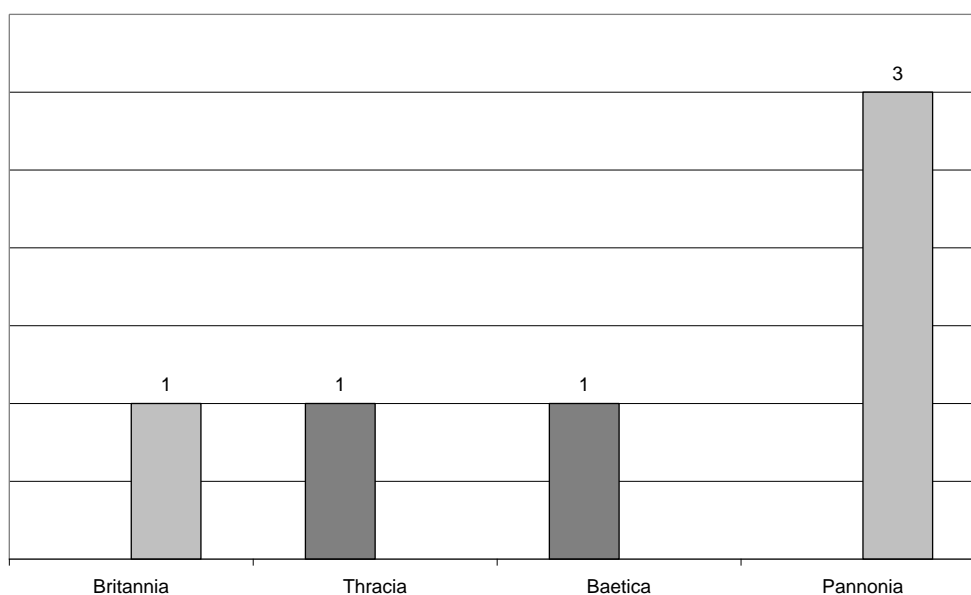


Figure 3.4 Origin of soldiers of *ala I Brittonum* divided per century. Note: light grey stands for the late first century; dark grey for the second century

Archaeology

The whereabouts of *ala I Brittonum* in various provinces remain uncertain, except when the unit was garrisoned in Pannonia Inferior. The fort *Alta Ripa*, modern Tolna in Hungary, is considered to be the unit's fort, though it is uncertain in what period the *ala* was located there. The remains of the fort are virtually non-existent, since the fort was probably "swept away by the Danube over the centuries", although up to 18th and 19th century the remains of the stone structure could be seen and were identified as being located "in the old arm of Danube just north of the town [Tolna]" (Visy 2003c, 126). The only finds reported from the presumable fort location are "walls, several coins and other Roman remnants" (Visy 2003c, 126).

¹⁴⁸ The possible origin of Faustianus was not included into the final table, since it is unknown in which *ala* he served, thus, making the ideas proposed here less certain.

3.2.3. *Cohors I Belgarum*

History

The cohort was likely raised from the British tribal entity the *Belgae*, in southern Britain rather than in Gallia Belgica. The main argument here is the name of the unit: *Belgarum* is the genitive of *Belgae*. If this cohort had been raised from some tribes of Gallia Belgica, the name would have been *Belgicarum* (Spaul 2000, 191).

The unit was already in existence by AD 72, since it discharged soldiers in AD 97 (I. 1). It is unknown how long the unit stayed in Britain but at the end of the first century AD it appeared in Germania Superior (II. 1; Alföldy 1962, 266). At that time the cohort already had lost some of its original members somewhere, since it welcomed local recruits¹⁴⁹. The appearance of the unit in Germania Superior can be connected with the Chattian wars of Domitian, AD 82 – 83.

Archaeological evidence also points to the possibility that the cohort might have been garrisoned for some time in or was moving through Germania Inferior, where British brooches of late first century date were reported from the forts situated on the line starting from Xanten and ending at Bonn (for the discussion see chapter 5, sections 5.1.2 and 5.2.2.4). The size of the unit is unknown, but it had mixed cavalry and infantry regiments (*eques* – II. 3, 6, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20 and 24; *miles in centurio* – II. 1, 4, 5, 10, 11-13, 21 and 22). On the basis of this, the unit can be considered the likely candidate to have been garrisoned at the forts where cavalry regiments are known to have been stationed. The same conclusion was, however, given in regard of the possible service of *ala I Britannica* in Germania Inferior, hence, making it difficult to make any distinctions as to the sites where one or the other unit was stationed.

How long the unit was in Germania Superior is unknown, but by AD 97 it was relocated to Dalmatia. The unit is not mentioned on the diplomas issued for the army of Dalmatia in the previous years (Alföldy 1962, 266; 1987, 248; Eck and Pangerl 2007b, 233), an indication that it was transferred in this very same year.

The inscriptions found in Dalmatia indicate that the cohort stayed in this province for the whole second century AD (II. 2-26; Alföldy 1962, 266; 1987, 276). It might have been transferred to Germania Superior again in the aftermath of battle of *Lugdunum* in AD 197¹⁵⁰. The reason for such a move came from Septimius Severus who, in his fight with Clodius Albinus, needed additional troops from Pannonia and Illyricum. It is highly probable that the unit fought at the battle at *Lugdunum* in AD 197 on the side of Severus: on the building inscriptions dated to AD 231 and 241 the epithet *Septimia* appeared in the unit's title (II. 27-28; Spaul 2000, 191). These inscriptions are also used as an indication of the building activities of the unit in Germania Superior in the mid-third century.

¹⁴⁹ The soldier's origin is referred to be the tribal designation *Lingauster*. Spaul (2000, 192) suggests that this tribe needs to be searched for either in Gallia Narbonensis, where Pliny puts the tribe *Ligauni*, or in Gallia Lugdunensis, where the ancient sources place a river *Liger*, the modern Loire. Either way, Aprilis, was of local descent.

¹⁵⁰ Contra to Wilkes (1969, 141), who proposes that the unit left the province during the reign of Gallienus, which cannot be true, since the cohort was reconstructing the aqueducts in the area around Öhringen in AD 231 and 241 (II. 27-28).

Table 3.11 Position of *cohors I Belgarum*

AD 69	Flavian dynasty	Dacian Wars	Early second century	Late second century	Third century	Detachments
-	Germania Superior (until AD 97)	-	Dalmatia (AD 97 – ca AD 197)	Dalmatia (AD 97 – ca AD 197)	Germania Superior (ca AD 197 - ?)	-

Awards

Septimia - the unit probably received this title after its participation in the battle at *Lugdunum* at AD 197 on the side of Septimius Severus (Spaul 2000, 191).

Forts

It has been proposed that the unit might have been stationed for some time in Germania Inferior. The fort at Moers-Asberg, where two British brooches were discovered, can be proposed as a likely candidate for the the unit's base. 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 the years AD 41 – 83/85 cavalry regiments garrisoned the fort. From inscriptions two units are known: *ala I Tungrorum Frontiana* and *ala Moesica Felix torquata* (Bechert 1974, 162; Horn 1987, 563), both arrived in Germania Inferior from elsewhere than Britain. The date of the abandonment of the fort fits the timeline for the cohort's service proposed here: it might have been stationed there for a short period of time before the start of the Chattian wars, i.e. until AD 82.

The whereabouts of the unit in Germania Superior are uncertain. The occurrence of a tombstone of a soldier of the unit in Mainz, who probably died during the Chattian campaigns, might indicate where the cohort was located during the campaigns, although it does not mean that the unit was garrisoned there at all times.

The numerous inscriptions from Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina place the unit at the military camp *Bigeste* (II. 4, 13, 14, 16, 17, 20 and 26; two monuments were located in the proximity of this fort, II. 11 and 22; Alföldy 1962, 266), modern Ljubuški, and at *Tilurium* (II. 2-3), modern Gardun (Wilkes 1969, 470, 472; Alföldy 1987, 249, 268-269; Matijević 2008, 192). Some of the unit's soldiers also served in the consul's office at Salona, modern Solin (II. 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 15 and 18; Wilkes 1969, 470, 472; Alföldy 1962, 266; 1987, 249, 268-269; Matijević 2008, 192). It is notable that the majority of inscriptions with second century epigraphic formulae, that of *D.M.*, were located in *Bigeste*, while at *Tilurium* the epigraphic formulae points to the direction that the monuments were erected according to the earlier epigraphic tradition (a name of the deceased in the nominative). While Wilkes (1969, 472), Alföldy (1962, 266; 1987, 249) and Matijević (2008, 192) suggest that a detachment of this cohort was located at *Tilurium*, it is quite possible that the whole unit was stationed there first, i.e. prior to its relocation to *Bigeste*¹⁵¹. At *Bigeste* this unit stayed until the end of the second century and, compared to the five other cohorts known to have been garrisoned there, left the majority of epigraphic monuments there (Dodig 2007, 144). It also left the biggest number of tile stamps found in *Bigeste*, 10 to be precise (Dodig 2007, 144, 160; Tončinić 2009, 1455).

There are also some records of the unit stationed at Dobož (II. 9), *Burnum*, modern Ivoševci near Kistanje (II. 19), Kadina Glavica (II. 21), the island of Brač (II. 23), *Andetrium*, modern Muć (II. 24) and Tihaljina (II. 25). Apart from the inscription found

¹⁵¹ Cf. also Periša (2008, 510-511), who indicates that the *cohors I Belgarum* garrisoned first the auxiliary fort at *Tilurium* ca AD 100, and then relocated to the fort at *Bigeste* in the second century

on the island of Brač¹⁵², it has been claimed that the places, where these inscriptions were found, were stations of the unit or its detachments at the end of the second or beginning of the third century (Wilkes 1969, 472; Alföldy 1962, 266; 1987, 249, 268-269). It should be taken into account that some of these monuments are votives (II. 19, 21, 24 and 25), so it is possible that the unit was stationed elsewhere, and that the cohort's officials and soldiers came to these places for various reasons and erected the monuments as fulfillment of the vows at the end of their business there. The funerary inscription from Doboj (II. 9) was erected by the wife of a veteran who might have returned to his native village upon retirement.

In the third century the unit was stationed at the second fort at Öhringen, the so called *Bürgkastel*, in Germania Superior (II. 27-28; Baatz 2000, 236).

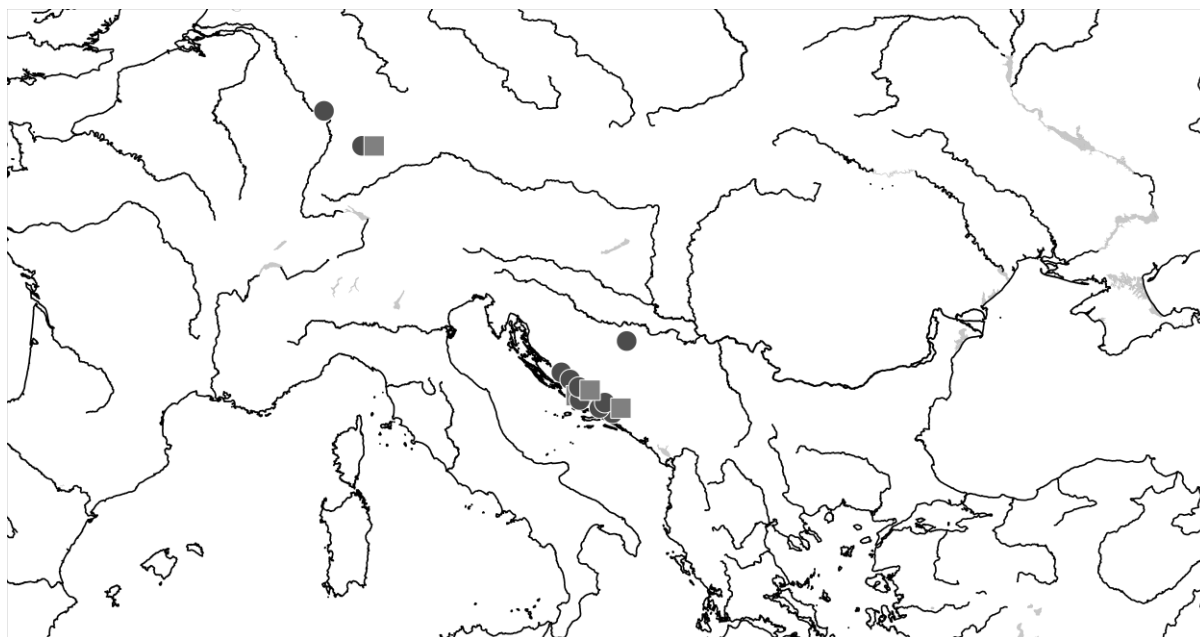


Figure 3.5 Geographical location of the military diplomas (star), inscriptions (circle) and forts (square) of *cohors I Belgarum*

Personnel (in chronological order)

Prefects/commanding officers:

Aprilis, son of Sous: centurion, before AD 97¹⁵³, II. 1

Caius Valerius, son of (...), Proculus: standard-bearer, decurion, serving in the late first century, II. 3, 6

Restitutus: centurion, serving in the late first century, II. 4

Vi(...) Severus: centurion, serving in the late first century, II. 5

Caius Iulius Verecundus: centurion, serving in the second century, II. 13

Maximus: decurion, serving in the late first - second century, II. 14

Quintus Servilius Statianus: centurion, serving in the second century, II. 10

Claudius Maximus: centurion, serving in the late first - second century, II. 21

Claudius Peregrinus: decurion, serving in the late first - second century, II. 19

Flavius Aurelianus: decurion, serving in the late second century, II. 17

¹⁵² This soldier was posted there for special services, i.e. to be in charge of the construction of a theatre (Alföldy 1987, 249).

¹⁵³ If we are right to assume that Aprilis died at Mainz as a result of the Chattian wars then the date of his recruitment can be placed ca AD 80 (died in AD 82 – 83 aged 22, recruited at the age of 20, thus, ca AD 80).

Quintus Silvius Speratus: centurion, serving in the late first - second century, II. 23
Sulpicius Calvio: commanding officer, serving in the late first - second century, II. 22
Flavius Victor: commanding officer, legionary centurion, serving in the unit in AD 173, II. 26

Lucius Valerius Optatus: prefect, serving his fourth *militia* in AD 231, II. 27

Gaius Iulius Rogatianus: prefect, serving his fourth *militia* in AD 241, II. 28

Principales / immunes:

Dassius, son of Bastarnus: standard-bearer, serving in the late first century, II. 4

Marcus Septimius Dasius: quaestor, serving in the late first century, II. 7

(...)emans (...)platoris: standard-bearer, serving in the late first century, II. 3

Victorius, son of Scenobarbus: trumpeter, serving in the second century, II. 11

Rusticus (?) Pines: *immunes*, serving in the late first - second century, II. 25

Turranius Fir(...): standard-bearer, serving in the late first - second century, II. 24

(...) ag (...)a: a cavalry man, a keeper of weapons, serving in the late first - second century II. 14

Soldiers:

Licinius Ca(pito?): soldier, serving in the late first century, II. 5

Statilius Pulcher: soldier, groom to a consul, serving in the late first century, II. 8

Unknown: soldier, serving in the late first century, II. 2

(...), son of (...)stus: soldier, serving in the late first - second century, II. 15

(...)tus: cavalryman, serving in the late second century, II. 16

Caius Iulius Maximus: veteran, serving in the second century, II. 9

Mercuius: soldier, serving in the second century, II. 12

Aurelius Hilarianus: soldier, groom, serving in the late second century, II. 18

Relatives (in alphabetical order):

Apulea Sabina: wife of C. V. Proculus, II. 6

Aurelia Marina: aunt / grandmother to (...)stus, cavalryman, II. 16

Avilia Amabilis: wife of C. I. Maximus, II. 9

Caesia Panthera: wife of M. S. Dasius, II. 7

Calpurna Nympha: wife of Q. S. Statianus, II. 10

Candidus: mentioned on tombstone of A. Hilarianus, relationship uncertain, II. 18

Iulia B(...): wife of Fl. Aurelianus, II. 17

Iulia Ves(...): wife of (...)emans (...)platoris, II. 3

Gentius: an heir to Victorius, son of Scenobarbus, II. 11

Munnius: an heir to Victorius, son of Scenobarbus, II. 11

Postimia Restituta: a wife of C. I. Verecundus, II. 13

Valerius Maximinus: an heir to Dassius, son of Bastarnus, II. 4

Zosime: wife of Statilius Pulcher, II. 8

Soldiers without rank on II. 29 as they appear on the inscriptions:

Claudius Valerius

Gentilius Augustus

Similius Paternus

Senecionis F(...)inus

Hibernius Agilis

Iunianus Rogatus,

S(...)i(...)m(...)s

Restitutius Patruinus

Gentius Verinus

Senurius Maternus

Publius Aelius Moderatus

Aquinius M(...)nus

Aelius Lupionis

Decemius Florinus

Phantom officer:

Caius Iulius Victorius, son of Congonnetodubnus, grandson of Agedomopatis: military tribune, late first century (*CIL* XIII 1042-1045)

Origin

Known origin:

The origin of 6 officers and soldiers are known. Three hailed from Dalmatia: (...)emans Platoris was of the Dalmatian *Daesitiae* tribe; Dassius, son of Bastarnus, from the Dalmatian *Maezaei* tribe, and Mercuius from *Iadia / Iader*, the contemporary Croatian town of Zadar. Two were Pannonians: Flavius Aurelianus mentions his birth land as Pannonia and Caius Valerius Proculus indicates his native tribe *Azina*, which was considered by Spaul (2000, 192) to be a Pannonian tribal entity called *Azali*. A centurion Aprilis, son of Sous, hailed from the tribe *Lingauster*, probably one of tribes living in Roman Gaul.

Table 3.12 Known origin of soldiers of *cohors I Belgarum*

Origins	Numbers
Gallic tribes / Gaul: <i>Lingauster</i>	1
Illyrian tribes / Dalmatia: <i>Daesitae</i>	1
<i>Maezaei</i>	1
Town <i>Iadia / Iader</i>	1
Pannonian tribes / Pannonia: Pannonia	1
<i>Azinas / Azalus</i>	1

Origin based on prosopographical and onomastic analysis:

Marcus Septimius Dasius: his cognomen gives a clue as to his possible origin. His cognomen resembles the name of the unit's standard-bearer, Dassius, son of Bastarnus, who indicated his origin as one of the *Maezaei* tribe, an Illyrian tribal entity. On the basis of this it was suggested that the quaestor was of local descent, though not necessarily from the same tribe (Alföldy 1987, 258, no 24).

Illyrian names: Gentius, Munnius, Pines, Pulcher, Scenobarbus and Turranius: the names of four soldiers and two heirs indicate their Illyrian ancestry.

The the name of the father of Victorius, Scenobarbus, was widespread but limited to Dalmatia (Alföldy 1969, 289; Wilkes 1969, 477; Alföldy 1987, 284, no 22). The names of this soldier's heirs, Gentius and Munnius, are typical Illyrian personal names (Alföldy 1969, 249, 210).

The cognomen of the soldier Rusticus, Pines, was also limited to Dalmatia (Alföldy 1969, 264; Wilkes 1969, 478; Alföldy 1987, 284, no 14). Original homeland of Turranius lies most likely in the province of Dalmatia as well: it is well attested in Dalmatia, especially in the area around *Salona* (Wilkes 1969, 477; Alföldy 1987, 283, no 3, see also note 26). The same can be said about the soldier Statilius Pulcher, whose *nomen* and cognomen was widespread but prevailed in Dalmatia (for Statilius see Alföldy 1969, 122; Mócsy 1983, 273; OPEL IV 93; Minkova 2000, 257; for Pulcher see Alföldy 1969, 277; Mócsy 1983, 235; OPEL III 171).

People from Salona Quintus Servilius Statianus: the *gentilicium* of this centurion was heavily present in the area around *Salona* (Alföldy 1987, 283, no 8, note 30). Aurelius

Hilarianus: both *gentilicium* and cognomen were widespread in the area around *Salona* (Alföldy 1987, 283, no 6, note 28).

(...)tus, grandson / nephew of Aurelia Marina Aurelia Marina, despite the popularity of her name across the Empire (Alföldy 1969, 238-239; Mócsy 1983, 178; OPEL III 58), might be of Illyrian origin since she was able to bury her nephew who served not far away from his home (Alföldy 1987, 284, no 20).

Table 3.13 Origin of soldiers of *cohors I Belgarum* based on the prosopographical and onomastic analysis

Origin	Numbers
Dalmatian tribes / Dalmatia	8 (+ two heirs, one aunt)= 11

Questionable origin:

Gaius Iulius Verecundus's family received citizenship in the time between Caesar and Tiberius. Most likely, Verecundus came from a family of Celtic speakers, since his cognomen prevailed in Celtic speaking territories (Mócsy 1983, 307; OPEL IV 157-158; Alföldy 1987, 284, no 18).

It can be speculated that aspects of the nomenclature of other servicemen can give some indication as to their origin. The cognomen of the prefect Optatus was especially popular among Celtic speakers, as was the nomen and cognomen of the centurion Quintus Silvius Speratus and the cognomen of another centurion Restitutus (for Optatus see Mócsy 1983, 209; OPEL III 115; Minkova 2000, 223; for Silvius see Mócsy 1983, 267; OPEL IV 83; for Speratus see Mócsy 1983, 272; OPEL IV 91; Alföldy 1987, 283, no 12; Minkova 2000, 256; for Restitutus see Mócsy 1983, 243; OPEL IV 27-28; Alföldy 1987, 284, no 19; Minkova 2000, 242).

The cognomen Candidus, a possible heir to A. Hilarianus, was popular everywhere but prevailed in the Danubian provinces (Mócsy 1983, 64; OPEL II 30-31; Minkova 2000, 131).

The cognomen Capito of one of the soldier prevailed in Moesia Inferior and might therefore indicate his native land (Mócsy 1983, 66; OPEL II 33; Minkova 2000, 131).

The origin of a veteran was not recorded, but both his *gentilicium* and cognomen were heavily present in the southern Dalmatia region (Alföldy 1987, 284, no 23, note 39).

Table 3.14 Questionable origin of soldiers of *cohors I Belgarum*

Origin	Numbers
Celtic speaking regions	4
Dalmatia	1
Danube provinces	(1 – a heir)
Moesia	1

Unidentifiable origin:

The origin of two centurions, two decurions, three commanding officers, one keeper of weapons and two soldiers remain uncertain.

Origin of soldiers without rank on II. 29

The meaning of this undated inscription is unknown. It presents the names of 14 men without any indication of their rank. There is also no clear indication that they served in *cohors I Septimia Belgarum*, although the unit's name is inscribed at the beginning of the inscription text. However, analysis of their names revealed that two of them were most likely of Gallic origin since their names are Gaulish personal names: Senecionis

and Senurius Maternus (for Senecionis see Mócsy 1983, 60 and Minkova 2000, 251, as Seneca in Alföldy 1969, 293; for Senurius see Alföldy 1969, 240; Mócsy 1983, 261; OPEL IV 68; for Maternus see Mócsy 1983, 181; OPEL III 65). Four of the cognomina were extremely popular in the Celtic provinces: Gentius Verinus, Similius Paternus, Gentilius Augustus (for Verinus see Mócsy 1983, 307; OPEL IV 158-159; for Paternus see Mócsy 1983, 216; OPEL III 127-128; for Augustus see Mócsy 1983, 38; OPEL I 95-96) and Restitutus Patruinus (Alföldy 1969, 261); two were popular everywhere but especially in Celtic speaking provinces: Publius Aelius Moderatus and Aelius Lupionis (for Moderatus see Mócsy 1983, 191; OPEL III 84; Lupionis attested as Lupio in Alföldy 1969, 234; Mócsy 1983, 169; OPEL III 38; Minkova 2000, 197). The elements of the nomenclature of the other six do not allow speculation about their origin. The inscription was found in Mainz, which was the provincial capital of Germania Superior, where the cohort was on service in the late first and, then, mid-third centuries AD. The inscription might have been a dedicatory and its appearance in the capital of the province would not, therefore, be surprising. Soldiers of the cohort might have it ordered to be made to commemorate some special event during their service and positioned it in the place, the provincial capital, where it could most easily be observed by everyone.

Phantom officer:

The undated¹⁵⁴ dedicatory inscription found in Saintes, France, records Caius Iulius Victorius, a military tribune probably serving in the *cohors I Belgarum* (CIL XIII 1042-1045). The reconstruction of the unit's name presents a problem, since only last four letters, **arum*. There is no other record of this military tribune or of his service in any other military units.

On the inscription it was mentioned that he was of Voltinian voting tribe and that he held an office as chief engineer (*praefecto fabrum*), which suggests that he was of the equestrian order (Raybould and Sims-Williams 2007b, 15). The names of his father and grandfather, Congonnetodubnus and Agedomopatis, are classical examples of compound Celtic personal names (Raybould and Sims-Williams 2007b, 15; 2009, 7-8, 11).

Because the funerary monument was found in Saintes, it can be suggested that this military tribune was of local ancestry, who returned after the end of his service to his homeland (his service as priest of the cult of Roma and Augustus at Koblenz was recorded on the inscription). That he was a military tribune of the *cohors I Belgarum* is questionable due to the unreliable restoration of the inscription, thus, it has been omitted from the general description of the unit's soldiers.

Wives:

The names of eight wives of the officers and soldiers from this cohort have survived, which is quite a rare occurrence. Their origins are difficult to identify since it was not mentioned on the inscription but their nomenclature can shed some light. The wife of M. S. Dasius most likely came from the same province as her husband, since her name, Panthera, is supposed to be some kind of Illyrian name (Alföldy 1969, 259). The wife of G. Iulius Verecundus might had the same provincial origin as her husband. Her nomen and cognomen, Postimia Restituta, prevailed in Celtic speaking areas, and her cognomen is a Latinised Celtic name (for Postimia see Alföldy 1969, 112; for Restituta see Mócsy 1983, 243; Minkova 2000, 242). Two soldiers of Pannonian and Illyrian origin (Flavius Aurelianus and (...)emans Platoris) chose to marry women with Roman citizenship. Their wives were called Iulia, which indicates they came from families with Roman citizenship granted some time in the period between Augustus and Caligula. The origin of Avilia Amabilis, wife of G. I. Maximus, Apuleia Sabina, wife of C. V. Proculus,

¹⁵⁴ But see Raybould and Sims-Williams (2007b, 15), who date it to AD 31 – 50.

Calpurna Nympha, wife of Q. S. Statianus and Zosime, wife of Statilius Pulcher are hard to identify because their names were popular everywhere (for Avilia see Mócsy 1983, 38, OPEL I 96; Apuleia recorded as Apulia in Mócsy 1983, 25; OPEL I 70; Minkova 2000, 115; for Sabina see Mócsy 1983, 248; OPEL IV 40-41; Minkova 2000, 246; for Calpurna see Mócsy 1983, 62; OPEL II 25; for Nympha see Mócsy 1983, 205; OPEL III 107; Minkova 2000, 222).

Table 3.15 Origin of soldiers in *cohors I Belgarum*: total summary

Origins	Numbers
Gallic tribes / Gaul:	1
Illyrian tribes / Dalmatia:	12
Pannonian tribes / Pannonia:	2
Moesia	1
Celtic speaking regions:	12
Unknown:	16
	Total: 44

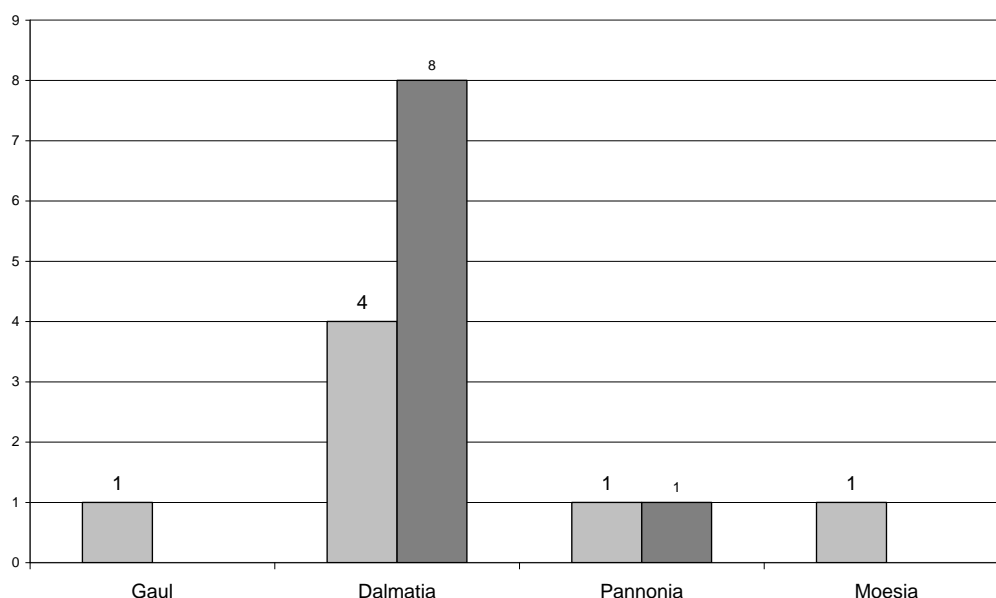


Figure 3.6 Origin of soldiers of *cohors I Belgarum* divided per century. Note: light grey stands for the late first century; dark grey for the second century (only provincial origin was counted)

Archaeology

It has been proposed that the unit might have been stationed for some time, probably prior to AD 82, in Germania Inferior. Where the cohort was garrisoned remains uncertain, though the occurrence of British brooches dated to the Flavian period on the line of the limes forts from Xanten to Bonn can be considered an indication of the unit's whereabouts. Here the fort at Moers-Asberg was proposed as a likely candidate.

When the unit was in Germania Superior, the position of the unit was likely to be in the Wetterau-Taunus frontier region (an area of the active military campaigns of the Chattian wars), where another concentration of British brooches were found.

The British-made brooch was reported from Croatia: the exact findspot was recorded as unknown but the region, northern Dalmatia, was noted (Batović *et al.* 1981, 174, no 270; Morris 2010, 189, no 171 mistakenly indicates Zadar as a findspot). In this region, which stretches from the Kvarner Riviera down to Split, epigraphy attests the presence

of two British cohorts, *cohortes I Belgarum* and *I Flavia Brittonum*. Moreover, there is evidence that at *Salona*, which lies on the same stretch, soldiers from both units served in the consul's office. It has also been recorded that the *cohors I Belgarum* recruited people from the region around modern Zadar, Roman *Iader*, which also lies on the same stretch. It seems reasonable therefore to assume that the brooch might have belonged to one of the soldiers from either British cohorts, who was either on a recruitment mission or was serving at the consul's office at *Salona*.

Excavations of the Roman military camp at Trilj/Gardun were undertaken in the season of 2000 and 2004, although prior to the excavations Croatian archaeologists were able to analyse small collections of Roman finds held by the local villagers (Sanader 1998, 2001; Sanader *et al.* 2004). The site has produced vast amounts of material, though only a small fraction of it has been published and only a few artefacts have found their way to museums (Tončinić 2004, 148-149). What has been analysed and published, including some brooches, was not identified as British-made (Bekić 1998; Ivčević 2004, 2010).

Another military camp, where the *cohors I Belgarum* was garrisoned in Dalmatia, is *Bigeste*, from where military stamps of our cohort have been reported (Dodig 2007). Various archaeological reports are known to me, which cover the excavations of this fort (esp. works of Bojanovski), but, unfortunately, it was not possible to inspect them (see Dodig 2007, 161-163 for bibliography).

The collection of Roman period brooches found in Dalmatia have been published in two works by Ivčević (2005; 2006), though neither had mentioned British-made brooches. Another similar work (Koščević 1998) was not available for inspection.

The western fort at Öhringen, Germany, where the unit was located in the third century, now lies under the building of a hospital (Baatz 2000, 236), though some parts of the site were uncovered in the excavations of 1909 – 1911 by the *Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* and in the excavations of 1959, 1961 and 1970 (Schönberger 1972, 233-237). In the latter excavations numerous artefacts came to light, the majority being pottery assemblages (Schönberger 1972, 248-279). From the area of the fort itself only a few bronze artefacts were uncovered, none identified as brooches (Schönberger 1972, 280).

3.2.4. *Cohors I Britannica*

History

The cohort was already in existence by AD 55, since it was discharging soldiers in AD 80 (I. 1; Tully 2005, 380, note 67). Of the unit's participation in the events of AD 69 nothing is known, but considering that the forces of Vitellius consisted of "reinforcement from Britain, Gaul and Germany" (Tacitus *Hist.* III 15, 22), it is possible that the cohort was part of these forces together with the *ala I Britannica*, as discussed above.

The presence of two British recruits, Lucco¹⁵⁵, enlisted in AD 80 (I. 6), and Virssuccius (II. 2), suggests that the unit was actually in Britain prior to AD 80 and was relocated overseas immediately after these soldiers' recruitment¹⁵⁶, since in June AD 80 it was recorded as part of the army of Pannonia (I. 1). Between the years AD 69 – 80, the cohort might have returned to Britain, as was the case with the *ala I Britannica* (Kennedy 1977, 252).

¹⁵⁵ His direct British origin was doubted by Kennedy (1977, 253-254), though, as will be discussed below, this appears to be true.

¹⁵⁶ Contra Lörincz (2001, 31), who proposes that the cohort was actually in Pannonia at the beginning of Vespasian's reign.

In the early 80s Domitian started to strengthen the frontiers of the Danube after the attacks of the Dacians on Moesia and ordered additional troops into the area (Jones B. 1992, 137). The cohort was transferred to Pannonia possibly as a result of these preparations, since it is attested on the diplomas issued in AD 80, 84 and 85 for the army of Pannonia (I. 1-3).

The cohort was one of the units transferred from Pannonia to Dacia and formed part of the support troops during the Dacian Wars (I. 4-6; Beneš 1970, 172; Petolescu 1997, 92; Matei-Popescu and Tentea 2006, 135; Holder 2006b, 156). Its location was the province Moesia Superior, though Matei-Popescu and Tentea (2006, 129) make a case that the unit merely passed under the command of the governor of Moesia Superior, while actually being garrisoned somewhere in Dacia. The unit was there until the end of the wars, though immediately after them it formed the garrison of the newly established province Dacia (I. 7-12; Matei-Popescu and Tentea 2006, 135; Holder 2003, 132; 2006b, 158). Later it formed part of the newly established Dacia Superior (I. 13, diploma dated to AD 119), and since AD 123 – Dacia Porolissensis¹⁵⁷ (I. 14-27; Beneš 1970, 172; Petolescu 1997, 92; Isac 2003, 43; Matei-Popescu and Tentea 2006, 135; Holder 2003, 132; 2006b, 18; Ciongradi *et al.* 2009, 210, 212). The cohort was still in Dacia Porolissensis as late as AD 216 / 217 (II. 9-10), and probably until the abandonment of the Dacian province by the Roman army in AD 275 (Isac 2003, 41).

Table 3.16 Position of *cohors I Britannica*

AD 69	Flavian dynasty	Dacian Wars	Early second century	Late second century	Third century	Detachments
Northern Italy (?)	Britain (AD 69 – 80?) Pannonia (AD 80-101)	Moesia Superior (AD 101 – probably AD 106)	Dacia (AD 106 – 118) Dacia Superior (AD 118 – AD 123) Dacia Porolissensis (AD 123 – 212/217)	Dacia Porolissensis (AD 123 – 212/217)	Dacia Porolissensis (AD 123 – 212/217)	-

Awards

Civium Romanorum – this title was granted to this unit for its participation in the first Dacian War: this epithet appeared on the diplomas issued for the army of Moesia Superior dated to AD 103 – 106 (I. 4-6; Petolescu 1997, 92; Isac 2003, 38; Ciongradi *et al.* 2009, 212). The unit did not hold this title for long: this epithet is absent already on the diplomas issued from AD 133 onwards (I. 18-27). Its place was taken by the epithet *equitata*, an indication that this thousand-man strong unit was a mixed cavalry and infantry cohort.

Antoniana – this honorific epithet was granted to the cohort in the time of Caracalla (II. 10), though it is unknown for what reason. The participation of the unit, or a detachment of it, in the Parthian War of Caracalla, AD 216, cannot be supported.

¹⁵⁷ Tentea and Matei-Popescu (2002-2003, 274) include this unit on the diploma issued for the army of Dacia Porolissensis in AD 124/128 (I. 15). The diploma did not fully survive and only the name of one British unit, probably the *cohors II Britannorum*, is readable. Since our cohort is attested on the diplomas for AD 123 and AD 128 (I. 13-14 and 16), it is highly plausible that it also appeared on the diploma I. 15.

Forts

The whereabouts of the cohort, when it was in Pannonia, varies from scholar to scholar: Vasić (2003, 147) places it at *Acumincum*, the contemporary Stari Slankamen in Serbia, while Lörincz (2001, 31, 51) suggests *Rittium*, the modern Serbian town of Surduk, where the unit might have been placed until AD 89, and *Brigetio*, modern Szöny in Hungary, the possible location of the unit from AD 89 until 101; Számadó and Borhy (2003, 78) place this unit in *Brigetio* around AD 80; Visy (2003a, 145, 149) - *Acumincum* during the period of Vespasian/Domitian and at *Brigetio* during the reign of Domitian. The reason behind such dissension is the contradictory evidence from the surviving epigraphic sources: one funerary monument, found in *Acumincum*, was made for a soldier of this cohort, who probably died as a result of the second, or third, Pannonian wars of Domitian, AD 92 – 95 (II. 2) and a military diploma (I. 6) issued to a soldier of this cohort married to an *Azali* woman, whom he probably met, when his cohort was positioned in the vicinity of the lands of this tribe, near the Roman fort *Solva*. The author of this thesis is more convinced that the cohort was first positioned in *Brigetio* auxiliary camp, which can also be supported by archaeological evidence discussed below, and was later transferred to *Acumincum*, although the exact dates of these relocations are open to discussion.

There is no direct evidence for the whereabouts of the unit between the years AD 106 – 118, though Isac (2003, 40-42) argues for various locations. Since it has been widely acknowledged that during the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian troops were moved constantly between various forts, the *cohors I Britannica* might have been placed at different forts in a period of less than a year (Isac 2003, 39). The tile stamps attributed to the *cohors I Britannica* found in Cășeiu, abbreviated as *CIB*, are similar to those from the fort Slăveni, Romania, located in layers dated to the time of Trajan (Isac 2003, 41). Moreover, another tile stamps abbreviated as *COH I BR* were located in the fort Dierna, Romania, which lies in the territory occupied by the Roman army in the aftermath of the first Dacian war (Marcu 2004, 573-574). It is, thus, possible that the unit was located here and there for a while, where it took jobs of construction, though Isac (2003, 42) warns that *CIB/COHIB* can stand for other British units stationed in Dacia and Moesia Superior in the aftermath of the Dacian Wars.

It is notable that one of the unit's soldiers recruited in AD 108 (I. 18) originated from either the Pannonian tribal entity, the *Cornacates* or from *Cornacum*, modern Sotin, Serbia, which lies between *Acumincum* and *Teutoburgium*, near modern Vukovar, Croatia (Daicovicu and Protase 1961, 70; Lörincz 2001, abb. 1). Considering that, in the aftermath of the Dacian Wars, the cohort needed to be replenished with new recruits and the likelihood that these recruits came from adjacent territories, the station of the unit ca AD 108 should be searched for in the *Cornacates* tribal territory.

Since the time of Hadrian the cohort was located in Cășeiu, where it stayed until AD 275 (II. 3, 5, 6, 10 and 11; Isac 2003, 41-47).

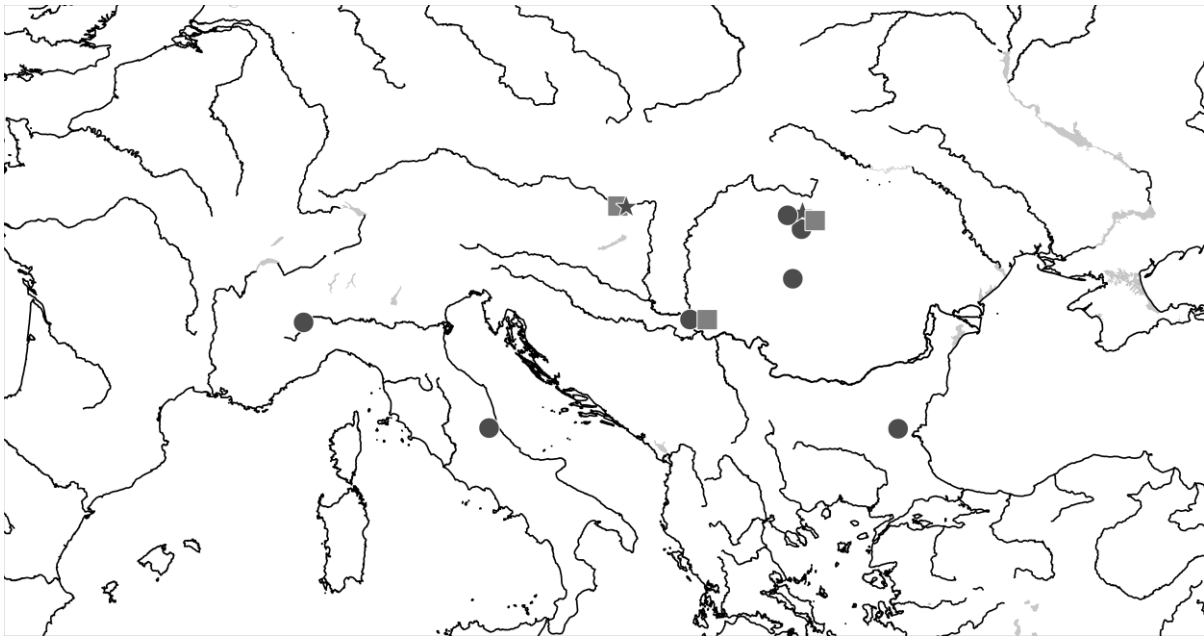


Figure 3.7 Geographical location of the military diplomas (star), inscriptions (circle) and forts (square) of the *cohors I Britannica*

Personnel (in chronological order)

Prefects/commanding officers:

Lucius Alfius Restitutus: tribune, serving his second *militia* before AD 79 – 81, II. 1

Montanus: decurion, serving in the unit ca AD 95/96, II. 2

Quintus Caecilius Redditus: prefect, serving in the unit in AD 105, I. 6

Tiberius Claudius Fortis: prefect, serving in the unit in AD 133, I. 18

Publius Aelius Tertius: veteran, former centurion, serving in the late second century AD, II. 7

Caius Iulius Corinthianus: tribune, serving his second *militia* ca AD 160 but before AD 161 – 166, II. 9

Unknown: military tribune, serving his second *militia* in the second century AD, II. 12

? (...), son of Crepereios: prefect, II. 13

Principales / immunes:

Bodiccus: standard-bearer, serving in the unit ca AD 95/96, II. 2

Virssuccius, son of (E?)sus: cavalryman and standard-bearer, ca AD 80/81 – 95/96¹⁵⁸, II. 2

Soldiers:

Lucco, son of Trenus: infantryman, ca AD 80 – 105, I. 6

Sepenestus, son of Rivus: infantryman, ca AD 108 – 133, I. 18

Aurelios Mouchichnos: soldier, late second century AD, II. 8

Aurelius Respectus: soldier, late second century AD, II. 3

Aur(elius) R Ran(us?): veteran, late second century AD, II. 5

Marcellus: soldier (?) or veteran (?), late second century AD, II. 4

(Mucatra)lus, son of Bithus: soldier (?), late second century AD, II. 6

Relatives (in alphabetical order):

Aelia Aestiva: wife of P. A. Tertius, II. 7

¹⁵⁸ This soldier was probably of British descent (discussed below). Considering that he might have been recruited ca AD 80 at the same time as Lucco, son of Trenus, and served for 15 years, he must have died ca AD 95, which fits precisely in the timeframe of the third Pannonian war, AD 95/96.

Aelius Iunianus: son of A. R Ranus, II. 5
 Aelius Viator: son of A. R Ranus, II. 5
 Albanus: heir to Virssuccius, II. 2
 Aurelius / Aurelia: mentioned on the tombstone of Marcellus, relationship and sex unknown, II. 4
 Claudia Paulina: wife of L.A. Restitutus, II. 1
 Iulius Clinias: heir to C.I. Corinthianus, II. 9
 Lucca: daughter of Lucco, son of Trenus, I. 6
 Marcus Arrianus: heir to C.I. Corinthianus, II. 9
 Pacata: daughter of Lucco, son of Trenus, I. 6
 Pisonianus: heir to C.I. Corinthianus, II. 9
 Similus: son of Lucco, son of Trenus, I. 6
 Titus Crepereios Fronto: father of (...), son of Crepereios, II. 13
 Tutula, daughter of Breucus: wife of Lucco, son of Trenus, I. 6
 (...).aria (...).ix: wife (?) of Marcellus, II. 4

Possible units' soldiers mentioned by Isac (2003, 44-47) on account of their monuments being found in Cășeiu or in Vad and dated to the late second century

Aurelia Tsinta: wife of (...) Blasa, *CIL* III 7635
 Aurelius (...): veteran, *ILD* 787
 (...) Blasa: cavalryman, *CIL* III 7635
 Iulius Cres(cens): veteran, *ILD* 781 = *AE* 1932, 74 = *AE* 1980, 759
 Lucius Cilius Aelianus¹⁵⁹: *principales*, *CIL* III 830 = *CIL* III 7631
 Tiberius Aurelius Ro(...) Iulianus¹⁶⁰: *principales*, *CIL* III 830 = *CIL* III 7631
 (...)uscianus: cavalryman, *CIL* III 6245
 (...)us: veteran, *CIL* III 7636
 Unknown: mentioned in Isac (2003, 47)

Origin of personnel

Known origin:

Lucco, son of Trenus, discharged in AD 105, indicated his origin as *Dobunno*, the British tribal entity who lived around modern Cirencester in the west of England. However, it was proposed that the names of the soldier and his father were typical of the Celts living in central Europe, in provinces such as Noricum, Raetia and Pannonia (Kennedy 1977, 254). Lucco was, in this case, the son of a Dobunnian woman married to a soldier from Noricum who had at one time served in Britain, but, having been transferred with his unit back to the Continent, died in service. In such cases, the children, if born before citizenship was granted, would take the origin of their mother. Yet, the names of both father and son are well attested in the British epigraphical record (Russell and Mullen 2009). It must also be noted that the element *luc-* is the third most commonly attested element in Roman Britain (Mullen 2007, 50). Hence, it seems reasonable to suggest that Lucco was indeed a Briton, from the *Dobunni* tribe. The time of his recruitment is AD 80 which corresponds with the previously proposed idea that around that time the cohort was still in Britain, recruiting locals.

The origin of another soldier, Sepenestus, son of Rivus, was indicated on his military diploma, but the reading of it is dubious. The letters of the soldier's origin were corrected by the engraver from PANNON to COR(I)NON (Daicoviciu and Protase 1961, 64). COR(I)NON might have stood for the British town *Corinium Dobunorum*, modern Cirencester in the UK, the capital of the *Dobunni* tribe, from where Lucco, son of Trenus

¹⁵⁹ In Isac (2003, 46) this person is written down as Caecilius Aelianus.

¹⁶⁰ In Isac (2003, 46) this person is written down as Aurelius Iulianus.

hailed, or for a Pannonian tribe *Cornacates* or for a town in Pannonia Inferior, *Cornacum* (Daicovicu and Protase 1961, 70). When Sepenestus was enlisted, the unit was on service in Moesia Superior. The tribal entity *Cornacates* lived in southeast Pannonia, bordering Moesia Superior, and it seems reasonable to suggest that Sepenestus was actually from this very tribe. The confusion in the correction of the origin might derive from the practice of Pannonian recruits, who, when “serving inside Pannonia were given their proper *origo* [...] those serving outside [...] appear only as *Pannonio*” (RMD I 35). Probably, the recipient of the diploma tried himself to correct his origin, intending to write more precise origin COR(I)NON rather than simply stating the provincial one.

The origin of three officers is recorded: Tiberius Claudius Fortis was from Capua in Italy, Publius Aelius Tertius was from *Claudium Virunum*, in Noricum, modern Zollfeld in Austria, and Caius Iulius Corinthianus originated from North African *Theveste* in Numidia, modern Tébessa in Algeria.

Table 3.17 Known origin of soldiers of *cohors I Britannica*

Origins	Numbers
British tribes / Britain: <i>Dobunni</i>	1
Pannonian tribes / Pannonia: <i>Cornocates</i>	1
Italy Town of Capua	1
Noricum: Town of <i>Claudium Virunum</i>	1
Numidia: Town of <i>Theveste</i>	1

Origin based on prospographical and onomastic analysis:

Virssuccius, son of Esus The name Virssuccius is a compound name consisting of such Gaulish elements as *viro-*, *su-* and probably *cci-*, the later being an adaptation of the element *cico-* (For the element *viro-* see Evans 1967, 286-288, Delamarre 2001, 270; *su-* Evans 1967, 257, Delamarre 2001, 239-240; *cico-* Delamarre 2001, 97-98). His father’s name has also common Gaulish name element *esu-* (Raybould and Sims-Williams 2009, 16). While on the Continent it appears mostly in compound names (Raybould and Sims-Williams 2009, 11, 13 names such as Esumagius, Esumopas and Esunertus), in Britain itself it is quite popular in one-element names (Russell and Mullen 2009, under the name element *esu-*, names such as Aesu(s) and Esico¹⁶¹). That this soldier was most likely of British descent can be supported by the date of his recruitment. Virssuccius served 15 years and died probably as a result of the third Pannonian war, ca AD 95/96. Calculations show that he was recruited ca AD 80, probably at the same time as Lucco, son of Trenus, when the cohort was still in Britain.

Bodiccius The name of Virssuccius heir and fellow, Bodiccius, is also a compound one consisting of Gaulish elements such as *boudi-* and *ico-* (For *boudi-* see Evans 1967, 136-158, Delamarre 2001, 71-72; *ico-* Delamarre 2001, 158 and Russell and Mullen 2009; the element *ico-* is attested in their database as suffix *iko-*). Since it is highly plausible that this soldier was recruited at the same time as his fellow Virssuccius, his British descent is likely.

¹⁶¹ This name is attested on a coin minted in the Icenian territory (Mullen and Russell 2009, under the name element *esu-* and name Esico, accessed on 29. 06. 2011). It is notable that another soldier serving at the same time as Virssuccius, son of Esus also had a name that sounded similar to that of the Icenian queen Boudicca. He was called Bodiccius.

(Mucatra)lus, son of Bithus This soldier's parental name – Bithus – is Thracian, so the son of Bithus must be of Thracian descent (Paki 1998, 132, no 18; Minkova 2000, 126).

Aurelios Mouchichnos This soldier erected a monument with an inscription in Greek to the god Aularchenos, an epithet or name of the so-called Thracian rider (for the discussion on Thracian rider see Dimitrova 2002, 210). Moreover, the stone itself bears a typical depiction of this Thracian rider - a horseman galloping and attacking a boar - the theme which is extremely present on monuments erected in Thrace and in the areas “characterized by Thracian presence” (Dimitrova 2002, 210). Taking this into account and the fact that this votive monument was ordered to be inscribed in the Greek language, it can be suggested that Mouchichnos most likely hailed from Thrace.

(...), son of Crepereios It is uncertain, whether (...), son of Crepereios, was indeed the prefect of this cohort. Devijver (2001, 58) sees him as a prefect of the *cohors III Britannorum*, while Spaul (2000, 204) as the prefect of *cohors VI Brittonum*. However, on his inscription it is clearly stated that he was a prefect of a cohort with the title *Brittannica*, the numeral was omitted. Because there was only one cohort with such a title, *cohors I Britannica*, it is more than plausible that he was prefect of this particular unit, rather than of another. He might have been a native to *Attaleia* in Lycia and Pamphylia, Antalya in Turkey, since he was buried and commemorated there by his father, Titus Crepereios Fronto (Devijver 2001, 58), although the name appeared in a slightly different spelling as Crepereius in Danube provinces Dalmatia, Moesia Inferior and Noricum (Mócsy 1983, 92; OPEL II 83).

Table 3.18 Origin of soldiers of *cohors I Britannica* based on the prosopographical and onomastic analysis

Origin	Numbers
Britain	2
Thracia	2
Lycia et Pamphylia	1

Questionable origin:

The cognomen of the prefect, Quintus Caecilius Redditus, is very rare in the Roman Empire and appears on only two inscriptions found in Dalmatia, one in Pannonia, Noricum, Moesia Inferior and Superior (Alföldy 1969, 281; Mócsy 1983, 241; OPEL IV 24). Devijver (2001, 58) suggests that his origin should be searched for in the East; however, the appearance of this cognomen in Danubian provinces might point to his origin.

The name of the decurion of the unit – Montanus – was very popular in Celtic-speaking regions on the Continent (Mócsy 1983, 192; OPEL III 87). He served in the unit around the end of the first century and would have commanded Virsuccius and Boddicius. If at that time the unit was filled with British recruits, he too could be of British origin, due to policy of the Roman army to have commanders that could speak the language of the recruits (Holder 1980, 80-86). Such practice was still in use in the late first century AD (Holder 1980, 88), when Montanus was appointed the unit's decurion.

The cognomen of the veteran, Aurelius Ranus, is unlisted anywhere, except in Minkova who doubted the spelling of the name (Minkova 2000, 240, as Aeranus). Names starting with *ran-* appear in Noricum, Pannonia and Dalmatia, which would suggest the origin as from the Danubian provinces (OPEL IV 22 as Rania in Noricum, Rannius in Italy, Ransaius in Pannonia, Rantius in Italy, Hispania, Dalmatia and Pannonia).

Table 3.19 Questionable origin of soldiers of *cohors I Britannica*

Origin	Numbers
Celtic speaking regions	1
Danube provinces	2

Unidentifiable origin:

The origin of two tribunes and two soldiers remains uncertain. Lucius Alfius Restitutus, who served in two British units, had a widespread cognomen, which prevailed in Celtic regions and was a Latinised Celtic name (Mócsy 1983, 243; Minkova 2000, 242). Devijver¹⁶² (2001, 58) suggests that his origin was the Italian town of Turin, where he was buried, though tribune might have settled there with his wife upon his retirement from the military service and originated from elsewhere. As for Aurelius Respectus, it is difficult to place his origin since he had a typically Roman name that prevailed in Celtic speaking regions (Mócsy 1983, 242, OPEL IV 26-27, Minkova 2000, 242).

Origin of possible unit's soldiers

Isac (2003, 44-47) suggests that the soldiers, whose funerary and votive monuments were found in the vicinity of the Cășeiu fort and dated to the late second century AD, served in the *cohors I Britannica*. The monuments of 8 soldiers have survived, of which the names of 4 males and one female are clearly visible, though the origin can only be identified for one soldier and his wife: Blasa and his wife Aurelia Tsinta were probably of Thraco-Dacian descent (Isac 2003, 46).

Wives and children:

Lucco, son of Trenus, was married to a woman from the *Azali* tribe in Pannonia; they probably met while his cohort was stationed in the tribal territory of the *Azali* around AD 80. At the time of his being discharged they already had three children: a son and two daughters. Their children had typical Roman cognomina prevailing in Celtic speaking regions: Similis, Lucca and Pacata. Interestingly enough, these names have, as translated directly from Latin, 'a peaceful meaning': Similis means "similar", the name Pacata derives from the Latin word – "pax" meaning peace (Minkova 2000, 254, 223 respectively). It is very tempting to suggest that Lucco wanted his children to be 'similar' to the Romans and live their lives 'peacefully'. Only the name of the second daughter – Lucca – has the Gaulish element *luc-* which was widespread in Roman Britain (Mullen 2007, 50). It seems that her father wanted his name to be preserved in one of the children's.

The origin of the wife of L. A. Restitutus, Claudia Paulina, is obscure, though her cognomen is rare, but appeared on couple of the inscriptions in Gallia Belgica and Gallia Lugdunensis (OPEL III, 129).

The origin of the wife of Publius Aelius Tertius is obscure. Her first name Aelia, as well as the nomen of her husband, shows that they both received citizenship at the time of Hadrian or Marcus Aurelius, probably jointly when P. A. Tertius was discharged. Her cognomen Aestiva in its male variation, Aestivus, is found in abundance in Spain and in some Celtic speaking regions including Belgica, Noricum and Gallia Lugdunensis, once in Dalmatia and Dacia; the female variant has been found on one inscription in Spain (Alföldy 1969, 143; Mócsy 1983, 7; OPEL I 31).

¹⁶² Devijver (2001, 58) also, probably mistakenly, assumes that L. Alfius Restitutus was a military tribune of the *cohors I Flavia Brittonum*, and not the *cohors I Britannica*.

On the tombstone of Aurelius Respectus two figures are depicted: a woman, most likely his wife, and a male child. The woman is wearing what appears to be a Norican hat of type “*Norische Haube H 4*” (Garbsch 1965, 16). This type was worn by women living in the region around *Virunum* and *Flavia Solva* in Noricum (Garbsch 1965, 16). That this woman preferred to be depicted on the tombstone wearing the traditional Norican hat, might indicate her origin, though one might ask how she, a Norican, had met a soldier who had served on the Dacian limes.

The identity of the third person mentioned on the tombstone of Virssuccius, son of Esus, Albanus, is obscure. It has been suggested that, since there is no indication on the tombstone who this person might be, but there is an indication as to who Bodiccus is, Albanus may well be the son of Virssuccius (Spaul 2000, 194). Virssuccius has decided to give his son a popular cognomen, which referred to his having blonde hair (Mócsy 1983, 11; OPEL I 38).

The sons of A. R. Ranus, Aelius Iunianus and Aelius Viator, with the imperial *gentilicium* Aelii, were given names that were quite widespread in the Danube regions (for Iunianus see OPEL II 207; for Viator see OPEL IV, 164-165).

Table 3.20 Origin of soldiers in *cohors I Britannica*: total summary

Origins	Numbers
British tribes / Britain	3
Pannonian tribes / Pannonia:	1
Noricum	1
Thracia	2
Numidia	1
Italy	1
Lycia et Pamphylia	1
Danube regions	2
Celtic speaking regions	1
Unknown:	4
	Total: 17

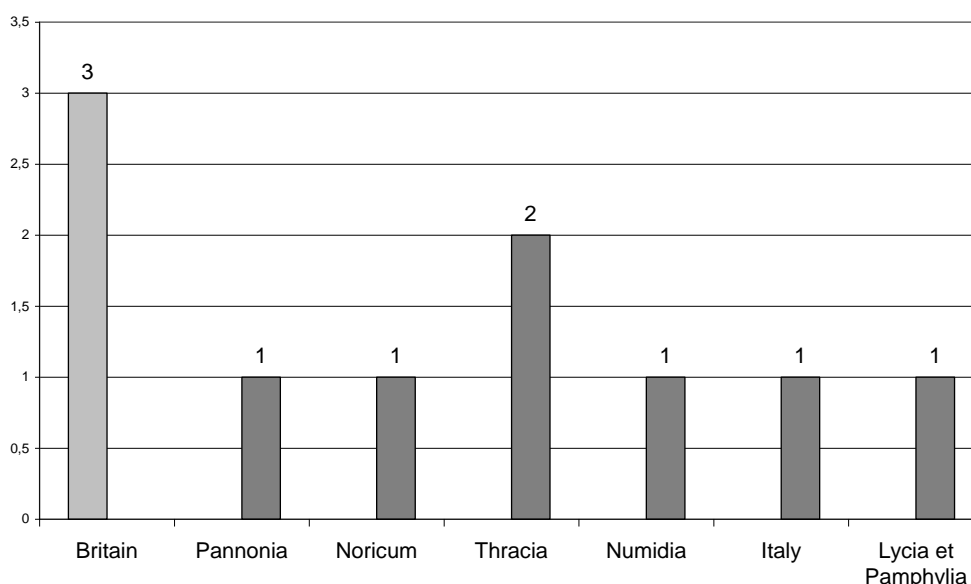


Figure 3.8 Origin of soldiers of *cohors I Britannica* divided per century. Note: light grey stands for the late first century; dark grey – for the second century (only provincial origin was counted)

Archaeology

A British brooch has been reported from a military installation near Szöny, in Hungary, where *cohors I Britannica* might have been garrisoned in the auxiliary fort around AD 80 (Számadó and Borhy 2003, 78). The context in which this brooch was found was not mentioned (Kovrig 1937, 71, no 140), thus, it could have come from the cemeteries, legionary fortress, the *canabae legionis* or the auxiliary fort. If we are right to assume that our cohort was positioned on the *ripa Pannonica* in this fort, then the British soldiers in this unit can be held responsible for bringing this brooch there.

Acumincum fort was excavated in 1995, and it was established that it was a multi-layered site: the Roman fortress sat atop an Iron Age *oppidum* (Vasić 2003, 147). From the oldest layers some ceramics and tiles have been recorded. The full report of the excavation was not available to the author to inspect, though the fort has been briefly discussed in Vasić (2003, 147) and Wilkes (2005, 207).

A British-made brooch was found in the layer datable to phase II of the barrack blocks situated on *praetentura dextra* in the fort Cășeiu (Isac 2003, 257, pl. XIX, no 9). Two building phases of the barracks correspond to the period when two British cohorts were posted here: phase I - *cohors II Britannorum* and phase II - *cohors I Britannica* (Isac 2003, 179). However, the phases overlap archaeologically. Thus, in spite of the fact that the brooch was found in the layer datable to the phase II, it could have reached the fort with a member from either unit.

Three following *cohors I Brittonum* has generally been considered to be one unit (cf. Spaul 2000, 195-197), although Romanian archaeologists distinguish three cohorts with the same name, but with different titles (Marcu 2002 – 2003). In my analysis I follow the latter distinction.

3.2.5. *Cohors I Aelia Brittonum*

History

This unit with the epithet Aelia is known only from two inscriptions, one dated to the reign of Hadrian, the other to AD 238 (II. 3 and 6 consequently), and from various stamped tiles excavated in the forts Wallsee and Mautern on the Norican frontier and dated to the mid second century (*AE* 1949, 1; *AE* 1997, 1227; *AE* 2000, 1148a/b; Genser 1986, 292, note 189; Jilek 2000b, 356, 259, 340-342, abb. 247). The title Aelia usually implies that a unit was created by Hadrian or was distinguished by Hadrian for particular service (Holder 1998, 253). While there is no indication that cohort with this epithet existed prior to the reign of Hadrian, it seems reasonable to assume that the unit was established earlier rather than by Hadrian and possibly started its life as *cohors I Brittonum*. The unit with the title *cohors I Brittonum milliaria* has been recorded on the diplomas issued for the army of Pannonia in AD 85 (I. 1), of Moesia Inferior in AD 111 and 116 (I. 2-4) and of Pannonia Inferior in AD 125/126 and 135 (I. 5 and 6). It is disputed which unit hides behind this title (Marcu 2002 – 2003, 227). In the diploma for Pannonia issued in AD 85 it might have been either a future cohort with the title Aelia or the future cohort designated by Trajan with the title Ulpia (discussed in detail below). In the Moesian diplomas for the years AD 111 and 116 the unit is considered to be either the future *cohors I Aelia Brittonum* or *cohors I Augusta Nervia Pacensis Brittonum* (discussed below; RMD IV p. 434, no 7). In the diploma for AD 135 for the army in Pannonia Inferior the unit recorded might have been the one with the title Aelia or another one with the title Flavia (the *cohors I Flavia Brittonum* discussed below; Roxan 1999, 253).

Marcu (2002 – 2003, 228, esp. note 82) suggests a tentative solution: originally there was one *cohors I Brittonum* which at a later stage was split into two. One detachment

went to Moesia Superior and Dacia where it participated in the wars and afterwards stayed in Dacia. For its bravery in Dacian Wars this detachment was awarded with honorific titles such as *Ulpia*, *civium Romanorum* and *pia fidelis*. Second detachment was sent to Moesia Inferior where, during the Dacian Wars, it was used as a part of the support troops; afterwards it was transferred to Pannonia and later to Noricum where it remained for the whole second century. The unit was then enlarged by Hadrian to *milliaria* and granted the title *Aelia* for the battle honour when “minor disturbance took place in the province of Pannonia” (Marcu 2002 – 2003, 220, esp. note 12). Overall, if we follow Marcu’s suggestion on the division of the *cohors I Brittonum* into two detachments of ca 500 men strong during the Dacian Wars, the occurrence of two units with the same ethnic name and the same numeral but with different honorific titles no longer has to be regarded as problematic.

The service of *cohors I Aelia Brittonum* in Noricum after AD 136 has been established from the archaeological and some epigraphic evidence (Alföldy 1974, 147-148; Genser 1986, 195; Gassner 1997, 210; Ubl 1997, 198; Gassner *et al.* 2000, 385-386; Jilek 2000b, 357-360; Fischer 2002, 42; Holder 2003, 124, 135, tab. 6). The state of the military diplomas issued for the army of Noricum, however, does not give possibility to determine when the cohort was transferred to Noricum and how long it was stationed there (cf. partially survived diplomas RMD II 93, RMD III p. 245, *AE* 1953, 128; cf. also Jilek 2000b, 355, abb. 254). Only one diploma dated to AD 133 – 190 (I. 7) was recognised to be a diploma issued for a soldier of this cohort (cf. Ubl 2005, 107, esp. note 15 for the detailed discussion).

Table 3.21 Position of *cohors I Aelia Brittonum*

AD 69	Flavian dynasty	Dacian Wars	Early second century	Late second century	Third century	Detachments
-	Pannonia (AD 85 – 101)?	Moesia Inferior (AD 101 – probably AD 116)?	Moesia Inferior? Pannonia Inferior (until AD 136?)	Noricum (after AD 136 – after AD 238)	Noricum (after AD 136 – after AD 238)	-

Awards

Aelia – the title *Aelia* might have been given to this unit as a battle honour by Hadrian.

Antoniniana – this title was recorded on tile-stamps located in the fort and vicus of Mautern on Norican frontier and was plausibly awarded to the unit during the reign of Caracalla (Jilek 2000b, 341).

Forts

The unit is known to have been posted in the fort Mautern – *Favianis* on the Norican frontier, in the mid second century and was still there as late as the reign of Caracalla (Alföldy 1974, 148; Gassner 1997, 210; Gassner *et al.* 2000, 385-386; Jilek 2000b, 357-360; Fischer 2002, 45; Ubl 2005, 112). How long the unit was in Mautern is unknown, but the occurrence of the votive inscription in *Virunum* (II. 6) might indicate the cohort’s position there in the mid third century. Jilek (2000b, 342) doubts it, since the votive inscription does not indicate the location of a unit but only the presence of the cohort’s *summus curator / singularis consularis* in *Virunum*. She concludes that the unit was in Mautern until the reign of Diocletian.

It has been previously assumed that the unit was relocated to Mautern ca AD 140 – 150 from the fort at Wallsee, where numerous tile stamps with the abbreviation CIAB, expanded as *cohors I Aelia Brittonum*, were found (Alföldy 1974, 147; Ubl 1997, 198;

Genser 1986, 195; Jilek 2000b, 358; Fischer 2002, 42). However, recent finds from the Wallsee fort suggest that the abbreviation should be expanded as *cohors I Aurelia Brittonum* because other tile stamps with the abbreviations CO.I.AU.B and C.PR.AU.BR, and the text on one inscription from a soldier of the latter unit came to light (Ubl 2005, 112).

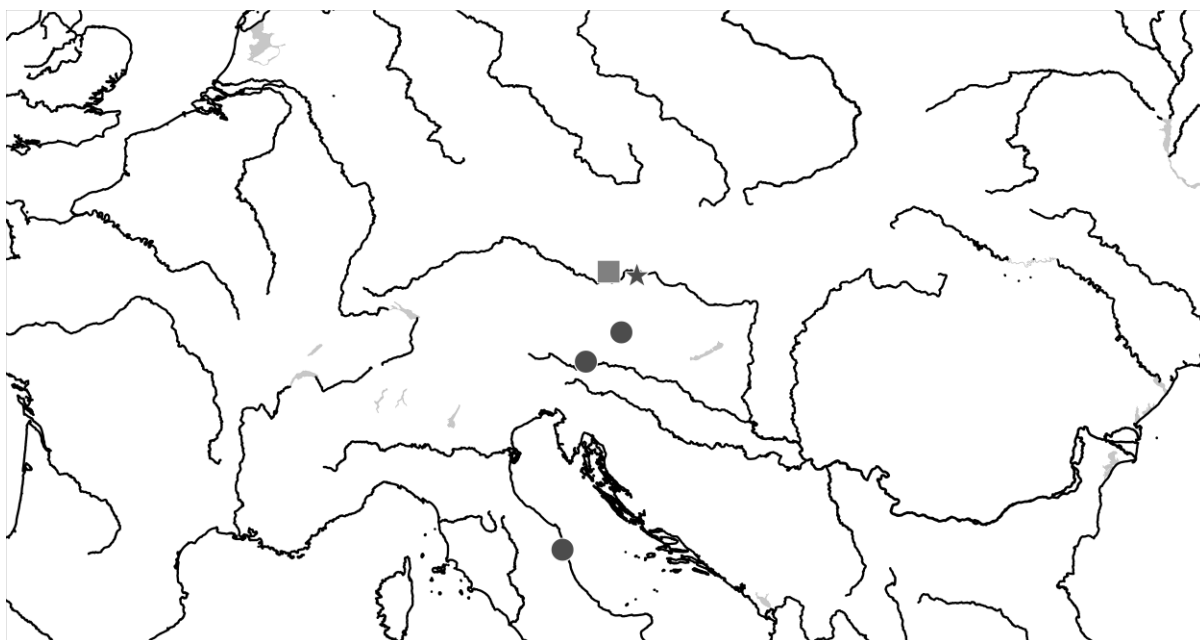


Figure 3.9 Geographical location of the military diplomas (star), inscriptions (circle) and forts (square) of the *cohors I Aelia Brittonum*

Personnel (in chronological order)

Prefects/commanding officers:

- ? Lucius Alfius Restitutus: tribune, serving his second *militia* before AD 79 – 81, II. 2
- ? Lucius Iulius Pansa: former centurion, veteran, late first century AD, II. 1
- ? Allinus: *praepositus*, serving in the unit in the first quarter of the second century AD, II. 4
- Aelius (...): prefect, serving in the unit after AD 133, I. 7
- Titus Appalius Alfinus Secundus: tribune, Hadrian reign, II. 3
- Aelius Martius: *summus curator* or *singularis consularis*, serving in the unit ca AD 238, II. 6

Soldiers:

- Mogetius, son of Ursus: soldier, Severan, II. 5

Relatives (in alphabetical order):

- ? Caius Iulius Proculus: heir to L. I. Pansa, II. 1
- ? Claudia Paulina: wife of L.A. Restitutus, II. 2
- Marcus Mogetius Valentinus, son of Vibius: relative to Mogetius, son of Ursus, II. 5
- Mogetia Iustina: relative (sister?) to Mogetius, son of Ursus, II. 5
- (...)L: father of Allinus (?), II. 4

Origin of personnel

Note: at the outset it must be emphasised that it is uncertain whether L. A. Restitutus, L. I. Pansa and Allinus were commanding officers of this unit. The decision has been taken to include them among the serving members of this cohort, but not to discuss their

origin here, since they will be discussed with the units for which evidence is more or less indicative of their service there.

Known origin: Titus Appalius Alfinus Secundus was from one of the Roman voting tribes, the Velina, and probably hailed from *Firmum Picenum*, modern Fermo in Italy, where he was buried and commemorated with a monument (Devijver 2001, 58).

Origin based on prosopographical and onomastic analysis:

Mogetius, son of Ursus Mogetius, son of Ursus was buried by two people, Marcus Mogetius Valentinus, son of Vibius, and his wife Mogetia Iustina. The relationship between him and Marcus Mogetius Valentinus and his wife is uncertain. He might have been the brother of Mogetia Iustina, since he was not the son of her husband (the name of his father is Ursus, and not Valentinus). It is also possible that Mogetia Iustina was his mother, who had remarried, and that Mogetius was the child from the first marriage. The woman depicted on the tombstone wears a typical Norican hood which strongly suggests that she was of Norican descent (Garbsch 1965, 16, taf. 11, no 1 and 4, *Norische Haube H 4*). If Ursus was her son or brother, he could have been Norican as well. This can be supported by the findspot of the funerary monument, Pfannberg, which lies deep into the Norican territory, and the soldier's cognomen, Ursus, which prevailed in Pannonia and Noricum (Mócsy 1983, 321; OPEL IV 187-188; Minkova 2000, 269). It must be noted that it is uncertain in which unit this soldier served. The *cohors I Brittonum* on the monument might be either the *cohors Aelia* or *cohors Ulpia*, although *cohors Aelia* seems more plausible, since the soldier died while serving and was buried by his relatives in Noricum, where the *cohors I Aelia Brittonum* was positioned in the late second century.

Unknown origin: The origin of Aelius Martius is uncertain: his *gentilicium* only indicates his being granted citizenship by one of the *Aurelii* and his cognomen prevailed in Celtic speaking areas, particularly in Gaul and Gallia Belgica (OPEL III 17). The origin of the unit's prefect, Aelius, is hard to identify.

Table 3.22 Origin of soldiers in *cohors (Aelia) I Brittonum*: total summary¹⁶³

Origins	Numbers
Noricum	1
Italy	1
Unknown	2
	Total: 4

Archaeology

One British-made brooch, a penannular brooch type Fowler A3i, was located in Mautern (Sedlmayer 2006, 424). It was found in an area of a vicus in a pit 3(1), roughly dated to AD 130/140 – 170 (Groh 2006, 63), which is contemporary with period 3 of the stone fort Mautern-*Favianis* (Gassner *et al.* 2000, 385). Period 3 started when the *cohors I Aelia Brittonum* was transferred to the fort (Gassner *et al.* 2000, 385). Thus, the occurrence of the penannular British brooch in the vicus of the Mautern fort can be connected with the arrival of the British cohort.

¹⁶³ Since only four military service men are known to have served in this cohort, it seemed redundant to produce a separate table for the origin of each man.

3.2.6. *Cohors I Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum*

History

It has been suggested that the cohort was named after the area from where the unit's original soldiers were recruited, namely from the territory of *Colonia Nervia Glevum*, modern Gloucester in the UK (Holder 1980, 40; Marcu 2002 – 2003, 222). Probably, the colony had an additional title *Pacensis*, which was rarely used. However, the cohort was already in existence as early as AD 80 (it was discharging the soldiers in AD 105, I. 1), while the colony was granted with the title *Nervia* during the reign of the Nerva, i.e. between the years AD 96 – 98. Possibly the cohort was in existence before the Nerva's reign and "initially without the title *Nervia*" (Marcu 2002 – 2003, 222), although why the cohort might have received an additional set of epithets during the reign of Nerva is uncertain. It might have been decorated by Nerva for bravery in battle. It might have changed its name, i.e. from the original 'British' name of the area to the name imposed by Nerva on the newly established colony, in the same way that units with the title *Domitiana* were renamed with the more or less neutral *Flavia*.

The unit was present in Moesia Inferior in AD 105 being part of the support troops during the Dacian Wars (I. 1). It might have been, however, present in this province before AD 105, but was not mentioned on the diplomas issued in previous years because the cohort did not have soldiers eligible for receiving the grant of citizenship (Holder 2006a, 142).

How long the unit was in Moesia Inferior is unknown, but three military diplomas of AD 111 and 116 were used as an indication that the cohort was still there as late as AD 116 (I. 2-4; Holder 2006a, 155). These diplomas did not mention this particular unit but rather the *cohors I milliaria Brittonum* recognised as the *cohors I Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum* (Eck and Pangerl 2006, 101; cf. also RMD IV 222). The problem is the absence of a clear indication why the cohort on these three diplomas was recorded without the additional title, while on other diplomas issued for the army of Dacia Inferior starting from AD 119 (I. 5-10, esp. I. 5, 8-10) the unit was always recorded with *Augusta Nerviana Pacensis*. The author of the present thesis follows the suggestion that *cohors I milliaria Brittonum* on the aforementioned diplomas is the future *cohors I Aelia Brittonum*, while discussed in this particular section cohort is not attested on them. This leads to a further question: where was the cohort located in the aftermath of the Dacian Wars until its appearance in Dacia Inferior in AD 119 – 129? On the known diplomas issued for the army of undivided Dacia (see the list in Eck and Pangerl 2011a, 231; esp. RMD III 148 and RMD IV 226) the cohort is not listed, nor is it listed on the diplomas issued for the army of Dacia Inferior and Superior prior to AD 119 – 129 (see the list in Eck and Pangerl 2011a, 231-232), though this might be due to the poor survival of these diplomas (most of them are badly damaged and only partially readable). It is possible that ca AD 108 our unit accepted recruits from Asia Minor (I. 7 – soldier's origin was indicated as *Aradus*, Arwad island situated ca 3 km from the coast of Syria), which can be used as an indication of the position of the unit after the Dacian Wars¹⁶⁴.

The cohort served in Dacia Inferior from AD 119/129 until 146 (I. 5-10). The later destiny of the cohort is unknown.

¹⁶⁴ Weiss (2009, 244) concludes that the diploma issued in AD 133 could have been given to a soldier who served either in the *cohors I Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum* or *cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum*, the latter being a Syrian raised unit. The Syrian units, with the title *Ituraeorum*, were brought by Trajan to Dacia in the aftermath of the wars (Weiss 2009, 244). In this sense, the recruitment of the Syrian born soldier falls precisely in the period when Trajan brought units from Syria, an indication that the diploma might have belonged to such a soldier serving in a Syrian rather than a British unit.

Table 3.23 Position of *cohors I Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum*

AD 69	Flavian dynasty	Dacian Wars	Early second century	Late second century	Third century	Detachments
-	-	Moesia Inferior (slightly before AD 105 – ?)	Dacia Inferior (AD 119/129 – AD 146)	-	-	-

Awards

None are known

Forts

It is uncertain where the unit was stationed in Dacia Inferior. A tile-stamp found at Stolniceni in Dacia Inferior has the abbreviation CORSMB, though it can be expanded either as *cohors I Flavia Brittonum* or *cohors I Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum* (CIL III 14216; Bichir 1985, 100-102; Marcu 2002 – 2003, 222; Gudea 2005, 495, no B5). The Stolniceni fort is, however, too small and could not have been occupied by a complete and strong *milliaria* unit such as *cohors I Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum* (Marcu 2002 – 2003, 223)¹⁶⁵, although a detachment of this cohort might have been garrisoned there (Bichir 1985, 104).

Personnel (in chronological order)

Prefects/commanding officers:

(...), son of (...), Flo(...): prefect, serving in the unit ca AD 119/129, I. 5

? Caius Catellius: prefect, serving in the unit ca AD 133, I. 7

Soldiers:

(...), son of Asclepiades: infantry soldier, AD 94/104 – 119/129, I. 5

?Ignotus: soldier, AD 108 – 133, I. 7

Relatives (in alphabetical order):

(...)sius: son of (...), son of Asclepiades, I. 5

(...)ria: daughter of (...), son of Asclepiades, I. 5

Origin

Known origin:

The origin of the soldier, whose name did not survive, was recorded: he stated that he hailed from *Aradus*, contemporary island of Arwad, situated ca 3 km from the coast Syria.

The name and the origin of the prefect survived partly: Flo(...), which could be read as Florentinus, Florinus or Florus (Eck *et al.* 2001, 41), and Ulpia, short name for either *Colonia Ulpia Traiana* in Germania Superior or for *Colonia Ulpia Traiana Samizegetusa* in Dacia Inferior¹⁶⁶. The latter seems likely, since the cohort was stationed in Dacia Inferior at the time the soldier was granted Roman citizenship, it was obvious from which town the prefect was, so it was shortened to Ulpia.

¹⁶⁵ See Marcu (2002 – 2003, 222-223; 2009, 237-238) for an expanded discussion of the unit's possible location in Dacia based on the various tile-stamp associations.

¹⁶⁶ Contra Eck *et al.* (2001, 41), who proposes that it was a pseudo-*tribus* that did not exist in reality.

Origin based on prosopographical and onomastic analysis:

(...) son of Asclepiades The name of the soldier's father, Asclepiades, indicates the Greek origin of the family: the soldier might have been recruited from either the Greek colonies in Moesia Inferior or from a town in Asia Minor ca AD 94/104 (Eck *et al.* 2001, 41). Considering that the cohort needed new recruits for the Dacian Wars, it is plausible that it accepted locals, i.e. from Moesia Inferior, as early as the start of the Dacian Wars. In the military diploma, parts of the names of his son and daughter survive. It is most likely that they both had typically Roman names since the endings of the names are (...)sius and (...)ria (Eck *et al.* 2001, 41).

Unknown origin:

The origin of the prefect, Caius Catellius or Catelius, was recorded on the military diploma, but the letters that are visible, *VCISIN*, do not given a clue as to his descent (Weiss 2009, 244). The similar combinations of letters appeared on some names recorded on inscriptions in Gallia Belgica - *Balatulla Matucisi* (*CIL* XIII 5496), in Gallia Transpadana - a person named **ucisi* (*AE* 1994, 737), in Dalmatia - Eugenius, son of Eucisus (*CIL* III 9735). Taking into account that the combination of letters *VCISIN* appeared in some personal names, it seems reasonable to suggest that they stood not for the prefect's origin, but for the name of his father, though Eck *et al.* (2001, 41) point out that after AD 124/129 prefects were recorded on the diplomas without their affiliation. The cognomen Catellius/Catelius was widespread, but prevailed in North Africa (Claus and Slaby, under the search word *Catell-*, accessed on 17.01.2012).

Table 3.24 Origin of soldiers in *cohors I Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum*: total summary¹⁶⁷

Origins	Numbers
Moesia Inferior	1
Dacia: Colonia Ulpia Trajana Samizegetusa	1
	Total ¹⁶⁸ : 2

Archaeology

The small scale excavations were conducted on a site of the Stolniceni fort in the 1950s and 60s, and these campaigns were followed up by excavation of a small part of the Roman bath houses in the 80s (Bichir 1985, 1988; Iosifaru 2009, 248-249). In 2005 – 2008 preventive excavations were begun, which helped to gather information relating to the first period of occupation after the Dacian Wars (Iosifaru 2009, 350). As a result of these excavations various objects came to light, including brooches (Iosifaru 2009, 348), though they are not published¹⁶⁹.

¹⁶⁷ Since two military servicemen are known to have served in this cohort, it seemed redundant to produce a separate table for the origin of each man.

¹⁶⁸ The soldier and prefect recorded on the diploma issued in AD 133 were not counted in the present table, since it is uncertain in which unit either of them served, i.e. either in the *cohors I Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum* or *cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum*.

¹⁶⁹ One brooch found on the site of *Buridava-Dacica*, the native settlement that developed in the proximity of the Roman fort *Buridava*, is probably a British umbonate, although there are problems with the reliability of the source. The author of this work has seen this potentially British umbonate on the website of Wikipedia, where it was described as an artefact of Dacian art and recorded as having been found at *Buridava-Dacica*, though the original publication was not mentioned (<http://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Buridava> as checked on 10.03.2011). I have been able to check most of the reports on the excavation of this native settlement, but this particular brooch was not mentioned in any of them (Berciu *et al.* 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993). Due to the unreliability of the internet resource, the decision was taken not to include this brooch in the description.

3.2.7. Cohors I Flavia Brittonum

History

The cohort was already in existence by AD 70, since it was discharging soldiers in AD 95 (I. 1). The evidence suggests that its first place of station might have been Germania Superior: one of the unit's soldiers might be from the *Sennones*, a tribe living on the border of Germania Superior (II. 3)¹⁷⁰.

The cohort is attested in Dalmatia in the late first century (II. 1; Wilkes 1969, 472; Alföldy 1962, 267; 1987, 250), from where it was relocated to Noricum, where it was already in AD 95 (I. 1; II. 3-5; Holder 2003, 135, tab. 6; 2006a, 147, 159, tab. 5). The unit might have stayed in Noricum until the second half of the third century (Ubl 2005, 112), though the occurrence of the votive inscription in *Virunum* (II. 5) does not indicate that the cohort was still there (Marcu 2002 – 2003, 224, note 56). This inscription indicates only the presence of the tribune of the cohort, who erected the votive altar with his family.

The occurrence on one of the inscriptions of the title *Malvensis* (II. 6) has led some scholars to suggest that the unit was relocated, somewhere in the late second-third century, to southern Dacia (Ubl 2005, 112; for discussion see Marcu 2002 – 2003, 224, note 53). However, there is no reason to believe that the cohort was transferred there, since the title *Malvensis* was used to designate an area of financial administration rather than a military province and therefore wouldn't have been used in the name of a military unit (Marcu 2002 – 2003, 224, note 53). In other words, if the unit was in southern Dacia, it would have been named after Dacia Inferior rather than after Dacia Malvensis to designate its military connections.

Table 3.25 Position of *cohortis I Flavia Brittonum*

AD 69	Flavian dynasty	Dacian Wars	Early second century	Late second century	Third century	Detachments
-	Germania Superior ? Dalmatia (until ca AD 95) Noricum (ca AD 95)	-	Noricum	Noricum	Dacia Malvensis ? Noricum ?	-

Awards

Flavia - this epithet might have been granted to the cohort as a battle honour (Holder 1980, 14). If the unit was indeed in Germania Superior at the time of one of the Flavian emperors it is most likely that this title was granted for service to Domitian during one of his campaigns, the Chattian Wars being the likely candidate. The unit might have received the designation *Domitiana*, but was renamed after the *damnatio memoriae* of Domitian in AD 96. The diploma issued for the army of Noricum in AD 95 is so

¹⁷⁰ The word *filius* / son is omitted from this inscription. Hence, it is uncertain whether *Sennonis* stood for a father's name, i.e. Senno, or for the origin, i.e. Sennones, or it was part of the soldier's name, i.e. Tertius Sennonis (Genser 1986, 243).

damaged that it is impossible to consider how the unit was named there, i.e. *Domitiana* or *Flavia*.

Forts

It is uncertain where the unit was stationed in Dalmatia. There is evidence of the service of some soldiers of the unit at the *officium* at Salona (II. 1). Dobož, where another tombstone was found (II. 2), can hardly be used as an indication of the unit's garrison, since it was only the place of commemoration of the unit's tribune.

Two forts have been suggested as candidates for the unit's station in Noricum: Melk and Pöchlarn (II. 3 and 4; Genser 1986, 243-244, 257; Fischer 2002, 44), though it is still disputed which one of these forts should be considered the unit's main station. Alföldy (1974, 148) proposes that a detachment of this cohort was garrisoned at Pöchlarn; Genser (1986, 243-244) and Ubl (2005, 112) see Pöchlarn as the main unit's station.

If this cohort formed part of the army of Dacia Inferior, it might have been stationed in Stolniceni, where a tile stamp, with the abbreviation CORSMB, has been located (*CIL* III 14216), though Marcu (2002 – 2003, 224) notes that this abbreviation might have stood for another British unit, namely *cohors I Augusta Nervia Pacensis*.

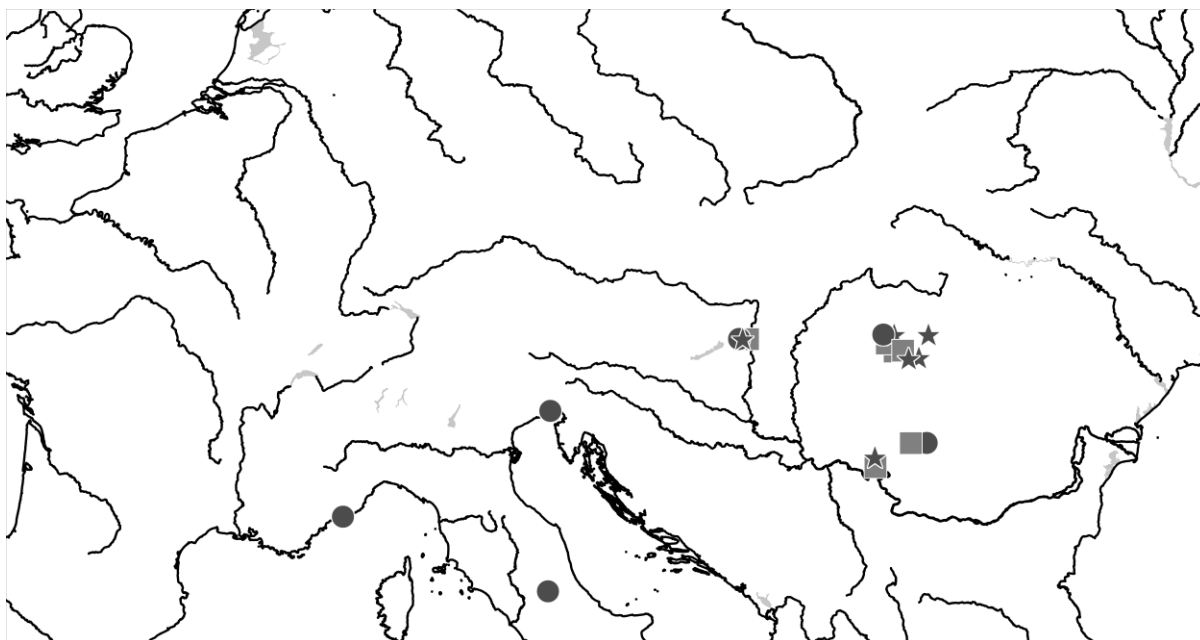


Figure 3.10 Geographical location of the military diplomas (star), inscriptions (circle) and forts (square) of the *cohors I Flavia Brittonum*

Personnel (in chronological order)

Prefects/commanding officers:

Tiberius Claudius Zeno Ulpianus: tribune, serving his second *militia* in the late first-second century AD, II. 2

Marcus Bellicius Saturninus: tribune, serving his second *militia* ca AD 267, II. 5

Marcus Aurelius Philippus¹⁷¹: tribune, serving his second *militia*, II. 6

Marcus Aurelius Cassianus: tribune, serving his second *militia*, II. 6

¹⁷¹ It is uncertain whether this person was the unit's tribune. In all reconstructions the word *trib* is expanded as *tribunus*, thus, in singular. However, it is entirely possible that both brothers served as tribunes in the same unit.

Soldiers:

Fidelis, son of Saturio: soldier, late first-second century AD, II. 1

Tertius, (son of Senno?): soldier, after AD 95, II. 3

Pompeius Celer: soldier, second century AD, II. 4

Relatives (in alphabetical order):

Bellicia Saturnina: daughter of M.B. Saturninus, II. 5

Bellicia Finitiana / Bellicius Finitianus¹⁷²: child of M.B. Saturninus, II. 5

Finitia Verbicia: wife of M.B. Saturninus, II. 5

Lucius Baebius Buttus: an heir to Tertius, II. 3

Marcus Aurelius Cassianus: father of M.A. Philippus and M.A. Cassianus, II. 6

Maximus: an heir to Pompeius Celer, II. 4

Origin of personnel

Known origin: There is only one person whose origin can be determined. Tertius was likely from the tribe of the *Senrones* in Gallia Lugdunensis (for other readings of the word *Senrones*, see above). He was buried by his heir, Lucius Baebius Buttus, and his parents. The *gentilicium* Baebius was very popular in Italy but also in the provinces that the Romans occupied early, such as Spain and Dalmatia, and was usually adopted by freeborns (Paki 1998, 126). Names such as Butto, Buttura, Butus appeared in the Celtic speaking provinces (OPEL I 132; Minkova 2000, 128), especially in Pannonia Superior (AE 1929, 219; CIL III 3801; CIL III 10598).

Origin based on prosopographical and onomastic analysis:

Marcus Bellicius Saturninus He did not indicate from where he hailed, but the elements of the nomenclature of his daughters and wife can give some indication as to the family origins. His daughters' names are Bellicia Saturnina and Bellicia Finitiana. The nomina of all three, Bellicius/a, is widespread but well represented in Noricum (Mócsy 1983, 47; OPEL I 117). The cognomen of one of the daughters, Finitianus/a, is most common in Noricum and Pannonia (Mócsy 1983, 126; OPEL II 141). The mother's nomen and cognomen, Finitia Verbicia, are widespread in Noricum and appears only in this province (For Finitia see Mócsy 1983, 126; OPEL II 141; for Verbicia see Mócsy 1983, 306; OPEL IV 156). It seems reasonable to suggest that we are dealing here with a family from Noricum.

Questionable origin:

Wilkes (1969, 478) sees the origin of Fidelis, son of Saturio as 'British'. Indeed the name of his father, Saturio, is a Celtic personal name that probably derives from the Gaulish element sat(t)- (Minkova 2000, 247). Yet, neither of the personal names, Fidelis or Saturio, occur in Britain; rather they appear everywhere, except Britain (for Saturio see Alföldy 1969, 288; Mócsy 1983, 255; OPEL IV 51; Minkova 2000, 247; for Fidelis see Mócsy 1983, 126; OPEL II 140). This can be considered an indication that this person was not of British descent (contra Wilkes 1969, 478).

¹⁷² In all reconstructions of this inscription this child is considered to be male, though there is no reason for this. In the first place, this child bears a combination name: the *gentilicium* comes from the father and the cognomen comes from the mother. It was rare for a male child to be named after the mother: usually females were given names that were variations of male names and not vice versa. In the second place, this child is second in line on the inscription, the name is not transcribed fully, probably for the reason that the child's sex should be regarded as the same as the sister's. Thus, Marcus Bellicius Saturninus plausibly had two daughters, rather than a daughter and a son.

Unknown origin:

The origins of Marcus Aurelius Philippus and Marcus Aurelius Cassianus, remain unknown. It has been proposed that Philippus and Cassianus were brothers since another person mentioned, Marcus Aurelius Cassianus, who was the governor of the province Dacia Malvensis, is called ‘the most beloved father’ and was most likely their real father (Petolescu 1997, 95). Their names shed no light on their origin: they were popular everywhere (for Philippus see Mócsy 1983, 221; OPEL III 138; Minkova 2000, 228; for Cassianus see Alföldy 1969, 172; Mócsy 1983, 70; OPEL II 40; Minkova 2000, 133).

The origin of Pompeius Celer is hard to identify, since the name was popular everywhere (Mócsy 1983, 228; OPEL III 150).

Where Tiberius Claudius Zeno Ulpianus hailed from, was not recorded on his tombstone. His third name, Zeno, is a personal name popular everywhere, especially among freedmen (Alföldy 1969, 332). His cognomen, Ulpianus, derives from the *gentilicium* Ulpus that was widespread in the Danube provinces (Minkova 2000, 91, 267-268).

Table 3.26 Origin of soldiers in *cohors (Flavia) I Brittonum*: total summary¹⁷³

Origins	Numbers
Gallia (Lugdunensis)	1
Noricum	1
Unknown	5
	Total: 7

Archaeology

As mentioned above the British-made brooch was reported from Croatia in the region of northern Dalmatia, which stretches from the Kvarner Riviera down to Split and where epigraphy attests the presence of the *cohortes I Belgarum* and soldiers of *I Flavia Brittonum*. It seems reasonable to assume that the brooch might have belonged to one of the soldiers from either British cohort.

The fort at Pöchlarn is not archaeologically visible: one part has been washed away by Danube, another part is covered by buildings, though small part of the southern area of the fort has been excavated (Genser 1986, 233-235; Kuttner 2007a www.limes-oesterreich.at/php/site.php?ID=233). Pottery, coins and some bronze objects, but not brooches, were recorded (Ladenbauer-Orel 1948); the finds from excavation of 2002 – 2003 have not been published. The fort at Melk has had a similar destiny: it is not visible archaeologically and there are problems in localising the fort itself (Genser 1986, 252-253; Kuttner 2007b www.limes-oesterreich.at/php/site.php?ID=236). The finds from the small scale excavation in 1969 – 1970 have not been published.

3.2.8. *Cohors I Ulpia Brittonum*

History

This cohort was probably recorded for the first time on the diploma issued for the army of Pannonia in AD 85 (I. 1; Benea 1997, 53; Lörincz 2001, 32; Holder 2006a, 143, 156, tab. 2), though it remains uncertain which one of the *cohors I Brittonum* was actually meant, i.e. with the epithet Aelia or Ulpia (Marcu 2002 – 2003, 227). If we are right to assume that our unit was part of the *cohors I Brittonum* mentioned on the diploma for AD 85, then the cohort was already in existence as early as AD 60.

¹⁷³ Since seven military servicemen are known to have served in this cohort, it seemed redundant to produce a separate table for the origin of each man.

The unit was in Britain as late as AD 85, since in AD 106 and AD 110 (I. 5 and 8) it discharged soldiers recruited respectively in the years AD 81 and 85 from one of the tribes of Britain: the *Belgae* and the *Coritani*. It is likely that the relocation of the unit to the Continent occurred in AD 85, as a result of the preparations for the military campaigns of Domitian on the Danube.

The next diploma where *cohors I Brittonum* appears is the one issued for the army of Moesia Superior in AD 103 – 107 (I. 3-4), and probably in AD 105 (I. 2 - there is no indication to which province the unit belonged, but Lörincz 1999, 200, 202 considers it to be also Moesia Superior), though it does not mean that the unit was stationed in Moesia Superior. Matei-Popescu and Tentea (2006, 129) make a case that the unit only passed under the command of the governor of Moesia Superior, while continuing to be garrisoned somewhere in Dacia. The unit was part of the support troops during the Dacian Wars and participated in major battles for which it gained its complex and prestigious title (Beneš 1970, 172; Benea 1997, 54; Lörincz 2001, 32; Matei-Popescu and Tentea 2006, 131, tab. 1).

After the wars it was in Dacia and stayed there for the whole of the second century AD. At first it was placed in the undivided Dacia (I. 5-8), then it belonged to the army of Dacia Superior (I. 9), and was later assigned to Dacia Porolissensis, as military diplomas for AD 128 – 164 show (I. 10-23; Beneš 1970, 172; Benea 1997, 55; Lörincz 2001, 32; Marcu 2002 – 2003, 225; Holder 2003, 132, tab. 1; Ciongradi *et al.* 2009, 210)¹⁷⁴.

Probably at the end of the second century AD or in third century AD the unit was stationed in Dacia Superior (Marcu 2002 – 2003, 226). The inscription from Bumbești records a certain *cohors I Aurelia Brittonum milliaria Antoniniana* and is dated to AD 200 – 201 (II. 7). It is possible that it was the same *cohors I Ulpia Brittonum*, but with the changed title since on the diplomas issued for the army of Dacia Porolissensis in AD 164 (I. 16-23), the unit is recorded without the honorific epithet Ulpia, though there is no doubt that this is our cohort. Marcu (2002 – 2003, 226) argues that the title Aurelia was received by the unit as a battle honour for its involvement in the conflicts at the end of AD 160 – 170 and was relocated to Dacia Superior as a consequence of the Marcomannic wars.

There is some evidence that the unit was transferred from Dacia Superior to Noricum in the third century, probably during or slightly after the reign of Caracalla (Ubl 2005, 112). At the fort on the Norican frontier, Wallsee, various tile stamps have been found, carrying the abbreviations CIAB, CO.I.AU.B and C.PR.AU.BR, which were expanded as *cohors I Aurelia Brittonum*, the unit's official title in the late second century. Moreover, an inscription of a soldier with the name of the cohort, i.e. *cohors I Aurelie (sic!) Brittonum*, has been recorded in excavations of the Wallsee fort (Ubl 2005, 112).

Table 3.27 Position of *cohors I Ulpia Brittonum*

AD 69	Flavian dynasty	Dacian Wars	Early second century	Late second century	Third century	Detachments
-	Britain (AD 60 – 85?) Pannonia (AD 85-101)	Moesia Superior (AD 101 – probably AD 106)	Dacia (AD 106 – 119 ?) Dacia Superior (AD 119? – AD 128?) Dacia Porolissensis (AD 128? – after AD 164)	Dacia Porolissensis (AD 128 – after AD 164)	Dacia Superior (after AD 164 – after AD 201) Noricum (from AD 217 onwards?)	-

¹⁷⁴ The exact dates when the cohort belonged to the army of Dacia, Dacia Superior or Dacia Porolissensis are uncertain.

Awards

Ulpia torquata pia fidelis civium Romanorum - this title was granted to this unit for its participation in the Dacian Wars (Beneš 1970, 172; Benea 1997, 54; Petolescu 1997, 93; Lörincz 2001, 146; Ciongradi *et al.* 2009, 212).

Aurelia - this title was probably given as a battle honour for the units' participation in the conflicts of AD 160s - 170s (Marcu 2002 – 2003, 226).

Forts

The unit might have been positioned in Pannonia at the fort *Vetus Salina*, modern Adony in Hungary between the years AD 85 – 101 (Lörincz 2001, 32, 65, tab. 7, 104; Visy 2003a, 147, but in 2003f, 112 he does not mention that this unit garrisoned this fort), where one funerary stele on which a soldier of this unit was commemorated (II. 2) and a military diploma issued to a soldier of this unit (I. 2) were found.

The unit's fort in Dacia Porolissensis is thought to be *Porolissum* – Pomēt where tile-stamps and inscriptions recording this unit have been found (II. 4 and 5; Gudea 1997c, 27, 100, fig.12; Marcu 2002 – 2003, 225; 2004, 574). However, a few tile-stamps were also found in Dierna and Bologna, and at Buciumi one button with an inscription, abbreviated as COHIBR or CIB, and expanded as *cohors I Brittonum* (Gudea 1997a, 18, 81, fig. 13, 1997b, 26; Marcu 2004, 591, no 6).

Gudea (1997a, 18-19) argues that the unit was positioned in Bologna in the first earth-and-timber phase of the fort for some time after the end of the Dacian Wars, before its relocation to *Porolissum*-Pomēt, while a unit's detachment might have been positioned in the fort at Buciumi (Gudea 1997a, 20; 1997b, 26). Another suggestion comes from Marcu (2002 – 2003, 225-226; 2004, 574; 2009, 35), who sees the tile stamps recorded in Bologna and the button from Buciumi¹⁷⁵ not as an indication of the presence of the unit but as an indication of the presence of the soldiers from our cohort, who were either there on business (bringing the tiles for construction) or as a result of a personnel transfer to participate in the construction or repairs of the forts. Moreover, he suggests that the tile-stamp from Dierna should be dated not to the time of the Dacian Wars, but to the late second–third centuries AD when the cohort was restoring the ramparts of the Bumbești fort (II. 7; Marcu 2002 – 2003, 226; 2004, 574). The service of the cohort in *Porolissum*-Pomēt is placed somewhere in the reign of Trajan and Hadrian (Marcu 2002 – 2003, 225; 2004, 574).

Overall, the main unit's fort in the second century was *Porolissum*-Pomēt in Dacia Porolissensis. Where the unit was stationed in the aftermath of the Dacian Wars is uncertain, but two forts, Bologna and Buciumi, are likely candidates. In the late second-third centuries, when the unit was in Dacia Superior, the cohort was probably garrisoned in Bumbești, with a small detachment in Dierna (probably for the restoration work)¹⁷⁶, although Marcu (2002 – 2003, 226) is uncertain if the unit was indeed garrisoned at Bumbești, because the inscription records the participation of the unit in the construction of a stone enclosure of a fort rather than indicating the unit's long-term stay.

In Noricum the unit might have been garrisoned at Wallsee, where tile stamps abbreviated with the unit's name and one inscription were recorded. The evidence suggests that the cohort was relocated there during, or slightly after, the reign of Caracalla and stayed there until the end of the third century (Ubl 2005, 112).

¹⁷⁵ Marcu (2002 – 2003, 225-226, also note 68) notes that this button was located in layers dated to the earlier period of the fort's existence, somewhat after the Dacian Wars, but warns that the abbreviation can be expanded to *cohors I Britannica*, which is also known to have been garrisoned in this area.

¹⁷⁶ The period ca AD 170 – 270 can be proposed, where the first date is the end of the Marcomannic wars when the units posted in Dacia Porolissensis were relocated to the south, to Dacia Superior; the second date is the approximate date of the Roman withdrawal from Dacia.

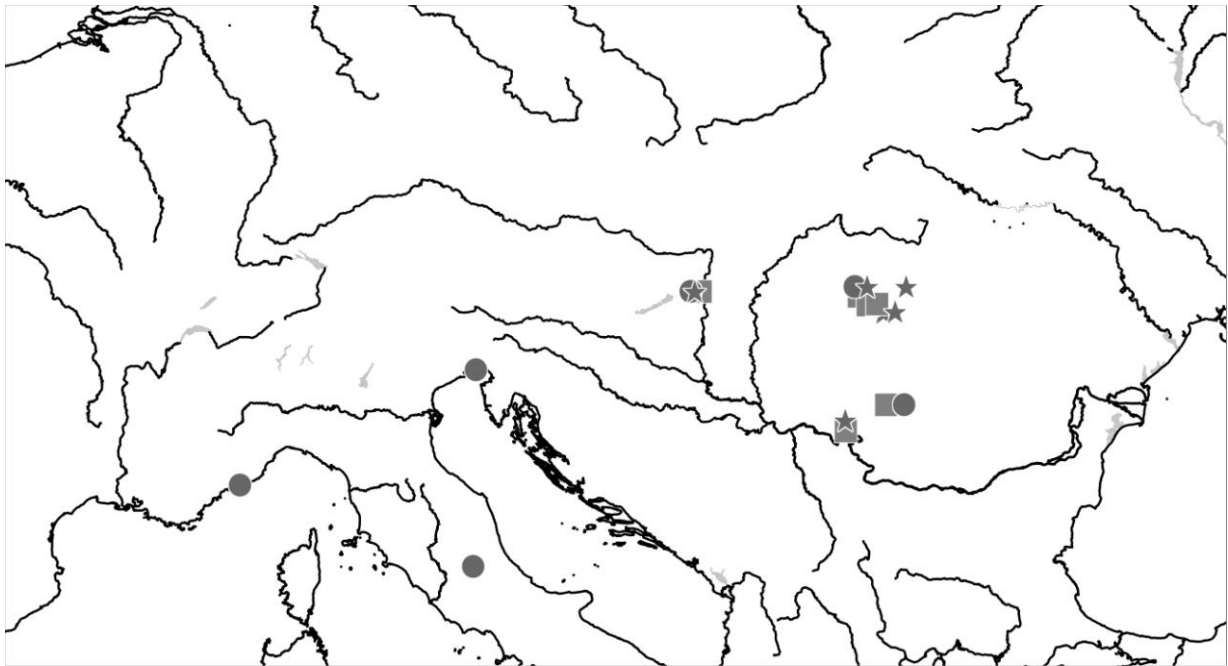


Figure 3.11 Geographical location of the military diplomas (star), inscriptions (circle) and forts (square) of the *cohors I Ulpia Brittonum*

Personnel (in chronological order)

Prefects/commanding officers:

Lucius Iulius Pansa: former centurion, veteran, late first century AD, II. 1

Arte(midorius/misus): centurion, early second century, Gudea 1997b, 26

Plautius: prefect, serving in the unit ca AD 105, I. 2

Marcus Aemilius Bassus: military tribune, serving his second *militia* ca AD 110, I. 8, II. 3

Antonius Carus: prefect, serving in the unit ca AD 128, I. 10

? (...) Super: prefect, serving in the unit ca AD 135, I. 12

Titus Iulius Arrianus: prefect, serving in the unit ca AD 151, I. 13

Lucius Nonius Bassus: prefect, serving in the unit ca AD 154, I. 14

(...)eius Pe(...)tus: prefect, serving in the unit ca AD 161 / 162, I. 15

Laecanius Sc(...): prefect, serving in the unit ca AD 164, I. 16

Aelius Firmus: centurion, Antonine-Severin, II. 5

Cludius: prefect, Antonine-Severin, II. 4

Unknown: tribune, serving his second *militia* in mid second century, II. 6

Soldiers:

Unknown, son of (...)marus: soldier, ca AD 80 – 105, I. 2

Marcus Ulpus, son of Adcobrovatus, Novantico: foot soldier, ca AD 81 – 106, I. 5

Marcus Ulpus, son of Sacc(i)us, Longinus: foot-soldier, ca AD 85 – 110, I. 8

(...)sus: cavalryman, late first century AD, between years AD 85 – 101, II. 2

(...)relius, son of Aurelius: foot-soldier, ca AD 103 – 128, I. 10

? (...) son of (...P)alladus: soldier, ca AD 110 – 135, I. 12

Prosostus, son of Ianuarius: foot-soldier, ca AD 126 – 151, I. 13

Ivonercus, son of Molacus: foot-soldier, ca AD 129 – 154, I. 14

Marcus Ulpus(?), son of Ulpus, N(...): cavalryman, ca AD 136/137 – 161/162, I. 15

Mucatralis, son of Bithus: cavalryman, ca AD 139 – 164, I. 16

Julius Julianus: soldier, third century, II. 8

Relatives (in alphabetical order):

Caius Iulius Proculus: heir to L. I. Pansa, II. 1

Vitalis: son of M.U. Longinus, I. 8

(...): daughter of A. Firmus, II. 5

? (...)us: son of (...) son of (...P)alladus, I. 12

? (...)us: son of (...) son of (...P)alladus, I. 12

Origin of personnel¹⁷⁷

Known origin:

The origin is known for at least four soldiers of this unit. M. U. Novantico indicated that he hailed from *Ratae Coritanorum*, modern-day Leicester in the UK, M. U. Longinus was from the the *Belgae* tribe, which lived in Hampshire and Somerset in southern England (Dobson and Mann 1973, 199; Birley 1980, 102). Another foot soldier, Prosoctus, was Pannonian by birth, as indicated on his military diploma.

A soldier recruited in ca AD 129, Ivonercus, indicated his origin as *Britto*, i.e. British by birth. While it is questionable that the unit recruited Britons in the second quarter of the second century, it seems possible to assume that this soldier might have been a second generation Briton. Since he was granted citizenship for his service in this unit, it is likely that his father was not a military serviceman and could have arrived in Dacia not as a soldier, but possibly as the slave of a centurion¹⁷⁸. Why Ivonercus' chooses for such a provincial origin is uncertain, but comparison with other inscriptions where the same origin was recorded has shown that such pattern was relatively widespread in the second century (for the discussion see chapter 6, section 6.1).

From the various military diplomas, the origin of the prefects and the unit's military tribunes are also known. Marcus Aemilius Bassus was from one of the Roman voting tribes, the Falerna, and probably hailed from *Albintimilium*, modern Vintimille in Italy, where he was buried and commemorated with a monument (Devijver 2001, 59); T. Iulius Arrianus stated that he hailed from Rome; Lucius Nonius Bassus came from the Italian district of *Picenum* between the Adriatic coast and the Appennines.

Table 3.28 Known origin of soldiers of *cohors I Ulpia Brittonum*

Origins	Numbers
British tribes / Britain:	
Town of <i>Ratae Coritanorum</i>	1
<i>Belgae</i>	1
Britto	1
Pannonian tribes / Pannonia:	
Pannonia	1
Italy	
City of Rome	1
<i>Albintimilium</i>	1
District <i>Picenum</i>	1

Origin based on prosopographical and onomastic analysis:

Marcus Ulpius, son of Ulpius, N(...) This soldier was recruited ca AD 136/137, and already at the time of his recruitment had Roman citizenship, which had been granted to his ancestors by Trajan. Since this soldier served in the unit, soldiers of which received the citizen rights from Trajan for their participation in the Dacian Wars, it is likely that he was the son or grandson of a soldier who had served in this very same unit ca AD 101

¹⁷⁷ Origin of (...) Super and (...), son of (P)alladus is discussed in the section on *cohors II Britannorum*.

¹⁷⁸ Contra A. Birley (1980, 103), who suggests that Ivonercus was recruited for some special needs and was transferred from Britain to Dacia with other British recruits.

– 106. His case is an example of hereditary military service, whereby recruitment was from among the sons of veterans who had settled in the proximity of a fort (Dobson and Mann 1973, 202). This soldier may have been a son or grandson of M. U. Novantico, due to the similarity in the names (Spaul 2000, 197). In any case his ancestor served in the unit ca AD 101 – 106, when the cohort had British recruits, so his ancestor might as well be of British origin. Following this line of argument, it seems reasonable to suggest that this Marcus Ulpian might have been a second generation Briton.

Ignotii Two soldiers, whose names do not survive, were recruited in AD 80 and 85, when the unit was, possibly, in Britain and might have been recruited from one of the British tribes (Lörincz 1999b, 201). The father’s name of one of these soldiers, (...)marus, has a common suffix in Celtic personal names (Raybould and Sims-Williams 2009, 16, no 55) and also appeared in some Celtic British names (Russell and Mullen 2009, under the element *maro-*).

Mucatralis, son of Bithus This soldier’s personal and parental names, Mucatralis and Bithus, are Thracian (Paki 1998, 132, no 18; Minkova 2000, 126, 216), which might indicate his native land.

Laecanius Sc(...) While the origin of this prefect did not survive on the military diploma, his *gentilicium* shows that he might have hailed from the *Laecanii* family from Pula, Istria, Croatia (Devijver 2001, 59).

Unknown tribune While the name of this person, as well as his origin, do not survive, the fact that he was buried in *Amiternum*, San Vittorino in Italy, and commemorated by the citizens, invites the suggestion that this town was actually his birth place (Devijver 2001, 59).

Table 3.29 Origin of soldiers of *cohors I Ulpia Brittonum* based on prosopographical and onomastic analysis

Origin	Numbers
Britain	3
Thracia	1
Italy / Italian regions	2

Questionable origin:

The cognomen of Lucius Iulius Pansa, suggests that he could be from the Danube region (Alföldy 1969, 258; Mócsy 1983, 214; OPEL III 122; Millett 2005, 75).

The name of the prefect Cludius appeared in the exact same spelling on an inscription found in Moesia Inferior and is dated to the period from AD 151 – 230 (*CIL* III 7532b). The person mentioned on that inscription is Cludius Secundus from *Abonutichus*, a town on the coast of Paphlagonia in modern Turkey. It is hard to say whether Cludius, the prefect of the cohort, and Cludius Secundus are the same person, however, there is a slight possibility that he might be. The cognomen Cludius is rare on inscriptions and was found, apart from in Moesia Inferior, in Hispania, Gallia Narbonensis and Dacia (Mócsy 1983, 82; OPEL II 66). Another soldier of the same unit, Mucatralis, who served in the unit around the time when Cludius was prefect, was of Thracian origin. If we conclude, that Cludius and Cludius Secundus are the same person, we have a man of Near Eastern origin who supervised the nominally British unit with Greek speaking recruits in the second quarter of the second century AD.

Table 3.30 Questionable origin of soldiers of *cohors I Ulpia Brittonum*

Origin	Numbers
Greek speaking regions	1
Danube provinces	1

Unidentifiable origin:

The origins of three prefects, two centurions and one foot soldier remain uncertain. The origin of Julius Julianus is obscure, since his cognomen was popular everywhere, but prevailed in Celtic speaking provinces (Minkova 2000, 187-188).

Children:

M. U. Longinus gave his son the typically Roman name Vitalis, which was also very popular in the Celtic speaking provinces (Mócsy 1983, 316; OPEL IV 176-177; Minkova 2000, 278).

Table 3.31 Origin of soldiers in *cohors (Ulpia) I Brittonum*: total summary

Origins	Numbers
British tribes / Britain	6
Pannonian tribes / Pannonia	1
Thracia	1
Italy	5
Danube regions	1
Greek speaking regions	1
Unknown:	7
	Total: 22

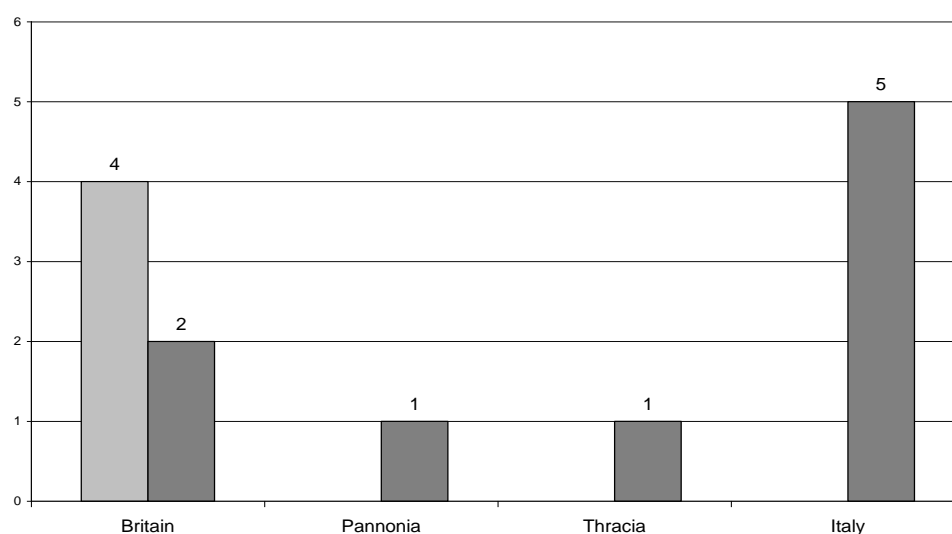


Figure 3.12 Origin of soldiers of *cohors I Ulpia Brittonum* divided per century. Note: light grey stands for the late first century; dark grey for the second century (only provincial origin was counted)

Archaeology

One British-made brooch was found in the excavations on the site of the civilian settlement at the military fort at Bumbești, Romania. It appears to be a dragonesque brooch of a mid-first century type mainly attested in the northern England (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 171-172). It was found in the vicus inside one of the buildings and together with coins, but the chronological context was not recorded. The epigraphy evidences the presence of our cohort in Bumbești in the late second-third century AD and it might appear that the brooch was brought to the site by one of the soldiers of this British cohort. That the brooch of the mid-first century date was still perfectly preserved

and in use in the late second century might indicate that it was a valuable object, possibly an heirloom.

At the other forts where the unit was stationed, no British brooches have so far been identified. A large part of the fort *Vetus Salina* was washed away by the Danube, though the parts that survived have been excavated (Barkózi and Bónis 1954; Visy 2003f, 111, esp. figure on 112). A brooch was located in the 1954 excavation, identified as a Pannonian one (Barkózi and Bónis 1954, 163, 164, abb. 15, no 7). The forts in Dacia, Bologa, Buciumi and *Porolissum*-Pomet, were extensively excavated by Romanian archaeologists (Gudea and Cociş 1995; Gudea 1997a, 1997b, 1997c; Marcu 2009, 26-52, 88-101) and brooches were found on these sites, though none can be identified as British-made. The fort at Wallsee was partially excavated and some small finds have been recorded (Tscholl 1977 – 1978). Brooches were found on the site, though only two examples (Tscholl 1977 – 1978, 173-174), neither of which can be identified as British made¹⁷⁹.

3.2.9. *Cohors II Britannorum*

History

The cohort is mentioned for the first time in the diploma issued for the army of Germany dated to AD 81 – 84 (I. 1; Franzen *et al.* 2004 – 2005, 172; Marcu 2004, 574; Holder 2006a, 160, tabl. 7). This suggests that the unit was in existence as early as AD 56 – 59, thus, making earlier assumptions that the formation of the unit should be dated to the reign of Vespasian untenable (Gudea 1983, 154; Matei and Bajusz 1997, 81; Petolescu 1997, 94; Polak 2009, 950, fig. 3). The cohort had probably been created a decade earlier and was relocated to Germania Inferior during the reign of Vespasian who required the presence of large military forces in Germania Inferior after the Batavian revolt in AD 69 – 70. The last year of the cohort's presence in Germania Inferior is AD 98 (I. 2; Haalebos 2000a, 54; Holder 2006a, 148, 160, tab. 7; Polak 2009, 950, fig. 3).

In preparation for the Dacian Wars the cohort was moved to Moesia Superior, where it is attested on diplomas for the year AD 100 (I. 3-4; Gudea 1983, 154; Matei and Bajusz 1997, 82; Petolescu 1997, 94; Spaul 2000, 198; Marcu 2004, 574; Franzen *et al.* 2004 – 2005, 172; Matei-Popescu and Tentea 2006, 127, 131, tab. 1; Eck and Pangerl 2008, 326-329).

The unit stayed in Dacia and was part of the army, first of undivided Dacia (I. 5-7), then of Dacia Superior (I. 8), and from AD 119 until 164 it formed the garrison of Dacia Porolissensis (I. 9-22; Gudea 1983, 154; Matei and Bajusz 1997, 82; Holder 2003, 132, tab. 1; Matei-Popescu and Tentea 2006, 131, tab. 1, 135; Holder 2006a, 143, 156, tab. 2). The cohort might have been still in Dacia in the third century, since in *Porolissum* – Moigrad tile-stamps were located abbreviated as COH II BRTS and expanded as *cohors II Britannorum Severiana* (Matei and Bajusz 1997, 86, 168, taf. X).

The cohort was recorded differently on different diplomas (Isac 2003, 35). On the ones issued for the army of Germania Inferior and Moesia Superior the unit was named as “*cohors II Brittonum*” and on the diplomas for the army of Dacia it was usually recorded as “*cohors II Britannorum*”. Though it is likely that the units mentioned are the very same cohort (contra Matei and Bajusz 1997, 90), it is uncertain why the cohort was referred to differently. It can be suggested that the unit was initially named after recruits, i.e. cohort of Britons = *cohors Brittonum*. Later, when locals from the province of Dacia replaced some of the initial recruits, the unit was renamed to take account of the recruitment situation. It was called the *cohors II Britannorum* to indicate the provincial

¹⁷⁹ The recent publication, that of Tscholl (2000 – 2001), which covers the excavations at this fort from 1979 to 1999 was not available.

origin of the unit, i.e. Britain, rather than the *cohors II Brittonum* to indicate the origin of the recruits. This hypothesis is hard to prove, especially when other units, such as *cohortes I Aelia* and *I Flavia Brittonum*, in which the locals replaced the initial soldiers as early as the second century AD, were never renamed or, on contrary, when units were renamed, but the renaming went the other way round: the unit such as *ala I Britannica* was called as *ala I Brittonum* on the diplomas issued in AD 162 (*ala I Britannica*, I. 37-38).

Table 3.32 Position of *cohors II Britannorum*

AD 69	Flavian dynasty	Dacian Wars	Early second century	Late second century	Third century	Detachments
Britain?	Germania Inferior (AD 70? – AD 98/100)	Moesia Superior (AD 100 – probably AD 106)	Dacia (AD 100 – 119?) Dacia Superior (AD 119? – AD 125/8 ?) Dacia Porolissensis (AD 125/8? – after AD 164)	Dacia Porolissensis (AD 125/8 – after AD 164)	Dacia Porolissensis	-

Awards

The unit is recorded on the military diplomas for the army of Moesia Superior (I. 3-4) with two honorific titles¹⁸⁰. Since these diplomas were issued in AD 100, thus, before the start of the Dacian Wars, the cohort must have been granted the honours during the reign of the Flavian dynasty while it was in Germania Inferior (Isac 2003, 35).

Civium Romanorum - this title was probably given to the unit for its participation in suppressing the Batavian revolt (Gudea 1983, 154; Matei and Bajusz 1997, 81; Haalebos 2000a, 55).

Pia fidelis - this title was likely awarded for the unit's role in putting down the revolt of Saturninus in AD 89 for Domitian (Gudea 1983, 154; Petolescu 1997, 94; Matei and Bajusz 1997, 81; Haalebos 2000a, 55).

Antoniniana – this title appeared on tile stamps discovered in the fort Romita (Matei and Bajusz 1997, 87) and was possibly granted to the cohort during the reign of Caracalla.

Severiana - this title appeared on tile stamps discovered in *Porolissum* - Moigrad (Matei and Bajusz 1997, 86) and was possibly granted to the cohort during the reign of Septimius Severus. Matei and Bajusz (1997, 90), however, suggest that S stood for another abbreviation, probably *S(agittariorum)*.

Forts

The cohort's name is recorded on tile-stamps located in two forts of Germania Inferior: Vechten, the Netherlands, and Xanten, Germany (*AE* 1903, 280e; *CIL* XIII 12424, 12425 and one tile stamp conserved in the Dutch National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, inv. no VF 51; Haalebos 2000a, 54-55, abb. 18). Since the frequency of the occurrence of the tile stamps with the unit's name is quite low in both forts, it should not be regarded as a firm indication of the station of the unit it mentions and one might consider that the cohort was stationed elsewhere rather than in Vechten or

¹⁸⁰ On the diploma published in Chiron-38-326 the second title, that of *pia fidelis*, is absent from the surviving text on the outer side, though the restorers of the diploma add this missing title on the reconstructed inner side.

Xanten (Polak and Wynia 1991, 145). Possibly the cohort or a detachment thereof participated in constructing these two forts or sent its brick tiles there to be used.

Numerous tile-stamps abbreviated with the unit's name were found on the sites of military forts in Cășeiu, Ilișua, Moigrad, Românași and Romita (Gudea 1983, 155; Isac 1987; 2003, 240, pl. II; Matei and Bajusz 1997, 85, esp. 162-167, taf. IV – IX). The stamps located in Cășeiu and Ilișua are similar (Isac 1987, 180, esp. fig. 1 and 2; Matei and Bajusz 1997, 83; Franzen *et al.* 2004 – 2005, 172-173), while the ones found in Romita, Moigrad and Românași are different in the abbreviations they feature. Based on analysis of the stratigraphic layers in which the tile-stamps were located in Cășeiu and Ilișua, it has been suggested that the cohort built the first phases of both forts during the reign of Trajan (Isac 1987, 178; 2003, 33, 37; Matei and Bajusz 1997, 83; Franzen *et al.* 2004 – 2005, 173; Marcu 2009, 111-112). The cohort built the earlier fort at Cășeiu and maybe also participated in the construction of the earth and timber fort at Ilișua (Isac 1987, 178-179; 2003, 33-34), though the higher frequency of tile-stamps of this cohort in the fort of Cășeiu can be used as an indication of the unit's garrison in the aftermath of Dacian Wars (Matei and Bajusz 1997, 83; Isac 2003, 34; Franzen *et al.* 2004 – 2005, 173; Marcu 2004, 575; 2009, 111-112).

The unit was transferred to Romita in the second quarter of the second century where it erected the stone fort and remained for the whole second century AD (Matei and Bajusz 1997, 84; Franzen *et al.* 2004 – 2005, 173; Marcu 2009, 112). This interpretation is supported by the occurrence of 75 tile stamps found inside the fort and bath complex which strongly suggest that this unit built the stone fort, stayed there and took an active part in the fort's reconstruction over the years (Matei and Bajusz 1997, 91).

The tiles found in Românași and Moigrad are regarded as the dispatch and construction material and were sent to these forts by the cohort, when it was garrisoned at Romita (for the detailed discussion see Franzen *et al.* 2004 – 2005, 174; Marcu 2004, 575-576; Marcu 2009, 112)¹⁸¹.

¹⁸¹ Cf. Marcu (2004, 585-586), who convincingly shows that in a situation where similar types of tile stamps were found in two neighbouring forts, this can indicate that one of these forts was the unit's garrison from where the tiles were dispatched to the neighbouring fort.

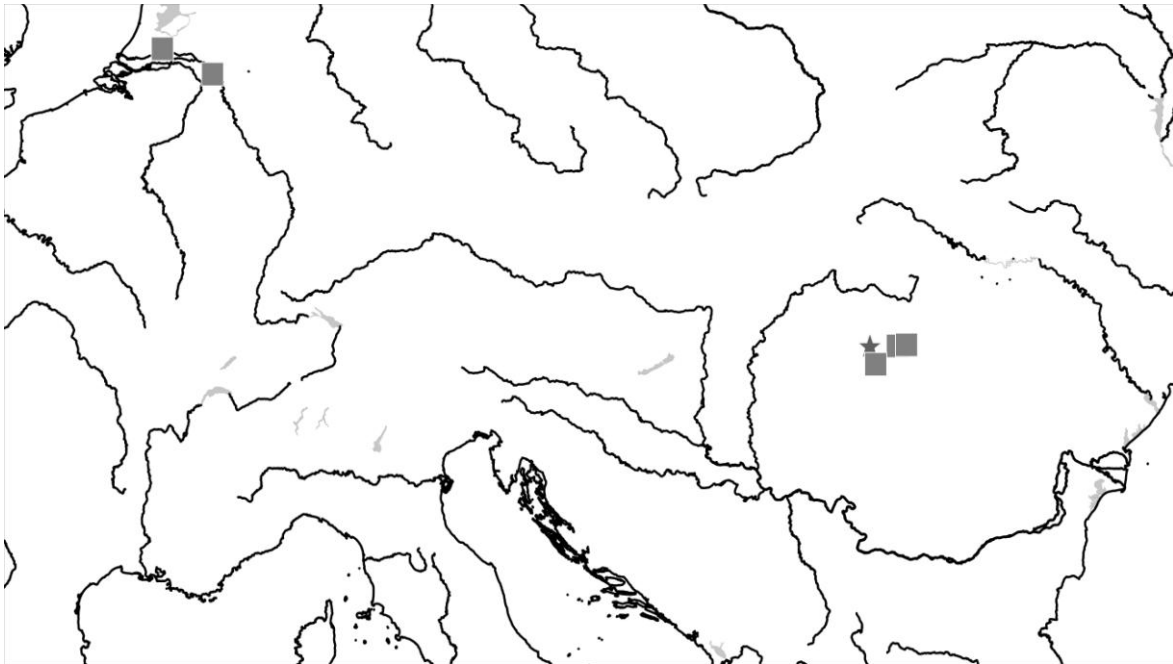


Figure 3.13 Geographical location of the military diplomas (star) and forts (square) of the *cohort II Britannorum*

Personnel (in chronological order)

Prefects/commanding officers:

(...) Super: prefect, serving in the unit ca AD 135, I. 11

Soldiers:

(...) son of (...P)alladus: soldier, ca AD 110 – 135, I. 11

Relatives (in alphabetical order):

(...)us: son of (...) son of (...P)alladus, I. 11

(...)us: son of (...) son of (...P)alladus, I. 11

Origin:

Questionable origin: The origin of the commander of the unit has been recorded as *Noviomagus*, but it is hard to identify which *Noviomagus* was meant: *Noviomagus Regnenses* (modern-day Chichester) in southern Britannia, *Noviomagus Batavorum* (modern-day Nijmegen) in Germania Inferior or *Noviomagus* (modern-day Speyer) in Germania Superior. In RMD IV 248, note 5 the origin of the (...) Super was identified as the *Noviomagus* in Germania Inferior without giving an explanation why this *Noviomagus* has been chosen.

The origin of the soldier recruited ca AD 110 is unknown: only the first letter of his tribe name survived, D(...), making it impossible to determine his origin. His father's name, Palladius, is widespread one (Minkova 2000, 224), and appeared in most provinces of the Roman Empire, including Dalmatia (*CIL* III 9062, 9252, 9607a) and Gallia Belgica (*AE* 1931, 45) and Germania (*CIL* XII 2630; *CIL* XIII 2129, 6746, 8558 to name a few)¹⁸². This soldier had two children who were given Roman names as indicated by the surviving endings (the whole names do not survive).

¹⁸² Contra RMD IV 248, note 6, where it was mentioned that the name Palladi was especially widespread in the area around *Porolissum*, the findspot of the diploma

Table 3.33 Origin of soldiers in *cohors II Britannorum*: total summary

Origins	Numbers
Town of <i>Noviomagus</i> ; province uncertain	1
Unknown	1
	Total: 2

Archaeology

British-made objects were located on sites in Germania Inferior, where tile-stamps of the *cohors II Britannorum* were recorded: at Vechten - a pendant for a horse (Morris 2010, 191, no 5)¹⁸³ and at Xanten - four British-made brooches. The occurrence of the pendant can be seen as evidence for the presence of a cavalry regiment, but in the available epigraphic evidence our unit does not seem to appear with the title *equitata*, and the rank of the soldiers known to have served in the cohort suggests that it was an infantry unit. The British-made objects found in Xanten and Vechten, thus, may have reached the site not with a member of a British auxiliary unit but by different means (for the detailed discussion see chapter 5, section 5.2.1.1).

A British-made brooch was found in the layer datable to phase II of the barrack blocks situated on *praetentura dextra* in the fort Cășeiu (Isac 2003, 257, pl. XIX, no 9). Two building phases of the barracks correspond to the period when two British cohorts were posted here: phase I - *cohors II Britannorum* and phase II - *cohors I Britannica* (Isac 2003, 179). However, the phases overlap archaeologically. Thus, in spite of the fact that the brooch was found in the layer datable to the phase II, it could have reached the fort with a member from either unit.

The fort and vicus of Ilișua have been excavated by a team of Romanian archaeologists on various occasions and reports have been published (Gaiu 2001, 2002; Protase and Gaiu 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999a and 1999b; Protase *et al.* 1997; 2003; see also Marcu 2009, 79-86). Brooches were found in the excavations of 1994, 1997, 1998 and 2002 and have appeared in the publications by Protase *et al.* (1993) and Gaiu and Cociș (2001), but these publications were not available for me to inspect.

The fort of Romita, where the cohort was garrisoned in the second quarter of the second century is relatively well researched (Matei and Bajusz 1997; Franzen *et al.* 2004 – 2005; Marcu 2009, 101-114), and various artefacts have been discovered there, including brooches, though none can be identified as British-made (see Matei and Bajusz 1997, 62, 64, 66, esp. 126-127).

3.2.10. *Cohors II Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum*

History

As in the case of the *cohors I Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum* this unit was probably raised from the population living in the area of the lower Severn territory around the colony *Nervia Glevum*, or *Nervia Pacensis Glevum*, modern day Gloucester (Holder 1980, 40). The unit was already in existence in AD 80, since it was discharging soldiers in AD 105 (I. 2). By AD 99/110 and 105 the cohort was garrisoned in Moesia Inferior, probably relocated there ca AD 100 in preparation for the Dacian Wars (I. 1 and 2; Tentea and Matei-Popescu 2002 – 2003, 277; Holder 2006a, 142, 155, tab. 1) Most likely the unit was part of the support troops.

Where the unit was stationed between AD 80 and 100 is uncertain: no evidence has survived that would allow any ideas to be advanced.

¹⁸³ In the excavations conducted in 1996 at Vechten-Bunnik 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.

How long the unit was in Moesia Inferior is unknown, but in AD 114 it was part of the army of Pannonia Inferior, probably relocated there to replace the units sent to take part in the Parthian War of Trajan, AD 114 – 117 (I. 3-7; Beneš 1970, 173; Lőrincz 2001, 32; Holder 2003, 134, tab. 4; Holder 2006a, 155, tab. 1). By AD 123 the cohort formed part of the garrison of Dacia Porolissensis (I. 8). Lőrincz (2001, 32) suggests that the unit was relocated from Pannonia Inferior to Dacia as early as AD 118/119, thus, after the end of the Parthian Wars, when most of the units that had served in Parthia returned to Pannonia Inferior.

The cohort was stationed in Dacia Porolissensis during the whole of the second century (I. 8-23; Beneš 1970, 173; Petolescu 1997, 95; Holder 2003, 132, tab. 1). It was still there during the reign of Caracalla (II. 1-2).

Table 3.34 Position of *cohors II Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum*

AD 69	Flavian dynasty	Dacian Wars	Early second century	Late second century	Third century	Detachments
-	-	Moesia Superior (AD 100 – ?)	Pannonia Inferior (AD 114 – 119?) Dacia Porolissensis (AD 123? – after AD 164)	Dacia Porolissensis (AD 128 – after AD 164)	Dacia Porolissensis	-

Awards

Civium Romanorum - on a military diploma issued ca AD 133 – 140 the title *civium Romanorum* was added by the restorers of the diploma (I. 12), without giving explanations of when and how the cohort was granted with this title (Eck *et al.* 2002 – 2003, 46-48). On the other diplomas, where the name of the cohort has survived fully (I. 2, 3-7, 8, 14), this honorific title does not appear and it seems that the unit was never granted the title *civium Romanorum*.

Antoniniana - this title was granted to the cohort during the reign of Caracalla, probably as a result of his visit to Dacia in AD 213.

Pia Fidelis – it is more than likely that this title was bestowed upon the unit by Caracalla, though for which particular action is uncertain (Gudea 1997b, 52). It might have been granted with the hope of gaining the support and sympathy of the troops after Caracalla's orders to kill his brother Geta or given as a result of Caracalla's visit to Dacia in AD 123.

Forts

It has been suggested that in Pannonia Inferior the unit was placed at *Alisca* (modern day Ócsény in Hungary) between the years AD 113/114 – 118/119, since stamped tiles abbreviated COHIIBR were found there and in the adjacent Roman cemetery near Szekszárd (RHP 279a and 279b; Lőrincz 1977c, 16, 56-57; 2001, 104). The abbreviations on the stamps have been expanded as *cohors II Brittonum* and might, therefore, indicate the presence of the *cohors II Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum* since no other British units with the numeral 'two' are known to have served in Pannonia Inferior. However, Visy (2003a, 148) does not place this cohort there, but suggests *cohors I Noricorum equitata* instead. That two cohorts were garrisoned in this fort is not possible since, according to surveys conducted in the area, the fort was of a size suitable for accommodating a *cohors quingenaria* (Visy 2003d, 127). There might have been, however, another fort adjacent to *Alisca*, that is in Szekszárd, which might

have played a role in the accommodating the soldiers from *cohors II Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum* (Visy 2003d, 127).

In Dacia Porolissensis, the cohort was located in the second quarter of the second century until the mid third century in Buciumi as indicated by two tile stamps (AE 1977, 709; Chirilă *et al.* 1972, 116, no 6; Gudea 1997b, 30-31, 52, 94, abb. 12; Marcu 2009, 53) and two dedications (II. 1 and 2), though it is uncertain whether or not it had occupied another fort prior to this one.

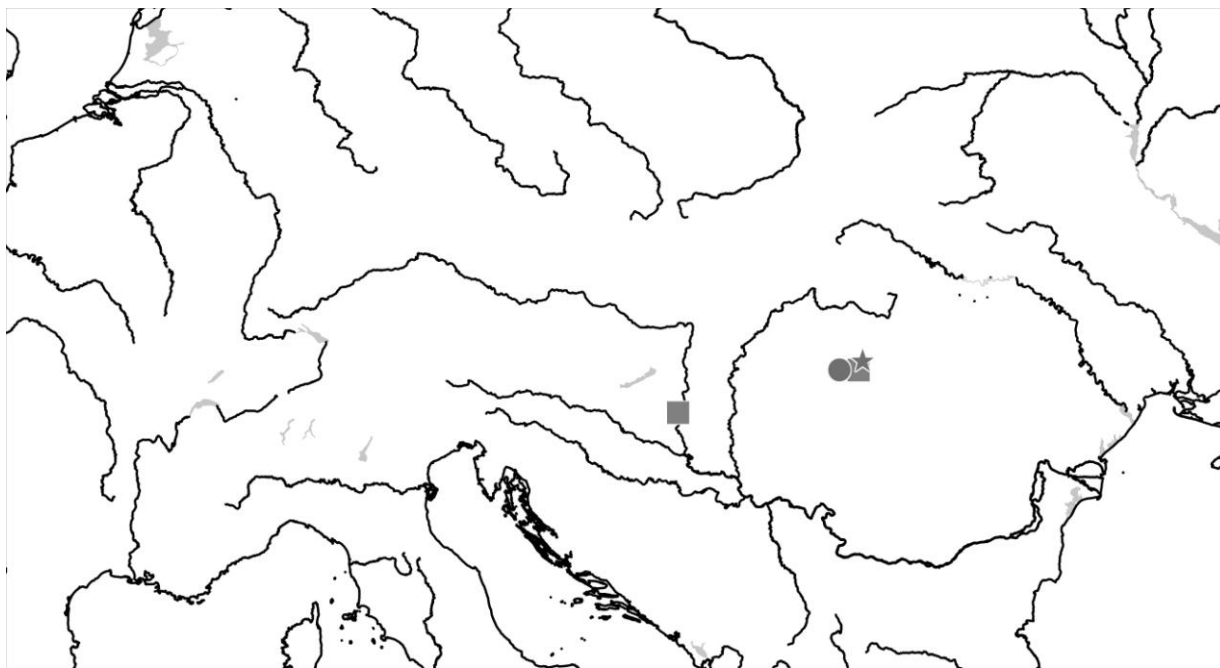


Figure 3.14 Geographical location of the military diplomas (star), inscriptions (circle) and forts (square) of the *cohors II Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum*

Personnel (in chronological order)

*Prefects/commanding officers*¹⁸⁴:

Lucius Secundinius: prefect, serving in the unit ca AD 135, I. 11

Lucius Volusius: prefect, serving in the unit ca AD 133 – 140, I. 12

(Furius) or (...)ivius Felix: prefect, serving in the unit ca AD 138 – 142, I. 13

Soldiers:

Didaecuttius, son of L(...): foot soldier, ca AD 108/115 – 133/140, I. 12

(...), son of (...)igus or A(...)r(...), son of I(i)me(...): foot-soldier, ca AD 113/117 – 138/142, I. 13

Relatives (in alphabetical order):

Dimidusa: daughter of Didaecuttius, son of L(...), I. 12

Diurpa, daughter of Dotu(...): wife of Didaecuttius, son of L(...), I. 12

Iulius: son of Didaecuttius, son of L(...), I. 12

Senecia, daughter of Rellectei: wife of (...), son of (...)igus or A(...)r(...), son of I(i)me(...), I. 13

¹⁸⁴ Gudea (1997b, 32) notes the existence of the unit's prefect, a certain Titus Antonius Claudius Alphenus Arignotus. He is mentioned on an inscription from *Thyatira*, present day Akhisar in Turkey. On the inscription itself (CIG 3497), there is no indication that he was a prefect of this particular unit.

Origin

Origin based on prosopographical and onomastic analysis:

(...), son of (...)*igus*, or A(...)*r*(...), son of I(i)*me*(...) The reading of the name of the recipient on the military diploma I. 13 is uncertain. It has been suggested that *-(...)*igus** is the patronymic and the next three letters stood for the soldier's origin (Paki 1998, 140). Paki (1998, 140) suggests various places starting with *Ime*(...), concluding that this soldier's origin should be searched for in a Celtic-speaking area.

Another reading of the diploma was provided in RMD V, p. 917, where *I(i)*me*(...)* is taken to stand for the patronymic. This name included either the Latin element *-mens* or the Greek element *-menos/-menus* (Holder 2006b, 918, note 5).

Taking into account the period when this soldier might have entered the cohort, i.e. between the years AD 113 – 117, this soldier can be proposed to have rather contradictory origins: a Pannonian Celt or a Greek-speaking Thracian.

Didaecuttius, son of L(...) The name Didaecuttius equally does not appear in Minkova (2000), Alföldy (1969), Mócsy (1983) or the OPEL, although names starting with the element *did-* are known in the lands of Moesia Inferior and Superior (OPEL II 990). Based on this, it has been suggested that he was of Thracio-Dacian origin (Eck *et al.* 2002 – 2003, 47).

Table 3.35 Origin of soldiers of *cohors II Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum* based on prosopographical and onomastic analysis

Origin	Numbers
Thracio-Dacian	1
Pannonian Celt / Thracian	1

Unknown origin:

The origin of the prefects did not survive on the military diplomas. Their names also do not give any clue as to their origins. The name combination *Lucius Volusius*, for instance, was popular everywhere, especially in Rome (*CIL* VI 7319, 7320, 7323, 7333 to name a few). *Lucius Secundinius*' cognomen prevailed in the Danube region (Noricum – *CIL* III 5382; 5631; Raetia – *CIL* III 5779). The cognomen of the third prefect, *Felix*, was widespread (OPEL II 138; Minkova 2000, 166).

Wives and children:

One of the recipients' wives was called *Senecia*. This name, mostly in its male variation, spelled as *Senecianus/Senecius*, is recorded everywhere, but prevailed in the Celtic-speaking regions (OPEL IV 65-66). Her father's name *Rellecteus* is probably a compound name; *relli-* was seen by Holder (1896-1919, bd. II, 1115) to be a Celtic element, which is attested in two place names called *Rillé* (regions *Indre-et-Loire* and *Jouhet*), in France, though in Evans (1967), Delamarre (2001), Raybould and Sims-Williams (2007a, 2007b, 2009) this name or its elements are not considered to be Celtic. Paki (1998, 141) suggests that it belong to the category of names derived from the *participium* of a Latin verb: *relictus* is a *participium* of the verb *relicear*. Taking into account that *Senecia* might have met her husband while he was with his unit in Pannonia, it seems possible to suggest that she was of the local descent. Paki (1998, 140-141) suggests, however, that, if the name was found in Pannonia, it was usually carried by a person of North Italian or Rhineland origins, and, after the reign of *Marcus Aurelius*, was especially prevalent in the area around *Carnuntum* (Paki 1998, 140-141).

The name of the wife of the second recipient, *Diurpa*, is Dacian, as is his daughter's name, *Dimidusia* (Eck *et al.* 2002 – 2003, 47). His elder son had the typically Roman name *Iulius*. The name of the second son did not survive.

Table 3.36 Origin of soldiers in *cohors II Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum*: total summary

Origins	Numbers
Thraco-Dacian	1
Pannonian Celt / Thracian	1
Unknown	3
	Total: 5

Archaeology

The *Alisca* fort has not been excavated, though some aerial research and field-walking have been done on the site (Visy 2003d, 127). Roman finds have been found in the surrounding area, but include only coins and stamped tiles.

The fort at Buciumi has been excavated on various occasions (Gudea 1997b, 13-18). Most of the internal buildings are known, and it has been possible to establish the development the fort (Gudea 1997b; Marcu 2009, 36-53). During these excavations small finds, including brooches, were located on the site (Gudea 1997b, 26-28, 37-40, esp. 38; 55- 57, esp. 56; 94, abb. 11, 103, abb. 20). So far, none of these brooches can be identified as British-made.

3.2.11. *Cohors II Flavia Brittonum*

History

It is highly probable that this cohort was established at the same time as the *cohors I Flavia Brittonum* and was given the numeral two in order to distinguish it from the first unit. Both units were already in existence by ca AD 70, since the first cohort was discharging soldiers in AD 95 (*cohors I Flavia Brittonum*, I. 1) and the second in AD 96/97 (I. 1).

The unit is attested in Moesia Inferior as early as AD 96/97, though the reading of the diploma is uncertain. By AD 99 it was definitely in Moesia Inferior, probably as part of the troops relocated to this province in preparation for the Dacian Wars (Holder 2006a, 142, 155, table 1). Where the cohort was garrisoned prior to the transfer to Moesia Inferior is unknown.

The cohort was part of the army of Moesia Inferior for the whole of the second and the first half of the third centuries (I. 1-8, 10-19, 21-27; II. 4, 6 and 7; Holder 2003, 133, table 2).

There is evidence that the cohort might have been stationed in Mauretania Caesariensis in the second century (I. 9 and 20; II. 2; Benseddik 1979, 51; Holder 2003, 138, table 11), though at the very same time when the cohort was deployed in Moesia Inferior. Possibly it was a part of the unit, a detachment on a recruitment mission, while the actual unit was stationed in Moesia Inferior (Spaul 2000, 199). However, on the diploma issued for the army of Mauretania Caesariensis in AD 107 (I. 9)¹⁸⁵ and on the tombstones found in Turin (II. 1) and Berrouaghia (II. 2), the name of the cohort is recorded without the epithet Flavia, which has prompted some researchers to suggest that we are dealing here with a different British cohort which also had the numeral two (Tentea and Matei-Popescu 2002 – 2003, 276). It should be taken into account that another British unit, namely *cohors II Britannorum*, until AD 109 was recorded on diplomas as the *cohors II Brittonum*, but starting from the diploma issued in AD 109

¹⁸⁵ The reading of the second diploma dated to ca AD 128/131 (I. 20) is uncertain. The text has been restored based on the diplomas issued in the previous years (Weiss 2002a, 502; Holder 2003, 138, table 11), thus, the lettering *-on* was restored as (Britt)on, though it is uncertain if this restoration is correct.

(cohors II Britannorum, I. 4), the unit appeared as the *cohors II Britannorum*. Both *cohortes II Britannorum* and *Brittonum* were positioned in one province throughout the whole of the second century, in respectively Dacia Porolissensis and Moesia Inferior, but it is possible that either unit sent a detachment outside the province on a mission, be it for military or recruitment purposes. The existence of another British cohort named *cohors II Brittonum* cannot be supported by the evidence.

Table 3.37 Position of *cohors II Flavia Brittonum*

AD 69	Flavian dynasty	Dacian Wars	Early second century	Late second century	Third century	Detachments
-	Moesia Inferior (AD 96/97? – 230)	Moesia Inferior (AD 96/97? – 230)	Moesia Inferior (AD 96/97? – 230)	Moesia Inferior (AD 96/97? – 230)	Moesia Inferior (AD 96/97? – 230)	Mauretania Caesariensis (ca AD 107)

Awards

Flavia - this epithet might have been granted to the cohort as a battle honour (Holder 1980, 14), though for participation in which war is uncertain. The *cohors I Flavia Brittonum* may have received it for service to Domitian during one of his campaigns, the Chattian Wars are the likely candidate. There is no evidence, however, if the *cohors II Flavia Brittonum* also took part in these wars.

Alexandriana - the unit received the honorary title *Alexandriana* from Severus Alexander, probably as a battle honour, in the third century (II. 7).

Forts

There is evidence that this cohort was deployed at two military forts in Moesia Inferior: *Durostorum* and *Sexaginta Prista* (Ivanov 1997, 582; Gudea 2005, 382, abb. 30; Wilkes 2005, 214-215). At *Durostorum*, modern Silistra in Bulgaria, the cohort was probably positioned before and during the Dacian Wars (Damian and Băltăc 2007, 62), though Gudea (2005, 434) argues for a more precise dating of AD 86 – 101. The unit's service in Silistra is attested on one tombstone of a centurion (II. 4) and may indicate the presence of the centurion rather than the whole unit. This military fort served as an auxiliary and legionary camp, and as a tax station. A centurion of the *cohors II Flavia Brittonum* might have been serving there, while his own cohort may have been stationed somewhere else.

The unit was repairing the infrastructure of Moesia Inferior in the late second century: there is evidence that the cohort was resurfacing the roads in the proximity of Ruse, *Sexaginta Prista*, between the years AD 162 – 164 (Spaul 2000, 199-200, note 3)¹⁸⁶. The unit was possibly there as well during the reign of Commodus, as evident from one unpublished inscription (II. 6). In the third century, the unit was repairing the baths at the auxiliary fort *Sexaginta Prista*, which could have been the cohort's garrison in the same period (II. 7; Ivanov 1997, 582; Gudea 2005, 428).

In the early third century the unit may have been garrisoned in the *Aegysus* fort, at modern Tulcea in Romania, where one tile-stamp COHIIFBR was located (Gudea 2005, 460-461, abb. no 52; Wilkes 2005, 217, no 81), though this tile-stamp may represent dispatched material. The presence of one tile stamp should not be regarded as a firm indication of the station of the unit it mentions.

¹⁸⁶ The author of this work has not been able to find the original publications in which these milestones were first published. Ivanov (1997, 515) mentions these milestones dated to AD 162, but he fails to provide the reference to the original publication.

It is possible that in Mauretania Caesariensis a part of the unit was stationed in the proximity at *Thanaramusa Castra* (modern Berrouaghia, Algeria) where the tombstone of a decurion was found (II. 2; Benseddik 1979, 51). There is archaeological evidence for a rectangular structure suggesting the existence of a small military base there, where the cohort's detachment might have been placed (Salama 1977, 583, no 11, 594, carte 3, no 11; Benseddik 1979, 51). It has been suggested that this small base was built to protect the southern approach to the *Thanaramusa Castra* fort (Benseddik 1979, 51; Spaul 2000, 199). The fort itself formed part of the Roman frontier and probably protected the important port, *Caesarea*, modern Cherchel in Algeria (MacKendrick 1980, 241, 245, fig. 9.5).

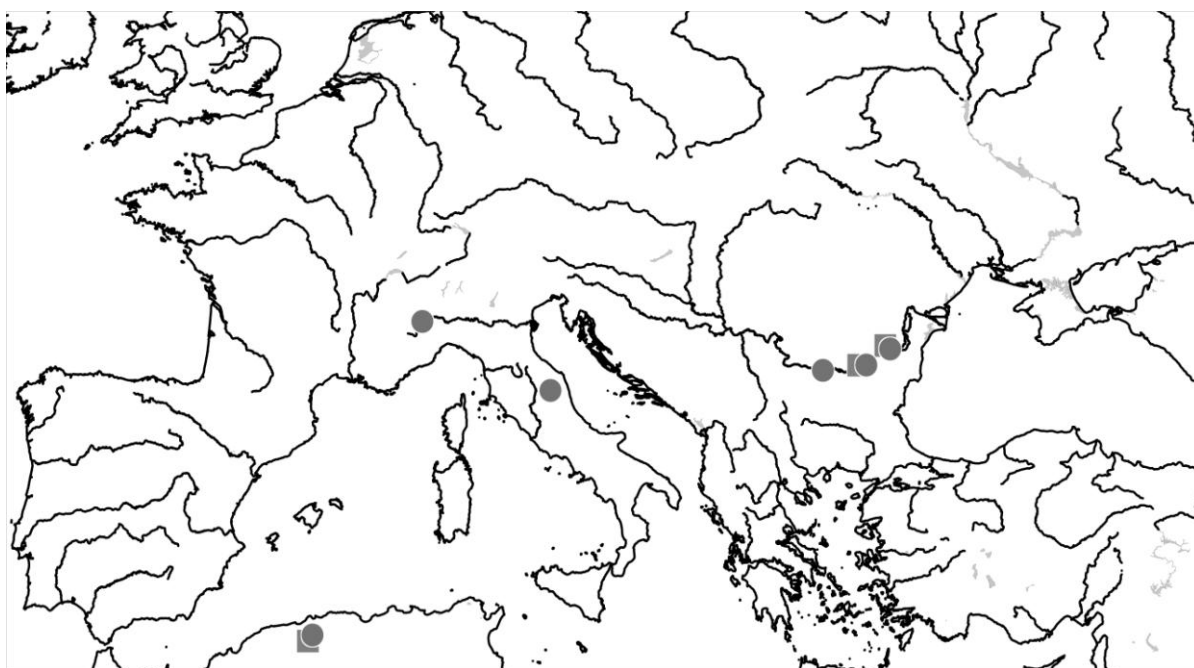


Figure 3.15 Geographical location of the military diplomas (star), inscriptions (circle) and forts (square) of the *cohors II Flavia Brittonum*

Personnel (in chronological order):

Prefects/commanding officers:

- Lucius Alfius Restitutus: prefect, serving his first *militia* before AD 79 – 81, II. 1
Ignotus: decurion, serving in the unit in the beginning of the second century AD, II. 2
 Marcus Maenius Agrippa Lucius Tusidius Campester: prefect, serving his first *militia* before ca AD 122, II. 3
 Antonius Valerius: centurion, serving in the unit in the second century AD, II. 4
 Celsianus Antiochianus: prefect, serving in the unit between the years ca AD 185 – 192, II. 6
 Septimius Agathonicus: prefect, serving in the unit ca AD 230, II. 7

Soldiers:

- ? Mucatralis, son of Sita: soldier, serving in the unit in the second century AD, II.

Origin of personnel

*Known origin*¹⁸⁷: Marcus Maenius Agrippa is known not only as a prefect of this particular cohort, but also as a commander of a unit stationed in Britain. Over the course

¹⁸⁷ The origin of Lucius Alfius Restitutus has already been discussed in the section on the *cohors I Britannica* and will not be repeated here.

of his life he was appointed to serve in Britain on various occasions, receiving his highest promotion as procurator of this province (II. 3; Birley A. 1980, 50; 2005, 307; Frere 2000, 24). Agrippa was native to the Italian *Camerinum*, modern Camerino (Birley, A. 1980, 50; Devijver 2001, 59).

The only recorded soldier of this unit, Mucatralis, hailed from the Thracian tribe *Bessi*.

Table 3.38 Known origin of soldiers of *cohors II Flavia Brittonum*

Origins	Numbers
Thracian tribes / Thracia: <i>Bessi</i>	1
Italy Town of <i>Camerinum</i>	1

Questionable origin: The origin of the prefect Celsianus Antiochianus was not recorded, though his cognomen might provide some clue. Minkova (2000, 23 and 111) points out that the cognomen Antiochianus might have derived from the name of Near Eastern town, Antioch, pointing to an origin in Asia Minor.

Unidentifiable origin: The origins of another unit's prefect, Septimius Agathonicus, and its centurion, Antonius Valerius, are unknown. Both cognomina were widespread everywhere (for Agathonicus see OPEL I 34; Minkova 2000, 106; for Valerius see Minkova 2000, 272). The origin of the decurion cannot be identified.

Table 3.39 Origin of soldiers in *cohors II Flavia Brittonum*: total summary

Origins	Numbers
Thracia	1
Italy	1
Asia Minor	1
Unknown	4
	Total: 7

Archaeology

Sexaginta Prista fort has only been partially excavated, mostly through rescue excavations (Ivanov 1997, 582; Gudea 2005, 428; Varbanov and Dragoev 2007, 228, 229), the latest being in the summer of 2009, which reached the late third century levels (Varbanov and Dragoev 2009). The finds from the fort are preserved at the Regional Historical Museum in Ruse (Varbanov and Dragoev 2007, 228). Amid the finds brooches were recorded, though the authors of the reports failed to provide a detailed description of types or to publish illustrations (Varbanov and Dragoev 2007, esp. 231 and 233).

The *Durostorum* camp had a similar destiny: only rescue excavations have been possible (Ivanov 1997, 587, 589; Gudea 2005, 434; Damian and Băltăc 2007, 63, note 12; Donevski 2009, 105). While the fortress wall on the bank of Danube river was always visible, the rescue excavations helped to uncover a couple of towers, a centurion's house and two barracks inside the legionary fortress; various buildings in the *canabae*; and necropolis in the proximity of the fort, in which some burials were excavated (Damian and Băltăc 2007, 63, 65; Donevski 2009, 105, 108, 110). The civilian settlement in the proximity of the fortress has been investigated in recent years (Damian and Băltăc 2007, esp. 65-67). Unfortunately, in neither Damian and Băltăc (2007) or Donevski (2009) were finds from the excavated areas mentioned or recorded.

The *Aegysus* fort has been only partially excavated in various campaigns (Gudea 2005, 460 mentions campaign of 1974 – 1975; excavation of a vicus – Paraschiv and Stănică 2003; 2004). Most of the finds are kept in the local museum (Gudea 2005, 460) and the collection mainly consists of sherds of pottery (Paraschiv and Stănică 2003; 2004).

The fort at Berrouaghia is known to researchers but has not been excavated.

3.2.12. *Cohors III Britannorum*

History

The earliest known diploma, attesting this cohort, has been dated to AD 86 (I. 1). This suggests that the cohort was in existence prior to AD 69 and was accepting recruits as early as AD 61. It has generally been accepted that *cohors III Britannorum* was sent to Raetia somewhere in the 60s of the first century (Faber 1994, 33; Czysz *et al.* 2005, 96). It is uncertain when exactly the unit was relocated to the Continent. The British origin of one of the unit's soldiers, the year of his death and the number of the service years indicate that he was recruited ca AD 63¹⁸⁸. This suggests that, at least before AD 63, the unit might still have been in Britain. The unit 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.

From historic sources it is known that Caecina's army marched from Germania Superior through the Alps towards Cremona (Tacitus, *Hist.* I 67-70). Caecina's forces consisted of soldiers from *legio XXI Rapax*, whose main base was the legionary fortress *Vindonissa*, modern Windisch (Murison 1993, 90; Morgan 2006, 84). On his way to northern Italy, Caecina met with a Helvetian uprising and had to suppress it with help from the army of Raetia (Tacitus, *Hist.* I 67.2; Murison 1993, 90; Morgan 2006, 88). Archaeologists are still finding remains of the devastation by Caecina's army in the main Helvetian town *Aquae Helveticae*, modern Baden (Czysz *et al.* 2005, 95; Morgan 2006, 87). Tacitus further informs us (*Hist.* I 70) that, after the revolt was suppressed, Caecina sent "ahead cohorts of Gauls, Lusitanians and Britons" to help the *ala Siliana*, which declared its loyalty to Vitellius. In the "cohort of Britons" the *cohors III Britannorum* is usually assumed, which is seen as an indication that the unit participated in the Year of the Four Emperors on the side of Vitellius.

The presence of a British unit in northern Italy is also supported by the evidence of epigraphy and archaeology. The tombstone of Catavignus found at Cuneo, northern Italy is considered to be a reminder of the unit's connection with the army of Vitellius (Czysz *et al.* 2005, 96). Moreover, on the sites of the civilian settlements and legionary fortresses, which were passed by the army of Caecina¹⁸⁹, such as Augst, Martigny, Oberwinterthur and Aime, five British-made 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 aforementioned sites.

¹⁸⁸ Catavignus' origin will be discussed later. He died probably ca AD 69 and before that time he had served six years, which makes the year of his recruitment ca AD 63.

¹⁸⁹ The towns which the 'cohorts of Gauls, Lusitanian and Britons' were supposed to hold by order of Caecina are situated north of the river Po, such as Ivrea, Vercelli, Novara and Milan (Morgan 2006, 88). Moreover, they all lie on the road running from Aime and Martigny to Italy (Rémy *et al.* 1996, 85). On their way to the cities north of the Po, the cohorts, called from Raetia to suppress the uprising, most likely passed *Augusta Raurica* (modern Augst in Switzerland), *Forum Claudii Vallensium* (modern Martigny in France) and *Forum Claudii Ceutronum* (modern Aime in France) (Murison 1993, 90: the reconstruction of the movement of Caecina's army was deduced from the known Roman roads in the area).

If we are right in assuming that the *cohors III Britannorum* took part in the suppression of the Helvetian uprising in AD 69 and then joined Caecina's forces, then the presence of the British Colchester derivatives at the sites of Augst, Martigny and Aime can be attributed to this event. The occurrence of one British brooch at Oberwinterthur, which lies away from the route of Caecina's army, can also be connected with this event. Oberwinterthur lies on the road running from Raetia to Germania Superior (Czysz *et al.* 2005, 79, fig. 10). This route could have been used by the Raetian troops when in AD 69 Caecina called their help to suppress the uprising (Tacitus [*Hist.* I 67] informs us that the auxiliaries from Raetia were supposed to attack from the rear, i.e. from the Raetian side, which means that the cohort must have passed Oberwinterthur; see also Morgan 2006, 87).

After the defeat of Caecina the cohort was most likely returned to Raetia, where it is attested on the diploma issued in AD 86 (I. 1). The Raetian province became the home for this unit: the cohort was garrisoned there for the whole of the second and third, possibly even the fourth and fifth, centuries (I. 2-24; II. 2-11; Faber 1994, 33; Holder 2003, 136, tab. 7; Gschwind 2004, 275; Czysz *et al.* 2005, 134-135; Holder 2006a, 146, 158-159, tab. 5 Czysz *et al.* 2008, 6; Baatz 2000, 323).

Table 3.40 Position of *cohors III Britannorum*

Prior to AD 69	AD 69	Flavian dynasty	Dacian Wars	Early second century	Late second century	Third century
AD 61? – 69 Raetia	Northern Italy	Raetia	Raetia (?)	Raetia	Raetia	Raetia

Awards

Antoniniana – The cohort was granted this honorific title somewhere in the early third century, probably by Caracalla (II. 7-9; Gschwind 2004, 271).

Forts

The unit was stationed in the auxiliary fort of the legionary fortress *Castra Regina*, modern Regensburg-Kumpfmühl, in the late first – mid second centuries AD (Faber 1994, 33; Baatz 2000, 327; Czysz *et al.* 2005, 134, 503). Its presence there is supported by the occurrence of tile stamps¹⁹⁰, a tombstone erected to commemorate a wife and a daughter of the unit's decurion (II. 2) and a small inscription on a chamfron (II. 3).

The cohort is attested in *Abusina*, modern Eining, starting from AD 153 at the latest (II. 4-11; IBR 506; possibly *CIL* III 11996 a and b; Faber 1994, 33; Baatz 2000, 323; Gschwind 2004, 275). After an Alemannic assault on this territory in AD 233, the camp was abandoned, but shortly afterwards was re-occupied by Roman forces. It has been claimed that the same unit returned, our cohort, and that it continued to garrison it until the fifth century (Baatz 2000, 323; Gschwind 2004, 275, 279; Czysz *et al.* 2005, 434).

¹⁹⁰ Faber (1994, 33) mentions two types of tile stamps found in Regensburg, but fails provide a reference to the original publication. These stamps were located not in the fort itself, but “in the northern part of the medieval town”.

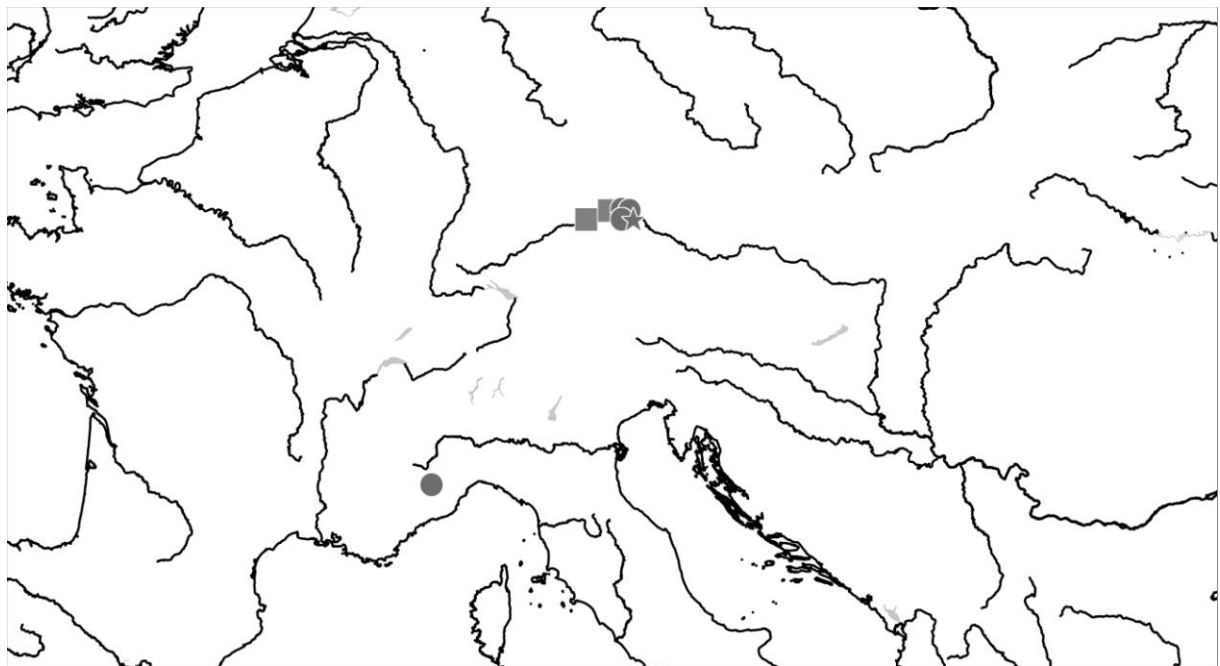


Figure 3.16 Geographical location of the military diplomas (star), inscriptions (circle) and forts (square) of the *cohors III Britannorum*

Personnel (in chronological order):

Prefects/commanding officers:

Gesatus: centurion, serving in the unit ca AD 69, II. 1

Claudius Marcus: decurion, serving in the unit in the late first-mid-second centuries, II. 2

Casc(...): prefect, serving in the unit ca AD 156/157, I. 12

(...)nius Iunior: prefect, serving in the unit ca AD 161/168, I. 20

Fabius Faustianianus: prefect, serving in the unit in the late second century AD, II. 4 and 5

Titus Flavius Felix: prefect, serving in the unit ca AD 211, II. 6

Clementianus: prefect?, serving in the unit second-third centuries AD, II. 11

? (...), son of Crepereios: prefect¹⁹¹, II. 12

Soldiers:

Catavignus, son of Ivomagus: foot-soldier, ca AD 63 – 69, II. 1

Paternus: soldier, heir to Catavignus, serving in the unit ca AD 69, II. 1

Lucius Veter: cavalry man, serving in the unit in the late first-mid-second centuries, II. 3

(...), son of (...)simnius: foot soldier, ca AD 136/143 – 161/168, I. 20

Relatives (in alphabetical order):

Titus Crepereios Fronto: father of (...), son of Crepereios, II. 12

Unknown: wife of Cl. Marcus, II. 2

Vindmarcia: daughter of Cl. Marcus, II. 2

¹⁹¹ (...), son of Crepereios was considered to be prefect of the *cohors III Britannorum* by Devijver (2001, 58), while Spaul (2000, 204) sees him as a prefect of the *cohors VI Brittonum*. This person was not added to the serving members of this unit, because it is uncertain in which unit he served.

Names on the personal possessions found during the excavations of Abusina auxiliary fort (Gschwind 2004, 323-324, nos C 273 – 290; taf. 42)

Vitalis: decurion
 Flavius Primit(i)us: decurion
 Iuvenius
 Rustus Adiutorix
 Gattinus Crispinus
 Val(...)ulm Gallius Secronix
 (...)a Secund(?inus) Nonus(?)
 Sextilus Statutus P(...)
 (...)ninius Firmus
 Attila(...)a
 Manticus
 Silvestrix Arcustorix
 Quinarix

Origin of personnel

Known origin: The origin of only one soldier was recorded: (...), son of (...)simnius came from the *Condrusi* tribe which lived in present-day Belgium between Namur and Liège.

Table 3.41 Known origin of the soldier of *cohors III Britannorum*

Origins	Numbers
Germanic tribes / Gallia Belgica: <i>Condrusi</i>	1

Origin based on prosopographical and onomastic analysis:

Catavignus, son of Ivomagus: His and his father's names are compound names comprised of two Celtic elements: *cato-* and *gno-*, and *iuos-* and *magu-* respectively (For *catu-* see Evans 1967, 171-175, Delamarre 2001, 94-95; Raybould and Sims-Williams 2009, 15, no 22; for *gnos-* see Delamarre 2001, 153; Raybould and Sims-Williams 2009, 16, no 43; for *iuos* see Delamarre 2001, 163; for *magu-* see Evans 1967, 221-222, Raybould and Sims-Williams 2007a, 103; 2009, 16, no 53; Delamarre 2001, 180-181 as *magos* and *magus*¹⁹²). Evans (1967, 209) notes that the element *gno-* “is well attested in the early inscriptions of the British Isles”. Sims-Williams (2004, 155, note 921) indicates the difference between the Continental Celtic element *-icn* and Insular *-ign*, where the former is more common in Continental, the latter in British names. It thus seems reasonable to suggest that the name Catavignus is a British insular Celtic name.

Paternus: The name of Catavignus' fellow soldier and heir – Paternus – was very popular in the Celtic speaking provinces (Alföldy 1969, 261; Mócsy 1983, 216; OPEL III 127-128, Minkova 2000, 225). This person may also have been British since he was recruited at the same time as Catavignus and was chosen to be his heir, and it is known that men of the same origin “sometimes banded together” (Haynes 1999b, 166).

Gesatus: The name of the unit's earliest centurion, Gesatus, is rare in Roman onomastics: in the exact same spelling it appears only once, on an inscription from Germania Inferior (*CIL* XIII 8320), though a similar sounding name, Gesatius/a, appeared in Germania Inferior, Raetia, Gallia Lugdunensis and Narbonensis as well as in northern Italy (OPEL II 166 under Gesatius). The name element *gesa-* might represent

¹⁹² There are two different forms of the element *magu-*: *magos* meaning field and *magus* meaning servant (Delamarre 2001, 180-181).

the Vulgar Latin spelling of the word *gaesum*, which meant ‘sword’ and the soldiers and the units¹⁹³ named Gaesatae “were called after their special weapons”, which they used in fighting (Looijenga 2003, 321)¹⁹⁴. The cognomina *Gesatus* and *Gaisionis* are relatively common in the names of the Celtic and Germanic mercenaries, who hailed respectively from Vindelica and Lower Germany (Looijenga 2003, 321, note 7). *Gesatus* was probably one such mercenary appointed to be a centurion in our unit. He might have taken a job of training the men of the newly raised unit of un-skilled Britons. In general, the origin of *Gesatus* should be searched for in Raetia or in adjacent Lower Germany¹⁹⁵.

Lucius Veter¹⁹⁶: The cognomen of this person probably derives from the old Germanic stem *(H)veter-* (Clay 2007, 57). This stem represents the archaic spelling of the modern English word ‘weather’ (for a detailed discussion, see Clay 2007, 57). It should be noted that the same name appeared on various altars on Hadrian’s Wall praising the god ‘*(H)veteres*’ (Clay 2007, 57). It has been argued that the cult of this god was mostly practiced by ‘Germanic’ groups stationed on Hadrian’s Wall, though not necessarily restricted to this group (Clay 2007, 58). In general, it seems that the stem was likely to have been used by Germanic speakers. Thus, it is reasonable to suggest that *Lucius Veter* was of Germanic descent.

Table 3.42 Origin of soldiers of *cohors III Britannorum* based on prosopographical and onomastic analysis

Origin	Numbers
Raetia	2
Britain	2

Questionable origin

One of the unit’s prefects, *Casc(...)*, might have been from a Celtic speaking family, since his name element *cass-* is a Celtic one (Evans 1967, 167; Delamarre 2001, 93; Raybould and Sims-Williams 2009, 15, no 21).

Unidentifiable origin

Other prefects’ names, such as (...)*nius Iunior*, *T. F. Felix* are typically Roman and were very popular everywhere (For *Iunior* see Mócsy 1983, 155; OPEL II 207-208; Minkova 2000, 188; for *Felix* see Mócsy 1983, 125; OPEL II 138; Minkova 2000, 166). The cognomen of *Claudius Marcus* was used mainly in the Celtic speaking areas (Mócsy 1983, 178; Minkova 2000, 204).

The nomen and cognomen of *Fabius Faustianianus* were widespread in Italy and Pannonia, but everywhere else were rare (for *Fabius* see Mócsy 1983, 123; OPEL II 132; Minkova 2000, 48; for *Fausti(a)nianus* see Alföldy 1969, 200; Mócsy 1983, 124; OPEL II 135-136; Minkova 2000, 164-165).

¹⁹³ *Cohors I Aelia Gaesatorum* and *vexillatio Gaesatorum Raetorum*.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. Alföldy (1968, 106), who indicates that “the name *Gesatus* is a cognomen, referring to the man’s weapons”.

¹⁹⁵ It must be noted that the element *gesa-* is known in both Celtic and Germanic speaking areas (Delamarre 2001, 146-147 as *gaiso-*; Raybould and Sims-Williams 2009, 20, no 58 as *gaeso-*).

¹⁹⁶ The name on the chamfron was recorded as *L Veter* and can be expanded as *Luci Veteris*, in the genitive case, used to express possession. It has been pointed out to me that the actual name of this soldier was *Lucius Vetus*, where *Veteris* is a genitive form of *Vetus* (3rd declension, *r-* stems where the nominative singular ends in *s*). However, the majority of words with *r-* stems are neutral in gender. I believe that *Veteris* is a genitive for *Veter* (3rd declension, stems without *s* in the nominative singular e.g. *amor* (love) in the genitive is *amoris*). Taking into account the possible origin of the soldier as discussed here, this reconstruction seems more likely.

Clementianus' origin is uncertain. This cognomen was widespread, but quite popular in the Danubian provinces (OPEL II 63). The name Clemens, from which the name Clementianus derives, was especially widespread in Dalmatia (OPEL II 63).

Children

The name of the decurion's daughter, Vindmarcia, is a compound one: part of it was formed from the father's name, that of Marcus, and part of it from the Celtic name element *vindo-*, probably formed from the mother's name (Dietz *et al.* 1979, 410; for the Celtic element *vindo-* see Delamarre 2001, 269). It should be noted that names with the element *vindo-* are quite widespread in Britain¹⁹⁷ (Sims-Williams 2004, 166 as *vend-*; Russell and Mullen 2009, under element *vindo-*).

Names on the personal possessions found during the excavations of Abusina auxiliary fort (Gschwind 2004, 323-324, nos C 273 – 290; taf. 42)

In *Abusina*, where the unit was stationed in the second and third centuries AD, several owners' marks were found on buttons (Gschwind 2004, 323-325). In most cases they belonged to soldiers from cavalry regiments, from different *turmas*. *Cohors IV Gallorum*, also a cavalry unit, was stationed in the fort in AD 79 – 81 and actually built the camp. It is hard to date the buttons and to state confidently to which unit they can be ascribed. Gschwind (2004, 323-325) mentions only that these finds were found in layers spanning the middle of the first to the second century AD. They could have been lost by members of either the *cohors IV Gallorum* or our *cohors III Britannorum*. If we assume that they belonged to soldiers from a British unit, we have the names of the cavalry regiments and its soldiers.

One regiment name could be identified: *Vitalis*, most likely derived from the name of the decurion. The name of another could be reconstructed as *turma Marcus* although only two letters have survived: 'TM'. Soldiers' names can be read with varying degrees of confidence. Four names have the Celtic ending *-rix*, meaning that these soldiers hailed from Celtic speaking families (Raybould and Sims-Williams 2007a, 104). The name *Manticus* has the Gaulish element *man(t)ō-* (Delamarre 2001, 182). Three other names, *Primitius*, *Crispinus* and *Secundinus*, were widespread everywhere, but prevailed in the Celtic speaking areas (for *Primitius* see Mócsy 1983, 232; OPEL III 159-160; Minkova 2000, 235; for *Crispinus* see Mócsy 1983, 93; OPEL II 85; Minkova 2000, 144; for *Secundinus* see Mócsy 1983, 258; OPEL IV 58-59; Minkova 2000, 249). *Iuvenius* and *Attila* might be of Germanic descent: *Iuvenius*' cognomen was popular in *Raetia*, that of *Attila* in *Gallia Belgica* (for *Iuvenius* see Mócsy 1983, 156; *Attila* as *Attilus* in Mócsy 1983, 35, OPEL I 90). Two other persons had names that were popular everywhere (for *Sextilus* see Mócsy 1983, 265; OPEL IV 79; Minkova 2000, 86; for *Statutus* see Mócsy 1983, 274; OPEL IV 94; for *Firmus* see Mócsy 1983, 127; OPEL II 142-143; Minkova 2000, 168). In general, the names tell us that the people who inscribed their personal possessions here were on the whole of Celtic speaking descent, and most likely recruited into one of the units locally. However, the cohorts to which

¹⁹⁷ It is highly speculative, but nevertheless possible, that *Claudius Marcus* was of British descent. His name does not give a clue as to his ancestry; however, it is suggestive that he was granted Roman citizenship during the reign of Julio-Claudian dynasty. He gave his daughter a name with a Celtic element in it, an element that was quite widespread in Britain not only in the personal names, but also in the names of forts on or in proximity of Hadrian's Wall: *Vindolanda* (Chesterholm), *Vindobala* (Rudchester) and *Vindomara* (Ebchester), though one should not forget the two Continental legionary fortresses, *Vindobona* (Vienna, Austria) and *Vindonissa* (Windisch, Switzerland). Taking into account that he was appointed as decurion in the British unit and served there after AD 69, but before the unit's transfer to Eining fort, one might suggest that he belonged to the first generation of the British servicemen in the British unit. *Claudius Marcus* might have taken the decision to give his child a name that was widespread in his home province, i.e. Britain.

these buttons belonged cannot be identified and the soldiers who lost these buttons could just as likely have served in either unit. It is therefore impossible to prove that the named soldiers served in *cohors III Britannorum*. For that reason their names are excluded from the table of origin.

Table 3.43 Origin of soldiers in *cohors III Britannorum*: total summary

Origins	Numbers
Britain	2
Gallia Belgica	1
Raetia	2
Celtic-speaking areas	1
Unknown	5
	Total: 11

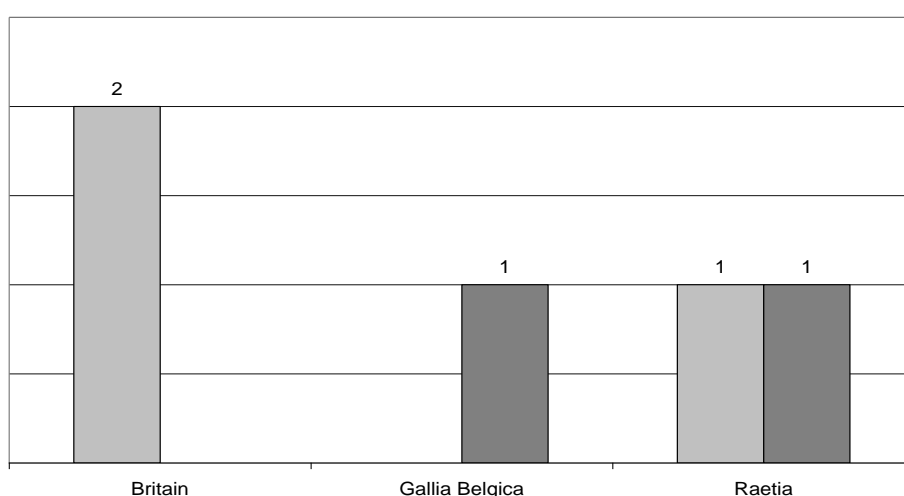


Figure 3.17 Origin of soldiers of *cohors III Britannorum* divided per century. Note: light grey stands for the late first century; dark grey for the second century (only provincial origin was counted)

Archaeology

It has been suggested that the *cohors III Britannorum* was part of the army of Vitellius in AD 69 and was taken directly from Britain overseas. If this is right, then it is possible that the members of this unit brought British brooches with them on their transfer. There is no direct evidence where the unit might have been stationed, though the occurrence of five British-made Colchester derivatives, discovered on the sites of the civilian settlements and legionary fortresses, which were passed by this cohort in AD 69, such as Augst, Martigny, Oberwinterthur and Aime, can be used as an indication that the unit had passed these lands¹⁹⁸.

The cohort was stationed after AD 69 in the auxiliary forts Regensburg and Eining; however, British brooches have not been reported from either 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 as being out of context, since the unit was garrisoned there

¹⁹⁸ The same conclusion was reached in the *ala I Britannica* case, since both units participated in the conflict of AD 69. The present evidence does not allow the possibility to argue which brooches were brought by the members of which unit.

much earlier. Having said that, British brooches are not wholly 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). These objects will be discussed further in chapter 5, section 5.4.1.

3.2.13. *Cohors III Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum*

History

As in the case of the *cohortes I and II Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum* this unit was probably raised from the population living in the area of the lower Severn territory around the colony *Nervia Glevum*, or *Nervia Pacensis Glevum*, modern day Gloucester (Holder 1980, 40). The unit was already in existence by AD 77/78, since it was discharging soldiers in AD 102/103 (I. 1).

This particular unit was part of the army of Moesia Superior in AD 102/103 (I. 1), possibly relocated there ca AD 100 in preparation for the Dacian Wars to fulfill the role of the support troops (Matei-Popescu and Tentea 2006, 140). The location of the unit between AD 77/78 and 100 is uncertain: no evidence has survived that would allow any ideas to be advanced (Eck and Pangerl 2008, 367).

It was probably still in Moesia Superior after the Dacian Wars, though the evidence is indirect: the reading of the diploma issued in AD 112 is dubious (I. 3).

The cohort was recorded “as sent to the expedition” on the diploma issued ca AD 115; the Parthian War, AD 114 – 117, is assumed as a reason for the transfer (I. 4; Eck and Pangerl 2008, 367).

It has been suggested that the unit was annihilated in the Parthian War, since after AD 115 it is not recorded on any surviving diplomas (Eck and Pangerl 2008, 367). There is a possibility that the unit stayed after the war in one of the provinces in Asia Minor, but, because “the epigraphic evidence is scant” for these provinces (Holder 2003, 117), this cannot be supported. It is certain however that the cohort did not return to Moesia Superior after AD 117 (Eck and Pangerl 2009b, 571).

Table 3.44 Position of *cohortes III Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum*

AD 69	Flavian dynasty	Dacian Wars	Early second century	Late second century	Third century
-	-	Moesia Superior (AD 100 – 114)	Moesia Superior (AD 100 – 114) Parthian War (AD 114 – 117)	-	-

Awards

None are known.

Forts

None can be identified through epigraphic or tegular evidence.

Personnel

None have been recorded on military diplomas or inscriptions.

Archaeology

Since no forts can be identified, no archaeological record has survived about this cohort.

3.2.14. *Cohors III Brittonum*

History

It is highly likely that this cohort was established at the same time as the *cohortes I* and *II Flavia Brittonum* and was given the numeral three in order to distinguish it from the other ones. Both units were already in existence by ca AD 70, since the first cohort was discharging soldiers in AD 95 (*cohortes I Flavia Brittonum* I. 1) and the second in AD 96/97 (*cohortes II Flavia Brittonum* I. 1). Our unit was already in existence by AD 75, since it was discharging soldiers in AD 100 (I. 1-4). This third cohort is missing the honorific title Flavia, which might have been granted to both the first and second cohorts by Domitian. The absence of the honorific title Flavia in the name of the third cohort suggests that it most likely did not take an active part in one of the Domitianic wars, but this is no an indication that it was not serving at that time. That it was active is supported by an inscription on a monument erected to commemorate the achievements of the unit's prefect: Novatus participated in a Germanic expedition, most likely the first Pannonian War of AD 89 and in the Dacian War of Domitian of AD 84/5 (I. 1; for the discussion see Kelemen and Lörincz 1994, 140-141). It is uncertain¹⁹⁹, however, whether the cohort also participated in both conflicts under the command of Novatus, though the findspot of two inscriptions (II. 1 and 2) indicates that the unit was stationed on the Pannonian frontier during this period (Lörincz 2001, 32).

Ca AD 100 the cohort was already part of the army of Moesia Superior, though it is uncertain when it was relocated there from Pannonia. AD 92/93 and 97 have been proposed as the possible years (Matei-Popescu 2006 – 2007, 37 and Lörincz 2001, 32 respectively).

The cohort was part of the army of Moesia Superior during the Dacian Wars (I. 5-6; Matei-Popescu and Tentea 2006, 129, 131, tab. 1; Holder 2006a, 156, tab. 2). Later it is attested in this province for the whole of the second century (I. 7-20; Holder 2003, 134, tab. 3).

Table 3.45 Position of *cohortes III Brittonum*

AD 69	Flavian dynasty	Dacian Wars	Early second century	Late second century	Third century
-	Pannonia (ca AD 84/5 – ca 97)	Moesia Superior (ca AD 97 – after 161)	Moesia Superior (ca AD 97 – after 161)	Moesia Superior (ca AD 97 – after 161)	-

Awards

Veterana – this title was usually given to a unit in order to distinguish it from other unit with the same name and numeral, and which was also located in the same province (Holder 1980, 18). There are some exceptions, however, and our cohort is one of them. In Moesia Superior there are no other units named *III Brittonum*, indicating that the title *veterana* was given to the unit for other reasons. Holder (1980, 19) suggests that this epithet was granted to the unit because it was situated in the province for a longer time in order “to distinguish it from a unit brought in only to participate in a campaign”. This might be the case, since *cohortes I Britannica*, *I Ulpia Brittonum*, *II Britannorum* and *II Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum* were brought to Moesia Superior to take part in the Dacian Wars, after the end of which the units left the province. It is also supported

¹⁹⁹ Kelemen and Lörincz (1994, 141) are quite sure of the unit's participation in both wars.

by the evidence: on the diplomas issued in AD 100 – 101 (I. 1-4) this title is missing, while on the diplomas starting from AD 112 onwards (I. 8) this epithet was always recorded.

Forts

It has been suggested that the cohort was positioned in the fort *Solva* (modern day Esztergom, Hungary) in the late first century, ca AD 89 – 98 (Kelemen and Lörincz 1994, 142; Lörincz 2001, 32, 51, no 15; Kelemen 2003, 87), though Wilkes (2005, 200, no 40) and Visy (2003a, 146) do not place the cohort there. The occurrence of one votive monument and one tombstone²⁰⁰ made by and for the soldiers of this cohort are the indications for the scholars who do believe that the unit was stationed there in late first century. There are no other finds from the fort, such as tile-stamps, which might add a support to the idea of the unit's location in *Solva*. However, there are so far no other finds from the whole of Pannonia that might indicate the location of the unit prior to the Dacian Wars, making *Solva* the only candidate.

No funerary monuments or dedicatory stones have been found in Moesia Superior, which might help to identify the location of the cohort. There are, however, tile-stamps from Corabia, Kleinschenk/Cincșor, one, without provenance, in the museum of Bucharest, Romania (*CIL* VIII 8074, 12a, 12c (sic!) and 12b consequently; Spaul 2000, 203 as Korabia and Leinschenk); Kostol, Serbia (Gudea 1977b, 886, no 13; Wilkes 2005, 210, no 49), and Drobeta-Turnu Severin, Romania (*CIL* III 1703,3; Gudea 1977b, 886, no 14; Wilkes 2005, 210, no 50).

Tile-stamps, reported from the Romanian town Corabia, ancient *Sucidava*²⁰¹, which lies on the northern side of Danube, just opposite the Roman legionary fortress and town *Oescus*, modern Gingen, Bulgaria, might be defective evidence: the first excavators of the site did not find tile stamps with the abbreviation COHIIIBRIT, but with stamps abbreviated COHIII (Tudor 1938, 414-415). The Bucharest Museum of Antiquities has no tile stamps abbreviated as *cohors III Brittonum* coming from Corabia, but does have stamps from Drobeta-Turnu Severin (Tudor 1938, 415). The tile stamps therefore attest the presence of an unknown *cohors III*, rather than *cohors III Brittonum*.

The tile-stamps reported from Kleinschenk/Cincșor might also be defective evidence. Spaul (2000, 203 following up on *CIL* VIII 8074, 12c) expands the abbreviation on the tile-stamp COHIIIB as *cohors III Brittonum*, but in IDR-03-04-181 and *AE* 1994, 1501 the abbreviation was expanded as *cohors II Flavia Bessorum*. The latter unit is attested on other tiles from this fort (Wilkes 2005, 222, no 42; Marcu 2009, 199). All in all, the aforementioned abbreviation should be read as COHIIIFB rather than COHIIIB (Isac and Isac 1994, 104, esp. note 5, see also fig. 5).

The tile-stamps' evidence is therefore only available for the forts of Kostol and Drobeta. Both forts are located on the left and right banks of the river Danube, connected by a Roman bridge built by the orders of the Trajan (Wilkes 2005, nos 49 and 50). Our unit or its detachment might have been placed in one of these forts to supervise the river crossing or to participate in the construction of the bridge in the early second century (Matei-Popescu and Tentea 2006, 132)²⁰².

²⁰⁰ On the tombstone erected for Prosostus there is no indication of the unit in which this soldier had served. Lörincz and Kelemen (1997, 182) consider that Prosostus might have served in *cohors III Brittonum*, since he was a cavalry soldier who died in the late first century (based on the epigraphic formulae – the name of the deceased in the nominative and the abbreviation *t(itulum) m(emoriae) p(osuit)*). The fort at that time had three units stationed successively, of which only one was a cavalry one, *cohors III Brittonum*.

²⁰¹ Not to be confused with the fort with the same ancient name in Moesia Inferior, but located in the proximity of the modern village Izvoarele, Romania (see Gudea 2005, 441; Wilkes 2005, 215, no 54).

²⁰² But see Marcu 2009, 138-140, who does not place this cohort at the Drobeta fort.

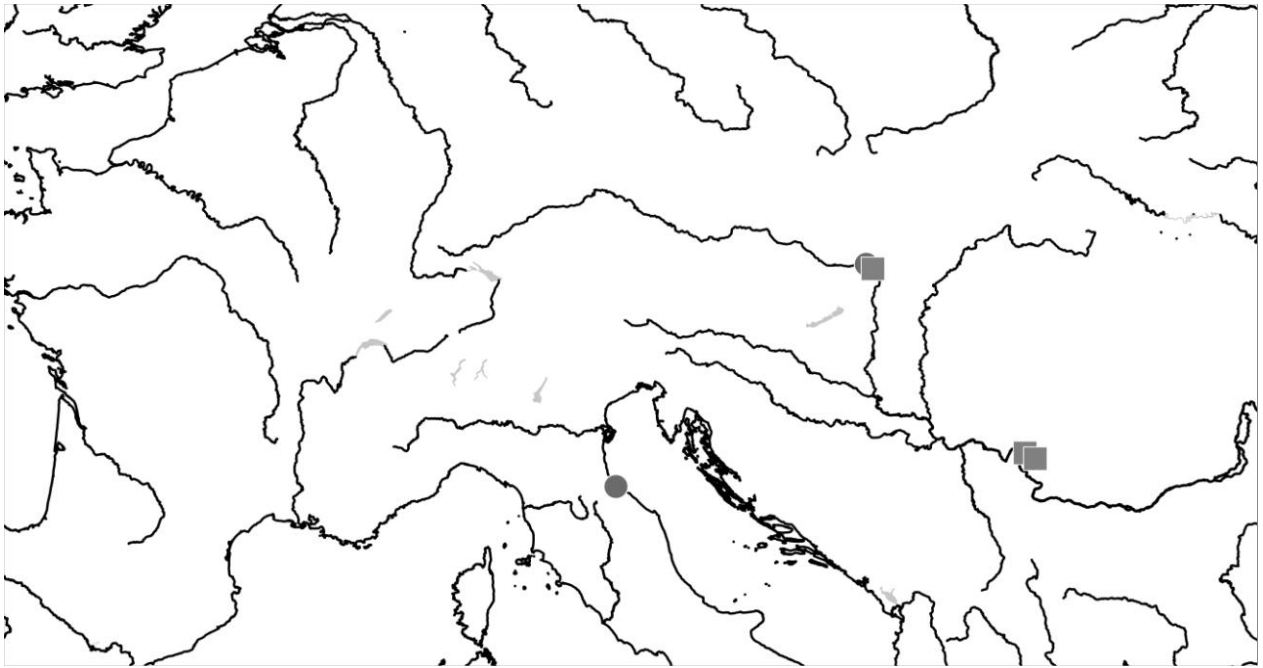


Figure 3.18 Geographical location of the military diplomas (star), inscriptions (circle) and forts (square) of the *cohors III Brittonum*

Personnel (in chronological order):

Prefects/commanding officers:

(...) son of (...)idius, Novatus: prefect, serving his first *militia* ca AD 85 – 89, II. 1

Marcus Blossius Vestalis: prefect, serving in the unit ca AD 151 – 153, I. 12 and 13

Quintus Clodius Secundus: prefect, serving in the unit ca AD 157, I. 15

(?) Allinus: *praepositus*, serving in the unit in the mid-second century, II. 4

Caius Nonius, son of Caius, Caepianus: prefect, serving his first *militia* in the mid-second century, II. 3

Soldiers:

Prosostus, son of Couco: cavalryman, serving in the unit ca AD 90 – 100, II. 2

Siasus, son of Decinaeus: foot-soldier, ca AD 126 – 151, I. 12

Sentius, son of Sentus, Valentus: foot-soldier, ca AD 128 – 153, I. 13

Himerus, son of Callistratus: foot-soldier, ca AD 132 – 157, I. 15

Relatives (in alphabetical order):

Couco, son of Blecissa: father of Prosostus, II. 2

Prisca, daughter of Dasmenus: wife of Siasus, son of Decinaeus, I. 12

Origin of personnel

Known origin:

Siasus, son of Decinaeus indicated his origin on the military diploma as Moesian from the town *Caecom*(...), though it is uncertain where to locate this place in Moesia. It has been noted by Dana (2004 – 2005, 73) that, based on the onomastics of his name, he was of Dacian origin.

The origin of Sentius, son of Sentus, Valentus was recorded. He hailed from *Sirmium* in Pannonia Inferior, modern day Sremska Mitrovica in Serbia.

The origin of the unit's prefect, Marcus Blossius Vestalis, was also recorded: he hailed from Capua in Italy.

Caius Nonius, son of Caius, Caepianus was from one of the Roman voting tribes, the Aniensis, and probably hailed from *Ariminium*, modern Rimini in Italy, where he was buried and commemorated with a monument (Devijver 2001, 60).

Table 3.46 Known origin of soldiers of *cohors III Brittonum*

Origins	Numbers
Pannonia Inferior: Town of <i>Sirmium</i>	1
Moesia: <i>Caecom(...)</i>	1
Italy Town of <i>Ariminium</i> Town of Capua	1 1

Origin based on prosopographical and onomastic analysis:

Prosostus, son of Couco: The soldier's name Prosostus was particularly common in Pannonia (Mócsy 1983, 234, OPEL III 168; Lörincz and Kelemen 1997, 182). He was buried by his father Couco, son of Blecissa, who was probably not a soldier in the unit since there is no such indication on the funerary stele. The name of his father indicates that he was of Celtic ancestry: Coucus and Blecissa, the latter usually recorded as Blegissa, are widespread Celtic names (*AE* 1997, p. 419-420). It has been proposed that both father and son originated from the Pannonian tribe *Azali*, the population of which was of mixed ancestry, a combination of both Celtic and indigenous peoples (*AE* 1997, p. 419-420).

Questionable origin:

Himerus also indicated his origin, from which only the first four letters have survived – *Laud(...)*. Since the soldier and his father had Greek names, it seems reasonable to look for *Laud(...)* somewhere in the Near East where place names such as Laudicea can be found or in the regions with high percentage of the Greek-speaking population, such as Moesia or Thracia (RMM 37).

Novatus' origin was not recorded, though he mentioned that he belonged to the voting tribe *Quirina*. On this basis it has been suggested that he most likely hailed from Baetica (Kelemen and Lörincz 1994, 138).

Table 3.47 Questionable origin of soldiers of *cohors III Brittonum*

Origin	Numbers
Baetica	1
Greek speaking regions	1

Unidentifiable origin

The origin of Quintus Clodius Secundus, prefect, and Allinus, *praepositus*, is uncertain. It has been proposed that the name of *praepositus* can be read as Allinus, but such a name is not listed anywhere, except the similar spelled name Allianus, which is attested in single number in Dalmatia, Dacia and Noricum (Mócsy 1983, 13, OPEL (I 43).

Wives:

The wife of Siasus, Prisca, came from a tribe called Dard(ana), a Thraco-Illyrian entity (Dana 2004 – 2005, 73).

Table 3.48 Origin of soldiers in *cohors III Brittonum*: total summary

Origins	Numbers
Moesia	1
Pannonia	2
Baetica	1
Italy	2
Greek speaking areas	1
Unknown	2
	Total: 9

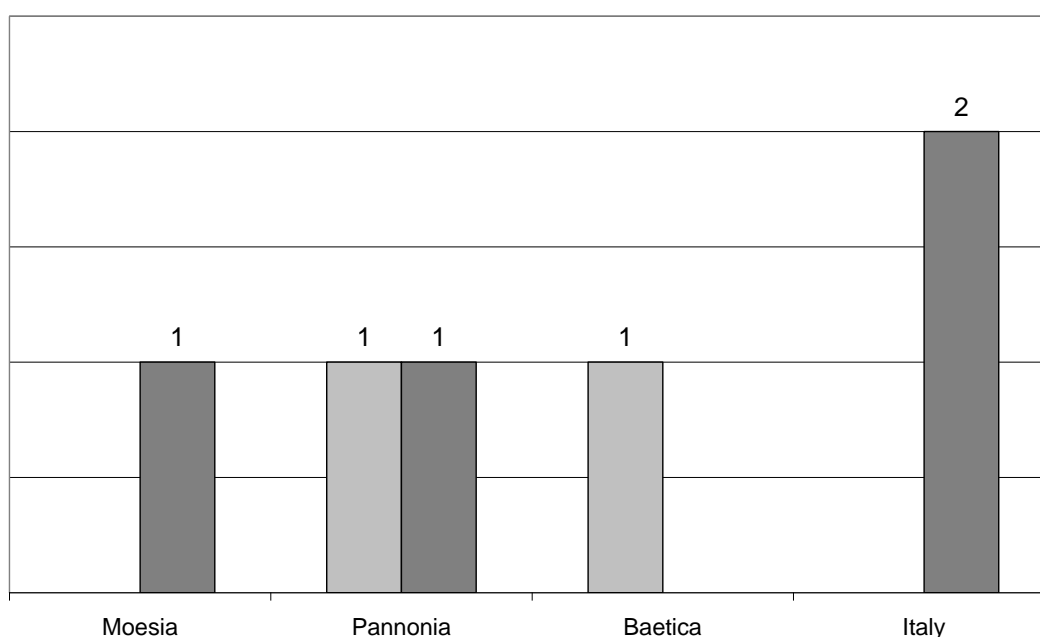


Figure 3.19 Origin of soldiers of *cohors III Brittonum* divided per century. Note: light grey stands for the late first century; dark grey for the second century (only provincial origin was counted)

Archaeology

The site of the *Solva* fort has been excavated on numerous occasions (cf. Soproni 1990): a small part of the fort has been uncovered: “a 20 m long section of the west wall, [...] a part of *horreum*, and certain wall sections of varying size of several buildings from the interior” (Kelemen 2003, 86). As a result of such excavations “a rich ensemble of late Celtic and Roman finds” has been found (Kelemen 2003, 86). The *vicus* of the fort has also been partially excavated, and numerous graves from various Roman periods, Late Roman in particular, have been uncovered (Kelemen 2003, 87; 2006; 2008). Some finds have been published, though the majority of the publications have concentrated on the inscriptions (e.g. Lörincz and Kelemen 1997) and finds from the cemeteries (e.g. Kelemen 2006; 2008). British-made brooches have so far not been reported.

The fort of Drobeta-Turnu Severin and its adjacent areas were also excavated on various occasions (Stîngă 2007; Cantacuzino *et al.* 1999; cf. Marcu 2009, 129-140 on the internal planning of this fort), though work has mainly concentrated on the first Trajanic Roman bridge over the river Danube (Garašanin and Vasić 1980; Gušić 1996; Karović *et al.* 2007; Serban 2009). Roman finds have been reported, as well as some bronze artefacts, though none were identified as brooches.

The fort and part of the Trajanic Roman bridge of Kostol, situated on the other shore of Danube river, opposite the Drobeta-Turnu Severin fort, was also excavated on numerous occasions by Bulgarian archaeologists (Garašanin and Vasić 1980; Garašanin *et al.* 1984; Garašanin and Vasić 1987). The northern and western gates of the fort were excavated and the physical relation between the western gate and the bridge was established (Garašanin and Vasić 1980, 34-38). The finds were mostly recorded from a front ditch of the fort and included a number of ceramic sherds and tile stamps of *cohors I Hispanorum* and *legio V Macedonicae* (Garašanin and Vasić 1980, 39; in Bulgarian version of this article the tile stamps were attributed to *cohors II Hispanorum*, e.g. Garašanin and Vasić 1980, 23). No brooches have been reported.

There is no surviving evidence for the *cohors IV* and *V Brittonum*.

3.2.15. *Cohors VI Brittonum*

History

It is highly plausible that this cohort was established at the same time as the *cohortes I, II* and *III Brittonum*, as well as the cohorts with the numerals four and five, which have not left any traces of their existence. All three cohorts were in existence by the first half of 70s of the first century AD: the first cohort - by AD 70 (*cohors I Flavia Brittonum* I. 1), the second - by AD 71/72 (*cohors II Flavia Brittonum* I. 1), the third - by AD 75 (*cohors III Brittonum* I.1-4). The sixth cohort was in existence by AD 73, since it was discharging soldiers in AD 98 (I. 1).

The first documented appearance of the unit is AD 98 when the cohort was in Germania Inferior (I. 1). It is highly likely that the cohort was in the province somewhere at the end of 80s of the first century. On the diplomas issued in AD 98 and 127 (I. 1-3) the honorific title *pia fidelis* was inserted between the standard formula “*equitibus et peditibus qui militaverunt*”. The units serving in Germania Inferior were granted this title after the revolt of Saturninus in AD 89 for their loyalty (RMD IV, p. 468, no 2; Eck and Pangerl 2004, 264). That the title was inserted here, and not in the main body of the diploma, indicates that all units recorded in the constitution had this epithet, since it was redundant to repeat it each time (RMD IV, p. 468, no 2). Since our cohort was mentioned in the line of the units granted with this title and since this epithet was recorded on the *cursus honorum* of the unit’s prefect (II. 1), we can be sure that the unit participated in the suppression of Saturninus’ revolt of AD 89 and, therefore, was present in Germania Inferior in that year (Holder 2006a, 147). The absence of the honorific title *Flavia* in the name of the sixth cohort, though recorded in the titles of the first and second cohorts, might indicate that the unit did not take an active part in any of the Domitianic wars, for which this particular epithet was in most cases granted. The cohort was most likely patrolling the borders of Germania Inferior during the reign of Domitian, which is supported by another piece of evidence. The unit was under the command of Lucius Terentius Rufus prior to his transfer some time in AD 90/100 to the *legio I Minervia*, stationed in Bonn (II. 2). Such a transfer would have been logical if the unit was part of the army of Germania Inferior (Haalebos 2000a, 59).

It is also unknown if the unit participated in the Dacian Wars (Holder 2006a, 148), but it is more than likely that the cohort never left Germania Inferior. The diplomas

dated to the period of the wars and their aftermath did not record the presence of the unit in Dacia or Moesia, though it might be that the cohort did not have soldiers eligible for the grant of citizenship. By AD 127 and 152 the cohort was part of the army of Germania Inferior (I. 2-6). A graffito from Ockenburgh, the Netherlands, recording this unit, was found in the late second century context which indicates that the cohort was still in Germania Inferior around that period (II. 4).

Table 3.49 Position of *cohors VI Brittonum*

AD 69	Flavian dynasty	Dacian Wars	Early second century	Late second century	Third century
-	Germania Inferior (ca AD 89 – 152)	Germania Inferior ?	Germania Inferior (ca AD 89 – 152)	Germania Inferior (ca AD 89 – 152)	-

Awards

Pia Fidelis – granted for loyalty to the Emperor Domitian during the revolt of Saturninus in AD 89. Probably the grant was repeated by the Emperor Trajan in AD 97 (for the discussion, see Eck and Pangerl 2004, 264).

Forts

So far there is no direct epigraphic or archaeological evidence to suggest where the unit was positioned on the frontier of Germania Inferior. The tile stamps carrying the abbreviation ‘CVIBr’ found at Xanten most likely belonged to the sixth cohort of the *Breuci* and not to this cohort, as is sometimes thought (Haalebos 2000a, 59).

A graffito from a fortlet at Ockenburgh (II. 4) indicates that a detachment of the unit might have been stationed here in the mid second century AD. The fortlet lies behind the limes and the nearest frontier forts such as Leiden and Valkenburg-De Woerd lay approximately 20 km north of the tower.

Ockenburgh was first considered to be a small post for soldiers whose main duty was to patrol and control the road running to *Forum Hadriani* (Voorburg, The Netherlands) and *Praetorium Agripinae* (Valkenburg, The Netherlands) (Kersing and Waasdorp 1994, 6)²⁰³, although Dutch archaeologists now tend to see it as a fortlet that was part of the coastal defence system (Ab Waasdorp, pers. comment)²⁰⁴. The fortlet was in use from AD 150 – 185, while the adjacent civilian settlement continued well into the third century. The U-shaped fortlet is similar in its layout to the milecastles of Hadrian’s Wall and fortlets known from the Odenwald-Neckar limes frontier in Germany (Ab Waasdorp, pers. comment). Finds on the site indicate that this military settlement was inhabited by a small cavalry unit (Kersing and Waasdorp 1995, 17). It is possible that the unit’s detachment was stationed in this fortlet, while the major unit was located in a larger fort nearby (Waasdorp 1999, 172), though there is no direct evidence of its whereabouts. A graffito on one pot can hardly be seen as a clear indication that there was a detachment of a British unit here. However, the occurrence of three British brooches at Naaldwijk, Spijkenisse and in the region of Rotterdam increases the possibility that the unit or a detachment of it was indeed garrisoned at Ockenburgh or somewhere nearby. Furthermore, the place where the entire unit may have been stationed can be proposed.

²⁰³ Cf. Feijst *et al.* 2008, 10, afb. 1.3, where Ockenburgh is considered to be an observation fortlet connected with the frontier posts by the road which the soldiers were supposed to patrol.

²⁰⁴ This system was probably similar to the Cumbrian coastal defense system of Hadrian’s Wall running from Bowness to Ravenglass (Ab Waasdorp, pers. comment).

One brooch was located at Naaldwijk²⁰⁵, a Roman settlement. This vicus was situated ca 10 km south of Ockenburgh on the presumed Roman road (see the map in Feijst *et al.* 2008, 10, afb. 1.3). Unfortunately, it is unknown what kind of vicus it was (Feijst *et al.* 2008, 208). It could have been a military vicus which grew in the proximity of a Roman fort or fleet station or a civilian vicus which grew on a major Roman crossroad (Feijst *et al.* 2008, 208). It was noted that the settlement showed more signs of being civilian than military: it was positioned on the crossroads and most artefacts were imported pieces (Feijst *et al.* 2008, 209). However, it cannot be ruled out that somewhere in the mid second century the settlement had some kind of military installation that has not yet been found, or that it existed only for a short period (Feijst *et al.* 2008, 209). If Naaldwijk did indeed have some kind of military installation in the mid second century AD, then it can be proposed as a candidate for the unit's fort. The presence of a British detachment at Ockenburgh and the possible military installation at Naaldwijk correspond chronologically. The cohort could have sent its soldiers to patrol the road leading to and from the watchtower.

Naaldwijk, however, might also have been a fleet station, as noted above. On the site at Naaldwijk, tile stamps of the German fleet were found in abundance (Feijst *et al.* 2008, 209) which may indicate the presence of the fleet or a small harbour on, or in the proximity of, the site. It has been suggested that this harbour was used by the fleet to transport goods and men from various provinces through the *Corbulo* channel all the way up to the frontier zone and to the Rhine (Feijst *et al.* 2008, 208-209). The German fleet played an active role during the invasion of Britain in AD 43 and was the major transportation resource between Britain and the Continent from the invasion until AD 85 (Konen 2000, 373-375). If Naaldwijk was indeed a harbour, then the presence of British brooches there and in Spijkenisse can be connected with the activity of the German fleet in this region, and not with the service of *cohors VI Brittonum*.

The speculative nature of the evidence does not give a clue as to the location of the fort of this particular cohort, although its service in the southwest corner of Germania Inferior is plausible.

²⁰⁵ Another British-made brooch was reported from Naaldwijk-Heultje (de Bruin, Feijst and Heeren database). This information was received upon the completion of this PhD thesis and is therefore not included in the database.



Figure 3.20 Geographical location of the inscriptions (circle) and possible fort (square) of the *cohors VI Brittonum*

Personnel (in chronological order):

Prefects/commanding officers:

Marcus Gavius Bassus: prefect, serving his first *militia* ca AD 96, II. 1

Lucius Terentius Rufus: prefect, serving in the unit in the late first century AD, II. 2

Quintus Domitius Victor: prefect, serving in the unit in the late first century AD, II. 3

Tinilus: centurion, serving in the unit in the late second century AD, II. 4

Decimus Aelius Menecratianus: prefect, serving in the unit in the beginning of the third century AD, II. 5

? (...), son of Crepereios: prefect, II. 6

Soldiers:

Cae(lianus): foot-soldier, serving in the unit in the late second century AD, II. 4

Relatives (in alphabetical order):

Titus Crepereios Fronto: father of (...), son of Crepereios, II. 6

Origin

Known origin:

The origin of one prefect has been recorded on a monument: Marcus Gavius Bassus hailed from Rome.

Decimus Aelius Menecratianus was a member of an extended family living in the North African *municipum Lambaesis* (Lambese, Algeria), where he was also probably born (Marcillet-Jaubert 1987, 211). While exact blood relations of the people recorded on the monument (II. 5) are hard to determine, but it has been proposed that P. Aelius Procles Menecratianus Florius Fortunatus is the father. P. Maevus Saturninus Honoratianus and that D. Aelius Menecratianus are his grandchildren and sons of P. Aelius Menecraten Florius (Marcillet-Jaubert 1987, 212).

Pitillas Salañer (2005) convincingly argued that the origin of Lucius Terentius Rufus lies in Braga, Portugal.

Quintus Domitius Victor was from one of the Roman voting tribes, the Quirina, and probably hailed from *Calama*, modern Guelma in Algeria, of which he was a patron, and where he was also buried and commemorated with a monument (Devijver 2001, 60).

Table 3.50 Known origin of soldiers of *cohors VI Brittonum*

Origins	Numbers
Italy: City of Rome	1
Numidia: Town of <i>Lambaesis</i>	1
Hispania Citerior: Town of <i>Bracara Augusta</i>	1
Africa Proconsularis: Town of <i>Calama</i>	1

Unidentifiable origin

The origin of centurion Tinilus is hard to identify. The name in the different spelling, Tineius, appears once in Britain, but names starting with the element *tin-* were widespread in Celtic speaking regions (Mócsy 1983, 290; OPEL IV 122).

The name of the soldier has been reconstructed as Caelianus, but there are many other names, which also start with the element *cae-* (cf. OPEL II 16-21). If the name of the soldier is indeed Caelianus, this does not give any indication as to his origin, since this name was popular everywhere (Mócsy 1983, 58; OPEL II 18).

Table 3.51 Origin of soldiers in *cohors VI Brittonum*: total summary

Origins	Numbers
Italy	1
Numidia	1
Africa Proconsularis	1
Hispania Citerior	1
Unknown	2
	Total: 6 ²⁰⁶

Archaeology

Only one graffito found on a cooking vessel at Ockenburgh indicates the possible presence of a detachment of the *cohors VI Brittonum*. The site has been excavated by Dutch archaeologists, first from 1931 until 1936, then from 1993 until 1997 (Kersing and Waasdorp 1994, 1995 and 1996). Brooches were found on the site (Waasdorp and Zee 1988, 26-27; Kersing and Waasdorp 1994, 12; 1996, 19), although only a small number of them was described (none are British-made). The recent *Odyssee* grant from the Dutch funding body NWO will allow the Dutch researchers to analyse, date and publish the finds from this site (<http://www.erfgoednederland.nl/odyssee/projecten/19.-den-haag-ockenburgh/item10668> accessed on 02.06.2011), but, unfortunately, after this thesis has been completed²⁰⁷.

²⁰⁶ (...), son of Crepereios, the prefect, is not included into the table, since it is uncertain whether he was indeed a prefect of the *cohors VI Brittonum*.

²⁰⁷ The leaders of the project, Ab Waasdorp and Jeroen van Zoelingen, were kind enough to invite me to look at the brooches (ca 40) found on both the military and civilian part of Roman Ockenburgh. One brooch appears to have similarities with British-made brooches of type T162, known as Alcester. This information was received upon the submission of this thesis and is, therefore, not included into the database.

As was already mentioned, three British-made brooches²⁰⁸ were found on sites nearby (Naaldwijk, Spijkenisse and region Rotterdam), though their occurrence might be related to the activities of the German fleet in the region.

3.2.16. *General conclusions*

3.2.16.1. Naming pattern

The nomenclature of the British regiments falls into the four categories: *ala* and *cohors I Britannica*, a series of units named *Britannorum*, six series of *cohors Brittonum* and units named after the tribe and area from where they were raised, i.e. *cohors Belgarum* and three series of units raised from *Colonia Glevum* (Saddington 1980, 1072 with updated information). It has been generally assumed that the title *Britannica* refers to the province (Saddington 1980, 1073; Spaul 2000, 189); the title *Brittonum* indicates that the original recruits were natives to the province, while the title *Britannorum* implies that the soldiers were recruited from Britain, though they were not necessarily of British ancestry (Spaul 2000, 189).

With regard to the difference between the terms *Britannus* and *Britto*, an interesting proposal came from Matthews (1999, 25), who argues that both ethnonyms were coined and used by the outsiders and intruders, the Romans, to name the local inhabitants of the province of Britannia. He establishes that while the ethnic name *Britannus* was given to the population by outsiders and, subsequently, used mostly by the local Roman authorities, the ethnonym *Britto* derived “from the self-awareness of what it was to be an inhabitant of Roman Britain” (Matthews 1999, 29-30). Although both terms were alien to the indigenous population of Britannia, pressure from the Roman administration meant that they were gradually adopted by the inhabitants (Matthews 1999, 26).

It is notable that the majority of British auxiliary units were described by a label associated with the pan-tribal community. As for the other auxiliary units raised from various Continental tribes, in the majority of the cases units were named after the tribes they were raised from²⁰⁹. In the British case, one needs to take into account that there were “no such social groups as ‘Britons’, the peoples were an assortment of tribes” (Mattingly 2004, 10). The label *Britannus/Britto* was imposed by the Roman government in order to speed up the process of inclusion of the natives into the Roman orbit as well as to prevent further inter-tribal warfare, the process that has been called “superficial homogenisation” (Matthews 1999, 29). Such homogenisation, though not artificial as in the British case, is recorded in other communities who supplied recruits for the Roman army. The main purpose was the promotion of a special type of identity - a military one. For instance, the Romans continuously cultivated tribal associations in the Batavians from Germania Inferior, placing an emphasis on their militaristic nature (van Driel-Murray 2003, 201; Roymans 2004, 223). The Batavians, being a Roman creation as well, formed at least eight cohorts, though it has been argued that these regiments would not necessarily “have consisted exclusively of soldiers from the Batavian homeland” (van Rossum 2004, 128). The constant manipulation of the group’s military vocations bound up with the group’s own ethnic identity resulted in the formation of a special community, called ‘ethnic soldiers’ by van Driel-Murray (2003, 201). The Dacians are another similar case in point. After the Dacian Wars, “the Roman army reinvented rather than destroyed Dacian ethnic identity and provided the environment for the formation of a new Dacian military identity” by recruiting locals to serve in various auxiliary units called *Dacorum* (Oltean 2009, 99). The Romans might

²⁰⁸ They will be further discussed in chapter 5, section 5.2.1.2.

²⁰⁹ Cf. Spaul (2000, 9), who provides a list of the units raised from the various Roman provinces, where the majority were named after a single tribe, and a handful - named with a generic, i.e. provincial, term.

have also reinvented and manipulated British ethnic identity by consistently referring to the people who originated from, or were born in, the province of Britannia as ‘Britons’²¹⁰. Forming various auxiliary units in which British-born recruits served and naming them with the group label, might have been a conscious decision to enhance the formation of a new pan-British military identity. The creation of artificial cultural identity and to some extent the invention of new ‘ethnic’ boundaries for the peoples of Britain gave the Roman administration the power “to form a new and partly unified military identity among the formerly fragmented groups”, in this way creating a new cultural unity that served its needs (Hingley 2009, 69 commenting on the formation of artificial Batavian ethnicity). Of course, one might argue about the success of this attempt. All in all, the formation of ethnic soldiery is “a deliberate construct of Empire used for purely strategic purposes”, where “military service itself can be seen as an active factor in shaping these [traditional ethnic] attachments and creating new ethnicities which answer the stereotypes demanded by state security” (van Driel-Murray 2003, 202)²¹¹.

In that sense, one might ask why the *Belgae* tribe - their cohort was named after the tribe - was given such an exclusive status.

This discussion on the imposition and usage of the artificial labels does not explain, however, the differences in the naming of units. It is possible that the nomenclature is connected to the period when individual units were raised or to the events that triggered their recruitment. This can be tested by taking a closer look at when and how the troops were established.

3.2.16.2. Origin

The origin of the British auxiliary units was discussed by Saddington (1980), though his conclusions were based on the evidence available at that time. He stated that the origin of the British troops can be traced rather easily, since they have “a fixed *terminus post quem* – AD 43” (Saddington 1980, 1071). He concluded that while the evidence for the British units “cannot be dated earlier than the principate of Nero (...) it is likely that [they] were raised soon after the invasion under Claudius” (Saddington 1980, 1073).

Based on the evidence available now, the following summary of the units’ first appearance can be reconstructed²¹².

²¹⁰ Cf. Dio Cassius 62.4, who puts the following phrase in Boudicca’s mouth prior to the major battle between Roman and British forces in AD 60/61: “for I (Boudicca) consider you all my kinsmen inasmuch as you inhabit a single island and are called by one common name”. Clearly, an obvious example of Roman rhetoric and propaganda rather than an exhibition of pan-tribal British identity; such notions of artificial ethnicity may not have had much relevance for the peoples of Britain.

²¹¹ Cf. Hingley 2009, 69 who emphasises the asymmetrical nature of such relationships, where “ethnic soldiers’ represented an aspect of the deliberate creation of unequal imperial relations”.

²¹² It is of course not entirely so that a unit must be in existence for 25 years before a diploma was issued. There are cases when experienced soldiers were seconded to newly formed units, cf. Cersus, son of Denturasadus from *ala I Brittonum*, who might have served in another unit prior to the transfer to this *ala* in order to train recruits of the newly raised unit (Holder 2006b, 713). This should be taken into consideration, although, based on the evidence available now, only one British auxiliary unit might have had soldiers seconded from other troops.

Table 3.52 First recorded evidences for the British auxiliary units

Name	Earliest known date of the soldiers recruitment	Ruling Emperor
Ala I Britannica	AD 69	Nero
Ala I Brittonum	AD 45/46	According to the date – raised by Claudius, Eck (2003, 224) and Holder (2006b, 713) argued for the reign of Nero
Cohors I Belgarum	AD 72	Date points to Vespasian
Cohors I Britannica	AD 55	Nero
Cohors I Aelia Brittonum	As part of cohors I Brittonum – AD 60	Nero
Cohors I Augusta Nervia Pacensis Brittonum	AD 80	Date points to Titus, but the third cohort was raised under Vespasian. Logically the first, second and third must have been raised at the same time.
Cohors I Flavia Brittonum	AD 70	Vespasian
Cohors I Ulpia Brittonum	As part of cohors I Brittonum – AD 60	Nero
Cohors II Britannorum	AD 56 – 59	Nero
Cohors II Augusta Nervia Pacensis Brittonum	AD 80	Date points to Titus, but the third cohort was raised under Vespasian. Logically the first, second and third must have been raised at the same time.
Cohors II Flavia Brittonum	AD 71/72	Vespasian
Cohors III Britannorum	AD 61	Nero
Cohors III Augusta Nervia Pacensis	AD 77/78	Vespasian
Cohors III Brittonum	AD 75	Vespasian
Cohors VI Brittonum	AD 73	Vespasian

If this table is summarised according to the ruling Emperor, the following appears.

Table 3.53 Emperors and the units, (possibly) established during the reign

Emperor	Units	Units	Units	Units	Units
Nero	Ala Britannica I	Ala I Brittonum	Cohors Britannica I	Cohors I Brittonum	Cohortes II and III Britannorum
Vespasian	Cohors Belgarum I	Cohortes I, II Flavia and III, VI Brittonum	Cohortes I, II and III Augusta Nervia Pacensis Brittonum		

This table does not contradict the conclusion proposed by Saddington, that the evidence points to the reign of Nero, though his general idea that the units were raised soon after the Claudian campaigns is questionable. If the units are divided according to the earliest known date when they were on service, a pattern seems to appear.

Table 3.54 The earliest known date of the service of the British auxiliary units

AD 45/46	Ala I Brittonum
AD 55	Cohors I Britannica
AD 56 – 59	Cohors II Britannorum
AD 60	Cohors I (Aelia and Ulpia) Brittonum
AD 61	Cohors III Britannorum
AD 69	Ala I Britannica
AD 70	Cohors I Flavia Brittonum
AD 71/72	Cohors II Flavia Brittonum
AD 72	Cohors I Belgarum
AD 73	Cohors VI Brittonum
AD 75	Cohors III Brittonum
AD 77/78	Cohors III Augusta Nervia Pacensis Brittonum
AD 80	Cohors I Augusta Nervia Pacensis Brittonum
AD 80	Cohors II Augusta Nervia Pacensis Brittonum

The cohorts with the titles *Britannica* and *Britannorum* seem to have been in existence prior to AD 69, while those with *Brittonum* and with the tribal and regional epithets – after AD 69. Both *alae* were also raised prior to, or exactly in, AD 69. Only one cohort breaks this pattern – *cohors I Brittonum*, though I suspect that it was raised together with *cohortes II* and *III Britannorum* for reasons discussed below. In general, it seems reasonable to discuss the formation of the units according to the discussed here pattern.

3.2.16.2.1. Ala and cohors I Britannica

It has been generally assumed that the title of both ala and cohort indicates that these regiments were part of the British garrison, but did not necessarily have their origins in Britain (Kennedy 1977, 250, 254).

The ala was recorded for the first time²¹³ with its full title on the diploma issued in AD 102 (*CIL XVI 47*) as *Britanniciana*, which implies “troops of the British garrison” and indicates that it was a unit composed of soldiers of various origins from numerous regiments stationed at that time in Britain (Kennedy 1977, 250). This interpretation was further used to suggest that the unit was actually from the beginning a detachment of the British regiments and was raised especially for the Vitellian forces in AD 69 (Kennedy 1977, 252).

The cohort, however, might have been raised from the local population of the province in AD 69 “for immediate ‘export’ to the Vitellian expeditionary forces and only took shape and name on the continent” (Kennedy 1977, 254-255). This argument, however, fails to persuade, since the unit was already in existence by AD 55, because it was discharging soldiers in AD 80 (*CIL XVI, 26*).

Kennedy (1977, 250), while pleading for the separation, when discussing the origin of these two units, suggests, nevertheless, that the establishment of both units fell in AD 69. This could not certainly be true for the cohort and possibly for ala; although the first record of the ala falls in AD 69, it cannot be concluded that it was raised in that year and not earlier, i.e. together with the cohort.

It seems that both units were made up of soldiers from various units stationed in Britain some time around ca AD 55. This year falls in the period when Nero was thinking of abandoning Britain. The death of Emperor Claudius in AD 54 and the unresolved military problems with regard to the further conquest of Britain prompted Nero to doubt the necessity of further campaigns and he “even thought of withdrawing

²¹³ On the inscriptions of earlier dates (*CIL III 15797*; *CIL III 4575*; *CIL III 4576*) the title was abbreviated as ‘*Brit*’ and, thus, it is unknown how the title should be expanded.

the army from Britain” (Suetonius *Nero*, 18). It is believed that this happened in the first years of Nero’s reign (Birley 1953; Salway 1993, 80; Jarrett 2002, 52; Webster G. 2003, 97-98; Mattingly 2007, 104). The appointment in AD 57 of the new governor of Britain, Quintus Veranius, indicates that a decision had been made to retain Britain (Jarrett 2002, 52; Webster G. 2003, 98; Mattingly 2007, 104).

The withdrawn units might have been a mix of various auxiliary vexillations, which had lost the majority of their soldiers in the active fighting in the aftermath of the AD 43 campaigns. The heavy casualties that the units in Britain suffered for nearly 12 years in the aftermath of AD 43 might have reduced the units to far below their original strength. They might have become so small that they were not able to function as proper 1000 or 500 strong units. This problem could have been solved by merging different units under required strength. While it is possible that Britons were also recruited to serve in such combined units at that time, it is likely that they made up another set of units, which will be discussed in the following section.

3.2.16.2.2. *Ala I Brittonum* and *cohortes I Brittonum*, II and III *Britannorum*

The formation of these units falls in the period between the years AD 59 – 61. While the Thracian recruit in the *ala I Brittonum* entered the army in AD 45/46, this does not mean that the *ala* was in existence by this period: the soldier might have been transferred to the British *ala* to train new recruits at the moment of the units’ establishment. It seems reasonable to suggest that both *ala* and *cohortes I Brittonum* were raised at the same time, and taking into account that the *cohortes I Brittonum* was in existence by AD 60, the establishment of the *ala* should be dated to the same period (Eck 2003, 224; Holder 2006b, 713).

That *cohortes II* and *III Britannorum* were established at the same time as *ala* and *cohortes I Brittonum* can be supported by the fact that the second unit was referred to differently on different diplomas (Isac 2003, 35). On the ones issued for the army of Germania Inferior and Moesia Superior the unit was named as “*cohortes II Brittonum*” and on the diplomas for the army of Dacia, issued later than the ones from Germany and Moesia, it was usually recorded as “*cohortes II Britannorum*”. Such a transformation has been explained here as resulting from changes in the recruitment system. It is possible that the unit was initially composed of members of the native population of the province and was named after them, i.e. cohort of Britons = *cohortes Brittonum*. Later, when locals from the province of Dacia replaced the initial recruits, the unit was renamed to take account of the recruitment situation²¹⁴. It was then called the *cohortes II Britannorum* to indicate the provincial origin of the unit. Moreover, there is no evidence of the existence of *cohortes I Britannorum*, except one diploma (RMD I 64, dated to AD 164), though this is likely to reflect a mistake, i.e. it should record instead *cohortes I Britannica*.

I would like to suggest that *ala I Brittonum* and *cohortes I Brittonum* (later divided into two units with titles *Aelia* and *Ulpia*), *II* and *III Brittonum* (later renamed to *Britannorum*) were raised in the same period. It seems likely that all four troops could have been established prior to AD 60, since *cohortes II Britannorum* was already in existence by AD 59 at the latest.

The following events can be proposed that have triggered the units’ establishment. First one is the indecision of Nero as to whether or not to abandon Britain in ca AD 55 – 56 (discussed above). The possibility of the withdrawal of the army could also have resulted in hasty recruitment of suitable manpower and, thus, the establishment of one *ala* and three *cohortes* from among the Britons. In this sense, the distinction between *ala* and *cohortes I Britannica* and *ala* and *cohortes Brittonum* lies in that the former was

²¹⁴ The similar situation might have happened with *cohortes III Britannorum*, renamed from *Brittonum* to *Britannorum* at the moment when the recruits from Raetia were introduced to the unit.

raised from various regiments stationed in Britain, the latter was made up of natives of the province. The establishment of *Britannica* and *Brittonum/Britannorum* units than falls around the year AD 55 and was the result of the indecisive policy of the Roman administration.

The two other possible events are the appointments of Quintus Veranius in AD 57 and Suetonius Paulinus in AD 59 as governors of Britain. From the historic sources it is known that both governors paid a lot of attention to the conquest of the *Silures* tribe, living in the territory of what is now Wales, as well as to preparing an assault on the population of the island of Anglesey, though the campaign was halted by the Boudiccan revolt in AD 60 (Tacitus *Agricola* 14 and *Annales* XIV 29; Webster G. 1970, 192; 2003, 105; Salway 1993, 81; Jarrett 2002, 52-53).

It seems that by AD 60 some British southeast tribes might have established a particular set of arrangements with new power, resulting from the support given at the time of the invasion and in the following years (Salway 1993, 82; Webster G. 1999, 87). One might assume that the tribes sent out available manpower to be part of the Roman army to acquire first-hand knowledge of Roman fighting methods²¹⁵ or in exchange for the future promise of Roman citizenship. Romans might have exploited the loyalty of this people to their advantage and co-operation between the Roman government and the southeastern tribes was defined on their, i.e. the intruders', terms. The tribes were given the possibility of enhancing elements of their prestige: for their service in the army they were granted citizenship. Such practice, recruitment by agreement, is attested: Batavians before the revolt of AD 69 were commanded to serve in the auxiliary units by their own chieftains, and were also granted Roman citizenship (Saddington 2009, 85 citing Tacitus *Hist.* IV 12 and *Germ.* 29.1).

The archaeological evidence gives the possibility of suggesting that at least one cohort discussed in this section was raised from the southeastern tribes. British-made Colchester derivative brooches were found on the sites that were passed by the *cohors III Britannorum* and the *ala I Britannica*, when both were part of the army of Vitellius in AD 69. Colchester derivatives are found on the majority of the sites in East Anglian Britain (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 157). If we are right to assume that the members of the *cohors III Britannorum* brought British brooches across the Channel, then one might consider the possibility that the cohort was raised from the population of the tribes living in the region of East Anglia. Considering the occurrence of East Anglian brooch types on the route of the cohort's movements in AD 69, this suggestion seems theoretically possible. One could go even further and consider the reason behind the joining of Vitellius and his general Caecina's forces. One of the generals who defeated Caecina's army near Cremona was Gaius Suetonius Paulinus, the very same man who as governor of Britain had quashed the rebellion of Boudicca, queen of the *Iceni*, in AD 60 (Murison 1993, 98, 105). Was the decision to join Caecina's forces a personal revenge by the soldiers raised from among others the *Iceni*? Unfortunately, this is impossible to know.

In general, the evidence points to the rather tentative conclusion that ca AD 59 the *Iceni* and other tribes living in the south-east of Britain supplied recruits to the Roman army, though one might argue as to whether or not this was voluntarily. From the

²¹⁵ A similar process has been noted for the period between 55 BC and AD 43: Roman armour was found in 'native' burials and Roman-style military armour was depicted on some British coins (Creighton 2006, 48-49). Possibly some Britons were able to serve in Roman military units and a "selected [few] dressed up in the Roman [army] fashion", although the archaeological record for this period is incomplete (Creighton 2006, 49-50). The reason for the service of Rome's former enemies in her army is a tightening of "the personal bonds of power between the elite of the Roman world and her periphery" (Creighton 2006, 24). Because most of these servicemen are likely to have been hostages of elite origin, this also provided a sort of security: being educated by the Romans, they were responsible for the spread of the Roman culture and a Roman way of life; this programme was rather successful, as can be seen from the archaeological record (Creighton 2006, 24).

available manpower at least one ala and three cohorts were raised. It is possible, though the scarcity of the evidence halts any further discussion, that one cause of the Boudicca rebellion in AD 60 might have been the large scale recruitment of the youth of the *Iceni* and other adjacent tribes, although many other causes of the rebellion are known (Webster G. 1999, 86-89).

3.2.16.2.3. Cohortes I, II (Flavia) and III, VI Brittonum

Four cohorts are known with the title *Brittonum*, though it is likely that six were originally raised, with the numerals four and five disappearing from the record as a result of some unidentifiable event(s). The establishment of the units falls in the period between the years AD 70 – 75, the early reign of Vespasian and the governorships of Marcus Vettius Bolanus and Quintus Petillius Cerialis. The logical interpretation is that all six units were raised in the same year. Since the *terminus post quem* is AD 70, the likelihood is that this year can be regarded as the year of the establishment.

Several events can be proposed that might have triggered the establishment of these units.

It is known that in AD 69 British legions sided with Vitellius, a rival to Vespasian's claim to throne. The legions sent detachments to Vitellius forces, but were defeated by Vespasian. It is unknown, however, which side the Britons themselves took. If it would appear that the natives of Britain also sought alliances with Vitellius, the raising of six cohorts could be regarded as a punishment by Vespasian, who could be seen as imposing a massive forced recruitment on a people who had not shown loyalty. Such forced recruitment is recorded after the Batavian revolt, when the majority of the former Roman enemies were incorporated into a new set of nine Batavian cohorts (Spaul 2000, 206; Saddington 2009, 85; though argued against by van Rossum 2004, 118). Britons did have reasons to dislike Vespasian: he had served in the province as a commander of the *legio II Augusta* at the time of the invasion in AD 43 and had led campaigns against the British *Durotriges* and *Dumnonii* tribes (Suetonius, *Vespasianus* IV).

Another event is the withdrawal of *legio XIV Gemina* in AD 70 from Britain to the Lower Rhine to crush the Batavian revolt (Tacitus *Hist.* IV 79). The six units might have been raised from the provincial population in order to reinforce the strength of this army, though Tacitus (*Hist.* IV 76) informs us that the summoned troops were not newly raised levies, but veteran soldiers, experienced in war.

A tentative date for the establishment is AD 69 itself. The units might have been raised in Britain to join the forces of Vitellius on the Continent. From the historical sources it is known that Vitellius appointed Vettius Bolanus as governor of Britain in AD 69, who was asked by Vitellius to summon extra reinforcements from Britain. Bolanus, however, hesitated: sending more legionary reinforcements to Vitellius would mean that Britain, "insufficiently pacified", would have been open for any enemy attack (Tacitus, *Hist.* II 97). Bolanus, while trying to follow the command, might have raised six full strength cohorts from the Britons. By summoning the troubled population to military service he might have secured the presence of a strong Roman army and at the same time have avoided the possibility of another native revolt. As pointed out above, Britons could have been persuaded to join Vitellius forces by their dislike for Vespasian and Otho's general Gaius Suetonius Paulinus.

These interpretations suggest that the units were raised as a set, meaning that a total of ca 6000 young men would have had to have been available, which is rather doubtful. Raising one unit at a time makes more sense: each unit could have been raised in different levies held in different years, plausibly two to three years apart. In the case for these particular units (taking into account the earliest date of the recruitment, cf. table 3.54) the cohort with numeral one was raised in ca AD 69/70, with numerals two and three ca AD 70/71, the fourth and fifth in ca AD 71/72 and the sixth ca AD 73. This

would mean the raising of two units each year over a period of at least four years. The subjugation of new territories would reduce the pressure on the population, from which the cohorts were raised. Such interpretation can be supported by the evidence: the tribal confederation of the *Brigantes* might have had such manpower available after the subjugation of their territory during the governorship of Cerialis in ca AD 70/71 – 73/74 (Tacitus, *Hist.* III 45; *Agricola* 17).

One principal conclusion emerges: nothing allows us to establish the precise event(s) that might have triggered the formation of the units called *Brittonum*. However, there is no obstacle to conclude, as the evidence suggests, that the units were raised either in AD 69 for Vitellius' army or immediately after by order of Vespasian.

3.2.16.2.4. Cohortes I, II and III Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum

The period when these units were raised falls around AD 77/78. While the first and the second cohort accepted recruits in AD 80, it seems reasonable to suggest that they were in existence by AD 77/78, when the third unit was accepting soldiers. The period coincides with the governorship of Sextus Julius Frontinus, who is more famous for his technical and military treatises, in particular his books on aqueducts, *De aqueductu*, and on military science, *Strategemata*.

Sextus Julius Frontinus governed Britain between the years AD 73/74 – 77/78. During his governorship the attention of the Roman military was turned to the conquest of the territory that is now Wales (Tacitus *Agricola* 17; Salway 1993, 99; Manning 2004, 70; Mattingly 2007, 116). The campaigns were probably triggered by a revolt of the native population somewhere at the beginning of his governorship (Jarrett 2002, 45). It is known that Frontinus moved the *legio II Augusta*, which had previously been stationed in *Glevum*, modern Gloucester to a new legionary base in Wales, at *Isca*, modern Caerleon. From the historical and archaeological sources it is evident that Frontinus also established some auxiliary forts and was operating with his army against the tribes living in this territory, the *Silures* and *Ordovices* (Salway 1993, 99; Manning 2004, 70-72; Mattingly 2007, 116). The military campaigns in Wales ended in AD 77 with the formation of the *respublica civitatis Silurum* (Salway 1993, 99).

The subjugation of Wales falls in the period when military forces on the Continent were facing campaigns in Germany and on the Danube and the forces, previously involved in the conquest and pacifying of the territories in Britain, started to be withdrawn overseas. This might have had disastrous consequences for the newly conquered territory. The Roman administration might have tried to find the ways to neutralise the possible opposition recruiting and sending away troubled youths or any men who were capable of holding a sword into the Roman army with the promise of citizenship. Taking into account that the legionary force was moved from Gloucester to Caerleon, the transfer overseas of a large and armed contingent of men of the *Silures* became more than a necessity.

The formation of the *cohortes I, II and III Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum* can be connected to the cessation of campaigns in Wales in AD 77/78. The recruits to the three cohorts might have come from the area around the *Colonia Glevum*, renamed in ca AD 96 – 98 with the epithet Nervia, and the adjacent tribes such as *Dobunni* and *Silures*²¹⁶. The epigraphic record indicates the recruitment of ca AD 80 of a Dobunnian soldier into a British cohort, *cohors I Britannica*, which chronologically corresponds with the ending of the campaigns in Wales. It is known that the Romans practiced large scale recruitment of people from those tribes that had recently revolted against Roman

²¹⁶ It is possible that all these cohorts initially had different names, but were renamed during the reign of Nerva. They might have changed their names, i.e. from the original 'British' name of the area to the name imposed by Nerva on the newly established colony, in the same way that the units with the title Domitiana were renamed with the more or less neutral Flavia.

rule (Saddington 2009, 84). Examples include the Breucian cohorts raised after the revolt in AD 9 in Pannonia (Spaul 2000, 315), the Raetian units raised “following the removal from their homeland after the conquest in AD 15” (Spaul 2000, 274; Saddington 2009, 84) and the Batavian units raised for the second time after Civilis’ uprising in AD 69 (Spaul 2000, 206; Saddington 2009, 85; though argued against in van Rossum 2004, 118). The service of a Dobunnian soldier in a British cohort, as well as the formation of the three units discussed above, suggests that the pacification of Welsh territory in ca AD 77/78 – 80 involved the active recruitment of natives into the Roman army.

3.2.16.2.5. Cohors I Belgarum

The cohort was in existence by AD 72, which is a *terminus post quem* for when the cohort was in operation, although it could have been established much earlier.

This cohort was named after, and raised from, a specific British tribe, an unique situation considering the practice of naming other British auxiliary units with a group label²¹⁷. The question is what made the *Belgae* special that they were granted with a cohort carrying their own name?

A tentative suggestion is that this singling out of the cohort might lie in the loyalty of the *Belgae* tribe during the Roman conquest, occupation and revolts. The *Belgae* formed part of the southern client kingdoms that submitted to Roman rule possibly within a couple of years of the campaigns of AD 43 and remained loyal for a long time (cf. Tacitus, *Agricola* 14 on the reign of the king Cogidubnus, who also “remained faithful”). It is notable that from the historic sources the tribe of the *Belgae* does not come across as a force to be feared: it seems it was one of the tribes that accepted Roman rule without much fighting (cf. Mattingly 2007, 97-98, tab. 2). The formation of the cohort from the *Belgae* tribe might be considered as a reward to a tribe that had sought its personal advantage in making peace with the Roman administration. After all, the soldiers in the cohort were granted with Roman citizenship.

While the scarcity of the evidence does not allow further comment on the unit’s establishment, it seems reasonable to tentatively propose the period when the cohort might have been raised. Taking into account the possibly positive relationship between the Roman invading forces and the *Belgae* tribe, this community might have been granted a cohort of their own at the end of Claudius’ reign. It might even have acted as a local militia. After the campaigns in the southeast and west of England ca AD 43 – 47 the Roman army was advancing forward into British territory. The move forward required the removal of a large army from the south and it would have stripped the newly acquired areas of their garrisons (Webster G. 2003, 24). The Romans could not afford such a risk and probably took measures to improve the security of the area by imposing a local militia.

3.2.16.2.6. Conclusion on units’ origins

Saddington (1980, 1073) was right that the establishment of the units “cannot be dated earlier than the principate of Nero”, although a distinction can be made between units raised during the time of Nero and those in the reign of Vespasian. The establishment of the units can be connected to various events in the early history of

²¹⁷ This cohort was not the only unit recruited from a British tribe: *cohors I Cornoviorum* was called after the tribal entity *Cornovii*, which inhabited the Midland region of Britain. The unit probably recruited among the members of the tribe. The cohort is recorded on *Notitia Dignitatum*, a late fourth-century document, which listed all military forts and their units of all provinces in the Roman Empire. The unit is not mentioned in the present thesis because there is no evidence that it was sent out of Britain and because the unit might have been a late-fourth century creation, a period which falls outside the chronological boundaries of the research.

Roman Britain, in particular to the advancement of the Roman army and the subjugation of different territories and peoples. Archaeological evidence hints at the possibility that particular units were raised from particular tribes, since the units' nomenclature does not allow such conclusion to be arrived at.

A question, however, remains regarding the difference between the units' nomenclature, where two distinct epithets are known – *Britannica* and *Brittonum/Britannorum*. From the available evidence it seems that the naming pattern depended on the period when particular units were raised and the origin of the recruits. *Ala* and *cohors I Britannica* were probably combined units from various auxiliaries stationed in Britain raised between AD 55 – 60, while *ala I Brittonum* and *cohortes I Brittonum, II* and *III Brittonum/Britannorum*, possibly raised at the same time as the previous units, were composed of the natives of the province. Another set of six *cohortes Brittonum* was established at AD 69 or slightly thereafter, also from the natives of the province. This interpretation leads to the following consideration that there were two sets of British auxiliary units: one batch might have been raised by the orders of Nero, when he weighed the decision whether or not to abandon Britain and the second - either to aid the Vitellian forces on the Continent or by the orders of Vespasian in the years AD 70 – 75. Such a practice is known in the Roman army: there were two series of *cohors Batavorum* (Spaul 2000, 206; Saddington 2009, 85; though this is argued against in van Rossum 2004, 118) and two series of *cohortes Asturum* (Jarrett 1994, 53; Spaul 2000, 71, though he doubted that the units were raised at the same time suggesting instead that they were raised in different levies). I would like to suggest that initially the set of three cohorts, named *Brittonum*, were over the time 'renamed' either to avoid confusion with the second set of *cohortes Brittonum* or to adjust to the recruitment pattern (the soldiers were of other than British origin). If the latter interpretation is right then the question remains why this did not happen with the second set of *cohortes Brittonum*, which, in the second century, also practiced local recruitment or with other units known to have had two series, such as *Batavorum* or *Asturum*.

3.2.16.3. Deployment

This section will briefly discuss the deployment of the British auxiliary units through various periods and their participation in various military conflicts.

The deployment of all units is summarised in the following table.

Table 3.55 General overview of the British auxiliary units' deployment

	AD 69	Flavian dynasty	Dacian Wars	Early second century	Late second century	Third century	Detachments
Ala I Britannica	Northern Italy	Britain (ca AD 70 – 80) ? Germania Superior (ca AD 70 (?) – 86) Pannonia (AD 86 – 105)	Pannonia (until AD 105) Dacia (AD 105 – 106)	Pannonia Inferior (AD 110 – ca 252)	Pannonia Inferior (AD 110 – 252)	Pannonia Inferior (AD 110 – ca 252) Syria (AD 252 – ?)	Parthian Wars (AD 114 – 117) Mauretania Caesariensis / Moorish Wars (AD 149)
Ala I Brittonum	Northern Italy	Pannonia (AD ? until 98)	-	Dacia Superior (AD ? until 123) Dacia Porolissensis (AD 123 – ?)	Pannonia Inferior (ca AD 162)	-	-
Cohors I Belgarum	-	Germania Superior (until	-	Dalmatia (AD 97 – ca AD	Dalmatia (AD 97 – ca	Germania Superior (ca	-

		AD 97)		197)	AD 197)	AD 197 – ?)	
Cohors I Britannica	Northern Italy (?)	Britain (AD 69 – 80 ?) Pannonia (AD 80-101)	Moesia Superior (AD 101 – probably AD 106)	Dacia (AD 106 – 118) Dacia Superior (AD 118 – AD 123) Dacia Porolissensis (AD 123 – 212/217)	Dacia Porolissensis (AD 123 – 212/217)	Dacia Porolissensis (AD 123 – 212/ 217)	-
Cohors I Aelia Brittonum	-	Pannonia (AD 85 – 101) ?	Moesia Inferior (AD 101 – probably AD 116)?	Moesia Inferior? Pannonia Inferior AD ? – until AD 136?	Noricum (after AD 136 – after AD 238)	Noricum (after AD 136 – after AD 238)	-
Cohors I Aug Nerv Pacensis Brittonum	-	-	Moesia Inferior (slightly before AD 105 – ?)	Dacia Inferior (AD 119/129 – AD 146)	-	-	-
Cohors I Flavia Brittonum	-	Germania Superior ? Dalmatia (until ca AD 95) Noricum (ca AD 95)	-	Noricum	Noricum	Dacia Malvensis? Noricum?	-
Cohors I Ulpia Brittonum	-	Britain (AD 60 – 85?) Pannonia (AD 85 – 101)	Moesia Superior (AD 101 – probably AD 106)	Dacia (AD 106 – 119 ?) Dacia Superior (AD 119? – AD 128?) Dacia Porolissensis (AD 128? – after AD 164)	Dacia Porolissensis (AD 128 – after AD 164)	Dacia Superior (after AD 164 – after AD 201) Noricum (from AD 217 onwards?)	-
Cohors II Britannorum	Britain?	Germania Inferior (AD 70? – AD 98 /100)	Moesia Superior (AD 100 – probably AD 106)	Dacia (AD 100 – 119?) Dacia Superior (AD 119? – AD 125/8?) Dacia Porolissensis (AD 125/8? – after AD 164)	Dacia Porolissensis (AD 125/8 – after AD 164)	Dacia Porolissensis	-
Cohors II Aug Nerv Pacensis Brittonum	-	-	Moesia Superior (AD 100 – ?)	Pannonia Inferior (AD 114 – 119?) Dacia Porolissensis (AD 123? – after AD 164)	Dacia Porolissensis (AD 128 – after AD 164)	Dacia Porolissensis	-
Cohors II Flavia Brittonum	-	Moesia Inferior (AD 96/97? – 230)	Moesia Inferior (AD 96/97? – 230)	Moesia Inferior (AD 96/97? – 230)	Moesia Inferior (AD 96/97? – 230)	Moesia Inferior (AD 96/97? – 230)	Maureatania Caesariensis (ca AD 107)
Cohors III Britannorum	AD 61 (?) – 69 Raetia Northern	Raetia	Raetia	Raetia (?)	Raetia	Raetia	-

	Italy						
Cohors III Aug Nerv Pacensis Brittonum	-		Moesia Superior (AD 100 – 114)	Moesia Superior (AD 100 – 114) Parthian War (AD 114 – 117)	-	-	-
Cohors III Brittonum	-	Pannonia (ca AD 84/5 – ca 97)	Moesia Superior (ca AD 97 – after 161)	Moesia Superior (ca AD 97 – after 161)	Moesia Superior (ca AD 97 – after 161)	-	-
Cohors VI Brittonum	-	Germania Inferior (ca AD 89 – 152)	Germania Inferior ?	Germania Inferior (ca AD 89 – 152)	Germania Inferior (ca AD 89 – 152)	-	-

From the table it is evident that the units that belonged to the first set of troops raised prior to AD 69, as discussed in the previous section, took part in the Civil Wars of AD 69: the ratio is four to three²¹⁸. Only one unit, *cohors II Britannorum*, might have been sent overseas after these wars to aid the Roman army in the suppression of the Batavian revolt in AD 69/70.

In the next, Flavian, period the units were sent to key provinces for the deployment of the auxiliary forces: Germania Superior, the main battlefield during the Chattian Wars, AD 82 – 83, and Pannonia, i.e. the Pannonian wars of AD 92 – 95. Having said that, at least four units were not relocated to either province: *cohortes II Britannorum* and *VI Brittonum* were still in Germania Inferior; *cohors I Flavia Brittonum* was in Dalmatia, though it might have been in Germania Superior for some time prior to its relocation; *cohors III Britannorum* was returned to Raetia and stayed there until the third century. The location of *cohortes I, II* and *III Augusta Nervia Pacensis Brittonum*, and *II Flavia Brittonum* is uncertain.

During the Dacian Wars, most British auxiliary units were summoned to Dacia, except the two, which were left at the places where they were previously stationed (the location of three others is uncertain). The majority of the units came from the Danube region (the ratio is one to five)²¹⁹ and formed part of the provincial armies of Moesia Inferior and Superior, possibly performing as support troops, except for *ala I Britannica*.

In the aftermath of the Dacian Wars, four units, that participated in the wars and were stationed in Moesia Inferior or Superior, became part of the newly established province Dacia. Out of these four, three had a similar transfer: while during the Dacian Wars they served in Moesia Superior, in the aftermath they formed a garrison of, firstly, Dacia Superior and then of Dacia Porolissensis. Three units formed the garrison of the provinces where they served during the Dacian Wars, i.e. Moesia Inferior or Superior. Only one unit was relocated back to the province where it had been prior to the wars: *ala I Britannica* returned to Pannonia Inferior. *Cohors I Augusta Nervia Pacensis Brittonum* formed a garrison of Dacia Inferior ca AD 119/129, though it is uncertain where it had served prior to that. Another *cohors II Augusta Nervia Pacensis Brittonum* is attested in Dacia Porolissensis ca AD 123, though it or a detachment of it was garrisoned before that in Pannonia Inferior for some years. Only two units changed their station in the late second century: *ala I Brittonum* is attested in Pannonia Inferior from AD 162 onwards;

²¹⁸ *Cohortes I Aelia* and *I Ulpia Brittonum* are regarded as one cohort. It was divided during or after the Dacian Wars.

²¹⁹ Contra Matei-Popescu and Tentea (2006, 128), who argue that Trajan prepared the Dacian Wars by redeploying auxiliary troops trained in the battles on the Rhine limes to Pannonia and Moesia Superior, but this is true for one British auxiliary unit.

cohors I Aelia Brittonum might have been part of the garrison of Pannonia Inferior and later of Noricum. The location of units that did not participate in the Dacian Wars remained unchanged.

Information on the location of British auxiliary units in the third century is rather sparse: it is, for instance, completely absent for at least five troops, and uncertain for one. The epigraphic evidence only allows to date the presence of nine units. In six cases, the units were left in the province in which they had served in the late second century. One, *cohors I Belgarum*, was returned to the province where it had been stationed under the Flavian dynasty, Germania Superior. There is evidence that *ala I Britannica* went to Syria to take part in the wars there in the middle of the third century, but before that it was still in Pannonia Inferior, the province it had been in since the Flavian dynasty. *Cohors I Ulpia Brittonum* was relocated to Dacia Superior and then possibly to Noricum.

3.2.16.3.1. Detachments

There is evidence that at least two units had detachments sent to participate in various military conflicts on other Roman frontiers and provinces. The first detachment formed from *ala I Britannica* was sent Parthian Wars of AD 114 – 117 and the second detachment was formed to take part in Moorish wars of Antoninus Pius in Mauretania Caesariensis in AD 149. *Cohors II Flavia Brittonum* sent a detachment to Mauretania Caesariensis as well, ca AD 107, probably for some special mission or for recruitment.

Table 3.56 The location of the British auxiliary units' detachments

	Detachments
Ala I Britannica	Parthian Wars (AD 114 – 117) Mauretania Caesariensis / Moorish Wars (AD 149)
Cohors II Flavia Brittonum	Mauretania Caesariensis (ca AD 107)

3.2.16.3.2. War participation

Apart from serving in the Dacian Wars and sending detachments to other military conflicts elsewhere in the Empire, at least one cohort is known to have been transferred to take part in the Parthian War of Trajan, ca AD 114 – 117. *Cohors III Augusta Nervia Pacensis Brittonum* was “sent to the expedition” there, never to return: it might have been annihilated in this war or have been posted elsewhere in the Near East, an event for which no record has yet been found (Chiron-35-50).

3.2.16.3.3. Conclusions

The majority of British auxiliary units formed part of the garrisons of the Roman provinces on the Danube, in particular in Pannonia, Dacia and Moesia (cf. figure 3.21). However, other Roman provinces also had one or two units of British troops: Dalmatia, Raetia and Noricum or Germania Inferior and Superior are such examples.

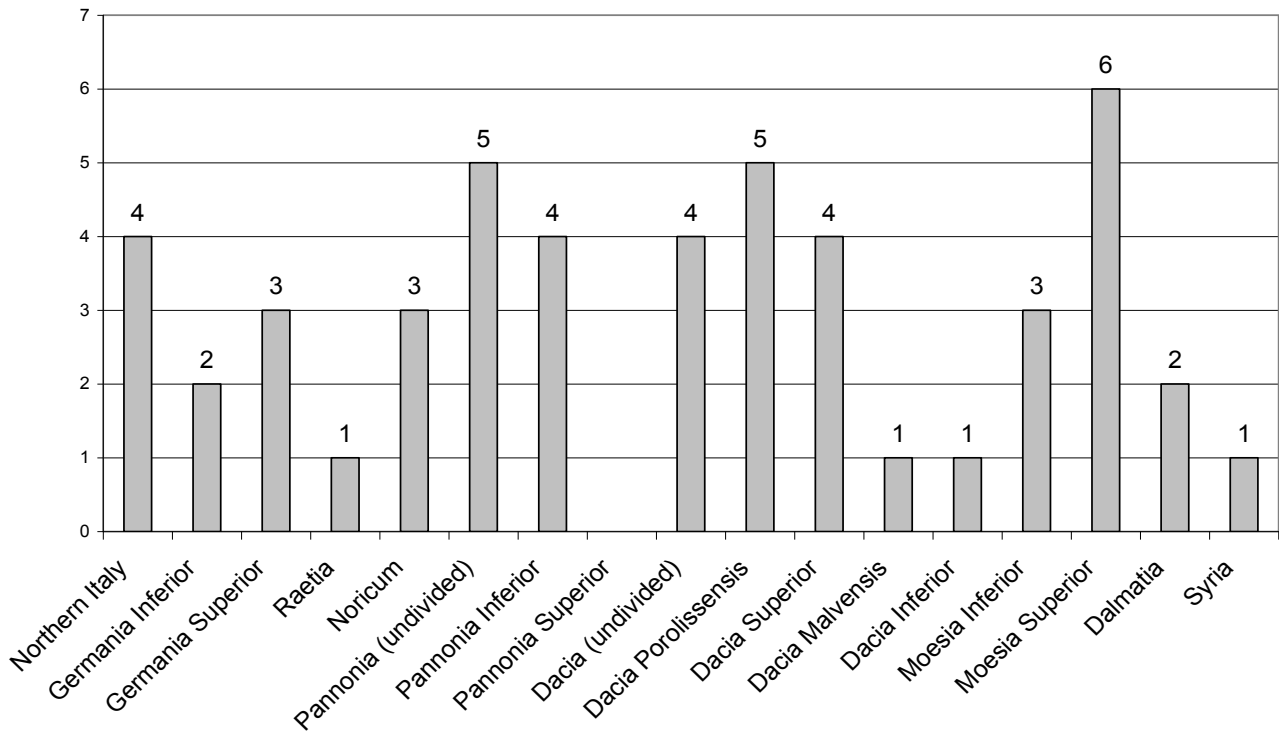


Figure 3.21 Distribution of British auxiliary units across the Roman provinces

When the same information is divided chronologically, we can speak of the high mobility of the troops in the mid to late first century, and the low mobility of the units in the second and third centuries (cf. table 3.22). The units established prior to AD 69 were trained in the battles of the Civil war and some of them returned to their home province, Britain. Together with the British auxiliary units established after AD 69, they were gradually transferred from Britain to the areas of Germania Superior and then to Pannonia under the Flavians. After their participation in the Dacian Wars as part of the support troops stationed in Moesia Superior and Inferior, they were relocated to form a garrison in the newly established provinces on Dacian soil. The majority of them stayed in the Danube region and in Dacia. They were not transferred to other places, which can be related to the overall pacification of the Roman Empire and the halting of the conquests of other territories, though sporadically detachments of British-raised troops were sent to military expeditions (Parthian or Moorish Wars). There are units that were stationed in particular provinces for the whole period until AD 260 when the majority of the territories conquered by the Flavians and by Trajan in continental Europe were abandoned. Such units formed the garrisons of relatively stable Raetia, Noricum and Dalmatia.

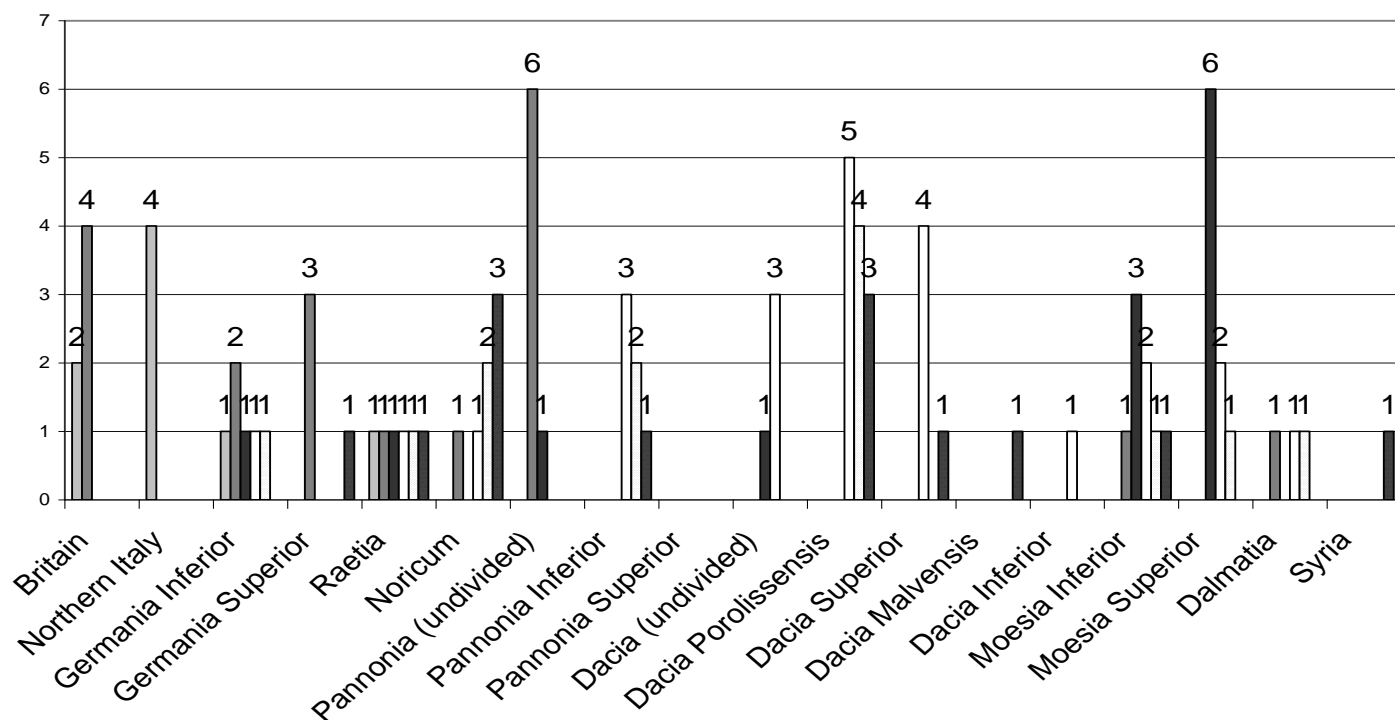


Figure 3.22 Chronological distribution of the British auxiliary units (Note: light grey stands for AD 69; dark grey for Flavian period; black for Dacia wars; white for the early second century; white with dots for the late second century; black with dots for the third century)

Such moving around and settling down of the troops is a common development in the Roman army in the late first and second centuries: cf. examples of *ala I Asturum* and *cohors I Asturum et Callaecorum*, who were criss-crossing the Empire until finally settling in Britain and North Africa respectively (Santos Yanguas 2007 and 2004, esp. 271, mapa 3 respectively).

Units remaining in service in a single province, as was the case for *cohors III Britannorum* in Raetia or *cohors VI Brittonum* in Germania Inferior, was also relatively common: cf. the service of three cohorts raised from the *Breuci*, an Illyrian tribe from Pannonia Inferior, who were on service in one province for the whole of the second and third centuries (Bogaers 1969).

British auxiliary units were not the only ones, who were left to be garrisoned in Dacia in the aftermath of the Dacian Wars, other units, especially the ones on service in Moesia Superior, were also left to form the garrison on the newly established province (Matei-Popescu and Tentea 2006, 132). Moreover, the relocation of British troops from Dacia Superior to Dacia Porolissensis after the establishment of the latter province in the reign of Hadrian is also attested for other auxiliary units which had taken part in the wars (Matei-Popescu and Tentea 2006, 132).

3.2.16.4. Recruitment and origin of the soldiers

3.2.16.4.1. General pattern of recruitment

A total of 177 soldiers are known at present whose service in British auxiliary units is documented in military diplomas and various inscriptions²²⁰. Of this number the origin has been identified only for 94 soldiers on the basis of their *ethnikon* given in a diploma or on an inscription, or through prosopographic or onomastic analysis²²¹. These findings are presented in figure 3.23.

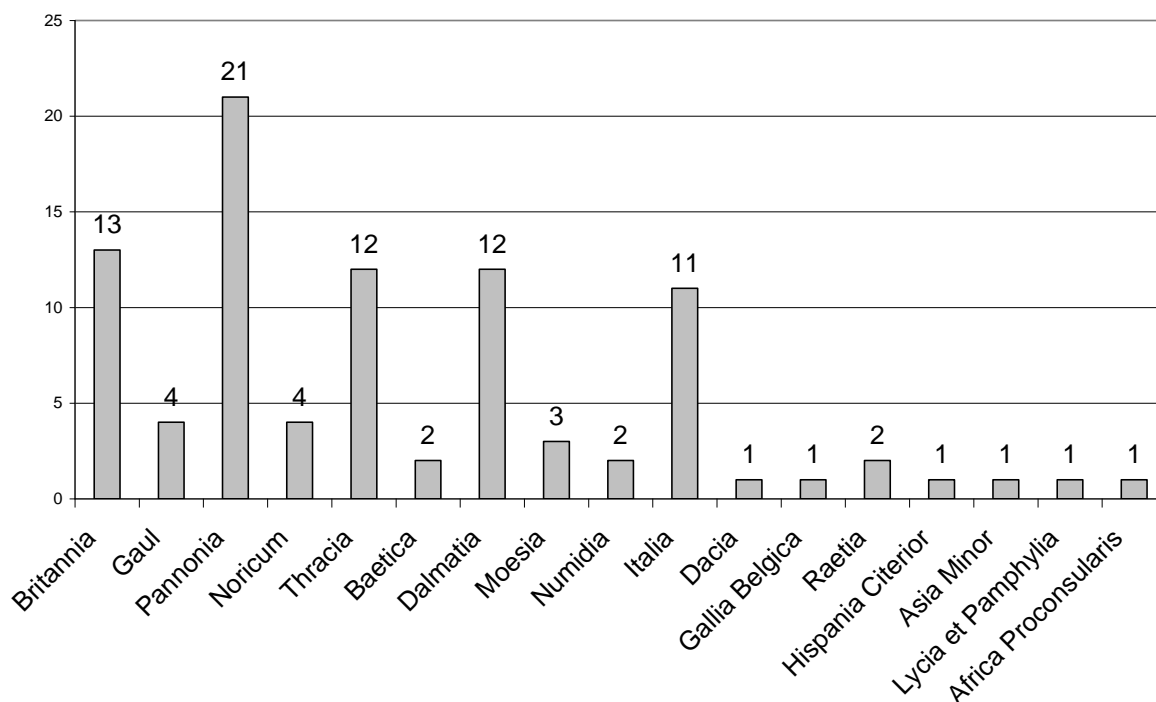


Figure 3.23 The origin of soldiers serving in the British auxiliary units²²²

A total of 13 British soldiers has been identified, though they constitute a minority of all soldiers serving in British units. Pannonians are the largest group represented in the troops, followed by Thracians, Dalmatians and Italians. It should be noted that this figure was calculated on the basis of the surviving information and combines the data for all units. This figure only gives an overall and broadly generalised impression of the recruitment pattern. First, it does not show inequalities at the level of individual units: 44 names of the soldiers have survived who served in *cohors I Belgarum*, while for *cohortes I Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum* and *II Britannorum* the amount is only two. Second, regional differences do not show up in these calculations. Such an imbalance, of course, has its own implications and makes any further detailed discussions difficult. This and other figures presented in this section are rather simple outlines and allow the following statement to be made: while the units were called British, British-

²²⁰ Four people are not counted here, since their service in British auxiliary units is questionable.

²²¹ This is origin identified with some degree of confidence, therefore, excluding such entries as ‘Danube regions’, ‘Celtic-speaking regions’, ‘borderland territories’, or the placenames, the province of which cannot be identified (such as city *Noviomagus*).

²²² The provincial origin presented in this table is for 92 soldiers: the origin recorded as ‘Thracico-Dacian’ and ‘Pannonian Celt/Thracian’ was not counted, since it is uncertain to which province this can be attributed.

born recruits were outnumbered by other nationalities. Yet it does give us a sense of the varying levels of the recruitment and its development over time (fig. 3.24).

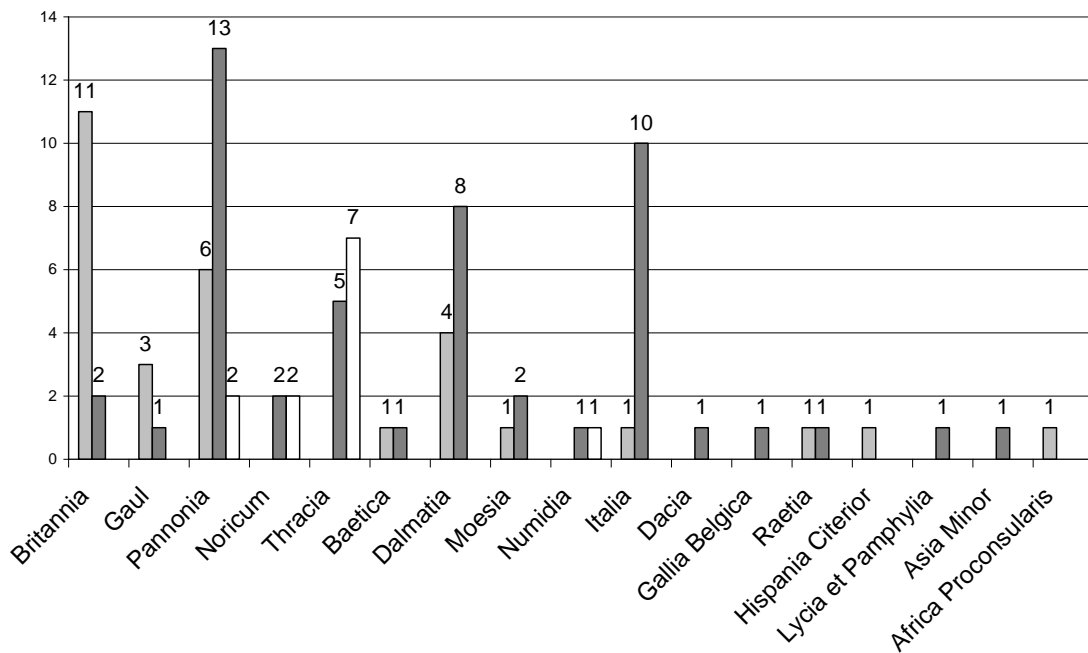


Figure 3.24 Origin of soldiers in British auxiliary units per century: light grey stands for the late first; dark grey for the second; white for the third centuries.

The evidence shows that while British-born recruits in the late first century constituted the largest single source, in the second century there was an influx of Pannonian-borns and in the third century Thracians into the units. Italians, who also constitute the majority in the units in the second century AD, were all officers of high rank or prefects of units (fig. 3.25).

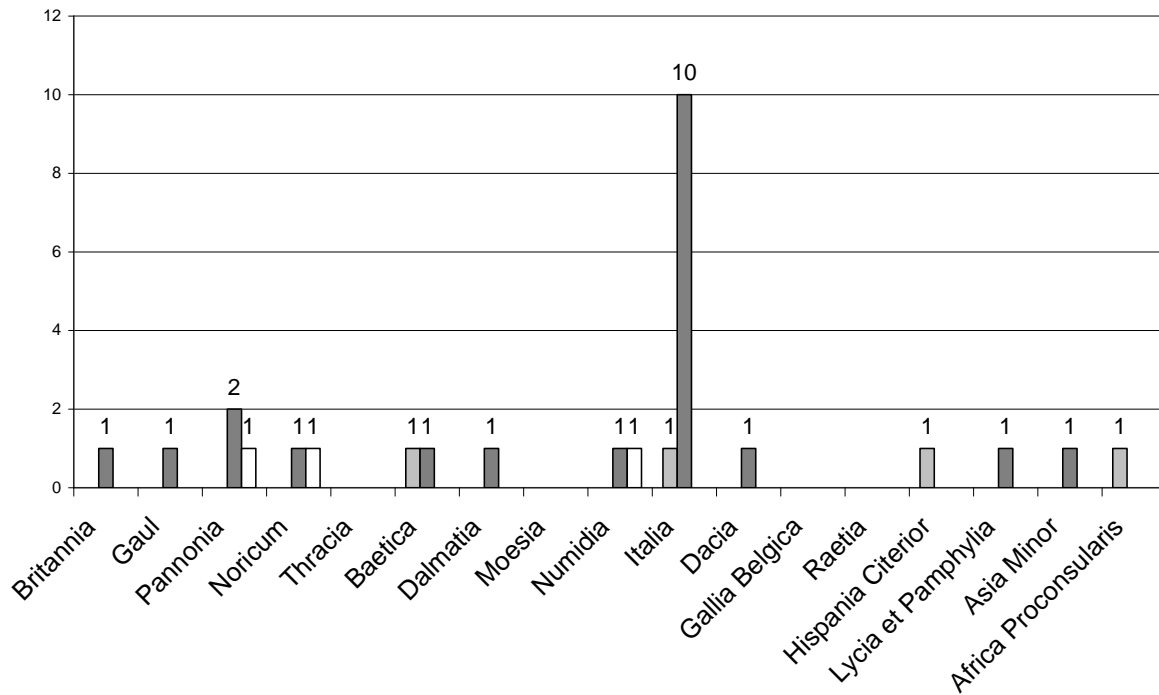


Figure 3.25 Origin of units' prefects and tribunes of British auxiliary units per century: light grey stands for the late first, dark grey for the second, white for the third centuries.

The situation does not change if we calculate the origin of the ordinary soldiers: British-born recruits would still be present in the unit in the late first century, while in the second Pannonians would be the largest group and in the third Thracians (fig. 3.26). Such patterns, however, are derived from the available evidence, which constitute less than one percent of the evidence that would have been available if it had survived²²³. While the available documented evidence is striking low, the outline of the recruitment presented in the figure 3.24 corresponds by and large with the general patterns of deployment of the British units overseas over centuries: first they were in Britain, then they were relocated to Germania Superior and Pannonia and later positioned in the Danube provinces (cf. fig. 3.22). All in all, the formation of the units and their transfer overseas, on the one hand, and the supply of recruits as well as the soldier's ethnic origin, on the other, is a parallel development and in most cases went hand in hand.

²²³ The identification of origin of only 64 soldiers have been possible, while the number of soldiers serving at any one time in all British auxiliary units, if we count their nominal strength, would have been ca 12000.

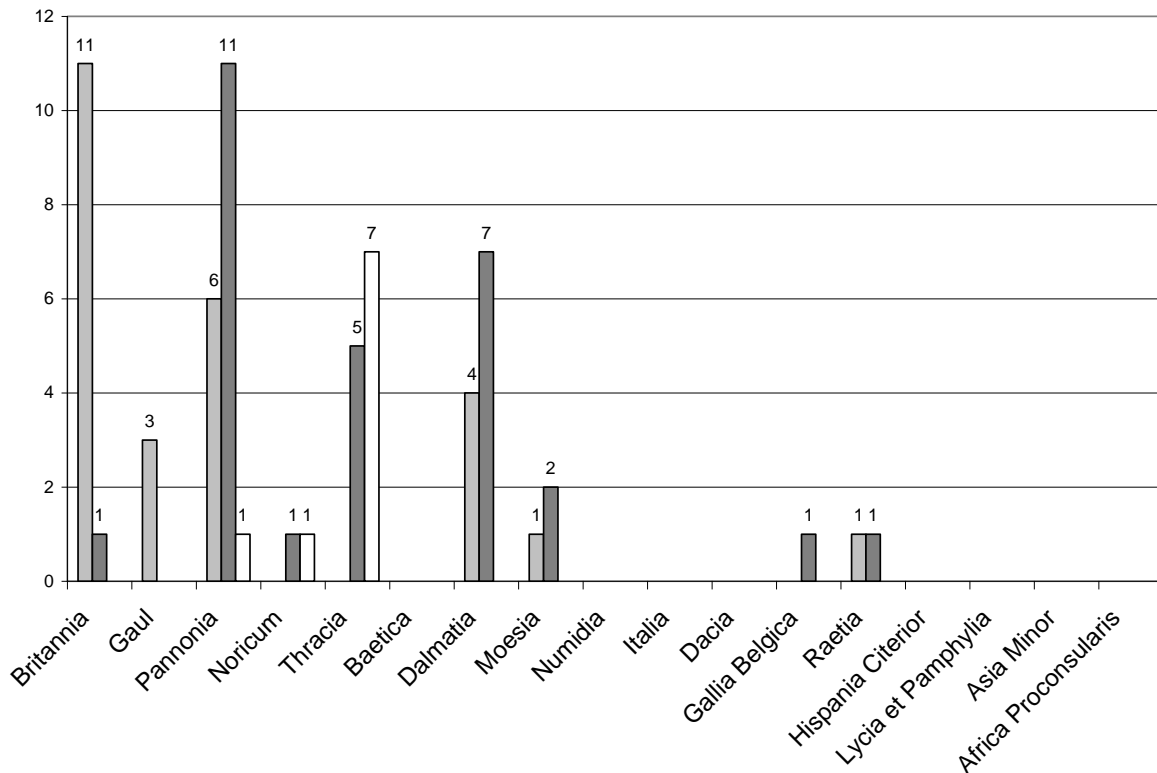


Figure 3.26 Origin of ordinary soldiers in British auxiliary units: light grey stands for the late first, dark grey for the second, white for the third centuries.

3.2.16.4.2. Recruitment of British-borns

All British units at the outset had British-born recruits, though one might argue about the percentage (Saddington 1980, 1073). It has been proposed here that some units may have been combined from other auxiliaries stationed in Britain, though it is likely that they would also have included a few British-borns at the very beginning. Regarding the tribal origin of the British-born recruits, the evidence is insufficient to present a detailed picture, though an outline can be made.

The epigraphic evidence provides us with the following picture (table 3.57).

Table 3.57 Origin and date of recruitment of British-born soldiers

Origin and number of soldiers	Date of recruitment
Southern England (1)	ca AD 77
Town of <i>Lindum</i> (1)	Unknown, he was a unit's prefect
<i>Dobunni</i> (1)	ca AD 80
Town of <i>Ratae Coritanorum</i> (1)	ca AD 81
<i>Belgae</i> (1)	ca AD 85
Britto (1)	ca AD 129
<i>Iceni</i> ? (2)	ca AD 63 – 69
Second/third generation emigrant (1)	ca AD 136 / 137
Unknown (3)	ca AD 80
(1)	ca AD 85

Archaeological and historical evidence, as discussed in the previous section, indicates that prior to AD 69 the southeastern tribes may have supplied recruits into British units. Under the Flavians the recruitment continued from the tribes of southern England (*Dobunni* and *Belgae*), and there is an evidence that *Coritani* also supplied

soldiers in this period. The evidence is absent for the four soldiers recruited ca AD 80 – 85, but taking into account that they were all recruited into the same units and at the same time as the *Dobunni*, *Belgae* and the soldiers from *Ratae Coritanorum*, it seems that they also hailed from southern tribes, probably from the very same ones. The years of AD 77 – 85 in the military history of Roman Britain are the period when the Welsh and northern British tribes were subjugated by the Roman army: in AD 77/78 campaigns took place in Wales against the *Silures* and *Ordovices* (discussed above); in AD 79 were the Brigantian campaign of the British governor Agricola (Tacitus *Agricola* 20); in AD 80 – 83/84 the campaigns in southern Scotland, culminating in the battle at *Mons Graupius* (Tacitus *Agricola* 22-23, 25-27, 29-38). The levies (hostages) were sent to the Romans in the aftermath of the Brigantian campaign, though not only from the *Brigantes*, but from “many states, which up to that time had been independent” (“*quibus rebus multae civitates, quae in illum diem ex aequo egerant, datis obsidibus*” Tacitus *Agricola* 20). Moreover, Tacitus (*Agricola* 29) informs us that prior to the battle at *Mons Graupius* Britons from various tribes summoned their forces to join the Roman army as a result of treaties and embassies. The territories of the subjugated tribes, the *Silures*, *Brigantes* and *Ordovices* bordered those of the *Dobunni* and *Coritani*, the very same tribes that had provided recruits to the British units between the years AD 77 – 85. Probably as a result of various treaties and embassies recruitment took place in phases to reduce the pressure on the population; after all, the tribes living in Wales may have required to summon 3000 soldiers for the newly established *cohortes I-III Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum milliaria*.

The calculations based on the surviving evidence show that British-born soldiers constituted the largest source in the late first century (i.e. when the units were raised), but the proportion had shrunk by the end of the first-beginning of the second century, when the units were relocated to the Continent. The recruitment started to be practiced at the places where the units were positioned, drafting soldiers from the local population rather than sending for the recruits to the provinces from which the units were raised. Such practice appears to have been the preferred strategy for most military units in the second century AD and is not exceptional (Holder 1980, 118; Saddington 2009, 86). This policy arose from the stabilisation of the frontier line and the fact that there was no point in sending recruits far away (Dobson and Mann 1973, 196). Recruitment most likely came from the nearest available source: drafts were summoned from the nearby provinces, although in times of war, or in the aftermath of war, recruitment would have been on much larger scale and would have taken place further afield (Haynes 2001, 66).

There are many examples, when soldiers were serving alongside recruits from different ethnic background (Haynes 2001, 66). In the British units there was a similar situation: *ala I Britannica* had British soldier serving alongside Pannonian and Sequanian ones in the period between the years AD 70 – 96; *cohort III Brittonum* had Moesians and Pannonians serving together between the years AD 125 – 150. In this way ethnic or tribal name of units became meaningless within one generation when regiments were moved out from the area in which they were initially raised (Haynes 1999a, 7).

While recruitment from the nearest available source of manpower was the preferred strategy in the second century AD, it did not spread to all Roman army auxiliary units. Some regiments might have continued to receive recruits from the initial area of recruitment (Saddington 2009, 83): examples include the Thracians (cf. Zahariade 2009, though Davenport (2010) critically challenged Zahariade’s conclusions); Syrian archers (Saddington 2009, 83 but see Kennedy 1980 disproving the case); Dacians (cf. Wilmott 2001) and recruits from the Germanic provinces and Gallia Belgica serving in the vicinity of Hadrian’s Wall in the second and third centuries (cf. Clay 2007 and 2008). The practice of continuous recruitment might have been dependant on the amount of available manpower from particular provinces: Thrace, Dacia and the Germanies

produced large numbers of recruits and some of these inevitably found their way into Thracian, Dacian and German units (Ian Haynes, pers. comment). This can explain the absence of the British-born recruits in the British troops in the second century: Britain was the source of the available manpower in the Flavian period during the Roman army expansion into the Wales and Northern territories (Ian Haynes, pers. comment). The question of course is whether Britain stopped being a source of available manpower in the second century, while other provinces continued to be a producer of the recruits? In other words, was Britain so special as to be excluded from the recruitment or were Britons simply bad at arms? The answer is of course not: Britain might have still produced recruits, but may be on much lower scale. That there is no evidence for their service in the British auxiliary units might be connected with the irrelevance of naming an individual origin when a particular soldier served among his own countrymen or in a unit which was raised from his province of birth (cf. van Driel-Murray 2009, 814; Oltean 2009, 97).

There is evidence that some British units might have practiced such continuous recruitment, though at the outset it should be stated that such evidence should be treated with much caution. At least two Britons were present in British units in the second century (cf. table 3.57): one of the soldiers might have been a second or third generation of an emigrant and another one, serving in the *cohors I Ulpia Brittonum*, was recruited in the second quarter of the second century AD and indicated his origin as British. The latter soldier might have been recruited for some special needs and transferred from Britain to Dacia with other British recruits in the late second century (A. Birley 1980, 103, but see Dobson and Mann 1973, 201). The problem with this interpretation is that the soldier's father, as indicated by his name Molacus, was not a former soldier himself, otherwise he would have had a *tria nomina*, i.e. as indication of citizenship. He may have arrived in Dacia in the late first century, for instance, as a slave of a centurion, and have been granted freedom for his services. In this case, his son, who was still living in the vicus of the fort, could have been enlisted to the unit upon reaching the age of recruitment.

Other evidence for the continuous recruitment of British-born men into British auxiliary units comes from archaeology. A British-made brooch, of a type that developed in the early second century, was reported from the fort Cășeiu, Romania, and was found in the layers dated to the second century AD (Isac 2003, 257, pl. XIX, no 9). Two British cohorts are known to have been stationed at the fort in this period. Taking into account the chronological aspect, it can be suggested that this brooch belonged to a person who was recruited in the early second century, most likely after the Dacian Wars. The occurrence of this unique find can be therefore seen as an indication that there may have been a new wave of recruitment of Britons into the units posted in Dacia and Moesia, who had lost their original members in the Dacian Wars. However, other explanations, such as the replica of the brooch by a local craftsman, are equally possible and will be discussed further in chapter 5, section 5.5.2.

In general, the evidence for the continuous recruitment of British-born men into British auxiliary units is sparse and can only be supported by one, rather dubious, brooch and the rather insufficient documentary evidence.

3.2.16.4.3. Veterans

Epigraphic evidence provides examples of 34 veterans, discharged from British auxiliary troops. For the whole Roman Empire the general trend was that the majority of discharged soldiers chose to remain in frontier areas and to live in the proximity of military installation, while some of them opted to live in cities or in the countryside, and a few left the province where they had been stationed to live elsewhere or to return to

their homelands (Roxan 1997c, 483; Mann 2002, 183; Derks and Roymans 2006, 121; cf. also Lenz 2006).

Veterans discharged from British auxiliary units seem to follow the general trend detected for other auxiliaries: the veterans of non-local origin preferred to settle down in the proximity of their former garrisons or in the main towns of the province in which they had served (cf. fig. 3.27)²²⁴. Two local-born veterans returned to the countryside, probably to the places (villages) where they were born.

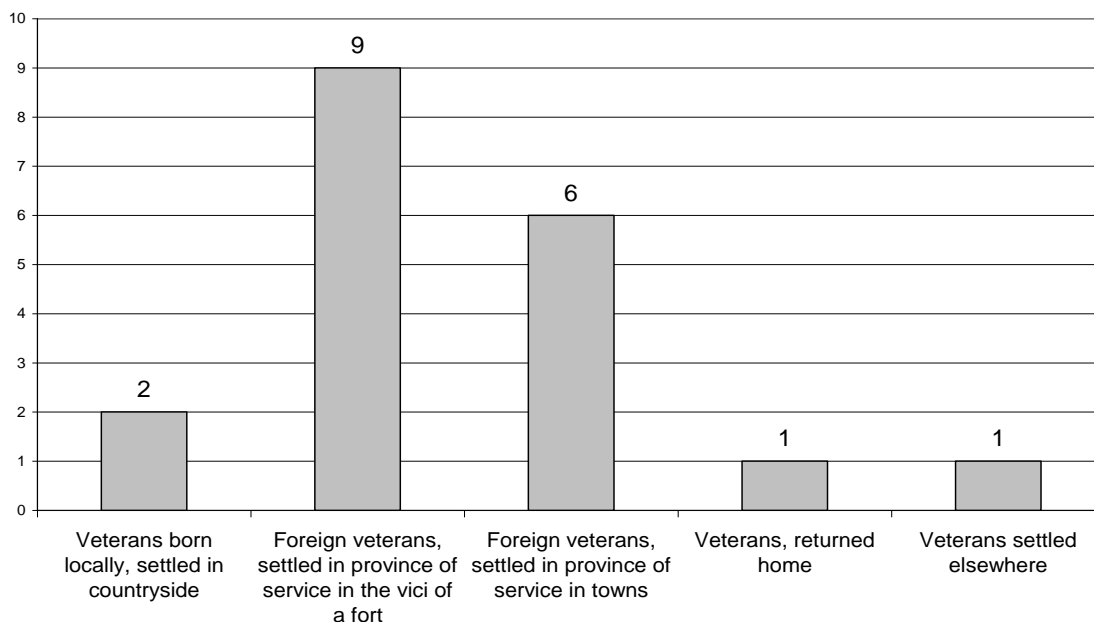


Figure 3.27 The settlement pattern of veterans of British auxiliary units

One former soldier returned home and it has been assumed that he was of British descent: this person travelled from Pannonia back to Britain (for the discussion see Tully 2005). The wish to return home sometimes depended not on the proximity of the station to the native province, but on the cultural links a soldier had with his native land: possibly some soldiers had remained in touch with their families back home and this must have prompted their desire to return home from wherever they were posted (Derks and Roymans 2006, 132). For instance, the Batavians, known to have kept in touch with their families, seem to have returned home more frequently than soldiers recruited from other parts of the empire (cf. Derks and Roymans 2006).

3.2.16.4.4. Regimental identity and social relations

Some auxiliary units continued to stress their regimental ethnic identity for a relatively long period. The continuity of the social norms and practices related to the soldiers' cultural and ethnic identities was a rather common feature of auxiliary units in spite of the units' regionalisation over the time (cf. Haynes 1999a; James 1999). The continuation of cultural (among many other kinds of) identity in the auxilia's can be detected in the use of various 'symbols' – experiences, values or ideas soldiers of same ethnic background shared between themselves such as participation in religious cults venerated in their homelands; the continuation of the usage of the language; the formation of a special 'ethnic' community within a particular unit. For instance, some

²²⁴ The pattern of settlement has been established for 19 veterans, while for 15 such information was not available, either because the provenance of diplomas or inscriptions were not recorded or because their origin was uncertain or unrecorded.

Dacians stationed on Hadrian's Wall continued to give their children Dacian name (Wilmott 2001). Soldiers serving in the units raised in Germanic provinces and redeployed to Britain were more than familiar with the Germanic language and probably still spoke it, while living on Hadrian's Wall (Clay 2007, 55-58; 2008, 143). The formation of ethnically similar communities within a larger and more diverse community is attested for one unit on Hadrian's Wall by three altars discovered in the Birrens fort (RIB 2100, 2107 and 2108; Haynes 1999b, 166). Each altar was made by a different ethnic group and indicates the existence of such groups within a single regiment (Haynes 1999b, 166).

In the case of British auxiliary units the recruitment pattern provides us with a picture of dissipation of 'Britishness' in the troops: while in the second century the units were nominally called British, there were no Britons in them. At the outset, however, the 'Britishness' of the troops might have been consciously cultivated by the Roman administration: by forming various auxiliary units in which men recruited from different British tribal entities were serving and naming them with the group label, the Romans might have been trying to strengthen the forging of the regimental identity of British auxiliaries. How did British-born recruits react to this reinforcement of their ethnicity, especially once the troops were transferred overseas?

Evidence for the continuation of the British cultural identity in the British auxiliary units is not that rich: so far there is no documented evidence on the usage of exclusively British symbols on the epigraphic monuments, though one may ask whether such symbols even existed in Britain itself. Language aspect is hard to determine, since all inscriptions were in Latin, without any indication on the usage of exclusively British Celtic words or phrases. Religion is another obstacle, since no votive monuments survive on which British-born members of the British units venerated their own gods or goddesses, though there are two continental examples of the veneration of *Matres Brittae* in Xanten, Germany (*CIL* XIII 8631, 8632). The aspects that can be examined are the social relations within units and with the local community, the formation of families and naming children with typical British names.

There is no doubt that some sort of social networks existed between the members of individual units and that men of a common ethnic background banded together (Haynes 1999b, 167). The inscriptions can provide insight into this: when someone is mentioned on a funerary inscription as an heir, this is strong evidence that this person played an important role in the life of the deceased.

A total of 67 funerary monuments of soldiers serving in British auxiliary units were found, out of which it is mentioned on 36 that they were commissioned by heirs, fathers, wives and brothers²²⁵.

²²⁵ The word 'brother' should not be taken literally in all cases. Soldiers used to refer to their colleagues as brothers even though they were not blood-related.

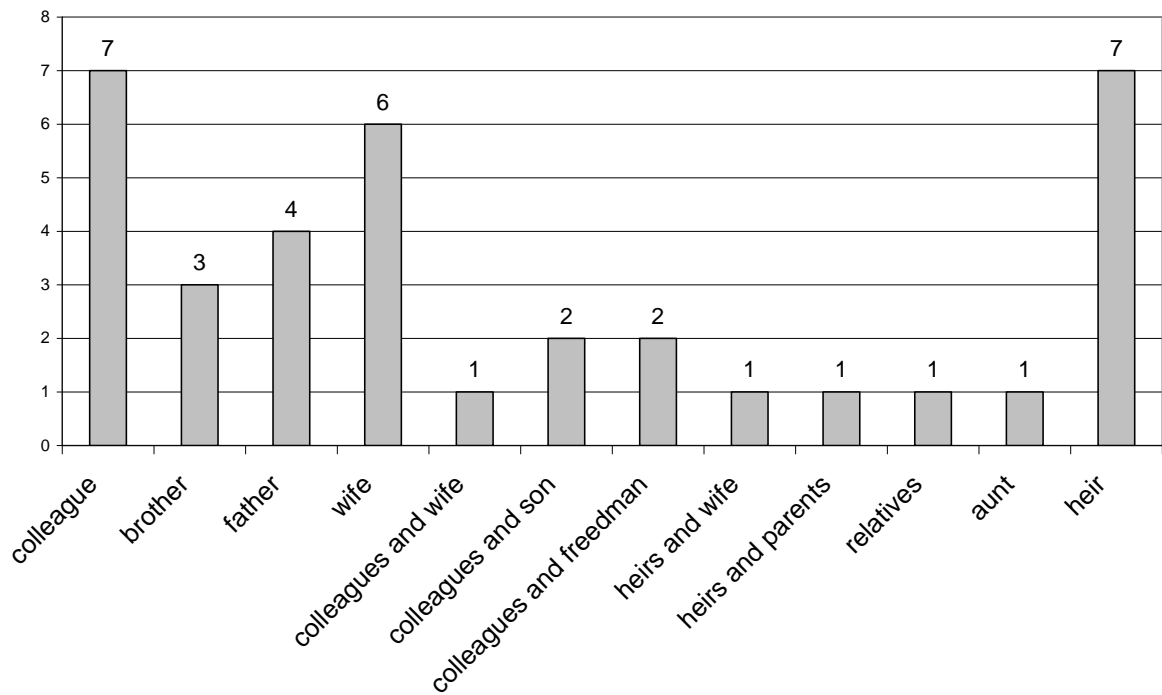


Figure 3.28 Persons who erected funerary monuments for deceased soldiers

Of these 36 inscriptions, 19 specifically mention that they were erected by the soldier's heir and comrade; this was the usual practice in commemoration, especially when a soldier died in service (Carroll 2006, 132). Such commemorations give us the possibility to consider community relations within units. In no case do these heirs mention their origin, which makes it difficult to establish whether or not they were of the same origin as the deceased, though prosopographical and onomastic analysis of their names provides some insights. It has been established that in at least eight cases we are dealing with an heir of the same origin as the deceased; in one case the heir and the deceased were most likely blood-related; for 10 cases the identification of the origins of heirs were not possible or uncertain.

Table 3.58 Comparison between the origins of the deceased soldiers and their heirs

Deceased	Heir	Origin
Titus Flavius Bardus	Licinius Memor, his brother	Relatives; Borderland Germania Superior / Gallia Belgica
Titus Flavius Verecundus, from <i>Mog(ontiacum)</i>	Proculus and Priscinus, standard-bearers, and Ingenuus, his heirs	Borderland Germania Superior / Gallia Belgica
Ulpus E nubico	Ressa(tus?) and Succo, brothers and heirs	Pannonians
(...) of (...)mus	Iulius Martialis, receiving a double pay, his heir, and Primitius, his freedman	Unknown
Aurelius Maximianus from <i>Aelia Mursa</i>	Septimius Lutacianus, cavalryman, heir and tent-mate	Unknown
Aelius Valerius from the town of <i>Savaria</i>	his colleagues and true freedman as a heir	Unknown
Aurelius Mucatralis	Aurelius Passer, horn blower, his colleague	Thracians
Aurelius Firminianus	Aurelius Probinus, a cavalry man, trainee	Probably Thracians
Aurelius Disas	Aurelius Pimetaica, colleague	Thracians
Marcus Ulpus Crescentinus by birth from Pannonia Inferior	Iulius (...) and Flavius Quintinianus (...), his wife (and) heirs	Unknown
Dassius, son of Bastarnus, from Maezaeus' tribe	Valerius Maximinus, his heir	Unknown
Victorius, son of Scenobarbus	Munnius and Gentius, his heirs	Illyrians
Virssuccius, son / of (E?)sus	Bodiccius, the image-bearer, and Albanus, his heirs	Britons
Publius Aelius Tertius, from the town <i>Claudium Virunum</i>	Aelia Aestiva, his wife and his heirs	Unknown
Caius Iulius, son of Caius, from (the town of) <i>Theveste</i> , Corinthianus	Marcus Arrianus and Iulius Clinias and Pisonianus	Unknown
Tertius, of <i>Senones</i> tribe or son of Senno	Lucius Baebius Buttus, (his) heir, and (his) parents	Unknown
Pompeius Celer	Maximus	Unknown
Lucius Iulius Pansa	Caius Iulius Proculus	Unknown
Catavignus, son of Ivomagus	Paternus, fellow-soldier	Probably Britons

The evidence for friendships between men of a common ethnic background within units is extremely scant, but there are some examples of communities existing at a unit level. For instances, six Thracians were recruited to *ala I Britannica*, when the unit was still in Pannonia, and served alongside Pannonian-born recruits ca AD 240 – 250. Evidence shows that the Thracians buried Thracians in a unit that also accepted Pannonian recruits. This can be considered as an indication that within *ala I Britannica* ca AD 240 – 250 at least two communities of soldiers existed side by side: locals, i.e. Pannonians, and Thracians, though other communities formed from different nationalities of whom no information has survived, may have also existed.

The evidence for British communities within British units is even rarer: there are only two examples, though one is by no means certain. Virssuccius, from *cohors I Britannica*, was recruited at the same time as two other Britons in the unit: Bodiccus and Lucco, the former becoming his, i.e. Virssuccius, heir. The same is true for another British recruit in *cohors III Britannorum* Catavignus, buried by Paternus, whose provincial origin is still open to question. There is no documented evidence that around the same time these units accepted recruits of other provincial origins, making it impossible to speculate about relations within these units.

3.2.16.4.5. Family relations

Another aspect that can be studied in order to detect the seemingly elusive 'Britishness' in British units is the formation of families and the preservation of ethnic ties within emigrant families.

In discussing the families of the servicemen of the British auxiliary units we again have to face challenges arising from the amount of documented evidence. The number of the inscriptions and military diplomas on which women and children are mentioned is relatively low: 28 have been recorded at present. Of these 6 mention both the names of the wives and children, 14 only wives, 7 only children and one monument has the portraits of both wife and a child, but the inscription is so badly damaged that their names did not survive (cf. table 3.59).

Table 3.59 Soldiers' families

Soldier and his origin	Wife / partner	Children	Period
Lucius Alfius Restitutus	Claudia Paulina		AD 79 – 81
Claudius Marcus	(...)	Vindmarcia	ca AD 79/80 – 153
Titus Flavius Verecundus, from <i>Mag(ontiacum)</i>		Ingenuus	AD 96 – 101
Virsuccius, son / of (E?)sus		Albanus	Late first century AD
(...)emans (...)platoris, of <i>Daesitia</i>	Iulia Ves(...)		Late first century AD
Caius Valerius, son of (...), Proculus, an <i>Azina</i>	Apuleia Sabina		Late first century AD
Marcus Septimius Dasius	Caesia, freedwoman of Caius, Panthera		Late first century AD
Statilius Pulcher	Zosime		Late first century AD
Lucco, son of Trenus, <i>Dobunni</i>	Tutula, daughter of Breucus, <i>Azala</i>	Similis Lucca Pacata	AD 105
Marcus Ulpius, son of Saccus, (Longi)nus, <i>Belgae</i>		Vitalus	AD 110
(...), son of Asclepiades		(...)sius (...)ria	AD 119 – 129
(...) son of (...)igus or A(...)r(...) Ime(...) or Ilmen(...)	Senecia, daughter of Rellecteus		ca AD 120 – 140
Glavus, son of Navatus, <i>Sirmium</i>	Iubena, daughter of Bellagentus, <i>Eravisca</i>		AD 123
(...)I, son of Atti(...)	Recorded, but did not survive	One son (...)lina	AD 127
(...) son of (...), <i>Aradus</i>		Two sons and one daughter	AD 133
Didaecuttius, son of L(...)	Diurpa, daughter of Dotu(...)	Iulius Unknown Dimidusa	ca AD 133 – 140
(...), son of (P)alladus	D(...)	(...)us (...)us	AD 135
Aelius Publius	Numpidia		ca AD 149
Siasus, son of Decinae, <i>Caecom(?) ex Moesia</i>	Prisca, daughter of Dasmenus, <i>Dard(ana)</i>		AD 151
Caius Iulius Maximus	Avilia Amabilis		Second century AD
Quintus Servilius Statianus	Calpurna Nympha		Second century AD
Caius Iulius Verecundus	Postimia Restituta		Second century AD
Flavius Aurelianus, by birth Pannonian	Iulia B(...)		Late second century AD
Aurelius Respectus	His wife is depicted on a family portrait on the funerary monument. She is wearing a typical Norican head cover	His son is depicted on a family portret.	Late second century AD
Aur(elius) R Ran(us?)		Aelius Viator Aelius Iunianus	Late second century AD
Publius Aelius Tertius, from the town <i>Claudium Virunum</i>	Aelia Aestiva		Late second century AD
Aelius Firmus		Daughter	Antonine-Severin
Marcus Bellicius Saturninus	Finitia Verbicia	Bellicia Saturnina Bellicia Finitiana or Bellicius Finitianus	ca AD 267

The origin for both husband and wife appears uncertain for at least eight couples (Restitutus and Claudia Paulina; Maximus and Avilia Amabilis; Stianus and Calpurna Nympha; Pulcher and Zosime; (...), son of Atti(...) and his unknown wife; (...), son of (P)alladus and his D(...); Senecia and (...) son of (...)igus OR A(...)r(...) Ime(...) OR Ilmen(...); Marcus and his unknown wife). For four couples origin is known only for the husband ((...)platoris and Iulia Ves(...); Proculus and Apuleia Sabina; Aurelianus and Iulia B(...); Tertius and Aelia Aestiva). For one couple origin of the wife is known: the partner of Respectus was of Norican descent. It has been determined that at least seven couples shared the same provincial origin (M. S. Dasius and Panthera; Iulius Verecundus and Postimia Restituta; Didaecuttius and Diurpa; Iubena and Glavus; Siasus and Prisca²²⁶; M. Bellicius Saturninus and Finitia Verbicia; Publius and Numpidia). One couple was of different provincial descent: a Briton married a local woman, from the Pannonian *Azali* tribe; they probably met when Lucco was stationed with his cohort in the *Azali* tribal lands (Lucco and Tutula).

Some women followed their partners to posts in other provinces, which was relatively common practice in general for families to accompany their military men (Allason-Jones 1999, 48; Haynes 1999b, 167; Brandl 2008, 65-69). The wife of Respectus, of Norican descent, had followed him to the Dacian limes, where she probably died. Iubena, an *Eravisci* from Pannonia Inferior, and Glavus, from *Sirmium* in Pannonia Inferior, met when Glavus was a recruit or a soldier in the *ala I Brittonum*, stationed in Pannonia Inferior prior to AD 98; they were both granted citizenship at the time when the unit was in Dacia. Both Numpidia and Aelis Publius may have been of Pannonian descent; in any case she hailed from one of the provinces in the Danube region. Publius was sent with his cohort on an expedition to Mauretania Caesariensis, where he died and was buried by his wife, i.e. Numpidia, who followed him to this North African province.

Regarding the naming of the children, one encounters a variety of scenarios. Two couples gave their children names that were compounds of the parents' names: Claudius Marcus called his daughter Vindmarcia, a compound of Marcus and probably his wife's Vind(...); M. Bellicius Saturninus and Finitia Verbicia called their first child after the father, i.e. Bellicia Saturnina, and the second – after the mother, i.e. Bellicia/us Finitiana/us. Both couples chose names that were common and widespread in their home provinces.

Three British fathers, Virsuccius, Lucco and Longinus, gave their children typical Latin names, though ones widespread in Celtic-speaking provinces. It is notable that their children's names, when translated from Latin, have rather peaceful connotations. Lucco's children, for instance, were called: Similis, which means 'similar', and Pacata, which derives from the Latin word – *pax* meaning 'peace'. His second daughter was named after the father, probably in order to keep the name in the family. Lucca/o was also a widespread British name. Virsuccius called his son Albinus, probably to emphasise that his son had blond hair, since *albus* means 'white' in Latin. Longinus wanted his son to be of a good health, since his name, Vitalis, is a Latin word, which means vital or energetic.

British fathers are not the only ones who chose to give their children Latin names that stood for something else and were widespread in their home province: Verecundus called his son Ingenuus, a typical Roman name popular in Celtic-speaking regions, but which translates from Latin as 'native or 'indigenous'; Aurelius Ranus had two sons

²²⁶ Siasus identified his place of birth as somewhere in Moesia, Prisca hailed from the Thraco-Illyrian tribe, the *Dardani*, who lived on the borders of Moesia Superior and Thracia. He was recruited to the unit ca AD 126, when it was stationed in Moesia Superior. That both Siasus and Prisca might have shared the same provincial origin, i.e. Moesia Superior, is, hence, more than likely.

who died young, Aelius Viator and Aelius Iunianus, the former name translates from Latin as 'traveller'.

The father Didaecuttius named his children with a mixture of Latin and native names: his son was given the typical Latin name, Iulius, while his sister was called Dimidusa, a typical Dacian name, reflecting that her parents were Thraco-Dacians.

In general, the epigraphic evidence is silent about British women who followed their partners overseas and about the continuation of British cultural identity in British families within British auxiliary units.

3.2.16.4.6. Conclusions

The picture that emerges from the documented evidence is of an existence of plurality of cultural and ethnic identities among British troops. The epigraphic evidence shows a variety of responses in relation to recruitment, social and family relations, though general trends have also been detected. A high degree of locally-based recruitment became evident in the second and third centuries. Yet one needs to take into account that the recruits were not necessarily summoned from one region, but might have come from nearby provinces, creating mini-communities in the units as late as the Severan period (cf. Pannonians and Thracians as in *ala I Brittonum* in the third century). The interaction of soldiers and civilians constituted one feature of the formation of frontier families, yet there is evidence of families that existed prior to the military career of the soldier. The female partners were in the majority of these cases of the same provincial origin as the soldiers and followed their men to various posts on the Roman fringes. That the units were stationed in particular provinces for a long period of time and accepted recruits from nearby regions may have eased the soldiers' integration with the locals, though examples from Hadrian's Wall show that the primary ethnic and cultural identities of the troops did not dissipate in time. Such examples are available for British units (Ivonerus, son of Molacus, *Britto* in the mid second century), yet they are strikingly low in number in comparison to the evidence available for other auxiliary units.

In general for the Roman army the relations between the soldiers and, soldiers and civilians, were of a dynamic nature (Alston 1999, 194). This dynamism can be found in the British auxiliary units and can be associated with the social evolution that the British troops experienced while being moved around the Roman Empire. The ethnic and personal identities and cultural values that may have been carried by the units are not easily detectable in the documented evidence, though a few observations can and have been made. Soldiers as individuals were able to operate both as part of military society and as members of local societies (Alston 1999, 194); the various identities of soldiers (military men, fathers, partners, friends or colleagues, *etc.*) were therefore tied up with the social relations they practiced within the unit and outside the army. This integrative and dynamic nature of the relationships and personal identities constituted the social make-up of the British auxiliary units.

3.2.16.5. Archaeological evidence

In total 242 British-made brooches have been found on 102 sites across the Empire. Of these eight brooches were recorded on six sites (two brooches without provenance) associated with British auxiliary units (cf. table 3.60).

Table 3.60 Sites associated with the presence of British auxiliary units

British unit	Sites (context of the finds specified when known)
<i>Ala I Britannica</i> and <i>cohors I Britannica</i>	Szöny, Hungary
<i>Cohors I Belgarum</i> and <i>cohors I Flavia Brittonum</i>	Croatia, exact location not recorded
<i>Cohors I Aelia Brittonum</i>	Mautern (vicus of a fort), Austria
<i>Cohors I (Ulpia/Aurelia) Brittonum</i>	Bumbești (vicus of a fort), Romania
<i>Cohors I Britannica</i> and <i>cohors II Britannorum</i>	Cășeiu (fort), Romania
<i>Cohors VI Brittonum</i>	Naaldwijk and Spijkenisse (native settlement), region Rotterdam (exact location not recorded), all in the Netherlands

Five brooches have also been found on sites associated with the *cohors III Britannorum* and detachments of British legions and auxiliary units transferred for participation in the Civil wars of AD 69: Aime, France; Augst, Martigny, Oberwinterhur, all in Switzerland. Moreover, one brooch has been found on a site associated with British auxiliary unit(s) posted to aid in construction work: Győr, Hungary. The occurrence of two brooches from Moers-Asberg has been connected with the possible short presence of either *ala I Britannica* or *cohors I Belgarum*. All these brooches have been excluded from the table 3.60, since their occurrence abroad cannot be related to any particular British unit(s) that were garrisoned there for a short period of time.

Clearly the occurrence of British-made brooches on six sites out of 102 is an extremely small percentage. When the brooches' distribution map is laid over the distribution map of inscriptions and military diplomas mentioning British troops and forts known to have been home for the British units, no correlation between the presence of units raised in Britain and the location of British brooches overseas seems to exist at all (fig. 3.29). The majority of the brooches is concentrated on the Rhine frontier and in the provinces of Germania Inferior, Superior and Gallia Belgica, while a small percentage of brooches has been detected on the Danube frontier, in Noricum and Pannonia, and very few in Dacia and Moesia. A totally different picture is seen in the distribution of the epigraphic evidence and the spread of the British auxiliary units: most of the inscriptions are concentrated in Dacia and Moesia, a few in Pannonia and hardly any on the Rhine frontier.

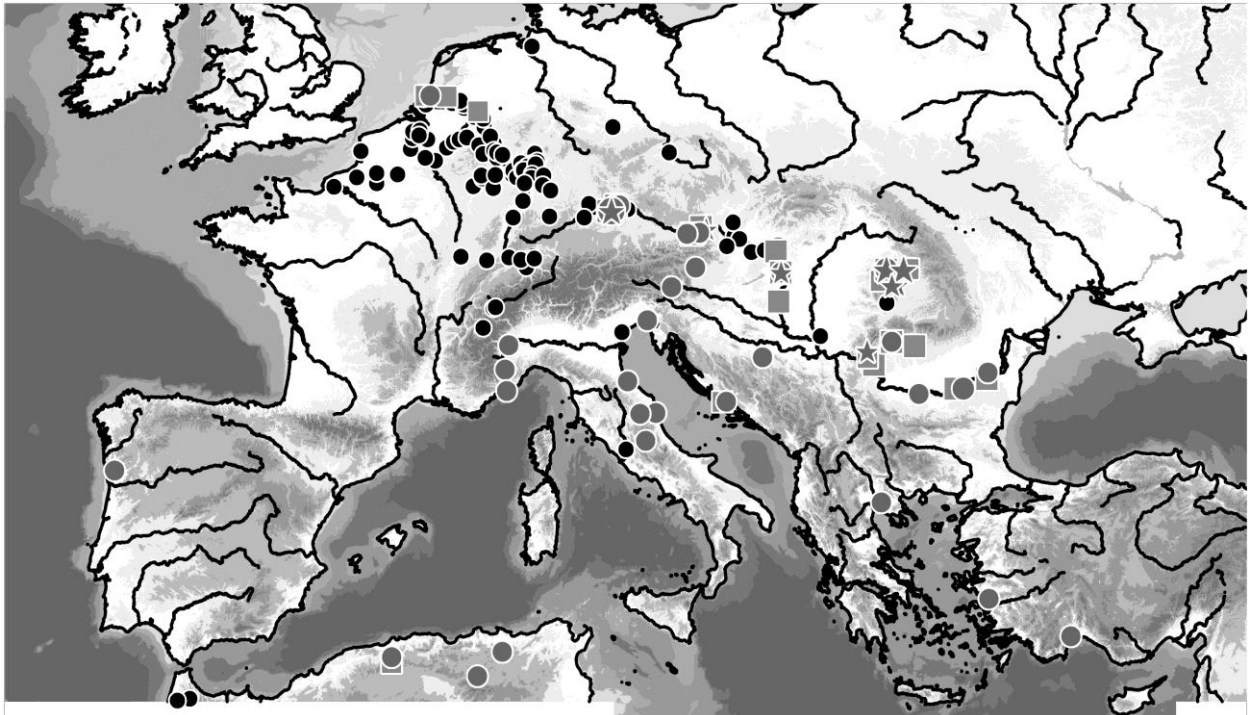


Figure 3.29 Relation between the distribution of British brooches (in black) and inscriptions, military diplomas and forts of British auxiliary units (in gray, circle, star and square respectively)²²⁷.

Considering the number of units raised from Britain, some of which initially consisted completely of Britons, it is likely that the newly recruited soldiers would have worn locally produced brooches during their transfer. There are four possible factors that could explain the absence of British-made brooches on other sites where British units are known to have been stationed (fig. 3.30):

a) the number of published archaeological reports and the depiction of brooches in them. For instance, in some reports only a fraction of the brooches was depicted and their descriptions in the reports do not allow for the identification of brooch types;

b) the recruitment process for units raised originally in Britain, where preference was given to local recruitment once the unit was stationed overseas (Dobson and Mann 1973, 205). This could result in the low occurrence outside Britain of the British brooches that began to be produced in the mid second/third centuries;

c) the ‘sex’ of the brooches: brooches with headloops, used for the attachment of chains, could have been worn by females (Croom 2004, 294) who did not follow their military partners to their new postings, although it has been considered that some brooches with headloops were an element of male military or civilian dress (the ‘sexless’ nature of brooches as proposed by Allason-Jones 1995);

d) the service in the Roman *auxilia*, where the preference was given to the standardised Roman military uniform, might have influenced against wearing brooches brought from home (Ian Haynes, pers. comment). This might have resulted in the brooches’ destiny of being thrown away or used as scrap metal and melted down.

²²⁷ This figure does not take into the account the date when the units were in garrison at particular location or the period when particular monuments were made or military diplomas were issued. This figure is used here to emphasise the striking difference between the absence of brooches on the Danube frontier and the abundance of them in the Rhine forts, whilst the evidence for the service of British units shows that they were posted in the Danube forts and rarely on the Rhine frontier.

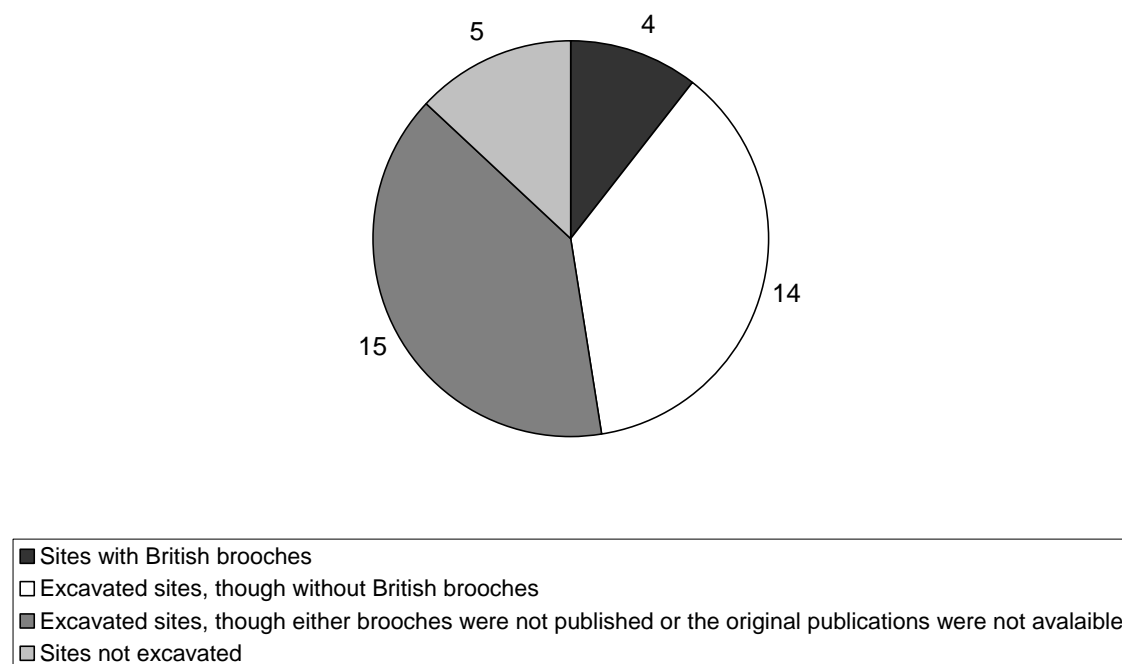


Figure 3.30 The relation between the occurrence of British brooches and British auxiliary units on sites where British units are known to have been stationed²²⁸.

Although the occurrence of British-made brooches on four military forts and two unrecorded locations does not constitute a pattern, it is nevertheless possible that these brooches arrived overseas with soldiers serving in British troops raised from the British population. All these brooches are of mid/late first century date, which coincides with the pattern of recruitment of British-borns into British auxiliary units. This may explain the absence of second century brooches on sites where units were garrisoned in this period: Britons simply stopped being sent to British auxiliary units from the second century onwards and recruitment from nearby provinces was practiced (the trend is detected in recruitment development as well). In general, the occurrence of British brooches on military sites associated with British auxiliary units generally supports the epigraphic evidence.

The documented evidence is silent about the presence of British women who may have gone overseas with their British-born partners. As has already been mentioned, British brooches with headloops may have been worn by females, thus, their occurrence on the Continent can be taken as an indication of the presence of British women. Of the six locations mentioned above brooches with headloops were located at: Szöny and Cășeiu (T-shaped with raised stud on a bow for enamel); a brooch from an unrecorded location in Croatia is also a headstud with headloop; Naaldwijk and Spijkenisse (trumpet 2A).

²²⁸ The sites, which were included in this figure, are the military forts, where British auxiliary units were garrisoned or are assumed to have been stationed. In total 38 sites have been identified; of these British-made brooches were present at four (Szöny, Cășeiu, Mautern and Bumbești).

A significant distinction between some brooches with headloops has been made: on some brooches the loop appears too small to have been able to support a chain, suggesting that they were most likely used by men; others had a much bigger headloop, suggesting they were indeed worn with a chain, which is considered to be a female tradition (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 214). Notable for present purposes is that brooches with small headloops were located at the military forts of Szöny and Cășeu, while those with a headloop suitable for holding a chain were found at the civilian settlements of Naaldwijk and Spijkenisse.

Clearly such a small percentage of brooches cannot be considered to provide any form of detailed picture, yet it is indicative that a distinction can be made between female and male-associated brooches, where the former were located at civilian, the latter at military sites. This discussion will continue in chapter 5, where other British-made brooches found overseas will be analysed in greater detail.

3.3. British *numeri*: history, prosopography and archaeology

This section explores the history and archaeology of the British *numeri*²²⁹ and starts by outlining the accepted theory regarding the formation and establishment of these units followed by parts in which the history, development and recruitment policy of each *numeri* unit is presented and discussed. The reconstruction of the history of each unit follows the same scheme as in case of the British auxiliary units and is done in alphabetical order to avoid the confusion that a chronological order might cause because of an absence of direct evidence regarding when particular units were formed.

3.3.1. *Development of the British numeri*

It has been long been accepted that the British *numeri* appeared for the first time after the campaigns of Lollius Urbicus in southern Scotland in ca AD 141 – 142 (Southern 1989, 95; Reuter 1999, 385). This theory was based on the appearance of the British *numeri* on inscriptions in Upper Germany after AD 145 – 146 and in a part of the *Historia Augusta* concerned with the reign of Antoninus Pius, which was interpreted as referring to “the wholesome removal of the population of the southern Scotland to [Germania Superior frontier at] Odenwald” (Hist. Aug. *Antoninus Pius* 5.4; Southern 1989, 95; Reuter 1999, 385). This theory has now been dismissed in light of the following new evidence.

The excavation at the fort at Hesselbach, where a British *numerus* unit is known to have been positioned in the mid second century, revealed that the fort was built earlier than previously thought and was already occupied by ca AD 110/115 (Reuter 1999, 385; Schallmayer 2010, 104-106). The results of this excavation have had a significant impact on the studies of the whole Odenwald-Neckar limes. It was proposed that they were established much earlier than have been previously thought, i.e. the mid second century, namely during the reign of Domitian, or at the latest by the time of Trajan (Southern 1989, 95). It was not disputed that the first builders and occupants of the forts on Odenwald-Neckar frontier were Britons and the search has begun for the possible date, preferably in late first-early second centuries AD, when British drafts were relocated to this limes. At present it is agreed that there were two phases for the recruitment and deployment of Britons in Germania Superior frontier. The first phase is usually dated to the reign of Domitian, though scholars still dispute when exactly.

The first theory is based on the passage in Tacitus, where he describes the battle between Roman troops under the command of governor Agricola and the British army at the place called Mons Graupius somewhere in northern Scotland ca AD 83/84. The

²²⁹ For the history of studies of the *numeri*, please consult the detailed analysis of Reuter (1999, 365-373).

commander of the British troops Calgacus “complains that there were Britons in the [Roman] army at Mons Graupius” (Tacitus, *Agricola* 29). This passage has been interpreted to mean that some Britons had been accepted into service in the Roman army as early as the Flavian dynasty and that after the battle these forces may have been drafted to units later relocated to Germania Superior (Southern 1989, 95). First they were positioned on the Taunus limes, at forts such as Saalburg and Zugmantel, where British objects have been found. Later they were transported to the Odenwald-Neckar limes where they participated in the construction of the frontier zone. According to this theory the organisation of the British *numeri* falls in the period after AD 83/84.

Another date that has been proposed is AD 86 – 87: the abandonment of southern Scotland by the Roman troops. In order to prevent an uprising or to secure the peace a levy may have been imposed on the native population: they were drafted to units without formal organisation and sent by orders of Domitian to the Continent (Southern 1989, 96).

The second recruitment phase is usually placed after the suppression of the revolts during the reign of Hadrian or after the campaigns of Lollius Urbicus (Southern 1989, 97).

In general, it has been proposed to place the first recruitment phase somewhere during the reign of Domitian, when Britons were deployed first on the Taunus limes and were later redeployed to the forts on the Odenwald-Neckar frontier which they also built; the second recruitment phase occurred after the campaigns of Lollius Urbicus in southern Scotland.

3.3.2. *Numerus Brittonum at Deutz*

History

One inscription (no 1) found in the proximity of the fort *Divitia*, Cologne-Deutz in Germany, records the presence of the *numerus Brittonum* there in the late second – early third centuries AD. Two other inscriptions found on the site (nos 2 and 3) survive only partially and scholars have interpreted the missing parts based on the Cologne inscription (no 1). The only indication that these two inscriptions record a British *numerus* unit is the letter ‘*n*’ that probably stood for ‘*numerus*’ and the ending ‘*num*’ that may have stood for the ending of the word ‘*brittonum*’²³⁰. Moreover, one of these monuments records a veteran and centurion in command of a unit, although there is no direct evidence that soldiers of *numeri* ever reached the status of veterans (Reuter 1999, 463). This inscription may therefore record an auxiliary veteran who had received a post as centurion in command in the provincial capital of Germania Inferior (Reuter 1999, 463).

There is therefore only one inscription that records the presence of a British *numerus* unit at Cologne, although it indicates the presence of an official in the provincial capital rather than the whole unit (Reuter 1999, 463). The unit’s centurion may have been posted there for some administrative business or have been on his way through the city, where he had a chance to erect the votive altar (Reuter 1999, 463). This *numerus Brittonum* may never have been garrisoned in Cologne-Deutz, although nothing stands against thinking that the unit might have served at other places in Germania Inferior or Superior (Carroll-Spillecke 1993, 388; Reuter 1999, 464). The *numerus Brittonum* recorded on various inscriptions from the fort Niederbieber in Germania Superior (nos 4-7, discussed below) might have been identical to the unit record at Cologne-Deutz.

²³⁰ Cf. Reuter (1999, 464), who casts doubt that, even if the inscription indeed records a *numerus* unit, the name of it is unknown.

In general, nothing is known about this unit except that probably one of its members erected a votive altar in Cologne in the late second – early third centuries.

Forts

The station of this unit is uncertain. It is more than likely that the unit was never garrisoned in Cologne and never stayed in the fort at Deutz, although it is possible that the unit was part of the army of Germania Inferior or Superior (Carroll-Spillecke 1993, 388).

Personnel (in chronological order)

Commanding officers:

? (...)stis Dirmesus: veteran; centurion in command, serving in the unit in the late second – third centuries AD, no 2

Subordinate officers:

Aurelius Verecundus: centurion, serving in the unit in the late second – third centuries AD, no 1

? Similinius (...)nus: courier, serving in the unit in the late second – third centuries AD, no 2

? (...)ninus: post unknown, serving in the unit in the late second – third centuries AD, no 3

Origin of personnel

Origin based on prosopographical and onomastic analysis:

Similinius (...)nus and (...)stis Dirmesus Both officers' cognomina were limited to the province of Germania Inferior (for Similinius see Mócsy 1983, 267; OPEL IV 83; for Dirmesus see Mócsy 1983, 104; OPEL II 102). Moreover, the altar was dedicated to gods and goddesses that were probably part of the local pantheon of Germania Inferior: *Hercules Magusanus*, the principal deity of the Batavians (cf. Roymans 2004, 242), *Matronae Abirenae*, also known as *Ambiorenenses* (AE 1981, 660 from Cologne) and *Mahalinae*, also known as *Nehalennia* on numerous inscriptions from Domburg and Colijnsplaat, the Netherlands (Stuart and Bogaers 2001).

Unidentifiable origin:

The cognomen of Aurelius Verecundus, a centurion, was widespread but mostly prevailed in Celtic speaking provinces (Mócsy 1983, 307; Alföldy 1987, 284, no 18; OPEL IV 157-158; Minkova 2000, 275). He dedicated his votive inscription to two gods *Malvisae* and *Silvanus*, popular native deities recorded on numerous inscriptions from the Lower Rhineland (Dorcey 1992, 60).

Origin of (...)ninus is impossible to identify.

Table 3.61 Origin of soldiers in *numerus Brittonum* at Deutz: total summary

Origin	Numbers
Germania Inferior	2
Unknown	2
	Total: 4

Archaeology

The site of the Roman fort *Divitia*, at Cologne-Deutz, has been excavated and the finds recorded were identified as mostly produced locally (Carroll-Spillecke 1993). The jewelery items found there are believed to have been worn by German women and to be part of the traditional native German costume (Carroll-Spillecke 1993).

3.3.3. *Numerus Brittonum at Niederbieber*

History

Another *numerus Brittonum* is attested at Niederbieber on four inscriptions dated to the third century AD (nos 4-7; Heising 2010, 61). There is also one unpublished inscription, dated to the first years of the reign of Septimius Severus, ca AD 193/194 (Reuter 1999, 465, note 545).

Actually, one inscription does not record this particular unit but it has been proposed that it was erected by officers of the British *numerus* (no 6; Reuter 1999, 466). This votive altar was found on the right side inside a temple situated near the fort at Niederbieber, where another altar erected by the members of the same unit was also found (no 5). On the left side inside the temple only altars made by the soldiers of a *numerus Germanicianorum* were found. The left side of the temple was therefore possibly used to erect altars by members of the German *numeri* and the right by the soldiers of British *numeri* (Reuter 1999, 466).

It is possible that this unit came to Niederbieber from Öhringen where another British *numerus* with the epithet *Aurelianensium* was garrisoned in the late second century AD (Reuter 1999, 466; discussed below). The epithet of the unit stationed at Öhringen starts with the letter 'A', the same letter as the epithet of the unit from Niederbieber. This was seen as an indication that the *numerus Brittonum Aurelianensium* was relocated in the late second – early third centuries from Öhringen to Niederbieber, where it was renamed as *numerus Brittonum Antoniniana*e (Reuter 1999, 466).

Another possibility is that the Niederbieber *numerus* is actually identical to the unit stationed at Welzheim, which is attested there on an inscription dated to the late second century AD (Reuter 1999, 466). The Welzheim *numerus* had no epithet and it is possible that in the early third century it was relocated from Welzheim to Niederbieber, where it was granted the title *Antoniniana*e for some actions.

The inscriptions erected by the servicemen of *numeri* known from Cologne-Deutz and Niederbieber correspond chronologically. It is possible the whole unit was actually stationed at Niederbieber, while some of its members served in the provincial capital of Germania Inferior in the late second – third centuries.

It is also uncertain how long the *numerus* garrisoned the fort: the archaeological evidence points to a reduction in the troop's size after AD 233, when, possibly, the second unit, *numerus Germanicianorum*, stationed at Niederbieber was sent to the Danube region (Heising 2010, 68). The *numerus Brittonum* was possibly stationed in the fort alone until AD 260, when the fort was abandoned and completely destroyed after a violent attack (Heising 2010, 62-64).

Award

*Antoniniana*e - the *numerus* had an epithet starting with the letter 'A', which might have stood for '*Antoniniana*e' and may have been granted for some deeds during the reign of Caracalla or Elagabalus (Reuter 1999, 465). The possibility that 'A' stood for something else, e.g. the place-name where the unit was garrisoned, is not excluded (Reuter 1999, 465).

Fort

The unit was garrisoned at the fort at Niederbieber in the period from AD 193/194 and was still present there as late as AD 239 (no 6; Heising 2010, 60). The unit shared the fort with *numerus Germanicianorum exploratorum Divitiensium*: the size of the fort, 5.2 ha, indicates that it was more than big enough for two small *numeri* (Batz 2000, 95; Heising 2010, 60). It has therefore been proposed that the *numerus Germanicianorum*

had ca 1000 men in service and was actually an ala, since finds from the fort indicate the presence of a large cavalry unit (Baatz 2000, 95). *Numerus Brittonum* may have been a large unit as well, since it was probably a mixed unit comprising two small British units from either Öhringen or Welzheim (Reuter 1999, 466).

Personnel (in chronological order)

Commanding officers:

Subordinate officers:

(Aelius/Aulus?) Ibliomarius Opeius: a soldier? / a granary keeper?, serving in the unit ca AD 211 – 222, no 4

Titus? Um(...) Quintanensis?: a soldier? / a soldier of the fifth unit?, serving in the unit ca AD 211 – 222, no 4

Vibius Mercurialis: a scribe, serving in the unit ca AD 211 – 222, no 5

Attianus, son (?) of Coresus: a standard-bearer, serving in the unit ca AD 239, no 6

Fortionius Constitutus: an image-bearer, serving in the unit ca AD 239, no 6

Origin of personnel

Origin based on prosopographical and onomastic analysis:

(Aelius/Aulus?) Ibliomarius Opeius The name Ibliomarius was limited to the area of *civitas Treveri* and there are at least two inscriptions in which a person with the name Ibliomarus (sic!) indicated his origin as *Treveri* (*CIL* XIII 2839; *AE* 1975, 653; Raybould and Sims-Williams 2007a, 62-63).

Questionable origin:

The origin of three other servicemen (Vibius Mercurialis, Fortionius Constitutus and Attianus, son of Coresus) should be searched for in Gallia Belgica or in Germania's provinces (Reuter 1999, 467, note 556). Their names were widespread, but mostly prevailed in Gallia Belgica (Vibius was especially popular in Noricum, see Mócsy 1983, 310; OPEL IV 165-166; Minkova 2000, 276; for Mercurialis see Mócsy 1983, 187, OPEL III 77; for Attianus see Mócsy 1983, 35; OPEL I 89; for Fortionius see Mócsy 1983, 128; OPEL II 150; for Constitutus see Mócsy 1983, 87; OPEL III 73; for Coresus see Mócsy 1983, 88; OPEL II 75).

Unidentifiable origin:

The origin of Titus? Um(...) Quintanensis is impossible to identify, since it is uncertain whether Quintanensis was an actual cognomen or denoted that this soldier served in the fifth unit.

Table 3.62 Origin of soldiers in *numerus Brittonum* at Niederbieber: total summary

Origin	Numbers
Gallia Belgica:	3
<i>Civitas Treveri</i>	1
Unknown	1
	Total: 5

Archaeology

Parts of the fort and vicus were excavated on various occasions and the results have been published (Heising 2010, 58, esp. note 12 listing the bibliography).

In the excavation report issued by the *Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* 13 brooches were mentioned as having been found at the site of the fort, but descriptions and illustrations were omitted (Ritterling 1912, 67). Another publication, cataloguing

and depicting 61 brooches found at the fort Niederbieber, did not have any British-made brooches (Gechter 1980). In another publication, where the artefacts made from bone were studied, it was concluded that the majority of finds from the fort were made locally (von Carnap-Bornheim 1994), suggesting that whoever lived on the site used locally-made products.

3.3.4. *Numerus Brittonum at Walldürn*

History

An inscription found at Walldürn (no 8) is the most discussed epigraphic monument found on the Upper German limes (Reuter 1999, 550, esp. note 911 and 912; cf. also Southern 1989, 97). It records either one or two British *numeri*, depending on the interpretation (Southern 1989, 133); it is uncertain if *Brittones gentiles*²³¹ and *officiales Brittones dediticii*²³² *Alexandriani* were separated in the text by the small word ‘*et*’ meaning ‘and’: this part of the stone appears to be broken and is impossible to restore.

If there was no ‘and’ between the two elements, then we are dealing with Britons who were officials in charge of a British *dediticii* unit (Filtzinger *et al.* 1986, 606; Southern 1989, 133). If there was indeed an ‘and’ then the inscription records two British units: *gentiles* and officials in charge of the *dediticii Alexandriani*. In the first scenario the inscription records only persons of high rank, in the second two units, where probably one was in charge of the other (i.e. *Brittones gentiles* in charge of *dediticii*, see also the position of the units’ name on the inscription - *gentiles* precedes *dediticii*).

Moreover, there may have been another ‘and’ between *officiales Brittones* and *dediticii Alexandriani*, which would imply that there were actually three units: British *gentiles*, officials in charge of Britons and *dediticii* (Lemosse 1981, 352).

A discussion goes on as to who were *dediticii*. One suggestion favours with the idea that “*gentiles* were Britons from outside the province, serving as officers of the *dediticii*, who were also Britons [but] of a lower status” (Southern 1989, 97). Another suggestion is that the *dediticii* might have been Britons captured during the Severan campaigns in Scotland: in this case the term *dediticii* would have been used in its strict sense, i.e. surrendered (Benario 1954, 194, note 21; Southern 1989, 97). *Dediticii* may have been Germans or any other tribal entity and were distinct from the Britons by their name (Southern 1989, 97).

The inscription also records another unit named *exploratores Stu(...)*. It could have been at first called the *numerus Brittonum Stu(...)* and later renamed the *exploratores Stu(...)* retaining only the epithet from its original title (Planck and Beck 1987, 47; Southern 1989, 133 after Baatz 1973, 69, note 3). Something similar happened to the *numerus Brittonum Triputiensium* which became *exploratores Triputiensium* once they were transferred from Odenwald-Neckar to the outer limes. The epithet could, however, have stood for *Sturii* – the Germanic tribe that lived in the proximity of the Rhine in what is now the Netherlands (Plinius Naturalis Historia 101; Lemosse 1981, 351), which would therefore mean that the unit of *exploratores* was raised from Sturians.

The fort Walldürn at 0.8 ha is suitable to accommodate one *numerus*, which means that the *exploratores*, *gentiles* and/or *dediticii* must have numbered ca 160 men in total.

²³¹ *Gentiles* understood to refer to the freeborn members of the barbarian nations, as opposed to Roman citizens, i.e. *civitates* (Lemosse 1981, 352). They were subjects to Roman authority and accepted Roman laws, yet they were considered non-Romans.

²³² Under the name *dediticii* one may differentiate three groups: barbarians who had surrendered to Rome, freedmen under special law and freeborn settlers in the Empire (Benario 1954, 191). Yet this name appeared on the inscription of AD 232 when “no free-born provincials should have been *dediticii*”, although people or tribes of doubtful loyalty in service in the Roman army might have been referred to in this way (Southern 1989, 97).

If the interpretation that *dediticii* were levies imposed on the population of Scotland after the campaigns of Severus or after peace was arranged under Caracalla is right, this would mean that more than 100 men must have been sent from Scotland to Upper Germany. I would like to suggest that these British formations were actually remains of a unit previously stationed in the Odenwald and were part of another unit, as opposed to an independent entity.

It is usually assumed that the *numerus Brittonum Triputiensium*, garrisoned the forts from Eulbach to Schlossau, consisted of more than 150 men (Reuter 1999, 459 and also note 508). This unit, in order to provide better protection and control of the area, may have been divided into smaller units positioned at various forts. When the frontier was moved to the outer limes, the main unit with the epithet *Triputiensium* was relocated to the fort at Miltenberg, while the smaller units were transferred to Walldürn and the other fortlets between Miltenberg and Walldürn. The soldiers of the *numerus* and their offspring might have been considered as of higher rank in contrast to the soldiers drafted in to replenish those who had died. The former probably received the name *Brittones gentiles* to denote their long standing relationship with Rome, as a unit of British natives with status, while the latter were called *dediticii* to indicate a special relationship between Roman officials and the ‘not-so-trustworthy’ tribes from *Barbaricum*.

Awards

Alexandriana – this title was erased from the inscription because of the *damnatio memoriae* of the Emperor Severus Alexander (AD 222 – 235), who granted this award.

Fort

These formations recorded on the inscription found at Walldürn rebuilt the bath house of this fort. The monument itself has been found in the layer belonging to the period when the bath house was rebuilt and expanded (Planck and Beck 1987, 47; Baatz 2000, 224). While it is possible that the whole unit was placed at Walldürn, small detachments of it might have been garrisoned the smaller fortlets located between Miltenberg and Walldürn (Baatz 2000, 224).

Personnel (in chronological order)

Commanding officers:

Titus Flavius Romanus: centurion of the *legio XXII Primigenia Pia Fidelis*, commanding officer in AD 232, no 8

Origin of personnel

Unidentifiable origin: The commanding officer of the unit in AD 232 had a widespread and popular name (Mócsy 1983, 244; OPEL IV 31; Minkova 2000, 242), therefore, his origin is impossible to identify.

Archaeology

The main layout of the fort is known, though there have been no excavations inside the fort itself (Planck and Beck 1987, 46; Rabold *et al.* 2000, 74-75). The bath house and parts of the vicus near the fort have been excavated and various phases identified (Planck and Beck 1987, 46-48; Rabold *et al.* 2000, 75-76).

In the excavation report issued by the *Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* the only bronze find depicted was a buckle; the description of the bronze and iron finds itself had no mention of the brooches (Conrady 1904, 14-15; taf. III, fig. 4). In the publications on the excavations in the bath house and vicus area, no British-made objects were identified (Baatz 1978; Schallmayer 1983).

3.3.5. *Numerus Brittonum Aurelianensium*

History

This unit is attested on two inscriptions dated to AD 175 – 177 and on tile stamps found at one of the two forts near Öhringen, Germany (nos 9 and 10; *CIL* XIII 12497 tile with stamp *B Aure* expanded as (*numerus*) *B(rittonum) Aure(lianensium)*; Herzog 1897, 20, no E5; 23, no F17). At the bath house of the eastern of these two forts tiles were also found stamped with abbreviations expanded as *numerus Brittonum Cal(...)* and as *numerus Brittonum Murrensium* (nos 12 and 23; Herzog 1897, 20, nos B2 and D4; 23, nos D15 and E16). Both *numeri Brittonum Cal(...)* and *Murrensium* were probably first garrisoned at forts on the Odenwald limes (it will be discussed later). Taking into account that, after the construction of the outer limes, the units garrisoned on the Odenwald were transferred to forts on the outer limes, it is possible that both *numeri*, i.e. *Cal(...)* and *Murrensium*, were also relocated to these eastern limes. After the move, both units were never heard of again and it seems that these two units may have been mixed together to form a new unit with a new epithet *Aurelianensium* (Southern 1989, 133; Reuter 1999, 443). This epithet derives from the name of the vicus adjacent to the fort at Öhringen, named *Aurelianus*, which itself was named after the Emperor Marcus Aurelius (Reuter 1999, 443).

The *cursus honorum* of the unit's commander, found in Italy (no 11), indicates the unit's existence well into the third century, although it is uncertain whether it was still stationed on the limes of Upper Germany (Reuter 1999, 444).

Awards

None are known.

Forts

It is possible that the unit in the last quarter of the second century AD was stationed at Öhringen, which has two large forts, both of which could have been garrisoned by a rather large, probably mixed, *numerus* (Reuter 1999, 443). Since the tile stamps of two amalgamated units were discovered in the bath house of the eastern, so called Rendel, fort, it has been suggested that this was the place where the unit was garrisoned (Baatz 2000, 236)²³³.

The location of the unit in the third century is uncertain, yet the forts on the Upper German limes are likely candidates (Reuter 1999, 444). A British *numeri* unit without the epithet has been recorded at the fort at Niederbieber and possibly it was another example of a unit formed by merging units previously stationed on the outer limes. The amalgamated *numerus Brittonum Aurelianensium* seems a suitable candidate (Reuter 1999, 444).

Personnel (in chronological order)

Commanding officers:

Gaius Valerius Titus: a legionary centurion, in charge of the unit in AD 175 – 177, nos 9, 10 and 23

Ignotus: a legionary centurion, in charge of the unit in the third century, no 11

²³³ But see Reuter (1999, 443), who proposes another fort, which lies 3 km from Öhringen: the fort at Westernbach had a size of 1 ha and was also able to accommodate two joined *numeri*

Origin of personnel

Questionable origin: A name of the legionary centurion in the third century did not survive, yet his origin may have been *Falerii Novi*, modern Civita Castellana in Italy, where his *cursus honorum* was erected.

Unidentifiable origin: The origin of the legionary centurion Gaius Valerius Titus is impossible to identify, since his *gentilicium* and cognomen were widespread, but are well represented in Celtic-speaking areas (for Valerius see Mócsy 1983, 300; OPEL IV 142-146; Minkova 2000, 93-96; for Titus see Mócsy 1983, 291; OPEL IV 125-126; Minkova 2000, 265).

Table 3.63 Origin of soldiers in *numerus Brittonum Aurelianensium*: total summary

Origin	Numbers
Italy: <i>Falerii Novi</i>	1
Unknown	1
	Total: 2

Archaeology

The forts of Öhringen or at least some parts of them have been uncovered in various excavations (Planck and Beck 1987, 66-67; Rabold *et al.* 2000, 85-86). The bronze finds from the so called Rendel fort, where presumably the *numerus* was garrisoned, have been reported but no brooches were found there (Herzog 1897, 17 and 21). Brooches have also not been reported from the areas around either of the forts (Herzog 1897, 25-26).

3.3.6. *Numerus Brittonum Cal(...)*

History

This unit is recorded on tile stamps found in the bath complex of the so called Rendel fort at Öhringen (no 12). It has already been mentioned that this unit may have been garrisoned first on the Odenwald limes and later relocated to the outer limes, where it was joined to another *numerus* to form the *numerus Brittonum Aurelianensium*. Yet there is no evidence for where the unit may have been posted while serving on the Odenwald frontier. The epithet was abbreviated on the tile stamps as *Cal(...)* and scholars up to now have argued about how it should be expanded.

This epithet may have stood for the name of a village or a river in the proximity of which the fort of this unit was located (as was the case for other *numeri* units garrisoned on the Odenwald; for a discussion see below). It has been suggested that this village or river starting with the *Cal(...)* should be searched for in the proximity of the fort at Heilbronn-Böckingen (Reuter 1999, 445). This idea is based on the occurrence of tile stamps of this *numerus* in association with the tiles of a certain *cohors I Helvetiorum*, a unit which is also attested as in Heilbronn-Böckingen as in Öhringen. The general policy of the Roman army on the Odenwald and outer limes was to relocate *numeri* together with the cohort they were attached to: examples include *cohors III Aquitanorum* with *numerus Brittonum Elantiensium* and *cohors I Sequanorum et Rauracorum* with *numerus Brittonum Triputiensium* (Schallmayer 2010, 26). In other words, when the *cohors I Helvetiorum* was moved from its fort at Heilbronn-Böckingen to Öhringen, *numerus Brittonum Cal(...)* could have followed it.

Another theory is that the epithet actually denotes the place where the unit's original soldiers came from. Since this unit was a British *numerus*, the tribal entity in question

must have come from Britain. The closest fitting name of tribal confederacy which might be hidden behind the abbreviation *Cal(...)* is *Caledoni*.

The words *Caledones* or *Caledonia* are used in the account of Tacitus to denote the region, or all the people living, north of the Forth-Clyde isthmus (where the Antonine Wall would come to be placed), while in later accounts, especially in Ptolemy, the *Caledones* are a people and a single large tribe (Tacitus *Agricola* 11 and 25; Ptolemy Geography, II, 3, 5-7; Mann and Breeze 1987, 90). Modern scholarship usually locates the *Caledones* on “the Great Glen [which] runs from Loch Linnhe to the Beaully Firth” (Mann and Breeze 1987, 90). As has already been mentioned, the occurrence of British *numeri* in Upper Germany is usually connected to the campaigns of Lollius Urbicus in southern Scotland, after which levies may have been imposed on the population. After the Severan campaigns in Scotland, treaties are known to have been established between the Romans and the Caledonians, as a result of which the latter sent a “few captives” (Cassius Dio, 75.5.4). Captives might have also been provided after the Urbicus campaigns and men were drafted to serve in the *numeri*, of which one may have been named after the region where they hailed from. The question is why was the unit then not simply called *Caledoniansium*? It is possible that the word *Caledoni* might have still been used as a generic term to denote all people living north of Hadrian’s Wall or the Antonine Wall, implying that this unit might have been drafted, not only from the *Caledones*, but from all the northern tribes of the province Britain.

Awards

None are known.

Forts

The unit may have been garrisoned at Heilbronn-Böckingen prior to its relocation to the fort at Öhringen, although the Heilbronn-Böckingen fort might have been not the first, but the second fort of this unit. The *numerus Brittonum Murrensium*, which was later amalgamated with our unit, was also stationed at the Heilbronn-Böckingen fort, but before that it was garrisoned at the Benningen fort, meaning that Heilbronn-Böckingen was the units’ secondary post. If we assume that both *numeri* had already been joined before the relocation to the outer limes, i.e. to the fort at Öhringen, then the fort at Heilbronn-Böckingen hosted three units in the mid second century: a cohort and two *numeri*, one coming from Benningen.

The station of the *numerus Brittonum Cal(...)* prior to its amalgamation and relocation to Heilbronn-Böckingen may have been the small earth and timber fort of 0.6 ha, situated in the proximity of the cohort fort at Walheim. This small fort was built somewhere at the end of the first century AD and was already abandoned ca AD 100 (Baatz 2000, 209). Walheim lies just between Heilbronn-Böckingen and Benningen, making it the best candidate for the *numerus Brittonum Cal(...)* station.

Personnel

None have been recorded on inscriptions.

Archaeology

Heilbronn-Böckingen has been excavated in part by the *Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* (Steimle 1898; Schleiermacher 1935, 9-10; Filtzinger *et al.* 1986, 332), although no finds from the fort can be identified as British-made. Other excavations in the 1960s established the location and the development of the north and west gates of the fort (Filtzinger *et al.* 1986, 333).

For the Öhringen fort see *numerus Brittonum Aurelianensium*

3.3.7. *Numerus Brittonum C/Gurvedensium*

History

This unit is recorded on a single votive inscription found not on the Odenwald frontier, but in the capital of *civitas Taunensium*, *Nida*, modern Frankfurt-Heddernheim in Germany (no 13). Yet it has been rejected that the *numerus* was garrisoned in the proximity of Heddernheim where this votive offering was found (Reuter 1999, 450). As with other British *numeri*, its location should be searched somewhere on the Odenwald frontier (Southern 1989, 133).

The unit's epithet, starting either with the letter *C* or *G*, may have originated from the name of a place or river in the vicinity of where this *numerus* was serving. Yet neither at Odenwald nor on the outer limes have scholars been able to find a place name which resembles the epithet *C/Gurvedensium*. It is also uncertain whether this epithet derives from the first or second station of the unit (Reuter 1999, 450).

It is uncertain to what onomastic tradition the name '*C/Gurvedensium*' belongs. It may have been of Latin origin. There is a similar word in Latin denoting water, the word *gurgis* which can be translated as 'water, stream, sea, whirlpool or gulf'. In the genitive case it is pronounced as *gurgitis*²³⁴. If derived from this word a loose translation of *Gurvedensium* would therefore be 'unit of Britons from the sea' or 'unit of Britons from (or near?) a whirlpool'. Yet, phonetically, the transition from *gur-gitis* to *gur-vedes* is not possible.

The first stem of the word, *gur*, might possibly have been related to the Old Welsh word *gur*, Breton *guor*, Gaulish *gwr*, Anglo-Saxon *wer* and, worth noting, Latin *vir* meaning 'man' (Delamarre 2001, 270). The meaning of the second stem *veden* remains unresolved: the closest parallels are the Old High German *wetan* meaning 'to join', 'to bind' (Hoops and Beck 1998, 51), the Gothic word *ga-widan* meaning 'to join together' (Wright 1966, 324). Most of the Roman *numeri* forts in Odenwald were positioned on the river Neckar, near its tributaries: the *numerus* fort at Neckarburken was, for instance, located near the Elzbach tributary of the Neckar, after which the British *numerus* was named, i.e. *numerus Brittonum Elantiensium*. If the stem *veden* is indeed the earliest form of *wetan/widan*, a loose translation of *gurvedensium* would be '[where the river] Gur joins [name of another river]'. On the limes only one river name can be related to the river Gur: the river Gersprenz, a left tributary of the river Main. It is noteworthy that next to a military fort (modern Stockstadt), positioned between this tributary and the Main, a temple to Jupiter Dolichenus was found (Batz 2000, 177; Steidl 2008, 158), a god to whom the unit's centurion gave a votive offering. Moreover, a British-made brooch of mid second-century type has been reported from the area (Drexel 1910, 11, taf. VII, fig. 20; Exner 1939, 79, no 23, tab. 7, no 10.I23).

This epithet might denote the place where the unit's original soldiers came from, i.e. somewhere in Britain. The closest parallel is in the name of a tribe living before Hadrian's Wall in the Eden valley – the *Carvetii*. However, the area of this tribal entity was not under attack from the army of Lollius Urbicus in AD 141 – 142, which means that there was no need for them to send levies.

The question what the unit's centurion was doing in *Nida* also remains. It has been proposed that the centurion was a commander of a detachment rather than of a unit itself. He calls himself *centurio* and not *praepositus*, the usual name for the commanders of such units (Reuter 1999, 450). This may indicate that a small detachment was indeed stationed in *Nida* for some time.

²³⁴ If the epithet denotes a place or river name, it must have been used in the genitive case, as in '*numerus Brittonum ex*' = 'unit of Britons from [place or river name]'.

Awards

None are known.

Forts

The exact location of this unit is uncertain. The theory proposed here is that a small detachment might have been garrisoned for some time in *Nida*, while the unit itself may have been stationed at the fort at Stockstadt.

Personnel (in chronological order)

Commanding officers:

Subordinate officers:

Gaius Iulius Marinus: a centurion of a detachment, serving in the unit probably in the late second century AD, no 13

Origin of personnel

Unidentifiable origin: The origin of the centurion is uncertain. His cognomen, Marinus, is widespread but prevailed in Gallia Belgica, Gallia Narbonensis and Pannonia (Mócsy 1983, 178; OPEL III 58). It is noteworthy that the cognomen Marinus often appears on dedications to Jupiter Dolichenus (Schwertheim 1974, 308).

Archaeology

The possible unit's fort Stockstadt and the area around it is one of the most intensively researched areas on the Main limes (Drexel 1910; Baatz 2000, 176). Various forts have been identified and different archaeological layers have been established (Drexel 1910; Baatz 2000, 176), although nothing is now visible of the main cohort's fort itself: it is completely covered by a paper factory (Baatz 2000, 176; Steidl 2008, 157). During the excavations of the *Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* one British-made object was found: a British-made disk-and-trumpet brooch, type T166C (Drexel 1910, 49, no 11, taf. VII, fig. 20). Its occurrence there can be connected to the possible service of the *numerus Brittonum C/Gurvedensium* in the mid second century²³⁵ (this object will be discussed in the chapter 5, section 5.1.1).

3.3.8. *Numerus Brittonum Elantiensium*

History

The *numerus* is attested on two building inscriptions found in the eastern, so-called *numerus*, fort and in a bath house near the cohort fort at Neckarburken (nos 14 and 17). Another inscription was found at the eastern gate of the fortlet Trienz (no 15), located north of the Neckarburken fort. These inscriptions record the presence of the unit on the Odenwald limes at the Neckarburken fort in the years AD 145 – 161.

The unit received its epithet *Elantiensium* after a tributary of the river Moselle – the Elzbach (also known as Elz), which flows in the vicinity of the fort at Neckarburken (Southern 1989, 133; Reuter 1999, 446).

After the limes were pushed forward 25 km eastward ca AD 159/161, the units garrisoned on the Odenwald frontier were transferred to the new forts there. From the

²³⁵ Another unit attested in Stockstadt in the late second century is *cohors I Aquitanorum veterana* (CIL XIII 11780, 11782, 11783 and 11785; Baatz 2000, 177; Steidl 2008, 157). A unit with a similar name is also known from Britain: *cohors I Aquitanorum* is recorded on military diploma issued for the army of Britain (CIL XVI 69) and some inscriptions (RIB 2401.6; 2401.7; AE 1990, 577; Jarrett 1994, 52). It is usually thought that they were two separate units, one with the title *veterana* which served in Germania Superior; another – without the title – in Britain (Holder 1980, 111). Spaul (2000, 143), on the contrary, sees them as one unit, which divided its time between two provinces.

epigraphic record it is known that *cohors III Aquitanorum* garrisoned at Neckarburken was then stationed at a fort on the outer limes at Osterburken (*CIL* XIII 6493 and 6494 from Neckarburken; *CIL* XIII 6566, 6568, 6577 and 11767 from Osterburken). Since the *numerus Brittonum Elantiensium* was a support unit of this cohort, they should have moved together; yet the epigraphic record does not provide us with direct evidence (Reuter 1999, 44). Only one inscription is considered to be an indication of such a move: the votive monument (no 18) found in Osterburken was erected by a commander of the unit Veranius Saturninus, known to us from another inscription, this time from the Neckarburken fort (no 17). Reuter (1999, 447) questions whether the *numerus* was relocated immediately after the move of the limes: the building inscription from Neckarburken (no 17) records the reconstruction of a bath house in AD 158, a couple of years before the move. Such renovations would have been unnecessary if the *numerus* was supposed to be transferred to another fort (Neumaier 1991, 33). It is thought that the unit was still in Neckarburken up to the reign of Commodus (Reuter 1999, 448; Baatz 2000, 227), considering that the annex fort at Osterburken, presumably the station for the *numerus*, may have been built in AD 185 at the earliest (Neumaier 1991, 31).

Awards

None are known.

Forts

The unit was garrisoned at the eastern, so called *numerus*, fort at Neckarburken²³⁶ (Filtzinger *et al.* 1986, 282; Baatz 2000, 205). After the abandonment of the Odenwald limes the fort became a *villa rustica* and it is thought that the owner may have been a former soldier of a cohort or of our unit (Filtzinger *et al.* 1986, 282; Baatz 2000, 205; Schallmayer 2010, 137).

North of Neckarburken lies a fortlet at Trienz, built and garrisoned by a small detachment of the *numerus Brittonum Elantiensium* (Schallmayer 2010, 129). The fortlet had room for 80 men and it was probably from here, rather than from the fort itself, that the unit sent its soldiers to observation towers on the limes (Baatz 2000, 202).

Whether the unit was relocated to the Osterburken fort is uncertain. The fort itself was divided into two spaces: one, the largest, was occupied by the *cohors III Aquitanorum*, while the smaller fort annexed to it may have been home to the *numerus*' soldiers (Planck and Beck 1987, 50-51; Baatz 2000, 228). The internal buildings of this annex are unknown: the excavations undertaken there revealed only a couple of skeletons and some weaponry, which is thought to indicate the abandonment of the fort somewhere in the middle of the third century AD (Neumaier 1991, 29; Baatz 2000, 229). It is also unknown whether the buildings in the annex were constructed of wood or stone. Another rather significant problem with the annex fort has to do with its location. It was positioned on the hill slope facing away from the frontier palisade. If there would be an attack, the soldiers in the fort would not have been able to see the attackers and the fort could easily have been overtaken by the enemies. In other words, it was a mistake to build the annex at this location (Neumaier 1991, 28; Baatz 2000, 229).

Personnel (in chronological order)

Commanding officers:

Veranius Saturninus: a centurion of the *legio VIII Augusta*, in charge of the unit ca AD 158 – 160, nos 17 and 18

²³⁶ Neckarburken had two forts: one, western, was occupied by the *cohors III Aquitanorum*, the second one – eastern, by our unit.

Subordinate officers:

Adventus: keeper of armoury, serving in the unit ca AD 150 – 200, no 16

Origin of personnel

Unidentifiable origin:

Adventus is thought to have served in this *numerus* unit because of the location of a votive altar²³⁷ he erected: it was found in the bath house of the Neckarburken fort, rebuilt by our unit (Reuter 1999, 447). The name of this soldier was not widespread: it occurs three times on inscriptions from the German provinces, twice in Italy and Hispania, and only once on the inscriptions recorded from Gallia Narbonensis and Aquitania (Mócsy 1983, 6; OPEL I 24).

The nomen of the centurion, Veranius, was limited to German-speaking provinces, while his cognomen was popular everywhere, especially in Celtic speaking areas (for Veranius see Mócsy 1983, 306; OPEL IV 156 prevalence in Belgica and both Germania; for Saturninus see Mócsy 1983, 255; OPEL IV 51-53; Minkova 2000, 247-248).

Archaeology

Both forts at Neckarburken are known, but have only been partially excavated: the west gates of the *numerus* fort have been conserved for the public; of the internal buildings the location of the principia is known (Baatz 2000, 205).

Both forts at Osterburken have been excavated on various occasions but only partially: the walls, towers and some intramural buildings are known from the cohort fort, while only the gates and walls of the *numerus* fort have been excavated and conserved (Planck and Beck 1987, 49-51; Neumaier 1991, 10-13, 28).

In the excavation report of the Neckarburken fort issued by the *Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* four bronze brooches were reported (Schumacher 1898, 29, nos 2-5), but none can be identified as British-made. In the finds from the fort at Osterburken, however, one brooch is more than likely a British-made of type T271 (Fabricus *et al.* 1931 – 1935, 234, no 48, taf. 24, no 48). Brooches of this type are usually dated to the third-fourth centuries, but the type itself is thought to originate long before the end of the third century (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 178, 205). The problem here is that this particular frontier of Germania Superior was given up ca AD 260 and the fort was abandoned around that time as well (Schönberger 1969, 176, 183; Neumaier 1991, 34; Planck 2005, 245). Therefore, the presence of the British-made object at Osterburken must be out of chronological context (for the detailed discussion on this and other brooches of the same type found in Germany see chapter 5, sections 5.1.1. and 5.1.6.).

²³⁷ The votive inscription was dedicated to the god Mars Exalbix, recorded on another inscription found during the excavation of the beneficiary station at Osterburken (*AE* 1985, 692 as Mars Exalbiovix). It is uncertain to what onomastic tradition the god's second name can be related. It may have derived from the Latin verb *exalbesco* meaning 'to become white, to turn pale'. A locally venerated goddess, recorded on the same inscription as Marx Exalbiovix, is Candida Regina, known from other monuments found in the region (*AE* 1985, 685, 695; *AE* 1978, 535). Her name can be loosely translated from the Latin as 'white/bright queen'. The worshipping of two gods with epithets to do with 'whiteness' in one particular region is noteworthy.

3.3.9. *Numerus Brittonum Gr(inarionensium)*

History

The only available epigraphic material on the existence of this *numerus* consists of three tile stamps found in Welzheim (no 19). The stamps were abbreviated either as NBGR or NBCR, thought to expand as *numerus Brittonum Gr(...)*.

It has been suggested that the epithet *Gr(...)* stood for the place name of the unit's fort. A possible location has been found in the name of a fort *Grinario*, contemporary Köngen (Southern 1989, 133; Reuter 1999, 449). Another interpretation suggests that the unit was named after the river Rems, which flows in the vicinity of the fort at Lorch, a military post considered to have been a unit's station in the late second century AD. The name of this river in Roman times started with the letters *Hr*, in Latin - *Gr* (Fabricus *et al.* 1933, 192, note 2).

It has been noted that the NBGR stamps were most likely made from the clay found near the fort at Lorch, although no chemical analysis of the stamps has been made in order to clarify this (Fabricus *et al.* 1933, 192, note 2; Reuter 1999, 449). Because the unit's name may have been derived from the fort's name *Grinario*, while the material of the tiles show they were produced in Lorch, it has been suggested that both forts were places where the unit was stationed, Köngen being the first, Lorch the second (Filtzinger *et al.* 1986, 372; Reuter 1999, 499; Baatz 2000, 211, 250). *Grinario*, moreover, was positioned on the Neckar limes, while Lorch was a fort on the outer limes: such a transfer of a *numerus* from one frontier to another, i.e. from Odenwald-Neckar to the outer limes, is recorded for other units stationed on both frontiers. The tiles with the NBGR stamp could have ended in Welzheim when the *numerus Brittonum Grinarionensium* participated in the construction of the tile ovens at Welzheim or in supplying building materials while stationed at Köngen.

Awards

None are known.

Forts

It is thought that this unit was first positioned at the fort Köngen on the Odenwald-Neckar limes and after at the fort Lorch on the outer limes. Yet Reuter (1999, 449) claims that there is not enough evidence to support the position of this unit at either forts. The main reason is that at neither fort have signs of a *numerus* fort been found: both Köngen and Lorch are of a size 2.4 ha, enough to garrison a cohort *quingenaria* (Baatz 2000, 211, 250), but not suitable for both a cohort of ca 500 men and a *numerus* of ca. 150. While south of the Köngen fort a small fortlet of 0.2 ha size have been discovered, it was most likely used for control, rather than for defence (Baatz 2000, 212). The absence of a *numerus* fort at Lorch can be explained through the nature of the region: erosion of the land north of the river Rems has contributed to the poor preservation of the fort buildings in the region (Bender and Thiel 2010, 124-125). The *numerus* fort at Lorch may simply not yet have been discovered, especially taking into account that stones of the cohort fort were taken to construct the nearby monastery.

Personnel

None have been recorded on inscriptions.

Archaeology

Köngen fort has been described in the report issued by the *Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* (Mettler 1907). In the next excavations conducted in the 20th century one British-made brooch was found but the exact findspot was not recorded (Luik 1996, 132,

taf. 37, no 11). This type, T162, was in use in the mid second century, which coincides with the presence of the *numerus Brittonum Grinarionensium* at Köngen.

Lorch fort had been located on the ground by the *Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* and in the 1960s the western gate was conserved (Steimle 1897; Planck and Beck 1987, 104-105). Small scale excavation followed in 1986/87, during which the locations of the inner buildings were established (Planck and Beck 1987, 104-105). At present most of the fort area lies beneath the city centre of Lorch.

3.3.10. *Numerus Brittonum L(unensium)*

History

The unit is recorded on tile stamps, abbreviated as NBL and expanded as *numerus Brittonum L(...)*, found at the tile ovens of a fort at Welzheim on the outer limes (no 20). Another *numerus Brittonum et exploratorum* has been recorded on a votive inscription found in a bath house of the *numerus* fort near Welzheim (no 21). It is usually thought that both tile stamps and the inscription record the same unit (Southern 1989, 133; Reuter 1999, 451). Dropping the epithet in a unit's name, when it was positioned on the outer limes, was a common practice (see *numeri Brittonum Cal(...)* and *Murrensium*) and may explain its absence on the votive monument.

This *numerus* may have been relocated from Odenwald-Neckar to the outer frontier, following *ala I Scubulorum*, known to have garrisoned Welzheim as well as the Bad Cannstatt fort on the Neckar limes (Reuter 1999, 452; Baatz 2000, 210).

As in the case of other British *numeri*, this unit's epithet probably derived from the name of a place or river in the vicinity of where it was stationed. The best candidate is the river Lein, which flows near the fort at Welzheim, although there is no record what this river was called in the Roman period (Fabricus *et al.* 1933, 192, note 3; Southern 1989, 133; Reuter 1999, 451-452)²³⁸.

The archaeological investigations of the fort Welzheim showed that the *numerus* fort was abandoned ca AD 200 (Reuter 1999, 452; Rabold *et al.* 2000, 94), which suggests that the unit was moved again some time in the third century. A good candidate is the fort at Niederbieber, where a *numerus Brittonum* was garrisoned from AD 193/194 onwards (Reuter 1999, 452).

Awards

None are known.

Forts

The unit was possibly stationed at two forts: the first one was on the Odenwald-Neckar frontier, probably Bad Cannstatt, the second the *numerus* fort near Welzheim on the outer limes.

Two follow-up forts are known from Bad Cannstatt, the first one – a wooden fort of 3.1 ha built before AD 90, the second one a stone fort of 3.7 ha built ca AD 120 (Baatz 2000, 210). No *numerus* forts have been identified in the vicinity, although the size of the main fort suggests that both *ala* and *numerus* were garrisoned together in one fort.

The *numerus* fort at Welzheim lies east of the cohort fort and had a size of 1.6 ha, suitable for accommodating a *numerus* and a unit of scouts (*exploratores*) (Fabricus *et al.* 1933, 190; Filtzinger *et al.* 1986, 613; Baatz 2000, 247).

²³⁸ Another candidate is the fort near Urspring, known as *Ad Lunam* in the Roman times, although it did not have a *numerus* fort and it was situated not on the Odenwald-Neckar or outer limes, but on the so called 'Alplimes' (Alpine frontier), running in the Schwabian Alps.

Personnel (in chronological order)

Commanding officers:

Marcus Octavius Severus: a centurion of the *legio VIII Augusta*, commanding officer of *numerus Brittonum et exploratorum*, serving in the unit ca AD 198 – 211 (ca AD 161 – 169 after Reuter 1999, 452), no 21

Origin of personnel

Unidentifiable origin: The origin of the centurion is hard to identify. His *gentilicium*, *nomen* and cognomen were widespread but limited to the Celtic-speaking areas (for Marcus see Mócsy 1983, 178; OPEL III 57; Minkova 2000, 66; for Octavius see Mócsy 1983, 206; OPEL III 110; Minkova 2000, 222; for Severus see Mócsy 1983, 264, OPEL IV 76-78; Minkova 2000, 252-253).

Archaeology

The fort at Bad Cannstatt, a district of the modern day city of Stuttgart, has been researched by the *Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* and no British-made finds have been identified (Barthel and Kapf 1907). Nowadays the fort has been completely overbuilt and is not visible on the ground (Baatz 2000, 211).

The Welzheim fort has been excavated on various occasions, with features such as gates, a wall and wells having been identified (Planck and Beck 1987, 92-98). The excavations at the *numerus* fort at Welzheim by the *Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* revealed 6 bronze and 9 iron items (Mettler and Schultz 1904, 14-15), none identified as British-made. The publications of the excavations of wells at the Welzheim forts do not discuss the bronze finds (Körper-Grohne *et al.* 1983; Filtzinger *et al.* 1986, 615; van Driel-Murray and Hartmann 1999). The recent excavation campaign in Welzheim concentrated on the western, i.e. *ala*, fort (Kortüm 2008).

3.3.11. *Numerus Brittonum Murrensium*

History

The *numerus* is recorded on one votive inscription recovered from the Odenwald-Neckar fort at Heilbronn-Böckingen and, probably, on one tile from the Öhringen bath house (nos 22 and 23).

Its epithet derives from the place name *vicani Murrenses* attested on the inscription found in the vicinity of the fort at Benningen, also positioned on the Odenwald-Neckar line (*CIL* XIII 6454). The word itself probably designated the name of the river which flows near both the vicus and Benningen fort: nowadays the river is called the Murr (Southern 1989, 134; Reuter 1999, 453). Therefore, the fort Heilbronn-Böckingen was the secondary garrison: the unit was first stationed at Benningen. This has rather interesting implications for the service of British *numeri* on the Upper German frontier: units were not only transferred from Odenwald-Neckar to the outer frontier, but were also shuffled from one fort to another on the Odenwald-Neckar limes.

The relocation from Benningen to Heilbronn-Böckingen occurred in the mid second century, when the new *cohors I Helvetiorum* was transferred to Upper Germany (Southern 1989, 134; Reuter 1999, 453). The *numerus Brittonum Murrensium* became this cohort's support unit: its place in Benningen was taken by *exploratores Boiorum et Tribocorum* (Southern 1989, 134; Reuter 1999, 453)

When the frontier was moved eastward ca AD 159 – 161, the unit followed its cohort to Öhringen. There it was amalgamated with another British *numerus*, the one with the

epithet starting with *Cal(...)*, and renamed as *numerus Brittonum Aurelianensium*. A sign of the merger is the service of the unit's commander as a centurion in charge in *numerus Brittonum Aurelianensium*: Caius Valerius Titus is attested as on an inscription of *Brittonum Murrensium*, as well as on inscriptions of *Brittonum Aurelianensium* (nos 9, 10 and 23)²³⁹.

Awards

None are known.

Forts

The unit was first stationed at Benningen, then at Heilbronn-Böckingen, both on the Odenwald-Neckar line, and finally at Öhringen, on the outer limes. It is uncertain whether the unit had its own forts on the Odenwald-Neckar frontier: forts suitable to accommodate a *numerus* have not been found near Benningen or Heilbronn-Böckingen (Filtzinger *et al.* 1986, 333; Baatz 2000, 209-210). At Öhringen, however, the unit was stationed at the so-called Rendel *numerus* fort.

Personnel (in chronological order)

Commanding officers:

Gaius Valerius Titus: a legionary centurion, in charge of the unit in AD 175 – 177, nos 9, 10 and 23

Subordinate officers:

Cassius Troianus: a centurion of a small division²⁴⁰, serving in the unit in the last quarter of the second century, no 22

Origin of personnel

For the discussion of the origin of the legionary centurion Gaius Valerius Titus, see *numerus Brittonum Aurelianensium*.

Unidentifiable origin: The name of the centurion Cassius Troianus may provide some clues as to his origin. His *nomen* Cassius, though derived from the Celtic element *cass-* and adopted by the Celtic-speaking population (Evans 1967, 167; Delamarre 2001, 93; Raybould and Sims-Williams 2009, 15, no 21), was popular and widespread everywhere (Mócsy 1983, 70; OPEL III 41). The cognomen Troianus, however, is rare and is recorded on one inscription from Germania Superior and on one from Britain (Nesselhauf 93 and RIB 2029 respectively). A person called Troianus (sic!) is also known from Rome (*CIL* VI 2754): his origin was stated as *Lucus Augusti*, either contemporary Luc-en-Diois in France or Lugo in Spain. Clearly the name Troian(i)us was relatively popular among the Celtic-speaking population.

Archaeology

The *Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* report on the excavation at the fort at Benningen does not contain any photos of the five bronze items found, one of which was a brooch (Mettler 1902, 11). According to the brooch's description, it was not a British type.

For the Heilbronn-Böckingen fort see *numerus Brittonum Cal(...)*

For the Öhringen fort see *numerus Brittonum Aurelianensium*

²³⁹ The inscription catalogued as number 23 records the unit's commander's initials and not his full name, i.e. *C[...]* *V[...]*. It is usually thought that *CV* stood for Caius Valerius [Titus] (Reuter 1999, 453).

²⁴⁰ Reuter (1999, 453-454) sees him as a centurion of a small division rather than of a whole unit, because the *numeri* were divided into *centuri* under the charge of centurions. If he would have been the unit's commander, he would have called himself *praepositus*.

3.3.12. *Numerus Brittonum Nemaningsium*

History

The unit is recorded on two inscriptions found near Aschaffenburg (nos 24 and 26) and one near the fort at Obernburg (no 25). All inscriptions have been dated to the last quarter of the second century, one have been made ca AD 178.

The unit's epithet, *Nemaningsium*, derives from the river name Mümling, a tributary of the Main, which flows between the Obernburg and Würth forts. From historical sources it is known that this river was called Mimelinga, Mimingum and Mimilingum in the ninth, eleventh and twelfth centuries respectively (Reuter 1999, 455; Steidl 2008, 97). Probably in Roman times the river was called *Nemaninga*, which was later transformed to Memaninga – Mimenga, etc.

It is usually thought that this unit was garrisoned at Obernburg, because this fort lies close to the place where the river Mümling flows into the Main and because of the findspot of the inscriptions. Yet archaeological research conducted in the area showed that Obernburg did not have a *numerus* fort and the cohort fort was only suitable for accommodating *cohors IV Aquitanorum*, which was stationed there (Reuter 1999, 455). It has been proposed that the unit was actually stationed at the fort at Würth, which lies 4.5 km north from Obernburg and the river Mümling (Reuter 1999, 456; Klee 2009, 182). Another indication that the unit might have been placed there is the findspot of inscription no 25: it was discovered on the right side of the river Main, just opposite Würth (*CIL* XIII 6622; Reuter 1999, 456); other altars built into a city wall of Aschaffenburg were most likely brought from Würth (Steidl 2008, 99). The dated inscription from Aschaffenburg places the unit in the region in the last quarter of the second century AD and this is probably when the unit appeared at Würth. This poses the question whether the unit was garrisoned somewhere else prior to the transfer. The Obernburg fort is still the best candidate, especially if one takes into account that a British-made brooch dated to Flavian period was discovered there (Steidl 2008, 162, no 163). It can be suggested therefore that the unit was first placed at Obernburg, being transferred to Würth sometime later.

Awards

None are known.

Forts

Two forts on the Main frontier are considered as having served as the unit's station: Obernburg and Würth. Obernburg may have been the first post, from where, probably in the mid second century, the unit was relocated to Würth (Schallmayer 2010, 70).

Obernburg had a size of 2.9 ha in its latest, stone, phase: when the fort was constructed is uncertain, but, possibly, it was first built in earth and timber by the members of our cohort at the same time as the fort at Würth was constructed. The fort was rebuilt in stone ca AD 144, at the same time that forts on the Odenwald-Neckar limes were enlarged and rebuilt in stone as well (Jae 2004, 98; Schallmayer 2010, 69).

Würth had a size of 0.8 ha, enough to accommodate two units, and certainly enough for a *numerus* and *exploratores* (Rabold *et al.* 2000, 69; Klee 2009, 182; Schallmayer 2010, 72, 74). Analysis of the inner buildings in the fort showed that it was built some time during the reign of Domitian in earth and timber, yet the precise dating of the fort's establishment is not yet available (Klee 2009, 182).

Personnel (in chronological order)

Commanding officers:

Titus Aurelius Firminus²⁴¹: a centurion of the *legio XXII Primigenia Pia Fidelis*; in charge of the unit ca AD 178, no 24

Quintus B(...)ius Br(...)us: a centurion of the *legio XXII Primigenia Pia Fidelis*; in charge of the unit in the mid/late second century AD, no 26

Subordinate officers:

Caius Ati(...) or Arrius Utilis²⁴²: the chief clerk, serving in the unit in the mid/late second century AD, no 25

Origin of personnel

Unidentifiable origin: The origins of the legionary centurions in charge of the unit remain uncertain: their names do not give any clue, because of their overall popularity (for Titus see Mócsy 1983, 291 with prevalence in Gallia and Germania; OPEL IV 125-126; for Aurelius see Mócsy 1983, 40; OPEL I 99-105; Minkova 2000, 120; for Firminus see Mócsy 1983, 126; OPEL II 142 with prevalence in the Danube region; Minkova 2000, 168 under Firmina; for Quintus see Mócsy 1983, 239 as cognomen; OPEL IV 20; Minkova 2000, 80).

The origin of the chief clerk is also uncertain. While it is usually thought that the cognomen Utilis has been recorded on only four inscriptions from the German provinces and Gallia Narbonensis (Mócsy 1983, 321; OPEL IV 188), the epigraphic database of Clauss and Slaby lists more than 22 inscriptions with this cognomen from all over Roman Empire, with significant prevalence in Spain and northern Italy (accessed on 09.08.2011).

Archaeology

The *Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* reports on the excavations at the forts of Wörth and Obernburg (Conrady 1900; Conrady 1903) do not contain pictures of the bronze finds recovered from the either fort's areas; neither are there descriptions of any brooches or other jewelery items that may have been found.

Recent analysis of the inner buildings at Wörth has helped to date the construction of the fort to the late Flavian period, i.e. ca AD 90, but which finds led to such a conclusion was not clarified (Rabold *et al.* 2000, 69; Klee 2009, 182; Schallmayer 2010, 72). In 2002 geophysical research was undertaken inside area of the fort, helping to establish the location of the major buildings, barracks and *fabrica* (Fassbinder and Lüdemann 2002; Steidl 2008, 98, abb. 85; Schallmayer 2010, 73, abb.).

The fort at Obernburg is no longer visible: it is covered by the modern city (Schallmayer 2010, 68). Small scale, and sometimes rescue, excavations were undertaken in various areas of the fort in 1985/86 and 2004; the station of *beneficiarii consularis* near the fort was also discovered during research in 1954 and excavated between the years 2000 and 2007 (Jae 2004; 2006; Steidl 2005; 2007; 2008, 109; Schallmayer 2010, 69). The finds from the excavations have not been published.

²⁴¹ This centurion is known from three other inscription found in Aschaffenburg (*CIL* XIII 6630, 6644 and 6645). Although they do not record the *numerus Brittonum et exploratores Nemaningsium*, Reuter (1999, 454-456) relates them to this unit, because of the centurion's service in it.

²⁴² There is no indication that this clerk served in the *numerus Brittonum et exploratores Nemaningsium*, but he did serve in a *numerus Brittonum*. Because of the inscription's findspot (Obernburg), it is usually thought that a *numerus Brittonum* had an epithet *Nemaningsium*, but that this was not recorded on the stone for some unknown reason.

In a publication discussing the Main frontier, a photo of a British-made brooch was provided, without an indication on the brooch's exact findspot and location, apart from mentioning that it was found in Obernburg (Steidl 2008, 162, no 163). The brooch's occurrence could be related to the presence of British *numeri* on the Odenwald-Neckar frontier at the beginning of the second century.

3.3.13. *Numerus Brittonum Triputiensium*

History

This *numerus* unit is recorded on eight inscriptions, the highest overall number of inscriptions mentioning British *numeri* (nos 27-34). Five of them were building inscriptions, found in the vicinity or direct proximity of watchtowers on the Odenwald line (nos 29-33). Two votive inscriptions were located in the region near the fort at Schlossau positioned on the Odenwald frontier (nos 27 and 28). The last inscription comes from the fort Miltenberg on the outer limes (no 34).

Some of these inscriptions can be precisely dated to AD 145/6, other to the period from AD 145 to 161. This neatly dates the appearance of the *numerus Brittonum Triputiensium* in Odenwald to AD 145 – 161. The occurrence of the inscription at Miltenberg indicates the relocation of the unit to the outer limes ca AD 159/161. The findspots of the monuments also indicate the position of the unit between the years AD 145 – 161. It is usually thought that the *numerus* was garrisoned at the Schlossau fort, while small detachments were patrolling the area between watchtowers nos 19-35 and were probably positioned in the small *numeri* forts of Hesselbach, Würzburg and Eulbach (Southern 1989, 134; Reuter 1999, 458). That the unit was able to supply soldiers to patrol the area and to provide enough manpower for the watchtowers and fortlets, can be seen as an indication that it was not of the size of a normal *numerus*, i.e. 150 men, but must have had ca 1000 soldiers²⁴³.

It is noteworthy that the *numerus'* epithet *Triputiensium* has not been touched upon in any of the discussions of this unit. This epithet may have been a combination of the two Latin words *tres* and *puteus*, meaning 'three' and 'well', in which case the epithet could be loosely translated as 'three wells'. Of the geographic names found in the region the name of one particular city stands out: Vielbrunn, which can be translated from the German as 'many wells' (*viel brunnen*). This city lies in between two forts, Hainhaus and Eulbach, the precise area where *numerus Brittonum Triputiensium* was operating. The element *brunn-* has survived in the names of a village called Brunthal and a valley of the same name, near Vielbrunn. A tile stamp with an abbreviation TRP, considered to stand for *Tr(i)p(utiensium)* was located in Vielbrunn, in a grave (*CIL* XIII 6519): it had probably been brought there from one of the forts on the Odenwald-Neckar frontier. The unit was therefore probably named after a geographic feature of the *numerus* fort, i.e. near (natural?) wells, since there are no rivers which flow in direct proximity to the forts situated on Odenwald line from Hainhaus until Schlossau. This leads to the suggestion that the main fort of the unit was situated somewhere on the line between or at Hainhaus or Eulbach rather than at Schlossau.

Around AD 159/161 the unit may have been moved to the outer limes fort Miltenberg: there, an inscription recording a certain *exploratores Triputiensium* was found (no 34); also the *cohors I Sequanorum et Rauracorum*, to which our *numerus* provided support, and which was stationed in Oberscheidental, was transferred to the cohort's fort at Miltenberg (Schallmayer 2010, 46). The absence of the name *numerus Brittonum* in this unit's title might signify the dissolution or shrinking in size of the unit

²⁴³ The fort at Hesselbach was able to accommodate ca 160 people at one time (Reuter 1999, 459, note 508).

(Reuter 1999, 460), although another scenario can be proposed. When the frontier was moved to outer limes, the main unit with the epithet *Tripitiensium* could have been relocated to the new fort Miltenberg from Hainhaus/Eulbach, while the smaller units stationed on the line Hesselbach-Schlossau were transferred to Walldürn and other fortlets between Miltenberg and Walldürn, where we encounter *Brittones gentiles et? officiales Brittones dediticiorum Alexandrianorum* (no 8). This would have been logical, since the cohorts and their auxiliary *numeri* were transferred to outer limes forts, which lay exactly 25 km east of their forts on the Odenwald-Neckar frontier. So *cohors XXIV Voluntariorum* was relocated from the fort Benningen to Murrhardt; *cohors I Helvetiorum* with *numerus Brittonum Murrensium* from Heilbronn-Böckingen to Öhringen; *cohors III Aquitanorum* with *numerus Brittonum Elantiensium* from Neckarburken to Osterburken (for the full list see Schallmayer 2010, 26). Miltenberg on the outer limes lies exactly 25 km east of the Eulbach fort, while Schlossau is exactly 25 km from Walldürn.

Awards

None are known.

Forts

The unit of ca 1000 men was possibly divided into small detachments, which were positioned on the Odenwald-Neckar line starting at the fort at Hainhaus and ending at Schlossau. The main fort may have lain in the region of the forts of Hainhaus and Eulbach, as proposed above.

All five *numeri* forts on the line are 0.5 – 0.6 ha in size, while the two fortlets are of 0.2 ha (Klee 2009, 188-199; Schallmayer 2010, 85-119), suitable for accommodating ca 960²⁴⁴ men between them at a time.

After AD 159/161 the unit may have been dissolved or divided, where one part, renamed as *exploratores Tripitiensium*, went to Miltenberg, and another, under the name *Brittones gentiles et? officiales Brittones dediticiorum Alexandrianorum*, went to Walldürn.

There are two forts located in Miltenberg: cohort and *numerus*, although the latter fort was a station of the *numerus exploratorum Seiopensium* (Planck and Beck 1987, 38-40; Rabold *et al.* 2000, 72). The *exploratores Tripitiensium* were probably stationed in the cohort fort, whose size of 2.72 ha allowed the garrison of *cohors quingenaria* and scouting unit of ca 80 men (Rabold *et al.* 2000, 72). The earliest excavators of Miltenberg noticed the ditches on the shore of the river Mudau, just next to Miltenberg, and identified them as a possible third fort (Leonhard 1911, 34). The terrain was suitable for the smaller fort which was probably destroyed by the construction of a bridge for a train-line in the late 1890s (Leonhard 1911, 34). Contemporary scholars identify these ditches as part of the vicus and bath house area (Rabold *et al.* 2000, 71; Baatz 2000, 216).

For the fort at Walldürn see *numerus Brittonum* at Walldürn.

Personnel (in chronological order)

Commanding officers:

Titus Manius Magnus: a centurion of the *legio XXII Primigenia Pia Fidelis*, in charge of the unit ca AD 145 – 161, no 27

Marcus Ulpius Malchus: a centurion of the *legio XXII Primigenia Pia Fidelis*, in charge of the unit ca AD 145 – 161, no 28

²⁴⁴ Forts of ca 0.5 – 0.6 ha can be used by 160 men at a time, while fortlets can house ca 80 men.

Subordinate officers:

Marcus Aelius Titus: a scribe, serving in the unit after AD 161; no 34

Origin of personnel

Known origin:

A centurion Titus Manius Magnus indicated his origin as the city *Sinope*, contemporary Sinop on the Black Sea coast in Turkey.

Origin based on prosopographical and onomastic analysis:

Marcus Ulpius Malchus: the cognomen of this centurion is suggestive of Syrian ancestry (Reuter 1999, 460, note 513), yet names spelled as Malchianus, Malchias and even Malchus were present in Pannonia and Dacia (Mócsy 1983, 175).

Unidentifiable origin: The origin of the clerk is uncertain: his *gentilicium*, *nomen* and cognomen are well represented in all provinces of the Roman Empire (for Marcus see Mócsy 1983, 178; OPEL III 57; Minkova 2000, 66; for Aelius see Mócsy 1983, 6; OPEL I 26-28; Minkova 2000, 18-20; for Titus - Mócsy 1983, 291; OPEL IV 125-126; Minkova 2000, 265).

Table 3.64 Origin of soldiers in the *numerus Brittonum Triputiensium*: total summary

Origin	Numbers
Pontus et Bithynia: City <i>Sinope</i>	1
Syria?	1
Unknown	1
	Total: 3

Archaeology

Not all forts on the Odenwald-Neckar line from Hainhaus to Schlossau have been excavated, while all of them were observed and noted by the *Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* (Kofler 1897 for Hainhaus; Kofler 1896a for Eulbach; Kofler 1896b for Würzberg; Kofler 1896c, Baatz 1973 for Hesselbach; Schumacher 1900 for Schlossau; Fabricus *et al.* 1935; Klee 2009, 188-199; Schallmayer 2010, 85-119). The ruins of the forts at Eulbach and Würzberg have been reassembled and reconstructed to become part of an open-air museum: now there is a park, with various buildings and Roman-style monuments (Göldner 2001; Schallmayer 2010, 90-93). Hainhaus, Würzberg and Schlossau have been surveyed by laser scanning to establish the position of their inner buildings (Schallmayer 2010, 86, 97 and 116 respectively, *abb.*).

One of the best excavated *numerus* forts on the limes is the fort at Hesselbach (Baatz 1973). Excavations have helped to establish various phases of the fort's construction (there were three in total), the inner and outer buildings, walls and ditches, and gates. During this research a British-made brooch, of the 'Polden Hill' type was found, which is thought to signify the presence of British *numeri* on the Odenwald-Neckar frontier in the early second century AD (Frere 1974, 495).

In the excavations at the fort at Schlossau by the *Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* one bronze and one iron find, an armband and knife respectively, were found (Schumacher 1900, 6). Since 2003 large scale excavations have been undertaken in the vicus of the fort (Rabold 2006; Schallmayer 2010, 116).

In the fort at Miltenberg, excavated by the *Römisch-Germanischen Kommission*, 15 bronze finds have been recorded, out of which six were identified as brooches (Leonhard 1911, 43, nos 1-6). None were identified as British-made. The publication, following the

excavations in 1970 – 1976 and 1990, records 10 brooches, of which none can be identified as British-made (Beckmann 2004, 182-183).

For the Walldürn fort see *numerus Brittonum* at Walldürn

3.3.14. *Numerus pedites singulares Britannicorum*

History

The unit is recorded on ten military diplomas dated from AD 103/106 until 179, and on eight inscriptions dated from AD 186 until 245 (nos 35-52). The military diplomas show that between the years AD 103/106 – 103/107 the unit formed part of the army of Moesia Superior, probably fulfilling the role of the support troop (nos 35 and 36; Petolescu 1997, 123; Matei-Popescu and Tentea 2006, 129, 131, tab. 1); between the years AD 110 – 114 it formed the garrison of the undivided Dacia (nos 37-41), from AD 123 onwards it served in Dacia Superior (nos 42-44; Petolescu 1997, 123; Matei-Popescu and Tentea 2006, 133, tab. 2). The inscriptions indicate the presence of the unit in Dacia Superior in the third century (nos 35-52).

The unit was possibly relocated to Moesia Superior to take part in the Dacian Wars (Matei-Popescu and Tentea 2006, 140); where it was garrisoned prior to this is uncertain, but Britain has been proposed (Beneš (1970, 202).

It has been considered that it may have been part of the *vexillatio Britannica* raised by Trajan, specially for his first Dacia war (Strobel 1984, 99-102, esp. 101, note 13; Matei-Popescu and Tentea 2006, 140). This *vexillatio Britannica* was formed from three legionary detachments of British legions and various auxiliaries; *pedites singulares Britannicorum* were then ‘elite infantry unit’ raised at the same time as the *vexillatio* to fulfill the role of the support and convoy unit for the commander of the British expeditionary force (Davies 1976, 143; Strobel 1984, 100-101, note 13; 148). Yet the unit may already have been in existence by AD 78 – 82, since it was discharging soldiers in AD 103 – 107 (nos 35 and 36). In this sense, the establishment of this elite unit from Britain can be connected to the abandonment of the Scottish Highlands by the Roman army and to the systematic withdrawal from the region of southern Scotland in the late first century AD, especially the withdrawal of a legion in AD 85 (Strobel 1984, 101-102, note 13)²⁴⁵. However, because the unit might have been a detachment formed from the drafts of auxiliary units, its soldiers may have been enrolled to other units prior to their transfer to the *pedites singulares Britannicorum*. This means that the soldiers discharged ca AD 103 – 107 may have started their military careers in other troops and have been relocated to our unit upon its formation. The establishment of the British elite infantry falls therefore not between AD 78 – 82, but probably later.

It is noteworthy that *pedites singulares Britannicorum* appeared on the Danube at the same time as British units on the German frontier, i.e. the early second century AD. Probably the foundation of units, which later became custodians of the German and Dacian frontier, is connected.

The name of the unit is recorded differently on military diplomas than on the inscriptions.

²⁴⁵ Another theory was proposed by E. Birley (1953, 20-22), who connected the transfer of troops from Britain with Sallustius Lucullus’ execution, described by Suetonius (*Domitian* 10.3). See *contra* arguments of Strobel (1984, 148, note 15).

Table 3.65 Naming of the *numerus pedites singulares Britannicorum* on diplomas and inscriptions, divided chronologically

AD 103/106 – 110	AD 113/114 – 123	AD 157	AD 179	AD 186	AD 208 onwards
Pedites singulares Britanniciani	pedites Britanniciani	Pedites singul Britannic	vexillatio(!) peditum singular Britannicianorum	n(umeri) Brit(tonum)	Numeri peditum singularium Britannicorum or as numerus singulares Britannicorum

As can be seen from the table, there was a general shift in the naming pattern between the years AD 179 and AD 186, when the unit started to be called *vexillatio* (detachment) and then later *numerus*. This is usually thought to signify a reduction in the unit's size and has been detected in other units stationed in Dacia (Piso *et al.* 2002 – 2003, 198, esp. note 22 *contra* Birley E. 1953, 20-22; Davies 1976, 143).

Table 3.66 Position of *numerus pedites singulares Britannicorum*

Flavian dynasty	Dacian Wars	Early second century	Late second century	Third century
Britain?	Moesia Superior (AD 103/106 – 103/107)	Dacia (ca AD 110 – 114) Dacia Superior (AD 123 – 245)	Dacia Superior (AD 123 – 245)	Dacia Superior (AD 123 – 245)

Awards

Antoninianus – this title was probably granted to the unit: the part of the inscription where it may have been recorded was too severely damaged to allow any form of reconstruction. Piso *et al.* (2002 – 2003, 200) argue that because the commander in charge of the unit was also a centurion in the *legio XIII Gemina* granted with the title *Antoninianus*, the *numerus* may have been awarded with it as well.

Philippianus – the title was awarded by the Emperor Philip the Arab for some unknown deeds.

Forts

The whereabouts of the unit in Moesia Superior is unknown, yet Beneš (1970, 202) places it near *Viminacium*, Kostolac in Serbia.

In Dacia Superior the unit was garrisoned at *Germisara*, the modern city of Cigmău in Romania. It is not only attested there through various inscriptions but also on numerous tile stamps abbreviated as NB, NSB, NPS, SPB (*CIL* III 1633, 14a, 14b; 8076, 32c, 32d, 32e, 32f; Petolescu 1997, 123; Pescaru *et al.* 2001). The unit shared this fort with another unit, probably a support unit of *legio XIII Gemina*: the fort's size, 2.2 ha, would have allowed two units to be stationed together (Pescaru *et al.* 2001, 88). When the unit arrived there is uncertain, but it was already there by AD 186 (no 45).

Personnel (in chronological order)

Commanding officers:

Titus Fabius Aquileiensus: a legionary centurion, in charge of the unit ca AD 208, nos 46-47

Caius Valerius Valentinus: a legionary centurion of the *legio XIII Gemina*, in charge of the unit ca 212 – 217, no 48

Ulpus Maximinus: a centurion of the *legio V Macedonica Gordiana*, in charge of the unit ca AD 238 – 244, no 49

Subordinate officers:

Publius Aelius Marcellinus: a standard bearer and a questor, serving in the unit ca AD 186, no 45

Marcus Aurelius Calpurnianus: a centurion; serving in the unit in the third century, no 51

Ignotus: a soldier (?), serving in the unit in the third century, no 52

Origin of personnel

Known origin: Titus Fabius Aquileiensus was a son of a certain Titus Fabius Ibliomarus, a Treveran by birth, serving as a *decurio canabis* of the legionary fortress *Apulum*, Alba Iulia in Romania (*CIL* III 1214). His funerary monument was set up by his children, Pulcher, Romana and the commander of the *numerus pedites singulares Britannicorum* Aquileiensus. Aquileiensus was probably born in Dacia, but he was a second generation emigrant.

Questionable origin: Caius Valerius Valentinus may have hailed from *Sarmizegetusa* or *Apulum*, both in Romania, where “numerous C. Valerii of the aristocratic rank” are known (Piso *et al.* 2002 – 2003, 200).

Unidentifiable origin:

Ulpus Maximinus’ *nomen gentilicium* was especially widespread after the reign of Trajan in the Danube provinces (Mócsy 1983, 317; OPEL IV 179-181; Minkova 2000, 91); his cognomen was common, especially in Celtic-speaking areas (Mócsy 1983, 183; OPEL III 69-70; Minkova 2000, 209).

The cognomen of Marcellinus was quite popular in the Danube provinces (Mócsy 1983, 178; OPEL III 53-54; Minkova 2000, 202)

Marcus Aurelius Calpurnianus family was probably granted citizenship during the reign of Marcus Aurelius for his participation in the Marcomannic wars. His cognomen was popular everywhere, with a slight prevalence in the region of Dalmatia (Mócsy 1983, 62; OPEL II 25). A certain Marcus Aurelius Calpurnianus was recorded on a funerary monument in Aquino, Italy (*CIL* X 5443); although there is not enough evidence to suggest that this person and the centurion of the *numerus pedites singulares Britannicorum* are identical.

The origin of *Ignotus* cannot be identified.

Table 3.67 Origin of soldiers in the *numerus pedites singulares Britannicorum*: total summary

Origin	Numbers
Dacia	2
Unknown	4
	Total: 6

Archaeology

The fort of *Germisara* has been systematically excavated since 2000. The excavations have mostly concentrated on the location of the internal buildings, especially *principia* and *horreum*, gates and corner towers (Pescaru *et al.* 2001, Pescaru and Pescaru 2003, 2004, 2006, 2007 and 2008). The brief excavation reports mentioned the finds located on the site, yet their description is rather generalised (Pescaru *et al.* 2001: “in general the material is fragmented and consists of regular ceramics, fragments of *tegulae* with the inscription NSB, fragments of glass, bronze coins, nails and cramp irons, hinges and keys, etc.”).

3.3.15. General conclusions

3.3.15.1. Origin

The origins of the British *numeri* stationed in Germany can be traced to ca AD 110/115 by the evidence of archaeology²⁴⁶ and to ca AD 145/146 by the evidence of epigraphy. For British *numeri* in Germania Superior both dates coincide with the (re)construction of the frontier section Odenwald-Neckar: the earth-and-timber forts were raised ca AD 110/115 and reconstructed in stone ca AD 145/146 (Klee 2009, 25; Schallmayer 2010, 25). The forts known to have been garrisoned by *numeri Brittonum* in the mid second century might have also been posts for British units ca AD 110/115: the most obvious examples are the forts at Hesselbach and Obernburg.

The *pedites singulares Britannicorum*, future *numerus*, were present on the Continent prior to the start of Dacian Wars of Trajan, i.e. ca AD 100 or slightly earlier.

While there is chronological gap of 10 years between the occurrence of British units in Dacia and Germania Superior, it is more than likely that their establishment is connected.

Various *vexillatio Britannica* are known to have been present on the Continent at the start of the second century: one in Germania Superior for participation in the Chattian Wars, AD 83 – 85 (Schönberger 1969, 158; Oldenstein-Pferdehirt 1983, 311; Birley A. 2005, 282); another one in Dacia, ca AD 100 (Strobel 1984, 99-102); a third one in Nijmegen, ca AD 104 (Bogaers 1965 – 1966; Swan 2009b, 83-84). All were raised as detachments of the legions and auxiliary units stationed in Britain: the detachment fought in the Chattian Wars is thought to have been composed from *legio IX Hispana* (Schönberger 1969, 158; Oldenstein-Pferdehirt 1983, 311; Birley A. 2005, 282); the Dacian from *legiones II Augusta, XX Valeria Victrix* and *IX Hispana* (Strobel 1984, 100), the Nijmegen detachment from *legio IX Hispana* (Haalebos 2000b, 26-28).

It has already been pointed out that *pedites singulares Britannicorum* was a support unit for a commander of the legionary detachment drawn from Britain to Dacia before the start of the Dacian Wars (Strobel 1984, 100-101, note 13; 148). Following this line of argument it can be suggested that other *vexillatio Britannica* may have been similar units, drafted especially to be guardians for a detachment's commander. It is noteworthy that in the mid second century the *pedites singulares Britannicorum*, as well as other non-regular troops²⁴⁷, were given the title of *numerus*, at the same time when British units on Odenwald-Neckar frontier were recorded on inscriptions as *numeri*. This division of the legionary, auxiliary and *numeri* units in the Imperial army was probably a measure of Antoninus Pius, or Hadrian at the earliest (Reuter 1999, 423). Before that units known as ‘*numeri*’ probably did not have an ‘official’ name, or even an ethnic identification; instead, other terms might have been used. It should also be taken into

²⁴⁶ The construction of the forts and the occurrence of two Colchester derivative brooches at Hesselbach and Obernburg.

²⁴⁷ Cf. Piso *et al.* (2002 – 2003, 198, esp. note 22): “*Palmyreni sagittarii – vexillationes Palmyrenorum – numeri Palmyrenorum; equites Illyrici – vexillatio equitum Illyricorum – numerus equitum Illyricorum*”.

consideration that no inscriptions have survived for the period AD 110/115 – 145/146 from the Odenwald-Neckar section. It is thus impossible to know what the units with British contingent were called then. Yet the service of *pedites singulares Britannicorum* in Dacia may provide a clue.

Singulares in the strict sense of the term were guards of high ranking persons, be they governors of a province (*equites et pedites singulares*) or the Emperor himself (*equites singulares Augusti*). On some occasions, especially in Roman Britain, *singulares* “were posted to forts in frontier areas or key road-posts [and] were concerned primarily with ensuring that lines of communication and supply-routes were supervised and secure” (Davies 1976, 138). *Singulares* in Britain may have also been involved in carrying messages between provincial governors as well as from *beneficarii* stations to a governor (Davies 1976, 138-139). The main task of the *beneficarii* was to supervise the frontier crossing and their stations were usually positioned on major road-junctions. Such involvement of *singulares* has only been detected in Britain, although there are similar examples found on the Continent (Davies 1976, 140).

The fact that *pedites singulares Britannicorum* were an elite and support force for the *vexillatio Britannica* in Dacia may help to solve the problem of the foundation of the future *numeri Brittonum* in Germania Superior. The best explanation is that originally the *vexillatio Britannica* that took part in the Chattian Wars had a support unit which later was sent to provide supervision on frontier lines. The connection of the eastern Wetterau limes with that on the Main and down to the Odenwald-Neckar line was strategically important: forts, fortlets and towers built there enabled the patrolling of the region and the control of movement of personnel between Upper Germany and Raetia (Klee 2009, 25). Archaeological finds on the Wetterau-Taunus frontier, the first frontier line to be constructed after the Chattian Wars, show that a small contingent of British-borns was positioned at two forts, Saalburg and Zugmantel, ca AD 85 – 90²⁴⁸. The occurrence of two British-made brooches at the forts in the Odenwald–Neckar region points to the possibility that once the service of British contingent was no longer needed on the Taunus frontier, the soldiers were redeployed to construct the new section of Roman frontier that connected the forts on the Main with the Raetian ones. Needless to say, once the forts on the Odenwald-Neckar frontier had been built, the units’ main function may have been the provision of communication between *beneficarii* posts and provincial governors, and policing work. That the former may have constituted the primary job of the *numeri* servicemen is revealed by the examples of two centurions of the *numeri Brittonum*, who erected votive altars in the provincial capital of Germania Inferior (no 1) and the capital of the local *civitas* (no 13). It is noteworthy that *beneficarii* stations are known at Obernburg and Stockstadt on Main limes and Miltenberg and Osterburken on the outer limes in the mid second century (Steidl 2008, 111). The former may have been posts for the *numeri Brittonum et exploratores Nemaningenses* and *C/Gurvedensium*, the latter for the *numeri Brittonum et exploratores Triputiensium* and *Elantiensium*.

The theory outlined here suggests therefore that the future *numeri Brittonum* were part of a *vexillatio Britannica* known from the Chattian Wars (cf. table 3.68) and may have had a similar role to the *pedites singulares Britannicorum* known in Dacia.

²⁴⁸ This will be further discussed in chapter 5, section 5.12.

Table 3.68 Timeline of the presence of British units in Germania Superior prior to AD 145/146

AD 83 – 85	Participation of <i>vexillatio Britannica</i> in the Chattian Wars; this detachment may have had a unit whose main task was to provide a convoy and to protect a detachment's commander
AD 85 – 90	<i>Vexillatio Britannica</i> left Germania Superior; a part of it stayed and participated in the construction of two forts on Taunus frontier
AD 90 – 110/115	British units' participation in construction of forts on the Main and Odenwald-Neckar lines; after the forts were constructed, its main task had to do with communications and police work

As the *pedites singulares Britannicorum* were probably of *milliaria* size²⁴⁹, i.e. 1000 men, the detachment of *vexillatio Britannica* in Germania Superior might also be having 1000 men in charge. If we were to calculate how many recruits served in British *numeri* on the Odenwald-Neckar limes, we would arrive at the figure of ca 2000 recruits²⁵⁰. However, we also need to take into account that local recruitment was practiced as well, which suggests that only half of this number would have been needed.

3.3.15.2. Naming pattern

The origin and development of the term *Brittonum* has already been discussed section 3.2.16.1 of this chapter²⁵¹.

The nomenclature of British units stationed in Germania Superior falls into the three categories: a series named after the rivers which flow near the post or geographical features (five examples and one questionable); a series named after the *vici* near the forts or forts themselves (three examples); a series probably named after the units' original recruits (two questionable examples).

²⁴⁹ It has usually been thought that the unit had 500 men, since on military diplomas the unit is listed after the quingenary cohorts (Davies 1976, 140; Strobel 1984, 149). The recent find of two inscriptions recording tribunes of this unit (nos 47 and 48) suggest that the unit was of 1000 men size (Piso *et al.* 2002 – 2003, 198).

²⁵⁰ The calculation is based on the assumption that, on average, a *numerus* unit consisted of 150 men, with the exception of *numerus Brittonum Triputiensium* which probably had 1000 men in service. The number of *numeri* units established before the mid-second century is 7: *Cal(...)*, *Gurvedensium*, *Elantiensium*, *Grinarionensium*, *Lunensium*, *Murrensium*, *Nemaningensium*. 150 x 7 is 1050 plus 1000 men from *Triputiensium* makes 2050 men.

²⁵¹ The conclusion in a nutshell: the term was most often applied to units established after AD 70 – 75 and signified units raised directly from the British population.

Table 3.69 The nomenclature of the *numeri Brittonum*

Units' names	Epithets' origins
<i>numerus Brittonum Aurelianensium</i>	After vicus <i>Aurelianus</i> near the fort Öhringen
<i>numerus Brittonum Cal(...)</i>	After unit's original recruits: <i>Caledones</i> ?
<i>numerus Brittonum C/Gurvedensium</i>	After the river Gersprenz near the fort at Stockstadt? or after the unit's original recruits: <i>Carvetii</i> ?
<i>numerus Brittonum Elantiensium</i>	After the river Elzbach (Elz) near the fort at Neckarburken
<i>numerus Brittonum Gr(inarionensium)</i>	After the fort's name <i>Grinario</i> (Köngen)
<i>numerus Brittonum L(unensium)</i>	After the river Lein, near the fort at Welzheim
<i>numerus Brittonum Murrensium</i>	After the vicus <i>Murrenses</i> and river Murr near the fort at Benningen
<i>numerus Brittonum Nemaningensium</i>	After the river Mümling between the forts at Obernburg and Wörth
<i>numerus Brittonum Triputiensium</i>	Loosely translated from Latin as 'three wells', probably a geographical feature near the forts at Hainhaus and Eulbach

It is worth noting that the majority of the *numeri Brittonum* was positioned near rivers and their tributaries, after which the troops were named. The *pedites singulares Britannicorum* were also stationed near the important spa and religious centre at *Germisara* (Oltean 2007, 154, fig. 5.25; 219). Rivers were important routes of transportation, lines of communication and supply rather than simply being natural frontiers (Whittaker 1997, 56). The positioning of small mobile infantry²⁵² units near such lines would have been suitable for guarding rivers and supervising the transportation of goods in and out the Roman Empire.

3.3.15.3. History and forts of the *numeri Brittonum* in Germania Superior²⁵³

The chronological development of the British *numeri* and the development of the Odenwald-Neckar and outer limes went hand in hand: 1) ca AD 110/115 the construction of the first earth and timber forts; 2) the reign of Hadrian – building of the palisade, widening and rebuilding of the forts; 3) ca AD 145 – 146 reconstruction of earth and timber forts, fortlets and towers in stone; 4) ca AD 159/161 advancement of the frontier and construction of the forts, fortlets and towers on the outer limes (Batz 2000, 180; Klee 2009, 25-27; Schallmayer 2010, 25-27, 35-36). *Numeri Brittonum* were present in all phases.

While the first phase has already been discussed (see above, section 3.3.15.1), it seems reasonable to pay attention here to the other phases.

It has been generally accepted that in the third and fourth phases the units were relocated from their posts on Odenwald-Neckar frontier to the outer limes. At least three British units, however, are known to have been relocated before that. During the second phase, i.e. the reign of Hadrian, there is evidence of their transfer from one fort to another on the Odenwald-Neckar and Main frontiers: *numerus Brittonum Cal(...)* may have been relocated from a small fort near Walheim to Heilbronn-Böckingen; *numerus Brittonum Murrensium* was transferred from Benningen to Heilbronn-Böckingen; *numerus Brittonum Nemaningensium* from Obernburg to Wörth. It is uncertain whether such shuffling of units was a one time event applied to particular troops, or if this also happened with other units. That the latter may have been the case is seen in the example of *numerus Brittonum Triputiensium*. This unit may have primarily been stationed at the fort at either Hainhaus or Eulbach, while in the later period it was probably divided: one

²⁵² All British *numeri* were infantry: a Dacian unit is called '*pedites*' and the commanders of the units in Germania Superior were all centurions.

²⁵³ The history and location of *pedites singulares Britannicorum* in Dacia is self explanatory.

part may have been moved to Schlossau, where, as usually thought, it was positioned until AD 159/161. In general, it is proposed here that prior to the movement of the frontier to the outer limes units stationed on the Odenwald-Neckar had already changed their positions once. When their locations were recorded by the means of the epigraphy in ca AD 145 – 146, these were already their secondary posts.

Table 3.70 Locations on the *numeri Brittonum*²⁵⁴ in the first and second phases

Units' names	Primary location	Secondary location
<i>numerus Brittonum Cal(...)</i>	a small fort near Walheim	Heilbronn-Böckingen
<i>numerus Brittonum C/Gurvedensium</i>	Stockstadt on the Main limes	Unknown fort on Odenwald-Neckar limes
<i>numerus Brittonum Elantiensium</i>	Unknown	Neckarburken
<i>numerus Brittonum Gr(inarionensium)</i>	Köngen?	Köngen
<i>numerus Brittonum L(unensium)</i>	Unknown fort on Odenwald-Neckar limes	Bad Cannstatt ?
<i>numerus Brittonum Murrensium</i>	Benningen	Heilbronn-Böckingen
<i>numerus Brittonum Nemaningensium</i>	Obernburg	Wörth
<i>numerus Brittonum Triputiensium</i>	Hainhaus or Eulbach	Schlossau

If we are to agree that the first British units arrived at the Odenwald-Neckar frontier ca AD 110/115, it is highly unlikely that some 45 years later, i.e. during the third phase, it would have been remembered that the original members came from Britain and that a decision was then made to name the units after them. The units probably contained soldiers of mixed origins: locals and the offspring of the initial British recruits. They would therefore have been named after the peoples living along this stretch of the frontier or after the geographical features in the vicinity of the forts. However, the decision was made to name them 'British'. Moreover, after one of these very units had been relocated to the newly built stretch, the so-called outer frontier running from the fort at Trennfurt to Welzheim, in ca AD 162, it lost its 'ethnic' name *Brittonum* and shrank in size: *numerus Brittonum Triputiensium* became *exploratores Triputiensium*. This, though a single example, shows the 'ethnic' label of a *numerus* unit does not survive for less than 20 years after the unit's establishment.

In the introduction to this section it was indicated that the second recruitment phase to British *numeri* units fell in the period after the campaigns of Lollius Urbicus in southern Scotland in ca AD 141 – 142 (Southern 1989, 95; Reuter 1999, 385). Yet it has long been disputed if there was indeed an overseas transfer of the troubled population inhabiting this region. The occurrence of two British brooches of the mid-second century date at the forts at Köngen and Stockstadt lends some credence to the idea of the second recruitment phase from Britain to the limes of Germania Superior. Clearly, not everyone would agree with this hypothesis, considering that only two British brooches were recorded from the limes. It must be noted here that British archaeologists disagree with the idea that some peoples who inhabited southern Scotland at that time were relocated to the Continent between AD 142 and 145 (Dobson and Breeze 2000, 94). The excavations and extensive surveys have shown "the existence of a substantial population in the area between Hadrian's and the Antonine walls at this time" (Dobson and Breeze 2000, 94). On the basis of this, it was concluded that "the barbarians stayed at home",

²⁵⁴ The units recorded in this table are the only ones known to have been in existence by AD 145 – 146; for that reason units at Cologne-Deutz, Niederbibier, Walldürn and *numerus Brittonum Aurelianensium* were excluded.

because “it is impossible that entire tribes of barbarians were transported to the Continent” and “the population in the second century was increasing” (Dobson and Breeze 2000, 94). However, if we were to calculate how many recruits would have been needed, we would arrive at the figure of ca 2000 recruits. Local recruitment might have been practiced as well, which suggests that only half of this number would have been needed, although we need to take into account that families might have been relocated rather than single recruits. In the end we would still arrive at a figure of ca 2000 people (one partner or a family member and one soldier). It has been suggested that the population of southern and northern Scotland in Roman times would have been ca 1 million (Hingley 2004, 330). Hence, only ca 1.5 percent of the total population would have been transferred, which can hardly be visible in the archaeological record. Similar ‘invisible’ mass relocation of a population, this time to Britain itself, can be proposed: after the Marcomannic wars, AD 166 – 180, Antoninus Pius ordered 5000 Iazyges to be sent over to Britain in ca AD 175 (Dio 71.16.2; Kerr 1995, 203). The epigraphic record only evidences for the existence of two auxiliary units, the *ala Sarmatarum* (RIB 594, 595) and the *numerus equitum Sarmatarum* (RIB 583; Jarrett 1994, 43), in total ca 1500 people. In the archaeological record, i.e. from excavations on Hadrian’s Wall and the Antonine Wall, where these recruits were sent, there is no indication of the presence of 5000 foreigners (Tony Wilmott, pers. comment). If the presence of 5000 people cannot be traced, then the absence of a mere 2000 will not be visible at all. Moreover, the population increase in the second century mentioned above could also have been influenced by the relocation of the 5000 Iazyges.

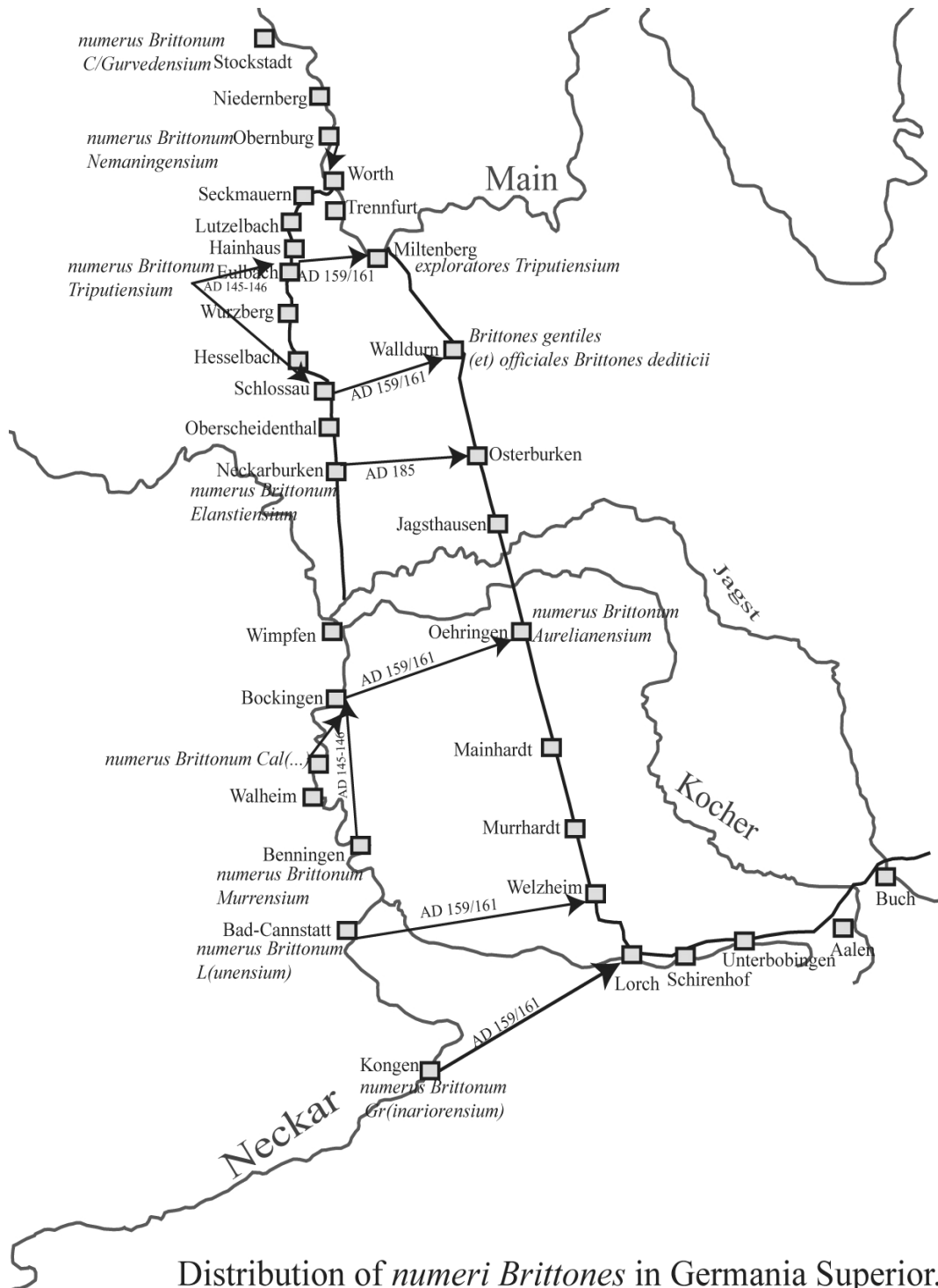
The mid-second century British brooch types are not the only British specimens found on the frontier: three more mid-second century British brooches, reported from the *Agri Decumates* area, were found at sites along the Roman road. This road, running from Gernsheim to Dieburg via Bickenbach and Darmstadt, connected the legionary fortress of Mainz with the Odenwald-Neckar forts and may have been used to transport goods and recruits to the frontier (Batz and Herrmann 1982, 243). 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 used this road to get to their posts on this stretch of the Germania Superior limes (will be discussed in detail in chapter 5, section 5.1.1).

In general, it is proposed here that during the third phase of the construction of the Odenwald-Neckar frontier the new batch of British recruits arrived: the origin of these recruits can be placed in the area of southern Scotland.

During the fourth phase, ca AD 159/161, the forts and frontier line were moved eastward and the *numeri Brittonum*, probably for the third time, settled in the new forts (cf. table 3.71 and fig. 3.31).

Table 3.71 Locations of the *numeri Brittonum* after AD 159/161

Units’ names	Location on Odenwald-Neckar frontier	Location on the outer limes
<i>numerus Brittonum Aurelianensium</i>	-	Öhringen
<i>numerus Brittonum Cal(...)</i>	Heilbronn-Böckingen	Öhringen
<i>numerus Brittonum C/Gurvedensium</i>	Unknown fort on Odenwald-Neckar limes	?
<i>numerus Brittonum Elantiensium</i>	Neckarburken	Osterburken
<i>numerus Brittonum Gr(inarionensium)</i>	Köngen	Lorch
<i>numerus Brittonum L(unensium)</i>	Bad Cannstatt ?	Welzheim
<i>numerus Brittonum Murrensium</i>	Heilbronn-Böckingen	Öhringen
<i>numerus Brittonum Nemaningensium</i>	Wörth	?
<i>numerus Brittonum Triputiensium</i>	Hainhaus or Eulbach Schlossau	Miltenberg Walldürn



Distribution of *numeri Brittonum* in Germania Superior. (Map after Baatz 2000)

- = legionary fortress
- = auxiliary fortress
- = civilian settlement (civitas capital, vicus, etc.)

Figure 3.31 Deployment of *numeri Brittonum* in Germania Superior

It is uncertain whether the units were relocated immediately to the outer lines. Example of *numerus Brittonum Elantiensium* shows that at least this one unit was still in Neckarburken until the reign of Commodus (Reuter 1999, 448; Baatz 2000, 227) and was transferred to Osterburken the in AD 185 at the earliest (Neumaier 1991, 31).

After the transfer to the outer limes, some units were amalgamated: the *numeri Brittonum Cal(...)* and *Murrensium* formed the *numerus Brittonum Aurelianensium*; although it can be argued that the fusion had taken place prior to AD 145 – 146.

In the third century AD epigraphic evidence attests British *numeri* at Niederbieber on the Rhine and Walldürn on the outer limes. The British unit recorded in Cologne-Deutz may never have been stationed there: possibly a member of this unit was visiting the capital of Germania Inferior in the late second – early third centuries. Both troops were probably remnants of the *numeri* garrisoned on the outer limes: British unit from Niederbieber could have been either the *numerus Brittonum Aurelianensium* from Öhringen or British *numeri* from Welzheim (Reuter 1999, 444).

3.3.15.4. Recruitment pattern and origin of the soldiers

A total of 29 servicemen in British *numeri* are known at present. Of this number the origin has been identified for only 11 soldiers on the basis of prosopographical and onomastic analysis (figure 3.32).

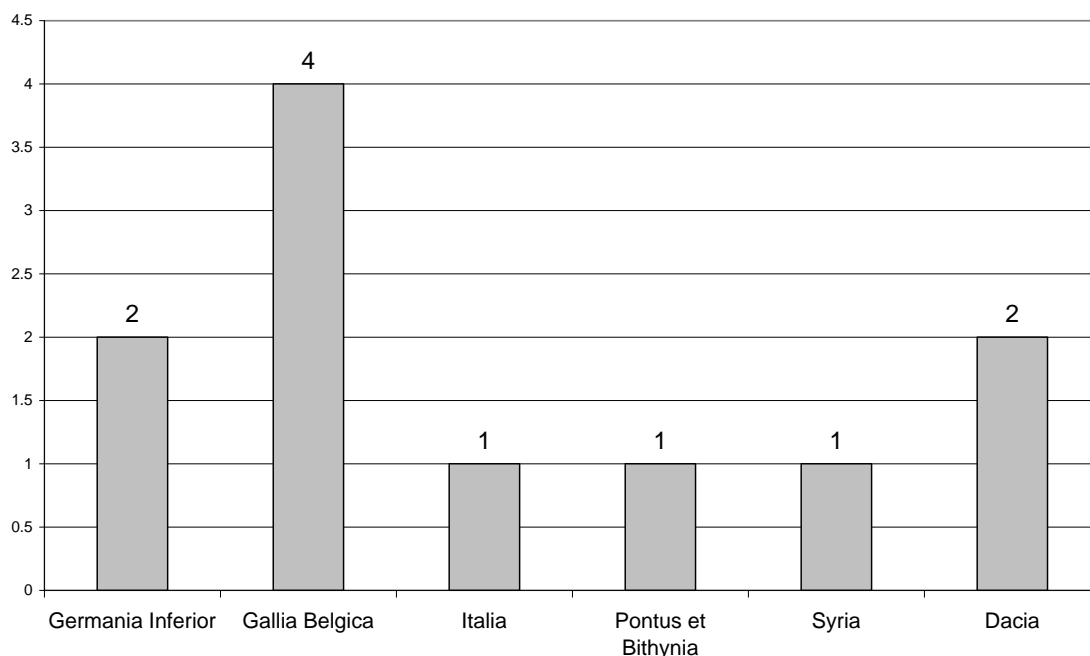


Figure 3.32 General figure showing the origin of servicemen in the British *numeri*

Clearly this figure is not representative for the overall recruitment to the British units: all the inscriptions record only the high ranking personnel: 13 people were legionary centurions; 16 – subordinate officers and centurions of small divisions. The origin of the ordinary soldiers was not recorded, although the archaeological evidence and the fact that the units were, after all, raised from the British population, point to the presence of a rather large contingent of British-borns on the Germania Superior frontier ca AD 110/115 and ca AD 145 – 146 and in Dacia ca AD 100/103. A figure of ca 2000 people (1000 men and 1000 women) for Germania Superior was already proposed earlier in this section. For Dacia, the unit may have counted ca 1000 British-born men in the earlier stage.

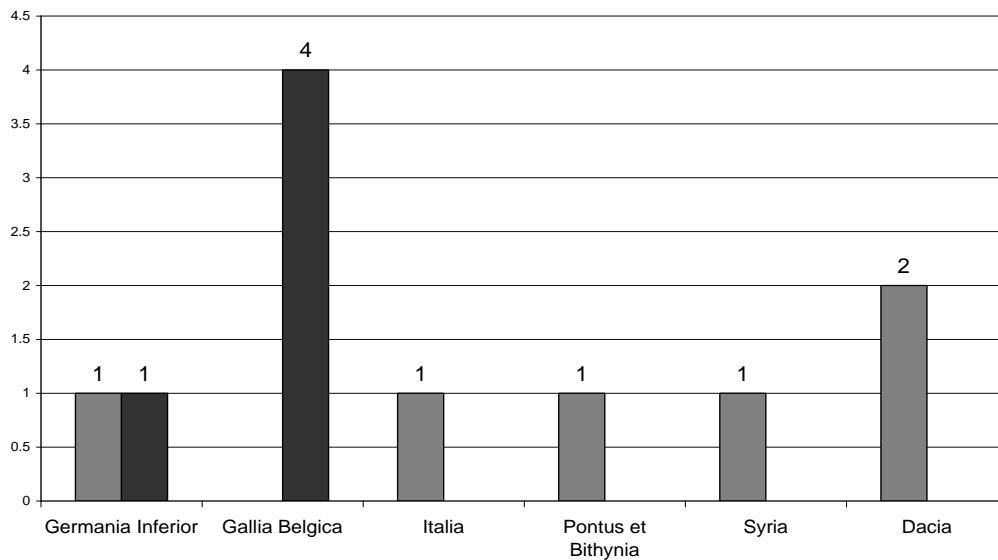


Figure 3.33 Origin of servicemen in the British *numeri* per rank: grey stands for legionary centurions and officers-in-charge, black for subordinate officers (centurions of division, clerks, soldiers, etc.).

Thirteen legionary centurions in charge of the units record their titles on the inscriptions as ‘*centurio legiones*’ (no 26), tribune (nos 47 and 48), ‘*curator*’ (no 2), ‘*curam agente*’ (nos 8, 17 and 24), ‘*sub cura*’ (nos 9, 10, 18, 23, 27 and 28) and ‘*praepostii*’ (nos 11, 21, 46 and 49); the latter becoming the norm in the late second – third centuries AD (Reuter 1999, 388).

Sixteen subordinate officers are known from the inscriptions: their ranks varied from scribes to image- and standard-bearers (four centurions of small divisions; one courier; two scribes; three image- and standard-bearers; one granary and one armoury keeper; one chief clerk; probably three soldiers).

The ranks of all officers point to the *numeri Brittonum* having been supervised in an administratively similar fashion to regular troops (Reuter 1999, 388).

3.3.15.5. Archaeological evidence

A total of five British brooches were found on five sites in Germania Superior associated with British *numeri*. Out of these, two are of late first century, two of the mid second century and one of the mid third century²⁵⁵.

Table 3.72 Sites in Germania Superior associated with the presence of British *numeri*

Unit name	Site (date of the find specified)
<i>numerus Brittonum C/Gurvedensium</i>	Stockstadt (mid second century)
<i>numerus Brittonum Elantiensium</i>	Osterburken (mid third century)
<i>numerus Brittonum Grinarionensium</i>	Köngen (mid second century)
<i>numerus Brittonum Nemaningensium</i>	Obernburg (late first century)
<i>numerus Brittonum Triputiensium</i>	Hesselbach (late first century)

Their appearance at the sites is connected to the service of the British units: the late first-century specimens indicate the garrisoning of troops on the frontier in the years ca AD 110/115, while the mid second-century ones have to do with the second transfer of recruits from Britain to Germania Superior and the participation of these British-born recruits in the reconstruction of the frontier line in stone. The mid third-century specimen is of particular interest, since it postdates the service of the British *numeri*: the Osterburken fort was given up ca AD 260. Its occurrence there may be related to other

²⁵⁵ The occurrence of British brooches on the Wetterau-Taunus frontier, especially in two forts at Saalburg and Zugmantel, and in *Agri Decumates* area will be discussed in chapter 5, sections 5.1.2. and 5.1.5).

factors than the presence of British troops and will be discussed in the chapter 5, section 5.1.5.

That only five British-made brooches were recorded from the forts on the Main, at Odenwald-Neckar and the outer frontiers and none from the *Germisara* fort in Dacia could be related to (fig. 3.34):

a) the number of excavated sites in the region;

b) the number of published archaeological reports and the depiction of brooches in them. For instance, in the *Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* reports not all finds are illustrated; when objects are described, the descriptions do not allow the identification of brooch types;

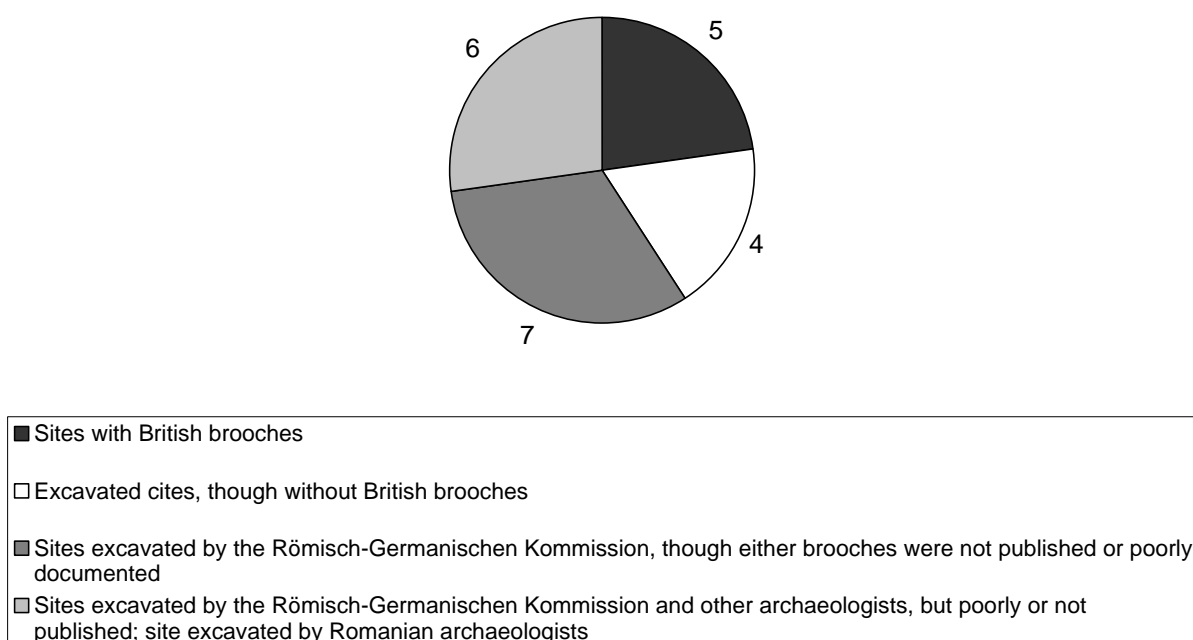


Figure 3.34 The relationship between the occurrence of British brooches and British *numeri*

3.3.16. Did Britons build the Odenwald-Neckar limes?

Already during the excavations of the *Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* in the late nineteenth – early twentieth centuries it was noticed that the military structures on the Odenwald part of the Odenwald-Neckar limes stand out from other stretches of the German frontier. The difference lay in the overall architectural and artistic style, because “the stone inscriptions, sculptured images and architectural ornaments on the forts and towers along this stretch are the only known finds of ornamentation or inscriptions on the limes towers” (Thiel 2009, 138). The whole Odenwald section was regarded by the early scholars as consisting of “an independent group” (*selbständige Gruppe*) of the buildings to which, according to them, a specific form of decorative technique was applied (Drexel 1922, 31-32). This group consisted of the forts built on a stretch starting from Obernburg and ending at Heilbronn-Böckingen, divided into two major sections: the first consisted of the so called *numeri*-forts from Wörth until Schlossau, the second, mainly of the cohort forts from Neckarburken to Heilbronn-Böckingen (Drexel 1922, 31; Thiel 2009, 136). The forts, fortlets and towers were constructed and decorated as follows:

1. The walls of the forts were constructed using equally layered stones of the same size. The walls on both sides were covered with mortar (Drexel 1922, 32).
2. The façade of every fort was decorated with ornate cornices, lunettes and window openings (Drexel 1922, 32).
3. The pillars, found in and around some watchtowers, were probably used to support the window openings on the upper floors (Drexel 1922, 32; Fabricus *et al.* 1935, taf. 15, nos 2a-m).
4. Distinctive sculptural decorations on some of the stone inscriptions found near forts, fortlets and towers:
 - Motif of peltae, the horns of which terminating in either griffins' heads or rosettes. Such ornamentation, which flanked both sides of an inscription, was found on the following monuments: two building inscriptions, one mentioning *numerus Brittonum Elantiensium* found in the Neckarburken *numerus* fort (*CIL* XIII 6490; here no 14) and another, found in Obernburg, *cohors III Aquitanorum* (*AE* 1923, 30; Hock 1922, 25, abb. 3); a stone block without an inscription decorated with peltae and a figure of the god Mars in military uniform found at the bath complex at the fort Oberscheidental (Hock 1922, 27, abb. 4; Schallmayer 2010, 122, fig.); a votive inscription to the goddesses *Maiiae* found in Germersheim (*CIL* XIII 6095; Cüppers 1990, 373, abb. 272).
 - Figure(s) of Victory with two wings and with one foot poised on a globe. This image was found on the previously mentioned inscription from Obernburg and on a stone block found in the fortlet at Roborn (Fabricus *et al.* 1935, taf. 12, no 4c; Schallmayer 2010, 125, fig.).
 - An inscribed panel framed by figures of soldiers: found on a sandstone block from the fortlet at Zwing (Fabricus *et al.* 1935, 70, tab. 6); on an inscription from fortlet Trienz (*CIL* III 6498; here no 15; Fabricus *et al.* 1935, taf. 13, no 2c; Schallmayer 2010, 129, fig.).
 - An inscription set within a (laurel) wreath ('*Kranz*'): found near watchtower 29 on the Odenwald limes (here no 33; Baatz 1966, 85-89, taf. 4, nos 2 and 3) and in the fortlet at Zwing (Baatz 2000, 194).
 - An inscribed panel set within a moulding, decorated either with zigzag or cable patterns (Drexel 1922, 35). These ornaments were found on various inscriptions mentioning *numerus Brittonum Triputiensium* found near watchtower 33 (*CIL* XIII 6514; here no 32) and the watchtower 35 (*CIL* XIII 6511; here no 31); also on the aforementioned inscription from Germersheim.
 - An inscription set within lunettes. This unusual form for placing inscriptions was found on: the aforementioned inscription of *numerus Brittonum Triputiensium* from watchtower 33; a lunette without an inscription and decorated with a rosette, findspot not recorded (Fabricus *et al.* 1935, taf. 8, nos 2d and 2e); a lunette without an inscription from watchtower 34 (Fabricus *et al.* 1935, taf. 9, no 3g); stone blocks probably found on sites of forts at Eulbach, Würzberg or Hesselbach (Fabricus *et al.* 1935, taf. 16, nos 6, 8 and 9).

These decorative techniques applied during the construction of the forts, fortlets and towers, and sculptural decorations on inscribed stones have forced scholars to look for an explanation and as early as the second decade of the 20th century a solution was proposed. It was argued that this novelty came from the fact that this part was manned

by soldiers from Britain, i.e. *numeri Brittonum* (Drexel 1922). The argument was based on the appearance of similar forms of decorations on the forts and inscriptions of the Antonine Wall (Drexel 1922, 33). Because the construction of the Antonine Wall in Scotland coincided with the rebuilding of the Odenwald-Neckar military installations in stone and because British *numeri* arrived after Lollius Urbicus' campaigns, it was suggested that stone cutters and craftsmen were brought over from Britain in order to build this new part of German limes (Drexel 1922, 36). Moreover, since no similar parallels had been recorded on other frontiers, it was seen as an extra indication that they were typical decorative techniques from the northern military zone of Roman Britain (Drexel 1922, 33, 35).

Indeed, distance slabs from the Antonine Wall, which record the work of legionary detachments from three British legions, were decorated with the same motifs as the building inscriptions recorded on Odenwald. Eight out of 17 distance slabs of the Antonine Wall were decorated with peltae, the horns of which terminating in either griffins' heads or rosettes (Keppie 1998, 50, tab. 23, nos 1, 2, 6, 11, 12 and 13; see also RIB 2139, 2194). Three had figures of soldiers or cupids, flanking both sides of the slabs (Keppie 1998, 50, tab. 23, nos 8, 11 and 15). One had two Victories, winged and standing with one foot on a globe (Keppie 1998, 50, tab. 23, no 11). Four inscribed panels were set within a moulding, decorated with cable patterns (Keppie 1998, 50, tab. 23, nos 7, 10 and 17; see also RIB 2139). Although inscriptions positioned within a wreath appeared only twice on the Antonine Wall (Keppie 1998, 50, tab. 23, nos 9 and 16), they were popular on inscribed stones throughout Britain (Batz 1966, 87; Keppie 1998, 114, no 49; 115, no 50; RIB 844, 1093, 1159, 1164, 1167, 1234, 1398, 1410, 1428, 1888, 2061, 2111, 2163, 2208, 2209).

The theory, that the Odenwald limes were constructed in the same manner and by the same people as the Antonine Wall, was repeated by later scholars such as Batz (1966) and Schönberger (1969, 167), but in 1970s, after the excavations of the Hesselbach fort, Drexel's idea was began to be questioned. The major problem was that the archaeological data had proven that the Odenwald limes were built during the reign of Trajan, probably by people from Britain, while the reconstruction of the frontier buildings in stone was possibly done by local recruits. This made the excavator of the Hesselbach fort, Batz, doubt Drexel's theory, which he, Batz, deconstructed in a section of his book on the excavations at Hesselbach entitled "Were the stone buildings at Odenwald limes 'British' buildings?" (Batz 1973, 128-134, "*Waren die Steinbauten am Odenwaldlimes 'Brittonenbauten'?*"). The comparison was made between the building technique used for the construction of these limes and the one used to build the limes in Lower Germany and Raetia; in addition analysis was undertaken of the overall usage of architectural ornaments by craftsmen in Greece and Italy. The conclusion was reached that the Odenwald limes were not so different from other frontiers in terms of their overall architectural and sculptural style²⁵⁶. These are the arguments:

1. The walls of forts were constructed in the same manner as the walls of local dwellings and other military installations on the Upper German frontier in Taunus (Batz 1973, 129). Moreover, the same architectural style was applied across all provinces of the Roman Empire, not at least in Italy, from where it probably originated (Batz 1973, 129).

²⁵⁶ However, it should be noted that this conclusion should not be applied to all military forts of the Roman Empire, i.e. that they were built in the same fashion and according to the same technique. Some forts, be they timber or stone built, may have differed from each other in the way they were constructed. The study of Chorus (2007) has shown that the timber ramparts of forts on the Germania Inferior frontier were constructed by soldiers of different origins, who employed the construction style they practiced in their homelands. It gave the possibility for Chorus to argue on the basis of analysis of the construction techniques, that the 'ethnic' garrison of the forts can be established in the absence of epigraphic evidence.

2. The decoration of towers with cornices and sculptured window openings was not peculiar to the Odenwald limes. Similar forms were found on other towers in Upper Germany and were frequently used on military installations other than towers already in the mid/late first century AD (Batz 1973, 130).
3. Pillars, used to support window openings, were not used to decorate military installations in Britain (Batz 1973, 131).
4. Lunettes are completely absent from Roman Britain, yet they were occasionally used for window decorations in Italy (Batz 1973, 129, esp. note 129).

In general, nothing indicates that the building technique used in the Odenwald limes originated in Britain and was similar to the one used on the Antonine Wall (Batz 1973, 131).

Sculptural decorations on the inscribed stones were also considered. It has been assumed that prior to the construction of any stretch of frontier the general plan was drawn by a so-called ‘building office’ of a legion (*Baubüro*), which also supervised the execution of work done by auxiliary units (Batz 1973, 132). Because legions had some freedom of choice, such ‘offices’ had the possibility to develop particular styles (Batz 1973, 132). In that sense, *numeri* cannot be regarded as ‘inventors’ of a special style, since they simply followed orders from above (Batz 1973, 132). A similar situation was observed on the Antonine Wall, where all distance slabs were made in legionary workshops; the legions and their detachments participated and supervised the construction. The detailed analysis of the slabs made it possible to establish that different styles were preferred by each legion and the works of individual sculptors were identified (Keppie 1998, 51). Summarising the findings, it was concluded that the sculptural decorations on the inscribed stones were the responsibility of the legionary sculptors, who used ‘pattern books’, which offered “a range of motifs to be drawn on” (Keppie 1998, 63). Regarding the Odenwald limes, if the inscribed stones were ordered to be done in auxiliary workshops, auxiliary units’ sculptors probably copied the style preferred by the legion they were summoned to (Batz 1973, 134). Soldiers and stonemasons of *numeri* only carried out the work.

This does not, however, answer the question from where these sculptural decorations originated. It has been suggested that parallels can be found “at a similar date in Rome’s frontier provinces on and beyond the Danube, that is in Pannonia, Moesia and Dacia” (Keppie 1998, 63) as well as in the Mediterranean (Batz 1973, 134). From Hungary, Roman Pannonia, an inscribed panel held by two winged Victories (UEL 10146 from Budapest) and a slab within three mouldings framed by inverted peltae terminating in rosettes (UEL 13734 from Almásfüzitő) were reported, both dated to the reign of Antoninus Pius. The inverted peltae²⁵⁷ terminating with griffins’ heads and rosettes appeared on a building inscription dated to the Antonine period from the Hunedoara region, Romania, (IDR 03-02, 11) and on another undated building inscription from *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*, Romania (IDR 03-02, 7). Peltae emblems were a familiar device, carved on numerous building inscriptions dated to the reign of Commodus (*Tituli Romani* 2005, no 239 from Budapest; *AE* 1910, 145 = RIU V 1135 from Dunaujvaros, all from Hungary) and to the reign of Septimius Severus (IDR-03-03, 47 from Deva, Romania; *AE* 1968, 429 = RIU V 1059 from Budapest, Hungary). Moreover, peltae are familiar in other contexts including tombstones and sarcophagi (*AE* 1972, 376; *CIL* III 14349, 3; UEL 6074; UEL 10645; UEL 10757; all from Budapest; UEL 2670 from Zollfeld, Austria; *AE* 1971, 341 from Dunaujvaros, Hungary; UEL 5918 from Vienna,

²⁵⁷ The horns of these peltae were usually facing the inscriptions, in contrast to peltae depicted on the distance slabs of the Antonine Wall and the inscriptions from the Odenwald limes, where horns are turned towards the mouldings.

Austria; UEL 6332 from Pförring, Germany; *CIL* III 5851 from Augsburg, Germany; *CIL* III 3356 = RIU VI 1511 from Székesfehérvár, Hungary).

It is noteworthy that figures of peltae and winged Victories were used as sculptural elements on Pannonian building inscriptions dated to the reign of Antoninus Pius, the same period when the Antonine Wall and the inscribed stones from the Odenwald frontier were made as well. Decorations similar to those on the building slabs are absent from the monuments dated to the earlier periods -, at least the author of this work was not been able to find them. It is probable, therefore, that such forms of decoration became widely used from the reign of Antoninus Pius onwards and their appearance on the building inscriptions of the frontiers is not coincidental. When approaching the Roman border, people from the *Barbaricum* would get a clear message from the sculptural scenes recording or symbolising Roman victory (Keppie 1998, 62). That the choice to introduce these elements occurred on the Antonine Wall and at the Odenwald limes is not surprising either: the nature of these two frontiers demanded the exhibition of Roman authority.

Both frontiers were positioned “between two sections of water boundary”: Odenwald between the Main and Neckar, the Antonine Wall between the mouths of the Forth and Clyde (Thiel 2009, 138, 140). They were lines of communication rather than barriers, between the north and the south, for the Antonine Wall, or between *Barbaricum* and Germania Superior, for Odenwald (Schönberger 1969, 161; Thiel 2009, 138, 140). The Odenwald limes had a feature that was never constructed on other frontier stretches in the region: a road, used “for supplies and reinforcement that served to connect two areas”, those of Upper Germany and Raetia (Thiel 2009, 139, 140). The Antonine Wall was itself used as a military road “running from the main battlefield in the east coast of Scotland west to the Clyde estuary, where safe harbors were available to provide supplies to troops” (Thiel 2009, 140). Since both roads were of major importance for military and civilian traffic, richly adorned forts and fortresses with inscribed stones proclaiming the glory of Rome and Roman power were of necessity for the goals of propaganda (Thiel 2009, 140).

The depiction of Victory on such inscriptions was therefore an obvious choice, but what about the peltae? It is usually thought that the peltae emblem originated in Thracia, deriving from “the side view of a crescentic [Thracian] shield” and was adopted by “Greek and Hellenistic mercenary troops in the eastern Mediterranean” (Keppie 1998, 62). The griffins’ heads, which adorned the horns of the peltae on some inscriptions, derived from Egyptian and Greek art forms (Keppie 1998, 62). Both symbols were later widely used in Graeco-Roman art in different contexts (Keppie 1998, 62). It is tempting to suggest that the appearance of Greek art forms on inscriptions celebrating Roman power came into existence because of the philhellenic predecessor of Antoninus Pius, Hadrian. Another reason for the adoption of the peltae and its development from a device on Thracian shields to its use in sculptural decoration on Roman building inscriptions probably lies its symbolism: it stood for everything military. Being a symbol of war, peltae may have come to represent Roman military power. Its usage on inscribed stones of the frontier regions would therefore be a conscious choice. It is possible that, starting from the reign of Antoninus Pius, the emblem was adopted by various strata of the population, being used widely as decoration for funerary monuments.

In summary, the construction and decoration of the Odenwald limes was not dependant on people from, or on the style ‘invented’, in Britain. More probably the usage of familiar motifs and imagery was adopted by the stonemasons as a response to the growing necessity of the exhibition of the Roman power in the frontier regions.

3.3.17. *Concluding remarks*

The epigraphic and archaeological record combined has made it possible to establish the development of the British *numeri* in both Upper Germany and Dacia. It is likely that both groups of units, i.e. *numeri Brittonum* and *pedites singulares Britannicorum*, were raised in the mid/late first century as a result of particular events in Britain. The triggers were, of course, the wars conducted by the Roman Emperors on the Continent, when British legions and their detachments were transported overseas. That both groups were the remnants of legionary or auxiliary detachments is a good possibility.

The occurrence of British brooches evidences that the units stationed in Dacia were not replenished with Britons²⁵⁸, while the ones in Germany had a second wave of British recruits, coming in the mid second century.

²⁵⁸ However, the absence of British brooches on the site of a unit's station in Dacia cannot be regarded as final: the archaeological reports from that the sites that were available for me to consult do not provide the necessary information on the jewellery finds.

4 – Britons in legions and non-British auxiliary units, and civilians

Those who were born in Britain were also selected to fill gaps in the legionary and auxiliary units stationed in the province and abroad. A variety of evidence comes from different parts of the Empire and records the existence of at least 18 men who emphasised their origin from Britain.

This section aims to update the list of British-born soldiers in the Roman army presented in two publications: Dobson and Mann (1973, 198-205) and Birley A. (1980, 101-106). It provides new evidence that has appeared in recent decades and challenges some of the views proposed in these two publications. The general idea is to provide a catalogue of soldiers who served in legions and auxiliary units posted overseas, and to include in the list civilians, who indicated their British ancestry.

During collection of data for the present thesis, inscriptions and military diplomas were recorded in which a) a person indicated his or her origo as *Britannus*, *Britannicianus* or *Britto*, or used a word starting with the element *brit-*; b) the cognomen of a person was recorded as *Britto*; c) a person stated the province of Britannia as their birthplace or gave a British town as their domus; or d) a person mentioned that he or she originated from one of the indigenous British tribes. In addition to the inscriptions and diplomas discussed in the present section, the following epigraphic evidence was entered into the database at an early stage: 13 funerary inscriptions: *CIL* II 952 (Trigueros, Spain); *CIL* II 1072 (Alcolea del Rio, Spain), *CIL* II 1335 (Jimena de la Frontera, Spain), *CIL* II 3129 (Saelices, Spain), *CIL* II 3255 (Hortiguela, Spain), *CIL* II 6311 (Perales de Milla, Spain), *CIL* VIII 1950 (Theveste, Algeria), *CIL* VIII 3962 (Lambaesis, Algeria); HEp-01, 555 (Italica, Spain); HEp-02, 143 (Penalba de Castro, Spain); EE-09, 62 (Merida, Spain), *CIL* XIII 5020 (Nyon, Switzerland), *CIL* III 4727 (Obervellach, Austria); three inscriptions (type undetermined): ERRioja-ID 27 (Varea, Spain); Conimbri 236 (Condeixa-a-Velha, Portugal) and HEp-02, 00182c2 (Penalba de Castro, Spain); four votive inscriptions: *CIL* II 805 (Caparra, Spain), *CIL* II 5812 (Sasamon, Spain); *AE* 1987, 698 (Alhambra, Spain); *AE* 1996, 905 (Ciudad Real, Spain); one inscription, EE-08-02,262,15 (Merida, Spain), probably names the master of a workshop – *officina Brito(...)*, and was probably a sign put up in front of the workshop; one public monuments recording the names of the soldiers of a legion, probably the *legio III Augusta*, *CIL* VIII 18087 (Lambaesis, Algeria).

The initial analysis of the evidence revealed a concentration of people named Brit(t)o or Brit(t)a, without the indicative Latin word *natione* (meaning origin), in the Spanish and North African provinces. Such a prevalence of the cognomen Brit(t)o/a in these areas might indicate the establishment of special ‘ethnic’ ties with the homeland within the British emigrant community. This raises the question whether some ‘Britons’, after the invasion of Claudius in AD 43, emigrated to Spanish and North African provinces or whether in this case the ethnic cognomen Brit(t)o/a stood for something else.

4.1. Fake Britons?

Two inscriptions in which *Britto* is part of a person’s cognomen were compared in order to establish if this was indeed an ethnic cognomen used solely by British, who migrated: *CIL* II 6311 from Perales de Milla, Spain, records *Britto*, son of *Daticus*, *Uloqum*²⁵⁹ and *CIL* VI 3594 from Rome, Italy, records *Flavius Britto* (II. 2). Both inscriptions are funerary, and can be dated to the late Flavian period or early second

²⁵⁹ *D(is) M(anibus) Britto Uloq(um) Datic(i) an(norum) LXX s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)*

century, and both name individuals with the cognomen Britto. In the first inscription, naming Britto, son of Daticus, Uloquum is not a personal name, but most likely a *nomen gentilicium* or tribal affiliation (Aguña 2003 – 2004, 189, 200). Inscriptions with the word Uloquum are widespread in the area around modern-day Madrid, and it might refer to a place name or tribe, which resided in this area in Roman times (Aguña 2003 – 2004, 200). The cognomen Britto does not therefore refer to the ethnic origin, but is simply a name. That the name Britto was popular with the inhabitants of the Roman Spain is supported by another inscription from Dalj, Croatia (*CIL* III 3271), recording a person whose father's name was Britto and whose origin is *domo Hispano* – i.e. Spanish by birth. The name *Britto* might derive from the Gaulish Celtic²⁶⁰ element *bretos-*, which means 'judgment, thinking, mind' (Delamarre 2001, 74, 265). If someone was named Britto by his parents, this indicates their wish for the child to be thoughtful or mindful. The popularity of a Gaulish Celtic name in Spain, where the majority of the population spoke a Celtiberian branch of the Celtic language, should not come as a surprise, because other typical Gaulish Celtic names such as Boudicca or Verecundus also appear in some numbers there (Palazón 1994, 302, 542).

That Flavius Britto was, however, a Briton by birth, will be discussed later in this section.

It became clear at the very beginning that the other inscriptions from the Spanish provinces with the cognomen *Britto* do not record ethnic origin and were not used as an ethnic marker, which prompted the exclusion of the inscriptions found in Spain and Portugal from the database.

The North African inscriptions were also questioned. On all three, the word Britto appears after the name of the person – the usual place on inscriptions for an indicator of origin, but their names do not suggest that they were of British descent. The cognomen of the man recorded on *CIL* VIII 1950 – Tannonius – was popular in North Africa; 28 of the 39 inscriptions found across the Empire bearing this name were found in North Africa only²⁶¹. The name of the person recorded on *CIL* VIII 3962 – Petronius – was widespread across all provinces (Mócsy 1983, 220; OPEL III, 135 with some prevalence in Italy, Dalmatia and Pannonia as well as in Spain and the Germanic provinces). Although there is no indication that this person was not a 'Briton', it seems reasonable to suggest that Britto here is simply the name of a person whose origins lay in Spain, considering the proximity of the province where this inscription was found (Numidia) to Spain. Equally, a similar conclusion can be reached in regard to the person recorded on *CIL* VIII 18087, Publius Ia(...)*us* Britto, whose place of birth was recorded as Carthage.

The assumption that Brit(t)o/a is simply a popular cognomen supports the analysis of other names starting with Britt-. For example, names such as Brittus appear five times in Italy (*CIL* V 5002; *CIL* IX 1899, 3098, 6263, 6320) and Brittius/Brittia eleven times (*CIL* IX 1237, 3098 (male and female), 3115 (male and female), 4995, 5038, 5444; *CIL* X 151, *CIL* XI 4970, *AE* 1988, 425). In Rome alone, names such as Brittius/Brittia appear nine times (*CIL* VI 1924, 2153, 8729 (two females), 13640, 16725, 26675; *AE* 1977, 78; *AE* 1984, 126), and Brittidius/Brittidia six (*CIL* VI 13636 (two males and one female), 13637, 13638, 13639). In other provinces names starting with Britt- are equally common. In Pannonia, Britticus and Britta were commemorated (*CIL* III 14356, 5a,

²⁶⁰ Gaulish Celtic is understood here to be a branch of the Celtic language. The Celtic language is divided into sub-families of Gaulish Celtic spoken mainly in the Roman province of Gaul; Celtiberian, spoken mainly in Roman Spain, and Brythonic, spoken mainly in Roman Britain (Delamarre 2001, 7-11).

²⁶¹ The reference is the online epigraphic database of Clauss and Slaby (accessed on 04. 11. 2011). In the publications of Mócsy and OPEL on the spread of names in the Roman Empire, the cognomen Tannonius is said to appear once in the Moesian provinces and twice (but once in Mócsy) in Gallia Narbonensis (Mócsy 1983, 281; OPEL IV, 107). Neither publication included the inscriptions from the North African and Near Eastern provinces.

15169); in Gallia Narbonensis, two people with the same name (Brittius) but in different cities were given monuments (*CIL* XII 3353; *AE* 1976, 406); in Aquitania one encounters Brittula and Britex (*CIL* XIII 192, 497); in Belgica - Brittonius (Nesselhauf 001) and in Africa Proconsularis - Brittanus (*CIL* VIII 27763). These people were neither British emigrants nor offspring of British people who had migrated to the Continent. They had only one thing in common and this was the fact that their names started with the (relatively popular) element Britt-. In order to recognise a genuine British emigrant one needs to look more closely at the text of an inscription and with its help reconstruct the individual's biography.

4.2. British legionaries

Titus Statius, son of Titus, Vitalis

A tombstone found on the cemetery road of the *Carnuntum* legionary fortress, commemorates a soldier from *Colonia Claudia Camulodunum*, modern Colchester in the UK (II. 1). On this epitaph there is no indication that Titus Statius Vitalis served in a legion. However, the findspot of the monument and his birthplace, a Roman colony, suggest that he served in a legion or legionary detachment.

Vitalis probably died as a result of the first Pannonian War of AD 89, rather than of second of AD 92, which was mainly fought on the territory of the Iazyges in Sarmatia. His tombstone was found next to the legionary fortress of *Carnuntum*, where the troops were concentrated in AD 89 (Strobel 1989, 84). If we are right in assuming that Vitalis died as a result of the first Pannonian War ca AD 89 – 90, this places his recruitment in AD 86 (he died aged 23 after 3 years of service). This date coincides with the withdrawal of the *legio II Adiutrix* from Britain to the Danube frontier. This legion also had detachments in the second Pannonian War (D 9200; Jones B.W. 1992, 152). By AD 92 this legion had been present on the Danube frontier for about five to six years and it is highly probable, though not documented, that one of this legion's detachments participated in the fighting of AD 89²⁶².

This soldier hailed from *Claudia Camulodunum*, a colony for retired legionary veterans, and was probably the son of such a veteran (Birley A. 1980, 105). This may indicate that he was actually not of British, but of Continental ancestry. His father might have been posted with his legion to Britain during the invasion of AD 43 and have settled down upon his retirement in the newly established colony at Colchester²⁶³. This would make Vitalis a second generation immigrant. Speculative as this is, his mother, however, may have been a British woman.

Flavius Britto

Flavius Britto was a centurion of the *legio XIV Gemina* and was buried in Rome, probably upon the completion of his service (II. 2). That the inscription was found in Rome is puzzling, considering that the legion might have never been in Rome. It is known, that it was part of the invasion troops in AD 43, stayed in Britain for two decades after the invasion, participated in the suppression of the Boudiccan revolt in AD

²⁶² But see Gugl (2003; 2007b, 508), who does not place any legionary detachments in the *Carnuntum* fortress.

²⁶³ Vitalis died ca AD 89 – 90 aged 23, which means that he was born ca AD 66 – 67. If his father arrived in Britain with the invasion force in AD 43 and he was also in his early 20s at the time, this would mean that his child, i.e. Vitalis, was born when he was in his 40s. This was a normal age for a retired veteran from any unit, both legionary and auxiliary, to start a family, though it is generally accepted that soldiers fathered children when they were still serving in the army. In this scenario the mother of Vitalis was more than likely of British origin, and met Vitalis' father upon his retirement from active service.

61, and was sent from Britain to the Continent in AD 66 by orders of Nero (Farnum 2005, 23). In AD 69 it participated at the battle at Bedriacum siding with Otho, who launched attacks from his base, which was Rome (Tacitus *Hist.* II. 43; Murison 1993, 105; Morgan 2006, 101-102). It is therefore possible that the legion, as part of Otho's army, was also there.

The problem with this explanation is that the *nomen gentilicium* of this centurion is Flavius, which is an indication that he was granted citizenship under the Flavian dynasty. The epigraphic formulae on the inscription also point to its being erected in the Flavian period (*DM* and the name of the deceased in the dative; Holder 1980, 144). Britto must have entered the legion in the late first century, i.e. after the legion left Britain. His *nomen gentilicium* and cognomen, however, do not suggest that he was the son of a legionary veteran, as in the previous case with Vitalis, though he must have had Roman citizenship, a requirement for entering the legion. Most likely the centurion was a 'Briton' by birth, hailing from one of the British tribes, probably the son of a native aristocrat, who took the side of the Romans in the aftermath of the invasion and was granted citizenship for his collaboration. Since his name is a typical Roman name, probably upon joining the legion he was 're-named': he was no longer called by his British Celtic name, but by a name which indicated his origin: Britto. What he was doing in Rome is unknown, though his possible status, a member of the British elite, and the presence of his wife and freedmen, i.e. possibly his whole household, suggest that he had settled down there upon his retirement. That a Briton served in the legionary forces in the late first century indicates that legions stationed overseas accepted British-born recruits as early as the Flavian dynasty.

Moreover, his wife was also a 'Briton'. This is supported by the fact that Catonia is a Celtic name deriving from the Celtic *catu-* (Evans 1967, 171; Delamarre 2001, 94). Names starting with this Celtic element appear 17 times in Britain and are considered by British scholars to be typically British names (Russell and Mullen 2009, accessed on 23 September 2009). Her cognomen, Baudia, is reminiscent of Boudicca, the name of the famous queen of the British tribe the *Iceni*, and which derives from the Celtic *boudi-* (Delamarre 2001, 71; Raybould and Sims-Williams 2007a, 86). Although both female and male names with the element *bod-/boudi-* appear 26 times overseas compared to only once in Britain (Mócsy 1983, 51, 53), it seems possible that she was a British woman who had followed her husband to his post overseas. The unpopularity of names starting with *boudi-* in Britain is understandable considering the impact of the suppression of the revolt in AD 61 and the probable negative associations carried by the name. Notably, her husband served in the very same legion that had crushed the Boudiccan rebellion!

Marcus Minicius Marcellinus

This legionary soldier hailed from *Lindum*, modern Lincoln in UK, as he indicated on the votive inscription he erected in Mainz to venerate the goddesses Fortuna and the Eagle of his own legion (II. 3). He might have served as a prefect of the *ala I Brittonum*, since this exact name with exactly the same spelling is recorded on a diploma issued to a soldier in this *ala* in AD 123 (I. 1). If we consider that the prefect of the *ala* and the *primus pilus* from the legion is the same person, it means that Marcellinus' first appointment was as a senior centurion, then he was a commander of the unknown cohort *quingenaria* and cohort *milliaria*, and, as a third equestrian *militia*, he held the position of prefect of the *ala* (Russu 1974a, 174). The diploma was issued in AD 123, which means that he was the senior centurion in the legion in the first half of the second century, between the years AD 115 – 120.

Legio XXII Primigenia is known from some inscriptions erected in Britain and its *vexillatio* is known from some monuments erected in southern Scotland (RIB 1026,

2116a, 2216), though the whole legion was garrisoned in Mainz in the second century (Farnum 2005, 25). This legionary soldier may have entered this detachment, while it was still in Britain, and, after his service was no longer needed in Scotland, was transferred to Mainz together with his unit. His name and status imply that he was a descendant of a legionary veteran who had settled in Britain. In other words, Marcellinus, like Vitalis, may have been the son of immigrants (Birley A. 1980, 104-105).

Marcus Ulpius Quintus

This legionary soldier came from *Glevum*, Gloucester in the UK (II. 4). Ner(...) on his tombstone might stand for the name of a pseudo-tribe, the Nervia, living in the vicinity of this veteran colony, which had been founded by Nero (Birley A. 2005, 100, note 1) or for the name of his father Ner(...) ²⁶⁴.

Quintus was responsible for the corn supply to the *legio VI Victrix*, which since AD 122 had been garrisoned in Britain at the legionary fortress in York (Farnum 2005, 20). His presence in Rome, where he died, suggests that he was there for business reasons, to supervise the corn supply to his legion in Britain, though *frumentarius* was also used as “the euphemistic name for a secret policeman” (Birley A. 1980, 105). The base of *frumentarii* in Rome was the *Castra Peregrina* on the Caelian Hill and they are generally considered to have acted as couriers and to have been spies (Webster G. 1998, 23).

His name implies that he was not the son of a legionary veteran who had settled at the colony at Gloucester upon its foundation (Dobson and Mann 1973, 203; Birley A. 1980, 105). Possibly he was the descendant of an auxiliary veteran, who had “settled of his own accord at Gloucester” (Dobson and Mann 1973, 203; Birley A. 1980, 105). Whether this veteran’s origin should be searched for on the Continent or in Britain, is unknown. If the latter is the case, he may have been a British-born veteran, who had returned to Britain after being discharged from a unit posted overseas. That he served in a unit garrisoned in Britain, i.e. his home province, is equally likely.

The funerary monument was erected by the orders of his colleague and ‘brother’ Calidius Quietus. These soldiers were not blood-related: they have a different *gentilicium*, and the term ‘brother’ should probably be understood as meaning ‘comrade’ or ‘friend’. The origin of Calidius Quietus, as is usual, was not mentioned on the tombstone, though it is certain that he served in the same legion and was on (related?) business in Rome. His *nomen* was quite widespread in Italy, with some occurrences in Hispania, the Germanic provinces and Gallia Narbonensis (OPEL II 23; Mócsy 1983, 61), while his cognomen was popular in Italy, the Celtic speaking provinces and Hispania (OPEL IV 17; Mócsy 1983, 238; Minkova 2000, 239). Both elements of the name are suggestive of Italian origins.

Lucius Valerius Simplex and Lucius Anda(...)

Two inscriptions venerating British mother goddesses, erected by two soldiers from the *legio XXX Ulpia Victrix*, were found in Xanten (II. 5 and 6). Xanten is the only Continental city where votives to British mother goddesses have been discovered. Within Roman Britain the cult of British mother goddesses, the celestial personification of the province, was restricted to the militarised northern zone (RIB 643 from York, RIB 2152 from Castlecary, RIB 2175 from Auchendavy, RIB 2195 from Balmuildy; Birley A. 1986, 66-67). The *Matres* cult was also popular in Britain: there are ca 60 dedications

²⁶⁴ Quintus was a descendant of a person who was granted citizenship during the reign of Trajan, hence, Marcus Ulpius. This person could have been his grandfather, making Ner(...) the name of his father, e.g. Marcus Ulpius Ner(va?).

to these goddesses (Birley A. 1986, 49), and the cult was popular in Xanten too (Frateantonio 2001, 185). There is no doubt that *Matres Brittae* was a British cult, venerating the sacred mothers of the province, but the question arises as to who were her Continental commemorators.

The origin of the legionaries is not given on the inscriptions, but it is notable that they both had the same *gentilicia* – Lucius. Most likely they were named after one of the Emperors with the same name. Two Emperors are known to have been called Lucius – Lucius Verus (AD 161 – 169), the co-Emperor of Marcus Aurelius, and Lucius Septimius Severus (AD 193 – 211). This makes it possible to give the inscriptions a *terminus post quem*, i.e. after AD 160. The first votive monument was erected by Lucius Valerius Simplex. His nomen and cognomen were widespread throughout the Roman Empire, making it impossible to identify his origin (for Valerius, see OPEL IV, 142-146; Mócsy 1983, 300; for Simplex, see OPEL IV 83; Mócsy 1983, 267). The second monument was erected by Lucius Anda(...). The element *ande-* in this cognomen is Celtic (Evans 1967, 136-141). There are 13 names in total starting with this same element found throughout the Roman Empire, five in Britain (OPEL I 52-53; Mócsy 1983, 18-19 and Russell and Mullen 2009, accessed on 27th of June 2011). Other variations of the name starting with *and*-* were widespread in the Celtic-speaking provinces (OPEL I 52-53; Mócsy 1983, 18-19).

In his votive monument Anda(...) venerated not only the British mother goddesses but also goddesses with the name *Arsaciae*. These mother goddesses are commemorated on another inscription from Xanten (*CIL* XIII 8630), but do not appear anywhere else. As in the case of the British mother goddesses, the Arsaces mother goddesses were probably the personification of a tribe or community with a name something like *Arsacii*. Tribes, as well as provinces, were also personified as deities: there are examples of Treveran and Frisian mother goddesses (Frateantonio 2001, 185-186). Indeed, there is a tribe whose name closely resembles that of the Arsaces mother goddesses – the *Aresace*, known from five inscriptions from Trier and Mainz (*AE* 1903, 141; *AE* 1929, 173; *CIL* XIII 7252, 11825; Finke 322). The *Aresaces* were ethnically part of the Treveran community and lived somewhere in Treveran lands, although the exact location is unknown (Klumbach 1959, 74-75).

A further question is why Anda(...) erected the votive monument to two mother goddesses, one British and the other the Aresaces, while living in a legionary fortress at Xanten, the capital of *civitas Traianensis*. It would be logical if, in addition to commemorating the Mothers of his birthland, he had venerated the mother goddesses of the territory he was living in, the Mothers of *Traianensis*. Perhaps he made the commemoration not for himself only, but also for his friend or partner or wife. The end of the inscription did not survive, but what is left gives no indication that the last letters were *VSLM*, *votum solvit libens merito*, a standard closing line of votive inscriptions. Instead it seems there was the name of another person. Possibly Anda(...) commemorated both the Mothers of his birth land and those of the land or territory from which his wife, partner or friend originated.

It is more than likely that the legionaries who erected votives to British mother goddesses were Britons, since only two inscriptions outside Britain have been found from the whole of the Roman Empire, while in Britain the cult was popular. The presence of two recruits of British descent in the *legio XXX Ulpia Victrix* after AD 160 suggests that Britons were accepted to serve abroad as late as the late second century AD. The legion itself never served in Britain and from AD 122 was permanently stationed in Xanten (Farnum 2005, 25).

Marcus Iunius Capito

This legionary soldier hailed from *Lindum*, Lincoln in the UK (II. 7). He served in the *legio X Gemina* which was stationed at the legionary fortress *Vindobona*, Vienna in Austria, in the second century (Farnum 2005, 22). The legion sent its detachment to Mauretania Caesariensis: such transfer of the legionary and auxiliary forces from the Danube can be related to Moorish revolts during the reign of Antoninus Pius, AD 149 – 150.

Capito died in Mauretania Caesariensis after ten years of service, which places his recruitment ca AD 130 – 140. He was probably one of those recruits from Britain who chose to serve in an overseas legionary unit in the mid second century, as did the previously discussed Lucius Valerius Simplex and Lucius Anda(...). He might have been, as Marcellinus and Vitalis, a descendant of a colonist, a legionary veteran who had settled in the veteran colony of Lincoln in the late first century AD (Birley, A. 1980, 105).

The origin of his heir, Iulius Primus, a standard bearer in possibly same legion, is uncertain. Both his *gentilicium* and cognomen were widespread (for Iulius see OPEL II 201-207; Mócsy 1983, 154; Minkova 2000, 57-60; for Primus see OPEL III 161; Mócsy 1983, 232; Minkova 2000, 235).

Titus Flavius Virilis

He held six posts as a centurion in five different legions (twice in the same legion). Of these, three were legions stationed in Britain, e.g. *legiones II Augusta*, *VI Victrix* and *XX Valeria Victrix* (II. 8). With the *legio III Augusta*, he was transferred to Numidia and garrisoned at the fortress at *Lambaesis* where he died, since the monument commemorating him was found there. His final post was *legio III Parthica*, established by Septimius Severus in ca AD 196 for his campaigns against the Parthian Empire (Farnum 2005, 18). This legion, after the end of the campaigns, is recorded to have been stationed in Mesopotamia (Farnum 2005, 18). The location of the tombstone of Virilis in the legionary fortress at *Lambaesis* invites several possible interpretations: the first possibility is that he returned to Numidia at the end of the campaigns in Mesopotamia and died there; alternatively he might have died in Mesopotamia during the military conflict and his body, or cremated ashes, could have been transported to its final resting place in Numidia (Carroll 2006, 151 and 163 notes that this practice was relatively widespread); a third possibility is that his wife and their sons erected a cenotaph, while Virilis was buried near the battlefield in Mesopotamia; yet another solution would be that he never actually went to Mesopotamia but died before the start of the campaigns (Dessau 1912, 22).

The origin of Virilis is considered to be British on the basis of his career: he served as a centurion in all of the legions that were stationed in Britain (Dessau 1912, 23; Malone 2006, 117). His wife could have been of British descent: her cognomen *Bodicca* resembles the name of the Icenian rebel, Queen Boudicca, and derives from the Celtic *boudi-* (Dessau 1912, 23; Delamarre 2001, 71; Raybould and Sims-Williams 2007a, 86), which has already been discussed in relation to the wife of another British legionary, Flavius Britto. *Bodicca* probably met Virilis while he was on service in the legions stationed in Britain (Campbell 1994, 49; Malone 2006, 117).

Lollia *Bodicca* is also another example of the ‘travelling’ wife, who followed her husband from Britain to his post in Numidia.

British legionaries in North Africa?

At least five third-century inscriptions have been found in North Africa bearing the formulae “(ex) *provincia Britannia*” (*CIL VIII 5180 = CIL VIII, 17266 = ILAlg-01*,

539a from Zattara; ILAlg-02-03, 8806 from Uzelis; *CIL* VIII 2080 = *CIL* VIII, 27966 = ILAlg-01, 3748 from Ksar el Birsgaun; *CIL* VIII 2766 = *CIL* VIII 18131 = D 2762 from Lambaesis; ILAlg 1, 2203 = *AE* 1989, 830 from Madauros). Two of these inscriptions refer to legionary veterans who finished their service in a legion garrisoned in Britain, one to a *beneficarius* in the *legio VI Victrix*, one to a prefect of an auxiliary unit stationed in Britain, one to an *exercitus* of the army of Britain. Four epitaphs must postdate AD 214, since they mention the provinces of Britannia Inferior and Superior, which were established after this date.

On the one hand, these epitaphs may signify that all these soldiers came with their detachments from Britain to North Africa and that “*ex provincia Britannia*” stood for the origin of the legionaries, prefect and soldier. This interpretation is supported by the fact that a *beneficarius* erected a monument for his sister while still serving in the legion (*CIL* VIII 2080 = *CIL* VIII, 27966 = ILAlg-01, 3748: “*Iul(ia) The<G>u[sa] [...] sorori carissim(a)e*”). On the other hand, they might not indicate the origins of these people but might instead indicate the provinces in which the soldiers had served and from which, at the end of their service, they returned to their homelands. This interpretation is supported by the fact that two of the epitaphs are for legionary veterans, who preferred to return to their home towns and tribes in North Africa. The *beneficarius* might have been on compassionate leave, having received the dreadful news that his sister had died. 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. 1979). Swan’s (1992, 1997, 1999) research on the pottery from York demonstrates that there was a draft of men of North African origin to the British legions. She also identified the presence of North African recruits in *legio VI Victrix* garrisoned in York.

These inscriptions therefore demonstrate that “(*ex*) *provincia Britannia*” stood to demonstrate the province from where the soldiers were either discharged or on leave rather than being an indication of a provincial origin. They are indicative of first that after the end of their service legionaries preferred to return to their homelands in North Africa rather than to settle in Britain and second that they were allowed to leave their postings in Britain to travel to visit their family.

4.3. Britons as *equites singulares Augusti*

The epigraphic record indicates that Britons were present in Rome in the late second century AD as *equites singulares Augusti*, troopers of the imperial horse guard (Speidel 1965, 93). This unit of troopers was composed of auxiliaries recruited from various Roman provinces, the majority of them being Batavians, although other nationalities and tribesmen were recruited as well (Speidel 1965, 18; Coulston 2000, 76-78). In Rome three inscriptions have been discovered on which troopers from this cavalry regiment indicated their descent as British – *natione Britto/Britannicianus* (II. 9-11).

The epigraphic formulae indicate that the inscriptions were erected in the second half of the second – early third century AD (Malone 2006, 11: formulae *vixit/militavit*). The Imperial *gentilicium* of one of the soldiers, Marcus Ulpius, suggests that one of his ancestors had been granted citizenship by Trajan (II. 9).

Apart from indicating their ‘British’ origin, nothing shows their ancestry. The surviving cognomina of two troopers (Iustus and Marinianus) were typical Latin names that are widespread everywhere (Mócsy 1983, 155; OPEL II 210; Minkova 2000, 189

and Mócsy 1983, 178; OPEL III 58 respectively). One of the soldiers, Marinianus, was buried by his son, who was called as his father, i.e. Nigidius Marinianus²⁶⁵.

The friend of Iustus, who erected the funerary monument, Marcus Ulpius Respectus, did not indicate his origin and his cognomen does not give a clue: it was popular everywhere, especially in Celtic-speaking provinces (Mócsy 1983, 242; OPEL IV 26-27; Minkova 2000, 242). It is rather speculative but possible that he was also of British descent: he befriended someone from Britain and served in the Imperial horse guard in the same period that Britons were accepted there.

The service of three Britons in the Imperial horse guard in Rome in the late second century has interesting implications for the policy of the Romans regarding recruitment of Britons into the Roman army. At least one cavalryman, Marcus Ulpius Iustus, had Roman citizenship at the time of his recruitment. He may have hailed from the family of an auxiliary veteran, who might have been a settler in Britain after being discharged from a unit stationed in Britain, or a veteran returning from his post overseas. By choosing to name his origin as *natione Britto* rather than stating the placename in Britain might be indicative of his ancestry as a second generation of an immigrant: the immigrant families and their offspring who later pursued a military career might have chosen to refer to their origins by their provincial place of birth, since they were not part of the local tribal community and did not have any tribal affiliations. Their recruitment to the prestigious Imperial horse guard, the soldiers of which also acted as personal bodyguards to the Emperor, suggests that only immigrants born in Britain, in contrast to indigenous Britons, were allowed to enter such highly paid jobs. Yet, another three offspring of immigrant families, legionary soldiers, Marcellinus, Vitalis and Capito, opted for naming of a placename in Britain.

4.4. Britons in a British detachment in Mauretania Tingitana

Aurelius Nectoreca

Aurelius Nectoreca served as a centurion in *vexillatio Brittonum* stationed in Volubilis in Mauretania Tingitana (II. 12 and 13). This centurion had an Emperor's nomen, suggesting that Roman citizenship was given to him or his ancestors by the Emperors of the Antonine dynasty. His cognomen, Nectoreca, is a combination of two Celtic elements, *nect**- and *rec**²⁶⁶. The element *nect** appears only in two names known to the present day: both the people who had names with this element were of British descent: **Nectovelius** was a Brigantian by origin (RIB 2142) and **Catunectus** was a Trinovantian (AE 2003, 1218). It is worth noting that the number of people whose name contained the element *nect** is extremely small, yet both people with this name element were of British origin. This leads to the further suggestion that Nectoreca, a centurion in a British detachment, was most likely a Briton.

(...)lius Attianus

There is one epitaph in Tamuda in Morocco, most likely of late second-century date, erected for a person *ex Breitonibus*, i.e. from *Britonnes*, named (...)lius Attianus (II. 14). It is unknown if this British person served in the British detachment mentioned in the previous section. This detachment was probably posted at the el Gaada fortlet, not far

²⁶⁵ *Gentilicium* of both father and son has been reconstructed here as Nigidius, although other reconstructions are possible, cf. Mócsy 1983, 201 as Nigrianus or Nigradius.

²⁶⁶ The element *rec** is probably a variation of the typical Continental Celtic ending of personal names such as *reg-*. Evans (1967, 243, 400) considers the interchange between *c* and *g* in some Continental forms as a tendency "for the voiced and unvoiced velar stops to be confused". Neither Evans (1967, 243) nor Raybould and Sims-Williams (2009, 17) or Russell and Mullen (2009) provide examples of personal names ending in *rec-*. Perhaps this was a mistake of the engraver, who might have confused *rec-* with *reg-*.

away from Volubilis (Roxan 1973, 850), while the epitaph was discovered in fort Tamuda, which is ca 170 km north of el Gaada. This Briton was a soldier, recruited at the age of 22, and who served for only one year, though the name of his unit is missing from the epitaph. Taking into account that *vexillatio Brittonum* had at least one British-born recruit, Aurelius Nectoreca, it is possible that this Briton was also a member of this detachment, sent to Tamuda on a recruitment mission.

4.5. British auxiliaries

Catunectus, son of Aesugeslus

Catunectus from the *Trinovantes* tribe served in *cohors III Breucorum* raised from the *Breuci* tribe in Pannonia (II. 15; Haalebos 2000a, 56). Not much epigraphic evidence survives regarding this cohort, but it is known that it was in Germania Inferior ca AD 97 – 127 and was garrisoned at the fort at Woerden (Haalebos 2000a, 56-57; Spaul 2000, 321). It must have arrived shortly after the reign of Domitian, since all the units stationed in Germania Inferior during his reign were rewarded with the honorary title *Pia Fidelis*, which is missing from the title of this particular unit (Haalebos 2000a, 57; Spaul 2000, 321). Where the unit served prior to its transfer to Germania Inferior is unknown (Haalebos 2000a, 58), but the presence of the Trinovantian tribesman in this auxiliary unit indicates that the cohort recruited Britons in the late first century AD and that it might have been stationed at that time in Britain. Another unit of Breucians, with the numeral four, was first transferred to Britain with *legio IX Hispana* from Pannonia in AD 43 for the Claudian invasion (Spaul 2000, 322)²⁶⁷. Another explanation for the presence of a Trinovantian in this cohort is the service of a detachment on a recruitment mission in Britain. The practice of recruitment from nearby provinces, thus not only from among the locals, was relatively common in the Roman army (Haynes 2001, 66).

The question here is why Catunectus was buried at Cologne and not in Woerden, where his unit was garrisoned. The heir who ordered the tombstone knew the name of Catunectus' *centuria*, which would suggest that he was also a soldier in the same unit. The presence of two soldiers in the provincial capital of Germania Inferior, Cologne, indicates that they were there either for private reasons or on active duty, e.g. as personal bodyguards of the provincial governor (AE 2003, 1218 note on p. 395; Raybould and Sims-Williams 2009, 63).

Decimius Senius, son of Vitalus / Vitalis

This British soldier indicated his origin as a British citizen (II. 16). The inscription does not allow the possibility of establishing whether *Vital[i]* was part of the soldier's name (as in Spaul 2000, 557 and Carroll 2006, 225) or was his father's name, i.e. in the missing spot there should be *f(ilio)*.

He served in *cohors VI Ingenuorum*, a unit which is known to have been part of the army of Germania Inferior after AD 98²⁶⁸ (AE 1981, 689, AE 2004, 1911; CIL XIII 8314 and 8315). Where the unit was garrisoned is unknown. According to the name of the unit, *cohors ingenuorum civium Romanorum*, 'a cohort of volunteers with Roman citizenship', the unit was composed of citizens who had joined of their own free will. This soldier was therefore a Roman citizen before his enlistment at the age of 36. It is possible that Decimus Senius was mercenary, which means that he might be the only British soldier to have served there. The decision of his heirs to record his *origo* as a

²⁶⁷ From the evidence of military diplomas it is known that this unit was part of the British garrison from AD 122 onwards, but it is unknown where it was stationed prior to this date (Jarrett 1994, 57). Spaul (2000, 322) proposed that the cohort was in Britain for the whole time, i.e. from AD 43 onwards.

²⁶⁸ The cohort is not mentioned on the diploma for AD 98 from Elst, the Netherlands (Haalebos 2000a), which indicates that the unit was stationed in Germania Inferior after that date.

British citizen, *cives Britto*, is also worth mentioning here, but will be discussed in more detail in later sections.

Ignotus

This soldier²⁶⁹ is recorded on the *Tropaeum Traiani* monument in Adamclisi, Romania, erected to commemorate the victory of Trajan in the Dacian Wars, AD 101 – 106 (*CIL* III, 14214 = *AE* 1901, 40)²⁷⁰. His name did not survive, but his origin was recorded as *Britto*, i.e. Briton. The inscription from this monument indicates that he served together with a Norican, a Raetian, Tungrians and Gauls in one regiment, the name of which also did not survive. Such mixed units were fairly common (Haynes 1999b, 166).

No much can be said about this soldier, since his name and the title of his unit are unknown, except that he must have entered the unit in the 80s/90s of the first century.

Bollico, son of Icco, Icco

This soldier in a cavalry unit indicated his origin on a military diploma as *Britto* (I. 2). The date of issue of his citizenship certificate, AD 122, places his recruitment in AD 97, four years prior to the start of the Dacian Wars. He was an infantryman in *ala I Claudia Gallorum Capitoniana*, which is known to have served in Moesia Inferior ca AD 105 and was later part of the army of Dacia Inferior, the latter being the province where Bollico was granted his citizenship (*CIL* XVI 50; ZPE – 117 – 244; RMD 39, 269). The unit was probably present in Moesia as early as the first half of the first century and is not attested in Britain (*AE* 1912, 187 and *AE* 1967, 425, both attesting *ala Capitoniana*, presumably *ala I Claudia Gallorum Capitoniana*; Gayet 2006, 80; Matei-Popescu 2006 – 2007, 35; Jarrett 1994).

There are at least two soldiers who called their origin *Britto* and who served in the Dacian Wars, which may be indicative of the the reinforcement of the available manpower from Britain in the preparation for the Trajan's Dacian campaign.

This soldier had given his four children Latin names common everywhere with prevalence in Celtic speaking areas: Aprilis, Iulius, Apronia and Victoria (for Aprilis see Mócsy 1983, 25; OPEL I 68; for Iulius see Mócsy 1983, 154; OPEL II 201-207; Minkova 2000, 188; for Apronia see Mócsy 1983, 25; OPEL I 69; for Victoria see Mócsy 1983, 311; OPEL IV 168; Minkova 2000, 277).

Liccaius Vinentis (?)

This soldier probably hailed from *Lindum*, Lincoln in the UK, though a different reading of the inscription is possible (II. 17). Linda might stand for the (female) name of this soldier's heir or be an abbreviation of a name starting with Linda (cf. Mócsy 1983, 164, who considers this as a name, though the reading is regarded as uncertain; in OPEL III 28 as a full name).

The cohort in which this possible British soldier served is attested on the Lower Danube frontier, i.e. Moesia Superior, Dacia and Dacia Superior, and is not recorded in Britain (Jarrett 1994; Spaul 2000, 30). The inscription, based on its epigraphic formulae and the name of the heir, Severus, can be dated to the third century AD.

In earlier examples military personnel hailing from *Lindum* all served in the legions and were descendants of immigrants. It is therefore surprising to see a Lincoln-born man

²⁶⁹ That he was the only Briton serving in this unit was confirmed by checking the original inscription. Dobson and Mann (1973, 199, note 42) also indicate that only one Briton was recorded on this monument. Yet, the general opinion (Haynes 1999b, 166) still follows the assumption that there were two Britons.

²⁷⁰ This inscription was not included in the database, since only one line of this large inscription is of relevance here. The author asks those interested to refer to the original publication.

serving in an auxiliary unit, though he may have come from a native British family which had been granted the citizenship by Caracalla's edict of AD 212.

The name of this soldier, however, appears to be widespread in the territory of the Lower Danube, especially in Pannonia (OPEL III 26): one Liccaius is recorded as *domo Maezeius*, an Illyrian tribal entity (CIL VIII 9384); one hailed from the *Azali*, a Pannonian tribe (CIL XVI 99) and another from the *Breuci*, a Pannonian tribal entity (RMD II 79); two were fathers of soldiers who stated their *natione* as *Breucus* and served in the Breucian cohort (AE 1992, 1879; CIL XIII 8313). This makes it likely that Linda stood for something else rather than being a name of a town *Lindum* in a Roman province.

Ignotus

Another soldier, whose name did does not survive, hailed from the British tribal entity, the *Cornovi* (I. 3). The partial survival of his diploma does not provide any clue as to the exact date of his recruitment: it falls in the period of AD 101 – 115. The findspot of the diploma, as well as the unit or province of his service, is unknown, though the eastern Balkans and the provinces of Dacia or Moesia are the likely candidates (Eck and Pangerl 2007a, 232). He was possibly drafted to serve either in the (second) Dacian War, as was the case with the two *Brittones* discussed above, or to serve in troops suffering losses of men in the aftermath of Trajan's Dacian campaigns.

4.6. British mariners

Aemilius, son of Saenus

This British soldier, from the *Dumnonnes* tribe, served in the *Classis Germanica*, the German fleet after AD 96 (II. 18). On the basis of detailed epigraphic analysis, Konen (2000, 332-333) suggests that the majority of the mariners serving in this fleet after the Batavian revolt came from various provinces of the Roman Empire, including Britain, Thracia and Raetia. Aemilius is the only British mariner known from the epigraphic record to have served in the German fleet, but he was not the only British mariner (see below). Interestingly, he hailed from a tribe living in southwest Britain, where the sea is never far away.

Flavius, son of Defensorus OR Flavius Defensor

Another Briton served in the *Classis Misenatis* or the Misene Fleet, one of the main imperial naval forces (II. 19). This fleet's main job was the policing and provisioning of the Mediterranean coast; its main location was *Misenum* (Miseno in Italy), hence the name, though other ports are known to have been used (Starr 1993, 18; Spaul 2002, 9)

This person had a rather prestigious rank: he was a junior officer on one of the ships that belonged to the Misene Fleet. His cognomen suggests that he was born when one of the Flavian Emperors were in power, hence Flavius; yet, the epigraphic formulae on his funerary monument indicate its erection in the second half of the second century.

The question is what this second-in-command on a ship was doing in *Salona*, since it was not officially the fleet's station. A few inscriptions record the presence of soldiers of the Misene fleet in *Salona*, also dated to the late second century AD (CIL III 2036 records the erection of a funerary monument by a mariner for his wife and daughter; CIL III 2051 records the death of a veteran; ILJug-03, 2107 records the death of a soldier). A detachment of the fleet may have been present in *Salona* for some construction purposes: there are records of the participation of various Roman naval forces in building activities during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (D'Amato 2009, 15).

4.7. Civilians: unknown occupation

Aurelius Atianus

Aurelius Atianus, a Briton, was buried by his wife of 20 years, Valeria Irene (II. 20). His profession or the reason for his presence in Lyon, is not recorded on the funeral monument, but he may have been an émigré from Britain in search of a better life or have been there for business purposes: he may have been a trader.

The city of *Lugdunum* was a hub for commercial activity and attracted wealthy merchants and craftsmen. Its position on the major river trading route, the Rhône-Saône, one of the most important trading links with Britain, facilitated the concentration of foreign-born traders and their families (Fulford 1977, 59; King 1990, 117; Morris 2010, 41). Aurelius Atianus may have been such a trader who arrived in Lyon with the purpose of opening a warehouse selling British goods or helping in establishing trading contacts between the two provinces.

The Imperial *gentilicium* of this Briton suggests that his ancestors were granted Roman citizenship during the reign of one of the Antonine Emperors in the second half of the second century. Interestingly, another Attianus, with double *t*, has been recorded as “from Britons” on a late-second century inscription from Tamouda in Morocco.

The origin of his wife is uncertain, though she may have been of local, i.e. Lyonnais, origin. Her *gentilicium* and cognomen do not allow her origin to be established with any degree of confidence, since they were both widespread (for Valeria see Mócsy 1983, 300; OPEL IV 142-146; Minkova 2000, 92-93; for Irene see Mócsy 1983, 153; OPEL II, 196; Minkova 2000, 186)

Amandus, son of Velugnus

A votive inscription found in Worms in Germany was dedicated by a person from *Deva*, possibly modern-day Chester in England (II. 21). It is unknown if Amandus, son of Velugnus, was a civilian or a soldier, since he does not mention this on his votive monument. The monument was erected sometime in the second half of the second century, because it contains the epigraphic formula INDD, *in honorem domus divinae*, which started to appear on votive monuments around that time (Grünwald 1986b, 45; Kakoschke 2002, 21).

The name Velugn(i)us is a compound name, consisting of elements *veluo-* and *gno-*, the former is not Celtic, while the latter is (Raybould and Sims-Williams 2009, 16 and 31)²⁷¹. In the online database Russell and Mullen (2009, accessed on 08.04. 2011), both elements, *veluo-* and *gno-*, are listed as attested among the personal names of Roman. It is worth mentioning in this connection the soldier from *cohort III Britannorum* with the same name element Catavignus who is likely to have been of British descent (discussed in chapter 3, section 3.3.12). Sims-Williams (2004, 155, note 921) indicates the difference between the Continental Celtic element *-icn* and Insular *-ign*, where the former is more common in Continental, the latter in British names. All these are indications that the father of Amandus was most likely of British descent.

In contrast to the ‘British’-sounding name of the father, the name of the commemorator, Amandus, was widespread but mainly limited to the German provinces (Mócsy 1983, 14; OPEL I 45-46). It was found on only three inscriptions reported from Britain (RIB 360, 1036, 2091), but appears 21 times on inscriptions from both Germania and Gallia Belgica (Mócsy 1983, 14; OPEL I 45-46). The name is not considered to be a Celtic personal name (cf. Raybould and Sims-Williams 2007a; 2007b; 2009 where the

²⁷¹ This name was included by Raybould and Sims-Williams (2009, 26) into the list of rejected compound names, since one or two Celtic-looking elements could signify “superficial Celticization or reflect the underlying non-Celtic element”.

name Amandus is absent from all three catalogues). This points to Amandus, son of Velugnus having been of mixed origins. Since his family was probably living in Germania Superior, he had received a popular local name, although his father was likely of British descent. This leads to the possible conclusion that this civilian was actually of local origin as well as being a second generation British emigrant.

Due to the supposed local origin of Amandus, a severe problem of interpretation arises. If he stated his origin as the British city of *Deva*, but his name testifies to his local descent, then where should we look for his birthplace? The notion that it was somewhere in Britain fails to find support for several reasons. First, the monument was erected to venerate a local god, *Mars Loucetius*, whose cult was widespread in the area of Germania Superior (AE 1907, 77; AE 1990, 750; AE 1991, 1272; CIL XIII 7241, 7252, 11602 and one dedication from Britain (RIB 140) erected by an inhabitant of the *civitas Treverorum*). Second, it is known that *Deva* was a legionary fortress. People who state on inscriptions that they were born in former legionary fortresses or veteran colonies had usually Roman citizenship at birth – they have the *tria nomina*, indicating their Roman status. Amandus was freeborn, but not a citizen as his name shows. The *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* places *Deva* in Britain and does not record any other places with similar names, although it is theoretically possible that it might refer here to some other place in the Celtic-speaking world. Unfortunately, there is currently no direct evidence to support the idea that there may have been another town in the Roman world with a similar sounding name. It can be confidently stated that Amandus was born in Germania Superior. So why did he mention his birthplace as the British town of *Deva*?

It is possible that his father came from Britain as a slave of a legionary soldier, who was posted on the Continent after his service in Britain, most likely in Chester. After Velugnus received his freedom, probably upon the death of this legionary soldier, he might have settled down in Germania Superior, married a local woman and, for unknown reason, moved to the territory of *civitas Vangionum* of which Worms was its capital. There his son, Amandus, was born. This highly speculative proposal suggests that Amandus chose as his *origo* his father's place of birth, rather than his own. Did this second generation emigrant have such strong ties with Britain? Or was it due to the settling of his father in a different community, that his whole family was perceived, either in their own eyes or those of others, as a culturally distinct family? Were they not allowed to be part of *civitas Vangionum*, because their ancestor was from another tribal entity? The present evidence, unfortunately, does not allow us to fully understand Amandus' situation.

Optatius Verus

Optatius Verus erected a votive monument found in Trier (II. 21). His origin was recorded as *Deva*, i.e. *Deva Victrix*, which is the modern-day city of Chester in the UK. In the previous section we met another person who claimed that he hailed from *Deva*; however, linguistic analysis of his name pointed to a Continental origin.

Optatius Verus does not mention his profession, but it is likely that he was a civilian. On his monument he venerated two gods who were worshipped above all in the Moselle region and in *civitas Treverorum* (Heinen 1985, 184), which suggests that he was quite familiar with local customs and local gods and goddesses and may have been of local descent like Amandus. However, he could also have been a British trader, who erected the monument to the local gods *ex voto* as a gift for a safe Channel crossing or for a successful business operation conducted with the Treverans.

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).

Tolosanus

Tolosanus, another Briton by birth, was buried in southern Gaul, in Arles in France (II. 23). The formula *Hic Iacet* on his inscription points to the 4th-5th century AD and the depiction of a cross shows without doubt that a Christian was buried beneath the funerary monument (Heijmans 2000, 91). This formula originated in the early 4th century in Italy and became relatively widespread in southern Gaul in the late 4th-5th centuries AD (Knight 2010, 286, note 14 citing Nash Williams 1950, 8). The appearance of a British Christian in southern Gaul can be explained through the various close and continuous contacts between Britain and southern Gaul, especially contacts between two Churches (Knight 2010, 286).

This Late Antiquity inscription takes us beyond the scope of the present thesis, but is still worth mentioning here, considering that it records its subject's origin. For historians and archaeologists of Late Antiquity this inscription may provide more information in comparison to what has been presented here.

Claudia Rufina: a British emigrant woman in Rome

In one of his epigrams Martial (11.53) addresses a certain Claudia Rufina, a British-born woman living in Rome in the late first century AD (Allason-Jones 2005, 189). Martial praises her charms, manners, education and fertility. She was probably the wife of his friend Aulus Pudens: another Claudia Perigrina is mentioned as being about to marry Pudens (4.13; Hemelrijk 2004, 309, note 138). That Claudia was a close friend of Martial himself can be supported by couple of remarks describing British objects and Britons themselves in another two of his epigrams: "old trousers of a poor Briton" (11.21) and "barbarian basket that came from Britain", which (the basket) over time became more Roman, hinting at a successful adaptation to Roman culture in spite of 'the basket's' provincial background (14.99; Hemelrijk 2004, 319, note 199). Martial mentions another Claudia, who is taller than the colossus on the Palatine hill, indicating that this woman was of extraordinary height (8.60). Ancient writers also note the height of British women as "very tall" (Cassius Dio 62.2.4), although their statements contradict the archaeological evidence, which shows that British women were on average 1.50 to 1.68 m high (Allason-Jones 2005, 5)²⁷².

It is uncertain when, how and why this woman came to Rome. Aulus Pudens was a centurion in an unknown legion (Martial, *Epig.* 6.58): because he had a British wife, he might have brought her over from Britain after he had finished serving there in one of the British legions. Because the *gentilicium* of Claudia Rufina points to her family being granted the citizenship during the Julio-Claudian dynasty, she was probably of a British aristocratic family, who had accepted the new rule after AD 43 and for which they had received the citizenship from Claudius himself.

Aelia Acumina: another British emigrant woman?

In Dijon a votive inscription was found, which had been erected by a woman named Aelia Acumina (no 24). Dijon was a settlement of the tribe of the Lingones, members of which provided recruits to four cohorts stationed in Britain in the late first – second centuries (Jarrett 1994, 61-62; Spaul 2000, 176-181). It is therefore tempting to see in

²⁷² Watts' (2005, 91-92, tab. 5.3) analysis of the remains in Romano-British cemeteries shows that the norm for British women was a height of 1.59 m, although she also notes the presence of tall females of 1.76m in some regions. Yet women were still smaller than men: 1.68 m was the average for British males.

this woman a British emigrant who had followed her discharged partner of Lingones descent back to his homeland.

The nomenclature of her name points to here being a freeborn woman in a family that was granted citizenship in the late second century, probably also after the edict of AD 212. Her cognomen was not widespread: it was recorded only on two other inscriptions, both from Italy (*CIL* V 6096 from Milan; *CIL* X 3991 from Capua).

Aelia Acumina dedicated her votive altar to *Deus Britus*, which can be loosely translated as ‘a British god’, yet in Nîmes in France, two inscriptions recording *Mars Britovius* have been found (*CIL* XII 3082, 3083). Possibly these three inscriptions record the names of one and the same god. The name *Britovius* may derive from the Gaulish Celtic elements *bretos-* or *brito-*, which means ‘judgment, thinking, mind’ (Delamarre 2001, 74, 265); in that case the name should be translated as ‘a god of judgment’ or simply ‘the judge’. This further implies that *Deus Britus* might not have been the personification of a British god, but rather a local god of Nîmes and its surroundings. The problem is that Dijon lies much further north and the cult of *Mars Britovius* seems to be restricted to the region of Nîmes only.

The question then remains: was Aelia Acumina of British or local Gaulish descent? Neither her cognomen nor the name of the venerated god allows the possibility of confirming either suggestion.

4.8. British freedmen in Rome?

There are two inscriptions that attest the presence of freedmen from Britain in Rome: one records a unit of British litter-bearers (II. 25), the other a freedman of a centurion from an auxiliary unit (II. 26).

The commander of the British litter-bearers was named on the inscription as Tiberius Claudius Quadratus, a “freedman of Augustus”, i.e. an Emperor’s freedman. While this decurion’s cognomen does not point to his origin – it was widespread (Mócsy 1983, 238; OPEL IV 15; Minkova 2000, 239) – his Imperial *gentilicia*, Tiberius Claudius, indicates that he was a freedman of the Emperor Claudius, who upon invasion of Britain in AD 43 took hostages back to the imperial court in Rome. Quadratus may have been one such hostage. Because of his rather high status position, as decurion of the unit, he was possibly of royal or at least elite British blood.

This inscription also shows that in Rome there was a unit of British litter-bearers and British-born Quadratus may have not been alone. Officials or members of the Imperial family or elite travelled in Rome in litters or *lectica* (a kind of portable bed) borne by slaves or mules. In one of his poems Catullus (*Carmina* 10) tells how he brought eight litter-bearers from Bithynia for his household. Claudius may have done something like this as well, but this time from Britain. The epigraphic formulae indicate that the inscription was made some time in the mid – late first century AD, which corresponds with the idea proposed here that Quadratus and other British slaves were brought to Rome after AD 43.

Another British freedman was Caius Cesernius Zonysius, a former slave of a certain Caius Cesennius Senecio, a centurion of the *cohors II Praetoria Pia Vindex* and also a trainer of troops in an Imperial horse guard. Probably Senecio bought his slave Zonysius in Rome. Interestingly enough, Zonysius on the funerary epitaph of his owner does not fail to indicate that he, Zonysius, was “taken from Britannia” by a certain Zoticus (II. 25 “*atferente (sic!) Zotico a Brittan(n)ia*”). The epigraphic formulae on the inscription point to its erection some time in the late first – early second century, meaning that Zonysius was not brought to Rome as a result of the levies imposed on the population of Britain after AD 43, but later and because of different cause.

The nomenclature this British freedman's name is not British, but taking into account that his first owner Zoticus was most likely came from Greece or Asia Minor (Minkova 2000, 283) and the practice of naming slaves with Greek names, Zonysius may not have been his original name. Being renamed, Zonysius did not forget his land of birth, the fact he seems to have been only too eager to emphasise on his second (?) owner's epitaph.

4.9. Civilians: traders

Marcus Aurelius Lunaris

Marcus Aurelius Lunaris was a priest of the Imperial cult at two British colonies *Eboracum* (York) and *Lindum* (Lincoln), who dedicated a votive inscription at Bordeaux in France (II. 27; Courteault 1921, 103). His cognomen, Lunaris, appears on inscriptions found in Britain (RIB 786, 1521), though there are also a few on the Continent (*CIL* XIII 2862 from Sources de la Seine, France; *CIL* XIII 4333 from Metz, France). The altar itself may have been shipped from York, as, according to the geological analysis, it was made of stone that originated in Yorkshire (Birley A. 1986, 54-55). This individual was therefore most likely of British origin rather than being a person from Bordeaux living in Britain (Noy 2010, 24), since he made the effort of shipping the stone all the way from Britain to France.

His profession is not mentioned on the votive inscription, but considering the location of the votive monument, i.e. the trading center, he may have been a trader between York and Bordeaux (Birley A. 1986, 55). What he was trading between York and Bordeaux is unrecorded, but it has been proposed that it was wine (Birley A. 1986, 55).

The altar was dedicated to the goddess Tutela Boudiga in gratitude for her protection during a journey, probably the crossing of the Channel (“*aram quam vover(at) ab Eboraci avect(us)*”). The goddess Tutela with the epithet Boudiga, which is a reminiscent of the name of the Icenian queen Boudicca, has been considered to be a genuine British goddess (Birley A. 1986, 54; Aldhouse-Green 2004, 211). Yet, in Roman France there are other votive inscriptions venerating the goddess Tutela, without the Boudiga epithet (*AE* 1913, 117 from Lourdes; *AE* 1916, 123 from Autun; *AE* 1962, 225 from Poitiers; *AE* 2002, 966 from Narbonne; *AE* 2003, 1164 from Esparro)²⁷³. Moreover, it has been argued that the inscription actually refers to *Dea tutela Bou[r]dig[alensis]* – the tutelary goddess Bourdiga, i.e. protecting goddess of Bordeaux²⁷⁴ (Keppie 2001, 93, esp. 146, footnotes from the chapter 12, note 9 with further literature). Either way, Marcus Aurelius Lunaris venerated the popular Celtic goddess, either adding the epithet *Boudiga*, meaning ‘Victorious’, to express his gratitude²⁷⁵ or to express his thanks to the protecting goddess upon completion of a safe journey from York to Bordeaux.

British traders/traders operating between Britain and the trading centre of Ganuenta (Colijnsplaat, the Netherlands).

A Roman settlement called *Ganuenta* and a temple to the goddess *Nehalennia* were found in the 1970s in the vicinity of the modern village of Colijnsplaat in the province of Zeeland in the Netherlands. The site now lies ca 25 m beneath the North Sea due to a rise in sea level (Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 14, 210). A total of 311 altars dedicated to the

²⁷³ There are also at least 30 inscriptions to Tutela in Roman Spain (Hispania Citerior and Baetica) (Claus and Slaby, accessed on 16.06.2011).

²⁷⁴ Roman name for Bordeaux is *Burdigala*.

²⁷⁵ Courteault 1921, 104 proposes that this was done to commemorate “the occasion of a great public event”, which was the successful expedition of the Emperor Maximianus into Germany.

goddess *Nehalennia* was found during rescue excavations in the 1970s (Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 17).

The site was one of the major trading centres between Britain and the coastal areas of Germania Inferior, Belgica and Gallia (Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 216). The temple was visited by traders who made commemorations and gave gifts to the goddess in gratitude for their safe return, successful trading operations and for other reasons. The origin of the traders who visited the temple and erected votive monuments varied between the locals (from *Ganuenta*) and people from the various cities in the same province, and the traders from the tribal lands of the *Sequani*, *Rauraci* and *Treveri* (Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 32-33, 215). On four out of 311 inscriptions, the dedicants mention their profession as *negotiator Britannicianus* – trader from/with Britain²⁷⁶, and on one as *negotiator Cantianus et Geserecanus* – trader with the region of Kent, England and with the town of Boulogne-sur-Mer, France (inscriptions A 3, A 6, A 11, B 10 and A 9 in Stuart and Bogaers 2001). The ambiguity of the choice of words used to name the profession, i.e. British trader, which can be understood to mean either trader *from* or trader *with*, requires further exploration. It seems reasonable to make an onomastic analysis of the names of these ‘British’ traders in order to see if all or any might have been of British origin, as the interpretation ‘trader from’ would suggest, or if they were of various ethnic origins and simply worked as ‘trader with’ Britain.

1. Inscription A 3 was made by Marcus Secundinius Silvanus, a trader from/with Britain in pottery. It has been proposed that he belonged to a trading family from Cologne that specialised in the import/export of British- and Continental-made wares (Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 216). The different members of the family of the *Secundinii* are known from other altars found in Cologne as trading experts in pottery (Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 53-54). His cognomen – Silvanus – was widespread but particularly frequent in the Celtic speaking areas (Mócsy 1983, 266; Minkova 2000, 254).
2. Inscription A 6 was erected by Placidus, son of Viducus, from the *Veliocassinii* tribe, which is known to have inhabited the area of modern northwest France and had as its *civitas* capital the modern French town of Rouen.
3. Inscription A 11 was erected by Caius Aurelius Verus, possibly the same trader recorded on an inscription from Cologne (*CIL* XIII 8164a). His cognomen does not give any clue as to his origin: it was common everywhere (Mócsy 1983, 308; Minkova 2000, 275). On the votive inscription found in Cologne, Verus stated his profession as trader and *moritex*. It has been suggested that *moritex* was a Celtic word for ‘sea trader’ and probably signified a person who was involved in the cross-Channel trade of goods between Britain and the Rhineland (Adams 2003, 275-276). One more inscription found in London is known in which the word *moritex* was used (*AE* 2002, 882). The origin of the person on the London inscription is given as *Bellovaci*, a tribe that lived in the area around modern Amiens in northern France. While the origin of Verus is unknown, it is possible that he was also of Continental origin. Verus may have been involved in the cross-Channel trade of exotic British goods and glass vessels produced in Cologne.
4. Votive monument B 10 was erected by Publius Arisenius Marius, freedman of Publius Arisenus V(...)hus. It has been proposed that the patron of Arisenius Marius hailed from a Germanic-speaking area, since his name

²⁷⁶ Paterson (1998, 160) sees in *negotiator* more than a simple trader. These people were more or less “money-men who set up deals” and “large-scale wholesalers who finance the trade...[though they might have been] directly involved in the transportation and sale of the product” (Paterson 1998, 152, 160).

contains the letter H, which, according to Stuart and Bogaers (2001, 110), is an indication of Germanic origin. Furthermore, the *nomen gentilicium* of both patron and freedman are derived from the rare Celtic name Arusenus, known only from one tombstone erected in Bonn (*CIL* XIII 8066; Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 110, note 118). The *nomen gentilicium* has not been found on any inscriptions from Britain, although both Celtic elements *ario-* and *seno-* (Evans 1967, 141-142) are attested in names of inhabitants of Britain (Russell and Mullen 2009, under the name elements *ario-* and *seno-*, accessed on 16.07.2011).

5. Votive monument A 9 was erected by Valerius Mar(...), who was a trader between the region of Kent, England, and the base of the *Classis Britannica* at Boulogne-sur-Mer in northern France. Since he erected the monument in Colijnsplaat, it is possible that he was also involved in the cross-Channel trade between Germania Inferior and Britain. The name Valerius Mar(...) is known from another inscription discovered in London: Valerius Marcellus, together with his brother, erected the monument in memory of their father (RIB 16; Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 59). The origin of both the Valerius Mar(...) from the inscription in Colijnsplaat and the Valerius Marcellus from London is unknown. Valerius was a very widespread *nomen gentilicium* (Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 59; Minkova 2000, 93-96) as was the cognomen Marcellus (Minkova 2000, 202).

One more inscription recording *negotiator Britannicianus* was found in Bordeaux, France, was erected by a Treveran (*CIL* XIII 634).

Considering that the majority of those (four out of seven) who give their profession as *negotiator Britannicianus* were of Continental origin, ‘British trader’ can indeed be interpreted to mean ‘trader with Britain’. In other words, ‘British’ trader does not automatically imply that this person was of British descent, yet one might consider that not only Continental-born traders were involved in the cross-Channel trade, as can be seen from the examples of Marcus Aurelius Lunaris and probably Aurelius Atianus mentioned above.

A number of people without giving an indication of their origin were also recorded on inscriptions erected in Colijnsplaat: Exsibillus, Hun(...)io, Neuto, Paluso, Tagadianus, Tagamas, Tagadunius, Varausius and (...)fto (Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 29). Among these names, three immediately stand out: Tagadianus, Tagadunius and Tagamas. The first two closely resemble the names of the British kings C/Togidubnus²⁷⁷ and Togodumnus; the latter contains the name element *tago-*, which appeared in the name of another British king, Prasutagus. Togodumnus was the ruler of the Catuvellaunian tribal territory, north of the Thames, prior to the Roman invasion of AD 43 (Salway 1993, 56); C/Togidubnus was acknowledged by the Roman powers to be the ruler of the southern tribes after the invasion and is recorded as the first Roman citizen of all the Britons (Salway 1993, 56); Prasutagus, the husband of Boudicca, king of the *Iceni*, was also a “friend of Rome” (Salway 1993, 71).

The two people whose names resemble those of British kings, Tagamas, son of Tagadianus and Titus Tagadunius, do not mention their profession as traders with Britain. However, it was recorded that Tagadunius was an ‘*adiutor*’ – a helper or assistant, possibly of a trader (A 19 and B 7 respectively). It is highly likely that both persons were involved in the cross-Channel trade, since they erected the votive monuments in a major hub in the trade between Germania Inferior and Britain.

²⁷⁷ There are various readings of the name of this British king. In most manuscripts of Tacitus’ book ‘*Agricola*’ the name of the king is given as ‘Cogidumus’ and only in one as ‘Togidumus’ (Tacitus, *Agricola* 14). On one surviving inscription the name of the king is missing the first two letters, which does not allow a full reconstruction of the name (RIB 91).

The names of these people are combinations of two elements: *tago-* and *duno-* (Russell and Mullen 2009, under the elements *tago-* and *duno-*, accessed on 16.07.2011). More names with such elements are known from Britain itself: Vodunius (Russell and Mullen 2009, under the element *duno-*, accessed on 16.07.2011); Tagomas (Vindolanda 181; Birley A. 2009, 279-283), Tagarminis/Tagarannis (Vindolanda 184) and the “samian potter Tagonus” (Birley A. 2009, 282). On the Continent, names with the elements *tago-* and *duno-* are also known: Ulpus T(...)gadunus (Nesselhauf 255), Tagausus, Icotagus and Itotagus (Sims-Williams 2004, 86). The profession of T(...)gadunus is unknown, although the place where the inscription was found, Rimbürg, lies directly on the Via Belgica, the trade route from Boulogne-sur-Mer to Cologne used for the transportation of commodities arriving from, and being dispatched to, Britain (Stuart and de Grooth 1987, 6-7, map 1, no 58). It is possible that he was also a trader and was, like his namesake Tagadunius, involved in the cross-Channel trade between Britain and Germania Inferior.

The origin of the people mentioned above is not stated on their monuments or writing tablets, although the name element **tagu-* is known on inscriptions both of Britain and Continent (Sims-Williams 2004, 86). A. Birley (2009, 281-282) draws attention to the probability that the soldiers Tagomas and Tagarminis/Tagarannis, recorded on Vindolanda writing tablets, served in the cavalry section of *cohors I Fida Vardullorum*, which was stationed in Vindolanda in the period IV fort, dated to ca AD 105 – 120 (Vindolanda 181 and 184). He also notes the existence of the river Tagus and its tributary the Tagonius in the region where the *Vardulli* tribe had their territory, namely northern Spain (Birley A. 2009, 282). Although Birley does not go so far as to suggest that both soldiers could have been of northern Spanish descent, he does appear to hint at the possibility.

Considering all that has been discussed above, it seems reasonable to propose that Tagamus and Titus Tagadunius were not of British descent and that their origin should be looked for on the Continent, probably in Celtic-speaking areas somewhere between southern France and northern Spain.

To summarise, there are no inscriptions that directly attest to the presence in Colijnsplaat of traders of British descent. The onomastic analysis of the names of two traders also did not make it possible to establish the presence of traders of British origin.

4.10. Conclusion

In total 26 men and three, possibly four, women of British descent have been identified; the British origin of three people (Liccaius, Amandus and Aelia Acumina) was questioned here. Out of these, 21 people mentioned their origin directly²⁷⁸, others preferred not to indicate their descent and their origin was established through various means: analysis of their religious beliefs (two, possibly three, people), name nomenclature (four people) and career (two people).

These 30 people had various professions, though the majority was confined to service in the Roman army: in the legions and auxiliary units posted overseas, in the fleet garrisoned on the Continent and in the Imperial capital Rome as the Emperor's bodyguards (fig. 4.1). Quite surprisingly, only one British trader has been detected epigraphically, although there must have been British-born indigenous traders (as opposed to British-born immigrant traders) involved in the cross-Channel trade. It is unlikely that all trading activities between Britain and the Continent lay in hands of

²⁷⁸ Claudia Rufina is counted here, although it is unknown whether she was eager to mention her origin while living in Rome. Probably her accent or appearance gave her away as a provincial woman.

people born on the Continent, as the epigraphic record seems to suggest (Hassall 1978, 43).

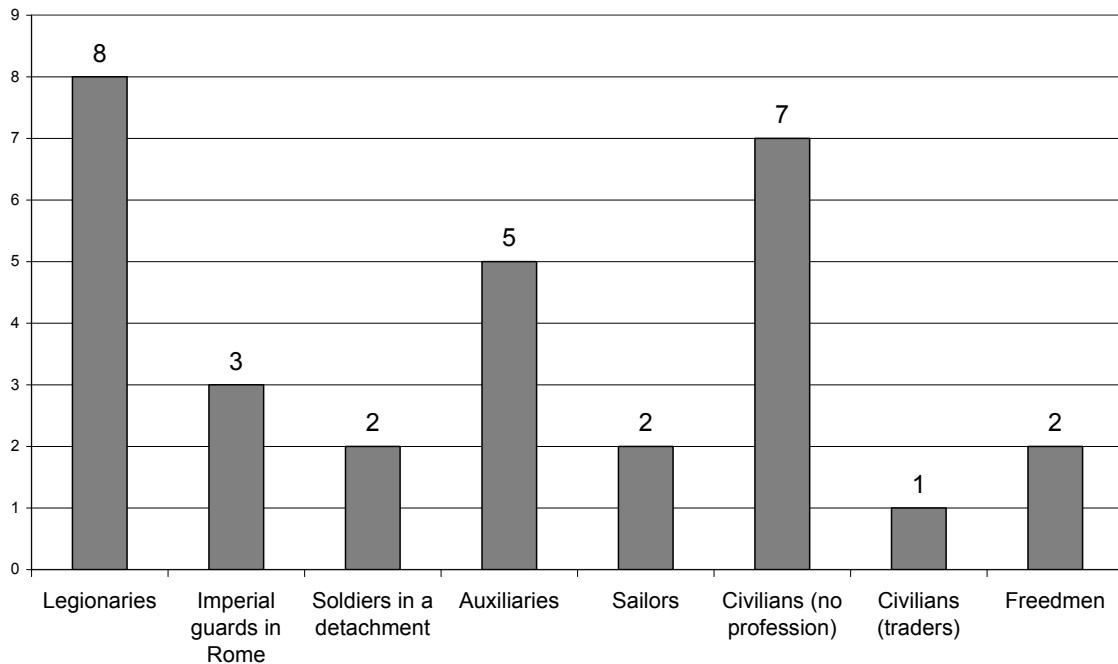


Figure 4.1 Professions of mobile Britons

Those who were born in Britain were not necessarily of native British stock: at least three legionary soldiers were sons or grandsons of immigrants to Britain in the mid and late first century AD (Vitalis, Marcellus and Capito); one was a son or grandson of an auxiliary veteran, who either came from the Continent or had been drafted from a British tribe to serve in Britain (Quintus).

The geographic spread of inscriptions mentioning Britons is not confined to a particular province: they are distributed across the whole Roman Empire, basically from North Africa to Germania Inferior, from Gallia to the Roman frontiers on the Danube (fig. 4. 2). While the presence of some Britons in particular territories was due to the orders of Roman officials, others seems to have settled in particular places in a search of a better life (such as Atianus who settled in Lyon or the two legionary conscripts who settled in Xanten).

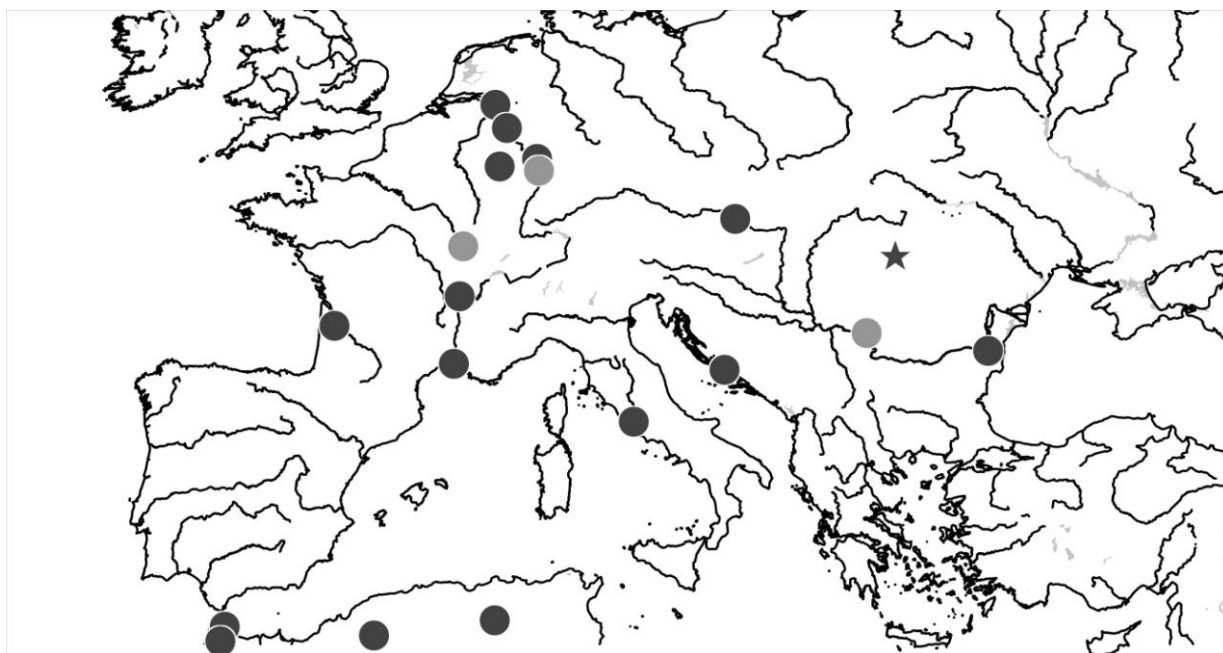


Figure 4.2 Distribution of inscriptions (circle) and military diplomas (star) mentioning Britons (in grey are Britons under question)

The origin of two supposedly British people was questioned here: Liccaius may have been from Lincoln, while Amandus from Chester. Their cognomens show that they were most likely born on the Continent (in Pannonia and Germania Superior respectively) of parents of British descent (this was proven only in the case of Amandus). The reasoning why they gave as their origin places in Britain that they may never had seen is uncertain: either they had strong links with their British ancestors, or the words *Linda* and *Deva* on their inscriptions stand for something other than place names or for other, as yet unrecorded, places on the Continent.

The epigraphic material also shows a considerable degree of variation in the nomenclature of origin, which varied from naming a tribe or specific place to the formula *natione Britto*. While this significant aspect cannot be left undiscussed, it will be considered in the chapter 6, where the origin nomenclature of all recorded Britons (also those who served in British auxiliary units) will be presented. The results will then be contrasted with the archaeological record in order to establish the patterns of British emigrant identity and its expression through epigraphy and material culture.

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.

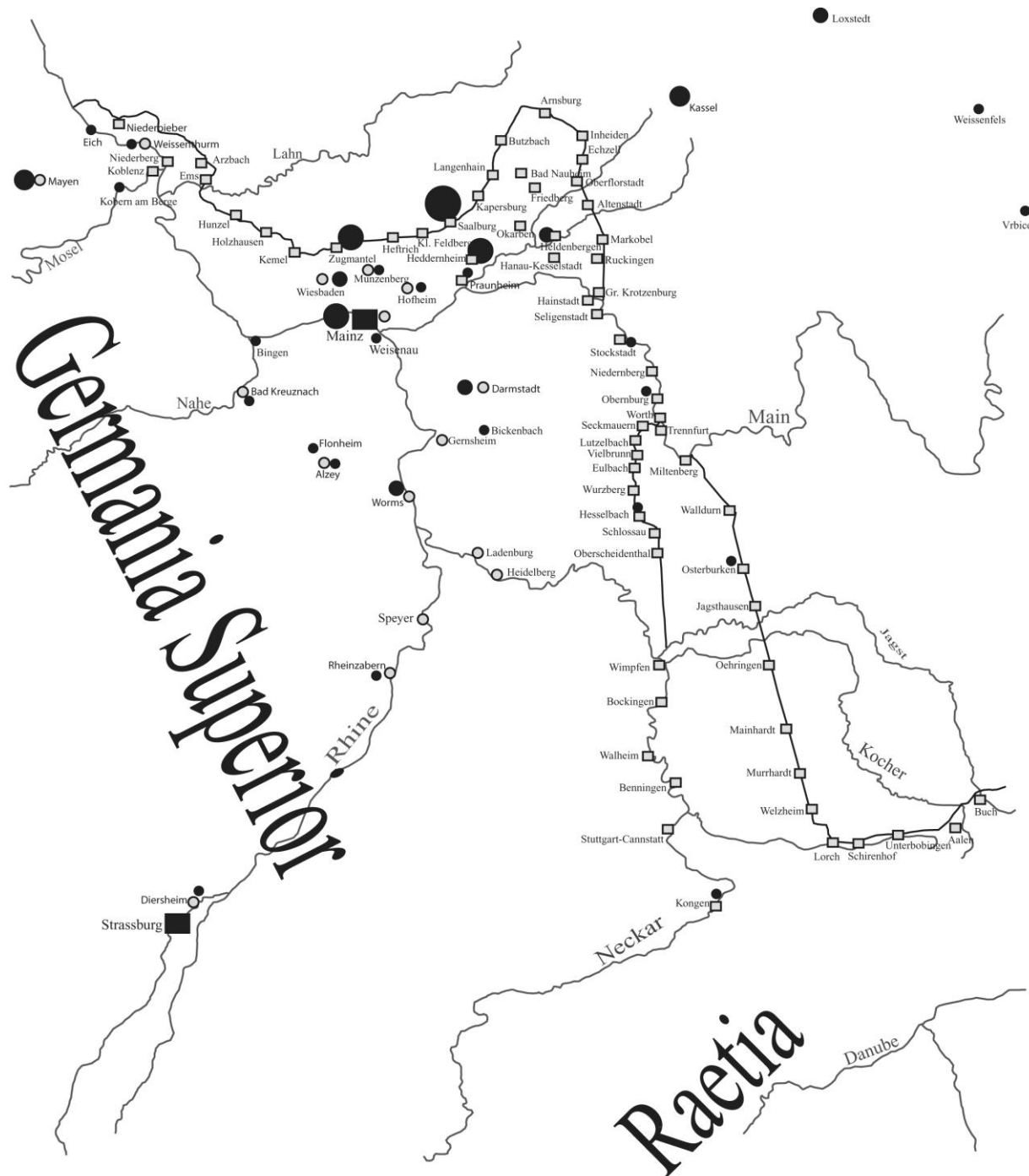
The data consists of 242 brooches found on 102 sites across the Empire; the provenance of 20 brooches was recorded as unknown. The initial dataset was compiled by F. Morris from the University of Oxford; it comprises 179 brooches from 77 sites across Europe (Morris 2010, 180-190, Appendix 6). The author 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)

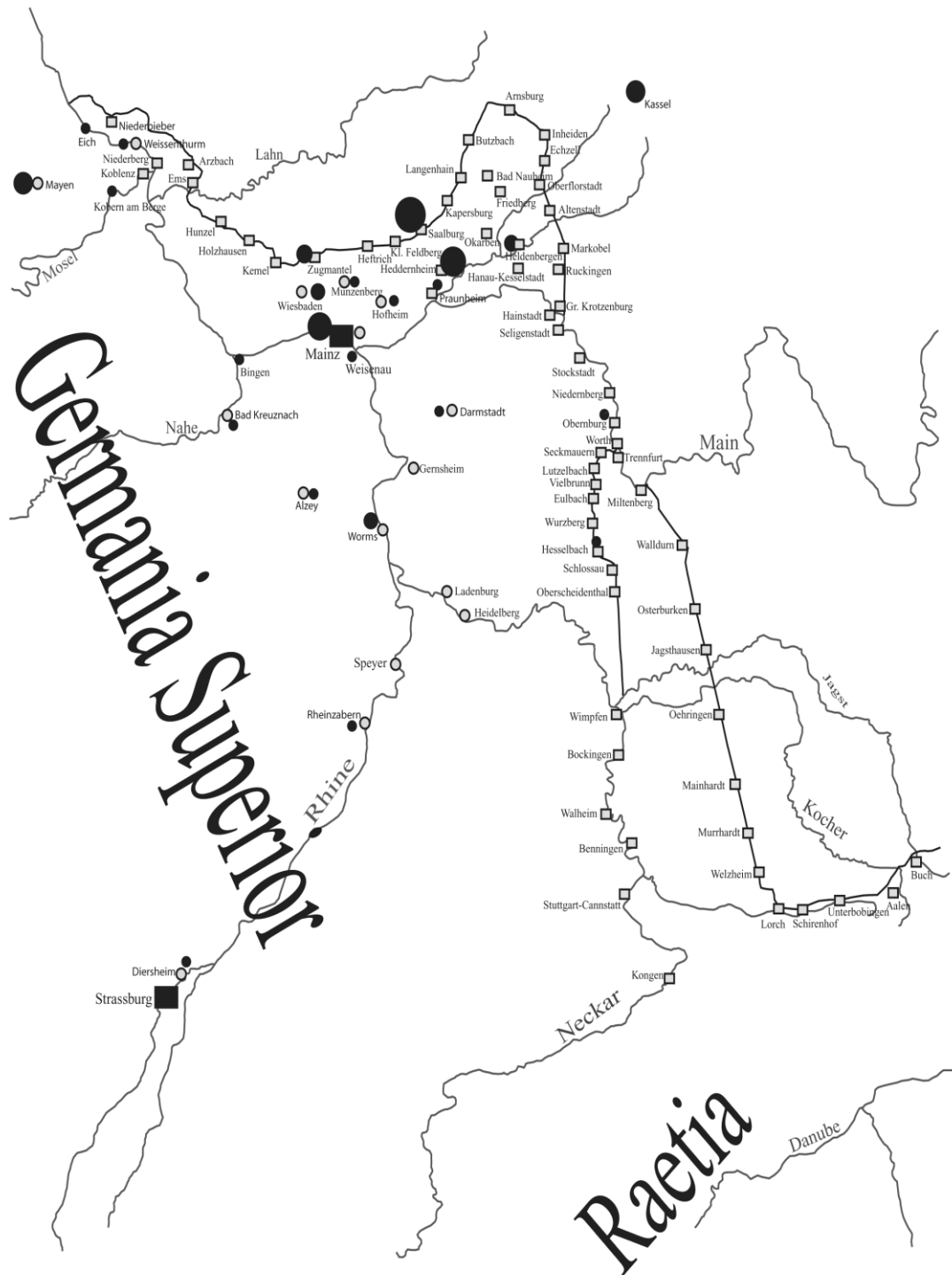
- = one piece
- = two pieces
- = three/four pieces
- = five to nine pieces
- = ten and more pieces
- = legionary fortress
- = auxiliary fortress
- = civilian settlement (civitas capital, vicus, etc.)

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).

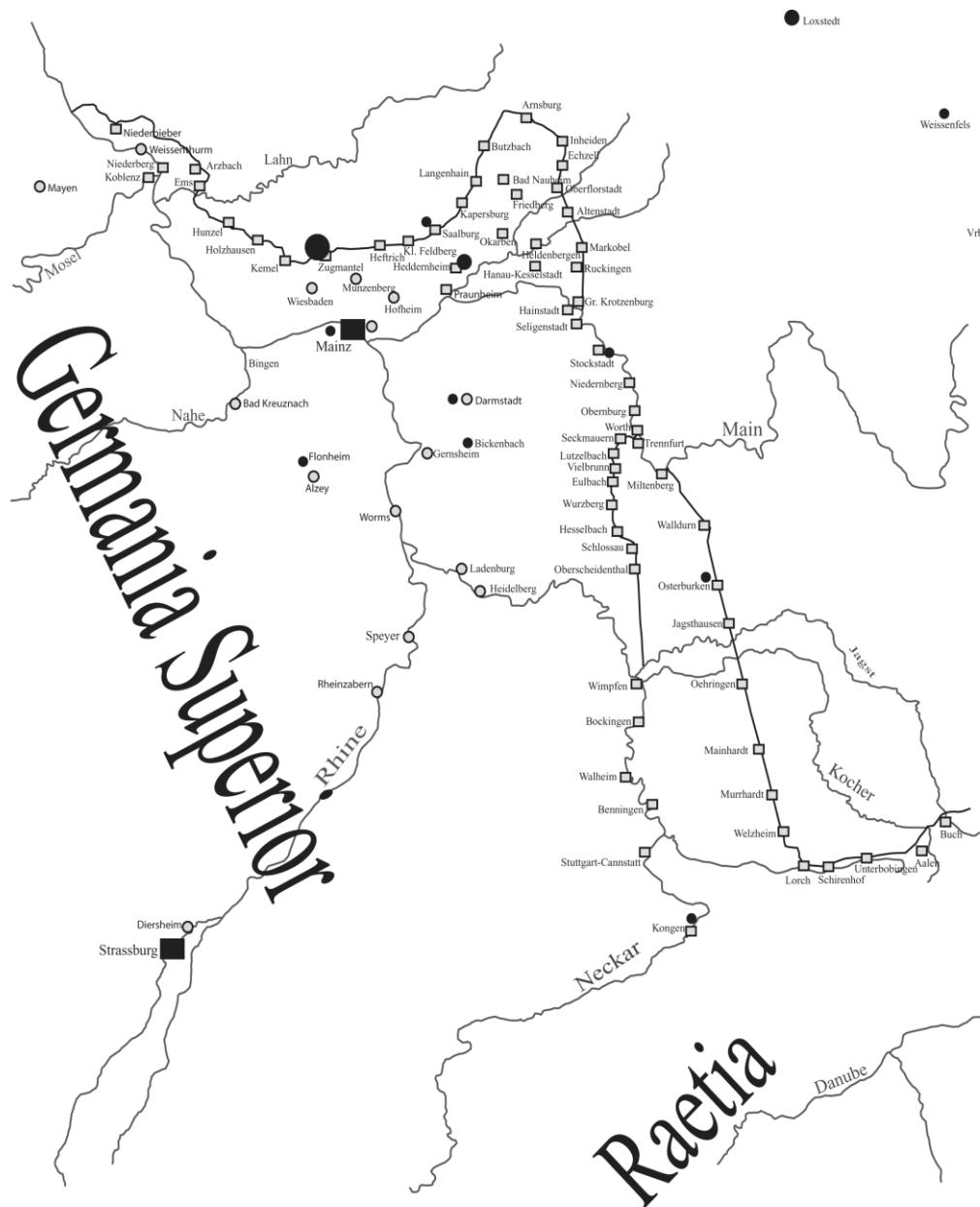


Distribution of late first century British brooches in Germania Superior (five without provenance). (Map after Baatz 2000)

- = 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 Libera 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 dragonesque 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 dragonesque 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 dragonesque 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*.

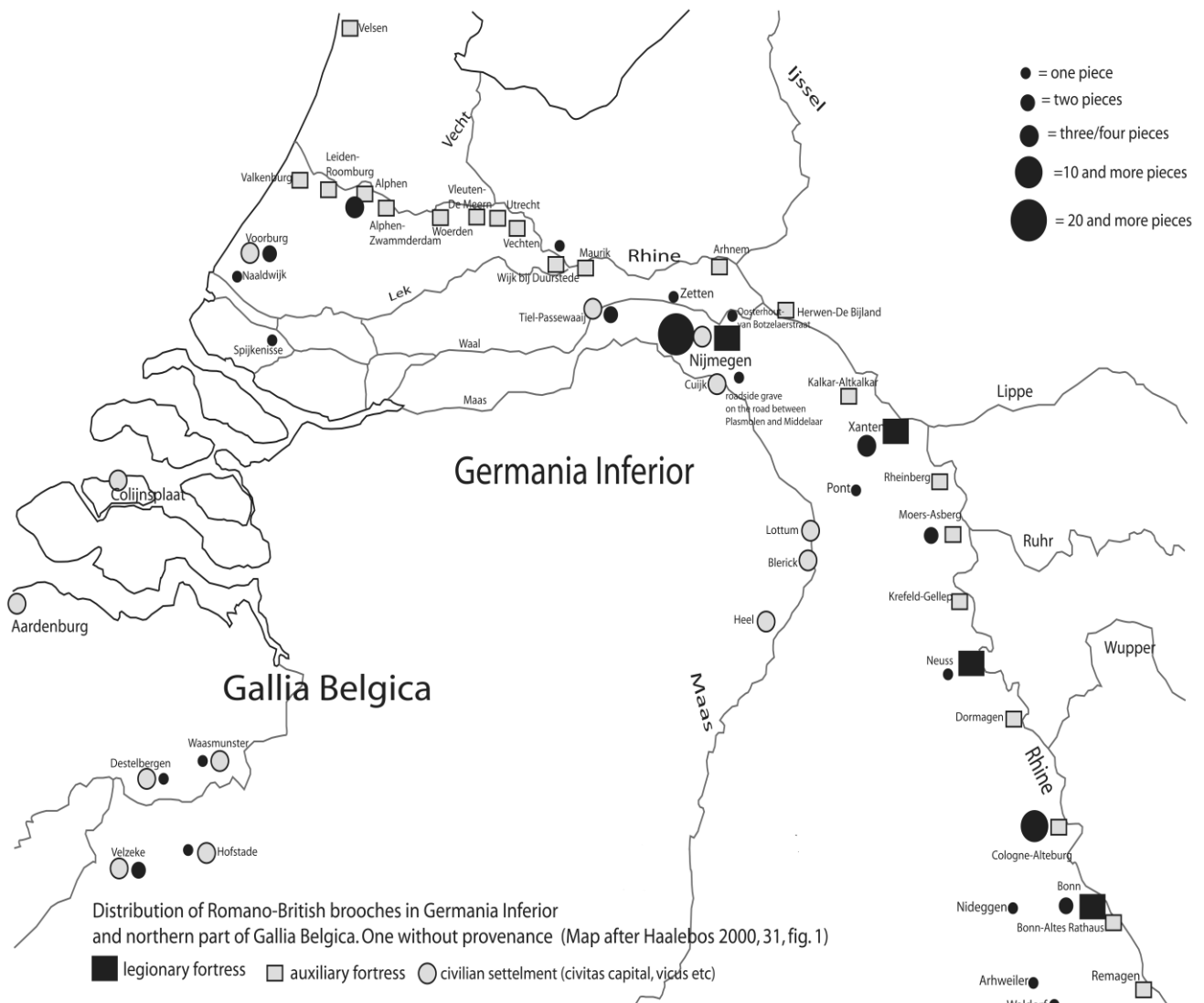


Figure 5.4 Distribution of British-made brooches in Germania Inferior

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-Stenberg. 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.

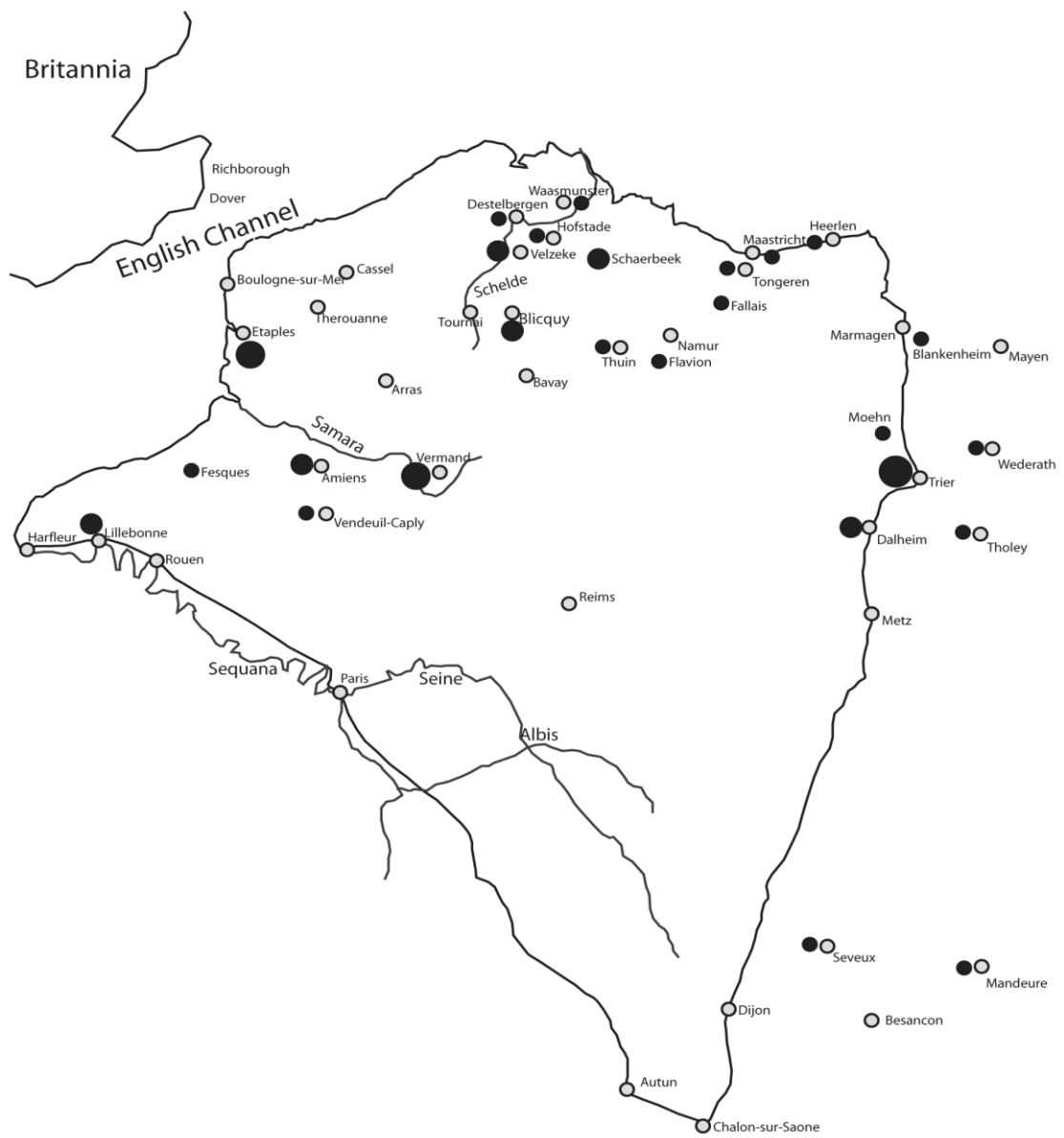
Another link seems to exist between the occurrence of British brooches on military sites and the presence on these sites of units raised or relocated from Britain. The British brooches from Nijmegen are a case in point. While it can be argued that some of the brooches were brought by Batavian veterans 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).

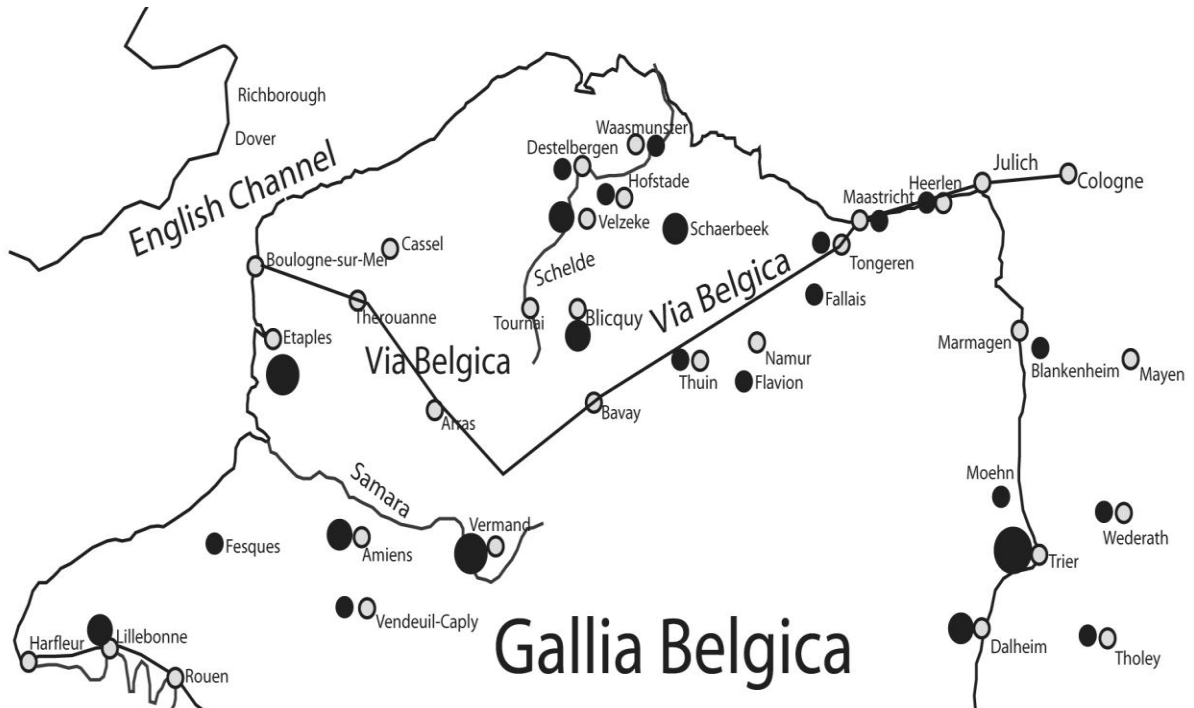


Figure 5.6 Concentration of British-made brooches around the Via Belgica

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 Mandeuve) (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.

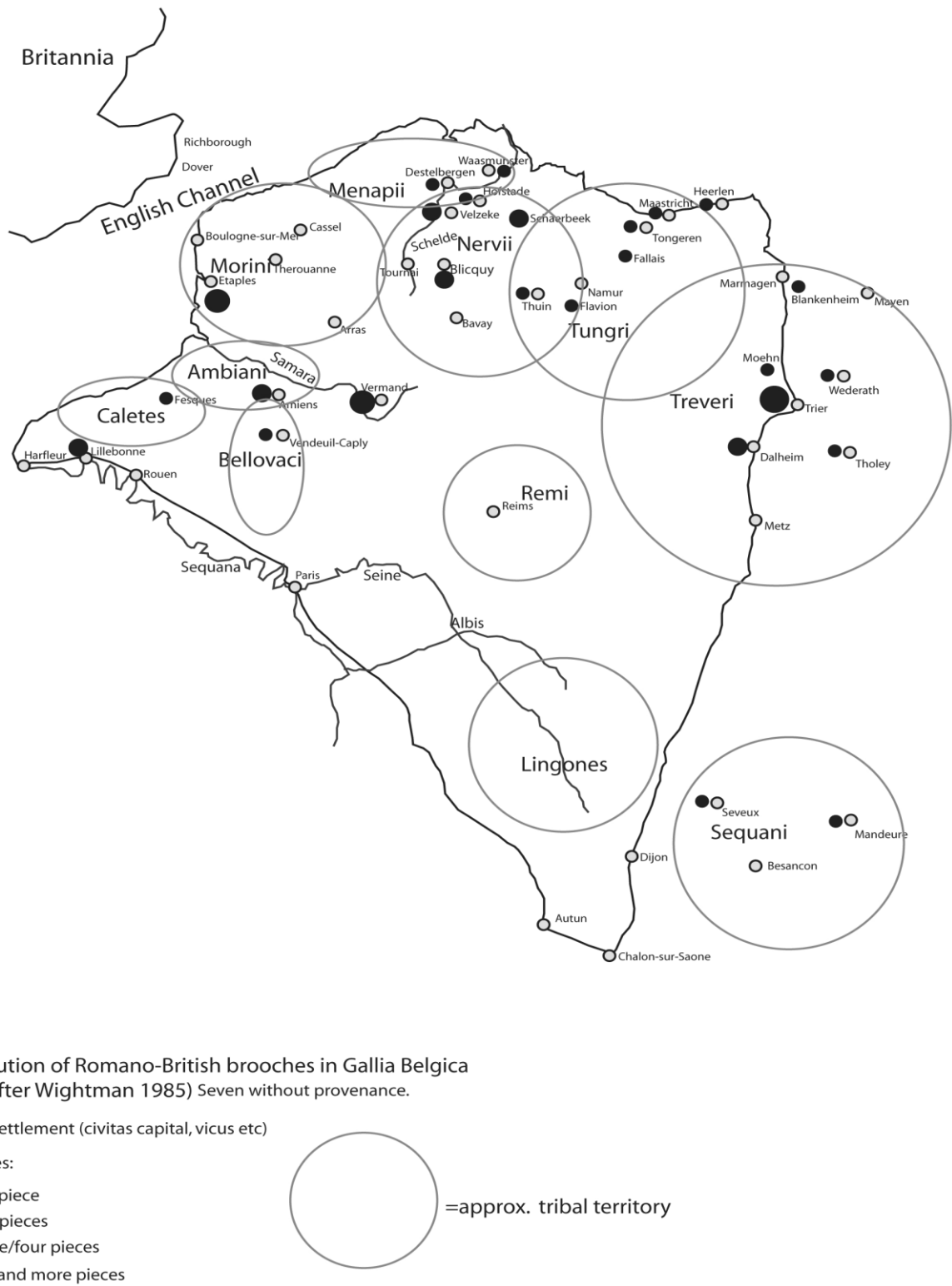


Figure 5.7 Concentration of British-made brooches in various tribal areas

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.

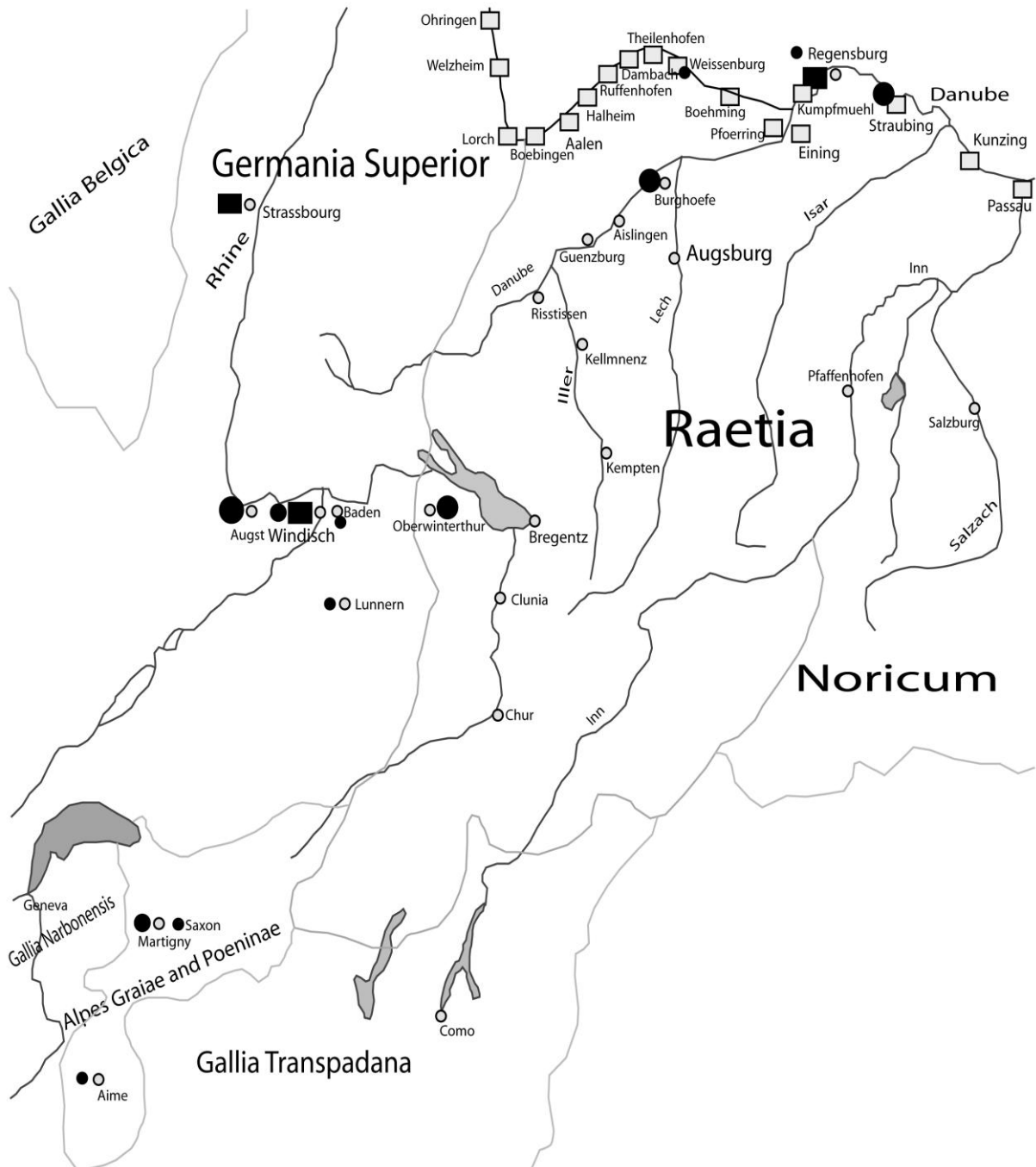
5.4. British brooches in Raetia, southern Germania Superior and the Alpes Graiae and Poeninae

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.

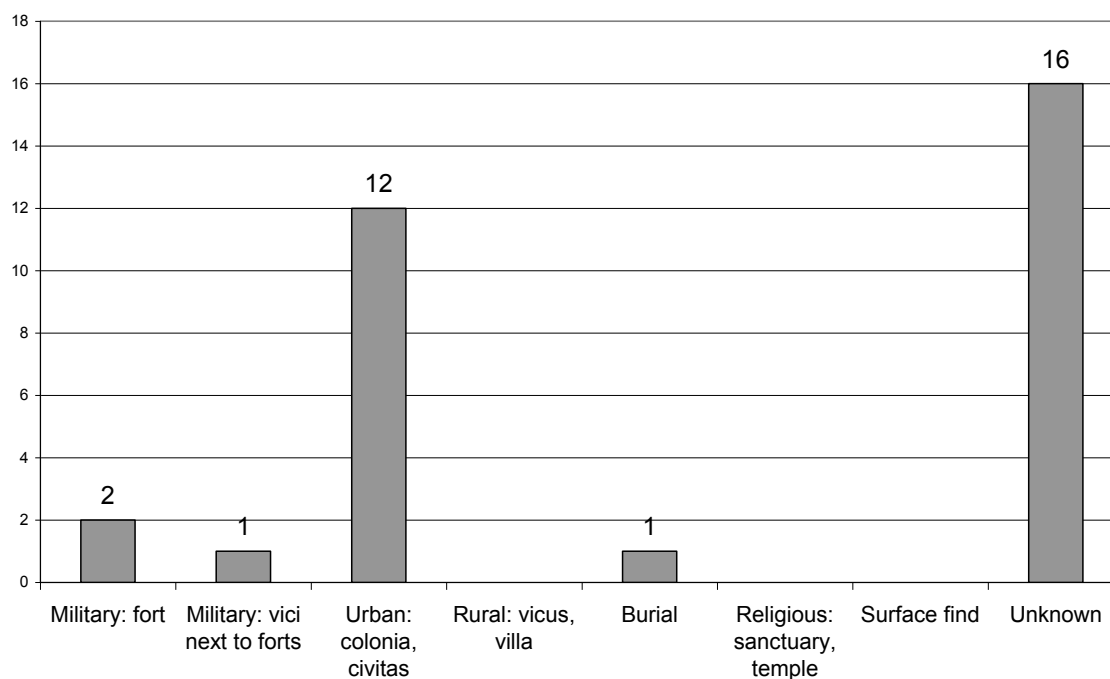


Figure 5.9 Contexts of the British brooches found in Raetia, southern Germania Superior and Alpes Graiae and Poeninae

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.

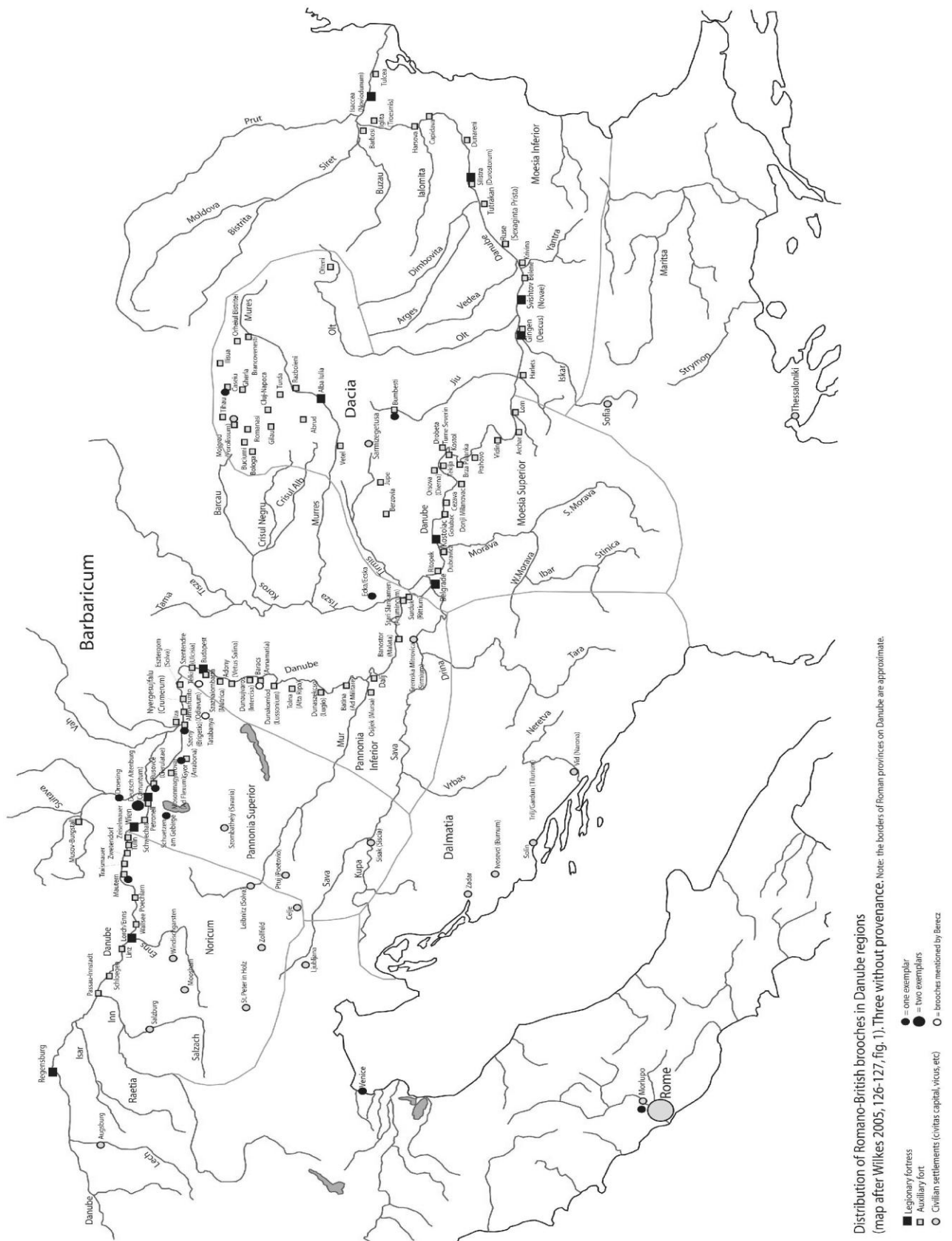


Figure 5.10 Distribution of British-made brooches in Central and Eastern Europe, and the Mediterranean region

To this total, four more brooches mentioned in a thesis by Berez (2008) could have been added, but unfortunately this could not be done due to the absence of relevant information, particularly depictions. Berez (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: Berez 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 Berez 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 Berez) 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 Berez as British types can indeed be regarded as such. I was able to contact Berez, 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 Brittannicinarum 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.

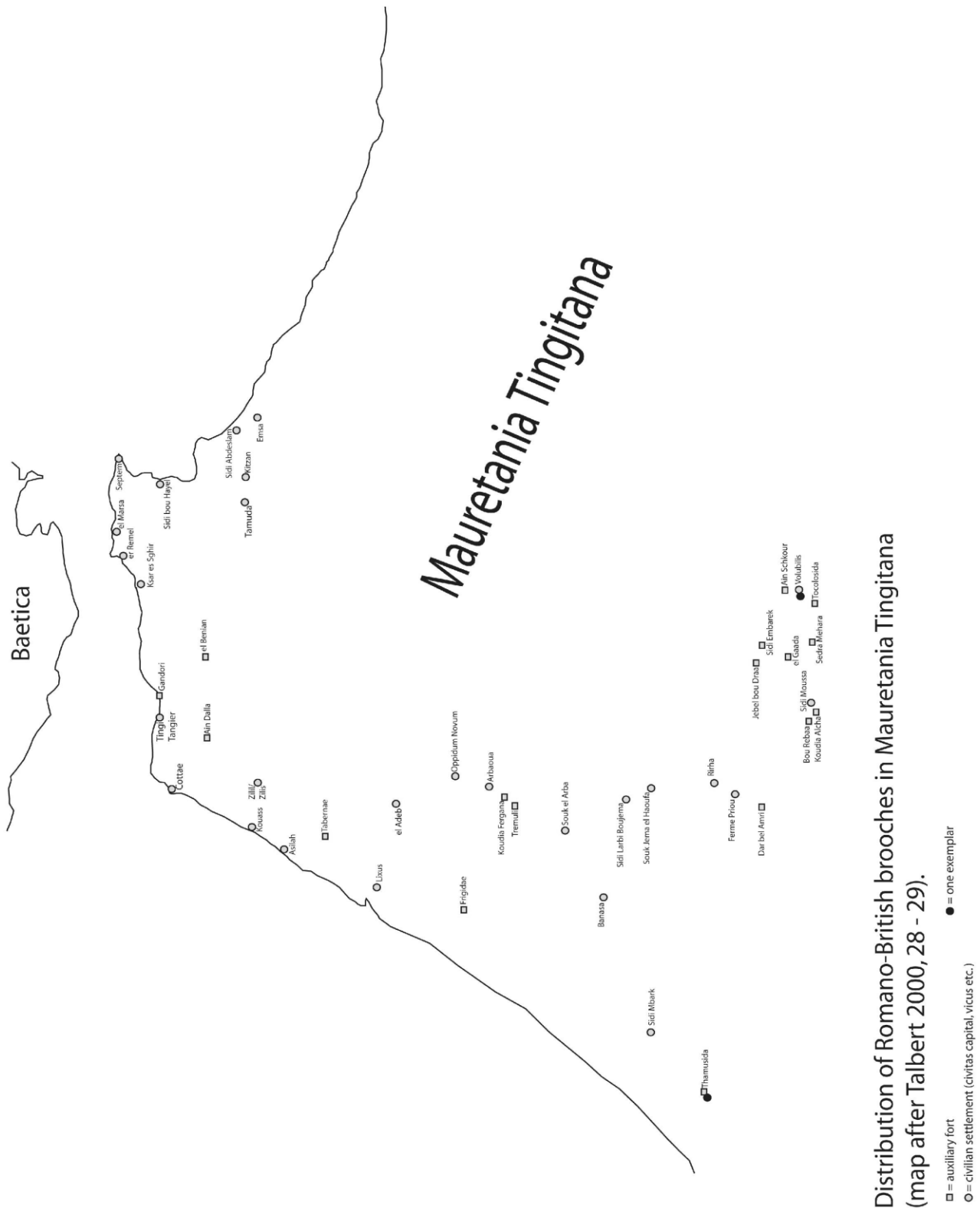


Figure 5.11 Distribution of British-made brooches in North Africa

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, Ulpus 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, 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.

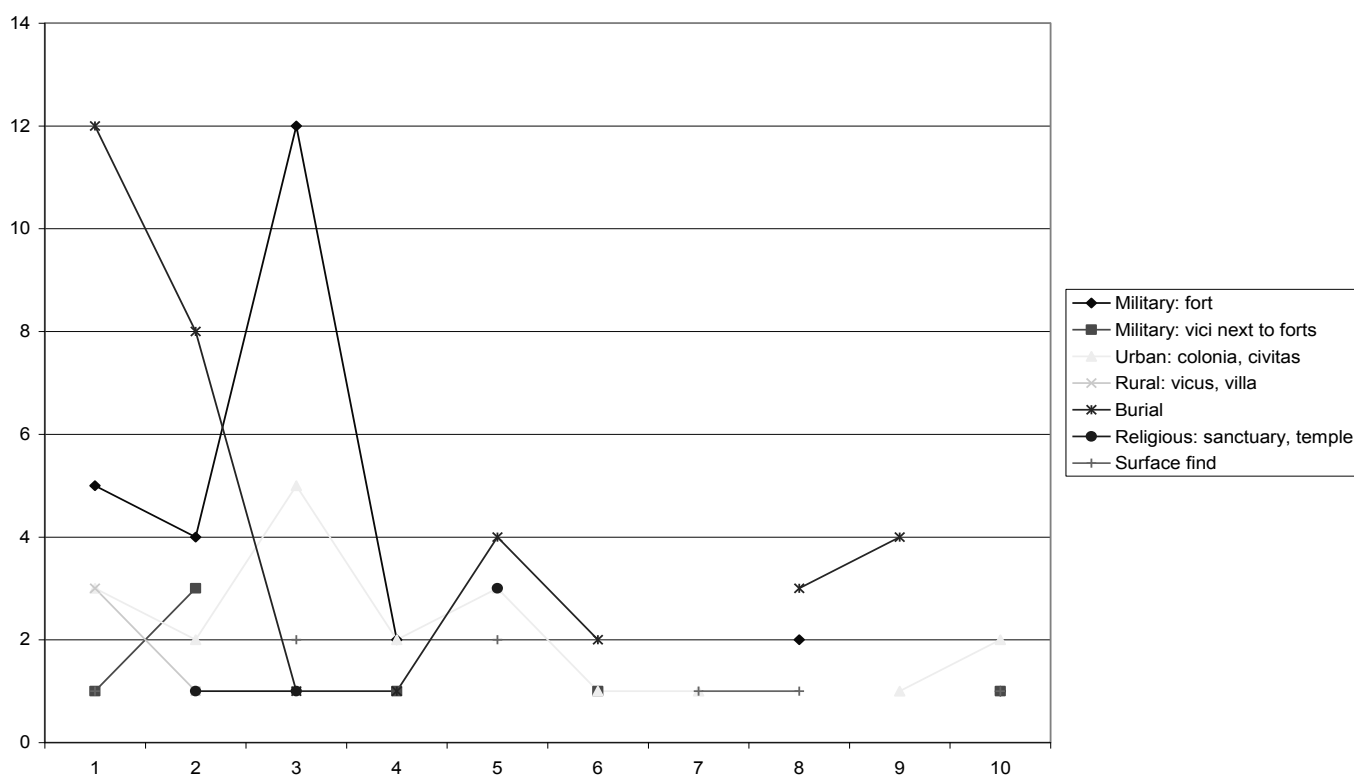


Figure 5.12 Comparison between the context of brooches (see key) and types of brooches (the x axis with numbers 1 to 10). On the x axis, 1 = trumpet 2a and 2b; 2 = headstuds; 3 = Colchester derivatives; 4 = umbonates; 5 = trumpet head derivatives; 6 = dragonesque; 7 = knee; 8 = T259 type; 9 = T 271 type;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

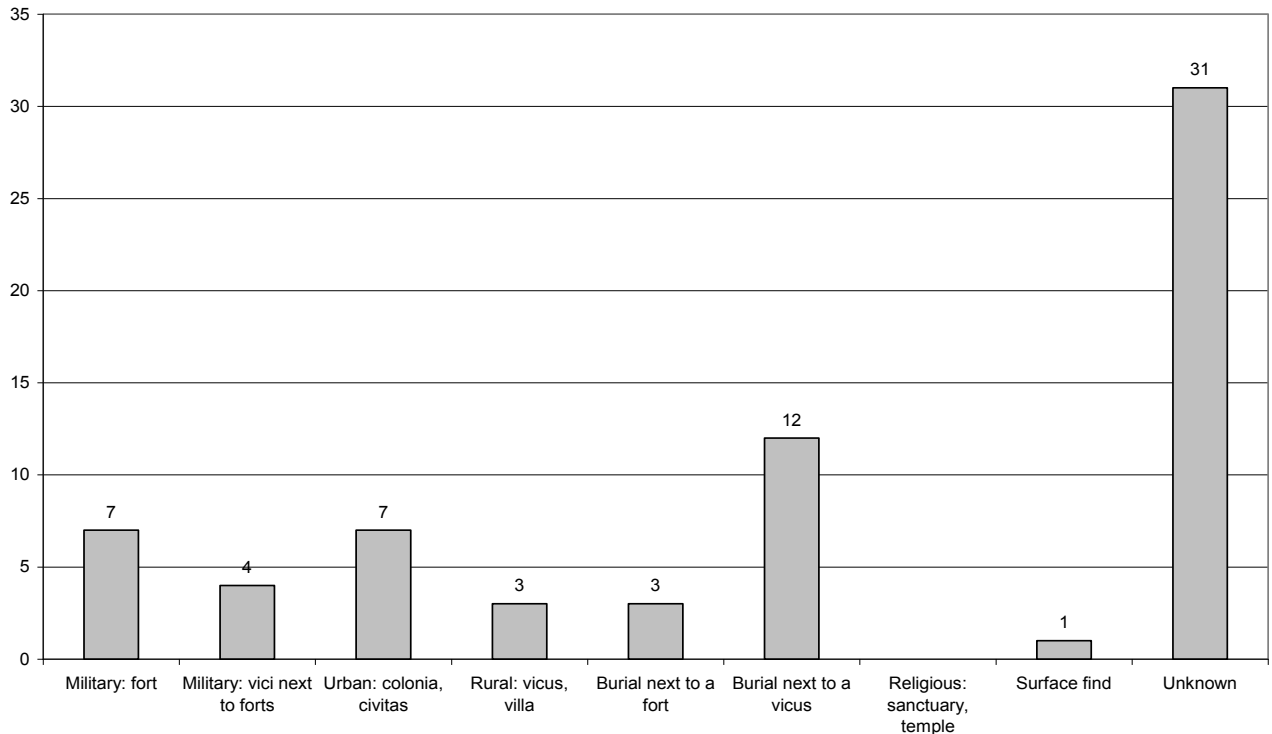


Figure 5.13 The contexts of female-associated brooches

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.

6 – *E pluribus unum*: Britons abroad through the textual and artefactual evidence

6.1. Epigraphic analysis

Epigraphic sources, although they exist only in small numbers, also allow us to determine how Britons living on the Continent perceived the land they left: was there a sense of lingering attachment, or was their ancestral land forgotten once they had emigrated?

A total of 43 persons of British descent were identified through the epigraphic record; yet only 26 mention his or her origin directly³⁵⁹. The number of surviving texts on which Britons directly mention their origin is low in comparison with other ethnic groups: 150 cases of Dacians abroad (Oltean 2009, 96) and 174 cases of German emigration from both Germanic provinces are known (Kakoschke 2004, 198). Such low numbers do not indicate the real level of mobility, since epigraphic evidence is known to be biased towards higher status individuals, its distribution is uneven and the extent of the epigraphic habit varied between provinces (Eckardt 2010c, 104). For British individuals who had moved abroad two factors could explain the low number. The first has to do with commemorative customs, whereby “only few people were remembered by stone funerary monuments, [...] their memories were promoted by other means, invisible to us” (Hope 2003, 132). In the British case, a lack of the custom of funerary commemoration in stone or a total lack of ‘epigraphic habit’ can be suggested, with other forms of display being preferred, to inscriptions³⁶⁰. A second factor might be the irrelevance of naming individual origins for soldiers serving among their own countrymen. Oltean notes in her study of Dacian soldiers serving abroad that it becomes “particularly significant for a Dacian individual to indicate his Dacian origin in a unit of different or mixed ethnic background” (Oltean 2009, 97)³⁶¹. It would have been unnecessary for a ‘Briton’ in a British auxiliary unit to specifically name his origin, whereas if he served in another ethnic unit he would most likely have wanted to emphasise his ethnic background. Nevertheless, the data available for the analysis provide different scenarios and choices made for recording origin on stones and in military diplomas³⁶².

³⁵⁹ A total of 13 British-born soldiers serving in British auxiliary units (cf. chapter 3, section 3.2.16.4.2) and a total of 30 people of British descent (cf. chapter 4, section 4.10) were identified.

³⁶⁰ The majority of inscriptions in Britain itself comes from military areas, while “the number of civilian district inscriptions remains scanty” (Birley, A. 1980, 13).

³⁶¹ Cf. van Driel-Murray 2009, 814: “men serving in their own ethnic unit did not need to mention their tribal affiliation, as their origin was perfectly obvious to all”.

³⁶² The preliminary results of the analysis have been published in Ivleva 2011a, 142-144. Here a more detailed and in-depth study is presented.

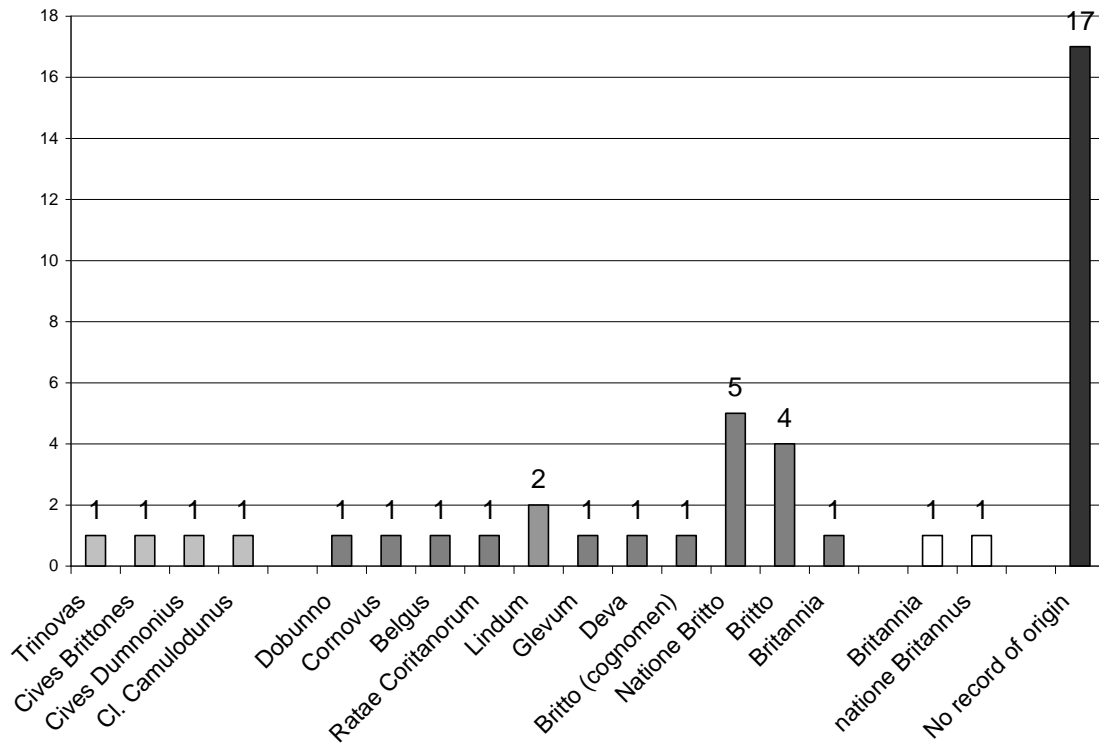


Figure 6.1 Naming of origin on inscriptions and military diplomas by century: light grey stands for the late first, dark grey for the second, white for the third centuries, black means there is no record of origin³⁶³

These inscriptions and military diplomas were divided by century in order to determine any changes in the naming of origin (fig. 6.1). Four inscriptions can be dated to the late first century. On three, the heirs indicated the tribal origin of the deceased and in two cases relatives of the deceased expressed their origin (*cives Britto* and *cives Dumnonius*) through a combination of tribal and national origin, and Roman citizenship. Notably, a soldier, commemorated as *cives Dumnonius*, i.e. citizen of the Dumnonii, and who served in the Roman navy, where Roman citizenship was granted after 26 years of service, was still serving at the time of his death but seems to have already possessed citizenship. Either this is a case of wishful thinking on the part of those who commemorated him or he had indeed been granted citizenship for some exceptional deed while serving. The exhibition of tribal and provincial *origo* together with an indication of the possession of citizenship, suggests that these two people – or their heirs – emphasised both their connection with the province of Britain and their status as Roman citizens. The other two British individuals or their heirs explicitly chose to indicate their origin, because these two served in units consisting of recruits from various ethnic backgrounds, a significant ‘push’ factor for exhibiting one’s ancestry.

From inscriptions and diplomas dated to the second century, another pattern can be determined. While nine people still continued to name as their place of origin either a British city or a tribe, ten preferred to identify themselves as a community by naming their origin as *natione Britto/Britannicianus* or by indicating their provincial descent and simply stating their origin on military diplomas as *Britto*. Two inscriptions dated to the

³⁶³ In this figure the naming of the origin of 42 (sic!) people has been calculated. The missing person is Claudia Rufina, a British woman in Rome. She was excluded from the calculations, since it is unknown how she wished (or whether she wished) to show her origin. She was called “British-born” by her friend, poet Martial.

third and fourth centuries indicate a refusal to provide a tribal or city origin, and the (conscious?) choice to record provincial origin.

By trying to access the thinking and practice behind these choices, it may indeed be possible to examine aspects of emigrant identity. It must be noted that only tentative conclusions can be drawn from this evidence. It would be a mistake to generalise on the basis of information from this limited amount of sources and to suggest that a set of commemorative customs, such as how one should name one's origin, was utilised by 'Britons' and their family members throughout the Roman Empire. Yet, the material available to us does show a considerable degree of variation in naming origin and various choices being made in expressing descent (fig. 6.2).

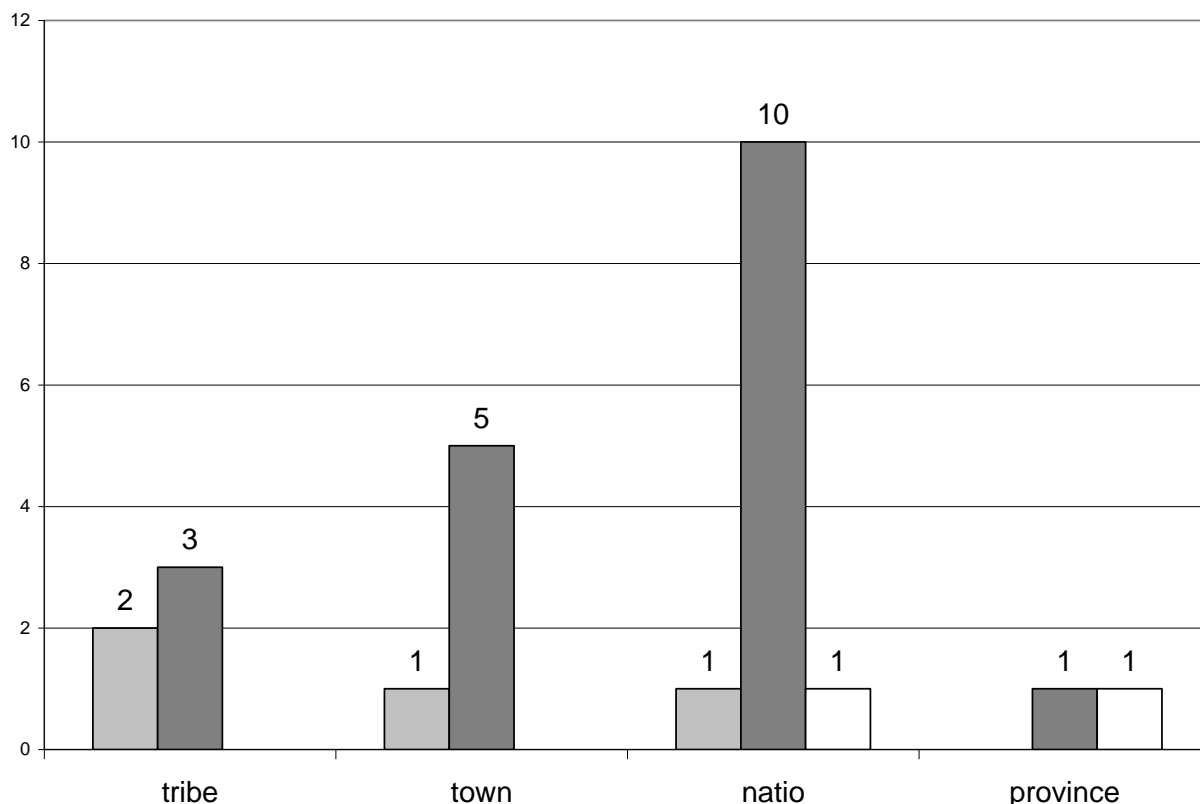


Figure 6.2 Choices in expressions when naming origin, by century: light grey stands for the late first, dark grey for the second, white for the third centuries

Four migrants who arrived overseas after the invasion in AD 43 emphasised their specific affiliation with a British tribe or with a city and their status as citizens. In other words, for these moved individuals, the combination of being both Roman and belonging to a specific British tribe, with its deep roots stretching back into the past, may have been an (important) symbol of identity.

On the second-century inscriptions, a slow shift can be detected. While some people still preferred to be identified with a specific British tribe or a city, others seemed to emphasise their national origin, as *natione Britto*. Notably, there is a visible difference here between Britons and other individuals in the Roman Empire, who usually indicated their home region, as *domo* or *civitas* together with an indication of their *natio*³⁶⁴. Those

³⁶⁴ Cf.: AE 1990, 990 – *natione Pannono domo Sirmus*; AE 1961, 331 – *natione Graeca, civis Tarsus Cilicia*; Denkm 233 – *natione Norico civis Ovilavis*; CIL XVI 152 – *natione Italico domo Miseno* and many others.

who identified their origin as *natione Britto* never indicated the region where they came from. That some moved Britons were able to provide details regarding their origin (i.e. recalling the tribal or town name), while others made a conscious choice to call themselves *Brittonnes*, require further discussion. At the outset, I would like to remind the reader, that as has been pointed out here in chapter 3, section 3.2.16.1 the term *Britannus/Britto* and its usage, may have been imposed by the Roman government in order to speed up the process of inclusion of the natives in the Roman orbit as well as to prevent further inter-tribal warfare, because there were “no such social groups as ‘Britons’, the peoples were an assortment of tribes” (Mattingly 2004, 10). Therefore, by choosing the Roman-imposed label the mobile Britons may have been expressing their new form of Roman-imposed identity and constructed ethnicity. Two possible explanations for such choice can be suggested.

The first is that those who called themselves ‘Britons’ were born in Britain but did not belong to any specific tribe. To be able to indicate on the tombstone that one was, for instance, *Belgus* or *Dobunnus*, an individual needed to have both or at least one parent who was a member of a particular British tribal entity. It can be suggested that these *Brittonnes* were the children of immigrants who came to Britain with the Roman army, or were the children of traders living in Britain. In that case, *natione Britto* could have been used as a form of ethnic identification by individuals who were born in the province of Britain but were not members of British indigenous tribes. Yet, as we have seen in the cases of Titus Statius Vitalis or Marcus Ulpius Quintus, who were themselves the children of such immigrants, this scenario does not hold: both these individuals indicated their descent from families who settled in Romano-British *coloniae*.

The second option is that *natione Britto* was used by second-generation emigrants, those who were not born in Britain but whose parents belonged to one of the British tribes. In other words, one might consider that those who named a British tribe or city belonged to the indigenous population and had emigrated directly from Britain overseas. This leads to the further consideration that having parents who were members of a certain tribe did not necessarily make you a member of the same tribe if you yourself were born overseas. However, it could perhaps ensure membership of a group whose ancestors originated from Britain. Derks (2009, 256) notes that ethnic origin in the Roman Empire was hereditary and illustrates this by means of an epitaph erected by a Batavian to his son, who was most likely born at Cnidus in Asia Minor but had *natione Batav(u)s* (*CIL* III 14403). While Derks (2009, 257) suggests that *natio* “denotes a tribal affiliation adopted through birth”, extending this to the notion that children not born on Batavian soil were still Batavians by descent (2009, 249, note 43), in the British case this does not seem to be entirely true. As mentioned above, *Britto* does not designate a tribe; the term “*Brittonnes*” was a Roman construct denoting all the inhabitants of the Roman province of Britain. This can be clearly seen on the inscriptions erected in Britain itself, where Britons gave the preference to tribal affiliation on the epitaphs³⁶⁵.

Within Roman Britain itself a total of 12 inscriptions³⁶⁶ have been recorded, that mention an origin of an individual from a particular British tribe or town: seven are funerary, three are votive, one is a building inscription and one is a bronze votive plate. These twelve individuals were interprovincial migrants and belonged to various British tribes: five were citizens of the *Canti* (RIB 192), *Cornovi* (RIB 639, female), *Dobunni* (RIB 621, female), *Dumnonii* (RIB 188) and *Catuvellauni* (RIB 1065, female), and the city of *Lindum* (RIB 250, female); three indicated their origin (*natio*) as belonging to the *Belgi* (RIB 156), *Briganti* (RIB 2142) and *Catuvellauni* (RIB 1962) tribes, while two

³⁶⁵ Thus, other nationalities settling in Britain, where the choices in the ways of naming the origin varied greatly (see Noy 2010, 20). For the levels of immigration to Britain, see Rowland 1976, Noy 2010 and Eckardt 2010c, 104-17, esp. fig. 7.3 on the analysis of the data collected by Rowland.

³⁶⁶ Rowland (1976, 13) records seven inscriptions, Noy (2010, 18-20) nine.

simply named their origin as (*colonia*) *Victrix* (RIB 3005), *Caledonus*³⁶⁷ (RIB 191) and *Brittonus*³⁶⁸ (RIB 2152) (fig. 6.3).

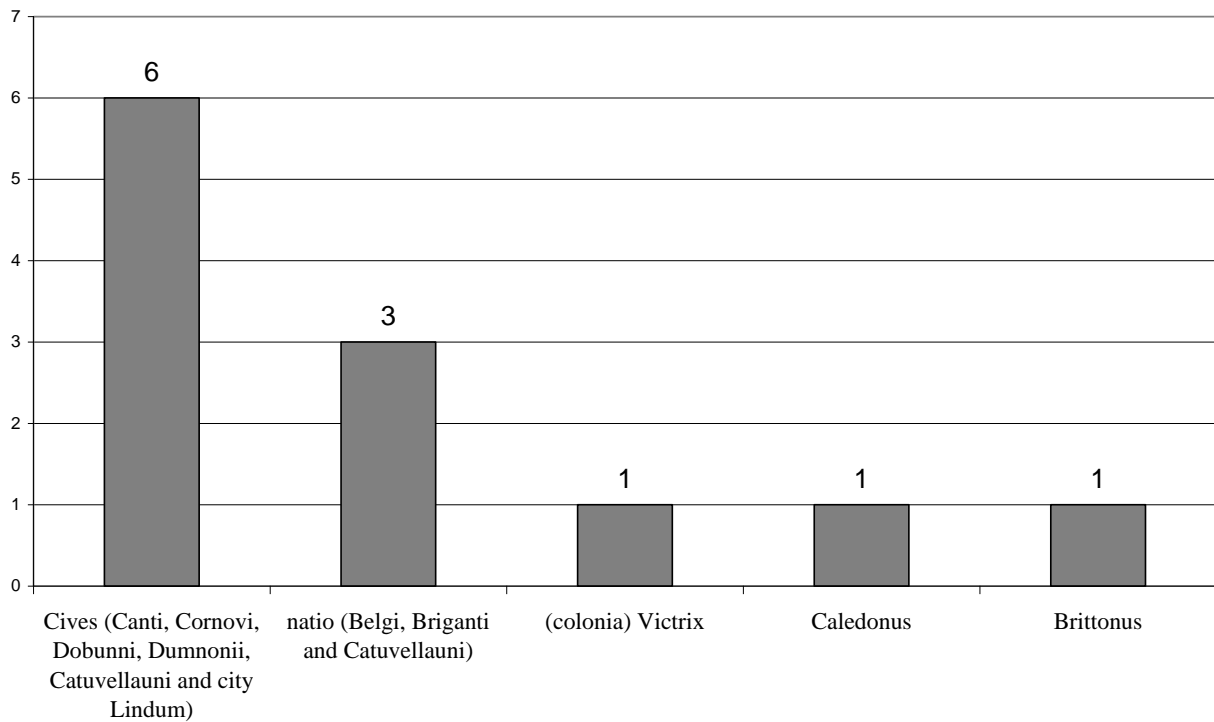


Figure 6.3 Naming of origin on inscriptions found in Britain

These stones with inscriptions were erected by the relatives of individuals who had died far away from their home tribe inside Britain and by individuals who were fulfilling vows in a foreign region of their home province. For instance, an individual from the *Canti/Cantiaci* tribe erected a votive monument at Colchester, a city that lay within the boundaries of the Trinovantian tribe; an individual from the *Cornovi* tribe died in Ilkley and a woman from the *Dobunni* in Templeborough, both Ilkley and Templeborough situated in the territory covered by the Brigantian tribe, a Dumnonian tribesman was commemorated in Dorchester, a town of the *Durotriges*. Notably, the territories of these tribes, the *Cantiaci* and *Trinovantes*, or *Cornovi* and *Briganti*, or *Dumnonii* and *Durotriges*, are adjacent, yet these individuals or their relatives found it important to emphasise their origin in the neighbouring tribal territory; a deed that indicates the significance of the tribal ethnicity above the provincial one and the persistence of tribal divisions and differences in Britain under the Roman rule.

Indeed even inside tribal territory, relatives of the deceased could emphasise his/her origin: a woman, a citizen from *Lindum* (Lincoln), died in the very same town; a member of the *Belgi* died at Bath, a town of this very tribe. In the case of the woman, her origin seems to have been of less importance than her status. She was a citizen of the city where she died; hence, she was a Roman citizen of *Lindum*³⁶⁹. In the case of the soldier who died in his own tribal territory, his origin, on the contrary, had played a role. He must already have had Roman citizenship, since he served in the legion. There was

³⁶⁷ It has been suggested that this individual was actually a Syrian or Libyan; yet, the evidence points to his origin as Caledonian, i.e. a Pict (Noy 2010, 19, also note 34 for further literature and discussion).

³⁶⁸ This votive inscription has survived partly. The name of the dedicant is absent.

³⁶⁹ It has been suggested that she or her relatives preferred to indicate her difference from the non-Roman native population, because she was a descendant of a family of a Roman army veteran (Noy 2010, 19), thus, an immigrant herself.

no need to emphasise it; yet his relatives did so, but chose the term *natio* instead of *civis*. However, since he served in a legion which also had soldiers from other ethnic backgrounds, on his tombstone his relatives most likely preferred to mention that he was native of the region his legion was stationed in, in contrast to his comrades from the Continent³⁷⁰. It is also possible that he was mentioned as *Belgus* because of the mixed ethnic environment in Bath: its popular hot springs had seen many visitors from elsewhere³⁷¹.

The votive monuments of individuals who indicated their origin as *Caledonus* and *Brittonus* deserve special attention. The first one was found at Colchester, the territory of the *Trinovantes*, and another one in Castlecary on the Antonine Wall in Scotland. The ethnic name *Caledonia* was also a Roman construct, given to the confederacy of the tribes of Scotland which later became distinguished in the literature as Picts. *Caledones* and *Brittones* are the classic ethnonyms, primarily used by Romans to indicate the confederacies of tribes in northern and southern Britain respectively. Assuming therefore that ‘Briton’ was a clear expression of supra-regional origin, there is no reason to assume that the label ‘Caledonian’ did not fulfill the same function. Both were Roman constructs used to indicate supra-regional identities in lands that were inhabited by a different supra-regional group. ‘Caledonian’ indicated an individual’s supra-regional ‘ethnicity’ in the heart of the territory where ‘Britons’ were living, while ‘Briton’ was used to indicate an individual’s supra-regional ‘ethnicity’ in the territory inhabited by the northern confederacy of tribes called ‘Caledonians’.

All the cases discussed here suggest that, within Britain itself, supra-regional and local ethnic identifications were used by individuals to emphasise their belonging to a particular group. In the case of ‘Caledonian’ and ‘Briton’, supra-regional and imposed ethnic identification may have been used to stress the differences between artificial confederacies of those who lived in the north and the south of Britain. However, rather than recording the uniformity within the confederacies in overall diversity of ethnic identifications, these two categories may have been simply used to emphasise different regional backgrounds, i.e. southern and northern. In the case of those who mentioned their city or tribe, the regional identity was used to underline the profound differences between neighbouring tribal entities.

This brings us to the conclusion that within Britain itself individuals were prompted to denote their tribal affiliation, even when moving to the neighbouring tribal territory. One may ask therefore what made Britons, who moved to the Continent, choose between the affiliation given them by the Romans, i.e. *natione Britto*, and the name of their tribe or town? It is unlikely that *natione Britto* and the term *Brittonus* were used in the same manner, i.e. that both designated a person from the southern tribal confederacy as opposed to the northern, Caledonian, since the whole meaning of the distinction would be lost in the Continental setting. Possibly both constructs were used in different ways but still to distinguish oneself from another, i.e. within Britain, an individual from the south as opposed from the one from the north; outside Britannia, an individual from Roman Britain, as opposed to an individual from Roman Gaul or Germany. Yet, the question who could use the *ethnikon natione Britto* remains. Was it used by people who were born in Britain but did not belong to any British tribes? Or was it used by second-generation emigrants to emphasise the origin of their ancestors?

It is likely that the label *natione Britto* was “applied to [and by] diverse individuals who lacked a clear sense of group identity” (Mattingly 2004, 10). By using the Roman-imposed identification, the term *Brittones* became the ethnic label for the migrants, in

³⁷⁰ The legion had soldiers from *Nicaea in Bythynia* (RIB 203); *domo Samosata* (RIB 450); *natione Syrus, Osroenus* (RIB 490); from various towns on the Continent: *Lugdunum* (RIB 493); *Celeia* (RIB 498) and *Arelate* (RIB 500) etc.

³⁷¹ I. Oltean, pers. comment

the absence of one. Most likely, migrants emphasised their connection with the land of their ancestors by using the Roman term. In other words, by choosing to refer to one's origin as British, one distinguished oneself from other groups of migrants or from the dominant group in the territory where migrants and their families settled down.

The situation can be compared with that of modern-day emigrants³⁷². First-generation emigrants often refer to the city or village or region where they were born, while second-generation emigrants name the country of origin of their parents. In other words, to the question regarding their origin they would answer, for example: 'I am Russian from Moscow, but I live in Holland', while their children would say: 'We were born in Amsterdam in Holland, but my parents are Russians'. Probably the same situation can be observed on one inscription from Rome, where someone mentions '*natione Dacisca regione Serdica nato*': he is Dacian by origin, born in the region of Serdica, the modern-day capital of Bulgaria, Sofia (*CIL* VI 2605)³⁷³.

Having discussed the second century inscriptions in much detail, let us turn to the epigraphic record left by migrants in the third and later centuries. Now the tendency for designating origins shifted the other way: emigrants preferred to name their province instead of their tribe or city – the national emigrant identity suppressed the more regional one. Although we have only two examples of this, the total disappearance of the tribal affiliation in favour of a provincial one is striking. This situation may have resulted from being incorporated into a new identity group in the third century as a result of everybody being given Roman citizenship; this broke tribal ties, a situation noted by Derks (2009, 269) on inscriptions set up by Ubians and Baetasians. In the later periods, therefore, the provincial label and term 'Briton' would seem to imply those who were born in the province of Britain, irrespective of precisely where within that province. The supra-regional identity suppressed the regional one, which may have resulted in the ultimate '*e pluribus unum*', when, from a variety of tribes, one 'province' of emigrants emerged.

The British individuals who had moved elsewhere can be divided into three categories in terms of how they refer to their origin: those who gave the tribal identification, those who gave their city's name, and those who called themselves *Britonnes*. While the third category has been discussed here already, the first two categories also deserve some attention. While Britons made a distinction between regional and supra-regional identities, they also made distinctions in terms of regional identities. Six persons named their urban origin, of which four served in legionary forces, one served in an auxiliary unit, and one was a civilian; five indicated their tribal origin, of which four served in auxiliary units and one in a fleet.

The Romano-British cities, named as places of origin by six individuals, were all former legionary fortresses³⁷⁴ that had grown into veteran settlements, except *Ratae Coritanorum* (modern-day Leicester). This town probably never had military installations in its vicinity³⁷⁵ but instead grew from a native settlement into a local urban center. Those four individuals born in the former legionary camps were most likely the

³⁷² This observation is based on the personal experience of the author, who is herself an immigrant from Russia living in the Netherlands, and during her studies in Holland has met many migrants.

³⁷³ This inscription can be interpreted differently, however, and its interpretation depends on the dating: a pre-AD 270s date may also indicate a person who was a member of a Dacian tribe which moved to south of the Danube early in the first century; a post-AD 270s date would suggest that this person lived in Dacia Mediterranea, whose capital was Sardica (I. Oltean, pers. comment). The latter suggestion is favoured by most interpreters.

³⁷⁴ *Lindum*, *Deva*, *Glevum*, but *Camulodunum* was in fact an Iron Age oppidum which was turned into a Roman legionary fortress after the invasion of AD 43 and later turned into a city with the status of *colonia* and was populated with veterans.

³⁷⁵ There is an ongoing discussion as to whether this town ever had a fort and, if so, which unit or legion was located there. Suggestions range from a legionary vexillation fortress to an auxiliary temporary fort. See Todd 1973, Clay and Pollard 1994, and Wachter 1995 for further discussions.

children of legionary veterans and had Roman citizenship by birth; the individual who originated from *Ratae* was free-born without Roman citizenship. For this reason the former four were conscripted to serve in the legions, the latter one to the auxiliary forces. For the same reason, all five individuals who indicated their tribal origin were members of the auxiliary forces, to whom citizenship would be given upon completing their years of service. Therefore, giving a town name as origin suggests a particular status, i.e Roman citizen status, and in our case indicates a second-generation immigrant to Britain, while recording tribal descent may have stood for regional, non-Roman and genuine 'British'. It would be useful to test this suggestion by comparing similar groups elsewhere in the Roman Empire, to see whether having urban roots did indeed automatically secure Roman status, and whether by contrast rural or tribal origins made one appear 'native'. Unfortunately, such research is beyond the scope of the present thesis.

Instead, let us have a look at the status of those who give *natione Britto* as their origin. Five out of ten served in the auxiliary units or a fleet; three were members of the Imperial horse guard; one served as a soldier in a detachment; one was civilian. The majority of those with *natione Britto* origins, then, were free-born, non-Roman citizens. What this tells us is that the preference was to display not only origin but also to indicate status. Whenever it was impossible to indicate that one had Roman citizenship by stating that one hailed from a town, the 'status word' *civis* was deliberately chosen, emphasising Roman citizenship through membership of a particular tribe (as was the case the individuals from *civis Dumnonius* and *civis Brittonus*, who had to serve in the army to acquire citizenship).

6.1.1. *Female migration*

All the evidence so far discussed here has to do with male migrants, while women were also on the move both within the province and crossing the English Channel. There is enough evidence for intra-provincial migration of women: four out of twelve; yet, the evidence fails for Continental migration: three women have been identified (Catonina Baudia and Lollia Bodicca on the basis of their names and 'British' husbands; Claudia Rufina was called 'British' by her friend, the poet Martial).

In the case of the intra-provincial female migrants, their origin was recorded on funerary inscriptions. Therefore, the choice of how to record their origin was made by their relatives rather than by the women themselves. These four women came from various social circles: a Cornovian was possibly a partner of a soldier (Noy 2010, 19); a citizen of Lincoln may have hailed from a veteran family and have enjoyed the status of Roman citizen (Noy 2010, 19); a Catuvellaunian was a freedwoman of Palmyrian merchant; a Dobunnian was probably a freeborn Roman citizen.

The two British women living abroad are recorded on the funerary inscriptions that they themselves erected to commemorate their husbands, a hint as to their status and wealth. Both Catonia Baudia and Lollia Bodicca were wives of legionary centurions and followed them, literally, until death. Claudia Rufina also enjoyed a privileged status: she was the wife of a legionary centurion and also his follower. Claudia Rufina is praised by Martial on numerous occasions as an educated woman as well as adoptee of a Roman way of life.

The contrast between British female émigrés living abroad and intra-provincial migrants is visible: although all of them were their husbands' followers, in the former case they were confined to the role of (loving) wives and care-givers, in the latter they showed signs of independence, education and of adopting the 'being Roman' package.

“To remember is to reconstruct” (Eco 2005, 25)

Based on the evidence discussed it was suggested that 26 mobile British individuals still felt themselves to be connected with the province of their birth³⁷⁶. Even in the second century there may have been cases of children of first-generation emigrants who emphasised their British ancestry, by choosing the label *natione Britto*. Yet, ethnic identification was not only confined to this label. There were many ways of identification through reference to a tribe, a town or province. The variety of display of ethnic identities both within and outside of Britain may have been “a result of specific mechanisms of identity definition” (Oltean 2009, 99) between individuals, such as by mentioning a supra-regional or local identity in- and outside the province, or by the establishment of links with ancestors by naming a provincial origin, in the absence of a regional connection with the homeland.

Considering this, the context in which the decision to be identified with a particular ethnic entity (tribe, urban community or province) should also be taken into account. If we are dealing with a text on a tombstone, we should not forget that it was chosen by the relatives and inheritors, and rarely by the deceased. What this means is that we have here a social group intending to emphasise someone’s origin; it can therefore be argued that on the tombstones we are dealing not with individual memory, as is the case with votives, but with collective memory. A group of people chose an ethnic definition which they felt suited them, and with which they most likely identified themselves and would have used for their own funerary or votive inscriptions. Military diplomas present a different situation: the receiver probably was able to recall his origin; therefore he chose his own way of defining his identity and we are presented with an individual rather than a communal choice.

The overall conclusion drawn from the scant epigraphic evidence gives us a dynamic picture of adaptation, reconstruction and reinvention of ethnic identities by mobile Britons. Early on, especially in the first century, individuals living within and outside Britain emphasised their tribal and local differences whenever possible. In spite of the fact that it was a Roman construct, the ethnic marker *Brittones* started to be used by the late first and early second century AD, especially when other ethnic identifications seem to have failed. The label *natione Britto* was “applied to [and by] diverse individuals who lacked a clear sense of group identity” (Mattingly 2004, 10) and was used by the second generation of emigrant groups in order to distinguish themselves from other communities. Later on, the usage of the Roman word increased, especially in the second century, probably because of pressure from the Roman administration or Roman army to unify diverse peoples within provinces. Mobile individuals seem to have adopted the Roman ethnonym in order to distinguish themselves from other communities, while the Romans appear to have encouraged the use of this ethnic name in order to construct a supra-regional identity³⁷⁷. Unfortunately, due to the small number of surviving inscriptions and diplomas, it is unknown how widespread this phenomenon was. At any rate, for at least ten people this name became a symbol of their shared ancestry.

6.2. Artefactual analysis

The occurrence of 242 British-made brooches on the Continental sites can be explained through the presence of people who had some connection with Britain (cf.

³⁷⁶ These 26 people are those who mentioned their origin directly. There is no way of determining whether the same feelings had been felt by the other 17 people who did not indicate their ancestry.

³⁷⁷ Cf. Oltean’s (2009, 99) conclusion regarding Dacian emigrant identity: “the Roman army reinvented rather than destroyed Dacian ethnic identity and provided the environment for the formation of a new Dacian military identity”.

chapter 5, section 5.7). Since British brooches are not evidence of the ethnicity of their users and wearers, one may ask what kind of identities, if any, were projected through their use. Because brooches were brought overseas by various groups, emigrants from and immigrants to Britain alike, this poses another question - whether it is possible to distinguish between the groups represented on sites who travelled from Britain and those who most likely originated from this province.

Usually, British-made brooches were spread across the Roman Empire as a result of their function as clothes' fasteners: for the people, whatever their origin, who travelled from Britain to the Continent they were objects of daily life, brought for the sake of necessity; they needed after all to hold their clothes together, which made the brooches essential. Yet, through analysis of the archaeological context the brooches were found in, it became obvious that these objects must have played various roles rather than being simply functional devices. The objects may have changed meaning depending on their usage, context they were worn in or discarded, and depending on their viewers or admirers. In this sense, brooches can be identified as helpers in the code switching process, whereby a particular meaning or identity can be switched on or off depending on when, where and how they were used, and especially by whom³⁷⁸. Owners may also have had particular associations with the objects (e.g. the evocative aspect of material culture), which too could have been switched on or off, i.e. the associations one has with an object is dependant on both the user and the viewer, as well as the context it appears in. The variety of contexts in which British brooches appear reflects the diversity of their meanings and associations emanated through their usage. What sorts of statements of identities do these contexts constitute?

6.2.1. *Burials*

In total 34 British-made brooches have been found in a cemetery context, though not necessarily as grave goods (three were surface finds; three are of unknown provenance but within a cemetery's boundaries)³⁷⁹. All were found in or associated with cremation burials. Determining geographic origin by the presence of a British-made brooch is impossible, because wearing or dying with a British brooch would not have made someone British³⁸⁰; yet, the placement of an object of a foreign provenance among grave goods is significant. The relatives of a dead individual may have chosen objects that circulated widely among the living, but they instead chose to deposit an object with foreign associations and possibly one that was unique³⁸¹.

Burial rituals influenced the way brooches entered archaeological record: if brooches were placed with the body of the deceased on a funerary pyre, they would have been completely burned, thus leaving us with no record of their existence; while if brooches were positioned during the physical burial of cremated remains, or during the feast, they

³⁷⁸ The clearest example of code switching can be seen in the case of the zoomorphic brooches, linked to specific Roman or Romano-Celtic deities (cf. Crummy 2007 for further discussion): being objects that were worn daily, they presumably reflected the particular devotion of the owner, who, through their use, might have wished to emphasise his or her religious piety or associations with a specific god or gods. The switching of meaning occurred on a daily basis, depending on the wearer's daily activities: when the owner visited a shrine, a brooch might have had religious connotations, when travelling associations with a god's patronage (i.e. as a token of the god's omnipresence), when eating it may simply have been a clothes' fastener.

³⁷⁹ Sites: Diersheim, Mainz-Weisenau, Mayen, Worms, Rheinzabern, Frankfurt-Praunheim, Loxstedt, Vrbsice, Weissenfels, Kobern/Martinsberg, Nijmegen, road between Plasmolen and Middelaar, Destelbegen, Tiel-Passewaaij, Pont, Thuin, Blicquy, Flavion, Trier, Fallais, Wederath, Schaerbeek, Regensburg, Rusovce and Ečka.

³⁸⁰ Cf. Pearce 2010, 84, who argues that "the presence of a single item of distant provenance [in a burial] seems much less secure as a marker of origin".

³⁸¹ The British brooches formed 1 or at most 3 percent of the total number of brooches found on any given site, which can be seen as an indication of their uniqueness in comparison to other objects on a site.

would have survived complete, with some signs of wear (S. Heeren, pers. comment). One should take into account that the decoration of a body of the deceased as well as the placement of a grave goods was done by the living, the relatives, and represents not the deceased ‘self’, but the norms regulating burial rites that existed within the community, as well as the wishes, desires and practices of family members³⁸². It is not the representation of an individual, but of those who remain in the land of living. The conduct of funerary ceremonies by professionals and according to special laws and traditions is another significant factor problematising the discussions of individuality and identities of the deceased (Pearce 2010, 87).

The performance of burial rituals and the placement of particular goods in different stages of funerary rites articulates the ways identities of the deceased were (un)consciously recreated by the living, and highlights perceived associations and/or connections between the deceased and burial objects. While the deceased were buried with a variety of objects and provision of grave goods was sometimes very generous, giving us possibility to explore multi-identities and multi-connections, the focus here will be on brooches, limiting us to one type of connection and association, that of their original provenance and the objects’ biographies, specifically their ‘British-ness’ and the British past of the things, because these objects after all were British-made. Yet, I am not discussing here the origin of the deceased or ethnic connotations of the brooches, rather the social associations with and interactions between the object and deceased, and evocations of the past through the deposition of British-made brooches³⁸³.

The duality of brooches gives us the possibility to explore these associations, interactions and evocations (cf. chapter 2, section 2.6). The physical aspect of brooches is a significant element here. The placement of brooches with the body of a deceased individual on a fire and their complete physical destruction differentiates and opposes them to the brooches deposited intact as grave goods. The latter case suggests an unwillingness for their destruction and a wish to preserve them in a complete state, while the former stands for the loss of a brooch’s identity as well as part of the identity of the deceased it represented and this dead person’s past. In the other words, the former destroys the objects’ biographies, their embodiment of values and associations, places them in a realm of immateriality and un-identification. The latter on the contrary practices a manifestation of some kind (discussed below) that is performed within the burial setting. That some deceased were burned with brooches suggests that they may have been part of their personal dress accessories (S. Heeren, pers. comment), therefore, important every day objects and objects with a direct association with the deceased’s personhood. The provision of brooches as grave goods or in the ditches around graves may indicate the wishes of the living. Therefore, they may have stood for the perceived or invented identities of the deceased as communicated by the descendants (S. Heeren, pers. comment).

³⁸² The practice described by Pearce 2010, 91 as ‘invention’ of a funerary tradition.

³⁸³ Cf. Pearce 2010, 90: “the reference to external origins is not by direct replication of ancestral origins but by evocation of a heritage [...]. This may have also been achieved by the history associated with the buried individuals, as embodied in the artefacts placed with them”.

The total of 34 British brooches has appeared on 25 Continental sites. Majority of the brooches found in burials were most likely brought by the veterans returning from Britain to their own homelands (cf. chapter 5, section 5.7.1., table 5.11): 18 as opposed to 6 found in burial next to a fort, which were brought by soldiers and their partners coming from Britain, but not necessarily of British descent³⁸⁴. The distribution of these burials shows the preference for sites in North-Western provinces situated behind the Roman river frontier, the Rhine, rather than the sites near or before the limes (16 as opposed to 9), although this can be attributed to the lack of data from the sites on and around the Danube frontier (fig. 6.4). All brooches found were in good state and unburnt (except one in Worms), suggesting their deposition after the burning of a body of a deceased.



Figure 6.4 Distribution of the brooches found in burials

The situation in Britain provides a contrast to the numbers of British-made brooches in graves on the Continental sites. Considering that each province, tribal entity or settlement community had their own burial rituals, where both the process of mourning and cremation as well as the actual burial were performed differently, the personal identities projected at death may have been sharply different. The intention here is not to study such personalities but to understand *why* British-made brooches were deposited and formed part of the grave ritual both in Britain and on the Continent. The evidence from Roman Britain shows that the number of cremation burials with personal ornaments forms a small proportion of the total number of burials; yet, brooches prevail as the most common items put into graves in mid and late first century cremations (Philpott 1991, 128-129). Notably, brooches are usually the only personal ornaments in such burials, found in single numbers, although three or more are also common in pre and early post-AD 43 graves (Philpott 1991, 129). For the period of the mid and late first

³⁸⁴ The persons who brought the other ten brooches were determined to be traders and craftsmen.

century it has been observed that burials with depositions of a variety of types of ornaments, such as bracelets, figurines, amulets, coins, *etc.*, are typical for Roman and Continental practices rather than those of the Iron-Age (Philpott 1991, 129). By the later period, i.e. second century, brooches continue to occur in burials as the only personal ornaments, although they are usually found in pairs or in larger groups; by the mid second century bracelets and rings started to be appear alongside brooches (Philpott 1991, 129). The positioning of brooches in graves suggest that some of them were used to fasten “a bag or cloth containing the bones” because they were found on top of the cremated remains, some were placed in a box, or “were concentrated in a pile, as if originally deposited in a cloth or leather bag” (Philpott 1991, 130). In general, the analysis of burial rituals in Roman Britain in the first to second centuries had shown that “the deposition of personal ornaments with cremation did not constitute a consistent burial rite [...] but was the spontaneous deposition of treasured items of sentimental value with the deceased” (Philpott 1991, 135). For the third and later centuries, however, there seems to be a development “of new practices or beliefs about the appropriateness of certain ornaments as grave offerings” (Philpott 1991, 136). Regarding inhumations, brooches appeared in all periods: they seem to be found near the shoulders of the deceased and to have served a functional purpose – to fasten a piece of clothing at the time of burial (Philpott 1991, 137-141).

The British example shows that brooches, both in inhumation and cremation burials, performed a double role: they were placed for their functionality, i.e. to fasten a piece of clothing containing the remains of deceased or to fasten a piece of clothing covering the deceased body, and for their associations with dead person, i.e. their placement in a box or bag. In the latter case, brooches were indeed regarded as personal ornaments, the ones the deceased had used during their lifetime and could continue to use in the afterlife. As for the Continental examples, where all burials were cremations, the position of the brooches has been recorded for a) the trumpet 2A brooch with a chain from a grave in Worms, which was found in a pot together with beads and a key, on top of the cremated remains; the second trumpet 2A brooch was found as part of the grave goods, burned, in one grave next to an earlier one; b) the headstud brooch from a grave in Frankfurt-Praunheim, as part of the secondary grave goods, unburnt, under a pot; c) the headstud derivative and the trumpet-head derivative T166A found in a cemetery of Tiel-Passewaaij were top soil finds; one was found in the grave ditch and was probably a later grave deposit; another was not associated with any grave; d) Polden Hill, T100 type, with two other brooches, unburnt, next to cremated remains in a grave in Wederath; e) the gilded brooch, T271 type, found on top of cremated remains in a pot in a grave in Regensburg; f) a pair of headstuds was found in a glass vessel on top of cremated remains in a grave in Trier. The deposition of some brooches discussed here on top of the remains suggests that they were used as cloth fasteners, while some appear to have been placed as votive offerings. Notably, most of the brooches had their pins intact (slightly corroded but still with the spiral attached) suggesting that they were deposited not as broken objects with no further use, but as functional items, intended to secure pieces of clothing.

The significance of the placement of brooches in graves has been shown: their functionality was an important factor; yet, one may ask why *these* particular brooches were put into graves, i.e. why the relatives of the deceased chose particular brooches to follow their beloved ones into the afterlife³⁸⁵. Deliberateness in the inclusion of brooches suggests that they had important connotations for the deceased whose remains they were

³⁸⁵ E.g. why a brooch of a type A, and not one of a type B. What made the brooch of type A important enough to be placed in a grave? Why did the living not wish to use it anymore, even though it was still in perfect shape to function as a proper clothes fastener?

supposed to secure as well as for the relatives, whose choice of a particular brooch may have been a defined act. Philpott (1991) notes that personal ornaments, including brooches, were rare as grave goods in Roman Britain (though he fails to provide the exact number of how many brooches entered the archaeological record in this way) while indicating that personal ornaments are found in ca 5 percent of the total number of cremation burials. The paucity of brooches in burials in Roman Britain does not indicate that brooches were not placed with the bodies of the deceased. Rather their absence as intact objects may indicate that they were placed in the first phase of burial ritual and consequently were completely burned with the body, in this way not surviving to enter the archaeological record. Their complete destruction stresses their nature as objects of daily-ness, as things used in daily life as well as things that would be used in the afterlife. Because British-made brooches were abundant in Britain, their users may have had different associations with them, expressing through their deliberate completeness individuality and personhood (cf. Pudney 2011, 126-128) and the destruction of individuality at the time of burial (as pointed out to me by Stijn Heeren with respect to the Batavian evidence).

The users of brooches on the Continent may, however, have had other associations. Here, the brooches' biographies play a significant role: made in Britain, brought over the Channel to the Continent because of their functionality; not destroyed, kept intact, they could have been used by other members of a family or community because of their limited availability, exoticness and uniqueness. Yet they officially ended their lives being buried and being a protector of the deceased's remains. Therefore, not their precious looks (enamel patterns, decoration motives, *etc.*) or their functional value for the living, but particular associations with the deceased were important. As noted above, the brooches in burials are confined to areas where there is evidence for the presence of veterans having returned from Britain. Brooches, therefore, could have been valued by their owners and, later, by the relatives of the deceased for their associations with the past, indicating the (dead) owner's experience in Britain. Thinking firstly about British-made brooch as an embodiment of a 'British' past, and secondly about the unwillingness for them to be destroyed and the deliberateness in choice in the case of Continental burials, it could follow that their inclusion in graves was a manifestation of memory relating to the deceased's past as having lived in Britain. The destruction of the brooches destroyed memory and associations, while the holding on to them would have preserved it and have served to mediate between the past and the present.

6.2.2. Votive offerings

In total nine British-made brooches were located at six sites associated with religious activity³⁸⁶. Only one brooch, that from Fesques, was found in a pit of a sanctuary, whilst three brooches, those from Vermand, were surface finds discovered within the boundaries of a Gallo-Roman sanctuary. Five brooches were recorded as having been found near or at Gallo-Roman sanctuaries (Velzeke, Hofstade, Trier and Möhn), although their exact location is unknown. The appearance of British-made brooches as votive deposits on sites in the province of Gallia Belgica ties into an older tradition there 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).



Figure 6.5 Distribution of the brooches found on sites of Gallo-Roman temples

Depositing various objects in sanctuaries could have various kinds of religious significance: an act of oath fulfillment, payment for received or future favours, giving a gift during festivals and celebrations, offers for divine intervention or after an oracular consultation, or giving personalised gifts for the hope of good luck (Puttock 2002, 72). In pre- and post-conquest Britain brooches were also deposited and played a role as votive offerings on a number of sites, although they appear to be less common than other objects placed in sanctuaries (Puttock 2002, 71-72; Pudney 2011, 123-126, also for further literature). The inclusion of British-made brooches in votive deposits on the Continent and in Britain is therefore not unusual. That the choice fell on objects of personal adornment suggests that people offered them for “more personal reason”, as an act of offering “something *of themselves*”, i.e. “people may have offered the brooches to the gods as a surrogate for their identity or as a part of themselves as a sacrifice of their personhood” (Pudney 2011, 126). This idea is strengthened by evidence that the most of the personal ornaments found in sanctuaries in Roman Britain were not made of precious metals and, probably, did not have a high monetary value (Puttock 2002, 73), an

³⁸⁶ Sites: Velzeke, Hofstade, Trier, Möhn, Fesques and Vermand.

indication that it was the act itself that was of particular importance rather than *what* was deposited. The act of deposition also included the special treatment of the items: some artefacts were found to be broken or bent, an act that is sometimes referred to as ritual ‘killing’ (Puttock 2002, 75-76). For brooches, pins and spirals were removed, which signified the death of functionality and the birth of spiritual symbolism. However not all brooches were treated in the same manner in Roman Britain, some were deposited in their complete state (Puttock 2002, 75). The importance of brooches as votive offerings was enhanced by their various shapes and forms: shoe-sole shaped brooches may have symbolised the act of travelling and their inclusion in ritual depositions may have signified the wish for a safe journey (Puttock 2002, 83)³⁸⁷.

The analysis has shown that all nine British-made brooches found on the Continent within a sanctuary context were brought by families of returning veterans or by veterans themselves (cf. chapter 5, section 5.7.1). Upon completion of their service, veterans may have wished to make a sacrifice of things they had used during their military life, as an expression of gratitude for surviving the harsh realities of their military and warring lives. The action of placing the objects in sanctuaries upon completion of military service has been recorded for returning Batavian veterans (Roymans and Aarts 2005), who dedicated their military equipment to the gods for their protection during their years of service. Those who brought British-made brooches with them to the Continent took the trouble of transferring them overseas, but chose not to use them appropriately, i.e. as cloth fasteners, and gave them away as offerings. The deliberateness of the act of deposition stresses the brooches sacrificial value, yet it does not explain what was at stake when the decision was taken to include these British-made objects³⁸⁸ in the rituals performed on various sites in Gallia Belgica. Considering that the objects arrived with (families of) returning veterans, their inclusion as votive offerings suggests a possible act of a vow fulfillment or an act of thanksgiving for protection. That the choice of gift fell on British-made brooches, might indicate their symbolic value as an embodiment of ‘British’ military past. By positioning a British-made brooch in a ceremonial pit of a sacred site, veterans or their family members may have wished not only to fulfill a vow or thank the gods for their help but also to say goodbye to their service and to thank the gods for protecting them in Britain. Objects, as symbols of the past and (unpleasant) service, were no longer needed in daily life, probably because of their associations. There is no possibility of knowing how long the brooches were in the state of in-betweenness, i.e. how long they fulfilled the role of clothes fasteners before playing a role in ritual activity³⁸⁹. This chapter of the objects biographies is closed to us; yet, the ‘life’ on the Continent was subject to the reality of discourse, by which the objects’ functionality and symbolism of the past might have existed side by side and mediated the relationship between the objects and their owners. In other words, while wearing British-made brooches in the setting of foreign cultures, the past of the owners was projected as people who lived in or were from Britain. By deliberately refusing to use the brooches anymore as clothes fasteners, the projection of a foreign past and the experience in a foreign land was brought to an end. In this sense, brooches were subject to twofold actions: as personal offerings to gods and as closures of past activities; by

³⁸⁷ Other brooches of similar symbolic quality are horse and rider shaped brooches, dragonsque, dog, *etc.* (cf. Puttock 2002, 83-88 for a discussion and full list).

³⁸⁸ In Gallia Belgica not only British-made brooches, but also coins, British-made enameled and non-enameled metalwork has been found on the sites of Gallo-Roman temples and sanctuaries (chapter 5, section 5.3).

³⁸⁹ The brooch from Fesques is complete, with the spiral still attached but the pin missing; the Möhn brooch’s spiral and pin are missing but it is otherwise complete; the Colchester brooch found in Vermand is complete, with pin and spiral still attached; the Dolphin type brooch found in Vermand is broken at the foot - the spiral and pin missing; the T168 brooch from Vermand is in bad shape - the pin and spiral are missing and the catch plate is broken.

giving such personal items away to the gods, the past was symbolically buried and vows were fulfilled. Here the duality of brooches as physical embodiments of the past and physical items for securing items of clothing is most clearly expressed.

6.2.3. Brooches as rubbish deposits and accidental losses

In total 45 British-made brooches, located on 22 Continental sites, have been recorded as having been found in cities, forts, vici of a fort and rural settlements; some have no affiliation to any particular context and were recorded as ‘accidental finds’ (fig. 6.6).

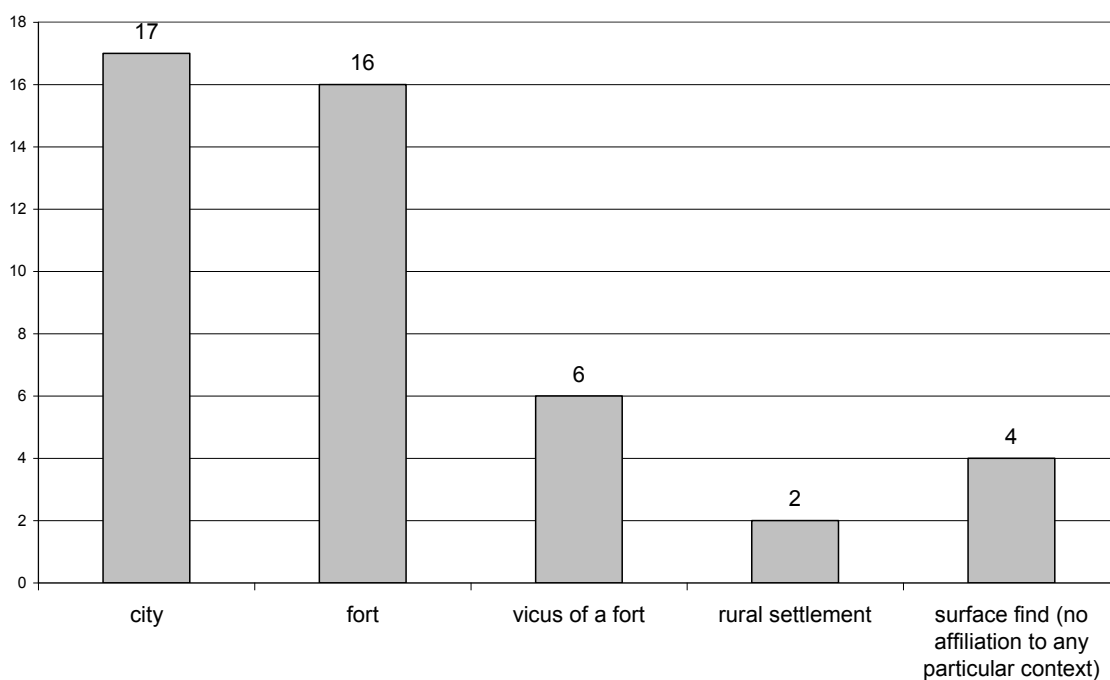


Figure 6.6 British-made brooches in urban, military and civilian contexts³⁹⁰

Within these 22 sites, the location of most brooches has been recorded: nine were found in rubbish pits (including one in a well), 17 in roads, gateways and earthen ramps, and 12 in buildings (though for some precise location within the building has not been recorded); the location of seven brooches is unknown. Pudney (2011) analyses the evidence from Severn Estuary sites, where brooches were found in similar contexts, and suggests that some objects were intentionally deposited within the boundaries of a building, as part of the foundation ritual, while others, found in a pit of an abandoned legionary fortress, represented an act of abandonment of a place and abandonment of military identity. While Pudney to some extent deals with the data recorded precisely, for our purposes there is no possibility to know, whether the brooches found in buildings were located in foundation trenches or on either side of a doorway; although for some items their findspot can be explained following simple logic. For instance, brooches recorded as having been found in a bath house of the Weissenburg fort and from Lillebonne found in the context of the Roman theater, most likely entered the

³⁹⁰ The brooches counted here are the ones whose location within the site was recorded, cf. brooches found in Saalburg, the location of which has been recorded precisely, and brooches from Zugmantel, the findspot of which is unknown. Sites: Saalburg, Bickenbach, Heldenbergen, Frankfurt-Heddernheim, Xanten, Nijmegen (Lage Veld), Ahrweiler, Étapes, Lillebonne, Augst, Martigny, Oberwinterthur, Aime, Straubing, Weissenburg, Morlupo, Cășeiu, Bumbesti, Drösing, Schützen am Gebirge, Mautern and *Thamusida*.

archaeological record as a result of someone's carelessness: it might have been lost when someone undressed to take a bath and it may have fallen off the clothes of a spectator watching a performance or gladiator fight in the theatre respectively.

The location of brooches in the fort of Saalburg deserves some attention here: seven were located in an earthen ramp, constructed behind the defensive walls to allow defenders access to the top³⁹¹; one was found in a well, another next to the same well; one was located in a ditch next to the *porta praetoria*. It has been proposed that these brooches ended their lives as rubbish deposits, probably upon the relocation of a British unit to the Odenwald-Neckar frontier ca AD 100 (chapter 5, section 5.1.1). Notably, the brooches found in the ramp were still in a good state, some even had their pins and spirals attached. Such deliberate 'throwing away' of the objects, which their owners no longer want, yet could have continued to use, is a considerable act, and warns against thinking that this was just military rubbish. While the ramp is not contemporary with the period of the abandonment of the fort by a British unit (ca AD 135 against ca AD 100), the items might have been deposited in one place a decade earlier by the leaving members of the British unit and later dug up during the demolition of the previous constructions by a new unit and have ended up as 'demolition waste' in the ramp. Not all brooches were thrown away: there is evidence that some were brought to the Odenwald-Neckar frontier – the Hesselbach and Obernburg forts count such brooches. It seems that it was part of a deliberate deposition of some items (that could have been further used) rather than a general rubbish dump. Pudney (2011, 122 with further literature) notes the existence of "specific practices related to the abandonment of a place, including the explicit and structured deposition of objects" in Britain. Considering that the soldiers in this British unit may have been British-born (cf. chapters 3 and 4) and familiar with the rituals performed at home, this ties in with the intentional deposition of "meaningful objects" conducted at some sites in Britain (Pudney 2011). The movement to another fort or region can be related to the end of practices that were performed daily, the end of the routine; by placing items of personal importance in a pit, a group of soldiers might have ritually signified the end of a particular phase in their lives (Pudney 2011, 122) and bid a personal farewell to a place that their home for some time.

For the brooches found within one of the insula of Oberwinterthur and within the city boundaries of Augst a different explanation can, however, be proposed. The objects found in Oberwinterthur were found in the town's occupation area, in buildings located across the street from each other. Three brooches entered the archaeological record in a broken state: one is missing its upper part (only the foot survives), second one has a broken left side, missing its catch plate and pin and the third one is missing a spiral and a pin. Two brooches found in Augst represents also nothing more than rubbish: one was broken into two parts, and the foot, spiral and pin were missing; another one was found together with 'third century' pottery and a crossbow brooch. Their deposition was clearly intentional: they could no longer perform their role as clothes fasteners and were thrown away into rubbish pits. The fourth brooch, (trumpet brooch type 2A), however, unlikely was part of the rubbish, because it was found in a complete state, with its pin and spiral attached. In total 351 brooches were found on this site, generally well-preserved and in perfect condition (Rey-Vodoz 1998, 62), which counts against the idea that our British-made brooch was a special and intentional deposit. Notably, the group of brooches found on this site is homogenous and are of local origin, with a small number of brooches of non-local types; all this indicates that the British trumpet brooch would have stood out and have appeared unusual to the inhabitants of the region, yet, it was

³⁹¹ Böhme (1970, 9, note 15) notes that the findspot of the brooches recorded as "earthen ramp" might not be totally correct: the previous excavators did not record the findspots of brooches at all; only in 1912 three brooches were noted as having been found in "earthen ramp", two in the earliest levels of the ramp.

discarded. Possibly this brooch found in Oberwinterthur was unintentionally deposited, i.e. it entered the archaeological record through accidentally being lost, as appears to be the case with other brooches from Augst, whose location has been noted by excavators, such as the umbonate from the theatre in *insula* 2A, and one at Colchester from *insula* 15. Notably, the umbonate brooch is in a perfect state, except the pin is missing, which might have been the cause of the brooch's loss: the pin broke and the object fell from the clothes, as in the case of the Lillebonne brooch, discussed above (i.e. both brooches were found in the context of a theatre).

Another example of the brooch being an accidental loss includes the British-made brooch from Bickenbach found on a site where a Roman road joins a swamp bridge. The Bickenbach brooch is also in a good state; the pin and spiral are still attached and only the small loop on the top is missing. This object may have been lost when a group of soldiers, heading towards their post on the Odenwald-Neckar frontier in the mid second century, was crossing the bridge. Another example that can be proposed here is a brooch (type T173A) found on the route of the Roman penetration during the Marcomannic Wars: a surface find, it may have fallen off the clothes of a soldier moving with his unit. All items were most likely worn at the time of loss, an indication for us that British-made brooches were part of daily routine, habitually and continuously worn, in spite of changes in living place, of daily habits (military vs civilian (rural or urban) daily practices) and the people surrounding the brooches' wearers.

In comparison, three British-made brooches have been reported as being found in rubbish pits (Mautern, Heddernheim and Étapes) can be addressed. Two brooches from the area of civilian settlement in front of the fort at Heldenbergen may have been rubbish deposits: one was completely broken -, only a foot has survived, another bent to the left side, while pin, spiral and headloop were still attached³⁹². All sites, except Étapes, are military vici that developed in the vicinity of forts where British auxiliary units were stationed; the time of deposition is also contemporary with the presence of the British troops. Étapes is a civilian settlement that developed in the vicinity of the British fleet station, Boulogne-sur-Mer, and might have been a place where people coming from Britain, as well as mariners serving in the fleet, stayed for some time. These brooches may have been deliberately thrown away, maybe even without any attempt to repair them: a brooch from Heddernheim is missing its pin, when it could have easily been repaired. Such deliberateness and refusal of further use suggest that these objects were no longer important or special; their "daily-ness" and un-exoticness may have been the cause of their becoming rubbish. Inclusion of the items in rubbish pits symbolises the fact that the objects were non-essential, of little value, probably because of their ordinaryness. Considering that all the sites mentioned had a direct connection to British auxiliary units and the British fleet, it is possible that there was an abundance of British-made objects on these sites. In other words, there were too many British-made brooches to consider them as special or of any importance for ritual activity. This contrasts with brooches from Saalburg, which may have been deliberately deposited for their past value and embodiment of British-ness in order to bid farewell to the activity performed in the fort.

Does the difference lie in the fact that the deposition action in Saalburg was performed within a military milieu (mostly men?), while the inclusion of the brooches in rubbish was possibly done by civilians (mainly women?)? In other words, the relationship between owners, i.e. soldiers, and objects in Saalburg had much deeper connotations, while for communities living in the vicinity of forts, brooches did not have a particular meaning other than being clothes fasteners. This invites further discussion of how brooches' meanings were dependant on the complex intervening associations and

³⁹² A failure to straighten the brooch might have resulted in its rejection and throwing away.

social domains existing within particular groups. Not every British auxiliary unit was the same in its composition in terms of social background (educated vs non-educated, urban vs rural recruits), tribal background (Dobunnian, Icenian or Continental majority within a troop) and age (more 20's or 30's year old). Status-related relations between their members, openness to the new environment, problems and co-operation due to stress of relocation and transfer also varied between units. Brooches worn by one group therefore may have been an embodiment of sacrificial values, while in another have had a more practical, mundane value; yet the difference in their exploitation has its roots in routinisation: one (former) group saw in a brooch more than it had to offer as a clothes fastener; another (the latter) was so overwhelmed by brooches' "every day-ness" that for them there was no other option than to throw the unneeded objects away.

By placing the brooches in rubbish or having them accidentally lost meant the functional death of the object. Such an action had consequences for the projection of any form of identities, be they gender, ethnic, cultural *etc.*; the intentional death of an object stands for the death of meaning this item is associated with, following up on the 'death' of identities desired or wished for or (un)intentionally projected. In our case, the label 'Britishness' that brooches held in them, i.e. as products of Britain, together with all other identities the owners had and projected through wearing them, was 'thrown' away. Such a denial to transmit the 'British' aspect of a brooch, as well as whatever connections the owner had with Britain (the object after all had been brought from there to the Continent), suggests one of two directly opposite intentions: a) a refusal to acknowledge the 'British' past by the owner, i.e. an intention to forget a period of service or life in Britain and bury the past; b) acceptance of the brooch's "daily-ness", because of the object's abundance and availability. In the former case, owners did not have any emotional connections with the land that served them as home for some period of time; life in Britain was regarded as temporary and of no value. In the latter, the availability of brooches allowed owners to continue to transmit whatever identities they wished to; brooches were not regarded as important or special; rather the routine of wearing them continuously and on a daily basis reinvented the associations.

Groups of British-made brooches discussed here provide a range of scenarios for their use and for being discarded, which in some context depended on the groups of people using them (i.e. soldiers in British auxiliary units and probably British-born individuals) and in another – dependant on their physical presence (excessiveness) and physicality (i.e. perishable pin and spiral). The value of all these brooches varied from emotional to practical to sacrificial; yet, we will never know whether the objects considered here as accidental losses were of particular importance, i.e. whether their loss meant something to their owners. Moreover, we cannot assume that all British-born individuals serving in British auxiliary units performed the act of the symbolic funeral of their British-made brooches upon abandoning a place. However, British brooches acted in the variety of ways, had many associations and were being valued and non-valued; precisely such practices help us to outline 'the shape' of people who brought these brooches with them.

6.3. Objects of value, objects of desire, objects of fashion: brooches in context

British-made brooches took on and played a variety of roles both within and outside Britain. While the context is a cornerstone in determining the ways they were used and what they expressed on individual, group and communal levels, the three aspects of routinisation, discourse and evocation dominate all contexts. The responses of agents towards the objects and objects' 'unintentional' influence towards the agents (as in a dialectical relationship between objects and humans) give a texture to our understanding of the usage of personal accessories and provide us with the possibility to look beyond

the notion of them as simple decorations. In our case, British-made brooches were surely “more than meets the eye” (Jundi and Hill 1998).

The normative, rational and emotional actions of person are embedded within the shared aspect of *habitus*: a brooch therefore was primarily a clothes fastener in any contexts. Its physicality, i.e. presence of a pin, spiral and sometimes headloop, was its *habitus*. When a person, an agent, enters the stage, its usage starts to be dependant on the *responses* the brooch evokes. By putting the brooch in a variety of contexts, social surroundings and landscapes, the item starts to change its meaning, whether intentionally or unintentionally as can be determined only by and through the agents’ usage. The normative person would continue to use the brooch for its primary function: to fasten the clothes. The positioning of a brooch at shoulder level and wearing it so that everyone could see it provides an entrance for the rational person, who gives it a meaning depending on the responses from the viewers, his own desires and wishes, and evaluates the potential value of it. The emotional person sees the value of the item as an embodiment of particular meanings, associations and feelings. Each aspect in the man intervenes and collaborates, and finalises the end result of a brooch’s use, i.e. whether it is thrown away, buried, given away, *etc.* When a brooch enters the archaeological record, it is a sum of all responses, aspects and (un)intentional values. The significance of each action, i.e. *why* (it was thrown away, buried, *etc.*) rather than *how*, indicates the levels of associations and relationships between objects and agents.

In the case of British-made brooches, the past is an important matter. The desire to forget, re-invent, evoke or project the past attests to the importance and value of memory when British-made brooches were put in specific contexts abroad. The aspect of remembrance and evocation also existed in the inscriptions erected by mobile Britons, though here it was confined to the idea of a homeland and place of birth. Here, ‘ethnicities’ were overlooked and had no particular meanings, though the aspects of ‘physicality’ and ‘place of manufacture’ connected the agents with their British past (discussed below). However, the presence of objects made in Britain on sites with homogenous material culture allowed them to stand out in the material record of that site: the realisation that a brooch was outstanding and exotic might provide the grounds for the growing of a new meaning, possibly not existing in Britain itself, one relating to the expression of ethnicity, especially when the owner was British-born³⁹³. Ethnicity here becomes a by-product of the relationship between the owner and the object: the uniqueness and particularity of the artefact might enhance the expressions of the ethnic identity.

6.4. Brooches as identities’ markers: ‘Britishness’ and Britons³⁹⁴

The distribution of brooches has shown that the objects occurred on sites where people were attested who had some connection with Britain, which raised the question whether it is possible to distinguish groups represented on those site who had travelled from Britain from those who most likely originated from this province. The analysis conducted here regarding the contexts and possible meanings behind including brooches in burials, sacred and rubbish pits, indicates that it is in some ways possible to correlate the context in which the brooches were found with the groups of people who may have brought these objects to the sites. It seems that British recruits serving in British units were prone to accidentally lose their brooches or to discard them as unneeded rubbish, while there are indications that returning veterans included foreign material in their own social practices, such as putting an exotic object in a grave or in a sanctuary. Some of the

³⁹³ Cf. Jones S. 2007, 73: “Any distinctive, non-random distributions of particular styles and forms of material culture in different contexts [...] plausibly relate to the expression of ethnicity”.

³⁹⁴ The shorter version of the discussion in this section has appeared in Ivleva 2011a.

brooches could, of course, have been, exchange or trade goods, although as foreign and probably exotic objects, they were imbued with particular social meanings which would have varied between the groups using them and were still specifically chosen to be part of a particular action or religious performance. As such, the contexts allow 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.

Analysis of the epigraphic record has suggested that British ethnic self-awareness survived as far down the line as second-generation emigrants. The presence of late first-century brooch types in a late second-century context, by which time the type had ceased to be produced, may indicate a second-generation emigrant for whom a brooch was a valuable heirloom, an ancestral reminder³⁹⁵.

The notion that people arriving from Britain, whether male or female, continued to wear their British-made brooches overseas has received support here, although whether by practical necessity or as a result of ethnic consciousness is a point of discussion. One of the limitations of using brooches to understand ethnic consciousness is that wearing a British brooch does not make one British. Brooches could have been valued by migrants not so much for their ethnic associations as for their association with luxury and exoticness, with the past (for veterans who served in Britain) or with gender. However, British brooches were common dress accessories in Britain. Therefore the inhabitants regarded them as ordinary, everyday objects and may have considered them as such overseas, although not necessarily, as has been discussed above. Moreover, a Briton living overseas, probably, would know that a brooch was made in Britain and by wearing British brooches, members of British emigrant community could easily recognise each other overseas.

The assumption that brooches in general were used as symbols to deliberately emphasise ethnic origin can be contested. However, it must be stressed that here we are dealing with a community, dispersed over diverse groups. Any communities formed across diverse groups can be “seen as being created, understood and reinforced by means of symbolism” (Crowley 2009, 118). In some migrant communities the usage of symbolism is even stronger and more articulated (Brettel 2003; Sheffer 2005). Rothe (2009, 79) noted that the move to a new territory, in her case the transfer of Ubians, “appears to have engendered a desire for some degree of cultural continuity among part of the population”. The movement and transfer overseas could have triggered in some Britons a desire to dress in the same way as their ancestors, reinforcing a desire to express the differences between them and the host population – differences in origin, way of dressing or wearing brooches. It became clear from the epigraphic material that the sense of ‘being British’ persisted as far as the second generation among some Britons.

It can be suggested that, since they were British products, brooches were symbols that stood for *Britannia*. Through wearing a brooch, different messages could have been sent by the owner, while the ‘British-ness’ of the brooches could ‘resonate’ together with all the other meanings. Messages could range from ‘I served as a soldier in Britannia’ or ‘I travelled to Britannia and returned safely’ to ‘I came from Britannia and I am a Briton’. Different meanings are emphasised in each case, but a connection with Britain is present in all of them. This is where the theory of ‘material resonance’, discussed in chapter 1 and outlined in Antonaccio (2009), provides the possibility for seeing how various forms of ethnicity³⁹⁶ may have been projected through material culture - in our case, specifically through the wearing of British-made brooches. Material ethnicity

³⁹⁵ Brooches found in Mautern, Bumbesti, Munz(en)berg and Pont.

³⁹⁶ I.e. desired, achieved and received through citizenship status or given at birth.

theory, therefore, suggests that British brooches could have been used by mobile Britons as indicators of their shared ancestry or by immigrants to indicate their shared experience as soldiers in Britain. Access to British-made objects by people not native to the province may or may not have triggered the desire ‘to do like the British do’; yet, objects were still being associated with British-ness, i.e. foreignness and the past, and acted as agents for evoking particular associations and feelings. If an individual wore a brooch in the same manner as in Britain, although this would not have made this person British, the value of brooch as symbol and embodiment of “British” aspects and pasts was at the front, literally and metaphorically, for everyone to see.

6.4.1. *Were Britons emigrants or a diaspora?*

Enough evidence, albeit in small numbers, is available to pinpoint the location of mobile Britons on the Continent. It became clear that the past and memory of their land of birth was important to them, although it should be emphasised that for any individuals settling elsewhere the past and homeland is important: an increase in the demonstration of one’s origin is particularly noticeable in mobile communities (Oltean 2009, 94-95). Britons are no different from any other migrants in their choices regarding the projection of their origin through epigraphy and material culture. Some Britons living abroad were keen to make their ethnic origin explicit through written language, whether the decision lay in naming their tribe or in employing the adopted Roman construct *Britonnes*. The epigraphic record indicates that ethnic consciousness existed for Britons, although there is no conclusive evidence that this was a widespread phenomenon. For most mobile Britons, wearing a British-made brooch would be a necessary and obvious thing to do, since it would have been brought among their personal possessions. This makes it possible to use British brooches as tools in the search for Britons living abroad. While wearing a British brooch for some mobile Britons would reinforce their ‘Britishness’, other identities and messages could have been projected as well.

The question central to the discussion here is: whether Britons living abroad can be termed emigrants or diaspora, taking into account the dual nature of both words and brooches (cf. chapter 2, section 2.6), as well as the multiple ethnic identities of any mobile individual. We have seen that diaspora communities differ from migrants in their relation to the idea of a home (cf. chapter 1, section 1.3.3), where the former resides in three-angled view of home, host and new land, the latter approaches the host land as if it was their new land, refusing any connections with the homeland. Therefore, the reasonable question to ask is where ‘sense of home’ was embedded for Britons and how it might be studied. It has been proposed (cf. chapter 1, section 1.4) that ‘shared ways of doing things’ constitutes ‘a home’, the notion based on a shared *habitus* between people who stay put and who moved³⁹⁷. Through wearing a British brooch, naming their tribal or national origin on inscriptions and military diplomas and erecting votive monuments to their ancestor goddesses, some Britons did indeed do things in a way that was similar to that of their communities back home. Another step is to determine whether these actions were deliberate, reinforced by living in a different society as in diaspora communities, or not, as migrants would do, considering that *habitus* / habits forced both groups to act in the same way as back home.

I would like here to suggest as a parallel with the African-Caribbean diaspora, peoples of which form the so called ‘Black Triangle’ consisting of Africa, the Caribbean and the USA or the UK (Hall S. 2003, 235). This triangle is centered in Africa, “the name of the missing term, the great aporia, which lies at the center of our [African-Caribbean] cultural identity and gives it a meaning” (Hall S. 2003, 235). The past in this

³⁹⁷ As opposed to ‘the home’, a changeable and conditional aspect, flexible and creative, meaning that ‘the home’ can be recreated at any location using symbolism of distinctiveness.

diaspora appears to be broken, and in some ways, un-restorable, it is essentialised and idealised; the community acknowledges its uniqueness, although it goes through constant transformation, looking to the future, constrained by narratives of the past and forming the narratives of the future (Hall S. 2003, 235). The community itself is not bounded, rather “the boundaries of difference are continually repositioned in relation to different points of reference” (Hall S. 2003, 238): ‘Others’ see them as all ‘the same’; while they (i.e. African-Caribbeans) see themselves as different in cultural terms, i.e. difference between Jamaicans, Cubans and Martiniquains.

In our case, such a triangle also exists, consisting of Britain, the provinces and the Roman Empire. Britain, as birth land and home for some time, shaped the essentialised identities and formed the *habitus* and narratives of the past. The provinces, as places where mobile Britons settled, hosted them and gave them a new home and formed their narratives of the future; they were places where newcomers and hosts entered into a discourse, while the Roman Empire unified these peoples across their differences and embedded them within cultural norms and practices. Britons were seen in the provinces and within the Roman Empire as very much ‘the same’; they are even named after an adopted and artificially constructed unity. Yet, there were profound differences between Britons themselves, which were recognised and contrasted, as inscriptions made in Britain show. Those Britons who had Roman citizenship, were both Romans and non-Romans: their new ethnicity was confined to a legal term, standardised according to Roman laws and payment of taxes; it added a new meaning to their core ethnicity - i.e. ‘a’ tribal, urban, parental, rural identity or whatever, “without erasing the trace of its other meanings” (Hall S. 2003, 239 on the idea of difference in Derrida sense).

By looking at the community of Britons living abroad through the notion of a ‘triangle’, the discussion moves onto another level: from discussing the solid entity that (emigrants or diaspora) mobile Britons on the Continent might have been, we arrive at ‘an imagined’ community living across and trespassing any ‘semantic’ boundaries (Isaev 2009, 224). Rather than labeling them with concepts such as emigrants or diaspora, which in semantic terms they were both and none, I would like to suggest that the social contexts and the flexibility of ‘the home’ and essentiality of ‘a home’ formed the responses these mobile individuals projected and used in any given situational contexts. Depending on circumstances, availability of the scenarios and choices, the restricted boundaries of the *habitus* adapted to the new environment. This ‘imagined’ community consisted of a variety of patches of individuals and personhoods, employing a variety of symbols and scenarios in a variety of contexts, making them sometimes appear as ‘emigrants’, in other contexts and circumstances as a ‘diaspora’. While deconstructing the labeling of particular communities, we should avoid deconstructing them to the point of non-existence (Isaev 2009, 224). The notions ‘migrant’ and ‘diaspora’ outline for us the variety of scenarios a person might have wished to choose from when being transferred or moved to a new territory. The idea of ‘a home’ and the construction of ‘the (artificial) home’ as described by migrant and diaspora theories give a texture to understand the realities of the past.

Conclusions: “it’s the same as here, but different”³⁹⁸

This study set out to explore ‘Britishness’ abroad in the Roman Empire on a variety of levels: individual (personal migration from Britain) and communal (the occurrence of British military units abroad); human mobility and mobility of artefacts; movement of British-born and Continental-born to and from Britain. It has shown that the archaeological data and epigraphic evidence should not be seen as existing at opposite ends of the spectrum. They do not stand in opposition to each other, but rather complement each other, and in some ways even converge together. By focusing on two types of evidence, a one-sided view was avoided and ‘Britishness’, seemingly elusive, came to light in words and artefacts. Identity/identities took centre stage in the discussion on the British military units (chapter 3), the occurrence of Britons (chapter 4) and British-made artefacts (chapter 5) abroad. Identity/identities are highly variable on every level in terms of the employment of symbols and particularly in terms of the scale of expression. Because identities can be put on and off, like clothes, looking at the expression of ‘Britishness’ on a variety of levels revealed a great deal about the variability and possibilities of the choices one faced and chose from when moving to a new territory.

The study began by outlining the three notions of identity, migration and diaspora and provided a review of the current state of all three terms in Roman studies (chapter 1). The aim was to see how these notions could be approached from the perspective of archaeology. A model was proposed based on ‘the duality of structure’ theory, where each object, artefact, phrase was approached from two sides: essentialised and changeable; the former being static, the latter depending on the environment and contexts. Each part is “the precondition and the product of the other” (Revell 2009, 10). The idea of *habitus* was also introduced to emphasise the shared and unifying ground for all expressed identities, taking into account that each identity is a sum of its duality as well as of acts of routinisation, discourse and evocation. The purpose of this concluding chapter is to summarise how the outlined acts are envisaged in the sources studied and how the notion of ‘Britishness’ operated on the levels of military units, moved individuals and artefacts.

To start with, acts of routinisation, discourse and evocation in the medium of material culture and epigraphy can be observed on an individual level. The formulaic expressions recorded on monuments, such as funerary expression ‘to the spirits of the dead’ or votive ‘gladly, willingly and deservedly fulfilled a vow’, and the fixed phrasing such as mentioning name, age and origin, are routinised acts giving us the first level of information relating to daily-ness and the mundane. The simple recording of a name, age and origin, preceding or followed by traditional epigraphic formulae, is a very commonplace activity, yet it is a result of a fundamental process of self-identification with a particular group and a refusal to be part of another group. In the same way, British-made brooches were brought to the Continent: their commonplace functionality was the main reason they travelled – mobile individuals needed something to pin their clothes with. By changing the social landscape, however, their owners and the objects themselves started to be looked at in a new way, moving to the level of discourse. The process of identification is a part of acts of choosing, refusing and re-inventing, when an individual had a choice in naming his/her origin (i.e. tribal, urban, invented by Romans) and a choice in how a brooch might be used, or whether to use it or put it deliberately to its functional death. The particular associations a person had with an object or the land

³⁹⁸ Olsen 2010, 7 quoting John Travolta’s character in *Pulp Fiction*.

(s)he left influenced the choices made, which brings us to the level of evocation and personal feelings.

Each type of evidence was looked at from two levels, the level of “essentiality”, which transcends meanings, and the level of “changeability”, where practices are transferable and flexible. The former aspect is the physical testimony of the presence of mobile individuals from Britain, which takes the form of inscriptions cut on stone and bronze certificates of Roman citizenship. Their physicality opened for us the biographies and histories of British auxiliary units and *numeri*, provided us with places and sites where one can look for the presence of ‘Britishness’ in symbols, words and artefacts. British-made brooches, as bodies of various cultural, ethnic, gendered, status-related meanings and associations, through their physical aspect of pinning clothes together provided us as well with the places and sites where one can look for mobile individuals. While pinning together clothes, they were also aids in “pinning down the identit[ies]” of their owners, observers, makers and admirers (Pudney 2011), which can be studied by moving onto the second level of changeability.

By looking at the evidence from the first level of analysis, the following conclusions were proposed. The history and development of British auxiliary units and *numeri* did not differ from other units serving during the High Roman Empire: the recruitment policy followed the pattern introduced for other auxiliaries (Holder 1980; Haynes 1999a, 1999b). The result was the decline of the service of British-borns in the British auxiliary units and *numeri* in the early second century. However, while the grand scale analysis showed that the units were conformity in comparison with other troops, on the lower scale each unit provided pictures of various forms of adaptations and social evolution. There is evidence for the existence of a plurality of cultural and ethnic identities within the British troops. The significance of this result lies in the realisation that each unit should be looked at individually, the histories and biographies should be compared and contrasted leading to a picture of ‘diversity within unity’.

An interesting phenomenon is the major decline of the service of British-borns in British auxiliary units and *numeri* in the second century (chapter 3), but a rather dramatic increase in the presence of British-borns as servicemen abroad in other legionary and auxiliary troops in the same period (chapter 4). While the Roman administration stopped replenishing the British auxiliary units with British recruits, Britons themselves took their military careers in their own hands: there may have been voluntarily enlistment for the service abroad. However, the low number of surviving monuments erected by soldiers of British descent and their relatives serving in British units might be connected with the irrelevancy of mentioning their tribal affiliation, as their ancestry was perfectly obvious to all (cf. Oltean 2009 and van Driel-Murray 2009).

British-born civilians are fairly absent from the epigraphic record in any periods, although their mobility should not be excluded. Some may not have wished to show their origin and in some cases, in the absence of a clear origin indicator on their monument, the onomastic analysis of a person’s name suggested the geographical origin of the bearer. It is unclear what made these people neglect their origin but it may have been the custom not to mention one’s place of birth. In the British case, a lack of such a custom or a total lack of ‘epigraphic habit’ was suggested, with other forms of display being preferred to inscriptions. Whenever the choice fell on recording origin, ethnic identification was not only confined to the identification by tribe, town or province, but the label *natio Britto* was introduced. The use of this label started to increase in the early second century and became the ethnic label for the second-generation of migrants, in the absence of pre-existing one.

British-made brooches are not different in their mobility to the movement of other personal accessories in time and space. The occurrence of British-made brooches imported to the Continent “need not be taken at face value in every case. Their

distribution may not always reflect straightforward determinants such as trade, but may stem from more complex circumstances” (Swan 2009b, 90 on the pottery imported into Britain with my modification). In the present study a correlation between the presence of migrants from Britain and British-made brooches overseas was detected, leading to the suggestion that the jewellery items travelled to the mainland with their owners. They arrived at their final destinations “with the person wearing the objects” or as part of the personal possessions; in most cases such persons were usually army followers or soldiers themselves (Swift 2000, 208 reached the same conclusion for fourth-century dress accessories).

Through this study the necessity to approach the evidence from the level of changing meanings has been made clear. Objects and words cannot be used to simple ‘read off’ what they stood for. Naming an origin on an inscription is an important and significant, yet, ultimate and final act; a person might have had a variety of ‘origins’ and ‘ethnicities’ during his or her lifetime (Collins 2008), while at the very end the *choice* fell on but one out of many. The question *why* this particular origin was chosen is another issue (chapter 6). British-made brooches are not evidence of British ethnicity or any ethnicity for that matter, yet, their ‘made in Britain’ quality gave us the opportunity to speak of ‘material ethnicity resonance’ (chapter 6).

One of the most valuable aspects of this research has been the opportunity it gave to prove that “brooches are more than meets the eye” (Jundi and Hill 1998). By looking on a site-by-site basis and reconstructing the biographies of each object, in some cases groups of artefacts, it became possible to see that these personal objects were used in a variety of ways, moving from the status of being dress accessories to embodiments of past and memories, values and ideas. The investigation of the contexts these artefacts ended up in and the ways they were used has shown the variety of responses and relationships individuals might have had with these items of personal adornment. Changing situations, i.e. movement to another territory, had a major impact on the dialectical relationships between humans and objects, enhancing particular identities as well as suppressing others. It has been suggested here that while wearing British brooches could have helped some mobile Britons to reinforce their ‘Britishness’, other identities and messages could have been projected as well. Although possible interpretations as to the meanings behind these messages and symbols are open to debate, the validity of using material culture (cautiously and critically) in the interpretation of ethnic origin has been demonstrated, since some migrants, in certain situational contexts, may have used it as an ethnic marker.

One of the aspects of this research was to observe the shared angle of *habitus*, which was ‘Britishness’, for the individuals, communities and artefacts. British auxiliary units at the outset raised from the province of Britain, though from different tribes and peoples (Continental recruits in *ala* and *cohors I Britannica* or *Belgus* and *Coritanus* in *cohors I Ulpia Brittonum*), were a combination of cultures, ethnicities and identities when stationed overseas. The *numeri Brittonum* had a similar destiny: units started to accept local recruits the moment they arrived at their posts in Germania Superior and Dacia, although at the early stage the units were filled with recruits from Britain. In other words, ‘Britishness’ existed here in all but name: particular ethnic symbolisms as is evident in a Dacian unit stationed on the Birdoswald post on Hadrian’s Wall (Wilmott 2001), are absent for British units. The reason is the name of the units itself: the artificial term imposed by the Romans ‘*Brittones*’ might not have caught on with the native population of Britain, considering that they were “an assortment of tribes” (Mattingly 2004, 10) without any sense of a unified cultural identity. The creation of this artificial cultural unity by the Roman administration might have been the result of a conscious decision to enhance the formation of a new pan-British military identity (chapter 3), although it seems that they did not go further than labeling this group: symbols of new

unified culture were not (re-)invented. The term, however, was taken up by the second generation of mobile Britons to emphasise their shared past and ancestry (chapter 6), which can be regarded as an indication of a sort of success in the act of “superficial homogenisation” (Matthews 1999, 29). As such, ‘British’ is a cultural construct imposed by Rome in order to form a new cultural unity within the diversity of cultural forms, a process which failed in Britain, but took off among Britons settling abroad. There the artificially created cultural unity started to take the form of an ethnic label; as such, imposed culture became an invented ethnicity for an imagined community.

Enhancing the exhibition of ethnic origin and past has been noted on many occasions for communities settling outside the area of their birth (Oltean 2009; Rothe 2009). In other words, as an example, a person is more Russian in Western Europe, than the Russians in Russia. Ethnicity becomes a by-product of the relationship between hosts and newcomers: the uniqueness and particularity of the situations and awareness of the *differences* might enhance the expressions of ethnic identity. British ethnicity is a created cultural idea formed by “shared ways of doing things” (Lucy 2005b, 101) and formulated through the opposition between newcomers and hosts. While settling on the Continent, the realisation of differences which were usually embedded within routinised aspects of appearance, foodways, construction and division of space, and consumption (Hill 2001), might have triggered in some British-born individuals the desire “to do like the British do”, i.e. as things were done back home. The movement overseas could have triggered in some Britons a desire to dress in the same way as their ancestors, reinforcing a desire to express the differences between them and the host population – differences in origin, ways of dressing or wearing brooches. That some of the mobile communities continued to exploit their shared *habitus* of food preparation abroad has been proved for the Gauls and North Africans living outside their homelands but continuing to cook as back home (Swan 1999, 2009a). Because the mobile British community had to, in the first place, overcome their inner differences, i.e. different cultural norms existing within a variety of tribal formations, they found their unity in the created notion of the *natione Britto*. As such what was artificially imposed and cultivated as a tradition, through the act of discourse, i.e. realisation and understanding of difference, became the shared (re-)invented *habitus*. This brings us to the level ‘beyond ethnicity’ where an ethnic indicator is simply a semantic construction, where an origin is reflected in social practices and in invented but shared *habitus*. On this level, i.e. looking beyond the labeling, the community of mobile Britons becomes an invented community in itself. While sharing practices and ‘ways of doing’, this community might have used ((un)consciously) a variety of scenarios in a variety of contexts making them one time appear as ‘emigrants’, in another context and circumstances as a ‘diaspora’. In the end, it becomes impossible to construct an experience of ‘being Briton’ in the context of the wider Roman Empire, because it is unnecessary: ‘being Briton’ in Britain and ‘being Briton’ on the Continent was always different and played out in different contexts (Revell 2009, xii on unnecessary of ‘being Roman’). Yet, because the moved individuals routinised identities are expressed in ‘shared ways of doing things’, members of ‘the invented British community’ might at particular times or in particular situational circumstances have acted ‘more British’ through their appearance. As such, acting in one way or another revealed them as an entity constructed and made up of myriad symbols within their shared *habitus*.

While the focus here is on Britons, other communities living in and then leaving Britain should not be forgotten, because they present yet another picture. What they shared with mobile Britons was their ‘dwelling in displacement’ experiences and

material culture to some extent³⁹⁹. For them, it seems, the invented cultural unity, i.e. *Brittones*, was part of their memories and associations. That is to say that the label 'Britishness' may have been associated with the new cultural framework they had experience of while living in Britain and, when they moved back to the Continent, was imbued with memories of the past. Being of different cultural as well as ethnic stock, growing up in other spheres of *habitus*, such immigrants absorbed elements of 'Britishness' and brought them over to the Continent, where these elements served the immigrants' own needs and cultural practices. For many such mobile individuals expressing this artificial 'Britishness' within the framework of the Roman Empire while encountering new values and absorbing new cultures and practices on a daily basis would be connected with the personal needs embedded within the act of evocation of the past.

³⁹⁹ Stationed on the Antonine Wall, North Africans, who, as just noted, preferred to cook and eat in the same fashion as back home, as Swan 1992, 1999 shows, probably still wore brooches made by local craftsmen.

Abbreviations

AE = *L'Année Épigraphique*

AMN = *Acta Musei Napocensis*

Chiron = *Chiron: Mitteilungen der Kommission für alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*

CIG = *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*

CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

Conimbri = Alarcão, J. and Etienne, R. (eds), 1976. *Fouilles de Conimbriga II: épigraphie et sculpture*. Paris: De Boccard.

D = Dessau, H. 1892-1916. *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*. Berlin: Weidmannos.

Dacia = *Dacia: recherches et découvertes archéologiques en Roumanie*.

Denkm = Speidel, M. P. 1994. *Die Denkmäler der Kaiserreiter: equites singulares augusti*. Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher 50. Köln: Rheinland.

EE = *Ephemeris Epigraphica*

ERRioja-ID = Espinosa, U. 1986. *Epigrafía Romana de la Rioja*. Biblioteca de temas riojanos 62. Logroño: Comunidad Autónoma de la Rioja.

Finke = Finke, H. 1927. 'Neue Inschriften', *Bericht der römisch-germanischen Kommission* 17: 1-107 und 198-231.

Hep = *Hispania Epigraphica*

IAM = Euzennat, M., Marion, J., Gascou, J. and De Klisch, Y. 1982. *Inscriptions antiques du Maroc 2: inscriptions latines*. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.

IBR = Vollmer, F. 1915. *Inscriptiones Baivariae Romanae, sive inscriptiones provinciae Raetiae, adiectis aliquot Noricis Italicisve mandatu Academiae regiae monacensis*. München: Negotiante Academia Regia Monacensi.

IDR = *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae*

IGR = Cagnat, R. et al. 1901-1927. *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes, auctoritate et impensis Academiae Inscriptionum et Litterarum humaniorum collectae et editae*. Paris: Leroux.

ILAlg = *Inscriptions latines d'Algérie*

ILD = Petolescu, C. C. 2005. *Inscriptii latine din Dacia*. Bukarest: Academiei.

ILJug 01 = Šašel, A. and Šašel, J. 1963. *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt*. Ljubljana: Narodni Muzej.

- ILJug 02 = Šašel, A. and Šašel, J. 1978. *Inscriptiones latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt*. Ljubljana: Narodni Muzej.
- ILJug 03 = Šašel, A. and Šašel, J. 1986. *Inscriptiones latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt*. Ljubljana: Narodni Muzej.
- ILLPRON = Hainzmann, M. and Schubert, P. 1986. *Inscriptionum Lapidarium Latinarum Provinciae Norici usque ad annum MCMLXXXIV repertarum indices*. Berlin: [n. s.].
- MMorken = Kolbe, H.-G. 1960. 'Die neuen Matroneninschriften von Morken-Harff, Kreis Bergheim', *Bonner Jahrbücher* 160: 50-124.
- Nesselhauf = Nesselhauf, H. 1937. 'Neue Inschriften aus dem römischen Germanien und den angrenzenden Gebieten', *Bericht der römisch-germanischen Kommission* 27: 51-134.
- OPEL = Lörincz, B. and Redö, F. 1994-2002. *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae latinarum*. Budapest: Archaeolingua Alapítvány.
- RHP = Lörincz, B. 2001. *Die römischen Hilfstruppen in Pannonien während der Prinzipatszeit. I: Die Inschriften*. Wiener archäologische Studien 3. Wien: Forschungsgesellschaft Wiener Stadtarchäologie.
- RIB = Collingwood, R. G. and Wright, R. P. 1965-. *Roman inscriptions of Britain*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- RID = Galsterer, H. and Meusel, S. *Römische Inschriften Datenbank* 24. www.rid24.de/home.html.
- RIU = *Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns*
- RMD = Roxan, M. M. 1978-2006. *Roman military diplomas*. London: Institute of archaeology.
- RMM = Pferdehirt, B. 2004. *Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums*. Kataloge vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Altertümer 37. Mainz: Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum.
- Tituli Romani = Tituli Romani in Hungaria reperti*
- Tyche = *Tyche: Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte, Papyrologie und Epigraphik*
- UEL = Harl, O., Harl, F. et al. *Ubi erat lupa? Information system 'Roman stone monuments'*. www.ubi-erat-lupa.org.
- Vindobona 1977 = Harl, F. (ed.), 1997. *Vindobona, die Römer im Wiener Raum*. 52. Sonderausstellung des historischen Museums der Stadt Wien, 8. Dez. 1977 bis 9. April 1978. Wien: Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien.

Vindolanda = Bowman, A. K. and Thomas, J. D. 1994. *The Vindolanda writing-tablets*.

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ZPE = *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

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Summary

The research study “Britons abroad” consists of epigraphic and archaeological analysis of the migration patterns in the Roman Empire focusing on one group of mobile people, i.e. those who moved from the province of Roman Britain to the Continent. Attention is given to the ways ethnic identity might have been projected by the mobile Britons, and the study explores how their identities were recreated and re-used within the host societies. The focus is not only on those who originated from Britain, however: other people who lived in, moved to, or traded with Britain and, at some point in time, chose to return to their native land on the Continent also receive attention in the present work.

The study is divided into three major themes: the service of British auxiliary and *numeri* units, the presence of individuals whose origin has been recorded as British-born, and material culture analysis with a focus on the occurrence of British-made objects on the Continent. It employs three different sources: epigraphic material, ranging from funerary monuments to building inscriptions and military diplomas; literary evidence; and British-made brooches found throughout the Roman provinces.

The first two chapters introduce the theoretical and methodological background of the thesis. Three main theoretical notions of identity, migration, and diaspora are discussed from the perspective of material culture studies, and critical analysis has been made regarding their applications in modern Roman archaeology. I plead for the distinction to be made between diaspora and migration, since they imply totally different experiences of people on the move. These notions should not be used as synonyms and substitutes of each other. In the methodological discussion, a variety of sources has been introduced, and the necessity to use material culture with epigraphic and literary evidence has been emphasised.

In chapter 3, the history of the 15 British auxiliary and 13 *numeri* units is reconstructed using epigraphic, onomastic, and archaeological evidence. The chapter itself is a catalogue of (i) the provinces and garrisons, where units are known to have been stationed, (ii) the soldiers, who are known to have served in the units, and their family members, and (iii) the archaeological finds, recorded on the sites of the military posts. The chapter in general examines the employment of Britons in the British *auxilia* in order to understand the extent to which the Roman Empire relied on manpower from the British tribes.

Regarding British auxiliary units, historical, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence hints at the possibility that the establishment of these units can be connected to various events in the early history of Roman Britain, in particular to the advancement of the Roman army and the subjugation of different territories and peoples. Moreover, it has been proposed that a distinction should be made between units raised during the time of Nero and those in the reign of Vespasian, which is indicative in the differences in the epithets of the British auxiliary units – *Britannica* and *Brittonum/Britannorum*.

The deployment of the units over the period of three centuries shows that the troops were highly mobile in the mid to late first century, being sent to key provinces and participating in all major conflicts of the Roman Empire. In the second and third centuries, though, one can speak of the low mobility, when the garrison of the units remained unchanged for more than half of a century. The units in their majority were stationed on the Danube provinces, with the exception of some troops being garrisoned on the Rhine frontier.

A total of 177 soldiers has been identified, but the origin was possible to establish only for 94 soldiers. Analysis of the employment of British-born recruits into the British auxiliary units has shown that they constituted the majority of the soldiers in the late first

century, while in the second century there was an influx of Pannonians, and in the third century Thracians into the units. On the basis of the evidence, one can conclude that the recruitment policy to the British auxiliary units followed the pattern introduced for other auxiliary units, and the continuous recruitment of Britons to the British auxiliary units was not practiced. Instead, the recruits were summoned from the nearby places where the units were positioned, drafting soldiers from the local population.

A high degree of locally-based recruitment, however, did not influence the picture of plurality of social and ethnic identities and family relations within the troops. There is evidence for the existence of mini-communities in the units, because recruits were not necessarily summoned from one region but might have come from nearby provinces. The interaction of soldiers and civilians constituted one feature of the formation of frontier families, yet there is evidence of families that existed prior to the military career of the soldier. The female partners were, in the majority of these cases, of the same provincial origin as the soldiers and followed their men to various posts on the Roman fringes.

The evidence is scarce for the occurrence of British-made objects on the sites where British units are known to have been stationed, although some objects have been recorded. It does support the epigraphic evidence: the brooches found on such sites are dated to the mid/late first century which coincides with the pattern of recruitment of British-born soldiers into British auxiliary units and hints at the possibility that these brooches arrived overseas with soldiers serving in British troops.

Regarding the British *numeri* units, their origin can be dated to the late first - early second century. It was suggested that originally they were part of the legionary detachments sent from Britain and were convoys for detachments' commanders, later becoming part of the patrolling and controlling forces established on the frontiers of the newly acquired provinces, i.e. Germania and Dacia. These units were positioned near rivers and their tributaries, a suitable place for small mobile infantry units which guarded the river crossings and supervised the transportation of goods in and out the Roman Empire. The locations influenced the units' epithets: there were series named after the rivers which flow near their posts, and geographical features and a series named after the vici near the forts or the forts themselves.

Particular attention has been paid to the history of the *numeri Brittonum* positioned on the Germania Superior frontier. It has been suggested that there were two phases of mass recruitment from Britain: the first phase falls on the period of the units' transfer from Britain to Germania Superior in the late first century, when units were part of the legionary detachments; the second phase falls on the period after the Lollius Urbicus campaigns in southern Scotland in the mid second century. Both transfers can also be supported by archaeological evidence.

A total of 29 servicemen of British *numeri* have been identified, but the origin was established only for 11 soldiers. While the onomastic and prosopographical analysis has shown that these people were not British-born, the archaeological evidence hints that there was a rather large British contingent present in Germania Superior. The evidence from Dacia restricts the possibility of proposing a similar conclusion for the units garrisoned there.

The occurrence of British-made brooches on the sites known to have been garrisoned by *numeri Brittonum* in Germania Superior is connected to the service of these troops. The late-first century brooches were recorded at the posts where these units were positioned in the late first century. The occurrence of the mid-second century brooches is connected with the second transfer of recruits from Britain to Germania Superior and to the participation of these British-born recruits in the reconstruction of the frontier line in stone.

Another question raised in the section on *numeri Brittonum* related to the construction of the Odenwald-Neckar frontier in Germania Superior because of its particular architectural and artistic style. The analysis of the construction techniques and decorative motifs has shown that these were not dependant on the origin of the people who participated in the construction of the frontier, i.e. Britons. Rather these techniques and imagery were widespread in the Roman Empire, especially in the frontier regions so that the power of the Roman presence could be exhibited.

Chapter 4 looks at the service of British-born soldiers in the non-British auxiliary units of the Roman army and includes in the list civilians who indicated their British ancestry. The initial analysis of the inscriptions and military diplomas where a person used a word starting with the element *brit-*, or where the cognomen of a person was recorded as *Britto* has shown that these people were neither Britons nor offspring of British people who had migrated to the Continent. The element *Britt-* was a relatively popular Gaulish Celtic name element widespread in the areas where this branch of Celtic language was spoken. It has been proposed that in order to recognise a genuine Briton, one must look more closely at the text of an inscription and reconstruct the individual's biography with its help. Following this suggestion, a total of 26 men and three, possibly four, women of British descent has been identified. The majority served as legionary and auxiliary soldiers, although there is evidence for the service of British-borns in the fleet and in the Imperial horse guard in Rome. Some soldiers who indicated that they were born in Britain were not of native British stock: they were sons or grandsons of immigrants to Britain in the mid and late first century AD. The epigraphic material shows a considerable degree of variation in the nomenclature of origin which varied from naming a tribe or specific place to the formula *natione Britto*.

Chapter 5 looks at the distribution of British-made brooches and outlines factors relating to their presence on the Continent. In the analysis, the epigraphic material was compared with the archaeological evidence from the sites where these brooches were located to determine possible groups of people with whom the brooches might have reached the sites. The research was done on a 'province-by-province' basis in order to determine whether there are similarities or differences in the distribution patterns of the British-made objects, and brooches in particular. The analysis has shown that there are indeed similar patterns in the distribution that are not confined to particular provinces. Some of these dress accessories were brought by soldiers serving in 15 auxiliary units and their female partners. British-born recruits serving in legionary and auxiliary forces of a different ethnic origin and in the German fleet stationed on the Continent account for another group of people who brought these objects with them. Moreover, epigraphic evidence suggests that the occurrence of British-made brooches can be connected with the movement of various people (whether male or female) of various ethnic origins who travelled from Roman Britain to the Continental Europe during the Roman Empire, especially the returning from Britain veterans of the Roman army and their wives, and craftsmen in training at the Continental workshops. The chapter illustrates the potential of British-made brooches to provide information relating to a personal mobility in the Roman Empire and suggests that the main reason for the brooches' travelling was the purpose of fastening the clothes and personal decoration rather than trade in precious objects.

The distribution of British brooch types does not show that particular types are more frequent on particular sites. However, the contexts in which various brooch types were found depends on the circumstances under which brooches reached sites. There are indications that returning veterans incorporated foreign objects into their own social practices, for example by putting exotic objects in their grave, while soldiers tended to discard their brooches near their military posts. This 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.

Chapter 6 provides a comparison of the results from chapters 3, 4, and 5 so that the findings from these chapters can be linked to assess the following: (i) how ‘British-ness’ operated on the levels of communal and individual identity; (ii) what is the relation between contexts in which British brooches appear; and (iii) what is the meaning behind the diversity of the evocations of the ‘British-ness’ as expressed in the words and artefacts.

The first section of chapter 6 provides an analysis of the epigraphic evidence to determine how Britons living on the Continent perceived the land they left. The data shows a considerable degree of variation in naming origin and that various choices were being made to express descent, although, in general, mobile British individuals still felt themselves to be connected with the province of their birth. The exhibition of tribal and provincial *origo*, together with an indication of the possession of citizenship, seems to be an important factor for the Britons living abroad in the late first century. From inscriptions and diplomas dated to the second century, another pattern can be determined: those who were not born in Britain but whose parents belonged to one of the British tribes preferred to denote their descent as *natione Britto*, in contrast to those who emigrated directly from Britain overseas and preferred to name a British tribe or city. The third-century and later inscriptions show the tendency towards naming the province as origin, which is possibly an indication of the importance of national identity.

A dynamic picture of reinvention of ethnic identity by mobile Britons can be seen in the adoption of a Roman construct, the ethnic marker *Brittones*. This label was used by the second generation group in order to distinguish themselves from other communities, but later on, its usage increased. The Roman construct with little self-ascriptive value was adopted by mobile individuals, and as a result one can talk of the emergence of the self-awareness within the British communities living abroad.

The second section of chapter 6 deals with the variety of contexts in which British brooches appear and analyses whether these contexts reflect the diversity of their meanings and associations which emanated through their usage, considering that brooches are not evidence of the ethnicity of their users and wearers.

The analysis conducted regarding the contexts and possible meanings behind including brooches in burials indicates that they were placed for their functionality, to fasten a piece of clothing containing the remains of deceased. Deliberateness in the inclusion of these particular British-made brooches, however, suggests that they had important connotations for the deceased whose remains they were supposed to secure as well as for the relatives, whose choice of a particular brooch may have been a defined act. The brooches in burials are confined to areas where there is evidence for the presence of veterans having returned from Britain. Brooches, therefore, could have been valued by their owners and, later, by the relatives of the deceased for their associations with the past, indicating the (dead) owner’s experience in Britain.

British-made brooches were also found in votive deposits. The analysis has shown that British-made brooches found on the Continent within a sanctuary context were brought by families of returning veterans or by veterans themselves. The inclusion of British-made brooches as votive offerings suggests a possible act of a vow fulfilment or an act of thanksgiving for protection. That the choice of gift fell on British-made brooches might indicate their symbolic value as an embodiment of a ‘British’ military past.

Brooches were also recorded as having been found in urban, military, and civilian contexts in rubbish pits and as surface finds, an indication that they were ‘thrown away and accidentally lost’. Such actions had consequences for the projection of any form of identities and the label ‘Britishness’ that brooches held in them, i.e. as products of

Britain, together with all other identities the owners had and projected through wearing them, was 'thrown away' or 'lost'. This suggests that some British-made brooches were not regarded as important or special, because of their availability and of the routine of wearing them on a daily basis.

Chapter 6 has shown that the past was an important matter. The desire to forget, re-invent, evoke, or project the past attests to the importance and value of memory when British-made brooches were put in specific contexts abroad. The aspect of remembrance and evocation also existed in the inscriptions erected by mobile Britons, though here it was confined to the idea of a homeland and place of birth.

By looking at the communities of Britons living abroad and taking into account the findings of epigraphic and artefact analysis, it was proposed to look at mobile Britons neither as a solid entity nor to label them with notions of emigrants or diaspora. These notions outline for us the variety of scenarios a person might have wished to choose from when being transferred or moved to a new territory. Communities of mobile Britons consisted of a variety of patches of individuals and personhoods, employing a variety of symbols and scenarios in a variety of contexts. Sometimes members of these communities appear as 'emigrants', and in other contexts and circumstances as a 'diaspora'. I have suggested that these communities can be called 'imagined', a notion that trespasses any 'semantic' boundaries.

Dutch summary

Het onderzoek “Britons abroad” bestaat uit een epigrafische en archeologische analyse van migratiepatronen in het Romeinse rijk, met de focus op diegenen, die zich vanuit de Romeinse provincie Brittannië op het Europese vasteland hebben gevestigd. Onderzocht wordt hoe mobiele Britten hun etnische identiteit hebben geuit, en de studie onderzoekt hoe hun identiteit werd hergebruikt en gerecreëerd toen ze op het continent leefden. De focus ligt niet alleen op diegenen die afkomstig zijn uit Brittannië, maar er wordt ook aandacht besteed aan andere mensen die leefden in, verhuisden uit of handelden met Brittannië en ervoor kozen om op een bepaald moment terug te keren naar hun plaatsen op het continent.

De studie is verdeeld in drie grote thema’s: de dienst van Britse hulptroepen en *numeri* eenheden, de aanwezigheid van mensen wier origine is opgenomen als Brits geborene, en een materiële en culturele analyse met de focus op het voorkomen van Britse objecten op het Europese vasteland. Drie verschillende soorten bronnen worden gebruikt: epigrafisch materiaal, variërend van grafmonumenten tot votief-inscripties en militaire diploma’s; antieke literaire en archeologische bronnen, namelijk brochures van Britse afkomst, die in verschillende Romeinse provincies zijn gevonden.

In de eerste twee hoofdstukken wordt de theoretische en methodologische achtergrond van dit proefschrift geïntroduceerd. Drie theoretische begrippen zoals identiteit, migratie en diaspora worden besproken vanuit archeologisch perspectief. Er wordt kritisch onderzocht hoe deze begrippen in de moderne Romeinse archeologie worden gebruikt. Ik pleit voor een onderscheid tussen de begrippen diaspora en migratie, omdat ze totaal verschillende ervaringen van de mobiele mensen beschrijven. Deze begrippen mogen niet als elkaars synoniemen of plaatsvervangers worden gebruikt. In de methodologische discussie zijn verschillende bronnen besproken en de noodzaak om materiële en culturele met epigrafische en literaire aanwijzingen samen te bestuderen.

In het derde hoofdstuk wordt de geschiedenis van 15 Britse hulptroepen en 13 *numeri* eenheden gereconstrueerd met behulp van epigrafische, onomastische en archeologische aanwijzingen. Het hoofdstuk zelf is een inventaris van (i) de provincies en garnizoenen, waarvan bekend is dat deze troepen gestationeerd zijn geweest, (ii) de soldaten, van wie bekend is dat ze gediend hebben in de eenheden, en hun families, en (iii) de archeologische vondsten op de locaties van de militaire posten. In het algemeen zal het hoofdstuk ingaan op hoeveel Britten binnen de Britse *auxilia* in dienst zijn geweest, en er wordt gekeken naar de mate waarin het Romeinse rijk een beroep deed op rekruten uit Britse stammen.

Met betrekking tot de Britse hulptroepen duiden historische, epigrafische en archeologische aanwijzingen op een mogelijkheid dat de oprichting van deze eenheden kan worden gekoppeld aan diverse gebeurtenissen in de vroege geschiedenis van het Romeinse Brittannië, met name het oprukken van het Romeinse leger en de onderwerping van verschillende gebieden en mensen. Bovendien wordt voorgesteld dat er een verschil wordt gemaakt tussen de eenheden die zijn opgericht door Nero, en die door Vespasianus, die invloed zouden kunnen hebben op de verschillende bijnamen van de Britse eenheden – *Britannica* en *Brittonum/ Brittanorum*.

De inzet van de eenheden gedurende de periode van drie eeuwen laat zien dat de troepen zeer mobiel waren van het midden tot het eind van de eerste eeuw, toen ze naar de belangrijkste provincies werden gestuurd om deel te nemen aan alle belangrijke conflicten in het Romeinse rijk. In de tweede en derde eeuw zou men kunnen spreken van een lage mobiliteit, toen de garnizoenen van de eenheden meer dan een halve eeuw

onveranderd bleven. De troepen waren vooral gestationeerd in de Donaugebieden, met uitzondering van sommige troepen die aan de Rijn grens waren gelegerd.

In totaal zijn 177 soldaten geïdentificeerd, maar de herkomst is alleen voor 94 van hen vastgesteld. Het onderzoek heeft aangetoond dat de Brits geboren rekruten in de Britse hulptroupen de meerderheid van de soldaten in de late eerste eeuw vormden, terwijl er in de tweede eeuw een toestroom van Pannoniërs, en in de derde eeuw van Thraciërs was. De rekruterings-strategie van het Romeinse leger voor Britse eenheden is vergelijkbaar met die van andere eenheden en het continu werven van Britten voor de Britse eenheden niet werd gevolgd. In plaats daarvan werden rekruten uit nabijgelegen plaatsen opgeroepen, waarbij soldaten aan de lokale bevolking werden onttrokken.

De hoge mate van lokale werving had echter geen invloed op het beeld van de diversiteit in de sociale en etnische identiteiten alsmede de familie relaties binnen de troepen. Er zijn aanwijzingen gevonden voor mini-gemeenschappen in de eenheden, omdat rekruten niet noodzakelijk uit een regio kwamen, maar mogelijk uit nabijgelegen provincies. De interactie van soldaten en burgers vormde een kenmerk van de vorming van grens-families maar er zijn ook families die reeds bestonden vóór de militaire carrière van de soldaat. Het merendeel van de vrouwen is afkomstig uit dezelfde provincies als hun soldaten, en volgde hun mannen naar verschillende plekken in het Romeinse territorium.

Er zijn nauwelijks Britse objecten gevonden op locaties waarvan bekend is dat daar Britse eenheden gestationeerd zijn geweest. Sommige objecten, die zijn gevonden, zijn gedateerd rond het midden of eind van de eerste eeuw, wat overeenkomt met de epigrafische aanwijzingen voor het werven van in Brittannië geboren soldaten in Britse eenheden. Het is mogelijk dat deze broches meegebracht zijn door soldaten die in de Britse troepen dienden.

Met betrekking tot de Britse *numeri* eenheden kan hun oorsprong worden gedateerd aan het eind van de eerste – begin van de tweede eeuw. Voorgesteld wordt dat deze eenheden oorspronkelijk deel uitmaakten van de legioen-detachementen, afkomstig vanuit Brittannië. Ze waren konvooien voor de commandanten van de detachementen. Later gingen ze deel uit maken van de patrouilles op de grens van de nieuw verworven provincies, zoals Germania en Dacia. Deze eenheden werden geplaatst bij rivieren en zijrivieren, een geschikte plek voor kleine infanterie-eenheden voor het controleren van rivier-overgangen en van het transport van goederen naar en van het Romeinse rijk. Sommige van deze Britse eenheden zijn vernoemd naar de rivieren en geografische kenmerken nabij hun post. Andere zijn vernoemd naar vici in de buurt van de forten en de forten zelf.

Aandacht is besteed aan de geschiedenis van *numeri Brittonum*, die gestationeerd geweest zijn op de grens van de Germania Superior. Voorgesteld wordt dat er twee keer mensen uit Brittannië zijn geworven: de eerste fase valt in de periode van het eind van de eerste eeuw, toen de eenheden deel uitmaakten van de legioen-detachementen; de tweede fase valt in de periode na de campagnes van Lollius Urbicus in het zuiden van Schotland in het midden van de tweede eeuw. Dit kan worden aangetoond door archeologische vondsten.

In totaal zijn 29 militairen van Britse *numeri* geïdentificeerd, maar de oorsprong kan slechts voor 11 soldaten wordt vastgesteld. Terwijl de onomastische en topografische analyse heeft aangetoond dat deze mensen niet uit Brittannië kwamen, wijzen archeologische vondsten erop dat Britten een groot aandeel van de soldaten van Britse *numeri* in Germania Superior hebben vertegenwoordigd. Er zijn geen aanwijzingen gevonden dat er voor eenheden in Dacia eenzelfde conclusie getrokken kan worden.

Het voorkomen van Britse broches op plaatsen waar *numeri Brittonum* gestationeerd zijn geweest in Germania Superior, kan worden verbonden met de aanwezigheid van de troepen. De broches gedateerd aan het eind van de eerste eeuw zijn gevonden bij de

posten waar de eenheden aan het eind van de eerste eeuw geplaatst zijn geweest. Hetzelfde geldt voor de broches die gedateerd zijn in het midden van de tweede eeuw: hun aanwezigheid is vastgesteld aan de tweede verplaatsing van de rekruten uit Brittannië naar Germania Superior.

Een andere vraag die in verband wordt gebracht met de *numeri Brittonum* is de aanleg van de Odenwald-Neckar grens in Germania Superior wegens de bijzondere architectonische en artistieke stijl. De analyse van de bouwtechnieken en decoratieve motieven heeft aangetoond dat deze niet afhankelijk waren van de oorsprong van de mensen die deelnamen aan de bouw van de grens, met andere woorden, de Britten. Deze technieken en beelden waren niet bepaald specifiek voor de Odenwald-Neckar grens, maar waren verspreid in de andere grens regio's, zodat de macht van het aanwezige Romeinse rijk kon worden tentoongesteld.

In hoofdstuk vier wordt gekeken naar de Britse soldaten in niet-Britse eenheden van het Romeinse leger, en naar de burgers die aangegeven hadden dat ze van Britse komaf waren. Uit de studie van inscripties en militaire diploma's, waar een persoon het woord element Brit- heeft gebruikt, of waar de bijnaam van een persoon werd opgenomen als Britto, is gebleken dat deze mensen geen Britten waren, noch Britse nakomelingen van mensen die naar het continent geëmigreerd zijn. Het element Britt- was een relatief populair Gallo-Keltische naam element in gebieden waar deze tak van de Keltische taal werd gesproken. Voorgesteld wordt dat om een echte Brit te herkennen, dieper in de tekst van een inscriptie te kijken om de biografie van een persoon beter te kunnen reconstrueren. Naar aanleiding daarvan zijn in totaal 26 mannen en 3, mogelijk 4, vrouwen van Britse afkomst geïdentificeerd. De meerderheid diende als legionair of soldaat, hoewel er aanwijzingen zijn dat de Britten ook hebben gediend in de vloot en in de elite-eenheid van de cavalerie in Rome. Sommige soldaten die aangegeven hadden dat ze in Brittannië geboren waren, waren echter zonen of kleinzonen van immigranten naar Brittannië. Het epigrafische materiaal toont een grote variatie in hoe de Britten aan hun afkomst hebben gerefereerd, variërend van het noemen van een stam of specifieke plaats tot de uitdrukking *natione Britto*.

In hoofdstuk vijf wordt ingegaan op de verspreiding van de broches afkomstig uit Brittannië, en wordt gekeken naar de factoren die hun aanwezigheid op het vasteland kunnen verklaren. De epigrafische bronnen worden vergeleken met de archeologische vondsten, om te bepalen welke mogelijke groep mensen de broches naar deze plekken heeft gebracht. Het onderzoek is per provincie uitgevoerd, om te bepalen wat de overeenkomsten en verschillen in het distributiepatroon van de objecten zijn. De analyse laat zien dat er inderdaad vergelijkbare patronen in de distributie zijn, en dat deze patronen niet zijn beperkt tot bepaalde gebieden of provincies. Sommige van deze accessoires zijn door de soldaten van de 15 Britse eenheden en hun vrouwelijke partners meegebracht. De andere groep mensen zijn de rekruten, die in Brittannië geboren zijn en dienst hebben gedaan in legioen- en hulptroepen, en in de Germaanse vloot. Bovendien kan het voorkomen van sommige broches ook worden verbonden met migratie van verschillende mensen (man of vrouw) van verschillende etnische afkomst die uit Romeins Brittannië naar het Europese vasteland reisden. Sommige van deze mensen zijn terugkerende veteranen van het Romeinse leger en hun vrouwen, en ambachtslieden in opleiding die werkzaam waren in de werkplaatsen op het continent. Het hoofdstuk illustreert het potentieel van de broches om informatie van persoonlijke mobiliteit in het Romeinse rijk te verstrekken. De belangrijkste reden voor het meenemen van broches was het doel om kleding bijeen te houden of voor persoonlijke decoratie in plaats van deze als goederen te verhandelen.

De distributie van Britse broche types laat zien dat bepaalde soorten niet vaker voorkomen op bepaalde plaatsen. De context echter waarin verschillende broche soorten worden gevonden hangt af van de omstandigheden waaronder de broches hun

eindbestemming hebben bereikt. Terugkerende veteranen hebben deze Britse objecten opgenomen in het sociale domein van hun leven, bijvoorbeeld door deze souvenirs mee te geven aan overledenen in hun graf, in tegenstelling tot soldaten die neigden hun broches nabij militaire posten weg te doen. Dit zorgt voor een relatief helder onderscheid tussen locaties met een hoge en een lage kans om de aanwezigheid van Britten aan te tonen met behulp van deze objecten. Dat wil zeggen dat wanneer de broches op een militaire post gevonden zijn, dit impliceert dat er Britten aanwezig zijn geweest. Wanneer de broches op een civiele plaats gevonden zijn is de aanwezigheid van Britten minder waarschijnlijk. Deze mag echter niet uitgesloten worden.

Een vergelijking van de resultaten van hoofdstukken drie, vier, en vijf wordt in hoofdstuk zes gemaakt, zodat de bevindingen uit deze hoofdstukken aan de hand van de volgende zaken kunnen worden beoordeeld: (i) hoe “Britishness” (Brits-heid) op de verschillende niveaus in gemeenschappelijke en individuele identiteit in praktijk gebracht werd; (ii) wat de relatie is met de context waarin de Britse broches verschenen zijn; (iii) wat de betekenis is van de diversiteit in de afspiegeling van “Britishness” in teksten en materiële vondsten.

Het eerste deel van hoofdstuk zes is een epigrafische studie, die bedoeld is om te bepalen hoe de Britten die op het continent leefden, zich hun vaderland hebben herinnerd. De studie heeft een hoge mate van variatie aangetoond als het gaat om het benoemen van hun oorsprong, en dat verscheidene keuzes zijn gemaakt om aan hun afkomst te refereren. In het algemeen echter voelden Britse individuen zich verbonden aan hun geboorteprovincie. Voor de Britten die in het buitenland woonden aan het eind van de eerste eeuw, was het belangrijkste om hun stam en provinciale origo, tezamen met een indicatie van het bezit van nationaliteit, te laten zien. Een ander patroon is vastgesteld in inscripties en diploma's die gedateerd zijn in de tweede eeuw: diegenen die niet zelf, maar van wie de ouders geboren zijn in Brittannië, gaven de voorkeur aan het duiden van hun nationaliteit als *natione Britto* in tegenstelling tot hen die direct afkomstig zijn uit Brittannië. Zij geven de voorkeur aan het noemen van een Britse stam of stad. Vanaf de derde eeuw komt de trend de provincie als afkomst te benoemen, die mogelijk het belang van een nationale identiteit aangeeft.

Een dynamisch beeld van de herontdekking van de etnische identiteit door mobiele Britten kan worden gezien in het overnemen van een Romeins constructie, de etnische aanduiding *Brittones*. Deze markering werd gebruikt bij de tweede generatie van migranten met als doel zich te onderscheiden van andere gemeenschappen; later is het gebruik ervan toegenomen. De Romeinse constructie met een beperkte zelfbeschrijvende waarde, is door de mobiele Britten overgenomen, met als gevolg dat men kan spreken van de opkomst van het zelfbewustzijn van de Britse groep die in het buitenland leefden.

Het tweede deel van hoofdstuk zes behandelt de contexten waarin Britse broches zijn gevonden en onderzoekt of deze contexten in verband kunnen worden gebracht met wat voor betekenis de broches hebben gehad voor de eigenaren.

De analyse met betrekking tot de context en de mogelijke betekenissen achter het meegeven van broches aan overledenen in het graf, geeft aan dat ze daar werden geplaatst om hun functionaliteit, om de kledingstukken van de overledene vast te maken. Het met opzet meegeven van Britse broches impliceert dat zij een belangrijke betekenis voor de overledene en zijn nabestaanden hadden, omdat het meegeven van een specifieke broche een bepaalde waarde heeft gehad. Dat de broches die in graven die zijn gevonden vaak voorkomen in gebieden waar uit Brittannië teruggekeerde veteranen aanwezig waren. Dit duidt erop dat hun eigenaar waarde aan de broches heeft toegekend, later is dit ook door de nabestaanden van de overledene gedaan, om de verbintenis van de (overleden) eigenaar met Brittannië aan te geven.

Britse broches werden ook gevonden in votiefdepots. Uit de studie is gebleken dat deze objecten ook door de families van de veteranen of de veteranen zelf zijn

meegebracht. Het opnemen van Britse broches als votief-offer impliceert een mogelijke daad van vervulling van een gelofte of als dankbaarheid voor bescherming. Dat de keuze van de gift viel op een Britse broche kan wijzen op de symbolische waarde van de belichaming van het militaire verleden van de soldaten die in Brittannië waren gestationeerd.

Broches zijn ook gevonden in stedelijke, militaire en burgerlijke contexten en in afvalkuilen en als oppervlakte-vondsten, een indicatie dat ze “weggegooid of per ongeluk verloren zijn”. Dergelijke voorvallen hebben gevolg gehad voor iedere vorm waarop de markering “Britishness” van Britse broches kan worden aangeduid, dat wil zeggen, indien producten van Brittannië, samen met alle andere aspecten van identiteit die de drager in zich had, waren “weggegooid” of “per ongeluk verloren”. Dit impliceert dat sommige Britse broches niet als belangrijk of speciaal konden worden gezien, misschien door beschikbaarheid en de routine van het gebruik op dagelijkse basis.

De specifieke contexten waarin de Britse broches zijn geplaatst, tonen aan hoe belangrijk deze objecten waren voor het oproepen, vergeten en opnieuw uitvinden van het verleden. Het oproepen van het verleden is ook te zien in inscripties gemaakt voor en door mobiele Britten, hoewel het hier werd beperkt tot de herinnering aan het thuisland en de geboortegrond.

Uit de studie van epigrafische en archeologische bronnen wordt geconcludeerd dat we de Britse gemeenschap die in het buitenland woonde niet kunnen bestempelen als emigrant of diaspora, noch dat deze een vaste entiteit was. Deze begrippen schetsen verschillende scenario's waaruit gekozen kan worden. Soms manifesteren sommige leden van de Britse gemeenschap zich als “emigranten” en in een andere context kunnen ze onder “diaspora” worden geschaard. Ik heb voorgesteld deze als “fictieve” gemeenschappen te benaderen, een begrip dat elke “semantische” grens overschrijdt.

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Curriculum Vitae

Tatiana Alexandrovna Ivleva graduated from the Faculty of History and Archives at the Russian State University of the Humanities in Moscow, Russia, with a major in Historical Archivistics (B.A. hons, June 2004). Her thesis was entitled “*The evolution of notions of the geographical position of Britain in the Roman tradition, first century BC – sixth century AD*” and was supervised by Dr. Irina E. Ermolova. In September 2004 she arrived at the Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University, to complete a ‘study-abroad’ programme and later in 2005 joined the faculty to follow a taught Master of Arts programme in Classical and Mediterranean Archaeology at the University of Leiden, the Netherlands. She received her MA degree in October 2008 with a thesis on *British military units and identity of British-born recruits in the Roman army, first-third centuries AD*, supervised by Prof. Dr John Bintliff.

She continued her studies as a PhD researcher at the Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University, where she focused her research on the formation of migrant communities in the Roman Empire, in particular the migrants from Roman Britain. During her research years, she has also participated in an International summer seminar in Ancient studies of University of Heidelberg, Germany, and she was a visiting scholar at the Commission of Ancient History and Epigraphy of German Archaeological Institute (DAI), Munich, Germany. At the Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University, she has also taught courses on Archaeology of Roman Britain and Roman frontiers. Her PhD was supervised by Prof. John Bintliff and Dr Bouke van der Meer, and her thesis was submitted in June 2012.

Tatiana Ivleva has worked as field archaeologist in several excavations in Russia and UK. She has published on the presence of British emigrants and British-made brooches in various journals and presented papers at many international and interdisciplinary conferences. She has also organised several sessions at International conferences (TRAC and LIMES), and seminars and workshops organised by the Leiden Graduate School. She was a coordinator of the Honours Class organised by the Faculty of Archaeology. Apart from her main research interest in mobility, migration and ethnicity in the Roman Empire, her areas of interest include Roman provincial archaeology, Roman frontiers, personal dress accessories and metal artefacts.

