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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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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 (Hunnish 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".

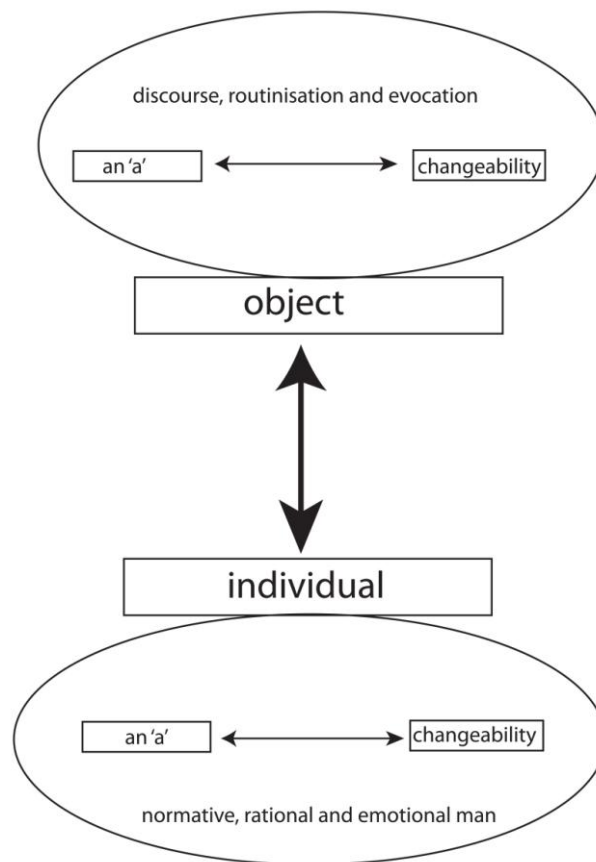


Figure 2.1 Relation between objects and humans

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'.