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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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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 Castle Cary, 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; IAlg-02-03, 8806 from Uzelis; *CIL* VIII 2080 = *CIL* VIII, 27966 = IAlg-01, 3748 from Ksar el Birsgaun; *CIL* VIII 2766 = *CIL* VIII 18131 = D 2762 from Lambaesis; IAlg 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 = IAlg-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).

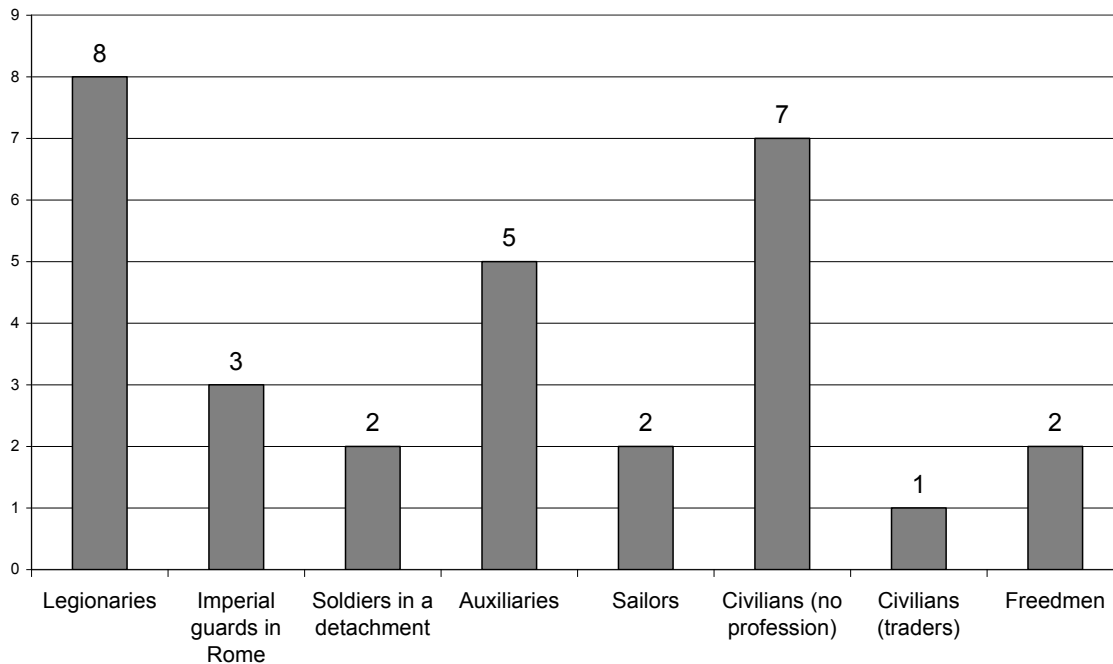


Figure 4.1 Professions of mobile Britons

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).

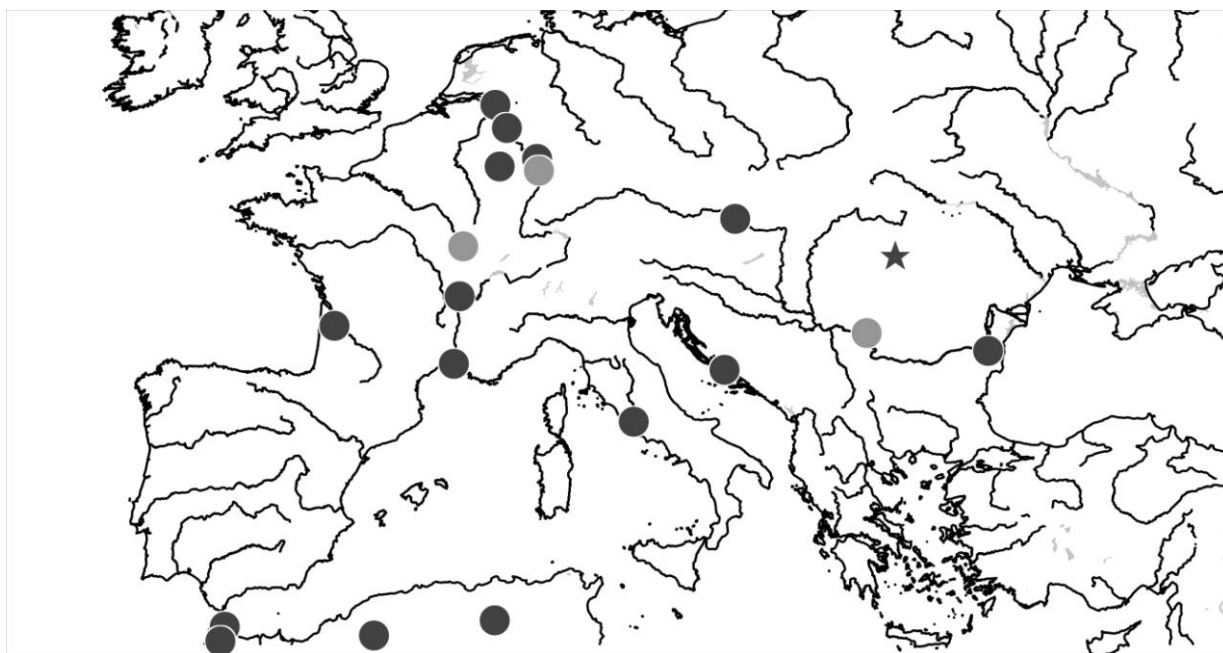


Figure 4.2 Distribution of inscriptions (circle) and military diplomas (star) mentioning Britons (in grey are Britons under question)

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.