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Britons on the Move: Mobility of British-Born Emigrants in the Roman Empire

Tatiana Ivleva

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Abstract and Keywords

This chapter explores the migration patterns of those who were born in the Roman province of Britain and moved to the continental Europe in the late first–third centuries AD using epigraphic and archaeological evidence. Attention is given to the ways ethnic identity might have been projected by the mobile Britons, and the chapter shows how their identities were re-created and reused within the host societies. It shows that the epigraphic evidence consists of a considerable degree of variation in naming origin and that various choices were being made to express descent, although, in general, mobile British individuals still felt themselves to be connected with the province of their birth. Furthermore, the chapter deals with the occurrence of British-made brooches on the Continent and analyses how the contexts in which British brooches appeared reflect the diversity of their meanings and associations which emanated through their usage, considering that brooches are not evidence of the ethnicity of their users and wearers. It argues that the past was an important matter when brooches were put in specific contexts abroad. The desire to forget, reinvent, evoke, or project the past attests to the importance and value of memory in communities who travelled from Roman Britain to the Continent.

Keywords: Ethnicity, mobility, identity, migration, emigration, military, brooches, Britons

Introduction: Identifying the mobile identities

The movement of people and objects is attested for all periods of human history. For the Roman Empire the evidence for such movement is abundant, owing to the conquests of various territories, which resulted in a wide range of individuals and communities being on the move, with both voluntary and forced migration being common. Within Roman Britain itself the movement of immigrants from the Continent has been the topic of a number of publications covering the origin of migrants, their distribution, and the ways one might identify them (cf. Birley 1988; Leach et al. 2009, 2010; Rowland 1976; Swan 1992; Thompson 1972; Wilmott 2001, to name but a few). This chapter seeks to go beyond the issues of internal migration within the Roman province of Britannia and avoids addressing the movement of foreigners within Britain. It focuses instead on movement away from Britain and discusses the presence of Britons elsewhere in the Roman Empire.

The movement to a new territory influences the ways individual migrants or communities of settlers see themselves, (re)forming along the way the myriad of identities that already existed within both newcomer and host societies. The way one perceives the other in migrant groupings undergoes identity stress when new forms of identification are constructed, manipulated, or adjusted to circumstances (Oltean 2009: 92–3). Consequently, mobility and the transformation of one's identity go hand in hand, and discussion of the changes within the personal self cannot be avoided in studying individuals on the move.

The concept of 'identity' can usefully be considered in terms of two categories: universalization and duality. The

first category is based on an Aristotelian approach, whereby identity is defined according to the principle that 'a thing is itself' (Aristotle, *Metaphysics* VII. 17), emphasizing the universality and sameness in things. The second category allows identity to be considered in the same terms as the theoretical concept 'duality of structure' (Giddens 1979): individual identity—selfhood—is formed within the personal self and as an opposition to the perception of others. Here the emphasis is placed on the duality of the nature of 'identity', where 'selfhood' is perceived by the self and by others, allowing the understanding, formation, negotiation, fragmentation, fluctuation, and so on of the self. This is where identity, better understood in its plural form—identities— iscategorized as fluid, dynamic, and unstable; it is constantly changing, depending on situations in which agents find themselves. While the first category has one level, 'sameness', the second category implies various levels of identification—that is, an individual or a self has many identities, based on gender, ethnicity and culture, age, status, class and religion, opposing and contrasting them with definitions imposed by 'the others'.

One of the most studied levels of identity is ethnic identity. Ethnicity has usually been considered to be based on 'racial' characteristics: the same origin, language, or descent (cf. Brather (2004: 77–88) on the notion of 'race' in discussions of ethnicity), but it has now been widely acknowledged that ethnicity is more 'an idea than a thing', based primarily on social relationships and similar ways of behaving, and is something that can be learnt, rather than something one is born into (Lucy 2005: 86). Any ethnic affiliations can be changed by agents through mobility or social associations; ethnicity is, therefore, highly mutable and dependent on the contexts in which agents find themselves (Brather 2004: 568; Lucy 2005: 97). As a result, ethnic identity is created and (re)invented within a variety of cultural repertoires embedded within, and formed by, social practices and formulated through dialectic opposition of the self and the other. Ethnic realization is born within particular groups at the moment when cultural differences are recognized, providing the motive for the universalization of these differences and making them into 'practice'. Yet, there is a precondition that allows such groups to justify their communal closure and to find a common ground for the group's formation: the unifying principle (that is, the 'sameness'), embedded within the familiarity in the use of objects or interaction between agents known as *habitus* (Bourdieu 1998). In other words, recognition of the similarities that allows a group to form 'an ethnicity' derives from a social practice based on 'shared ways of doing things' (Lucy 2005: 101). Ethnic identity is, therefore, a product of understood differences and preconditioned sameness.

Taking into consideration the explanation proposed here of the notion 'ethnic identity', this chapter seeks to outline, in general, the possible ways one can identify British emigrants on the Continent and to understand, in particular, how ethnicity was formed and operated within the groups that moved away from Roman Britain. It attempts to chart the changes over time in terms of the personal and communal identification and to provide explanation for such changes. Furthermore, it explores the consequences that movement might have had on the use, as well as on the changing roles, of objects made in Britain and brought over to the Continent.

Multiplicity of identities in the Roman Empire: Being Roman and being British

One cannot approach the study of mobility in the Roman Empire without asking questions relating to issues of identity and ethnic identification. The existence of a multiplicity of identities in, and the multiculturalism of, the Roman Empire has been widely recognized; the majority of scholarship in this area has been devoted to showing the fragmentation of Roman identity and has perceived the Roman Empire as a heterogeneous society containing a variety of individual and group responses to 'being Roman' (Hingley 2009; Revell 2009; Wallace-Hadrill 2007). 'Roman' cannot be regarded as a fixed entity, since the different individuals and groups dwelling within the boundaries of the Roman Empire may have understood and experienced 'being Roman' in a variety of ways: 'being Roman' always meant something different (Revell 2009: p. xii).

In a similar vein, in thinking about 'being British' we might suppose that, for individuals or groups coming from Roman Britain and settling on the Continent, this notion was inverted. It has been proposed that within Roman Britain itself there were 'no such social groups as "Britons", the peoples were an assortment of tribes' (Mattingly 2004: 10). This seems indeed to have been the case, especially when we take into consideration the epigraphic record of Roman Britain: a total of ten inscriptions have been recorded, dating roughly to late first–late second centuries, which mention the origin of an individual from a particular British tribe or town. These ten individuals were interprovincial migrants and belonged to various British tribes: six were citizens of the *Canti* (*RIB* 192), *Cornovi* (*RIB* 639, female), *Dobunni* (*RIB* 621, female), *Dumnonii* (*RIB* 188), and *Catuvellauni* (*RIB* 1065, female)

and the city of *Lindum* (*RIB* 250, female). Three indicated their origin (*natione*) as belonging to the *Belgae* (*RIB* 156), *Briganti* (*RIB* 2142), and *Catuvellauni* (*RIB* 1962) tribes, while one simply named his origin as (*colonia*) *Victrix* (*RIB* 3005). These inscribed stones were erected either by the relatives of individuals who had died somewhere other than in the territory of their tribe or by individuals who were fulfilling vows in a foreign region of their home province. All of them found it important to emphasize their origin—an action that indicates both the significance of tribal above provincial forms of identification and a possible continuation of tribal divisions and differences in Britain under Roman rule.

By trying to understand the refusal to denote provincial origin and the continuation in the use of tribal identification, one needs to explore the significance of the terms *Britannus* and *Britto*—labels associated with the pan-tribal community. It is likely that both terms were coined and artificially imposed by the new dominant power in Britain after AD 43 and actually do not derive from any self-awareness on the part of the indigenous population (Matthews 1999). The labels were probably imposed by the Roman administration for an administrative convenience or perhaps intended to speed up the process of inclusion of the natives into the Roman orbit: a process called 'superficial homogenization' (Matthews 1999: 29). Such homogenization is recorded in other communities who supplied recruits for the Roman army. The main purpose was the promotion of a special type of military identity—a regional one. For instance, the Romans continuously cultivated tribal associations among the Batavians, a tribe from Germania Inferior, placing a particular emphasis on their militaristic nature (van Driel-Murray 2003: 201; Roymans 2004: 223). The Romans might also have reinvented and manipulated British ethnic identity by consistently referring to the people who originated from, or were born in, the province of Britannia as 'Britons'. For instance, Dio Cassius (62.4) puts the following phrase in Boudicca's mouth prior to the major battle between Roman and British forces in AD 60/61: 'for I [Boudicca] consider you all my kinsmen inasmuch as you inhabit a single island and are called by one common name.' This is, clearly, an example of Roman rhetoric and propaganda rather than an exhibition of pan-tribal British identity; such notions of artificial ethnicity may not have had much relevance for the peoples of Britain. In this sense, Rome created a new ethnic unity among the fragmented groupings (cf. Hingley (2009), commenting on the formation of artificial Batavian ethnicity), but one may ask how successful this attempt was, taking into consideration the promotion of tribal affiliations discussed above.

Britons abroad: Forms of identification

If tribal affiliation was emphasized when an individual moved to another tribal region, how did Britons settling elsewhere in the Roman Empire denote their origin? In a more general sense, do we have any examples of such Britons and how can we identify them?

The theme of the presence of foreigners in the various provinces of the Roman Empire has usually been tackled from an epigraphic perspective (cf. Kakoschke 2002, 2004; Noy 2001; Oltean 2009; Wierschowski 2001). The epigraphic record is the obvious source of evidence to turn to here: funerary, votive, and other types of inscriptions can be seen to have played an important role in reflecting existing identities—social, cultural, and ethnic—as well as having created new ones (Hope 2001). 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 (Roman citizenship certificates issued to auxiliary soldiers who had completed twenty-five years of military service) can be used to determine the ways in which Britons drafted into the Roman army indicated their origin, as well as provide us with information on their status within a unit, and their social and family relations. While the epigraphic record provides us with glimpses of various aspects of an emigrant's life such as their age, occupation, or ethnic origin, it can rarely be taken at face value; the information provided was often 'cleaned up'. Inscriptions and diplomas were a medium for invented identities: what was included, and in what form, might have been determined by the circumstances and the desires of a client who made the choices regarding what was appropriate to communicate (Bodel 2001: 34). Another problem when dealing with inscriptions and military diplomas is dating: while some can easily be dated by means of specific references in the texts, others can be dated only approximately, on the basis of the known development of linguistic formulae (cf. Holder 1980).

Another type of evidence that can be used to trace British emigrants is that of dress accessories, because of their regionality and their ability to serve as a medium for the expression and negotiation of a person's various identities, not least their origin (cf. Rothe 2009; Swift 2000; see also Cool, this volume). The significance of brooches, the

most common and regionally specific dress accessory, as identity-markers and their double functionality (that is, being passive, functional tools, they also acted as active participants in constructing the identities of the wearer) have been considered elsewhere (cf. Jundi and Hill 1998; Pudney 2011). Brooches were personal items used to secure clothing, and, while crossing the Channel, emigrants from Britain most likely wore them or had them with them among their personal belongings. Moreover, British-made brooches were distinctive in their design, decoration, and form compared to local products in other parts of the Empire, which makes them stand out within the homogenous material culture of continental sites, as I have argued elsewhere (Ivleva 2011: 133). British-made brooches found on the Continent have a similar dating problem as the epigraphic record: the precise date range when brooches were in use will always be uncertain (Snape 1993: 6). Yet the contexts where these brooches were located can provide a relative time span when particular types were in use (cf. dating of British-made brooches in Bayley and Butcher 2004; see also Mackreth 2011; Snape 1993). One needs, however, also to take into account that brooches that are found in a context dating to a period when their popularity was on the wane may represent 'heirlooms'. This problem is undoubtedly significant when one discusses a migrant population, considering that a family on the move may have curated brooches over a long period of time as a reminder of home ties (Revell, pers. comm; cf. also Gilchrist 2013). Moreover, these artefacts also have limitations regarding how representative they are of the population and present specific problems. For example, an object without context does not allow any conclusions concerning a person's religious belief, status, or age. Personal accessories are particularly valuable as sources to study the projection and negotiation of personal identities—not just ethnicity—but such actions depend on the circumstances when a particular object was worn, something that is not visible in archaeological record.

A total of 40 persons of British descent have been identified through the epigraphic record yet only 27 mention the individual's origins directly—which is extremely low in comparison to other ethnic groups such as Dacians (150 cases: Oltean 2009: 96) or Germans (174 cases: Kakoschke 2004: 198). Such low numbers are not representative of the real level of mobility: not everyone was able to commission a funerary or votive monument or received a military diploma. A second factor might be the irrelevance of naming individual origins for soldiers serving among their own countrymen (Oltean 2009: 91): for a 'Briton' in a British auxiliary unit, it would have been unnecessary specifically to name his origin, whereas if he had served in another ethnic unit he would most likely have wanted to emphasize his ethnic background.

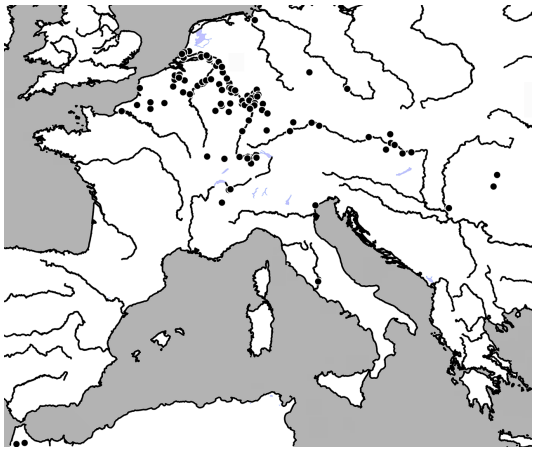

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Figure 1 . Distribution of British brooches

Source: Brooches' distribution partly after Morris (2010: 86, fig. 4.35 and appendix 6); map by author. © Tatiana Ivleva.

A total of 242 British-made brooches have been recorded from 102 sites across the Empire—the majority being found in the western part of the Roman Empire, in the militarized areas of Germania Inferior and Superior and on civilian sites in Gallia Belgica; the provenance of 19 brooches is unknown (Figure 1). That these brooches were actually 'made in Britain'—as opposed to the brooches reproduced by local craftspeople from templates—can be supported by the fact that they occur in too small a quantity on the Continent. While brooches with typical British characteristics appear to be relatively numerous in Britain, overseas they are found in limited numbers:1 or at most 3%of the total number found on any given site.

Identities in words: Epigraphic narrative

A total of just twelve British soldiers have been identified who had served in British auxiliary and *numeri* units, which constitutes a small minority of all recorded soldiers who are known to have served in these troops (Ivleva 2012). Of these twelve British soldiers, the origin of five is recorded: a unit's prefect and also legionary soldier from *Lindum* (Lincoln) (*AE* 1973: 459 and *CIL* III. 6679); a *Dobunnian* infantryman (*CIL* XVI. 49; Kennedy (1977) argued that he was *Dobunnian* through his mother, but Mullen and Russell (2009) show that his name is well attested in British epigraphic record); two footsoldiers from *Ratae Corieltauvorum*(Leicester), and the *Belgae* tribe (*CIL* XVI. 160 and *AE* 1944: 58 respectively), and, lastly, another infantryman who claimed to be *Britto* (*RMD* I. 47). The origin of the other seven has been identified through (*a*) linguistic analysis of their names (*CIL* V. 7717: Catavignus (his name has the suffix–*ign* common in Insular Celtic; cf. Evans (1967: 209) and Sims-Williams (2004: 155, n. 921); *CIL* III. 3256: Virssuccius and Bodiccius (for discussion, see Birley 1980: 103)); (*b*) the recruitment period (*AE* 1999: 1258 and *CIL* III. 10331: two *ignotii*, recruited at the same time and to the same unit as foot-soldiers who originated from the *Belgae* tribe and *Ratae Corieltauvorum*); (*c*) the recorded recruitment pattern (*AE* 1994: 1487: possibly a son or a grandson of a British soldier who had followed his father or grandfather into military service (that is, following the pattern of hereditary military service whereby recruitment was from among the sons of veterans who had settled in the proximity of a fort) (cf. Dobson and Mann 1973: 202)); (*d*) the find-spot of the military diploma (*AE* 2005: 954, found in southern Britain and which probably records a British veteran returning from Pannonia (cf. Tully 2005)).

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 seventeen men who emphasized their origin from Britain: five legionaries (*CIL* III. 11233: origin recorded as *Claudia Camulodunum* (Colchester); *CIL* VI. 3594: origin recorded as cognomen *Britto; CIL* VIII. 21669: from *Lindum* (Lincoln); *CIL* VI. 3346: originated from *Glevum* (Gloucester); *CIL* VIII. 2877: considered to be of British descent owing to his service in five British legions (cf. Malone 2006: 117)); three troopers in the Imperial horse guard in Rome (*CIL* VI. 3279, 3301, and 32861: the origin of all three is recorded as *natione Britto/Britan(n)icianus*); one centurion in a British detachment in Mauretania Tingitana (*AE* 1920: 47 and 48: the linguistic analysis of his name shows his possible British origin (cf. Raybould and Sims-Williams 2009: 22)); eight auxiliaries in various cohorts and in fleets (*AE* 1951: 47: recorded as *ex Br(e)itonibus; AE* 2003: 1218: *Trinovantian* by origin; *CIL* III. 14214: origin recorded as *Britto; CIL* XIII. 8314: recorded as *civi Brittoni; AE* 1956: 249: citizen of *Dumnonii; ILJug* 02, 679: origin recorded as *natione Britto; RMM* 20: recorded as *Britto; AE* 2007: 1772: from the *Cornovi* tribe). The origin of two legionary soldiers has been identified based on their religious beliefs: they made dedications to British Mother Goddesses while on service in *legio XXX Ulpia* in Xanten (*CIL* XIII. 8631 and 8632; for discussion see Ivleva 2011: 139).

The number of civilians of British descent known to have settled abroad is low in comparison with the number of British servicemen: only seven are known—one trader (*AE* 1922: 116: priest of the Imperial cult at the *coloniae* at *Eboracum* (York) and *Lindum* (Lincoln)); five whose occupation is unknown (*CIL* XIII. 1981 (a male): origin recorded as *natione Britto; CIL* XIII. 6221 and *AE* 1915: 70: both from *Deva* (Chester); *AE* 1939: 53 (a male): described as *Britannus natione*; Martial 11.53 (a female): 'born amongst the woad-stained Britons'; and one freedman in Rome, *CIL* VI. 2464: recorded as 'taken from *Brittannia*' (*sic*)).

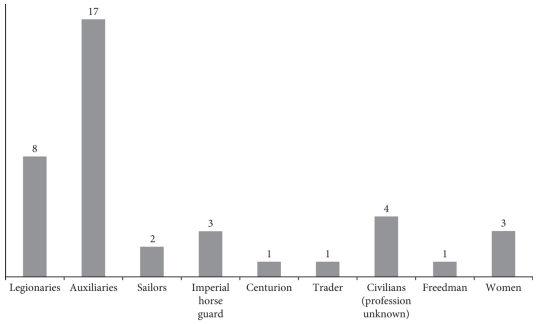

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Figure 2 . Britons abroad: profession and status

Source: © Tatiana Ivleva.

In total, thirty-seven men and one woman have been identified, although two more females can be added to this list: Catonia Baudia (*CIL* VI. 3594) and Lollia Bodicca (*CIL* VIII. 2877), 'travelling' wives of the legionary soldiers who followed their partners to their posts within the Empire. Both have quite a remarkable cognomen, one that resembles the name of British rebel Queen Boudicca. Considering that their husbands were of British descent, it is plausible that these women hailed from one of the British tribes. These forty people born in Britain had various professions, although the majority served in the Roman army: in the legions and auxiliary units posted overseas, in the fleet garrisoned on the Continent, and in Rome as the Emperor's bodyguards (Figure 2). 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 cross-Channel trade. It is unlikely that all trading activities between Britain and the Continent lay in the hands of people born on the Continent, as the epigraphic record would seem to suggest (Hassall 1978: 43).

Those who were born in Britain and later moved to the Continent were not necessarily of native British stock: at least three legionary soldiers might have been sons or grandsons of immigrants to Britain in the mid and late first century AD—namely, Titus Statius Vitalis (*CIL* III. 11233), who hailed from Colchester, and Marcus Minicius Marcellinus and Marcus Iunius Capito (*CIL* III. 6679; *CIL* VIII. 21669), who both came from Lincoln. Both Colchester and Lincoln were colonies for retired legionary veterans, and these men were probably descendants of legionary veterans who had settled in Britain upon their retirement (Birley 1980: 104–5). One legionary soldier, Marcus Ulpius Quintus from Gloucester (*CIL* VI. 3346), might have been a son or grandson of an auxiliary veteran who had either come from the Continent or been drafted from a British tribe to serve in Britain (Birley 1980: 105; Dobson and Mann 1973: 203).

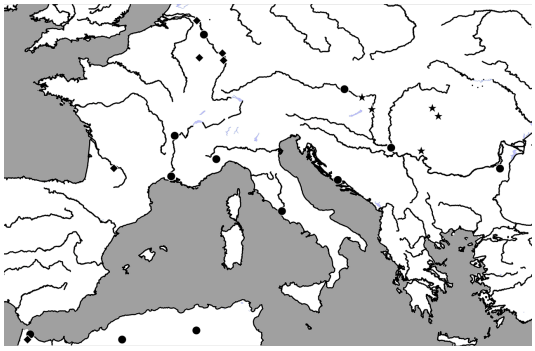

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Figure 3 . Distribution of the military diplomas (star), funerary (circle), and votive (diamond-shape) inscriptions mentioning British emigrants

Source: Map by author. © Tatiana Ivleva.

The geographic spread of inscriptions mentioning British emigrants is not confined to a particular province: they are distributed across the whole Roman Empire from North Africa to Germania Inferior and from Gallia to the Roman frontiers on the Danube (Figure 3). While the presence of some Britons in particular territories was due to the orders of Roman officials, others seem to have settled in particular places in a search of a better life. The example of the latter is Atianus, recorded as *natione Britto*, who settled in Lyon (*CIL* XIII. 1981). Neither his profession or the reason for his presence in Lyon is recorded on his funeral monument, but Lyon was a hub for commercial activity and attracted wealthy merchants and craftsmen, so he might have gone there to open a warehouse selling British goods or to help in establishing trading contacts between the two provinces (for the existence of such contacts, see Morris 2010).

There is also evidence for female migration, with three women being identified: Catonia Baudia and Lollia Bodicca on the basis of their names and 'British' husbands (see above), and Claudia Rufina, who was referred to as 'being born among the woad-stained Britons' by her friend, the poet Martial (11.53). It was relatively common for women—whether wives, partners, or sisters—to follow their military husbands, partners, or brothers to their postings (Allason-Jones 1999: 48). These three British women, therefore, conform to this picture and should not be seen as an exception. All three enjoyed a privileged status: they were wives of legionary centurions. Moreover, Catonia Baudia and Lollia Bodicca are recorded on the funerary inscriptions that they themselves erected to commemorate their husbands, another hint as to their status and wealth. Claudia Rufina is praised by Martial (4.13, 8.60, and

11.53) on numerous occasions as an educated woman as well as adoptee of a Roman way of life.

The epigraphic material also shows a considerable degree of variation in the nomenclature of origin, which varied from naming a tribe (e.g. *Dobunni, Belgae, Cornovi, Trinovantes, Dumnonii*) or specific place (e.g. *Lindum, Ratae Corieltauvorum, Claudia Camulodunum, Glevum, Deva*) to the formula *natione Britto/Britan(n)icianus*. I have argued elsewhere (Ivleva 2011: 142–144) that when these inscriptions and diplomas are divided by century a pattern seems to emerge in terms of the changing way in which origin is referred to. Inscriptions dated to the late first century AD usually record the name of the tribal and city origin, with an emphasis on the individual's citizen status, which might signify the importance of indicating that one was Roman (that is, having citizenship) and at the same time belonging to a specific British tribe. Inscriptions dated to the second century AD show a difference in the choices made when referring to origin: while some individuals continued to name as their place of origin either a British city or a tribe as their place of origin (that is, thereby emphasizing their tribal affiliation), others preferred to identify themselves through geographical provenance as *natione Britto/Britan(n)icianus* on inscriptions or as *Britto* on military diplomas. Such changes relate to a wider shift in forms of identification detected in the recording of affiliations in the second century AD, where the tribal affiliations were being 'replaced by formulae using geographical provenance or political-administrative inscription in a certain *civitas*' (Derks 2009: 269). While this process appears to be relatively common, one may pose the question: what could have prompted some inhabitants of Britain settling on the Continent to choose the geographical over the tribal provenance? As has already been mentioned, there were no such inter-provincial grouping as 'Britons'—the term is likely to have been a Roman construct designed to denote all the inhabitants of the newly acquired province in AD 43 without paying attention to inner tribal divisions. By choosing this Roman-imposed label, Britons abroad may have been expressing this new form of Roman-imposed identity and constructed ethnicity. This invented label might have been used by second-generation emigrants—those who were not born in Britain but whose parents belonged to one of the British tribes—because they did not have a precise ethnic identification: being born at particular place on the Continent would not necessarily have made them a member of a continental tribal entity (Ivleva 2011: 142–3). The use of the Roman-imposed identification, therefore, became a necessity: by choosing to refer to one's origin as British, one distinguished oneself from other groups of migrants or from the dominant group in the territory where British migrants and their families settled down.

The epigraphic record left by migrants in the third century AD and later indicates that the tendency for designating origins then shifted the other way: emigrants preferred to name their province instead of their tribe or city. This situation may have resulted from being incorporated into a new identity group in the third century AD as a result of everybody being given Roman citizenship by the edict of Caracalla in AD 212. This broke tribal ties, and the supra-regional identity suppressed the regional one, resulting in the ultimate '*e pluribus unum*' when, from a variety of tribes, one 'province' of emigrants emerged.

Archaeological narrative of mobile identities: British-made objects and Britons abroad

The presence of 242 British-made brooches on the Continent can be related to a variety of activities of the people who brought these objects with them. Brooches 'travelled' because of their function as clothes fasteners: after all, the people (whatever their origin) who travelled from Britain to the Continent needed something to hold their clothes together. This makes brooches useful tools in determining the places where such migrants settled down, be they traders, military men (veterans or soldiers), the followers of the first two (households, slaves, partners, wives, and children) or craftspeople. Because brooches were brought overseas by various groups, emigrants from and immigrants to Britain alike, this leads to the consideration that British brooches do not provide evidence for the ethnicity of their users and wearers: other identities—such as status, gender, and, to a lesser extent, ethnicity—might have projected through their use (see also, Cool, this volume). Moreover, brooches may have changed meaning depending on their usage, on the context in which they were worn or discarded, and on their viewers or admirers. Owners may also have had particular associations with them, possibly treating brooches as tourist knick-knacks rather than objects of personal use.

In general, it is possible to associate particular sites with the presence of British-born emigrants through in-depth analysis based on an object's biography, site location, the history of a settlement, epigraphic analysis, and the study of the context in which an object has been found (Ivleva 2011: 137–42). It is likely that most British-made brooches were taken overseas by British recruits of British auxiliary units, or by recruits of other legionary and

auxiliary forces of different ethnic origin who served in Britain, or by veterans who, after being discharged, returned home from Britain (Ivleva 2011: 142). Similarly, as the epigraphic record indicates that women were also on the move (often as the partners of British recruits or the partners of returning veterans of different ethnic origins), it is also probable that some of the British brooch types were taken to the Continent on the clothes of such women (for how brooches were worn by Romano-British women, see Croom (2004); but see also Allason-Jones (1995) for discussion of the 'sexless' nature of brooches). This conclusion is in many ways similar to that derived from the epigraphic analysis of the presence of British-born individuals, where the majority had a military connection.

The variety of contexts in which British-made brooches appear on the Continent reflects the diversity of their meanings and the associations that emanated through their usage. This is an indication of the mobile identities of the brooches themselves. The analysis of the sites where brooches were found in burials has shown that they were probably brought by veterans returning from Britain to their own homelands (Ivleva 2011: 145). Within Britain, brooches were found in both inhumation and cremation burials, albeit in small numbers, and usually performed a double role: they were placed both for their functionality (that is, they were used to fasten a piece of cloth containing the remains of the deceased or to fasten a piece of clothing covering the deceased body) and for their associations with the dead person (that is, they were placed in a wooden box or a cloth or leather bag positioned next to the cremated remains) (Philpott 1991). As for the continental examples—where all burials were cremations—some brooches were positioned on top of the remains, which suggests that they were also used as cloth fasteners, while some appear to have been placed as votive offerings. Notably, most of the brooches had their pins intact (slightly corroded but still with the spiral attached), suggesting that they were deposited not as broken objects of no further use but as functional items intended to secure pieces of clothing.

The brooches' functionality was, therefore, an important factor; yet, one may ask why *these* particular brooches were put into graves: that is, why the relatives of the deceased chose British brooches to follow their beloved ones into the afterlife. The deliberate inclusion of brooches suggests that they had important connotations for the deceased whose remains they were supposed to secure as well as for the relatives, whose choice of a particular brooch may have been a conscious act. While the evidence indicates that brooches were rare as grave goods in Roman Britain, it does not mean that brooches were not placed with the bodies of the deceased. Rather their absence as intact objects may indicate that they were placed together with the body of the deceased and consequently were completely burned and, therefore, did not survive to enter the archaeological record. However, for the users of British-made brooches on the Continent, these objects may have had other associations: made in Britain, brought across the Channel to the Continent because of their functionality, not destroyed but kept intact, they could have been used by other members of a family or community because of their limited availability, exoticness, and uniqueness. Yet they officially ended their lives being buried and being a protector of a dead individual's remains. Therefore, it may not have been their precious looks or their functional value for the living, but their particular associations with the deceased that were important.

Brooches in continental burials are confined to areas where there is evidence for the presence of veterans having returned from Britain. Brooches, therefore, could have been valued by their owners and, later, by the relatives of the deceased for their associations with the past, indicating the (dead) owner's experience in Britain. If we think first about British-made brooches as the embodiment of a 'British' past and second about the care taken to avoid them being destroyed and the deliberateness with which they were placed in burials, it could follow that their inclusion in graves was a manifestation of memory relating to the deceased's connection with Britain, either as a soldier who had served in Britain or as a Briton (be he or she male or female) who had died in a foreign land.

A similar conclusion can be proposed for the placement of British-made brooches in sanctuaries. Analysis has shown that these brooches too were brought by families of returning veterans or by veterans themselves. While they wore British-made brooches in the setting of foreign cultures, the owners projected their past as people who had lived in Britain. When they deliberately refused to use the brooches any more as clothes fasteners, the projection of a foreign past and the experience in a foreign land was brought to an end. In this sense, brooches were subject to a twofold action: as personal offerings to gods and as closures of past activities—when such personal items were given away to the gods, the past was symbolically buried and vows were fulfilled.

Notably, the majority of brooches recorded as rubbish and accidental losses were found on sites where there is evidence of the stationing of troops coming from Britain. The rarity of British-made objects on the Continent did not

influence the decision of some brooch owners intentionally to deposit these objects in rubbish pits, which meant the functional death of the object. Such an action had consequences for the projection of any form of identity, be it gender, ethnic, or cultural; the intentional death of an object stands for the death of meaning with which this item is associated, following up on the death of identities desired or wished for or (un)intentionally projected. However, such actions might have been influenced by the ready availability of brooches on the site, which would have allowed owners to continue to transmit whatever identities they wished and to serve as a reminder of an ethnic origin. One should take into account that the presence of objects made in Britain on continental sites with a homogenous material culture would have allowed them to stand out in the material record of that site. The realization that a brooch was different and exotic might have provided the grounds for the emergence of new meanings, possibly not existing in Britain itself, as is evident from the utilization of British-made brooches as embodiments of the past among the veterans returning from Britain. Within British emigrant groups, the realization of brooches' uniqueness could have reinforced the sense of being different, leading to the realization of belonging to another culture, of being of different ethnic stock. Ethnicity, therefore, becomes a by-product of the relationship between the owner and the object: the particularity of the artefact might enhance the expressions of ethnic identity.

The variety of treatment of British-made brooches suggests that they were valued by migrants for particular reasons and played an important part in the processes of remembrance and evocation of the past. That the idea of the past played a role when brooches were put in specific contexts abroad indicates a desire to forget, to reinvent, to evoke, or to project the past; it also emphasizes the value of memory within the groups travelling from Britain.

Conclusions

Although the evidence is limited, it makes it possible to pinpoint the location of few Britons abroad. It is clear that both the past and memory of the land of their birth were important to these Britons, although it should be emphasized that for any moved individuals the past and homeland are important: an increase in the demonstration of one's origin is particularly noticeable in moved communities (Oltean 2009: 94–5). Britons were no different from any other migrants, and some were rather keen to make their ethnic origin explicit through written language, whether the decision lay in naming their tribe or in employing the adopted Roman construct *Britonnes*.

For most Britons wearing a British-made brooch abroad would have been a necessary and obvious thing to do, since it would have been brought among their personal possessions. Whether wearing a British brooch would reinforce the sense of 'being' from Roman Britain is a difficult issue, since a variety of other identities and messages could have been projected as well, yet the objects' uniqueness and distinct style might have provided ground for the growing realization of 'being' different.

At the beginning of this chapter I have stated that ethnic realization is born within particular groups at the moment when cultural differences are recognized, providing the motive for the universalization of these differences and making them into 'practice'. In both epigraphic and archaeological evidence, we see that universalization of ethnic consciousness in a community living abroad might have taken place, because groups could have realized their uniqueness through the use of different objects and through exploitation of the imposed and invented label. In this sense, 'being British' abroad becomes more of an invented identity, something that can be evoked and reinforced through the use of brooches (and other British-made objects) and when naming an origin.

AE
L'Année Épigraphique
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RMD
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RMM
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Tatiana Ivleva

Tatiana Ivleva, born in Moscow, Russia, is a PhD candidate at the University of Leiden, the Netherlands. She studied History in

Moscow, before joining the University of Leiden to take a Master's degree in Mediterranean Archaeology and her PhD. She teaches courses at the University on provincial Roman archaeology. Her thesis, entitled *"Britons Abroad: Mobility of Britons and the Circulation of the British-made Objects in the Roman Empire"* has now reached its final stage and papers from it have been published in various journals.