

# **Germanic Migrants in Roman Britain**

A Preliminary Study and Inter-Disciplinary  
Approach

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## Abstract

The Germanic peoples and particularly soldiers, who came to Britain during the Roman period have continued to attract considerable attention, and, in some cases, rather bold conjectures, but a detailed assessment of the evidence available has never been compiled. The Classical sources reveal that Roman Britain received Germanic peoples from both Free Germany and from the Rhenish and Belgic provinces. Various forms of archaeological material have been attributed directly to their presence in Britain, and it has even been postulated that the incomers contributed to the fundamental social and linguistic developments, which took effect in the Anglo-Saxon period – with the importation of philologically Germanic languages, forerunners to the Old English language spoken by the Anglo-Saxons.

The problems in the examination of these settlers in Roman Britain are, therefore, extensive. Not only does the examination demand the evaluation of diverse forms of material culture and archaeological evidence, both in Britain and in the regions from which these Germanic settlers originated, it also requires dexterity in the linguistic evidence for native languages for a period when Latin was the main medium for literacy in the western empire. These distinct forms of linguistic and archaeological evidence are, naturally, contingent on their own empirical methods of analysis, which are not often appraised by the same specialists. Some of the central conceptual concerns raised by these forms of data also impinge on the theoretical frameworks more or less specific to the Anglo-Saxon period.

The objective of this thesis is to provide an assessment of the Germanic peoples in Roman Britain in as much as depth as a preliminary study can afford. The thesis covers the entire span of Britain's occupation, conventionally dated to AD 43 to AD 410. It examines whether the various Germanic settlers spoke philologically Germanic languages, and it assesses the ways in which such migrants can be analysed and understood for an era when Roman imperialism and forms of trade and material culture mask provincial variability and the movement of people from one province to another. As our own experiences would tell, however, broad similarities in material culture do not necessarily conflate with cultural, religious and ethnic affinities as a whole; nor do they imply that peoples necessarily speak the same languages.

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# 1. Germanic Migrants in Roman and Anglo-Saxon Scholarship

## 1.1 Introduction

To enter into the fabulous accounts of monkish historians would be lost time and labour. Their narratives relating to the affairs of *Britain* are in many stances contradictory to the *Roman* historians, and very often to one another. 'Tis true that the venerable *Bede* is famed for his learning, judgement and probity. He flourished in the beginning of the eighth century; but since this was too late for him to have any acquaintance with the *Roman* affairs from his own knowledge, or even from any such authority as could be relied on; I don't see that what he affirms is to be any farther depended upon, than as it is supported by classic authority.

John Horsley (1732, 1) in *Britannia Romana: or The Roman Antiquities of Britain*.

The development of an academic discourse with regard to the Germanic migrants in Roman Britain owes everything to the Humanist Renaissance and to the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century. In Britain, there had been a longstanding fascination with the Romano-British heritage and with the Anglo-Saxon communities who traced their ancestral descent to Germanic migrants of post-Roman times. These two discrete phases in Britain's history were enshrined in the earliest insular manuscripts (Gildas *de Excidio* 23; Bede *Historia Ecclesiastica* 15; Nennius *Historia Brittonum* 31), and they were perpetuated in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, the chief historical exegesis of the medieval period (Kumar 2003, 63). However, the re-discovery of the classical sources during the Humanist Renaissance rattled the authority of these insular manuscripts – showing that Britain had received a significant influx of Germanic settlers during Roman times. The sources indicated that these settlers were descended from Germanic communities in both Free Germany, as well as in the Roman provinces of Germania Inferior, Germania Superior and Gallia Belgica. These sources were, therefore, just as important for Continental research as for scholarship in Britain. This meant, then, that Britain's Roman and post-Roman past was no longer confined to

the insular and early medieval manuscripts. Instead, this past became part of an international scholarly discourse, shaped increasingly by empirical investigations in the fields of history, archaeology and linguistics, which, in themselves, were frequently moulded by the changing social, political and ethnic allegiances of the time.

This chapter traces the evolution of academic thought with regards to the Germanic migrants in Roman Britain. Then, it provides a break-down of the current methods and attitudes, followed by an outline of the research undertaken in this thesis in the light of previous research. Overall, the linguistic, archaeological and geographical scope of the evidence in question calls for an inter-disciplinary approach, taking into account the evidence available in other countries as well as in Britain.

## **1.2 The ‘Germanisirung’ of Roman Britain: a Literary Review**

In current academic discussions, the most well-known research into the Germanic settlers of Roman Britain concerns Anglo-Saxon specialists such as J. N. Myres (1956, 1969) and Margaret Gelling (1967, 1976, 1988). However, it has been largely forgotten, perhaps because the experts drew no attention to this themselves, that a more widespread debate had already been instigated on the same subject more than a century before their own investigations. This debate also bore a rather more international tone. For instance, the German scholar Johan Lappenberg (1834, 43) claimed in volume one of his *Geschichte von England* (History of England) that in the Roman period there was already decisive evidence for the ‘Germanisirung Britanniens’ (Germanisation of Britain). This evidence was based on the classical and epigraphic records indicating the presence of Germanic settlers and soldiers in Britain in Roman times – sources which were already understood through the works of such scholars as William Camden (1586), John Hodgson (1820) and, particularly, John Horsley in his *Britannia Romana* (see Horsley 1732, 86-97, 195-332, 472-488). However, Lappenberg’s confident conviction about Britain’s premature reception to German stimuli – in anticipation of the Anglo-Saxon migrations – was part of an ongoing dialogue between Britain and the other countries instigated at a time when pro-Germanic sympathies amongst the English-speaking nations had only recently gained ground.

In the medieval and into the early modern periods, the people of Britain had instead taken more of an active and scientific interest in the philologically Celtic roots of all its ancient ‘British’ inhabitants. Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Historia Regum*

*Britanniae* had glorified King Arthur and the other British kings, whose realm only eventually became enslaved under the yoke of the Anglo-Saxons (Hills 2003, 30). Then, in 1582, these ancient narratives were verified through empirical research. The Scotsman George Buchanan argued in his *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* that, before the ‘coming of the Anglo-Saxons’ the native language spoken throughout Britain was Celtic in origin – the forerunner of the existing Welsh, Gaelic and Manx languages (Evans 1999; Collis 1999, 2003, 37). Buchanan used the Celtic place-name elements (*briga*, *dunum*, *magus* and *duro*) in the recently rediscovered classical sources (Pliny, Strabo, Ptolemy, Antonine Itinerary) to bolster his views, indicating that Celtic languages were not only dominant throughout Britain, but that they were shared by the Gauls and other peoples across much of southwest Europe (Collis 1999).

His scholarly and philological observations were to some extent politically expedient at a time when Britain was moving towards unification under James I (James VI of Scotland) (see Collis 1999). Nevertheless, from the eighteenth century onwards the Germanic, the ancestral origins of the Anglo-Saxons, otherwise known as the English, came to hold a special place in Britain’s history (Kidd 1999, 185-210; Hingley 2000, 63-71; Hills 2003, 32; Kumar 2003, 174-205; Mandler 2006, 87). This interest came at a time when the British realm was ruled by a line of monarchs from northern Germany – the House of Hanover since 1714. It was also at a time when the English-speaking nations, in addition to their Roman heritage (see Hingley 2000), were increasingly making use of their Germanic ancestry to justify colonial expansion into other countries – this ancestry being used to legitimize their current wave of wanderlust and territorial annexation. For instance, the ethnonym WASP (White Anglo-Saxon Protestants) in the United States owes much to the fact that the Founding Fathers and Whig Liberalists claimed that it was the ‘Saxon ancestry’ of the American colonists which gave them the natural right to build for themselves a free and independent state (Hall 1997; Sykes 2006, 40).

These pro-Germanic and political sentiments naturally influenced the tenor of scholarship within the incipient discipline of the Anglo-Saxon period. Professional research in this field began in the first part of the nineteenth century (White 1971, 586; Kumar 2003, 204; Hills 2003, 34), and in accordance with the nationalist sentiments of the times, the earliest scholars looked upon the Anglo-Saxons as their direct forerunners, referring to Bede and the Anglo-Saxons as ‘our forefathers’ (Wright 1847, 50; Freeman 1871, 3) and ‘our ancestors’ (Guest 1851). However, the scholars

held conflicting views over the Anglo-Saxons' own ancestral origins. Edward Freeman and Edwin Guest were rather traditional in their approach, sharing strong Christian beliefs themselves, and placing total faith in the familiar, insular sources for the diachronic stages of Anglo-Saxon development (see Guest 1851, 1860, 1883, 193–218; Freeman 1871). Explicit in this regard is Freeman's (1871, 33) statement when he declares that:

our old Chronicle, then, the oldest English history, the book you should reverence next after your Bibles and Homer, tells us that the first Teutonic Kingdoms in Britain began in the year 449.

Conversely, John Kemble, Francis Palgrave and Thomas Wright were not only less austere in their Christian beliefs, they were more inclined to make use of both archaeological evidence and the classical records (Wiley 1979, 237; Hills 2003, 36; Williams 2006). This made them less inclined to use the insular sources in isolation, and they shared some of the attitudes towards the veracity of these sources as John Horsley had maintained before them (see 1.1). Thus, this difference in perspective and in the historical sources these scholars used equipped them with the empirical means for tracing the roots of Anglo-Saxon societies to far earlier than the migrations of the fifth century. As John Kemble (1849, 15) stated, for instance, in his *Saxons in Britain*:

The object of this rapid sketch has been to show the improbability of our earliest records being anything more than ill-understood and confused traditions, accepted without criticism by our first annalists, and to refute the opinion long entertained by our chroniclers, that the Germanic settlements in England really date from the middle of the fifth century.

Instead, these scholars employed the classical sources to trace the earliest trajectories of the Germanic settlements in Britain to two earlier phases. The second, and more pervasive, phase dated to the Roman period, and it resulted from 'Teutonic families' (Kemble 1849, 10) and 'Teutonic auxiliaries' (Palgrave 1867, 16), who were 'chiefly recruited from Germany' (Wright 1861a, 76). The earliest phase, however, dated to the Iron Age when even the pre-existing 'British' tribes were thought to have shared racial and philological Germanic roots (Palgrave 1867; Kemble 1849, 8-11; Wright 1852, 1861a & b). For instance, Wright (1852, 3) declared that 'the Belgae were themselves a Teutonic race,' and he implied the same for 'the population of the North of Scotland' (Wright 1861b, 29). Scholars specialising in the Late Iron Age had

already advanced similar views, such as James Macpherson (1737-1796) and John Pinkerton (1758–1826) (Kidd 1999, 188–204). These views were also heavily informed by the classical accounts. For instance, Tacitus (*Agricola* 12) claimed that the people in Scotland were racially similar to the Germans, and Julius Caesar (*de Bello Gallico* 2.4; 6.12) declared the Belgae in Britain were descended from the Continental Belgae who were themselves of quasi-German derivation.

The continuing dialogue about the Germanic and the suspected Germanic settlers in Britain, therefore, owed much to the classical authorities. However, the premise that these incomers spoke philologically Germanic languages – forerunners of the languages spoken by the Anglo-Saxons – was more deeply indebted to ideas long fostered about the *Germani* on the Continent.

### 1.2.1 The *Germani* in Linguistics and Archaeology

Whilst it was commonly assumed that Celtic languages were spoken throughout much of western and central Europe (Augstein 1988), in line with the Scotsman George Buchanan's initial arguments (see 1.2), the notion that the *Germani* spoke primitive versions of existing Germanic languages came to the fore during the Renaissance, and this was very much boosted by the rediscovery and publication of Tacitus' *Germania* (Krieger 1975, 79-81; Kumar 2003, 91). In the earliest, modern preface to this classical work, the Italian Humanist Aeneas Sylvius – later known as Pope Pius II (1405-1464) – hailed the *Germani* as the cultural and linguistic antecedents of the current inhabitants in the German Holy Roman Empire (Krieger 1975, 79). These sentiments quickly gained popularity amongst the contemporary Dutch and German inhabitants themselves, who increasingly exploited these claims to the disadvantage of the Holy Roman Empire by promoting their own nationalist agendas (Schama 1996, 100–120).

The evidence provided about these Germanic peoples in the literary sources was then bolstered by parallel research within the growing number of other types of sciences. For instance, comparative philology became a recognised science in the first part of the nineteenth century and German scholars played an important role in this nascent field. In 1813, it was first proposed that many of the languages in Europe and Asia were descended from a common 'Indo-European' source (Mallory 1989, 14-18), and the German linguists August Schleicher (1821–1868) and Johannes Schmidt (1843–1901) were particularly instrumental in continuing research. They showed that,



whilst the Celtic languages were more closely related to the Italic languages in the West, the Germanic languages shared closer similarities with the Baltic and Slavic languages, thereby indicating a likely centre of linguistic development in the Northern European Plain (Figs. 1.2a and 1.2b). The archaeological evidence was then used to define the ancient distributions of the Germanic languages, as the Corded Ware (3200 BC–1800 BC), and Jastorf (500 BC–120 BC) Cultures corresponded with the parts of northern and central Europe where the ancient authors claimed the *Germani* were situated (Schutz 1983, 309–317; Rives 1999, 2-6; Fig. 1.3). It therefore stood to reason that the areas of the Rhineland and Danube were zones of intensive contact between Celtic and Germanic speakers, and German philologists became particularly adept in both Celtic as well as German philology (Schmidt 1986; Evans 1999).

It was because of these opinions about the *Germani* on the Continent that scholars became interested in the Germanic peoples entering Roman Britain. The strong political relations between the English and the German nations were also conducive to the dissemination of ideas, and John Kemble, for instance, made extensive use of German scholarship in his *Saxons in England*, having both worked and studied at Munich and Heidelberg, and being a lifelong friend of the German philologist Jacob Grimm (Wiley 1971a, 1971b; 1979, 237; Hills 2003, 36).

This collaborative relationship with German scholars also, naturally, filtered into the study and interpretation of the Roman inscriptions in Britain – many of which had been set up by Germanic auxiliary units stationed on Hadrian's Wall. Charles Roach Smith and Thomas Wright were two of the earliest British scholars to draw attention to these inscriptions, comparing the non-Roman deities recorded on the British frontiers with the names of Germanic deities already extensively researched at such sites as Cologne. The scholars thus claimed that the British specimens, such as Hveteri, Alatervae, Viradesthis, Harimellae, Vitoris, were 'adopted from Germanic terms' (Smith and Wright 1847, 245), and they concluded from this that 'a Teutonic population was gradually intruding itself into this island in the later Roman period' (Smith and Wright 1847, 250).

Collaborative research between German and British scholars to some extent persisted into the latter part of the nineteenth century, and one of the most monumental achievements of this partnership was the publication of the British volume of *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (CIL 7) in 1873. The *Königlich-Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences) had initially set up this

international compilation of Roman inscriptions in 1853, and Francis Haverfield was the key figure responsible for bringing together the British collection (Schmidt 2001; Freeman 2007). Haverfield was also interested in the Germanic deities recorded in Britain's inscriptions in general, and he wrote two important papers on the subject (see Haverfield 1892, 1918).

However, from the latter part of the nineteenth century onwards, changing political circumstances took their toll on the nature of academic research. This is because pro-Germanic sentiments lost their popularity during the build-up to, and culmination of, two World Wars (Jones 1997, 3; Legendre 1999; Hingley 2000, 62-74; Sykes 2006, 39-43), and the German Reich had even made use of archaeological and linguistic research on ancient Germanic expansions to legitimise the annexation of other countries (Jones 1997, 16; Goffart 2002, 26; Markey 2001; Mees 2004). The result was that the evidence for Germanic migrants in Britain was not traced back further than was necessary, and the research into the Germanic migrants in Roman times was effectively discontinued in the disciplines of both Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon studies. In Germany, research in this field only mounted in strength, and the philologists Georg Werle (1910) and Siegfried Gutenbrunner (1936) put the recently completed *CIL* volumes to good use, collecting the Germanic personal names and deities which seemed to be especially concentrated in Britain, Germany and the Low Countries. In a paper published in the English journal *Archaeologia Aeliana*, Gutenbrunner (1938, 294) even pointed out that 'Germans must have been strongly represented among the population in the neighbourhood of Hadrian's Wall'. Nonetheless, these philological observations and opinions were no longer embraced by scholars working in Britain. Robin Collingwood (1937, 268) epitomises the change in British attitudes when he stated, in *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, that the Germanic names recorded in the British inscriptions were little more than 'linguistic curiosities' with 'slender historical interest'. His sentiments represent a marked shift from what Charles Roach Smith and Thomas Wright had concluded about the inscriptions less than a century before. Some of these sentiments were certainly shaped by cooler foreign relations with Germany. Nonetheless, on another level, the physical evidence for a 'Dark Age Britain' following the collapse of Roman rule, allowed scholars in Britain to pay little attention to the Germanic settlers of Roman times for understanding Anglo-Saxon developments. This perspective was bolstered by intensified archaeological research since the general lacuna in material culture,

coupled with major discontinuations in the occupation of the Roman towns, villas and forts, pointed to an almost complete, cultural separation between the Roman and post-Roman periods. This all meant that early medieval authors were once again restored to an unrivalled position in understanding Anglo-Saxon developments (White 1971), and the studies of the Anglo-Saxon period returned solely to the early medieval insular sources for their historical guidance (Guest 1883; Chadwick 1907; Green 1916; Leeds 1913; Leeds and Hardens 1936). In these accounts, no heed was paid to either the classical accounts or to the Germanic migrants of Roman times. However, the investigations initiated in the second part of the twentieth century paved the way for a revival in some of the older attitudes.

### **1.2.2 Renewal of Research in the mid-Twentieth Century**

The research kick-started in the 1950s and 1960s is certainly better remembered and more commonly cited than the scholarship of earlier times. However, Anglo-Saxon scholars were largely responsible for initiating this interest as opposed to Romanists. Since many scholars specialising in the Roman army had seen service in the World Wars (de la Bédoyère 2001, 17; James 2002), the evidence for Germanic soldiers on their own soil was perhaps not at the forefront of their agenda. More importantly, as is discussed shortly, there was no longer any certainty that the provincial, Germanic soldiers spoke philologically Germanic languages (see 1.3).

Nonetheless, Anglo-Saxon scholars became much more interested in the Germanic 'mercenary' soldiers who came to Britain in the late Roman period, and there are two main reasons for this interest. One was the more sophisticated techniques used in archaeology, which made these scholars once again sceptical about the veracity of the insular narratives for tracing the ultimate origins of the English (White 1971). For one, the archaeological record could not fully endorse the threefold settlement of 'Anglian', 'Saxon' and 'Jutish' peoples in distinct regions of the island. Instead there was a bias of material evidence in the southern regions of the island, whilst many of the pioneer settlements and burials were often adjacent to former Roman settlements. This threw into doubt the supposed cultural and demographic separation between the Roman and Anglo-Saxon periods (Leeds 1936, 41-78; Myres 1948, 1951; Hawkes 1956; Lethbridge 1956).

However, the second reason was that excavations underway on the Continent led to a renewed interest in the subject of the Germanic soldiers in Roman Britain. In

a seminal paper, the German scholar Joachim Werner (1950) argued that the dress accessories of brooches and belt-fittings within the row graves of late Roman Gaul were evidence for Germanic *laeti* – that is mercenary soldiers stationed in Northern Gaul in the third and fourth centuries and referred to in the classical sources (see 6.3). This finding affected the tone of Anglo-Saxon research, not only for the fact that such late Roman artefacts were recovered from both Anglo-Saxon contexts and burials in addition to Roman ones, but also for the reason that the dress accessories were the prototypes for certain Anglo-Saxon brooches and belt-fittings. This overlap and stylistic link in material culture consequently implied a demographic and cultural continuity between, on the one hand, the Anglo-Saxons, and on the other, the Germanic soldiers of late Roman times, who were referred to as *laeti*, *foederati* and mercenaries (Kirk and Leeds 1953; Hawkes and Dunning 1961).

These interpretations of dress accessories filtered into other avenues of Anglo-Saxon research. The ceramics expert J. N. L. Myres posited, for instance, that certain Germanic vessels in Britain dated to the Roman period. He attributed these wares to Germanic soldiers accompanied by their families (see Myres 1956, 1969, 62–83; Myres and Green 1973, 13–43; Myres and Southern 1974). Similarly, the place-name scholar Margaret Gelling argued that Germanic soldiers were probably responsible for coining many of the earliest Anglo-Saxon toponyms (Gelling 1967, 1976, 1988). One of these toponyms was Old English *ceaster* ‘fort’ – in names such as ‘Buchecastre’ modern Bewcastle, ‘Hennecastre’ modern Hincaster – which is recognised as an insular borrowing of the Latin *castra* (fort), singular to Old English, and not loaned into the other Germanic languages. Gelling attributed this transmission to Germanic mercenaries and *laeti* serving in the Roman army.

As a result, these new approaches in the study of Anglo-Saxon ceramics, dress-accessories and place-names meant that, after more than a century, the Germanic inhabitants of Roman Britain had once again been restored to a pivotal position in the origins of the English. Myres’ (1986) revised edition of *The English Settlements* dedicated an entire chapter to the significance of Germanic contacts in Roman times, making good use of the classical sources, and bolstered by the archaeological evidence. Little attention was drawn towards the Germanic auxiliaries, and Myres (1986, 75) concluded that ‘there is little reason to suppose that they left any sharper racial impression on the population of northern Britain than did the Pannonians or Rhaetians at Great Chester or the Lusitanians at High Rochester.’ However, the

Germanic mercenaries of the late Roman period were deemed more significant. Leslie Alcock (1969, 230) epitomises the confident assertions once perpetuated during this time when he stated that:

an archaeologist must stress at once that the initial contacts between the Britons and the Germanic ancestors of the English lie back in the third century.

### **1.3 Current Arguments in Archaeology, Ethnicity and Linguistics**

In contemporary scholarship, the nascent phases of Anglo-Saxon development are more tantalising than ever before. It is no longer the case that works such as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* are seen as providing objective facts about the earliest Germanic settlements. Instead, the references to the three boats-full of Angles, Saxons and Jutes, together with their north German commanders Hengist and Horsa (see Garmonsway 1990, 13; Bede *Historia Ecclesiastica* 23) are interpreted as ancient ‘myths of origin’ showing how the Anglo-Saxons’ own patterns of fictional descent were fixed around the importance of Germanic ancestors (Hunter 1974; Yorke 1993; Moreland 2000; Hills 2003, 25-8). These legends may well have been partially spawned by the pioneer immigrants themselves, since they belong to a common genre of ‘Germanic foundation traditions’, shared by the other Germanic peoples for which there are records (Yorke 1993, 46), such as the Goths, tracing their descent via three ships from Scandinavia (Jordanes *Getica* 17. 94), and the Vandals, who traced their lineage to a pair of semi-divine brothers (Wolfram 1997, 43). Nevertheless, the eighth-century context of the Anglo-Saxon records means that the original myths have been significantly altered by more recent circumstances in the Anglo-Saxons’ history. What now seems clear, for instance, is that many of the Germanic immigrants entering Britain were unlikely to have referred to themselves as ‘Angles’, ‘Saxons’ and ‘Jutes’ as the origin myth suggests. Instead, the ‘Anglian’ ethnonym only came into popular circulation in the sixth century. This was in the context of Christian conversion – when ‘Angli’ was used as a play on Latin *angeli* meaning ‘angels’ (Wormald 1983; Brooks 1999). Moreover, the native Britons were largely responsible for cultivating the ‘Saxon’ label as a generic and ‘etic’ term for any Germanic incomers from overseas. It is in this context that the British cleric Gildas (c. 516-570) employs the term, and the conviction that the Britons were routinely referring to the Germanic incomers in this

way is known because the existing Welsh term for 'English' – *Saesneg* – stems originally from the same word 'Saxon' (Dumville 1984; Wright 1984). It seems, then, that the native Britons were responsible for calling the Germanic incomers the 'Saxons', as the incomers themselves were responsible for calling the native Britons the 'Welsh' (see Faull 1975).

A more careful reading of the extant literature has, therefore, indicated to many scholars that the Germanic ancestors of the English were much more heterogeneous in their ethnic composition than has previously been supposed (see Hills 1979; Sims-Williams 1983; Williamson 1993, 53; Moreland 2000). These extant sources include Procopius (c. 500–565), who refers to the presence of Frisians in Britain (Procopius 8.20), a medieval source mentions the arrival of pagans from 'Germany' in the fifth century, 'who have no name because their leaders were many' (Moreland 2000, 37). Moreover, Bede (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 5.9) even indicates, in a later passage of his *History*, that the Angles and Saxons owed their descent to *nationes* 'peoples' in 'Germany', peoples whom the Britons referred to as the *Garmani*.

One might have thought that these nuanced and sophisticated approaches towards the heterogeneous composition of the Anglo-Saxons would have made the evidence for Germanic settlers in Roman Britain an even more intriguing source of scholarly debate. However, this has not been the case. It is still highlighted frequently that Germanic peoples had entered Roman Britain (Laing 1979, 28-30; Johnson 1980, 129; Arnold 1984; Nielsen 1989, 162; Williamson 1993, 50; Wolfram 1997, 246; Moreland 2000, 32; Hills 2003, 12; Todd 2001, 85; Todd 2004, 206; Mattingly 2006, 168; Sykes 2006, 253-4). However, the overall importance of these settlers, particularly for post-Roman developments, has come under heated criticism. For instance, Simon Esmonde Cleary's (1989a) *The Ending of Roman Britain* remains categorically one of the most influential works of its time, and its post-script on 'continuity and change' attributed little consequence to the pre-existing Germanic peoples for post-Roman circumstances (see Esmonde Cleary 1989a, 188-205). Similarly, Margaret Gelling (1993, 55) retracted her viewpoints (about the importation of Germanic languages in Roman times: see 1.2.1), stating that 'we are no longer able to postulate the presence of a large number of Germanic people in Roman Britain so the timescale cannot be lengthened in that direction'. The importance of these settlers for post-Roman developments has, therefore, once again been dropped from the agenda of Anglo-Saxon research, and as John Moreland (forthcoming a) points out,

none of the papers in Nick Higham's (2006) *Britons in Anglo-Saxon England* pay any heed to the arrival of Germanic peoples or Germanic languages in Roman times.

Two principal reasons can be underlined for this change in affairs. One reason is that much of the archaeological evidence for the Germanic migrants in Roman Britain has not stood up to scrutiny. Scholars have, for example, rejected the Roman date of certain Germanic items (see 6.4), whilst at the same time the 'Germanic' styles of other dress-accessories and ceramics are shown to have employed innovative Roman techniques, which were simply carried on into the succeeding Anglo-Saxon period. This continuity in styles is striking and would benefit from further enquiry, but as Catherine Hills (2003, 90) contends, it is 'upside down reasoning' to suggest that these widespread Roman techniques would have necessarily suggested a Germanic presence in the Roman period.

The second problem, however, is that there is not even a clear understanding whether or not the vast majority of Germanic settlers in Roman Britain would have spoken philologically Germanic languages. This rather mitigates the importance of the migrants for understanding Anglo-Saxon developments. These philological uncertainties, naturally, stem from the conflicting opinions maintained on the Continent about the languages spoken by the ancient *Germani* and by the Germanic provincials in particular.

It is known that the Germanic peoples of the Migration Period spoke Germanic languages, namely the Anglo-Saxons themselves, as well as the Franks, Saxons, Frisians, Alamanni, Burgundians, Langobardi and Goths. This is confirmed by the various records written in philologically Germanic languages, such as the runic inscriptions, mainly concentrated in Denmark from the third century onwards, and the manuscripts and glosses written in the languages of Old Frankish, Old Saxon, Old Frisian, Old Alemannic, Old Bavarian, Langobardic and Gothic (Forston 2004; Todd 1992; Looijenga 1997, 2004).

It is also commonly understood that Germanic languages were spoken throughout much of Free Germany by as early as the first century BC. The philological evidence for this is discussed in greater depth in section 4.2, and it is based on the lexis, deities, ethnonyms and place-names recorded for the people in Free Germany exhibiting Germanic phonetic traits. For instance, the name of the Marcomanni means 'border men', and they were a people situated on the basin of the River Elbe (Wolfram 1997, 40). As J. B. Rives (1999, 3) also summarises in a recent

preface to Tacitus' *Germania*, 'we may be fairly certain, then, that many or even most peoples whom the Romans called *Germani* did in fact speak Germanic'. Nonetheless, the situation within the Roman provinces themselves remains the most complex issue. There is no consensus whether or not the *Germani* within the imperial borders of the Rhineland spoke such Germanic languages, and as Rives (1999, 9) himself admits in regards to these philological concerns, 'the situation in the north-west is hotly disputed'. Another problem is that the way in which the German Nationalist Socialist Party exploited linguistic evidence in order to justify territorial annexation has made the evidence for Germanic languages outside Germany an extremely sensitive issue (Toorians 2005, 1192). As a result, many scholars have simply alluded to the Rhenish frontiers as zones of 'linguistic contact' between the various Germanic, Celtic and Latin languages, without specifying whether any of the 'tribes' or peoples within the provinces genuinely spoke Germanic languages (Schmidt 1980, 34; Nielsen 1989, 145; Green 1998, 5; Eck 2004). Other scholars have contended that it is simply not understood what languages were spoken in these areas (Hachmann 1971, 16-30; Wells 1999, 109). Rolf Hachmann (1971, 16) claims, for instance, that 'the few Germanic personal names tell us little about the language, the few recorded words even less'.

Still popular in many publications is the hypothesis, initially proposed by Hans Kuhn (1959; 1962), that the peoples spoke a native language neither Celtic nor Germanic in derivation, commonly referred to as the 'Nordwestblock' (Griffen 1979, 191; Todd 1987, 33; Mallory 1989, 85, 274; Polomé 1990; Schrijver 2001; Oppenheimer 2006, 277). But, in contrast to this, other scholars have maintained that the Germanic provincials did speak philologically Germanic languages (Weisgerber 1968, 118; Neumann 1983, 1986; Nielsen 1989, 145; Carroll 2001, 118, 130), whilst linguists in the Low Countries have been more inclined to insist that the provincials within their own borders mainly spoke philologically Celtic languages (Schrijver 1995a, 1995b; Toorians 2000, 2005, 2006).

On a broader level, the significance of the native languages spoken by the Germanic provincials is often downplayed by the rather untested assumption that native languages played little part in their social and ethnic relations. For instance, as Michael Kulikowski (2002, 69) claims in his paper about Germanic groups, 'we know that before the Carolingian era, language was not regarded as a sign of ethnic distinction'. The implication of these lines of reasoning has been that the Germanic



provincials were unlikely to have maintained their native tongue as a structuring component within their ethnic and kin-based personas. This situation would then have paved the way for their rapid conversion to Latin out of perceived social and economic incentives. Therefore, it has even been proposed that the Germanic provincials entirely relinquished their native languages in favour of Latin, and that the only reason Germanic languages gained ascendancy west of the Rhine was because of the Germanic intrusions of the Migration Period. Otherwise, Latin-based 'Romance' languages would have been dominant in these Rhenish regions too, on par with the linguistic situation in France and Spain (see Derks and Roymans 2002, 2003; Schrijver 2002; Toorians 2006).

All in all, these conflicting dialogues in Continental philology, combined with the problem of identifying the Germanic migrants in Britain through archaeological remains, have resulted in no attempt to provide a holistic assessment of the evidence for these groups in Britain. It is also not understood with any clarity whether the Germanic auxiliaries entering Britain would have spoken philologically Germanic languages, and James Adams (1995, 129) sums up some of these uncertainties when he states that one of the Batavian prefects stationed at Vindolanda, Flavius Cerialis (see 3.4.1), was possibly 'a Germanic (or Celtic(?)) speaker'. Anthony Birley (2002, 59) similarly alludes to the possibility of a 'Celtic and even a Germanic language' spoken at the same fort.

Presently, geneticists as opposed to Roman or Anglo-Saxon scholars have voiced the keenest speculations with regards to the early importation of Germanic languages to Britain. Stephen Oppenheimer (2006, 269–283) has gone full circle, to the opinions popular in the nineteenth century (see 1.2), by arguing that the native, southern Britons were already speaking Germanic languages in the prehistoric periods, and that these languages were bolstered by the presence of Germanic soldiers in the Roman army. His argument is not based on any linguistic evidence as such, but more recent papers have argued that the native Britons in the southern part of the island were already speaking a Germanic language, including the Belgae in Winchester and the Iceni in Norfolk (Goormachtigh and Durham 2009; Nash Briggs forthcoming). This evidence will undoubtedly have a significant impact in future debates, though it does not impact directly on the linguistic backgrounds of the Germanic peoples entering Roman Britain. Nevertheless, John Pattison (2008) is another geneticist to draw attention to the Germanic soldiers in Roman Britain: he has attributed the influx of Germanic

speakers to the ‘Belgic Gauls, Batavians and other Germanic tribes from north-west Europe,’ who served in the Roman auxiliaries. However, in his work, there is not even the slightest recognition, maintained in the other disciplines, that soldiers raised from Roman provinces, serving in the Roman army, might have been conversing in Latin, let alone the other native vernaculars under consideration, as opposed to philologically Germanic languages.

#### **1.4 Methodology and Scope of Research**

The scope of this research is essentially two-fold and inter-disciplinary. It examines the evidence for Germanic settlers, and particularly, the Germanic soldiers in Roman Britain. It also considers whether these immigrants spoke philologically Germanic languages as has often been suspected.

The ‘Germanic’ groups under investigation are those referred to as *Germani* in Roman ethnic discourse. These people resided in the Roman provinces of Germania Inferior, Germania Superior, and Gallia Belgica, as well as in ‘Free Germany’ – a territory which, according to ancient geography, ran from the mouth of the Vistula in the north, to the regions of the Danube in the south (Wolfram 1997, 3; Fig. 1.1). In Britain, the Germanic *auxilia* sent to the province in the first and second centuries were primarily raised from the imperial provinces within the borders of the Rhineland. However, the irregular, ‘mercenary’ forces, which were dispatched to the province in the third and fourth centuries, were largely solicited from Free Germany itself.

In this research, an inter-disciplinary approach is essential in order to address the social and linguistic components which have continually dogged the study of the Germanic immigrants in Roman Britain. The inter-disciplinary nature of this thesis lies in it taking stock of both British and Continental empirical research, not only in an historical and archaeological point of view, but in regards with the linguistic evidence.

There are numerous pitfalls when one discipline seeks assistance from another, and as Catherine Hills (2003, 13) points out, ‘despite sustained attempts, real inter-disciplinary dialogue is rare because it is extremely difficult.’ In order to overcome some of these problems, the technical and linguistic terms have often been simplified in this thesis, and the Latin and non-English terms provided with English translations, so as to make the results of this research at least broadly accessible to a number of disciplines. Moreover, in view of the ongoing controversies over the languages

spoken by the Germanic provincials, the linguistic data is not discussed until chapters 4 and 5. This is so that the results of this research can be compared against the historical and archaeological data discussed in chapters 2 and 3. Nonetheless, the linguistic data for the later irregular and mercenary units is discussed holistically in chapter 6. This is because there is greater assurance that irregular and mercenary soldiers recruited from Free Germany in the late Roman period would have spoken philologically Germanic languages.

The structure of the thesis is as follows. Notwithstanding this introduction in chapter 1 and the conclusion in chapter 7, the thesis is divided into five other chapters:

Chapter 2 focuses on the Continental backdrop, that is the Germanic 'tribes' (peoples), war-bands and military units, particularly those whose members came to Roman Britain.

Chapter 3 looks specifically at the Germanic provincial soldiers and the Germanic *auxilia* stationed in Britain, together with the units' ongoing patterns of recruitment, social and religious networks, as well as sustained connections with their 'Germanic' homelands.

Chapter 4 provides an overview of the linguistic evidence for Germanic languages spoken on the Continent, especially for the provinces of Germania Inferior, Germania Superior and Gallia Belgica.

Chapter 5 evaluates the linguistic data for the Germanic *auxilia* stationed in Britain, using both the Roman inscriptions and the writing-tablets, the latter being mainly generated by the Batavian and Tungrian cohorts stationed at Vindolanda.

Chapter 6 evaluates the various sources of evidence available for the Germanic irregular units sent to Britain in the third and fourth centuries, who were largely solicited from Free Germany.

The purpose of this thesis is, therefore, to contribute to the existing body of literature about Roman Britain, the Roman army, as well as about Germanic peoples on the

Continent. The overall results of this research are essentially heuristic, intended to stimulate further research and academic debate. The importance of this material for later developments would also have to be addressed in studies more specific to the post-Roman period. However, it remains plausible that the evidence for Germanic-speaking immigrants in Britain in Roman times would throw new dimensions on the ancestry of the Anglo-Saxons and on the origins of the English language.

## 2. Germanic Peoples, Provinces and Auxiliary Units

### 2.1 Introduction

One of the most significant moments in the Rhineland's Roman history was the Batavian Revolt (AD 69). This was when Germanic groups – often referred to as tribes – mounted a concerted insurrection against the Roman government because of excessive demands for peregrine soldiers to be recruited into the Roman army (Tacitus *Historiae* 4.13-14). The Batavians were the leaders in this insurrection, and they were joined by many Germanic *auxilia* and Germanic tribal groups from both sides of the River Rhine. Epigraphic sources reveal that the Empire did not interpret the episode as a 'Batavian Revolt' as such, but as a conflict (*adversum*) against the *Germani* (Alföldy 1968, 166; *CIL* 11. 5210, 5211).

This chapter focuses on the literary and archaeological backdrop to the emergence of these Germanic groups, beginning with the earliest attestations of the *Germani*, and moving on to consider the uneven consolidation of some of these groups in the Roman Empire up to the mid-third century AD. The peoples receiving principal discussion are those whose members and military units are known to have entered Britain: the Batavi, Tungri, Frisiavones, Texuandri, Condrusi, Marsacii, Baetasi and Sunuci in Lower Germany, the Vangiones, Mattiaci and Suebi in Upper Germany, the Belgic Menapii, Morini, Treveri and Nervii in Gallia Belgica, and lastly, the Usipi and Frisii in Free Germany.

In this chapter, particular attention is also paid to the responses of these groups and their auxiliary units to the processes of acculturation and military mobilisation brought about through Roman rule. The key factor highlighted by this evidence is the extent to which these Germanic groups differed from the non-Germanic ones in spite of the level of cultural homogeneity brought about by Roman rule. This evidence can be used to facilitate the identification and interpretation of the Germanic migrants entering Roman Britain. It also provides an important benchmark for assessing 'migrant' behaviour amongst these Germanic groups in general. This is in view of the fact that the Germanic provincials were partially a by-product of migration, which is

documented in the classical sources, the archaeological record, and in some of the Germanic groups' reported origin myths.

## **2.2 The *Germani* in the Period of the Late Republic (c. 113–40 BC)**

In Antiquity references to the *Germani* begin in the opening decades of the first century BC. Before this, the classical world was oblivious to the existence of a name for such people. To the Greek historian Ephorus (350 BC), for instance, whose *Historiai* supplied later historians with much of their own material, the world was divided into four main peoples: the Ethiopians, Indians, Scythians and the Keltoi (Celts) in the west (Tierney 1960, 195; Gregor 1980, 1; Wolfram 1997, 5; Wells 1999, 112). Hecataeus and Herodotus were the first authors to mention the Keltoi in the sixth and fifth centuries BC (Griffen 1979, 191; Wells 1999, 101), and the term 'Gaul' also came to be used by the fourth century (Gregor 1980, 7; Wells 1999, 111), which was considered to be a synonymous term (Polybius *Histories* 2.17; Diodorus Siculus 5.32.1; Caesar *de Bello Gallico* 1.1; Strabo *Geographika* 4. 1. 1).

In contrast to this, the earliest surviving reference to the *Germani* occurs around 90 BC – when the Syrian philosopher Posidonius stated in book 30 of his *Historiai*, that the 'Germanoi drank milk and ate roasted meats'. Although these *Historiai* are now lost, the citation is preserved in the works of two other authors (Athenaeus *Deipnosophists* 4. 153; Eustathius *Iliadem* 13.6). Apart from mentioning their name, then, and some specific dietary habits, Posidonius' surviving citation provides neither a geographical situation for the *Germani* nor suggests the name referred to more than one tribe.

The earliest tribal groups to be equated with the *Germani* were the Cimbri and Teutons. The Cimbri were reported to have been situated in a 'peninsula in the outermost limits of Gaul' from as early as the fourth century BC (Strabo *Geographika* 7.2.1-4), an area which is generally taken to refer to the Jutland peninsula of Denmark (Carroll 2002). The earliest references to the Teutons date to the fourth century BC, when Pytheas (c. 310–306 BC) claimed that they were situated in an estuary of the Ocean (Pliny *Naturalis Historia* 37.35), an area which is generally equated with the Baltic Gulf in the Northern European Plain (Simpson-Housley 2006, 18). Nonetheless,

it was not until the period when migrating factions of both these groups invaded Roman protectorates at Arausio (Orange), Aquae Sextiae (Aix-en-Provence) and Noreia (in Austria) in 113 – 101 that they received much attention in the accounts of classical historians (Wells 1999, 48; Carroll 2002). In view of the ethnographic traditions of the time, it was natural for these invaders from the west to be initially viewed as Keltoi (Appian *Illyria* 4), and such traditions persisted in Greek ethnographic accounts for a long period. Strabo (*Geographika* 7.1.2), for instance, writing in the first century AD, occasionally referred to the Cimbri as the Keltoi. Nevertheless, others classed these western raiders not as Celts but as Germans (Plutarch *Marius* 11.3). More information about these Germanic peoples was also released to the classical world during the Gallic Wars (58–52 BC), when Julius Caesar annexed the territories up to the River Rhine and exposed the peoples of the west to much greater Roman scrutiny. In his account of the Gallic Wars, Caesar reported that members of the Cimbri and Teutons, together with the Eburones, Segni, Condrusi, Paemani, Caerosi, were situated on the left bank of the Lower Rhine and they were known as the *Germani cisrhenani* – ‘the *Germani* on this side of the Rhine’ (*de Bello Gallico* 2.3.4; 2.4.10; 2.29.1; 6.2.3; 6.32.1; Fig. 2.1). The majority of the Germanic groups were, however, situated on the right banks of the Danube and the Rhine, up to as far as the River Elbe: the Cherusci, Suebi, Usipi, Tencteri, Sugambri, Vangiones, Ubii, Marcomanni and Nemetes. Clearly by this time, then, the Cimbri and Teutons, a people allegedly originating in Northern Europe, were residing on the fringes of annexed Gaul as well. They were also numbered as only a small fraction of the known Germanic peoples.

In the *de Bello Gallico*, Caesar makes a number of generic comments about the Germanic peoples. He states that the *Germani* were tall, blonde and brave (*de Bello Gallico* 1.39; 2.30; Strabo *Geographika* 7.1.3), that their social organisation was relatively less stratified than the government of the Gauls (*de Bello Gallico* 4.23), and that they depended upon cattle as their main source of livelihood (*de Bello Gallico* 4.1; 4.22; 6.36). Such information is substantiated in other classical sources, as well as in the archaeological record, and it can be entertained on a general level (see Rives 1999). Nevertheless, one of the most significant issues upon which Caesar raises concerns impinges on the topic of migration. Caesar noted that a considerable amount of tension existed amongst the Rhenish Gallic and Germanic inhabitants and this was not so much

caused by the groups' social and cultural differences as by the fact that the cisrhene Germanic groups had supposedly migrated into Gallic territories. Rome's initial involvement in the Gallic Wars had even been justified by the Germanic migrants' actions (Drinkwater 1983, 22; *de Bello Gallico* 1.28-33; Tacitus *Histories* 4.73), and the migrations onto the western bank of the Lower Rhine fell into two diachronic phases. The most recent phase was commensurate with Julius Caesar's activities in Gaul, when Germanic groups located on the eastern bank of the Rhine were attempting to cross over into the western side. For instance, in 58 BC a Suebian named Ariovistus, titled 'king of the *Germani*' (*rex Germanorum*) had settled 24,000 of his peoples into the territory of the Sequani, which was a region lying in the vicinity of the River Arar (Saone) (*de Bello Gallico* 1.31, 1.53). Then, in 55 BC the Tencteri and Usipi invaded Menapian territory located next to the Rhine delta and were repelled in battle (*de Bello Gallico* 4. 1-4).

The second phase referred to the *Germani cisrhene*. As Maureen Carroll (2002) also emphasises, what sets the reports of these migrations apart is that they lack the temporal precision provided for the recent incursions made by the Suebi, Tencteri and Usipetes. The incursions of these later groups were, for instance, fixed according to consular dates and Roman methods of reckoning time. However, the lack of such precision for the earlier migrations suggests that the reports were gathered from second-hand, ancestral memories from the native groups themselves. The dependence on such oral narratives was because these earlier migrations antedated the Roman government's direct involvement with the peoples of this area. Such sources of second-hand information were not only applicable for the migrations of the *Germani cisrhene*, but the Belgae in Northern Gaul, whose presence on the western bank of the Rhine was similarly traced to a series of imprecisely dated migrations:

He discovered that most of the Belgae were of Germanic origin and had been brought over the Rhine a long time ago and had settled in their present abode.

*Caesar de Bello Gallico* 2.4

In the *de Bello Gallico*, the movement of the *Germani cisrhene* is only recorded in retrospect as subsequent to the arrival of the Belgae from the same region. For instance, the Belgae were described as the one people responsible for preventing 'the



Cimbri and Teutoni from entering their borders' (Caesar *de Bello Gallico* 2.4). This implies that their movements over to the left bank of the Rhine were earlier than those of the *Germani cisrhenani*. Included in the Belgic confederation were the Menapii, Morini, Treveri and Nervii, the latter being described as the fiercest of the Belgae.

That Julius Caesar collected some of his reports from second-hand sources seems unsurprising in view of the fact that he liaised with Gallic traders (*de Bello Gallico* 1.39), German prisoners of wars (*de Bello Gallico* 1.50) and Germanic envoys (*de Bello Gallico* 6.32), and he also employed Germanic auxiliary units in his own Roman army (see below). Nonetheless, what remains most extraordinary about the reports of these migrations is that they contradict what has been occasionally claimed about Germanic peoples on the Continent in the Migration Period, who supposedly maintained few ancestral recollections or origin myths concerning their own migrations (Goffart 2000). This perspective cannot be as readily sustained here since the classical accounts imply that some of their information had been gained second-hand from ancestral memories and narratives traditions.

Out of the peoples mentioned above, a faction of the Belgae had settled in southern Britain by the late Iron Age (see 1.2), but the other Germanic and Belgic groups whose members entered Roman Britain are the Condrusi, Menapii, Morini, Treveri and Nervii from the western bank of the Rhine, and the Suebi, Vangiones and Usipetes from the eastern bank of the river. Three other groups whose members came to Britain may already have evolved by this period, and they are the Frisians, Tungrians and Batavians.

The Frisians were a people located along the entire coastal fringe north of the Rhine delta as far as Denmark (*Germania* 34), and since Caesar was ignorant of the peoples inhabiting these regions (*de Bello Gallico* 6.31), the Frisians may already have been present. The earliest mention of Frisians was when Drusus defeated them in an offensive mission in 12 BC (Dio 54.32). The second report was for the year AD 28 when the Frisians led a revolt against Rome because of excessive imperial demands for cattle hides to be given in tribute and taxation (Tacitus *Annales* 4.73).

The Tungrians' emergence on the western bank of the Lower Rhine has occasionally been attributed to post-Caesarian circumstances (Carroll 2001, 29; Roymans 2004, 25). However, this is far from certain. The Tungri are another group

not mentioned explicitly in *de Bello Gallico*, though Tacitus claims the ancestors of the Tungri were the earliest ‘Germans’ to have crossed over into Gaul:

The first tribes in fact to cross the Rhine and expel the Gauls, though now called Tungri, then bore the name Germans.

#### *Germania 2*

It is more than probable, then, that the Germanic ancestors of the Tungri were no one other than the Cimbri themselves. As mentioned above, the Cimbri were hailed as the principal group to have invaded Gaul whilst bearing the German name (*de Bello Gallico* 2.4; *Livy Periochae Librorum* 63). Furthermore, the tribal capital of the Tungri was called Atuatuca (Ptolemy *Geographika* 2.9.5), and the Atuatuci were a people mentioned by Julius Caesar as having claimed their descent directly from the migrations of the ‘Cimbri and the Teutons’ (see *de Bello Gallico* 2.29). Helmut Birkhan (1970, 191) and Hermann Reichert (2000) suggest, therefore, that the Atuatuci and Tungri were one and the same people, and Caesar simply referred to the Tungri by the name of their capital as opposed to their ethnonym. On etymological grounds, the name Atuatuci is indeed likely to have originated as a place-name (see 4.3.1). That the Tungri would have traced their descent to the Cimbri, the earliest Germanic people crossing over into the western bank of the Rhine, is also compatible with what Tacitus states about the Tungrians in his *Germania*.

The chronological origins of the Batavians are somewhat ambiguous, although again they probably came into being in the late Iron Age. The people were located in the Rhine-Meuse delta, and they were another group supposedly maintaining ‘origin myths’ about their own migration, tracing some of their ancestors to a splinter-group of the Chatti in central Germany, who had (during an unspecified time period) migrated into the *insula Batavorum* (island of the Batavi) (Tacitus *Historiae* 4.12; *Germania* 29.1). The Batavians are not directly mentioned in the *Bellum Gallicum*, and Caesar claimed that this part of the Rhine delta instead belonged to the ‘Belgic’ Menapii (*de Bello Gallico* 4. 4) as well as the ‘Germanic’ Condrusi (*de Bello Gallico* 6.31). Nonetheless, Caesar also referred to ‘fierce barbarians’ (*feri barbari*) situated in the *insula Batavorum* (*de Bello Gallico* 4.10), and it is feasible that some of these ‘fierce’ and ‘barbaric’ islanders were already referring to themselves as Batavians by this time.

Nico Roymans (2004, 56) also posits that the immigrations of the Chattian splinter group into this part of the Rhineland date to the time of Julius Caesar. He suggests that the settlement of this group was even facilitated by the favour and patronage of Julius Caesar himself. As background to this hypothesis, one must appreciate that the recruitment of Germanic auxiliary units into the Roman army initially began under the direction of Julius Caesar. These units, referred to as *auxilia Germanorum* (*auxilia of Germani*), were intended to provide auxiliary support for the Roman legions, and some of them were mobilised from the peoples, whom Julius Caesar had recently defeated in Free Germany as part of the terms of surrender he imposed upon these people (*de Bello Gallico* 2.35; 7.65-70; 8.10; 8.13). This type of recruitment was an effective method of conciliation and containment, since it converted these recently conquered enemies into allies of Rome, obliged to provide military assistance. Nico Roymans (2004, 55-58) reasonably argues, then, that the *antiqua societas* (ancient alliance) between the Batavian people and Rome – for their cohorts to be raised into the Roman army in lieu of paying taxes – was an alliance forged under the patronage of Julius Caesar himself. The general may also have been responsible for introducing the Chattian immigrants into the Rhine delta, who were perhaps the same migrants as the *auxilia Germanorum* solicited from Free Germany under the terms of his ancient alliance. Roymans (2004, 27) argues that the Chattian splinter group may not have been overly demographically significant, perhaps consisting of a prominent ‘Chattian leader together with his kinsmen and warriors’. This implies that the Chattian incomers would have integrated with the pre-existing inhabitants of the Batavian island. Nonetheless, the posthumous bust of Julius Caesar found at Nijmegen points to the importance of this general in the construction of the ethnic identity of the ‘Chatto-Batavians’ (Roymans 2004, 212). The fact that Caesar made an alliance with the Batavians is also bolstered by the claims of Dio (54.32) and Lucan (*Pharsalia* 1.431) that Caesar initiated the custom of recruiting Batavian cohorts into the Roman army, and that these units even fought alongside Julius Caesar during the Civil Wars.

In summary, this all shows that the Germanic groups who came to Britain owed their descent to complex social and ethnic relationships originating in Free Germany and the Rhineland. Moreover, the literary sources show how migration was a key factor in both the ethnic relationships and origin myths of the *Germani cisrhenani*

situated on the western bank of the Rhine. Nonetheless, the importance of migration to these Germanic groups is also demonstrated by the archaeological evidence and cultural remains.

### **2.2.1 Migrants and Material Culture**

Archaeological material evidence for migration is attested on both sides of the Rhine, in the areas which classical sources claim were populated by Germanic groups and migrants. The way in which this evidence was manipulated by the German National Socialist Party in order to justify territorial annexation in the first part of the twentieth century (see 1.2.1) has often led to it being described in rather dry and muted terms in current academic works. Scholars, for instance, simply use the material evidence to date the migrations, and they briefly refer to such items as a 'Germanic pot', a 'Germanic burial' or 'Germanic settlement' without explaining the significance of such items for the new or 'host' environment (see Whittaker 1994, 160; Wigg 1999). Nonetheless, we must not forget that the 'foreign' and 'intrusive' cultural elements, which stand out in the archaeological record, are likely to have been equally apparent to the ancient societies, and we should consider the role of these objects in structuring social networks as well as ethnic boundaries. Scholars in Anglo-Saxon studies are, for example, increasingly stressing the significance of the Germanic cultural remains, which were used by self-perceived migrant communities in Britain to preserve cultural and religious links with their former homelands (Williams 2001; Moreland 2003, forthcoming a). The same argument might equally be applied to the Germanic cultural remains in parts of the Rhineland itself. This means that such evidence should not be seen as a passive reflection or chronological guide of the migration process. Instead, this evidence should be seen as an emphatic commentary on the everyday habits of migrant communities, which shows how these groups structured social relationships with themselves as well as others through their dialogue with material culture.

In order for the Germanic migrant groups in the Rhineland to be contextualised, it is essential to appreciate the pre-existing cultural environments the Germanic groups were moving from, as well as into, so that intrusive elements can be assessed. Cultural backgrounds of this kind can only ever be sketched in the most basic of terms, and scholars appreciate that a plethora of different social structures were manifested across

much of temperate and northern Europe in the late Iron Age (Collis 2003, 142 – 94). Nonetheless, it is understood that the territories in much of Gaul are characterised by greater numbers of stratified settlements and nucleated towns (*oppida*) than are found in Scandinavia and in the Northern European Plain. In addition to this, most of the mortuary rites are not overly diagnostic, but the more visible ‘warrior graves’ include weapons and metalware decorated according to the La Tène style of abstract, geometric designs and spirals (Derks 1998, 49). The pottery is also mostly wheel-turned, and the houses shelter humans only, not animals (Wells 1972; Wells 1997). By contrast, the settlements in Scandinavia and the Northern European Plain exhibit less evidence for nucleation and their longhouses (*Wohnstallhäuser*) and sunken-floored huts (*Grubenhäuser*) include stables for the husbandry of animals, which, judging from the phosphate and zooarchaeological analysis, were predominantly cattle (Zimmermann 1999; Bazelmans *et. al.* 2004). Large-scale ‘urnfield’ cremation cemeteries are also much more common, and the ceramics found within the settlements and cemeteries of these areas are invariably hand-made.

On the right bank of the Rhine, the infiltration of cultural influences typical of the north Germanic regions are detectable in the regions of the Lahn, the Main and Wetterau during the first century BC. In ancient ethnographic terms, these regions correspond with the areas belonging to the Vangiones, Nemetes and Suebi (Wells 1999, 82; Carroll 2001, 31). Previously, the areas had been typified by *oppida*, wheel-thrown pottery and La Tène metalware. However, the subsequent settlements characterising these areas consisted of longhouses, hand-made pottery, and an intrusive burial rite sharing strong parallels with the cremation cemeteries or ‘urnfields’ in the regions surrounding the Elbe River (Wells 1972, 19; Wigg 1999, 39, 43). It would be too simplistic to attribute these changes in settlement patterns to the movement of Germanic peoples entirely since societies can adapt to new circumstances through contact with other groups, as well as through trade, without there being a mass migration (Jones 1997, 25). Nevertheless, Germanic migrations have been regarded as one of the main stimuli behind these alterations in the configuration of settlements (Wells 1972, 19; Todd 1987, 53; 2004, 80; Schutz 1994, 3; Wilson and Creighton 1999, 24; Wigg 1999, 39, 43; Wells 1999, 83; Carroll 2003a, 23, 28). The changes point to marked alterations in economic, domestic, and mortuary norms of behavior associated

with groups such as the Vangiones and Suebi. Tacitus also provides an intriguing insight into the personal appearance of the Suebi, a guise perhaps as applicable to Caesar's era. Tacitus indicates that the hair-knot, tied over one side of the face, was a marker of free birth among the Suebian males, which differentiated them from their slaves (*Germania* 38). The discovery of the same coiffure on the bog bodies at Dätgen and Osterby (c. AD 100 ) reveals that it was also worn by men in northern Germany (Todd 2004, 112; Fig. 2.2). It seems, then, that this prestigious hairstyle was an ancestral custom utilised by the Suebi's earliest ancestors, which was perpetuated by subsequent generations of the ethnic group. The hairstyle can therefore be interpreted alongside the fibulae and belt-hooks excavated from the Suebian regions of central Germany, which took their inspiration from forms of personal appearance utilised back home.

On the left bank of the Lower Rhine – in the terrain of the *Germani cisrhenani* – evidence for Germanic immigrants is in certain respects less overt. One of the reasons for this is that late Iron Age burials have rarely been recovered (see Roymans 2004, 10). Even more importantly, however, pre-existing similarities in the house-styles of the Lower Rhine area hamper the recognition of transrhene migrants through innovations in architecture. Longhouses had been the major house-type since the Bronze Age, not only as far south as the Cimbrian and Atuatucian/Tungrian zones of the River Meuse, but north of the Rhine delta, in the coastal regions of the historically attested Frisians (Vanderhoeven 1996; Derks 1998, 57; Wigg 1999, 38; Bazelmans *et al.* 2004). Nonetheless, signs of transrhene movement into the Lower Rhine area are suggested by small finds dating to the first century BC. These finds include hoards of rainbow staters in the 'Eburonean' settlements of Niederzier and Berigen, coins which were originally produced in central Germany (Roymans 2004, 32). However, most of the other finds suggestive of transrhene movement have been recovered from the areas around Nijmegen. In ethnographic terms, this region falls into the *insula Batavorum* of the Menapian or Eburonean polity recorded in the *Bellum Gallicum* (see see 2.2; *de Bello Gallico* 4. 10). The intrusive finds in this island can also be dated to two phases. One dates to after the time of Julius Caesar's Gallic Wars and includes hand-made ceramics recovered from places such as the Kops Plateau in Nijmegen, whose bipartite forms have stylistic equivalents with the vessels manufactured in Free

Germany (van den Broeke 1987; Taajke 2002). Furthermore, the *triquetrum* coins (c. 40 BC) in the areas around Nijmegen have direct parallels with the rainbow staters produced in the recognised 'Chattian' domains of central Germany. Nico Roymans (2004, 68, 89) thus connects the evidence for these ceramics and coins with the arrival of the Chattian splinter-group into this part of the Lower Rhine. He also surmises that the coins were a means of paying Chattian soldiers in Free Germany, whose method of payment was transferred over to the Lower Rhine once the splinter group had migrated into this area.

Nonetheless, the other phase of movement into the Batavian island dates to before the activities of Julius Caesar in Gaul and in the Rhineland. Gold triskele coins (c. 60–30 BC) are, for instance, modelled on the same rainbow staters produced in central Germany, and these coins appear to pre-date or be contemporary with Caesar's arrival (Roymans 2004, 33–44). Even earlier than the coins are the belt-hooks and brooches (130–90 BC), which conform in style to dress accessories in both northern and central Germany. Some of these items had been imported, but others were local imitations (Roymans 2004, 114–21), which suggests that the inhabitants made use of alien forms of material culture as well as replicated them locally according to foreign styles. The accessories also suggest the presence of immigrants of both sexes, since men are betokened by the fixtures for swords identified on some of the belt-hooks, whilst analogous brooch types have often been identified in female graves in Free Germany (Roymans 2004, 118; van Driel-Murray forthcoming).

In view of this evidence, it seems plausible, then, that Germanic groups had settled into this part of the Lower Rhine even before the activities of Julius Caesar, and that some of these settlers may have similarly derived from the 'Chattian' regions of central Germany. Whilst Nico Roymans equates the arrival of the Chattian splinter group as part of an 'ancient alliance' devised by Julius Caesar (see 2.2), one might wish to underscore a more protracted settlement encompassing a number of generations. It is possible that any Chattian arrivals coterminous with the Gallic Wars were facilitated by an existing knowledge of the terrain and relationship with the inhabitants already present. Current case-studies also show that migrations often take place over a long time-period (Castles and Miller 2003), and the longevity of the phenomenon in the

Rhineland can be resolved through a detailed appreciation of the archaeological evidence.

Lastly, the two late Iron Age sanctuaries at Empel and Kessel near Nijmegen have also yielded important remains regarding the subject of migration. Many of the aforementioned Germanic dress accessories have been uncovered from the river beds close to these sanctuaries, together with cauldrons (130–90 BC) also conforming to the styles of central Germany, as well as swords, spearheads and helmets, albeit of La Tène type. Nico Roymans (2004, 16, 103) uses the La Tène weapons in these sanctuaries to suggest that the communities of this period were still mainly aligned with the Celtic South as opposed to the Germanic North, in spite of the Germanic coins, cauldrons and dress accessories. However, one point to make clear is that Germanic communities in Free Germany or Scandinavia did not employ an independent stylistic technique in manufacturing weapons during this time and they frequently made use of La Tène imports. What is more, communities in Scandinavia in particular preserved a strong ancestral custom of depositing La Tène objects in lakes, bogs and rivers (Hedeager 1992, 45, 68, 162-170). As Malcolm Todd (1987, 34) points out, for instance, ‘some of the finest of all the products of Celtic metalworkers have been found in Danish votive deposits’. Such Danish sites include Brå, Dejbjerg and Gundestrup, where the famous La Tène cauldron was recovered<sup>1</sup>, as well as Hjortspring, where twenty mail garments were excavated together with shield bosses, spearheads, short swords and brooches of La Tène types II and III (Todd 1987, 35). Structured deposition of war-gear is found, sporadically, across much of Iron Age Europe (Collis 2003, 140), but the other La Tène objects in Late Iron Age Gaul are mostly found in graves (Derks 1998, 49). So, the context of deposition – within the waters at sanctuaries such as Kessel – stands out against cultural norms perpetuated in other parts of Gaul. The deposition could, therefore, have been a repetition of cultural rites carried out in self-perceived ancestral homelands. As already seen, cisrhene groups such as the Cimbri, Teutoni, Atuatici and perhaps the Tungri may have traced their geographical origins to Denmark. The

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<sup>1</sup> The cauldron was manufactured in south-east Europe in the second or third century AD, and it has been argued that it may have appealed to Germanic tastes. It portrays scenes of suspected human sacrifice, which recalls the sacrifices recorded by Strabo *Geographika* 7.2.3) to have taken place at bogs in the Cimbrian homelands of Scandinavia (Todd 2001, 20).



archaeological evidence perhaps compliments the classical sources, then, in demonstrating the importance which migration played as a structuring principle within the ethnic identities of these Germanic groups.

In summary, it has been argued that the members of the *Germani cisrhenani* situated on the western bank of the Rhine had already developed complex histories by the late Iron Age, and the importance of migration to some of these groups is manifested in both the archaeological and literary sources. Out of the Germanic groups that have been discussed so far, members of the east-bank Vangiones and Suebi are known to have entered Roman Britain, as well as the cisrhenine Condrusi and the Belgic Nervii, Menapii, Treveri and Morini. It is also probable that the Frisii, Batavi and Tungri may have already emerged in the Lower Rhine area in the late Iron Age. Nonetheless, the bulk of the other Germanic groups whose members came to Britain emerged during the fundamental transformations which were commensurate with the Rhineland's incorporation into the Roman Empire.

### **2.3 Germanic Peoples of the Roman Empire (c. 30 BC – c. AD 260)**

Augustus' regime (27 BC – AD 14) marks the era when the Roman state truly consolidated its hold over the Rhineland. All diagnostic forms of material culture one would equate with Roman rule date to no earlier than this time, such as the Roman towns, permanent forts, cemeteries and inscriptions (Bloemers 1990, 75; Derks 1998, 44; Wilson and Creighton 1999, 17; Wigg 1999, 42; Sommer 1999, 176; van Enkevort and Thijssen 2003, 59, 63–4). The regime also marks the era when any serious pretensions to consolidate further Germanic territories as far as the Elbe were effectively abandoned (Drinkwater 1983, 23; Wells 1999, 91, 230–31; Roymans 2004, 196). In 16 BC – AD 9, Augustus had made serious forays towards achieving this mission, and the military and legionary bases at Nijmegen, Xanten, Neuss, Bonn, Cologne and Mainz had all been established as staging posts into Free Germany (Maxfield 1987; Kühlborn 2009). However, the mission ended in unprecedented humiliation in AD 9, when the Cherusci (between present-day Osnabrück and Hanover), under their leader Arminius, revolted at an ancient site known as *saltus Teutoburgiensis* (Teutoburg Forest). This site has been located at Kalkreise, which lies

thirty miles north of the river Ems (Schlüter 1999). The battle resulted in the complete annihilation of three legions and nine auxiliary units (Tacitus *Annales* 1.60-2; Dio 56. 18.3; Velleius Paterculus 2.117). It also meant that the Rhineland became the permanent frontier more through default than design, resulting in military affairs playing a key role in the lives of the Germanic peoples assimilated within the Empire's stagnant borders.

By AD 9 the tribal geography of the Rhineland had become significantly different from what had been the case in Caesar's time (Fig. 2.3). Groups such as the Eburones had been exterminated in the Gallic Wars (see 2.2) and most of the other members of the *Germani cisrhenani* did not survive into the first century AD: that is the Cimbri, Teutoni, Atuatuca, Segni and Paemani. Instead, their areas were given over to other Germanic groups with new ethnic labels (Drinkwater 1983, 61; Schutz 1985, 19; Heidinga 1997, 15; Wigg 1999; Sommer 1999; Carroll 2001, 39, 43). In Lower Germany, we find the Ubii, Cannanefates, Frisiavones, Sunuci, Cugerni, Marsaci, Baetasi and Texuandri, as well as the Batavi and Tungri, who, as already mentioned, may have survived from Caesar's time (see 2.2). Moreover, the Germanic peoples had extended to the western banks of the Upper Rhine, and the Germanic peoples in Germania Superior consisted of the Vangiones, Nemetes and Triboci, as well as the Mattiaci and a splinter group of the Suebi, who were both incorporated into the *Agri Decumates* lying between the Middle Rhine and the Upper Danube.

The histories behind the emergence of many of these groups can only be partially reconstructed. This is partly down to the fact that ethnographic enquiries took an acute downturn in the civil wars following the assassination of Julius Caesar in 44 BC. These enquiries only resumed once Augustus had established the Principate, and they show that, like the Vangiones, who once belonged on the right bank of the Rhine during Caesar's time (see 2.2), the vast majority of the other Germanic groups had post-Caesarian, transrhine origins.

For instance, the Ubii had been located near to the Lahn river during Caesar's time (*de Bello Gallico* 4.3; 4.8; 4. 16), but then, during Augustus' reign, they were allocated land in the Cologne area (Strabo *Geographika* 4.3.4; Tacitus *Annals* 4.27). The Marsacii had similarly been located on the right bank of the Rhine (Strabo *Geographika* 7.1.3), but they were later settled around the mouth of the Scheldt

(Tacitus *Historiae* 4.56). The same situation applies with the north-bank Cannanefates (Velleius Paterculus 2.106), who came to occupy the western fringe of the Batavian island (Tacitus *Historiae* 4.15), and the Nemetes (*de Bello Gallico* 1.51; 6.25) and Triboci (Strabo *Geographika* 4.3.4), who subsequently inhabited the province of Upper Germany. Another group who may have shared transrhene origins is the Mattiaci in the *Agri Decumates* since their name shares some similarities with Mattium, which was the ancient capital of the Chatti in central Germany (Tacitus *Annales* 1.56; Neumann 1998a).

One might suppose that a population decline resulting from six years of Gallic wars and genocide (see Bazelmans *et. al.* 2004) had opened up many areas to incoming Germanic migrants. However, the imperial records provide only two reasons for the arrival of these peoples, both sources suggesting that Augustus' regime had officially endorsed their arrival as a means of bolstering the Rhine frontier against more hostile, transrhene incursions (Carroll 2001, 29-31; Roymans 2004, 24, 58).

The most explicit source in this respect concerns the Ubii, who were allocated land in order to provide frontier protection. Tacitus (*Germania* 28) declares of the Ubii that:

since they had given proof of their loyalty to Rome they were stationed close to the west bank in order to keep out intruders, not to be kept under surveillance themselves.

The second source refers to the transplantation of a significant number of Sugambrian people, who, like the Ubii, had formerly been located on the east-bank of the Rhine (see *de Bello Gallico* 4.16-19; 6.35). The military stratagem behind their resettlement was somewhat dissimilar from the Ubii's admittance, however, in that Augustus' adopted son, Tiberius, had forged a peace treaty with the Sugambrians following their defeat in 8 BC. This resulted in 'forty thousand prisoners of war' being transported over to the left bank of the Rhine (Tacitus *Annales* 12.39; Suetonius *Tiberius* 9), and they were settled in the areas around Xanten (Heinrichs 2001; Bridger 2006, 2007b). This type of incorporation mirrors the way in which Julius Caesar had brought over defeated enemies from Free Germany (see 2.2).

The general consensus is that the other Germanic groups with transrhene origins were also admitted into the Empire as part of frontier tactics and military manoeuvres

(see Saddington 1982, 81; Wolters 1990; Wightman 1995; Carroll 2001, 29). This suspicion is strengthened by the knowledge that Augustus re-introduced Caesar's custom of employing Germanic *auxilia* and that these units were extensively utilised both in frontier defence and in operations in Free Germany. Augustus enlisted Batavian corps into his own personal bodyguard (Saddington 1982, 79; Dio 54. 32), and in AD 17, an auxiliary unit of Batavians was reported to have fought a campaign in Free Germany under its *dux* (leader) named Chariovalda (Tacitus *Annales* 2.11). Cohorts of Frisians and Nervians are also known to have been raised as early as Augustus' time, and they similarly participated in campaigns in Free Germany (in 12–10 BC) (Livy *Periochae* 141; Dio 54. 32). Whilst epigraphic material for auxiliary cohorts is scarce before the Flavian period (Holder 1980, 110; Saddington 1982, 3), meaning that we are more or less solely dependent on the literary sources for the names and titles of the units raised, it seems likely that Augustus similarly raised units from the peoples he had recently admitted into the Rhenish frontiers. The earliest reference to Sugambrian *auxilia* dates to the reign of Tiberius (in AD 26) (Tacitus *Annales* 4.47), and it is feasible that these Sugambrian units originated from the same 'Sugambrian prisoners of war' whom Tiberius had solicited from the transrhine Sugambri in 8BC. The first mention of a Cannanefatian unit dates to Tiberius' reign as well (in AD 28), and since the unit suppressed an uprising in Frisia (Tacitus *Annales* 4.27), it seems likely that it was stationed at one of the forts within its own polity, perhaps at Katwijk-Brittenburg (Lugdunum), Valkenburg (Praetorium Agrippinae), or Leiden-Roomburg (Matilo). The earliest Vangionian auxiliary cohort is not recorded until the time when it repelled a Chattian incursion in Upper Germany in AD 50 (Cheesman 1914, 72; Tacitus *Annals* 12.29), and we have direct confirmation that this cohort was stationed at its own hometown at Mainz (Ptolemy *Geographika* 8). This all shows that many of the transrhine tribes were exploited in order to control the frontiers of the Upper and Lower Rhine, as well as to fight against other peoples in Free Germany.

The number of Germanic immigrants settling within the Rhineland's borders up until Augustus' time, is, naturally, difficult to quantify, and a current trend in archaeological thought is to estimate low figures for former waves of migrations (see Härke 1998). Nonetheless, some of these movements may have been demographically significant. For instance, the Sugambri and Ubii were settled in the regions of the

Eburones, whose own population had been severely reduced by Caesar's bout of ethnic genocide (Carroll 2001, 29; Roymans 2004, 24), so it is possible that the movements were considerable in order to compensate for this shortfall. Moreover, 'forty thousand Sugambrian prisoners of war' were reported to have been settled within the Rhineland's frontiers (see above), and whilst Roman historians perhaps exaggerated the scale of Rome's victory over the Sugambrian people, the demographic impact of the Sugambrian settlers was most probably spread out over several generations. The Sugambri had after all penetrated the Eburones' territories since at least the time of Julius Caesar (*de Bello Gallico* 6. 35). Additionally, an entire tribe is estimated to have been in the range of one hundred thousand people altogether (Wolfram 1997, 7), and whilst only factions of the Sugambri moved over from Free Germany, in view of the numbers of entire tribes reported to have migrated into the Rhineland, such as the Ubii, Cannanefates, Vangiones, Marsaci, Frisiavones, Nemetes, and Triboci, the overall demographic contribution might not have been inconsiderable. Additionally, it is important to note that, whilst these entire tribes retained the same names within the Empire as they had possessed when they lived on the right bank of the Rhine, the dislocation of the Sugambrian splinter groups resulted in the adoption of new ethnic affiliations and titles. For instance, the name and the bulk of the Sugambrian polity remained on the non-Roman bank of the Rhine, but the arrival of the Sugambrian migrants appears to have resulted in the ethnogenesis of as many as three other tribal groups – the Cugerni, Baetasi and possibly the Sunuci – inhabiting the areas into which the Sugambrian prisoners of war and their families had settled (Carroll 2001, 29, 107; Roymans 2004, 24; Bridger 2006, 149; 2007b, 321). These immigrants most probably coalesced with the surviving members of the obsolete Eburonean polity. It should be also borne in mind, however, that the remaining Sugambri on the non-Roman bank of the Rhine were among the key supporters of Arminius in AD 9. They were led by Deudorix, brother to Melo, whom Tiberius had defeated less than twenty years previously in 8 BC (Strabo *Geographika* 7. 1. 4). The classical sources provide no details about the reasons why the Sugambrian immigrants on the western bank of the Rhine altered their ethnic identity, though it seems that the memory of Sugambrian ancestors played a key factor in the construction of some of the new ethnonyms. For

instance, the name of the Baetasi recalls Baetorix, who was the father of Melo and Deudorix – the leaders instrumental in the two Sugambrian wars against Rome.

In summary, then, it must be acknowledged that Augustus' policies of allocating imperial land to transrhene immigrants, as well as soliciting the Germanic units to operate in frontier defence, dates to the period when the conquest of Free Germany was still anticipated. Whether the Emperor would have as freely endorsed, let alone encouraged, groups such as the Sugambri to settle within the fragile borders of his newly administered Empire, had he known what would occur in AD 9, remains a thought-provoking issue. His mobilisation of Germanic cohorts – allegedly under the terms of safeguarding Rome's imperial interests – must have also been treated with some disdain and concern when one recalls that Arminius had even been a former commander of his own Cherusian auxiliary unit (Tacitus *Annales* 2.10). This type of recruitment must have surely been rather unpopular since it gave Arminius and his men inside knowledge in how to stage an effective attack (see Wells 2003, 108). Needless to say, then, that Augustus' initiatives of both social integration and military recruitment amongst the Germanic peoples in Free Germany and the Rhineland are not the policies by which he is best known.

Out of the Germanic groups discussed in this section, the importance of the Batavi, Tungri, Menapii, Frisii, Morini, Condrusi, Vangiones and Nervii in Britain has already been underlined, but in addition to these, cohorts of all the Sugambrian/Eburonean coalitions – the Baetasi, Sunuci, Cugerni – together with the Frisiavones, Marsaci, Texuandri, and members of the Mattiaci, were sent to the province between the first and third centuries AD. That migration played an important role within the ethnogenesis of these groups as well as their ethnic parameters is again indicated by a variety of sources, which are discussed in the following subsections.

### **2.3.1 Archaeology and Pioneer Phases of Immigration**

There is a variety of evidence to support the case that, during the initial phases of the Principate (beginning in Augustus' reign), migration played as much a part within the ethnic identities of Germanic groups as had been the case with the *Germani cisrhenani* of Caesar's time. The movement of all these groups within the Roman frontier appears to be signalled in the archaeological record, again in the form of house structures, coins,

ceramics and burial practices conforming to the traditions of northern and central Germany. The Ubii's presence in the areas of what are now Cologne, Neuss, Bonn, Dormagen and Remagen are signalled by sunken-floored huts (c. 30 BC) and grey-ware flanged bowls of Augustan date, which have parallels with those of their homelands in the Neuwied basin near Wiesbaden (Gechter 1990, 100; Carroll 2001, 126). The arrival of the Sugambri is heralded by cemeteries at Mehrum and Tönisvorst-Vorst, which consist of 21 and 213 burials respectively containing Elbe-Germanic features in the form of fibulae and drinking horns (Bridger 2007a). The burials date to after the time of Tiberius, and Clive Bridger (2006, 144) sees them as 'evidence for a Germanic settlement of the first generation following Tiberius' withdrawal from the east bank'. Finds belonging to this same 'Elbe-Germanic culture' have also been uncovered in Speyer and Worms dating to the last decade of the first century BC, and they are equated with the intrusion of the Nemetes and Vangiones (Carroll 2001, 31).

Evidence for migration is also concentrated along the mouths of the Rhine, Scheldt and Maas rivers. The ceramic and numismatic evidence for the post-Caesarian 'Chattian' settlements into the Batavian island has already been outlined (see 2.2.1). However, the Frisian ceramics in the territories of the Cannanefates and Frisiavones which date to around the turn of the first century AD are linked with the colonisation of Frisian immigrants (Derks 1998, 38; Roymans 2004, 205). Moreover, the establishment of an enclosed settlement of thirty longhouses in the domain of the Texuandri (at Hoogeloon) dating to the first part of the first century AD is connected with yet more north-bank settlers (Bridger 2006, 144). Thus, archaeology appears to provide a testimony for migration into areas which the classical sources do not reveal were populated by transrhine migrants. One could argue that the visible signs of difference asserted by the migrant communities were used in the structuration of their ethnic relations in a manner already discussed in the case of the earlier Germanic immigrants (see 2.2.1). The maintenance of foreign burial rites is a well-known custom, which is linked to the reproduction of certain ethnic personae for the dead as well as the performance of cultural rituals for the living and family members (Parker-Pearson 1998). Burial rites can be emulated for a series of reasons (Burmeister 2000), although migration is still often seen as the catalyst for some of these changes (Crawford 1997; Härke 2003; Hills 2003). Moreover, pottery is recognised as a vehicle for conveying

information about identity, whether the pots in question are part of the grave-good assemblage, or were used in the home (Wells 1999, 155). Carol van Driel-Murray (forthcoming) even links hand-made vessels in particular with the domestic sphere of female migrants, who perpetuated foreign eating customs and styles of presenting foods in their new environment. This argument agrees with Stefan Burmeister's (2000) model that the elements of the migrants' familial habitat are often maintained because the behavioural norms do not come into such sharp contact with the host communities' social and economic institutions.

However, in many cases, the process of Roman consolidation in the Rhineland often eroded the material signatures of migration manifested by the initial migrant groups. By the time of Tiberius, for instance, native and so-called 'Celtic' coins were discontinued in favour of Roman currency (Aarts 2000, 56). Many hand-made ceramics were similarly superseded by mass-produced, Roman pots, and the intrusive mortuary customs mentioned above also fell out of fashion (Wells 1999, 83). Nonetheless, in spite of these factors, the provinces populated by Germanic groups did remain distinct from the other Roman provinces in certain ways. The effects of migration are paramount in some of these social developments and they are discussed in the remaining subsections.

### **2.3.2 Towns, Homes and Agriculture**

In the Roman world, both towns and country estates were seen as principal arenas for the signification of Roman norms and values. Towns were founded as a means of maintaining effective control over the rural populace, and Roman 'colonisation' was often accompanied by fundamental changes in agriculture – in terms of particular villa-based economies including prestigious, stone residences and normative horticultural and husbandry practices (Francovich 2002; Dyson 2003; Albarella *et. al.* 2008). It should also be borne in mind that the English term for 'colony' stems from the Latin *colonus* (plural *coloni*), which, in addition to meaning 'migrant', also means 'farmer'. Roman conquest was, therefore, intended to be accompanied by major transformations in both rural life and civic governance.

In the Rhineland, Roman towns were founded in some of these Germanic territories. For instance, the *oppidum Cugernorum* was transformed into a veteran



colony named *Colonia Ulpia Trajana* at Xanten in AD 98 (Schutz 1985, 143); the *oppidum Batavorum* was upgraded to *civitas* and later *municipium* status by the end of the first century AD (van Enkevort and Thijssen 2003; van Rossum 2004); the Vangiones' *castra* at Mainz (Mogontiacum) became the capital of Upper Germany, and the same privilege was conferred on the Ubii's nucleated settlement at Cologne (*Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium*), which became the capital of Lower Germany (Schutz 1985, 19; Wilson and Creighton 1999, 18; Roymans 2004, 196). However, an urban core has not been identified in the regions of the Cannanefates, Frisiavones, Texuandri, Baetasi, Triboci and Nemetes (Vanderhoeven 1996, 191; van Enkevort and Thijssen 2003, 65; van Rossum 2004). Additionally, the economic basis of those planned towns, which were bolstered by imperial patronage, did not always thrive. For example, many of the *insulae* (areas) within the town at Xanten remained empty (Müller 2009), and the Batavian settlement at Nijmegen is identified as 'a town that never quite made it as such' (Willems 1986, 428). When considering this evidence, one must also remember that towns were often regarded as quintessential instruments for the signification of 'Roman' identities, which is emphatically demonstrated when the town at Cologne was vilified and set alight during the Batavian revolt (Tacitus *Histories* 5.18). Additionally, one should also recall the general observation (see 2.2) that Germanic settlements in northern and central Germany were not as stratified as some of their Gallic counterparts. Thus, it is plausible that the lack of social acceptance towards towns in parts of the Germanic provinces was partially related to pre-existing cultural values, and partially related to a rejection of Roman methods of imperial supervision and control.

That these factors were at play is also strongly supported when one examines the Rhineland's agricultural basis. Approximately 90% of all persons in Roman provinces inhabited the countryside (rather than the towns and forts), and this figure was even higher in the case of the Germanic groups since urban cores were not as highly developed. One of the most diagnostic aspects of the Rhineland's rural development is, therefore, that many of its locales remained essentially unchanged in their forms of accommodation and comestibles. Nor did the Roman villas gain full acceptance. Instead, the regions remained dominated by longhouses and sunken-floored huts, which were firmly integrated into pre-Roman attitudes towards animal husbandry (Derks

1998, 58, 65; Wigg 1999). Villas were implanted in some parts of the Tungrian and Ubian *civitates* as well as in the Agri Decumates, but longhouses and sunken-floored huts continued to be built alongside them (Vanderhoeven 1996; Wigg 1999, 44). Research carried out by the *Romanisierung Project* (on behalf of the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*) has even indicated that there was often little appreciable difference between the majority of these rural communities and those situated in Free Germany. This phenomenon has been highlighted by comparing the abodes in the east-bank sites, such as Graukönigshofen, Marktbreit and Gerolzhofen, Borgen, Dortmund and Leverkusen (in the territories of the Sugambri, Suebi, Usipetes, Chamavi and Tubantes) with those incorporated within the Roman frontier, such as Rockenberg-Oppershofen and Wölfersheim-Wohnbach (Wigg 1999; Wilson and Creighton 1999, 24). There is no reason to suspect that the Roman state actively prohibited the introduction of a villa-based economy to its Germanic peoples. Instead, the habit of building Roman-styled villas simply did not catch on, and it may even have been actively resisted by migrant communities. This is suggested by the settlement at Hoogeloon (see 2.3.1) in the terrain of the Texuandri, where a villa (c. AD 100) was built over the top of one of its longhouses, but rather than stimulating further architectural innovations amongst its neighbouring households, the villa itself was replaced by another longhouse within a few generations (Slofstra 1991, 184; Carroll 2001, 67). It should be noted that in case-studies outside the Rhineland, the persistence of non-Roman architectural traditions has been linked with native resistance to Roman imperialism and cultural values (Hingley 1997). Such an interpretation might work equally well with the conservative architectural traditions manifested in the various provincial regions of the Upper and Lower Rhine.

### **2.3.3 Germanic Cults: Hercules Magusanus and the Mother Goddesses**

Although the values of human societies habitually manifest themselves in all spheres of their daily existence, many scholars agree that they are particularly explicit in the field of ritual and religious observances (Leach 1976, 37; Hedeager 1992, 28; Derks 1998, 22). This principal is particularly applicable in the case of the peoples within the provinces of the Roman Empire. One of the most striking ways in which the provinces differ, for instance, is in their divergent responses to the epigraphic habit, often utilising

a variety of stylistic motifs, and venerating a plethora of localised, non-Roman deities not belonging to the regular pantheon (Henig 1984, 37–67; Sauer 2007).

In the Rhineland, the introduction of the epigraphic habit was largely down to the Roman legions (Derks 1998, 88). However, the first point to mention is that Lower Germany exhibits one of the poorest densities of stone inscriptions in the Roman Empire, and groups such as the Cannanefates, Frisiavones, Texuandri, Cugerni, Triboci, Nemetes and provincial Suebi demonstrate a marginal, if not non-existent, interaction with the epigraphic record (Woolf 1998, 83). Derks (1998, 88) attributes this paucity to the lack of available stone outcrops in many areas, but even if the availability of stone had not been a problem, the production of stone inscriptions would, in any case, have not been overly high. This is in view of the fact that the epigraphic habit was by and large a non-rural phenomenon, which, besides the permanent camps, was mainly restricted to the towns and trading centres (Woolf 1996; 1998, 48–106). As we have already seen, many of the Germanic polities did not invest in much of an urban core (see 2.3.2).

As a result, the adoption of stone inscriptions and the construction of temples according to Roman trends of stone architecture, is largely restricted to the Roman towns at Nijmegen, Xanten, Tongeren, Cologne and Mainz, which in ethnographic terms fall into the polities of the Batavians, Cugerni, Tungri, Ubii und Vangiones. The native cults worshipped in some of these areas are discussed in greater depth in section 4.4.3. However, two of the most popular cults in the Rhineland are connected with ancestral myths and legends about migration, and they are consequently given particular attention here.

The first cult surrounds the worship of Hercules Magusanus. The earliest inscription dedicated by a person of probable Germanic origin, which has so far come to light, was set up in honour of this deity, and this altar was set up by the '*summus magistratus*' (town magistrate) of the '*civitas Batavorum*' around the mid-first century – before the town received municipal status (Fig. 2.4). The local magistrate was called 'Flavus son of Vihirmas', and the absence of the *tria nomina*, coupled with his father's non-Roman cognomen, indicates that he was a native magistrate without Roman citizenship (Roymans 2004, 200-2).

This altar was recovered from a temple site at Ruimel, and the other inscriptions in honour of Hercules Magusanus are concentrated in Germania Inferior, in the regions of the Batavi, Tungri, Ubii, Cugerni and Marsacii (see Fig. 2.5; Roymans 2004, 238). Hercules Magusanus remained an important tutelary figurehead until at least the latter part of the third century, since, when the governor of Lower Germany, Marcus Cassianius Latinius Postumus, effected an usurpation against the imperial regime known as the Gallic Empire (AD 260–74) (see 6.2), Hercules Magusanus was figured on the usurper regime's coins (Simek 1993, 141; Stolte 1986).

No literary records for the myths and rituals surrounding Hercules Magusanus have survived, but conflating a native deity with a homologous member of the classical pantheon was a common practice in the Roman world, and it tells us something about the attributes the native counterpart Magusanus probably possessed. Classical mythology reveals that Hercules was renowned for being a wanderer, warrior and cattle raider. Nico Roymans (2004, 244-6) suggests that the Rhineland's militarised background, juxtaposed with the region's diversification in cattle husbandry, makes it plausible that the syncretised cult of Hercules Magusanus was imbued with these types of qualities. Roymans (2004, 248) even argues that the various sanctuaries dedicated to this military hero in the area of the Lower Rhine were used in the initiation ceremonies which recruited soldiers into the Roman army (see also 2.4.1).

Nonetheless, an additional possibility is that the Rhenish inhabitants were attracted to Hercules Magusanus because of the heroic wanderings and itinerant tendencies which were also attached to the mythological narratives of Hercules. That Hercules Magusanus was indeed valued as a figure offering protection to people on far-off travels is suggested by an altar dedicated to him at Rome, which was set up by a Batavian cohort in thanks for emperor Elagabalus' safe return to the City in AD 219 (*CIL* 6. 31162). In the Rhineland, it is noteworthy that the two temples dedicated to Hercules Magusanus at Empel and Kessel overlie the same sanctuaries in the Batavian island, which were in use, if not founded, by Germanic migrants in the late Iron Age (see 2.4.1). Since the sites reveal no hiatus of ritual activity during this time, Magusanus could have been the principal cult figure during the sanctuaries' foundation, who was then conflated with Hercules during the Roman period (Roymans 2004, 83, 148-9). However, what is most extraordinary about the forms of 'ritual continuity'

practised at these sites is that they continued to be used for the structured deposition of Roman weapons until the third century, when they had been previously used for the deposition of the Tène military gear (see 2.2.1). Nico Roymans (2004, 248) connects the votive acts at these temples with their martial functions, as they were deeply involved in supplying soldiers for the Roman army. However, could this level of ritual persistence also suggest a cultural and ancestral link with former migrants, which survived well into the Roman period (see 2.2)? If the foundations of the cult of Magusanus/Hercules Magusanus had been laid as early as the late Iron Age, then the attributes of this ancestral cult figure might have recalled the same nomadic and martial qualities which had been claimed for the *Germani* and even the Cimbri in the classical sources (see 2.2; Livy *Periochae* 63). But Hercules Magusanus would have been framed within a much more mythical commentary on the migration process, which heroized the journeys, destinations and founding ancestors to a far greater extent than had the classical historians.

That the native cults in the Rhineland were centred around former migrations is also strongly supported by the cult of the Mother Goddesses. The Mother Goddesses are the most popular native cult to be manifested in epigraphic form in the Rhenish areas, and they are represented by more than 500 votive monuments recording approximately 70 different epithets (Fig. 2.6). Some of these epithets are highlighted in section 4.4.3 because of the linguistic data they supply about the non-Latin languages which were once spoken in these areas. Most of the inscriptions dedicated to the Mother Goddesses date to the second and third centuries AD, and whilst they are concentrated around the capital of Lower Germany at Cologne, the cult seems to have been important to many other Germanic groups as well. One temple to the cult has been identified in the Cugerni's domain at Xanten, possibly in honour of the Aufaniae (Freigang 1995; Schalles 2000). Many of the other epithets of the Mothers are even named after Germanic ethnonyms: Frisavae, Marsacae, Euthunge (i.e. Iuthungi), Cannanfates, Suebae, Hamavehae (i.e. Chamavi), Cantrusteihia (i.e. Condrusi), and the Vanginehae (Neumann 1987; Derks 1998, 119-20; Carroll 2001, 119; Shaw forthcoming). This evidence points to the importance the cult played in the signification of ethnic identities and associated religious beliefs of the Germanic groups.

However, one of the most important points to recognise about this cult is that it is believed to have been instigated under the influence of transrhine migrants (Neumann 1987; Simek 2004, 51-6; Shaw 2003, 52-4). The reasons for this are persuasive. The classical sources reveal, for instance, that the Mother Goddesses were worshipped amongst the Germanic groups on the east-bank of the Rhine from an early period. The earliest source dates to the mid-first century BC, as the aforementioned Suebian/Germanic leader Ariovistus (see 2.2) consulted the mothers of his clan (*matres familiae*), who were responsible for ‘drawing lots’ (*sortes declarerent*) (*de Bello Gallico* 1.50). This passage may attest to a primitive form of literacy used in divination, though it cannot be proven whether the lots included letters in the shape of the Germanic runes (Mees 2006). Another reference also mentions various groups in Denmark – Angli, Aviones, Varini, and Eudoses – who worshipped another Mother Goddess called Nerthus (*Germania* 40). This goddess has often been connected with the masculine fertility god Njörðr, who is mentioned in various Old Norse sources (Simek 1993, 230; Lindow 2001, 237). If such a connection were to be believed, it provides another example of Germanic oral legends entering the classical sources.

On the votive monuments within the Roman frontiers, Mother Goddesses with names such as Nerthus do not survive, but some of the epithets reveal Germanic connections lying well beyond the Rhine frontier. The *Matronae Aumena*, for instance, most probably invoke the ancient river in Free Germany near Ems an der Lahn, which survives today as the river Oumena (Neumann 1987; Simek 1993, 23). However, the fact that the cultural focus of these Mothers was linked to migration is indicated most of all by the style of their garb and personal appearance. As Maureen Carroll (2001, 119) points out, depictions of these Mothers in and around the Ubii’s capital at Cologne, where they are mostly found, often illustrate voluminous headdresses and cloaks not following Italian precedents. Funerary reliefs also reveal that the Ubian women wore the same outfit, suggesting that the Mother Goddesses’ apparel had been modelled on the native women’s traditional costume (Wild 1968, 1985). However, an important point to add to these observations is that the supporting arm brooches, fastened onto the cloaks of these mythological and native women, compare with those found in the graves of the Elbe-Weser regions of Free Germany (Bruns 2003, 13; Fig. 2.8). The reliefs might lead us to suspect, then, that the

Germanic, provincial costume was modelled on the adornments worn by the earliest female immigrants. This suggests that, whilst the literary sources record the importance of immigration in the Ubians' provincial origins, the votive and funerary monuments reveal that the blend of Roman and Germanic cultural traditions remained a vital component of both their ethnic relations and religious beliefs well into the third century.

In summary, the various types of literary, archaeological and even epigraphic material all imply that migration had been an important factor within the ethnic identities of Germanic groups incorporated into the Roman Empire. This importance was not simply restricted to the pioneer phases of penetration, but the votive monuments and religious sanctuaries in the Rhineland lead us to suspect that it endured into at least the third century. In Antiquity, the Ubii were singled out as the main Germanic group who distanced themselves from their Germanic heritage, through their pro-Roman sympathies and reception of civilised, Roman codes of behaviour (Tacitus *Historiae* 4. 28, 63). Since the Roman altars and other sculptural reliefs reveal that Germanic and migrant identities remained important to the Ubii, one can only assume that other Germanic groups retained even closer ancestral ties with Germanic migrants, although they might not have disseminated them using Roman types of media. It has been suggested here that the non-Roman architectural, agricultural and municipal configurations manipulated by the Germanic groups may have been used in order to emphasise such ancestral, Germanic links (see 2.3.2). At times, these Germanic and migrant personae seem also to have been manifested by the Germanic soldiers recruited into the Roman army.

## **2.4 Germanic Soldiers in the Rhineland**

Rather than in the towns or in the countryside, the Roman army was the principal arena where most men and their families came into sharp contact with the operational workings of the imperial regime. Large numbers of soldiers were enlisted from the Rhineland, and whilst some of these served in both the Roman legions and the non-Germanic cohorts (see 3.3.1), they made a greater impact in their own Germanic auxiliary units. The way these units operated is, naturally, of paramount importance to

this thesis. The Germanic *auxilia* have a protracted historical development, beginning at the time of the Gallic Wars (58-51 BC) (see 2.2), and continuing up until the fifth century (see 3.3.5).

Table 2.1 provides a list of the Germanic units which are known to have been raised up to the reign of Diocletian (AD 284–305). The table is collated from John Spaul’s (2000) gazetteer of cohorts, and it is based on the full range of literary and epigraphic data, including the military ‘diplomas’ or certificates of the soldiers’ retirement.

<i>I Baetasiorum c. R.</i>	Britain
<i>I Batavorum</i>	Britain
<i>I Batavorum milliaria pia fidelis</i>	Britain, Pannonia, Porolissensis
<i>II Batavorum milliaria equitata</i>	Britain, Pannonia Superior, Noricum
<i>III Batavorum milliaria equitata</i>	Britain, Pannonia Inferior
<i>VIII Batavorum milliaria</i>	Britain, Raetia
<i>I Cannanefatium</i>	Dacia (Porolissensis)
<i>I Ulpia Traiana Cugernorum c. R.</i>	Britain
<i>I Frisiavonum</i>	Britain
<i>I Germanorum civium Romanorum</i>	Germania Superior
<i>I Germanorum civium Romanorum</i>	Moesia Inferior
<i>II Mattiacorum</i>	Moesia Inferior
<i>I Menapiorum Naturum</i>	Britain
<i>I Morinorum</i>	Britain
<i>I Augusta Nervana Germanorum</i>	Britain
<i>II Nerviorum</i>	Britain
<i>III Nerviorum</i>	Britain
<i>VI Nerviorum</i>	Britain
<i>I Claudia Sugambroum veterana equitata</i>	Moesia Inferior
<i>I Sugambroum tironum</i>	Moesia
<i>III Sugambroum</i>	Africa (Caesariensis)



<i>I Sunucorum</i>	Britain
<i>I Tungrorum milliaria civium Romanorum</i>	Britain
<i>II Tungrorum milliaria equitata civium liberorum</i>	Britain
<i>III Tungrorum milliaria</i>	Raetia, Noricum, Tingitana
<i>IIII Tungrorum milliaria</i>	Moesia Inferior, Dacia Inferior
<i>I Vangionum milliaria</i>	Britain

From this table, it is clear that *auxilia* were raised from nearly all of the Germanic peoples incorporated into the Roman Empire: the Batavi, Baetasi, Sunuci, Cugerni, Nervii, Sugambri, Frisiavones, Tungri, Ubii, Frisii, Cannanefates and Vangiones. Most of these units were raised by the end of the first century AD, by which time they were largely stationed away from the Rhenish frontiers. Britain was the largest recipient of Germanic cohorts, with seventeen different units altogether. The next was Moesia, but with only four units. Then Dacia with three units, two units apiece in Pannonia, Noricum and Africa, and Raetia with only one unit. The Rhineland itself was largely manned using cohorts drawn from Pannonia, Spain and Greece (see Tables 2.2 and 2.3). No *auxilia* of Germanic origin were stationed in Lower Germany, but one such cohort remained in garrison in Germania Superior: the *I Germanorum civium*.

<b>Table 2.2</b>	
<b>Cohorts stationed in Upper Germany</b>	
Data collated from Spaul 2000	
<i>I Aquitanorum veterana equitata</i> (then Britain)	
<i>I Aquitanorum Biturigum</i>	
<i>II Aquitanorum Biturigum equitata pia fidelis</i>	
<i>III Aquitanorum equitata c. R.</i>	
<i>IIII Aquitanorum equitata c. R. Equitata</i>	
<i>I Asturum</i> (first Noricum, then Britain)	
<i>I Asturum equitata pia fidelis</i> (then Britain)	
<i>I civium Romanorum Ingentorum</i>	
<i>I Flavia Damascenarum milliaria sigittaria equitata</i>	
<i>V Delmatarum</i>	
<i>I Germanorum civium Romanorum</i> (Öhringen, Oberburg, Jagsthausen)	

<i>VI Raetorum</i>
<i>VII Raetorum</i>
<i>I Sequanorum et Rauracorum</i>
<i>IV Vindeliciorum</i>

<b>Table 2.3</b>
<b>Cohorts stationed in Lower Germany</b>
Data collated from Spaul 2000
<i>I Brevocorum equitata civium Romanorum V(aleria) Victrix) bis toquata ob virtutem appellata (then Raetia) (provenance Pannonia)</i>
<i>III Brevocorum</i>
<i>VI Brevocorum</i>
<i>I civium Romanorum (then Numidia)</i>
<i>III Hispanorum equitata</i>
<i>VI Ingenvorum voluntariorum c. R. (before Dalmatia) (probably disbanded AD 69), Xanten, Efes, Cologne 34</i>
<i>III Lucensium, provenance Spain; Asberg, Britenburg (probably disbanded in the second century)</i>
<i>I Pannoniorum</i>
<i>III Thracum equitata pia fidelis</i>
<i>II Treverorum</i>
<i>II Varcianorum equitata</i>
<i>XXVI Voluntarium civium Romanorum</i>
<i>XXVI Voluntarium civium Romanorum</i>

The manning of these two frontiers contrast emphatically with how the Rhine frontiers had been organised in the first part of the first century AD. Some Germanic units had already been sent abroad, such as the Sugambrian cohorts in Dacia (in AD 26) (Tacitus *Annales* 4.47), and the Batavian cohorts used in the conquest of Britain (AD 43–66) (see 3.2.1). However, as already noted, the Vangionian, Nervian, Cannanefatian, Frisiavonian and Frisian auxiliaries had all been stationed in the Rhineland in the mid-first century, and one of the main conditions for endorsing the transrhine immigrants

in the first place was in order for them to contribute to frontier defence and to fight against Germanic groups more hostile to Rome (see 2.3).

What is known to have brought about this reversal in military affairs is the Batavian revolt of AD 69 (Cheesman 1914, 68; Bellen 1981; Urban 1985; Driel-Murray 2003, 215). This monumental uprising, highlighted at the start of this chapter, arose because of Rome's demands for Germanic soldiers to be enlisted in their Germanic *auxilia* had become increasingly difficult for them to bear. Moreover, the reason why these units could make such a concerted impact was because most of them were still stationed on the Rhine frontier. For instance, units of 'Batavi and Cugerni' were reported to have fought on the right-hand side of the main leader of the revolt, Julius Civilis (Tacitus *Historiae* 5.16), and in the Rhineland, cohorts of Tungri, Nervii, Baetasi, Triboci and Vangiones were reported to have capitulated to Civilis (Tacitus *Historiae* 4.16; 4.33, 56, 70), and the general received the military assistance of the Cannanefates, Frisii, Sunuci, Marsacii, Mattiaci, Tencteri, Ubii, Chatti, Chauci, and Bructeri as well, the latter three groups being mobilised from the east bank of the Rhine (Tacitus *Historiae* 4.27, 32, 37, 56, 64-6; 5. 19-20).

Neither should one underestimate the sheer devastation, which this revolt brought to the Rhineland, since this desolation is amply demonstrated via the documentary as well as the archaeological evidence. The insurgents were reported to have attacked the legionary forces at Bonn, Nijmegen, Xanten and Mainz, which housed the First Legion, Second Legion *Adiutrix*, the Fifth Legion, Fifteenth Legion *Primigenia*, Fourth Legion *Macedonica* and the Twenty-Second Legion *Primigenia* (Tacitus *Historiae* 4.19-36). The physical signs of this destruction have also been identified at Tongres, Hofheim, Seltz, Rheingönheim, Strasbourg, Aislingen, Unterkirchberg, Wiesbaden, Risstissen, Augsburg, Kempten and Bregenz. The fortress at Nijmegen and the two legionary bases at Xanten were even razed to the ground (Schönberger 1969, 153-5; Slofstra 1991, 168; Bridger 2006; Schmitz 2009). Overall, the rebellion tested the loyalties of the Germanic cohorts towards the Roman state compared to their relationships with each other, and even more disturbingly, with the unconquered peoples of Free Germany. The rebellion undermined the policy of having Germanic units controlling imperial affairs in the Rhineland, and this is the main backdrop to the Germanic auxiliaries serving in the British frontiers as opposed to remaining on their own Rhenish borders.

As a result, the revolt raises two important issues about the Germanic *auxilia*, which have important implications for both the patterns of recruitment and ethnic personae of the Germanic units stationed in Britain. These issues of recruitment and ethnic identity are evaluated in the following subsections.

#### **2.4.1 Patterns of Recruitment**

One of the most important arguments brought to the fore about the Germanic *auxilia* in recent years, is the manner in which they were raised and controlled by their own native leaders (Roymans 1990; 2003; Slofstra 1991; Haynes 2001; van Driel-Murray 2003; van Rossum 2004). Arminius had been one such commander of his own Cherusian *auxilia* (see 2.3), and the best known commanders were Julius Civilis, Julius Paulus, Julius Briganticus, Claudius Victor and Claudius Labeo, who controlled the Batavian cohorts during the time of the Batavian revolt (*Germania* 29; Tacitus *Historiae* 2. 22; 4. 12, 13, 18, 32-3, 70). The commanders allegedly belonged to a *stirps regia* (royal line) (Tacitus *Historiae* 4.13). Additionally, Chariovalda had been an earlier native commander (*dux*) of a Batavian cohort in AD 17 (see 2.3). Whilst only Roman citizens of equestrian rank were generally permitted to command auxiliary units (Cheesman 1914, 90; Bowman 1994, 67), exceptions were certainly made for the Germanic units. As we have also already seen, the establishment of Germanic *auxilia* was even spawned out of the native Germanic warbands, which then became allies of Rome as their native commanders either surrendered to Rome or agreed to form alliances or peace treaties (see 2.2). The socially stratified basis of the Germanic peoples meant that their native leaders were capable of raising war-bands through a system of asymmetrical patron/client relationships where the dependent clients were obliged to commit themselves as warriors (Will 1987; Roymans 1990, 34; Green 1998, 122). The classical sources also represent the *concilium* (tribal assembly) as the major institution where the Germanic soldiers and their leaders pursued their military affairs. The *concilium* was, for instance, the venue where the *principes* (leaders) themselves would be appointed and initiated (*de Bello Gallico* 4.23). It was also the locale where the *principes* would enlist the *iuvenes* (young men) into the warrior fraternity through initiation ceremonies of a rather martial nature:

then in the *concilium* one of the chiefs (*principes*) or his father or his relatives equip the young man (*iuvenis*) with shield and spear: this corresponds with them to the toga, and is the youth's first public distinction

### Germania 13

Bearing these factors in mind, the likelihood that the commanders of Germanic *auxilia* units made use of these types of native and pre-Roman mobilisation strategies is made explicit during the time of the Batavian revolt. Julius Civilis, a member of the 'royal line' (*regis stripe*) and main protagonist of the Batavian revolt, called together a meeting at an 'assembly' (*concilium*) for the 'tribal leaders' (*primores gentis*) where it was decided that Rome's demand for their soldiers had become excessive (Tacitus *Historiae* 4. 13-14). The source suggests, therefore, that the native *concilia* played an instrumental role in the recruitment strategies of auxiliary soldiers.

Other passages reveal that, at the time of the revolt the Cannanefates and Ubii held similar meetings and that Civilis himself even organised the Sunucian *iuvenes* (young men) into operational cohorts (Tacitus *Histories* 4. 13-14, 63-66). We should consider, then, the types of location where these assemblies and recruitment ceremonies took place.

The Batavians' *concilium* was convened at a *nemus* (sacred grove), and whilst historical portraits have always portrayed this as a rather thickly wooded and uncultivated landscape (Fig. 2.9), one should remember that 'sacred groves' were attached to Roman temples (Carroll 2003b, 69). This leaves us with the possibility that the Batavian's assembly was staged in a much more Roman milieu than has been commonly supposed. Roymans and Derks (1994, 195) conjecture that one of the temples dedicated to Hercules Magusanus might have been a suitable venue for initiating the Batavian revolt. Nico Roymans (2004, 248) goes on to argue that the temples dedicated to Hercules Magusanus, at places such as Empel, Ruimel and Kessel, might have even operated as tribal assemblies (*concilia*), which initiated adult men into Roman service. The high number of Roman weapons recovered from these venues (see 2.2.1) reveal that they were rooted in important rites of passage relating to the soldier's life-cycle. As already noted, Hercules Magusanus was something of an anti-Roman hero during the Gallic Empire (AD 260–274) (see 2.3.4), so it would not seem

implausible that he had been one before. In any case, the main point to observe is that native Germanic leaders are often thought to have been prominent in the recruitment strategies of auxiliary soldiers, at least up to the first century AD. Often, these leaders administered the Germanic *auxilia* on the behalf of the Roman army, but they could use their power and influence to the disadvantage of the Roman state when mounting an insurrection of this kind.

A second issue raised by the Batavian revolt is the extent to which soldiers from Free Germany were mobilised into the Germanic auxiliary units. As J. A. van Rossum (2003) points out, this type of mobilisation would explain why the people in Free Germany also participated in the revolt concerning these recruitment issues in the Rhineland. The literary sources are otherwise silent on this type of matter, and with the exception of the Cherusci (see above) and Usipi (see 3.2.2), it is not until the third century that the literary or epigraphic records refer to Germanic units being raised from Free Germany let alone individual recruits (see 6.2). However, the probability that the enlistment of Free-Germanic soldiers did persist is strongly supported by the wealth of Roman weapons and military insignia recovered from Scandinavia and Free Germany, which are interpreted as the possessions of returning soldiers (Rausing 1987; Axboe and Krönman 1992; Todd 1987, 124; 2001, 74-5; Bishop and Coulston 1993, 122). Tracing the presence of such immigrants within the Empire itself is more challenging, though we should bear in mind the possibility that the *auxilia*, including the Germanic ones, might have admitted soldiers from Free Germany.

#### **2.4.2 Ethnic Personae and Ethnic Signalling**

Finally, we turn to the ethnic allegiances and social networks of the Germanic peoples and soldiers situated in the Rhineland. There is some evidence suggesting that the Batavian revolt not only aroused anti-Roman sentiments, but intensified Germanic affiliations and migrant identities. The rise of such ethnic signalling amongst the Batavian elite is, for instance, demonstrated by Julius Civilis growing his hair and dyeing it red 'in accordance with a vow these barbarians frequently make' (Tacitus *Histories* 4. 61). Other sources reveal that this same coiffure was popular amongst people in Free Germany, and particularly, the Chatti (Pliny *Naturalis Historia* 28. 191; Martial *Epigrams* 8, 33, 20; 14. 26-27; Green 1998, 188). We may presume, then, that

this style would have been worn by some of the Batavian's earliest Chattian ancestors and that it held some of the same social and ethnic nuances as the Suebi's own coiffure and 'knot' (see 2.2.1). The coiffure also provides further corroboration that cultural elements of the Batavians' migrant past were still being drawn upon into the Roman period, in addition to the ritual observances already discussed at temples such as those dedicated to Hercules Magusanus (see 2.3.4).

It is a commonplace that signs of ethnic distinction are asserted more prominently in times of social and economic duress (Jones 1997, 110, 124). We can surmise that the Batavian revolt was one of these times. In general, however, men and soldiers in the Rhineland tended to assimilate more fully to orthodox, Roman styles of clothing and coiffures than their female counterparts (Carroll 2001, 119). On funerary reliefs, for instance, the men are typically depicted according to Roman fashions, even when the women next to them are portrayed in the more Germanic and non-Roman styles discussed earlier (see 2.3.4). This type of gendered difference may also find parallels in the contemporary world where, for instance, males are more commonly dressed in Western clothes than female immigrants. In such contexts, these asymmetrical modes of acculturation might be dependent on a series of factors, such as the men's greater share in the job market, bringing them into sharper contact with the cultural traditions of their host communities (Chamberlain 1997), whilst the values of the immigrant communities themselves might also expect women to play a conservative role in preserving certain ancestral traditions (see van Driel-Murray forthcoming). Both of these types of explanations could be used to inform our understanding about the engendered acculturation practices amongst men and women in the Rhineland.

In any case, whatever the reasons, the implications of this development for the Germanic migrants in Britain is that, with only some exceptions (see 3.6.1), the men and soldiers would not have dressed overly differently from men originating from many other part of the Empire (see also James 1999). However, these men may have expected their women to conform to different standards, whether the women accompanied them to Britain or not. The ethnic referents used by the men themselves might have also been particularly pronounced in periods of social, economic or political tension.



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The most controversial and complex issue surrounding the ethnic identities of the Germanic peoples and soldiers relates, however, to their supposed pan-Germanic affiliations and 'German' ethnicity. Roman historians had, for instance, presented the Batavian uprising as having been instigated by a group of people affiliated under the ethnic name of the *Germani*, and because of this fear of pan-Germanic allegiances, the Emperor Nero had disbanded the Germanic soldiers recruited into his own personal bodyguard (Tacitus *Histories* 2.5; Suetonius *Galba* 12). In the Rhineland itself, one of the most unequivocal testimonials of the peoples' pan-Germanic sentiments was when the Ubii agreed to participate in the revolt by holding a *concilium* (assembly) in Cologne. The assembly was attended by various Germanic groups, and one of these, the Tencteri, claimed that the Ubii had been 'returned to the body of the German peoples and the German name' (Tacitus *Historiae* 4. 63).

This *concilium* was dedicated to 'Mars' and other native gods (Tacitus *Histories* 4.63), and we might assume, then, that it was convened at another Roman temple. Such a temple in Mars' honour is even identified for Cologne, which allegedly contained a prized sword belonging to Julius Caesar (Suetonius *Vitellius* 7-8). The importance of such assemblies in the ethnic identities and religious habits of Germanic groups raises no theoretical concerns to scholars (see 2.3.4, 2.4.1), but the groups' supposed pan-Germanic sentiments are treated with much more concern and distrust. Scholars are in agreement, for instance, that, whilst Roman outsiders might have entertained misguided fancies over pan-Germanic affiliations, the Germanic groups themselves neither recognised pan-Germanic associations nor even thought of themselves as Germans (Hachmann 1971, 16; Meid 1986, 210; Wolfram 1997, 4; Wells 1999, 102; Pohl 2000; Roymans 2004, 29).

One example of this type of argument is found in Malcom Todd's (2004, 8-9) *Early Germans*, which insists that:

the Germani...had no collective consciousness of themselves as a separate people, nation or group of tribes. There is no evidence that they called themselves 'Germani' or their land Germania.

Walter Goffart (2006, 5) also claims that:

the peoples surveyed by Tacitus or those of the Migration Age were fragmented; they did not call themselves Germans but bore particular names.

In usual circumstances, one might have found it odd for scholars to insist from the outset of their works that no genuine relationship exists between the people forming the object of their own research. The reason for this circumstance in the case of the *Germani* is most probably because pan-Germanic interpretations have been consciously downplayed since they were exploited for political ends during the lead up to the Second World War (Wolfram 1997, 10). Evidently, these peoples were fragmented, in a modern, nationalistic understanding of the term, and their social divisions are borne out by the types of rifts highlighted throughout the course of this chapter – such as those between the Usipi and their Suebian invaders (see 2.2), and those between the Ubii and other Germanic groups (see 2.3.3). Tensions even existed amongst different factions and family members of the Batavi (see Tacitus *Histories* 4.56). Nonetheless, such episodes of conflict and of violence are still part of the underlying cultural and historical trajectories pertaining to these people, and they cannot be used in isolation to suggest that they recognised no common ground. Conflicts often run alongside peoples sharing considerable physical, cultural and economic similarities, who, although operating under different factions, still recognise that they are socially and historically intertwined.

In spite of undisputed ethnic tensions, I have recently proposed that Germanic groups expressed more pan-Germanic identities than scholars generally accept. This evidence has simply been ignored or is open to different interpretations from those which have generally been proposed (Clay 2008).

For instance, Nico Roymans uses the funerary inscriptions set up by the German bodyguard in Rome to argue that, in the lead up to the Batavian revolt, the soldiers professed no such pan-Germanic allegiances warranting their dismissal. He states that ‘in their grave inscriptions...they emphasised only their tribal identity’ (Roymans 2004, 28). The tribal names (*nationes*) referred to in the inscriptions are ‘Batavus’, ‘Baetasius’, ‘Suebus’ and ‘Ubius’ (Bellen 1981, 36), and they point to the central importance of ethnic distinctions within this immigrant, soldiery community.

Nonetheless, one should not lose sight of the fact that the guild to which these soldiers belonged was entitled the *collegium Germanorum* – the society of the *Germani* (Fig. 2.10). This was in reference to their own burial club, which the soldiers themselves were probably responsible for both founding and naming (see Goldsworthy 2003, 50). Neither did these types of *collegia* simply exist in order to bury the dead, but their living members would have used them as a basis to hold meetings and to partake in collective worship (Bellen 1981, 60; Carroll 2007, 48). This leads us to concur then, that, if the members of the German *collegium* held meetings at temples equivalent to those suspected at Cologne and Nijmegen (see above and 2.3.4, 2.4.1), there might have been adequate grounds for dismissing the unit. Rather than using the monuments to claim the absence of pan-Germanic fraternities, one could envisage them as recording tribal members who were coalesced under a society of the *Germani*.

What is more, twenty other gravestones in Rome cite *Germanus* as an emic definition (Noy 2000, 216). This contradicts assertions that this type of usage never occurred in the epigraphic record (see Carroll 2001, 113). However, the other context where the term is recorded epigraphically is in inscriptions in Britain (see 3.4.2). The records we find for both the Germanic foreigners in Rome as well as the Germanic soldiers and inhabitants in the Rhineland should, therefore, be kept in mind when examining the Germanic migrants in Britain.

## 2.5 Conclusion

An overview of the Germanic migrants in Roman Britain would have been insufficient if it dealt simply with the evidence for them in Britain. Much of the world-views of these Germanic immigrants would have originated in their native homelands, and, as chapter three shows, their connections with these places were far from severed once they had crossed overseas.

In this chapter, it has been demonstrated how the Germanic migrants who came to Britain were descended from rather complex social, ethnic and military relationships in Free Germany and the Rhineland. Some of the Germanic ethnic groups had emerged in the late Iron Age, but the emergence of others dated to the time when the emperor Augustus permitted Germanic groups to settle onto the western bank of the Rhine as

part of state policy. Often, the literary and archeological sources for these migrations have been discussed in rather basic terms, as a chronological guide of the migration process, but it has been argued here that the classical and archaeological records point to the importance which migration served in the ethnic identities, world-views and origin myths of the cisrhene Germanic groups. The literary sources suggest that the Germanic groups had built their own ancestral narratives around previous migrations, and the physical evidence for these movements is attested in the pioneer phases of settlement, as well as in the Roman inscriptions, which show how migration remained important to the ethnic and religious identities of these groups into the third century.

The background to the mobilisation of many of the Germanic auxiliary units to Britain must be also surely attributed to a change of policy following the Batavian revolt. In the first instance, the Germanic *auxilia* had been mainly raised in the Rhineland in order to provide frontier defence and to participate in punitive and retaliatory missions in Free Germany. Nonetheless, the Batavian revolt called into question the efficacy of using the Germanic cohorts in this manner, showing how these cohorts, together with the Free-Germanic groups, could coalesce in opposition to the Roman state. The revolt also showed how the organisation of these Germanic *auxilia* depended upon the power and influence of local leaders, who utilised the native *concilia* (assemblies) in order to recruit soldiers and to control martial affairs. The organisation of the Germanic soldiers and auxiliary units stationed in Roman Britain is discussed in the next chapter.

## 3. Germanic Auxiliary and Legionary Soldiers in Britain

### 3.1 Introduction

The incorporation of Britain in the Roman Empire (conventionally dated to AD 43) resulted in a significant influx of persons of Germanic origin from the Rhineland. This influx was initially a by-product of the military man-power mobilised from the Rhine frontier in order to stage the annexation of Britain. The frontier was not an altogether successful staging post when it came to the annexation of Free Germany (see 2.3), but it proved to be an effective infrastructure when it came to Britain's conquest. The three legions involved in the annexation – *II Augusta*, *XIV Gemina* and *XX* – had all been mobilised from forts on the Rhine border – at Strasbourg (Argentoratum), Mainz (Moguntiacum), and Neuss (Novesium). Precise details are sketchy, but the legions probably set sail from Boulogne and the Rhine delta, landing at either Richborough or Chichester (Mason 2003, 81). Some of these legions may have included soldiers of Germanic origin, but the bulk of the Germanic strength came in the form of Germanic *auxilia* attached to these legions, which, at this point, were still routinely quartered on the Rhine frontier.

This chapter traces the introduction of the Germanic *auxilia* to Britain, and the ways in which the units were both commanded and maintained up until the final phases of imperial rule. Scholars have tended to envisage the Germanic *auxilia* as 'Germanic' in name only – in that the units were invariably replenished with non-Germanic and British soldiers once they were stationed in Britain (see 3.4). This chapter casts doubt on these long held assumptions and it underlines the forms of evidence – both archaeological and epigraphic – which suggest genuine social and ideological relationships between these cohorts and the Rhineland. One of the implications of this material is that the Germanic migrants in Roman Britain formed a much greater demographic presence than has often been assumed.

### 3.2 Away from Home in the First Century

What the Germanic peoples themselves thought about vast numbers of their own members being 'trafficked' elsewhere in the service of the Roman army was beneath the concern of classical commentators. Tacitus (*Germania* 29.1) simply states of the

Batavians that they were ‘reserved for employment in battle, like our weapons and armour, only to be used in war’. The Germanic cohorts were thus treated like a transferable commodity, expected to reproduce specific ethnic and tribal personas, even when they were severed from the localities and civic institutions which gave meaning to their individual, tribal names.

The trafficking of Germanic soldiers to Britain dates to the initial phases of the island’s conquest. Surviving inscriptions record only the *ala I Thracum* and *ala Hispanorum* as part of the auxiliary back up (Holder 1982, 15), and since the units had been withdrawn from the Rhineland, some of their cavalry included Germanic recruits. This is the case with the Frisian soldier (*cives Frisiaus*) Sextus Valerius Genialis, who was attached to the *ala Thracum*, and commemorated on a memorial at Cirencester (Corinimum) (*RIB* 109; Fig. 3.1). The soldier is likely to have belonged to the original invasion force (Jarrett 1994), and his funerary relief affords the earliest portrait of a Germanic migrant in Britain. The soldier is dressed in a typical military uniform, and his *tria nomina* indicate that he was a Roman citizen. Since, during this period, the imperial franchise was only allocated to soldiers of particular military distinction (Hassall 1970; Roymans 1993), one suspects that Genialis’ own citizenship was granted for outstanding service in Britain’s subjugation. Indeed, the relief depicts Genialis riding down a fallen barbarian, which could even be interpreted as an allegory of the conquest of Britain itself. However, the tombstone is a reminder that, on a superficial level, a Germanic soldier would often seem no different from any other type of recruit.

### **3.2.1. The Arrival and Departure of the *Germani* and Batavians (AD 43–66)**

Apart from the one inscription mentioned above (see 3.2), the remainder of the details about the Germanic soldiers involved in the pacification of Britain are provided by the classical sources. As early as AD 39, auxiliaries of *Germani* were being especially trained for this mission, and Caligula was reported to have encouraged them to grow their hair long and dye it red according to their own Germanic customs (Suetonius *Gaius* 47). The Batavians were known for this type of coiffure (see 2.4.2), and it may well have been the Batavian cohorts who were mobilised here since other records reveal that the Batavian cohorts played an instrumental role in Britain’s pacification. These Batavian cohorts were also the same ones who participated in the Batavian revolt.

For instance, Tacitus (*Historiae* 4.12) stated, in his commentary on the Batavian revolt, that the Batavians had formerly ‘increased their renown through service in Britain’. Whilst the section of Tacitus’ *Annales* covering the invasion is, regrettably, lost, the fact that the Batavians’ reputation was earned during this pilot campaign receives support from Cassius Dio (60.20), who, in his commentaries on the conquest, alludes to the aptitude of the Κέλτοι (Keltoi) in swimming fully armed across two unnamed rivers, probably the Medway as well as either the Avon or Thames (de la Bédoyère 2001, 27). From the time of Julius Caesar’s records, the *Germani* were deemed experts in amphibious warfare (see *de Bello Gallico* 8.13; *de Bella Civile* 1.83.5; *de Bella Alexandrino* 29.2), and the Batavians were later admired for this same quality (Tacitus *Annales* 2.8). Although Dio refers to Britain’s swimmers as Κέλτοι (Keltoi), this must be seen in the perspective of different ethnographic and linguistic traditions espoused by Greek geographers. Strabo (*Geographika* 7.1.2; 4.4.3) had, for instance, interchangeably referred to the Cimbri as both the Κέλτοι and Γερμανοί (Germanoi) even though his Latin contemporaries would certainly have categorised them as the *Germani* (see 2.2).

It seems plausible, then, that Dio’s Κέλτοι should be seen as synonymous with Tacitus’ Batavian units. Eight units of Batavians are known to have been evacuated from Britain in AD 66 (Tacitus *Historiae* 1.6), and these units were most probably part of the original invasion force, stationed permanently in the province since at least AD 43 (van Rossum 2004). These were also the same units who later participated in the Batavian revolt from their new base at Mainz, but Tacitus (*Historiae* 4.15) adds that other Batavian cohorts still supported the rebellion whilst still stationed in Britain. This suggests that more than eight Batavian cohorts were stationed in the island originally and that not all of them were withdrawn from the province in AD 66. It also suggests that the long tenure of the units in Britain did little to dampen their allegiances to the Batavian core, when mounting the rebellion of AD 69.

In addition to the Batavian cohorts themselves, however, it seems that rather exceptional Batavian commanders spent a percentage of their military career in Britain. It is known, for instance, that the main ringleader of the Batavian revolt – Julius Civilis – was at one time stationed in the province (Tacitus *Historiae* 4.12-13), and that he had previously formed an acquaintance with Vespasian (Tacitus *Historiae* 5.26). As Mark Hassall (1970) suggests, this relationship could only have been forged at a time when Vespasian had commanded the *legio II Augusta* in Britain (AD 43-7) (Hassall 1970). In

AD 69, Julius Civilis had also completed more than twenty-five years of regular service, which confirms that his incipient military career was commensurate with Britain's pacification. It seems likely, then, that Civilis had been sent to Britain during the principal phases of the campaign.

The other Batavian commanders who are likely to have been based in Britain are 'Claudius Victor', 'Claudius Labeo' and the father of Julius Civilis' nephew – 'Julius Briganticus'. These premises are based more on the commanders' nomenclature than any specific statements made in the literary reports. The Claudian *gentilicum* (family name) of both Victor and Labeo, for instance, suggests that the commanders received their franchise directly through the emperor Claudius. As Mark Hassall (1970) also suggests, this franchise may have been because of the commanders' involvement in Britain's conquest. Additionally, the cognomen of Julius Briganticus, meaning literally 'having defeated the Briganti', parallels 'Britannicus' (having defeated the Britons), which was awarded to Claudius' own son. This more certainly reveals that the father of Julius Briganticus was involved in the conquest of Britain (Hassall 1970). The Brigantes were a people of Northumberland and Yorkshire, not annexed officially until after AD 70 (Tacitus *Agricola* 17; Braund 1996), but their name in antiquity was often synonymous with the Britons (Breeze and Dobson 1991, 86).

All this simply goes to show that the majority of the Batavian units, as well as their commanders, had previously been stationed in Britain up until the second part of the first century. Britain was witness to paramount levels of military mobility up until this period, so this means that only general deductions can be drawn concerning the approximate whereabouts of these units. *Auxilia* were largely expected to provide back-up for legions, so it is likely that the Batavian ones were divided amongst the four legions involved in Britain's pacification. By AD 66, the legions had pacified Wales and England, up to as far north as the Humber, and they had constructed bases at Colchester, Great Chesterton, Longthorpe, Alchester, Cirencester, Winchester, Wimborne, Dorchester, Axminster, Exeter, Ilchester, Kingsholm, Gloucester, Manchester, Leicester, Lincoln, Wall, Wroxeter and Usk (Henderson 1991; de la Bédoyère 2001, 27–30; Mason 2003, 80; Mattingly 2006, 134).

Thus, it is probable that the Batavian cohorts were quartered in some, or perhaps all, of these same areas. One legionary base in particular giving shelter to the Batavian units was probably the fortress at Exeter. This was the main base of the *II Augusta* between AD 55-67 (Manning 1997), and barracks built for quingenary auxiliary units



have been uncovered (Henderson 1991). The reasons for believing that Batavian cohorts were also probably quartered together with this legion are twofold. One is that the *II Augusta* was the same legion commanded by Julius Civilis' old acquaintance Vespasian. The second reason is that the *II Augusta* was the same legion supported by the aforementioned *Keltoi*, who forded the two rivers during the initial stages of the advance. In view of these associations, the barracks at Exeter may well have one of the various sites in Britain giving residency to the Batavian units and even to Julius Civilis himself.

Wherever these units were stationed in Britain, there is also little doubt that their presence represented a severe demographic loss to the Rhineland's adult male population. It can be estimated, for instance, that at least nine Batavian cohorts were stationed in Britain up until AD 66 (see above), providing a nominal force of 4500 soldiers. This figure does not take into account the other Germanic dependents regularly accompanying the Germanic units (see 3.4.1), nor the additional manpower used to sustain the units once the original recruits had died. Given the fact that the entire Batavian polity is argued to have consisted of no more than 40,000 people, only 8,000 of whom would have been adult males (Willems 1984, 234-7), the number of Batavian soldiers stationed in Britain would have amounted to more than half this figure of available men.

There is no equivocation that the Germanic units of this period were still being maintained by Germanic soldiers. The extreme levies placed on the Batavian polity are recognised as one of the main stimuli in sparking the Batavian revolt (see 2.4). However, the statistics confirm the supposition, already outlined in chapter 2, that the Batavian units must have been sustained with soldiers recruited from beyond their own *civitas*. Nico Roymans (2004, 207) posits that some of these recruits were drawn from the neighbouring *civitates* – the Cugerni, Marsacii, Texuandri, and Cannanefates. However, recruitment from Free Germany seems to be another likely source (see 2.4.1). In summary, then, it is perhaps more of an accurate description to refer to the recruits – serving in Britain up to this time – as *Germani* or *Keltoi*, as opposed to the Batavians.

### **3.2.2 After AD 71: the Batavians, Tungrians and Usipi**

After the Batavian revolt, the nine Batavian cohorts previously in existence were reduced to only four. The circumstances surrounding their arrival are dogged with uncertainty, but it is clear that all four units were stationed in Britain within a decade of

the Batavian revolt being suppressed. The diplomas also reveal that the names of these units were the First, Second, Third and Ninth cohort of the Batavians.

The general consensus is that these four Batavian cohorts had been raised after the Batavian revolt and that the previous Batavian cohorts had all been disbanded (Holder 1980, 111; Birley 2002, 44). However, the one anomaly with this premise is that the numbers of the four cohorts run from one to three, then skip to the number nine. Van Rossum (2004, 118) posits that this incongruity could be removed if the Ninth Cohort of the Batavians had been one of the units raised before the revolt, which was not disbanded like the rest. As already seen, a ninth Batavian unit participated in the revolt from its base in Britain (see 3.2.1), and this could have been the same Ninth Cohort of the Batavians of later repute.

In any case, it seems likely that all four units were reorganised and refurbished with troops once the revolt had been crushed. The diplomas also reveal that these units were not quingenary, but milliary in strength, representing a nominal sum of 3600 soldiers (van Rossum 2004). One cannot expect the Batavian polity itself to have fully met this levy for the reasons already outlined in section 3.2.1. Instead, some of the 'new' recruits were perhaps taken from the Batavian cohorts recently disbanded (Birley 2002, 44), whilst other soldiers were probably solicited from assorted Germanic peoples involved in the insurrection in the first place: the Cugerni, Nervii, Baetasi, Triboci, Vangiones, Cannanefates, Frisians, Sunuci, Marsacii, Mattiaci, Tencteri, Ubii, Chatti, Chauci, and Bructeri (see 2.4). As Ian Haynes (2001) reminds us, Rome's reasons for levying these Batavian units were partly punitive, so this makes it very likely that the Batavians' partisans were also pressured into joining these new units.

The most likely date for the entry of these new Batavian levies and units into Britain was in AD 71. This was when Petillius Cerialis, instrumental in crushing the Batavian revolt, was appointed as the new British governor. It is believed that the Batavian cohorts probably came over to Britain together with the *II Adiutrix*, which had also been instrumental in crushing the Batavian revolt along with Cerialis (Holder 1980, 111; Birley 2002, 44; van Rossum 2004).

A certain amount of information can also be gleaned as to where these units were stationed in Britain. It seems likely, for instance, that *II Adiutrix* maintained a watchful eye over at least some of the Batavian cohorts during the period it was stationed in the province. This is suggested by the fact that *cohors I Batavorum* was transferred from Britain to the Danube along with the *II Adiutrix* in AD 85 (Wade 1970). It seems

probable, then, that this Batavian cohort had been garrisoned alongside *II Adiutrix* in Britain up to this time. It should be noted, therefore, that this legion was sent to Lincoln when it first arrived in Britain, and it then spent the rest of its tenure at Chester (Carrington 1994, 27; Mattingly 2006, 90, 115). This second base is 20% larger than any of other British fortress (Mason 2001, 52), so it could have certainly accommodated a number of auxiliary cohorts. Moreover, the likelihood that Batavian cohorts were indeed stationed in this area is bolstered by Tacitus' allusion to the military assault on Anglesey in AD 77, as this once again demanded the expertise of soldiers trained in fording rivers fully armed, 'according to the manners of their own country' (Tacitus *Agricola* 18). This may be another allusion to the Germanic and Batavian units (see 3.2.1).

However, the other literary sources for the first century indicate that the Germanic auxiliary units were increasingly being concentrated on the northern British frontiers. For instance, the four Batavian cohorts, together with two cohorts of Tungrians, inflicted a victory over the Caledonians at the elusive site of 'Mons Graupius' in AD 79 (Tacitus *Agricola* 36). This passage attests to the early arrival of other Germanic units in Britain, in addition to the Batavians, and the most recent suggestions for the site of this battle have been the Moray Firth near Inverness (Mattingly 2006, 118) and the Milther Tap of Bennachie in Aberdeenshire (Birley 2004).

Other sources reveal that a cohort of Usipi was sent to the frontier in AD 82, and the Usipi originated from the non-Roman bank of the Rhine (see Fig. 2.1). This cohort did not remain in Britain for very long, however. In the same year of its arrival, the cohort rebelled on the north-western coast of Scotland, seized three warships and became shipwrecked on the Frisian coast (Cassius Dio 66.20; Tacitus *Agricola* 28.1). This probably indicates that here we have another Germanic cohort in Britain, which, in one way or another, managed to make its way home.

In summary, during the first century, a considerable number of Germanic units came to Britain, and whilst some of them remained in the province, the vast majority were withdrawn, disbanded, or had made their way back home. However, with the establishment of the northern areas as the permanent frontier, the numbers of Germanic units in Britain grew, and to a certain extent, became more permanent.

### 3.3 The Northern Frontiers and Positions of Germanic Units

The consolidation of Britain into a province only partly subdued naturally led to the emergence of a linear system of fortifications on a par with the Rhineland. The reason why the whole of Britain was never conquered is a deeply perplexing issue, and this can only be partially related to the problems of subduing the natives (Breeze and Dobson 1991, 15). Nonetheless, despite the alleged victory at Mons Graupius, all camps were evacuated to as far south as the Tyne-Solway isthmus by as early as the 90s. This frontier was fossilised in stone through the construction of Hadrian's Wall in AD 122, and whilst it was shifted temporarily forward to the Forth-Clyde isthmus in the AD 140s – with the construction of the Antonine Wall – the new frontier was soon evacuated probably around AD 158–169 (Breeze and Dobson 1991, 1993; Daniel 1991; Fig. 3.2). As a result, Hadrian's Wall remained the official marker of imperial jurisdiction until the end of the Roman occupation, although some installations on the Antonine frontier appear to have been briefly manned during the reign of Septimius Severus (AD 193–211) (Hassall 1976; Breeze and Dobson 1991, 1993; Daniel 1991; Mattingly 2006, 150–2).

Aside from Wales, these two frontiers were the main hub of military activity in Britain, and they were the areas where most, though not all, the evidence for the Germanic soldiers is found. The relations once existing between the soldiers and civilians are poorly understood, though the former played an undisputed role in supervising and taxing the British province, as well as providing a ready reserve to be re-deployed on the Continent when the time arose. It is also seems clear that the soldiers maintained their strategic position in the island until the end of Roman occupation (Allason-Jones 1991; Breeze 1991; Mattingly 2006, 128, 158).

#### 3.3.1 Germanic Legionaries

There are a handful of inscriptions revealing that the three legions permanently stationed in Britain included soldiers of Germanic origin. All of these inscriptions are concentrated on the northern frontiers, where, it seems, levies of Germanic legionaries were used in order to assist in the frontiers' construction. One building inscription at Newcastle, for example, records how the Sixth, Twentieth and Second Legion *Augusta* were topped up with Germanic levies from the German Rhineland (*RIB* 1322). An altar at Castlecary records a soldier of the Sixth Legion belonging to the Mattiaci (*RIB*

2151), who were a Germanic people situated in the *Agri Decumates* of Upper Germany (see Fig. 2.3), and a graffito at the site of an ancient quarry at Wetherall Cells (Cumberland) records a soldier of the Twentieth Legion as having the cognomen (nickname) 'Condrausius' (*RIB* 1006). The soldier's name has been most probably dubbed after his own geographical origins; the Condrusi were a Germanic people in Lower Germany, situated in the areas of what is now Liège and Namur (see 2.2).

Based upon the small amount of epigraphic data available, the numbers of Germanic legionaries in Britain are, naturally, impossible to quantify, but Breeze and Dobson (1991, 70) suggest that the Sixth Legion included a good number of German legionaries with provincial citizenship since the legion had been previously stationed in Xanten until AD 122. However, with the exception of the altar mentioned above, none of the other inscriptions pertaining to the Sixth Legion in Britain refer specifically to a soldier of Germanic origin.

Three inscriptions referring to centurions from Upper Germany have also been identified at Piercebridge (*RIB* 1022, 1026, *Britannia* 1986, 438). One of these inscriptions claims the centurion belonged to *legio XXII Primigenia* (*RIB* 1022) – a unit officially stationed in Upper Germany – and it is likely that the other Germanic centurions at Piercebridge belonged to this legion as well. A vexillation of *legio XXII Primigenia* was, therefore, most probably transferred to Britain in order to assist in the construction of the Antonine Wall (Jarrett 1976; Frere *et. al.* 1992, 318), and this is supported by building inscriptions of *legio XXII* uncovered from an unknown location in Scotland (*RIB* 2216). Another building inscription has also recently come to light at Birrens naming both the *XXII Primigenia* as well as the *VIII Augusta* (*Britannia* 1992, 318), and this was another legion nominally based in Upper Germany, mainly at Strasbourg.

### **3.3.2 Germanic Auxiliaries**

The bulk of the evidence for Germanic soldiers in Britain is in connection with the Germanic auxiliary units, and this data is far from negligible. As noted in the previous chapter, Britain was host to more Germanic units than any other province (see 2.4). As Table 3.1 also shows, more units of Germanic origin were stationed in Britain than the units drawn from any other people or province:

<b>Provenance</b>	<b>Number of Cohorts</b>
Germani	<b>28</b>
Galli	<b>10</b>
Hispania	<b>8</b>
Thrace	<b>3</b>
Dalmatia	<b>2</b>
Raetia	<b>2</b>
Pannonia	<b>2</b>
Africa	<b>1</b>
Dacia	<b>1</b>
Syria	<b>1</b>
Britain	<b>1</b>
Alps	<b>1</b>

Fifty-nine infantry units are recorded for Britain altogether. Twenty-seven of these were Germanic in origin, which accounts for nearly half of the full sum. Whilst this figure includes the twelve Batavian cohorts, which had either been disbanded or withdrawn from Britain by the second century (*I-VIII, I-III* and *VIII Batavorum*), this still leaves fifteen units remaining. The next in line are the *auxilia* raised from Gallic peoples (distributed in the provinces of Gaul and Germania Superior), who contributed ten units in total. Following these, is Spain with eight units. Nevertheless, little more than one or two units were drawn from the other provinces – Africa, Dacia, Syria, Raetia, Pannonia, Thrace and Dalmatia.

The names of these Germanic *auxilia* in Britain are as follows:

- I Vangionum*
- I Batavorum*
- I and II Tungrorum*
- I Frisiavonum*
- I Sunucorum*
- I Baetasiarum*
- I Cugernorum*
- I Nervana Germanorum*
- II, III, IV and VI Nerviorum*

Included in this category are also the two Belgic units with supposed Germanic associations:

*I Menapiorum*

*I Morinorum*

Besides these *auxilia*, two more Germanic units should be mentioned, a cavalry unit (*ala*) and a vexillation:

*ala I Tungrorum*

*vexillatio Marsacorum*

With the exception of the *vexillatio Marsacorum*, which is attested solely by inscriptions at Old Penrith (*RIB* 919, 926), Britain's military diplomas or 'discharge certificates' reveal that the remainder of the units had been sent to the province by AD 122 (see Table 3.2). Furthermore, since the diplomas only name *auxilia* whose soldiers were eligible for discharge, one can presume that all of the Germanic *auxilia* had been in Britain for a good twenty years prior to their earliest citation. All of these units seem also to have been posted to Britain directly from the Rhineland, which suggests that they were comprised of freshly raised Germanic recruits when they had initially arrived. In some small support of this is the diploma issued to a soldier of the *I Sunucorum* in Britain who was himself of Sunucian nationality ('Sunucus') (*RIB* 2401.6).

It should be further appreciated that Britain was the sole recipient of the auxiliary units raised from the Vangiones, Frisiavones, Sunuci, Cugerni, Morinii, Menapii, and Nervii. Whilst the Batavian cohorts were sent to other provinces apart from Britain, such as Pannonia, Britain received the full share of the *auxilia* raised from these other Germanic peoples. Five *auxilia* were raised from the Nervii, but the Vangiones, Frisiavones, Sunuci, Cugerni, Morinii, Menapii were only responsible for contributing one auxiliary regiment apiece during the entire Roman period.

**Table 3.2**

**Germanic and Belgic units listed in Britain's diplomas**

Data collected independently and references of relevant diplomas are given below

<b>Year</b>	<b>Germanic <i>auxilia</i></b>	<b>Belgic <i>auxilia</i></b>	<b>Reference</b>
<b>AD 98</b>	<i>II Nerviorum</i> <i>I Tungrorum (ala)</i>		<i>CIL</i> 16.43
<b>AD 103</b>	<i>I Baetasiorum</i>	<i>I Morinorum</i>	<i>RIB</i> 2401.1

	<i>I Cugernorum</i>		
	<i>I Tungrorum</i>		
	<i>I Vangionum</i>		
<b>AD 105</b>	<i>I Frisiavonum</i>		<i>RIB 2401.2</i>
	<i>I Nerviorum</i>		
	<i>I Tungrorum</i>		
<b>AD 122</b>	<i>I Baetasiurum</i>	<i>I Menapiorum</i>	<i>RIB 16.69</i>
	<i>I Batavorum</i>	<i>I Morinorum</i>	
	<i>I Cugernorum</i>		
	<i>I Frisiavonum</i>		
	<i>I Nerviorum</i>		
	<i>II Nerviorum</i>		
	<i>III Nerviorum</i>		
	<i>VI Nerviorum</i>		
	<i>I Sunucorum</i>		
	<i>I Vangionum</i>		
	<i>I Tungrorum (ala)</i>		
	<i>I Tungrorum</i>		
<b>AD 124</b>	<i>I Baetasiurum</i>	<i>I Menapiorum</i>	<i>RIB 2401.6</i>
	<i>I Batavorum</i>		
	<i>I Cugernorum</i>		
	<i>I Frisiavonum</i>		
	<i>II Nerviorum</i>		
	<i>III Nerviorum</i>		
	<i>VI Nerviorum</i>		
	<i>I Sunucorum</i>		
	<i>I Vangionum</i>		
<b>AD 135</b>	<i>I Baetasiurum</i>	<i>I Menapiorum</i>	<i>RIB 2401.8</i>
	<i>I Batavorum</i>		
	<i>III Nerviorum</i>		
	<i>IV Nerviorum</i>		
	<i>VI Nerviorum</i>		
	<i>I Tungrorum</i>		
	<i>I Vangionum</i>		
<b>AD 145</b>	<i>II Nerviorum</i>		<i>RIB 2401.10</i>
<b>AD 146</b>	<i>I Tungrorum</i>		<i>RIB 2401.9</i>
<b>AD 178</b>	<i>I Batavorum</i>	<i>I Morinorum</i>	<i>RMD 184</i>
	<i>I Frisiavonum</i>		
	<i>I Nerviorum</i>		



### 3.3.3 The Fort at Vindolanda

Over the past thirty years, the excavations carried out at the fort at Vindolanda have dramatically improved current understandings of how the Germanic cohorts were organised in Britain. The fort at Vindolanda was built on the newly emerging Tyne-Solway frontier in the AD 80s, and the tablets date to between AD 85–150 (Bowman 1994), thereby cross-cutting the periods before, and after, Hadrian's Wall and the Antonine Wall were both built.

The excavations and tablets uncovered from Vindolanda have signalled that as many as four Germanic units were based at the fort within the space of fifty years: *III* and *VIII Batavorum*, *I Tungrorum* and *I Menapiorum*. The Batavian and Tungrian units were the same ones who fought together at Mons Graupius. Whilst the *I Tungrorum* and *I Menapiorum* remained in Britain into the third century, the Batavian cohorts were evacuated from Vindolanda for the Danube c. AD 105 (Birley 2002).

Based upon the stratigraphic sequence obtained from the tablets and from the other finds excavated at the fort, the chronology for the units stationed at Vindolanda is as follows:

Cohorts	AD 85	95	105	115	125	135	145	155
<i>I Tungrorum</i>	-----		(c. 85 - c. 92-7)					
<i>VIII Batavorum</i>		-----	(c. 92-7 - c.105)					
<i>III Batavorum</i>		--	(c. 100)					
<i>I Menapiorum</i>		--	(c. 100)					
<i>I Tungrorum</i>								----- (c. 105-150)

As the above time-line shows, there is no distinct hiatus of occupation by the various cohorts, and it seems likely that the Ninth Cohort of the Batavians arrived at the fort when it was still at least partly garrisoned by the First Cohort of the Tungrians (Bowman 1994, 25). Once the Tungrian cohort was withdrawn, the Ninth seems to have shared the fort with detachments from both the Third Cohort of the Batavians, and the First Cohort of the Menapians. This is revealed by letters addressed to soldiers of the *III* and *VIII Batavorum* uncovered at Vindolanda (*TV* 263 and 311), whilst a military tent possibly belonging to the Menapian unit (with the abbreviation CIM) has also been identified from the fort (c. AD 100) (*RIB* 2445.1). However, after AD 105,

these units had probably been evacuated, and the *I Tungrorum* returned to its old base (TV 295). Although tablets are scarce during this time, the *I Tungrorum* probably remained in garrison at the fort into the mid-second century. This is suggested by three additional finds discovered from the fort: a spearhead with the abbreviation 'TUNG' (c. AD 120–40) (*Britannia* 1988, 502; Birley 2002, 76); a diploma (AD 146) issued to a Tungrian soldier named Amandius (*RIB* 2401.9); and lastly, a tombstone commemorating the death of Titus Annius, then a commanding centurion to the Tungrian unit (Birley 1998).

### 3.3.4 Additional Bases of Germanic Cohorts

Vindolanda provides a microcosm of how the other Germanic *auxilia* were likely to have operated in Britain during the periods before and after the two northern frontiers were being constructed. Noteworthy is the fact that four Germanic *auxilia* were barracked at this one site simultaneously. Nonetheless, it should be emphasised that we are still more or less in the dark concerning the nominal bases of the other Germanic *auxilia* in Britain, let alone their networks of communication. In spite of the diplomas revealing the units' presence, it is not until the late second, and mostly, third centuries that inscriptions were set up by the Germanic units at particular forts. Only the *cohors VI Nerviorum* and *I Nerviorum* set up inscriptions earlier than this, at the forts of Great Chesters and Caer Gai in Wales respectively. There are no such inscriptions informing us of the whereabouts of the rest of the Nervian units, however, nor for the locations of the *II Tungrorum*, *I Sunucorum*, *I Cugernorum*, *I Batavorum*, *I Baetasiorum*, *I Frisiavonum*, *I Morinorum*, nor even for the provenance of the Menapian unit once it left Vindolanda.

This dearth of epigraphic material must be set against the backdrop that the cohorts raised from non-Germanic tribes and areas, although numerically inferior to German ones, were much more receptive to this type of monumental display. For instance, the Fourth Cohort of the Gauls, recorded on diplomas in Britain no earlier than AD 122, is traceable to the fort at Castlesteads during the reign of Hadrian (Breeze and Dobson 1991, 246). Similarly, the *cohors I Hamiorum*, recorded on the same certificate, set up altars to their own goddess 'Hammia' at Cavoran during Hadrian's rule (*RIB* 1778, 1780; Breeze and Dobson 1991). The *cohors I Hispanorum* occupied the fort at Maryport during this same period (Breeze and Dobson 1991, 247) and various inscriptions attest its presence (*RIB* 816, 821, 822, 827, 828, 829, 855). The

same applies with both the Second Cohort of Lingonians at Moresby (Breeze and Dobson 1991, 248), and the *cohors I Dacorum* at Bewcastle (Breeze and Dobson 1991, 248). These units are again attested by a good number of Roman inscriptions (*RIB* ; *RIB* 798, 800, 804; 11872, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1800, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1896, 1899, 1904, 1914, 1918).

These examples go to show that the earliest inscriptions set up by the large number of Germanic *auxilia* stationed in Britain were not fortunate enough to survive, or they did not set up monuments to the same extent as units raised from other provinces. It may be relevant, then, that many of the Germanic peoples were equally indifferent to monumental forms of display within their own homelands (see 2.3.2). The lack of incipient epigraphic activity in Britain might, therefore, be symptomatic of a pre-existing cultural norm.

It is not until the latter part of the second century that inscriptions survive in reference to the Germanic *auxilia*. This is the period when the Antonine frontier was put in working operation (Table 3.3; Fig. 3.2), and the inscriptions of the Germanic units on this frontier are as follows:

*ala I Tungrorum* at Mumrills (*RIB* 2140);

*II Tungrorum* at Crammond (*RIB* 2135)

*I Nervana Germanorum* at Birrens (*RIB* 2093, 2094, 2097, 2100, 2104, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2115, *JRS* 1964, 178)

*I Baetasiorium* at Bar Hill (*RIB* 2169).

The remainder of the inscriptions date to the late second and third centuries, which is when Hadrian's Wall was reinstated as the major frontier.

Here, the above-mentioned *I Baetasiorium* (formerly at Bar Hill) was moved to Maryport c. AD 160–199 (*RIB* 843; 837, 838); *cohors I Tungrorum* (previously at Vindolanda) was stationed at Housesteads (*RIB* 1578, 1580, 1584, 1585, 1586, 1591, 1618, 1619), and the *VI Nerviorum* (previously at Rough Castle) was based at Bainbridge in the third century (*RIB* 722; *JRS* 1961, 193; *AE* 1962, 260; *JRS* 1969, 246). The inscriptions, and known provenances of the other Germanic *auxilia* stationed on Hadrian's Wall, are given as follows. Most inscriptions date to the third century:

*I Batavorum* at Carrawburgh (*RIB* 1534, 1535, 1536, 1544, 1545, 1553, 1559, 1560, 1562)

*II Tungrorum* at Castlesteads (*RIB* 1981, 1982, 1983, 1999)

*III Nerviorum* at Maryport (*JRS* 1967, 204)

*I Cugernorum* at Newcastle (*Britannia* 1980, 405)

*I Vangionum* at Benwell (c. AD 160–199) (*RIB* 1325, 1328), then later at Chesters (*RIB* 1482) and Risingham (*RIB* 1214, 1216, 1217, 1230, 1231, 1234, 1235, 1243; *JRS* 1958, 151).

Evidently, inscriptions cannot always confirm the full garrison of Germanic units at particular forts, especially when the numbers of inscriptions in question are few. However, the stones, when found in situ, are testament to some type of occupation and activity. Only two of the cohorts are attested on inscriptions further away from the northern frontiers, and these are the *cohors I Frisiavonum*, recorded at Manchester (*RIB* 577, 578, 579), and the *cohors I Sunucorum*, recorded at Caernarfon in Wales (*RIB* 430).

**Table 3.3.**  
**Bases of Germanic cohorts**  
 Data collated from Jarrett (1994) and Spaul (2004)

Unit	AD 43 – 70	AD 71 – AD 120	AD 121 – AD 139	AD 140 – AD 156	AD 160 – AD 199	AD 200 – 300
<i>Ala I Tungrorum</i>				Mumrills		
<i>I Nervana Germanorum militaria equitata</i>				Birrens	Burgh by Sands	
<i>I Tungrorum militaria</i>			AD 122		Housesteads	
<i>II Tungrorum militaria equitata c. I.</i>		Vindolanda (c. AD 90) Mons Graupinus		Crammond	Birrens	Castlesteads
<i>I Vangionum</i>					Benwell	Risingham
<i>I Baetastorum c. R.</i>				Bar Hill	Maryport	Old Kilpatrick
<i>I Bataavorum eq.</i>						Carrawburgh
<i>III Bataavorum eq.</i>		Mons Graupinus Stanegate, Raetia (AD 107)				
<i>IX Bataavorum eq.</i>		Vindolanda, Raetia (AD 116)				
<i>IX Bataavorum eq.</i>		Vindolanda, Raetia (AD 116)				
<i>I Cugernorum</i>				Antonine Wall?	Hadrian's Wall?	Newcastle
<i>I Frisavorum</i>			Manchester?			Hadrian's Wall?
<i>I Nerviorum</i> 1994, 63;				Caer Gai	Birrens	Burgh by Sands
<i>II Nerviorum</i>					Wallsend?	Whitley Castle
<i>III Nerviorum c. R.</i>		(AD 98 Britain)	(AD 122 Britain)			
<i>IV Nerviorum</i>			(AD 122 Britain)			
<i>VI Nerviorum</i>				Great Chesters	Rough Castle	Bainbridge
<i>I Vangionum</i>					Benwell	Risingham/ Chesters
<i>I Sunucorum</i>			(AD 122 Britain)			Caernarfon



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### 3.3.5 Germanic *Auxilia* in the Fourth Century

In general, auxiliary units tend to attract little scholarly attention by the time we reach the fourth century. Instead, emphasis is placed on the transformations within the late Roman army and the establishment of new types of military and irregular units (see Southern and Dixon 1996). The decline of the so-called ‘epigraphic habit’, in the second half of the third century (MacMullan 1982) also means that there is much less information for the Germanic *auxilia* after this time. Nonetheless, the *Notitia Dignitatum* – a list of the military units and forts dated to around AD 395 (Hassall 1976) – indicates that nine of Britain’s Germanic and Belgic units survived these major military reforms, and persisted until the final phases of imperial rule (see Table 3.4). The *I Batavorum*, *I Tungrorum*, *III Nerviorum* and *VI Nerviorum* remained at their old bases at Carrawburgh (Procolita), Housesteads (Borcovicium), Maryport (Alione) and Bainbridge (Virosidum) (Hodgson 1991, 91). The *I Frisiavonum*, once based at Manchester, was now at Rudchester (Vindobala). Whilst the *I Moriniorum* had scarcely left any epigraphic activity during its long tenure in Britain, the *Notitia* indicates that it was stationed at Ravenglass (Glannibanta). Two of the Germanic units had also been moved further south, to the recently constructed forts on the ‘Saxon Shore’ (see 6.3): the *cohors I Baetasiorum* at Reculver (Regulbium) and the *cohors Tungricana* at Dover (Dubrae). It is even possible that other Germanic *auxilia* survived into this period since the *Notitia* does not provide a complete itinerary of the forts in operation. For instance, the fort at Risingham (Habitancum) was not cited, even though archaeological data reveals persistent occupation up to this time. It is, therefore, assumed that the Vangionian unit remained at its last known base (Jarrett 1994, 50).

The *Notitia* at least serves as an important reminder that the Germanic auxiliary units should not be entirely forgotten because of the demise of inscriptions and diplomas. As we have already for both Britain and the Rhineland, the earliest Germanic *auxilia* were equally invisible in terms of epigraphic display (see 2.3.2).

<b>Unit Title</b>	<b>Fort</b>	<b>Modern Identification</b>
<i>cohors I Baetasiorum</i>	Regulbium	Reculver
<i>cohors I Batavorum</i>	Procolitia	Carrawburgh
<i>cohors I Frisiavonum</i>	Vindobala	Rudchester

<i>Nerviorum</i>	Dictum	unknown, but near south Shields
<i>cohors III Nerviorum</i>	Alione	Maryport
<i>cohors VI Nerviorum</i>	Virosidum	Bainbridge
<i>cohors I Tungrorum</i>	Borcovicium	Housesteads
<i>cohors Tungricana</i>	Dubrae	Dover
<i>cohors I Morinorum</i>	Glannibanta	Ravenglass

### 3.4 Patterns of Recruitment

It is clear that a considerable number of Germanic cohorts were stationed in Britain throughout the entire Roman period. However, the way in which they were replenished calls for further exploration.

The general consensus has often been that, whilst Britain's *auxilia* were initially raised from the particular people or tribe after whom they were named, there was little attempt to replenish these units with soldiers drawn from the original recruitment area (Dobson and Mann 1973; Birley 1979, 95; Holder 1980, 109, 116, 119, 123–4; Breeze and Dobson 1991, 143; Mann 1985; Mattingly 2006, 169). This consensus has been unchallenged for a considerable time and it was championed by one of Britain's first serious scholars of auxiliary units:

by the second century the cohorts and *alae* of the Augustan system were recruited locally from the areas they settled without any attempt to justify the ethnic titles which they still bore.

Cheesman 1914, 85.

Similarly, Cheesman (1914, 94) had assumed that native Germanic prefects no longer commanded these units – in contrast to what had been the case during Julius Civilis' time (see 3.2.1). However, new discoveries have rendered his opinion untenable, indicating that the Germanic units continued to be controlled by commanders of Germanic origin (Bowman and Thomas 1994, 24; Adams 1995, 129; Birley 1997, 279; 2002, 44, 66; van Rossum 2004). It is perhaps the case, then, that the current understanding of the replenishment patterns of these Germanic *auxilia* in general should also be revised.

The supposed lack of ethnic cohesion in Britain's peregrine cohorts has been primarily founded on those types of memorials recording soldiers belonging to a different *civitas* or *natio* from the cohort in question. This type of circumstance



applies in the case of the ‘Frisian’ (*cives Frisiaus*) Sextus Valerius Genialis, seconded into the *ala Thracum* (Fig. 3.1), and, one might add, the Brigantian (*natio Brigans*) recruited into the Second Cohort of the Thracians stationed on the Antonine border (*RIB* 2142). However, such examples receive far more attention than is commensurate with their frequency in the epigraphic record. Seldom is it pointed out, for instance, that there are ninety-seven inscriptions pertaining to the Germanic auxiliary units in Britain and not one of them refers explicitly to a non-Germanic recruit (Table 3.5). In a similar fashion to the ‘Frisian’ Sextus Valerius Genialis, the recorded personal names of most of the soldiers exhibit standardised Roman nomenclature making their provenance difficult to determine (Table 3.5). As Carol van Driel-Murray (forthcoming) also emphasises, it is possible that ‘the majority of the units continued to be recruited from their own tribal area.’ Those few inscriptions suggesting otherwise should, therefore, be seen as the exceptions to the rule.

In Britain, the ethnic coherency of some of its *auxilia* has been confirmed by the recent discovery of a third-century statue-base from the fort at Vindolanda. By this period, the fort was occupied by the Fourth Cohort of the Gauls – a unit recorded in Britain’s diplomas since AD 122 (*CIL* 16.69) – and, at Vindolanda, seven other inscriptions are recorded for the cohort (*RIB* 1685, 1686, 1687, 1688, 1705, 1706, 1710). Whilst the *III Gallorum* had been assumed to have been largely replenished with British or at least non-Gallic soldiers, the statue-base shows otherwise: it was set up by *cives Galli* (Gallic peoples) to their own ‘Gallic goddess’ with the assent of the native ‘Britons’: *cives Galli de Galliae conco[r]desque Britanni*. The inscription reveals that the *III Gallorum* continued to receive Gallic provincials from the mainland (Tomlin and Hassall 2007, 346; Selkirk 2007). More examples of this kind can be cited in connection with Britain’s significant number of Germanic *auxilia*.

**Table 3.5**

**Inscriptions referring to Germanic units (monumental)**

Data collected independently and references of relevant inscriptions are given below

***I Batasiorum***

Location	Type	Content and Date (where applicable)	Reference
Bar Hill	altar	c. mid-second century	<i>RIB</i> 2169
Maryport	altar	deity Jupiter, Attius Tutor, prefect	<i>RIB</i> 830
Maryport	altar	deity Mars, T. Attius Tutor, prefect	<i>RIB</i> 837
Maryport	altar	to Emperor’s Victory, T. Attius Tutor, prefect	<i>RIB</i> 842

Maryport	building stone	to Emperor's Victory, Ulpus Titianus, prefect	RIB 843
Old Kilpatrick	dedication slab	Jupiter, Publicius Maternus, prefect, Julius <i>Britannia</i> 1970, 310	Old Kilpatrick
Reculver	tiles	legend 'CIB'	RIB 2468
<b><i>I-XIII Batavorum</i></b> - No epigraphic traces			
<b><i>I, II, III, XI Batavorum</i></b> - No epigraphic traces			
<b><i>I Batavorum</i></b>			
Castlesteads	altar	Mars Cocidius, centurion Martius (possibly 2 <sup>nd</sup> century)	RIB 2015
Caravoran	building stone	(possibly Hadrianic)	RIB 1823
Caravoran	building stone		RIB 1824
Carrowburgh	tombstone	heir Hilario	RIB 1562
Carrowburgh	tombstone	Longinus, trumpeter	RIB 1559
Carrowburgh	tombstone	standard bearer, son of Milenus,	RIB 1560
Carrowburgh	altar	Fortuna, Marcus Flaccinius, prefect	RIB 1536
Carrowburgh	altar	Nymphs and the Genii loci, M. Hispanius Modestinus, prefect	JRS 1961, 193
Carrowburgh	altar	Mithras, Lucius Antonius Proculus, prefect	RIB 1544
Carrowburgh	altar	Mithras, Aulus Clutentius Habitus, prefect	RIB 1545
Carrowburgh	altar	Covventina, T. D(...) Cosconianus, prefect	RIB 1534
Hadrian's Wall	bronze panel	'Invincible God', Aulus Maximus	<i>Britannia</i> 2002, 358
<b><i>I Cugernorum</i></b>			
Carrowburgh	altar	Coentine, Aur(elius) Campester	RIB 1524
Midlothian	milestone		RIB 2313
Newcastle	dedication slab	Carrowburgh	<i>Britannia</i> 1980, 405
<b><i>I Frisiavonum</i></b>			
Manchester	building stone	Maasavo, prefect (possibly 1 <sup>st</sup> century)	RIB 577
Manchester	building stone	Quintianus, prefect	RIB 578
Manchester	building stone	Cudrenus, centurion	RIB 579
Melandra Castle	building stone	(possibly mid-second century)	RIB 279
Carrowburgh	altar	Convetina Mausaeus, optio (3 <sup>rd</sup> century)	RIB 1523
<b><i>I Nervana Germanorum</i></b>			
Caer Gai	altar	Hercules, Julius, soldier son of Gavero (c. AD 100-140)	RIB 418
Birrens	altar	Jupiter, L. Faenius Felix (c. AD 142-156)	RIB 2097
Birrens	altar	Fortuna	RIB 2093
Burgh-by-Sands	altar	Jupiter, Publius Tuscilius, commander	RIB 2041
Netherby	altar	Cocidius, Peternius Maternus, tribune	RIB 966
<b><i>II Nerviorum</i></b>			

Netherby	altar	Cocidius, Peternius Maternus, tribune	<i>RIB</i> 966
Carrawburgh	altar	Genii loci, Texandri and Svve(vae), dedicators	<i>RIB</i> 1538
Wallsend	altar	Mercury	<i>RIB</i> 1303
Vindolanda	altar	Cocidius, Decimus Caerellius Victor, prefect	<i>RIB</i> 1683
High Rochester		building stone	<i>Britannia</i> 1983, 337
<b><i>III Nerviorum</i></b>			
Maryport	tombstone		<i>JRS</i> 1967, 204
<b><i>VI Nerviorum</i></b>			
Great Chesters	building stone	G. Julius Barbarus, prefect (possibly Hadrianic)	<i>RIB</i> 1731
Rough Castle	building stone	(possibly Antonine)	<i>RIB</i> 2145
Rough Castle	building stone	Fl. Betto	<i>RIB</i> 2144
Bainbridge	building stone	L. Vin..us Pius, prefect (3 <sup>rd</sup> century)	<i>RIB</i> 722
Bainbridge	building stone	Vinic(ius) Pius, prefect	<i>RIB</i> 723 (based on re-reading in <i>JRS</i> 1969, 246)
Bainbridge	building stone	Julius Martinus, centurion	<i>JRS</i> 1962, 193
Bainbridge	building stone		<i>JRS</i> 1969, 246
Bainbridge	dedication slab	Julius ..nicundus, prefect	<i>JRS</i> 1961, 192
Carvoran	building stone		<i>AE</i> 1988, 836
<b><i>Nervan Cohorts of uncertain Unit</i></b>			
Whitley Castle	altar	Apollo (3 <sup>rd</sup> century)	<i>RIB</i> 1198
Risingham	building stone		<i>RIB</i> 1240
Vindolanda	altar	Titus Caninius, commander	<i>RIB</i> 1691
<b><i>I Sunucorum</i></b>			
Caernarfon	dedication slab	late 2 <sup>nd</sup> century at the earliest	<i>RIB</i> 430
Holt	tile	Julius Aventinus, soldier	<i>RIB</i> 2491.96
<b><i>ala I Tungrorum</i></b>			
Mumrills	altar	Hercules Magusanus, Valerius Nigrinus, <i>duplicarius</i>	<i>RIB</i> 2140
<b><i>I Tungrorum</i></b>			
Vindolanda	tombstone	Titus Annius centurion (mid-2 <sup>nd</sup> century)	<i>Britannia</i> 1998, 435
Castlecary	dedication slab		<i>RIB</i> 2155
Hare Hill	tile		<i>RIB</i> 2477
Carrawburgh	building stone		<i>JRS</i> 1966, 218
Housesteads	gravestone	Anicus Ingenuus, doctor	<i>RIB</i> 1618
Housesteads	gravestone	Hurmius, son of Leubasnus, set up by heir 'Capurus'	<i>RIB</i> 1619
Housesteads	altar	Silvanus Cocidius, Quintus Florius Maternus, prefect	<i>RIB</i> 1578
Housesteads	altar	Mars, Quintus Florius Maternus, prefect	<i>RIB</i> 1591
Housesteads	altar	Jupiter, Quintus Julius [Cur]sus prefect	<i>RIB</i> 1585

Housesteads	altar	Jupiter, Quintus Verius Superstis, prefect	RIB 1586
Housesteads	altar	Jupiter, Quintus Julius Maximus, commander	RIB 1584
Housesteads	altar	Hercules, Publius Aelius Modestus, commander	RIB 1580
Housesteads	altar	Mother Goddesses	RIB 1598
Housesteads	altar	Gods and Goddesses	RIB 1579
Housesteads	building stone		Britannia 1987, 369
<b>II Tungrorum</b>			
Crammond	altar	Matres Alatervae (mid to late 2 <sup>nd</sup> century)	RIB 2135
Birrens	dedication slab		RIB 2110
Birrens	tombstone	Afutianus, centurion, son of Bassus, dedicated by wife Flavia Baetica	RIB 2115
Birrens	altar	Fortuna, Publius Campanius Italicus, prefect (mid-to-late 2 <sup>nd</sup> century)	RIB 2094
Birrens	altar	Mars, <i>cives Raeti</i> , Silvius Auspex, prefect	RIB 2100
Birrens	altar	Ricambeda, <i>pagus Vellavs</i>	RIB 2107
Birrens	altar	Viradethis, <i>pagus Condrustis</i>	RIB 2108
Birrens	altar	Gods and Goddesses, Frumentius, soldier	RIB 2109
Birrens	altar	Emperor	RIB 2092
Birrens	altar	Minerva, C. Silvius Auspex, prefect	RIB 2104
Castlesteads	altar	Jupiter, Albius Severus, prefect (3 <sup>rd</sup> century]	RIB 1981
Castlesteads	altar	Jupiter, Aurelius Optatus, prefect, and Messius Opsequens, <i>princeps</i>	RIB 1982
Castlesteads	altar	Jupiter, Tiberius Claudius Claudianus, prefect, and Aelius Martinus, <i>princeps</i>	RIB 1983
Castlesteads			RIB 1999
<b>I Vangionum</b>			
Colchester	tombstone	possibly 1 <sup>st</sup> century, and referring to the Vangionian or Vardulian cohort	RIB 205
Benwell	tombstone	Decimus Julius Candidus, son of Quintus, aged 40	RIB 1350
Benwell	altar	Antenociticus, Cassianus, prefect	RIB 1328
Chesters	tombstone	Fabia Honorata daughter, set up by Fabius Honoratus tribune and Aurelia Eglectiane (no earlier than 3 <sup>rd</sup> century)	RIB 1482
Risingham	building stone		RIB 1234
Risingham	building stone		RIB 1235
Risingham	building stone	Julius Paulus, tribune	RIB 1241
Risingham	building stone		RIB 1243
Risingham	altar	Hercules, Lucius Aemilius Salvianus, tribune	RIB 1215
Risingham	altar	Jupiter, Raetian spearmen under Aemilius Aemilianus, tribune	RIB 1216
Risingham	altar	Jupiter, Raetian spearmen under Julius Victor, tribune	RIB 1217
Risingham	altar	Marcus Super, tribune	RIB 1231
Risingham	altar		RIB 1230
Risingham	altar		JRS 1958, 151

### 3.4.1 Soldiers and Commanders at Vindolanda

The writing tablets at Vindolanda (c. AD 71–140) reveal how the Germanic units stationed at this fort continued to receive soldiers and personnel raised from the Rhineland, and even from Free Germany (Birley 2002, 45; Mattingly 2006, 168). A probable soldier of the Tungian unit (c. 105–120) is identified as a ‘Trever’ (*TV* 182), and the Treveri were a people with quasi-German affiliations (see 2.2; *Germania* 28). Soldiers are also known to have been given new *cognomina* (nicknames) upon enlistment (see 4.4.2), and this makes it seem feasible that, as with the case of ‘Condrausius’ of the Twentieth Legion (see 3.2.1), the *cognomina* at Vindolanda, such as R(h)enatus (*TV* 603), ‘Frisiaus’ (Frisian) (*TV* 609), Suasso (*TV* 72; 609) and Fenius (*TV* 206), were probably coined after the soldiers’ own geographical backgrounds. The name Suasso, for instance, perhaps refers to the Sussions in Gallia Belgica (Strabo, *Geographika* 4.4.3), and although the lettering of the name is less certain (see *TV* 206 appen), ‘Fenius’ reminds one of the Fenni in what is now Finland (Tacitus *Germania* 46).

It is, furthermore, striking that none of these *cognomina* or recruits relate to ethnic groups responsible for raising their own Germanic units. A possible explanation is that there were too many Batavian and Tungrian soldiers in Vindolanda’s units for names such as ‘Batavus’ and ‘Tunger’ to offer a pragmatic means of differentiation, and the same probably applied to soldiers of Sunucian and Cugernorian origin, who were typically recruited into the cohorts of their own ethnic name.

The likelihood that the cohorts at Vindolanda were drawing recruits from Free Germany and the Rhineland is strengthened by the nomenclature of the two slaves listed in the fort’s archives. The slave of the Batavian prefect, Flavius Cerialis, was called Rhenus (*TV* 346; 657), and the slave of one of the Tungrian commanders was Albiso (*TV* 303; Birley 2002, 122). Slaves were commonly named after the location from which they derived (Wilson 1998, 26–29; Noy 2000, 6), and both of Vindolanda’s slaves were called after rivers in Germania – *Albis* being the ancient name for the river Elbe. If the commanders were selective enough to have their slaves imported from Germania it is not at all surprising that they demanded the same of their soldiers.

It is also commonly understood that some of the commanders stationed at Vindolanda were likewise recruited from the same regions as the Germanic recruits themselves. The commanders of auxiliary units were mostly drawn from a different social and geographic spectrum from the rest of the recruits, but it is believed that the Batavian prefect Flavius Cerialis (owner of the slave 'Rhenus') was of Batavian and even semi-regal descent. A decurion (*TV* 628) addresses the prefect as *regi suo* – 'his king' (Birley 2002, 80), and this title is strongly reminiscent of the terminology used for Julius Civilis and the contemporary commanders of the *stirps regia* (see 2.4.1). Additionally, the *gentilicium* 'Flavius' implies imperial enfranchisement under the emperor Vespasian (AD 69–79), and the cognomen matches the name of the general responsible for suppressing the Batavian revolt – Petillius Cerialis. It is reasoned, therefore, that the franchise of Flavius Cerialis was conferred either on himself, or on his father, for loyalty shown to both Vespasian and Petillius Cerialis during the time of the Batavian revolt (Bowman and Thomas 1994, 24; Birley 1997, 279; 2002, 44; Adams 1995, 129). Some Batavian commanders are indeed known to have remained loyal to Vespasian during this time, and even to have fought on the same side as Petillius Cerialis (Tacitus *Historiae* 4.56). It may have been due to such timely fidelity that the Ninth Cohort of the Batavians was itself not disbanded.

### 3.4.2 Recruitment in the Second, Third, and Fourth Centuries

The absence of early epigraphic data means it is not until the mid-second century onwards that any further inferences can be drawn about the replenishment patterns of the other Germanic units stationed in Britain. There is no data whatsoever to underpin the notion that the Germanic units were being routinely topped up with non-Germanic soldiers up to this time. Indeed, the surviving inscriptions reveal quite the opposite – that the units continued to receive Germanic soldiers from the mainland.

The *ala I Tungrorum* is a good case in point. It is attested in Britain's diplomas for AD 98, 105 and 122. In AD 140–156, it unit was stationed at Mumrills (on the Antonine Wall) where the only inscription attributable to this unit has been found. This is an altar set up by a *duplicarius* (soldier in receipt of double pay) named Valerius Nigrinus. The soldier provides no ethnic origin and his two nomina are Latin. However, the fact that this altar was dedicated to Hercules Magusanus (*RIB* 2140) would not be expected if the regiment in general was manned by non-Germanic soldiers or if this *duplicarius* was a native Briton (Fig. 3.4). As seen in chapter 2, the

votive inscriptions to Hercules Magusanus were restricted mainly to Lower Germany, and the sanctuaries in honour of this god were even used in the initiation of males into military service (see 2.4.1). The altar at Mumrills leads to the suspicion that this tutelary figurehead continued to play an instrumental role in supplying the existing Germanic cohorts with more ready trained men.

Three other inscriptions refer explicitly to the replenishment of Britain's Germanic *auxilia* with fresh levies from the Rhineland. These inscriptions once again undermine the model of the peregrine cohorts being largely filled with local recruits. For instance, the *cohors II Tungrorum* had been based in Britain since the battle of Mons Graupius, but when it later came to be stationed at Birrens (AD 160–199), some of its recruits derived from two discrete *pagi* (districts) in Germania Inferior: 'Vellaus' is recorded on one of the inscriptions (*RIB* 2107) and 'Condrustris' is recorded on the second (*RIB* 2108; Fig. 3.5). The Condrusi were one of the original members of Julius Caesar's *Germani cisrhenani* (*de Bello Gallico* 6. 32), and they formed a sub-group within the Tungri's own *civitas*. The Vellavi were probably another Rhenish sub-group and Leo Weisgerber (1968, 154) highlights how the suffix *-avi* compares with other peoples located on the estuarial fringes of the Lower Rhine, such as the Batavi, Frisiavi and Chamavi.

The third altar revealing yet more subsidies from Germanic tribes pertains to the Second Cohort of the Nervians. This altar was dedicated to the *genii loci* (the spirits of this place), and it was recovered from the Batavian cohort's fort at Carrawburgh (*RIB* 1538). As is the case with the Tungrian cohort, the soldiers of *II Nerviorum* had been retiring in Britain since AD 98, but the altar, dating no earlier than the third century, records the soldiers levied in this unit to have been drawn from the 'Texandri' and 'Suve[vae]' (Fig. 3.6). The Suevi/Suebi were located in the *Agri Decumates* of Upper Germany (see 2.3), and the Texuandri were the same people whose commune of longhouses at Hoogeloon was possibly founded by transrhine migrants (see 2.3.1). Additionally, literary records stretching as far back as Julius Caesar's time refer to Nervian people manipulating their own patron/client relationships in order to extract warriors from neighbouring peoples to serve in the Nervian warbands (see *de Bello Gallico* 5.39). What seems to be the case here is that these mobilisation strategies continued to be exploited in the late Roman army, and that imperial obligations could be met partially by groups such as the Nervii coalescing warriors from other Germanic tribes and polities.

Again, neither the Texuandri nor the Suebi were directly responsible for raising their own Germanic auxiliary units. However, it is not surprising, given the persistence of these traditional methods of recruitment, that native commanders were often given a position of power over these Germanic cohorts, as had been the case in Julius Civilis' day (see 2.2). In Britain, most of the inscriptions attributable to the Germanic units were also, naturally, set up by their commanders (see Table 3.5), and whilst one of these prefects came from non-Germanic stock (*RIB* 1545), other commanders may well have originated from the Rhineland. For instance, as Anthony Birley (2002, 61) points out, the commanders of the *I Tungrorum* at Housesteads were known as 'prefects' (*praefecti*), even though the cohort was milliary (comprising of 800 as opposed to 500 men), and it should have been commanded by 'tribunes' (*tribuni*) (*RIB* 1578, 1580, 1584, 1585, 1586, 1591). Birley (2002, 61) suggests this may have been because the 'members of the Tungrian aristocracy had been given this title in their homeland, as *praefecti civitatis* administering their people for Rome'.

Nonetheless, one is even more struck by the term *princeps* recorded on four altars at Castlesteads, three of which can be directly attributed to *II Tungrorum* stationed at this site (*RIB* 1981, 1982, 1983, 1991). Michael Speidel (1981) points out that this term most probably refers to an 'ad hoc military commander', but it must not be forgotten that *principes* played a prominent role in the recruitment strategies and martial institutions of Germanic peoples located in the Rhineland. As seen in chapter 2, for instance, the *principes* or 'military commanders' were elected on a democratic basis in the native Germanic tribal assemblies (*concilia*) (*de Bello Gallico* 4.23), and the *principes* or 'tribal chiefs' were also responsible for issuing the *iuvenes* (young men) with a shield and spear in these same *concilia* in order to mark their initiation into manhood (*Germania* 13; see 2.4.1). The reference to the *principes* on the altars at Castlesteads may be another indication that rather traditional methods of recruitment and leadership were practised amongst the Germanic cohorts stationed in Britain.

Another example of a Germanic native commander is probably the prefect Marcus Simplicius Simplex, who set up an altar to Mithras at the Batavian unit's mithraeum (temple) at Carrawburgh (*RIB* 1546). His name compares with Marcus Simplicius Quietus, a tribune of *III Batavorum* at Adony, Hungary (*CIL* 5. 6096), and the shared praenomen and gentilicium of these two prefects suggest they belonged to



the same family (Birley 1953, 49). The commander in Hungary also certainly possessed Germanic associations, since the object of his veneration was the Germanic war deity Vagdavercustis (see 5.4.7), worshipped on altars in the Rhineland (*CIL* 13. 12057, 13. 8805, 13. 8702, 13. 5703, 8602).

The few inscriptions in Britain pertaining to the rank and file of the Germanic *auxilia* again support the case for sustained recruitment from the Rhineland. One altar at Great Chesters had been set up by a *duplicarius* from 'Upper Germany' named Melonius Senilis (*RIB* 1665), and the soldier probably belonged to the *VI Nerviorum*, in residence at this same fort (see 3.3.4). A *miles* (soldier) belonging to *I Tungrorum* at Housesteads most probably traced his own descent to the Rhineland as well, and this is suggested by his nomenclature: 'Hurmius son of Leubasus' (*RIB* 1619). Both of these names are extremely rare, but the father's name finds its closest parallels with the names 'Leubasna' (*CIL* 13. 3601) and 'Leuboric' (*CIL* 13. 3485) recorded in the civitas of the Tungri. The soldier at Housesteads is, therefore, likely to have possessed the same Germanic and even Tungrian links.

In addition to these inscriptions, the ethnonyms of individual males point to further cases of recruitment from abroad. As many as twelve inscriptions from the vicinity of Hadrian's Wall have been set up, for instance, by persons referring to themselves as *Germani* (Clay 2008). Whilst scholars have tended to dismiss the term *Germanus* as a Roman construct, not adopted by the tribes themselves, this outlook is at odds with the inscriptions found not only in Rome (see 2.4.2), but also in Britain. Many of the British examples are near to the forts commanded by Germanic units, which makes a clear connection between these 'Germans' and the replenishment patterns of the Germanic units. 'Lurio Germanus' and 'Venenus Germanus' are both recorded at Chesters (*RIB* 1483), for instance, and this fort was one of the bases of the *I Vangionum* (Holder 1982, 123). However, the most salient examples belong to the two 'Germans' 'Maduhus' (*RIB* 1528) and 'Crotus' (*RIB* 1526; Fig. 5.4), who set up altars at a shrine built by the *I Batavorum* at Carrawburgh (*RIB* 1534, 1535). Yet in addition to the Batavian cohort, and its 'German' colleagues, the altars uncovered from this same temple acknowledge the participation of the First Cohort of the 'Cuberni' (i.e. Cugerni: see 4.4.1) (*RIB* 1524), as well as the First Cohort of the Frisiavones (*RIB* 1523). Recruits belonging to non-Germanic *auxilia* are not even attested at this sanctuary. Again one might not expect the Germanic units in Britain to have been operating in this way if they were mainly comprised of non-Germanic

soldiers. Instead, it seems that the authority the Batavian *civitas* exerted over its 'Frisian', 'Cubernorian' and 'Texuandrian' neighbours on the Continent (see Roymans 2004, 60), was to some extent perpetuated and reproduced at the base of the Batavian unit in Britain. This sanctuary was being used as a social and religious meeting point for various groups of Germanic extraction, which parallels how the Germanic soldiers are known to have been operating in Rome (see 2.4.2).

Although the activities of the Germanic cohorts in Britain become obscure in the second part of the third century, as a result of the decline of the 'epigraphic habit' (see 3.3.5), the case at Carrawburgh remains the one exception to this rule. The large numbers of coins recovered from this same sanctuary reveal it was in continual use up until c. AD 391 – which corresponds with the period when the Edict of the emperor Theodosius placed a complete ban on pagan sanctuaries (Allason-Jones and McKay 1985, 12). Additionally, the excellent condition of the altars and reliefs at this same shrine is because they were carefully deposited within the waters of this sanctuary, perfectly intact, when the sanctuary was dismantled. This suggests that the temple maintained its cultural values up to this time, and we know that *I Batavorum* remained at its old base because of the *Notitia Dignitatum* (see 3.3.5). The sanctuary at Carrawburgh, therefore, presents a level of ritual continuity with Germanic connections, which was sustained by Germanic *auxilia* up until the final phases of the Roman occupation of Britain.

The inscriptions from this province certainly point to the likelihood, then, that the Germanic *auxilia* included soldiers of Germanic origin, even as late as the fourth century. Whilst the numbers of potential recruits are naturally difficult to quantify, and there is unlikely to be much consensus in the matter, it can be demonstrated that the fifteen Germanic cohorts stationed in Britain from the latter part of the first century onwards would have required in the region of 157,595 soldiers if they were maintained at their nominal levels for only a space of two centuries. (This figure is based on the belief that 8,400 soldiers would have been required originally; a further 67,200 soldiers would then be needed to replace the soldiers who had retired, and a further 81,996 recruits to replace those who had died prematurely before completing

their service).<sup>1</sup> This estimate is no more than hypothetical, and it does not take into account the full life-span of the units stationed in Britain, nor even the numbers of other Germanic peoples following these soldiers, in the form of dependents, slaves and traders (see 3.4.1). Nonetheless, the figure certainly suggests that the numbers of Germanic immigrants entering Britain was much higher than commonly supposed, if the Germanic units continued to receive Germanic soldiers from the mainland. Considering the fact that the estimates of the Anglo-Saxon migrations to Britain range from 10,000 (Higham 1992, 255) to a maximum of 200,000 settlers (Thomas *et al.* 2006), the numbers of Germanic migrants entering Britain before this time are undoubtedly substantial by the standards of the ancient world. The migrants may not have been without some significance for demographic developments in the post-Roman period.

Nonetheless, whilst there is conclusive evidence for Germanic soldiers entering Britain, it does not necessarily follow that they remained in the island upon the completion of their military service.

### **3.5 Back-Migration, Sedentism, and Procreation**

One of the many topics which has been brought to the fore in studies of migration in recent years is that, especially with regards to ‘economic-based migrations’, brought about by short-term employment opportunities, significant levels of ‘back-migration’ to the original homelands can often follow (Trafford 2000, 26; Kolinsky, 2002). It is, therefore, of little surprise that the archaeological evidence for the Germanic soldiers stationed in Britain is found on both sides of the North Sea, suggesting that some soldiers remained in Britain, but others returned to their original homes.

On a general level, military diplomas have tended to imply that very few soldiers returned to their original homelands in this way, with only 10% of them being found outside the province in which they had originally been issued (Roxan 1997). However, as Derks and Roymans (2006) justifiably point out, the soldiers from Lower Germany returned home in much greater percentages than this. Ten diplomas have been uncovered from Lower Germany, and whilst five of them had

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<sup>1</sup> The last figure is based on Ian Haynes’ (2001) calculations that the entire imperial army (estimated at 215, 000 soldiers) required 10, 500 new recruits annually to replace those who had died prematurely. Thus, in smaller figures, a quingenary cohort would have required an annual sum of 24.4 soldiers.

been issued there, four had been issued to soldiers stationed in Britain. The British diplomas were found at Flémalle (Belgium) (AD 98), Delwijnen (AD 114), Hoogeloon (AD 129), and Nijmegen (AD 154), and in ethnographic terms, these areas correspond with the domain of the Batavians, Tungrians and Texuandri. Whilst neither the names of the soldiers nor the unit-titles have survived in these diplomas, it stands to reason that the certificates belonged to Germanic soldiers in Britain who returned home after completing their military service. Jan Slofstra (1991) posits that the diploma at Hoogeloon may even have belonged to a Germanic prefect of some status. This is because the diploma was uncovered from the aforementioned villa, which was otherwise surrounded by a nucleated settlement of longhouses (see 2.3.1).

Thus, it was not only the soldiers and commanders of Julius Civilis' era who found the means to return to their homelands. This level of 'back-migration' from Britain persisted into the second century. What is more, the evidence provided by these diplomas is only a drop in the ocean when compared with what the archaeological data recently uncovered from the Batavian polity has revealed about patterns of mobility between Britain and the Rhenish provinces. Fragments of Roman weaponry have been recovered from almost every settlement and longhouse excavated within the Batavian regions. Since civilians were not often allowed to be in the possession of Roman military equipment (James 1997), it seems a reasonable deduction that the vast majority of offensive and defensive military gear belonged to returning veterans (Derks and Roymans 2006). Most of the weapons date to the first century, which is when the bulk of the Batavian units were stationed in Britain (see 3.2.1). The finds dwindle from the late second century onwards, and this has been attributed to a downturn in native recruitment (Nicolay 2001, 2007; Derks and Roymans 2006). However, the other option is that the soldiers in question were simply not returning to their homelands in quite the same numbers.

On the northern British frontiers, few items of military equipment or even regalia exclusive to the army have come to light from any of the civil settlements (Allason-Jones 1991; 2001). This means that little can be explicitly stated about the settlement patterns of veterans via the archaeological record. It should also be borne in mind that acidic soils are not as conducive to the preservation of metal-ware as the Lower Rhine's alkaline sediments (see Bridger 2006). Nonetheless, in spite of deficiencies in archaeological material, the evidence for both Germanic soldiers and

even their families in Britain can to some extent be reconstructed via the available diplomas, inscriptions, and writing tablets.

Five diplomas in Britain provide the name of the veteran's unit, and two of these are the same diplomas recording the Germanic *auxilia* already mentioned. One is the diploma issued to a veteran of the *cohors I Tungrorum* uncovered at Vindolanda, and dating to AD 146. The second is the 'Sunucian' soldier by *natio* (origin), who retired from the *cohors I Sunucorum* in AD 124, and his diploma was found at Stannington, Yorkshire (*RIB* 2401.6). The ethnic origin of the Tungrian recruit has not survived, but the diploma from Yorkshire at least provides one example issued to a soldier of Germanic origin which did not end up in Belgium, Germany or the Netherlands.

The Vindolanda tablets also reveal that some veterans remained close to the fort. For instance, one tablet identifies a series of hunting items left in the charge of the 'veterans' c. AD 105 (*TV* 593), presumably when the rest of the Batavian cohort was transferred to Moesia (Birley 2002, 149). This suggests that a veteran colony remained in Britain even after the departure of its parent cohort. The tablets also show that the Batavian recruits supported families in Britain even before they had retired. The camp prefect Flavius Cerialis had a wife present at the fort, and possibly one son (*TV* 291, 292). Moreover, women are greeted in several letters addressed to regular inmates of the Batavian cohort (*TV* 310, 642, 643, 650), and it is possible that 'Crispa Polionis' (Pollo's Crispa) was a soldier's *de facto* spouse (*TV* 187; Birley 2002, 103).

Soldiers below the level of centurion were not officially allowed to marry, but *de facto* marriages were commonplace (Campbell 1978; Allason-Jones 1989, 50-65; Wells 1997, 1998), and some of the women connected with the Batavian cohort may even have come from the Rhineland since names such as 'Thuttena' and 'Velbutena' do not suggest British origins (see 5.4.1). Additionally, the celebration of the Matronalia by the Batavian unit (*TV* 581) is further confirmation that a significant number of *de facto* wives were residing in the area. The Matronalia was an important festival, held at the beginning of each New Year, which was celebrated not only by the men for their wives, but by the wives themselves in honour of Juno, goddess of childbirth and the moon (Bowman and Thomas 1996). This suggests the inhabitants at Vindolanda were keen to raise new families, and Anthony Birley (2002, 130) reasons that the festival might have been an incipient manifestation of the Germanic

cult of the 'Mother Goddesses', represented in epigraphic form in the Rhineland (see 2.3.3).

Despite the paucity of tablets after the Batavian units' departure, there are some indications that the Tungrian cohort similarly allowed women to reside in its own premises. More letters refer to women (*TV* 353; 670), and the phrase *contubernalis Tagamatis* (Tagamas' companion) may be another allusion to a resident wife (*TV* 182; Bowman and Thomas 1994, 29; Birley 2002, 102). Moreover, the high numbers of feminine- and child-sized shoes recovered from the cohort's barracks is further proof that families were sanctioned and that provision was even made for the soldiers' offspring (van Driel-Murray 1995). One could imagine that many of the male members of this offspring would have been trained to follow in their fathers' footsteps by being given positions in the Roman army. Soldiers regularly entered the army in this way, a custom which became mandatory in the reign of Diocletian (AD 284–305) (Dobson and Mann 1973). It is possible then that continued levels of 'ethnic recruitment' from abroad, coupled with 'hereditary recruitment' in Britain, may have reinforced the overall cultural and ethnic focus of these Germanic units even into the second and third centuries.

The inscriptions uncovered from the vicinity of Hadrian's Wall at least admit the possibility that the soldiers of Germanic cohorts in Britain continued to maintain families into these later times. One memorial at Chesters was in honour of a daughter of a tribune of the Vangionian unit (*RIB* 1482), and it is possible that the boy identified as 'Aemilianus aged ten' at Risingham (*RIB* 1246) belonged to another Vangionian commander. This is because his name bears comparison with the Vangionian tribunes Aemilius Aemilianus (*RIB* 1216) and Lucius Aemilius Salvianus (*RIB* 1215), who were both stationed at this same fort.

None of the above inscriptions or tablets prove definitively that they were in any way directly connected with Germanic migrants or their descendants. However, five tombstones on the frontier do signify such direct Germanic and familial links. The 'German' Lurio at the fort of the Vangionian unit at Chesters had, for instance, a sizeable family on the frontier: his monument was dedicated in honour of his 'son Canio', 'sister Ursa' and 'wife Julia' (*RIB* 1483). At Piercebridge, a tombstone refers to 'a most devout wife' of a 'tribune from Upper Germany' (*Britannia* 1986, 17). Two tombstones at Old Penrith also refer to Germanic migrants. One tombstone commemorates a cavalry soldier named [Ta]gadunus from Ulpia Trajana (Xanten),

and it was erected by his son Martius (*RIB* 935). The second tombstone was set up by Vindicianus to both his brother ‘Crotilo the German aged 26 years’, as well as his sister ‘Greca aged five years’ (*RIB* 934). Considering the sister’s young age, one is tempted to think that the siblings’ parents might have even been residing in the same area.

The last memorial, attesting the settlement of persons and families of Germanic origin on the northern frontier, is a gravestone recovered from the Tungrian cohort’s base at Housesteads. The inscription not only exemplifies the infiltration of people from the Rhineland, but it shows that some of them amassed their own dowry which they were in a position to bequeath to others. ‘Delfinus, the son of Rautio from Upper Germany’ set up this particular monument to a series of individuals from whom he had inherited: ‘Gratus son of Fersio, Romulus son of Alimahus, Similis son of Dailus, Mansuetius son of Senico’ and lastly ‘Pervincia daughter of Quartio’ (*RIB* 1620). The names Alimahus and Fersio compare with the names of other Germanic individuals on the Continent, which suggests that their roots in the province did not stretch over a large number of generations (see 5.5.3). One also suspects that, if ‘Delfinus from Upper Germany’ had not been living in Britain already, he may have done so in order to come into his inheritance. By the time of the third century, land grants on the imperial frontiers were often allocated to veterans (*Justinian Digest* 21.2.11). It is perhaps through this avenue that some of Delfinus’ own legacy had been acquired.

All in all, there is conclusive material for both Germanic immigrations into Britain, as well as Germanic emigrations out of the island once the soldiers had completed their military service. Naturally, the immigrants would have had greater incentives for remaining in the province if they were given land on which to settle. However, the testimony that some Germanic soldiers were maintaining families on the island, even before they had retired, has two important implications for studies into migrant behaviour.

One implication is that children are recognised as one of the main deciding factors in why short-term settlements (brought about by circumstances such as employment) lead to much more protracted residencies. This is because the children born to migrant parents are themselves less inclined to move back to the place of their parents’ geographic origins. Rather, the children remain in the place of their own birth while retaining other types of traditions connected with their parents’ homelands

(Kolinsky 2002). This type of phenomenon may have some relevance here, and it should furthermore be kept in mind that the male descendants of Germanic soldiers may even have been obliged to serve out their tenure of 'hereditary recruitment' in Britain. This possibility seems especially plausible, since it is likely that the Roman state was anxious for there not to be too much of a build up of Germanic soldiers in the Rhineland (see 2.4).

The second implication, however, is that migrants can often have significantly higher birth-rates than the pre-existing population. This then contributes to their overall demographic expansion on a long-term basis. For instance, contemporary British immigrants possess statistically high birth-rates, and it has recently been proposed that high birth-rates amongst Britain's Anglo-Saxon incomers contributed to their overall demographic growth during the Anglo-Saxon period (Thomas *et. al.* 2006). This model has so far attracted little enthusiasm (see Pattison 2008), though it is a refreshing departure from the more traditional archaeological approaches, heavily framed by the historical narratives, which link the demographic expansions with the immigrants killing off the bulk of the native population or driving them to Wales (Schrijver 2007; Coates 2007). While the high birth-rates amongst the Anglo-Saxons have been attributed to their 'economically privileged' position (Thomas *et. al.* 2006, 2), one might consider whether the birth rates amongst the Germanic immigrants of Roman date were connected with differential household-sizes in their own homelands, or if they were in compensation for the immigrants' severance from extended kin-networks abroad and psychological responses to being part of a minority group? In either case, the evidence for the Germanic migrants in Roman Britain establishing their own families is important on both a social and demographic level. But procreation is only one of the agents which migrants typically employ when reproducing themselves in a foreign environment.

### **3.6 Cultural and Physical Difference**

The issue which should be addressed in as much depth as the data presently allows is the extent to which the Germanic migrants in Britain differed in their cultural norms and values, as well as in their physical characteristics. In the main, the material evidence for these migrants in Britain is intimately interwoven within the material culture standard to much of the Roman Empire. However, chapter 2 identified that



Germanic provincials stood apart from peoples in other provinces in a certain number of areas: in terms of their house traditions, agriculture and diet, their ritual observances, worship of Germanic deities, and in some forms of their physical and personal appearance. All of these same registers are found in connection with the Germanic migrants in Roman Britain. As a result, they not only validate the presence of Germanic immigrants in the province, but they intimate that the migrants maintained social and ideological networks with the peoples of their former homelands.

### 3.6.1 Society and Economy at Vindolanda

Vindolanda is the earliest fort in Britain where Germanic units in Britain can be recognised with any certainty. Whilst the archaeological material analysed from this fort so far reveals little that is clearly of Germanic character or specific to the Lower Rhine area (Pearce pers. comm.), some correspondences may well come to the fore given further analysis. The contents of the writing tablets from the fort indeed present a number of intriguing parallels, some of which have been noted in previous scholarship, while others have not previously been considered in this light.

That the Batavian recruits had a sense of their cultural and physical difference is understood through a certain military memorandum commenting upon the poor fighting tactics of the *Brittunculi* (little Britons) (*TV* 164). The report claims that, when mounted the *Brittunculi* neither threw spears nor carried swords. This probably reflects a contrast to what the Batavian recruits did themselves (Birley 2002, 95), and the importance to their own cavalry of spears and long swords is frequently illustrated in their surviving funerary monuments (Roymans 2004, 228).

The use of the diminutive in *Brittunculi* in this same memorandum is also probably a play on the small physical size of the British recruits in comparison with the Germanic soldiers. Classical sources highlight, for instance, that the stature of the Germanic people was typically large (see 2.2; Claudianus *de Bello Gothico* 1.3.2.). Another possible difference relating to the soldiers at Vindolanda lies in the matter of hair colour, since cognomina (nicknames) meaning 'blond' are common at the fort: Flavius (*TV* 248, 594, 200, 703, 786, 803, 843) and 'Florus' (*TV* 601, 643). Since soldiers often received new names upon recruitment (see 4.4.2), and Roman ethnographers frequently commented upon the blond hair colouring of Germanic

peoples (see 2.2), it is likely that Germanic soldiers stationed here would have shared the same genotype.

The remainder of the differences pertaining to the soldiers at the fort are solely cultural. One of these relates to clothing. Soldiers generally wore a standard, military uniform, which allowed little scope for ethnic signification (see 3.2, 2.4.2), but the material of one of the garments listed at Vindolanda is in contrast with this norm. The woollen *sagum* (cloak) was a typical form of military apparel (Bishop and Coulston 2006, 68, 111), though the *saga corticia* ‘cloaks made of bark’ are otherwise unprecedented (TV 597). Bowman and Thomas (2003, 57) mention that the bast fibres of trees were used in textile production during the Swiss Neolithic, and yet there exists a closer parallel than this. In the mid-first century AD, the *Germani* were reported to have worn ‘*sagi* or cloaks from the inner bark of trees’: *virī sagis velantur aut libris arborum* (Mela *De situ orbis libri* 3, 26). As background to this, one should further note that the Germanic people’s tendency to specialise in cattle husbandry meant that wool was relatively scarce (van-Driel Murray 2003, 208), and that clothes made of leather, linen, and flax were regularly worn as an alternative (Pohl 2006). References to Germanic garments made from arboreal fibres persist until the late Middle Ages, and Norse sagas refer to similar clothes made from this same material, referred to as *næfra* (Cleasby 1957). One would not have expected the British natives to have habitually produced similar textiles since the prevalence of sheep husbandry meant that wool was not in short-supply (see Albarella 2007; *et. al.* 2008), and sheep’s wool is known to have been the chief source of fibre in Roman Britain (Wild 2002, 2004). Pre-existing norms and values may, therefore, have been one of the main stimuli for the soldiers at Vindolanda having dressed in garments worn more typically back home.

The most telling difference the tablets reveal about the communities stationed at Vindolanda, however, pertains to their dietary customs. The tablets preserve a vast number of accounts which detail the everyday dietary concerns of the forts’ inhabitants. It is, therefore, of no great surprise that, although the residents had access to a wide cuisine, influenced by the existing customs within the Roman army, some of the comestibles listed in the accounts refer to agricultural and hunting traditions which deviated from Italian and British protocols. Instead, the comestibles have much in common with the subsistence strategies of the Lower Rhine area.

The first such dietary anomaly to mention concerns the camp prefect Flavius Cerialis. One of the additional reasons why the prefect of the *VIII Batavorum* is thought to have been of Batavian descent is presented by a list of ingredients belonging to his personal archives (*TV* 208). The ingredients-list was recovered from the kitchen of his praetorium, and it includes ‘olives’, ‘spiced wine’, ‘liquor’ and ‘salt’, all indicative of the cosmopolitan eating habits an official of his position could afford. On the same tablet, however, is the term ‘Batavic[o]’ – ‘from the Batavian region’, which refers to some imported culinary item probably more difficult to obtain in Britain (Birley 2002, 151). The tablet signals that the commander’s diet was possibly conditioned by the types of eating habits originating in the Batavian homelands.

There is even greater evidence that the rank and file at Vindolanda cultivated eating customs more typical of the Lower Rhine area. The cattle economy, for instance, played a key role in the subsistence practices of Germanic peoples on the mainland (see 2.3.2), and similar agricultural practices seem to have been transported over to Vindolanda. A detailed survey of the zooarchaeological material is yet to be completed, but preliminary studies suggest that the consumption of cattle was markedly high (Pearce 2002), and items such as beef (*TV* 592) and butter (*TV* 204) are listed on the fort’s accounts. As the work of Anthony King also shows, these patterns in cattle consumption cannot have been entirely dictated by the diets prevalent in either Italy or Britain, since pig was the most popular in the former, and, as already indicated, Britain’s pastoral interests were heavily geared towards sheep husbandry (see above). Nor can the cattle-phenomenon be directly linked with the specific needs of the Roman army (for items such as leather), since the legionary sites in Britain still yield higher percentages of pig bones – in accordance with Italian protocols (King 1984, 219; 2001). It is for this reason that Anthony King equates the incidence of cattle in British sites such as Vindolanda with the pre-existing importance of this animal-based economy in Germany and the Rhineland. He suggests this intensification is symptomatic of ‘Gallicisation or Germanisation of the diet’ rather than a ‘Romanisation’ (King 2001, 221).

In view of this observation, then, it should be additionally pointed out that some of Vindolanda’s cattle and wheat supplies appear to have even been managed by migrants from abroad, some of whom were probably of Germanic origin. During the occupation of the fort by the First Cohort of the Tungrians (c. AD 105–120), for

instance, a wheat merchant records on one side of a tablet, that he was a *homo transmarinus* (man from overseas) (TV 344), and, on the reverse, that his ‘father’ was ‘placed in charge of the oxen’ (TV 180). The remainder of the tablet is dedicated to wheat expenditure, which confirms that the family’s oxen were exploited primarily for traction and for arable cultivation. Moreover, barley (*hordeum*) was one of the main staples readily consumed at Vindolanda, and it was one of the chief grains the fort’s oxen were being used to plough (TV 159, 185, 190, 213, 583, 584, 622, 672, 682). Barley is generally believed to have been rather a strange preference since it was chiefly reserved for either horses or for soldiers in reprimand (Davies 1971, 140; Pearce 2002; Southern 2007, 133). It is important, therefore, that barley was also the chief grain within the coastal regions of the Lower Rhine, precisely because it maintained a harvest, even when subjected to estuarial flooding (Bazelmans *et. al.* 2004, 13). This could explain why the grain was cultivated at Vindolanda. The fort’s own colonists from overseas were growing staples in emulation of those on the Lower Rhine; staples which probably corresponded with the soldiers’ own pre-existing tastes and cultural conditions.

This type of cultural and agricultural phenomenon seems to have been repeated in the case of the fort’s supply of geese and chicken. The *Germani* were renowned for rearing geese (Pliny *Naturalis Historia* 10.27.52), and the names of the fowl-farmers at Vindolanda, Sautenius and Chnisso (TV 581, 582), proclaim their Germanic origins. Both names are rare, but Sautenius is otherwise solely recorded on an altar in Pesch, Cologne, dedicated to one of the Mother Goddesses (Weisgerber 1968, 149). Both of these farmers may well have been of Rhenish descent, but it is additionally important that eggs were a particular delicacy at the fort. As many as two hundred eggs are listed, for instance, on one of the accounts belonging to the Tungrian unit (c. AD 85–97) (TV 302), and they are likewise mentioned in the Batavian unit’s archives (TV 193, 592), some of which were even eaten ready boiled, for ‘*ovaria*’ (‘of the eggs’) probably refers to ‘egg cups’ (TV 194). The consumption of eggs in this manner is again a little unexpected since they did not play a typical part in military diet (Pearce 2002, 938). Italian poultry was also mainly reared for its meat (White 1970, 323). It is perhaps more than coincidental, then, that those ‘fierce barbarians’ inhabiting the *insula Batavorum* of Julius Caesar’s time were singled out for their consumption of eggs, in addition to fish. This is the only point mentioned about these peoples.

Several streams form many large islands, a great many of which are inhabited by fierce barbaric tribes, believed in some instances to live on fish and birds' eggs.

*de Bello Gallico* 4. 10.

Whilst Caesar dismisses these islanders as 'barbaric', perhaps influenced by the strangeness of their eating customs in comparison with his own dietary customs, the consumption of both eggs and fish in this manner matches the eating habits observed amongst the earliest levels of the forts on the Lower Rhine (Davies 1971; Dixon and Southern 1992, 93). Similar customs seem to have been perpetuated by the Batavian soldiers in Britain as well, not only in respect to the birds and eggs, but also in regards to the importance of fishing. For instance, the aforementioned 'hunting equipment', left to the Batavian veterans in the vicinity of this fort (see 3.5), consisted of a series of items dedicated exclusively to the capture of fish (*evericulum piscatorium*), as well as birds: ducks (*anatarem*), swans (*laquii cinares*) and thrushes (*retem turdarem*) (TV 593). This tablet provides remarkable verification that the subsistence strategies carried out in the Lower Rhine, and even before Roman occupation, were perpetuated in Britain by the Batavian soldiers.

In such circumstances as these, one can make no more than generalisations, but it is often estimated that fishing did not play much of a part in the dietary practices of the native Britons. This seems to be true even in the case of areas excavated close to the ocean and fresh-water outlets, which have undergone rigorous sieving techniques (Nicholson 1993; Dobney 2001; Dobney and Ervynck 2006). As a result, the capture of fish and birds by the soldiers at Vindolanda may have been one of the various cultural mechanisms which allowed them to control their environmental conditions, and to adapt to their new circumstances, by making themselves feel like they were at home.

### **3.6.2 Germanic and Non-Germanic Deities**

In common with much of the Roman world prior to the rise of Christianity, Germanic migrants in Britain paid homage to a series of pagan gods with Roman, Oriental, as well as insular origins (see Clay 2007). These diverse religious practices are, naturally, repeated in the Rhineland itself (Stolte 1986). In Britain, thirty-one inscriptions have survived which honour Roman and Oriental deities and were set up by soldiers attached to Germanic cohorts. A further nine inscriptions were set up by

such soldiers venerating locally British gods: Coventina, Cocidius and Antenticus (Table 3.5). However, as many as fourteen inscriptions record the names of Germanic deities, which seem to have been largely transported from the Rhineland (see 5.3, 6.6.2, 6.6.3, 6.7). This evidence testifies that the Germanic peoples of this province maintained religious attachments with their previous homelands, even into the third and possibly fourth centuries.

The etymologies of these deities are discussed in greater depth in chapter six. However, a few cults to mention here include Mogons (*RIB* 921, 971, 1225, 1226, *Britannia* 1973, 329), who seems to be a personification of the town of Mogontiacum (Mainz) in Upper Germany (Birley 1986, 52; Irby-Massie 1999, 109). Mainz was the hometown of the Vangiones, and two of the altars in Britain have been found at the Vangionian cohort's base at Risingham (*RIB* 1225, 1226). These inscriptions, therefore, attest to a religious connection between the town of Mainz and the Vangionian soldiers at Risingham.

Another Rhenish deity is Viradecthis, worshipped by the *pagus Condrusi* of the *II Tungrorum* at Birrens (Fig. 3.5). The cult is otherwise restricted to the Rhineland – at Mainz, Trebur Vechten, Stree-lez-Huy (*CIL* 13. 6486, 6761, 11944, 8815, Simek 1993), and the Continental examples shed particular light on the deity's religious persona. The Mainz inscription is, for example, equated with Lucena, goddess of childbirth (*CIL* 13. 6761), and the altar at Vechten was set up by the 'Tungrian people and sailors who settling at Vechten': *cives Tungri et nautae qui Fectione consistunt* (*CIL* 13. 8815). These inscriptions confirm the cult's prominence in the psyche of the Tungrian people, and they even imply that the goddess was called upon in the foundation of new families and settlements.

Another intriguing inscription is one found at Carlisle, which was set up by an imperial slave (*Augusti servus*) Aetius Cocceianus to the 'land of the Batavians' (*Terrae Batauorum*) (*RIB* 902; Fig. 3.7). As already seen, Germanic slaves were a favourite among the commanders of Germanic cohorts (see 3.4.1), and this particular slave evidently felt a great sense of attachment towards the Batavian region.

However, the most prolific Germanic cult recorded on the frontier's inscriptions relates to the Mother Goddesses. This was undoubtedly the most popular native cult recorded in epigraphic form in the Rhineland (see 2.3.3), and this pattern seems to have been repeated in the case of the Germanic deities worshipped in Britain. As many as forty-three altars to the Mothers have been found in Britain so far, thirty-

three of which lie north of York. Whilst cohorts from Spain and Gaul were responsible for setting up three of the altars (*RIB* 1334, 1421, 2159), the rest of the cohorts in question were raised from the Germanic peoples. Temples in honour of these Mothers were built by the First Cohort of the Vangiones at Risingham, the First Cohort of the Batavians at Carrawburgh, and the First Cohort of the Tungrians at both Crammond and Housesteads (*RIB* 919, 920, 1224, 1598, 2050, 2135). Moreover, the vexillation of Marsacians at Old Penrith was accountable for another temple (*RIB* 919), and altars to the Mother Goddesses were also set up by soldiers of the Sixth Legion (*RIB* 653, 2050, 2064, *Britannia* 1978, 475). This legion had previously been stationed at Xanten.

The first point of note about the Mother Goddesses in Britain is that their few reliefs lack the supporting arm brooches and voluminous headdresses which are apparent on the reliefs in the vicinity of Cologne. The reliefs in Britain lack detailed resolution, and hairstyles let alone brooches are scarcely decipherable on some of the monuments (Fig. 3.8). It is possible that such details might have been painted onto the reliefs afterwards.

However, the epithets of the Mothers certainly reinforce their Germanic pretensions. Some of the Mothers yield the same epithets found in the Rhineland, such as the ‘*Matres Alatervae*’, worshipped by the *I Tungrorum* at Crammond (*RIB* 2135; Fig. 3.9), which finds its closest parallel with the *Alateivia* recorded by a doctor at Xanten (*CIL* 13. 8606). Another epithet is the ‘*Matres Hananeftis and Ollototis*’, recorded on an altar at Manchester (Fig. 3.10), which was most probably set up by the Frisiavonian unit stationed at this fort (*RIB* 577, 578, 579). The only other dedication to the ‘*Matres Hiannef(ates)*’ is at Cologne, which was erected by a soldier of the Thirtieth Legion (*CIL* 13. 8219; Simek 1993, 182); the same legion based at the fortress at Xanten.

What is noteworthy about the rest of the British epithets, however, is that they do not follow the same idiosyncratic pattern as the Mothers on the mainland. As seen in section 2.3.3, the Mothers worshipped in the Rhineland already carried a strong ‘migrant’ and ancestral presence, and it seems that this migrant presence was reinforced in the context of the cult in Britain. The status of these Mothers as ‘foreigners’ seem to have been overtly maintained, and they were not so much imported to Britain but worshipped from afar. This is indicated by the frequent invocations to the *Matres Transmarinae* ‘the Mothers from Overseas’ (*RIB* 919, 920,

1224, 1030, 1318 1989; Fig. 3.8), as well as the 'Matres Ollototae' (*RIB* 1031, 1032), which is explained on one altar as being an equivalent term (*RIB* 1030; Fig. 3.11). Other invocations refer to the Matres Domesticae 'Mothers of one's own nation' (*RIB* 2025, 2050, 652, *JRS* 1960, 237), and others, to the 'Matres Germanae' (*RIB* 88, 2064). One of these epithets was set up by Julius Victor (*RIB* 1224), tribune of the Vangionian cohort (*RIB* 1208, 1217), and others were set up by soldiers of the Sixth Legion, as well as soldiers of the Marsacian and Nervian units (*RIB* 919, 920, *RIB* 2025). The remaining dedicators to these foreign Mothers provide no unit titles, and they possess Roman *tria nomina*: Gaius Julius Crescens, Pomponius Donatus, Aurelius Juvenalis Asinus Senilis, Aurelius Juvenalis (*RIB* 652, 1030, 1318, 2025, Fig. 3.8). This makes these male's geographical provenance and ethnic background more difficult to define. However, it still seems likely that many retained particular, spiritual relationships with these places overseas rather than possessing no specific associations. Native cults generally operated on local levels where they were placated in the specific locales where they were thought to reside (Henig 1984, 168-71). Wherever the Mothers were thought to dwell on the Continental mainland, the fact that their worshippers in Britain paid homage to them from overseas suggests that they felt strong cultural obligations to do so.

It is also not stretching the evidence too far to mention that even the worship of the Oriental cult of Mithras by the Germanic units on Hadrian's Wall exemplifies these same religious concerns with the spiritual and cultural observances in the Rhineland. This cult of Mithras was widespread throughout the Roman world, but its emphasis on the sacrifice and consumption of a bull was perhaps one of the reasons why the mithrea were particularly popular in the Rhineland (Stolte 1986). In northern Britain, three such buildings have been excavated, and whilst it is not known which cohort was responsible for the mithraeum at Rudchester (Gillam and MacIvor 1954), the mithrea at Carrawburgh and Housesteads were built by the *I Batavorum* and *I Tungrorum* (*RIB* 1544, 1545). Both of these buildings have also yielded important sculptures of interest. The mithraeum at Carrawburgh, for instance, has uncovered a statuette of a mother goddess which had been placed on a plinth in its eastern antechamber. The only other example where this is paralleled is at the mithraeum at Dieburg, Darmstadt, where a Mother Goddess was uncovered from the same part of the temple (Richmond *et. al.* 1951, 30). The mithraeum at Housesteads also has a sculpture showing Mithras being born from an egg, when the god should have been



born from a rock or tree (*CSIR* 1.6.161; Fig. 3.13). Whilst the Housesteads image is believed to have been influenced by Orphicism, supported by the fact that Phanes is shown born from an egg at Modena, Italy, in view of the importance of eggs within the diet of Germanic groups (see 3.6.1), one wonders whether it was imbued with other secular and religious connotations which were much closer to the cohort's home?

### 3.6.3 Houses and Weapons

So far, the evidence for Germanic peoples and cultural influences in Britain has been restricted to the northern frontiers of Britain. Two sites in Kent (Cantium) provide an exception to this rule, although even some of this evidence is paralleled in Britain's northern frontiers.

For the Rhineland, it has been observed that long-houses and sunken-floored huts were one of the distinctive features implying the presence of Germanic peoples and the arrival of Germanic migrants (see 2.3.2). In Roman Britain, there is little evidence suggesting that its Germanic incomers introduced similar architectural traditions once they were settled in the province. However, this is a trend repeated in the case of the Anglo-Saxon settlements, which did not lead to the widespread importation of Germanic house-styles (James *et. al.* 1985; Hamerow 1999; Hills 2003, 101). Haio Zimmermann (1999) explains this phenomenon as being a result of Britain's warmer climate, which meant that the Germanic settlers did not need to stall their animals in the same manner as they had at home. This rationalisation does not account for the numbers of sunken-floored huts dating to the Migration Period which have been uncovered in much warmer areas such as those in Italy (see Wickham 1999; Valenti 2004). Nevertheless, one is here dealing with migrants drawn from different Germanic peoples (Todd 2004, 139–171), and one should not expect migrants to respond in a uniform manner to a plethora of different social and ecological conditions.

In any case, a handful of Anglo-Saxon longhouses and sunken-floored huts have been excavated from sites such as Canterbury, Colchester, Dorchester, Midlothian, Dunbar (Johnson 1980; Hines 1990; Proudfoot and Aliaga-Kelly 1996). One excavation at Monkton, Kent has also proved, however, that similar architectural traditions were being initiated by Germanic migrants of the Roman period.

The excavation at Monkton uncovered a settlement of twenty structures dating to the mid-second century, and some of these structures consisted of sunken-floored huts as well as out-houses (Fig. 3.13). The date of the settlement is provided by a complete barbotine cup, manufactured in the Rhineland, which had been structurally deposited within the centre of one of the buildings (Fig. 3.14). Bennett and Williams (1997) posit that the Rhenish cup served as a votive offering and mnemonic link with the immigrants' former homeland. This reminds us that even regular, Roman objects, traded widely throughout the Empire, retained geographically specific values. Here one is also reminded of the imports recorded in the Vindolanda tablets as originating from the 'Batavian region' (see 3.6.1), and these two case studies reveal how objects from the Rhineland were not simply alienated by trade. Instead there was an intimate understanding of the provenance of such items which contributed to their overall value in the eyes of migrant-communities.

What brought the Germanic settlers to Kent is not known with any certainty. However, some of the incomers may well have been connected with the types of industries facilitated by the Roman army. Many veterans are believed to have retired to the more clement climates and agriculturally productive regions of southern Britain (Bishop 1991; Mann 2002), and the evidence for Germanic soldiers in this part of Kent is provided by a second excavation in this county.

This excavation was conducted in an area outside the former Roman city walls of Canterbury, and it uncovered a derelict farmhouse where two adult males, aged around twenty and thirty years old, were found to have been buried (c. AD 200) (O'Connor 1982; Bennett 1982). The males' unorthodox and hasty burial suggested that they had both died an unnatural death, as both bodies had been placed in an irregular hole, with one body on top of another, and with their limbs flexed in an unsystematic fashion (Toynbee 1964, 300; Bennett 1982, 39; Garrard 1982; Fig. 3.15). The dress accessories and long swords accompanying these bodies betray their military connections, and Brian Gilmour (forthcoming) has recently put together a persuasive argument that they were soldiers of Germanic origin. No DNA testing or strontium and oxygen isotope analysis has so far been conducted on their skeletons, but the males' Germanic associations are implied by their highly unusual and distinctive, 'pattern-welded swords'.

As Gilmour points out, pattern-welding was a recent Germanic innovation (c. AD 200), and it was produced by twisting sections of steel to confer added strength

and a particular aesthetic appearance. Outside the examples in Kent, similar swords of this period are restricted to warrior graves in Free Germany, and to the votive deposits at Nydam and Illerup (c. AD 200 and 300) (Hoyland and Gilmour 2006, 43, 77-9; Gilmour 2007). This reveals that the British specimens were likely to have been another Germanic import, and not one readily obtainable on the open market. The earliest written reference to pattern-welded swords does not date until the late fifth century – when the king of the Warnii presented some of them as a gift to the Ostrogothic emperor Theodoric (Cassiodorus *Variae Epistulae* 5.1). The Warnii were a people allegedly residing in both central Germany as well as the Lower Rhine area during this time (Bazelmans 2004 *et. al.* 10; Dijkstra 2003). In view of the prestige of these weapons, Brian Gilmour (2007, 99) suspects that the swords in Britain belonged to fairly senior soldiers, perhaps ‘army officers of Germanic origin.’

The evidence confirms, therefore, that not only the northern parts of Britain were affected by a Germanic military presence. However, it is also clear that the auxiliary units stationed on Hadrian’s Wall had access to the same type of high-status, Germanic weaponry. The only other context where pattern-welded swords have been recovered in Britain dating to the Roman period is beneath a rampart at South Shields c. AD 197–205. Five swords were recovered altogether, and they are thought to have served as a ‘foundation deposit’ when the defences of the fort were extended (Gilmour 2007, 92). X-rays of one of the swords have also shown a bronze-inlaid depiction of Mars, and this type of decoration was untypical of Roman weapons (Bishop and Coulston 2006, 156). It is possible, therefore, that South Shields was the base of one of the many, as yet unprovenanced, Germanic cohorts. No epigraphic data for the occupation of this fort dates earlier than the Fifth Cohort of the Gauls in the third century (Breeze and Dobson 1991, 248), but, as already seen, Germanic units were not always commensurate with much epigraphic activity. However, the Germanic units may well have reinforced their Germanic connections through non-epigraphic means and through other types of ritual acts.

Moreover, pattern-welded swords became the ultimate status symbol and benchmark for sword manufacture in Britain in the Anglo-Saxon period (Davidson 1962; Gilmour 2007). The specimens at Kent, and especially South Shields, reveal that they were already the prized possessions of Germanic soldiers in Britain more than three hundred years before this time.

### 3.7 Conclusion

The annexation of Britain by Rome went hand in hand with the arrival of significant numbers of Germanic soldiers as well as Germanic auxiliary units. Batavian *auxilia* provided the principal back up for the Roman legions during the pioneer phases of occupation, and the establishment of the Hadrianic and Antonine frontiers resulted in even greater numbers of Germanic soldiers and Germanic *auxilia* being dispatched to Britain, some of which remained in the province until the final phases of imperial rule.

In general, the prevailing model has been that auxiliary units were rarely replenished with soldiers drawn from the same regions as the original cohorts. However, a thorough evaluation of the Germanic cohorts stationed in Roman Britain cannot be reconciled with this view. Instead, the evidence suggests that the units continued to be supplemented by Germanic immigrants as well as by their descendants up until the final phases of the existence of these units. Auxiliary units have often been thought of as invariably cosmopolitan in terms of the geographical origins of their recruits. Nonetheless, the detailed resolution provided by the fort at Vindolanda presents an image of the Germanic *auxilia* as being much more ethnically enclosed, not only drawing soldiers and commanders from Germanic territories but ancillary slaves, traders, farmers and female dependents as well. It is possible that the ethnic coherency of these Germanic units became more diluted by the third and fourth centuries. However, this is in no way supported by the available evidence. Rather, the evidence suggests that the units continued to mobilise soldiers, commanders and slaves from abroad and that the units were even supplemented by the descendants of the Germanic immigrants themselves. These two methods of replenishing the units may have contributed to sustaining their overall cultural and ethnic focus. Additionally, the Germanic cults in Britain and the objects imported from Germania suggest that the soldiers attached to these auxiliary units maintained ideological and spiritual connections with their former homelands.

The implications of this evidence for the Germanic *auxilia* in Britain, then, are that greater numbers of Germanic immigrants entered the province than has been commonly supposed. It also seems that, during this period, a fetish was propagated for Germanic gods and Germanic objects. Nonetheless, a subject which still needs to be addressed is whether the Germanic migrants and soldiers of Roman times spoke

philologically Germanic languages – as opposed to Latin or other native and foreign tongues. This evidence has important implications for the way in which Germanic languages served in the cultural and ethnic identities of the Germanic migrants in Britain. It might also mean that philologically Germanic languages had already arrived in the province prior to the Anglo-Saxon migrations.

## 4. Languages Spoken by Germanic Peoples

### 4.1 Introduction

Latin was the foremost language and *lingua franca* of the Roman Empire. As a medium for literacy, its importance to Germanic provincials has been encountered via the inscriptions, accounts and diplomas. In the Roman period, it was eulogised as the one language responsible for ‘drawing together the jarring and uncouth tongues of so many nations’ (Pliny *Historia Naturalis* 3.39). Nevertheless, how such ‘uncouth tongues’ should be classified in precise philological terms, and whether or not Latin superseded them on a monolingual basis, remains a subject of heated debate for various parts of the Roman Empire.

This situation particularly applies with regards to the *Germani*. It is indeed the case that philologically Germanic languages were spoken in many parts of Free Germany. However, the extent to which these languages were spoken by the Germanic provincials is more complex. In the absence of any vernacular texts produced by the provincials themselves, the evidence for their native languages must be constructed using the linguistic evidence.

This chapter has three main components. First, it examines classical perceptions of the native languages spoken by Germanic peoples, as well as the evidence for the distribution of philologically Germanic languages in Free Germany. Second, it focuses on the evidence for Germanic languages in the provinces of Germania Inferior, Germania Superior and Gallia Belgica – by examining the ancient ethnonyms, place-names, deities and personal names recorded for these areas. Third, it considers the evidence available for the conversion of the Germanic provincials to Latin on a monolingual basis. By addressing these issues, it can then be established whether the Germanic peoples entering Britain in Roman times were already the carriers of philologically Germanic languages prior to the Anglo-Saxon migrations.

## 4.2 Classical Perceptions and the Germanic Languages

Initially, classical impressions of the languages spoken by Germanic peoples were rather limited. The Cimbri and Teutones (circa 113–101 BC) were the earliest peoples equated with the *Germani* (see 2.2), and they were classed as typical ‘barbarians’ - the Latin term for ‘barbarian’ (*barbarus*) being adopted from the Greek βάρβαρος (*barbaros*) in reference to uncivilised societies whose tongues were not comprehended (Woolf 1998, 58-9; Ferris 2000, 3). The languages of the Cimbri and Teutones were thus measured against the inhuman noises of the animal kingdom: their ‘cries’ were described as ‘altogether strange and ferocious’, and their lamentations were compared not to ‘the wailings and groans of men’, but to the ‘howlings and bellowings with a strain of the wild beast in them, mingled with threats and cries of grief’ (Plutarch *Marius* 16).

However, Julius Caesar was the earliest surviving author providing specific information about the languages spoken by Germanic groups. His observation was that their language not only differed from the sounds of wild animals, but from the phonemes and lexical items of the ‘Gallic’ languages. This viewpoint is indicated in his passage when he declared that the Suebic king Ariovistus did not speak the ‘*lingua Gallica*’ as his first language, although, as a result of continued diplomatic missions with the Gauls, the Suebic king was competent in it as well (*de Bello Gallico* 1. 47)

Classical references to the *lingua Gallica* date to as early as the third century BC, and they were initially used in reference to the Gauls nearest to the Romans, in Gallia Cisalpina (Adams 2003b, 184–185). Then, in the mid-first century BC, Caesar duly found that the Gauls west of the Alps spoke a language akin to the *lingua Gallica* (*de Bello Gallico* 1.1), and Tacitus later indicated the same for the native Britons (*Agricola* 11). However, the languages spoken by Germanic peoples were not put into this same category, and Caesar was the first of many authors to make this type of distinction. Tacitus (*Germania* 43) stated, for instance, that, whilst the Cotini spoke the *Gallica lingua* – in his opinion sufficient testimony to exclude these people from the ‘German’ confederation – the Marsigni and Buri compared with the Suebi in ‘language and culture’ (*sermoneque cultu*). Similarly, the Batavi and Cannanefates were allegedly one with each other in terms of ‘language and origin’ (see Tacitus *Historiae* 4.19).

Suetonius (*Gaius* 47) even went as far as proclaiming that, when the emperor Caligula was short of Germanic recruits in preparation for Britain's conquest (see 3.2.1), the emperor enlisted Gallic soldiers as well, whom he made grow their hair long, adopt barbaric names and learn the *sermo Germanica* – the Germanic language. Whilst Suetonius introduces this antic as one of the many illustrations of Caligula's lunacy, the passage nonetheless highlights the dichotomy in the languages supposedly spoken by Germanic and Gallic peoples. It even suggests that the *sermo Germanica* was seen as an integral component of a Germanic soldier's martial prowess.

These sources certainly give the impression, then, that Germanic peoples spoke non-Gallic languages, which were oftentimes mutually intelligible with one another. It is known that various members of the *Germani* must indeed have spoken philologically Germanic languages, and there are several sources of evidence pointing in this direction. One of the most persuasive pieces of evidence is the number of terms which ancient authors claimed to have belonged to the lexicon of the Germanic people. The terms *ganta* 'goose' (Pliny *Naturalis Historia* 10.54), *sapo* 'soap' (*Naturalis Historia* 28.191), *glaesum* 'amber' (*Naturalis Historia* 37.42; Tacitus *Germania* 45), *framea* 'spear' (Tacitus *Germania* 6), as well as *bracae* 'trousers' (Tacitus *Historiae* 2.20) all share recognisable cognates with the lexis recorded in the Germanic languages (see Birkhan 1970; Green 1998; Rives 1999). The term *braca* 'trousers' is, for instance, related to Old Norse *brok*, Old High German *bruoh*, Old English *broc* (plural *brec*), meaning 'breeches' (Birkhan 1970, 247; Green 1998, 146), and the term *ganta* 'goose' is formed from the same roots as Old English *gandra* and Old High German *gans* meaning 'goose' (Green 1998, 186). What should be also appreciated when viewing these correspondences is that lexical items in any given language are essentially arbitrary, which means that there is no intrinsic relationship between what a word is and what it represents. Different languages will, therefore, utilise entirely different words to refer to the same concepts, unless they are historically related with one another or borrowing has occurred between the different languages (Leach 1976, 11; Fortson 2004). The correspondences between the ancient terms recorded in classical sources, together with the Germanic terms recorded in later manuscripts are, therefore,



indicative of a genuine philological and historical relationship which cannot be dismissed as coincidental.

On top of the evidence provided by these words are the few Germanic deities recorded in the classical sources, which similarly betray recognised Germanic roots and lexical items. For instance, the god 'Mannus' (*Germania* 2) is generally believed to preserve the Germanic word for 'man' (Rives 1999, 3), and the name of the 'Alcis', worshipped by the Naharvali (*Germania* 43) in what is now Silesia, are thought to relate to either Proto-Germanic *\*alhiz*, Gothic *alhs* meaning 'temple', or to Proto-Germanic *\*alsces* meaning 'elks' (Simek 1993, 9). Nonetheless, the evidence provided by these deities and Germanic words provide only a rough correlation between the *Germani* and philologically Germanic languages. The Germanic ethnonyms and place-names in fact offer the best testimony of the overall geographical distribution of these languages. Whilst Free Germany largely lay beyond the parameters of the Roman bureaucratic system, the ethnonyms and few place-names recorded for these regions point to pockets of Germanic-speaking communities inhabiting much of Free Germany. The map compiled by Gerhard Rasch (2005), for instance, identifies twenty-six place-names recorded in the classical sources for Free Germany, which are distributed along the Northern European Plain, the eastern bank of the Lower Rhine, the basin of the River Elbe, as well as in the areas of Slovakia and Austria (Fig. 4.1). These names preserve the roots of recognisably Germanic lexis, and the most popular root attested is the Germanic root for 'fort', which is cognate with Old High German *burg*, Old Saxon *burg*, Old English *burg*, *burh* and Gothic *baurgs*. This root is identified in four of the names Rasch identifies: Burgum, Laciburgium, Tuliburgium, (*saltus*) Teutoburgensis. Second in popularity in Rasch's map is the place-name element *-furd*, which is recorded in two of these names: Tulifurdum next to the River Weser and Lupfurdum next to the 'Luppe', which was the ancient name for the River Lippe in Free Germany. This element preserves a Germanic term for 'ford', cognate with Old High German *furt* and Old English *ford* (Rasch 2005, 160). Moreover, the first stems in these place-names preserve Germanic roots. The root *Tuli-*, for instance, in the names Tuliburg and Tulifurdum, conceals a Germanic root for 'woodwork, palisade', cognate with Middle High German *tulle* (Neumann 1998a, 267).

The first stem in *Laciburgium* is also cognate with Old Saxon *laca*, Middle Dutch *lake*, and the English 'lake' (Neumann 1998a, 266; Rasch 2005, 158).

The Germanic ethnonyms in Free Germany include names already highlighted in the introduction to this thesis, such as the Marcomanni meaning 'border men' (see 1.3), and the Ampsivarii on the Northern European Plain (Ptolemy *Geographika* 2.10), whose name means people of the 'Ems': Proto-Germanic *\*warjoz* 'inhabitants of' (see Kuhn 1959, 161; Green 1998, 161; Rasch 2005). The names of the Cimbri and Teutones are also particularly important because, although from Scandinavian territories originally, members of these groups had settled onto the left bank of the Lower Rhine by the first century AD. Moreover, their barbarian 'cries' and beast-like 'bellowings' first came to the Romans' attention in the late second century when they had invaded a series of Roman protectorates in Noricum and northern Italy (see 2.2). The Celtic/Gallic Ambrones and Helvetii are known to have joined the Cimbrian and Teutonic war-bands (Strabo *Geographika* 7.2.2), which means that they are unlikely to have been populated by peoples from one specific region, let alone one linguistic group. However, the ethnonyms of the Cimbri and Teutones betray Germanic associations, although not exclusively so. For instance, the main root of the Teutones is shared with the legendary *Teutoburgensis saltus* (see 2.3), and it is a recognised Germanic root for 'people', cognate with the modern 'Deutsch', and with Gothic *þiuda*, as well as with Old High German *diota* (Zimmer 2005). Nonetheless, Proto-Germanic *\*þeuda* stems ultimately from Indo-European *teuta*, and it thus shares cognacy with terms recorded in the other Indo-European languages, such as Oscan *touto*, and Old Irish *tuath* (Schmid 1986). This means that the name was probably understood in both Celtic and Germanic languages, and it is perhaps for this reason that it gained ground as an ethnonym for such a diverse and heterogeneous warband.

The name of the Cimbri is equally complex, and this is partly because it invites comparison with the modern Celtic name for Wales – Cymru (Gregor 1980, 14). Raymond Karl (2006) has even suggested that this name preserves another Indo-European root meaning 'people'. However, this is another root which is not exclusive to any one language family, since scholars have pointed out that the 'Cimber' ethnonym compares with Germanic place-names recorded in Scandinavia and northern

Germany, such as Hymber, Himbran, Himmerfjärden, Himmerland (formerly Himmerlande) and Himersysel (formerly Himbersysæl in AD 1231) (Neumann 2000). In view of these correspondences, the ethnonym has been connected with topographic descriptions such as German *kimme* and Old English *cimbing*, meaning ‘edge, horizon’. It is also believed that the name of the Cimbri was most probably dubbed after the region in Scandinavia from where this people had emigrated (Neumann 2000).

All in all, the evidence provided by these ethnonyms is undoubtedly ambiguous, although both names are not without Germanic cognates as well as Germanic geographic associations. The names of other groups one should mention from Free Germany are the the Usipi and Frisii, since members of these groups both came to Britain in the Roman period (see 3.2, 3.2.2). The name of the Usipi is commonly thought of as Celtic and means ‘good riders’, stemming from Proto-Celtic *\*wes (u) –ek etes* (Markey 1986). It has been suggested that the Frisians spoke a Celtic language during the Roman period (Schrijver 1999, 2000; Toorians 2005), although this premise is far from certain. The Frisians were indisputably Germanic-speakers in the early Middle Ages, and Old Frisian was one of the various Germanic dialects in use during the medieval era (see 1.3). It has been suggested that the introduction of a Germanic language to the Frisians dates largely to the Migration Period and that the Frisians of classical times spoke philologically Celtic languages (Schrijver 1999; 2000; Toorians 2005). In support of this, the known Frisian leaders of classical repute have been thought to possess Celtic names. The names of Verritus and Malorix (see Tacitus *Annales* 13.54) have, for instance, been connected with Gaulish *uer(o)* ‘over’ and *ritu, rito* ‘running’ in the case of Verritus, as well as Welsh *mawl* ‘praise’ in the case of Malorix (Toorians 2000, Schrijver 2000, 191). Nonetheless, Schrijver (2000, 191) stresses the inherent uncertainties in both these etymologies, and the classical place-names and deities recorded for the Frisians, in any case, point to Germanic associations for these people as well. For instance, the place-name Flevum (modern Vlie) (Tacitus *Annales* 4.73) has been connected with Proto-Germanic *\*flew* ‘flow’ and with Middle High German *vlæjen* meaning ‘to rinse’ (Birkhan 1970, 239). This name compares with modern Germanic place-names similarly located close to water outlets, such as Fly in Denmark, and Fley and Flöha in Germany (Kuhn 1959, 30; 1962, 121). Additionally,

the deity ‘Baduhenna’, worshipped by the Frisians at a sacred grove in AD 28 (Tacitus *Annales* 4.73), is considered to be linked with Proto-Germanic \**badwa*, \**baduz* ‘battle’, which compares with other Germanic terms for battle such as Old High German *badu*, Old Norse *boð* and Old English *beado* (Simek 2003, 27; Birkhan 1970, 499). The second root –*henna* is less certain (Neumann 1987), and it may have been another name for the Rhine (Gutenbrunner 1936, 189). However, Helmut Birkhan (1970, 499) suggests that the root compares with Gothic *winno* and Old Icelandic *vinna* ‘field’ and that the letter <h> may have not had much phonetic value. In any case, the philologically Germanic associations of Baduhenna are not in much doubt.

The last form of evidence suggesting Germanic philological roots for the Frisians is the ethnonym of the Frisians itself. A number of etymologies have been proposed for the main root of this ethnonym – all of them Germanic. Additionally, Proto-Celtic languages are believed to have lost the /f/ phoneme within their sound-system (Weisgerber 1968, 154; Rasch 2005, 158). The principle Germanic etymologies for the Frisii are, therefore, as follows:

- 1) Proto-Germanic \**fri(h)alsio*, Gothic *freis*, and Old High German *fri* meaning ‘free’,
- 2) Proto-Germanic \**frisiaz*, Gothic *fraisan* meaning ‘leather’,
- 3) Old High German *fresia* ‘danger’, hence ‘bold, daring, courageous’,
- 4) Old Frisian *frisle*, *frēsle* ‘hair-lock, hair-tuft’, German *frisur* hairstyle, and English ‘frizzy’

Neumann 1998b.

Based on what is understood about the Frisii, all of these etymologies offer potentially viable cognates, since connotations of being ‘free’ could be linked with the Frisian’s position on the borders of official Roman jurisdiction (see 2.2), whilst particular hairstyles were a means of signalling ethnic relationships (see 2.4.2). Additionally, the etymological allusions to ‘leather’ would not seem out of place since the Frisians paid tribute in the form of cattle hides to the Roman government and this was an important part of their economy (see Tacitus *Annales* 4.73).

All in all, the limited amount of evidence available is in favour of the probability that Germanic languages were spoken in much of Free Germany, in territories as far

west as the Frisii to as far south as the Danube. Whilst there are no vernacular texts for Germanic languages dating to the late Iron Age, the one exception is the text inscribed on a bronze helmet from Negova (formerly Negau) in Slovenia, which dates to around the mid-first century BC – before this region became part of the Roman province of Pannonia (established in 12 BC) (Markey 2001). The helmet yielding this inscription was uncovered from a cache together with twenty-six other helmets, which are believed to have formed a ‘foundation deposit’ at an open-air religious sanctuary (Markey 2001). Whilst the text on the helmet employs the Etruscan alphabet, typically reserved for the Etruscan and Celtic languages (Mallory 1989, 85, 95), this text is palpably Germanic. It reads *harigastiteiva*: ‘teiva’ is connected with Proto-Germanic *\*teiwaz* and Old Norse Old Icelandic *tívar* meaning ‘god’, and ‘Harigast’ is probably a Germanic personal name meaning ‘army guest’, whose themes are cognate with Old High German *heri*, Old Saxon *heri*, Old Norse *herr* and Old English *here* meaning ‘army’, and with Old High German *gast*, Gothic *gast-s*, Old English *gæst* and Middle Dutch *gast*, *gest* meaning ‘guest, friend’ (Mallory 1989, 85, Elliott 1989, 9; Todd 2004, 12; Markey 2001). The themes in this name are typically found in other Germanic personal names of the Migration Period such as those of the Frankish general Arbogast (c. 394) (Zosimus 4.33.1) and the Langobard Rotharius (Paul the Deacon *de gestis Langobardorum* 4. 42). Moreover, *gast* has additional connotations of ‘stranger, migrant’ (Green 1998, 108; Bosworth and Toller 1898, 357), and these connotations survive in modern-day uses, as in the German term *Gastarbeiter* or ‘foreign worker’. The fact, then, that the theme for ‘guest, migrant’ is preserved in the earliest Germanic text to have been discovered so far, only adds further weight to the likelihood that, even before the Migration Period itself, migration played a key role in the social and ethnic relations of many Germanic groups. These relationships were also beginning to be recorded in philologically Germanic languages.

What needs to be discussed next, is the extent to which the Germanic groups situated on the western bank of the Rhine similarly spoke philologically Germanic languages.

### **4.3 The *Germani Cisrhenani* (c. 50 BC)**

The linguistic situation in the provinces bordering Free Germany is an extremely delicate and controversial matter. As indicated in chapter 1, there is little agreement among linguists, historians and archaeologists on whether or not the Germanic provincials necessarily spoke philologically Germanic languages (see 1.3). Additionally, the conflicting arguments amongst scholars on the Continent have resulted in even greater confusion amongst scholars in peripheral countries such as the United Kingdom. In English publications, for instance, one of the most widely circulated arguments is that the Germanic peoples in the Rhineland spoke a non-Germanic and non-Celtic language, which is commonly referred to as the 'Nordwestblock' (see Griffen 1979, 191; Todd 1987, 33; Mallory 1989, 85, 274; Hamp 1990; Polomé 1983; Schrijver 2001; Oppenheimer 2006). However, the fact that Malcolm Todd (1987, 33) refers to this language as 'not even Indo-European' epitomizes how a genuine dialogue in this subject between German and English-speaking scholars has not been underway for a number of years. It also shows how archaeologists in Britain possess little understanding of the linguistic situation in the Rhineland. A summary of some of this Continental literature is, therefore, essential and is long overdue. It shows that many of the Germanic groups situated on the western bank of the Rhine most probably spoke philologically Germanic languages.

#### **4.3.1 The Nordwestblock and Recent Debates**

The Nordwestblock hypothesis was first put forward by the German linguist Hans Kuhn in two seminal papers published in the second part of the twentieth century (Kuhn 1959, 1962). In these papers, Kuhn argued that the Nordwestblock was spoken in the areas between the Weser in the north to the Main and the Somme in the south. His hypothesis rested on a number of morphemes recorded in the place-names of the medieval and classical sources (i.e. *-apa*, *-k*, *-st*), which were Indo-European in derivation, but had not undergone the expected sound-changes of either the Proto-Celtic or Proto-Germanic languages. As with the case of many Indo-European languages, the Nordwestblock allegedly carried a number of non-Indo European 'substrate' features,

but the crux of Kuhn's empirical research argued that the language itself was Indo-European.

However, it seems that in many English publications about the languages spoken by the *Germani*, this hypothesis has very often been quoted out of context. What should perhaps receive greater exposure, for instance, is that Kuhn's hypothesis never entirely denied the existence of philologically Germanic languages on the left bank of the River Rhine. Indeed, his two seminal papers went into lengthy detail about the evidence for primitive Germanic languages in the Lower Rhine area (Kuhn 1959; 1962). He pointed out, for instance, that two of the rivers recorded in Julius Caesar's *de Bello Gallico* were coined after Germanic, toponymic traits. One of these was the 'Vacalus' (variantly spelt 'Vahalus' and 'Vachalus') – an arm of the Rhine running next to the *insula Batavorum* (*de Bello Gallico* 4.10), which is generally thought cognate with Proto-Germanic *\*wōh* meaning 'crooked'. The second river Kuhn identified was the 'Scaldis' (modern Schelde), running through the territories of the Morini and Nervii (*de Bello Gallico* 6.33), which preserves a Germanic term for 'shallow', cognate with Old English *sceald*. Linguists are still in general agreement that rivers only acquire names which have been coined in a particular language if the speakers of that language are concentrated in the area of that river's course (see Markey 1986). Kuhn (1962, 121-3) similarly argued that the Germanic labels for the two hydronyms in the Lower Rhine area presupposed a sizeable community of Germanic speakers:

*Dies alles sichert eine frühe Germanisierung fast des ganzen Schelderaums, lange vor dem Einbruch der Franken und größenteils sogar vor den Römern.*

All this secures an early Germanisation of the entire Schelde-region long before the influx of the Franks and for the most part even before the Romans.

Kuhn 1962, 123.

Kuhn (1962, 123-6) attributed this early *Germanisierung* of the Rhineland to groups such as the Nervii and Batavi, who traced their geographical descent to the east bank of the Rhine (see 2.2). Kuhn also drew attention to a number of Germanic traits for the Nervian and Batavian people, which added further weight to their philological Germanic connections. He linked the ancient capital of the Nervii, for instance, Bagacum (Ptolemy *Geographika* 2.6.9) in modern Bavay, with the modern German *Bach* meaning ‘stream’ (Kuhn 1959, 24-5; 1962, 123). He also highlighted two Germanic place-names in the region of the Batavi. One of these names was ‘Vada’ (Tacitus *Historiae* 5.21), perhaps in present-day Wadenooijen or Maren-Kessel, which is thought to refer to a ‘wade’, a point in the river which could be easily crossed, cognate with terms such as Dutch *waden* and Old English *wadan* ‘to move, wade’ (see also Toorians 2006). Additionally, Kuhn (1962) highlighted that the cognomen of the Batavian *dux* Chariovalda (see 2.3) was built using two Germanic name-etyma: *Chari-* meaning ‘army, war’ (already seen in the name Harigasti: see 4.2), and *-valda* ‘powerful’, which is a root cognate with the modern German *walten* ‘to rule’.

Apart from these few examples, however, Kuhn (1962, 123) concluded that the evidence for Germanic languages was otherwise negligible, not only for the western bank of the Rhine, but even for the eastern bank as well. Instead, these inhabitants were supposed to have spoken the ‘Nordwestblock’, and in support of this interpretation, Kuhn (1959, 36, 40) maintained that the Rhenish ethnonyms of pre-imperial and imperial times did not possess conclusively Germanic traits: the Usipi, Sugambri, Mattiaci and Cugerni. Kuhn (1962, 123) warranted it unlikely, then, that the Germanic language, spoken in a relatively small part of the Rhineland, would have survived the demographic and linguistic upheavals brought about by imperial annexation, let alone that this language would have expanded into other areas.

However, whilst it must be appreciated that Kuhn’s hypothesis never entirely denied the existence of Germanic languages on the left bank of the Rhine, a second point is that Continental scholars have come increasingly to challenge the evidence for, and the existence of, the Nordwestblock (see Neumann 1983; Meid 1986; Timmermann 2004). One of the reasons is that the supposed non-Germanic and non-Celtic morphemes have been proven to denote Germanic cognates (Neumann 1986; Meid



1986; Stolte 1986; Udolph 1994). Jürgen Udolph (1994, 942) has thus concluded that, in regards to the existence of the Northwestblock that *die meisten Argumente sind nicht stichhaltig* ('most of the arguments are not sound').

In recent years, there has consequently been an incremental return to the earlier arguments – put forward before the two World Wars – that the Rhenish inhabitants of Classical repute spoke Celtic as well as Germanic languages (see Toorians 2005). Out of the place-names recorded for the Roman period, Celtic toponyms are certainly in the majority (Fig. 4.2), and the ethnonyms of the Belgae are recognised as containing Celtic roots, examples being the Atrebatas, meaning 'settlers', and the Morini, meaning 'sea people', cognate with Gaulish *mori* 'sea' (Schrijver 1999, 9; Delamarre 2003, 45). Nonetheless, the ethnonyms of the Germanic peoples are less secure as Celtic names, and it is instead suspected that many of them conceal Germanic roots. For instance, the possibly Germanic origins of the cisrhene Cimbri and Teutones have already been highlighted (see 4.2), and the proposed etymologies of the other Germanic peoples of Julius Caesar's time are provided in Table 4.1.

<b>Table 4.1</b>
<b>Germanic ethnonyms on the western bank of the Rhine in late Iron Age</b>
<b>Atuatuci</b> – see table 4.3.
<b>Caerosi</b> – the name is commonly linked with Proto-Celtic <i>*kairāk</i> , Old Irish <i>cáira</i> 'sheep'. However, an alternative possibility is Proto-Germanic <i>*haira</i> 'noble, worthy', the letter <c> being used to represent the Germanic phoneme /χ/, which is a common occurrence in Latin orthography ( <i>RGA</i> vol 4, 309).
<b>Cimbri</b> – the name has several possibilities. The main root of the word is believed to be possibly cognate with Old English <i>cimbring</i> , New High German <i>kimme</i> 'edge, horizon'. The root also seems to be preserved in Germanic place-names in northern Germany and Scandinavia: Hymber, Himbran, Himmerfjärden, Himmerland (formerly Himmerlande) and Himersysel (Himbersysæl c. 1231). An alternative root for the Cimbri is Old Icelandic <i>himbrin</i> 'guillemot' (sea-diving bird specific to northern latitudes), which suggests that the ethnic and topographical name has connotations of whiteness, brightness and gleaming. Whichever etymology is accepted, it is thought likely that the name of the Cimbri stems from the region in Scandinavia where this people most probably derived ( <i>RGA</i> vol. 16, 493-495).
<b>Condrusi</b> – see table 4.2.
<b>Batavi</b> – see table 4.2.

**Eburones** – the name could be either Celtic or Germanic in origin: Proto-Celtic *\*eburos* and Old Irish *eibe* means ‘yew’, and Old High German *Ebur*, German *Eber* means ‘boar’ (*GKAR* 202; *RGA* vol. 17, 493).

**Paemani** – the name is considered a likely corruption or ‘Celticisation’ of ‘Faemani’, and that the Germanic phoneme /f/ (uncommon in Celtic) was substituted with the phoneme /p/. The main root of this name is, therefore, potentially linked with Proto-Germanic *\*faimos* and with Middle Dutch *veime* ‘membership, guild’ (Neumann 1986).

**Segni** – the root in this name has several possibilities, some of which are Celtic and others Germanic. As a Celtic ethnonym, the root might have been linked with Proto-Celtic *\*sego* meaning ‘strong’ or with Proto-Celtic *\*seg* meaning ‘sow’. As a Germanic ethnonym, the explanations have been Proto-Germanic *\*sigiz*, German *sieg* meaning ‘victory’, Proto-Germanic *\*sengjōz*, Middle High German *Sege* meaning ‘dry area’ (with the digraph <gn> used to represent the phoneme /ng/, typical of Latin orthography), and lastly Proto-Germanic *\*þegōz* meaning ‘thegns, followers, retainers’, with the spelling and pronunciation of the name undergoing Celticisation’, tonal substitution or scribal corruption (*GKAR* 202; *RGA* vol. 28, 110; Neumann 1986).

**Teutones** – cognate with Proto-Germanic *\*teuta* ‘people’. The root also seems to be preserved in *saltus Teutoburgensis* (Tacitus *Annals* 1.60-2) in Free Germany (*RGA* vol. 31, 369).

**Tungri** – see table 4.2.

As the table shows, the Celtic origins of these ethnonyms are far less certain. One example is the Eburones as some scholars have suggested that the name preserves Gaulish *eburos* meaning ‘yew’, which is cognate with Old Irish *eibe* (Schrijver 1999, 9; Toorians 2006). However, other linguists have highlighted that the Germanic term ‘boar’ (German *Eber*) should not be entirely ruled out (Neumann 1986), a root frequently occurring in Old High German personal names such as Eburhard and Ebuwulf (Forssner 1916, 63). In such cases as these, favouring one interpretation over another is primarily arbitrary (Schmidt 1987), and, as Reichert (2000, 489) acknowledges, some of the ethnonyms may have been equally ambiguous in their own period – simultaneously suggesting Germanic as well as Celtic etymologies.

Of prime importance to this thesis are, naturally, the ethnonyms of Germanic peoples whose members came to Britain, and, as Table 4.1 shows, many of these ethnonyms are thought to possess more positively Germanic roots. One example is the Condrusi, whose name possibly shares a philological relationship with Gothic *trausti*

‘contract’ and with Middle High German *getrüste* ‘crowd’ (Birkhan 1970, 185). The name of the Nervii is also thought to be philologically Germanic, meaning ‘close relatives’ – cognate with Old English *nearu* ‘close, near’, and with the first part of Old Icelandic *njorvanipt* meaning ‘near relation’ (Birkhan 1970, 199). The Tungri’s presence in the Lower Rhine most probably dates to Caesarian times, and perhaps even to the Cimbrian migrations (see 2.2), and the name is often thought to have been Germanic or possibly Celtic. The ethnonym has been connected with Old English *tunge*, Old Frisian *tunge*, Old Saxon *tunga*, Old Irish *tunga*, Gothic *tuggó* meaning ‘tongue, speech, language’, Old High German *zanger*, Middle Low German *tanger* meaning ‘sharp, biting’, and with Welsh *tyngu* meaning ‘oath’ (Birkhan 1970; Neumann 1986). Similarly, the tribal capital of the Tungri – ‘Atuatuca’ (see *de Bello Gallico* 2.4.9; Ptolemy *Geographika* 2.9.5; Pliny *Naturalis Historia* 4.106) – has possibly Germanic or possibly Celtic linguistic roots. For instance, the prefix *at-* reflexes in the Latin, Celtic and Germanic languages, stemming ultimately from Indo-European *\*ate* meaning ‘outside, over, at’ (Toorians forthcoming). Moreover, the main root of *Atuatuca* has a suspected Celtic or Germanic etymology. Laurant Toorians (forthcoming) connects the theme with Middle Irish *fāth* meaning ‘prophecy’, whilst other scholars suggest that it stems from Proto-Germanic *\*wat* meaning ‘water’, ‘bend’, ‘crossing’ – a root which is later found in Germanic deities recorded on Roman altars in the Rhineland such as the feminine ‘Vatvims’ (Birkhan 1970, 190; Neumann 1986, 116; Reichert 2000, 490).

All in all, the major point in regard to these ethnonyms is that none of them are entirely incompatible with the sound-systems of either the Celtic or Germanic languages. The suspected Germanic traits in many of these names are also difficult to dismiss altogether. As a result, scholars have been more in favour of the possibility that the incongruities in some of the names, and particularly their inflected endings, are more down to the circumstances of ‘linguistic contact’ between Celtic, Latin and Germanic speakers, rather than the incongruities suggesting that the *Germani cisrhenani* spoke the language of the ‘Nordwestblock’. Furthermore, these names may well have been further corrupted through ‘tonal substitutions’ – where the speakers of one language mispronounced the ethnonyms coined in a separate tongue. In addition to

this, the dependence upon classical authors to record unfamiliar phonemes would have created further tribulations in the accurate representation of many of these ethnonyms (Birkhan 1970, 212; Reichert 2000).

At present, there are two main schools of thought regarding the languages spoken by the Germanic peoples up to the time of Roman annexation. The possibility of these people speaking a language commonly referred to as the Northwestblock has generally fallen out of favour. Instead, linguists have suggested that Celtic languages were dominant during this period (Schrijver 1999; 2000; Toorians 2000; 2005), whilst other scholars have proposed that Germanic languages were spoken west of the Rhine as well, perhaps even in a bilingual relationship as seems to have been the case with the Suebian Ariovistus (Birkhan 1970, 185–212; Neumann 1983, 1063; 1986; Meid 1986; Reichert 2000; 2005). What should be discussed next, however, is the greater number of Germanic philological traits recorded for the Germanic provincials. This is in order to determine the extent to which the peoples emigrating from these provinces to Britain might have derived from philologically Germanic backgrounds.

#### **4.4 The Germanic Provincials**

Roman conquest brought about the emergence of new Germanic groups on the western bank of the River Rhine (see 2.3). Whilst some of the already extant groups remained, such as the Nervii, Condrusi, and possibly the Batavi and Tungri, the Roman government actively encouraged the immigration of more Germanic groups from Free Germany as part of state policy and defensive strategies. These changes brought about a fundamental re-organisation of the Germanic peoples situated in the Rhineland. The following sections focuss on the linguistic evidence for the Germanic provincial groups whose members came to Britain: the Batavi, Condrusi, Nervii, Tungri, Frisiavii, Vellavi, Sunuci, Cugerni, Texuandri, Baetasi, Vangiones, and Suebi. The linguistic evidence for these provincials is split into three sub-sections. The first section examines the evidence provided by the ethnonyms and place-names, and the second and third sections analyse the Germanic personal names and Germanic deities. The results of these sections suggest that many of the Germanic provincials were associated with

Germanic deities, personal names and ethnonyms, perhaps because they were descended from philologically Germanic backgrounds.

#### 4.4.1 Ethnonyms and Germanic Place-names

**Table 4.2**  
**Germanic ethnonyms on the western bank of the Rhine in imperial times**

**Batavi** – cognate with Gothic *batiza*, *batists* ‘better best’, Middle High German *baz* meaning ‘good, well’, whilst *-avi* refers to a ‘piece of island surrounded by water.’

**Baetasii** – means ‘sailers’ or ‘hunters’, cognate with Proto-Germanic *\*baita*, OE *bāt*, Old Norse *beit* ‘boat’, or German *beißen* to ‘bite’, Old Norse *baita* ‘hunt’ (Birkhans 1970, 193; Neumann 1986, 117; *RGA* vol 17. 491).

**Condrusi** – the prefix *con-* is common in Celtic names, but *-drusi* is perhaps cognate with Gothic *trausti* ‘contract’ and Middle High German *getrüste* ‘crowd’ (*GKAR* 185; Neumann 1986).

**Cugerni** – the name could possibly mean ‘cattle lovers, cattle-raisers’ or ‘hillbillies’. Proto-Germanic *\*Ku-germaz* ‘cattle lover’ is, for instance, one possibility, with connotations of ‘cattle tenders’ or ‘cattle raiders’. However, the second explanation is Proto-Germanic *\*χugila*, *\*χubila*, Old High German *hubil* and New High German *Hügel/Hübel* meaning ‘hill’, and this second meaning would account for the orthographic variability of the ethnonym in classical records: i.e. Cugerni by Tacitus, but Cuberni by Pliny, and on the altar set up at Coventina’s Well, Hadrian’s Wall. These variances in spelling could have been accounting for the flexibility in the pronunciation of the main root of this ethnonym (Neumann 1986).

**Frisiavi** – For the suffix *-avi*, see Batavi above. The main root in this name has several possibilities: 1) Proto-Germanic *\*fri(h)alsio*, Gothic *freis*, Old High German *fri* meaning ‘free’, 2) Proto-Germanic *\*frisiaz*, Gothic *fraisan* meaning ‘leather’, 3) Old High German *fresia* ‘danger’, hence ‘bold, daring, courageous’, and lastly, 4) OF *frisle*, *frēsle* ‘hair-lock, hair-tuft’, English frizzy, German *frisur* meaning hairstyle (*RGA* vol. 10, 40).

**Suebi** – means ‘kindred, those of one’s own’, cognate with Gothic *swes* ‘own’, Old High German, Old Saxon and Old English *sib(b)a* (Schönfeld, 1911, 179; Green 1998, 59).

**Sunuci** – the name is thought to mean ‘young sons, descendants’. In Germanic names, *-k-* has a diminutive effect, and Proto-Germanic *\*sunu*, OE *sunu* mean ‘son’ (Neumann 1986; *RGA* vol 17. 493).

**Texuandri** – the ethnonym probably refers to the topographical perspective of the ethnic group themselves. Proto-Germanic *\*texswa*, for instance, means ‘right, south’, cognate with Gothic *taihswa* and with Old High German *zesawa*. (Neumann 1986;

*RGA* vol. 17, 493).

**Tungri** – the ethnonym has been equated with Welsh *tyngu* meaning ‘oath’, Old English *tunge*, Old Frisian *tunge*, Old Saxon *tunga*, Old Irish *tunga* Gothic *tuggó* meaning ‘speech, tongue, language’, and with Old High German *zanger*, Middle Low German *tanger* meaning ‘sharp, biting’(*RGA* vol. 17, 493).

**Vangiones** – the root of this ethnonym has two possibilities: one is Old Frisian *wange* ‘spade’, and the other is Old Norse *vangr*, Gothic *wags*, Old English *wong*, Old Saxon *wang*, Old High German *wangá* meaning ‘field, meadow’ (Neumann 1987).

**Vellavi** – Celtic *\*uelno* ‘preference, advice, choice’. For the suffix *-avi*, see Batavi above (Neumann 1986, 120).

N.B. this table only includes the ethnonyms of those whose soldiers came to Britain.

Table 4.2 above provides a summary of the various etymologies which have proposed for the Germanic ethnonyms whose members came to Britain during the Roman period. This table is a synthesis of the linguistic research, which can be mainly found in the readily accessible *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde (RGA)* (1973 – 2008). As the above table shows, many of the ethnonyms are thought to have been built out of Germanic lexis. It is remarkable, then, how few of these interpretations have been circulated in either the English or Anglo-American literature about the Germanic soldiers and auxiliary units which were stationed in Britain.

The one exception to this rule relates to the research recently conducted on the Batavian cohorts based in this province. In his study of the Batavian units stationed at Vindolanda, Anthony Birley (2002, 42) argues that the Germanic name for the Batavians ‘means the “better ones” – surely a self description’. This interpretation might be refined using Luran Toorians’ (2006) more recent proposal about the Batavi meaning ‘good island’, and it should be remembered that references to the *insula Batavorum* are commensurate with the activities of the *Germani cisrhenani* in the mid-first century BC (see 2.2). According to Toorians’ reasoning, the main root *bat-* is still a Germanic morpheme for ‘good’, cognate with Gothic *batiza*, *batists* ‘better, best’, as well as with Middle High German *baz* meaning ‘good, well’. However, the suffix *-avi* refers to a ‘piece of island surrounded by water’, cognate with German *aue* ‘river meadow’, and with Dutch *ooi*, *ooij*, *oog*, Old English *ieg*, Old Norse *ey* and Old Frisian

*ei* meaning ‘island’. Toorians’ opinion is, therefore, that the name of the Batavi originated as a toponym, which then became an ethnonym as well.

Nonetheless, many of the other ethnonyms of the Germanic provincials seem to have been built out of philologically Germanic roots and lexemes, although these names have not received as much attention in the English and Anglo-American literature. One example is the Frisiavi, who evidently shares the same suffix as the Batavi, and the Germanic roots of the Frisii have already been highlighted in Table 4.1. Similarly, the names of the Suebi, Mattiaci, Texuandri and Vangiones are thought to be Germanic. As Table 4.2 shows, the Suebian ethnonym is, for instance, connected with Old High German and Old Saxon *sibba* meaning ‘kindred’, ‘those of one’s own’ (Green 1998, 59). The Texuandri are equated with Proto-Germanic *\*texswa* meaning ‘right, south’, cognate with Gothic *taihswa* and with Old High German *zesawa*. The names of the Vangiones and Mattiaci have two suspected Germanic etymologies apiece. The name of the Vangiones is, for instance, thought to refer to Old Frisian *wange* meaning ‘spade’, or with Old Norse *vangr*, Gothic *wags*, Old English *wong*, Old Saxon *wang*, Old High German *wangá* meaning ‘field, meadow’ (Neumann 1987). The name of the Mattiaci is thought to mean ‘*gemähte Wiese*’ (‘cut meadow’) (Neumann 1998a), or to stem ultimately from Proto-Germanic *\*matjos* meaning ‘mattock’ (Rasch 2005, 36).

The names of the Cugerni, Baetasi and Sunuci are particularly noteworthy, and, as already seen, these groups were new coalitions, formed from the transrhine Sugambri settling into Eburonian territory (see 2.3). The etymology of the Eburones is debatable (see 4.3), but the Sugambri are thought to mean ‘swift ones’, their main root cognate with Old High German *gambar* meaning ‘quick in action’ (Weisgerber 1954b, 98). Scholars have also proposed exclusively Germanic etymologies for the resulting three coalitions situated on the western bank of the Rhine:

Sunuci – Proto-Germanic *\*sunu*, and Old English *sunu* mean ‘son’. The morpheme *-k-* also has a diminutive effect, thereby giving a meaning of ‘young sons’ or ‘descendants’ (Neumann 1986; *RGA* vol 17. 493).

Bactasi – the name means either ‘sailors’ or ‘hunters’, cognate on the one hand with Proto-Germanic *\*baita*, Old English *bāt*, Old Norse *beit* meaning ‘boat’, or, on the other hand, with German *beißen* to ‘bite’, as well as with Old Norse *baita* meaning ‘hunt’ (Birkhan 1970, 193; Neumann 1986, 117; *RGA* vol 17. 491)

Cugerni – has two possible meanings: ‘cattle-tenders’ or ‘hillbillies’. Proto-Germanic *\*Ku-germaz* means ‘cattle lover’, possibly with connotations of either tending or raiding cattle. The second option is Proto-Germanic *\*χugila* and *\*χubila* meaning ‘hill’, cognate with modern German *Hügel* and *Hübel*, and Old High German *hubil* (Neumann 1986).

Evidently, it cannot be understood whether these ethnonyms were coined originally by themselves or by their neighbours. However, what is certain is that these proposed etymological roots offer satisfactory semantic meanings, based on what is recognised about the historical trajectories of these particular ethnic groups. For instance, the semantic development of the Sunuci – as the ‘young sons’ – could be easily understood if they considered themselves the heirs of either their Sugambrian or Eburonean ancestors. Similarly, both etymologies suggested for the Cugerni would work equally well, since cattle-raising and cattle-raiding were common amongst the Sugambri and Eburones (*de Bello Gallico* 6.36), whilst the connection with hills would not seem implausible given that the changing course of the Maas and Rhine rivers led to the creation of multiple mounds formed from the build-up of loess deposits. In support of this second interpretation, Günter Neumann (1986, 113) additionally highlights that Proto-Germanic *\*χugila* and *\*χubila* would even account for the orthographic variability of the ethnonym cited in classical records. For instance, the ‘Cugerni’ are referred to by Tacitus, but the ‘Cuberni’ are recorded by Pliny, and this second spelling is favoured for the ‘Cubernian’ cohort recorded at Carrawburgh (see 3.4.2). Neumann (1986) surmises that these orthographic variations were a by-product of the way the main root of this ethnonym was variably pronounced.

It seems, then, that many if not all the newly emerging ethnonyms of the Germanic groups, which are recorded for the provinces during the principate, were built



from Germanic lexis and adjectives. Additionally, a certain number of philologically Germanic place-names can be identified for these provinces as well. As already indicated, Celtic place-names are in the majority (see 4.3.1, Fig. 4.2), which is compatible with Germanic-speaking peoples moving into territories previously inhabited by Celtic-speaking groups. However, at least thirteen Germanic place-names have been positively identified for the Rhenish provinces, and these names cluster in the regions of the ancient Batavi, Cugerni, Tungri and Vangiones. The names are briefly discussed in Table 4.3, and they are a summary of those identified by Gerhard Rasch (2005) and the *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* (RGA) in their compilations of the Germanic provincial place-names:

**Table 4.3**  
**Germanic place-names in Gallia Belgica and the Two Germanies**

**Atuatuci** – the site lies in Belgium. It is equated with Proto-Indo-European *\*ate* meaning ‘over, outside’, and with Proto-Germanic *\*wat* meaning ‘water’ (RGA 17, 490).

**Albibola** – the site lies in Utrecht. It is equated with Proto-Germanic *\*bola* ‘house’, Old Norse *bol* meaning ‘camp’ (Rasch 2005, 161).

**Asciburgium** – the name of this site survives in the existing place-name of Asberg-Moers in Germany. The first stem in the name of this ancient site is cognate with English ‘ash’, with German *asche*, and the second root is connected with Old High German *burg*, Old Saxon *burg*, and with Old English *burg*, *burh* meaning ‘fort’ (RGA vol. 12, 266).

*insula Batavorum* – see table 4.2.

**Bingium** – the name of this site survives in the existing place-name of Bingen in Germany. The name is connected with Middle High German *binge* ‘hole in soil, water’ (RGA vol. 12, 266).

**Caspingium** – the name preserves the Germanic possessive suffix *ing-ja*, and the main root is connected with New High German *Haspe* meaning ‘bend’ (RGA vol. 12, 266).

**Dorostate** – the name of this site survives in the existing place-name of Duurstede in the Netherlands. The first root in this name is connected with Old Frisian *dure*, *dore*, Old Saxon *duru*, *dora* meaning ‘door, gate’, and the second root with Old English *stath* meaning ‘bank’, and with Old Norse *stoð* meaning ‘landing place’ (Rasch 2005, 162).

**Feresne** – the name is possibly Germanic but of an uncertain etymology (Rasch 2005, 158).

**Fectio** – the name of this site survives in the existing place-name of Vechten in the Netherlands. Etymologically, the name of this site is connected with Old High German

*feh*ta meaning ‘fight’ (RGA vol. 12, 266).

**Mannaricium** – the site lies in Gelderland. The first root of this name is connected with Gothic *man*na, *man*, Old High German *man* ‘man, warrior’, and the second root is connected Proto-Germanic *\*riks* meaning ‘power, strength, king’ (Rasch 2005, 161).

**Taunus** – the site lies in what once was the *Agri Decumates* in Germania Superior. Etymologically, the place-name is connected with German *Zaun* meaning ‘fenced settlement’ (RGA vol. 12, 267).

**Vada** – the site perhaps lies in present-day Wadenooijen or Maren-Kessel in the Netherlands. Etymologically, it is connected with Dutch *waden* and with Old English *wadan* meaning ‘to move, wade’ (Toorians in *Naamkunde* 36, 179–190).

**Vetera** – the site lies in modern Xanten. Etymologically, it is connected with Proto-Germanic *\*watar* ‘water’ (RGA vol. 12, 267).

From this table, it can be established that at least three Germanic place-names are recorded for the ancient territories of the Cugerni. Two of these names pertain to the Roman forts at Burginatio and Asciburgium (lying in what is now Kalkar-Altalkar and Moers-Asberg), and they employ the Germanic root for ‘fort’, a root already encountered in the context of Germanic place-names in Free Germany (see 4.2). Additionally, the first root in Asciburgium stems from Proto-Germanic *\*askiz*, a root related with Old High German *asc*, Old Norse *askr* and Old English *aesc* meaning ‘ash (tree)’. This root similarly occurs in Free Germanic place-names, in examples such as ‘Ascalingium’ on the mouth of the River Weser, as well as ‘Asciburgius Mons’ lying between the basin of the Elbe and the Oder (Fig. 4.1). The third Germanic name in Cugernian territory is Vetera, which is the name of the ancient legionary fortress at Xanten. The name of this site has been related with Proto-Germanic *\*watar* ‘water’ (Weisgerber 1954b), and it may be preserved in the names of Germanic deities such as the *Veteranehae* and *Vataranehae* recorded on altars at Embken, Wollersheim (Simek 1993, 358).

Furthermore, lying in the Cugernian/Sunucian borders of Gelderland, is the place-name Mannaricium, which is related with Gothic *man*na ‘man’, Old High German ‘man, warrior’, as well as with Proto-Germanic *\*riks* ‘power, strength’ (Rasch 2005, 161). Two more Germanic place-names are also recorded for the territory of the Vangiones. In the terrain of the *Agri Decumates*, for instance, the name Taunus has been

equated with German *Zaun* meaning ‘fenced settlement’, and the name Bingium (in modern Bingen), with Middle High German *binge* meaning ‘hole in soil, water’ (Neumann 1998a). Lastly, several Germanic place-names have been identified for the region of the Batavians. The place-name Fectio (Vechten), for instance, has been connected with Old High German *feh̄ta* meaning ‘fight’, Albibola (in Utrecht) has been related with both Proto-Germanic *\*bola* ‘house’ and with Old Norse *bol* meaning ‘camp’ (Rasch 2005, 161), and Dorostate (in modern Duurstede) has been compared with Old English *stap* meaning ‘bank’, as well as Old Norse *stoð* meaning ‘landing place’ (Rasch 2005, 162). All in all, then, the evidence provided by these place-names and ethnonyms points to a connection between Germanic provincials and philologically Germanic languages. However, even greater numbers of philologically Germanic traits are preserved in the names of persons and deities recorded in the Rhineland’s Roman inscriptions.

#### **4.4.2 Germanic Cognomina and Deities on Roman Inscriptions**

For a time and location when there are no extant texts in Germanic languages, the non-Roman personal names and deities recorded on Roman inscriptions provide the clearest indication regarding the extent to which the Germanic provincials were descended from philologically Germanic backgrounds. The transcription of non-Roman names on Roman inscriptions is attested in all parts of the Empire (Wilson 1998, 44-46; Holder 1980, 264-334; Adams 1994, 87), and it evidently served the needs of linguistically diverse communities integrated into the imperial system. Names also preserve a vast amount of linguistic information. This is because many of them were coined originally after nouns and adjectives in the existing languages (Wilson 1998, 3-15). Such types of etymologically meaningful names have already been witnessed in the case of the Germanic deity Baduhenna and in the Germanic personal name Harigasti (see 4.2). However, there are problems in using the evidence provided by the onomasticon in isolation, since Germanic roots are not always patent in the personal and religious names used by Germanic-speaking groups. Names operate under different rules from the other types of lexis in the mainstream language, and one of the problems is that they frequently undergo alteration or shortening (hypocorism) over time, which then masks

the etymologies of their original roots. Another difficulty is that names are susceptible to greater interference as a result of linguistic contact than other types of lexis, which leads to the frequent development of incongruous or hybrid names. Some names also defy straightforward categorisation, either because of a common Indo-European descent, or because of later borrowing, or even because similar looking roots, albeit with different etymological origins, are found in different languages (Neumann 1983, 1063; Markey 1986; Reichert 2000).

In spite of these problems, however, Germanic traits have been positively identified in many of the names of persons and deities recorded on Roman inscriptions in Gallia Belgica and the Rhineland. These names deviate from the lexis and onomastic patterns typical of the Celtic languages and they seem to be more Germanic in origin than not. Most of them seem to be concentrated in the areas around Cologne, where the epigraphic data is the most prolific (see 2.3.3). However, the inherent problems in classification mean that it is impossible to provide any more than a rough calculation of the Germanic personal and religious names recorded in Gallia Belgica and the Rhineland. The only scholar to have attempted this task with regard to the personal names is Leo Weisgerber (1954a, 1954b, 1968), and some of his interpretations of the various name-etyma were challenged (see Untermann 1970; Kuhn 1972). Nonetheless, his statistics provide an approximate index of the relative number of Germanic personal names recorded.

For the areas populated by the Ubii, in the vicinity of Cologne, Weisgerber (1968) identified 1854 different names recorded in the Roman inscriptions. Out of these names, 1472 were 'Mediterranean' – that is cognomina common throughout the Roman world, and often built out of recognisable roots in the Latin and Greek languages. Since the custom of Roman citizens owning cognomina or 'nicknames' had only become standard in the mid-first century AD, many of them were still intelligible in either the Latin or Greek languages. Roman cognomina recorded in the vicinity of Cologne include, for instance, Maximus meaning 'greatest' and Fidelis meaning 'faithful' (Weisgerber 1968, 114). Many of the Roman names in places such as Cologne can be attributed to the fact that the auxiliary soldiers were often given Greek or Roman names upon recruitment, thereby replacing their native and non-classical personal names

(Bellen 1981; Bowman 1994, 61; Noy 2000, 115; Birley 2002, 99). However, Weisgerber concluded that 382 names recorded in the area of Cologne were neither Greek nor Latin in derivation; they were not built out of recognisable roots in the classical languages and they were rarely recorded in Roman inscriptions. Of these names, Leo Weisgerber (1968, 197) found that 209 of them were unintelligible, not fitting into the categories of either the Celtic or Germanic onomasticon. However, he found 101 of them to be Celtic and 72 of them to be Germanic (Weisgerber 1968, 161, 184, 197, 271–6). He conducted similar surveys for the personal names recorded in other parts of the Germanic provinces as well. For the rest of Lower Germany, for instance, Weisgerber (1954a) identified 104 personal names recorded in the Roman inscriptions, 48 of which were Roman and 56 of which were not. In the regions of the Vangiones, Mattiaci and Suebi in Upper Germany, Weisgerber identified 780 personal names, 17% of which were of a Germanic or uncertain origin (Weisgerber 1953). Overall these statistics show that, whilst more Germanic names are identified for Cologne in total, the ratios of non-Roman names are higher in those areas where there is less epigraphic activity.

The examples of such names in these less epigraphically dense regions include Gumattius, recorded on a memorial in the ‘Batavian’ areas at Dodeward near Nijmegen (*CIL* 13. 8806), whose name is associated with Gothic *guma*, Old English *guma*, Old Saxon *gumo*, Old Frisian *goma* and Old High German *goma* meaning ‘man’ (Schönfeld 1911, 116; Much 1920, 28; Gutenbrunner 1936, 13; Fig. 4.3.). The name of the ‘Baetasian’ Sedavo recorded on a tombstone at Mainz (*CIL* 13.7025) is linked with *\*sedu* meaning ‘custom, habit’, and the *civis Tunger* Freioverus, also recorded on a memorial in Mainz (*CIL* 13. 7036), has a name meaning ‘free-man’, cognate with Proto-Germanic *\*frija* ‘free’ and with Old English *wer* ‘man’ (Weisgerber 1954b; Neumann 1986). Other examples of Germanic names include the ‘Nervian’ Haldovonus (*CIL* 13. 8340), whose name is either linked with Old Norse *hald* meaning ‘protection’ or with *\*(h)alda-* meaning ‘old’ (Much 1920, 30; Weisgerber 1968, 144, 149, 151). Naturally, the relatively low numbers of the recorded Germanic names should not be seen as a true reflection of their overall frequency, since, as Günter Neumann (1983, 1063) highlights, the vast majority of the Germanic natives remained

*epigraphisch stumm* ‘epigraphically mute’ (Neumann 1983, 1063). Persons setting up Roman inscriptions of this kind would also have been generally receptive to pro-Roman sympathies and affiliations. Nevertheless, the Germanic names recorded on these inscriptions provide a clear testimony that Germanic onomastic practices had gained currency in the Rhineland long before the intrusions of Germanic incomers in the late third and fourth centuries. This is because the majority of the inscriptions date to before the decline of the ‘epigraphic habit’ in the second part of the third century.

#### 4.4.3 Germanic Deities

As with the Germanic personal names, the Germanic deities recorded on Roman inscriptions date to before the first part of the third century. Again, the precise numbers of these deities are difficult to quantify, since controversy ensues over the interpretations of many of their etymologies (Mees 2007). However, Rudolf Simek (1993) identifies 92 Germanic deities recorded in the inscriptions of the Rhineland, 75 of which were epithets of the Mother Goddesses, who were the most popular native deities to be recorded in epigraphic form in this area (see 2.3.3). Günter Neumann (1987) also identifies 56 of these *Matronae* epithets with possible Germanic roots. The Germanic names of these Mother Goddesses include the *Aufaniae* (Fig. 2.7), who were the most popular native goddesses recorded in the Rhineland regions, and they are attested by more than ninety inscriptions, some of which have been discovered at Mainz (*CIL* 13. 6665) and Winseling, near Nijmegen (*CIL* 13. 8724). Günter Neumann (1987) connects this epithet with Proto-Germanic *\*au* meaning ‘carried away’, coupled with *\*fanja*, Gothic *fani*, swamp, Old High German *fenna*, Old Saxon *fenni* meaning ‘fen’. Hence, the name is likely to mean ‘away from the fen’, and in Low German dialects such as Old Saxon, the term ‘fen’ was often specifically reserved for areas of cattle-grazing (Gutenbrunner 1936, 160; Neumann 1987; Simek 1993, 23).

Other epithets of the *Matronae* include the ‘*Arvagastae*’, recorded on one altar within the ‘Sunucian’ regions of Müddersheim, Aachen (*CIL* 13. 7855). Although the altar dates to the mid-second century, the epithet compares unmistakably with the name of the sixth-century courtier of the Vandal court, *Arvagastes* (Simek 1993, 19). The name contains the same Germanic root for ‘guest’ already seen in the case of *Harigasti*

(see 4.2), and the prototheme stems from Proto-Germanic *\*arwa* meaning ‘ready, fast’ (Gutenbrunner 1936, 165). Additionally, the altar recovered from the ‘Suebian’ domain of Neidenstein, Heidelberg records the epithet *Alhiahenae*, which is thought to relate to either Proto-Germanic *\*alhiz*, Gothic *alhs* meaning ‘temple’, or to *\*alces* Old High German *elaho*, Old Norse *elgr* meaning ‘elk’ (Simek 1993, 9; *CIL* 13. 6387). Such examples are highlighted here because they are recorded in the regions that contributed Germanic soldiers and *auxilia* to Britain. Several examples of Germanic deities can be highlighted for the regions of the Cugerni, Tungri, Vangiones and Batavi, whose peoples also contributed soldiers which were sent to Britain.

In the region of the Cugerni, for instance, the deities *Haeva* (*CIL* 13. 8705) and *Alateivia* (*CIL* 13. 8606; Fig. 4.4.) are recorded on two of the altars. *Alateivia* undeniably shares the same Germanic root for ‘god’ (*\*teiwaz*) invoked on the ‘Negau helmet’ in Slovenia (see 4.2). The first part of the name is thought to stem from Proto-Germanic *\*ala* ‘all’, and the overall meaning is likely to be ‘all-godly’ (Gutenbrunner 1936, 98; Simek 1993, 6). The deity ‘*Haeva*’ is identified as the consort of *Hercules Magusanus* on an altar at Geldern, and her name possibly relates to Proto-Germanic *\*hiwan* meaning ‘marry’, cognate with German *hiwan* and Dutch *huwen* (Simek 1993; 128).

At Tongeren (in the terrain of the Tungri), a bronze plaque has been uncovered dedicated to *Vihansa* (*CIL* 13. 3592), and the name of this goddess is commonly connected with the German term *weihan* meaning ‘to dedicate an offering’ (Simek 1993, 361). The name *Vercana* is recorded on two altars at Ernstweiler and Bad Bertrich (*CIL* 13. 4511; 7667), and it is thought to be linked with either Proto-Germanic *\*werka* ‘work’, or with Old Norse *bjarkan* meaning ‘birch tree’ (Gutenbrunner 1936, 108; Simek 1993, 357). In ethnographic terms, this deity is recorded in an area once belonging to the Vangiones.

Several Germanic deities have also been identified on inscriptions located in areas of the ancient Batavians. One of these inscriptions at Roermond, Holland, invokes *Mars Halamarðus* (*CIL* 13. 8707), and the altar is all the more important in view of the fact that it was dedicated by soldiers of the Twentieth Legion – a unit officially based in Britain (see 3.3.1; Fig. 4.5). The deuterotheme in the name of this god is connected

with Proto-Germanic *\*mardā*, Gothic *maurþr*, Middle High German *mart*, Old English *morðor* meaning ‘murder’, and the prototheme could either be linked with Old Icelandic *halr* and Old English *hæle* meaning ‘man’, or with Proto-Germanic *\*ala* ‘all’, inscribed with a prosthetic <h>. In either case, the epithet of Mars is likely to mean ‘all murderer’ or ‘murderer of men’ (Gutenbrunner 1936, 51; Neumann 1986).

Other Batavian deities include Burorina (*CIL* 13. 8775), whose name has been connected with Old English *byrele* meaning ‘giver’ (Simek 1993, 50). The goddess Hurstrga, invoked by the decurion of the *municipium Batavorum* (Fig. 4.6), has a name which is thought to stem from Germanic *hurst-* meaning ‘scrubland, undergrowth’ (Kaspers 1958). The goddess Sandraudiga, recorded on an altar at Zundert, Holland (*CIL* 13. 8774), has a name meaning ‘truly rich’ and ‘blessed’, which is cognate with Old Icelandic *sannaudigr* meaning ‘truly rich’, as well as with Old Norse *audigr*, Old English *ēadig*, Gothic *audags* meaning ‘rich, riches’ (Simek 1993, 275). The root *sandr-* ‘truth’ survives in Germanic personal names of medieval date, such as in the name belonging to the Gothic king Sandrimer (circa AD 671) (Gutenbrunner 1936, 98). Moreover, the name of this goddess probably survives in the modern place-name Zundert where her altar once stood. This correspondence between Germanic place-names and Germanic deities means that there are likely to have been many more Germanic place-names coined in the Rhineland than the few names preserved in the classical sources would lead us to suggest. It is also relatively well understood that the names of ancient deities often assumed a localised and toponymic importance (Derks 1998, 119).

All of these deities, although each important in their own unique ways, are recorded on no more than one or two inscriptions. However, there are two more cults which gained a more widespread recognition in the Rhineland: Hludana and Hercules Magusanus.

### ***Hercules Magusanus***

Hercules Magusanus is recorded in eleven inscriptions in total, falling in the ancient areas of the Ubii, Cugerni, Marsacii and Tungri (*CIL* 13. 10027, 212; 13. 10027, 212; 13. 8010; 13. 8777; 13. 8771; 13. 8705; 13. 8610; 13. 10027; Nr. 78, 3; 75 B 5 & 7;



2.4). The epithet has often been identified as Germanic, although this is in fact open to several interpretations. Some scholars have linked the epithet with Proto-Germanic *\*maguzna* and with Gothic *magan* meaning ‘able, powerful’, hence ‘the strong, powerful one’ (Simek 1993, 141). Other scholars have looked upon the figurehead as a personification of the Batavian capital ‘Noviomagus’ (de Vries 1957, 109; Stolte 1986). However, the most recent view, put forward by Lauran Toorians (2003), is that this epithet stems from Celtic *\*magus* ‘boy’ (cognate with Cornish *maw*), as well as with Celtic *\*senos* meaning ‘old’, therefore suggesting ‘old lad’ or ‘old boy’ (Toorians 2003). As Toorians admits himself, however, both of these Celtic terms have Indo-European roots and they share reflexes in the Germanic languages as well, in lexis such as Gothic *magus* ‘boy’ and Gothic *sineigs* ‘old’. This suggests, then, that even if the epithet was Celtic in origin, it might not have been interpreted in this way by all of the worshippers.

### *Hludana*

Hludana is certainly Germanic, and she is worshipped on altars found within the territories of the Cugerni, Batavi and Suebi at Xanten, Nijmegen, and Iversheim (*CIL* 13. 8611; 8723; 8830; 7944; Fig. 4.7). She is even invoked on the only altar recovered from beyond the Roman frontier, from a terp excavated at Beetgum, Frisia, which proves that the ancient Frisians paid homage to Hludana as well (Galestin 1997).

In etymological terms, the name of this deity has been connected with Proto-Germanic *\*hluþa* meaning ‘famous, loud’ and with Old High German *hlut* meaning ‘song’ (Stolte 1986). The Germanic-ness of Hludana is also reinforced by two other reasons. One is that its main root is enshrined in Germanic personal names of the Migration Period, in examples such as Hludvicus ‘Ludwig’ as well as the Frankish king Chlodoveus ‘Clodwig’ (Förstemann 1900: 850–858; 1030–1050; Gutenbrunner 1936). A second is the deity shares a striking similarity with the mythological figure ‘Hlōðyn’, who is recorded in Nordic poems (*Völuspá* 56). The resemblance of the two goddesses could be coincidental, but the other possibility is that cults practised in Scandinavia were finding currency amongst the Germanic communities situated on both banks of the River Rhine (Gutenbrunner 1936, 86).

In summary, then, the evidence provided by the place-names, ethnonyms, deities and personal names points to the presence of elements of the Germanic language in the Rhineland long before the Germanic intrusions of the third and fourth centuries. These elements were embedded in the personal, religious and ethnic relationships of Germanic groups – although they do not necessarily prove that the peoples in question spoke philologically Germanic languages. The subject to be examined next, then, is whether or not the Germanic provincials converted to speaking Latin and proto-Romance languages.

#### **4.5 The Germanic Languages and Conversion to Latin?**

Aside from the few literary passages discussed in 4.2 and largely dating to the earliest phases of imperial annexation, the reports of the languages spoken by Germanic provincials are extremely limited. It is not until the fifth century that more detailed testimonies are found, and by this time the *sermo Germanica* was certainly dominant in the Rhineland. Sidonius (*Epistolae* 5.5), for instance, comments upon his friend's comprehensive grasp of the *sermo Germanica*, and since he refers to 'Burgundian Law' and 'Burgundian eloquence', he is most probably alluding to the right bank of the Rhine valley – where the Burgundians were then situated (Orosius *Historiae Against the Pagans* 7.32). Nonetheless, the Burgundians were one of the new groups penetrating the frontier in the latter part of the third century (see 6.1), so it does not necessarily follow that the earlier provincials spoke the *sermo Germanica* as well.

On one level, the Germanic names recorded in the classical sources and Roman inscriptions are testimony to the Germanic philological backgrounds of some of the Germanic provincials and Rhenish inhabitants. Authors such as Ammianus Marcellinus (18.2.2) even reveal that people with Germanic names such as Hariobaudes in the fourth century were capable of conversing in the native languages of Germanic-speaking groups such as the Alamanni. Nonetheless, Celtic names are recorded in the classical and epigraphic sources of various parts of Europe (Raybould and Sims-Williams 2007a, 2007b), and in many of these provinces the Celtic vernaculars were given over to Latin and Proto-Romance (Bonfante 1998). Some scholars have,

therefore, reasoned that the Rhineland was no different (Schrijver 2002; Toorians 2006), and that the 'rule' even was that 'Latin spread at the expense of native languages throughout the Western Roman Empire' (Schrijver 2002, 87). The linguistic evidence for the Rhenish provincials converting to Latin has been primarily based on the phonemic and phonetic qualities underlying the Dutch and Flemish languages that are possibly symptomatic of a Latin substrate. The traits are, therefore, compatible with the provincials speaking Latin first before converting to Germanic (Schrijver 2002; Toorians 2006). However, this evidence is still open to conflicting interpretations, since a previous hypothesis had been that a Celtic, as opposed to Latin, substrate underlay these North Sea Germanic languages (Schrijver 1999). The model that the provincials had fully converted to Latin languages is, therefore, by no means conclusive.

Furthermore, there are reasons for questioning whether the various western provinces would have been receptive to Latin at a uniform rate. The Rhineland does not, for instance, stand alone as the only region to have spoken a non-Romance language, since the same situation applies for Britain and parts of Spain (Jackson 1953, 106; Rivet and Smith 1979, 13; Gatwick, 1982; Coates and Breeze 2000; Mattingly 2006, 296), as well as for the provinces of Dacia, Dalmatia, Illyricum, Moesia, Noricum, Raetia and even North Africa. In these areas, Latin, as opposed to Greek, remained the language of literacy, government and the Roman army, but here scholars recognise that native languages such as Celtic, Basque, Thracian, Illyrian, Punic, Libyan and Lycanian persisted (Mócsy 1974, 60; Polomé 1983, 244, 512; Harris 1989, 177, 179; Bonfante 1998, 4). Classical authors also commented upon the proficiency of the provinces in the Latin language as if this was not a universal phenomenon. Strabo (*Geographika* 4.1.12), for instance, claimed that Gallia Narbonensis was thoroughly Roman in language and lifestyle, and he claimed the same for the peoples in southern Spain (Strabo *Geographika* 3.2.15). Nonetheless, other provinces were highlighted for being quite the opposite, and Ovid (*Tristia* 5.7.50) bemoaned the fact that at Moesia 'there is not a single man who perchance might express any words in Latin, however common.'

Evidently, since the processes of colonisation and annexation in the provinces were not standardised, one should not expect Latin to have been received by them at an even rate. For instance, provinces such as Spain, Gallia Cisalpina and Gallia Narbonensis were annexed in 197–191 BC, which is considerably earlier than either Moesia or the Rhineland (Bonfante 1998, 5). The people involved in the provinces' colonisation are another important factor. Up until the first century BC, for instance, much of the territorial expansion had been exercised through the Roman legions, which were raised from amongst the Latin-speaking peoples of the Italian mainland, and they were often awarded land in the new *coloniae* as part of their discharge and fiscal settlement. It was through these means that Roman norms and the Latin language spread amongst the native people (Whatmough 1970, 64; Santosuosso 2001, 10–14, 44). However, regions such as the Rhineland were annexed under rather different circumstances. These territories did receive an injection of incomers, but some of their colonies and military reserves were mobilised from Germanic peoples solicited from the eastern bank of the Rhine.

It is possible that the Germanic provincials converted to speaking Latin in the second and third centuries, but this is not overly supported by the available classical sources. The single reference surviving for Latin acquisition amongst Germanic groups dates to the first century AD, when the Cherusian leader Arminius is reported to have been bilingual in Latin – allegedly ‘interjecting much in Latin as he had seen service in the Roman camp as leader of native auxiliary units’ (Tacitus *Annales* 2.10.3). The passage shows that this Germanic prefect conversed in Latin on some level, and it has often been supposed that auxiliary soldiers were taught Latin upon recruitment if they had not known this language already (Rausing 1987). However, as James Adams (2003b, 275) points out, the phrasing of this particular passage makes it clear that Arminius only knew Latin because he was a prefect (*ductor*) of an auxiliary unit, the implication being that the rank and file of Germanic auxiliary soldiers were not expected to know this language as well.

Thus, the surviving literary evidence for the acquisition of Latin amongst Germanic groups is slender when compared to the references for the other peoples and provinces. Some scholars have, therefore, been open to the likelihood that native

languages continued to be spoken in the Rhineland, and even amongst the soldiers themselves (Adams 2003b; Eck 2004). Ton Derks and Nico Roymans (2006) have also recently put across this same view. In a previous paper, they had argued that the provincials had converted to Latin on a monolingual basis, and this hypothesis was based on the high numbers of styli and seal-boxes recovered from the native long-houses in the Rhine-Maas delta, which betokened accomplished levels of Latinity and literacy amongst even the rural populace (Derks and Roymans 2002; 2003). However, in their more recent study, they have backtracked from some of their preliminary conclusions, claiming that:

in our 2002 paper we may have over-estimated the process of Latinisation. One cannot rule out the possibility that, even in the third century there remained elements with no command of Latin at all, who continued to speak their local language.

Derks and Roymans 2006, 129–130.

In support of the persistence of native languages in the Rhineland is the fact that, as James Adams (2003b, 277) points out, two inscriptions found in Illyricum record *interpretes Germanorum* ‘German interpreters’ (CIL 3. 10505; 14349.5). Considering the location of these two stones, Adams justly reasons the interpreters were not being used to converse with the natives, but they acted as intermediaries to the Germanic-speaking auxiliary soldiers stationed in this province.

The Germanic cohorts based in Illyricum were no other than the First, Second, and Third Cohorts of the Batavians; units which, although recruited from the Lower Rhine, had initially been based in Roman Britain (see 3.2.2).

#### **4.6. Conclusion**

The linguistic situation in the Rhineland is extremely complex. The lack of extant documents in native vernaculars means that the languages spoken by the Germanic provincials must be reconstructed using the few references preserved in the classical sources combined with the linguistic research into the non-Roman names recorded in these literary and epigraphic records.

Because of the inherent problems with this type of evidence, there is little in the way of an overriding consensus about the types of ancient languages which were once in use. Some scholars have contended that the natives converted to Latin, whilst others have suggested that the languages were Celtic, impenetrable to modern analysis, or even neither Celtic nor Germanic in descent. However, a consistent stream of literature has favoured the prospect that some of the natives spoke philologically Germanic languages. This premise has been based on the Germanic traits identified in the ethnonyms, place-names, deities and personal names of the Germanic inhabitants. Some of these traits are apparent in the names of the *Germani cisrhenani* (c. 50 BC), but there is greater linguistic evidence, as well as more Germanic names, available for the Germanic provincials.

Evidently, these Germanic names reveal much more than evidence for Germanic diction and speech. They show how elements of this language were embedded within the ethnic personae, personal identities and topographic definitions in regular use by Germanic communities. Some historians and archaeologists argue that language was not a structuring principal in the ethnic identities of Germanic groups, and Michael Kulikowski has suggested that before the Middle Ages, 'language was not regarded as a sign of ethnic distinction' (see 1.3). A detailed analysis of the linguistic evidence available might, however, challenge such a limited view. It reveals that philologically Germanic languages figured in the everyday lives and spiritual relationships of Germanic peoples, and these languages must surely have been significant on both a philological and social level.

It is remarkable, however, how little of the Continental research about the philologically Germanic languages spoken by Germanic groups has filtered into the prevailing views about the social and linguistic backgrounds of the Germanic soldiers stationed in Britain. This problem is partly because of the lack of dialogue existing between British and Continental scholars on this subject in recent years, and this rift in communication can certainly be traced back to the build up to the two World Wars. Scholars such as Charles Roach Smith, John Kemble and Francis Haverfield had, for instance, been abreast of the latest linguistic developments in Continental research,

keying this research into their own arguments. The same stance was not adopted by scholars of the post-war generation, such as Robin Collingwood (see 1.2.1).

An additional problem in making use of Continental research, however, is that the Germanic *auxilia* in Britain have been thought to have been rarely replenished with Germanic soldiers from abroad. This has meant that the languages spoken by the Germanic provincials are not thought to be directly relevant for examining the languages spoken by the Germanic *auxilia* in Britain. However, if Britain's Germanic units continued to receive Germanic soldiers from abroad, as has been proposed in chapter 3, then the Continental literature becomes more pertinent. The evidence would suggest that the Germanic incomers entering Roman Britain would have spoken philologically Germanic languages. The remaining topic to consider is the evidence for these Germanic languages in association with the Germanic immigrants and auxiliary units based in Britain.

## 5. Germanic *Auxilia*, Germanic Names and the Tablets at Vindolanda

### 5.1 Introduction

The linguistic evidence for the Germanic *auxilia* in Britain has been a subject of periodic scholarly interest since the nineteenth century, when scholars questioned whether the soldiers attached to Germanic cohorts were responsible for introducing philologically Germanic languages to Britain prior to the Anglo-Saxon migrations (see 1.2.1). However, the linguistic evidence in Britain has the same problems and complications as those typically found in the linguistic evidence for Germanic peoples and provincials on the Continent.

It has been conclusively established that a Celtic language was spoken in many if not all parts of Britain during the Roman period (see 1.2). This evidence includes the Celtic lexis recorded in the place-names and personal names of Roman Britain as well as the names of the religious deities (Jackson 1973; Rivet and Smith 1979; Tomlin 1988, 79; Forsyth 1997; Parsons 2000; Isaac 2004; Raybould and Sims-Williams 2007a, 2007b; Mullen 2007). Despite some interest, however, the Germanic names recorded in Roman Britain have not received as much detailed analysis. The most detailed surveys were made by German scholars (such as Georg Werle and Siegfried Gutenbrunner) in the first part of twentieth century, but their works were published at a tense time in Anglo-German relations when the evidence for these Germanic names were hailed as ‘linguistic curiosities’ with ‘slender historical interest’ (see 1.2.1). The more recent investigations into these Germanic names are far from holistic and without fault. The tablets published from the fort at Vindolanda have also added significantly to the corpus of Germanic personal names and allow a re-evaluation of the other evidence.

The objective of this chapter is to discuss the Germanic names in Britain, which are either directly or indirectly connected with the Germanic auxiliary units. The chapter examines the Germanic deities recorded in the Roman inscriptions, and the personal names recorded in both these inscriptions as well as the writing tablets at Vindolanda. This research establishes whether the people connected with these cohorts were descended from philologically Germanic backgrounds. First, however, the chapter examines the extent to which the people and soldiers connected with these



cohorts spoke Latin or proto-Romance on a regular basis. This is by examining the linguistic traits and evidence for second-language acquisition in the writing tablets at Vindolanda.

## 5.2 Vulgar Latin, Bilingualism, and the Tablets at Vindolanda

The tablets uncovered at Vindolanda allow the soldiers' spoken and written registers of communication in the Latin language to be accessed almost on a micro-level. It is a commonplace that the written word is not a direct reflection of verbal discourse. Nor is it representative of the entire speech community, since the documents produced are invariably biased towards the language of the literate (Wright 2002, 318). To a certain extent, however, the Vindolanda tablets provide a rapprochement between the written records and the spoken uses of everyday Latin. This is because the tablets were not composed in the erudite and pre-meditated Latin of the well-educated. Instead they belong to a genre commonly referred to as Vulgar Latin.

The term 'Vulgar Latin' derives from the ancient comments of classical authors indicating that the Latin spoken by the vast majority of provincials differed from the Latin of the elite. This colloquial strain of Latin was designated by such phrases as *sermo plebeius* (common talk), *sermo cotidianus* (everyday language), and lastly, *sermo vulgaris*, meaning the 'general' or 'common language' (Elcock 1960, 48). Although the more formal registers of Latin were in use by only a relative minority, they are ironically much better represented in the surviving written sources. This is because the classical works were curated and copied by subsequent generations. The same efforts were not made for the sub-literary manuscripts and archives.

In the majority of cases, evidence for Vulgar Latin is restricted to the incorrect spellings of words on graffiti and stone inscriptions, misspellings which were influenced by colloquial patterns in pronunciation (Mann 1971; Smith 1983). Naturally, the tablets at Vindolanda provide further evidence about the types of spelling anomalies, syntax and lexis, which were below the level of classical diction. James Adams (1995, 2003a) has highlighted these types of vulgarisms in two important papers, and he has shown that many of them share greater parallels with the lexis and grammar of the Romance languages than with the philological traits of classical works.

What is important to underline here, however, is the relatively low number of misspellings in these tablets that were a product of vulgarisms in Latin usage. As

Adams (2003a, 530) highlights, for instance, the tablets instead employ remarkably consistent standards in orthography and grammar, which contrast with the ‘profusion of phonetic spellings found in other subliterate texts of much the same period such as the Pompeian graffiti and letters of Terentianus’ (at Karanis, Egypt). This consistency in spelling cannot simply have been the result of an imperial bureaucracy imposed at Vindolanda, since a considerable number of phonetically informed errors are to be found in the other military archives such as the ostraca at Bu Njem and Wâdi Fawâkhir in Africa. These frequent misspellings include the omission of the letter <m> in the final positions of words, as well as the use of the graphs <d> instead of <t>, <i> instead of <e>, and <e> instead of <ae>. The tablets from Vindolanda are, however, described as being ‘much more correct and conservative’ in terms of their syntax and orthography (Adams 1995, 93). The words were not being as readily affected by vulgarisms in everyday speech, and there is less orthographic evidence for Vulgar Latin in these tablets than in the sub-literary texts elsewhere. Instead, there are some peculiarities of diction and spelling in the tablets at Vindolanda, but they are the direct opposite of what would be expected of native Latin speakers. Instead, they are more compatible with second language-learners, whose standards of Latinity had not reached full competence.

This evidence for second-language acquisition in Latin is even discernable at the highest level of the fort’s chain of command. For instance, Flavius Cerialis, the prefect of the *VIII Batavorum* in AD 100–105, is not believed to have been a native Latin speaker, since the draft letters written in his own hand suggest his Latin did not flow easily (*TV* 227, 231, 232). Alan Bowman (1994, 93) surmises that these problems in lucid expression might well have been caused by ‘Batavian thought patterns’ as well as by the ‘need to translate’ (*TV* 227, 231, 232). The draft-letters of the prefect are also noteworthy for their frequent use of word-division and interpunct (*TV* 225, 242, 615, 618), and whilst word-division was uncommon in the Roman period it was employed in the Latin works of the Middle Ages and it may have been of assistance to second language-learners (Brown 1990, 70). Other tablets making use of word-division at Vindolanda were written by various Batavian (*TV* 315, 323, 597) and Tungrian (*TV* 205) bureaucrats, and notable examples include the memorandum commenting upon the poor fighting practices of the *Brittunculi* (*TV* 164; see 3.6.1), and the list of ‘hunting

equipment' which may have been left to the Batavian veterans at the fort (*TV* 593; see 3.5).

These other tablets may have been composed by second language-learners in Latin. However, there is one tablet in particular which points to second-language acquisition amongst the soldiers connected with the fort. This is a letter written by a probable soldier named Chrauttius to his *frater* (brother, comrade), an *equisio* (groom) named Veldedeius, in which *soror* (sister) Thuttena and an acquaintance named Velbutena are also mentioned. All of these cognomina are non-Roman with possible Germanic associations (see 5.4.1). As Adams (1995, 130) also points out, there are certain grammatical problems in this letter indicating that Chrauttius spoke a 'foreigners' Latin', being bilingual in a native language as well. As he states, for instance, one can 'hear the voice of a second-language learner' in the use of '*tot tempus*' (for such a long time), where *tot* has been treated as an indeclinable singular (Adams 1995, 130). Another telling characteristic is that the letter contains many well-known idioms, which is compatible with Chrauttius being practised in only the more rudimentary levels of Latin speech. Furthermore, two of the nominatives in one of the sentences have also been declined erroneously as accusatives, which shows errors in basic syntax: *salutes a me Thuttenam & si quid audieris aut Quot(u)m* (Adams 1995, 117). In view of these failings, one is even tempted to wonder whether the phrase *saluta verbis meis* 'greet in my words' in this letter is an acknowledgement of Chrauttius' familiarity with a non-Latin native language? He perhaps epitomises the type of bilingual fellow discussed by Kenneth Jackson (1953, 106), who 'speak(s) a language which he cannot write and write(s) in a language which he cannot easily, or does not habitually, speak'. One is also reminded here of Arminius, who was able to communicate in two different languages when he was in conversation with his own brother Flavus (see 4.5). It is feasible that Chrauttius and Veldedeius were equally capable of 'code-switching' (i.e. interchangeably communicating in two or more languages) and that Veldedeius was expected to translate the contents of Chrauttius' letter for the benefit of acquaintances and relatives, whose standards of Latinity or bilingualism were not as competent as their own.

It is understood that bilingualism was relatively widespread at auxiliary forts such as at Vindolanda. The forts would have still been able to function as long as the prefects, officers and a number of interpreters were bilingual in the Latin language

(Adams 1995, 2003a). The reason why there are not more solecisms in the tablets at Vindolanda similar to those found in Chrauttius' letter is that, as Adams (1995) points out, most of the archives were generated by specially trained slaves and scribes. The letter written by Chrauttius seems to have been one of the relatively few documents written in his own hand (*TV* 310), but the involvement of scribes in the vast majority of the other epistles is clearly demonstrated by the main bulk of the text being written in a different hand from the closing address (see *TV* 210, 211, 247, 248, 250, 252, 255, 256, 258, 263, 264, 291, 292, 295, 300, 309, 311, 312, 314, 345, 347, 611, 613, 622, 628, 629, 641, 642). Thus, as Adams (1995, 87) surmises, if the authors of the letters or the inhabitants at Vindolanda had employed a 'broken or foreigners' Latin', this would have been virtually impossible to detect because of the part 'played by well-trained scribes in putting such speech into writing'. Moreover, it is significant that not even much evidence for free-handed Latin literacy exists amongst the regular soldiers. Veldedeius was a groom seconded to work for the governor based at London (*TV* 310), so he was no ordinary recruit. Other soldiers at Vindolanda might not always have been so proficient in Latin. For instance, thirty-eight *renuntia* 'reports' have so far been recovered from the fort, which were written by *optiones* (standard-bearers) of the *VIII Batavorum*. All of these *renuntia* are virtually identical in formula, but what is more revealing is that ten of them have the same misspelling of '*debunt*' instead of *debent* ('they ought'). This suggests that the reports were copied from the same exemplar giving this misspelling in the original prototype (Adams 1995, 102, 130).

Nonetheless, in spite of the formulaic nature of many of the texts, and the dependence upon scribes and exemplars, a number of additional irregularities are evidenced in the tablets which are compatible with what would be expected of learning Latin as a second language. Scholars of the medieval period have, for instance, often appreciated the problems encountered by Celtic- and Germanic-speakers when learning Latin in the Middle Ages (Law 1982, 3–9), and one particular study by Scott Gwara (1998) discusses material that has intriguing parallels with some of the traits in the tablets at Vindolanda. Gwara's study focusses on the incongruous features in the *Colloquia*, which was a tenth-century teaching guide composed by the Anglo-Saxon monk Ælfric Bata for schoolboys attending monastic institutions. In such monasteries, Latin was employed as both a spoken and written medium and the *Colloquia* was intended to replicate the social discourses of the schoolboys and monks in the Latin

language. Nonetheless, the study identified a number of communicative blunders which were compatible with the author Bata adopting Latin in a second language-learning environment. Some of these traits correlate with the anomalies typical in the tablets at Vindolanda.

### ***Persistent Error***

One trait which Gwara identified in his study was ‘persistent error’, and an example of this has already been highlighted in connection with the morphologically inaccurate *debunt* in the *renuntia* (reports) at Vindolanda. Gwara’s (1998, 6) study indicated that errors persistently flourish in second-language learning environments because of there being little contact with native speakers to explicate such faults should they occur. It should, furthermore, be observed that the *renuntia* at Vindolanda belonged to the personal archives of the camp prefect Flavius Cerialis. For this error to be made repeatedly in the tablets without any reproach, even from the camp prefect, is, as Adams (1995, 131) himself acknowledges, an indication that the occupants of Vindolanda were generally unaware of their mistake.

### ***Orthographic Conservatism***

Another telling trend in the orthography in the tablets is the employment of archaic spellings deviating from the conventional spelling. Orthographic conservatism is typical of a second-language learning environment since the absence of native Latin-speakers leads to a rigid application of morphological rules, even if the spellings of individual lexemes have altered at a later date due to subsequent sound-changes (Gwara 1998, 6). It should be noted, then, that out-dated spellings are certainly characteristic of the orthography at Vindolanda. One example is ‘*occassio*’ instead of *occasio*, which is found in one of Flavius Cerialis’ own draft-letters (*TV* 225). As Adams (1995, 129) points out, this misspelling is both historically and etymologically correct but it is highly unusual in the conventional spelling of this period. Similar instances of out-dated gemination of <s> are in the words *missi*, *ussus* and *occassionem*, which were written by other soldiers, scribes and traders of the fort (Adams 1995; 2003a), one of whom was the aforementioned chicken-farmer, probably from the Rhineland, named Chnisso (*TV* 581, see 3.6.1). Additionally, other documents employed the conservative <xs> instead of <x> in the words *dixsit* (*TV* 735), *vexsillo* (*TV* 628), *vexsillarius*

(Adams 1995, 89-91, 131; 2003a). These archaisms in spelling seem all the more strange in view of the above-mentioned comment that the orthography of the tablets was otherwise correct and precise and rarely reflects the phonology of Vulgar Latin (see above). Instead, it seems that the spelling-errors at Vindolanda are more compatible with what would be expected of learning Latin as a second language.

### ***Incongruous Words***

The misapplication of lexis is another common characteristic of second language-learners. This typically arises because their insufficient command of the basic lexis leads to the wrong words being selected in the second language (Gwara 1998, 8).

The fragmentary nature of the Vindolanda tablets makes it extremely difficult to gauge whether or not a Latin term has been used imprecisely. However, as Adams (2003a, 564) notes, ‘*hospitium* (home) is an unusual word to find in reference to stabling.’ Another lexical problem is in the phrase *pulli ademti*, which the above-mentioned chicken-farmer Chnisso had also written in one of his accounts (*TV* 581). Literally, the phrase means ‘chickens having been carried away (i.e. by death)’, and as Bowman and Thomas (2003, 31) suggest, this phrase seems to be too abstract and figurative to be used in such an account. These are at least two plausible examples of problems in selecting suitable and accurate expression, typical of second language learners.

### ***Word-building***

Word-building is another particularly common characteristic of second-language learners, and this also typically arises because an incomplete command of basic lexis leads to improvised words being created out of known lexemes and grammatical techniques (Gwara 1998, 7). All languages employ word-building, but second language-learners often construct make-shift words, which are not part of the mainstream lexicon.

Previously unattested Latin words are indeed noted at Vindolanda. Whilst many of them were most probably part of army slang and foreshadow the lexis of the Romance languages (Adams 1995, 2003a), not all of them readily fit into this category. One example of such an unusual term is *subpaenula* (*TV* 196), which refers to a type of undergarment worn beneath a cloak (*paenula*). It is without parallel in the Romance languages, and Alan Bowman (1994, 72) describes it as somewhat of a ‘lexical

curiosity'. A more important example pertains to the *renuntium* mentioned – the heading used for the soldiers' exemplar and baggage report – which was derived from the noun *renuntius* meaning 'reporter'. This heading may be another rather idiosyncratic coinage (Bowman 2006).

Other examples of unprecedented word-building include the noun *balneria* meaning '(object) for use in the baths' (TV 97), which was adapted from the adjective *balnearis* (Adams 1995). Furthermore, the term *axis* 'board' was instead spelt as *axio* (TV 600), and Adams (2003, 563) believes that this usage may have been influenced by the fact that the masculine suffix *-io* was typically used in the designation of objects. Two other suffixes which should also be mentioned are *-arius* and *-aris* in connection with rare words such as *braciarius* 'maltster' (TV 646) (Adams 2003, 543, 562, 575), but more importantly with the *turdarem*, *anatarem* and *cicnares* recorded on the aforementioned list of 'hunting equipment' left to the veterans of the fort (TV 593; see 3.5), a tablet also noteworthy for its use of word-division (see above). As Bowman and Thomas (2003, 47) acknowledge, the use of the suffix *-aris* for these so-called *retes* (nets) in the capture of 'thrushes', 'ducks' and 'swans' is a 'particular point of lexical interest'. This is because the attachment of the suffix seems rather superfluous, since the birds could have simply been put in the genitive or dative case. Another anomaly is that the term *retes* 'nets' have been given a masculine termination, when the noun conventionally belonged to the neuter case-system. Since the cognate Romance terms all make use of the feminine reflex such as Italian *rete* (Adams 2003a), the masculine case-ending is unlikely to have been common to the dialects of Vulgar Latin and proto-Romance.

### *Accent*

Accent is generally one of the most distinctive aspects about second language-learners, and peoples deriving from different linguistic backgrounds themselves will pronounce the same second language differently because the phonemes are influenced by the underlying phonological and stress patterns of the native languages (Gwara 1998, 6).

Accents can barely be appreciated when dealing with the written evidence alone. Nevertheless, a glimpse into the phonological patterns of the Latin spoken at Vindolanda is provided by the diacritic 'apex' marks inserted over the vowels in some of the lexis. The marks were intended to show when a vowel was to be pronounced long, and seventy-five such marks have been detected in the tablets altogether.

However, some of the marks have been placed above short vowels as well, which point to problems in incorrect enunciation: *káalendarum*, *sácrificio*, *sagá*, *neariá*, *rógo*, *fráter* and *Flávio* (Adams 1995, 97; 2003, 531). A salient point about the correctly applied apices is that the overwhelming majority of them have been placed over vowels in the final positions of words: *laterarió*, *Verecundó*, *suó*, *tú*, *tuó*, *scribó*, *meó*, *exoró*, *cupió*, *occasió*, *Marinó*, *tantó*, *rogó*, *uexsilló*, *faciás*, *putó* (Adams 1995, 98; 2003, 531). This conscious effort to maintain the correct length of these vowels probably reflects an inherent tendency to shorten them, and as Adams himself acknowledges (1995, 43), this propensity of shortening final vowels was common to the Romance languages. Nonetheless, given the other traits evidenced in these tablets – such as persistent error, orthographic conservatism and unprecedented examples of word-building – these problems in pronunciation might well have been compounded by ‘admixture’ and interference from native languages.

### ***Celtic or Germanic Admixture?***

Whilst some of the linguistic features and anomalies in the tablets are compatible with what would be expected of learning Latin in a second language learning environment, determining what these native languages might have been is the more complex matter. As we have already seen, Celtic was a major language spoken in Roman Britain (see 1.2, 5.1), and Celtic as well as Germanic languages were spoken in the regions populated by Germanic peoples on the Continent (see 4.2–4.3). However, the philological features in these tablets are not overly helpful in pointing to either a Celtic or Germanic source. For instance, the application of diacritic marks on the final positions of vowels (see above) could potentially be explained as ‘admixture’ or interference from either Celtic or Germanic. This is in view of the fact that the last syllable of words tended not to be emphasised in Proto-Celtic languages (Jackson 1953, 4-5), whilst the emphasis in Proto-Germanic fell on the first syllable (Elcock 1960, 269; Campbell 1983, 30; Toorians 2003). Thus, the speakers of both these languages might well have had problems in placing the correct emphasis on these sounds.

Other features in the tablets might point to interference via Germanic, but this evidence is far from certain. For instance, the diminutive suffix *-ulus* is especially ‘prominent in the tablets’ (Adams 2003a, 567), being attested in twenty-three different words altogether, some of which are unprecedented such as the *Brittunculi* ‘little Britons’ (*TV* 164), a tablet already notable for its word-division (see above). It is



feasible that the popularity of this suffix could be explained as a positive transfer from a Germanic substrate since a similar diminutive existed in the Proto-Germanic dialects: it is, for instance, popular in Germanic personal names (see 5.4.1), as well as in Germanic words such as *frohila* (young lord) and *niuwila* (newcomer), recorded in the runic alphabet on bracteates at Darum, Denmark (Redin 1919, xxx, Weisgerber 1968, 134, Looijenga 1997, 62). Grammatical features are prone to greater usage in a second language if they are paralleled in the first language because they are already understood by the second language-learners (Gwara 1998, 6). This phenomenon might thus explain the popularity of the diminutives at Vindolanda.

Another development along these same lines is the suffix *-arius*, whose adjectival form is found in the above-mentioned *turdarem*, *anatarem* and *cicnares* (see above). This is because a similar suffix is used in the creation of Germanic nouns, in examples such as Gothic *bokareis* ‘scribe’ (Voyles 1992, 273), and some of its earliest attestations are perhaps found in the ethnonyms of such Germanic peoples as the *Bructeri* and *Tencteri* (Schönfeld 1911, 11; Green 1998, 29).

Nonetheless, the popularity of these suffixes may be no more than coincidental, and it is often impossible to identify securely substrate features in the surviving sub-literary documents of the Roman period, either positive or otherwise. In a study of military ostraca at Bu Njem, Africa, for instance, Adams (1994, 111) identified a number of solescisms in the tablets suggesting imperfect Latin acquisition. However, specific cases of admixture from native languages are not evident, either Punic or otherwise. Needless to say, the problem becomes even more opaque when the native languages conditioning the Latin language are themselves Indo-European. This is in view of the strong correspondences already underlying the Indo-European languages (see 1.2.1). Since Latin is more closely related to Celtic than Germanic through its shared Indo-European inheritance (see Fig. 1.2a & 1.2b), this makes the potential examples of ‘positive transfer’ in Vindolanda’s Latin even more difficult to quantify evenly. The differential rates of correspondence Latin already shares with the Celtic compared to Germanic languages is, therefore, another important if complex point to bear in mind.

Thus, in view of these philological problems and complications, the most conclusive evidence available for Germanic linguistic backgrounds amongst the Germanic auxiliary recruits is found in the Germanic philological traits preserved in the names of their deities and in their personal names. The evidence provided by the names

of the Germanic deities is discussed next, and these names appear to be mainly recorded by soldiers serving in Germanic auxiliary or irregular units.

### 5.3 Germanic Deities

The Germanic *auxilia* stationed in Britain can be held responsible for setting up altars dedicated to the names of seven Germanic deities, and this figure accounts for the majority of non-classical/non-Oriental cults imported to the province by the Germanic cohorts (Table 5.1). . The one Celtic deity imported by the Germanic cohorts in Britain was ‘Viradecthis’, worshipped by the *II Tungrorum* at Birrens (*RIB* 2108). This goddess is otherwise attested in five altars in the Rhineland (see 3.6.2), and it is commonly connected with the Irish term *feardhacht* meaning ‘masculine’ (Gutenbrunner 1936, 105). The seven Germanic deities with more possibly Germanic associations include Hercules Magusanus, worshipped by the *ala Tungrorum* at Crammond (see 3.4.2), and the possibly Germanic associations of this cult have been discussed in section 4.4.3. Whilst the names of specific deities are not recorded in the Vindolanda tablets, this deity may also have been worshipped by *VIII Batavorum*. A small altar has, for instance, been uncovered from a sanctuary built by the Ninth, and its lettering, although worn, might once have invoked Magusanus (see Birley 2001a, Fig. 5.1). The names of the other Germanic cohorts responsible for setting up altars dedicated to Germanic deities in Britain include the *I Tungrorum*, *II Tungrorum*, and *I Frisiavonum*, as well as possibly the *I Vangionum*, and *I Batavorum*. Naturally, the names of these deities do not prove that the soldiers spoke Germanic languages, although this situation must remain a possibility. The Germanic deities recorded on these altars also point to the importance which elements of this philologically Germanic language played to the cultural focus and social milieu of the Germanic cohorts.

**Table 5.1**  
**Names and locations of philologically Germanic deities recorded on Roman altars**

<i>Matres Alatervae</i>	Crammond ( <i>RIB</i> 2135)
<i>Harimella</i>	Birrens ( <i>RIB</i> 2096)
<i>Ricagambeda</i> ,	Birrens ( <i>RIB</i> 2107)
<i>Matres Hanneftis</i>	Manchester
<i>Matres Ollototis</i>	Manchester ( <i>RIB</i> 574), Binchester ( <i>RIB</i> 1030, 1031, 1032)
<i>Hveteri</i> - at the following sites and according to the following spellings:	
	Carvoran - Veteris ( <i>RIB</i> 1793), Veteris ( <i>RIB</i> 1794), Veteris

(RIB 1795), Vetiris (RIB 1796), Veteris (RIB 1797), Viteris (RIB 1798), Veteris (RIB 1799), Vitiris (RIB 1800), Vitiris (RIB 1801), Veteres (RIB 1802), Veteres (RIB 1803), Veteres (RIB 1804), Vitires (RIB 1805)
Benwell - Vetris (RIB 1335), Vitires (RIB 1336)
Catterick - Vheteris (RIB 727)
Carrawburgh - Hviteres (RIB 1549), Veteris (RIB 1548)
Chesters - Veters (RIB 1455), Veteres (RIB 1456), Vitires (RIB 1457)
Chester-le-Street - Vitires (RIB 1048), Vitiris (RIB 1046), Vitires (RIB 1047).
Corbridge - Vit(iris) (RIB 1141) Veteris (RIB 1139) Vitiris (RIB 1140)
Ebchester - Vitiris (RIB 1103), Vitiris (RIB 1104)
Great Chesters: Vetiris (RIB 1728) Veteres (RIB 1729) Veteres (RIB 1730).
Hadrian's Wall (unknown location) - Huitires (RIB 2069), Veteris (RIB 2068)
Housesteads - Hveterus (RIB 1602), Hvitrus (RIB 1603), Veteres (RIB 1604), Veteres (RIB 1605), Veteres (RIB 1606), Veteres (RIB 1607; Birley 1986, 63)
Lanchester: Vitiris (RIB 1087) Vitiris (RIB 1088).
Netherby - Hvetirus (RIB 973), Mogons Vitiris (RIB 971), Hveteris (RIB 969; Birley 1986, 63)
Old Penrith - Vicris (RIB 925)
Piercebridge - Viiteri ( <i>Britannia</i> 1974, 461 no. 3)
Thistleton, Rutland - Veteris (JRS 1962 192 no. 6)
Vindolanda - Hvvtri ( <i>Britannia</i> 2003, 367 no. 9), Veteris (RIB 1697), Veteris (RIB 1698), Veteres (RIB 1699), Veteri ( <i>Britannia</i> 1973, 329 no. 11), Veteri ( <i>Britannia</i> 1973, 329 no. 12), Vetiri ( <i>Britannia</i> 1975, 285 no. 6), Vitiri ( <i>Britannia</i> 2003, 370 no. 11), Vitiri ( <i>Britannia</i> 2003, 369 no. 10)
York - Veter RIB 660

### 5.3.1 Matres Alatervae

The Matres Alatervae are recorded on a second-century altar at Crammond (RIB 2135; Fig. 3.9), and they were invoked by the *I Tungrorum*, which is the same cohort previously based at Vindolanda.

The epithet Alatervae compares with other Germanic deities worshipped in the Rhineland such as the Alateivia at Xanten (*CIL* 13. 8606) and the Matronae Alaferhviae at Jülich near Cologne (*CIL* 13. 7862, 21012). The name of the Alateivia means ‘all divine one’ (see 4.4.3), and the epithet of Matronae Alaferhviae means ‘all oak’, the second part of the name being cognate with Old High German *fereheih* ‘oak tree’ (Simek 1993, 6). It is suspected that the ‘Alatervae’ might have been a scribal corruption of either of these two deities since the Crammond altar was lost before the nineteenth century and the reading of the inscription is thus dependent on a

transcription made by John Horsley (1732) (Mees 2007). Nonetheless, ‘Alatervae’ could be the accurate spelling and two Germanic roots have been suggested for this epithet. One of the roots is Proto-Germanic *\*terwa* ‘true’, which is found in terms such as Old High Germanic *triuwi*. The second root is Proto-Germanic *\*terua* ‘tree’, and found in terms such as Gothic and Old High German *triu* (Gutenbrunner 1936, 154; Birley 1986, 49; Simek 1993, 6). Overall, the semantic reference to a ‘tree’ might seem more plausible in reference to the Alatervae since many of the Rhenish epithets of the Mother Goddesses were similarly named after trees: for example, the aforementioned Alaferhviae, as well as the ‘Alusnihae’, *\*aluz* ‘alder’, Gratichae *\*grat* ‘plant saplings’, Amfratninae *\*ampro* ‘root’, Fernovineae ‘fern pasture’, Tumaestiae ‘felled clearance’, and the Ulahinehae, whose root is etymologically related to Proto-Germanic *\*lauha*, Old English *leah* meaning ‘grove’ (Neumann 1987). Moreover, the fact that the ‘Alatervae’ represent the true reading of this name is thought to be substantiated by the fact that the root is preserved in the ‘Tervingi’ or ‘people of the wood’, who were one of the western factions of the Goths in the fourth century (Schönfeld 1911, 11; Birkhan 1970, 521).

### 5.3.2 Ricagambeda, Harimella, and Vanauns

The altars dedicated to the goddesses Ricagambeda (*RIB* 2107), Harimella (*RIB* 2096) and Vanauns (*RIB* 1991) all seem to have been set up by soldiers of the *II Tungrorum*. Two of these altars were discovered at Birrens, which was the Tungrian cohort’s second-century base, and the third altar dedicated to Vanauns was discovered at Castlesteads, which was the base of the *II Tungrorum* in the third century (see 3.3.2).

The *pagus Vellavi* seconded into the *II Tungrorum* was responsible for setting up the altar dedicated to the goddess Ricagambeda, and the name of this deity is understood to have meant ‘powerful commander’ in a philologically Germanic language. The beginning of the name, for instance, compares with Proto-Germanic *\*rik*, *rika* (Old Saxon *riki*, Old Frisian *riki* and Old English *rice*) meaning ‘strong powerful’, and Gambeda is the philological antecedent of *Gebieterin*, a now old-fashioned German word for ‘mistress, lady’ (masculine *Gebiet* ‘lord, master, commander’), which stems from the German verb *gebieten* meaning to ‘have command over’ (Gutenbrunner 1936, 105). It is for these reasons that Ricgambeda is thought to have meant ‘powerful mistress’ or ‘powerful commander’ (Simek 1993, 264).

The second deity at Birrens – Harimella – was invoked by an *architectus* (technician) named Gamidiahus (*RIB* 2096), and the soldier may have belonged to the *II Tungrorum* as well. Opinion differs over the precise etymology of Harimella, but all agree that the roots are Germanic.

One suggestion is that ‘Harimella’ means ‘shining hair’, the first root being cognate with such terms as the English word ‘hair’ (as well as German *haare*, Old Saxon *har*, Old Frisian *her*, Icelandic *har*), and the second root stemming from Proto-Germanic *\*mella* meaning ‘shining’ (Weisgerber 1968, 157, Birkhan 1970, Simek 1993, 132). However, an alternative explanation is that Harimella means an ‘army gathering’, or ‘military meeting place’. In this context, *Hari-* is thought to stem from Proto-Germanic *\*hari* meaning ‘war’ (see 4.2), and *-mella* ‘shining’ refers also to a ‘meeting place in the snow’, and cognate with the Old Norse *moil* (Gutenbrunner 1936, 100).

Whichever interpretation is accepted, it seems likely that the main cult-centre of Harimella was located in the Rhineland itself – as with other Germanic deities such as Hercules Magusanus. The deity also seems to have been a particular favourite of the Tungri. No altars dedicated to Harimella have been recovered from the Rhineland, but the fact that this deity was worshipped in the Tungrian civitas is suggested by the place-name ‘Hermalle’ recorded in AD 779 for the region close to Maastricht (Gutenbrunner 1936, 100). The name compares unmistakably with Harimella, and it is commonly understood that the names of deities in the Rhineland often assumed a topographical importance (Neumann 1987; see 2.3.3, 3.6.2).

Admittedly, this has not been suggested previously, but one is tempted to identify Vanauns as being another Germanic deity, although no explicit etymologies can be suggested at this stage. It seems likely that this deity has been overlooked in the previous surveys of the Germanic deities because she is not mentioned explicitly in connection with a Germanic unit. Nonetheless, Vanauns is an extremely important deity since she was invoked by one of the *principes* (ad hoc commanders) at the Second Tungrian cohort’s base at Castlesteads. It has been suggested in section 3.4.2 that these *principes* may have played an important role in the recruitment strategies of the Tungrian unit. Linguistically, ‘Vanauns’ seems rather similar to Germanic personal names recognised for the Rhineland such as ‘Vanaenia’ meaning ‘satisfaction’ – stemming from Proto-Germanic *\*wanainiz* (Gutenbrunner 1936, 187; Weisgerber 1968,

159). It is, therefore, feasible that, given further analysis, Vanauns may yield another philologically Germanic root.

### 5.3.3 Matres Hanneftis and Ollototis

Both these epithets of the Mother Goddesses – Hanneftis and Ollototis – seem to be connected with the *I Frisiavonum*. An altar dedicated to these two Mothers was discovered in 2007 at Manchester, which is known to have been the base of *I Frisiavonum* (Fig. 3.10). The Hanneftis are only invoked on this one altar, but the Ollototis are invoked on four more: another one at Manchester (*RIB* 574), and three others at Binchester (*RIB* 1030, 1031, 1032), which is a fort occupied by an irregular Frisian *cuneus* (unit) (see 6.6.1).

The Ollototis have long been appreciated as exhibiting rather foreign associations, and one of the altars at Binchester in fact translates the epithet as another expression for *Transmarinae* meaning ‘from overseas’ (Fig. 3.11). The etymology of this epithet has far from been satisfactorily resolved, but a general consensus is that the first part is a Celticisation of the Germanic term for ‘all’, which is also seen in Germanic Mothers in the Rhineland such as ‘Ollogabiae’ (*CIL* 13. 6751, 7280) and the ‘Alagabiae’ (*CIL* 13. 8529) meaning ‘all-givers’ (Mees 2007, 23). Siegfried Gutenbrunner (1936, 158) also compared Ollototis with Old Icelandic *albyða* meaning ‘general’.

Whilst the Hanneftis are only invoked once in Britain, their name seems to compare with Rhenish epithets of the ‘Matres Hiannef’ (*CIL* 13. 8219) and *Matronae Annanept(i)ae* (*CIL* 13. 6829) recorded on altars at Cologne and Xanten respectively.<sup>1</sup> The proposed etymology for these two epithets is ‘favourable relations’, the second theme being connected with Proto-Germanic *\*nefti*, Old Norse *nípt* meaning ‘kin, near relation’, and the prefix with Proto-Germanic *\*ann*, Old High German *unnan* meaning ‘to grant’, as well as with Gothic *anst* meaning ‘favour, gift grace’ (Gutenbrunner 1936, 160; Simek 1993, 16). These interpretations might work equally well with Hanneftis at Manchester. Comparable, then, with the other epithets of the Mother Goddesses recorded in Roman Britain – such as the Ollototis, *Transmarinae* and *Domesticae* – it seems that Hanneftis was another generic epithet for the cult of the Mother Goddesses

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<sup>1</sup> The graph <h> was occasionally added to words without carrying much phonetic value (Birkhan 1970, 499), and the letters <p> and <f> were often used interchangeably to refer to the phoneme /f/ in Classical records (Rasch 2005).

worshipped across the seas (see 3.6.2). Some of these epithets seem, however, to have been coined in a philologically Germanic language as opposed to Latin.

#### 5.3.4 The Hveteri

The Hveteri are not precisely paralleled in the Rhineland, although they have long been suspected to owe their inception to a Germanic source (Hodgson 1840, 140; Haverfield 1918, Birley 1986, 63, Irby Massie 1999, 105). Altogether fifty-eight altars have been uncovered dedicated to these deities, making them the most popular native cult to be recorded in epigraphic form in Britain (Table 5.1). The altars are mainly concentrated in the vicinity of Hadrian's Wall and the forts populated by Germanic units such as the *I Batavorum* at Carrawburgh, the *I Tungrorum* at Housesteads, as well as the *I Vangionum* at Benwell and Chesters. The majority of the altars are also extremely poorly carved, which suggests that the hey-day of the cult was a late Roman phenomenon, coterminous with the latest phases of epigraphic activity in Britain (Clay 2007; Fig. 5.2a).

The etymology of the Hveteri is far from clear, and this is not aided by the diversities in spellings and grammatical principles recorded for the deities. The name, for instance, variously begins with the graphs <V> <Hv> and <Vh>, and the vowels are represented by the letters <i> as well as <e>. In 1840, the Reverend John Hodgson had compared this cult with Old Norse *vithrir* meaning 'weather', which he furthermore recognised as being one of the early medieval epithets of Odin (see Hodgson 1840, 40). Shortly afterwards, the Reverend John Collingwood Bruce (1867, 408) compared the cult with the Latin adjective *vetus* 'old', and this interpretation persisted into the twentieth century. As a result, Siegfried Gutenbrunner (1936) took little account of the cult in his survey of the Germanic deities recorded in Roman inscriptions. Nonetheless, J. F. Haverfield (1918) argued in a paper published at the end of the First World War that the Hveteri may indeed be linked with a Germanic source. His reason for suggesting this was that the graph <Hv> in six of the better carved inscriptions (at Carrawburgh, Housesteads and Netherby) compared with the orthographic precedents of Old English, in words for example such as *hva* 'who', *hvi* 'why', and *hvider* 'whither' (Fig. 5.2b). Whilst Haverfield did not speculate on the etymology of the name, a reasonable suggestion put forward by Anthony Birley (1979, 108) has been that it is related to Old Norse *hvitr* meaning 'white, shining', a term cognate with other Germanic lexis such as Gothic *hweits*, Old Frisian *hwit*, Old Saxon *hwit*, Icelandic *hvitr*

and Old High German *hwiz* (Bosworth and Toller 1898, 577). The graphs <e> and <i> tended to be interchanged in Roman orthography (Mann 1971; Smith 1983), so the spellings of the name are compatible with this interpretation, and Philip Shaw (forthcoming) agrees that this term fits better than the Old Norse root *vithrir*. If Proto-Germanic *wedro-m* had been the intended root in the names of these deities, one might have also expected the graphs <d> and <th> to be used in the various spellings. As it stands, this has not been the case.

In summary, these seven Germanic deities and epithets make a connection between the Germanic auxiliary units and philologically Germanic languages. This connection is reinforced by the auxiliary recruits' personal names.

#### 5.4 Germanic Personal Names

As with the Germanic deities, Germanic personal names contain a considerable amount of linguistic information. More examples of Germanic personal names have also been identified in Britain than examples of Germanic deities. Regrettably, however, these personal names have not received as much detailed analysis. The pioneer study of these names was made by Georg Werle (1910) in his 'Die ältesten germanischen Personennamen', which included seventeen Germanic names from Roman Britain. More recently, Hermann Reichert's (1987) *Lexikon der Altgermanischen Namen* has included twenty-nine personal names from Britain. Nonetheless, one of the problems with this later work is that the accompanying etymological volume has not yet been completed, so it does not provide a philological break-down of the Germanic names in Britain, nor their etymologies. Another problem issue is that the survey pre-dates the publication of the tablets at Vindolanda, and this corpus has added significantly to the Germanic and non-classical personal names recorded in connected with the Germanic auxiliary units.

Altogether, sixty-seven non-classical cognomina are recorded in the Vindolanda tablets, the majority of which belonged to the inhabitants either inside or in the vicinity of the fort. These names are listed in Table 5.2, and forty-seven of them are unique to

<b>Table 5.2</b>	
<b>Non-Roman cognomina recorded in the writing tablets at Vindolanda</b>	
*Arcuttius TV 129, 578	*Gramaseus TV 451
*Arcuttius TV 129, 578	* <u>Harius</u> TV 670 (circa AD 190)
Atrectus TV 182	*Hvep TV 184



<u>Atto</u> TV 345, 308, 320	* <u>Hvet</u> TV 187
*Belligedo TV 608	*Ircucisso/*Troucisso TV 182
*Bellis TV 661	<u>Leubius</u> TV 594, 609
<u>Billo</u> Birley 2002, 119	*Metto/*Melco TV 309
Brigio TV 188	*Negalaet(ius) TV 594
*Brigionus TV 250	R[enatus] TV 603
* <u>Burcterda/Buriterda</u> TV 594	* <u>Ricarromaucus</u> TV 649
* <u>Butimas</u> TV 184	* <u>Saco</u> TV 309
* <u>Bog[...]</u> ? TV 491	*Sattua TV 346
* <u>Catussa</u> TV 609	* <u>Sautenus</u> TV 182, 581, 188, 709
* <u>Chnisso</u> TV 581, 582	*Scoruilos TV 608
* <u>Chrauttius</u> TV 310	*Settius TV 161
Exomnius TV 127, 182, 575	Stipo TV 184
* <u>Fadus</u> TV 321	* <u>Suasso</u> TV VIII 72, 609
* <u>Fado</u> TV 610	* <u>Suetius</u> TV 581
* <u>Frám[...]</u> TV 734	*Suolcenus TV 648
Frissius TV 609	* <u>Tagamas</u> TV 181
*Fru[endus] TV 187	* <u>Tagarminis/Tagarannis</u> TV 184
*Furio TV 184	<u>Tappo</u> TV 184
* <u>Gamigonius/Gamigus</u> TV 608	* <u>Thuttena</u> TV 310
* <u>Gamba[x]</u> TV 184	*Ucen(i)us TV 184
* <u>Gamuxperus</u> TV III 184	*Usarius/Uxarius TV 587
* <u>Gannallius</u> TV 169	Varienus/Varcenus TV 609
* <u>Gavo</u> TV 192; 207; 218	<u>Vattus</u> TV 182
* <u>Gavorignus</u> TV 649	<u>Vatto</u> TV 581
*Gnavorix TV 353	

N.B. Names underlined are those also identified as Germanic (see Table 5.4). Asterisk indicates unprecedented names, not attested in *NPEL*.

the Roman period, not recorded in any other classical, sub-literary or epigraphic record, so this often makes it impossible to make use of previous research.<sup>2</sup> The editors Bowman and Thomas (1994, 30) have, therefore, taken four of the names as being probably Germanic and ten as being Celtic. However, as they themselves profess, ‘we make no pretence to expertise in the matter of classification or in the very difficult philological and linguistic problems which these names raise’ (Bowman and Thomas 1994, 31). The only other study to have attempted the perplexing task of classifying

<sup>2</sup> Collections of non-Classical names recorded for the Roman period are found in *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* (Jones et. al. 1971, 1980, Martindale 1992a, 1992b), Heikki Solin’s (1994) *Repertorium Nominum Gentilium et Cognominium Latinorum*, and András Mócsy’s (1983), *Nomenclator Provinciarum Europae latinarum et Galliae Cisalpine (NPEL)*.

these names is a paper published by Anthony Birley (2001a), which identifies thirty-two Germanic names in these tablets and forty-one Celtic names. Birley thus identifies more Celtic and Germanic personal names in these tablets than Bowman and Thomas, and a break-down of the explanations he provides for the categorisation of the Germanic personal names is provided in Table 5.3 – he gave no similar breakdown of the names he categorised as Celtic.

<b>Table 5.3</b>	
<b>Names identified as Germanic in the Vindolanda tablets by Anthony Birley (2002), and the reasons he provides</b>	
<i>Agilis</i>	perhaps a Latinised form of a personal name
<i>Albsio</i>	no reason provided
<i>Ammius</i>	no reason provided
<i>Audax</i>	perhaps a Latinisation of Gothic <i>audags</i> meaning ‘blessed’
<i>Anveugus</i>	no reason given
<i>Buccus</i>	possibly a Germanic name
<i>Butimus</i>	buti- is cognate with Beute meaning ‘booty’ according to Reichert
<i>Chlenoc</i>	based on the <i>Chl-</i> prefix
<i>Chnisso</i>	based on the <i>Chn-</i> prefix
<i>Chrautius</i>	perhaps related to the prototheme Chrod-, the Anglo-Saxon personal name Hroedhe, or the Old Norse term <i>hrot</i> meaning ‘red’
<i>Frissia[us]</i>	Germanic ethnonym
<i>Gamba[x]</i>	Old High German <i>gambar</i> means ‘strenuous’
<i>Gamsio</i>	Batavian soldier has the name Gamo, a Tungrian soldier has the name Middle High German <i>game</i> means ‘Freude’
<i>Gannallius</i>	Gann- is a Germanic prefix and it is found in such names as Ganna, a Germanic priestess, and the Chaucian Gannasco
<i>Gramaseus</i>	no reason provided
<i>Hvete</i>	based on the aspiration, the similarity of the name to the Germanic cult of the Hveteri
<i>Hristo</i>	Old Icelandic <i>hrista</i> means ‘to shake weapons’
<i>Hvepn[us]</i>	based on the aspiration
<i>Lub[ ]</i>	no reason provided
<i>Mallus</i>	Malorix was a king of the Frisii, and Mallovendus a chief of the Marsi
<i>Onmo..</i>	prefix <i>Hun-</i> , <i>Un-</i> and <i>On-</i> means ‘young’
<i>Rumanus</i>	Rum- is a Germanic prototheme
<i>Similis</i>	no reason provided
<i>Scares</i>	Old High German ‘ <i>scara</i> ’ means ‘Haufen’, ‘Menge’ and <i>skar</i> means ‘divide, share’
<i>Scurvilo</i>	<i>Scar-</i> is possibly Germanic
<i>Thuttena</i>	similar to the Germanic protothemes <i>Teut-</i> , <i>Theud-</i> , <i>Theod-</i> , <i>Thiud-</i> , <i>Thud-</i> , as well as to a Germanic deity recorded in the Rhineland,

	Hludena
<i>Troucisso</i>	no reason provided
<i>Ucen(i)us</i>	<i>Uc-</i> is potentially Germanic
<i>Upraulni[us]</i>	no reason provided
<i>Usarius</i>	no reason provided
<i>Veldedeius</i>	Veldes is the name of a Texuandrian
<i>Vileus</i>	<i>Vil-</i> is potentially Germanic

As the table shows, Birley interpreted some of the names as Germanic based upon their similarity to other Germanic words, other names because of aspects of Germanic philology which he did not otherwise elucidate, and some because of their correspondence with other Germanic personal names. These are all standard techniques in the classification and categorisation of Germanic personal names, but one of the greatest flaws with this survey is that it still pre-dates the publication of *Tabulae Vindolandenses III* in 2003. Whilst Birley had access to the unpublished tablets, and he included the majority of the personal names in his examination, the study includes many erroneous spellings of names and even additional names with which the editors of the tablets Bowman and Thomas (2003, 6) do not agree.

The Germanic names discussed in this chapter are, therefore, only those which are securely recorded in either the Vindolanda tablets or the stone inscriptions from Roman Britain. Altogether, eighty names are discussed in the following examination (see Table 5.4), thirty-nine of which are connected with the Batavian (c. AD 92–105) and Tungrian recruits (c. AD 105 – 150) stationed at Vindolanda, and the remainder are recorded in stone inscriptions dating from the second to fourth centuries. Forty-two of these names have been identified in previous research, but this survey includes an additional thirty-nine names which are identified as Germanic based upon the research undertaken and presented here.

<b>Table 5.4</b>	
<b>Germanic names on stone inscriptions and the Vindolanda tablets</b>	
<b>Full references and explanations are provided in sections 5.4.1 – 5.4.8</b>	
<b>Name and References</b>	<b>Additional Comments and Etymologies</b>
Ahteha - <i>RIB</i> 1180	Germanic prefix <i>*āhtō</i>
Aledus - <i>TV III</i> 184	
Alimahus - <i>RIB</i> 1620	Proto-Germanic <i>*alja</i> , Old High German <i>ali</i> , Old English <i>eli</i> ‘other’
Alio - <i>TV</i> 181	Belonged to a <i>veterinaries</i> , see Alimahus

Allatus - TV 190	Proto-Germanic * <i>alla-</i> 'all'
Analeugus - TV 587	Gothic <i>liugan</i> 'to swear an oath 'to marry'
Arcavius - RIB 926	cited in Reichert 1987, 57
Avo - RIB 931	
Atto - TV 345, 308, 320	Gothic <i>atta</i> 'father'
Billo - Birley 2002, 119	
Binius - RIB 1806	
Betto - RIB 2144	Old English <i>betan</i> 'to amend, repair'
Burcanius - RIB 926	
Burcterda/Buriterda - TV 594	<i>burg-</i> 'fort' or <i>huri-</i> (Old Norse <i>burr</i> , Old English <i>byre</i> ) 'child, young man'
Burrius - RIB 1555	see Buriterda
Butimas - TV 184	- <i>as</i> termination
Bog[.] - TV 491	
Canio - RIB 1483	
Catussa - TV 609	Celtic <i>catu-</i> (Irish <i>cath</i> and Welsh <i>cad</i> ) adopted into Germanic onomasticon
Chnisso - TV 581, 582	- <i>is(s)o</i> termination
Chrauttius - TV 310	<i>Ch-</i> prefix together with Proto-Germanic <i>raudō-z</i> (Gothic <i>raups</i> , Old Norse <i>hrot</i> , Old High German <i>rot</i> , Old Saxon <i>rod</i> , Middle Dutch <i>rod</i> ) 'red'
Crotilo Germanus - TV 934	see Chrauttius
Crotus - RIB 1525	see Chrauttius
Cudrenus - RIB 579	
Dada - RIB 1799	Daddo, Dado and Deda are Old High German, Old English and Old Saxon personal names
Dailso - RIB 1620	cited in Reichert 1987, 235
Dagvalda - RIB 1667	Proto-Germanic * <i>dagoz</i> 'day' and * <i>wald-</i> power. <i>Dægweald</i> is an Anglo-Saxon personal name
Fadus - TV 321	
Fado - TV 610	
Fersio - RIB 1620	
Fersomerus - RIB 926	Proto-Germanic * <i>mare</i> , Old English <i>mære</i> 'famous'
Frám[.] - TV 734	Proto-Germanic * <i>framar</i> , * <i>frami</i> 'bold, strenuous'
Gamigonius/Gamigus - TV 608	
Gamba[x] - TV 184	
Gamuxperus - TV III 184	
Gannallius - TV 169	Ganna and Gannasco are Germanic names of Roman date
Gavero - RIB 418	
Gavo - TV 192; 207; 218	Gawo is an Old High German personal name
Gavorignus - TV 649	see Gavo
Gratus - RIB 1620	cited in Reichert 1987, 543
Hardalio - RIB 1463	Proto-Germanic <i>hard-</i> 'hard', and for deuterotheme see Ali
Harius - TV 670	Proto-Germanic * <i>hari</i> 'army'
Henoenus - (Crow 1995, 23)	Heno(w)enus, Proto-Germanic * <i>wini</i> and <i>weni</i> 'friend'
Hurmius - RIB 1619	
Hvete - TV 187	Hwita (* <i>hwit</i> 'white' and Hwæt * <i>hwat</i> 'bold') are Anglo-Saxon personal names
Leubius - TV 594, 609	Germanic <i>leub-</i> (Gothic <i>liubs</i> , Old High German <i>liub</i> ) 'dear'
Leubasnus - RIB 1619	see Leubius

Lifana - RIB 1830	Germanic <i>lif-</i> (Old English <i>lif</i> , Old Saxon <i>lif</i> , Old Frisian <i>lif</i> ) dear
Lurio - RIB 1483	cited in Reichert 1987, 481
Maduhus - RIB 1526	
Masavo RIB 579	
Mausaeus - RIB 1523	Mausio is an Old High German personal name
Melonius Senilis - RIB 1665	Proto-Germanic <i>*mella</i> 'bright, shining'
Milus - RIB 1800	Milo and Mila are Old High German and Anglo-Saxon personal names
Pou..c..ar - RIB 926	cited in Reichert 1987, 543
Rautio - RIB 1620	see Chrauttius
Ramio - RIB 2063, 2401.10	
Ricarromaucus - TV 649	Proto-Germanic <i>*rik</i> 'power'
Saco - TV 309	Sachho and Sacco are Old High German personal names etymologically related to Gothic <i>sakjo</i> , Old Norse <i>saka</i> , Old English <i>saca</i> and Old High German <i>sachan</i> meaning 'to fight'
Sautenus - TV 182, 581, 188, 709	Gothic <i>sauþs</i> 'victim, sacrifice'
Suasso - TVIII 72, 609	Swasa is an Anglo-Saxon personal name
Suetius - TV 581	Sweta is an Anglo-Saxon personal name
Tagadunus - RIB 935	
Tagamas - TV 181	<i>as</i> termination
Tagarminis/Tagarannis	
Tancorix - RIB 908	Thancherih is a medieval Germanic name, and Alatancorix and Segithancus were members of the Cherusci Free Germany. The names are connected with Proto-Germanic <i>thank</i> - (Old Saxon <i>thank</i> , Old English <i>þank</i> ) 'thank'
Tappo - TV 184	Tapo, Tapa and Tæpa are Anglo-Saxon and Old Frisian personal names
Thuttena - TV 310	
Unsenis - RIB 926	cited in Reichert 1987, 737
Vagdavarustus - RIB 926	name of Germanic deity worshipped in the Rhineland
Vattus - TV 182	Wattus (AD 692) was a king of the West Saxons
Vatto - TV 581	Watto is an Anglo-Saxon personal name
Velbutena - TV 310	
Veldedeius - TV 310	
Venico - RIB 1543	see Henoenus
Vilidedius/Vildedeius	Germanic <i>Wili-</i> (Gothic <i>vilja</i> ) 'will, desire'
Vinomathus - RIB 1528	Germanic
Venus - RIB 1449	see Henoenus
Trupo - RIB 2063	
Thrupo - RIB 1556	

The methodology adopted to identify these Germanic names has been the standard approach of comparing them with non-classical cognomina, and particularly other recognised Celtic and Germanic personal names. As already seen, the methodology used in the identification of Germanic deities is to compare them with the lexis of the Germanic languages (see for example 5.3.1). However, this methodology

would be unsatisfactory in the classification of Germanic personal names for a number of reasons. One of the problems is that hypocorism can severely alter lexical items employed in the onomastic material, resulting in Celtic and Germanic linguistic roots no longer being recognisable in the Celtic and Germanic personal names (see 4.3.1). Another problem is that Celtic themes and terms were adopted into Germanic naming-practices (Rasch 2005). For these reasons, identifying Germanic personal names based on the presence of patently Germanic lexical roots is not going to provide a comprehensive insight into the personal names in regular use amongst Germanic-speaking societies. Nonetheless, the advantage of making use of the evidence provided solely by personal names is that whilst a plethora of words are found in any given language, only a selected number of them, and particular roots, are regularly used in its onomasticon (Colman 1992, 20-3). By taking stock of where similar stems are recorded in the recognised Celtic and Germanic personal names of elsewhere, more meaningful parallels can be drawn in contextualising the Germanic personal names in Britain.

The works consulted in this survey identify Germanic and Celtic personal names of the Roman as well as early medieval period, and collections of such names are found in various works, amongst them Hermann Reichert's (1987) *Lexikon der Altgermanischen Namen*, Ernst Förstemann's (1900) *Altdeutsches Namenbuch: Personennamen*, Marilynne Raybould and Patrick Sims-Williams' (2007a) *A Corpus of Latin Inscriptions of the Roman Empire containing Celtic Personal Names*, and Robert Macalister's (1996) *Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum*. Making use of names recorded in medieval sources is a standard approach in empirical studies since it is recognised that many of the medieval names were the same ones as those in use by Celtic- and Germanic-speaking societies in the late Iron Age and Roman period, even if these later names had undergone further modification as a result of phonological changes in the Celtic and Germanic languages (Redin 1919, xxviii; Jackson 1953; Colman 1992). Additionally, the medieval names are particularly helpful in reconstructing ancient Germanic onomastic traditions. This is because the Germanic-speaking societies of the Roman period were located on the borders of the classical world (see 4.2), and very often in regions where there was not much epigraphic activity (see 2.3.3). As a result, not as many Germanic names are recorded in the Roman inscriptions as the Celtic personal names.

In the sections below, the Germanic names connected with the *VIII Batavorum* and *I Tungrorum* at Vindolanda are discussed first, before discussing the names recorded in inscriptions. Many of the names recorded in stone seem to be connected with Germanic auxiliary units, but the few names falling outside this category are discussed in the final section. It must be stressed from the outset, however, that some of these names are more securely Germanic than others. As Alex Mullen (2007, 38) observes in the classification of the Celtic names in Britain, for instance, there is often ‘a scale of Celticity’ involved in the categorisation of these names. The same reasoning and methodology applies with regards to Britain’s corpus of Germanic personal names.

#### **5.4.1 Vindolanda and *cohors VIII Batavorum***

Altogether, forty-four non-classical cognomina are recorded in connection with the inhabitants of the *VIII Batavorum*. Twelve of these names, such as Usarius/Uxarius (*TV* 587), Varienus/Varcenus (*TV* 609), Scoruilos (*TV* 608), Metto/Melco (*TV* 309), Negalaet(ius) (*TV* 594), and Fru[endus] (*TV* 187) are not common in either Celtic or Germanic naming practices, but five of these names, such as Atrectus (*TV* 182), Belligedo (*TV* 608), Brigio (*TV* 188), Exomnius (*TV* 127, 182, 575) and Troucisso (*TV* 182), are more typically found in the Celtic onomasticon (see Raybould and Sims-Williams 2007a, 13, 36 41, 60, Evans 1967, 58, 241, 382, Weisgerber (1968, 174). Brigio, for instance, contains a root typically identified with Welsh, Cornish and Breton *bre* meaning ‘hill, high’, Atrectus with Irish *recht* meaning ‘law’, and Troucisso with Old Irish *trog*, Irish *trúag* meaning ‘sad, wretched, pitiful’ (Evans 1967, 241, 315 382). However, twenty-seven of these names have more positively Germanic associations. Five names could feasibly belong to the Celtic as well as the Germanic onomasticon. Only seven of the names altogether have, however, been identified as Germanic in previous research.

#### ***Previously Identified Germanic Names***

The names previously identified as Germanic names are:

Chnisso

Frissius

Hvet

Gannallius

Chrauttius

Thuttena

Velbutena

Four of these names are attested in the same tablet written by the bilingual Chrauttius to his *frater* Veldedeius in which his *soror* Thuttena and another acquaintance named Velbutena are mentioned (*TV* 310; see 5.4.1). All of these names are unique to the Roman period, not precisely matched in any other literary and epigraphic source. Bowman and Thomas (1994, 30) and Anthony Birley (2001a, 255-6) are both in agreement that Chrauttius and Thuttena are probably Germanic personal names.

One factor which immediately sets these names apart is that with the exception of a few words of Greek origin, *Ch-* and *Th-* were untypical of Latin orthography, but these digraphs were frequently employed for the transcription of Germanic names, these being thought to have represented the phonemes /χ/ and /þ/ in Germanic phonology, and the digraph <ch> was also often used to ensure aspiration, since the graph <h> was still spelt in Latin words but it was no longer pronounced (Weisgerber 1968, 146-9; Reichert 1987, xxii). Examples of the digraph *Ch-* in Germanic names of the Roman period thus include the Batavian *dux* Chariovalda (see 4.3.1), and it occurs in Germanic ethnonyms such as the Chauci, Cherusci, Chamavi, Chasuarii and Chatti (*Germania* 29, 34, 36), the latter from whom the Batavians were themselves derived (see 2.2). The graph *Th-* is similarly found in Germanic personal names such as Thusnelde and her son Thumelicus who were members of the Cherusci in Free Germany (Tacitus *Annales* 1.57).

Birley's (2001a, 256) reasons for placing Thuttena and Chrauttius in the Germanic onomasticon are that both of their name-etyms are paralleled by Germanic protothemes and lexical items of the early medieval period. For instance, Birley compared Chrauttius with the prototheme *Chrod-* (a root found in medieval Germanic names such as the Merovingian Queen Chrodchilde), and the Old Norse word *hrot*, which he interpreted as meaning 'red'. Here Birley is mistaken in claiming that Old Norse *hrot* means 'red' since it means 'roof' (see Cleasby 1957, 288). However, the medieval prototheme *Chrod-* might be a viable cognate, and this root is related to Old Norse *hroðr*, Old High German *hruodi*, Old English *hred* meaning 'fame, honour' (Förstemann 1900). Additionally, the sound /o/ was typically represented using the graphs <o> and <au> in the Latin orthography of the Roman period (Elcock



1960, 37–40), which means that Chrauttius has a potentially acceptable spelling for this type of theme.

Birley's reasons for placing Thuttena in the Germanic onomasticon was because the name compared with the medieval prototheme *Theud-* (Table 5.3), which is a root found in Germanic feminine names such as Theudila, Teodata, and Theudelinda (Gregory *Historiae Francorum* 3.6; Fredegar 4.42; Paul the Deacon 3.30). This root stems from Proto-Germanic *\*peud* meaning 'people' (Forssner 1916, 230), and if Thuttena shared the same root as these medieval names, one might have expected the Germanic diphthong /eu/ to have been represented in Thuttena as well. However, Proto-Germanic *\*peud* is understood to have occasionally undergone monophthongisation, giving rise to variant orthographic forms such as 'tot' and 'tut' (Eska and Evans 1993, 41). Such simplification is also perhaps apparent in Old High German personal names such as Thutearn (Förstemann 1900, 1418). It is possible, therefore, that Thuttena contains a philologically Germanic prototheme as Birley suggests.

The names that are less certainly Germanic on this tablet are Veldedeius and Velbutena, and whilst Alan Bowman and David Thomas (1994, 289) claim they were Celtic, Anthony Birley has highlighted their possibly Germanic connections. Birley's reasons for suggesting that Velbutena is a Germanic name is because the deutertheme compares with a Germanic term for 'booty' (Middle High German *biute*, *bute*), and it is found in names identified as Germanic by Hermann Reichert (1987) in the *Lexikon der Altgermanischen Namen*, such as Butilia as well as Butilanus, the latter being a sixth-century leader of the Alemanni (Reichert 1987, 164). Nonetheless, Velbutena may still be a hybrid Celtic-Germanic personal name, since the prototheme is typically linked with the Celtic onomasticon. Admittedly, the prototheme is found in other names with Germanic deuterthemes such as Velmada recorded on a memorial at Tongeren (*CIL* 13. 3596; Weisgerber 1954a, 46). Nonetheless, the root is more popular in Celtic personal names, and examples include Velvalis, Velvinna and Velorigam recorded on the Roman curse tablets of Bath (Tomlin 1988, 53-4), as well as Velvoria recorded in post-Roman ogham inscriptions such as at Cardigan, Wales (Macalister 1996, 349). Etymologically, the root is thought to compare with Welsh *gwell* meaning 'good' (Evans 1967, 273).

Birley's reasons for suggesting that Veldedeius might be another Germanic name is because it compares with cognomina recorded in Roman inscriptions which are also cited in the *Lexikon der Altgermanischen Namen*, such as Veldes, a Texuandrian

recorded on an inscription at Adam-Klissi, Illyricum: *Veldes Texu[andrius]* (*CIL* 3.14214), and Velda recorded on a inscription at Xanten (*CIL* 13. 8663) (see Table 5.3, Reichert 1987, 771). The etymologies of these names are far from satisfactorily resolved, but one might well compare them with Proto-Germanic *\*wildja* and Old High German *wildi* meaning ‘wild’, a root which is found in the medieval names Wilderich and Wildehar (Förstemann 1900, 1591; Kaufmann 1968, 403). In Latin orthography, for instance, the phoneme /i/ was written using the letters <e> as well as <i>, so Veldedeius could feasibly contain a Germanic prototheme for ‘wild’. However, another likely alternative is the Germanic root *wald-* meaning ‘strength, power’, which is attested in medieval names such as Waldo and Waldelenus and is cognate with terms such as Old Frisian *weld*, Old English *weald*, Old High German *wald*, Old Saxon *wald*, and Old Norse *valdr* (Kaufmann 1968, 379; Reichert 1990, 751). In Latin orthography, the graph <e> could also be used for the graph <a>, and this usage is occasionally seen in the names of Germanic deities such as Magusanus/Magusenus as well as the Veteranehae and Vataranehae (Mann 1971; Smith 1983; Neumann 1987; Toorians 2003). Nonetheless, both of these etymologies for Veldedeius are no more than conjectural, and the deuterotheme of this name is rather unprecedented – unless it might be a Latinisation of Proto-Germanic *\*teiwaz* ‘god’, which is a root preserved in Alateiva recorded on an altar at Xanten (see 4.4.3), as well as possibly in Germanic names of the Middle Ages such as Alatheus and Fanitheus (Förstemann 1900, 51, 1591).

In any case, the four remaining names, which have been identified as Germanic in previous research, have generally less complex etymologies and Germanic associations. Three of these names belonged to soldiers of the *VIII Batavorum* – Frissius (*TV* 609) Hvet (*TV* 187) and Gannallius (*TV* 169). Birley (2001a, 255) points out, for instance, that Frissius is connected with the Frisii (Table 3.5), a people on the border of the North Sea coast in Free Germany, whose ethnonym may well be philologically Germanic (see 4.2). The names Gannallius and Hvet are not precisely paralleled in any other onomastic source of Roman date, but Birley (2001a, 255) points out that the former compares with other Germanic names cited in the *Lexikon der Altgermanischen Namen*, such as Ganna, a Semnonian seer in Free Germany (Dio 67.5.3) and Gannasco (c. AD 47), a one-time Canninefatian auxiliary recruit and leader of the Chauci (Tacitus *Annales* 11.18) (Reichert 1987, 307–8). The root in these names stems from a Germanic term for ‘magic’ (Old Norse *gandr*) (Simek 1993, 99), and the diminutive

suffix in Gannallius is popular in the Germanic onomasticon (Redin 1919, xxx; Woolf 1939, 159), examples including Germanila and Rusuula recorded in the Roman inscriptions of Cologne (Weisgerber 1968, 161), and frohila and niuwila recorded on runic inscriptions in Sweden (Looijenga 1997, 62). This suffix was also popular in the Latin lexis recorded in the tablets at Vindolanda (see 5.4.1).

Birley's (2001a, 256) grounds for suggesting that Hvete was a Germanic personal name is because of its similarity with the Germanic cult of the Hveteri, and one might add that the name is unique for the Roman period, with no other cognomen even similar to this cited in *NPEL*. Nevertheless, the name bears a striking similarity to Germanic names recorded in the Middle Ages such as Old Norse Hvati and the Anglo-Saxon personal names Hwæt and Hwita (Searle 1897, 309; Redin 1919, 41, 50; Colman 1992, 104). The names Hvati and Hwæt are likely to be connected with Proto-Germanic *\*hwat* bold, but Hwita with Proto-Germanic *\*hwit* meaning 'white' (Colman 1992, 104), a root already examined in the interpretation of the Hveteri itself (see 5.3.4) (Colman 1992, 104). Nonetheless, it is feasible that either of these two roots could share cognacy with Vindolanda's Hvete, since as already seen above in the case of Veldedeius, the graph <e> could represent the phonemes /i/ as well as /a/.

The remaining name identified as Germanic in connection with the *VIII Batavorum* is Chnisso. This name belongs to a keeper of domestic fowl in the vicinity of Vindolanda (*TV* 581, 582), and Birley (2001a, 255) bases the Germanic-ness of this name on the non-Roman grapheme <chn>. However, as with the other names highlighted above, there may be additional reasons for placing it in the Germanic onomasticon. One reason, for instance, is that the suffix *-iso* is common in the earliest Germanic names of the Migration Period and Middle Ages, examples being *Eliso*, *Buriso*, and *Hariso* (Kuhn 1960; Reichert 1987, 164; Looijenga 1997, 50, 88). The second reason is that the main root of Chnisso also finds closer parallels in the Germanic names of the medieval period, in examples such as *Chunzo*, *Cuniza*, and *Chuniza*, which are linked etymologically with Proto-Germanic *\*kuniz*, Gothic *kuni* and Old High German *chunni* meaning 'envoy of a kin group' (Förstemann 1990, 336, 378; Green 1998, 149). If Chnisso had shared cognacy with these names, one might have expected <v> to be written in Chnisso as well, but it is feasible that the phone /u/ was automatically suggested by such a consonant cluster as Chn-. The graph <v> is, for

instance, known to have been omitted occasionally in other Germanic personal names (see 5.4.3).

Overall, then, seven Germanic names have been identified in previous research, but these are not the only Germanic names connected with the *VIII Batavorum* at Vindolanda.

### *Newly Identified Names*

Fourteen additional names can be identified with the *VIII Batavorum*:

Analeugus

Atto

Burcterda

Fado

Fadus

Gavo

Gavorignus

Leubius

Suasso

Suetius

Sautenus

Vatto

Vattus

Ricarromaucus

The majority of these names belonged to soldiers. The exceptions are Gavo (*TV* 192, 207, 218) and Gavorignus (*TV* 649), which belonged to traders, and one of the persons named Sautenus, who was a domestic-fowl keeper (together with Chnisso) (*TV* 581). These names have largely been classed as Celtic (Bowman and Thomas 1994, 30; Birley 2001, 253–4), although one could be more inclined to argue in favour of a Germanic root.

For instance, the names Atto (*TV* 345, 308, 320), Leubius (*TV* 594, 609) Sautenus (182, 188, 581, 709) are otherwise only attested in a few inscriptions in the Rhineland, and they are generally thought of as Germanic in the Continental literature Weisgerber 1968, 149, 161, Reichert 1987, 92, 463–464, 587). For instance, Sautenius is a name

recorded only once in an inscription in Cologne, and Leo Weisgerber (1968, 149) connects the name with Gothic *sauþs* meaning ‘victim, sacrifice’. Leubius is recorded in inscriptions at Worms and Zugmantel (*CIL* 13. 7 613a, 11709), and Weisgerber (1968, 149, 161) connects it with a Germanic term for ‘love, dear’, cognate with Gothic *liubs* and Old High German *liub*. Atto is recorded in six Rhenish inscriptions in the Rhineland, and it is recognised as a Germanic name of uncertain etymology (Weisgerber 1968, 161). It is also found in the dithematic Germanic cognomen Freiatto recorded in inscriptions at Bonn and Xanten (Weisgerber 1968, 161; Reichert 1987, 289), and names similar to both Atto and Leubius are popular in the early medieval Germanic onomasticon. For instance, Atto and Atzo are Anglo-Saxon and Old High German personal names (Searle 1897, 76; Förstemann 1900, 220, Woolf 1939, 168), the latter perhaps undergoing modification of /t/ > /z/ as a result of the Old High German sound-shift (see Nielsen 1998, 50). The main theme in Leubius is also shared in such names as Leubricus and Leubucus recorded for Anglo-Saxon England (Searle 1897, 325, 337), as well as Leubwini and Leubo, which are recorded in runic inscriptions on brooches at Nordendorf and Engers (Looijenga 1997, 146).

The names Gavo and Gavorignus are not precisely matched in the Rhineland, but they compare with Rhenish cognomina located in the vicinity of Cologne such as Gavio, Gavesa, Gavitus and Gavillius. These names are of uncertain etymology but with possible Germanic associations (Weisgerber 1968, 81, 140; Reichert 1987, 311). They also correspond with Germanic names of the Middle Ages. Examples are Gaulo, Gauwilo, Gaubert, and Gaufrid (Förstemann 1900, 622, Forssner 1916, 101), and the names Gawo and Ricgawius seem a particularly close match to the Gavo and Gavorignus recorded at Vindolanda, with the exception of the inversion of the two themes in the latter name.<sup>3</sup> The correspondence between Ricgawius and Gavorignus is especially reinforced by the fact that the difference between the graphs <C> and <G> is barely perceptible in the tablets at Vindolanda (Terras 2002). This means that ‘Gavoricnus’ as opposed to Gavorignus might have been the intended spelling, which suggests that the deutertheme stems from Proto-Germanic *\*rīk*, ‘strong powerful’, a popular root in Germanic onomastic traditions (Kaufmann 1968). This root has also

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<sup>3</sup> Note that the graph <w> did not exist in the Latin alphabet so the phoneme /w/ was represented by the letter <v>.

been discussed in relation to other Germanic names such as that of the Germanic deity Ricagambada (see 5.3.2).

The other names at Vindolanda with likely Germanic associations are Fado (*TV* 610), Fadus (*TV* 321), Vatto (*TV* 581), Vattus (*TV* 182), Suasso (*TVIII* 72, 609) and Suetius (*TV* 581). These names are not attested in any other written source of Roman date, with the exception of Vattus, which is attested twice in Gallia Belgica/Rhineland and once in Italy (Mócsy 1983, 302). Whilst all of these names have been classed as Celtic at Vindolanda, it should be pointed out that they do not occur in the medieval or Roman sources of Celtic onomastic data such as the ogham inscriptions of Ireland and Wales, the Old Welsh charters, or the Latin charters recording Old Welsh and Old Irish personal names (Nash-Williams 1950, Jackson 1959, Macalister 1996). On the other hand, the names do bear comparison with Germanic names of medieval date. Examples include Swasa, Sweta, Fato, Fatto, Fadol, Wato, which are Anglo-Saxon and Old High German personal names (Searle 1897, 239, 478; Förstemann 1900, 220, 493), and Wattus (AD 692), who was one of the kings of the West Saxon line (Redin 1919, 38). The etymologies of these names are far from clearly understood, but Swasa and Sweta may relate to a Germanic root for 'sweet, beloved, dear', akin with Old English *swæs* (Förstemann 1990, 1379; Colman 1992, 117).

Three more Germanic names remain to be considered, and whilst the end of Fram- (*TV* 734) is missing, it seems likely that the name belongs to the Germanic onomasticon. The name is another example more or less unique in the Roman period, not identified in any other inscription recorded for the western part of the Empire in András Mócsy's (1983) *Nomenclator Provinciarum Europae latinarum et Galliae Cisalpine (NPEL)*. Nonetheless, the prototheme is common in Germanic names of the medieval period, in examples such as the names Framaricus, Framhard and Frambold and Framulf (Förstemann 1990, 514-5), as well as Frambeald, and Framwis, which are Anglo-Saxon personal names (Searle 1897, 245). Etymologically, the root is connected with Proto-Germanic *\*framar*, *\*frami* meaning 'bold' or 'strenuous' (Redin 1919, 13).

Three other names have less definitive Germanic associations, and they are Analeugus (*TV* 587), Ricarromaucus (*TV* 649) and Burcterda (*TV* 594). The readings of the graphs in two of these names are also most uncertain and they are affected by the poor legibility of parts of these tablets. However, the second part of Analeugus compares with the Germanic personal name Leugaz which is recorded in a sixth-century runic inscription in Skåång, Sweden, and is thought to be etymologically

related to Gothic *liugan* meaning ‘to swear an oath, ‘to marry’ (Looijenga 1997, 52–3; Reichert 1987, 468). The prototheme in Ricarromaucus might also compare with Proto-Germanic *\*rik* ‘power’, which is a root already discussed in the case of Gavorignus. Perhaps the most similar name to this in the inscriptions of the Roman period is Ricmarus in Pannonia (Mócsy 1983, 244), which is a province not without a philologically Germanic presence (Raybould and Sims-Williams 2007a, 24). The first part of Burcterda would also compare with Germanic *burg-* ‘fortress, defence’, which is a root already encountered in the Germanic place-names of the Rhineland and Free Germany (see 4.2, 4.4.1). The root was also extremely popular in Germanic personal names, and examples include Burcio recorded in a memorial at Nijmegen (*CIL* 13. 1326), Burco (AD 457), who led a siege against the Alemanni (Reichert 1987, 157-9), and the medieval Germanic personal name Burc(h)ard (Searle 1897, 119, 121; Forssner 1916, 53). The *-a* ending in the name of this soldier Burcterda also reinforces his possibly Germanic associations, since the termination was rare for masculine, Roman cognomina (Salway 1994), but it was common in at least Germanic monothematic personal names such as Hwita and Creoda (Forssner 1916, 264), as well as the Batavian *dux* Chariovalda (see 4.3.1). The poor legibility of this particular tablet means that ‘Buriterda’ and ‘Burica’ are the other possible readings for ‘Burcterda’, but even these readings do not necessarily lessen the likelihood that it is a Germanic personal name (see 5.4.4).

### ***Germanic/Celtic Personal Names***

The five remaining names connected with the *VIII Batavorum* have ambiguous roots which could be either Celtic or Germanic. These names are as follows:

Allatus

Bog[.]

Billo

Catussa

Saco

The names Bog[.] (*TV* 491), Catussa (*TV* 609) and Billo (Birley 2002, 119) probably belonged to soldiers of the fort, Allatus (*TV* 190) to a slave (*servus*), and Saco (*TV* 309) to a trader. With the exception of Allatus, which is recorded once for Gallia Narbonensis, none of the names are precisely paralleled in an epigraphic source. Billo and Catussa have also been classified as Celtic personal names (Bowman and Thomas

1994, 30; Birley 2001, 257), and they indeed contain roots recognised in the Celtic onomasticon. For instance, *Catu-* is a Celtic theme for ‘battle’ (cognate with Irish *cath* and Welsh *cad*) (Evans 1967, 171), and *Bil-* occurs in Celtic names such as Bilicatus, Bilicedo and Bilicius, which are cognate with either Irish *bil* ‘lucky’, or with Irish *bile* meaning ‘sacred tree’ (Evans 1967, 149, 171). Nevertheless, Bill, Bilsuid and Bilfrid are Germanic names of the medieval period, which relate etymologically with Old High German and Old English *bill* meaning ‘sword’ (Forssner 1916, 44; Redin 1919, 4). Therefore, the Celtic-ness of Billo should be left in some doubt. The same applies with Catussa, since Celtic *Catu-* was adopted into Germanic naming practices (Searle 1897, 126; Jackson 1953, 244; Insley 2003), and examples of its transmission in Germanic names of Roman date include Catualda, a leader of the Gotones (Tacitus *Annales* 2.62), as well as Catumerus, who belonged to the Batavians’ Chattian relations in Free Germany (Tacitus *Annales* 6.11–17).<sup>4</sup> In further support of Catussa being a possibly Germanic name is the masculine *-a* termination, which has been discussed above in the case of Burcterda.

The names Bog[.] and Allatus similarly have Celtic as well as Germanic associations. For instance, Bog[.] might compare with the Celtic names Vercombogius, Conbogi and Bogio, which are connected with Irish *bág* meaning ‘fight, battle’ (Evans 1967, 152). However, the Celtic roots of Bog[.] are not certain since Boga, Bojo, Boia, Byoga and Boeg are Old Saxon and Old English personal names (Searle 1897, 110; Forssner 1916, 51; Redin 1919, 27; Colman 1992, 45, 85). Similarly, the name of the slave Allatus might not seem out of place in the Germanic onomasticon, since *Ala-* and *Alla-* are extremely popular themes in Germanic onomastic traditions. These themes possibly stem from Proto-Germanic *\*alla-* ‘all’ (Kaufmann 1968, 27), and Ernst Försteman (1900, 51) cites forty-three different examples of this root’s occurrence in Germanic names of the medieval period. Nonetheless, the rather similar name Allattos is attested five times in ogham inscriptions in Co. Kerry and Co. Mayo in Ireland (Macalister 1996), so a name such as Allatus might not necessarily be Germanic.

Lastly, Saco is another ambiguously Celtic/Germanic personal name, and its closest Roman-period parallel is with Sacco, which is attested in only six inscriptions, four of which are in Gaul and the Rhineland (Mócsy 1983, 248). Alan Bowman (1994, 30) classes Saco as a Celtic personal name, and there is good reason since Alfred

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<sup>4</sup> Both of these names also contain Germanic deuterothemes (see 4.3.1 and 5.4.7).



Holder (1904, 1274) identifies Sacco as such in his *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz*. However, Holder's work is known to contain a good many names without genuine Celtic roots (Sims-Williams 2006), and Sachho and Sacco are Old High German personal names, which are etymologically connected with Gothic *sakjo*, Old Norse *saka*, Old English *saca* and Old High German *sachan* meaning 'to fight' (Förstemann 1900, 1287). Thus, the Celticity of a name like Saco is by no means certain.

In summary, twenty-seven names with possible Germanic associations can be connected with the *VIII Batavorum*. The greater number of Germanic names identified here than in previous studies is because some of the names previously identified as Celtic could in fact be Germanic. The same circumstance applies for the Germanic names in connection with *I Tungrorum* stationed at Vindolanda.

#### 5.4.2 Vindolanda and cohorts *I Tungrorum*

Seventeen non-classical cognomina have been discovered in the tablets relating to members of *cohors I Tungrorum* (AD 105 – c.150/c. 190). Six of these are difficult to relate to Celtic or Germanic onomastic practices (Furio, Stipo, Gramaseus, Hvep, Settius, Ucenius), whilst Albiso refers to the name of the river in Free Germany (see 3.4.1). However, the remaining ten names have more certain Germanic connections, and they are as follows:

Aledus

Alio

Butimas

Gamigonius/Gamigus

Gamuxperus

Gamba[x]

Harius

Tagamas

Tagarminis/Tagarannis

Tappo

These names generally belonged either to the soldiers or to their fathers, and Anthony Birley (2001a) includes three of them in his own survey of the Germanic personal names. One of them is Gamba[x] (*TV* 184), which Birley compares with the Old High German *gambar* meaning 'strenuous'. Hermann Reichert (1987, 306) also identifies

the similar name of Gamba as Germanic, which is recorded in an inscription in Illyricum (*CIL* 3. 13904).

The two other names Birley (2001a, 255) identifies as Germanic are Butimas (*TV* 184) and ‘Gamiso’, though the latter should now be read as Gamigonius/Gamigus (*TV* 608). This is an example of Birley misspelling a name from what was then an unpublished tablet (see 5.4), but Gamigonius/Gamigus should be considered as the more likely spellings. Birley’s reasons for attributing Gamiso to the Germanic onomasticon is because it compares with Middle High German *game* meaning ‘enjoyment’ – a root which is found in other Germanic personal names (see 5.4.3). Birley’s reasoning for suggesting that Butimas was a Germanic name rests on it containing the same Germanic root for ‘booty’, which has already been identified in the case of Vindolanda’s Velbutena.

Other names where one might wish to consider Germanic origins are Gamuxperus (*TV III* 184) and Harius (*TV* 670), as well as Aledus (*TV III* 184) and Alio (*TV* 181). For instance, Gamuxperus and Harius are identified as Germanic personal names in the *Lexikon der Altgermanischen Namen*, the former being otherwise restricted to a single memorial in Mainz (*CIL* 13. 7086), and Harius (evidently containing the same Proto-Germanic root \**χari* ‘army’) recorded on a ring discovered at Maastricht (*CIL* 13. 10024. 320) (Reichert 1987, 307, 419). It is also impossible to be conclusive about some monothematic personal names when their stems are extremely short, but neither would the names Aledus and Alio seem out of place in the Germanic onomasticon. The cognomina are unparalleled in Roman inscriptions (see Mócsy 1983), but they might compare with monothematic Germanic names of the Migration Period such as Ælle (AD 477), the earliest reported king of the Saxon line in Britain, and Ali, who was the principal progenitor of the Swedish dynasty (Forsner 1916, 66). Some of these names may stem from Proto-Germanic *alla-* ‘all’ (see 5.4.1), but another possibility is Proto-Germanic \**alja* (Old High German *ali*, Old English *eli*) meaning ‘other’ (Forsner 1916, 66), which is a root found in other Germanic names of possibly Tungrian recruits (see 5.4.3).

Another name with possibly Germanic associations is Tappo. Birley (2001a, 257) identifies this name as Celtic, although there is some reason to question this assumption, since this is a rare cognomen, not attested in the Roman inscriptions of Britain, Gaul, Spain or the Rhineland, but two examples are attested in Noricum and

Pannonia (Mócsy 1983, 282). Neither is the name attested in the Celtic sources of onomastic data for the post-Roman period, such as the ogham inscriptions and Old Welsh and Old Irish charters (Nash-Williams 1950, Jackson 1959, Macalister 1996). However, Tappo shares more positively Germanic associations, since Tapo and Tapa are Anglo-Saxon personal names (Searle 1897, 444; Blackburn 1991, 157), and Tæpa is recorded on runic sceattas (coins) in early medieval Frisia (Looijenga 1997, 167).

The last two names with possible Germanic associations are Tagarminis/Tagarannis (*TV* 184) and the *vexillarius* (standard bearer) Tagamas (*TV* 181).<sup>5</sup> Anthony Birley (2001a, 254) again categorises these names as Celtic, but Alan Bowman (1994, 59) highlights their possible Germanic associations. The prototheme has admittedly Celtic as well as Germanic possibilities, and two examples of its occurrence are found in the cognomina ‘Taganius’, ‘Taganus’ in Spain, whilst the rest occur in Gallia Belgica and Lower Germany (Mócsy 1983, 280, Sims-Williams 2003, 86; 2006, 224, Reichert 1987, 646). However, a Rhenish connection for the soldiers’ names at Vindolanda seems more probable. The only context where Tagamas is precisely matched in an epigraphic source is in a third-century altar at Colijnsplaat, which was set up by ‘Tagadianus son of Tagamas’ (Fig. 5.3). The Germanic-ness of this name is also strengthened by the fact that the *-as* termination was untypical of Roman nomenclature (Salway 1994), but it occurs in Germanic names, such as Butimas, mentioned above, as well as ‘Vihirmas’, who was the *summus magistratus* (chief magistrate) of the *civitas Batavorum* at Nijmegen (Fig. 2.4). The termination seems to be a Latinisation of a traditional Germanic ending, which is found in names such as Harkilaz, Horaz, Leugaz and Harj[a]z dating from the second century onwards (Looijenga 1997, 51).

The dates are too divergent for the standard-bearer Tagamas at Vindolanda to have been the same person as the Tagamas at Colijnsplaat, but one wonders whether a paternal relationship might have connected Tagamas and Tagarminis/Tagarannis at this fort in an analogous manner to the father and son sharing this same prototheme at Colijnsplaat? The custom of allocating the same theme to related family members was particularly common in Germanic naming traditions, and whilst many of the known examples date to the medieval period – such as *Chind-* in the lineage of the Gothic

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<sup>5</sup> The term *vexillarius* should have been spelled as *vexillarius*, and this is an example of orthographic conservatism (see 5.2).

house, and *Clod-* in the members of the Frankish Merovingian family (Woolf 1939, 183, 209; Wilson 1998, 72; Gillett 2002, 94, 101) – one important example of the Roman period pertains to the Cherusian family, whose leader was Segimerus, his son Segithancus (Strabo *Geographika* 7. 1.4), his brother Segestes (*Annales* 1, 55), and his nephew Segimundus (*Annales* 1, 57). The altar at Colijnsplaat hints, however, that the transference of themes was not simply restricted to royal pedigrees, and it is plausible that this other Tagamas might have given a name to his offspring which was similar to his own. His name is listed on a tablet dating approximately twenty years earlier (AD 104–120) than the tablet recording Tagarannis (120–150), so the dates would not be incompatible with the two men being father and son. The fact that Tagamas was in a position to be fathering offspring is also strengthened considerably by the mention of his *contubernalis* or ‘de facto wife’ in the same tablet (see 3.5). This evidence is only circumstantial and indirect, but it may point to Germanic naming traditions being cultivated in Britain by subsequent generations of immigrants. The Germanic names were not simply carried over to the province along with the Germanic incomers, but they may have been increasingly given to their kin as markers of familial inheritance and ethnic status.

#### **5.4.3 *Cohortes Tungrorum* at Birrens and Housesteads**

The lengthy tenure of the *I Tungrorum* on the northern frontier means that the Germanic names for this unit are not only attested in the Vindolanda tablets, but on inscriptions at its third-century base at Housesteads. Altogether seven Germanic personal names can be identified at this fort, some of which certainly pertained to the *I Tungrorum*. One Germanic personal name is also recorded at Birrens, which is known to have been the second-century home of the *II Tungrorum*.

The Germanic names connected with the *cohortes Tungrorum* are, therefore, as follows:

Alimahus

Dailso

Fersio

Gamidiahus

Gratus

Henoenus

Hurmius

Leubasnus

Rautio

All of these names with the exception of Henoenus have been identified as Germanic in previous research. The surveys of the Germanic names recorded in Britain's Roman inscriptions are mainly dependent on Hermann Reichert (1987, 1990) in his *Lexikon der altgermanischen Namen*, and Georg Werle (1910) in his 'Die ältesten germanischen Personennamen'. But since the etymological volume of Reichert's work is not yet completed, the Germanic associations and etymologies of Britain's names are still dependent on the earlier study made by Georg Werle.

The Germanic name connected with *II Tungrorum* belongs to Gamidiahus, who was the same soldier responsible for setting up the altar to the Germanic deity Harimella (*RIB* 255, see 5.3.2). Hermann Reichert (1987, 307) identifies this name as Germanic, and Anthony Birley (2001a, 255) compares it with Old High German *game* meaning 'enjoyment', a root which has already been suggested in the case of Gamigus/Gamigonius (see 5.4.2).

The eight Germanic names connected with *I Tungrorum* at Housesteads are recorded in three different inscriptions. One of the inscriptions is a memorial set up by 'Delfinus from Upper Germany', and the Germanic names on this monument include his father 'Rautio' as well as four other persons: Alimahus, Fersio, Dailso and Gratus (*RIB* 1620). Hermann Reichert (1987, 36, 235, 269) highlights all of these names as being Germanic, and Georg Werle (1910, 23, 43) points out that Alimahus compares with the medieval Germanic personal name Cundmah whilst Rautio compares with the medieval names Rautbald and Raudpert. Additionally, one can point out that Rautio perhaps shares cognacy with Vindolanda's Chrauttius (Bowman and Thomas 1994, 289). As previously suggested, this name is etymologically connected with Old Norse *hroðr*, Old High German *hruodi*, Old English *hred* meaning 'fame, honour' (see 5.4.1), but Rautio may stem also from Proto-Germanic *\*rauðo-z* meaning 'red', a root recorded as Gothic *raups*, Old High German *rot*, Old Saxon *rod*, and Middle Dutch *rod* (see Bradley and Craig 1914, 285). The prototheme in Alimahus also compares with Vindolanda's Alio, as well as with other Germanic personal names such Aligern, a sixth-century leader of the Goths (Agathias 1.8.6), and Aligildus, a third-century soldier

in the service of Constantius Chlorus (Ammianus Marcellinus 21.15.4; 22.2.1) (Reichert 1987, 35–36). The prototheme in these names may stem from Proto-Germanic *\*alja* meaning ‘foreigner’.

The second inscription recording Germanic names pertains to a soldier (*miles*) of *I Tungrorum* named Hurmius, whose father was called Leubasnus (*RIB* 1619). Werle (1910, 43) and Reichert (1987, 463) identified both names as Germanic, and Werle (1910, 43) compared Leubasnus with Leubasna and Leubaccus, which are Germanic names recorded in the Roman inscriptions of the *civitas* of the Tungri. (The root in Leubasnus evidently compares with Vindolanda’s Leubius: see 5.4.1). Hurmius is less certain as a philologically Germanic personal name, since it finds few parallels with Germanic names either Roman or medieval in date, and its closest match is perhaps with the Greek name Hermio (see Mócsy 1983, 43). Soldiers were given Greek as well as Roman names upon recruitment (Bellen 1981, 76; Noy 2000, 115; Birley 2002, 99), so Hurmius might well be another example here. Nonetheless, Hermio was never spelled in this fashion elsewhere, so the misspelling was probably not influenced by typical army slang or colloquial usage. The name could even have undergone Germanic tonal substitution, since *Hur-* belongs to Germanic phonology, being evidenced in other Germanic names like Hursa (Kaufmann 1968, 209).

Although this has not been suggested previously, it is possible that Henoenus is another Germanic personal name. This name belonged to an *optio* (standard bearer) recorded on an ancient graffito, which came to light in the 1960s at the quarry of Queens Crag together with the Roman names Rufinus and Saturnius (Crow 1995, 23). The name of the *optio* Henoenus is, however, not Roman, and neither is it attested in any other written source of Roman date. The deutertheme *-oenus* also betokens the name’s probably Germanic associations, since it is repeatedly found in Germanic names of the early medieval period – in such examples as Audoenus/Audo(v)enus. The suffix in these names derives from Proto-Germanic *\*wini* and *weni* ‘friend’, but the graph <v> was often omitted because the vocalisation of /w/ was, naturally, suggested by the *-oenus* spelling (Forssner 1916, 37; Shaw 2008). The same explanation may similarly apply, therefore, with the name Henoenus.

#### 5.4.4 *Cohors I Batavorum* and Carrawburgh

Whilst *VIII Batavorum* left Britain for the Danube in AD 105 and was never to return, six Germanic names can be identified in connection with the *I Batavorum* at its third-century base at Carrawburgh. The names are as follows:

Burrius

Crotus

Maduhus

Vinomathus

Venico

Thrupo

None of these cognomina are precisely matched in *NPEL*, and only one of them can be precisely associated with the Batavian unit. This is the name ‘Burrius’ (*RIB* 1555) belonging to a prefect of the *I Batavorum*, and this is the only non-Roman cognomen recorded for a Batavian prefect (see Table 3.4). Venico belonged to a devotee of the goddess Fortuna (*RIB* 1543), Thrupo to a centurion recorded on a building inscription (*RIB* 1556), and the names Crotus (*RIB* 1525; Fig. 5.4), Maduhus (*RIB* 1526) and Vinomathus (*RIB* 1528) belonged to devotees of the Batavian cohort’s temple at Carrawburgh – two of these persons Maduhus and Crotus also referring to themselves as ‘German’.

The names Crotus and Maduhus are securely Germanic, and Georg Werle (1910, 45) compared the latter with Gundomadus, a fourth-century leader of the Alemanni, and with Madvius recorded in an inscription at Neerharen near Maastricht (*CIL* 13. 10006, 45). His reasoning for ascribing a Germanic origin to Crotus was its comparison with the Germanic Crotoaldus recorded in a late Roman inscription at Glons, Belgium, and, as Bowman and Thomas (1994, 289) also suggest, the name is probably cognate with Chrauttius. This means that Crotus is another name linked etymologically with Old Norse *hroðr*, Old High German *hruodi*, and Old English *hred* meaning ‘fame, honour’, and other names with this same root in the Middle Ages are the Merovingian Queen Chrodchilde (see 5.4.1), and perhaps Creoda/Crioda, which belonged to the earliest recorded king of the Mercian line (Forssner 1916, 188).

Vinomathus may be a hybrid Celtic-Germanic personal name. Vino- is typically found in Celtic personal names such as Vinovaleius recorded on a gravestone at Nîmes (*CIL* 12. 04007), and it may well be cognate with Old Welsh *gwyn* meaning ‘white’

(Rivet and Smith 1979, 500; Raybould and Sims-Williams 2007a, 20). Nonetheless, the deutertheme is more likely to be Germanic, since the only context where the root is found in cognomina of Roman date is in Friomathina recorded on a second/third-century inscription at Übach-Palenberg (*RGK* 603, 184 13), and Sacimathus, a freedman whose patron came from Germania Superior (*CIL* 8. 9381). In Germanic personal names, this root is typically equated with Germanic *\*mah* meaning 'might, power' (Kaufmann 1968, 253; Reichert 1990, 569).

Thrupo is less certain as a Germanic name, but it is categorised as such by Eric Birley (1937, 240) as well as by Hermann Reichert (1987, 702) in the *Lexikon der Altgermanischen Namen*. The name does not seem to compare with Germanic names of Roman or medieval date, and its closest parallel is perhaps with the Greek cognomen 'Trypho' (see Mócsy 1983, 295). Consequently, Thrupo could be another misspelling of a Greek personal name (see 5.4.3), perhaps once again influenced by Germanic tonal substitutions since /p/ was a feature of Germanic phonology (see 5.4.1). Nonetheless, another Trupo is one of the 'Germans' recorded on an altar at Brampton, together with his three colleagues Durio, Ramio and Lurio (*RIB* 2063), and as Georg Werle (1910, 56) points out, Trupoaldus was a Germanic name recorded for medieval Langobardic (Lombard) Italy. This root seems, therefore, to have existed in Germanic-naming practices.

Whilst this has not been suggested previously, it is possible that Venico (*RIB* 1543) and Burrius (*RIB* 1555) are other Germanic personal names. For instance, the Buri were a people of Free Germany allegedly speaking the language of the *Germani* (*Germania* 43), and Burrius might compare with Anglo-Saxon monothematic personal names such as Byri, which are cognate with Old Norse *burr*, Gothic *baur* and Old English *byre* meaning 'child, young man' (Redin 1919, 18).

Venico is a rather ambiguously Celtic or Germanic personal name, since names such as Venicarus, Venimantus, and Venimara recorded in Roman inscriptions are recognised as Celtic (Raybould and Sims-Williams 2007a, 79), and they probably compare with Irish *fine* meaning 'family, kindred' (Evans 1967, 277). Nonetheless, Proto-Germanic *\*wini*, *\*weni* is a root recognised in Germanic personal names, being possibly found in names such as Henoenus at Housesteads (see 5.4.3), and it is recognised as a potential root in contemporary inscriptions such as Vinius in the Rhineland (Weisgerber 1968, 159). In further support of Venico being a possibly Germanic personal name is that the suffix *-c-* is known to have added a diminutive



effect in Germanic personal names (Forssner 1916, 261), and it is also found in Germanic ethnonyms such as the name of the Sunuci (see 4.4.1).

#### 5.4.5 *I Frisiavonum* and the Forts at Manchester, Carrawburgh and Rudchester

Four Germanic names are related to the *I Frisiavonum*. These names are as follows:

Cudrenus

Masavo

Mausaeus

Vilidedius/Vildedeius

The names are distributed at three different sites. Mausaeus (*RIB* 1523) was a standard-bearer (*optio*) of the *I Frisiavonum* who set up an altar at the temple at Carrawburgh, which had been built by the *I Batavorum* (see 3.4.2). Cudrenus (*RIB* 579) and Masavo (*RIB* 577) are recorded on building inscriptions at Manchester, which was a base occupied by the *I Frisiavonum* (see Table 3.3). Lastly, Vilidedius is recorded on a memorial at Rudchester (*RIB* 1420; Fig. 5.5), which is where the *I Frisiavonum* was located in the *Notitia Dignitatum* (see 3.3.5).

Two of these names have been identified in previous research, and they are Masavo and Vilidedius (Werle 1910, 46, 61; Reichert 1987, 494, 779). No precise reasons are provided for placing Vilidedius in the Germanic onomasticon, but one can imagine that it was because *Wili-* is a Germanic prototheme found in names such as Old High German Williman and Old English Willifrat, which stem from a Germanic term meaning ‘will, desire’, cognate with Gothic *vilja* (Searle 1897, 498; Förstemann 1900, 1603; Redin 1919, 57; Kaufmann 1968, 403). Masavo also compares with names recognised as Germanic, such as Masius (*CIL* 13. 8192), Masuco (*CIL* 13. 5292) and Masuo (*CIL* 13. 7307), recorded in inscriptions in the Rhineland (Werle 1910, 46; Reichert 1987, 495). Etymologically, it seems likely that some of these names preserve a Germanised pronunciation of the River ‘Mosa’, which is now spelled as the Meuse and Maas in the French and Germanic languages respectively. Lastly, the fact that Masavo is another Germanic personal name is strengthened by its suffix *-avo*, which is identified in other Germanic names such as Haldavvo (*CIL* 13. 8340) (Weisgerber 1968, 153).

The two remaining names with Germanic associations belong to Cudrenus, recorded on the other building inscription at Manchester, and Mausaeus, who was *optio* of the *I Frisiavonum*. Cudrenus might, for instance, suggest Germanic associations

since Cudgar, Cudwald, Cudd and Cuda are Anglo-Saxon personal names (Searle 1897, 145; Redin 1919, 46, 50, 91, 126). Maus(aeus) is a name of some importance since it was the agnomen (additional name) of the legendary Carausius, a naval commander of dual Menapian/Batavian descent, who attracted notoriety for instigating a coup against the Roman Empire in AD 286 (see 6.3).<sup>6</sup> Lauran Toorians (2004) suggests that Mausaeus is a Celtic name, stemming originally from Celtic *\*magu-sagios* ‘young man – he who seeks’ – in which intervocalic -g- has been lost twice. Nonetheless, Maus(aeus) has not survived in other common sources of Celtic personal names such as the book of Llandaff, ogham inscriptions or in the collections of Old Welsh and Old Irish personal names (see Jackson 1953; Evans 1967; Wuilleumier 1968; Macalister 1996; Tomlin 1988; Jones 1998). Mausio is also an Old High German personal name (Förstemann 1900, 118), so Maus(aeus) may not have been exclusive to the Celtic onomasticon.

#### 5.4.6 *Cohortes Nerviorum*, and the Fort at Great Chesters

Little epigraphic activity has survived for the five Nervian cohorts permanently stationed in Britain (see 3.3.2), so it is not surprising that only three Germanic names are connected with soldiers of these units. These names are as follows:

Betto

Gavero

Melonius Senilis

Two of the Germanic names are cognomina, but it is the gentilicium (family name) rather than the cognomen of Melonius Senilis which is Germanic. Germanic family names are rare for the Roman period since the concept of having an inheritable family name only came to be truly established in the Middle Ages (Wilson 1998, 115). Nonetheless, Roman citizens adopted family names, and whilst the majority of these were taken from Roman patrons or emperors, non-Roman gentilicia could be established as ‘patronymic gentilicia’, which was when the cognomen of the male member of the household came to be used as the family name for the subsequent descendants (Salway 1994).

The two cognomina of Germanic descent pertaining to the Nervian units belonged to soldiers of the *I Nerviorum* and *VI Nerviorum*. Betto was a centurion of the *VI*

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<sup>6</sup> The full name and agnomen of Carausius is only known through a mile-stone recording ‘M(arcus) A(urelius) Maus(aeus) Carausius’ at Carlisle (*RIB* 2291).

*Nerviorum* identified on a building inscription at Rough Castle (*RIB* 2144), and Gavero was the father of ‘Julius’, who commanded the *I Nerviorum* at Caer Gai in Wales (*RIB* 418). Since the prefect’s cognomen is not given it may have been Gavero as well, as it was common in the Roman world for one to be named after one’s father (Salway 1994). In any case, both these cognomina are identified as Germanic (Werle 1910, 29, 40, Reichert 1987, 141), and it is feasible that Gavero can be compared with other names possibly Germanic such as Gavo and Gavorignus (see 5.4.1). Beta and Bata are also Anglo-Saxon personal names, and they are thought to relate to Old English *betan* meaning ‘to amend, repair’ (Redin 1919, 41–44).

The name Melonius Senilis is recorded on an altar at Great Chesters and it belonged to a *duplicarius* from ‘Upper Germany’ (*RIB* 1665), perhaps of the *VI Nerviorum*, which is known to have been based at this same site (Table 3.3). Leo Weisgerber (1968, 157) was responsible for highlighting the Germanic-ness of this gentilicum, and he considered it a variant of Mellonius, which was a non-Roman gentilicum otherwise restricted to eight inscriptions uncovered in the Rhineland area. He linked the root with Proto-Germanic *\*mella* meaning ‘bright, shining’ (see Weisgerber 1968, 157), a root already observed in the name of the Germanic deity Harimella recorded at Birrens (see 5.3.2). It also seems likely that Mellonius/Melonis were patronymic gentilicia adapted from a Germanic personal name. The root is, for instance, found in other Germanic names such as Mellobaudes belonging to a fourth-century king of the Franks (Ammianus Marcellinus 14.11.20). More importantly, Melo was the name of the Sugambrian leader who lost a war against Tiberius in 8 BC. This defeat resulted in Sugambrian prisoners of war being transferred over to the western bank of the Rhine, which formed the nucleus for the ethnogenesis of the Cugerni, Baetasi and Sunuci (see 2.3).

#### 5.4.7 Chesters and *cohors I Vangionum*?

Five Germanic names can be identified for the fort at Chesters, and it is feasible that some or perhaps all of the names belonged to soldiers of the *I Vangionum* – the unit in garrison at this base (see 3.3.4). These names are as follows:

Canio

Lurio

Hardalio

Ramio

## Venus

The name Ramio belongs to a soldier of an unknown unit recorded on a diploma discovered within the perimeter of the fort (*RIB* 2401.10), and the name is well-known to the Germanic onomasticon. Rami, Ramo and Ramiusald are, for instance, Germanic names recorded for the early Middle Ages (Förstemann 1900, 1243; Reichert 1987, 551), and Rhamis was a member of the Chatti dating to the first century (Strabo *Geographika* 7.1.4). Etymologically, the root in these names is connected with Old Norse *rammr* and *ramr* meaning ‘strong’ (Werle 1910, 50).

The name Venus belonged to a devotee of Fortuna, who is recorded on an altar discovered from the site of the ancient bath house at Chesters, a site which had been in use up to the fourth century (*RIB* 1449; Fig. 5.6). Hermann Reichert (1987, 771) identifies this name as Germanic – perhaps because it contains the same Proto-Germanic *\*weni* meaning ‘friend’ already identified in the case of Henoenus and Venico (see 5.4.3, 5.4.4). This name would work equally well as a gentilicium or a cognomen, since the practically identical name of Vennenus is cited once as a gentilicium for Gallia Belgica (Mócsy 1983, 305).

Canio and Lurio are much less certain as philologically Germanic personal names (Reichert 1987, 481), and they belonged to a father and son recorded on a tombstone at Chesters, the father Lurio referring to himself as *Germanus* (*RIB* 1483). Lurio is an uncommon name in the Germanic onomasticon, but Canio is more popular. For example, Cano and Canio are Anglo-Saxon and Old High German personal names, and their popularity in the Low Countries is attested by place-names such as Canningham near Flanders (Searle 1897, 124; Förstemann 1900, 358), the habitative suffix *-ingham* being typically attached to Germanic personal names (Gelling 1988, 180). In the Roman period, Canio is attested once for Noricum (Mócsy 1983, 65), and Caninus once for Pannonia (*CIL* 3. 3427), but both provinces may not have been without a Germanic-speaking populace (Markey 2001; Raybould and Sims-Williams 2007a, 24).

This has not been suggested previously, but Hardalio may be another Germanic personal name (*RIB* 1463). The name is recorded in the genitive case (*Hardalionis*) in an otherwise fragmentary gravestone at Chesters, and it is another name unique to the Roman period, with no attestation even similar to this in *NPEL*. Nonetheless, Hardelinus is an Anglo-Saxon personal name, its prototheme cognate with Gothic *hardus*, Old High German *hart*, Icelandic *harðr* Old Frisian *herd*, Old English *heard* meaning ‘hard’ (Searle 1897, 286; Förstemann 1900, 753; Colman 1992, 96). The

deuterotheme in Hardalio compares with that found in other Germanic names such as Alio and Alimahus (see 5.4.1, 5.4.3).

#### 5.4.7 Old Penrith and *vexillationes Marsaciorum*?

Nine Germanic names have been identified at Old Penrith, and it is possible that some of them were connected with the *vexillationes Marsaciorum* based at this fort in the third century (see 3.3.2). The names are as follows:

Arcavius

Avo

Burcanius

Crotilo Germanus

Fersomerus

Pou..c..ar

Tagadunus

Unsenis

Vagdavarcustus

Six of these names are recorded on a single altar dedicated to ‘all the gods’ (*omnes dei*) by the *vex(illationes) MA...VI*, and it is possible that the *vexillationes Marsaviorum* was intended (*RIB* 926; Fig. 5.7). The weathered condition of the monument makes some sections difficult to read, and this applies to the personal names as well as to the name of the unit.

As it stands, three of the names defy philological comprehension – Arcavius, Unsenis, Pou..c..ar(us) (Reichert 1987, 57, 543, 737) – but the remaining three reveal more explicitly Germanic connections. For instance, Burcanius contains a Germanic root *burg-* ‘fort, defended settlement’, which has been seen in other names like Burcterda (see 5.4.2). The soldier seems to have been named after Burcanis (Strabo *Geographika* 7.1.3), which was the ancient name for Borkum and one of the Frisian islands in the Netherlands.

The second name Vagdavarcustus is otherwise only attested as a deity recorded on an altar at Hungary, set up by a tribune of the *III Batavorum* (*AE* 1935.163), as well as in five other altars uncovered from the Rhineland area (*CIL* 13. 8662, 8702, 8703, 8805, 12057). The deity is thought to be Germanic philologically, containing a Germanic root for ‘movement’, which is cognate with Old High German *wagado*. The name may, therefore, have referred to a type of ritual dance, which was practised by

soldiers before the commencement of battle (Simek 1993, 345, Gutenbrunner 1936, 103, 223).

Thus, it is plausible that the incongruity of some of the other personal names recorded on this monument is because they were named after specific deities or specific topographical locales, which did not conform to the conventional traditions in coining personal names. However, the last name – Fersomerus – is more intelligible in Germanic onomastic terms. The root Ferso compares with Fersio recorded at Housesteads (see 5.4.3), and the deuterotheme is extremely popular in Germanic personal names, being attested in 160 different examples in the *Lexikon der Altgermanischen Namen* (see Reichert 1990, 571–576), including such examples as Catumerus, a first-century leader of the Chatti (Tacitus *Annales* 11.17), and Segimerus, the father of Arminius in Free Germany (Strabo *Geographika* 7.1.4). Etymologically, the root in these names stem from Proto-Germanic \*mare (Old English *mære*, Old Saxon *mari*, Old High German *mari*, Icelandic *mærr*) meaning ‘famous’ (Colman 1992, 75, 111).

The remaining three names at Old Penrith are more clearly Germanic in philological terms. All of them are recorded on memorials, one being in honour of ‘Crotilo the German’ (*Germanus*) (*RIB* 934), the second in honour of ‘Avo aged eleven’, commemorated by the father ‘Aurelius’ (*RIB* 931), and the third in honour of a cavalry soldier [Ta]gadunus originating from ‘Ulpia Trajana’ in modern Xanten (*RIB* 935). The name Avo is recognised as a Germanic personal name in the *Lexikon der Altgermanischen Namen*, although this particular example from Old Penrith is not specified (see Reichert 1987, 108). The suffix –avo was also popular in Germanic personal names (Weisgerber 1968, 154; see 5.4.5).

Crotilo is a name recognised as Germanic in the *Lexikon der Altgermanischen Namen* (Reichert 1987, 228), and the name evidently shares the same root for ‘honour’ discussed in the name of Crotus at Carrawbugh (see 5.4.4), and the diminutive suffix –ilo was popular in Germanic personal names (see 5.4.1).

The last name [Ta]gadunus may also have Germanic connections, although the reading of this name is not certain. The memorial is incomplete, and Rudolf Much (1936, 12) read the name as ‘Gadunus’, suggesting that it was cognate with Old English *gaduling*, Old High German *gatuling* and Gothic *gadiliggs* meaning ‘relation, comrade’ (Much 1936, 12). However, Collingwood and Wright (in the *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*) read the name as ‘Tagadunus’, a name also recorded in an inscription at

Aachen (*Germania* 1928, 191). As indicated already, *Tag-* has potentially Germanic roots (see 5.4.2), and Germanic onomastic associations are possibly apparent in *-dun-* as well. The root occurs in recognised Celtic names recorded in Roman inscriptions such as Dunomagius and Atedunus (Raybould and Sims-Williams 2007a, 13), but it was not exclusive to the Celtic onomasticon, since Ragdun, Wonadun, Loboduna and Dunwealh are Anglo-Saxon and Old High German personal names (Searle 1897, 172; Förstemann 1900, 433; Redin 1919, 13). The root could have been adopted from Celtic naming traditions, but the suggestion given is that it stemmed from a Germanic lexical item, the ancestor of possibly Old Norse *duni* meaning ‘fire’, Old Norse *duna* meaning ‘thunder’, or of Old English *dunn* meaning ‘brown’ (Searle 1897, 172; Förstemann 1900, 433; Redin 1919, 13).

#### 5.4.8 Germanic Names Elsewhere

There is in fact little evidence for Germanic names recorded in inscriptions beyond the forts occupied by the Germanic auxiliary units. This suggests that the Germanic names were not being widely adopted in Britain for reasons such as fashion, which is known to have been the case for the widespread adoption and circulation of Germanic names in the early Middle Ages (see Wilson 1998). Instead, it seems that the names were intertwined with the cultural backgrounds and personae of the Germanic units. It also suggests that the few Germanic names recorded outside the forts known to be occupied by Germanic units may still have culturally as well as philologically Germanic connections.

One likely example of a Germanic personal name belongs to a soldier of the First Cohort of Pannonians called Dagvalda, who is commemorated on a tombstone discovered at Great Chester (*RIB* 1667). As indicated already, Pannonia was a province including philologically Germanic speakers (see 5.4.1), and whilst Marilynne Raybould and Patrick Sims-Williams (2007b, 92) see Dagvalda as a Celtic personal name, Hermann Reichert (1987, 235) and Georg Werle (1910, 33) have considered it to be Germanic. The prototheme in Dagvalda is indeed rather ambiguous since Proto-Celtic *\*dago-* (Irish *dag*) means ‘good’, and it is preserved in Celtic names recorded in Roman inscriptions such as Dagobius and Dagobitus in Gallia Aquitania and Gallia Narbonensis respectively (Evans 1967, 188; Raybould and Sims-Williams 2007a, 52). Nonetheless, Proto-Germanic *\*dagoz* ‘day’ is preserved in Germanic names such as Old Norse Dagfinnr and Anglo-Saxon Dægnieht (Colman 1992, 89–90), and Anglo-

Saxon Dægweald (Colman 1992, 89) seems to share direct cognacy with Dagvalda, when one takes into account the vowel mutations affecting the Old English language (see Campbell 1983, 52). In further support of Dagvalda being a Germanic name is the deutertheme *-valda*, which stems from Proto-Germanic *\*vald-* and it is found in other Germanic names such as Catuvalda and Charivalda.

Six other names with Germanic associations have been found in the vicinity of the northern frontiers, and two of these belonged to females recorded on gravestones in the vicinity of former Roman towns. One of these names is at Corbridge, and it belonged to 'Ahteha, aged five', who was commemorated by her father named Nobilis, a Roman cognomen (*RIB* 1180; Fig. 5.8). Siegfried Gutenbrunner (1938, 294) identified Ahteha as a Germanic personal name, and he pointed out that it contained the Germanic prefix *\*āhtō*, which was found in other Germanic names such as Ahtard, an Old Saxon personal name, as well as Actumerus, a first-century leader of the Chatti (*Annales* 11.16.1).

A second memorial was uncovered at Old Carlisle, and it commemorated a *mulier* (woman) named Tancorix (*RIB* 908). This name is another example of those recently classified as Celtic (Raybould and Sims-Williams 2007a, 16), since *-rix* 'king' was popular in Celtic personal names (Evans 1967, 243), and D. Ellis Evans (1967, 261) compared the prototheme with Welsh *tank* meaning 'peace'. Nonetheless, Reichert (1987, 649) and Werle (1910, 55) have identified Tancorix as a Germanic personal name, and perhaps with good reason. Thancherih, Tancard, Tanchelinus, Thanco, and Tanco are medieval Germanic personal names (Forssner 1916, 227), and Alatanxorix and Segithancus were members of the Cherusci in Free Germany (Strabo *Geographika* 7.1.4). Etymologically, the names are thought to stem from Proto-Germanic *þankojan* 'thank', which is also related to Old Saxon *thank*, and Old English *þank* (Werle, 1910, Forssner 1916, 227). The lettering of this particular gravestone at Old Carlisle also points to a date in the fourth century, which suggests that Germanic personal names persisted in the frontier up to the later phases of the Roman era.

The four remaining names that can be positively identified in the stone inscriptions all derive from the fort at Carvoran, and this is the only fort in which a number of Germanic names can be identified, even when there is no explicit testimony of the fort being occupied by a Germanic unit. However, a late Germanic occupation seems probable, since, as is discussed in the next chapter, a spear uncovered from this site may also point to a Germanic presence (see 6.4). Moreover, building inscriptions



have been discovered set up by *I Batavorum* (RIB 1823, 1824) as well as *VI Nerviorum* (Mann 1984), and thirteen altars dedicated to the Hveteri have also been identified at this site (see Table 5.1). As already indicated, the cult has suspected Germanic associations dating to the late Roman period (see 5.3.4). All in all, the site may well have been occupied by Germanic soldiers.

The four Germanic names at Carvoran are as follows:

Dada

Milus

Binius

Lifana

The names Dada (RIB 1799) and Milus (RIB 1800) are recorded on altars dedicated to the Hveteri, the name Lifana (RIB 1830) on a fragmentary memorial, and the name Binius (RIB 1806) on a stone pedestal dedicated to an unknown cult. Only one of these names has been identified as Germanic in previous research, and this is the name Dada (Werle 1910, 28; Reichert 1987, 231), which is a name otherwise attested in two inscriptions in Moesia Inferior (Mócsy 1983, 97), and Dadilo is recorded on a fourth/fifth century memorial at Mainz (Reichert 1987, 231). The theme continues in importance into the early Middle Ages, and Daddo, Dado and Deda are Old English, Old Saxon and Old High German personal names (Searle 1897, 161; Redin 1919, 47, 62).

However, one might suggest that the names Milus and Binius have similarly Germanic roots. For instance, Milus is a name otherwise restricted to a single inscription uncovered in Gallia Narbonensis (Mócsy 1983, 189), but Milo and Mila are Old High German and Anglo-Saxon personal names, thought to have possibly originated from a Slavic source, as Old Slavic *milŭ* means 'warm hearted' and modern Slavic *milius* means 'dear' (Searle 1897, 161; Förstemann 1900, 1123; Forssner 1916, 191; Redin 1919, 47, 62). The name Binius is also not paralleled in any other Roman inscription, but its nearest match is with 'Bienus', a name recorded in three inscriptions in the vicinity of Cologne, and is considered as probably Germanic but of uncertain etymology (Weisgerber 1968, 186, 199, *CIL* 13. 8341, 8342, 8409). Moreover, 'Binna' is an Old High German and Anglo-Saxon personal name (Searle 1897, 107), and its popularity in the Germanic names of the Middle Ages is confirmed by place-names

such as Binnigen and Binninghem, which stem from a toponymic suffix *-ingham* often attached to Germanic personal names (Förstemann 1900, 307, see 5.4.7).

Lastly, Lifana is another Germanic personal name, which shares closer parallels with the Germanic names recorded for the Middle Ages than with cognomina surviving in the classical records. The name is not recorded in any other inscription cited in *NPEL*, but its closest match is with 'Liffio' recorded in an inscription at Domburg (*CIL* 13. 8783), which is recognised as a Germanic masculine (Reichert 1987, 469). Otherwise it shares parallels with Anglo-Saxon names such as Lifwine and Lifna, which are thought to have been etymologically related to Old English *lif*, Old Saxon *lif*, Old Frisian *lif* meaning 'life' (Searle 1897, 338, Redin 1919, 161).

Overall, then, the names at Carvoran fit within the pattern identified for other forts occupied by Germanic units, from the earliest levels of occupation at the fort at Vindolanda, to the latest phases of epigraphic activity at the sites of Housesteads, Carrawburgh and Old Penrith. The names have greater parallels with the Germanic names recorded for the Middle Ages than with those recorded for the Roman period and cited in *NPEL*.

## 5.5 Conclusion

An extensive number of Germanic names and Germanic deities are recorded for all phases of the Roman occupation of Britain. This chapter has not sought to provide a holistic account of these names, but to underpin the inroads of previous research and to emphasise that more Germanic names can be identified given further analysis.

The results of this chapter suggest that the majority of the Germanic names are connected directly with the Germanic auxiliary units, or with the forts known to have been occupied by them. The names thus complement the research undertaken on the Continent, which shows that many of the Germanic peoples were descended from philologically Germanic backgrounds. This evidence for Germanic cognomina and Germanic deities in Britain is not necessarily conclusive proof that the Germanic migrants also spoke philologically Germanic languages. However, the Vindolanda tablets suggest that the Germanic soldiers based at this fort in the first and second centuries may have spoken Latin only as a second language or on a bilingual basis. Some of the native vernaculars in question may well have been Germanic, and this

situation may well have been true for the Germanic auxiliary units stationed in Britain in the third and fourth centuries.

It would seem highly likely, then, that philologically Germanic languages were imported to Britain in the Roman period, and that these languages continued to be spoken by the descendants of Germanic-speaking migrants. It also seems clear that these languages were an important component in the Germanic groups' ethnic identity which they maintained in their new environment along with other 'foreign' traditions, including certain types of clothing, metal-ware and dietary norms (see 3.6.1 and 3.6.3). This evidence suggests, then, that Germanic-speaking communities were already in existence at the time of the Anglo-Saxon migrations, and the peoples attached to Germanic cohorts also seem to have sustained their cultural and onomastic norms into at least the fourth century. However, as we shall see, Germanic *auxilia* were not the only military units of Germanic origin to have been in residence in Britain in the late phases of Imperial administration.

## **6. Germanic Soldiers and Settlements in Late Roman Britain**

### **6.1 Introduction**

Probus (AD 276–82) took sixteen thousand recruits from Free Germany, all of whom he scattered along the frontier or through the various provinces, incorporating bodies of fifty or sixty in each detachment; for he said that the aid that Romans received from barbarian auxiliaries must be felt but not seen.

*Historia Augusta Probus 14*

The third century marks a radical transformation in the military organisation of the Roman Empire. No longer was peregrine support entirely in the hands of auxiliary units raised from within the perimeters of the Empire. Increasingly, the various provinces, including Britain and the Rhineland, were garrisoned with irregular units originating from Free Germany. The above passage highlights the involvement of the Emperor Probus (AD 276–82) in employing such Free Germanic soldiers to control both the Rhenish frontiers and other provinces. Zosimus (1.68.3) reveals that Britain received the rest of Probus' recruits in the form of Vandals and Burgundians.

This chapter examines the evidence for the Germanic soldiers, raiders and imperial usurpers who came to Britain in the third and fourth centuries. The activities of these incomers are the best known of all the Germanic groups entering Roman Britain, and there is also little doubt that peoples from Free Germany spoke philologically Germanic languages. This chapter thus explores the socio-political and linguistic backdrop of these Germanic migrants in Britain in greater depth, as well as the evidence for their ethnic identities, religious beliefs and myths of origin. Firstly, however, it pays particular attention to the radical transformations in both Free Germany and the Roman army, which brought about considerable alterations in the ethnonyms espoused by these incoming groups.

### **6.2 Military Reform and Ethnic Developments**

From the third century onwards, fundamental developments in Free Germany – as yet only partially understood – led to the ethnogenesis of a whole new set of tribal configurations (Maxfield 1987, 167; Pohl 1997; Santosuosso 2001, 194, 208; Todd 2001, 14). The literary sources for the first and second centuries refer to the same

groups populating Free Germany such as the Vandals, Burgundians, Gotones, Suebi, Angli, Saxoni, Frisii, Chauci, Chatti, Cherusci, Tencteri, Lugii, Hermunduri, and Marcomanni. In the third and fourth centuries, many of these groups persisted and even swelled in number – for example, the Vandals, Saxons, Marcomanni and Burgundians. However, the ethnonyms of other groups fell out of currency and new ethnic labels also emerged. The most important of these new groups were the Alemanni in central Germany (Wolfram 1997, 41–2; Todd 2004, 193) and the Franks in the area of the Lower Rhine (Murray 2000). The names of these groups are understood to have been built out of philologically Germanic terms, and the Alemanni, for instance, means ‘all men’ (Todd 2004, 193; Drinkwater 2007, 67), whilst the Franks mean ‘free, frank,’ cognate with Frisian *franc* and German *frank* (Nielsen 1989, 48; Flobert 2002). The other groups also possess philologically Germanic names: the Burgundians contain the Germanic term *-burg* meaning ‘fort’ (Orosius 7.32), the Saxons preserve the Germanic root for ‘short sword, dagger’ (cognate with Old Norse *sax*, Old Frisian *sax*, Old English *seax*, Old Saxon *sahs*, and Old High German *sahs* meaning ‘dagger’) (Wolfram 1997, 42), and the name of the Vandals means ‘wanderer’, cognate with German *wendan* meaning ‘to go, to travel’ (Schönfeld 1911, 256). The Goths are also generally equated with the Gotones (Lehmann 1994; Wolfram 1997, 39), a people recorded for the Baltic in the first-century AD (see Pliny *Naturalis Historia* 4.14), whose name is thought to mean ‘the one who pours out’ (Wolfram 1988, 21). They were, therefore, probably named after a river, and hydronyms such as Guthalus and Götaälv are recorded for the Baltic and Sweden (Wolfram 1998, 21).

In the third and fourth centuries, these particular groups in Free Germany penetrated the Roman provinces in two important ways. One was via invasion and settlement, as the Vandals, Franks, Alamanni and Goths attacked the imperial borders of the Rhine and the Danube with increasing frequency throughout this period (Whittaker 1994, 169; Carroll 2001, 141). The Alemanni first attacked Raetia and the German provinces in AD 213, for instance, (Maxfield 1987, 166-7), and the Franks first despoiled Gaul in AD 260 (Murray 2000, 2). The second way these groups made their presence felt in the provinces was via recruitment into the Roman army, and this mobilisation was an inevitable consequence of the Empire’s stagnating borders. Most of the levies had traditionally been recruited from newly conquered territories, which was no longer possible once the Empire was no longer expanding (Southern and

Dixon 1996, 24; Santosuosso 2001, 192). The Rhineland in the third century was also in particular need of new levies since the majority of its original auxiliary units had been withdrawn from the frontiers in AD 260 in order to serve in more pressing campaigns in the East. This withdrawal resulted in the *Agri Decumates* as well as the Lower German *limes* as far south as the fort at Nijmegen being almost entirely depleted of their military strength (Birley 1979, 30; Maxfield 1987, 165-9; King 1990, 173-81; Casey 1994, 50-2; van Enkevort and Thijssen 2003, 70). One of the consequences of this evacuation was the establishment of the Gallic Empire (AD 260–274), which was an usurper regime encompassing the provinces of Britain, Gaul, Raetia and the two Germanies instigated by the governor of Lower Germany, Marcus Cassianus Latinus Postumus (Birley 1979, 30; King 1990, 176–181; Casey 1994, 50–2). The extent to which this usurper regime made use of irregular units from Free Germany is not known, but these Free Germanic reserves were increasingly exploited from the latter part of the third century onwards (Carroll–Spillecke 1997; Wilson and Creighton 1999; van Driel-Murray forthcoming). The *Historia Augusta* reports, for instance, that Probus strengthened the Rhineland with Free Germanic units once the Gallic Empire had been suppressed in AD 274 and that these soldiers had been taken from Free Germany as part of peace-treaties following wars with these people (*Historia Augusta, Probus* 13–14). This pattern of mobilisation mirrors the way in which the Sugambrian and possibly Chattian groups had been incorporated within the Rhenish imperial frontiers in the first century BC (see 2.2, 2.3). The one major difference is that the Rhineland was not the only region where these Germanic military communities were now being sent.

### **6.3 Germanic Soldiers, Invaders and Usurpers in Britain**

More classical references survive for Germanic migrants entering late Roman Britain via the Roman army than they do for the Germanic settlers entering Britain via raids, invasions, and settlements. Little in the way of epigraphic material survives for the late Roman period, but the classical sources claim that two Germanic incursions were instigated in Britain before the fifth century. They also reveal that the province was in receipt of Germanic soldiers on five separate occasions.

The attacks in Britain both date to the mid-fourth century. One of the attacks dates to the year AD 364, when the Saxons broke into the island (Ammianus

Marcellinus 26.4.5), and the second dates to AD 367, when the Saxons together with the Franks devastated the province (Ammianus Marcellinus 27.8.5).

The references to the introduction of the new Germanic units to the province date earlier than this, to the latter part of the third century. The earliest report pertains to the Vandals and Burgundians who were brought over to Britain by Probus (AD 276–82) (see 6.1). The next reference pertains to the usurpation of Carausius and Allectus in AD 286–297, and considerably more is known about this episode. The literary sources are evidently one-sided, but they indicate that the revolt started when a naval commander of the Lower Rhine named Carausius led a rebellion against Maximian and Diocletian out of fear that he would be put to death for treason (Eutropius 9.21). The usurper regime encompassed the provinces of Britain, Gallia Belgica and Lower Germany (King 1990, 181), and, when Carausius himself died in AD 293 it continued under Allectus, his former finance minister (Birley 1979, 30; King 1990, 181; Casey 1994, 50–2). Nothing is known about the ethnic background of Allectus but Carausius was a Menapien (Aurelius Victor *de Caesaribus* 39.20), and his nomenclature suggests both Celtic and Germanic associations. The cognomen Carausius is, for instance, Celtic, meaning ‘lovely ears’ (Gaulish *caros* ‘lovely’ and Gaulish *aus(i)*- ‘ears’) (Toorians 2004), but the agnomen Maus(eus) is known to have been popular in the Germanic onomasticon (see 5.4.5). More importantly, however, the main support base of the two usurpers is known to have been Germanic. Carausius was in collusion with the *Germani* on the non-Roman bank of the Rhine prior to his usurpation (Eutropius 9.21), and the soldiers of Allectus are known to have been ‘Franks’. This is because when the revolt was crushed under Constantius Chlorus in AD 297, the general was responsible for ejecting Franks from ‘Batavia’ (*Panegyrici Latini* 8.5), as well as for defeating the partisans of Allectus in Britain, who were invariably described as ‘Franks’ and ‘mercenaries’ (*Panegyrici Latini* 8.16–17). It is also particularly noteworthy that these Frankish mercenaries in Britain were distinguished by their ‘long tawny hair’ (*Panegyrici Latini* 8.16). This is the same coiffure adopted by the Batavian commander Julius Civilis in a much earlier revolt against the Romans (see 2.4.2). It perhaps also suggests that not all of the Frankish incomers in Britain had necessarily originated from the non-Roman bank of the Rhine. The soldiers may, for instance, have been instead drawn from a range of Germanic backgrounds, some of which were from Lower Germany and others from the *civitas* of the Batavians in particular.

One of the principle locations where these soldiers of the usurpers were based in Britain seems, in any case, to have been the provincial capital at London. A commemorative gold medallion (discovered in a hoard at Arras) reveals, for instance, that London had been the main thrust of Constantius' attack (Abdy 2006; Fig. 6.1). The foundations of a 'palatial residence' dating to AD 294 (based on the dendrochronological reports) have also been excavated at St. Peter's Hill, London, and these remains are thought to have been intended for Allectus and his entourage (Milne 1995, 75–6; Blagg 1996). Another locale where the soldiers of the usurpers are thought to have been based is the recently constructed forts along the Saxon Shore, since considerable quantities of coins minted by the usurpers have been recovered at Burgh Castle, Pevensey, Richborough, Reculver, Bradwell, Porchester and Brancaster (Casey 1994). It seems that these forts may have been built in the late third century partly in order to resist the recovery of Britain by the forces of Constantius (Casey 1994, 118, 125), but they also facilitated trade and checked other types of sea-borne raids and intrusions (Pearson 2002).

Nonetheless, the army of Constantius, which came to Britain in order to suppress the revolt seems to have been as much Germanic as the soldiers fighting alongside Carausius and Allectus. The literary sources are explicit about this since they state that when Constantius expelled 'Franks from Batavia' (see above), he allowed other Franks to 'settle and cultivate the fields of the Arvii (Armorica), Treveri (Trier), Ambiani (Amiens), Bellovaci (Beauvais), Tricasses (Troyes) and Lingones (Langres)' (*Panegyrici Latini* 8.21). This passage is generally interpreted to mean that the Franks were given the status of *laeti*, meaning that in return for the land on which to settle they performed specific military obligations (Southern and Dixon 1996, 48). The evidence for these incomers is signalled archaeologically by significant numbers of *wohnstallhäuser* and *grubenhäuser* identified at Neerharen, Voreendaal and Arras – in what had been the 'villa landscapes' of Gallia Belgica (King 1990, 185; Whittaker 1994, 161, 167; Carroll 2001, 145, 100). It also seems likely that these land grants were in return for the support of the Frankish soldiers in the campaigns against Allectus. The likelihood that Constantius made use of Frankish soldiers in the recovery of Britain is also strengthened by the 'Arras' medallion which was recovered from one of these newly 'Germanised' sites. This medallion would only have been issued to a soldier fighting alongside Constantius in this British mission (Abdy 2006; Tomlin 2006), and the context of its recovery suggests that Frankish *laeti* were in



Constantius' payroll. The medallion, therefore, provides another example of 'back-migration' of Germanic soldiers between Britain and the Continent (see 3.5).

That Constantius was facilitating the entry of irregular Germanic units into Britain is also supported by the third reference to such units in Britain, dating to AD 306. In AD 305, Constantius had re-entered the province in order to combat a northern attack by the Picts (Anonymus Valesianus *origo Constantini* 2.4), and it seems likely that his following included a number of Germanic military units and influential Germanic figures. This is because at his death in York in the summer of AD 306, his entourage allegedly included a certain 'Crocus king of the Alemanni', who was responsible for illicitly proclaiming the dead general's own son Constantine as the new emperor (Pseudo-Victor 41.3).

Crocus is a name otherwise attested once in *NPEL* (Mócsy 1983, 93), and it is recognised as a Germanic personal name. It compares with other names recorded for the early medieval period, such as the Old High German name Hroc meaning 'roar' (Old High German *rohan*), as well as the Old Norse Krokr meaning 'hook' (Colman 1992, 106) (Förstemann 1900, 883). It is also the same as the names of Germanic leaders recorded in other literary sources such as Crocus, a fifth-century pan-tribal leader over the Suebi and Vandals (Fredegar 2.60), and another Alemannic king named Crocus (c. 253–68), who supposedly devastated Gaul in the second part of the third century (Gregory of Tours *Historiae Francorum* 1.32, 34). Similar to these leaders of historical repute, *rex* Crocus at York was most probably in command of irregular soldiers from Free Germany, and he may have entered Britain as part of an imperial peace-treaty in a manner similar to the way in which the Vandals and Burgundians were brought over to Britain before him. As Ian Wood (2006, 81) points out, for instance, the Alemanni are otherwise only discussed by Pseudo-Victor in the context of attacking the Empire or being attacked themselves by Roman Emperors (Wood 2006, 81). Furthermore, Constantius himself had recently inflicted two military defeats on the Alemanni: once in AD 287, and a second time in AD 303 prior to his arrival in Britain (*Panegyrici Latini* 6.6; 8.16). It may have been the case, then, that he was directly responsible for bringing Crocus and his followers over to Britain. This community of Alemannic soldiers may have been stationed in Britain for a considerable time, which is indicated by a fourth report of the presence of Germanic soldiers in Britain indicates. In AD 374, for instance, another 'king' (*rex*) named Fraomarius was sent over to Britain to act as a 'tribune' of an irregular unit (*numerus*)

of pre-existing Alemannic soldiers. Fraomarius was a member of the Bucinobantes, which was one of the Alemannic septs opposite Mainz (Ammianus Marcellinus 29.4.7), and both his name and his sept are known to have been built out of philologically Germanic roots. The ethnonym, for instance, means ‘beech dwellers’, as Proto-Germanic *\*bok-* means ‘beech’, and Germanic *-bant* means a ‘region, area’, cognate with Old High German *banz* (Schönfeld 1911, 55). The deuterotheme in Fraomarius stems from Proto-Germanic *\*mare* meaning ‘famous’ (see 5.4.8), and the prototheme contains a Germanic root for ‘lord’ (Gothic *frauja* and Old High German *frao*, Old English *frea*) (Schönfeld 1911, 92), which is found in other Germanic names such as Old High German *Fraulo* and *Frawin* (Förstemann 1900, 518).

Where this community of Alemannic soldiers would have been based in Britain is not known with any certainty, but the environs of Yorkshire are certainly one possibility (Swanton 1967; Myres 1969, 75). This is suggested by the place-name ‘Almaneberie’ (AD 1086) recorded for Almondbury near Huddersfield, which preserves the ethnonym of the Alemanni, combined with the Germanic term *-burg* meaning ‘fort’ – a root popular in Germanic place-names of the Roman period and a suitable term for a military installation (see 4.2). It has thus been suspected that the location was occupied by Alemannic ‘laeti’ in late Roman times, and the site indeed commanded an important strategic point, as it was situated next to the Roman road running from York to Manchester (Swanton 1967; Myres 1969, 75). However, the same type of suggestion has been put forward for another location, Swaffham (i.e. ‘Suebian village’) in Norfolk, since the site is situated next to a Roman road and it preserves another ethnonym not associated with the Anglo-Saxon migrations. Barry Cox (1973) thus suspects that the site belonged to a Suebian unit stationed along the coast of the Saxon Shore in Roman times, and since the Suebi were one of the late Roman factions of the Alemanni (Hummer 1998), a Suebian unit may well have been classed under the generic term of the Alemanni in the classical sources.

The final two reports referring to the arrival of Germanic soldiers in Britain pertain to units of Batavians and Herulians. The Batavian and Herulian units entered the province on two separate occasions. The first was in AD 360 when they were sent north in order to counter a raid led by the Picts and Scots. All that is known of their escapade is that they first landed at Richborough, one of the Saxon Shore ports, before making their way to London (Ammianus Marcellinus 20.1.1). The second occasion was in AD 367, when the Saxons and Franks were assailing the province at the time as

Fullofaudes was the *dux Britanniarum* and Nectardius was the *comes maritimus tractus* (Ammianus Marcellinus 27.8.1). The *dux Britanniarum* was based at York and the *comes maritimus tractus* commanded the forts along the Saxon Shore, which gives an indication of where these Germanic raiders and Germanic soldiers were operating in Britain. The *dux Britanniarum* may have been of Germanic origin since his cognomen Fullofaudes has philologically Germanic roots. Etymologically, for instance, the prototheme is related with Gothic *fulls* meaning ‘plenty’, a root which is also found in the Anglo-Saxon and Old High German personal names Fulcherus, Fulbertus, Fuliburs and Fulcharus (Searle 1897, 251; Försteman 1900, 559). The deutertheme is probably a scribal corruption of *baudes* ‘to strike beat’ (Old Norse *bauta*, Old English *beatan*) (Förstemann 1900, 559; Schönfeld 1911, 43, 48), which is similarly found in Germanic names such as Bauto (c. AD 385), a Frank (Jones *et. al.* 1971, 160), and Merobaudes (c. AD 385), a soldier of probable Germanic descent (Jones *et. al.* 1971, 598). The Herulian and Batavian soldiers used to quell this rebellion in Britain probably derived from the Lower Rhine area. The Heruli were a mobile and geographically diverse people, allegedly ravaging the coasts of the Black Sea along with the Goths in the mid-fourth century (Jordanes 28.116). However, another group of them were defeated in the Lower Rhine area in AD 289 (*Panegyrici Latini* 11.7), and they remained in this region until the fifth and sixth centuries (Bazelmans *et. al.* 2004, 10). Etymologically, their name stems from Proto-Germanic *\*harjilaz* meaning ‘warrior’, a root also found in Old Saxon *erl* and Old English *eorl* meaning ‘earl’ (Neumann 1999). The Heruli were also one of the many Germanic groups supposedly tracing their ancestral descent to Scandinavia (Jordanes 3.24). It was, therefore, not only the Germanic migrants of the Anglo-Saxon period, who shared these types of ancestral myths of origin in Britain.

In summary, the main avenue by which Germanic migrants still entered Britain in the late Roman period was via the Roman army and via the controlled settlement of Germanic, militarised groups through the jurisdiction of the Roman state. In some of these cases, the Germanic immigrants entered Britain from Free Germany, in other cases from within the imperial borders of the Rhineland, and in other circumstances it is not clear whether the incomers came to Britain from Free Germany or not. Nonetheless, another dimension of the migration process in Britain is to some extent apparent in the material culture and archaeological remains.

#### **6.4 Dress Accessories and Mortuary Behaviour**

Whilst Germanic migrants are to some extent manifested in the archaeological record in Britain, they are nearly as imperceptible as in the earlier phases of Roman occupation and activity. The main reason for this is that soldiers in the Roman army still wore more or less a regimented uniform, which allowed little scope for ethnic signification, at least in terms of its more durable parts. In the majority of cases it is, therefore, not any easier to identify Germanic soldiers within the frontiers of the Rhineland themselves. It was once thought that the inhumation burials in both Britain and the Continent, which were accompanied by cross-bow brooches and belt-fittings, were evidence for Germanic *laeti* and soldiers (Hawkes 1961). Now, the more commonly accepted view is that they simply belonged to the evolving costume of the late Roman army and bureaucratic state (Simpson 1976; Moreland 2000, 33; Carroll 2001, 144; Hills 2003, 90; Swift 2000, 73). The accessories are distributed throughout the borders of Pannonia, Raetia and the two Germanies (Fig. 6.2), and they are seen as 'a universal military signifier' (Swift 2000, 73). Naturally, it can be assumed that many soldiers of Germanic origin would have worn these items, and this is supported by their sporadic occurrence in the graves of Free Germany (Böhme 1974, 1986; Halsall 2002). However, it is more problematic to detect these Germanic soldiers when they are buried within the frontiers of the Empire itself. Inhumations had become commonplace within the Empire, and the tradition of both cremation and unfurnished inhumation had become typical in Free Germany. This means that neither the dress accessories nor the inhumation burials containing these objects can be directly attributed to the influence of Germanic migrants in the Empire (Halsall 2002).

In the second part of the fourth century, however, certain regional developments in the manufacture of the cross-bows and belt-sets allow some of the items to be provenanced to specific provinces. These items are certainly at the tail-end of the period when the Germanic soldiers were entering Britain and the provincial developments in these items are not thought to have correlated with any ethnic distinctions of their owners. Nevertheless, the significant point about these objects is that they can be used as a rough index of migration (Swift 2000, 208). This is because long-distance trade was not the main mechanism behind their transference in the late Roman period. This means that their discovery in locations outside the provenance of their original manufacture is an indication of the movement of their owners.

In Britain, fifteen of the cross-bow brooches and belt-sets have been identified as originally manufactured in the Lower Rhine area. These objects include the Type 2iii cross-bow brooches (AD 310–350), which were recovered at late Roman towns at Silchester, London and Winchester, as well as the coastal forts along the Saxon Shore and at South Shields (Fig. 6.3). The brooches are distinguished by their faceted knobs and decorated cross-arm, and they are otherwise concentrated in the forts along the Lower Rhine, at such places as Krefeld-Gellep (Gelduba) and Nijmegen (Noviomagus) (Swift 2000, 39, 273). The same applies for the Type 5i and 5ii cross-bow brooches (AD 370 – 400), which are noteworthy for their onion-shaped knobs and their wide bows, and the Type IIIa (or ‘Sort 1 Form C Type F’) (AD 360–407) belt-sets, which have rectangular frames met by two animal headed terminals (Hawkes 1961; Swift 2000). These accessories are similarly thought to have been manufactured in the Lower Rhine area, and a few of them have been excavated from the late Roman towns at London, Winchester, and Colchester, as well as the Saxon Shore forts at Bradwell and Richbrough (Swift 2000, 192, 286-7).

The general evidence for migration, which is provided by these accessories, is also supplemented by a handful of other Germanic items, which have been uncovered from the same types of locations as the brooches and belt-sets. At Dorchester, for instance, two female graves have been excavated next to an adult male, whose strap-ends and belt-fittings denote a soldier, although not necessarily of Germanic origin. Nonetheless, the female graves are more informative in that they contained ‘Saxon’ (North-Germanic) brooches both round and cruciform in shape (Fig. 6.4). The graves are, therefore, thought to have belonged to a Free Germanic soldier, who was accompanied by two female dependents from Northern Germany (Kirk and Leeds 1954; Hawkes 1961, 8; Clarke 1979, 401; Esmonde Cleary 1989a 55, 1989b). However, the graves serve as a telling reminder that soldiers of Germanic origin mostly possessed dress accessories which differentiated them very little from any other, non-Germanic recruit. As Giles Clarke (1979, 382) also points out, the majority of soldiers mobilised from Free Germany may only have been issued with such dress accessories once they were stationed in Britain, which means that they are of limited use in mapping the full scale of immigration, even for the late Roman period.

Other graves which are more diagnostic include two inhumations at Newstead and Richborough, which both contained a barbed spear of known Germanic type called the angon (Hawkes 1961, 17; Proudfoot and Aliaga-Kelly 1996). This weapon

has also been found at Housesteads, South Shields, and Carvoran (Swanton 1973, 31), and it was otherwise popular in the so-called warrior graves of Free Germany, also accounting for half of the weapons in the bog deposits in Denmark dating to the late Roman Iron Age (Swanton 1974, 5).

Other diagnostically Germanic items have been uncovered from three graves at the Lankhills cemetery, next to the former Roman town of *Venta Belgarum* at Winchester. One of the graves, for instance, is that of a young adult (aged between fifteen and twenty years old) containing a bone triangular comb. This is a type of implement otherwise found in Britain in graves dating to the Anglo-Saxon period, but it is also found in the graves of Free Germany dating to the Roman period as well as in the late Roman burials at Mainz, Trier and in the area of the Lower Rhine (Clarke 1979, 247, 391). The grave of an adult male at Lankhills also contains a knife and whetstone, which are items again restricted to the same Germanic and Anglo-Saxon burial contexts as the bone comb (Clarke 1979, 391). Lastly, a child-burial at the cemetery includes an arrow-head, which may have been intended to represent a miniature spear (Clarke 1979, 393). The shape of this barb particularly recalls the Germanic angon, and spears were often included in children's graves in Germanic and Frankish areas dating to the early Middle Ages (Todd 2004, 187). Despite the Germanic mortuary elements in these three graves at Lankhills, however, all of them can be securely placed within a Roman context, since they contained Roman coins and ceramics dating to AD 350–410 (Reece 1979). Consequently, the burials reveal an eclectic mix of Roman and Germanic grave goods, and the Germanic items may have been a means of expressing ethnic and cultural relationships with the Germanic peoples back home.

It has been argued that entire burial grounds were founded by Germanic immigrants in Britain, and the most well-known examples are those at Caistor-by-Norwich in Norfolk and Sancton in East Yorkshire. Caistor-by-Norwich lies next to the former Roman town of *Venta Icenorum* at Caistor St. Edmund, and Sancton borders the important road leading from York to the Humber. In a number of publications and excavation reports, J. N. L. Myres argued that these cemeteries were instigated by Germanic *laeti* and mercenary soldiers originating from Northern Germany, who had been sent to Britain around the time of the first part of the fourth century. This hypothesis rested on the cinerary urns in these graves, which shared parallels with those from across the North Sea and supposedly dating to the same

period (Myres 1969, 62–83; Myres and Green 1973, 13-43; Myres and Southern 1974). However, this argument has been fiercely disputed, and the major problem is that the near complete absence of Roman coins, artefacts, cross-bow brooches and belt fittings defy the Roman date of these burials, let alone their military associations (Morris 1974; Hawkes 1974; Clarke 1979, 403). Myres and Green (1973, 13) explained the absence of these Roman goods as a result of a social apartheid between the indigenous 'Roman' communities and the incoming Germanic groups, but whether the immigrants would have avoided all Roman artefacts entirely in the assertion of their cultural and ethnic differences must remain in serious doubt. It is not supported by other case-studies such as those at Lankhills and Dorchester. Current approaches towards ethnicity also highlight that only particular items are generally utilised or avoided in the assertion of ethnic difference (Jones 1997; Jenkins 1997). Another point against the Roman date of these burials is that there is no other corroborative evidence to tie them to the fourth century, such as North Germanic cruciform and round brooches. Thus, it is suspected that the cemeteries may date to the fifth century, which is still compatible with the latest estimates for the production of the same pots in Northern Germany (Morris 1974). This means that the arrival of these particular Germanic settlers in Britain dates to the post-Roman period.

The most convincing example of a cemetery in Britain in use by a community of Germanic soldiers is that located next to the Roman fort at Brougham near Penrith in Cumbria. Few cemeteries have been excavated from the vicinity of Hadrian's Wall (Wilmott 2001, 109), and the cemetery at Brougham has only recently undergone detailed post-excavational analysis, after being excavated under rescue conditions in the 1960s (Cool 2004). The cemetery had been situated on a discrete hill-top, and excavations uncovered 123 cinerary burials and 65 deposits of pyre debris, whose skeletal remains indicated men, women and children. Unlike the burial grounds at Sancton and Castor-by-Norwich, this cemetery could also be firmly placed within a Roman context, and the Roman samian, glass, cross-bow brooches and belt-fittings found within the pyre deposits suggest it was founded circa AD 210 and discontinued circa AD 310. The cemetery was also probably utilized by a discrete military community, which explains why the start and termination dates for its main activity of use were rather abrupt: the dates were dependent upon the community's arrival and departure (Cool 2004, 463).

The persistence of the cremation rite amongst this community must be set against the backdrop that much of the Empire was moving over to inhumation, and the discovery of the remains of gold and silver metal-wares in these pyres was not to be expected (Cool 2005), since grave-goods made of precious metals were generally prohibited from Roman cremations (Justinian 11.7.14). However, two factors in particular point to the Germanic associations of this cemetery. One factor is that charred horse bones were discovered within many of the urns, which is uncommon within the Empire as a whole and so far unprecedented in Roman Britain. As Hilary Cool (2004, 464) points out, only Anglo-Saxon burials exhibit remnants of charred horse bones in the quantities seen at Brougham. The second factor is that the remains of four iron bucket pendants were recovered from some of the pyres. These finds are again restricted to Anglo-Saxon graves in Britain, in places such as Kent, and West Heslerton, Yorkshire (Cool 2004, 384), and they are mainly found in the burials beyond the Danube in the Roman period, in the areas historically connected with the Goths. Their distribution also follows the trail of the suspected Germanic migrations into these parts, stretching from the Vistula to the Black Sea, and they are found in parts of Denmark as well (Cool 2004, 384). This evidence might imply that the military community at Brougham was mobilised from Free Germany, and that some of the soldiers were perhaps Gothic in extraction.

One final point is that many of the persons at Brougham had been cremated on funerary biers, which is indicated by the bone veneers recovered from the cinerary deposits, which would have decorated these processional vehicles (Cool 2004, 464). Hilary Cool does not identify the biers as being a Germanic mortuary custom, but the fact that they were most probably used amongst Germanic-speaking societies within the Roman Empire is suggested by the Germanic term for 'bier' (Proto-Germanic *\*bera*) being one of the relatively few Germanic loanwords adopted into the Vulgar Latin/Proto-Romance languages (Elcock 1960, 253). The adoption of biers at Brougham may, therefore, provide indirect evidence of the cemetery at Brougham being used by a Germanic group.

In summary, in spite of the conceptual and empirical concerns in recognising migrants archaeologically, there are a number of burials and dress accessories, which suggest Germanic associations. Rather than avoiding Roman artefacts altogether, it seems that only a few non-Roman customs and objects were exploited in the assertion of ethnic identity and cultural difference. One particularly important point about the



archaeological data in Britain is that Germanic groups from Free Germany were undoubtedly sent to the province far earlier than indicated in the classical sources. The mortuary evidence at Brougham also antedates anything of its kind positively identified in Britain in the south. However, this evidence is complimented by the settlement and ceramic material, which has also been discovered in the vicinity of Hadrian's Wall.

### **6.5 The Vici and Forts at Housesteads, Vindolanda, and Birdoswald**

At the forts of Housesteads, Vindolanda and Birdoswald a type of ceramic has been identified from the adjacent vici, which is commonly referred to as 'Housesteads' or 'Frisian' ware (Fig. 6.5). These ceramics were first excavated in 1936, but it was not until 1979 that a relationship was made with similar wares recovered from terpen in Frisia and Groningen dating from the first to third centuries AD (Jobey 1979). The ceramics at Housesteads, Vindolanda and Birdoswald most probably dated to the third century, and their similarity with the wares in Frisia lies in the fact that they are hand-made, coarse, and dark, burnished on the outer side, with angular rims ornamented with finger tipping. However, the pots recovered at these forts were local imitations, not Frisian imports. Petrological analysis of eleven of the sherds revealed that their fabric contained non-plastic inclusions (quartz, mica and feldspar), which are compatible with the geology of the central sector of Hadrian's Wall, but not with the riverine sediments of Frisia (Wilmott *et. al.* forthcoming). The use of the ceramics at these forts may represent another example of migrant communities repeating pre-existing cultural practices in an alien environment. The context of their discovery in the vicinity of these forts also suggests that the immigrants were settled on the frontier in a military capacity.

However, it seems that the newcomers were based within the vici of the forts, as opposed to the forts themselves. Most of the ceramics were recovered from the outskirts of the forts, and those at the Birdoswald vicus were discovered within timber buildings circumvented by their own separate rectangular enclosure, which was built on an entirely different alignment from the fort as well as the surrounding vici. Additionally, the buildings had been made entirely of wood, which is important to note since the foundations of most vici were made generally of stone (Wilmott 2001, 109), whilst round houses as opposed to rectilinear structures dominated the native households of the rest of the northern frontier (see Mattingley 2006, 376; Collins

2008). It was, therefore, assumed that the buildings at Birdoswald must have been temporary shacks or storage facilities – until further analysis demonstrated they had been re-built on three successive occasions. Two of the Frisian-styled vessels had also been buried intentionally beneath a hearth of one of these timber buildings, which adds further support to them functioning as residential quarters as opposed to storage facilities (Wilmott 2001, 109; Fig. 6.5).

In view of this evidence, Tony Wilmott (2000, 6) has suggested that the buildings at Birdoswald were ‘occupied by a people who preferred to use their own building style and their own pottery, both of which were dissimilar to anything in either the fort or the civilian settlement.’ It is evidently possible that the house structures as well as the ceramics were imitations of those made in Frisia since not all the rectilinear wooden structures of Free Germany contained byres (see Hamerow 1997). It is also suspected that the vessels were manufactured by the wives of serving soldiers. As Carol van Driel-Murray (forthcoming) points out, for instance, cross-cultural studies indicate that women were very often responsible for the production of hand-made pots. These pots were perhaps used as a means of preserving a specific style of presenting and serving food in a foreign environment. It is also noteworthy that two of the vessels at Birdoswald had been structurally deposited under a hearth, since similar examples of structured deposition of ceramics have been identified in Frisia (van Driel-Murray pers. comm.). This suggests that not only were the settlements and ceramics being imitated by the satellite immigrant communities in the vicinity of Hadrian’s Wall, but some of the social customs and religious beliefs as well.

In summary, the settlement evidence, although not prolific, complements the mortuary data in Britain in that migrants from Free Germany were entering the vicinity of Hadrian’s Wall from as early as the first part of the third century. Many of these incomers were probably soldiers, and the evidence for their arrival antedates that found both in southern Britain and in the Empire as a whole. For instance, the evidence for Free Germanic soldiers and settlers in the imperial frontiers of the Rhineland in late Roman times dates mainly to the fourth as opposed to the third century (Carroll-Spillecke 1997, 148; Wilson and Creighton 1999; Carroll 2001, 145; van Driel-Murray forthcoming). Any earlier than this, the Rhineland was, of course, still being maintained by the peregrine auxiliary units rather than Free Germanic reserves.

However, the earlier arrival of the Free Germanic immigrants in Britain means that they not only asserted aspects of their identity and foreign status through dress accessories, mortuary customs and house-styles, but they asserted them much more innovatively, through the adoption of Roman inscriptions and the epigraphic habit.

## 6.6 Free-Germanic Units and Inscriptions in Stone

As many as nine altars in the vicinity of Hadrian's Wall have been set up by probably Germanic units raised from Free Germany, and at least one inscription was set up by an individual recruit attached to a Free Germanic unit. Where datable, the inscriptions in question fall within the time-bracket of the first half of the third century. Three of them mention the *cunei Frisiorum*, and others record the *cives Tuihanti*, *numerus Hnaudifridi*, *vexillationes Sueborum* and *curia Textoverdi*. All except the most fragmentary of these inscriptions mention either Germanic personal names or Germanic/foreign deities. The most remarkable point about these inscriptions, however, is that their Free Germanic dedicators had not originated from a cultural milieu where monuments of this kind were ever commissioned. This means that unlike the other types of material culture connected with the Free Germanic migrants in Britain – such as the house-structures, mortuary customs and ceramics – the stone inscriptions were used in the transmission of 'foreign' identities (in the form of Germanic names, ethnonyms and deities), which were not communicated in this way using the cultural and literate traditions maintained back home. It seems likely, however, that the monuments were used as a cultural focus which allowed the immigrant groups to preserve specific rituals and cultural norms from their former homelands – in a fashion similar to the other types of 'foreign' material culture. The monuments also provide an unparalleled insight into the social and political dimensions surrounding the arrival of these Free Germanic immigrants and military communities in Britain.

Two principle reasons can be used to explain the presence of such inscriptions set up by Free Germanic units in Britain. One reason is that the early arrival of these irregular units means that they antedated the decline of the so-called 'epigraphic habit' in the second part of the third century. The reason for this decline is not entirely understood, but its implications were that stone inscriptions were henceforth rarely utilised in conveying social and religious relationships (see MacMullen1982; Woolf 1994). The second reason is that the irregular units were garrisoned on a frontier

where monuments recording Germanic names and deities had already been set up by the Germanic auxiliary units. This overlap and cultural influence explains why the Free Germanic units adopted the ‘epigraphic habit’ so quickly in Britain when it took the Germanic *auxilia* more than a century to leave a permanent epigraphic presence in the province (see 3.3.4). It is also understood in studies of migrant behaviour that immigrants can quickly adopt the cultural innovations instigated by previous waves of migrants (see Oppenheimer 2006).

The one inscription probably set up by an individual recruit of a Free Germanic unit is a memorial at Brougham, which had been set up to ‘Crescentius aged 18’ by his ‘father’ with the Germanic name of ‘Vidaris’ (*RIB* 785). The name Vidaris itself does not suggest that the father was from Free Germany, since Germanic names certainly belonged to the Germanic provincials as well (see 4.4.2). Nonetheless, the context of discovery of this particular name may indicate that the individual originated from Free Germany, since the burial evidence at Brougham suggests a Free Germanic influx dating to the third century, one possibly of Gothic extraction (see 6.4). The name Vidaris would also be compatible with the names of Goths, since Vidimerus and Vidiricus were recorded Gothic kings and leaders (Schönfeld 1911, 264). Etymologically, the prototheme in these names is connected with Old Norse *vifr*, Old English *widu* and Old High German *witu* meaning ‘wood’.

The remaining inscriptions in connection with the Free Germanic units were set up by entire divisions of military communities and probable soldiers. The inscriptions also provide unique insights into these groups’ pre-existing social and cultural backgrounds in Free Germany, as well as into the socio-political circumstances surrounding their arrival in Britain.

### **6.6.1 Irregular units at Housesteads, Burgh-By-Sands and Binchester**

What connects the forts at Housesteads, Burgh-By-Sands and Binchester is that they were all occupied by *cunei Frisiorum*. Housesteads is also where sherds of ‘Frisian ware’ were recovered (see 6.5), and the altar at this site records the *cuneus Frisiorum Vercovicianorum* – Vercovicium is the ancient name for Housesteads (*RIB* 1594; Fig. 6.10). The other altars refer to the *cuneus Frisiorum Aballava* (*RIB* 882, 833; Fig. 6.6a & 6.6b) and *cuneus Frisiorum Vinovia* (*RIB* 1036; Fig. 6.7), and Aballava and Vinovia are the ancient names for the forts at Burgh-By-Sands and Binchester respectively.

A *cuneus* refers to a wedged-shaped fighting formation, which was popular in Free Germany (Tacitus *Germania* 7), but the literary sources reveal that Free Germanic *cunei* were increasingly being recruited into the Roman army in the fourth century (Breeze and Dobson 1987, 257; Schutz 1985, 41; Green 1998, 72, 79). The inscriptions on the British northern frontier reveal, however, that Free Germanic *cunei* were being sent to Britain earlier than this. The altars recording the *cuneus Frisiorum Aballava* and *cuneus Frisiorum Vinovia* are only fragmentary, but the full title of the Frisian unit at Housesteads is *cives Tuihanti cunei Frisiorum Ver(couicianorum) Se(ue)r(iani) Alexandriani*. This title thus dates the unit to the reign of Severus Alexander (AD 222–35), which is contemporary with the production of the Frisian-styled vessels at this site (see 6.5).

However, more irregular units from Free Germany are identified at this same fort at Housesteads. Whilst the altars recording the *cuneus Frisiorum Aballava* and *cuneus Frisiorum Vinovia* were not recovered from a primary context, the Housesteads altar was recovered from a small Roman temple – three metres in diameter – together with two other altars (Fig. 6.8). One of the altars records another Germanic group – the *cives Tuihanti Germanorum* (RIB 1593) – and it is important to note that the altar did not serve as an altar as such, but that it acted as a pedestal supporting a semi-circular arch which operated as an entranceway into the temple (Fig. 6.9). The *cives Tuihanti* had been seconded into the *cuneus Frisiorum Ver(couicianorum)* based at Housesteads (RIB 1594; Fig. 6.10), and whilst they are not attested in any other epigraphic or classical source, they are known to have originated from Free Germany. Their name, for instance, compares with the *pagus Tuianti*, which was recorded in AD 797 for the district of Twente in Overijssel (Hübner 1885; Birley 1986, 77; Künzel 1988: 262; Simek 1993, 203, Green 1998; Irby-Massie 1999, 319). In classical ethnography, the area of what is now Twente lay close to the territory of the Frisians, and it was situated in the fringes of the Usipian and Chamavian domains, in the areas which were increasingly associated with the Saxons and Franks from the latter part of the third century onwards (see 6.2). Etymologically, the ethnonym Tuihanti stems from Proto-Germanic *\*twi* ‘two’ and Proto-Germanic *\*hant* meaning ‘small region’, and this place/tribal name is similar to *Thre(h)ant* (‘three-hant’) recorded for Drenthe in the Netherlands in AD 820 (Gutenbrunner 1936, 48).

The remaining Germanic unit attested at this temple is *numerus Hnaudifridus* (RIB 1576; Fig. 6.11), and this unit was not named after a particular people or place as

such, but after a person, and probably a commander, with the Germanic name Hnaudifridus (Bosanquet 1922). As Bosanquet (1922) points out, however, it was unusual for units to be named after their commanders in this way, which perhaps suggests that Hnaudifridus was of particular social standing – perhaps a native king or tribal chief. Indeed, another king with the same prototheme as Hnaudifridus is Chnodomarius<sup>1</sup> (Gutenbrunner 1936, 48), who was an Alemannic king responsible for leading an attack on the Rhine and Danube frontiers in AD 357 (Ammianus Marcellinus 16.12.23). It is even feasible that these two kings or leaders were ancestrally related, since particular name-etyma are known to have passed down the family line (see 5.4.2). Nonetheless, the personal names most similar to Hnaudifridus are the Germanic names recorded for the Middle Ages, such as the Anglo-Saxon personal names Nothfrith/Notfried and the Old High German Notfred (Bosanquet 1922). Etymologically, the deutertheme means ‘peace’ (Proto-Germanic *\*friþu*, German *Friede*), and the prototheme is connected with either Gothic *nauths*, Anglo-Saxon *neod*, and Old Norse *not* meaning ‘need’ or with Old High German *hnoto*, and Old Norse *hnaud* meaning to ‘shake, bang’ (Gutenbrunner 1936, 48; Neumann 1983 1067).

There has been little speculation previously as to why these Germanic leaders with their proto-Anglo-Saxon personal names were entering Britain in this period together with their irregular units from Free Germany, but one suspects that they entered the province under the same circumstances as king Crocus and the Vandals and Burgundians – that is, as a result of peace treaties with the Roman Empire following wars with these people (see 2.2, 2.3). This possibility is strengthened by the fact that Severus Alexander – whose *numen* (divine spirit) is worshipped on the altar set up by the *cives Tuihanti Germanorum* – is recorded as having conducted a peace treaty with the *Germani* after they had devastated various sectors of the Rhine and Danube frontiers (Herodian 6.6.1-8). It is perhaps under these circumstances that Hnaudifridus and his soldiers, together with the *cives Tuihanti Germanorum*, had been sent to Britain. The same conditions may well have applied for the other two groups of people based in the vicinity of Hadrian’s Wall with Free Germanic associations.

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<sup>1</sup> The usage of <ch> instead of <h> and <o> instead of <au> has already been discussed in relation to names such as Crotus and Rautio as well as Chariovalda and Harius (see 000).

### 6.6.2 *vexillationes Sueborum* at Lanchester

On an altar discovered at Lanchester, a Suebian unit is recorded, which is identified as the *vex(illationes) Sueborum Lon(gouicianorum) Gor(dianae)* (RIB 1074; Fig. 6.12). The term *vexillationes* refers to an irregular cavalry force of a type which formed part of the Roman army from the third century onwards (Birley 1986, 76). The altar at Lanchester is dedicated to the *numen* of the emperor Gordian (AD 238–244) as well as the Germanic deity Garmangabis. The root *-gabis* means ‘to give’ (cognate with Old High German *geba*, Gothic *giban*, and Old English *gifu*), and it is attested in the names of other Germanic deities such as the Alagabiae worshipped in the Sunucian regions of Solingen. The root *Garman-* is less certain, but one possibility is that it is an orthographic variation of the ‘German’ ethnonym (Grienberger 1894; Simek 1993, 60; Clay 2008). Bede (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 5.9), for instance, refers to the *Garmani* by this spelling, and the *Matres Germani* (RIB 2064) are attested on one altar in the vicinity of Hadrian’s Wall, which confirms the usage of this ethnonym in religious formulae.

It is feasible that the Suebian cavalry paying homage to this Germanic deity at Lanchester were mobilised from within the frontiers of the Empire since the *civitas Sueborum Nicrensium* formed part of the *Agri Decumates* in Upper Germany (see 2.3). However, the more likely possibility is that the unit had been brought over from Free Germany. The provincial Suebians had, for instance, never formed their own independent auxiliary units (Alföldy 1968; Spaul 2000), whilst the Alemanni had been attacking the Upper Rhine and Danube areas as recently as AD 233 (Maxfield 1987, 165). It is possible then that the unit had been solicited from Free Germany as part of another peace treaty with a Roman emperor.

### 6.6.3 *Curia Textoverdi* at Vindolanda

The remaining irregular unit to discuss is the *curia Textoverdorum* ‘assembly of the Textoverdi’, which is recorded on an altar discovered from the outskirts of the fort at Vindolanda (RIB 1695; Fig. 6.13). The Textoverdi have generally been classed as a Romano-British tribe (Jackson 1953, 325; Birley 1986, 71; Irby-Massie 1999, 312; Birley 2002, 50), but neither their ethnonym nor the deity they celebrate would seem out of place in a Rhenish context. Furthermore, there is archaeological evidence for the vicinity of Vindolanda being occupied by a Germanic immigrant community, since

the area is one of the three main sites where 'Frisian Ware' has been recovered (see 6.5).

The deity Saitada/Sattada invoked on the altar set up by the *curia Textoverdi* may well have Germanic origins since the first part of the name compares with Saitchamia (*CIL* 13. 7915-6), a Germanic deity recorded on two altars at Hoven, whose first root stems from Proto-Germanic *\*saiða-* (Old Norse *seiðr*) meaning 'magic' (Simek 1993, 275). The name of the Textoverdi also compares with the Texuandri, a Germanic group located in Lower Germany (see 2.3), and the Matronae Textumeihae, recorded on two altars at Cologne (*CIL* 13. 7915-6), whose first root is etymologically related with Proto-Germanic *\*texs-wa* and Gothic *taihswa* meaning 'right, south' (Neumann 1987, 109; Simek 1993, 336). The second root *verd-* in the name of the Textoverdi also adds greater conviction to its Germanic connections since *verd-* is a popular root in the medieval place-names of Frisia and the Netherlands meaning an 'island', Old Dutch *werd*. The term is recorded in place-names such as Oostwerde 'East island' (c. 1200) in Utrecht and Gasperwerde (c. 1200) in southern Holland (Künzel 1988, 144, 176). Significantly, German dialects also utilise *wierde* to refer to the Frisian terps (Todd 2004, 63). It is possible, then, that the *curia Textoverdi* had Germanic or even Frisian connections, which would be compatible with the ceramic evidence for Frisian settlers uncovered from the outskirts of this fort. The Textoverdi may even have been expected to perform military obligations at Vindolanda, since a law was passed in the fourth century which encouraged the serving sons of veterans to form their own military units under the name of their own *curia* (Southern and Dixon 1996, 67). Evidently, it is possible that this scheme was piloted in some parts of the Empire earlier than others. This interpretation would also imply that the *curia Textoverdi* was not founded by migrants of the first generation, but by the sons of retired veterans.

In summary, the epigraphic evidence on the northern frontier shows that irregular units were sent to Britain from Free Germany from the first part of the third century onwards. Some of these units may have been sent to the frontier as part of a policy of 'controlled settlement' as part of the peace treaties with the Roman Empire. The objects of veneration invoked on these monuments often seem to have been Germanic deities and the *numen* of Roman emperors. What still needs to be addressed is the deities worshipped at both the temple dedicated to Mars Thingsus at Housesteads, and by the other Frisian *cunei* on the frontier. The pagan sanctuaries



where these units worshipped throw considerable light on these immigrants' ethnic identities, religious beliefs and myths of origin.

### 6.7 Germanic Assemblies, and the Identity of the *Germani*

In the vicinity of Hadrian's Wall, two temples have been identified in connection with the irregular units raised from Free Germany. One of the temples was dedicated to Mars Thingsus, and it was discovered in 1883 at Chapel Hill, a site next to the fort at Housesteads. The second temple was attended by the *cuneus Frisiorum Aballava* at Burgh-By-Sands, and was similarly dedicated to Mars. The altars themselves are fragmentary, recovered from a secondary context built into the fabric of Cockermouth Castle (*RIB* 882, 883). The names of the deities worshipped on these altars have, therefore, not survived. The fact that the unit at Burgh-By-Sands was similarly dedicated to Mars, however, is suggested by the date of 19<sup>th</sup> of October (*ante diem XIII Kalendas*) recorded on the two monuments. This date coincides with the *armilustrium* – one of Mars' principle festivals, when spears and arms were purified and laid to rest for the winter (Adkins and Adkins 1996, 19).

The temple to Mars Thingsus at Housesteads, however, provides the names of seven Germanic deities and epithets, which are discussed in turn. Five of these names pertain to two pairs of female divinities referred to as *alasiagis*, and the remaining names belong to Mars Thingsus and the ethnonym of the *Germani* themselves.

#### *Alasiagis*

The two pairs of *alasiagis* recorded on the altars at Housesteads are called Beda and Fimmelina, as well as Baudihille and Friagabis (*RIB* 1576, 1594, Figs. 6.9 & 6.11). The title *alasiagis* means 'all honoured', and the second stem relates to Proto-Germanic *\*aizo* and Old High German *ereom* meaning 'honour' (Gutenbrunner 1935, 45; Siebs 1922; Simek 1993, 6). The title seems, therefore, to have been reserved as a collective form of address for Germanic female divinities, and the *numerus Hnaudifridi* was responsible for addressing its pair of *alasiagis* as Baudihille and Friagabis (*RIB* 1576). Friagabis means 'free-giver' (Proto-Germanic *\*fri* 'free', and *\*gab* 'to give'), and Baudihille is thought to mean 'battle commanding', stemming from Proto-Germanic *\*badu, beud* 'command' and Germanic *-hild* 'war' respectively (Bosanquet 1922). One might question whether Germanic *-hild* 'war' would have undergone lenition to *-hille* in this way, and whether or not the Germanic term for

‘hill’ (Old English *hulle*) might not seem an equally suitable cognate for Baudihille. This root is attested in Germanic ethnonyms of the Roman period such as the Hilleuiones in Scandinavia (Pliny *Naturalis Historia* 4.96).

The *cives Tuihanti Germanorum* were responsible for setting up the altar dedicated to Beda and Fimmelina (*RIB* 1594), and both these names seem to be Germanic. Bede, for instance, means ‘bid, command’, cognate with Old Frisian *bede*, Old High German *beta*, Middle High German *bete*, Old Saxon *beda* and Old English *bidda*, and Fimmelina is perhaps a Germanic collective term for spears and weapons, since German *fimmel* and Scandinavian *fimmel* mean ‘iron bar’ and ‘sledge hammer’ respectively (Hübner 1885; 114; Stephens 1885, 169). It is possible, therefore, that Fimmelina is even a Germanic personification of the *armilustrium* – the festival alluded to on the altar set up by the Frisian *cuneus* at Burgh-By-Sands (see above).

### *Mars Thingsus*

Mars Thingsus is the main cult deity attested at the temple at Housesteads, and the epithet has been convincingly related to a Germanic term for ‘assembly’, cognate with Old Frisian *thing*, Old Norse *thing* and Old High German *ding*, (Hübner 1885; Stephens 1885; Simek 1993: 203; Green 1998, 34). This Germanic term for ‘assembly’ is thus recorded in medieval runic inscriptions in Scandinavia (Sawyer 2000, 97), as well as in medieval place-names on the Continent, such as T(h)ingemet (AD 1181) in the Netherlands (Künzel 1988, 348), and Dingenburch (AD 1137) in Germany (Förstemann 1919, 1027). It was also used to refer to the earliest Germanic meeting places and assemblies in Britain, before the effects of Christianisation brought about a fundamental revision in the terms used for such institutions (Green 1998, 13–39), and it is thus attested in Anglo-Saxon place-names such as Tiowlfing(c)aestir in Nottinghamshire (Cox 1976), and Thinglond (Fingland) in Cumbria, a site lying five miles from the other Frisian unit’s temple-site at Burgh-By-Sands (Armstrong 1950, 125).

Assemblies are also known to have played an integral role to Germanic groups of the Roman period, but these places were referred to as *concilia* in the classical sources. It is known that these *concilia* were prominent in the martial affairs of Germanic groups (see 2.4.1), and the same situation may well have applied for the ‘assemblies’ at Housesteads and perhaps Burgh-By-Sands. The martial connotations of the latter site is confirmed by the allusion to the *armilustrium*, and the relief of Mars

Thingsus at Housesteads armed with a shield and spear recalls the male initiation ceremonies practised at Germanic assemblies on the Continent – when the young men were given a shield and spear to mark their advent into manhood (see 2.4.1). It may well have been the case, then, temple-sites such as those at Burgh-By-Sands and Housesteads acted as small-scale assemblies for immigrant Germanic groups.

### *Germani*

The remaining Germanic name to discuss is the ethnonym *Germani* itself, which is recorded in the altar forming part of the entrance into this temple, and set up by the *cives Tuihanti Germanorum* (see Fig. 6.9). The etymological roots of this term are highly uncertain (Birkhan 1970, 203; Neumann 1998a; Todd 2004, 9), and the ethnonym has attracted the least attention out of all the Germanic terms recorded at this altar at Housesteads. Scholars also tend to dismiss the ethnonym as a Roman construct with no emic value to the groups themselves, as already indicated (see 2.4.2). However, the *cives Tuihanti* are another contradiction to this rule, and, as I have pointed out recently, the application of this term has a remarkable correlation with how ‘German’ identities are manifested in the classical sources (Clay 2008). For instance, the assembly (*concilia*) held at the time of the Batavian revolt by the Ubii in Cologne had similarly been in honour of ‘Mars’ and other ‘common gods’. By holding this assembly, the Tencteri proclaimed that the Ubii had been returned ‘to the body of the German people and to the German name’ (Tacitus *Historiae* 4.63). One might have dismissed this passage as complete fabrication on the part of Roman historians were it not for the ‘assembly’ dedicated to Mars Thingsus at Housesteads.

Thus, if one might consider what the term *Germanus* is likely to have meant to Germanic groups attending assemblies such as the *cives Tuihanti*, a Germanic root is certainly in evidence. The second stem agrees with Proto-Germanic *\*mann* meaning ‘man’, which is a root popular in other Germanic ethnonyms such as the Alemmani (Wolfram 1997, 40), Paemani and Marcomani (see 1.3, Table 4.1). The term *ger-* compares most of all with a West Germanic term for spear, which is documented as *ger* in the languages of Old Saxon and Old High German and *gar* in Old English (Bosworth and Toller 1898, 361–2). The root is preserved in dithematic Germanic personal names of the Middle Ages, such as Gerwulf and Liudger (Searle 1897, 257), and one probable example from the Roman period is the name of the Batavian Maloger (*CIL* 3. 3577). This suggests that the term was in existence during the

Roman era. Lastly, the connection between spears and assemblies is reinforced by the Langobardic Law Code, which refers to the *gairéthinx* or ‘spear assembly’ (Fruscione 2005, 21).

Consequently, it may have been the martial and juristic connotations of the German ethnonym, which were the main stimuli behind its application by certain Germanic groups. The term was, therefore, not simply forced onto Germanic groups by outsiders, and the evidence at Housesteads throws light on the origins and development of the ethnonym in general as well as on why some of the Germanic immigrants in Britain thought of themselves as Germans.

However, the military aspects of these Germanic groups in Britain should not be the only factors addressed in connection with this particular site. The *Germani* repeatedly enter the historical and epigraphic record, not only as soldiers and warriors, but as migrants and self-perceived migrant communities, whose use of cult and religion self-consciously set them apart from other groups. This leaves us to consider the types of myths of origins which were perpetuated by the Germanic groups at their assemblies on the northern frontier.

## **6.8 Germanic Migrants and Myths of Origin**

It is well known that ethnic parameters are not simply based around shared norms and values, but also on the belief in a common ancestral descent responsible for these cultural trajectories in the first place (Leach 1976, 40; Jones 1997, 13). This descent is particularly important to ethnic groups tracing their ancestry to myths about migration (Castles and Miller 2003, 33), and the origin myths of the Anglo-Saxons are a good case in point (see 1.3). However, one might consider the ancestral myths instigated by Germanic migrants entering Britain in Roman times. That the assemblies of these incomers were key platforms for the dissemination of origin myths is strengthened by the ancient report about the Suebi in central Germany, who met annually at an assembly (*concilium*) in order to celebrate their *initia gentis* – the ancestry of their people (Tacitus *Germania* 39).

The altars recovered from the temple dedicated to Mars Thingsus reveal that pockets of the landscape were being paganised by the names of Germanic gods far earlier than the coming of the Anglo-Saxons. However, one important if overlooked fact about this temple is that the arched relief shows Mars Thingsus in attendance by both a swan/goose and two male companions. These companions have been described

as 'wingless cupids' (Coulston and Phillips 1988 no. 161), but a point made earlier about them, not been picked up in the later literature, is that their crossed legs evoke analogies with the twin Mithraic gods Cautes and Cautopates (Bosanquet 1922). Mithraism is recognised as a popular cult among Germanic groups in both Britain and the Rhineland (see 3.6.2), and one would also expect Bosanquet's comment to have arrested more attention in view of the pivotal importance which brothers and twins are known to have played in the foundation legends and origin myths of Germanic migrant groups. Fictional descent from such brothers was one of the key ways in which they established a sense of political cohesion (Yorke 1993, 48), and by far the earliest reported case pertains to the worship of the Alcis in Free Germany in the first-century AD, who were equated with the Greek twins Castor and Pollux, according to *interpretatio romana* (*Germania* 43). That similar legends were being propagated by the Germanic incomers at their 'assembly' at Housesteads is made more probable by the depiction of the goose/swan at the temple, since Castor and Pollux – and presumably the Germanic twins – were born from an egg laid by a swan.

The subject of *interpretatio romana* and comparative religion raises a number of epistemological concerns (see Derks 1998), but what it perhaps shows is that the Germanic migrants of Roman times perpetuated similar myths to those of the Anglo-Saxons. Another dimension of the Germanic twins, for instance, is that they shared equine associations, since Castor and Pollux turned into horses following their apotheosis (Simek 1993, 7). By far the best known equine brothers in Germanic legends are Hengist and Horsa, who were invited to Britain in a military capacity according to Anglo-Saxon sources. Etymologically, the names of these brothers mean 'gelding' and 'horse' respectively (Yorke 1993).

These parallels indicate that fictional descent from Germanic brothers may have been important to Germanic migrants in Britain in both the Roman and Anglo-Saxon period. It is even plausible that these earlier pioneers of the Roman period were responsible for instigating the origin myths later perpetuated by the Anglo-Saxons. Nonetheless, there are still striking dissimilarities in the way the Germanic twin cult was interpreted in the two epochs. The twin cult of the Anglo-Saxons had been altered by recent developments in Anglo-Saxon society (Yorke 1993), and the two brothers had been invited to Britain under the authority of a sub-Roman British king (Yorke 1993). However, no such legitimation could have been used to bolster the introduction of the Germanic twin cult to Britain in the Roman period. Instead, it

seems that imperial sanctions were much more important to these earlier Germanic incomers. The temple dedicated to Mars Thingsus is, for instance, littered with imperial titles and the *numen* of the emperor is also invoked. The same imperial connections apply with other votive monuments set up by Germanic immigrants on the northern frontier, and the literary sources also reveal that the invitation of the Germanic soldiers and settlers to Britain was at the behest of Roman emperors. This process of integration compares with the way in which Germanic groups were settled within the imperial borders of the Rhineland in the early Roman period and the way in which the origin myths of these groups are thought to have been structured around imperial sanctions and the patronage of prominent Roman ancestors (see 2.2, 2.3). None of these origin myths survived the fundamental changes brought about by the collapse of the imperial regime, and the groups concerned may have found very little political advantage in tracing their immigration to Roman emperors once the Empire itself was no longer in place. The same considerations might well have applied for the origin myths surrounding the Anglo-Saxon migrations – with there being no political or social advantage in tracing the arrival of Germanic incomers in Britain to the Roman period.

## 6.9 Conclusion

The Germanic migrants in the later phases of the Roman period included irregular units, mainly from Free Germany, who were sent to Britain by the Roman state and through the licence of Roman emperors. The literary sources claim that these incomers arrived in Britain from the late third century onwards, but the archaeological and epigraphic records reveal that they entered Britain a century earlier.

The archaeological data for these incomers – in terms of their ceramic traditions, dress accessories and mortuary behaviour – reveals how these groups made use of certain types of Germanic norms and customs as a means of preserving a sense of ethnic difference in Britain. Additionally, the philologically Germanic roots preserved in their recorded ethnonyms, personal names and deities imply that this sense of difference was reinforced by their conversance in philologically Germanic languages. That some of these names were recorded on stone inscriptions set up by irregular Germanic units from Free Germany is extraordinary given the fact that Free Germanic groups did not exploit the epigraphic habit in this manner. The reason for such a spectacular corpus of stone inscriptions set up by the Free-Germanic groups in Britain

is perhaps related partially to the early arrival of the irregular units in Britain (therefore antedating the decline of the epigraphic habit), combined with the influence of the Germanic auxiliary units, who were already accustomed to manipulating the epigraphic form in order to record their own Germanic personal names and deities in this type of way.

The most important site relating to the Free-Germanic military communities in Britain is the temple dedicated to Mars Thingsus at Housesteads. The root *thing-* in the epithet of Mars stems from a Germanic term for ‘assembly’, and classical sources reveal how assemblies played a key role in the judicial and martial affairs of Germanic peoples, as well as in their origin myths and *initia gentis*. This temple is, therefore, important for a number of reasons. One reason relates to the ethnicity and etymological associations of the *Germani*. It has often been argued that the term was no more than an etic label, forced upon Germanic groups by outsiders (see 2.4.2). However, the temple at Housesteads undermines this position. The reliefs and altars at this site indicate that the term was used as an emic identification by Germanic groups themselves, and they point to the term’s etymological associations with a Germanic term for ‘spear’ – weapons which possessed an esteemed martial and judicial role at Germanic assemblies. The Housesteads temple is also important because of the light it sheds on the foundation legends and ancestral myths celebrated by Germanic migrants in Britain during the Roman period. One of the reliefs, for instance, points to the veneration of a twin cult, and this is highly significant given that twins and brothers feature prominently in the foundation legends and origin myths of many Germanic migrants, among them the Anglo-Saxons. Germanic *things* ‘assemblies’ are, moreover, enshrined in Anglo-Saxon place-names, and it seems likely, therefore, that they were key to social reproduction – to the perpetuation of ancestral legends and origin myths which had a lasting impact in Anglo-Saxon literary traditions. The temple in honour of Mars Thingsus at Housesteads demonstrates, however, that, like the Germanic peoples themselves, some of the Germanic assemblies and origin myths in Britain antedate the Anglo-Saxon migrations.



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Fig. 1.2a Tree diagram of the Indo-European languages, produced by August Schleicher (1861-1868) (Mallory 1998, fig. 7).

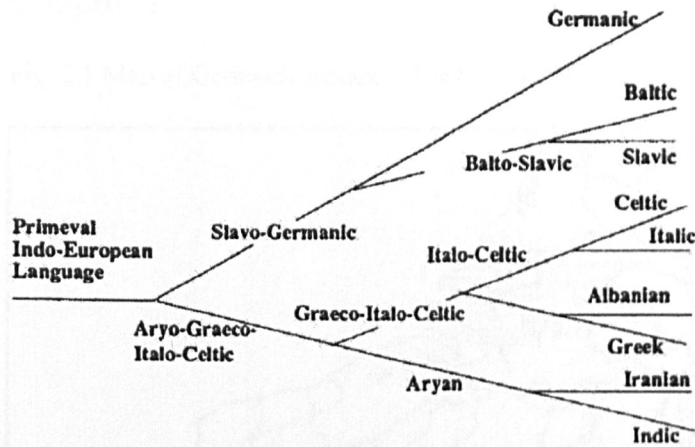


Fig.1.2b Wave diagram of the Indo-European languages, produced by Johannes Schmidt (1843-1901) (Mallory 1989, fig. 8).

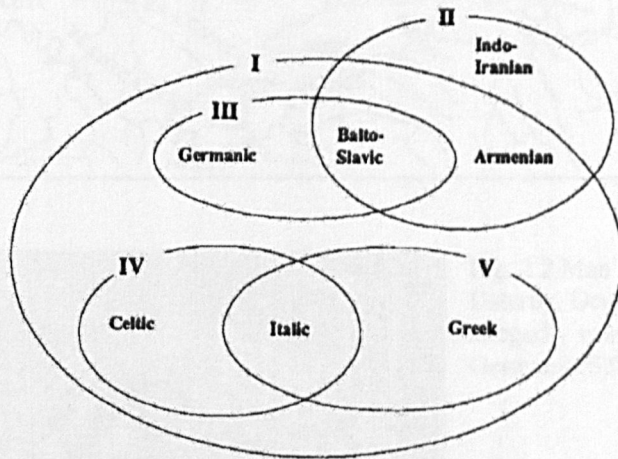
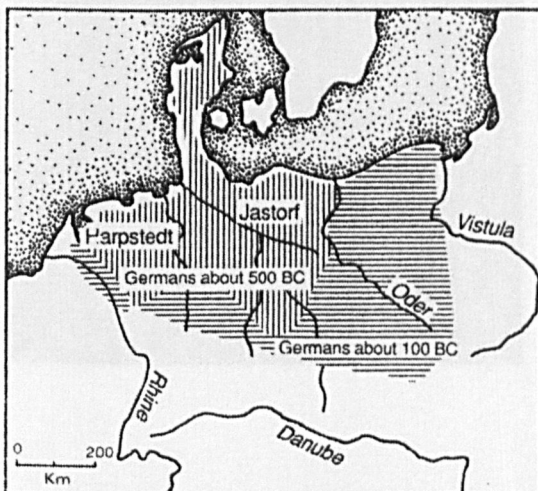


Fig. 1.3 Map showing distribution of Jastorf and Harpstedt cultures (Mallory 1989, fig. 68).



## Chapter 2

Fig. 2.1 Map of Germanic groups in the time of Caesar circa 50 BC (Roymans 1990, 2).

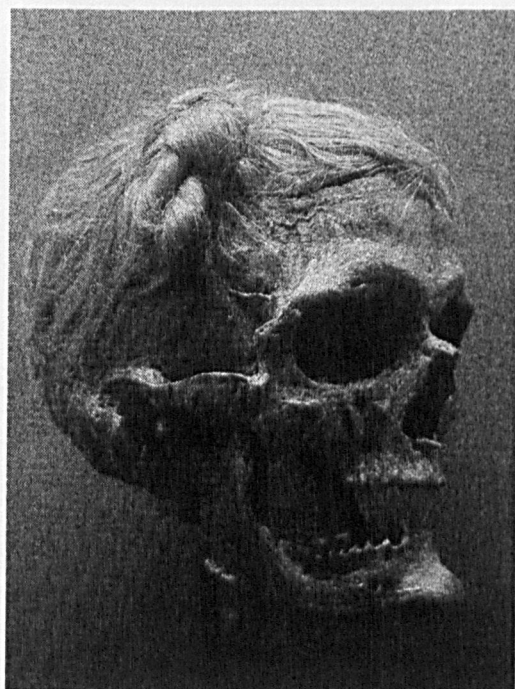
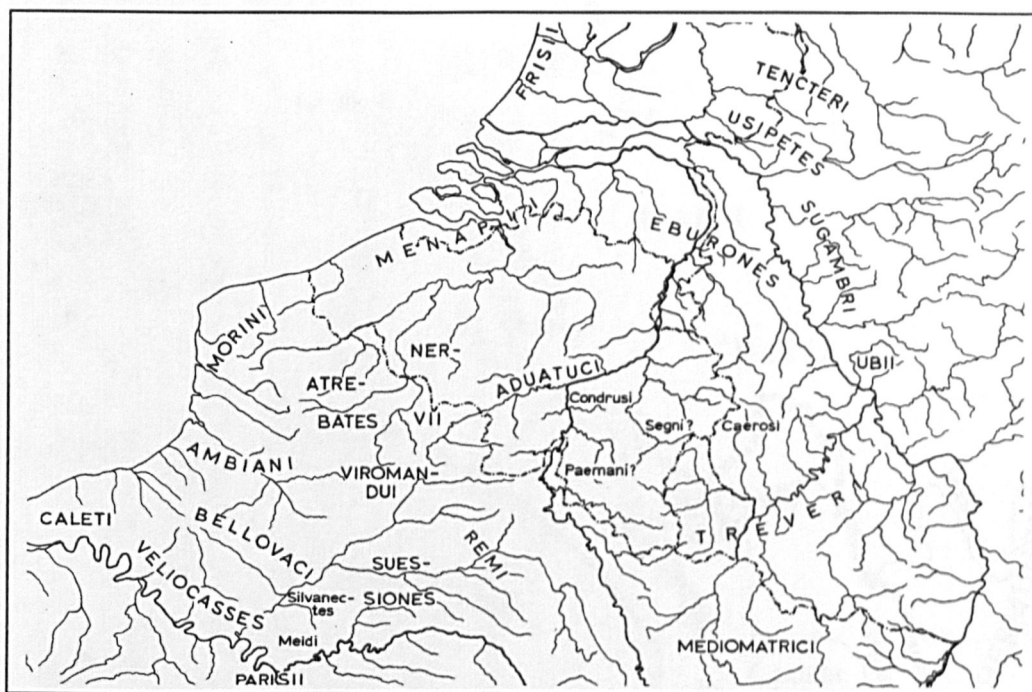


Fig. 2.2 Man's head recovered from a bog in Osterby, Denmark illustrating the same coiffure allegedly worn by the Suebi in central Germany (Schutz 1983, 328).

Fig. 2.3 Map of Germanic peoples in the time of the Roman Empire (Carroll 2001a, fig. 4).

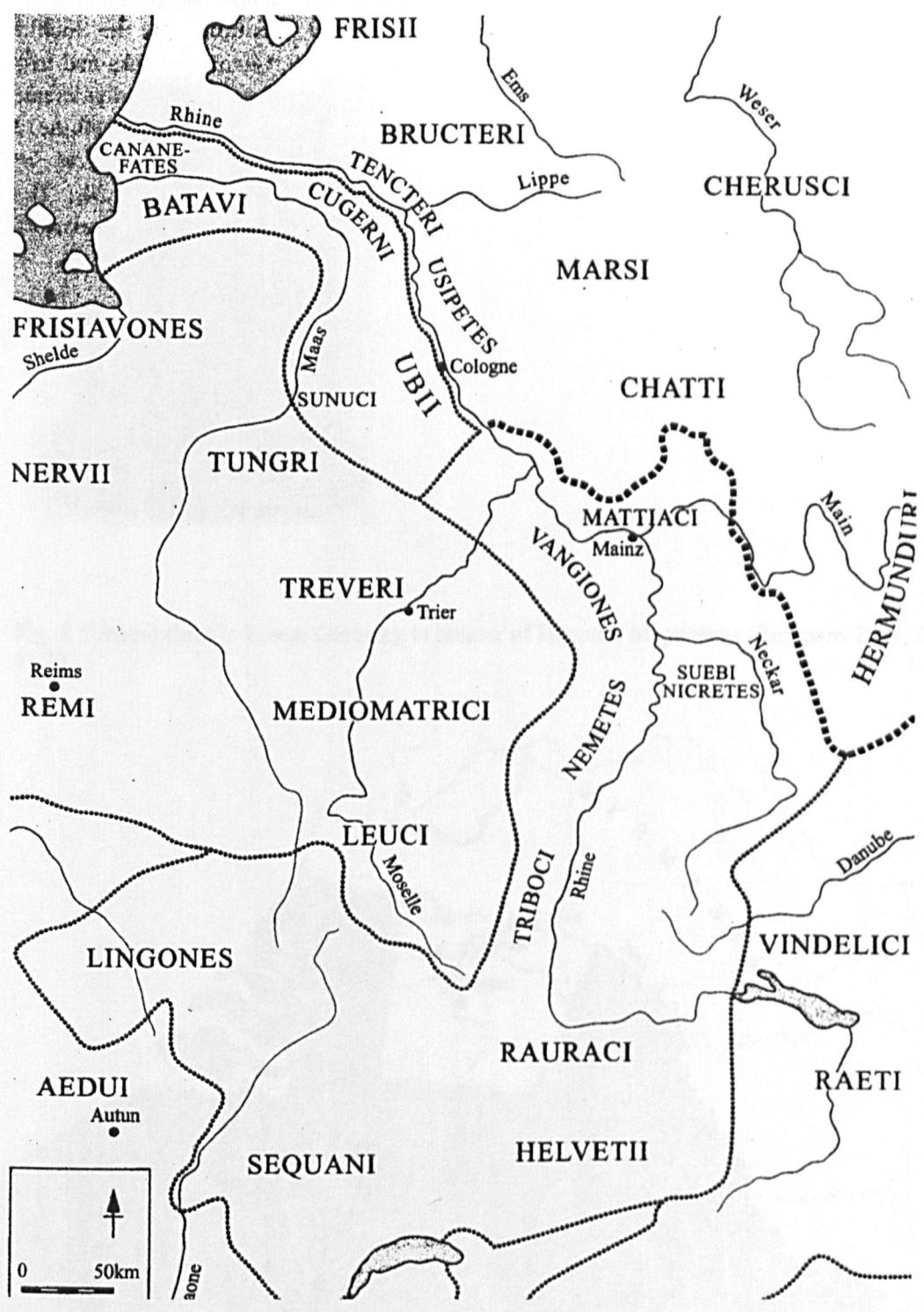


Fig. 2.4 Altar dedicated to Hercules Magusanus by the *summus magistratus* of the *civitas Batavorum*, named Flavius, son of Vihirmas/Vihirmatis (circa 50 AD), Ruimel (Halbertsma 2000, 26).



Fig. 2.5 Inscriptions in Lower Germany in honour of Hercules Magusanus (Roymans 2004, fig. 11.1).

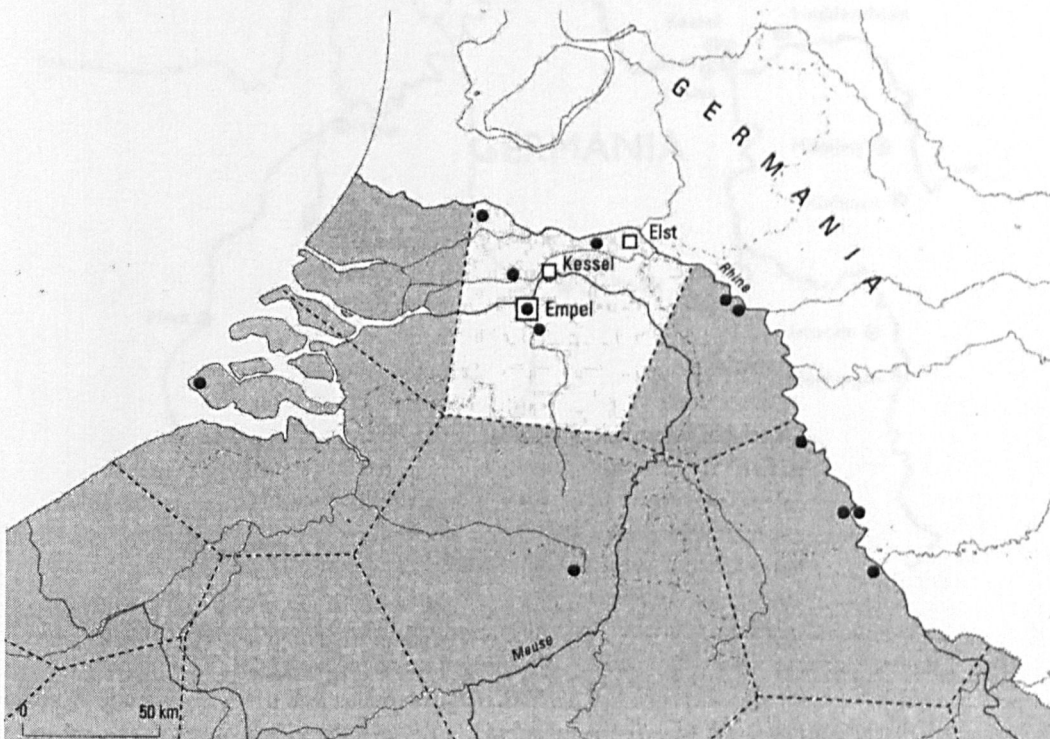


Fig. 2.6 Distribution of altars in honour of the Mother Goddesses in the Rhineland (Simek 2004, 53).

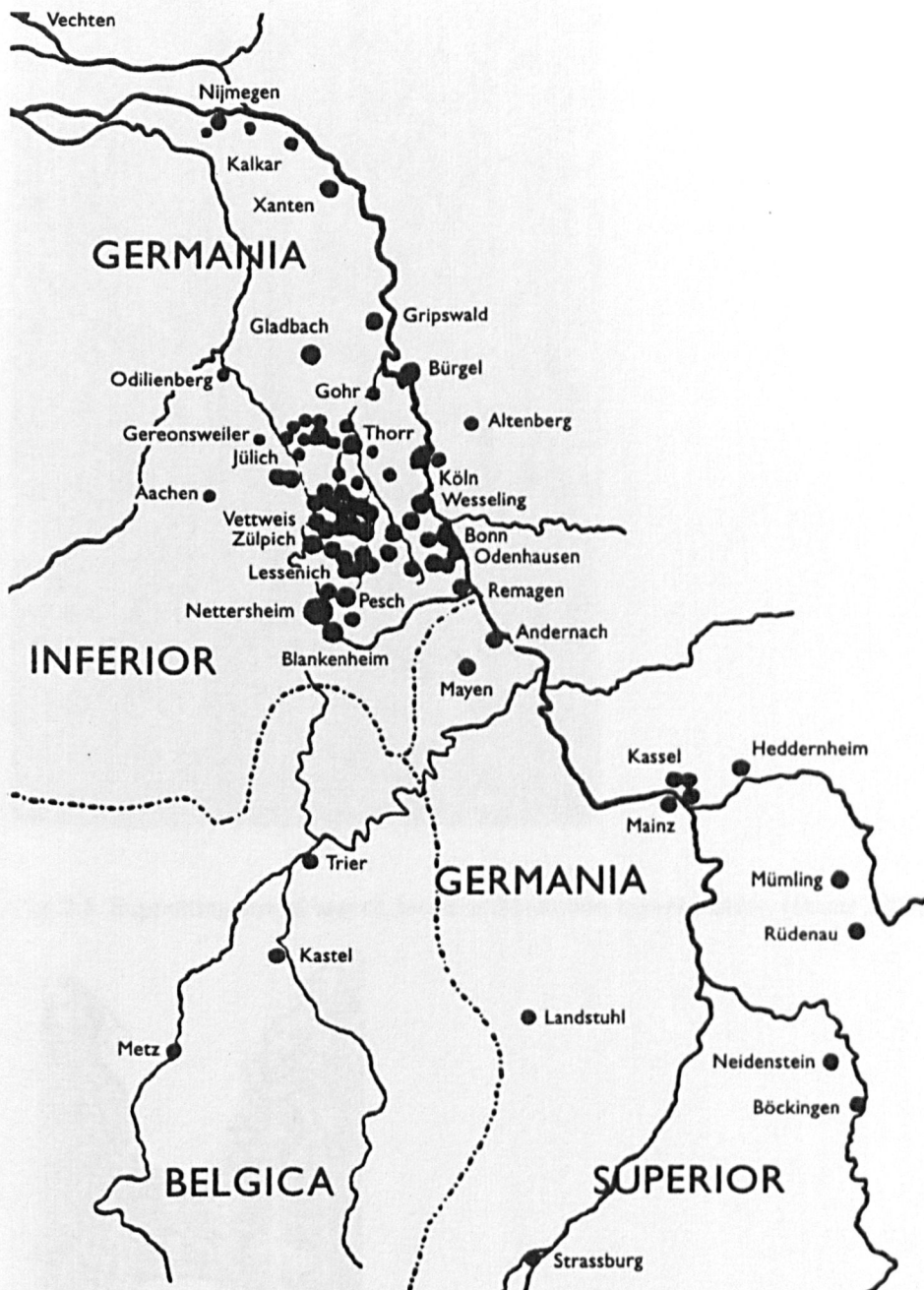


Fig. 2.7 Altar dedicated to Matronae Aufaniae, Bonn. The cloaks of these three matrons are pinned together using equal armed brooches (Bruns 2003, fig. 9).



Fig. 2.8 Supporting armed brooch found in Dösemoor, Lower Saxony (Bruns 2003, fig. 8).

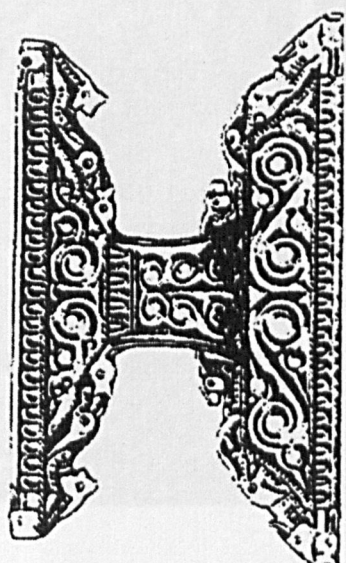
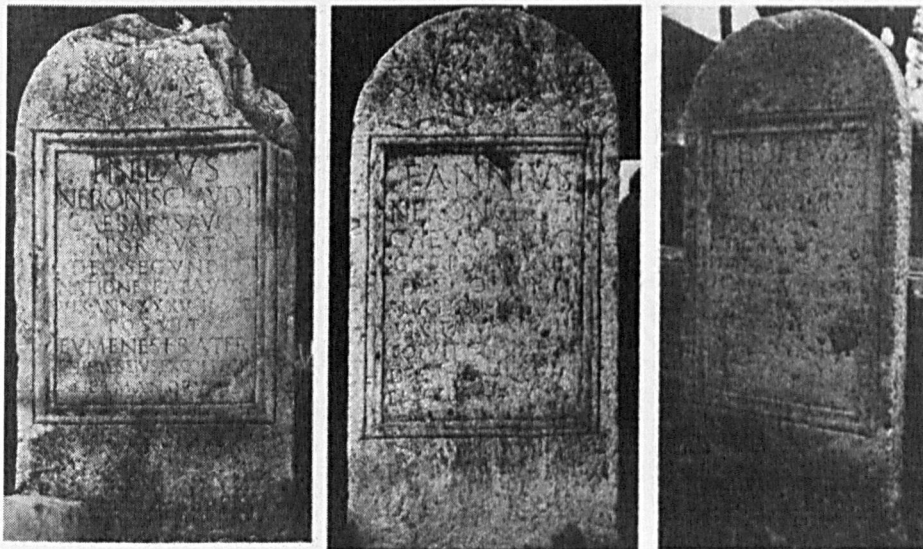


Fig. 2.9 Painting of the assembly (*concilium*) held at the time of the Batavian revolt (Teitler 1998, fig. 33).



Fig. 2.10 Memorials in Rome to soldiers belonging to the *collegium Germanorum*. Each soldier belonged to a different tribe (*natio*): from left to right: 'natio Batavus', 'natio Baetesius' and 'natio Ubii' (Clay 2008, fig. 3).





### Chapter 3

Fig. 3.1 Gravestone from Colchester in honour of Sextus Valerius Genialis, a Frisian (*civis Frisius*) of the *ala Thracum* (Collingwood and Wright 1968, pl. 4).



Fig. 3.2 Map of the northern frontiers of Roman Britain (Faulkner, 2000 fig. 18).

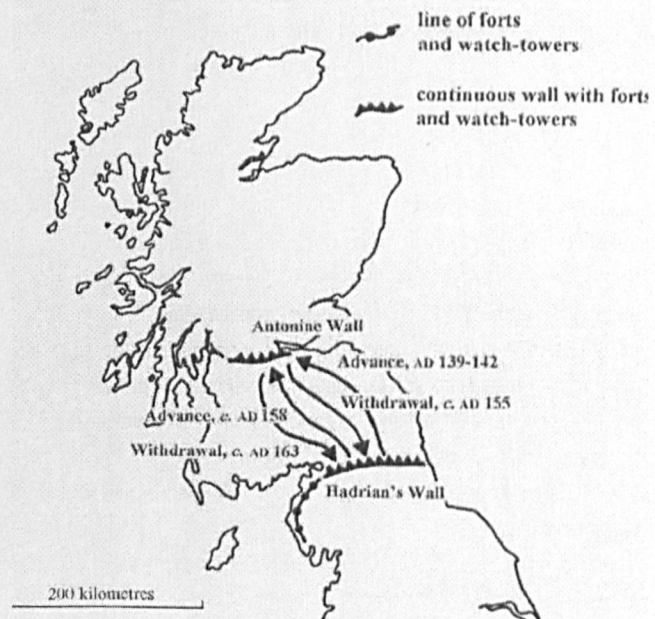


Fig. 3.3 Distribution of Germanic *auxilia* (adapted from de la Bédoyère 2001, map 3).

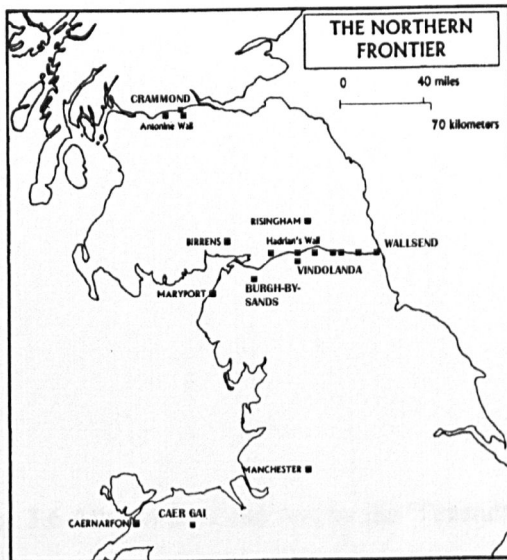


Fig. 3.4 Altar dedicated to Hercules Magusanus, Crammond (National Museums Scotland).

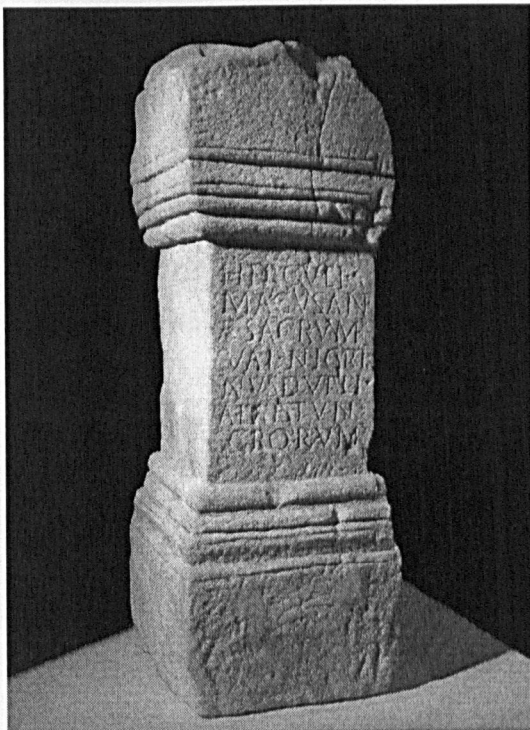


Fig. 3.5 Altar at Birrens to *Viradecthis* by the *pagus Condrusti* serving under *cohors II Tungrorum* (Dumfries Museum).

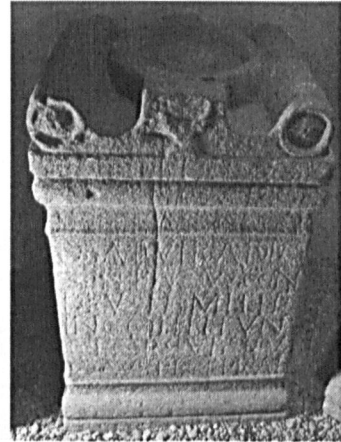


Fig. 3.6 Altar to the *Genii loci* by the 'Texandri' and 'Suve[vae]', Carrawburgh (Budge 1907, no. 91).



Fig. 3.7 Altar at Carlisle set up by an imperial slave (*Augusti servus*) Aetius Cocceianus to the 'land of the Batavians' (*Terrae Batauorum*) (Tullie House Museum, Carlisle).



Fig. 3.8 Relief of Mother Goddesses, Newcastle, dedicated by Aurelius Juvenalis to the *Matres Transmarinae* (CSIR I. 1. 236).



Fig. 3.9 Altar to 'Matres Alatervae', worshipped by the *I Tungrorum* at Crammond (RIB 2135).

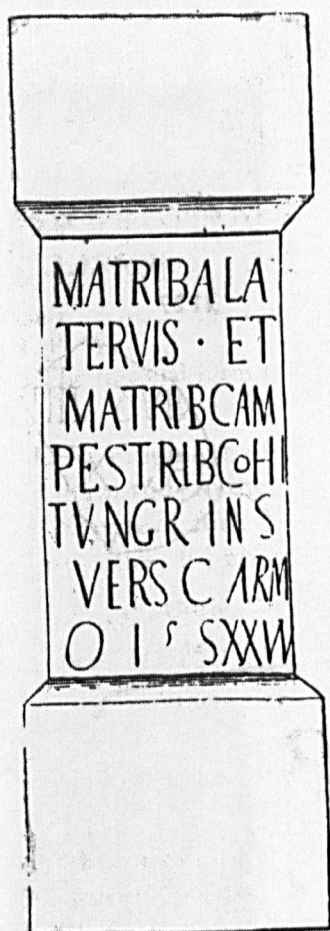


Fig. 3.10 Altar to 'Matres Hananeftis and Ollototis', set up by Aelius Victor at Manchester (<http://freerepublic.com/focus/f-news/1999640/posts>).

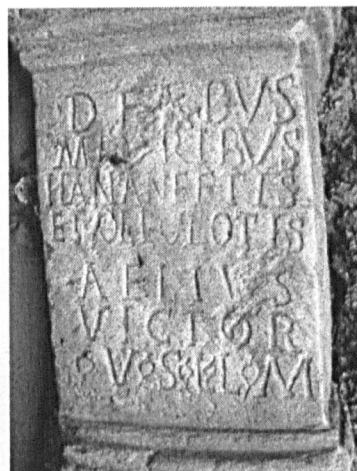


Fig. 3.11 Altar at Binchester dedicated to *Matres Ollototae sive Transmarinae* (Museum of Antiquities, Newcastle).

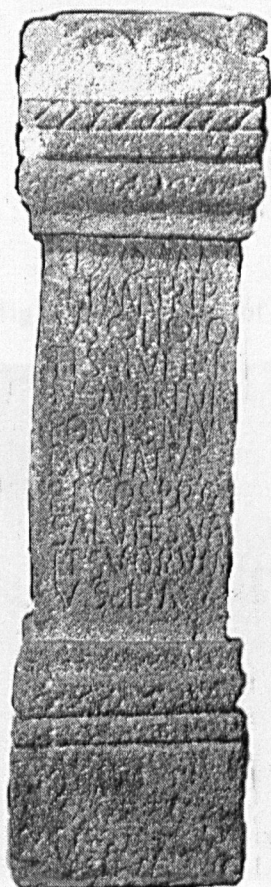


Fig. 3.12 Sculpture discovered from the mithraeum, Housesteads, depicting Mithras being born from an egg (*CSIR* 1.6.161).



Fig. 3.13 Excavation of a sunken-floored hut, Monkton (Bennett and Williams 1997, 260).

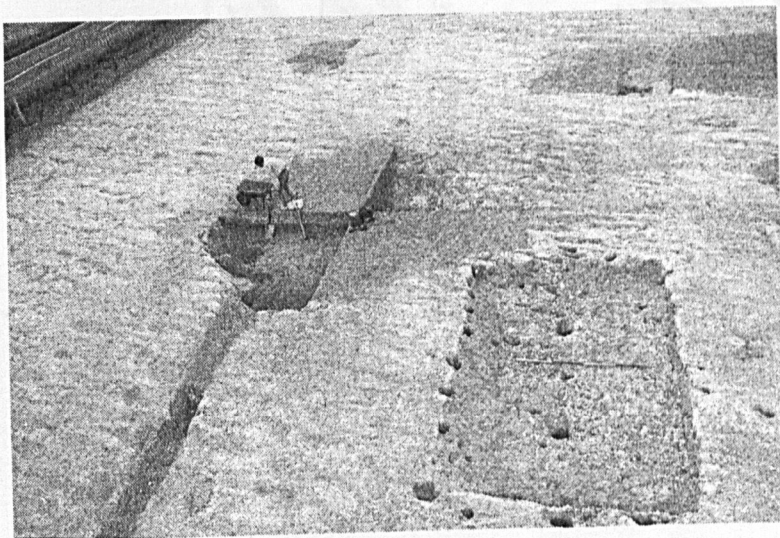


Fig. 3.14 Second-century barbotine cup manufactured in the Rhineland and discovered structurally deposited within the centre of one of the buildings at Monkton (Bennett and Williams 1997, 260).



Fig. 3.15 Plan of two skeletons and pattern-welded swords discovered from a disused farmhouse at Canterbury, c. AD 200 (Bennett et. al. 1982, fig. 10).

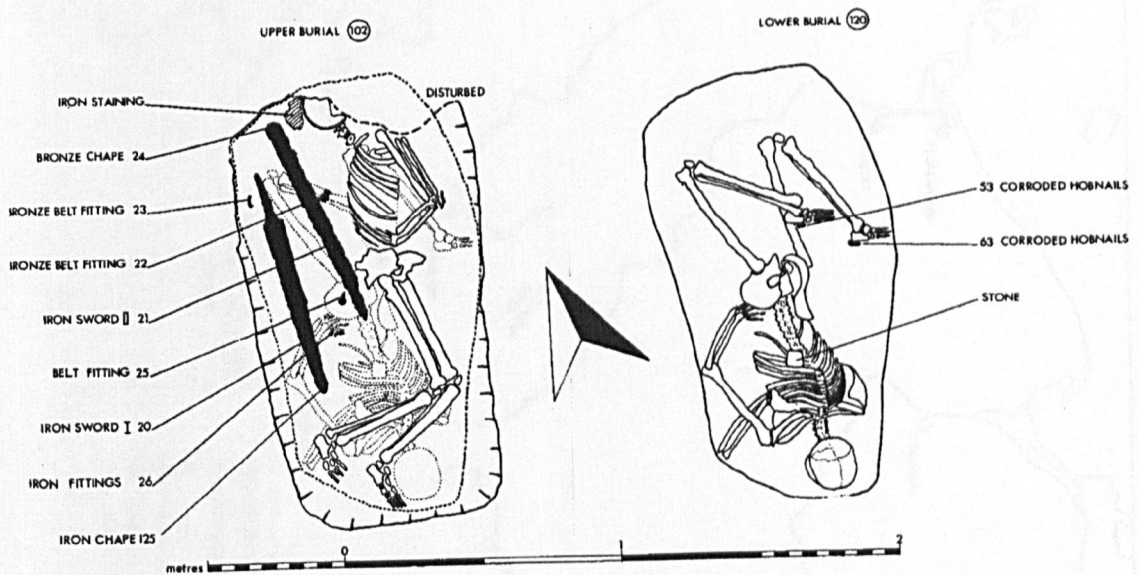








Fig. 4.3 Gravestone in honour of M. Traianus Gumattius, Dodeward, Nijmegen (author's own).



Fig. 4.4 Altar dedicated to Alateivia, Xanten (Rheinisches Amt für Bodendenkmalpflege, Xanten).



Fig. 4.5 Altar to Mars Halamardus, set up by soldier of the Twentieth Legion *Valeria Victrix* (de Vries 1957, plate 12).



Fig. 4.6 Altar discovered at Nijmegen dedicated to the goddess Hurstrga by the decurion of the *municipium Batavorum* (Bloemers et. al. 1981, 89).



Fig. 4.7 Votive altar of Hludana, found at Beetgum, Frisia (Galestin 1997, fig. 6.24, pg. 352).



## Chapter 5

Fig. 5.1 Altar discovered at Vindolanda, possibly dedicated to Magusanus (Birley 2002, fig. 19).



Fig. 5.2a Altar discovered at Vindolanda, dedicated to Vitiris (*Britannia* 1973, 329).



Fig. 5.2b Altar discovered at Old Penrith to Hvetir (*CSIR* I. 6. 189).



Fig. 5.3 Altar at Colijnsplaat, dedicated by 'Tagadianus son of Tagamas' (author's own).



Fig. 5.4 Altar to Coventina by Crotus Germanus, Carrawburgh (Wood 2006, fig. 32).



Fig. 5.5 Tombstone in commemoration of Vilidedius, Rudchester (Museum of Antiquities).



Fig. 5.6 Altar to Fortuna dedicated by Venenus Germanus, found at the bath house next to the fort at Chesters (author's own, *CSIR* I. 6. 9).



Fig. 5.7 Altar discovered at Old Penrith, dedicated to all the deities by Unseni, Fersomeri Burcanius, Arcavius, Vagdavarustus, and Pov.c.arus of the detachment MAVI (Tullie House Museum, Carlisle).

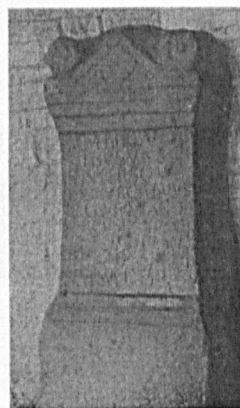


Fig. 5.8 Gravestone set up by Nobilis to his daughter Ahteha (*CSIR* 1.1.66).



## Chapter 6

Fig. 6.1 Gold medallion in commemoration of the recovery of Britain in AD 297 under Constantius Chlorus, discovered from a hoard at Arras (Hartley et. al. 2006, 122).



Fig. 6.2 Distribution of cross-bows (Swift 2000, fig. 12).

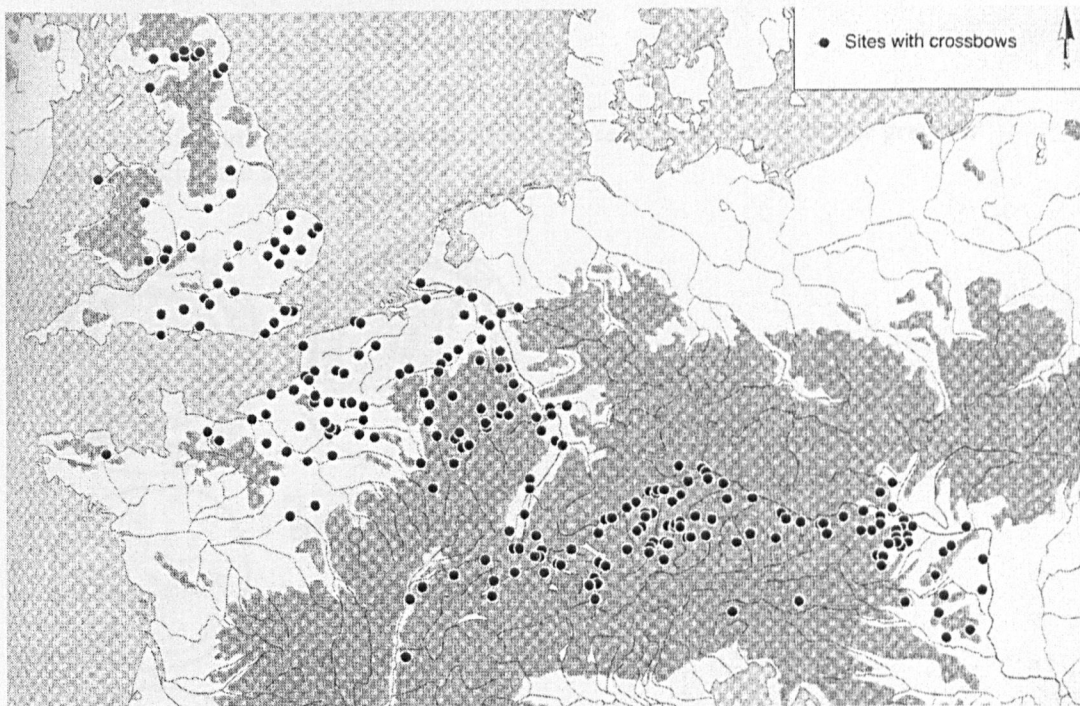


Fig. 6.3 Distribution of Type 2iii cross-bow brooches, thought to have been manufactured in Lower Germany (Swift 2000, fig. 30).

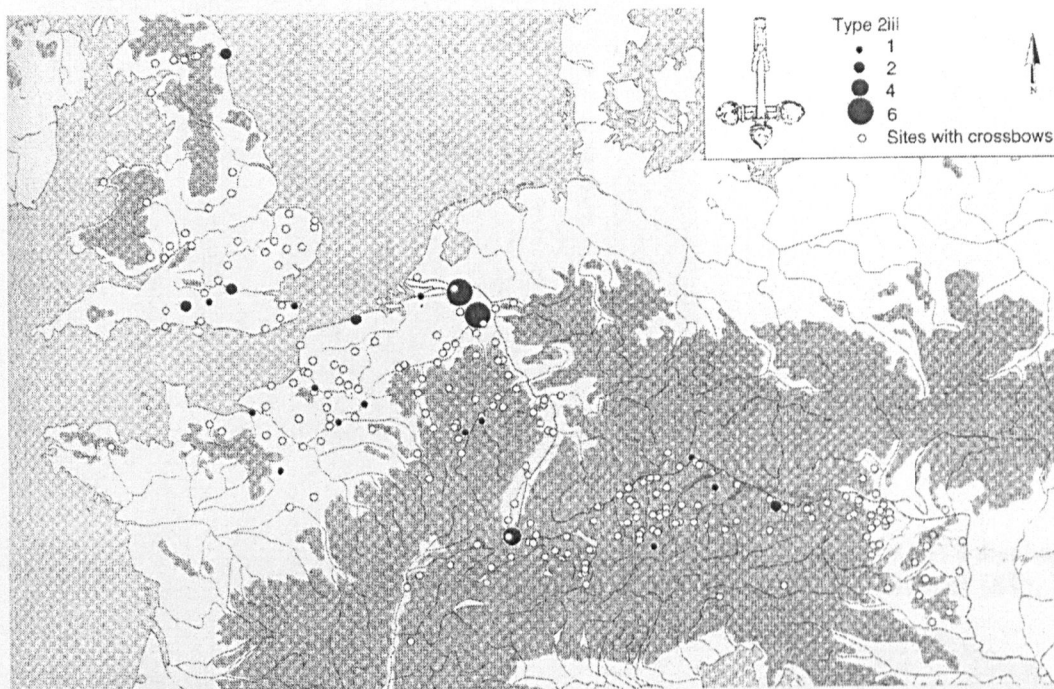


Fig. 6.4 Pair of fourth-century composite brooches recovered from a female grave in Dorchester (Kirk and Leeds 1953, 69).

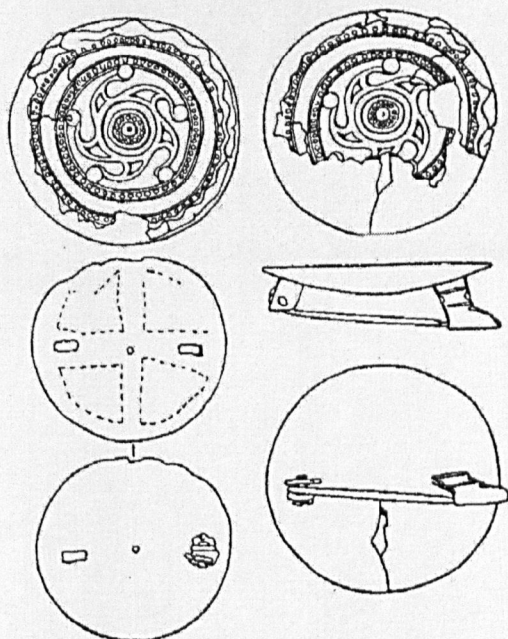




Fig. 6.5 Frisian styled pot recovered from the vicus at Birdoswald (Corbridge Museum).

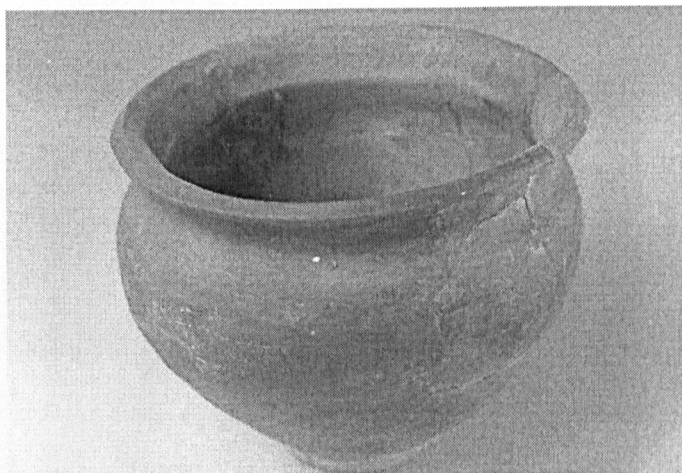


Fig 6.6a (left) & 6.6b (right) Fragmentary altars discovered at Cocker mouth Castle that had been set up by the *cunei Frisionum Aballauensium* on the 19th of October (Hübner 1885, 164).



Fig. 6.7 Altar discovered at Binchester, dedicated by the *cuneus Frisorum Vinouiensium* (RIB 1036).

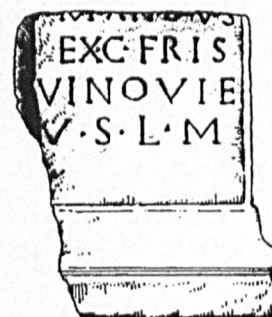


Fig. 6.8 Circular sanctuary excavated at Chapel Hill, Housesteads where three altars were also found (Birley 1962, fig. 2).

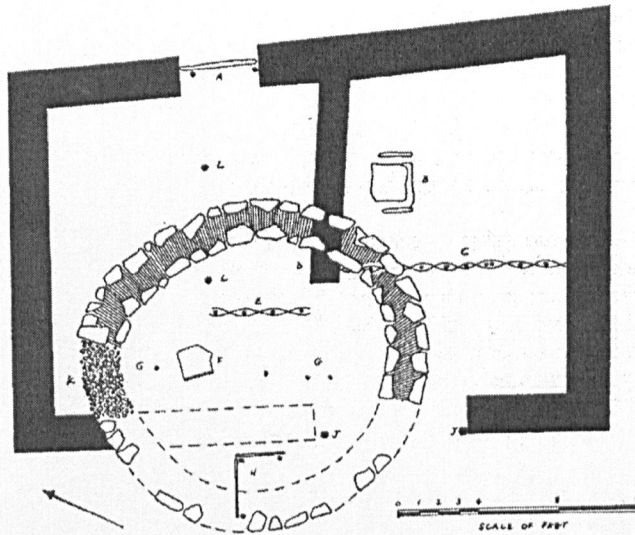


Fig. 6.9 Reconstruction of the entranceway leading into the temple dedicated to Mars Thingsus. One of the altars served as a lintel supporting the circular arch, but the other altar/lintel from this entrance has not been recovered (Clay 2008, fig. 12).



Fig. 6.10 Altar dedicated to Mars, two Alaisiagis and the *numen Augusti* by the *Germani ciues Tuihanti* of the *cunei Frisiorum Ver(couicianorum) Se(ue)r(iani) Alexandriani* (author's own).



Fig. 6.11 Altar dedicated to the two *Alaisiagis Baudihille* and *Friagabis* as well as *the numen Augusti* by the *numerus Hnaudifridus*. Discovered from the circular temple at Chapel Hill, Housesteads (Clay 2007, fig. 14).

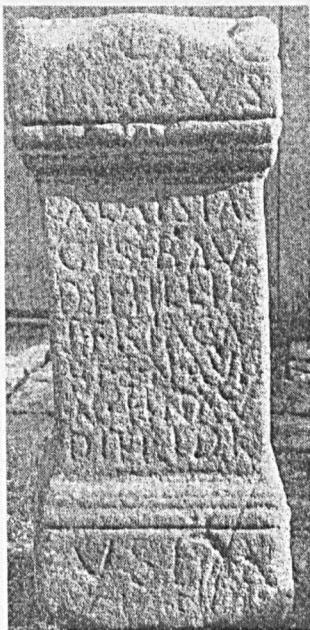


Fig. 6.12 Altar dedicated to Garmangabis by the *vexillationes Sueborum* of Longovicium, a place-name identified with modern Lanchester (Clay 2007, fig. 5).



Fig. 6.13 Altar dedicated to Saitada by the *curia Textoverdi*. Discovered from the outskirts of the fort at Vindolanda at Beltingham churchyard (*CSIR* I. 6. 182).



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