
TRAC Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference

www.trac.org.uk

Paper Information:

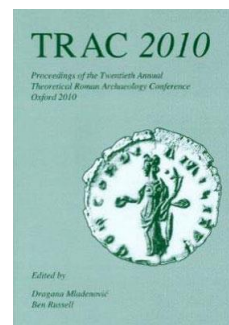
Title: British Emigrants in the Roman Empire:
Complexities and Symbols of Ethnic Identities

Author: Tatiana Ivleva

Pages: 132–153

DOI: http://doi.org/10.16995/TRAC2010_132_153

Publication Date: 14 April 2011



Volume Information:

Mladenović, D. and Russell, B. (eds.) (2011) *TRAC 2010: Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Oxford 2010*. Oxford: Oxbow Books

Copyright and Hardcopy Editions:

The following paper was originally published in print format by Oxbow Books for TRAC. Hard copy editions of this volume may still be available, and can be purchased direct from Oxbow at <http://www.oxbowbooks.com>.

TRAC has now made this paper available as Open Access through an agreement with the publisher. Copyright remains with TRAC and the individual author(s), and all use or quotation of this paper and/or its contents must be acknowledged. This paper was released in digital Open Access format in April 2013.

British Emigrants in the Roman Empire: Complexities and Symbols of Ethnic Identities

Tatiana Ivleva

Introduction

Diaspora and migration studies, especially those with a focus on ethnic identity issues, are popular topics in archaeological research. In recent decades publications have appeared in the UK concerning the presence of migrants of various origins in Roman Britain (Clay 2007; Swan 2009; Eckardt 2010; Leach *et al.* 2010). The theme of the presence of foreigners in the various provinces of the Roman Empire is not new in archaeological and historical research; numerous publications have appeared over the past decades (*e.g.* Fitz 1972; Dietz and Weber 1982; Wierschowski 2001; Kakoschke 2002, 2004; Oltean 2009). These studies are based on the analysis of epigraphic material, which is understandable, considering that studying inscriptions is the first step in obtaining any information regarding the presence of migrants in any given province.

In view of the number of contemporary projects that focus on the presence of foreigners in Roman Britain, the question may well be asked if there is, or has been, any research on the presence of Britons overseas. The answer is negative, apart from an attempt by Romanian archaeologists who investigated the presence of British auxiliary units in Roman Dacia (Marcu 2002–2003) and one publication looking at Britons in the Roman army (Dobson and Mann 1973). This paper attempts to close the gap by looking at British emigrants who voluntarily or forcedly moved overseas in the period of the first to third centuries A.D. It seeks to answer the following questions: is it possible to trace British emigrants, and if so, how did they transmit messages about their origin to others? Instead of focusing solely on the epigraphic evidence, in this paper I explore what the archaeological evidence, in particular the presence of British-made brooches on the Continent, contributes to this debate.

While in the present article the spotlight is on British emigrants, we must also acknowledge the possibility that people from elsewhere might have spent some of their life in Britain before returning to their native lands. Like British emigrants these individuals were ‘migrants’ but in the present article they will be referred to as ‘immigrants’ to distinguish them from British ‘emigrants’, that is native Britons overseas.

Why brooches?

Jundi and Hill (1998: 136) stated that a brooch should be seen as ‘a communicative tool allowing different types of identities to be expressed or created’. Since brooches were worn to be seen (Jundi and Hill 1998: 132) and could send out a varied set of signals, which might relate to status, gender or age, and perhaps even to a foreign origin. These particular characteristics of brooches make them useful tools for determining the self-representation or self-identification of Britons overseas, although it must be taken into account that brooches in themselves are not evidence for ethnicity (as will be discussed below). All in all, brooches are personal items used to secure clothing and this purpose was the main reason why brooches

‘travelled’. Because of this, brooches are in less danger of being regarded as trade items, as opposed to pottery, although a small-scale trade in exotic brooches cannot be ruled out.

There are at least six major British brooch types, with various derivatives, that originated from and were manufactured on the British Isles: the Colchester derivatives (the ‘dolphin’ and ‘Polden Hill’ types), the trumpet type and its various derivatives, headstuds, the dragonesque type, the umbonate type, and the gilded circular or oval brooch with a central setting of coloured glass. British-made brooches were distinctive in their design, decoration and form. The headloop, in particular, is a typical British characteristic. British-made brooches are also distinguishable by their unusual decorative techniques: the acanthus-shaped moulded decoration in the middle of the bow of trumpet brooches (Bayley and Butcher 2004: 160); ‘the eponymous raised stud near the top of the bow’ on headstuds (Bayley and Butcher 2004: 164). The enamelled patterns, lattices, peltas, triangles and curvilinear motifs on the trumpet and headstud brooches are also considered identifiable features of British-made brooches (Bayley and Butcher 2004: 172). The distinctiveness of British-made brooches also lies in their various forms, which appear to be unique to Britain: the ‘dolphin’ shape of Colchester derivatives and ‘Polden Hill’ types, the T-shaped form of the headstuds, and the raised central rosette of the umbonates.

The dating of these brooches presents problems. The total date range when the brooches were in use will always be uncertain (Snape 1993: 6), although ‘there are a few points in the time scale which are fixed by site evidence’ (Butcher 1977: 44). In the present research the dating of the brooches is based on evidence from sites: where the context was known and datable, the relative time span of the brooch’s use and its appearance on the site were established. Where the context was not recorded in a publication, the dating was based on the general knowledge of the occurrence of a type. A number of thoughtful and detailed discussions on this already exist (e.g. Snape 1993; Jundi and Hill 1998; Bayley and Butcher 2004). Determining how long these various brooches were used for is obviously impossible. It should be emphasized, though, that some of the brooches were clearly used longer than others, as is shown by their condition, in particular signs of extensive wear or repairs. Such bias was also taken into account in this research.

Why epigraphy?

Inscriptions have been successfully used in many studies to trace mobility in the provinces of the Empire (e.g. Kakoschke 2002, 2004; Oltean 2009). Inscriptions left by emigrants can indicate the choices they made when stating their origin, the places they settled in, and their reasons for migration overseas. In this paper the questions of origin and the projection of the origin by the emigrants are of major importance.

These inscriptions, however, should not be taken at face value. What was included, and in what form, was not solely determined by a commemorator, but ‘by what was considered appropriate to communicate or to record’ (Bodel 2001: 34). This is clearly visible on epitaphs, which were usually made by the relatives of the deceased (there are, of course, also tombstones commissioned by a person while he or she was still alive): the information was often ‘filtered through the medium by which it is transmitted’ (Bodel 2001: 46). It can be argued that such epigraphic bias determined the relatively low number of the surviving inscriptions on which emigrant Britons and their relatives mentioned their origin. In some cases, (cf. Appendix 1), in the absence of a clear origin indicator on the monument, the onomastic analysis of a person’s

name can suggest the geographical origin of the bearer. It is unclear what made these people hide their origin, but if the same occurs on more than one inscription, this may suggest that it was not the custom to mention one's place of birth. In the British case, the limited adoption of the so-called 'epigraphic habit' can be suggested, with other forms of display being preferred.

Together with inscriptions, military diplomas are used in this paper to determine the ways in which emigrants indicated their origin. While military diplomas are highly standardized, and tend to employ the same lay-out and formulae, it is notable that the soldiers concerned used different ways of expressing their origin, ranging from provincial (Britain) to regional (tribe) and urban (city).

Why a combination of both?

This paper aims to illustrate that the combination of epigraphic and archaeological material in the search for emigrant communities potentially reveals where the migrants settled. The data from two different types of sources, material culture and written text, can be combined and contrasted in order to shed light on the complexities thrown up by the evidence.

For instance, it has been suggested that brooches were sexless (Allason-Jones 1995: 24), making it difficult to investigate the presence of migrant women. Through analysis of the epigraphic sources, however, the presence of female migrants can be detected. A brooch without context does not allow for any conclusions concerning a person's religious belief, status or age. An inscription or military diploma at least often provides these data, adding to them the ethnic origin of the deceased or of a soldier and his wife. Moreover, the occurrence of the British brooches overseas can not only indicate the presence of British emigrants, but also of non-Britons (our immigrants), who, after living in Britain for some years, chose to return home. These returnees were discharged soldiers, veterans, who are known from the evidence of diplomas (Tully 2005: 380). The occurrence of British brooches overseas might indicate the presence of such returning veterans from various communities of which there are no surviving records in the form of military diplomas. After their discharge they returned to their homelands and tribes, possibly bringing back belongings, perhaps as souvenirs, from their time in Britain.

'Material culture is by definition multivocal' (Derks 2009: 241), when various identities, not just ethnicity, are being projected. Through wearing a brooch, an individual may have projected various aspects of his or her identity, which also depended on the circumstances in which the brooch was worn. Epigraphy and military diplomas, on the contrary, are static. They represent an individual at the time of receiving Roman citizenship, making a vow or at the time of death. They are snapshots of the identities individuals wanted to project, in contrast to material culture in general, where such snapshots of identities are extremely rare. When bringing these two types of evidence together, the issues concerning the expression of ethnicity in migrant communities can be looked at from various angles and contrasted to provide a broader and more balanced view.

This paper is structured around three major sections. The first section is concerned with the distribution of British-made brooches overseas. What might have influenced the distribution of brooches; did these objects travel with Britons or other groups of people? The second section is concerned with epigraphic data and what these can tell us about the British emigrant community. Finally, the third section deals with expressions of the British emigrant identity in the light of the results from analysis of the epigraphic and archaeological sources. Before

proceeding to the analysis of the evidence, though, a brief introduction to the dataset is required.

The dataset

A total dataset of 31 epigraphic records and 241 British-made brooches has been compiled, though only particular examples have been selected in this paper to illustrate their interpretive potential. The first group of data involves inscriptions of various kinds, as well as military diplomas, on which 31 persons were identified as Britons (Appendix 1, Fig. 1). On 24 inscriptions the emigrants mention their British origin directly. On six inscriptions and military diplomas the origin of a person was identified through onomastic studies (Raybould and Sims-Williams 2009; Mullen and Russell 2009) or on the basis of religious belief.

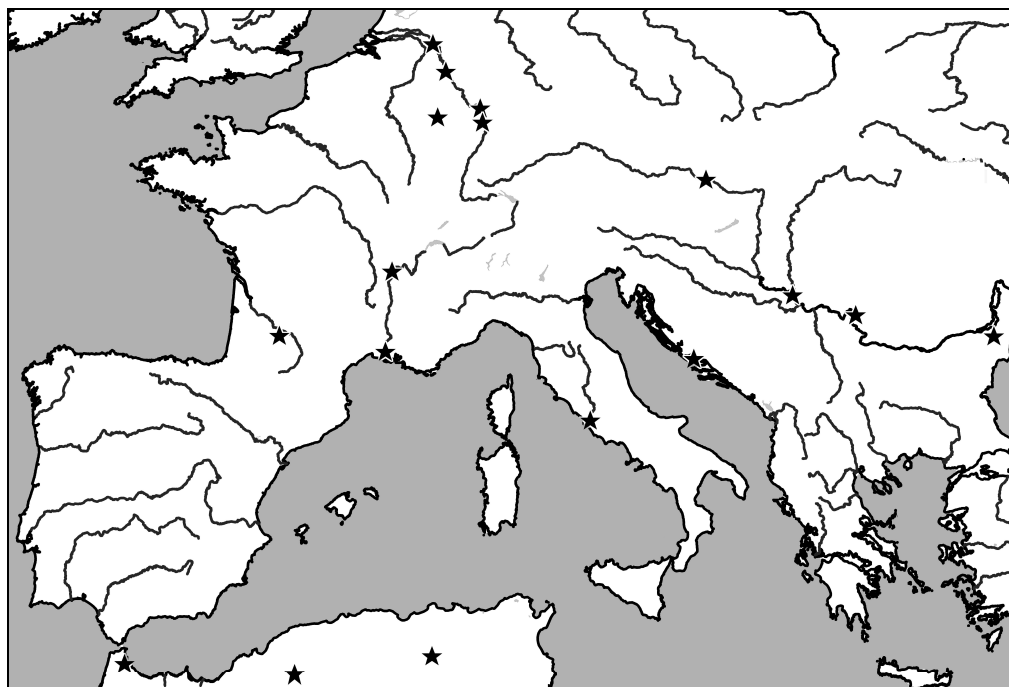


Figure 1: Distribution of the inscriptions mentioning British emigrants (map by author).

The ambiguity of the term *Britto* needs to be pointed out here. A considerable number of people are labelled *Britto* in the inscriptions, the majority of them coming from Roman Spain (Mocsy 1983: 54). Detailed analysis of these inscriptions by the author has shown that the name *Britto* was not an ethnonym, used to denote ethnic origin, but a relatively widespread cognomen. Only in one case, in the inscription from Rome, can we be certain that the individual was of British descent (Appendix 1, no. 13): Flavius Britto was most likely a ‘Briton’ by birth, recruited into the *legio XIV Gemina*, when it was in Britain. The appearance of *Britto* on military diplomas, in the place where the soldier’s origin was recorded, is regarded

here as an indicator of the soldier's ancestry. On the other hand, if it was part of the name, it is regarded as a cognomen and not an origin indicator; these people were not included in Appendix 1. Some inscriptions were dated by means of specific references in the text; others were dated only approximately, on the basis of their linguistic formulae, of which there is a detailed discussion in Holder (1980: 144) and Kakoschke (2002: 21–22).

The second group of data consists of 241 brooches found on 103 sites across the Empire; the provenance of 19 brooches was recorded as unknown (Fig. 2). The initial dataset was compiled by F. Morris (2010: Appendix 6); it comprises 179 brooches from 77 sites across Europe. The brooches are mostly concentrated in the western part of the Roman Empire, with many found in the militarized areas of Germania Inferior and Superior and on civilian sites in Gallia Belgica. Although it would appear that British brooches are rare in the central and eastern European provinces of Noricum, Pannonia, Dalmatia and Dacia, and absent from Moesia Inferior and Superior, this does not mean that British brooches did not reach these regions. The lack of relevant publications and the language barrier have resulted in the low number of database entries regarding the occurrence of British brooches there.

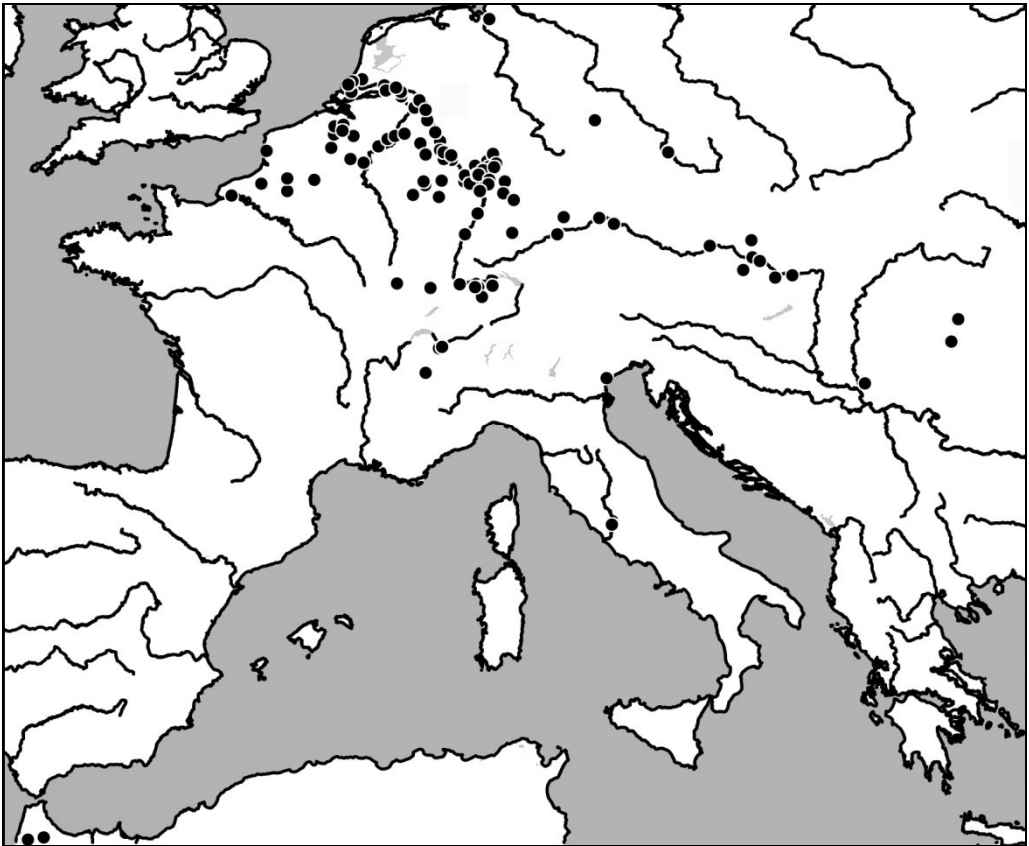


Figure 2: Distribution of British brooches. (Map by the author. Brooches distribution partly after Morris 2010, 86, fig. 4.35 and appendix 6).

Distribution of British-made brooches overseas: patterns and case studies

The first step is to establish if the distribution of brooches was random or not and what might have influenced their distribution. It is clear that on certain sites, brooches were associated with the presence of units raised in Britain. From the epigraphic record we know that:

- Fourteen British auxiliary units were raised from Roman Britain (Marcu 2002–2003: 219–235 updating Spaul 1994: 68–73; 2000: 189–204).
- Three detachments were raised from legions stationed in Britain and then sent overseas, to Germania Inferior (Brunsting and Steures 1995), Mauretania Tingitana (*IAM* 02-02-363; 364), and Germania Superior; this last example was a detachment of the *legio IX Hispana* taken from the Agricolan army in Britain and transferred overseas for participation in the Chattian wars of A.D. 83–85 (Schönberger 1969: 158).
- British *numeri* units are also known from inscriptions from the Odenwald-Neckar limes in Germany, although the exact number is still disputed (Reuter 1999).

Out of 103 sites where British-made brooches were found, 17 are sites where British units were present (Table 1).

Table 1: Sites directly associated with the presence of units raised in Britain. Note: the dating of the brooches found corresponds to the dates when the units were garrisoned at the forts.

British unit	Sites (context of the finds specified when known)
<i>Vexillatio Britannica</i> (for the discussion, see below; on tile stamps from Nijmegen see Brunsting and Steures 1995)	Nijmegen (burial and legionary fortress), Zetten (native settlement), Tiel-Passewaaij (burial), roadside grave next to Cuijk, all in the Netherlands
<i>Cohors VI Brittonum</i> (for the discussion, see below)	Naaldwijk and Spijkenisse (native settlement), both in The Netherlands
British <i>numeri</i> units (for the discussion, see below; Reuter 1999)	Hesselbach, Köngen, Obernburg, Saalburg (fort), Stockstadt, Zugmantel, all in Germany
<i>Cohors I Britannica</i> (<i>AE</i> 1929, 1; <i>AE</i> 1983, 862) and <i>cohors II Britannorum</i> (<i>AE</i> 1990, 851).	Caseiu (fort), Romania
<i>Cohors I Aurelia Brittonum</i> (<i>CIL</i> III 14485a)	Bumbesti (vicus of a fort), Romania
<i>Ala I Britannica</i> (<i>AE</i> 1940, 5) and <i>cohors I Britannica</i> (Szamado and Borhy 2003: 78)	Szóny and Győr, both in Hungary
<i>Cohors I Aelia Brittonum</i> (known from various tile stamps; Gassner <i>et al.</i> 2000: 385–386)	Mautern (vicus of a fort), Austria

In Germania Superior, on the Odenwald-Neckar limes, four British brooches were found on sites that were occupied by British *numeri* units: late first-century types were found at Obernburg and Hesselbach, where the units were based *c.* A.D. 100 (Reuter 1999: 456, 458–459); two second-century types were found at Köngen and Stockstadt where the epigraphic record confirms the presence of British *numeri* in the mid-second century (Reuter 1999: 449; *CIL* XIII 6629, 6642). The forts at Saalburg and Zugmantel were occupied by a British unit,

attested on a millstone found in a barracks building of Saalburg fort. Böhme (1970: 5–7) argues that this units may well have been the British detachment of the *legio IX Hispana*, mentioned above, which participated in the Chattian wars.

It must be noted as well that some brooches were not found directly on the site where the British units were stationed, but at a distance of *c.* 10 to 20 km. The presence of the late first-century types from sites around the legionary fortress at Nijmegen, such as Zetten, Tiel-Passewaaij and in a roadside grave outside Cuijk, may indicate contacts between British soldiers and the local population. The same idea can be applied to civilian sites such as Naaldwijk and Spijkenisse, situated in the proximity of the military settlement of Ockenburg, where the *cohors VI Brittonum* was probably stationed (Waasdorp 1999: 172).

Therefore, there may be a relationship between the presence of units raised in Britain and the location of British brooches overseas. Clearly the occurrence of British-made brooches on 17 sites out of 103 is a relatively small percentage. Considering the number of units raised from Britain, some of which initially consisted completely of Britons (Dobson and Mann 1973: 198, 199), it is likely that the newly recruited soldiers were wearing locally produced brooches during their transfer. There are three possible explanations for the absence of British-made brooches on other sites where British units are known to have been stationed:

- a) The small number of published archaeological reports containing information on brooches.
- b) A preference was given to local recruitment once the unit, raised originally in Britain, was posted overseas (Dobson and Mann 1973: 205); this would account for the low occurrence overseas of British brooches that began to be produced in the mid-second and third centuries.
- c) The ‘sex’ of the brooches: brooches with headloops could have been worn by females (Croom 2004: 294), who did not follow their military partners to their overseas postings.

Considering the possible relationship between the location of British brooches and the occurrence of British units, it can be suggested that brooches found on military and civilian sites, where epigraphic evidence either attests to the presence of Britons from non-British units or is completely silent about their presence, may also indicate sites where British recruits or civilians may have settled. To test this hypothesis, the data were divided into two groups: sites with British brooches where epigraphy attests the presence of Britons who did not serve in British units, and sites with British brooches where the epigraphic record does not provide evidence for British emigrants.

In search of Britons in non-British units: the Xanten and Cologne case studies

In Cologne, 15 British-made brooches and three inscriptions of Britons serving in two different auxiliary units and the fleet were found (Appendix 1, nos. 1, 2 and 3). The auxiliary units, those of the *cohors III Breucorum* and the *cohors VI Inguenorum* were never garrisoned in Cologne, at least according to the epigraphic record (Spaul 2000: 34, 321). It has been suggested elsewhere (*AE* 2003, 1218 note on p. 395) that Catunectus (Appendix 1, no. 1), a member of the *cohors III Breucorum*, was in Cologne for some administrative or private business. The presence of a ‘British citizen’ (Appendix 1, no. 2) in a unit of Roman citizens, the *cohors VI Inguenorum*, who had joined voluntarily suggests that he could have been just a solitary person of British origin. The third British soldier from the Dumnonians served in the

German fleet (Appendix 1, no. 3). It has been suggested that the majority of the soldiers serving in this fleet after the Batavian revolt came from different provinces of the Roman Empire, including Britain (Konen 2000: 332–333). It is possible, therefore, that there were more recruits from British tribes. The fleet garrison was stationed at Alteburg, where three Romano-British brooches were found. Perhaps it was British recruits in the German fleet, and not British soldiers from two other auxiliary units, who contributed to the presence of British-made brooches in Cologne.

One British brooch datable to the Antonine period was reported from Xanten. Moreover, two dedications to British Mother Goddesses, *Matris Brittae*, both made by soldiers of the *legio XXX Ulpia*, were found there as well (Appendix 1, nos. 21 and 22). The origin of the legionaries is not given on the votive inscriptions, but they may well have been Britons. The *legio XXX Ulpia* never served in Britain and from A.D. 122 was permanently stationed at Xanten (Farnum 2005: 25). If they were not Britons or if they served in Britain for a short period only, it seems unlikely that they would dedicate an inscription to the Mother Goddesses of this province. The cult of the British mother Goddesses, the personifications of Britannia, has been considered by Birley (1986: 66–67) to be restricted to Britain. Therefore, both legionaries were probably recruits from Britain who chose to serve in an overseas legionary unit in the mid-second century, and they were probably not the only ones. More British volunteers are known to have served in other legions overseas (Appendix 1, nos. 13, 16, 27 and 29).

These two case studies illustrate that it is possible to connect the occurrence of British brooches with the presence of Britons serving in non-British units. On a further 11 sites where the same situation applies, the connection was also established through the combination of archaeological and epigraphic data. The brooch at Wijk bij Duurstede, in the Netherlands, might well be connected to the presence of the *Ala I Thracum* in this fort following the unit's redeployment from Britain (Spaul 1994: 221–222). A detachment of the *legio IX Hispana* might have been present at various forts and sites in the Wetterau-Taunus region during the Chatti wars, where British brooches have been found (at Bingen, Heddernheim, Heldenbergen in der Wetterau, Hofheim, Mainz, Mainz-Weissenau, Praunheim, and Wiesbaden, all in Germany). The brooches at Bickenbach and Darmstadt, both in Germany, were found on sites located close to the transportation road to the Odenwald-Neckar frontier (Geyer *et al.* 1977).

Sites with British brooches but no epigraphic data documenting the presence of Britons

There are 73 sites where British-made brooches were recorded but where there is no epigraphic evidence that confirms the presence of either British auxiliary units or British emigrants. Detailed analysis, however, has shown that there is evidence for the presence of British 'immigrants', *i.e.* those who lived on the British Isles for some time but who were not native to the province and who then returned home. This hypothesis is considered to be plausible on the basis of the occurrence of British brooches on 17 sites (Table 2).

Table 2: Sites with British brooches and with evidence for returning veterans whose units were stationed in Britain. Note: the dating of the brooches corresponds to the dates when those troops were garrisoned in Britain

Returning veterans	Site (context of finds specified when known)
Tungrians	Heerleen, Maastricht, both in The Netherlands; Fallais (cemetery), Flavion (cemetery), Thuin (burial), Tongeren, all in Belgium
Batavians	Oosterhout-van Boetzelaerstraat, reg. Nijmegen, The Netherlands
Nervians	Blicquy (burial), Hofstade (sanctuary), Schaerbeek (burial), Velzeke (sanctuary), all in Belgium
Menapians	Destelbergen (cemetery), Waasmunster, both in Belgium
Vangiones	Alzey, Bad-Kreuznach, Flonheim, Worms (burial), all in Germany

From various military diplomas and inscriptions it is known that the *cohors I Vangionum* (Jarrett 1994: 50; Spaul 2000: 249–251) and the *cohors I Menapiorum* (Jarrett 1994: 62; Spaul 2000: 185) were posted in Britain. Five Nervian (Jarrett 1994: 63–64; Spaul 2000: 217–224) and two Tungrian (Jarrett 1994: 48–50; Spaul 2000: 225–230) cohorts are known to have been stationed at forts along Hadrian's Wall and the Antonine Wall. The many late first-century British-made brooches on civilian sites around Nijmegen, discussed above, as well as the mid-second century brooches on sites such as Tiel-Passewaaij and Oosterhout-van Boetzelaerstraat, could have been brought by returning veterans of Batavian origin. Four Batavian cohorts are also known of being part of the army in Britain (Jarrett 1994: 54–56; Spaul 2000: 209–216). Therefore, it seems possible that, after 25 years of service, soldiers returning to their homelands may have brought back brooches on their clothes from the provinces where their units were garrisoned.

On 56 other sites the connection is not clear, although some propositions can be made. The occurrence of British brooches in the Mayen-Koblenz region (at Eich, Kobern, Mayen and Weissenthurm (Table 3)) and at Rheinabern may indicate the presence of British craftsmen or Continental potters returning from Britain. Mayen was the regional craft centre (Cüppers 1990: 471), while Weissenthurm and Rheinabern were regional (Cüppers 1990: 662) and inter-provincial pottery production centres respectively. Eight British brooches from sites in northern France, such as Etaples, Fesque, Lillebonne, Vendeuil-Caply and Vermand, datable to the mid to late first century, could have arrived with returning legionaries who participated in the invasion of Britain in A.D. 43, or with traders 'moving between Belgic Gaul and eastern England from the Augustan period onwards' (Gruel and Haselgrove 2007: 258).

In Table 3, various suggestions by the author are summarized regarding the occurrence of British brooches on sites where either British units are attested epigraphically, but in a period which does not correspond to that when the brooches were being used, or where there is no epigraphic evidence for a British presence. It must be pointed out that these are not definitive. The majority of these suggestions are based on archaeological evidence, although at the time of writing of this paper this evidence was not considered robust enough to be presented here.

Table 3: Find-spots of British brooches with epigraphic evidence for the presence of British units, but no chronological correspondence, and without epigraphic evidence of the presence of British units or British emigrants

Possible connection	Sites (context of finds specified when known)
Soldiers from <i>cohortes II Britannorum</i> and <i>VI Brittonum</i>	Alphen aan de Rijn (on the river Rhine, directly opposite the fort), The Netherlands
British traders or traders with Britain	Voorburg (harbour), The Netherlands
Detachments of British legions and auxiliary units transferred for participation in Marcomannic wars, A.D. 166–180	Drösing (native settlement), Austria; Ečka ('German' cemetery), Serbia
Returning veterans: Treverans	Dalheim, Luxembourg; Ahrweiler (villa), Blankenheim, Tholey, Trier (burial and sanctuary), Waldorf, all in Germany
Returning veterans: North Africans	Volubilis, Thamusida (in one of the city's insulae), both Morocco
Returning veterans	Nideggen, Pont (burial), both in Germany
Returning legionaries or traders	Lillebonne (in one of the city's insulae), Etaples (native settlement), Fesque (sanctuary), Vendeuil-Caply (sanctuary), Vermand (sanctuary), all in France
British legionaries	Bonn (legionary fortress) and Neuss, both in Germany; Bad Deutsch-Alteburg, Austria; Oberwinterhur (in one of the city's insulae), Windisch, both in Switzerland
British legionaries at Strasbourg	Diersheim (cemetery, but not found in a grave), Germany
British craftsmen or craftsmen returning from Britain	Eich, Kobern, Mayen (burial), Rheinzabern (burial), Weissenthurm, all in Germany
Britons in Rome as <i>equites singularis Augusti</i> (Appendix 1, nos. 18, 20 and 24)	Morlupo (coaching station), Italy
Unknown	Aime (in one of the city's insulae), Amiens, Mandeuve, Seveux, all in France; Burghöfe, Loxstedt (burial), Moers-Asberg, Möhn (sanctuary), Munzenberg (villa), Osterburken, Regensburg (burial), Straubing (fort and vicus), Wederath (burial), Weissenburg (bath house of the fort), Weissenfels (burial), all in Germany; Vrbice (burial), Czech Republic; Augst (in one of the city's insulae), Baden, Lunnern, Martigny (in one of the city's insulae), Saxon, all in Switzerland; Schützen am Gebirge, Austria; Rusovče (burial), Slovakia; Venice, Italy.

Conclusions regarding the archaeological data

For 47 sites the connection referred to above can be established, as opposed to 56 sites where the connection appears to be tenuous and not based on the epigraphic record. While this 45 percent strike-rate does not mean there is a pattern, it can be considered an indication that some British objects arrived overseas with people coming from Britain. This conclusion is not new as Swift (2000: 208; 2010: 35–36, with regard to fourth century objects) and Megaw and Megaw (2001: 57) proposed the same. In this paper, however, light has been shed on how these small British objects reached their overseas destinations. The distribution patterns of British-made brooches suggest how they may have made their way there:

- a) With recruits of British auxiliary units (Table 1).
- b) With possible British recruits serving in legionary and auxiliary forces of a different ethnic origin and in the German fleet.
- c) With veterans who, after discharge, returned home from Britain (Table 2).

This conclusion also considers that the occurrence of British brooches overseas ‘should not be taken at face value in every case. Their distribution may not always reflect straightforward determinants such as trade, but may stem from more complex circumstances’ (Swan 2009: 90, who reaches this same conclusion through an examination of the pottery data).

Epigraphic analysis

Epigraphic sources, albeit in very small numbers, also allow us to determine how the emigrants perceived the land they left: was there a sense of lingering attachment, or was their ancestral land forgotten once they had emigrated?

In total there are 31 inscriptions and military diplomas, on 24 of which a person, or in the case of funerary monuments his or her relatives, state a British origin (Appendix 1). On Figure 3 these inscriptions and military diplomas are divided by century in order to determine any changes in the stating of origin. Four inscriptions can be dated to the late first century. On three, the heirs indicated the tribal origin of the deceased and in two cases (*cives Brittones* and *cives Dumnonius*), relatives of the deceased expressed their origin through a combination of tribal and national origin, and by declaring their Roman citizenship. In second-century inscriptions and diplomas, another pattern is apparent. While ten people still continued to name as their place of origin either a British city or tribe, nine preferred to identify themselves by naming their origin as *natione Britto/Britannicianus* (five cases) or simply stating their origin on military diplomas as *Britto* (four cases). The evidence from the third-century inscriptions is too low to be considered fully. By trying to understand the thinking and practice behind these choices, it may indeed be possible to examine aspects of emigrant identity. The material available to us, albeit in small numbers, shows a considerable degree of variation in naming origin. In particular, the shift from tribal to national expression of identity between the first and second century A.D. is possibly significant.

It could be argued that *natione Britto* was used by second-generation emigrants, those who were not born in Britain but whose parents belonged to one of the British tribes. This leads to the further consideration that having parents who were members of a certain tribe did not necessarily make you a member of the same tribe if you yourself were born overseas (*contra* Derks 2009: 249). Derks (2009: 256) notes that ethnic origin in the Roman Empire was hereditary and illustrates this by means of an epitaph erected by a Batavian to his son, who was

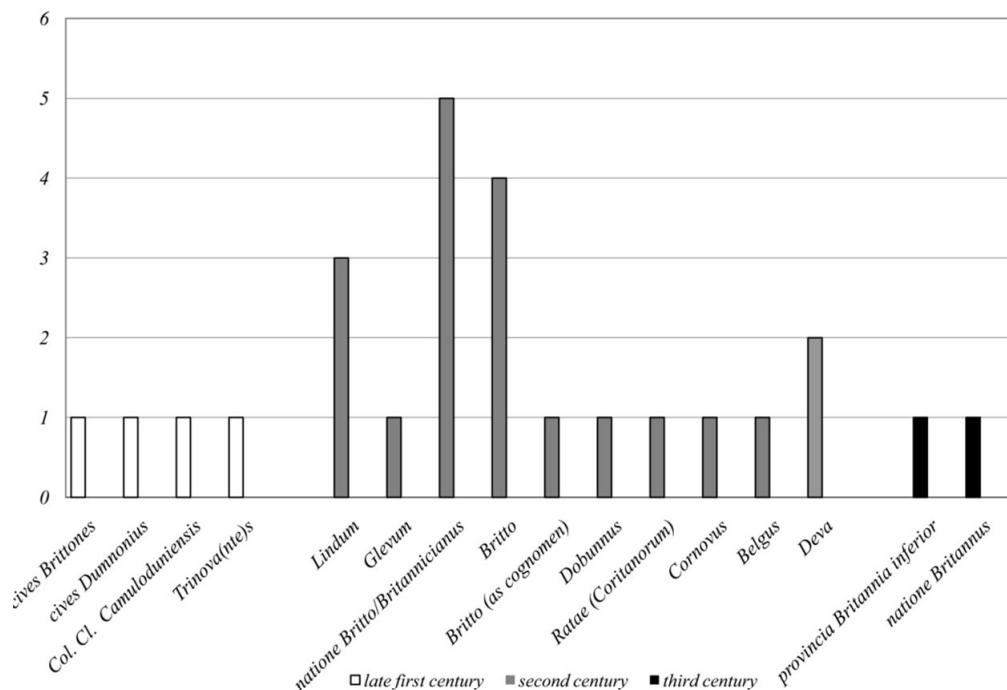


Figure 3: Naming of the origin on the inscriptions and military diplomas, by century.

most likely born at Cnidus in Asia Minor but was of *natio Britav(u)s* (CIL III 14403). While Derks (2009: 257) suggests that *natio* ‘denotes a tribal affiliation adopted through birth’, extending this to the notion that children not born on Batavian soil were still Batavians by descent (2009: 249, note 43), in the British case this does not seem to be entirely true. *Britto* does not designate a tribe; the term “*Brittonnes*” was a Roman construct denoting all the inhabitants of the Roman province of Britannia. There were ‘no such social groups as “Britons”, the peoples were an assortment of tribes’ (Mattingly 2004: 10). One may ask what prompted some Britons to denote their tribal affiliation, and others the affiliation given to them by the Romans? It is likely that the label *natio Brittones* was ‘applied to [and by] diverse individuals who lacked a clear sense of group identity’ (Mattingly 2004: 10). By using the Roman-imposed identification of the inhabitants of Britain, the term *Brittones* became the ethnic label for the second-generation emigrants, in the absence of an pre-existing one.

The situation can be compared with that of modern-day emigrants (Cohen 1997; van Hear 1998). First-generation emigrants often refer to the city or village or region where they were born, while second-generation emigrants name the country of origin of their parents, to designate their links with their ancestors. Probably the same situation can be observed on an inscription from Rome, on which the individual commemorated was identified as ‘*natio Dacisca regione Serdica nato*’: he is Dacian by origin, born in the region of Serdica, in Moesia Inferior (CIL VI 2605).

In the third century and later, the trend shifted the other way: immigrants preferred to name their province instead of tribe or city. The total disappearance of the tribal affiliation in favour

of a provincial one is notable. Following up on Derks's (2009: 269) conclusion regarding the similar situation on inscriptions set up from by Ubians and Baetasians, this situation can be explained as a result of the integration 'into a new inclusive identity group', which consisted of people with Roman citizenship, who broke the ties with their tribes.

Conclusions regarding the epigraphic data

The number of surviving inscriptions and military diplomas on which Britons directly mention their origin is low in comparison with other ethnic groups: there are 150 cases of Dacians abroad (Oltean 2009: 96) and 174 cases of German emigration from both Germanic provinces are known (Kakoschke 2004: 198). Our epigraphic data provide evidence for only 31 cases of emigration from Britain.

Based on the evidence discussed it is suggested that, once emigrated, these 31 people were still mentally connected with the province of their birth. As has been proposed, even in the second century there may have been cases of second-generation emigrants who emphasized their British ancestry by stating their origin as *natione Britto*. Although *Britto/Britannicianus* are Roman constructs with little self-descriptive value, it was adopted by the emigrants in order to distinguish themselves from other communities. Unfortunately, due to the small number of surviving inscriptions and diplomas, it is unknown how widespread this phenomenon was. At any rate, for at least nine people this name became a symbol of their shared ancestry.

Symbols and ethnicity: some theoretical considerations

The results from the analysis of archaeological and epigraphic data allow for discussion of theoretical issues regarding the expression of ethnic identities of emigrants by means of written texts and dress accessories. While the relationship between archaeology and ethnicity is not an easy one (Grahame 2001: 159–160), this paper takes a more positive view on this subject, suggesting that in migrant communities, material culture is one of the means used to project ethnic origin (Swan 2009: 90–91).

An individual has many identities, only one of which is ethnic. Ethnicity itself has different 'faces', which could have been based on status or age rather than origin, and could be constructed, manipulated or/and multi-layered (Jones 1997; Derks 2009: 241). This issue of multiple ethnic identities is even more profoundly expressed in migrant communities where the construction of identities goes through identity stress when new forms of identification are constructed and manipulated (Oltean 2009: 92–93).

Central to this discussion is the following question: how can one study the multiple ethnic identities of a migrant using archaeological evidence considering that the material culture is also multivocal? It has been proposed that 'getting at ethnicity through archaeology is to study social practices that determine 'shared ways of doing things'' (Antonaccio 2010: 51, note 10). If migrants behave similarly, wear the same dresses, and continue to worship the same gods as at home, then it can be argued that one of their ethnicities, in our case their ancestor-based one, can be determined through such shared communal ways 'of doing things'.

This paper has shown that it is possible to find some connections between the distribution of British-made and the distribution of individuals associated in some way with Britain. This poses the question whether it is possible to distinguish between individuals who had only a passing connection with Britain and those who were most likely British. One approach taken

was to look at the evidence on a site-by-site basis. This allowed a distinction to be drawn between sites with high and low potential for a British presence. Examples of the former are 25 sites where British auxiliary units are attested epigraphically; examples of the latter are 17 sites with returning veterans, although it must be noted that returning veterans could have brought British wives with them, which will be discussed later.

A further step is to note, whenever possible, the context in which a particular brooch was found (Fig. 4). On 25 sites where British troops were attested the context is known for at least 32 brooches. A total of 17 brooches were found inside forts; six brooches were located in vici areas in the proximity of Roman forts; five in the cemeteries in the proximity of forts; three in the civilian part of the legionary fortress; while one brooch appears to be an accidental loss, since it was found on the site of a Roman bridge. Of the 17 sites where returning veterans were attested, at least seven (Table 2) yielded ten brooches found in the cemeteries, of which seven were reported as had been found in the graves.

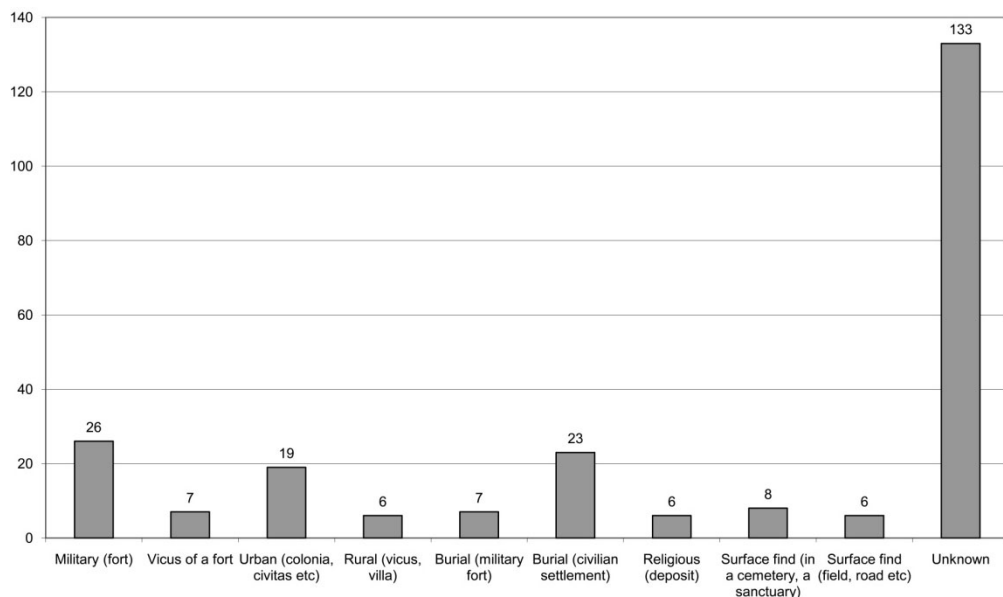


Figure 4: Context of all British brooches found overseas.

Clearly it is in some ways possible to correlate the context in which the brooches were found with the groups of people who may have brought these objects to the sites. The majority of the brooches reported from forts and the adjusted vici were plausibly brought by soldiers serving in the British auxiliary units. There are also indications that returning veterans included foreign material in their own social practices, such as including them in their grave as exotic objects. This also allows a relatively clear distinction to be made between sites with high and low potential for evidence for a British presence, *i.e.* military as opposed to civilian, although a British presence on civilian sites should not be ruled out.

Analysis of the epigraphic record has suggested that British ethnic self-awareness survived as far down the line as second-generation emigrants. The presence of late first-century brooch

types in late second-century contexts, by which time the type had ceased to be produced, may indicate that these brooches were valuable heirlooms. Out of 241 brooches, three were found in such contexts: a headstud type in the late second-century grave at Pont (Cüppers 1962: 348) and a pair of headstuds in the contemporary grave at Blicquy (De Laet *et al.* 1972: 145). This type was in production until the Hadrianic period and in use until shortly after A.D. 135 (Snape 1993: 14). The sex of the deceased was not determined by the excavators, making it difficult to fully consider to whom these brooches might have belonged: a man or a woman. Both sites appear to be without any epigraphic record connecting them with British emigrants. It has been pointed out that the occurrence of matching pairs of brooches, in some cases connected by a chain, indicates the presence of women (Johns 1996: 149; Croom 2004: 294). British types, with headloops, are thought to have been worn by females (Croom 2004: 294) and so the occurrence of these types overseas, especially in pairs and/or with chains, could indicate the presence of British emigrant women. In contrast, Allason-Jones has argued (1995: 24) that brooches were 'sexless' and could have been worn either by males or females. Although it is not the aim of this paper to discuss gender issues, the existing association of brooches with chains with women must be taken into account. For instance, in the grave at Worms a pair of trumpet brooches with a chain was found, and scientific analysis of the skeleton demonstrated it was female (Grünwald 1990: 20, 118–120, grave 11).

Epigraphically, British emigrant women are attested on two inscriptions (Appendix 1, wives of nos. 13 and 29). Catonia Baudia and Lollia Bodicca followed their partners overseas, so it is possible that more women did the same. The occurrence of female-associated brooches, *i.e.* brooches in pairs or with chains, is attested at Blicquy, Worms, Schaerbeek, Nijmegen and Trier. The author is only aware of one pair of headstud brooches found in the proximity of a fort: in the vicus of Heldenbergen in der Wetterau. It is therefore possible that these brooches were brought there on clothes worn by British women who followed their partners overseas, be it soldiers of different ethnic origins or soldiers in British units.

The notion that British emigrants, whether male or female, continued to wear their British-made brooches overseas is supported by the examples mentioned earlier, though whether by practical necessity or as a result of ethnic consciousness is a point of discussion. One of the limitations of using brooches to understand ethnic consciousness is that wearing a British brooch does not make one British. Considering that ethnicity is also a situational construct, brooches in themselves are not evidence of ethnicity. Through wearing a British brooch, other identities rather than ethnicity could have been projected: age, gender or status. Brooches could have been valued by migrants not so much for their ethnic associations as for their association with luxury and exoticness, with the past (for veterans who served in Britain) or with gender. Since the brooches discussed here were found overseas, *i.e.* not in the province of their manufacture, the meaning and the various identities ascribed to them will be different in the other context, in other provinces, in other communities (Swift 2003: 56). Since British brooches were common dress accessories in Britain, it is likely that the inhabitants regarded them as ordinary, everyday objects, while overseas these objects would take on a new meaning. As we saw above, the assumption that brooches were used as symbols to deliberately emphasize ethnic origin can be contested. However, it must be stressed that here we are dealing with an emigrant community dispersed across diverse groups. Any communities formed across diverse groups are 'seen as being created, understood and reinforced by means of symbolism' (Crowley 2009: 118). In some migrant communities the usage of symbolism is even stronger and more articulated (Sheffer 2005: 363–365). It can be suggested that, since they were British products, brooches were symbols that stood for *Britannia*. Through wearing it, different

messages could have been sent by the owner, while the ‘Britishness’ of the brooches could ‘resonate’ together with all the former meanings. Messages could range from ‘I served as a soldier in Britain’ or ‘I travelled to Britain and returned safely’ to ‘I am a Briton’. Different meanings are emphasized in each case, but Britain is present in all. This resonance of recontextualized objects was called by Antonaccio (2010: 35) ‘material ethnicity’, where the objects retained particular meaning for the users. In the present case it could have been ethnic resonance, but other meanings could have been important for the owner as well. The material ethnicity theory, therefore, suggest that British brooches could have been used by British emigrants as indicators of their shared ancestry or by immigrants to indicate their shared experience as soldiers in Britain. Access to British-made objects by people not native to the province may or may not have triggered the desire ‘to do like the British do’. In the first case, this relates to the issue of looking ‘through’ ethnicity as one aspect of identity. An individual might wear a brooch in the same manner as in Britain, but this does not make this person British. In the second case, where brooches are valued for their luxury or exotic associations, British brooches could have become symbols of status, while still being associated with Britishness, *i.e.* foreign-ness.

At the beginning of this section it was argued that ethnic behaviour in an emigrant community can be determined by means of archaeology through analysis of the ‘shared ways of doing things’. It can be further suggested that through wearing a British brooch, naming their tribal or national origin on inscriptions and military diplomas and erecting votive monuments to their ancestor Goddesses, some British emigrants did indeed do things in a way that was similar to that of their communities back home. Were these actions deliberate, reinforced by living in a different society, or not? Rothe (2009: 79) notes that the move to a new territory, in her case the transfer of Ubians, ‘appears to have engendered a desire for some degree of cultural continuity among part of the population’. Emigration overseas could have triggered in some Britons a desire to dress in the same way as their ancestors, reinforcing a desire to express the differences between them and the host population. In general, it has been suggested here that part of the emigrants’ multi-layered ethnicities can be detected through ‘ethnic resonance’ in material culture and epigraphy. Therefore, the existence of a British emigrant ethnic identity, and its projection in material culture through the wearing of a British brooch, can be considered a plausible possibility.

Conclusion: complexities and symbols of ethnic identities

This paper is concerned with the migrant community, a community that uses different forms of symbolism to reinforce its sense of being different from the host society. British emigrants are no different from any other emigrants in their symbolic choices. It has been noted by Oltean (2009: 94–95) that an increase in the demonstration of one’s origin is particularly noticeable in emigrant communities. This is supported by the epigraphic evidence, which shows that some Britons who emigrated were keen to make their ethnic origin explicit. The Roman construct *Britonnes* was adopted by emigrants as a symbol to express their origin. The epigraphic record indicates that ethnic consciousness existed in British emigrants, although there is no conclusive evidence that this was a widespread phenomenon.

For most British migrants, wearing a British-made brooch would be a necessary and obvious thing to do, since it was brought as part of their personal possessions. This makes it possible to use British brooches as tools in the search for British migrants, although the

limitations outlined always need to be taken into account. While in some of the cases discussed here the occurrence of British brooches overseas suggests the presence of British emigrants, it could also indicate the presence of people who immigrated to and later returned from Britain to their homelands. It must also be emphasized that not every emigrant would have felt it necessary to state their British identity. As for those emigrants who did choose to state their origin, it has been suggested here that while by wearing a British brooch some British emigrants would reinforce their ‘Britishness’, other identities and messages could have been projected as well. Although possible interpretations as to the meanings behind these messages and symbols are open to debate, the validity of using material culture (cautiously and critically) in the interpretation of ethnic origin has been demonstrated, since some emigrants, in certain situational contexts, may have used it as an ethnic marker.

Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University

Appendix 1

Epigraphic evidence. Note: the find spot of military diplomas was not included into the table, since it does not indicate the place where emigrants settled.

	Name	Origin as on inscription or diploma	Date	Reference
1.	Catunectus, son of Aesugeslus	Trinovas	Late 1st century	<i>AE</i> 2003, 1218; Cologne, Germany
2.	Decimus Senius, son of Vitalus,	Cives Brittones	Late 1st century	<i>CIL</i> XIII 8314; Cologne, Germany
3.	Aemilius, son of Saenus	Cives Dumnonius	Late 1st century	<i>AE</i> 1956, 249; Cologne, Germany
4.	Titus Staius, son of Titus, Vitalis	Claudia Camulodunus	Late 1st century	<i>CIL</i> III 11233; Bad Deutsch-Alteburg, Austria
5.	Virsuccius	Unknown, but assumed to be British on the basis of his service in <i>cohors I Brittonum</i> (Birley 1980: 190)	Late 1st-early 2nd century	<i>CIL</i> III 3256; Novi Slankamen, Serbia
6.	Lucco, son of Trenus	Dobunno (Kennedy (1977) argued that he was Dobunnian by his mother, but Mullen and Russell (2009) show that Lucco and Trenus are well attested names in British epigraphic record)	A.D. 105	<i>CIL</i> XVI 49; diploma
7.	Marcus Ulpius, son of Adcobrovatus, Novantico	Ratae	A.D. 106	<i>CIL</i> XVI 160; diploma

Name	Origin as on inscription or diploma	Date	Reference
8. -	Britto	After A.D. 109	<i>CIL</i> III 14214; Adamclisi, Romania
9. Marcus Ulpius, son of Sacco, Longinus	Belgo	A.D. 110	<i>CIL</i> XVI 163; diploma
10. Bollico, son of Icco, Icco	Britto	A.D. 122	<i>RGZM</i> 20; diploma
11. Ivonercus, son of Molacus	Britto	A.D. 154	<i>RMD</i> 47; diploma
12. Marcus Ulpius, son of Ulpius, N(...)	Son or grandson of no ?	A.D. 161/162	<i>RMD</i> 177; diploma
13. Flavius Britto		2nd century	<i>CIL</i> VI 3594; Rome, Italy
14. Aurelius Atianus	Natione Britto	2nd century	<i>CIL</i> XIII 1981; Lyon, France
15. Liccaius Vinentis	Linda	2nd century	<i>CIL</i> III 14216, 08; Drobeta-Turnu Severin, Romania
16. Marcus Minicius, son of Marcus, Marcellinus	Lindo	2nd century	<i>CIL</i> XIII 6679; Mainz, Germany
17. Marcus Ulpius, son of (?) Ner(...), Quintus	Glevo	2nd century	<i>CIL</i> VI 3346; Rome, Italy
18. Marcus Ulpius Iustus	Natione Britto	2nd century	<i>CIL</i> VI 3301; Rome, Italy
19. Flavius, son of Defensorus	Natione Britto	2nd century	<i>ILJug</i> 02, 679; Solin, Croatia
20. -	Natione Britto	Likely 2nd century	<i>CIL</i> VI 32861; Rome, Italy
21. Lucius Valerius Simplex	Votive to Matris Brittae	Mid 2nd century	<i>CIL</i> XIII 8631; Xanten, Germany
22. Lucius Anda(...)	Votive to Matris Brittae	Mid 2nd century	<i>CIL</i> XIII 8632; Xanten, Germany
23. (...)lius Attianus	Ex Breitonibus	Late 2nd century	<i>IAM</i> -02-01-56; Tamouda, Morocco
24. Nig(...) Marinianus	Natione Britan(n)icianus	Late 2nd century	<i>CIL</i> VI 3279; Rome, Italy
25. Amandus, son of Velugnus	Deva	Late 2nd century	<i>CIL</i> XIII 6221; Worms, Germany
26. Optatius Verus	Deva	Late 2nd century	<i>AE</i> 1915, 70; Trier, Germany
27. Marcus Iunius Capito	Lindo	Late 2nd century	<i>CIL</i> VIII 21669; Ain Temouchent, Algeria
28. Marcus Aurelius Lunaris	Provincia Britannia Inferior	After A.D. 197/214	<i>AE</i> 1922, 116; Bordeaux, France

Name	Origin as on inscription or diploma	Date	Reference
29. Titus Flavius Virilis	Unknown, but assumed to be British on the basis of his service in four British legions (Malone 2006: 117)	3rd century	<i>CIL</i> VIII 2877; Lambaesis, Algeria
30. Tolosanus	Britannus natione	4th-5th century/ Christian	<i>AE</i> 1939, 53; Arles, France
31. -	Cornovus	Unknown, but likely 2nd century	<i>ZPE</i> -162-234; diploma

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank J. Bintliff, B. van der Meer, M. -J. Versluys and E. Stoffels for reading the initial draft of this paper. Special thanks go to L. Allason-Jones and I. Oltean for their comments, the anonymous referees and the editors of these proceedings, D. Mladenović and B. Russell, for their in-depth remarks on the improvement of the text. I further wish to thank F. Morris for access to his dissertation prior to the publication, J. de Bruin, M. Driessen, S. Hoss, S. Heeren and P. van den Broeke for providing me with the information on British brooches found in the Netherlands. Final thanks go to M. Wilkinson-van Hoek of Fine Line Archaeological Language Services for copy-editing the text. Any mistakes remain my own.

Bibliography

Epigraphic sources

AE = *L'Année Epigraphique*, Paris 1888–

CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

IAM = *Inscriptions antiques du Maroc 2. Inscriptions latines*, Paris 1982.

ILJug = Šašel A. and Šašel, J. 1978. *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt*. Ljubljana: Narodni muzej.

RMD = Roxan, M. M. *Roman Military Diplomas*, London. 1978–

RGZM = Pferdehirt, B. 2004. *Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des Römisch–Germanischen Zentralmuseums*. Mainz: Römisch–Germanischen Zentralmuseum.

ZPE = *Zeitschrift Für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, Bonn 1967–

Modern sources

Allason-Jones, L. 1995. Sexing ‘small finds’. In P. Rush (ed.) *Theoretical Roman Archaeology: Second Conference Proceedings*. Aldershot: Avebury: 22–32.

Antonaccio, C. M. 2010. (Re)defining ethnicity: culture, material culture and identity. In S. Hales and T. Hodos (eds.) *Material Culture and Social Identities in the Ancient World*. New York: Cambridge University Press: 32–54.

Bailey, J. and Butcher, S. 2004. *Roman Brooches in Britain: A Technological and Typological Study based on the Richborough Collection*. London: The Society of Antiquaries in London.

Birley, A. 1980. *The People of Roman Britain*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Birley, A. 1986. The deities of Roman Britain. In G. G. W. Haase and H. Temporini (eds.) *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* II 18.1. Berlin: De Gruyter: 3–112.

Bodel, J. 2001. Epigraphy and the ancient historian. In J. Bodel (ed.) *Epigraphic Evidence. Ancient History from Inscriptions*. London: Routledge: 1–57.

- Böhme, A. 1970. Englische Fibeln aus den Kastellen Saalburg und Zugmantel. *Saalburg Jahrbuch* 27: 5–20.
- Brunsting, H. and Steures, D. 1995. De Baksteenstempels van Romeins Nijmegen, I. Opgavingen castra 1950–1967. Opgavingen Kops Plateau ca. 1986–1994. *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen* 75: 85–117.
- Butcher, S. 1977. Enamels from Roman Britain. In M. R. A. Apted, R. Gilyard-Beer and A. D. Saunders (eds.) *Ancient Monuments and their Interpretation. Essays Presented to A. J. Taylor*. London: Phillimore: 41–69.
- Clay, C. 2007. Before they were Angles, Saxons and Jutes: an epigraphic study of the Germanic social, religious and linguistic relations on Hadrian's wall. In L. Gilmour (ed.) *Pagans and Christians – from Antiquity to the Middle Ages Papers in Honour of Martin Henig, Presented on the Occasion of his 65th birthday*. BAR International Series 1610. Oxford: Archaeopress: 47–63.
- Cohen, R. 1997. *Global diasporas. An Introduction*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Croom, A. 2004. Personal ornament. In M. Todd (ed.) *A Companion to Roman Britain*. Oxford: Blackwell: 288–298.
- Crowley, L. 2009. Creating a community: the symbolic role of tumuli in the villa landscape of the *civitas Tungrorum*. In M. Driessen, S. Heeren, J. Hendriks, F. Kemmers and R. Visser (eds.) *TRAC 2008. Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference Amsterdam 2008*. Oxford: Oxbow: 113–127.
- Cüppers, H. 1962. Zwei kaiserzeitliche Brandgräberfelder im Kreise Geldern. *Bonner Jahrbücher* 162: 299–390.
- Cüppers, H. 1990. *Die Römer in Rheinland-Pfalz*. Stuttgart: Theiss.
- De Laet, S. J., Van Doorselaer, A., Spitaels, P., and Thoen, H. 1972. *La nécropole Gallo-Romaine de Blicquy*. Bruges: De Tempel.
- Derks, T. 2009. Ethnic identity in the Roman frontier. The epigraphy of Batavi and other Lower Rhine tribes. In T. Derks and N. Roymans (eds.) *Ethnic Constructs in Antiquity. The Role of Power and Tradition*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press: 239–283.
- Dietz, K. and Weber, G. 1982. Fremde in Rätien. *Chiron* 12: 409–443.
- Dobson, B. and Mann, J. C. 1973. The Roman army in Britain and Britons in the Roman army. *Britannia* 4: 191–205.
- Eckardt, H. (ed.) 2010. *Roman Diasporas. Archaeological Approaches to Mobility and Diversity in the Roman Empire*. JRA Supplementary Series 78. Portsmouth, R.I.: JRA.
- Farnum, J. 2005. *The Positioning of the Roman Imperial Legions*. BAR International Series 1458. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Fitz, J. 1972. *Les Syriens à Intercisa*. Brussels: Latomus.
- Gassner, V., Jilek, S., Pietsch, W., Stiglitz, H., and Zabeňlicky, H. 2000. Kastellgeschichte von Mautern. In V. Gassner, S. Groh, S. Jilek, A. Kaltenberger, W. Pietsch, R. Sauer, H. Stiglitz, and H. Zabeňlicky (eds.) *Das Kastell Mautern-Favianis. Der Römische Limes in Österreich. Heft 39*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: 381–391.
- Geyer, W., Kandt K., Kokes, I., and Schuler H. 1977. Die römische Sumpfrücken bei Bickenbach. *Saalburg Jahrbuch* 34: 29–41.
- Grahame, M. 2001. Material culture and Roman identity: the spatial layout of Pompeian houses and the problem of ethnicity. In R. Laurence and J. Berry (eds.) *Cultural Identity in the Roman Empire*. London: Routledge: 156–179.
- Gruel, K. and Haselgrove, C. 2007. British Potins abroad: a new find from central France and the Iron Age in Southern England. In C. Gosden, H. Hamerow P. de Jersey and E. Durham (eds.) *Communities and Connections: Essays in Honour of Barry Cunliffe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 240–262.
- Grünewald, M. 1990. *Der Römische Nordfriedhof in Worms. Funde von der Mainzer Strasse*. Worms: Bessler.
- Holder, P. 1980. *Studies in the Auxilia of the Roman Army from Augustus to Trajan*. BAR International Series 70. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Jarrett, M. 1994. Non-legionary troops in Roman Britain: part one, the units. *Britannia* 25: 35–77.

- Johns, C. 1996. *The Jewellery of Roman Britain*. London: University College of London Press.
- Jones, S. 1997. *The Archaeology of Ethnicity. Constructing Identities in the Past and Present*. London: Routledge.
- Jundi, S. and Hill, J. D. 1998. Brooches and identities in first century AD Britain: more than meets the eye? In C. Forcey, J. Hawthorne, and R. Witcher (eds.) *TRAC 97. Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference Nottingham 1997*. Oxford: Oxbow: 125–137.
- Kakoschke, A. 2002. *Ortsfremde in den römischen Provinzen Germania inferior und Germania superior: eine Untersuchung zur Mobilität in den germanischen Provinzen anhand der Inschriften des 1. bis 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* Osnabrücker Forschungen zu Altertum und Antike-Rezeption 5. Mönsee: Bibliopolis.
- Kakoschke, A. 2004. “Germanen” in der Fremde. Eine Untersuchung zur Mobilität aus den römischen Provinzen Germania inferior und Germania superior anhand der Inschriften des 1. bis 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. Osnabrücker Forschungen zu Altertum und Antike-Rezeption 8. Mönsee: Bibliopolis.
- Kennedy, D. 1977. The ala I and cohors I Britannica. *Britannia* 8: 249–255.
- Konen, H. C. 2000. *Classis Germanica. Die römische Rheinflotte im 1.–3. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* St. Katharinen: Scripta Mercaturae.
- Leach, S., Eckardt, H., Chenery, C., Müldner, G., and Lewis, M. 2010. A lady from York: migration, ethnicity and identity in Roman Britain. *Antiquity* 84: 131–145.
- Malone, S.J. 2006. *Legio XX Valeria Victrix. Prosopography, Archaeology and History*. BAR International Series 1491. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Marcu, F. 2002–2003. Comments on the identity and deployment of Cohortes I Brittonum. *Acta Musei Napocensis* 39/ 40(1): 219–234.
- Mattingly, D. 2004. Being Roman: expressing identity in a provincial setting. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 17: 5–25.
- Megaw R. and Megaw, V. 2001. Bretons à l'étranger? Notes sur deux bronzes émaillés du Ier siècle après J.–C. *Archéologie de la Picardie et du Nord de la France* 83: 51–58.
- Mocsy, A. 1983. *Nomenclator provinciarum Europae latinarum et Galliae Cisalpiniae*. Budapest: [s.n.].
- Morris, F. 2010. *North Sea and Channel Connectivity during the Late Iron Age and Roman period (175/150 BC–AD 409)*. BAR International Series 2157. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Mullen, A. and Russell, P. 2009. *Celtic Personal Names of Roman Britain*. Cambridge: ASNC. <http://www.asnc.cam.ac.uk/personalnames/> (Accessed on 14th July 2010).
- Oltean, I. A. 2009. Dacian ethnic identity and the Roman army. In W. S. Hanson (ed.) *The Army and Frontiers of Rome. Papers Offered to David J. Breeze on the Occasion of his Sixty-fifth Birthday and his Retirement from Historic Scotland*. JRA Supplementary Series 74. Portsmouth, R.I.: Journal of Roman Archaeology: 90–103.
- Raybould, M. E. and Sims-Williams, P. 2009. *Introduction and Supplement to the Corpus of Latin Inscriptions of the Roman Empire Containing Celtic Personal Names*. Aberystwyth: CMCS.
- Reuter, M. 1999. Studien zu den Numeri des Römischen Heeres in der Mittleren Kaiserzeit. *Bericht der Römisch-Germanisch Kommission* 80: 359–569.
- Rothe, U. 2009. *Dress and Cultural Identity in Rhine-Moselle Region of the Roman Empire*. BAR International Series 2038. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Schönberger, H. 1969. The Roman frontier in Germany: an archaeological survey. *Journal of Roman Studies* 59: 144–197.
- Sheffer, G. 2005. A profile of ethno-national Diasporas. In I. B. McCabe, G. Harlaftis and I. P. Minoglou (eds.) *Diasporas Entrepreneurial Networks. Four Centuries of History*. Oxford: Berg: 359–371.
- Szamado, E., and Borhy, L. 2003. Brigetio temporary camps. In Z. Visy (ed.) *The Roman Army in Pannonia. An Archaeological Guide of the Ripa Pannonica*. Pécs: Teleki Laszlo Foundation: 78–79.
- Snape, M. E. 1993. *Roman Brooches from North Britain. A Classification and a Catalogue of Brooches from Sites on the Stanegate*. BAR British Series 235. Oxford: Tempus Reparatum.
- Spaul, J. 1994. *Ala2. The Auxiliary Cavalry Units of the Pre-Diocletianic Imperial Roman Army*. Andover: Archaeopress.

- Spaul, J. 2000. *Cohors2. The Evidence for and a Short History of the Auxiliary Infantry of the Imperial Roman Army*. BAR International Series 871. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Swan, V. 2009. Drinking, ethnicity, troop transfers and the *Classis Britannica*. In V. Swan (ed.) *Ethnicity, Conquest and Recruitment: Two Case Studies from the Northern Military Provinces*. JRA Supplementary Series 72. Portsmouth, R.I.: Journal of Roman Archaeology: 67–95.
- Swift, E. 2000. *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the Late Roman West*. Montagnac: Monique Megoil.
- Swift, E. 2003. Transformations in meaning: amber and glass beads across the Roman frontier. In G. Carr, E. Swift, and J. Weeks (eds.) *TRAC 2002. Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference Canterbury 2002* Oxford: Oxbow: 48–57.
- Tully, G. D. 2005. A fragment of military diploma for Pannonia found in Northern England? *Britannia* 36: 375–382.
- Van Hear, N. 1998. *New Diasporas. The Mass Exodus, Dispersal and Regrouping of Migrant Communities*. London: University of Washington Press.
- Waasdorp, J. A. 1999. *Van Romeinse soldaten en Cananefaten. Gebruiksvoorwerpen van de Scheveningseweg*. The Hague: Dienst Stadsbeheer.
- Wierschowski, L. 2001. *Fremde in Gallien, "Gallier" in der Fremde: die epigraphisch bezeugte Mobilität in, von und nach Gallien vom 1. bis 3. Jh. n. Chr.: (Texte, Übersetzungen, Kommentare)*. Stuttgart: Steiner.