



LIVING AND DYING ON THE ROMAN FRONTIER AND BEYOND

HARRY **VAN ENCKEVORT**, MARK **DRIESSEN**, ERIK **GRAAFSTAL**,
TOM **HAZENBERG**, TATIANA **IVLEVA** AND CAROL **VAN DRIEL-MURRAY** (EDS)

LIMES XXV VOLUME 3

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Preface

The 25th Limes Congress was held in the Cultuurhuis Lindenberg in Nijmegen from 21 to 27 August 2022. Two days were used for excursions to important sites along the Lower German Limes (see volume 1). During the remaining five days 37 sessions took place with 246 papers presented on a wide range of topics related to the frontiers of the Roman Empire. In addition, 27 posters, in which limes scholars presented their research, were displayed for the participants to view.

We are publishing 184 articles based on the papers and posters presented at the Congress in four separate, themed volumes. This third volume is divided into seven themes and begins with the iconography of victory, moving on to the direct experiences of people living under the influence of the army on either side of the frontier and the question of mobility, forced or otherwise, paying special attention to children. The next two themes focus on the way in which frontier communities related to their gods and the afterlife (expressed in funerary practices). The final theme revisits the subject of the significance of Roman imports to communities beyond the frontier.

Harry van Enckevort, Mark Driessen, Erik Graafstal, Tom Hazenberg, Tatiana Ivleva and Carol van Driel-Murray

PART 1

TALES OF GLORY

NARRATIVES OF
ROMAN VICTORY

Narratives of Roman victory between Imperial propaganda and war crimes

Martina Meyr and Christof Flügel

The power of images

The Roman state philosophy was based on the following assumptions: Rome was the centre of civilization in a world without limits and the natural dominator of the *orbis terrarum*. The frontiers of the Roman Empire in Roman eyes only marked a temporary status quo and they divided the civilized world from Barbarians outside (Bender 2014). These statements were reflected in the Imperial iconography. The connections between political will and the Imperial visual language and their reception in public and private contexts were first described by Paul Zanker (1987; 2008) and subsequently by Tonio Hölscher (1987; 2018). Based on the observation that especially Classical Greek and Hellenistic stylistic elements and statues were specifically used to convey certain political statements in Roman art, Tonio Hölscher (1987, 49) developed the idea of an Empire-wide 'semantic system' as "a generally understandable and established visual communication system for all strata of the population (...)". Surprisingly, Zanker's and Hölscher's theses have only been addressed in rudimentary form in provincial Roman archaeology. This groundbreaking research has been generally acknowledged and proved how deliberately chosen images influenced the public perception of political and military power in Rome. However, many examples illustrate the 'power of images' in the complex network of relationships between the *urbs* and the *limites* and *ripae*. As in Rome, individual elements of Imperial art entered the private sphere and were also absorbed into the visual language of the private realm in the provinces of the Empire, however, being subject of alterations regarding the reading of these images.

There are several motifs of Imperial imagery which show the presence of the Emperor and the State like Roma or the Lupa nursing the twin brothers Romulus and Remus. Monica Gui (this volume) deepens this argument in her 'Tales of Glory'-session contribution on the images of the Lupa in Dacia. The differences of Imperial imagery on monuments between the eastern and western provinces are discussed by Kai Töpfer (this volume). Our introduction to the Limes Congress-session 'Tales of Glory' therefore focuses on selected examples (for a more detailed discussion Flügel & Meyr 2022a).

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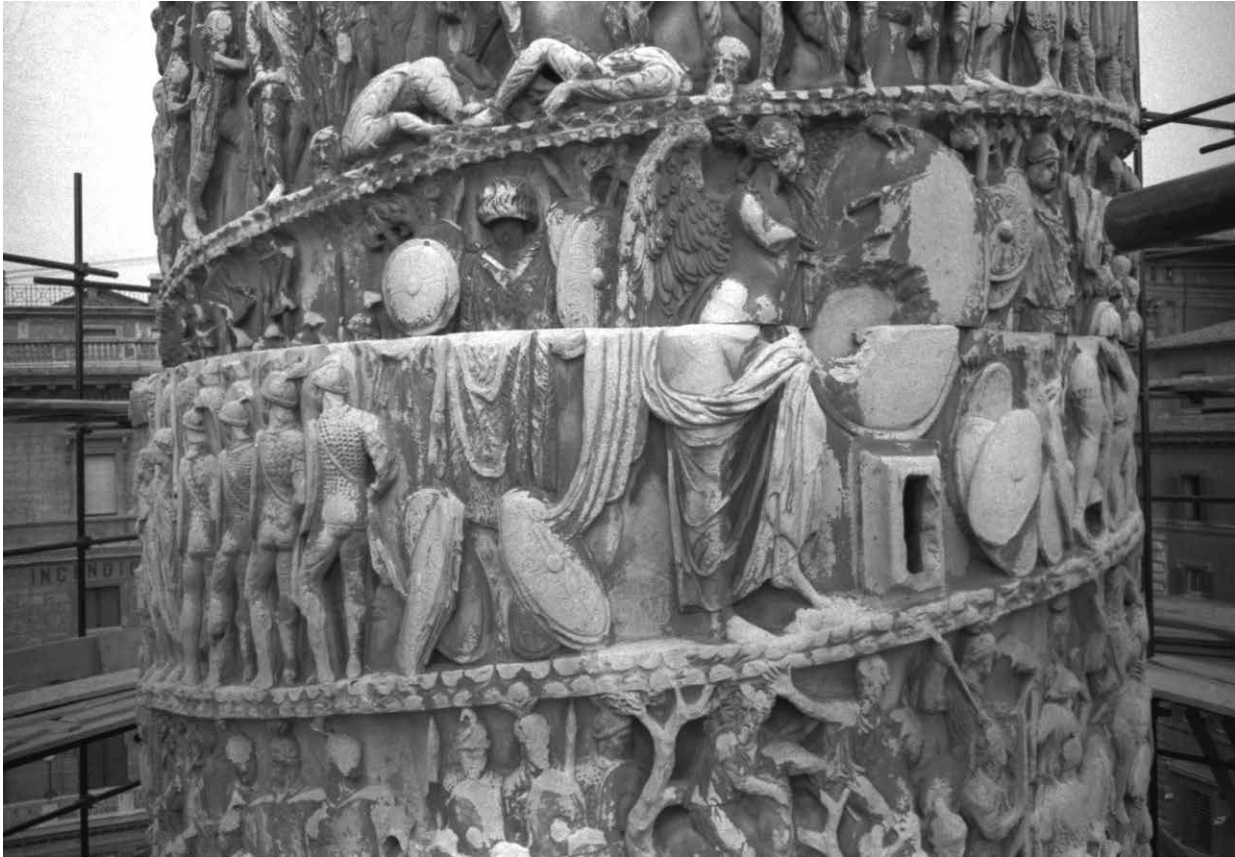


Figure 1. Victoria inscribing a shield. Column of Marcus, Rome (D-DAI-ROM-55.935).



Figure 2. Victoria inscribing a shield on the side of a funerary altar, Obernburg am Main (Archaeological State Collection Munich, St. Friedrich).

Victoria

Since Augustus, the winged Victoria had been the patron goddess of the Emperor and guardian of the Empire. She is depicted with various attributes such as a laurel wreath, palm branch, *tropaeum* or standing on a globe with raised hands. As victorious general in the battle of *Actium* Augustus had the *Curia Iulia* built on the *Forum Romanum* and had erected a statue of Victoria there as a symbol of the return of power to Rome. Directly in front of this statue, the Senate in 27 BC donated the golden shield of honour, the *clipeus virtutis*, for the princeps with a list of his political virtues. Augustus spread this urban Roman motif of the *clipeus virtutis* in combination with Victoria throughout the Empire via coins, which in general were a well-proven means of disseminating Imperial propaganda (Sutherland 1984, Augustus 31, 45-48, 61-62 and 88-95).

The goddess of victory either rests the shield on her left thigh, as is the case with the bronze statue of Victoria of Brescia (Morandini & Patera 2021; Museo Civico Romano, Brescia, Italia, inventory no. MR 369; arachne.dainst.org/entity/1063230), or inscribes a shield resting on a column or pilaster, while her left foot stands on a sphere, as in the depiction on the Column of Marcus (fig. 1) for example.

The motif of Victoria with shield was later widely used on coins, especially under Marcus Aurelius, and thus also reached the limes regions. They were minted after the victories over Armenia (Mattingly & Sydenham 1930, Marcus Aurelius 88-90, 115-116, 127 and 129 – vic(toria) / AVG(usti), 163-164/165 AD), the Parthians (Marcus Aurelius 160-163a – vic(toria) / PAR(thica), 166 AD) and the Marcomanni (Marcus Aurelius 256-257 – vic(toria) / GER(manica), 171/172 AD), each with alternating two-line inscriptions on the oval shield. The original inscription OB CIVES SERVATOS on the round shield of honour of Augustus was used synonymously with the legend VICTORIA AVGVSTI (OR PARTHICA OR GERMANICA) on the oval shield of Victoria.

Detached from the original political context of meaning, the motif found its way on other image-bearing objects and thus into the private sphere: Italian lamps of the 1st century with Victoria leaning on a shield with the inscription ‘*ob cives servatos*’, were originally an expression of the respective buyer of the lamp (Zanker 1987, 198-204 and 273, fig. 216-217; British Museum inventory no. 1851,0612.4 – ANNVM / NOV M FAV / STVMFEL / ICEMMIH / HC). In parallel, lamps were also produced with a representation of Victoria, but without an inscription on the round shield. The reference to the Augustan representation of Victoria with an inscribed shield was therefore familiar to the ancient observer and could be clearly interpreted even without an inscription.

An example coming from a sanctuary in a military context is the statue of the goddess of victory belonging to a triad of statues with Mars, Salus and Victoria from watchtower 10/37 at the Odenwald Limes (www.lupa.at/14946), or the recently found sculptures from the fort gate in Öhringen, which Martin Kemkes (this volume) discusses in detail below. In the private sphere, the Imperial Roman motif of Victoria with oval shield was adopted in sepulchral sculpture. This is shown in a representation from the civil settlement near Sindelfingen in Upper Germany (Kemkes *et al.* 2005, 22, fig. 2; www.lupa.at/10354). A clear private adaptation is also found on the side relief of the funerary altar of Girisonius from the Upper German Oberrhein am Main (www.lupa.at/6975, fig. 2). Victoria places her foot on a column and inscribes an oval shield with the inscription MEM(oria) / PIE / TAT(e). Here, the wish ‘to commemorate the deceased in a pious spirit’, replaces the Imperial victory propaganda of the original motif as shown on Marcus’ column. The fragment of a bronze plate (15 × 9 mm) of hitherto unknown use from a villa on the Upper Rhine shows Victoria writing on the oval shield and may be attributed to the private sphere (Kuhnle & Tschocke 2022, fig. 158).

Zanker (2008, 114) aptly pointed out that “the use of elements of Imperial art on funerary altars, sarcophagi, etc. is more complicated. A Victoria on a sarcophagus (...) is just one more positive visual formula among many others,

whose aesthetic value was probably increased by its association with Imperial art but did not have any political implications. We might speak of ‘internalizations’ that presuppose a positive view of Imperial art and obviously also help to stabilize it.”

Mars Ultor

Dietrich Boschung (2003, 10-12) emphasized that precisely those Augustan figure types that “emancipated themselves from their original political context” were still part of the Empire-wide imagery until the 3rd century AD. A good example are the numerous representations of Mars in the style of Mars Ultor (Martin Kemkes this volume). His monumental statue was erected in 2 BC in the Mars Ultor temple at the Augustus Forum. The cult is also regarded as the focal point of the socio-political reorganisation of Rome by the first princeps. Typical for the representation of Mars Ultor – in contrast to provincial, partly Celtic-influenced Mars types – is the bearded older god in armour. This motif, which is also known from coin representations, was eventually adopted in private contexts in the provinces, especially on gems or, more rarely as statuettes for *lararia*, as in Rainau-Buch (Kemkes *et al.* 2005, 253, fig. 304-305).

Dextrarum iunctio

The motif of the *dextrarum iunctio* (clasped hands), which had been originally limited to emphasize the unity of the army in times of Civil War, is present in both – public and private contexts – in two variants (Flügel & Meyr 2022a, 30-36; 2022c): Depiction of people joining hands as well as the depiction shortened to the two right hands. By adding other symbols, the levels of meaning could be expanded. Due to its dissemination on coins, where *concordia* between different ‘parties’ is usually demonstrated and where the depiction is clearly named by the legends, the motif experienced an Empire-wide spread. An adoption in private sepulchral sculpture seems to occur especially in Rome and on tombstones in *coloniae* in Italy. Outside the Italian heartland, the motif figures in highly Romanised places like Trier. This is due to general differences in funerary art in the provinces and in Rome. The *dextrarum iunctio* is found on gemstones and cameos throughout the Empire. This indicates that the respective level of meaning was undoubtedly known to the bearer (or also the presentee). As a golden ring from Reinheim shows, from today’s point of view a clear interpretation of the ancient levels of meaning and thus an assignment to the civil/private versus state/military sphere is not always possible, even for rings with inscriptions (detailed discussion Flügel & Meyr 2022c, 87-92).

The Emperor in miniature

Several brooches, cast from silver and presenting a gilded surface show the bearded Caracalla in a laurel



Figure 3. The construction of the Forum Traiani was financed by the booty of the Dacian Wars. Forum Traiani, Rome (Christof Flügel, Munich).

wreath in the ‘autocrat portrait type’. Based on the clearly recognizable so-called ‘Third portrait type’ (<http://viamus.uni-goettingen.de/fr/e/uni/e/07/02>; Musei Capitolini inventory no. MC0464), these brooches must be dated between 212 and 217 AD (Flügel & Meyr 2022a, 27; forthcoming). The Caracalla brooches have parallels in a large number of jewels with portraits of members of the Severan dynasty and can be seen as ‘political art’ and an expression of the individual loyalty of their owners. The Caracalla brooches, on the other hand, could also have been gifts or military-political awards to officers.

A golden bracelet in the Altes Museum Berlin allegedly comes from Egypt (Inventory no. 30219, 499; Flügel & Meyr 2022a, 28, fig. 9). It shows the portraits of Caracalla and his wife Plautilla and can therefore be dated to around 210 AD. A silver arm ring in the LVR-Landesmuseum Bonn bears the portrait of Elagabalus (Inventory no. A 851; Flügel & Meyr 2022a, 29, fig. 10; forthcoming). Both arm rings were previously thought to be military donatives (*armillae*). As gifts from ‘the state’, *dona militaria* were awards for their military bearers, showing their loyalty to the emperor. As an

alternative to the proposed interpretation as *dona militaria*, one must also consider an interpretation as individualised pieces of jewellery that expressed the political convictions of the owner – that seems more likely. Another argument against the interpretation of the two objects as *dona militaria* is the depiction of *armillae* on tombstone reliefs without portraits.

The opponent’s severed head

Images of the triumphant rider (Flügel & Meyr 2022a, 47-48), an image originally confined to the emperor, were used in gemstones and on private funerary monuments. The motif of the decapitated enemy also belongs to the realm of Imperial imagery. From the Roman point of view, severed and publicly presented heads documented the complete defeat of the enemy (Flügel & Meyr 2017; 2022a, 44-46). In addition to being depicted, for example, on victory monuments such as Traian’s or Marcus’ Column (cf. fig. 1 upper scene) or on official building inscriptions like the Bridgeness Distance slab on the Antonine Wall (Campbell 2020), the motif is adopted in a private context,



Figure 4. Soldiers packing booty on mules. Traian's Column, Rome (D-DAI-ROM-89.641).

especially on sarcophagi and tombstones. It is even found in small sculpture, as shown by a terracotta statuette from Egypt in the British Museum (Inventory no. 1983,0723.1). The buyer of this statuette had deliberately chosen it, but for reasons we no longer know.

The other side of the coin... War crimes in Roman Times?

In all these considerations, however, it must not be forgotten that Imperial imagery primarily pursued political interests. The narrative of the enemy as an uncivilized 'Barbarian' (Heitz 2009) made it possible to wage wars and to justify them. Rome's superiority over these peoples is expressed in numerous depictions, especially on state reliefs or sarcophagi, where these images mutated into a visual chiffre for bravery in general, easily understandable for everybody, even in the private realm, like on sarcophagi. Representations of war and violence – for example on battle sarcophagi – are not fully understood by today's viewers. Presumably, ancient viewers of those battle scenes did not think about the kind of injuries caused by swords, lances, spears and other weapons in 'real' battle.

Slash marks from swords, wounds inflicted by arrows and catapult bolts or deadly injuries in skulls, which can be traced anthropologically in many places, are evidence of combat. Enemy soldiers were not only killed in battle, however, but also deliberately mutilated (Flügel & Meyr 2022b, 20-21). On state reliefs, Rome's victories and dominance over barbarian opponents is demonstrated. On coins, (especially on *sestertii*, to communicate his success amongst the 'common people') connected with the victory over the *Chatti* Domitian can be seen fighting with drawn lance, riding over a barbarian. From Trajan onwards, however, the gait of the horse and the motif seems based on models drawn from equestrian statues (Heitz 2006, 186-187, 198 and 200-201.f). The adoption of depictions of violence on military gravestones proves the bravery of the deceased.

The decapitation of the enemy and the severing of limbs as punishment for traitors or as a post-mortem humiliation and warning to potential imitators was already common in pre-Roman times (Gresky *et al.* 2023). Caesar (*Commentarii de Bello Gallico* 8.44.1) gives an impressive account of his dealings with enemies in 51 BC: "So he cut off the hands of

all the inhabitants of *Uxellodunum* who had carried arms and then gave them their lives, so that the punishment for their misdeeds would be all the more visible.”

Plunder and booty

The gains of robbery and plunder are found on state reliefs, but not in the private realm. Suitable soldiers were selected for the looting of cities. The booty was sold and the profit subsequently divided among the troops. However, the gain were mainly transferred to the state treasury and used to finance large infrastructure projects, like Traian's forum in Rome (fig. 3). The spoils of war from the Dacian wars are said to have amounted to 331 tons of silver and 165 tons of gold. A scene on Traian's Column (fig. 4) shows soldiers packing mules with captured silverware (Cichorius 1900, plate CI, scenes CXXXVII-CXXXVIII; Coarelli 2000, 208, plate 164). The religious objects plundered during the destruction of Jerusalem were carried in Vespasian's triumphal procession. Subsequently they were exhibited in the *Forum Pacis*, a prominent example of a looted art museum in the capital of the Empire, which in the course of the centuries constantly evolved into an “urban memory landscape and an eternal triumphal city” (Künzl 2019, 64-85). There were even inventories of these museums. Velleius Paterculus (*Historia Romana* 1.11.3-5) gives a list of objects exhibited at the *Porticus Octaviae* in Rome. Above the navel of the so-called ‘Thermenherrscher’, a life-size bronze statue of a Hellenistic ruler from the middle of the 2nd century BC from the Quirinal hill in Rome, an inventory number engraved already in antiquity can be recognized (Museo Nazionale Romano – Museo delle Terme Inventory no. 1049; Himmelman 1989, 205-207, fig. 4f).

Violence against the civilian population

In addition, there was also violence against the civilian population (Ferris 2009, 97-143; Flügel & Meyr 2022b, 19-20): rape, slavery, expulsion and death are only occasionally found on victory monuments. The total annihilation of the enemy served as deterrence and demonstration of power and may be summarized under the headline ‘Shock and Awe’, as proved by Polybius’ (*Historiai* 10.14.14-15) account on the conquest of *Carthago Nova* (Cartagena, Spain) in 209 BC: “When Scipio thought that a sufficient number of troops had entered he sent most of them, as is the Roman custom, against the inhabitants of the city with orders to kill everybody they encountered, sparing none, and not to start pillaging until the signal was given. They do this, I think, to inspire terror, so that when towns are taken by the Romans one may often see not only the corpses of human beings, but dogs cut in half, and the dismembered limbs of other animals (...). Afterwards, Scipio showed leniency. He released those citizens who had survived the massacre, together with their wives

and children. The craftsmen were made state slaves, the youngest and strongest prisoners were sent as oarsmen on the ships” (Luik 2005, 30).

The omission of crimes against the civilian population was usually not due to ethical-moral considerations, but to economic reasons, since the captured population could be sold into slavery. Rüpke (1999, 91-93) defines four motives that led to the decision to capture: strategic, tactical, economic and prestige reasons (Kelsey Shawn Madden this volume on captive children; Shawn-Madden 2022). In addition to scenes on Traian's and Marcus' Columns, depictions of bound prisoners of war can also be found on Traian's Victory Monument, the *Tropaeum Traiani* in Adamclissi (Romania, David Breeze this volume), and also on some Antonine Wall distance slabs, in the figural decoration of the Emperor's Fora or on Constantine's Arch in Rome. The Imperial motif of the bound prisoner subsequently degenerated into a mere decorative element in the private realm, for example as bronze appliques on furniture. Some leaders of opposing troops as well as high-ranking female family members were transported to Rome as high-value targets after their capture and presented in the triumphal procession of the victorious commander. Male prisoners of war were sometimes executed after the triumphal procession. High-ranking male family members were given as hostages to Rome by subjugated peoples (Heitz 2006, 174-175, note 87: ‘hostages’ on the Ara Pacis. See also Rüpke 1999, 93). Presumably, female prisoners were at least spared violence and rape, as with Roman victory they had become the property of the Roman state. The rape of future female slaves was considered to diminish their value and was thus classified as damage to property. Rape, however, is a modern term and implies modern ethics and morality. Nevertheless, Tacitus (*Annales* 14.31.1) records the abuse of Boudicca and the rape of her daughters, a rare exception in the description of such war crimes.

Even if the Roman side often swept under the carpet (Stoll 2022, 204-206) the fact that enemies also took Roman prisoners of war, there is for example, epigraphic evidence for this from the Dacian Wars (Lica 1994). The inscription of the Augsburg victory altar mentions the liberation of several thousand civilian prisoners of war deported from Italy in AD 260 (www.lupa.at/6338 with bibliography). Shapur I's victory relief at Naqsh-e Rostam (Iran) shows Valerian kneeling before the Persian King and asking for mercy after the Battle of Edessa, in which the entire Roman army had been annihilated and the Roman Emperor became prisoner of war, without question a great disgrace for the Romans. Despite defeats, Rome in the end remained winner. Literary records of defeats show that the population was deliberately misinformed right from the start (Stoll 2022, 206-207) – facts and fake news were therefore also a phenomenon of antiquity.



Figure 5. Late Punic 2nd-century BC houses in oblique orientation under the levelled destruction layer of 146 BC in Carthage (Tunisia) with superimposed pillars of the Augustan forum on the Byrsa Hill (Christof Flügel, Munich).

Total annihilation of the enemy and legitimate use of force

‘Ethnic cleansing’ was often carried out and the principle of scorched earth applied (Lavan 2020 with an exhaustive discussion), as is clear from Caesar’s report on the year 52 BC, who, enraged by the escaped Ambiorix, had his entire property devastated (Caesar *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* 8.25.1). Similarly, Agricola had the whole tribe of the *Ordovices* all but exterminated after their rebellion in 77 AD (Tacitus *Agricola* 18). Septimius Severus, angry at the revolt of the Caledonians, ordered them to be annihilated (Cassius Dio *Historia Romana* 76 (77).15.1). Cities like Corinth, Carthage (fig. 5) or Jerusalem were completely razed to earth to set an example (Fless 2021 on ‘urbanicide’ in antiquity). Flavius Josephus (*De Bello Iudaico* 7.139-146) drastically describes the effects of Roman warfare during the Jewish War, shown on ‘moving stages’ during the triumph of Titus in 71 AD: “Here was to be seen a prosperous country devastated, there whole battalions of the enemy slaughtered; here a party in flight, there others led into captivity; walls of surpassing compass demolished by engines, strong fortresses overpowered, cities with well-manned defences completely mastered

and an army pouring within the ramparts, an area all deluged with blood, the hands of those incapable of resistance raised in supplication, temples set on fire, houses pulled down over their owners’ heads, and, after general desolation (ἐρημία) and woe rivers flowing, not over a cultivated land, nor supplying drink to man and beast, but across a country still on every side in flames” (Whatley 2021, 65-74 on the destruction of Jerusalem).

Such destruction and the complete annihilation of cities and landscapes were no spontaneous military decisions, but subject to a previously determined war plan of the senate. In the case of Carthage the destruction of the city had been agreed on in secret senate protocol already in 150 BC, a year before the actual war had been declared (Huß 1990, 315-316). Depictions on Traian’s and Marcus’ Columns in Rome show numerous scenes such as executions, destruction of civilian infrastructure or the expulsion of the population. Deportation of civilians was considered to be legitimate, as proved by a Flavian inscription from Tivoli, reporting that Tiberius Plautius Silvanus Aelianus “deported more than 100.000 people living on the other side of the Danube to pay tributes, together with their wives, the freedmen, their leaders and

their kings“ (EDR 129948; CIL XIV.03608 (1); ILS 0986). These actions would be classified as war crimes by today's standards (Lavan 2020; Flügel & Meyr 2022b). Roman warfare fluctuated between leniency towards the defeated (*clementia*) and the complete destruction of the enemy (*debellatio*; *exstirpatio*). The poet Virgil, who lived under Emperor Augustus, summarized this 'state doctrine' in his Roman 'state epic', the *Aenēis* (6.847-853): “Spare the subjugated and strike down those who resist” (*parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*).

Today's recipients, influenced by humanistic Enlightenment, but also the experiences of the wars of the 19th and 20th centuries, can only understand ancient depictions of violence to a limited extent. It is often forgotten that agreements under international law on the conduct of warring parties were unknown in antiquity: The Geneva Convention has sought to regulate the treatment of so-called non-combatants since 1864. In addition, the Hague Regulations on Land Warfare of 1899 define permissible means and methods of warfare (Flügel & Meyr 2022b, 17-18).

Conclusion

The examples listed make it clear that the basic idea of a 'semantic picture language' formulated by Paul Zanker and Tonio Hölscher, can certainly be applied to the imagery at the edge of Empire. Depending on the motif and the object used for the chosen image, however, the distinction between public and private use often is not clear. The power of images therefore deceives the viewer and directs the focus away from war and violence towards the moral superiority of the Emperor. This is as true for the ancient viewer as it is for today's viewer.

Abbreviations

CIL: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

EDR: *Epigraphic Database Roma*

ILS: *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*

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Das sogenannte Ubiermonument in Köln

Versuch einer Deutung

Tilmann Bechert

Es waren sicher römische Baumeister des ortsanwesenden Militärs, die im Jahre 5 nach Chr. auf dem linksrheinischen Flussufer ein erstes steinernes Monument errichteten, dessen bedeutende Überreste 1965 in der Kölner Innenstadt freigelegt wurden und von dem damaligen Museumsdirektor Otto Doppelfeld bewusst ungenau die Bezeichnung ‘Ubier-Monument’ erhielten (Doppelfeld & Precht 1967, 8; hier Abb. 1).

Mit diesem Begriff wollte er vermeiden, dass der zufällig aufgefundene, 6,5 m hohe Sockelbau als weiterer ‘Römerturm’ (von dem man ja schon einen hatte!) überbaut oder gar abgerissen werden würde. Vielmehr sollte durch diese Namensgebung zum Ausdruck gebracht werden, dass dieser ‘Quaderbau’ an der Südost-Ecke der römischen Stadtmauer in einer Zeit entstand, als ARA VBIORVM, wie der erste überlieferte Name des römischen Köln lautete (Bechert 2013), erst noch im Entstehen war. Wie sich durch dendrochronologische Untersuchungen der Fundamenthölzer ergab, waren die aufgefundenen Eichenpfähle im Winter 4/5 nach Chr. geschlagen und wohl unmittelbar danach auch verbaut worden (Hollstein 1980, 72-73).

Ich will hier nicht darauf eingehen, die unterschiedlichen Interpretationen dieses Bauwerks als Hafen- oder Molenturm beziehungsweise als möglicher Wehr- oder Festungsbau von ARA VBIORVM zu diskutieren. Glaubt man den entsprechenden Verlautbarungen im Netz, scheint immer noch zu gelten, was schon vor einem Jahrzehnt geschrieben wurde und wonach “das Monument ... heute als Südostecke der ersten Befestigung des Oppidums identifiziert werden” könne (Schütte & Gechter 2012, 53). Dem hat allerdings der Kölner Archäologe S. Neu bereits Mitte der 1990er Jahre mit guten Gründen widersprochen und diesen ältesten Quaderbau auf dem Boden des heutigen Köln als Unterbau eines Mausoleums interpretiert (Neu 1995 und 1997). Ihm pflichtete kurze Zeit später aus ganz anderen Gründen auch der Althistoriker H. Galsterer (2001, 23) bei, als er in dem “erste(n) bekannte(n) Monumentalbau der Stadt (...) eher ein monumentales Pfeilergrab” erkannte “als ein(en) Hafenturm”.

Ich streife diese Diskussion lediglich, da es mir in diesem Zusammenhang allein um die Frage geht, die auch S. Neu nicht zu lösen vermochte: Wer könnte der Tote gewesen sein, dem die Ehre zuteilwurde, im Jahre 5 nach Chr. weithin sichtbar am linken Rheinufer und vor der Front der römischen Neugründung ARA VBIORVM, auf den Sockel gehoben zu werden? Hilfreich könnte an dieser Stelle der Größenvergleich bekannter Mausoleen sein (Neu 1997, 144-145). So betrug das Volumen des sogenannten Eichelsteins in Mainz mehr als das Doppelte des Kölner Monuments. Andererseits erwies sich etwa

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Abbildung 1. ARA VBIORVM / Köln. Das sog. Ubier-Monument bei seiner Auffindung (1965). Links eine Partie der unmittelbar angrenzenden Mauer der Südostecke der römischen Stadt.

das Familiengrabmal des Ädilen Caius Publicius Bibulus in Rom um knapp die Hälfte kleiner. Misst man diesem Umstand eine grundsätzliche Bedeutung zu, kann es sich bei dem Geehrten nur um eine Person gehandelt haben, die rangmäßig unter dem Kaiser und seiner Familie stand, jedoch seine Standesgenossen aus dem senatorischen Adel oder der Ritterschaft entscheidend überragte.

Meines Wissens ist bisher noch nie ernsthaft in Erwägung gezogen worden, ob es nicht Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa gewesen sein könnte, dem an exponierter Stelle am Rheinufer in Erinnerung an die Umsiedlung der Ubier auf die linke Flussseite und ihre erfolgreiche Romanisierung ein Denkmal gesetzt wurde. Dass dies wohl erst knapp zwei Jahrzehnte nach seinem Tod im Jahre 12 vor Chr. erfolgte, muss nicht weiter verwundern, wurde doch ARA VBIORVM erst einige Jahre nach seinem überraschenden Ableben überhaupt angelegt (Spiegel 2008). Dass dem Schwiegersohn und engsten Vertrauten des ersten Kaisers auch außerhalb Roms und Italiens zahlreiche Statuen gewidmet wurden, zeigt etwa das sogenannten Agrippa-Monument unterhalb der Propyläen in Athen. Ursprünglich als Denkmalsockel

zu Ehren der pergamenischen Herrscher Eumenes II. (197-159 vor Chr.) oder Attalos II. (159-138 vor Chr.) errichtet, schmückte seit dem Beginn der römischen Kaiserzeit ein Standbild Agrippas das fast 9 m hohe Monument vor dem Aufgang zur Akropolis.

Einen Eindruck davon, wie man sich die statuarische Wiedergabe Agrippas auf griechischem Boden vorzustellen hat, vermittelt eine gut erhaltene, überlebensgroße Statue in Venedig. Es spricht viel dafür, dass es sich um dieselbe "nackte kolossale Statue" handelt, die schon Johann Wolfgang von Goethe 1786 auf seiner ersten Italien-Reise im Innenhof eines Palastes der Stadt bestaunte (Kurz s.a., 73). Sollte es zutreffen, dass der Kölner Denkmalsockel tatsächlich für eine Statue oder Figurengruppe bestimmt war, die der Erinnerung an Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa dienen sollte, ist allerdings – anders als im Osten des Reiches – nicht von einer Darstellung des Geehrten in 'heroischer Nacktheit' auszugehen. Auch die Vorstellung, der 9,4 × 9,7 m messende Sockel könne auf seiner Plattform ein Zwei- oder gar Viergespann getragen haben, scheidet aus, weil davon auszugehen ist, dass der Kölner Sockelbau

zumindest ein, wenn nicht sogar zwei Säulengeschosse trug. Dabei ist lediglich unsicher, ob diese einen quadratischen oder kreisförmigen Grundriss besaßen; beide Bauformen sind gut belegt (Gabelmann 1972; 1979; Von Hesberg 1991).

Das wahrscheinlich eindrucksvollste Vergleichsbeispiel findet sich am nordwestlichen Rand des ehemaligen *Glanum*, nahe dem südfranzösischen Städtchen Saint-Rémy-de-Provence (Rolland 1969). Es ist eines der wenigen, nahezu vollständig erhaltenen Pfeilergrabdenkmäler, das sich bis in unsere Tage erhalten hat. Es wurde um das Jahr 35 vor Chr. von den Söhnen einer Familie errichtet, die den damals weit verbreiteten Familiennamen *Iulius* trug. Die Inschrift des Monuments erinnert daran, dass es *Lucius*, *Marcus* und *Sextius* waren, die dieses Mausoleum ihren *parentes*, das heißt ihren 'Vorfahren' widmeten. Der Grabturm misst circa 18 m und besteht aus einem massiven Sockelgeschoss, einem rechteckigen Mittelbau mit korinthischen Säulen an den Ecken, gekrönt von einem offenen Monopteros, einem Rundtempelchen aus korinthischen Säulen, darin zwei *togati*, das heißt Statuen männlicher Vorfahren. In vergleichbarer Form ließe sich – vorsichtig formuliert – auch das Kölner Monument rekonstruieren. Zumindest sprechen keinerlei Argumente grundsätzlich gegen eine solche Wiederherstellung, umso mehr, als es ein Kölner Fundstück ganz aus der Nähe gibt, das in diesen Zusammenhang gehört haben könnte (Salzmann 1990; hier Abb. 2).

Es handelt sich um einen deutlich überlebensgroßen Kopf eines Mannes aus weißem, feinkörnigem Marmor, der einst Teil einer Kolossalstatue war. Seine heutige Höhe von 44,2 cm, der noch weitere Zentimeter hinzugefügt werden müssen, da der Marmorblock, aus dem der Kopf gehauen wurde, sich nicht als ausreichend erwies und das Werkstück damit im Ober- und Hinterkopfbereich unvollendet blieb. Andererseits fiel dies nicht sonderlich ins Gewicht, wenn man davon ausgeht, dass die Statue des Geehrten den Betrachter bis zu 7 m oder mehr überragte und ihm der Blick auf die Rückseite und Draufsicht der Statue verwehrt war. Dies erklärt gleichzeitig auch manche Unebenheit der Portraitgestaltung, die schon J. Bracker als "bäurisch derb" bezeichnete und den Archäologen D. Salzmann zu dem Schluss kommen ließ, "dass das Bildnis nicht in einem stadtrömischen Atelier geschaffen wurde, sondern von provinziellen Bildhauern" (Bracker 1967, 138; Salzmann 1990, 174).

Die Fundgeschichte dieses Kopfes ist etwas verwirrend. Ursprünglich gefunden beim Bau der alten Markthalle an der Südseite des Heumarkts, das heißt wohl nicht mehr als circa 100 m vom Standort des Ubierrmonuments entfernt, blieb seine Bedeutung zunächst unerkannt. Stattdessen landete die wertvolle Fracht für etliche Jahrzehnte auf einer Abraumhalde am Klettenbergpark, wo der Kopf erst 1911 bei Kanalisierungsarbeiten wieder ans Tageslicht

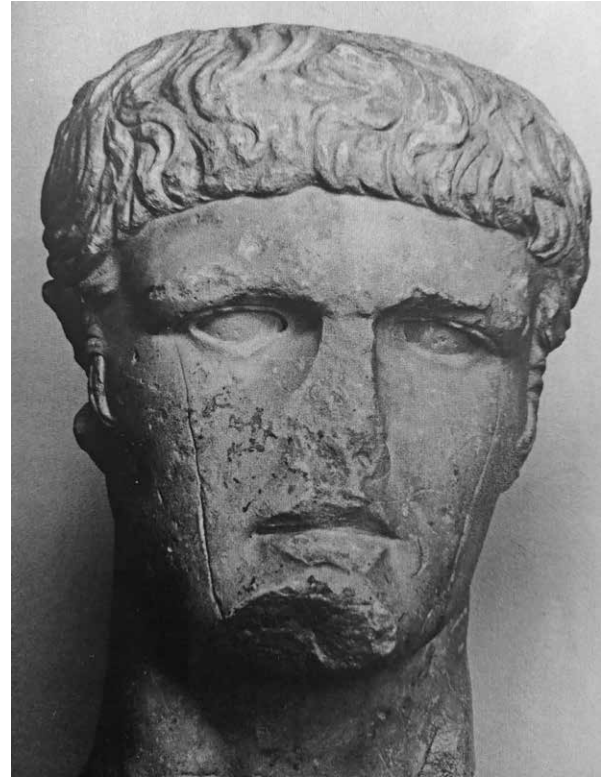


Abbildung 2. *ARA VBIORVM* / Köln. Sog. Kölner Kopf einer frühromischen Kolossalstatue, gefunden 1906 beim Bau der heute nicht mehr vorhandenen Markthalle am Heumarkt. Höhe des Erhaltenen 44,2 cm (Römisch-Germanisches Museum Köln).

kam (Poppelreuter 1911). Bei seiner Wiederauffindung noch als Bildnis des älteren Drusus gedeutet, setzte sich sehr bald – vor allem in Köln selbst – die Erkenntnis durch, dass der Dargestellte Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa sein müsse, allerdings wurde diese Identifizierung auch von einer nicht geringen Zahl von Forschern abgelehnt, zumindest jedoch in Frage gestellt. Bemerkenswert bleibt immerhin, dass sich unter den Zweiflern und Andersdenkenden niemand findet, der den Kölner Kopf mit Claudius gleichsetzte!

Abgesehen von der wenig wahrscheinlichen Deutung als Kopf einer Statue Domitians, die auf einen Vorschlag von D. Kreikenbom (1992) zurückgeht, sind Autoren wie D. Salzmann nach wie vor der Auffassung, dass es sich bei dem Kölner Kolossalkopf um ein Abbild des Claudius handle, der *ARA VBIORVM* im Jahre 50 nach Chr. auf Betreiben seiner Nichte und vierten Ehefrau Agrippina (die eine Enkelin Agrippas war!) in den *Colonia*-Status erhob. Das Echo auf diese Umdeutung erwies sich als so nachhaltig, dass der vermeintliche Kopf des Agrippa nach 1990 teilweise aus der ständigen Ausstellung des Römisch-Germanischen Museums verschwand. Fast mutet



Abbildung 3. Brustbild des Kaisers Tiberius Claudius (41-54 n. Chr.). Sog. Calzedoncameo. Höhe 14,5 cm, Breite 10,0 cm (Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum).

es an, als ringe man im Verborgenen um eine plausible Entscheidung, wen nun dieser wuchtige Kolossal Kopf vom Kölner Heumarkt wiedergeben sollte – Claudius, der im Jahr der Koloniegründung Kaiser in Rom war, jedoch die aufstrebende Stadt am Rhein nie zu Gesicht bekommen hat, oder nicht doch Marcus Agrippa, der 20-18 vor Chr. ein zweites Mal gallischer Statthalter in ARA VBIORVM war, die Ubier vom germanischen auf das römische Rheinufer verpflanzte und mit der römischen Neuansiedlung auf der linken Rheinseite erst die Grundlage zu späteren *colonia* legte?

Untersucht man die Argumentation des Autors näher, ergeben sich etliche Ungereimtheiten, die es bei eingehender Betrachtung wenig wahrscheinlich machen, in dem Kölner Kopf ein Kolossalbildnis des Claudius zu erkennen. Der Autor beginnt wie üblich mit einer allgemeinen Beschreibung des Kopfes, hebt unter anderem hervor, dass dieser – um ihn sekundär als Baumaterial besser verwenden zu können – an den Ohren, den ehemals wohl buschigen Augenbrauen und der Nasenpartie abgearbeitet und ‘begradigt’ wurde, vermerkt mit Recht, dass “die Anordnung und die Stilmerkmale (...) das kolossale Marmorportrait als ein

Bildnis der iulisch-claudischen Zeit (...) erkennen” lassen und richtet sein Hauptaugenmerk schließlich auf die Darstellung der Haarkalotte, die er zum “entscheidende(n) Bestimmungskriterium” erklärt (Salzmann 1990, 170). Salzmann beharrt schließlich auf der Auffassung, dass “das Kölner Portrait (...) in allen signifikanten Merkmalen” von der Ikonographie Agrippas “deutlich” abweiche und eine Zuweisung an Claudius – wenn überhaupt – allein “durch (das) Zählen der Locken und Aufschlüsseln der (Haar-)Systeme” ermöglicht werde.

Dass eine solche Bestimmungsmethode sehr schnell an ihre Grenzen stoßen kann, zeigt allein schon die summarische Betrachtung und Gegenüberstellung von Köpfen und Portraits der beiden genannten Persönlichkeiten. Hierbei zeigt sich – sowohl bei Agrippa wie bei Claudius – eine Variationsbreite in der bildnerischen Darstellung, die es allenfalls ermöglicht, von einzelnen ‘Bildtypen’ zu sprechen. Es stimmt beispielsweise nicht, wenn behauptet wird, dass sich die gesamte Ikonographie Agrippas “auf eine einzige Bildnisfassung” zurückführen lasse. Die Kriterien, die der Autor für Claudius mit “hochansetzenden Stirnecken”, “schwungvoll über die Stirnmitte nach rechts gestrichenem Haarbüschel”, “eingetieften Schläfen”, dem “bewegte(n) Karnat” und dem “bulligen Untergesicht mit dem schweren Kinn” anführt, gelten zum Teil auch für andere Portraittköpfe der Beiden. Hier zu behaupten, hierin weiche das Kölner Portrait in allen signifikanten Merkmalen deutlich ab, wird allein schon durch den Hinweis auf das “bullige Untergesicht” des Dargestellten widerlegt, das sich bei keinem Claudius-Portrait auch nur im Ansatz findet, vielmehr ein besonders hervorstechendes Merkmal gerade der Physiognomie Agrippas darstellt und seinem energischen und willensstarken Charakter und Auftreten entspricht (Abb. 4).

Hinzu kommt, dass der Kölner Kopf in doppelter Lebensgröße mitsamt seiner gesamten körperlichen Erscheinung offensichtlich auf Fernwirkung ausgelegt war, das heißt dieser Anblick von ganz unten für den Betrachter im Grunde wichtiger gewesen sein dürfte als so manches Detail der Physiognomie des Dargestellten beziehungsweise das “System von Gabel- und Zangenlocken”, worauf der Autor bereits eingangs selbst hingewiesen hatte, als er angesichts der fehlenden Kalotte und des abgeplatteten Hinterkopfes feststellte, dass der Kopf wohl nur in einem örtlichen Atelier entstanden sein kann. Darauf weist auch das Fehlen jeglichen Hinweises auf mögliche Anstückungen, sowohl am Ober- wie am Hinterkopf, wo man versucht hat, “die fehlende (Stein-) Substanz durch flache Haarsträhnen zu kaschieren”.

Wie Claudius wohl tatsächlich ausgesehen hat, vermittelt am ehesten sein Abbild auf einem Chalzedon-Cameo im Wiener Kunstgeschichtlichen Museum, das einen leicht abwesenden, in sich gekehrten, fast ein

wenig betulich und einfältig wirkenden Menschen mit eingefallenen Wangenfalten zeigt, dem man die jahrelange Zurücksetzung seiner Person und die damit verbundenen Demütigungen durch die eigene Familie anzusehen glaubt (Abb. 3). Augenscheinlich denselben Bildtypus gibt auch die Münzprägung wieder, wie ihn ein silberner Cistophor aus der Zeit kurz nach 50 n. Chr. zeigt, der den inzwischen mehr als 60 Jahre alten Claudius neben seiner Nichte Agrippina zeigt, mit der er in vierter Ehe verheiratet war (Abb. 5).

Was dagegen an dem Kölner Kolossalkopf bereits auf den ersten Blick ins Auge fällt und auch auf Agrippas Münzen wiederkehrt, ist die energiegeladene Wucht und selbstbewusste Präsenz seines persönlichen Ausdrucks (Abb. 2 und 4). Dazu denke man sich – in Anlehnung an die Wiedergabe seiner Gestalt im Museum zu Venedig mit einer Größe von 3,17 m! – einen hohen und wuchtigen Körperbau des Dargestellten, der – selbst aus der Entfernung, dazu vom Boden her betrachtet – als Stellvertreter seines Kaisers ernst und achtungsgebietend auf die Bewohner von ARA VBIORVM herabgeblickt haben wird. Von dorthier kann man sich die Außenwirkung dieser Statue in annähernd zweifacher Lebensgröße gar nicht eindrucksvoll genug vorstellen! Wie auch andere Provinzstatthalter wird Marcus Agrippa wohl zu Pferde im Panzer des Feldherrn dargestellt gewesen sein, mit dem *paludamentum*, dem Feldherrnmantel, über der rechten Schulter.

Der Größenvergleich verschiedener Grabdenkmäler hatte ergeben, dass es offenbar Vorschriften gegeben haben muss, die die Ausmaße eines Monuments regelten. Ähnlich kann und wird es auch in Bezug auf die Konzeption von Statuen gewesen sein. Denn während *simulacra* ('Standbilder') und damit auch deren Köpfe bei Claudius – soweit man sehen kann – durchweg menschliches Maß nur unwesentlich überstiegen haben, besaßen Statuen des Agrippa – gemessen an seiner Bedeutung als Schwiegersohn des ersten Kaisers und möglicher Nachfolger – einen weit höheren Stellenwert als bei Claudius, der sich eben auch in der Monumentalität seiner Standbilder ausdrückte. Möglicherweise gewinnt man durch diesen Aspekt seiner Persönlichkeit ein weiteres starkes Argument für die Deutung des Kölner Kolossalkopfes als Agrippa, der annähernd doppelte Lebensgröße aufweist und zu einer monumentalen Marmorstatue gehört haben muss, deren 'Gardemaß' zumindest 3,50 m betragen haben muss. Danach kann – in des Wortes wahrer Bedeutung – nur eine wirklich 'überragende' Persönlichkeit in dieser Form dargestellt gewesen sein. Da es – bezogen auf das Jahr 5 nach Chr. – nicht Augustus war, bietet sich in dieser frühen Zeit im Grunde nur Agrippa an. Für ihn spricht zudem auch die Tatsache, dass der Kölner Portraitzopf – kenntlich unter anderem an dem Fehlen der für den deutlich älteren Claudius typischen tief eingegraben



Abbildung 4. Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa. Versuch einer Wiederherstellung und Ergänzung des Kölner Kopfes als Marcus Agrippa (Zeichnerische Umsetzung Jutta Langhoff, Moers).



Abbildung 5. Cistophor in Silber mit dem Doppelbildnis von Claudius und Agrippina und der Umschrift TI(berius) CLAVD(ius) CAES(ar) AVG(ustus) AGRIPP(ina) AVGVSTA. Geprägt 50/51 n. Chr., wahrscheinlich in Ephesos.

Stirn- und Wangenfalten – eher einen Vierzig- als einen Sechzigjährigen wiedergibt.

Agrippa starb 12 vor Chr. völlig überraschend im Alter von 51 Jahren, als er die neue Siedlung am Mittelrhein längst wieder verlassen hatte. Bis dort ein ihm gewidmetes Denkmal errichtet wurde, vergingen noch einige Jahre. Doch seit dem Jahre 5 nach Chr. könnte das Monument, das fortan an ihn und sein segensreiches Wirken vor Ort erinnerte, seinen Platz am Rheinstrom gefunden haben. Da es ein *kenotaphion*, das heißt ein Erinnerungsmal war, das keine sterblichen Überreste enthielt, konnte es ein knappes halbes Jahrhundert später als eine Art Eckturm in die neuerbaute Mauer einbezogen werden, die der Stadt, die inzwischen zur *C(olonia) C(laudia) A(ra) A(grippinensium)* aufgestiegen war, jahrhundertlang Schutz bot.

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Commemorating the dead in ancient Rome and modern Europe

David J. Breeze

I have visited the *Tropaeum Traiani*, twice, in 1972 and again in 2012 (fig. 1). No matter what we might think of the 'restoration' by the Ceausescu government, I hope that we can agree that it is still a monument of significance (Stefan 2009; Turner 2013). Yet, it challenges archaeologists with two problems: in its present form it is unique and unique items in archaeology are difficult to deal with; and we don't know what it is for. There is certainly an inscription on the monument. It was dedicated to Mars Ultor by Trajan shortly after the end of his second successful Dacian War. But after that, we are left to our own interpretations. Yes, it recorded Trajan's successful conquest of *Dacia*, but we should note that this took him two attempts. Did the monument represent a sigh of relief that he was successful the second time? Was it intended to show that Trajan was better than the damned Domitian whose armies suffered two catastrophic defeats on the Danube? History is littered with actions which covered up previous defeats, including the lauding of the skirmish at Rorke's Drift after the disaster of Isandlwana in the Zulu War of 1879 (Glover 1975, 130-131) and the success of the Falkland's War after Britain's previous mistaken foreign policy.

Imperial powers have difficulties with victory and defeat alike. Is it those memories of victories, standing alone, fighting off the Spaniards, French and Germans, not to mention the Dutch, the Danes and the Russians, which led to the people of the UK voting for Brexit? The equally great problem is, how does an Imperial power cope with defeat? Pretend it never happened? Blame someone else? Resolve to do better next time? We might consider *Tropaeum Traiani* in the light of such questions.

Rome and her defeats

The Romans were not afraid to acknowledge their defeats. One of the greatest occurred in the Teutoburg Forest in AD 9. The interesting fact about this defeat is that it was not swept under the carpet, nor in fact was there an immediate resolve to avenge the loss. No, surely, the most significant aspect is that the numbers 17, 18 and 19 were never used again for legions. This was a constant reminder that these legions had been destroyed; in effect, they were ever present by their absence, as were truncated limbs. Tacitus recorded that Germanicus exacted revenge and retrieved two of the three lost eagles and this helped heal Rome's wounded pride as had the return to Augustus of the eagles lost by Crassus at *Carrhae* (Augustus *Res gestae divi Augusti* 29; Cassius Dio *Historia Romana* 54.1; Tacitus *Annales* 1.60). But at the same time only the wounded were allowed

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Figure 1. The restored *Tropaeum Traiani* under repair 2012 (Romania).

to appear on Roman victory monuments such as Trajan's Column (Scenes 39-40 and 102-103), never the dead, unlike British Royal Artillery's war memorial, which is why they are not a direct parallel. The appearance of dead enemies on Roman victory monuments, however, is intended to reflect not just the defeat of the enemy but Roman bravery in achieving victory.

I could offer less significant examples of the loss of Roman soldiers. Inscriptions in *Cyrenaica* acknowledged the destruction caused during the Jewish uprising at the end of Trajan's reign (Cassius Dio *Historia Romana* 68.32). An inscription from *Vindolanda* records the death of a soldier in battle about the same time (RIB 3364). An inscription at Ambleside records two soldiers killed in the fort by the enemy (RIB 3218). These are explicit statements. Death, defeat and destruction were not swept under the carpet. So, as we have seen at Adamclisi, it was acceptable to acknowledge the death of those who died in the service of Rome. Indeed, we can go beyond that and acknowledge the pride of families who had given their sons to the defence of their countries and thereby contributed to the glory of their families. It was Horatius (*Odes* 3.2.13) who wrote, "*dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*", "how sweet and honourable it is to die for one's country". This Latin phrase was used by both the British and the Germans in the First World War. With that in mind we can return to Adamclisi. The altar on the site erected by Domitian after his defeat includes the statement "in honour and memory of the very brave soldiers who died for the state". It stands comparison with the collection of the bones of the dead

in the Varian Disaster and the erection of a tumulus. Both were deliberate actions by the state.

The Antonine Wall

I should like to turn to another unique archaeological artefact, or rather artefacts, the distance slabs from the Antonine Wall. These were created in the years following the Roman victory in 142 and they record the building of the new frontier (Keppie 1998, 51-70). They are like no other inscriptions and sculpture recording the building of Roman frontiers and, in space and time, unlike the very simple inscriptions recording the construction of Hadrian's Wall and the Outer Limes in Germany.

These stones have two elements. Several bear scenes rendered in sculpture; all had the intention of recording the building of a length of the frontier by individual legions, three in number, *II Augusta*, *VI Victrix* and *XX Valeria Victrix*. On one level, interpretation is simple. They commemorate the success of the Roman army in carrying out the instructions of its commander-in-chief, the emperor Antoninus Pius, defeating their – his – enemies and building a new Wall. That narrative can be supported by two significant facts. In spite of his long reign, surpassed only by Augustus under the Principate, and wars in many parts of his Empire – do not believe the spin of the ancient writers that his reign was peaceful – this was the only time after his accession that Pius took the title *Imperator*. This personal relationship is underpinned by the comment of Fronto that the emperor directed the operations from his palace in Rome (*Panegyrici Latini* 8(5).14.2).

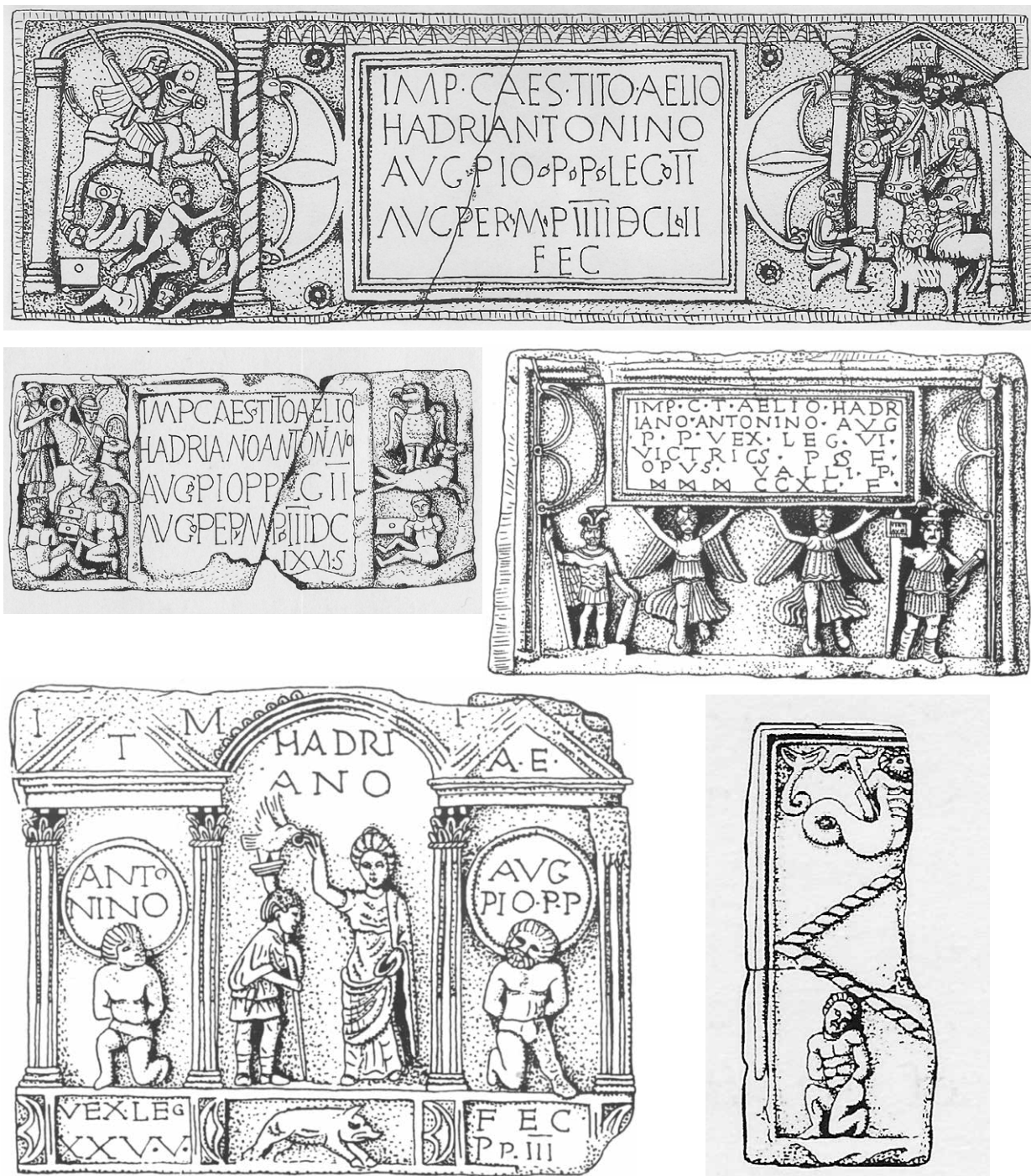


Figure 2. A collage showing the enemy dead and captives on the Antonine Wall distance slabs (Margaret Scott).



Figure 3. Two monuments showing armies in action. Above. The British Royal Artillery; Below. The Roman army (© David Breeze).



Figure 4. A war memorial in Newcastle upon Tyne, UK (© David Breeze).

But if it was as simple as that, why create and erect these 60 – the probable total number, of which we know 20 – monumental items? What was the intended audience? One of the slightly awkward aspects that we cannot escape is that they would normally only be seen by the soldiers themselves as they sat within a military zone. This was especially true for those placed on the north side of the Wall, behind a broad upcast mound, wide ditch and berm in places 28 m wide in total, even if coloured as they surely were. Visibility has been touched on by other speakers in this session.

I recently discussed the distance slabs in a paper with Iain Ferris and what follows is largely Iain's work (Breeze & Ferris 2016). In acknowledging the basic invisibility of the stones, Iain argued that perhaps they were erected by the soldiers to laud their own work. All the stones that bear scenes show soldiers fighting, winning, seeking or obtaining the approval of the gods, including Victoria, in some cases watched by kneeling, bound and captive enemies (fig. 2). There is no equivalent of Trajan here watching the proceedings as on his Column (Scene 9/26), apart from the long recitation of the titles of Antoninus Pius. Rather it is the activities of the soldiers that are being commemorated. A modern parallel which might be considered is the murals painted by modern soldiers in their bases to commemorate their own activities.

Iain took two further steps (Breeze & Ferris 2016, 26-35). The first is that what we may see here being

celebrated was the soldiers resuming their normal activities, fighting and winning battles and extending the Empire after the atrophy of the years of Hadrian. In short, 'we are in business again, lads'. The second point is more subtle, which is that what we are perceiving is the army recording its control of the land. They had conquered not just enemies but the land on which their enemies lived and such an interpretation gains some traction from the careful recording of the lengths of the frontier that the legions built, down to a single foot. Do we see here the Romans through their careful measurements emphasising their control of the landscape? All soldiers appreciate that their victories are won not just by the living but also the sacrifice of their dead comrades. Can we see these dead comrades being commemorated through the creation of the distance slabs erected by their surviving, living colleagues?

Modern commemorations of the dead

We must acknowledge that we commemorate our military dead in different languages, that is sculpturally as well as in prose and poetry. In our world, this is a relatively modern phenomenon. The first British battle to warrant a medal was that of Waterloo in 1815. The Crimean War of the 1850's resulted in some memorials, the Boer War of 1899-1902 in rather more. But it was the catastrophic First World War that produced the greatest number of memorials which still adorn our towns. I make a point of examining the names

on memorials no matter which country I am in, and always pause when there are several men with the same surname and wonder at the effect on their families.

In Britain the First World War led to the erection of a wide range of memorials, recording the deaths of soldiers in their home towns and villages, or in their work place, and in their most grandiose form in the regimental memorials. One of the latter is that to the soldiers of the Royal Artillery in London. This is remarkably similar in many ways to the Antonine Wall distance slabs and Trajan's Column and the Column of Marcus, in that it records the actions of the soldiers themselves. These men are recording their basic activities in stone; they are lauding their own labours (fig. 3a-b).

In acknowledging this, can we see that such memorials are recording the work of the living as well as commemorating the dead? Are these not two sides of the same coin? At Adamclisi, could we appreciate that Trajan was not just acknowledging the war dead, but also giving his approval to the work of the living? This is certainly the case with his Column on which we see the army in action and only injured soldiers. A different narrative is at play here. One of the war memorials in Britain that I find most evocative is in Newcastle, just 1 km north of Hadrian's Wall. It records civilians being turned into an army. The back story is that it was commissioned by a man who saw all his five sons going to war in 1914 and returning home

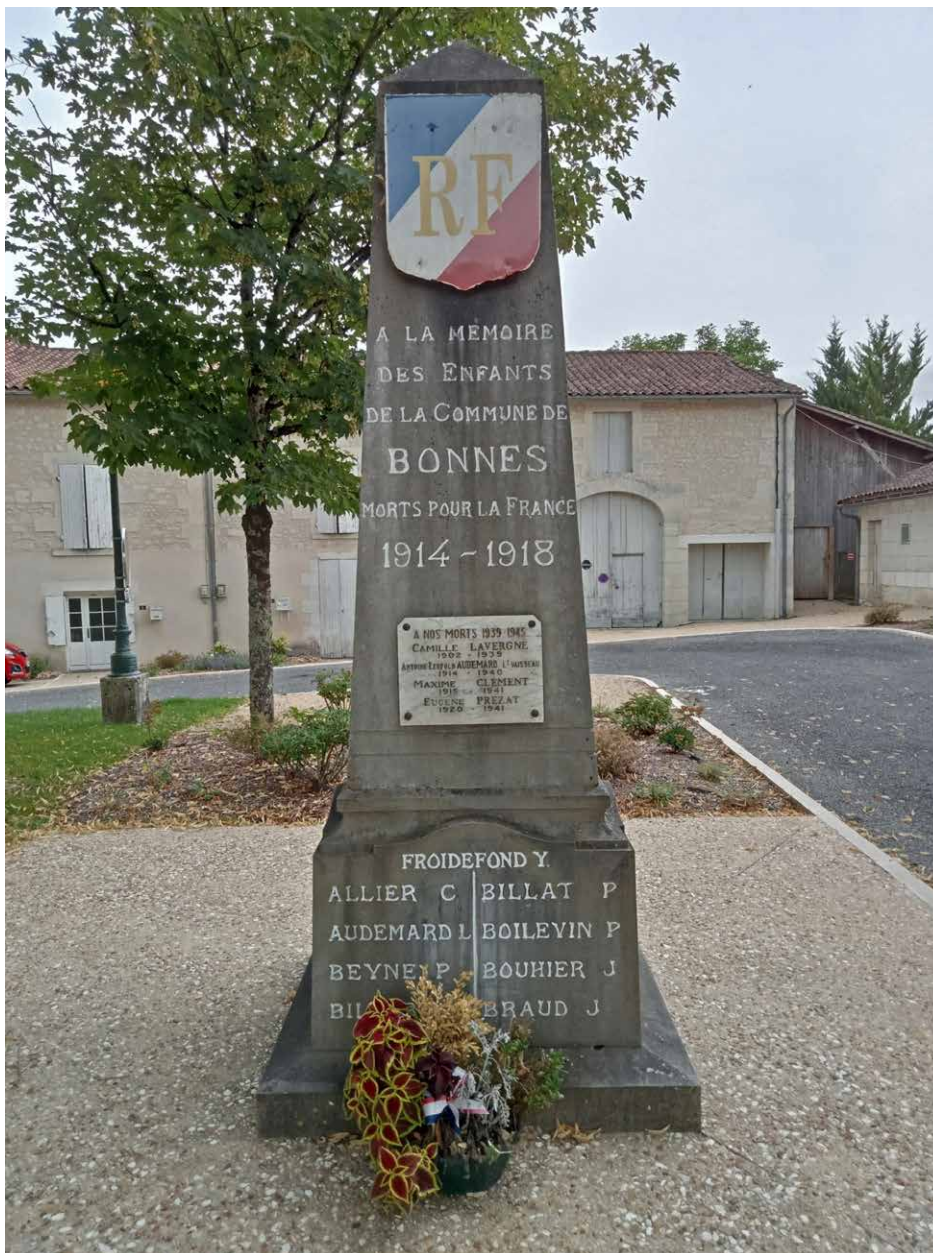


Figure 5. A war memorial in the village of Bonnes, France (© David Breeze).

safely (fig. 4). This is surely the living being celebrated as well as the dead.

After the killing fields of the Western Front in the First World War, the commemorations of the Second World War were more muted. Often simply a few names were added to the memorial to the dead of the earlier war (fig. 5). And it is the end of the First World War that is still commemorated in Britain even though there is no one alive from that war.

Attitudes to wars can change. When I first visited France, I noticed the small, simple plaques on some streets which recorded that on a certain date a certain person died, usually with the epithet ‘*un enfant de France*’. As the years went by new plaques appeared, usually more informative. They were on the lines of, on such-and-such a date x number of Jews were rounded up here and sent to a concentration camp, often with a statement that this was by the Nazis. The commemoration of the dead can come in different ways at different times and change over time.

The death of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand

Finally, I should like to add that the manner of commemoration could depend on who died and in what circumstances. My example is the death of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand on that fateful day, 28 June 1914. He was certainly in the wrong place at the wrong time, but the reason for this is important. He married beneath his station and this appalled the Imperial family. Franz Ferdinand was appointed inspector general of the army and that allowed him to go travelling and take his wife with him rather than glimpse her at the far end of the Imperial dinner table, below the salt. That took him to Sarajevo and the death of the archduke and his wife. The emperor refused burial in the Imperial crypt in Vienna and so the pair were buried at his castle in Lower Austria. One is reminded of the dislike of Hadrian by the senators of Rome and the strenuous, and ultimately successful, efforts of his successor Antoninus Pius to have his ashes placed in the mausoleum that Hadrian himself had created, today known as Castel Sant’Angelo. It is a salutary reminder of the linking of life and death and how we commemorate the dead.

Abbreviation

RIB: *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*

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The Vynen monument and commemorating a greater victory

Flavian propaganda and reconstruction
along the limes

Michael den Hartog

Introduction

The Vynen monument from the Nordsee in Xanten (fig. 1) was found at the end of the 1970's (AÉ 1979, 413; Rüger *et al.* 1979, 187-200). Although the top part is broken off, it is one of the best preserved Flavian monuments of *Germania inferior* and *Germania superior*. Since its discovery it has gone into literature as a victory monument (*Siegesdenkmal*) for the victory of *Legio VI Victrix* over the Batavians in an epic battle near Xanten. The original stone is in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Bonn and a life-size copy is in the LVR-Römermuseum in the Archäologischer Park Xanten. For the 1970's and 1980's this was a satisfactory explanation. The Batavians were rediscovered as an archaeological research topic and they played an important role in the history and narrative of the Netherlands and the Lower Rhine.

Political reasons are often behind messages on Roman monuments and coins. In short we may call this propaganda. As Paul Zanker (1983) has shown when discussing the power of images, Roman monumental stones, public buildings, statues, coins, *etc.* can be seen as vehicles of propaganda. Augustus was a master in propaganda and the Flavians tried to follow in his footsteps. Both were masters in conveying their message in what they wanted the populace and their soldiers to hear and likewise masters in muffling away what they wanted people not to hear. In exploring the monument we can ask, what role did the stone play in Flavian propaganda? First I shall look at what was central to Flavian propaganda. Following this I shall turn to the monument and the arguments why the stone was a victory monument or something else. Then I shall discuss other monumental inscriptions dating to roughly the same year as the Vynen monument after which some conclusions are presented.

The Flavians and their propaganda

The stone is without doubt an expression of Flavian monumentality. Over the generations, the Flavians worked themselves upward within Roman society from tax collecting, through military commands to Caesars on the throne. Vespasian and his brother

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Figure 1. The Vynen monument (CIL-Archiv, Inv.-No. PH0009771).

Flavius Sabinus must have had legionary commands on the Rhine before leading Roman legions in the invasion of *Britannia* under Claudius. Central to the legitimization of their power was the suppression of the Judean revolt (AD 66-70). Especially the sacking and destruction of Jerusalem by Vespasian's son Titus (legionary commander of *Legio XV Apollinaris*) was given plenty attention and was important in their propaganda of Roman Imperial greatness. In AD 71 Vespasian and Titus were given a triumph in Rome for sacking Jerusalem.

The money and riches stolen from Jerusalem were from sometime between AD 70 and 72 onwards used in Rome to build the Flavian amphitheatre or Colosseum which was finished under Domitian (AD 81-96). Coins with the legend *Judaea capta* were struck and under Domitian a triumphal arch for Titus was built. In contrast to this there is a void in propaganda and inscriptions celebrating recovering the Rhineland from rebellious tribal groups in AD 70. Thus if the Vynen

monument was erected to celebrate a victory over the Batavian rebels and their allies this would be unique within Flavian propaganda.

The monument

The stone can be seen as a stray find. It was found during dredging operations for gravel in the northern part of what is now the Xantener Nordsee but used to be farmland near the river Rhine. This findspot is situated c. 6 km north of the Xanten archaeological park with the city layout of *Colonia Ulpia Traiana* and 8 or 9 km north of the fortress *Vetera II*. The stone slab was dredged up from a depth of 12 to 15 m, but it had likely dropped off from the slope earlier, so its original position in the subsoil stratigraphy is not known. No other stones were found with the monument and no small finds are mentioned. There is however mention of wood and wood with iron fittings. This was not recovered and still lies somewhere on the bottom of the pit (Rüger *et al.* 1979, 187). In Roman times the location was likely an abandoned Rhine arm which held water when the water levels were high. Although the river has meandered, the bend in the river north of the findspot is probably more or less on the same location as it was in Roman times.

As said, the monument is one of the best preserved Flavian monuments in *Germania inferior* and *Germania superior*. From these two provinces less than 20 such monuments are known. Trier has yielded the head of a statue of Vespasian. At Offenburg a milestone has been discovered. At Bonn, Dijon, Cologne and some other places inscriptions have surfaced. In many cases they are just chunks of stone with a few letters left. In translation the text on the Vynen monument reads (AÉ 1979, 413):

"[Under emperor Caesar Vespasianus, Pontifex Maximus, with authority of tribune for the fourth time, Imperator for the tenth time, designated consul for the fourth time and designated censor for the fifth time, Father of the Fatherland, and] Titus, son of emperor Vespasianus, with authority of tribune, proclaimed Imperator for the fourth time, designated consul for the second time and designated censor for the third time, under the governor Aulus Marius Celsus and the legionary commander Sextus Caelius Tuscus, *Legio VI Victrix* (set up this monument)."

No other information has surfaced on the *legatus legionis* Sextus Caelius Tuscus, but the governor Aulus Marius Celsus under whose tenure the monument was erected is well known from Roman sources on the civil war of AD 69 which is also known as the Year of the Four Emperors. Under Vespasian he was governor of *Germania inferior* in AD 71-73. His *cursus honorum* has a long track record. He had been a Roman senator and was even suffect consul in AD 69. He served all emperors during the AD 69 civil war and commanded Otho's cavalry against Vitellius. After Otho's defeat Marius Celsus was spared by Vitellius who thought him to be an honourable man (Morgan 2006, 150-151).

A victory monument or maybe something else?

The authors of the initial article on the stone give a number of reasons why they concluded it was a victory monument. In short, the Battle of *Vetera*, in which the Batavians and their allies suffered severe losses, was in their opinion the biggest victory in *Germania* so far. The legion erected the monument at the location of the victory, *Vetera*. The legion that dedicated the monument was the only legion participating in Cerialis' pacification operations that remained on the Rhine (Rüger *et al.* 1979, 200). The legion erected the monument for the farewell of Aulus Marius Celsus, governor of *Germania inferior* and main beneficiary of Cerialis' victory over the Batavians. This was done after the fortifications on the limes in *Germania inferior* had been restored, at least those under the supervision of the legion (Rüger *et al.* 1979, 200).

These are legitimate explanations or theories for the 1970's and 1980's. But from a present-day perspective, with much more information available, they can be questioned. Especially because they were hardly elaborated. The stone is clearly monumental. It is dedicated to Vespasian and his son Titus and they are named with full titles. From a propaganda point of view the stone can therefore be seen as a means of communicating a message about the emperor and his son, their powers and what they had achieved. To relate the stone to a battle is challenging as neither battle nor victory are mentioned. Moreover, any mention of Cerialis, the general who quenched the revolt, is absent.

The authors already mentioned that find circumstances show that the stone was displaced (Rüger *et al.* 1979, 200). As it is not known where the stone was erected and the findspot does not provide any clues, the argument that the legion set up the monument at the location of the victory, *Vetera*, can from an archaeological perspective not be substantiated. The Battle of *Vetera*, which the Batavians and their allies lost, in their view was the biggest victory in *Germania* yet. However, when taking the text as a propaganda message one would expect that Vespasian would have taken on the title Germanicus, which he did not. Moreover, the battle did not end the Batavian Revolt. This happened at a later phase somewhere else. According to Tacitus the revolt ended through negotiations on a bridge crossing the river *Nabalia* (location unknown). Here the Flavian officers were in for a surprise as the Batavian leader declared he used to call Vespasian a friend and that he was not at odds with the Flavians but with Vitellius' army (Tacitus *Historiae* 5.26).

Then there is the problem of how to deal with propaganda in civil wars. The Batavian Revolt was a part of the civil war. When claiming a victory for Rome one has to keep in mind that the events in the Rhineland also witnessed lost battles, assassinations and even the destruction of the

Vitellian *Legio XV Primigenia*. The governor of *Germania superior*, Hordeonius Flaccus, was murdered by his own troops when he tried to turn them to support Vespasian. A dramatic reflection of the AD 70 events is a stone, now lost, in Rome commissioned by the widow of Gaius Dillius Vocula for her husband (Newton 1901, 15; EDCS 17900079). This unfortunate commander of *Legio XXII Primigenia* had tried to relieve the besieged garrison of *Vetera* but fell into a trap set by the *Treveri* and *Lingones* and was subsequently assassinated by a deserter from *Legio I Germanica* (Tacitus *Historiae* 4.59).

The legion that dedicated the monument was not the only legion in Cerialis' army that remained in the Rhineland. Most of the legions that participated in putting down the Batavian and other revolts took up camp in *Germania inferior* and *Germania superior* for years to come. Also the argument regarding Celsus' farewell after the fortifications on the limes of *Germania inferior* had been restored is not likely. *Vetera II* at Xanten and the fortress at Nijmegen were new and probably only in a makeshift phase. *Legio VI Victrix* was to build its camp in stone. This was a huge enterprise, not something done in just a few years.

Nonetheless, there are certain features that make the stone special. As the stone is vertical and its full size would have been longer than 2 m, its format is different from other building inscriptions. Also the lettering differs where it comes to the name of the legion. With twice the size of the other letters, LEG VI VICTRIX is definitely pronounced. With these larger letters the legion and its commander may have wanted to express their importance. Emphasis on the name VICTRIX may from this point of view express that the legion during the upheavals had indeed been victorious. It is said that before the battle Cerialis reminded the legion about its role in making Galba emperor (Tacitus *Historiae* 5.16). By backing Vespasian it had again been on the winning side.

Flavian restructuring of the Rhine legions

Dealing with the Batavian revolt and the revolts of the *Treveri* and *Lingones* had in AD 70 not been the only problem on the mind of Flavian generals when retaking the Rhineland. What Civilis said during the peace talks at the *Nabalia* bridge may have struck a chord. The Batavians had been mainly fighting Vitellius' Rhine army and so had the Flavians (Tacitus *Historiae* 5.26). For the Flavians bringing the legions on the Rhine under control was of the utmost importance for securing power. These legions had crushed the Vindex revolt, mutinied against the emperors Galba and Otho and had supported Vitellius as emperor. Even after they were defeated in AD 69 by the Flavian forces at the Second Battle of *Bedriacum*, they had not declared for Vespasian.

Rhine legions in AD 69	former Rhine legions	Rhine legions under Vespasian
<i>I Germanica</i> (Bonn)	<i>I Flavia Minervia</i> (Moesia)	<i>I Adiutrix</i> (Mainz)
<i>IV Macedonica</i> (Mainz)	<i>IV Flavia Felix</i> (Dalmatia)	<i>VI Victrix</i> (Neuss)
<i>V Alaudae</i> (Xanten)	<i>V Alaudae</i> (Dalmatia)	<i>X Gemina</i> (Nijmegen)
<i>XV Primigenia</i> (Xanten)	<i>XVI Flavia Firma</i> (Cappadocia)	<i>XI Claudia</i> (Windisch)
<i>XVI Gallica</i> (Neuss)	<i>XXI Rapax</i> (Bonn)	<i>XIV Gemina</i> (Mainz)
<i>XXI Rapax</i> (Windisch)	<i>XXII Primigenia</i> (Xanten)	<i>VIII Augusta</i> (Mirebeau-sur-Bèze)
<i>XXII Primigenia</i> (Mainz)		<i>XXI Rapax</i> (Bonn)
		<i>XXII Primigenia</i> (Xanten)

Table 1. Reorganisation of the Rhine legions after AD 69.

findspot	Roman province	governor	military unit	year
Vynen (near Xanten)	<i>Germania inferior</i>	Aulus Marius Celsus	<i>Legio VI Victrix</i>	73
Vindonissa (Windisch)	<i>Germania superior</i>	Appius Annius Gallus	<i>Legio XI Claudia</i>	72-73
Carnuntum (Petronell)	<i>Pannonia</i>	Gaius Calpetanus, Rantius Quirinalis, Valerius Festus	<i>Legio XV Apollinaris</i>	73
Aquincum (Budapest)	<i>Pannonia</i>	Gaius Calpetanus, Rantius Quirinalis, Valerius Festus	<i>Ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana</i>	73
Ayni (near Gaziantep)	<i>Syria</i>	Aulus Marius Celsus	<i>Legio III Gallica, Legio IIII Scythica</i>	73

Table 2. Flavian inscriptions from AD 72-73.

The defeat of the Rhine legions at *Bedriacum* and the subsequent execution of Vitellius made Vespasian *de facto* the new Roman emperor. Winning the civil war was by far Vespasian's greatest victory. However, civil wars do not make good propaganda as was the case for the Flavian victory over the Rhine army. The sacking of Rome and other cities like *Cremona*, fighting other Roman soldiers and executions of adversaries made the Flavian victory not something to celebrate.

The push north of the Flavian forces coincided with a thorough reorganisation of the armies of *Germania inferior* and *Germania superior* (table 1). *Legio XV Primigenia* had been routed in the Batavian Revolt and was not revived. What was left of *Legio V Alaudae* had been marched off to *Dalmatia*. When analysing the names of legions during the Flavian period one may presume that two or three other legions were renamed but kept their number. *Legio IV Macedonica* was renamed to *IV Flavia Felix* and *XVI Gallica* to *XVI Flavia Firma*. It is thought that *Legio I Germanica* was disbanded after AD 70 and that a few decades later *Legio I Flavia Minervia* was newly constituted by Domitian. On the basis of tile stamps with the lettering LIF from Bonn, Xanten and maybe LPFC from Nijmegen it seems that *Legio I Germanica* was perhaps not disbanded but renamed to *Legio I Flavia* (EDCS 11100285, 36300108, 69300208 and 69300498). If this is the case, this may have occurred during Vespasian's rule. The *cognomen Minervia* was in any case added under Domitian. That these legions

were renamed with the name *Flavia* must have taken place at an early stage in order to secure their allegiance to the Flavian rulers. Most likely there would have been ceremonies in which the legionaries and their officers swore allegiance to Rome and the new emperor. As for propaganda value, the new names disguised these units' initial anti-Flavian sentiment.

Maybe as part of their punishment but also as a means to form a new institutional identity, *IV Flavia Felix* and *XVI Flavia Firma* were transferred to other regions in the Empire, like *V Alaudae*. *Legio XVI Flavia Firma* even ended up as far as *Cappadocia* (Bishop 2012, 99-100). In fact of the seven legions originally stationed on the Rhine only *XXI Rapax* and *XXII Primigenia* remained. These two legions had after the second battle of *Bedriacum* been the most cooperative former Vitellian units. With Lucius Flavius Silva as its temporary new commander *Legio XXI Rapax* was initially sent back to *Vindonissa* (Windisch). *Legio XXII Primigenia* was first placed in *Carnuntum* in *Pannonia* but soon returned to the Rhine (Morgan 2006, 226).

The reorganisation of the armies of *Germania inferior* and *Germania superior* not only affected the former legions stationed on the Rhine. Although Cerialis is said to have called *Legio XIV Gemina* the conquerors of Britannia (Tacitus *Historiae* 5.16), it was withheld from returning there. Instead the legion was placed in *Mogontiacum* (Mainz). Maybe the legion, because of its unruly behaviour



Figure 2. AD 73 building inscription from Carnuntum (CIL-Archiv, Inv.-No. PH0000132).

during the Year of the Four Emperors, was seen as a liability in *Britannia*. Besides the thorough reorganisation of the legions there is also evidence that the Flavians took measures against the old nobility or *stirps regia* of the Batavians and other tribal groups that had rebelled. Before these revolts the *gentilicum* Iulius was normal for the local and military leadership. But afterwards this changed considerably. For instance, during the AD 92-104 period Batavian *praefecti* at *Vindolanda* in *Britannia* have the *gentilicum* Flavius (Derks 2004, 56).

Monumental inscriptions from AD 72-73

When looking for parallels there are a number of other monumental inscriptions from the years AD 72-73. They can be seen as building inscriptions (table 2). The formula on these stones is more or less the same as on the one from Vynen. The names of the governor and of the military unit who set up the stones differ and on some of the inscriptions Vespasian's other son is also mentioned.

From *Vindonissa* (Windisch) in *Germania superior* there are the remnants of a building inscription. The governor would have been Appius Annius Gallus. With regards to his background he has much in common with Marius Celsus. For instance, he also held command over a part of Otho's army against the Vitellian forces. The legion at *Vindonissa* was *XI Claudia* which had been moved to the Rhine from Moesia. Annius Gallus' successor was Gnaeus Pinarius Cornelius Clemens who was to govern *Germania superior* from AD 73 to AD 75. The already mentioned milestone from Offenbourg shows he put the legions to work by building a road between Strasbourg (*Argentoratum*) and the province of *Raetia* (CIL XIII.9082 = XVII.2.654; EDCS 12400396).

Further to the east, in *Pannonia*, inscriptions from AD 73 reflect heightened construction activities under a new governor Gaius Calpetanus Rantius Quirinalis Valerius Festus. From *Carnuntum* (Petronell, Austria) there are three such inscriptions known from *Legio XV Apollinaris* (fig. 2). They have been explained as an indication that the timber fortress at *Carnuntum* and in any case its central buildings were being rebuilt as stone structures (Beutler *et al.* 2019, 205-206). From the same year is a building inscription from *Aquincum* (Budapest) showing that the auxiliary unit *Ala Prima Tungrorum Frontoniana* had also erected an important building structure in stone (Nouwen 1997, 249-252; EDCS 09701116; fig. 3).

Pannonia's new governor, Valerius Festus, proved to be an important supporter of Vespasian during the AD 69 civil war. As commander of *Legio III Augusta* he handed over *Africa* to the Flavians by having the proconsul assassinated (Tacitus *Historiae* 4.48-50). Sometime in his career he had been a tribune in *Legio VI Victrix* (EDCS 04200620). Like *Legio VI Victrix*, *XV Apollinaris* also was a legion that was strongly embedded in the Flavian camp. As Titus had commanded this legion during his siege of Jerusalem it can be seen as a pillar of Flavian power. This also sheds light on the trust the Flavians put in Marius Celsus, as he had served as *legatus legionis* of *Legio XV Apollinaris* in AD 63 (Tacitus *Annales* 15.25).

The confidence in Aulus Marius Celsus may explain why we find him also in AD 73 as governor of *Syria*. Being governor on the Roman Empire's eastern border was challenging. Besides the everlasting threat of hostilities with the Parthians, Vespasian in AD 72, under a false pretext provided by the governor of *Syria* Lucius Junius

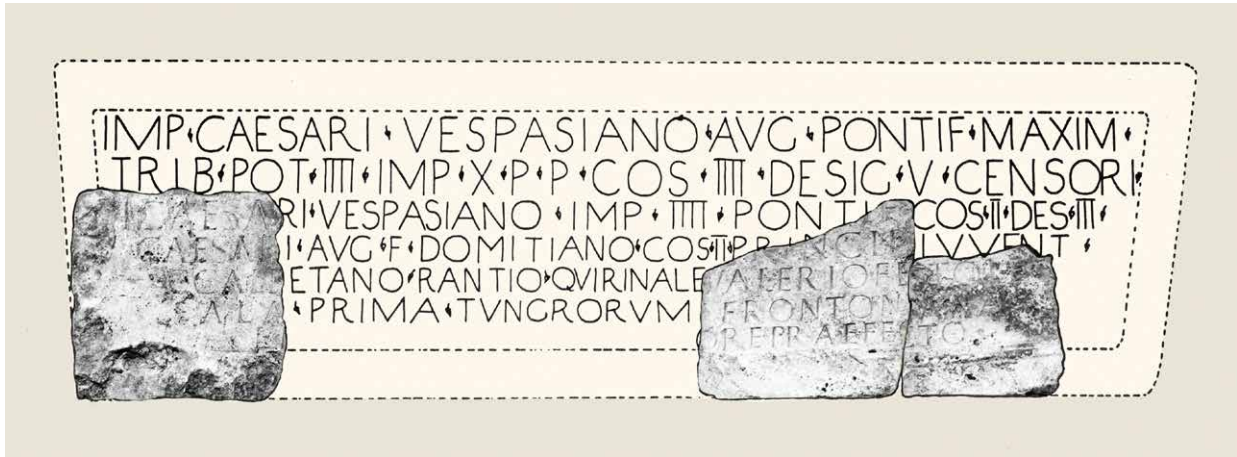


Figure 3. AD 73 construction inscription of the *Aquincum* castellum (reconstruction drawing © Budapest History Museum, Aquincum Museum, Budapest, Hungary, image number 10120-4).

Caesennius Paetus, had annexed the client kingdom of *Commagene*. Celsus' name appears on a monumental inscription found on the eastern border of the Roman Empire in Ayni near the Euphrates, showing him as governor of *Syria* in AD 73 (EDCS 16700312). As he was already succeeded as governor in AD 74, this was probably his last assignment. With regard to the emperor's titles, the stone follows the same formula as the other inscriptions. Ayni is situated on the Euphrates near the *Commagene* city of *Zeugma* between two known Roman fortresses *Samosata* and *Rumkale*. In this case the stone was erected by two legions that had built a spiralling works (*opus cochli[s]*; EDCS 16700312). What is exactly meant is not known. An infrastructural or defence structure seems likely. It could for instance have been a tower building with a spiralling staircase or a spiralling road and even a water-lifting-screw has been suggested (Berry & Pollard 2015, 141). The names and numbers of the two legions were not visible on the stone. On the basis of epigraphic material from nearby sites the two legions are likely to have been *Legio III Gallica* and *Legio IIII Scythica* (Berry & Pollard 2015, 140-141). Epigraphic material likewise shows that the Flavians put the legions to work on infrastructural projects. There are a few milestones from the province of *Syria* dating to AD 72 and AD 75. A stone from Antioch shows that *XVI Flavia Firma* and other units had been constructing a canal (Berry & Pollard 2015, 143). The effort the Flavians put in such engineering works aimed at gaining better access to the eastern border (Kilndjian 2009, 181-204).

Conclusions

The Vynen monument and its inscription are part of a series of monumental stones with more or less the same formula dedicated to Vespasian and his sons in AD 72-73. They can be identified as early Flavian monumental building inscriptions, showing a period of heightened building activity along the limes from the Rhine to the Euphrates. Besides building and rebuilding army fortifications the activities also featured the construction of roads and waterworks. The building inscriptions convey more than feats of engineering that have been completed. As propaganda they present the message that, after a period of civil war, Vespasian is the new emperor. Moreover, they confirm the strength of the new regime by mentioning Vespasian's sons and therefore his future successors. Vespasian's main victory was in fact defeating Vitellius and his Rhine legions in AD 69. Although this had made him emperor, this victory was not commemorated openly as such, as civil wars are hard to sell as propaganda. A reflection of this victory was a massive reorganisation of the legions on the Rhine. Some of these legions were renamed and most of them were marched off to elsewhere.

Abbreviations

AÉ: *L'Année Épigraphique*

CIL: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

EDCS: *Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss-Slaby*

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Visions of victory in Roman *Dacia*

Monica Gui

Ideas of Roman victory and claim to worldwide dominion were propagated in the Roman Empire by means of rituals, public monuments, and also by ideological concepts which were, among others, expressed through powerful images (Hölscher 2003, 12-15). Resorting to a few illustrative examples, the current paper aims to show this type of imagery at work in the marginal, highly militarised and rather short-lived province of *Dacia*, which was neither a political nor a cultural pole of the Empire.

First images of Roman dominance in *Dacia*

The very first images of Roman victory and dominance were set up next to the royal Dacian residence of *Sarmizegetusa*, in proximity of the so-called sacred area. A Roman fort was built there after the first Dacian campaign (AD 101-102), the garrison of which comprised legionary detachments (Matei-Popescu & Tentea 2021). Around and embedded in the walls of this fortification were found a series of inscribed and/or figured stones. Unfortunately, the context of their discovery was not recorded properly and the chronology of the fort is much debated (Oltean & Hanson 2017; Opreanu 2017, 369-371). Consequently, for the moment it is impossible to determine whether the aforementioned stones were fashioned in between the wars or only after the final defeat of the Dacians.

While some of the stone blocks were simple construction inscriptions stating the name of a unit, *i.e.* the legions *II Adiutrix* (IDR III/3.268) and *III Flavia Felix* (fig. 1.1; National Museum of Transylvanian History, Cluj-Napoca (MNIT), inv. v 30699; IDR III/3.259c; Lupa 15260; another block IDR III/3.259b), others included a suggestive pictorial element, such as the civic crown encircling the inscription of a detachment of the *VI Ferrata* legion (fig. 1.2; MNIT, inv. v 28946 = IDR III/3.270 = Lupa 15256) or appearing on an uninscribed stone (fig. 1.3; MNIT, inv. v 17675; Glodariu 1965, 130-131, no. 7, fig. 9; Lupa 12362). At least two blocks were decorated with facing Capricorns holding a globe or shield (fig. 1.4; MNIT, inv. v0 636 (A1/904); IDR III/3.271; Lupa 15288; the second block (not illustrated) is held by the Museum of Roman and Dacian Civilization in Deva, Lupa 19174.), which replicate an Imperial 'propaganda' image especially prominent in the Augustan and Flavian periods, most likely referencing Roman victory (Opreanu 2017, 371-373).

Other sculptures were even more provocative. One of the most fascinating is the so-called 'weapons inscription' in which the name of *Legio III Flavia Felix* was written in letters taking the form of Roman and Dacian weapons (IDR III/3.269a; Pețan 2017, figs 1-4 and 7-8). Below the inscription were pictured the heads of two Dacians, one a nobleman recognisable by his characteristic cap, the other either a woman, or more likely a man with bare head. The narrative character of this inscription is striking: it tells the

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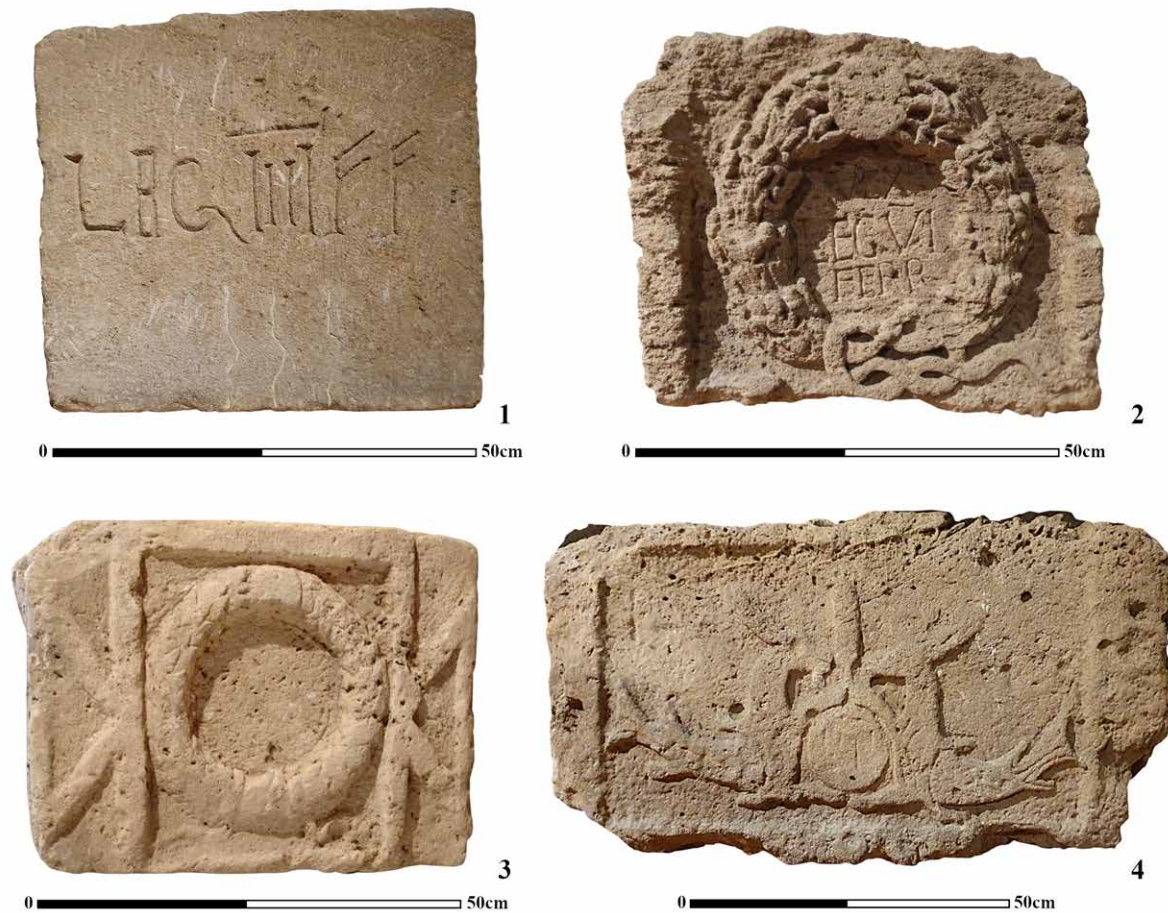


Figure 1. Some of the inscribed and figured stones found at *Sarmizegetusa Regia* (© National Museum of Transylvanian History).

story of the victory over the Dacians from the point of view of the Fourth Legion (Pețan 2017). The two heads clearly identified the defeated, but their meaning was never quite explained. Rather than simply Dacian ‘mug shots’, they probably picture severed heads. The scenes on Trajan’s Column in which Roman soldiers present the emperor with the cut-off heads of Dacians (Scenes XXIV and LXXII as numbered by Cichorius 1896) provides an interesting background, with the notable difference that those were auxiliaries. A further stone block recovered from the same site was carved with the silhouette of a Roman soldier (the emperor Trajan?) with a spear, trampling a downsized character who had fallen on his back (Macrea 1941, 127-140, fig. 1; Lupa 19170). Although the sculpture is rudimentary and worn, behind the small figure a round shield and a curved sword, *i.e.* cultural features indicating a Dacian, are clearly depicted. Images of Roman emperors stepping over or riding down enemies, sometimes indeed diminished, are familiar and were in use over a long period of time.

Based on the last two stones, said to have been found together, the existence of a triumphal monument

somewhere at *Sarmizegetusa* has been hypothesised. The association between them, however, has been recently disproved, revoking the premiss for such a claim (Pețan 2017, 984-992). In fact, given the patchy character of the representations, the overall picture derived from them is that they were perhaps more personal, employed for the self-glorification of the troops active at *Sarmizegetusa* and of their deeds. This was achieved with the help of stock images taken from the Imperial repertoire; only the inscription with weapon-like letters is truly unparalleled.

Monumental images of victory

Impressive monuments, which constituted one means by which military victories could be transformed into political power, were mostly raised at the core of the Empire, where they were most effective (Hölscher 2003, 12-17). Trajan’s Column is a telling example. Nevertheless, the victory over the Dacians, which led to the creation of Roman *Dacia*, must have been commemorated in the new province as well. One place where victory monuments would be expected is Trajan’s *Colonia Augusta Dacica Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*, founded shortly after the end of the war,

Figure 2. Fragments from monumental *quadriga* or equestrian statues found at *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* (nos 1-2) and in Transylvania (no. 3) (©National Museum of Transylvanian History).



some distance away from the Dacian *Sarmizegetusa*. A few fragmentary statues of what appear to be captives and friezes with Dacian weapons were actually found in relation to the early phases of the forum (Étienne *et al.* 2003, 104, 110 and 136). Moreover, the existence of a cylindrical trophy monument in the courtyard was asserted (Étienne *et al.* 2003, 131; Diaconescu 2005, I, 257-260), but decisive evidence is as yet missing.

Other emblematic images, referencing specific victories or embodying Roman victory ideology were surely displayed on public monuments across the province. The extensive post-Roman destruction of both stone (particularly marble) and bronze statues unfortunately deprives us from an in-depth understanding of this aspect, since one is often left with nondescript fragments. This is more noticeable in the case of bronze statues, which were recycled even during the Roman period. Numerous fragments originate from the military environment in *Dacia*, in part due to an excavation bias. From the fort at Răcari, for instance, more than 3,000 pieces of bronze were recovered (Alexandrescu 2017; see also Pop 1978). Bases offer further clues to the quantity and subject matter of such statues, many of which must have represented, of course, emperors (see Diaconescu 2005, I, 234-248 and II, 187-240). After all, the glory of Rome was inextricably linked with the Imperial house. Some fragments have the potential to point to the visual language adopted in this medium. A large-sized gilded bronze Victoria applique found at *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* (fig. 2.1; MNIT, inv.

v 57068; Alicu *et al.* 1979, 73, no.25, plate 111.25), with good analogies in northern Italy, most likely decorated a monumental *quadriga* statue (D'Andria 1973). Another illustrative example is offered by a few fragments of gilded bronze horse 'pectorals' or 'peytrals' (fig. 2.2-3; MNIT, inv. v 14069 and v 25498; another piece (not illustrated) is held by the National Museum of Romanian History in Bucharest; Pop 1978, 158-162, figs.30-31; 1979), which originally decorated equestrian statues. They were fitted with figurines that constructed a battle scene featuring Roman horsemen and northern barbarian foot warriors. As on other pectorals of this type, the scene must have been highly symbolic, presenting the emperor in an elevated position, both literally and figuratively above the battle, similar in this respect to the composition of the 'Great Trajanic Frieze' (Hölscher 2003, 6-7). These examples suggest that, despite the possible lower quality and provincial character, the public monuments and statues set up throughout *Dacia* must have employed the common visual language of the Empire. This was characterised by progressive standardisation, making use of rather fixed formulae and patterns to convey, in an exemplary fashion, the concepts that underpinned the Roman ideological system (Hölscher 2007, 86-92).

Tales of glory in small format

Political imagery, with all of its more or less abstract symbols, constantly permeated the private sphere. Being replicated in a variety of media, it achieved a



Figure 3. Silver statuette of a kneeling Suebian with bound hands behind his back, found in the cavalry fort at Gherla (©National Museum of Transylvanian History).

wide diffusion; thus, its message was reinforced, even if only subliminally and even if some distortions occurred (Zanker 1988, 265-279). Therefore, mobile everyday image-bearing objects had the potential to spread and/or reflect ideological concepts, albeit in a simplified form, perhaps more efficiently than static monuments. A few finds from *Dacia* well illustrate this point.

An effective way of expressing Rome's dominance was to picture her enemies in a humiliating, undignified stance (Hölscher 2003, 6-7), a fact that may also be connected to the enslavement of people as one of the tangible results of military campaigns (De Souza 2001). This theme, which features prominently in Roman monumental art, is instanced by a small silver statuette found in the auxiliary cavalry fort at Gherla (fig. 3; MNIT, inv. v 52895; Ardevan 1999), on the northern frontier of *Dacia Porolissensis*. Because of the hair knot, the kneeling man with bound hands can be immediately recognised as



Figure 4. Frontal piece of a chamfron found at Gherla (no. 1) and cheek-piece of a cavalry helmet discovered at *Sarmizegetusa Regia* (no. 2) (©National Museum of Transylvanian History).

a Suebian. Sadly, this was a stray find, which cannot be dated by context, despite the attempt to assign it to the early 2nd century (Ardevan 1999, 880). Similar imagery was widespread in the Roman world, starting from the 1st to the 3rd centuries AD (Krierer 2021). Interestingly, small-sized images of Suebians, of various forms, dimensions, materials and functions, tend to concentrate in *Pannonia inferior*, with *Brigetio* as a possible production centre, seemingly in connection to the Marcomannic Wars (Juhász 2014). It is not difficult then to imagine an officer or a soldier, who had been involved in the fighting, acquiring the silver statuette as a *memento*. What is clear, though, is the significance of using the image of one's enemies on cauldron appliques, furniture fittings or all kinds of ornaments and trinkets: deprivation of dignity and vanquishment.

Another important medium for the transmission and propagation of ideas of Roman victory was military equipment. Many of the images used as decoration were apotropaic, destined to attract good fortune and the benevolence of the gods. As such, they implicitly served to conjure up victory. For this purpose, victory had to be conceptualised in a way. It is interesting to see how this was done by the craftsmen who made the pieces and/or the soldiers who used them. Apparently, they resorted to very conservative, classical subjects, taken especially



Figure 5. Engraved gems from *Micia* (1), Transylvania (2), *Potaissa* (3 and 5), *Românași* (4) and ceramic mould from *Micăsasa* (6). Various scales (© National Museum of Transylvanian History).

from the Greek repertoire (Künzl 2004, 398-402). But motifs like Victoria, the military gods Mars and Minerva, eagles or victory wreaths could surely be interpreted by a much wider public, even outside the world of the *hippika gymnasia*. Conversely, the god depicted on the central piece of a chamfron (fig. 4.1; MNIT, inv. v 2585; Protase *et al.* 2008, 76-77, plate XX-XXI) found in the cavalry fort at Gherla is not quite classical, but its effect must have been similar. The interpretation of the image probably depended on one's cultural or ethnic background. Someone from Gaul or Lower Germany may have recognised a type of Jupiter-rider trampling a giant with serpent feet (Nemeti 2019, 144-145); others may have noticed the odd goose, a typical attribute of a Germanic Mars (Werner 1941, 35-43). A short list of names copied on a brick from the same site offers a glimpse into the ethnic medley that was characteristic for the military environment: Latin names employed by provincials, next to Thracian, Dacian and possibly Celtic names (Dana 2016, 100-103). Even if most of these soldiers missed all the clues for the identification of the divinity, which were confusing to begin with, they would still have recognised a Roman looking martial god overcoming a monster and being crowned by Victoria.

Sometimes the concept of Roman superiority was expressed in a more elaborate form. The fight between eagle and serpent, for instance, is a very ancient motif, encountered since the archaic Greek period; it was an

omen (Künzl 2008, 88-89). The eagle and the snake were not supposed to identify one side or another in a conflict. Yet, in the context of the early 2nd-century helmet cheek-piece found at *Sarmizegetusa Regia* (fig. 4.2; MNIT, inv. v 30691; Petculescu 1982, 291-293, no. 1, fig. 1), especially given the connotation of the eagle for the Romans, it perhaps stood for Roman victory (Künzl 2008, 90-92).

The narrative or symbolism of both Rome's specific victories and general claims to dominance could also be propagated by Imperial coinage, which employed the same visual language of Imperial ideology (Howgego 1995, 70-77). To take just one example, amid the many messages coins had the potential of transmitting, there were commemorations of military victories, which showcased the emperor's *virtus*. Some of Trajan's issues following his Dacian campaigns, for instance, bring to the fore conspicuous images of Dacian submission and defeat (Winkler 1965, 225-229, plates I-III). Coins must have played a part in spreading Imperial imagery in all kinds of private contexts (Howgego 1995, 74-75). Indeed, some of the engraved gems circulating in *Dacia* were found to be inspired by or modelled on coins (Tudor 1967, 225-227; Gramatopol 1974, 32-34). But whatever the source of inspiration, in some of the larger collections, such as the ones from *Romula* in *Dacia inferior* (Tudor 1967) and *Micia* in *Dacia superior* (Țeposu-David 1960), the all-familiar images of capricorns, Victories (with or without trophies, by themselves, crowning other

divinities or serving as attributes), Roma, Mars, eagles, the rider with lance, *etc.* make an appearance. It is true that they actually form a rather small part of the rich iconographic repertoire employed on gems, but they are persistent and, in fact, crop up at other sites across *Dacia* as well (fig. 5.1-5; MNIT, inv. v 13016; v 13018, v 13046, v 13047 and v 40843; Țeposu-David 1960, 529-531, nos 28, 39, 51 and 53, figs 1.12 and 2.33, 42 and 48; Pop & Găzdac 1993, 144-145, no. 3, fig. 3). Some of the same images are replicated on more humble materials, like ceramic medallions and moulds (fig. 5.6; MNIT, inv. v 47284; Mitrofan, Pop 1996, 14 and 112). Within the motif repertoire of such medallions (Cociș & Ruscă 1994), the relevant themes for the present discussion form but a small part. However, just as with the engraved gems, their appearance is noteworthy. Admittedly, these symbolic and rather abstract images of Imperial rule and Roman victory could have been invested by their wearers or users with personal meaning, apotropaic value or religious significance, disconnected from their initial political message (Zanker 1988, 274-279).

Conclusion

All the images discussed in this paper, with the exception of the weapons inscription from *Sarmizegetusa Regia*, have nothing special or specific about them. They turn up all over the Empire, in public and private monuments, coins, jewellery, everyday objects, military equipment, *etc.* This familiarity and repetition is, in fact, what makes them so iconic. No matter the layers of meaning they possessed or were attributed, they could still be understood at a very basic level. They can be viewed as part of the visual communication system described by Hölscher (2007). Particularly in such a heterogeneous and militarised province such as *Dacia*, it would have been reassuring to find all these references to Roman victory that anyone could understand. They simply worked. This can be grasped from the use of the *lupa Romana* on funerary monuments of auxiliary soldiers in *Dacia* (Bărbulescu 2003), or from the *ROMA* brooches (Cociș 2004, 128-129) some of them wore. Certainly, these soldiers wished to advertise their hard-won citizenship, but maybe also to claim a piece of Rome's glory. In some cases, elements taken from the Imperial iconographic repertoire were used for self-glorification or for conjuring up victory; in others, more complex images could be reduced to something very straightforward. Whatever the case, the association with the eternal glory of Rome likely remained, either in the foreground or in the background.

Abbreviations

IDR: *Inscriptiile Daciei Romane / Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae*. Lupa: <http://lupa.at> (15-11-2022).

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Mere propaganda?

Victoria and Mars representations and inscriptions on the Upper German-Raetian Limes

Martin Kemkes

The permanent exhibition of the Aalen Limesmuseum includes a small votive altar from Gingen an der Fils, which was dedicated to Mars and Victoria by a woman named Claudia Messorina (fig. 2, Haug & Sixt 1914, 686-687, no. 621; EDH 036993). The findspot was probably a *villa rustica* in the hinterland of the limes. The short inscription does not reveal whether the Roman state gods or a pair of local deities equated with Mars and Victoria were meant here.

Furthermore, two statues of Mars and Victoria were discovered in 2020 and 2022 in front of the western fort of Öhringen, a fort on the southern Upper German Limes (fig. 1). In 2020 some remnants of sculptures were found in the filling of the inner fort ditch in front of the south gate, the *porta principalis dextra* (Kortüm *et al.* 2021). They were probably discarded there along with other rubble after destructions caused by Germanic invasions in the middle of the 3rd century AD. This filling includes the statue of Victoria which probably stood close to the gate. Then in March 2022 the statue of Mars was unearthed during cable work in front of the *porta praetoria* on the east side of the fort, also in the inner ditch (Kortüm *et al.* 2023). Both statues were probably used to decorate the fort gates. While their connection to the official Roman military religion seems indisputable, these figures and the small altar raise the question of the extent to which Roman state propaganda and local Celtic ideas merged, differed, or impacted one another in representations of Mars and Victoria in military or civilian contexts. In the following, the two statues will be presented and classified here in more detail (two further publications are prepared: Kemkes 2023; Kemkes & Brosend 2023).

Statue of Victoria

Measuring just under 82 cm, Victoria is represented in forward motion with her garment fluttering behind her and outstretched wings (fig. 3.1-3). Her feet and head are missing. She probably held a palm branch in her left hand and a wreath in her raised right hand. Only the front of the statue is detailed while the sides and especially the back are rough-hewn. This suggests that it stood in a niche or an aedicule in front of the fort gate.

The Victoria of Öhringen matches one of two common and largely binding forms of representing the goddess during the Roman Imperial period, referred to here as type 1: Victoria, standing, with palm branch and wreath, long flowing garment and outspread wings. She is shown either standing on a globe or striding across it or with her feet on the ground. Type 2 portrays Victoria with a mantle around her hips, her left foot on a globe and a large victory shield to her left, which she either holds or inscribes with the victory

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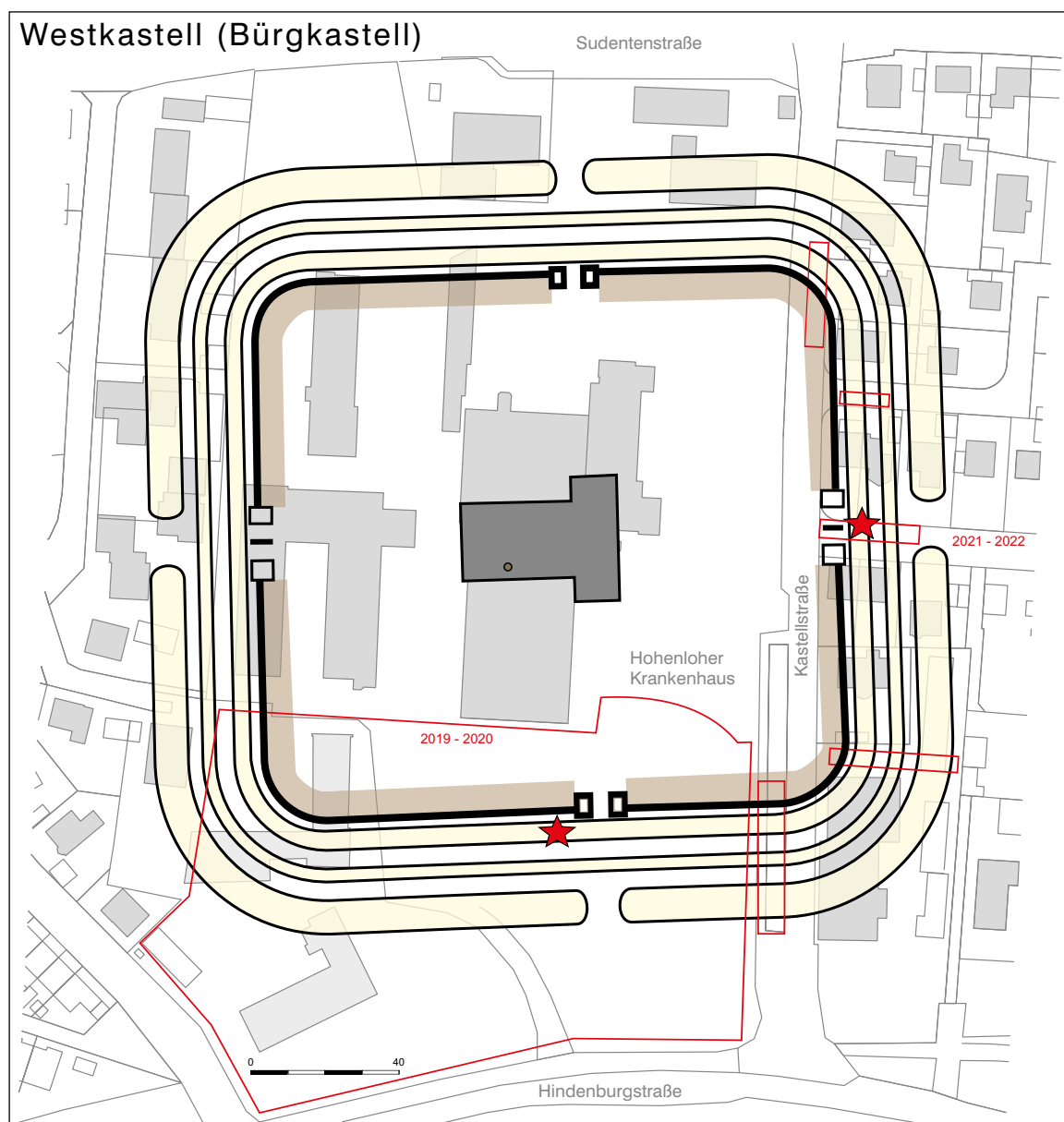


Figure 1. Plan of the western fort of Öhringen with the excavation areas and the sites of the Victoria and Mars statues. The grey area in the middle marks the location of the *principia* (K. Kortüm, Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Baden-Württemberg im Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart).

Victoria	military context		civilian context		unclear context
	<i>Germania superior</i>	<i>Raetia</i>	<i>Germania superior</i>	<i>Raetia</i>	<i>Germania superior</i>
type 1: standing with palm branch and wreath, moving long robe, partly standing on a globe	8	3	24	2	1
type 2: hip mantle, left foot on a globe, with victory shield (Type Brescia)	1	–	17	–	2
other or undetermined representations	1	1	4	–	–

Table 1. Stone monuments with representations of Victoria in the provinces of *Germania superior* (n=58) and *Raetia* (n=6); representations on Jupiter columns (n=26).

of the emperor, the *Victoria Augusti*. Sometimes she is also shown making a sacrifice at an altar (fig. 4). In addition to these main types there are some variations omitted here since they are quite rare.

The derivation of both main types is well documented. The type 1-Victoria standing or striding across a globe with a palm branch and wreath is based on a measure introduced by Augustus after the Battle of Actium in 31 BC (Hölscher 1967, 6-47). According to Cassius Dio (*Historia Romana* 51.22.1-3), he had a statue of Victoria conveyed from Taranto to Rome and set up in the Curia. Coin images of Augustus first featured this Victoria type which can also be found on the famous silver cup from the Boscoreale Treasure. Later coin images suggest that this type was subsequently used for specific military victories achieved by individual emperors – e.g. Vespasian and Antoninus Pius' victories in Iudäa and Britain. It was only from the middle of the 3rd century AD onwards that this image became more and more a general symbol of the emperor's victoriousness (Hölscher 1967, 17-22).

Type 2, Victoria with the victory shield, is also called the Brescia type, in reference to her most famous representative, a life-sized bronze statue from the 1st century AD (Hölscher 1967, 98-131, esp. 122-126; Salcuni & Formigli 2011, 5-34). This representation is derived from the Greek cult image of Aphrodite of Corinth, which shows the goddess studying her reflection in Mars' shield. From the middle of the 1st century AD onwards, this Victoria type recurrently featured in Roman state art, for instance on the Trajan's Column (Lehmann-Hartleben 1926, scene LXXVIII). However, it seems to have been used more flexibly than type 1. An assessment of the prevalence of types 1 and 2 in the provinces *Germania superior* and *Raetia* (table 1, the references of the monuments will be published elsewhere) manifests a strikingly large number in *Germania superior*, which can however be attributed to the many Jupiter columns in this area. This also explains the preponderance of civilian over military contexts.

However, there is a noticeable preference for type 1 in military contexts where it appears almost exclusively. The group of three figures with Mars, Salus and Victoria from a small sanctuary at the Schneidershecke on the former Odenwald Limes includes an example of a type 2 representation (fig. 4). But the interpretation of the ensemble in a military or civilian context remains ambiguous (Kemkes & Willburger 2004, 81-83, fig. 95; Noelke 2012, 479-480).

The examples of Victoria representations in the forts on the Upper German-Raetian Limes convey a unanimous picture. While some details might vary, type 1 clearly dominates – Victoria, sometimes on a globe, with palm branch and wreath (Mainz: Frenz 1992, 58-59, no. 3 and plate 2; Ladenburg: Wiegels 2000, 117-118; Obernburg:



Figure 2. Altar for Mars and Victoria, from Giengen an der Fils, height 73 cm (O. Harl (*Ubi erat lupa*), Archäologisches Landesmuseum Baden-Württemberg).

Mattern 2005, 126-127, no. 202-203 and plate 75; Lützelbach: Mattern 2005, 140, no. 232 and plate 85; Roßborn: Kemkes & Willburger 2004, 71-73, fig. 80; Stuttgart-Bad-Cannstatt: Haug & Sixt 1914, 381-382, no. 260; Eining: Gamer & Rüsche 1973, 109, no. 476 and plate 134-135). This could lead to the conclusion, that in the forts Victoria was used to represent or symbolise specific military victories, a plausible interpretation in the context of the military routine in the forts and among the soldiers. The Victoria representations on the soldiers' weapons convey the same image. The examples on parts of the parade armour of riders and horses as well as simpler depictions on swords, scabbards and helmets always show the type 1 Victoria (representations of Victoria on parade armour, swords and scabbards: Schamper 2015, 101-102, 129 (n=33); Miks 2007, 140-147, 240-256 and 269-270, plate 189-191 and 207-209 (n=21); Klumbach 1957, a helmet front plate from



Figure 3. Statues from Öhringen. 1-3: Victoria, height 82 cm; 4-6: Mars, height 100 cm (M. Hoffmann, Archäologisches Landesmuseum Baden-Württemberg).

Faurndau). So, we can thus conclude that a clear distinction was made regarding the use of these types in military and civilian contexts, at least along the limes.

The statue of Mars

The statue of Mars (fig. 3.4-6), about 100 cm high, shows the god without a head in full armour with greaves, chest plate with *pteryges* and flaps, sword belt and *spatha*. The removal of the sword during the statue's destruction seems to have been intentional. His left hand rests on his

standing shield, while his raised right hand once held a lance. The goose to his right is especially interesting. As with the Victoria statue, the concentration on the frontal view is striking and the great similarity speaks for a simultaneity of both figures. Here too the front is detailed while the sides and back are rough-hewn. Likewise, this suggests that the statue stood in a niche, perhaps close to the gate, and should only be viewed from the front and in a certain height. The attention to detail is especially manifest in the realistic rendering of the



Figure 4. Statue group with Salus, Mars and Victoria (type 2), heights 164, 114 and 112 cm, from the sanctuary at the Schneidershecke, Mudau-Schlossau (O. Harl (*Ubi erat lupa*), Archäologisches Landesmuseum Baden-Württemberg).

sword belt and spatha, as shown by comparisons with equivalent militaria like baldric- and scabbard fittings from the limes forts (baldric fastener: Oldenstein 1976, 226-234 and plate 85-86; Miks 2007, 287-288, fig. 65; pendants: Oldenstein 1976, 127-132 and plate 31 and 33; sword hilts: Oldenstein 1976, 89-95 and plate 11.32; Miks 2007, 170-171; chapes: Oldenstein 1976, 110-123 and plate 22-24; Miks 2007, 345-367, esp. 364-366). Mars is thus represented with the typical arms used by limes soldiers in the late 2nd and early 3rd century AD. The Öhringen statue is thus comparable to the Mars statue from the sanctuary at the Schneidershecke (fig. 4), which is only about 50 km away (Kemkes & Willburger 2004, 81-83, fig. 95; Noelke 2012, 479-480, fig. 16.75). These details probably enabled the limes soldiers to identify with the war god whom they regularly encountered at the main gate when returning to the fort.

The war god Mars, mostly portrayed as an older, bearded, sometimes unbearded deity in full armour (type 1), is one of two common types of representation used throughout the Empire. The second type usually shows Mars as a young god equipped with a helmet and lance, but otherwise naked (type 2). Both types are derived from classic exemplars (Simon & Bauchhenß 1984). For type 1 this would be the vengeful Mars Ultor, a type of representation developed under Augustus after his victory over the Caesar murderers. The best-known statue of this type stood originally in the so-called Forum of Nerva and is now in the Capitoline Museums in Rome. The evolvment of this type in commemoration of a specific military event is undoubtedly one reason why this form of representation was especially popular in the provinces along the limes (Noelke 2012, 431-451). By contrast, the representation of young Mars is more complex in its genesis and use.

Proceeding from Greco-Hellenistic examples, it can be found in mythological representations or murals, but also in numerous other examples on Jupiter columns or small bronzes from the Northwest provinces.

The distribution of both types in *Germania superior* and *Raetia* (table 2, the references of the monuments will be published elsewhere) shows a preponderance in civilian contexts due to the many Jupiter columns, even if both types of representation are common in civilian areas. Military contexts and forts on the other hand clearly favour type 1, Mars in full uniform as exemplified by the statue from Öhringen. A building inscription from the neighbouring fort in Oberscheidental and a statue from the Eining fort in *Raetia* here serve as examples (Kemkes & Willburger 2004, 70-72 and 78-79, fig. 78.89; Noelke 2012, 485, fig. 50.79).

Like Victoria, Mars was obviously a popular motif for the decoration of parade armour. Contrary to the goddess of victory, however, both types, in full armour or naked with helmet and lance, can be found in almost equal number, meaning that personal taste was probably the deciding factor in the choice of motifs (representations of Mars on parade armour: Schamper 2015, 94-96 and 102-103 (type 1: n=19; type 2: n=16); on swords and scabbards dominates type 1: Miks 2007, 140-147, 269-271 and plate 191.207-209 (type 1: n=18, Type 2: n=1)). It is striking, that the armoured Mars was always depicted youthfully without a beard, both on the stone monuments with a military context and on the parade weapons. He thus appears here still as a fighting god and not as one who is already finally victorious. This certainly corresponded more to the actual, real situation of the soldiers and units at the limes (the probably beardless heads are preserved on five of the stone monuments depicting Mars in a military context: building inscriptions from Oberscheidental, Trienz and Zwing; Kemkes & Willburger 2004, 78-69, fig. 89 and 91-92; Marsstatue from Eining; Noelke 2012, 485-487, fig. 79; Mars on the Altar form Augsburg; Bakker 1993, 372, fig. 2).

The statues of Victoria and Mars as decoration of the fort gates

Without difficulty these briefly presented new finds from Öhringen can thus be placed in the military context of

the limes forts. The extreme emphasis on the figures' frontal view and their discovery in front of the fort gates suggest that they served as decoration for these gates. Further examples show that this was not exceptional. An inscribed column which functioned as a pedestal for a Victoria statue from Miltenberg and the leg fragments of a Mars statue from the Saalburg were also positioned at the fort gates (Miltenberg: Beckmann 1975; Stoll 1992, 391, no. III 3.1; Steidl 2008, 201, fig. 206-207; Saalburg: Stoll 1992, 498-499, no. 47 III 1.1; Mattern 2001, 61-62, no. 73-75 and plate 32-33; Noelke 2012, 481, no.18-19). The Mars relief from Holzhausen has square 4.5 × 2.5 cm holes on the sides with remnants of lead casting, which were used as clamp holes and through which the relief was probably attached to the wall of the gate tower (Stoll 1992, 456, no. III 6.2; Mattern 1999, 102-103, no. 84 and plate 46). All examples from the context of forts in *Germania superior* show that while the Victoria and Mars representations have recurring features, the individual designs differed greatly. The dedicatory inscription from the Risingham Fort in Britain perhaps serves as a good example of a likely architectural setting for the statues from Öhringen (fig. 5). On either side, the inscription is flanked by Victoria and Mars standing in round-arched niches (Phillips 1977, 72-74, no. 215, fig. 55).

Roman army religion and Celtic influences?

While positioning Mars and Victoria at the gates as a greeting for soldiers returning to their fort from a patrol or military action could be described as propaganda, it is safe to say that representations of this kind must have promoted a sense of identification. But maybe this interpretation is insufficient and distracts attention from another message intended for the soldiers recruited from the provinces. A first clue that the representations of Mars along the limes were probably not intended solely as dogmatic renderings of the war god Mars as propagated by the Roman state can be found in the representation of a goose next to the Öhringen statue (fig. 3.4-6). So far, 30 examples of monuments featuring Mars with a goose have been discovered only in the Roman north provinces, where they

Mars	military context		civilian context		unclear context
	<i>Germania superior</i>	<i>Raetia</i>	<i>Germania superior</i>	<i>Raetia</i>	<i>Germania superior</i>
type 1: bearded or unbearded head with helmet, standing in full armor with greaves, sword, shield and lance	11	4	27	1	3
type 2: naked with helmet and lance	–	–	15	–	–
other or undetermined representations	–	–	14	–	–

Table 2. Stone monuments with representations of Mars in the provinces of *Germania superior* (n=70) and *Raetia* (n=6); representations on Jupiter columns (n=40).



Figure 5. Inscription from the Risingham fort to the Numina Augustorum, donated by *Cohors III Gallorum equitata*. To the left and right of the inscription, Victoria (type 1) and Mars (type 1) are depicted in a round-arched niche (Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Cambridge).

are widespread (Mattern 1994, 111-120 with 28 examples. Perhaps there is also a goose next to the statue of Mars from the sanctuary at the Schneidershecke: Noelcke 2012, 479, fig. 75b). In Housesteads a relief with Mars and a goose has survived on an arch, together with a dedicatory inscription for the Roman-Germanic god Mars Thingsus. Initial evidence of the goose's Germanic origin was also provided by the representations on the decorative *phalerae* from Thorsberg. However, the goose also features in contexts without Germanic connections, e.g. in the inscription from Risingham (fig. 5) or on a chamfron from *Dacia*. On the other hand, the inscription with Mars and a goose from the Holzhausen Fort mentions the *Cohors Treverorum*, which could point to a Celtic provenance. Like the Mars statue from Öhringen, this monument was found at the fort's *porta praetoria*. Further indications of the goose's possibly Celtic origins can be found in an inscription from Caerwent dedicated to Lenus Mars. The votive plates from the Hagenbach Hoard, probably spoils from a plundered Mars sanctuary in the Pyrenees, also show Mars with a goose, as does a bronze sheet on a small medical chest from Heidelberg (Hensen 2007). Since the Celtic Mars, e.g. Lenus Mars, was also worshipped as a healing god, there is an obvious connection between this representation and a Celtic deity similar to Mars. In view of this evidence, it seems very likely that the military donors of the statue in Öhringen and the inscription from Holzhausen also had their local Celtic interpretations and not just the Roman war god in mind.

A final look at inscriptions for Mars and Victoria from the provinces *Germania superior* and *Raetia* reveals further clues (table 3, the references of the monuments will be published elsewhere). As with the sculptural representations, there are more mentions of Mars and Victoria, both separately and as a pair, in civilian (n=106) than in military contexts (n=42). The absolute numbers are decidedly higher in *Germania superior* (n=160) than in *Raetia* (n=20). But of course, the names Mars and Victoria are not in themselves indicative of possible Celtic connections. Furthermore, the province *Germania superior* has yielded an array of Mars dedications with additional Celtic names, indicating a Celtic god, who was equated with the Roman Mars. This list also includes a few dedications from active or former soldiers.

The dedications to the deities Mars Loucetius and Victoria or Nemetona are especially interesting with reference to the divine pair Mars and Victoria. Mars Loucetius and his companion Nemetona had their main sanctuary in Oberolm, only a few kilometres away from *Mogontiacum* (Mainz), the capital of the province (Spickermann 2003, 83-85). From this sanctuary comes a large building inscription to Mars Loucetius as well as the bronze votive plate dedicated to Nemetona by the Roman senator and four-time consul Aulus Didius Gallus and his wife Attica (Klein 2003, 89-95, fig. 1-2).

If we look at the surviving inscriptions for Mars Loucetius and Victoria Nemetona (table 4), we can find dedications made out to Mars Loucetius and Nemetona alone, but also five to the divine pair with the spectrum ranging from

inscriptions	military context		civilian context		context uncertain	
	<i>Germania superior</i>	<i>Raetia</i>	<i>Germania superior</i>	<i>Raetia</i>	<i>Germania superior</i>	<i>Raetia</i>
Mars	13	–	18	3	12	3
Mars (hoard from Hagenbach)	–	–	25	–	–	–
Victoria	7	2	14	2	8	1
Mars and Victoria	7	3	4	5	3	1
Mars Exalbix	3	–	–	–	–	–
Mars Loucetius	2	–	6	–	1	–
Mars (Loucetius) and Victoria or Nemetona	–	–	3	–	1	–
Mars Loucetius and Nemetona Victoria	1	–	–	–	–	–
Mars and Bellona	–	–	3	–	–	–
Lenus Mars	–	–	1	–	–	–
Mars Camullus	–	–	1	–	–	–
Mars Caturix	1	–	5	–	2	–
Mars Cnabetius	1	–	1	–	–	–
Mars Cicollus	–	–	8	–	–	–
Genius Marti	–	–	5	–	–	–
Mars Magianus	–	–	1	–	–	–
Mars Marmogius	1	–	–	–	–	–
Mars Segomo	–	–	1	–	–	–
Mars Smertrius	1	–	–	–	–	–

Table 3. Inscriptions for Mars and Victoria in the provinces *Germania superior* and *Raetia*.

Mars and Victoria / Nemetona	sites	dedication		references
		military	civilian	
Mars Loucetius	Angers (F)	–	X	CIL 13.3087; EDH 068126
Mars Loucetius	Straßbourg (F)	X	–	CIL 13.11605; EDH 023522
Mars Loucetius	Worms	–	X	CIL 13.6221; EDH 075796
Mars Loucetius	Wiesbaden	X	–	CIL 137608; EDH 060810
Mars Loucetius	Gross Gerau	–	X	EDH 055401
Mars Loucetius	Mainz	–	X	CIL 13.7241; EDH 071629
Mars Leucetius	Mainz	–	X	CIL 13.7242; EDH 071630
Mars Loucetius	Oberolm near Mainz	–	X	CIL 13.7249; EDH 071631
Mars and Victoria	Oberolm near Mainz	–	?	CIL 13, 7249a; EDH 071633
Mars Loucetius	Oberolm near Mainz	–	X	CIL 13.7252; EDH 072472
Nemetona	Oberolm near Mainz	–	X	CIL 13.7253; EDH 069118
Mars and Nemetona	Altrip	–	X	CIL 13.6131; EDH 075711
Mars and Nemetona	Trier	–	X	EDH 076362
Mars Loucetius and Nemetona	Bath (GB)	–	X	CIL 07.00036; EDH 069459
Mars Leucetius and Victoria	Großkrotzenburg	–	X	CIL 13.7412; EDH 060020
Mars Loucetius and Nemetona Victoria	Eisenberg	X	–	EDH 065905

Table 4. Inscriptions for Mars/Loucetius and Victoria/Nemetona in the provinces of *Lugdunensis* (n=1), *Germania superior* (n=14) and *Britannia* (n=1).

‘purely Roman’ as Mars and Victoria to Mars Loucetius and Nemetona Victoria. The most interesting are the inscriptions from Großkrotzenburg, Bath and Eisenberg.

I believe these cases are proof that not only the Roman god Mars and the Celtic god Loucetius, but also the Roman goddess of victory and the Celtic goddess Nemetona formed a symbiosis. Despite the preponderance of civilian donors, there are also dedications made out by soldiers, such as the earliest dedication to Mars Loucetius from Strasbourg dating from the decades surrounding the birth of Christ, the dedication of a *centurio* of the 22nd Legion from Wiesbaden, and the votive plate from Eisenberg, which was probably donated by a *beneficiarius*.

These examples of Mars with a goose as well as the equation of Mars and Victoria with local Celtic divine pairs clearly indicate that we need to consider a mutual influence between the Roman military religion and local religious concepts, at least east of the river Rhine in *Germania superior* with its cultural proximity to Eastern Gaul. It appears that the victoriousness of the Roman gods of state and war Mars and Victoria, and thereby also the promise of safety made by the Roman state to the provincial population in the hinterland of the limes, were relatively easy to combine with the protective qualities of the Celtic tribal deities and healing gods.

I believe this applies not only to the monuments in civilian contexts, such as the Jupiter columns, for example from Dielkirchen and Becherbach, or two reliefs from Stuttgart and Walheim, which show Victoria with the victory shield and Mars in armour or naked (Bauchhenß & Noelke 1981, 115, no. 113 (Dielkirchen); Boppert 2001, 66-68, no. 19 and plate 17 (Becherbach); Ubi erat lupa, <http://lupa.at>, 20-01-2023, no. 26487 (Dielkirchen), no. 7833 (Stuttgart) and no. 31644 (Walheim)). It also applies to examples in military contexts, as the representations of Mars and Victoria at the Odenwald Limes, as well as the statuettes of Victoria and Mars from the sanctuary on the Weinberg near Eining as a Raetian example (Kemkes & Willburger 2004, 70-74, 78-79 and fig. 89-93; Gamer & Rüsche 1973, no. 479 and plate 137; Noelke 2012, 485-487). Depending on the context, this development probably had a varying impact on the donors’ intentions and is almost untraceable today.

Intentions linked to the official Roman military religion may have inspired the donors of the statues of Victoria and Mars from the gates of the western fort in Öhringen (fig. 3) – however, the goose as the god’s companion urges caution. It also seems unlikely that Claudia Messorina as the donor of the small altar from Gingen (fig. 2) primarily had the Roman *Dei Militaris* in mind. Mars and Victoria evidently served her, and maybe also many soldiers, as ideal mediators for the fulfilment of their need for political, social, and personal security. It is thus safe to say that the representations of Mars and Victoria along the limes and in the provinces stood for more than mere Roman propaganda.

Abbreviations

CIL: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

EDH: *Epigraphic Database Heidelberg*, <https://edh.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/home>

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Le programme iconographique peint de Deir el-Atrash

Contrôle romain, protection et présence militaire
dans le désert Oriental

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La Mission Archéologique du Désert Oriental (MAFDO) explore depuis 1994 les fortins romains qui jalonnent les pistes caravanières entre la vallée du Nil et les ports de la mer Rouge (Cuvigny 2003; 2011). Sous la direction de B. Redon, de Th. Faucher, puis de M. Crépy, elle se concentre dorénavant principalement sur l'occupation du désert Oriental à l'époque ptolémaïque et romaine (Redon & Faucher 2020) et s'est établie en 2020 dans le district de Ghozza (Gates-Foster *et al.* 2021) sur le site ptolémaïque éponyme d'extraction de l'or (fig. 1). C'est dans ce cadre que le fortin romain de Deir el-Atrash (26°56'06"N/33°04'59"E), situé à 8 km au nord de Ghozza, sur la route qui mène du Nil aux mines du Porphyrites, fait l'objet d'investigations archéologiques. Situé à une quarantaine de kilomètres de ces dernières, Deir el-Atrash abrite un puits (*hydreuma*), destiné notamment au ravitaillement des caravanes qui parcourent la route utilisée dans le cadre de l'exploitation du porphyre distribué dans l'ensemble de l'Empire. D'après l'étude toponymique de H. Cuvigny, le fort pourrait être la *Melan Oros* (Μέλαν Όρος) mentionnée dans les sources ostracologiques (Cuvigny 2018, § 160).

La fouille de la tour orientale du système d'entrée, qui présente deux états successifs, l'un romain (fin 1^{er}-début 2^e siècle), l'autre byzantin (fin 4^e-début 5^e siècle), a révélé un programme peint appliqué sur la tour du premier état de l'entrée et qui se prolonge sur la courtine (Marchand & Le Bomin 2022). Il s'agit d'un cas unique dans l'Empire romain de représentations figurées peintes sur la façade extérieure d'un fortin militaire. Son programme iconographique se compose de plusieurs éléments alliant représentations humaines, animales et motifs végétaux dont la présence nécessite d'être discutée. En effet, si certaines figures expriment le quotidien de la route caravanière (la frise de chameaux), d'autres, peut-être plus symboliques (le cavalier), méritent de s'y attarder. De plus, il faut s'interroger sur la présence de cette peinture à Deir el-Atrash. Avons-nous affaire ici à un exemple réservé à ce fortin, et donc véritablement original, ou est-ce simplement le résultat d'un contexte de conservation particulièrement favorable?

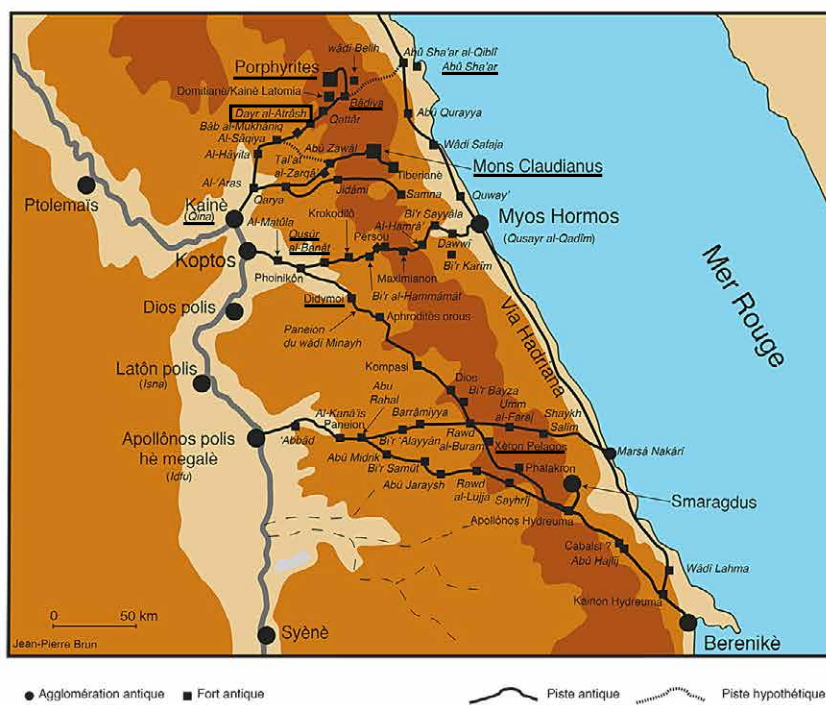
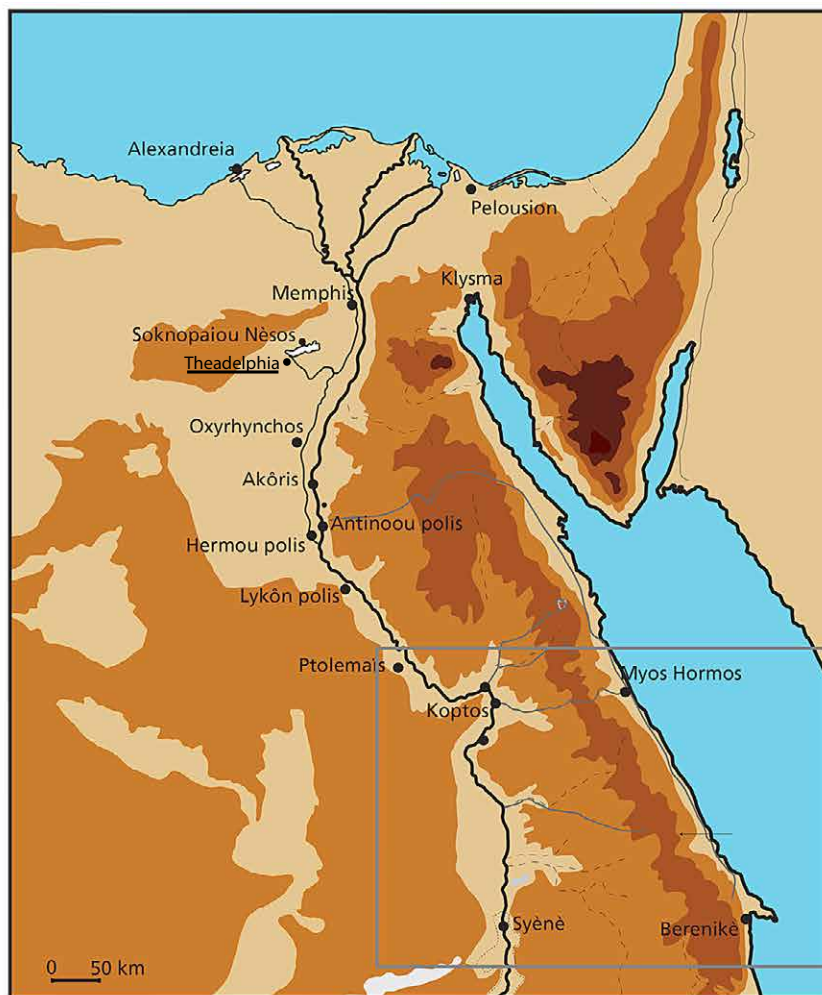


Figure 1. Localisation de Deir el-Atrash dans le désert Oriental égyptien (J.-P. Brun/MAFDO).



Figure 2. Façade sud du fortin de Deir el-Atrash depuis l'est. La tour peinte romaine du système d'entrée est englobée dans la structure en brique byzantine (J. Le Bomin/MAFDO).

Les vestiges archéologiques de Deir el-Atrash

Le fortin de Deir el-Atrash est installé au milieu du wadi éponyme, le Wadi Atrash (fig. 2). Il présente un plan classique des *praesidia* du désert (Reddé 2018), organisé selon une disposition quadrangulaire de 53 x 49 m flanqué de tours d'angle et avec une entrée unique au sud. Un puits est aménagé en son centre, conférant au fortin un rôle stratégique d'*hydreuma* sur la route du Porphyrites. Contre sa façade est, à l'extérieur, se développent des structures appelées 'animal lines', généralement assimilées à des étables (Maxfield 2007, 26-39 pour la description et l'interprétation de ces structures). L'édifice, et en particulier la courtine, est construit en blocs de grauwacke sombre, provenant des montagnes environnantes, et les élévations internes mêlent grauwacke en partie inférieure et briques crues en élévation et pour les voûtes qui couvrent les espaces. Les tours, et notamment celles du système d'entrée, sont également en briques crues.

Les opérations menées en 2020 se sont principalement concentrées sur le système d'entrée, révélant ainsi l'existence de deux phases constructives. La première, datée de la fin du 1^{er} et du début du 2^e siècle, correspond vraisemblablement à la construction du fortin, et la seconde

se rapporte à une période de réoccupation datée de la fin du 4^e et du début du 5^e siècle. La stratigraphie et l'absence de matériel archéologique démontrent, à l'heure actuelle, un intermède sans activité entre ces deux épisodes.

C'est à la première occupation du fort qu'appartient la peinture découverte sur la tour orientale du système d'entrée. Sa préservation tient au fait que des tours massives quadrangulaires en briques crues ont été appliquées à l'époque byzantine par-dessus les tours originelles romaines en fer à cheval, sans les avoir totalement détruites. La destruction partielle de la tour orientale de la seconde phase a permis les investigations autour de la tour primitive qui a révélé le programme iconographique se prolongeant sur la portion adjacente de la courtine.

Le programme décoratif de Deir el-Atrash s'étend sur près de 2,4 m linéaires conservés au total sur une élévation de près de 2,5 m. Il s'agit de motifs peints, aujourd'hui quelque peu délavés, sur une couche de 2 cm d'épaisseur d'un enduit de *muna* (un enduit de terre et de paille en arabe égyptien) chaulé. Ce fond blanc met en valeur les motifs polychromes qui couvrent une palette de couleurs chaudes avec quelques touches de bleu et de vert rehaussés de noir pour les contours et les détails: gamme de couleur et style renvoient aux productions

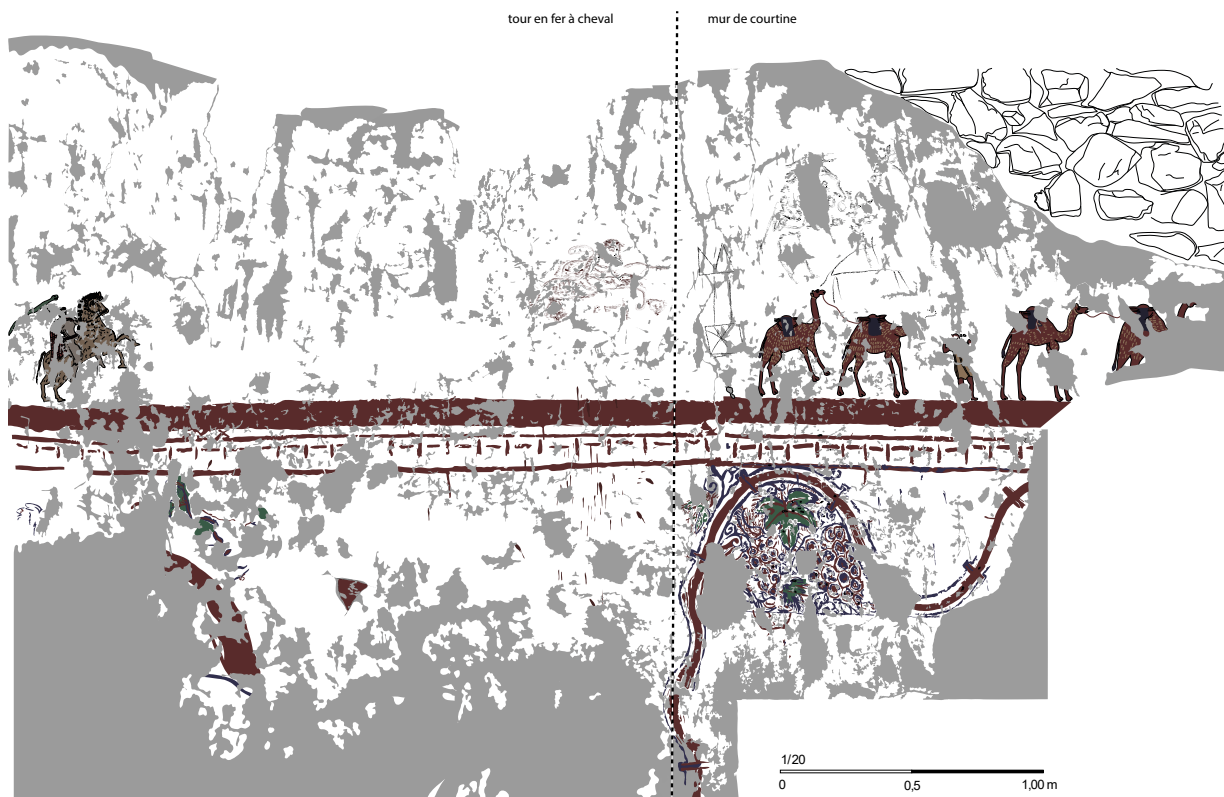


Figure 3. Fac-similé déroulé du programme iconographique de Deir el-Atrash (J. Marchand/MAFDO).

égyptiennes connues ailleurs pour le Haut Empire romain (Rondot 2013). La composition iconographique a sans doute été réalisée en une seule fois, puis plusieurs motifs plus grossiers ont été ajoutés dans un second temps dans les espaces laissés libres.

Le programme iconographique de l'entrée de Deir el-Atrash

Le programme pictural se développe sur deux registres, isolés par une large bande rouge sombre qui court sur toute la surface préservée de la peinture (fig. 3). Elle est elle-même soulignée par deux autres lignes fines de même couleur, entre lesquelles se développe une troisième, constituée de pointillés alternativement horizontaux et verticaux. Cette bordure entre les deux registres se situe à environ 1,60 m du sol romain identifié par la fouille, soit environ à hauteur d'yeux. Sur le registre supérieur de la tour, un homme sur un cheval cabré est représenté (fig. 4). L'animal a une robe Isabelle rehaussée par des motifs noirs incurvés. Le cavalier, se dirigeant vers l'est, tient les rênes de l'animal dans sa main gauche. Son visage a disparu, mais des vestiges de peinture laissent supposer qu'il tournait la tête en direction de l'observateur. Il porte un manteau rouge à carreaux, jeté sur son épaule droite et attaché par une fibule

ronde à sa gauche. Sa tunique est maintenue par une ceinture rouge à motif de bandes parallèles. Derrière lui, au-dessus de sa tête, un serpent à la gueule ouverte, langue sortie, et aux écailles vertes tachetées ondule depuis la gauche.

La seconde scène du registre supérieur se trouve sur le mur de courtine, à droite en faisant face à l'entrée. Elle mesure 1,17 m de long et représente une caravane d'au moins quatre chameaux qui se poursuit vraisemblablement vers la droite. Dans la partie gauche, deux chameaux tenus par une longe sont menés par un personnage à pied, tête tournée vers l'arrière, vers un animal qui semble s'agiter. Les bêtes sont bâties mais n'ont pas de charge sur le dos. Certains détails colorés, assez élégants, soulignent les cils et les poils des chameaux. Le méhariste qui les guide porte une tunique jaune à manches courtes et à clavi brunes.

Le registre inférieur du programme se compose d'un motif végétal qui se développe depuis le coin inférieur gauche de la courtine, immédiatement contre la tour. Il s'agit d'un treillis de vigne représenté par une ligne rouge qui ondule et s'étend au-delà de la partie conservée du décor. Le cep de vigne s'élève et se développe de part et d'autre d'un piquet auquel il s'accroche à intervalles réguliers. Des vrilles ondulent et s'échappent à plusieurs

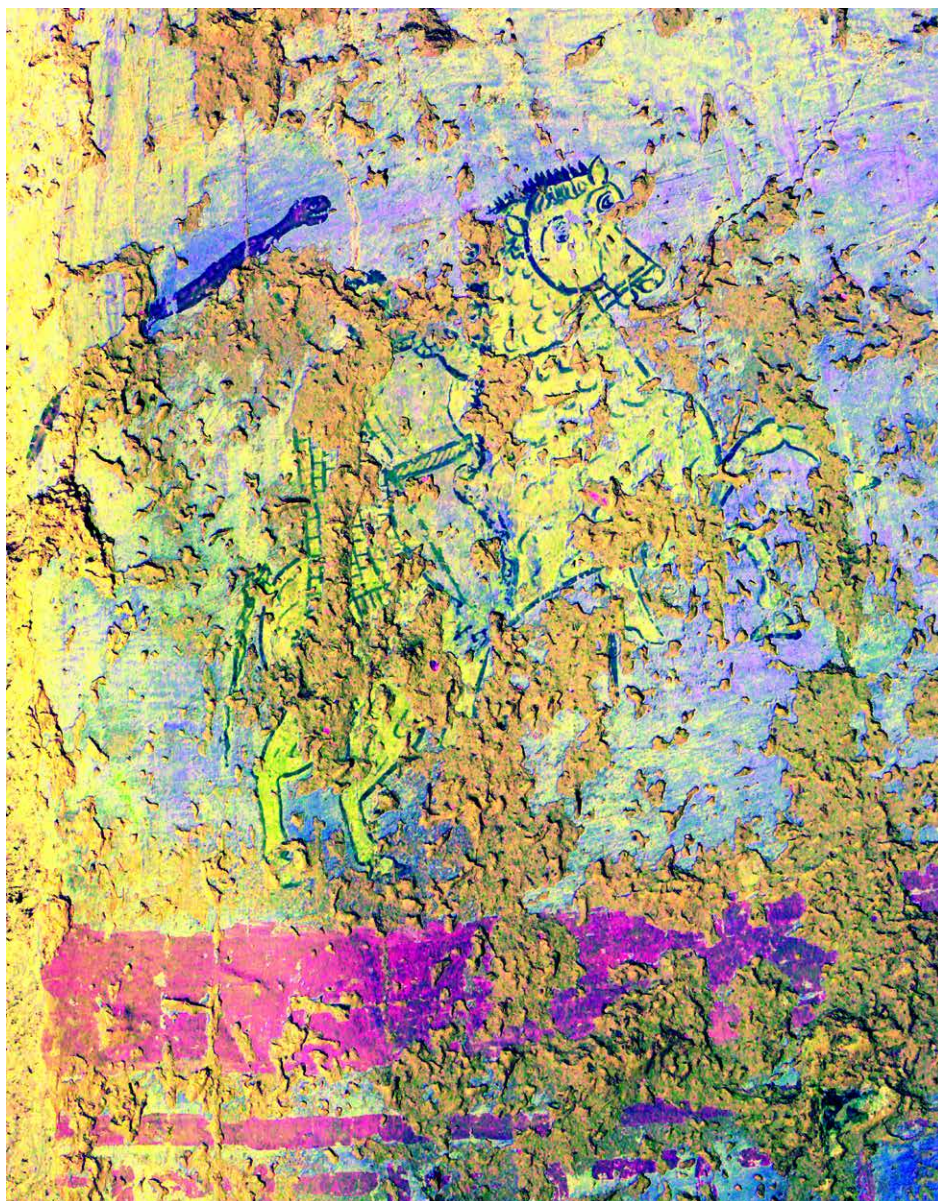


Figure 4. Détail du cavalier Héron avec couleurs saturées (G. Polin/Ifao).

endroits. Sur la courtine, une feuille de vigne est peinte en vert avec une grappe de raisin dont les grains sont représentés par des points noirs entourés de rouge.

Une signature complète enfin le programme: il s'agit de deux lignes, d'une petite écriture, en noir, sous la bande de séparation des registres, à droite du cavalier, isolée des autres motifs figurés. A. Bülow-Jacobsen propose la restitution suivante:

Οὐαλέριος [

τοῦτ[ο] [

soit: 'Valerius a peint ceci' (Marchand & Le Bomin 2022).

Dans un second temps, avant la reconfiguration du système d'entrée à la fin du 4^e siècle, des ajouts ont été réalisés dans certains espaces laissés libres. Un cheval est gravé et peint sur le côté de la tour, ainsi que deux dromadaires sur la courtine, juste au-dessus des autres chameaux peints. S'ajoutent enfin quelques graffitis, signes ou lettres indéterminés visibles ici ou là à hauteur d'yeux. Le seul élément clairement discernable est un autel à cornes gravé sur la courtine à gauche de la caravane de dromadaires.

La caravane de chameaux Les chameaux représentés sur le mur de courtine illustrent sans aucun doute une scène de la vie quotidienne: le ravitaillement des forts. L'homme qui guide la caravane est un chamelier, dont la profession est bien connue des textes (Gatier 2020, 45 and 49-56). Non armé, il est soit un *dromedarius* des

forces auxiliaires montées des provinces désertiques de l'Empire (Cuvigny 2005, 339-340), soit un factotum *dromedarius*, c'est à dire un employé civil du ravitaillement.

L'identification du cavalier L'identification du cavalier et du serpent de la tour est plus délicate et plusieurs interprétations sont possibles. On peut tout d'abord y voir un *draconarius*, c'est-à-dire un porteur d'emblème militaire de type *draco*. Ces étendards sont des manches à air dont l'extrémité est en métal et en tissu, figurant souvent de féroces dragons à la gueule ouverte destinés à impressionner l'ennemi. Le serpent menaçant de Deir el-Atrash pourrait s'en rapprocher. L'iconographie du *draco* est, par nature, associée à celle de l'armée: plusieurs exemples existent comme sur la colonne Trajane (Galinier 2007, spire 4, scène 26; spire 5, scène 31; spire 12, scènes 75 et 78-79; spire 15, scènes 95-97) ou sur les frises du Temple d'Hadrien¹ et le grand sarcophage Ludovisi.² À Deir el-Atrash, un trait de peinture noir, oblique, sous le serpent et sur la cuisse du cavalier pourrait représenter l'extrémité de la hampe de la bannière du *draco*, qui aurait été tenue par la main droite du cavalier.

Les traits courbes dessinés sur la robe du cheval pourraient éventuellement être rattachés aux écailles de l'armure d'un cataphractaire. Cependant, les représentations iconographiques romaines de ces montures illustrent des protections entières, couvrant corps et tête des animaux, ce qui n'est pas le cas ici (Gamber 1968, 30; Galinier 2007, spire 5, scènes 30-32 et spire 6, scène 37). Les 'bouclettes' de la robe du cheval semblent donc plutôt destinées à mettre en valeur son pelage.

L'association du cavalier et du serpent peut être aussi interprétée comme une figure du *hero equitans*, en particulier à l'image générique du 'cavalier thrace' (Hampartumian 1979). Ce génie protecteur, dont l'image se développe principalement durant le Haut-Empire, est originaire de la péninsule balkanique, en particulier de la Thrace gréco-romaine où de nombreuses stèles votives lui sont dédiées. Parfois appelé Héron, ce génie, cavalier ou non, est le résultat d'un syncrétisme entre l'entité thrace et plusieurs divinités gréco-romaines (Kiss 1996; Dontcheva 2002). Il est généralement accompagné d'un serpent auquel il offre une coupe.

Un Héron à Deir el-Atrash? Faut-il voir dans le cavalier de Deir el-Atrash la figure de Héron? Cette iconographie d'un personnage à cheval, corps de profil, tête et torse de

face, accompagné d'un serpent (Will 1990) est très proche d'autres représentations, clairement identifiées à Héron, provenant du temple de Théadelphie, dans le Fayoum, où le héros fait une offrande au serpent (Breccia 1926, fig. LIX sur une peinture; Lewis 1973, fig. 35 sur une stèle). En Égypte, l'apparition du cavalier thrace et de Héron coïncide avec l'installation des troupes thraces sous les Lagides (Kiss 1996, 217-218). Ce génie populaire à l'époque romaine, principalement dans le Fayoum, se retrouve dans l'onomastique (Bingen 1994), la petite plastique et les ex-votos qui lui sont dédiés (Lefebvre 1920, 241). Il apparaît aussi sur des panneaux de bois (Rondot 2013, 283-300) et des peintures murales (Breccia 1926, fig. LIX), traditionnellement représenté tel un soldat romain. Son succès est tel qu'il est également présent sur les monnaies de l'époque antonine.³ Héron, comme figure de génie-cavalier, est qualifié de *propylaïos* ('qui se trouve devant la porte'): il protège donc les portes (Picard 1956, 10; Rondot 2013, 297-298), souvent en contexte militaire. Dans le cas de Deir el-Atrash, sa présence sur la tour d'entrée du fort pourrait tout à fait faire référence à son statut de génie gardien de la porte.

Les peintures romaines dans les *praesidia* du désert Oriental

Les peintures des *praesidia* Bien que peu fréquentes, d'autres peintures romaines découvertes en contexte militaire existent. Des représentations humaines sont ainsi connues au *Castellum Dimmidi* dans le Ouled Nail en Numidie (Charles-Picard 1947, 159-172). En Égypte, trois occurrences de peintures sont connues avec, outre celle de Deir el-Atrash, le programme iconographique d'une chambre du fort du Mons Claudianus (Eristov & Cuvigny 2021) et la peinture de l'*aedes* de Didymoi qui figure une file de soldats cuirassés (Reddé 2015, 659). Dans la partie nord du *limes*, mentionnons notamment le décor peint dans les baraquements du camp d'Echzell (Fuchs 2017), en Germanie supérieure. Le caractère exceptionnel et unique de Deir el-Atrash réside ici dans le fait que le décor se déploie à l'extérieur, sur la façade du fort, alors que les autres décors précédemment cités sont tous internes, généralement associés à des espaces privés. Jusqu'alors, on restituait, par l'archéologie et par les textes, un chaulage blanc uniforme sur les façades externes des forts romains (Cuvigny 2003, 220 pour le chaulage des *skopeloi*; l'hypothèse est reprise par Brun 2018, § 21, fig. 28). E. Botte signale aussi dans son rapport en 2010 que la porte du fort de Xeron Pelagos, situé sur la route entre Coptos et Bérénice, "est flanquée

1 Actuellement exposées aux musées Capitolins, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Dacian_Draco_Capitolini_Museum_IMG_6304.jpg (mis en ligne 26-2-2012, 2-7-2023).

2 Un homme tient un *draco*, à droite derrière le personnage central, daté de 250-260 AD; https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Altemps_sarc%C3%B3fago_Ludovisi_03.JPG#/media/File:Altemps_sarcófago_Ludovisi_03.JPG (mis en ligne 28-7-2015, 2-7-2023).

3 Monnaie de Trajan: <https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/3/6299>; monnaie d'Hadrien: <https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/3/6301>; monnaie d'Antonin le Pieux: <https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/4/16006>, 2-7-2023).



Figure 5. Héron et Lycurge, selon le schéma iconographique du 2^e siècle (ImageStudio © KMKG-MRAH, Bruxelles, CC BY image; inv. E.07409).

de deux tours semi-circulaires (...) construites en pierres sèches. Leur face externe est enduite d'argile et peinte en blanc" (Cuvigny 2010, 4). Au *Mons Claudianus*, D.P.S. Peacock et V.A. Maxfield font aussi référence à du "decomposed [et] decayed stucco, [qui] may represent material derived from the original wall facing" (Maxfield & Peacock 2001, 18-19). D'autres structures importantes, comme une embase dans le probable *sacellum* de Qûsûr al-Banât (sur la route de Myos Hormos), sont aussi chaulées (Reddé 2003, 249). Sur le *limes* germanique et britannique, quelques murs chaulés étaient décorés en trompe-l'œil d'un motif de pierres de taille (Bidwell 1996, 19): les joints signifiés par des lignes rouges donnaient au bâtiment une impression de solidité et de qualité constructive, masquant parfois les réalités architecturales.

Valerius. Un soldat artisan? L'autre caractéristique unique de ce programme iconographique est bien entendu la signature de Valerius. Avec celle d'Aristôn, le peintre qui a réalisé la peinture de la chambre du *Mons Claudianus* (Eristov & Cuvigny 2021), ce sont ainsi deux artisans qui donnent leurs noms à des réalisations proches dans le temps et dans l'espace. Ces travaux sont d'autant uniques que c'est généralement le travail

collectif de l'armée qui est mis en avant alors que les initiatives individuelles restent anonymes. Il faut aussi noter que Valerius a discrètement posé son nom sur la tour, à hauteur d'yeux sous la ligne de registre: il tenait donc à ce que son travail soit reconnu, comme Aristôn qui a signé à côté de la porte (à 33 cm à droite et à 120 cm au-dessus du niveau du sol). Il est délicat de se prononcer sur la tâche principale de cet homme, mais il appartenait vraisemblablement au contingent militaire, de même qu'Aristôn était boulanger au *Mons Claudianus*. Les sources antiques nous informent que le *pictor* (le peintre) et le *tector* (le fabricant de stuc) en charge des revêtements muraux, ainsi que de la décoration des forts, étaient impliqués dans l'ingénierie militaire (Schmidt Heidenreich 2012, 329-330).

Les destinataires de la peinture de Deir el-Atrash. Le préfet et sa délégation? À la lumière de ces découvertes, la destination du programme iconographique interroge. Force est de constater que les scènes peintes n'étaient visibles que pour un observateur faisant face au fort. En effet, rien, hormis l'ajout postérieur du cheval au charbon, n'apparaît sur le côté de la tour. L'aspect original ou non de cette composition pose question puisqu'aucun autre exemple de ce type n'a été découvert ailleurs, même en

contexte égyptien, pourtant favorable à la préservation des vestiges. Une réponse peut être proposée: il est possible que ces travaux de décoration de la façade aient été réalisés spécialement pour la visite du préfet égyptien Sulpicius Similis dans le désert. Commémorée par deux dédicaces (I.Pan 19 du *Mons Porphyrites* et I.Pan 37 du *Mons Claudianus*) et mentionnée dans plusieurs *ostraca* (28.I.88, 15.II.87 et 25.I.88 du *Mons Claudianus*, ainsi que *Badia* A52, publiés dans Eristov & Cuvigny 2021), la visite a eu lieu en l'an 12 de Trajan, c'est-à-dire en 108/109. Le préfet est-il venu à Deir el-Atrash pour inaugurer le fort ou une de ses structures? Les sources ne le disent pas. Mais il est tentant d'associer l'exécution rapide de la peinture suggérée par les nombreuses gouttelettes échappées sur la paroi avec une éventuelle visite officielle (et imprévue?) de l'autorité.

Conclusion

L'hypothèse d'une peinture exécutée à Deir el-Atrash dans le cadre de la mise en place d'un décor destiné à marquer la visite d'un officiel est séduisante. Elle pourrait expliquer l'aspect original de l'œuvre. Toutefois, à ce jour, aucun élément archéologique tangible atteste d'un tel événement et les quelques *ostraca* découverts dans le dépotoir du fort, localisé à quelques mètres au sud de l'entrée, n'en font aucunement mention.

Quelle que soit l'interprétation donnée au cavalier de Deir el-Atrash (un *draconarius*, un *hero equitans* ou Héron), celui-ci marque la présence et la domination de l'Empire romain sur sa bordure égyptienne. La protection des soldats est assurée grâce à la figure mythologique et protectrice du cavalier. L'iconographie du héros à cheval s'inspire aussi de celle du cavalier dace vaincu par Trajan, une image très véhiculée à l'époque antonine.

Une dernière question subsiste: quel décor apparaissait sur la tour occidentale de l'entrée? Encore préservée dans la structure byzantine, la tour romaine est inaccessible. Celle-ci est donc sans doute bien conservée et son décor, s'il existe, est vraisemblablement épargné. En s'appuyant sur d'autres occurrences de représentation du génie Héron, on peut proposer deux hypothèses pour le décor de la tour ouest: Héron a pu être peint différemment une deuxième fois (comme sur la porte du temple de Théadelphie (Breccia 1926, fig. LVII-LIX); ou alors c'est Lycurgue, son acolyte, qui pourrait y être figuré (fig. 5) selon un schéma iconographique bien répandu dans l'Égypte romaine (Rondot 2013, Bruxelles E.7409, 141-145 et Étampes, 152-156).

Abbreviation

I.Pan: Bernard 1977

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My face and the wolf song

A Roman facemask and a 'draco' from Carnuntum

Eva Steigberger

The Roman Army was and is considered one of the key players in spreading Roman glory throughout the Empire. Roman military equipment not only aided the purposes of protecting and fighting, it also reinforced Rome's might and power and was supposed to instill fear in their enemies. Roman *equites*, as known, were an impressive sight, dressed in shiny armor and telling tales of Roman *virtus*.

A newly found facemask from *Carnuntum* (fig. 1) with its associated finds and the Ribchester helmet are fine examples of the exquisite workmanship, as well as the care, respect, and love for the equipment, which transformed the bearer into the ideal of a victorious battle hero representing the emperor. Starting with none other than Alexander the Great, his famous hairstyle, great ancestry, and glorious victories inspired all *imperatores* who came after him. The step to Augustus, *primus inter pares*, the first emperor, is not a big one. His hairstyle also was famous and often copied by successors and wannabes. So long lasting was his fame that facemasks of helmets from the late 2nd century copied his hairstyle with the easily identifiable *ἀναστολή*.

The facemask

The soldiers of Rome displaying the face of the divine emperor or that of a nameless and yet maybe not so nameless hero showed Roman culture to those who opposed them. Not only did they do this in battle, but also during colorful, warlike riding games, the so-called *Hippikà gymnásia* or in Latin *Decursiones*, during which, adorned in all their finery, they showed their skills (Flavius Arrianus *Tactica* 34.2-8).

In 2018, a new example of these masks became known and was reported to the Austrian Monuments Authority. A request for export to Germany for conservation, accompanied by all the necessary pictures, led to a meeting with the mask's owner. The conservation process and a simultaneous assessment of the objects were initiated. The result was a monument protection for the mask and all other parts of the find complex as well as a cleaning and conservation process monitored and paid for by the Monuments Authority. The find itself occurred during the planting of a tree in a garden in Bad Deutsch-Altenburg, Lower Austria, which is the modern town built over the eastern part of the *canabae legionis* of *Carnuntum*. Since *Carnuntum* housed not only a legion – *Legio XV Apollinaris* up until the early 2nd century, and after that *Legio XIV* – but also auxiliary units like *Ala Pannoniorum* and *Ala I Thracum Victrix*, the reported find spot for such Roman military equipment is plausible (Kandler 2008). It is, of course, not the first facemask found in *Carnuntum*, as Junckelmann (1996, 93-97) already lists eight examples in his catalogue.

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Figure 1. Helm-mask after conservation.

The main object in the group was a quite well-preserved Roman facemask, part of a helmet worn by Roman cavalry, made of bronze. It was in a very good condition, but it was bent along the ridge of the nose, and half of the face was missing. Additionally, fragments of a non-ferrous alloy and four silver coins, all *denarii* and badly corroded into one piece, were found together with the facemask. Schamper (2015, 61-65) wrote about the technique and the workshops for such equipment. In addition, Karl Herold (1985) gave detailed information on the conservation of the famous helmet from the auxiliary fort in *Carnuntum* that is confirmed by our case here. For the older mask type from Kalkriese, as well as for examples from Nijmegen and Xanten (Meijers & Willer 2009), similar research conducted during their conservation revealed details about manufacturing techniques (Hanel *et al.* 2000).

The restoration followed the concept of a very gentle cleaning, stabilizing, and mapping of different stages of corrosion. A new case was custom-made to stabilize the piece for future storage. During conservation work, different stages in the mask's life were catalogued. Underneath the ear section on the inside of the mask, there was an iron patch as part of some antique repairing. Other repairs are evident along the cheekbones, altering the general outline of the facial features. Parts of the surface were in good shape, but other parts were corroded almost to nothing. Those parts were marked in red, and the conservator advised the owner to leave the mask in its new box in order to keep it stable and safe.

With the conservation done we are able to examine the face of a young man, his features finely and very precisely drawn, the features of the young hero who represents Rome. The straight nose shows the idealistic visage that the mask is supposed to portray. The lower part of the face is only partially preserved and fragmented around the mouth and chin. A row of small locks frames the face, merging into carefully created sickle-locks that usually mark the ideal type of hairstyle for antique heroes. A wreath in two rows of leaves bound together with a ribbed ribbon at the temple, where the wreath ends in a round boss or knob, rests on top of the curls. The ribbon winds around the boss. The hero also wears some sort of hair band which consists of a combination of textiles and metal. Over his forehead, two floral ornaments, some sort of round-shaped, four-leaved blossoms, frame the hair band. Two more ornaments mark the end of the hair band at his temple and from them a feather dangles in front of his ear. Like the eponymous mask of the Ribchester helmet, this tiara on the mask (fig. 2) but not on the helmet is an important feature for said type (as mentioned by Fischer 2012, 224). Other examples are from Hellingen in Luxembourg and Hirchova in Romania (Garbsch 1978, 65, O13, 67, O27, plate 19 and 22). Schamper (2015, 35) gives a detailed description of her Type B1 Ribchester (following Fischer 2012) pointing out that the hairstyle is hammered not cast, and the face has to be that of a male youth.

As mentioned, high on his head sits a wreath. The leaves that form this wreath are from mulberry branches. Underneath the leaves in typical fashion the ripe berries show. Mulberry branches are a new feature for a facemask; so far we only know of ivy on a facemask from Rapolano (Garbsch 1978, 59-60, M3, plate 15) and of unidentified leaves and fruits on a lost facemask from Conflans (Garbsch 1978, 65, O14).

Helmets with such masks are part of the equipment of Roman cavalry. The high quality of this richly decorated equipment means it is often seen as unfit for actual battle, but Junkelmann has proven that one can use them in combat as well (Junkelmann 1996, 51-53; Fischer 2012, 220-221; Narloch 2012). In his *Tactica*, a treatise on Roman cavalry and military tactics, Arrianus (34.2-8) writes about tournament-like riding games in which such elaborately decorated helmets certainly made the intended impression. Helmets with these elaborate facemasks were used from the 1st to the 3rd century. After that they disappear, as the military reforms of the tetrarchs introduced the riveted plate helmet, and the old auxiliary tradition vanished and with it the riding games.

The helmets and their masks are catalogued and divided into certain types by Garbsch and later Junkelmann and Fischer. In 2015, Jennifer Schamper catalogued more recent finds with newly categorized types. According to Junkelmann's typology, the form of the

mask and especially the part of the ear and the cut section underneath it put the new facemask from *Carnuntum* clearly in the group of the Ribchester helmet. This type appears around the second half of the 1st century and develops from the older Kalkriese and Nijmegen types (Junkelmann 1996, 18-19; Born & Junkelmann 1997, 32-36). Schamper mentions seven known examples making this one the eighth (Schamper 2015, 35-36).

The new facemask is the first example of said type from Austria, and it has very similar features to the famous Ribchester helmet (e.g. Junkelmann 1991, 168, fig. 106; Born & Junkelmann 1997, fig. 21). The Ribchester helmet also has these neat tiny locks of hair, the elaborate sort of tiara on the forehead, and the same fixtures under its ears. The lower, sharply cut part of the cheeks also compares rather well and appears in other examples of this type, like the one from Newstead (Junkelmann 1991, 168, fig. 105). Thanks to the session organizer, Christoph Flügel, we know of another example of a Ribchester-type helmet from a private collection which has a similar serene face and a very similar ear-section (Fischer 2012, fig. 224). This one follows another type of hairstyle, though (fig. 3).

As we know from the Ribchester helmet, quite a story was told with this helmet, decorated as it is with scenes of a skirmish between cavalry and infantry, thus displaying the virtues and prowess of the Roman army (for iconography on Roman helm-masks: Schamper 2015, 83-92). Dionysiac masks may have been the origin of the early helm-masks, as Kemkes & Scheuerbrandt (1997, 57) state, accompanied by elaborate floral decoration on horse gear. Later, references to Minerva, Mars, Victoria or Dea Virtus symbolized through eagles refer to a religious and political function; the use of Medusa with snakes and wings on protective gear suggests an apotropaic function, while Ganymede as a beautiful youth resides in Olympia, thus referring to an after-life for the soldier.

The *Carnuntum* facemask could have belonged to a similarly elaborate helmet, but even with only the front piece surviving, it tells a story. A first hint is the mulberries. A look into Roman literature presents a very famous mulberry tree in Ovidius' *Metamorphoses* (4.55-166), in which the blood of the unhappy Pyramus colors the white berries black, as he kills himself after believing his beloved Thisbe has been eaten by a lion. She follows him in death underneath the mulberry tree. This is quite an unlikely story told through military equipment, though nonetheless remarkable.

The bronze fragments. A draco?

The very thin fragments of bronze sheet found together with the facemask were not as well preserved as the mask. The finder believed them to be fragments of a vessel, maybe a small cup. In order to investigate further, restoration and conservation of the fragments started

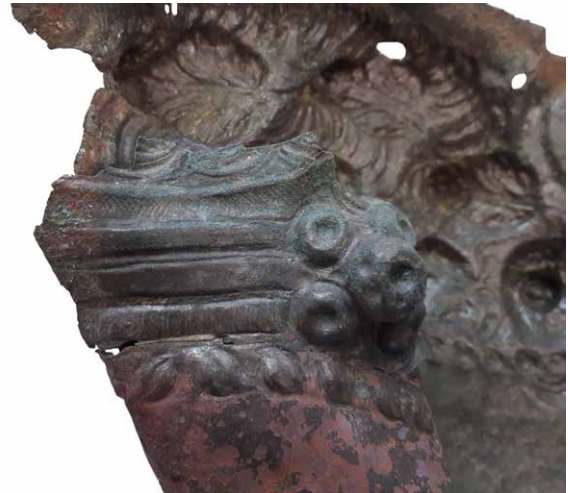


Figure 2. Detail of tiara.



Figure 3. Facemask from private collection (photograph kindly provided by the owner, © owner).

parallel to that of the facemask. However, conservation on these fragments was much more extensive and only tiny parts could be re-attached. The conservator decided to leave them in their original state following the guidelines for conservation work in Austria.¹ The rim of the biggest fragment is simply folded and bent, and is not a proper rim of a vessel as one would expect it to be. In addition, the surface decoration consists of tiny lines in rows all over

1 <https://www.bda.gv.at/service/publikationen/standards-leitfaeden-richtlinien/standards-archaeologische-funde.html>, 4-10-2022.



Figure 4. Bronze fragments of 'draco'.



Figure 5. Detail of fur on the 'draco'.

the surface. The impression is not that of a vessel at all; instead, the decoration looks rather like roughly drawn fur. The shape of the object is cylindrical, since there is no trace of a lip or an indenting of the body. Considering the tiny lines representing fur and the cylindrical shape of the fragment, that had no visible curve as a vessel might have: could it be some sort of *draco* (fig. 4)?

The military standard of a Roman cavalry unit was called a *draco*. Its appearance is known not only through reliefs like the *Hadrianum* in Rome or the famous Ludovisi sarcophagus, but also from descriptions in written sources like Vegetius (*Epitoma Rei Militaris* 2.13) from the 4th century. Arrianus mentions a *draco*, calling it 'Scythian' in his passage on cavalry training exercises (*Tactica* 35.2-4). Arrian says the colorful banners not only offered visual pleasure and amazement, but also

helped the riders position themselves correctly in the complicated drills.

The size of the *Carnuntum* fragment is a little bit smaller than the famous one from the Roman fort at Niederbieber, but the rim may be just large enough to hold the fabric of the tail. It certainly does not show the scales of a *Draco*, and only the neck of a furry animal survives (fig. 5), but thinking about famous and important furry animals, the first thing that comes to mind is a wolf. The famous Capitoline Wolf represents Rome from the earliest days, as the wolf was the holy animal of Mars. Legions had the wolf on their military standards, for example *Legio II Italica*, stationed in *Lauriacum* from 190 BC onwards. In addition, a *signifer* wore the pelt of a wolf over his helmet.

Did the wolf sing for the glory of Rome in the hands of a cavalryman on the limes? On the other hand, is it a lion and thus a connection to the mulberries on the facemask? For once, the depiction of the fur speaks more for a wolf than a lion, which should have an elaborately drawn mane, and the wolf is more closely connected to the legions, to Mars, and to soldiers than the lion. The fragment may just be some variation of the *draco*. On the *Tropaeum Traiani* in Adamclisi in Romania, underneath the metopes runs a frieze consisting of fifty-four blocks with acanthus leaves intertwined with craters, birds and wolves' heads (Florescu 1950; <http://lupa.at/21406>, 4-10-2022). The wolves' heads there give a vague impression of how a wolf *draco* might appear. And the *draco* or, to be precise, the standard of the Dacians depicted on Trajan's Column resembles more a wolf than a dragon, at least in a drawing from the 1940's. Fischer also sees the origin of the *draco* in Dacian wolf's-head standards (Fischer 2012, 233, fig. 351).

Summary

Not only art like statues and reliefs, architecture like temples, grave monuments or important buildings, but also military equipment was used to advertise Roman ideals and virtues and thus serve as a medium of communicating Roman culture to the Empire. The famous riding games which Arrianus describes provided a perfect stage for the ageless hero of Rome in all his military finery, glittering in the sun and telling tales of classic stories like the one Ovidius told. The new facemask from a helmet type Ribchester, in a variation with a mulberry wreath, refers to a tale that many in the Empire may have known and recognized, and it may also have shown that the soldier wearing it was a man of culture and not only of war. The fragment of what may be a *draco* is one of the few actual surviving pieces of an important object carried by the *draconarius* into battle and into the related riding games. Colorful tails from cloth and the head of a legendary beast showed all subjects and those who might soon become such that the wolf sings of the glory of Rome.

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Römische Staats- und Siegesdenkmäler in den Provinzen

Kai M. Töpfer

Römische Staats- und Siegesdenkmäler sind bereits lange ein Gegenstand intensiver Forschung. Insbesondere die Denkmäler in Rom und Italien wurden vielfach auf unterschiedliche Fragestellungen hin untersucht (Zanker 1987; Hölscher 2019). Im Gegensatz dazu sind die entsprechenden Denkmäler in den Provinzen zumeist nur punktuell und wenn dann nicht selten vor allem in Hinblick auf die Frage betrachtet worden, welche stadtrömischen Denkmäler als Vorbilder gedient haben könnten. Regionalspezifische Charakteristika und Eigenständigkeiten wurden dagegen nur selten und kaum systematisch in den Blick genommen. Einer solchen Perspektive ist seit einigen Jahren ein Projekt unter Leitung von Tonio Hölscher an der Universität Heidelberg gewidmet, das die Erstellung eines Handbuchs der römischen Staatsdenkmäler zum Ziel hat. Die folgenden Überlegungen bezüglich der Staats- und Siegesdenkmäler in den östlichen Provinzen des Reiches stellen erste Ergebnisse aus der Arbeit an diesem Projekt dar.

Bei der Analyse und Interpretation römischer Staats- und Siegesdenkmäler in den Provinzen kommt der Frage nach deren Initiatoren eine besondere Bedeutung zu. Anders als man nämlich vermuten könnte, wurde nur ein sehr geringer Teil dieser Denkmäler von römischen Institutionen oder römischen Amtsträgern initiiert, darunter vor allem großformatige und eindrucksvolle Denkmäler wie die bekannten *tropaia* in La Turbie und Adamclissi (Töpfer 2020) oder auch einige Bogenmonumente wie beispielsweise der für Mainz überlieferte Bogen für Germanicus (Lebek 1989, 57-67). Der weitaus größte Teil solcher Denkmäler geht hingegen auf lokale Initiativen zurück, die zumeist als Reaktion auf die Gewährung von Freiheiten oder Gunstbezeugungen anderer Art durch Rom und seine Repräsentanten zu verstehen sind.

Ein Denkmal, an dem sich dieser kommunikative Prozess und der lokale Einfluss besonders gut aufzeigen lassen, ist das Sebasteion von Aphrodisias in Karien in der heutigen Türkei (Smith 2013). Die Stadt selbst erfuhr in augusteischer Zeit größere Aufmerksamkeit und Gunstbeweise durch Rom, einerseits aufgrund enger persönlicher Beziehungen zwischen der städtischen Elite und dem Kaiserhaus, andererseits aufgrund einer geschickten Verknüpfung der Stadtgöttin Aphrodite mit der Stammutter des iulisch-claudischen Kaiserhauses, der Venus Genetrix (Smith 2013, 3-7). Das ab tiberischer bis in neronische Zeit von zwei einheimischen Familien errichtete Sebasteion ist daher, auch wenn die Weihinschrift dies nicht explizit vermerkt, als Dank für diese Wohltaten zu verstehen. Geweiht war die aus einem Torbau, zwei langgestreckten dreistöckigen Hallen und einem Podiumstempel bestehende Anlage dem Kaiserhaus, dem Demos der

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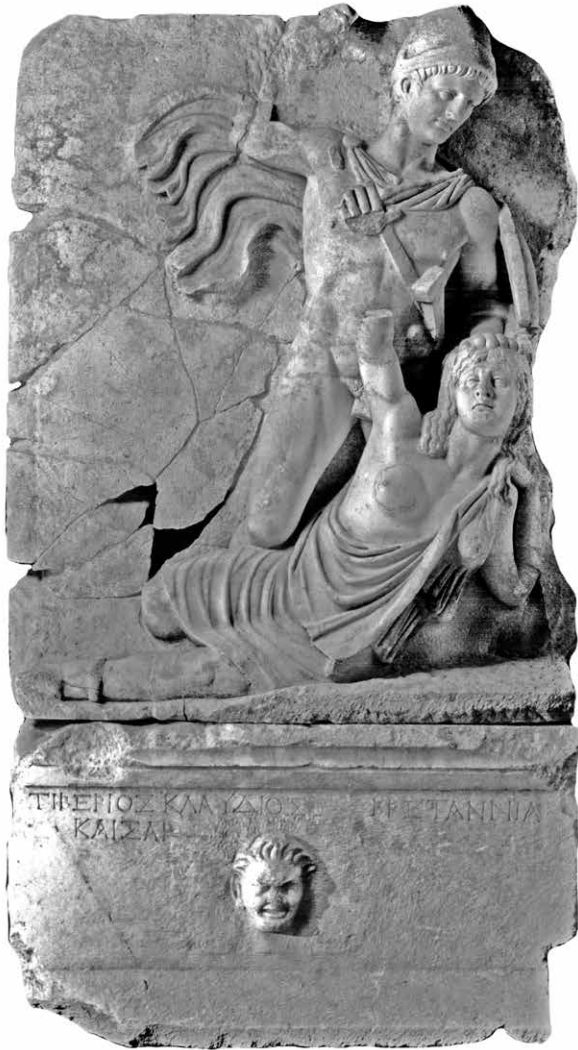


Abbildung 1. Sebasteion in Aphrodisias, Claudius mit *Britannia*, Relief C10 (© New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias (Petrucchioli)).

Stadt und Aphrodite Prometor, die der lateinischen Venus Genetrix entspricht.

Von besonderem Interesse ist die Anlage vor allem wegen ihres reichen Reliefdekors. So waren sämtliche Intercolumnien der oberen beiden Stockwerke der seitlichen Hallen mit ehemals wohl insgesamt über 150 Reliefs verschlossen, die sich thematisch in drei Gruppen einteilen lassen. Das mittlere Geschoss der Nordhalle zierte eine umfangreiche Galerie ethnischer Personifikationen, die Völkern aus dem ganzen Reichsgebiet und den Grenzgebieten präsentierte. Im mittleren Geschoss der Südhalle wurden zahlreiche Mythenbilder präsentiert, darunter neben griechischen Heroen und Göttern auch die Gründungsmythen Roms. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit erfuhr dabei die Stadtgöttin Aphrodite, die über Aeneas als Bindeglied zwischen Troja und Rom als Stammutter

des iulischen Kaiserhauses inszeniert wurde. Die Obergeschosse beider Hallen waren dem Kaiserhaus, Personifikationen und Göttern vorbehalten. Viele der Darstellungen nehmen dabei Bezug auf die militärische Stärke Roms. So zeigt eines der Reliefs Kaiser Claudius (Abb. 1, Relief C10: Smith 2013, 145-147), der nur mit einem wehenden *paludamentum* und einem Helm bekleidet ist und mit seinem Knie die personifizierte, inschriftlich benannte *Britannia* zu Boden drückt, deren rechte Brust entblößt ist. Mit seiner Linken zieht er den Kopf der Besiegten an den Haaren empor, während die erhobene Rechte wohl ehemals eine Lanze führte. Die Niederringung *Britannias* wird hier in der Art einer griechischen Heldentat dargestellt und als individuelle Leistung des Kaisers seiner persönlichen Tapferkeit zugeschrieben, was durch die ungewöhnliche Nacktheit und die dynamische Haltung besonders betont wird.

Ein anderes Relief (C2: Smith 2013, 128-131) zeigt den bis auf ein Manteltuch auf der linken Schulter und eine *corona civica* nackten Augustus mit einer Lanze in der Rechten. Links von ihm sitzt auf dem Boden ein zu ihm aufblickender Adler. Der Princeps schmückt gemeinsam mit der ihm gegenüberstehenden *Victoria* ein zwischen ihnen aufgestelltes *tropaion*, zu dessen Füßen ein nackter langhaariger Barbar mit hinter dem Rücken gebundenen Händen sitzt. Insgesamt präsentiert die Komposition Augustus als heroischen, stets siegreichen Herrscher, dem mittels des Adlers Iupiter-gleiche Kompetenzen attestiert werden. Ein anderes Relief (C8: Smith 2013, 141-143) zeigt Nero mit *balteus*, *paludamentum* und Helm, wie er der am Boden hockenden, inschriftlich benannten und als Amazone gekleideten *Armenia* unter die Arme greift und sie im Sinne einer Restitution wiederaufrichtet.

In den drei genannten wie auch die übrigen Reliefs vom Sebasteion wird der militärische Erfolg Roms als alleiniger Verdienst der deutlich heroisierten Kaiser dargestellt (Smith 2006, 44-47; 2013, 193-194). Betont wird die persönliche Leistung des Herrschers. Die Bilder stehen somit deutlich in der Tradition hellenistischer Herrscherrepräsentation (Smith 2013, 312-313) und vermitteln so ein ganz anderes Herrscherimage als die zeitgleichen stadtrömischen Bilder. Denn dort wurde der Kaiser als Verkörperung eines Tugendkanons inszeniert, insbesondere durch die Wiedergabe von Riten und standardisierten Handlungen, so beispielsweise auf der Trajanssäule (Abb. 2). Militärischer Erfolg wurde dabei stets als Ergebnis eines gemeinsamen Handelns von Heer und Heerführer im Rahmen eines *bellum iustum*, eines gerechten Krieges verstanden, der dank entsprechender Riten und Rituale von den Göttern unterstützt wurde und für den ein Vertrauens- und Treueverhältnis zwischen Kaiser und Heer die Basis bildete (Baumer *et al.* 1991).

Diese zentralen Aspekte römischer Herrschaft wurden aber nicht nur in szenischen Bildern visualisiert,



Abbildung 2. Trajansssäule, Szene 38, *lustratio* (Coarelli 1999, Tafel 55).

sondern auch mit Zeichen und Symbolen verknüpft, die in der Folge als leicht adaptierbare Bilder eine weite Verbreitung fanden (Hölscher 1987). Universell verwendbare Siegeszeichen waren beispielsweise die Siegesgöttin auf dem Globus, *tropaea* und gefesselte Barbaren. Die besondere Tugendhaftigkeit des Augustus wurde in Gestalt des vom Senat gestifteten Tugendschildes verdichtet, der sowohl in monumentalen Kopien wie in Arles als auch in Kleinformat beispielsweise auf Münzen oder auch auf Lampen Verwendung fand (Zanker 1987, 96-103; Pabst 2017). Auffällig dabei ist, dass das Motiv in den östlichen Provinzen des Reiches deutlich seltener begegnet, sowohl in der monumentalen Kunst als auch auf Münzen. Auch mit Blick auf die Verbreitung und Verehrung der Tugenden selbst zeigen sich deutliche Unterschiede zwischen Ost und West (Fears 1981, 936-938).

Betrachtet man vor diesem Hintergrund die Darstellungen am Sebasteion, wird deutlich, dass das im Vergleich zu römischen Konzepten deutliche andere 'Image' des Kaisers kein rein künstlerisches Phänomen ist. Vielmehr wird hier eine politische Aussage getroffen, indem

die Kaiser in einer Weise dargestellt werden, die ihre und damit Roms Herrschaft in einem regionalen politischen Sinnhorizont legitimieren. Indem die militärischen Erfolge Roms der persönlichen Leistungsfähigkeit der Kaiser zugeschrieben und in Bildmotiven verdichtet werden, die bewusst an Bildmotive griechischer Heroen erinnern, erfährt die Herrschaft der Kaiser innerhalb eines griechisch geprägten Kosmos eine nachvollziehbare Legitimation, nämlich in Gestalt eines mit gottgleichen Kompetenzen ausgestatteten und heroengleich agierenden Kaisers. Viele der in Rom relevanten Tugenden spielen dagegen hier keine Rolle, ebenso wenig wie das Heer, das in den Reliefs überhaupt nicht in Erscheinung tritt.

Sehr viel deutlicher als in Rom wurde in Kleinasien dagegen der Aspekt des Wohlstandes betont, der durch die Herrschaft Roms und die damit verbundene Sicherheit vor allem der Handelsrouten ermöglicht wird. In einer stark verdichteten und gleichzeitig minimalistischen Bildsprache formuliert dieses Konzept ein für Kaiser Claudius errichteter Bogen in *Sagalassos* (Waelkens 1993, 45-46; Poblome *et al.* 2011, 86-87; Eich *et al.* 2018, 51-57,

Nr. 8-9). Dieser zeigt neben einer anzunehmenden Statuenbekrönung mit dem Kaiser selbst einen Waffenfries als Sinnbild militärischer Fähigkeiten in Kombination mit drei Füllhörnern auf der Archivolte, die als typische Symbole für Überfluss und Prosperität leicht verständlich waren. Auf diese Weise erfährt die Herrschaft Roms eine weitere, in einem regionalen Sinnhorizont begründete Legitimation.

Tatsächlich kommt in den meisten in Kleinasien von Mitgliedern der regionalen Elite errichteten Denkmälern eine solche regionalspezifische Perspektive auf die Herrschaft Roms zum Ausdruck. Eine signifikante und in vielfacher Hinsicht aufschlussreiche Ausnahme stellt allerdings das Kenotaph des Caius Caesar in *Limyra* dar (Ganzert 1984; Borchhardt 2010). Dieses wurde bald nach 4 nach Chr. für den auf dem Rückweg nach Rom überraschend verstorbenen Enkel des Augustus in dieser lykischen Stadt erbaut. Von dem im Mausoleumstypus errichteten Bau sind neben dem Gebäudekern aus Quadermauerwerk und *opus caementitium* zahlreiche, zumeist kleinteilige Fragmente von der Gebäudehülle erhalten. Diese belegen, dass der Sockel auf allen vier Seiten mit einem großformatigen figurenreichen Fries geschmückt war. Auch wenn die Details der Darstellungen aufgrund der starken Fragmentierung unklar sind, lassen sich die Themen noch recht klar bestimmen (Borchhardt 2010, 43-66). Demnach zeigte der Südfries eine Reiterprozession, aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach die *transvectio equestris* des Jahres 6 vor Chr., bei der Caius Caesar der römischen Öffentlichkeit als *princeps iuventutis* präsentiert wurde. Auf der Nordseite war eine weitere Prozession dargestellt, in der auch ein Wagen mitgeführt wurde. Denkbare Themen sind der Caius Caesar bewilligte Triumphzug, sein *processus consularis* oder auch seine *pompa funebris*. Dem westlichen Fries sind Fragmente mit römischen und parthischen Soldaten zuzuordnen. Der ruhigen Haltung der Figuren nach dürfte es sich nicht um eine Kampfdarstellung, sondern um eine Unterwerfungsszene oder um die Visualisierung des Friedensschlusses von 2 nach Chr. handeln. Der Ostfries zeigte eine großformatige Opferszene mit Stieren.

Das sich auf diese Weise ergebende Bildprogramm orientiert sich thematisch und ikonographisch eng an stadtrömischen Vorbildern und Vorstellungen, obwohl stilistische Eigenheiten und die vorhandenen Steinmetzmarken beweisen, dass kleinasiatische Handwerker für die Ausführung verantwortlich waren (Ganzert 1984, 176-177; Borchhardt 2002, 69-70; Plattner *et al.* 2014, 232-234). Eine mögliche Erklärung für das Fehlen der an anderen Denkmälern in der Region erkennbaren lokalen Perspektive bieten die Vorgänge nach dem Tod des Germanicus, eines weiteren aussichtsreichen Thronprätendenten, über die dank der literarischen Überlieferung und eines Senatsbeschlusses,

von dem mehrere fragmentierte Abschriften an verschiedenen Orten im Römischen Reich gefunden wurden, sehr detaillierte Informationen vorliegen (Tacitus *Annales* 2.83; CIL II.3.927; Lebek 1989; Sánchez-Ostiz 1999; González 2002). So beschloss der Senat neben Ehrungen auch die Errichtung mehrerer Bauwerke in- und außerhalb Roms, darunter je eines Ehrenbogens im Amanusgebirge und in Mainz sowie eines Kenotaphs in Antiochia auf dem Forum. Für die Bögen wurde in dem veröffentlichten Beschluss nicht nur der Standort festgelegt, sondern auch jeweils die Form der Statuenbekrönung. Ein ganz ähnlicher Beschluss, in dem auch die Bildthemen am Kenotaph festgelegt worden sein dürften, ist auch für Caius Caesar anzunehmen, was erklärt, warum hier keine regionale Perspektive zum Ausdruck kommen konnte. Dass mindestens im Falle des Kenotaphs in *Limyra* tatsächlich eine sehr detaillierte Planung in Rom vorgenommen worden sein muss, wird zudem durch ein Detail der Bauornamentik belegt. So zeigen die Pilaster des Oberbaus Rankenkandelaber, die als Motiv im frühkaiserzeitlichen Italien sehr beliebt waren, in Kleinasien hingegen ansonsten nicht belegt sind, auch nicht in der Nachfolge des Kenotaphs (Plattner 2012, 249-264). Das gesamte Baukonzept mit allen Dekorationsformen muss daher in Italien entstanden sein (Töpfer 2018, 49-50). Insgesamt handelt es sich bei dem Kenotaph damit um ein in jeglicher Hinsicht imperiales Monument, das in der Hauptstadt von einer zentralen Institution beschlossen und dessen Bildprogramm ohne Rücksicht auf regionale Spezifika geplant und umgesetzt wurde.

Allerdings gibt es tatsächlich deutlich weniger derartige imperiale Denkmäler im römischen Reich als man vielleicht vermuten würde. Denkmäler, die das Kaiserhaus ehren beziehungsweise die Herrschaft Roms verherrlichen wurden im Regelfall gerade nicht von Rom errichtet oder konzipiert. Zwar finanzierten das Kaiserhaus und römische Eliten viele Baumaßnahmen in den Provinzen, dabei handelte es sich aber zumeist eher um Zweckbauten und Infrastrukturmaßnahmen. Als Reaktion waren es dann im Regelfall die regionalen Eliten und Institutionen, die zum Dank für solche Bauten oder andere durch Rom gewährte Wohltaten wie Steuerbefreiungen Denkmäler errichteten, die das Kaiserhaus und Roms Herrschaft ebenso wie die militärischen Erfolge Roms verherrlichten. Je nach Region waren unterschiedliche Akteure Träger dieser Kommunikationsprozesse. Im Osten des Reiches waren es oftmals Personen mit engen persönlichen Verbindungen nach Rom, darunter gerade in der frühen Kaiserzeit nicht selten auch Freigelassene des Kaiserhauses, daneben aber auch Kaufleute oder allgemein die städtischen Institutionen. Freilich orientierten sich diese Akteure bei der Gestaltung ihrer Denkmäler auch an den Bildern

und Darstellungen, die aus Rom – vermittelt durch verschiedene Bildmedien – in die Region gelangten. Dabei adaptierten sie aber vor allem solche Bilder, die der eigenen Perspektive entsprachen beziehungsweise vor dem regionalen Sinnhorizont eine Bedeutung entfalten konnten, schufen zudem aber auch auf Grundlage der regionalen Bildtraditionen eigene Bilder, um ein passendes Image des Kaisers zu visualisieren und die Anerkennung der Herrschaft Roms für sich selbst zu legitimieren. Diese Denkmäler orientierten sich zwar an römischen Mustern, präsentierten aber durch die Selektion bestimmter Themen und Motive sowie durch die Integration älterer regionaler Bildtraditionen oder auch die andersartige Kontextualisierung von Bildern eine eigenständige Perspektive auf die Herrschaft und die Siege Roms.

Lassen sich diese Phänomene im Osten des Reiches aufgrund der dort sehr reichen Quellenlage recht klar beobachten, ist die Situation im Westen, insbesondere in den nordwestlichen Provinzen deutlich schwieriger. Dies betrifft sowohl die Frage nach älteren Repräsentationsformen und Bildtraditionen als auch die Befundlage insgesamt. Zudem tritt hier in Grenznähe mit dem Militär ein weiterer Akteur hinzu, in dessen Umfeld eine Vielzahl siegesbezogener Denkmäler entstanden ist. Dazu zählen neben den Dekorationen militärischer genutzter Gebäude auch dekorierte Werksteine, Weihungen und nicht zuletzt Grabdenkmäler mit Darstellungen von Soldaten und Kriegshandlungen. Darüber hinaus bedeutete die Anwesenheit größerer Militärkontingente schon allein durch die alltägliche Präsenz der Soldaten eine ständige visuelle Erinnerung an Roms militärische Überlegenheit. Hierin könnte auch ein wichtiger Grund für das Phänomen liegen, dass die Zahl von auf regionale Initiative hin errichteten Siegesmonumenten in Grenznähe signifikant abnimmt, und zwar sowohl im Westen als auch im Osten des Reiches, was wiederum die Suche nach einer regionalen Perspektive in diesen Regionen deutlich erschwert.

Wenig überraschend führt denn auch in den grenznahen Nordwestprovinzen die Suche nach Staats- und Siegesdenkmälern, die eindeutig weder in einer imperialen Geste durch Rom errichtet wurden noch dem militärischen Umfeld zuzurechnen sind, zu einer recht geringen Ausbeute. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit erregen dabei die beiden frühkaiserzeitlichen Reliefpfeiler aus Paris (Harl 2019) und Nijmegen (Panhuysen 2000; Harl 2019, 178-184). Im Falle des Pfeilers aus Paris ist die Errichtung durch die Gemeinschaft der *nautae Parisiaci* gesichert, für den Pfeiler in Nijmegen durch die Gemeinschaft der Bataver anzunehmen. Die stiftenden Gemeinschaften kooperierten zur Errichtungszeit der Denkmäler beide eng mit Rom. In beiden Fällen wurden Bildprogramme gewählt, die regionale und



Abbildung 3. Große Mainzer Jupitersäule, Roma mit Tropaion (© GDKE-Landesmuseum Mainz, Steyer).

römische Gottheiten mit Bildthemen verbinden, die auf das römische Militär und die römische Herrschaft Bezug nehmen.

Diese Form der Integration rombezogener Themen in einen römische und regionale Gottheiten verbindenden Götterkosmos findet eine weitere Parallele in der großen Mainzer Jupitersäule, die durch die Mainzer *canabarii* zu Ehren Neros errichtet und durch den Statthalter selbst Jupiter Optimus Maximus für das Heil Neros geweiht wurde (Bauchhenss 1984; Riemers 2022). Unter den dargestellten römischen und einheimischen Göttern finden sich auch Virtus, Victoria und Roma, letztere sogar ein *tropaion* bekränzend (Abb. 3). In ähnlicher Weise finden sich auch auf einem signifikanten Teil der späteren Jupiter-Gigantensäulen Darstellungen von Mars und insbesondere Victoria, die kaum anders denn als Bezugnahme auf römische militärische Stärke verstanden werden können (Bauchhenss 1981, 51). Alle diese Denkmäler verbindet, dass die Herrschaft Roms und dessen militärische Stärke nicht durch

Schlachtenbilder oder Darstellungen eines siegreichen Kaisers thematisiert werden. Stattdessen werden Götter und Personifikationen zur Visualisierung eingesetzt und in Verbindung mit regionalen Göttervorstellungen in einen gemeinsamen Kosmos integriert. Einzelne militärische Erfolge werden dabei zumindest auf den Jupitersäulen nicht dezidiert hervorgehoben, der römische Sieg wird vielmehr auf eine überzeitliche Ebene gehoben und damit allgemeingültig in den Götterkosmos eingeschrieben. Vielleicht darf genau in dieser Art der Inszenierung römischer Herrschaft ebenfalls eine regionale Perspektive erkannt werden.

Zusammenfassend ist festzustellen, dass der Impuls zur Errichtung römischer Sieges- und Staatsdenkmäler in den Provinzen nur in wenigen Fällen direkt von römischen Institutionen wie dem Senat oder dem Kaiserhaus ausging. Wenn dies geschah, handelte es sich zumeist um *tropaia*, Grabbauten oder Bogenmonumente. Die Bildprogramme solcher zentral initiierten Denkmäler entsprachen im Regelfall den in Rom üblichen Mustern. Dagegen zeigen Monumente, die auf lokale Initiative hin errichtet wurden, oftmals abweichende Bilder, die Roms Herrschaft in einen stärker regional geprägten Sinnhorizont einordnen und auf diese Weise zu legitimieren versuchen. Rom und seine Vertreter vor Ort scheinen diese Praxis mindestens geduldet zu haben, denn letztlich diente jede Manifestierung römischer Herrschaft im öffentlichen Raum auch der Stabilisierung der eignen Herrschaft. So stand es schließlich wohl jeder Gemeinschaft im Reich frei, das 'Image' Roms und des Kaisers ein wenig zu variieren, um es auf diese Weise mit der eigenen Selbstwahrnehmung kompatibel zu machen – freilich nur innerhalb gewisser Grenzen.

Abkürzung

CILA: *Corpus de Inscripciones Latinas de Andalucia*

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PART 2

**HOME AWAY
FROM HOME**

ROMAN FRONTIERS AS MOVERS
AND MIXERS OF PEOPLE

Evidence for child migration at *Vindolanda* on the northern frontier of Roman Britain

An osteobiography of a clandestine burial

Trudi J. Buck

The movement and migration of military personnel to Roman Britain is well attested (Eckardt *et al.* 2009; 2014; 2015; Chenery *et al.* 2010; Chenery *et al.* 2011; Redfern *et al.* 2016; Shaw *et al.* 2016) and could be both voluntary and involuntary in form (Killgrove & Montgomery 2016). Evidence for migration during the Roman Empire comes from a range of sources including archaeology, epigraphy and historical texts. Much of the textual evidence for migration in this period is focused on men and the military and there is much less evidence for civilian migration. The mobility of women and children is even less well understood (De Ligt & Tacoma 2016; Le Guennec 2020). These latter groups are particularly challenging as there is a lack of specific sources relating to them and the expectation around children is that they are likely to have travelled in the presence of an adult (Bruun 2016). The exception to this being the enforced migration of enslaved children. Alongside the more traditional sources is the use of stable isotopes, including strontium and oxygen found in dental tissues, methods which are now well-established in the study of migration and mobility (Prowse 2016). This paper will explore a case of a child's skeleton found within the walls of a 3rd-century fort at *Vindolanda* on the northern frontier of Roman Britain. It will combine isotopic analysis with textual, archaeological and osteological data to recreate the life history of the individual and inform on wider macroscale themes including migration.

Excavation and burial context

In 2010 during the excavation of the north-west quadrant of the last stone fort, constructed by the Fourth Cohort of Gauls in c. AD 213 (Birley 2010), the skeleton of a child was uncovered hidden beneath a barrack building. The skeleton was found just beneath the floor level, situated in the north-west corner of the building at the furthest distance from the doorway onto the street. The body was buried laid on their left side and was curled around the north and west walls of the room. The hands of the child were placed in front of the torso, in a position which suggests that they might have been bound. No grave goods were interred with the body and no artefacts of clothing such as brooches or shoe studs, were found in the burial cut. The unusual positioning of the body, along

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with the fact that the child was buried within a dwelling is indicative that this was not a normative burial but rather the hurried deposition of a body. It is very unlikely that any normative funerary rituals were thus conducted for the child and the context of the find is highly suggestive that the child may have been killed, though whether this was deliberate or not is impossible to identify. The find of a human skeleton within the fort itself is highly unusual and probably indicative of a clandestine burial, as Roman law forbade burial within spaces occupied by the living (Toynbee 1996). Although skeletons of neonates are occasionally found within forts such as at Ellingen (Allison 2006; 2013) this child was beyond the age of such infant burials and likely had a different context than the *Vindolanda* child.

At the point of excavation the skeleton was relatively complete, with c. 75 % of the skeletal elements present. Whilst the postcranial skeleton was well represented very few cranial and facial bones survived, though a fragment of the mandibular corpus remained which included several erupted and unerupted teeth. This allowed for an age range to be determined and the pattern of mandibular dental eruption revealed the child to be between the ages of eight to ten years.

The young age of the child meant that estimating their biological sex was impossible from the skeletal morphology alone. No reliable methods exist to determine sex from the skeleton of a juvenile and for a number of years the sex had to remain unknown (Buck & Pipyrrou 2014). The development in recent years of a method that determines sex from a sex-chromosome linked protein found in dental enamel (Stewart *et al.* 2017) has allowed analysis from one of the remaining teeth to identify that the child was female (Moore *et al.* 2021). This method has shown to be reliable and applicable for all ages and utilises a part of the body, the tooth enamel, that is unlikely to be cross-contaminated (Stewart *et al.* 2017; Gowland *et al.* 2021).

On analysis of the child's skeleton no signs of healed trauma or disease could be observed. Periods of severe malnutrition or disease can interrupt childhood growth and are reflected in the formation of dental enamel in the form of linear enamel hypoplasias (LEH). The teeth of the child did not show any signs of LEH, suggesting that they did not suffer any long duration periods of severe ill health or malnutrition. This does not mean that the child was never ill, rather that they did not have any prolonged illness that could be identified in the skeleton, and it should be noted that certain areas of the skeleton that can indicate childhood stress such as the orbits, were not present.

Oxygen and strontium isotope analyses were used to explore mobility and the geographical origin of the child. These isotopes are fixed in enamel biogenic phosphate at the time of tooth formation. The mineral of enamel is extremely robust and the isotopic signature

of enamel does not change during life, nor is it altered in the burial environment. Strontium and oxygen isotopes are incorporated into the skeletal tissues of humans and animals through the food and drink that they ingest and allow for the characterisation of the places where individuals resided at the time of tissue formation in terms of geology (strontium) and climate (oxygen) (Bentley 2006). For the analyses a second premolar and second molar were used; the enamel of these teeth forms between the ages of 2.5-7 years (Moorrees *et al.* 1963). Analyses were also undertaken on the teeth of four cows excavated from the same archaeological time-period at *Vindolanda* to give a comparison with local environmental conditions.

The isotopic analysis results showed that the child did not grow up in the vicinity of *Vindolanda*. The strontium isotope ratio was 0.70991 and the mean value for the cattle was 0.71108. Whilst both these results are within the range of strontium isotope values for Britain, they suggest that the child was raised in a different environment to that of the cattle. The phosphate oxygen isotope signature for the juvenile individual was $-4.5 \pm 0.5\text{‰}$. The phosphate oxygen isotope signature for the cattle teeth, for comparison, was $-6.7 \pm 0.5\text{‰}$. The child's values situate her outside the *Vindolanda* locale and indicate that she spent her childhood in a much warmer climate than that of northern Britain, possibly as far away as the southern Mediterranean region or even North Africa. As the teeth assessed for the isotope analysis develop up to 7 years of age, this shows that the child possibly lived in or around the Mediterranean region until she was at least this old, and only migrated north during the last couple of years of her life.

Archaeology contributes to our knowledge of the past by examining evidence at the community level (Gregoricka 2021) whereas bioarchaeology collects data at the level of the individual (Agarwal 2016). An osteobiographical approach to an individual skeleton, that is the creation of a narrative based on the life history as seen through analysis of the bones and teeth (Saul & Saul 1989; Robb 2002; Stodder & Palkovich 2012; Fricke *et al.* 2021), can work as a microhistory, providing information from the small-scale to more large-scale phenomena such as migration. This allows bioarchaeology to address the problems of scale in the analysis of human remains and to enhance the connection between individual life histories and macroscale historical themes (Hosek 2019). They can also provide a more emotional connection with the archaeology as it is easier to have empathy with one individual than with many (Stodder & Palkovich 2012).

Osteobiographical accounts of skeletons incorporate multiple strands of evidence, not just that of the skeleton but also using information regarding the context of where

the individual was found and the society in which they would have lived. The study of an individual case creates a narrative that incorporates textual, archaeological and osteological data. Textual visibility has the bias of class, gender and race incorporated in what is written in that only certain people are reflected in the ancient written sources. With the exception of inclusion on funerary inscriptions, children have very little textual visibility (Bruun 2016). As finds of human remains outside of cemetery contexts are often by chance there is less bias on the individual studied and thus osteobiographical approaches allow for a history for those who are below this textual 'threshold' (Robb *et al.* 2019).

Osteobiography

The child who was found buried beneath the floor of one of the barrack buildings on the 3rd-century auxiliary fort at *Vindolanda* was aged between eight to ten years of age when she died. Whilst no material culture was found buried with the child to provide further information regarding her identity, the proteins in her dental enamel prove she was female. The girl had lived between her third to seventh years in a climate that was much warmer than that of northern Britain, and thus was not a native of the fort or the area around. She had moved to northern Britain sometime after her seventh year of life, only to die a couple of years later. She had not suffered any major periods of ill health or trauma that had affected her enough to leave a mark on her skeleton.

What we don't know

Writing an osteobiography is complex and can involve what Robb *et al.* (2019) refer to as a certain amount of 'probabilistic infilling'. The first step in creating an osteobiography of an individual is through the excavation and analysis of the archaeological context of the burial. As the child was not fashioned with a normative burial the narrative can be built around the fact that she was potentially the victim of a murder or accidental death, clandestinely buried to dispose of her body. Who the child was would affect how visible she would be before death in the archaeological record. It may also have affected how much she would have been searched for following the time of her disappearance.

Different narratives can be built around the remains of this child. The osteobiography and 'probabilistic infilling' can fit various profiles of children who could be found on and around the fort at this time. Although forts were once considered an exclusively male realm, it is now well established (e.g. Van Driel-Murray 1995; Greene 2013; 2015; 2020) that women and children were present in and potentially living in the forts themselves. Thus this child could represent a variety of members of fort and *vicus* society who had travelled to the area from a long distance away.

Daughter of a soldier

The presence of children in military sites such as *Vindolanda* is clearly highlighted by the small sized footwear found that do not belong to adults (Van Driel-Murray 1995; 1998a-b; Greene 2013; 2014). Shoes for children demonstrate that families of some form are present in the military environment and the assemblage from *Vindolanda* includes footwear for children from a very young age (Greene 2014). Children's shoes are found from a range of occupational contexts including the *praetorium*, the residence of the commanding officer (Greene 2014). During the Period 3 occupation of *Vindolanda* (97-105 AD) the residents of the *praetorium* were Flavius Cerialis, Sulpicia Lepidina and at least two of their children, the latter's presence known from both their footwear and the personal correspondence of their mother (Van Driel-Murray 1993; Greene 2013). The type of footwear also provides evidence for the elite status of these children, as Greene (2013) shows in her discussion of a shoe belonging to a child that would not yet have been walking. The shoe is an exact replica of a high-end adult shoe, with detailed decoration and iron studs on the sole (Van Driel-Murray 1993; Greene 2013). The presence of children whose status was such that they were being taught to write are visible in the handwriting exercise found on one of the writing tablets that includes a clumsily copied line of Virgil's *Aeneid* (Bowman & Thomas 1987; Birley 1991). It would not be surprising to find children of this rank in the fort and the buried girl could potentially be the daughter of a high-ranking soldier who had travelled to northern Britain as part of their family. Such children are more visible in the archaeological record, and as shown above are not necessarily beneath the textual threshold.

The child of a lower ranking soldier may have less archaeological visibility, though their presence and movement to *Vindolanda* would have been for the same reasons as the child described above. The daughter of a lower-ranking soldier may be seen by her footwear left behind, though this would be difficult to differentiate between the shoes of enslaved children and poor children. Artefacts such as the mouse fashioned from scrap leather and the small wooden sword found at *Vindolanda* can be interpreted as toys but again it would be difficult to separate these as belonging to children of any social rank. Children from these families would more likely be beneath the textual threshold but their presence is known nonetheless. Greene's (2015) analysis of military diplomas provides evidence of soldiers' wives, whether legal or *de facto*, who travelled with their husbands along with their children. In some cases, such as RMD 248, it is shown that both man and woman came from the same tribe or town and it is possible that these unions began before the man entered military service with any existing children travelling with the family (Greene 2015). As such the children of non-elite

soldiers who travelled with their parents to new postings are also candidates for the identity of the buried child.

Non-combatants

It is not only military personnel who lived in and around an auxiliary fort, and the writing tablets tell of non-combatant individuals travelling to and from the vicinity. Commercial trade is attested as being one of the clear motives for long distance movement around the Empire (Bruun 2016) and these traders may have travelled with their families. The visibility in the archaeological record of children would be similar to that of a lower-ranking soldier's child. They would potentially have the same types of toys and their footwear would be similar to those of other lower-class children. Such movement with family would not necessarily be defined as migration as the travel would not have been expected to be a permanent move.

The final narrative that will be considered is that the skeleton was of an enslaved child. It is difficult to separate the enslaved from the poor in the bioarchaeological record (Redfern 2018; Chinnock & Marshall 2021) though the presence of slaves is well accounted for at *Vindolanda* through their visibility in the writing tablets. Named individuals such as Privatus, a household slave from the *praetorium*, or Primigenius who was also a slave of Cerialis are unusual in their textual visibility (*Tabulae Vindolandeses* 2.347). Although the tablets do not record any enslaved children specifically, the sale of young children is well attested in the Empire, with for example, a document listing a six year old girl for sale in *Dacia* in AD 139 and a seven year old boy sold in Syria in AD 166 (Tomlin 2003). Child slaves would be an expected presence in the fort and thus give another candidate for the buried girl. Other forms of evidence help develop the narrative regarding how extensively the child was searched for after they disappeared from society. The disappearance of the child of the commanding officer would likely produce a large scale search whilst at the other extreme of society a missing slave child may not cause as much disruption to camp life. A *stilus* tablet found in London gives the deed of sale of a female slave named Fortunata (Tomlin 2003). The document states that she was healthy and had no history of running away (Tomlin 2003), thereby suggesting that this is a common occurrence among the enslaved. Roman slave collars, such as the Zoninus example, are inscribed with words that ask the person reading them to stop the slave from running away (Trimble 2016). The disappearance of a slave would not be seen as unusual and a more perfunctory search may have taken place.

Conclusion

Epigraphy and material culture attest to migration of military personal on the northern frontier of Roman Britain. Evidence for civilian migration and mobility is

less well known, particularly for children. The analysis of individual skeletons can be used to address how large-scale histories, such as migration, are enacted at the level of daily life through the construction of narratives onto the skeleton. Each of the differing narratives is a starting point to consider the role of child migration within the Roman Empire. The find of the girl buried covertly beneath the floor of a 3rd-century barrack in *Vindolanda* provides direct evidence of long-distance mobility by children. Stable isotope analysis of a developing permanent molar reveals that the child had lived in a much warmer climate than that of northern Britain, until at least about the age of seven years. Analysis of the dental and osteological developmental stage of the child shows that they were around the age of 8-10 years of age when she died. An osteobiographical approach to an individual skeleton can work as a microhistory, providing information from the small-scale microhistory to more large-scale phenomena such as migration. Using the study of an individual case creates a narrative that incorporates textual, archaeological and osteological data to recreate the life history of that individual and also inform on wider macroscale archaeological themes.

This paper considers the case of this specific child who spent their early years living around the Mediterranean region but who died shortly after migrating to northern Britain and was buried in a clandestine grave. Consideration is given to who the child was and how she ended her short life within an auxiliary fort on the northern frontier of Roman Britain. It must also be considered that children do not normally migrate on their own, and this find can also illuminate a wider aspect of society in the consideration of who the child travelled with and why. It is important not to sanitise the past (Fernández-Götz *et al.* 2020) and the discovery of the child reveals darker aspects of the Roman Empire including enslavement, violence and social inequalities. It does also, however, highlight a specific and individual human story that gives a voice to a forgotten girl (Fernández-Götz *et al.* 2020) and whilst the osteobiography from the skeleton and isotopes cannot give a precise identity or origin for her, such an analysis is an excellent method of identifying an immigrant whose life was not illuminated by text or material culture (Prowse 2016). By using an osteobiographic lens and a certain amount of 'probabilistic infilling' (Robb *et al.* 2019) we can explore the differing imagined narratives and perceive the existence of both an elite and an enslaved child. More specifically using an osteobiographical approach allows for the unique opportunity to tell the story of a hidden child who travelled a great distance and died far from home.

Abbreviation

RMD: *Roman Military Diplomas*

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I am going on a trip, what am I going to pack?

A comparative approach to the pottery of
Batavians at home and abroad

Cristina Crizbasan and Roderick C.A. Geerts

This paper aims to explore whether Batavian presence can be attested in other provinces through the study of material culture, specifically pottery. Ceramic assemblages from the Netherlands and Britain will be compared in order to identify similar morphological and typological patterns, which could reveal the ways Batavians constructed their identities abroad. First, a scrutinising assessment of pottery assemblages at home will be undertaken, in order to establish the trending vessel selections in *civitas Batavorum* and to build a referencing point for the material abroad. Secondly, the ceramic material from abroad at *Vindolanda* in Britain will be assessed in relation to the Dutch pottery, in order to understand the extent to which the mobility of these military communities affected their way of constructing identities across time and space. In short, through the study of material culture, the identity of the owner could be discerned, as artefacts incorporate ideas, expectations and needs of the individual and society, revealing the Batavian presence in the archaeological record.

Theoretical framework

Identity and Material Culture Cultural identity is defined as the use and sharing of characteristic practices that help to generate the repetitive system of values, norms, and habits of culture (Hodos 2010, 4). They are not bounded by ethnic boundaries and instead may spread among multiple ethnicities and cultures (Jones 2007, 48). This implies that cultural identities are not static, but flexible and ever-changing, spreading out from or coming into one culture, depending on the context. Material culture can be used as a tool in assessing identity expression, especially that objects accompany individuals along the course of their life and thus participate to each maturation stage. People's identities may be expressed in everyday situations through common objects such as clothes, specific cooking vessels or jewellery (Hill 2001, 16). It is through its employment in everyday actions that material culture becomes invested with a specific meaning. Therefore, it is important to understand that objects do not reflect identities, but they can play a role in identity construction and expression through social interactions to which they contribute (Gosden & Marshall 1999, 169-170).

This paper aims to understand the ways Batavian *auxilia* abroad used material culture to express its identity and whether its pottery consumption can shed light on a unique

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identity expression within the Northern British context. In assessing this relation between object and identity, it is mandatory to drop pre-conceived contemporary ideas of ethnicity, culture, or gender in favour of the experiences of the group or individual, and the social practice background of the object in the particular ancient situational context (Meskell 2007, 32). In the case of Batavian ethnic identity formation and expression, their (self-)perception should be understood from an ancient situational background and the experience of the group as a soldiering community (Roymans 2004). The detachment from any modern clichés of ethnic identity and the neutral study of collective or individual experience, and the social practice and use of material culture could potentially shed light on a more accurate image of identity expression.

Objectscales People are surrounded by objects in their daily lives, which could either be used regularly or play solely a passive role (Hahn 2015, 10). Their study in a larger context is known as objectscales (Versluys 2017; Pitts 2019). What is meant by this is as follows (after Pitts & Versluys 2021, 369-370). An assemblage is typically used to describe artefact configurations within a site, whereas an objectscale can be used to work with more comprehensive and less schematic groups of objects at the level of entire sites, periods, or regions. An objectscale is thus, in short, a part of space-time. The study of objectscales is based on four central questions that are attached to a specific period:

1. What objects, styles, and material types are new?
2. Where do these come from?
3. How are these innovative?
4. What are the historical consequences of these material changes?

Three parameters are important in answering these questions: the principles of connectivity, relationality, and impact. Each specific objectscale is bound to a place and time, as objectscales change but also several coexist in geographically adjacent areas. The transition, or contact zone, between two objectscales will be gradual rather than an abrupt and absolute boundary. Within these contact zones an interplay of the *habitus* of various populations, material culture and customs can lead to new hybrid forms, so that the transition is gradual and has no sharp boundary. The assemblage of material culture is constituted by continuous interaction through a consciousness of difference. This makes objectscales fluid and diverse over time. Studying objectscales gives the opportunity to study these changes in a diachronic perspective.

Pottery from home

According to ancient authors the Batavian origin lies to the east of the Middle Rhine area, as a branch of the tribe of *Chatti* (Roymans 2004, 24). After the caesarean conquest,

they settled in and repopulated the Dutch Eastern River Area, an almost uninhabited area within Roman control, which Tacitus (*Germania* 29.1; *Historiae* 4.12) described as *vacua cultoris*. Archaeological evidence, however, suggests the opposite, as local traditions in building construction and material culture continue (Roymans 1998, 5-6).

Civitas Batavorum was located within *Germania inferior*, which was most heavily taxed for new recruits (Roymans 1996, 23-24; 2004, 222-223). It has been argued that every household had 1-2 members recruited. This amounts to a high degree of mobility within society and was a recruiting strategy to remove potential troublemakers by making the society increasingly dependent and excluded from the centre of power (Van Driel-Murray 2003, 215). The number of Batavians in military service has been estimated around 5500, and the settlement density supports these numbers (Willems 1986, 395; Vossen 2003, 434-435). Those enlisted ended up stationed within the Roman Empire, albeit mainly on the northern frontier, according to epigraphic evidence (Derks 2009, 248). A percentage of these Batavians returned home after their service (Van Driel-Murray 2012, 117). Irrespective of the actual percentage the returning veterans do not seem to have had a big impact on the local society (Van Driel-Murray 2012, 117). The objectscales changed gradually as the society was incorporated within the Roman Empire. However, the main instigator of this change were not returning veterans, but the more general processes related to globalisation (Heeren 2014, 170).

Many settlements in the *civitas Batavorum* have been excavated (Vos 2009 for overview). Pottery assemblages of those settlements have been analysed (e.g. Heeren 2009, 97-112). The study of pottery assemblages from the fortress in Nijmegen shows the potential of ceramics in relation to Batavians living within it (Stoffels 2009, 153). Objects with a foreign origin within forts can shed light on the identity of the users (Van Driel-Murray 2012, 117; Zandstra 2019). In order to use ceramics to attest Batavian presence abroad through comparison, at first assemblages from home need to be studied. For this analysis the focus will be on the local and regional wares. Wares with a larger distribution would most likely have been available at their destination and thereby less suitable as markers of Batavian presence.

As the ceramic assemblages within the *civitas Batavorum* are very similar on all sites, the site of Lingemeren-Zijveling is used as a *pars-pro-toto* (Van der Feijst & Hekman 2021; Geerts 2021). The total ceramic assemblage comprised 7628 sherds. This assemblage is characteristic for rural sites. The table wares comprise 20 % of the assemblage, transport vessels 13 %, cooking wares and storage vessels 67 %. From the first two categories a high percentage originates outside the region, whereas the latter are more locally or regionally obtained. Recent studies indicate that some of the regional grey wares,

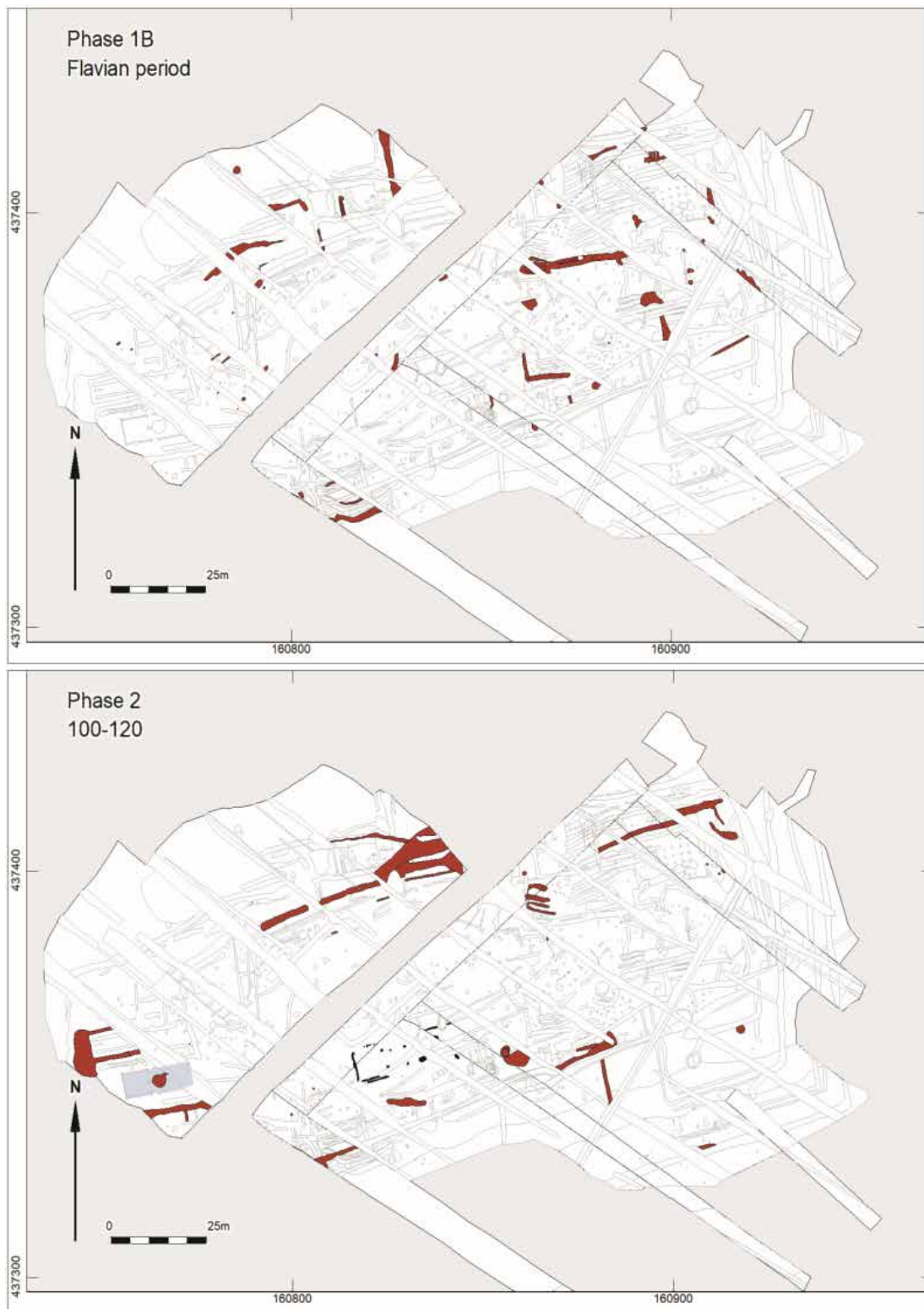
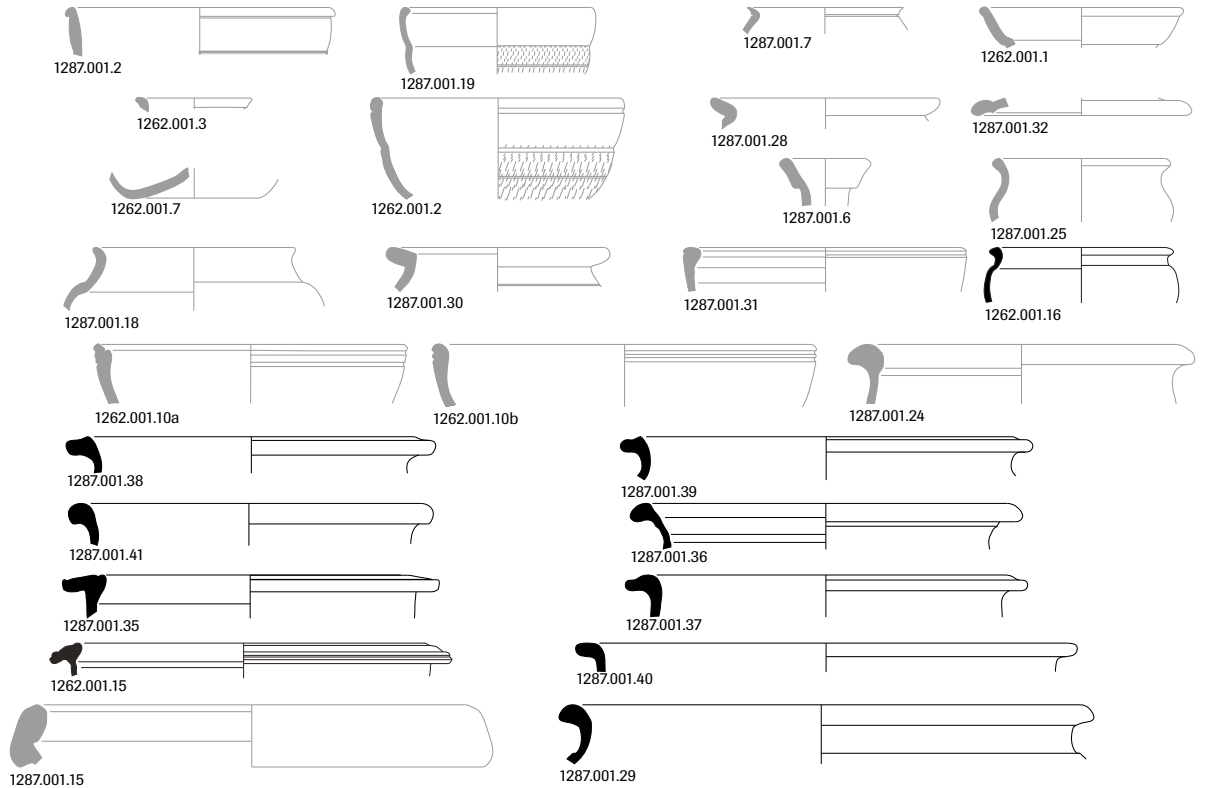
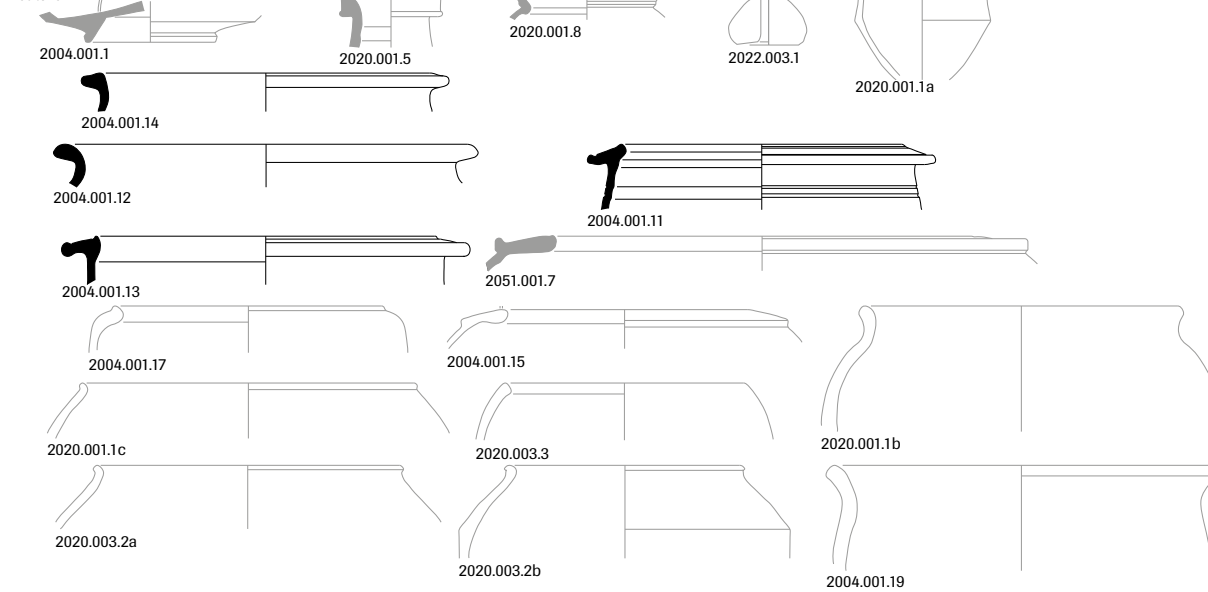


Figure 1. Overview of the settlement at Lingemeren-Zijveling. In red the features dating to the Flavian period (phase 1B) and those dating to the beginning of the 2nd century (phase 2).

Feature 18.277



Feature 21.4



Feature 21.110

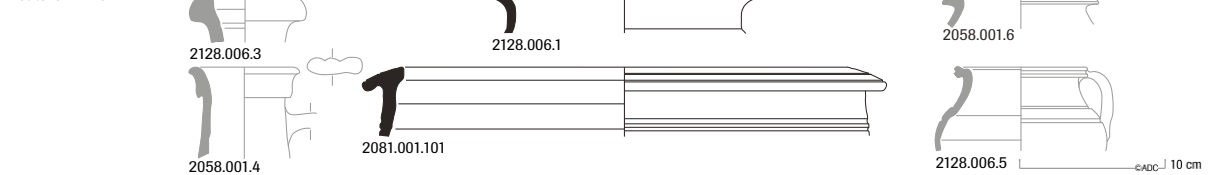


Figure 2. Pottery from three contexts in the *civitas Batavorum*, in black the regional grey wares, in grey all the other wares.

formerly named 'Batavian Grey ware', originate in Northern-France and therefore those are now described as (regional) grey wares (Hendriks 2016). These regional grey wares are what differentiates the objectscales in the *civitas Batavorum* from the adjoining *civitates*, which makes these vessels suitable for comparative analysis. Lingemeren-Zijveling is situated in the centre of the *civitas*. This settlement comprised a natural elevation in the landscape on which houses were constructed, surrounded by ditches (fig. 1). This paper focuses on three ditches, 18.277, 21.4 and 21.110 respectively, whose assemblages date to AD 50-120.

The overall ceramic assemblage from all the three ditches comprises between 200 and 400 sherds of which a small percentage could be ascribed to a specific type. The table wares give a secure dating of these contexts. *Terra sigillata*, *terra nigra* and Rhineland jugs are common in these contexts. The prolific types are the Dragendorff 18/31 plates, Dragendorff 27 and 37 bowls, Deru B10 beakers, B22 and B28 bowls and Hofheim 50/51 jugs (Dragendorff 1895; Deru 1996; Ritterling 1912). The regional grey wares are abundantly attested in all contexts and are represented by most of the six vessel forms (Collins *et al.* 2009). These six types are smaller bowls with a S-shaped profile and larger pots with heavier everted rims (fig. 2). The grey wares can be differentiated based on their fabric and are mainly confined to the *civitas Batavorum*. Contrary to the characteristic fabrics the shapes of these vessels are present elsewhere within *Germania inferior*, as similar vessels were produced in the Rhineland and Tongeren (Vilvorder *et al.* 2010).

Pottery abroad

The heavy recruitment of Batavians led to their dispatch in various areas of the Empire. The first destination of Batavian units abroad was Britain. Their arrival has been speculated to date as far back as AD 43, concomitant with the Claudian invasion (Hassall 1970, 131). Nonetheless, the first official mentioning of Batavian units in Britain dates to AD 61 (Tacitus *Annales* 14.38), when Nero sent eight Batavian cohorts to the island, after the Boudiccan Revolt. The first identifiable Batavian units could be recognized at Mons Graupius in AD 83 during the Agricola campaign of conquest in Northern Britain: at least four cohorts of Batavians were present, *Cohors I, III, VIII, IX*, of which *Cohors III* and *Cohors IX* had been identified on the continent in *Raetia* as *miliariae* after the 1st century AD (Tacitus *Agricola* 36; Birley 1966, 54-55).

Among the locations in Britain best known for Batavian garrisoning is *Vindolanda*. Situated on the northern *limes* of Roman Britain, its position was central, lying between two important forts, Corbridge in the east and Carlisle in the west respectively (Birley 2009, 55). *Vindolanda* accommodated no less than three Batavian units

between AD 92 and 105, though they may not have been contemporary with one another during the whole period. The most documented unit was *Cohors IX Batavorum equitata*, which according to the writing tablets, must have been stationed at *Vindolanda* between AD 97 and 105 (Jarrett 1994, 56). This paper discusses the ceramic material associated with this unit's occupation.

The epigraphic evidence from *Vindolanda* already presents a strong basis for analysing the role of material culture in identity construction. Firstly, two of *Cohors IX Batavorum equitata* main members, the prefect and the decurion respectively, were most likely of Batavian descent (Bowman 1994, 132; Birley 2001, 257-258; McLaughlin 2015, 200). Additionally, two *Vindolanda* tablets (TV III.628; TV II.208) dating to the Batavian occupation (AD 97-105) indicate beer consumption and Batavian recipe cooking as ongoing practices. Based on the above evidence, the link between consumption and identity expression within the Batavian unit at *Vindolanda* appears to be already supported by epigraphic sources. This creates a foundation to further explore consumption and identity expression through material culture, particularly ceramic evidence.

Four pottery assemblages from *Vindolanda* have been considered for analysis, dating between AD 90-120 and consisting of a total of 679 minimum number of rims, excluding the *terra sigillata* sherds. These pottery assemblages have been contextualised regionally by comparison with other contemporary assemblages from forts in Northern Britain, namely Carlisle, Corbridge, Ribchester, and York respectively. This approach allowed one to understand the background supply, observe the objectscales of Northern Britain, and identify more easily outliers at *Vindolanda*.

Firstly, the fabric pattern results showed on average 38 % coarse greywares, 39 % coarse oxidised wares, 7 % fine wares (colour-coated, roughcast), 4 % rustic ware, and 12 % other wares such as amphorae and mortaria. The percentage of oxidised wares may be skewed, as one of the assemblages originates from a Trajanic-Hadrianic kiln nearby the main fort, which mostly produced oxidised wares. Otherwise, these results seem to blend in with the general consumption image depicted by the other Flavian-Trajanic assemblages in Northern Britain, namely the inclusion of reduced wares, rustic and rough-casted colour-coated wares, and the omission of black burnished ware. These patterns are typical of military environments which lacked an indigenous, well-established pottery making tradition, such as Northern Britain or Wales (Webster 1992, 113). For example, at Flavian and Flavian-Trajanic Usk in Wales, it was necessary to import military Roman pottery-making traditions, in order to supply the soldiers (Webster 1992, 113). This phenomenon resembled the situation in Northern Britain, through the proliferation of a consistent number of the staple rusticated jars and

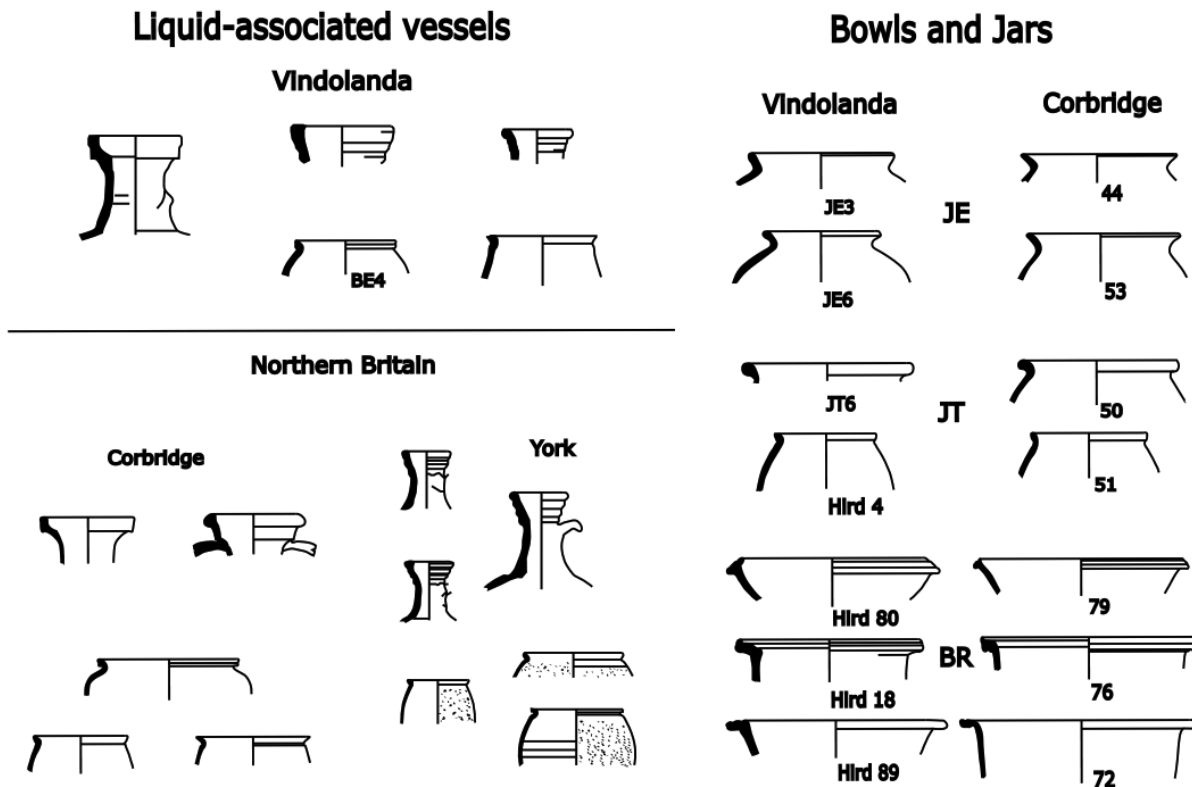


Figure 3. The range of liquid associated vessels, jars, and bowls at *Vindolanda* and their analogies from other forts in Northern Britain.

rough-cast beakers, before the more-established civilian industries could reach these sites, such as the black-burnished ware from AD 120 onwards.

The form classes from *Vindolanda* assemblages display the following patterns on average: 46 % tablewares (bowls and dishes), 26 % jars, 5 % flagons, 7 % beakers, and 16 % other form classes such as amphorae, mortaria and lids. These results indicate a predominant consumption of tablewares, followed by jars. Generally, jars and dishes/bowls are the two most popular form classes across military sites in Northern Britain. The inclination towards tablewares over jars at times may be a characteristic of the military environment in late Flavian-Trajanic Northern Britain (Evans 1993, 198). Since Northern Britain was mainly aceramic, the arrival of the military in this area encompassed concomitantly the arrival and establishment of pottery production. This meant that the pottery introduced by soldiers expanded its repertoire beyond jars, to include drinking and serving vessels such as bowls, dishes, and flagons (fig. 3), characteristic of this period (Cooper *et al.* 2018, 6). These patterns were confirmed by an additional study (Evans 1993) across form consumption at forts in the military North: most forts under scrutiny had an average percentage above 40 % for dishes and under 40 % for jars.

Upon surveying the wider supply patterns at *Vindolanda*, a few elements stand out as unusual. In the Period III *praetorium* associated with the prefect of the 9th Batavian cohort, a few fragments of curved bowls seem to differ from any other examples at *Vindolanda* or Northern Britain; instead, their closest analogies come from the continent, in Northern Gaul. Figure 4 displays three of the curved bowl types from the *praetorium*, BC3, BC6, and BR2: the first one appears to be a representation of Deru B21-22/Holwerda BW 55, while the last two resemble Stuart 210 bowl type (Holwerda 1941; Stuart 1977; Deru 1996).

The quantities of these curved bowls at *Vindolanda* are low and likely indicate personal possession rather than institutionalised supply. They were also identified at Beverly Road cemetery in Colchester and were likely linked to Gallic units, possibly as a result of *auxilia* transfer from Northern Gaul to Britain, who carried their pots over the already existing supply lines (Pitts 2019, 148-150). A similar situation could have occurred at *Vindolanda*, due to the following reasons: the s-shaped Deru B21-22 stands out within the already discussed objectscape of Northern Britain; *Vindolanda* has already been epigraphically linked to the presence of Batavian units; the fragments come from a very narrow

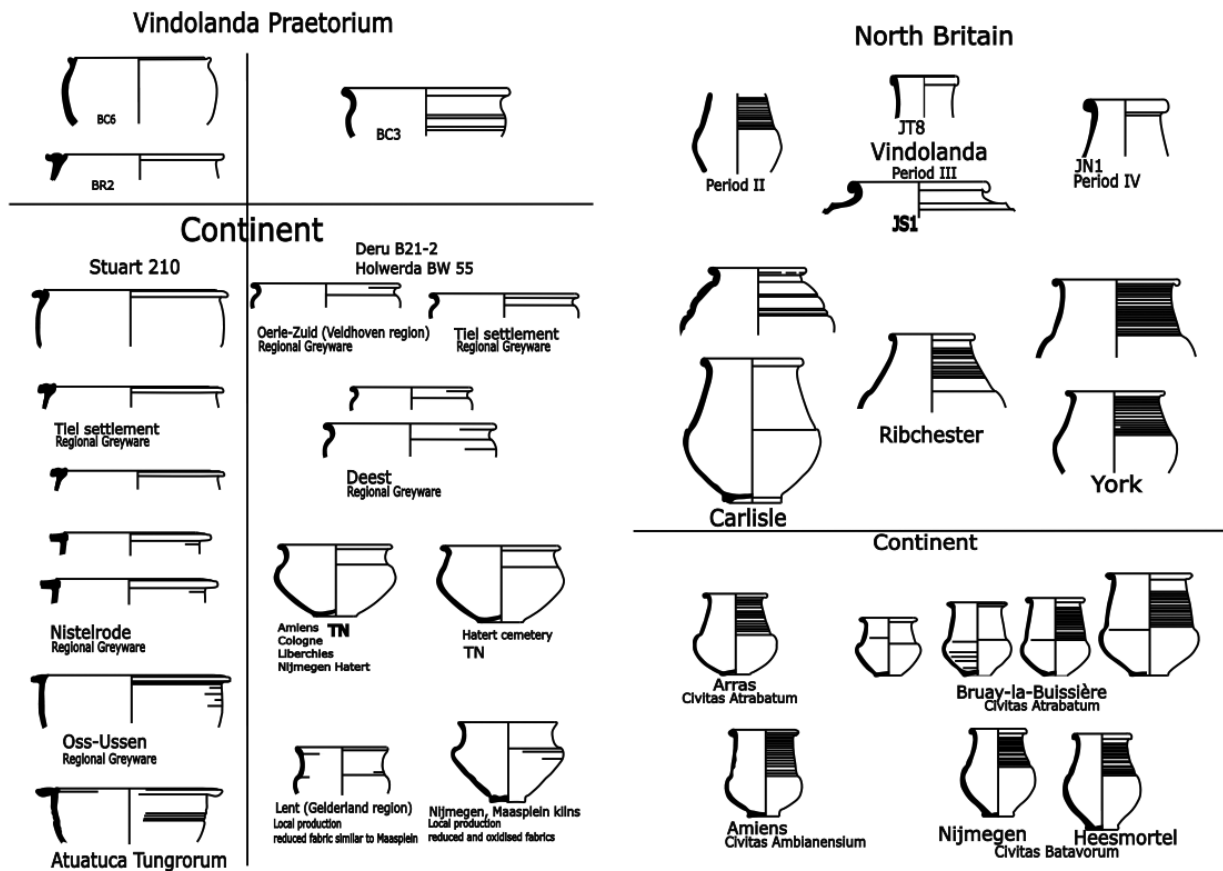


Figure 4. The curved bowls (left) and vases *tronconiques* (right) at *Vindolanda* and their analogies from the continent.

chronological and social context, strictly associated with the Batavian prefect Flavius Cerialis between AD 97-105; the chronological overlap of the consumption of this type at *Vindolanda* and at home; *Vindolanda* (or Britain generally) as the first destination of Batavian units which lowered the risk of local recruitment. All these features strengthen the link between the curved bowls from *Vindolanda* and the identity expression within the Batavian unit.

The second category to be discussed within a Northern Gallic context at *Vindolanda* are the so-called vases *tronconiques* (Tuffreau-Libre 1980), part of the North Gaulish Grey Ware group. These large beakers (fig. 4) are less isolated or unique in the regional British context, and instead, they present a series of analogies not only at forts in Northern Britain, but also in the eastern and south-eastern part of England at Dover, Richborough, Canterbury and London (Richardson & Tyers 1984). This could be owed to the high mobility of soldiers, detached from their units and deployed in other regions and provinces for civilian tasks (construction work) or for military purposes (army reinforcement or special operations) (Goldsworthy 1998, 27-28; Haynes 1999, 12).

This phenomenon may have led to the spread of vases *tronconiques* consumption over wider areas and thus, to the loss of their ethnic connection to Northern Gaul.

Conclusion

Based on the evidence highlighted above, it appears that material culture, specifically pottery, may indeed be a useful tool in revealing traces of identity expression in auxiliary units abroad. Objectscales can reflect identity of the agents within that objectscale, and in this particular case deviations from a regional norm can signify foreign agents and identities acting within a specific objectscale. An overview of the objectscale and material culture in the Batavian homelands provides evidence for the objects used at home. Some clear distinctions can be made with pottery assemblages in the adjacent regions, the main difference being the regional grey wares. Even though those grey wares use a form repertoire that is common within *Germania inferior*, some of these vessels are confined to the *civitas Batavorum*. Attesting similar vessels abroad at *Vindolanda*, even if they are recreated locally, could signify a relation to the stationed Batavians that either packed their own vessels for their trip or had them recreated upon their arrival.

The curved bowls from *Vindolanda* cannot be called Batavian, but they may indeed be connected to a way of expressing identity within the Batavian unit. Firstly, they are unique not only in the context of *Vindolanda*, but in the context of Northern Britain forts generally. Additionally, the epigraphic record places the Batavian unit *cohors IX Batavorum* at *Vindolanda* between AD 97-105, similar to the dating of the context of the curved bowls. The social context of these bowls is the *praetorium* of Flavius Cerialis, the Batavian prefect of the unit. All these elements altogether strengthen the link between the unit and the curved bowls consumption, assigning them a possible role in expressing their way of being Batavian abroad. Their low quantity and isolation in terms of style and morphology support the idea of personal belonging and a way to express identity through their consumption on top of the wide availability of other wider circulating styles.

Abbreviation

TV: *Tabulae Vindolandenses*

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Mainz-Mogontiacum

Ein ethnischer Schmelzpunkt an der Rheingrenze
des *Imperium Romanum* im 1. Jahrhundert n. Chr.

Michael Johannes Klein

Migration ist heutzutage ein wichtiges und ernstzunehmendes Thema in der öffentlichen Debatte, erst recht nach den auf Europa gerichteten Flüchtlingsströmen aus Asien und aus Afrika seit dem Jahre 2015. In die grundsätzliche Hilfsbereitschaft für Menschen, die sich in einer existenziellen Notlage befinden, mischt sich inzwischen in vielen Ländern Europas mit zunehmender Tendenz auch die Sorge, dass eine zu große Zahl von Migranten die Identität von bestehenden Gesellschaften in Europa nachhaltig verändern könnte. Migration ist jedoch kein neues Phänomen unserer heutigen Zeit, sondern hat es in der Geschichte der Menschheit schon immer gegeben. So ist auch das 1. Jahrhundert n. Chr., die frühe römische Kaiserzeit, in den nordwestlichen Provinzen des *Imperium Romanum* eine Zeit mit hoher Migrationsrate, „...mit dem römischen Heer als dem wesentlichen Motor für Bevölkerungsumschichtungen“ (Strobel 1991, 46). In zwei überregional angelegten Untersuchungen zu den Auswirkungen der Dislokation von Legionen und Hilfstruppen auf die Bevölkerungsentwicklung wird gefolgert, dass bereits „in julisch-claudischer Zeit ein buntes Völkergemisch am Mittelrhein gelebt haben“ muss (Oldenstein-Pferdehirt 1983, 304-305) beziehungsweise „In den Militärzonen des römischen Nordwestens kam es zu einer markanten Bevölkerungsvermischung“ (Stoll 2006, 218).

Aus *Mogontiacum* (Mainz) stammt eine besonders große Zahl an Steininschriften, die das Thema der Bevölkerungsvermischung im 1. Jahrhundert n. Chr. in eindrucksvoller Weise zu beleuchten vermögen. Im Mittelpunkt des vorliegenden Beitrags steht weniger die Dislokation von militärischen Einheiten, sondern es geht vielmehr um zahlreiche Angaben individueller Herkunft, die Soldaten und Zivilisten in ihren Inschriften machen. Diese individuellen Herkunftsangaben sind in den folgenden Tabellen aufgelistet. Nicht aufgenommen wurden Personen aus dem Senatoren- oder Ritterstand, da diese sich im Rahmen ihres *cursus honorum* in der Regel nur für relativ kurze Zeit in Mainz aufhielten und dann die Region bald wieder verließen. Ebenso wurden Inschriften, bei denen die *origo* der Soldaten nicht sicher bestimmt werden konnte oder bei denen die Datierung nur sehr weit gefasst werden kann, nicht berücksichtigt. Hingegen wurden auch einige wenige Inschriften aus der näheren Umgebung von Mainz in die Tabellen aufgenommen, in denen Angaben zur individuellen Herkunft von Personen zu finden sind. In diesen Fällen wird der jeweilige Fundort (Fo.) ausdrücklich genannt, z.B. *Castellum Mattiacorum* (Mainz-Kastel) und *Aquae Mattiacorum* (Wiesbaden) auf der Mainz gegenüber liegenden Rheinseite oder *Bingium* (Bingen/Bingerbrück) circa 30 Km flussabwärts. Die Tabelle der Auxiliarsoldaten enthält außer Steininschriften auch zwei Militärdiplome (Tabelle 4.34.38) und eine Schreibtafel (Tabelle 4.1).

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	Regio/Provinz	Legionen <i>XIV Gemina</i> , <i>XVI Gallica</i> , <i>II Augusta</i> , <i>XIII Gemina</i>
1	Regio XI: 16	<i>Augusta Praetoria</i> (Nesselhauf & Lieb 1959, Nr. 166); <i>Augusta Taurinorum</i> (CIL XIII.6887, 6899 und 6902); <i>Eporedia</i> (CIL XIII.6914); <i>Forum Vibii Caburum</i> (CIL XIII.6900 und 7288 [Fo. <i>Castellum Mattiacorum</i>]); <i>Mediolanum</i> (CIL XIII.11858; AE 1977, 586; Boppert & Ertel 2019, Nr. 206); <i>Mediolanum?</i> (CIL V.5747 und 5748; XIII.6937); <i>Vercellae</i> (CIL XIII.6889 und 6939). – Boppert 1992a, Nr. 22, 55, 81-82, 116, 132-133, 136, 160 und 180
2	Regio X: 11	<i>Acelum</i> (CIL XIII.7236); <i>Aquileia</i> (CIL XIII.6916); <i>Atria</i> (CIL XIII.7010); <i>Ateste</i> (Nesselhauf 1937, Nr. 111b); <i>Cremona</i> (CIL XIII.6886; Boppert & Ertel 2019, Nr. 222); <i>Brixia</i> (CIL XIII.6907); <i>Brixia/Patavium</i> (Schillinger-Häfele 1977, Nr. 88); <i>Patavium</i> (AE 1977, 587); <i>Verona</i> (CIL XIII.6910). – Boppert 1992a, Nr. 83, 85, 117 und 131
3	Regio IX: 6	<i>Aquae Statiellae</i> (CIL XIII.6903); <i>Dertona</i> (AE 1995, 1168); <i>Forum Fulvii</i> (CIL XIII.6884); <i>Hasta</i> (CIL XIII.6890); <i>Pollentia</i> (CIL XIII.6908); <i>Vardagate</i> (CIL XIII.6906). – Boppert 1992a, Nr. 60-61, 118 und 159
4	Regio VIII: 8	<i>Mutina</i> (CIL XIII.7255); <i>Placentia</i> (CIL XIII.6885, 6936, 6946 und 7575 [Fo. <i>Aquae Mattiacorum</i>]); Schillinger-Häfele 1977, Nr. 89); <i>Veleia</i> (CIL XIII.6901). – Boppert 1992a, Nr. 1-2, 88, 115 und 130; Mattern 1999, Nr. 1
5	Regio VII: 3	<i>Florentia</i> (Nesselhauf 1937, Nr. 111c); <i>Luna</i> (Schillinger-Häfele 1977, Nr. 63); <i>Pistoriae</i> (CIL XIII.6942). – Boppert 1992a, Nr. 65, 86 und 135
6	Regio IV: 1	<i>Histonium</i> (CIL XIII.6893). – Boppert 1992a, Nr. 80
7	Regio I: 1	<i>Venafrum</i> (CIL XIII.11837). – Boppert 1992a, Nr. 167
8	<i>Narbonensis</i> : 9	<i>Cabalio</i> (CIL XIII.6945); <i>Carcaso</i> (CIL XIII.7234); <i>Iulia Augusta Apollinaris Reiorum</i> (CIL XIII.6913); <i>Lucus Augusti</i> (CIL XIII.7013); <i>Tolosa</i> (CIL XIII.6904); <i>Vienna</i> (CIL XIII.6909=6918, 6944 und 11859; Finke 1927, Nr. 210). – Boppert 1992a, Nr. 39, 64, 66, 79 und 89; Rémy & Kayser 2005, Nr. 70 und 77
9	<i>Lugdunensis</i> : 1	<i>Lugdunum</i> (CIL XIII.6941). – Boppert 1992a, Nr. 62

Tabelle 1. *Origo* von Legionssoldaten in augusteisch-tiberischer Zeit.

Die *origo* der Legionssoldaten

Die meisten Angaben zur individuellen Herkunft von in Mainz anwesenden Personen gehen erwartungsgemäß aus den Grabinschriften von Legionssoldaten hervor, die als römische Bürger in der Regel ihre Herkunft mit *tribus* und *origo* angeben (Tabelle 1-3). Von den insgesamt 56 Soldaten der augusteisch-tiberischen Zeit, die fast ausschließlich den Legionen *XIV Gemina* und *XVI Gallica* angehören (Klein 2022) stammen 41 Soldaten, also die Mehrheit, aus Städten in den vier Regionen Oberitaliens, wobei die Regio XI *Transpadana* deutlich hervortritt (Tabelle 1.1-4). Die Städte Mittelitaliens sind mit fünf Soldaten dagegen kaum vertreten (Tabelle 1.5-7). Aus den Städten der früh romanisierten *Gallia Narbonensis* sind neun Soldaten bekannt, besonders aus *Vienna*; hinzu kommt ein entsprechendes Zeugnis aus *Lugdunum* (Tabelle 1.8-9).

In der claudisch-neronischen Zeit ist die Zahl der Legionssoldaten, aus deren Inschriften die *origo* hervorgeht, mit 56 gleich hoch wie in der augusteisch-tiberischen Zeit. Allerdings hat sich das Gesamtbild stark gewandelt. Noch ist die Zahl der Soldaten aus den Städten Oberitaliens mit 21 Soldaten, wenn auch geringer als zuvor, noch relativ hoch, wobei wiederum die Städte der Regio XI *Transpadana*, allen voran *Mediolanum*, am stärksten vertreten sind (Tabelle 2.1-4). Auch die Zahl der Soldaten aus Mittelitalien hat abgenommen (Tabelle 2.5). Stark angestiegen ist hingegen die Zahl der Soldaten aus der *Gallia Narbonensis* mit insgesamt 23, die meisten von ihnen aus *Vienna*, *Narbo* und *Baeterrae* (Tabelle 2.6). Damit ist die Zahl der Soldaten aus dieser Provinz in etwa gleich hoch wie die Zahl der Soldaten aus Italien. Wie zuvor, findet sich auch jetzt ein Soldat aus *Lugdunum*

unter den Inschriften dieser Zeit (Tabelle 2.9). Erstmals vertreten sind (fünf) Soldaten aus Spanien, vor allem aus *Nertobriga* (Tabelle 2.10), sowie (fünf) Soldaten aus *Noricum* (Tabelle 2.11).

In flavischer Zeit ist die Zahl der Inschriften mit Nennung der *origo* deutlich geringer als zuvor, insgesamt nur noch 34 (Tabelle 3), davon nur zehn Soldaten aus Italien, vier aus der *Narbonensis* und zwei aus *Noricum* (Tabelle 3.1-6). Mehrere Provinzen kommen jetzt neu hinzu. Mit drei bzw. zwei Soldaten sind *Germania inferior* und *Macedonia* vertreten (Tabelle 3.7-8). Insgesamt 13 Inschriften aus den Provinzen *Pannonia superior*, *Thracia* und *Dalmatia* gehen sämtlich auf Soldaten der *Legio I Adiutrix* zurück (Tabelle 3.9-11).

Die Herkunft der Auxiliarsoldaten

Aus Mainz ist eine große Zahl von Auxiliarsoldaten bekannt, die ihre Herkunft angeben (Tabelle 4). Während man gerade für die in der ersten Hälfte des 1. Jahrhunderts rekrutierten Auxiliartruppen davon ausgeht, dass ihre Soldaten in der Regel den Völkern angehörten, in deren Gebiet sie rekrutiert wurden (z.B. die Ituräerkohorten, die *Ala Parthorum et Araborum*, die Raeterkohorten), so ist doch bemerkenswert, dass den Namen der Soldaten in ihren Grabinschriften häufig individuelle Herkunftsangaben beigelegt sind. Diese Angaben entsprechen überwiegend dem Rekrutierungsgebiet der jeweiligen Truppe. Allerdings wurde der Mannschaftsbestand auch mit Rekruten aus anderen Gebieten aufgefüllt, wie zum Beispiel die Inschriften eines Helvetiers in einer hispanischen *Ala* (Tabelle 4.3) sowie eines Kreters in einer norischen Kohorte (Tabelle 4.27)

	Regio/Provinz	Legionen <i>IV Macedonica</i> , <i>XXII Primigenia</i> , <i>XV Primigenia</i>
1	Regio XI: 13	<i>Augusta Taurinorum</i> (CIL XIII.6862 und 6870); <i>Eporedia</i> (CIL XIII.6981 und 11854); <i>Laus Pompeia</i> (CIL XIII.6979); <i>Mediolanum</i> (CIL XIII.6967, 6975, 6982, 11853 und 11855; Schillinger-Häfele 1977, Nr. 67); <i>Ticinum</i> (CIL XIII.6859); <i>Vercellae</i> (CIL XIII.6953). – Boppert 1992a, Nr. 23, 68, 69, 101, 119, 121, 126, 137-138., 142, 145-146 und 161
2	Regio X: 2	<i>Ateste</i> (CIL XIII.7244); <i>Mantua</i> (CIL XIII.6973). – Boppert 1992a, Nr. 147
3	Regio IX: 4	<i>Alba Pompeia</i> (CIL XIII.6855); <i>Albingaunum</i> (CIL XIII.6966); <i>Dertona</i> (CIL XIII.6960); <i>Hasta</i> (CIL XIII.6875). – Boppert 1992a, Nr. 5, 97 und 106
4	Regio VIII: 2	<i>Bononia</i> (CIL XIII.6964); <i>Faventia</i> (CIL XIII.6961). – Boppert 1992a, Nr. 93; Richier 2004, 190-191, Nr. 58
5	Regio VII: 1	<i>Faesulae</i> (CIL XIII.6957)
6	<i>Narbonensis</i> : 23	<i>Apta Iulia</i> (CIL XIII.11860); <i>Aquae Sextiae</i> (CIL XIII.6959 und 7014); <i>Baeterrae</i> (CIL XIII.6857, 7009 und 11848); <i>Deci[ates]</i> (CIL XIII.6974); <i>Forum Augusti</i> (CIL XIII.6958); <i>Forum Iulii</i> (CIL XIII.6866 und 6868); <i>Lucus Augusti</i> (CIL XIII.6978); <i>Narbo</i> (CIL XIII.6863, 6874, 6976 und 6986); <i>Tolosa</i> (CIL XIII.6867; Schillinger-Häfele 1977, Nr. 68); <i>Vienna</i> (CIL XIII.6871-6873, 6969 und 6972; Schillinger-Häfele 1977, Nr. 64). – Selzer 1988, Nr. 11; Boppert 1992a, Nr. 70, 74, 91-92, 94-99; 120, 122-125, 129, 143-144 und 148-149; Rémy & Kayser 2005, Nr. 80-81; Rémy & Desaye 2016, Nr. 44
9	<i>Lugdunensis</i> : 1	<i>Lugdunum</i> (CIL XIII.6876)
10	<i>Hispania</i> : 5	<i>Nertobriga</i> (CIL XIII.6853-6854, 6865 und 7506 [Fo. <i>Bingium</i>]); <i>Tucci</i> (CIL XIII.6856). – Boppert 1992a, Nr. 71-73 und 168; Boppert 2005, Nr. 23
11	<i>Noricum</i> : 5	<i>Iuvavum</i> (Schillinger-Häfele 1977, Nr. 65); <i>Teurnia</i> (CIL XIII.11849); <i>Virunum</i> (CIL XIII.6860, 6864 und 6984). – Selzer 1988, Nr. 12; Boppert 1992a, Nr. 141

Tabelle 2. *Origo* von Legionssoldaten in claudisch-neronischer Zeit.

	Regio/Provinz	Legionen <i>XIV Gemina Martia Victrix</i> , <i>I Adiutrix</i> , <i>XXI Rapax</i> , <i>VIII Augusta</i> , <i>XI Claudia</i>
1	Regio X: 5	<i>Brixia</i> (CIL XIII.7578 [Fo. <i>Aquae Mattiacorum</i>]); <i>Cremona</i> (CIL XIII.11864); <i>Verona</i> (CIL XIII.6834a und 6905; Schillinger-Häfele 1977, Nr. 61). – Boppert 1992a, Nr. 109, 152 und 175; Mattern 1999, Nr. 4
2	Regio IX: 1	<i>Pollentia</i> (CIL XIII.6898). – Boppert 1992a, Nr. 7
3	Regio VIII: 2	<i>Bononia</i> (CIL XIII.6950); <i>Placentia</i> (Schillinger-Häfele 1977, Nr. 73). – Richier 2004, 276-277, Nr. 213
4	Regio V: 2	<i>Firmum</i> (CIL XIII.6896 und 6920). – Boppert 1992a, Nr. 110
5	<i>Narbonensis</i> : 4	<i>Baeterrae</i> (CIL XIII.6949); <i>Lucus Augusti</i> (CIL XIII.6882); <i>Vienna</i> (CIL XIII.6891 und 6912). – Selzer 1988, Nr. 52; Rémy & Kayser 2005, Nr. 71-72; Rémy & Desaye 2016, Nr. 41; Cubaynes 2018, Nr. 3
6	<i>Noricum</i> : 2	<i>Virunum</i> (CIL XIII.6892 und 7287 [Fo. <i>Castellum Mattiacorum</i>]). – Boppert 1992a, Nr. 84; Richier 2004, 230-231, Nr. 132
7	<i>Germania inferior</i> : 3	<i>Ara</i> (CIL XIII.6894-6895 und 6917). – Boppert 1992a, Nr. 113 und 153
8	<i>Macedonia</i> : 2	<i>Berta</i> (CIL XIII.7574 [Fo. <i>Aquae Mattiacorum</i>]); <i>Pelagonia</i> (Schillinger-Häfele 1977, Nr. 62). – Boppert 1992a, Nr. 151; Mattern 1999, Nr. 8
9	<i>Pannonia superior</i> : 5	<i>Savaria</i> (CIL XIII.6825, 6829, 6832, 6850 und 11847). – Boppert 1992a, Nr. 24, 108, 111 und 169
10	<i>Dalmatia</i> : 6	<i>Aequum</i> (CIL XIII.6828, 6830, 6831 und 6833); <i>Iader</i> (CIL XIII.6827); <i>Varvaria</i> (CIL XIII.7008). – Boppert 1992a, Nr. 112, 128 und 150; Kakoschke 2002, Nr. 1.98
11	<i>Thracia</i> : 2	<i>Apri</i> (CIL XIII.6826; AÉ 1979, 428). – Boppert 1992a, Nr. 107

Tabelle 3. *Origo* von Legionssoldaten in flavischer Zeit.

zeigen. In vielen Fällen sprechen auch die Namen der Soldaten für die Herkunft aus einem bestimmten Gebiet, so zum Beispiel der arabisch-semitische Name Molaecus (Tabelle 4.5), die illyrischen Namen Bato, Beusas, Dassius, Breucus und Andes (Tabelle 4.13-14, 16, 22 und 36) oder die thrakischen Namen Tutius, Dolanus, Traidua und Mucapor (Tabelle 4.17, 25-26 und 38).

Die Herkunft der Zivilisten

Wenn wir über den militärischen Bereich hinausblicken, so sind über die Stämme der *Aresaces* und *Caeracates*, die in der Region um Mainz ansässig waren, nur wenige Informationen aus Inschriften und Schriftquellen bekannt

(Klein 2003, 89 mit Anm. 4). Die *Aresaces* sind u.a. durch eine monumentale Weihinschrift (Tabelle 5.1) bezeugt. Es könnte sich bei diesem Stamm um eine kleinere *civitas* handeln. Darauf weist eine in Trier gefundene Inschrift, aus der hervorgeht, dass die *Aresaces* eine Kohorte für das Heer gestellt haben (Finke 1927, Nr. 322; Stein 1932, 163; Alföldy 1968, 83). Der Stamm der *Caeracates*, dem Ruto angehörte (Tabelle 5.2) wird ebenfalls am Mittelrhein ansässig gewesen sein. Außer in dieser Inschrift wird er auch in den *Historiae* (4.70) des Tacitus im Kontext des Bataveraufstandes erwähnt.

Vonden zahlreichen zivilen Individuen, die sich in Mainz und Umgebung niederließen, sind nur in wenigen Fällen

1	Datus (Coh. I Itur.)?	<i>Itura(eus)</i>	Aug	AE 2010, 1082. – Hessinger 2010 (<i>tabula cerata</i>)
2	Adbogius (Ala Rusonis)	<i>na(tione) Petrucorius</i> (Aquitania)	Tib	CIL XIII.7031. – Holder 1980, Nr. 721; Boppert 1992a, Nr. 78; Lipps <i>et al.</i> 2021, Nr. 11
3	Rufus (Ala I Hispan.)	<i>natio(ne) (H)elvetius</i>	Tib	CIL XIII.7026. – Holder 1980, Nr. 494; Boppert 1992a, Nr. 27; Lipps <i>et al.</i> 2021, Nr. 1
4	Antiochus (Ala Parth./Arab.)	<i>Parthus Anazarbaeus</i> (Cilicia)	Tib	Schillinger-Häfele 1977, Nr. 99. – Holder 1980, Nr. 671; Boppert 1992a, Nr. 102; Ziethen 1997, 128-130, Nr. 1
5	Molaecus (Coh. III)	<i>Iturais</i>	Tib	Schillinger-Häfele 1977, Nr. 101. – Holder 1980, Nr. 2061; Boppert 1992a, Nr. 63; Ziethen 1997, 125-126, Nr. 5
6	Fronto (Ala Indiana)	<i>natione Ubis</i>	Tib/Cla	Finke 1927, Nr. 352. – Holder 1980, Nr. 382; Boppert 1992a, Nr. 162
7	Aprilis (Coh. I Belg.)	<i>natione Ligauster</i>	Tib/Cla	CIL XIII.7038. – Holder 1980, Nr. 1171
8	Attio (Coh. I Raet.)	<i>Montanus</i>	Tib/Cla	CIL XIII.7047. – Holder 1980, Nr. 1982; Boppert 1992a, Nr. 6
9	Cuses (Coh. Raet./Vind.)	<i>Regus(cus)</i>	Tib/Cla	CIL XIII.7048. – Holder 1980, Nr. 2031; Boppert 1992a, Nr. 103; Dietz 2004; Lipps <i>et al.</i> 2021, Nr. 13
10	Sterio (Coh. Raet/Vind.)	<i>Focunas?</i>	Tib/Cla	Nesselhauf 1937, Nr. 114. – Holder 1980, Nr. 2032; Boppert 1992a, Nr. 76; Dietz 2004
11	Nunadus (Coh. Raet./Vind.)	<i>Runicas</i>	Tib/Cla	Nesselhauf 1937, Nr. 114a. – Holder 1980, Nr. 2033; Boppert 1992a, Nr. 104; Dietz 2004
12	Annaius (Coh. IV Delmat.)	<i>Daverzeus</i> (Dalmatia)	Tib/Cla	CIL XIII.7507. – Holder 1980, Nr. 1383; Boppert 2005, Nr. 49 (Fo. <i>Bingium</i>)
13	Bato (Coh. IV Delmat.)	<i>natione Ditio</i> (Dalmatia)	Tib/Cla	CIL XIII.7508. – Holder 1980, Nr. 1382; Boppert 2005, Nr. 50 (Fo. <i>Bingium</i>)
14	Beusas (Coh. IV Delmat.)	<i>Delmat(a)</i>	Tib/Cla	CIL XIII.7509/11962. – Holder 1980, Nr. 1381; Boppert 2005, Nr. 29 (Fo. <i>Bingium</i>)
15	[T?]alanio (Coh. V Delmat.)	<i>Docleas</i> (Dalmatia)	Tib/Cla	CIL XIII.7039. – Holder 1980, Nr. 1392
16	Dassius (Coh. V Delmat.)	<i>Maeseius</i> (Dalmatia)	Tib/Cla	CIL XIII.7581. – Holder 1980, Nr. 1391; Mattern 1999, Nr. 11 (Fo. <i>Aquae Mattiacorum</i>)
17	Tutius (Coh. IV Thracum)	<i>Dans(ala)</i> (Thracia)	Tib/Cla	CIL XIII.7050. – Holder 1980, Nr. 2201; Boppert 1992a, Nr. 28; Lipps <i>et al.</i> 2021, Nr. 2
18	Hyperanor (Coh. I sagitt.)	<i>Cretic(us) Lappa</i>	Tib/Cla	CIL XIII.7513. – Holder 1980, Nr. 2043; Ziethen 1997, 134-135, Nr. 3; Boppert 2005, Nr. 48 (Fo. <i>Bingium</i>)
19	Biddu[---] (Coh. I sagitt.)	<i>Tripo[li Sur]us</i>	Tib/Cla	CIL XIII.7512. – Holder 1980, Nr. 2044; Boppert 2005, Nr. 27 (Fo. <i>Bingium</i>)
20	Tib. Iul. Abdes Pantera (Coh. I sagitt.)	<i>Sidonia</i>	Tib/Cla	CIL XIII.7514. – Holder 1980, Nr. 2041; Ziethen 1997, 133-134, Nr. 2; Boppert 2005, Nr. 47 (Fo. <i>Bingium</i>)
21	[---] (Coh. I sagitt.)	<i>natione Surus</i>	Tib/Cla	CIL XIII.11962a. – Holder 1980, Nr. 2045; Boppert 2005, Nr. 26 (Fo. <i>Bingium</i>)
22	[B]reucus (Coh. I Pann.)	<i>natione Breucus</i> (Pannonia)	Tib-Ner	CIL XIII.7510. – Holder 1980, Nr. 1941; Boppert 2005, Nr. 51 (Fo. <i>Bingium</i>)
23	Surus (Coh. IV Thracum?)	<i>natio(ne) Dansala</i> (Thracia)	Tib-Ner	CIL XIII.11870. – Holder 1980, Nr. 2222; Boppert 1992a, Nr. 157
24	[---]sese (Coh. IV? Thracum)	<i>D[a]nsala</i> (Thracia)	Cla/Ner	CIL XIII.7049. – Holder 1980, Nr. 2221
25	Dolanus (Coh. IV Thracum)	<i>Bessus</i> (Thracia)	Cla/Ner	CIL XIII.7585. – Holder 1980, Nr. 2203; Mattern 1999, Nr. 10 (Fo. <i>Aquae Mattiacorum</i>)
26	M. Traidua (Coh. IV Thracum)	<i>natione Sale[ta]</i> (Thracia)	Cla/Ner	Schillinger-Häfele 1977, Nr. 59. – Holder 1980, Nr. 2202; Boppert 1992a, Nr. 50
27	Theander (Coh. I Noricorum)	<i>Cretensis</i>	Cla/Ner	Schillinger-Häfele 1977, Nr. 66. – Holder 1980, Nr. 1921
28	Togitio	<i>Lingauster</i>	Cla/Ner	CIL XIII.7034. – Boppert 1992a, Nr. 32; Lipps <i>et al.</i> 2021, Nr. 3
29	C. Romanus Capito (Ala Noricorum)	<i>Celeia</i>	Ner	CIL XIII.7029. – Holder 1980, Nr. 611; Boppert 1992a, Nr. 31
30	Freioverus (Coh. I Asturum)	<i>cives Tung(er)</i>	Ner/Flav	CIL XIII.7036. – Holder 1980, Nr. 1121; Boppert 1992a, Nr. 45

Tabelle 4. Herkunft von Auxiliarsoldaten

31	Iulius Ingenius (Ala I Flavia)	<i>cives (H)elvetius</i>	Flav	CIL XIII.7024. – Holder 1980, Nr. 261; Boppert 1992a, Nr. 51
32	Muranus (Ala I Flavia)	<i>civis Secuanus</i>	Flav	CIL XIII.7579. – Holder 1980, Nr. 262; Mattern 1999, Nr. 13 (Fo. <i>Aquae Mattiacorum</i>)
33	Annauso (Ala II Flavia)	<i>civis Betasi[us]</i>	Flav	CIL XIII.7024. – Holder 1980, Nr. 271; Boppert 1992a, Nr. 34
34	Tertius (Ala Moesica)	<i>Trevir</i>	78	CIL XVI.23. – Holder 1980, Nr. 591 (Fo. <i>Aquae Mattiacorum</i> ; Militärdiplom)
35	Abaius (Ala Picentiana)	<i>na(tione) Pan[non(ius)]</i>	Flav	Schillinger-Häfele 1977, Nr. 92. – Holder 1980, Nr. 421; Boppert 1992a, Nr. 43
36	Andes (Ala Claudia)	<i>cives Raetinio</i> (Dalmatia)	Flav	CIL XIII.7023. – Holder 1980, Nr. 217; Boppert 1992a, Nr. 35
37	T. Flavius Celsus (Ala Scubulorum)	<i>cives Sappaus</i> (Thracia)	Flav	CIL XIII.7580. – Holder 1980, Nr. 746; Mattern 1999, Nr. 12 (Fo. <i>Aquae Mattiacorum</i>)
38	Mucapor (Coh. I Aquit. vet.)	<i>Thrax</i>	90	CIL XVI.36. – Holder 1980, Nr. 1094 (Militärdiplom)

Tabelle 4. Herkunft von Auxiliarsoldaten

1	Aresaces (<i>civitas Aresacum?</i> oder <i>pagus civitatis Treverorum?</i>)	1. Jh.	CIL XIII.7252. – Stein 1932, 6; Klumbach 1959; Klein 2003, 89 (Fo. Klein-Winternheim bei Mainz)
2	Ruto Mattiaci f. (<i>cives Cairacas</i>)	1. Jh. (Flav?)	Schillinger-Häfele 1977, Nr. 60. – Boppert 1992b, Nr. 67; Kakoschke 2002, Nr. 1.113
3	Respectus, Veranius, Samocna (<i>nat(ione) Tr(ever) / Tr(evera)</i>)	Tib?	CIL XIII.11888. – Krier 1981, Nr. 32; Boppert 1992b, Nr. 34; Kakoschke 2002, Nr. 1.81
4	Blussus Atusiri f., <i>nauta</i> , Menimane Brigionis f., Primus f.	Tib/Cla	CIL XIII.7067. – Boppert 1992b, Nr. 2; Böhme-Schönberger 1995; 2003
5	Pusa Troucilli f., Prisca Pusae f., Vinda Ategniomari f.	Tib/Cla	CIL XIII.7101. – Boppert 1992b, Nr. 48
6	Bonica Artionis f., Sincorilla f.	Tib/Cla	CIL XIII.11876. – Boppert 1992b, Nr. 49; Kakoschke 2002, Nr. 2.47
7	Gario, Sincoril(l)a uxor	Tib/Cla	Nesselhauf & Lieb 1959, Nr. 173. – Boppert 1992b, Nr. 38
8	Iucundus, M. Terenti l., <i>pecuarius</i>	Tib/Cla	CIL XIII.7070. – Boppert 1992b, Nr. 52; Chioffi 1999, Nr. 141; Kakoschke 2002, Nr. 2.59
9	C. Vescius C. lib. Primus, <i>Ianius</i>	Tib/Cla	CIL XIII.7521. – Chioffi 1999, Nr. 143; Boppert 2005, Nr. 35 (Fo. <i>Bingium</i>)
10	Cirata Iulia, Annai f(ilia) (<i>natione Nervia</i>)	Tib/Cla	CIL XIII.7088. – Boppert 1992b, Nr. 39; Wierschowski 2001, Nr. 567; Kakoschke 2002, Nr. 1.89
11	<i>cives Ro[m]ani manticulari negotia[to]res</i>	43	CIL XIII.6797. – Selzer 1988, Nr. 280; Kakoschke 2002, Nr. 1.103
12	Capito, Arri l(ibertus), <i>argentarius</i> (<i>natione Pannonius</i>)	Cla/Ner	CIL XIII.7247. – Boppert 1992b, Nr. 40; Kakoschke 2002, Nr. 1.85
13	Mercator, Tabi f(ilius), <i>cives Remus</i> , Pusina uxor, Dercoieda f(ilia)	Cla/Ner	AE 1995, 1169. – Kakoschke 2002, Nr. 1.114; Boppert & Ertel 2019, Nr. 201

Tabelle 5. Herkunft von Zivilpersonen

mehr oder minder konkrete Angaben zu ihrer Herkunft bzw. Zugehörigkeit bekannt. Eines dieser Zeugnisse ist die Grabinschrift für drei treverische Kinder (Tabelle 5.3). In manchen Fällen weisen die Namen von Peregrinen auf eine Herkunft aus den gallisch-germanischen Provinzen, ohne dass die Herkunft in engeren Grenzen bestimmt werden könnte (Tabelle 5.4-7). Von diesen Personen hat der Schiffseigner Blussus seinen Wohlstand vermutlich durch Geschäfte mit der römischen Garnison erlangt. Möglicherweise deutet auch der Name des Remers Mercator (Tabelle 5.13) auf die Art des Gelderwerbs.

Für die Vielzahl der römischen Bürger, die im Sog der römischen Truppen aus dem Süden an den

Mittelrhein kamen, steht hier stellvertretend die Dedikation einer Statue für Kaiser Claudius durch Händler mit römischem Bürgerrecht (Tabelle 5.11). Der Pannonier Capito, Freigelassener eines wohl aus dem Süden stammenden Patrons, betätigte sich in Finanzgeschäften (Tabelle 5.12). Die Freigelassenen Iucundus und Primus, deren Patrone wohl ebenfalls aus dem Süden kamen, betätigten sich als Viehzüchter bzw. Metzger (Tabelle 5.8-9). Die Gründe für die Zuwanderung der Nervierin Cirata Iulia bleiben hingegen im Dunkeln (Tabelle 5.10).

Zusammenfassung

Die außerordentlich große Zahl von Steininschriften des 1. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. aus Mainz steht repräsentativ für die hohe Mobilität der militärischen und zivilen Bevölkerung im Nordwesten des *Imperium Romanum*. In dem militärisch-zivilen Zentrum am Mittelrhein kamen zur Zeit der iulisch-claudischen und flavischen Kaiser auf engem Raum Personen aus fast dem gesamten *Imperium Romanum* zusammen: eine Bevölkerungsvermischung mit nachhaltigen Folgen bis heute.

Abkürzungen

AE: *L'Année Épigraphique*

CIL: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

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Soldiers, slaves, priests, administrative servants (?)

Persons with Greek/oriental names in Rhaetia

Julia Kopf

In 2010 a leaden curse tablet (fig. 1) hidden quite early, namely in the Flavian Period, was discovered in the Roman settlement of *Brigantium* (Bregenz, AT), in the province of Rhaetia. Thanks to the expertise of Markus Scholz (University of Frankfurt) we know that a list of names is written on it – probably opponents of the writer in a trial. Unexpectedly, the majority of the names (eight out of ten) is not Latin, but Greek: Abascantus, Antiochus, Asiaticus, Chryseros, Epaphroditus, Eros, Narcissus and Philargyrus. Moreover, we found three graffiti of the Greek name Eupolis on *terra sigillata* (fig. 2) in the area of the neighbouring residential building. How can this accumulation of nine Greek names in more or less the same context be explained? And is it possible to draw conclusions about the social status, the provenance or the professional background of these persons based on their quite exotic names? To answer these questions, it is necessary to analyse these new finds in the context of the entire body of Greek names known so far in the province of Rhaetia.

Thanks to the fundamental work of Heikki Solin (1971) on the use of Greek names in Rome it is more or less without controversy that Greek names had a primarily social function. In the first two centuries AD a Greek *cognomen* was an indication for a slave or freedman, thus Solin (1971, 121) stated a ‘servile character’ of Greek names in the western half of the Empire for this period.¹ Solin also observed that *ingenui* (freeborns) had other Greek names than slaves and *liberti*, often with the Latin suffix *-ianus* (Solin 1971, 132-133). In the late 2nd or early 3rd century, at latest with the *constitutio Antoniniana*, the situation changed: Greek names became socially equal to Latin names and in consequence widely distributed among all classes of the Roman society (Solin 1971, 96-97). Regarding the issue of the *origo* of persons with such names, Solin argued that Greek names are no evidence of an eastern provenance (this would require the epigraphic indication of the homeland (*natio*), but this was not part of the nomenclature of slaves and freedmen (Solin 1971, 146)), even though they can of course be a hint for it.

The issue of people with an epigraphically attested foreign origin in Rhaetia was discussed in a paper by Karlheinz Dietz and Gerhard Weber in the early 1980’s (Dietz & Weber 1982). At this time, no inscription mentioning an eastern *origo* was known.

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1 In contrast, Stefan F. Pfahl (2019, 35) considers the determination of the personal status (especially *servus*, *libertus*) purely on the basis of a Greek name as very problematic.



Figure 1. Leaden curse tablet from Bregenz (J. Kopf).



Figure 2. Graffiti of the Greek name Eupolis from Bregenz (J. Kopf).

no.	Greek/oriental cognomen	full name	person status	site	date (century AD)	inscription type / writing carrier	CN-no.; CIL-no.; publication
1	Abascantus			Bregenz, AT	Flavian	leadern curse tablet	unpublished
2	Achilleus	C. Iul(ius) Achilleus	<i>decurio suae civitatis</i>	Augsburg, DE	3 rd	tombstone	CN 2; Wagner 1956/1957, no. 33
3	Agathe	Valeria [A]gathe		Augsburg, DE	?	votive inscription	CN 14; CIL III.5804
4	Aiax		gladiator?	Augsburg, DE	?	lost mosaic	CN 18; CIL III.5835a
5	Alexianus	C. Iul(ius) Av[itus] Alexi[anus]	<i>legatus Augusti pro praet. prov. Raet.</i>	Augsburg, DE	196/197	votive inscription	CN 21; Schillinger-Häfele 1977, no. 227
6	Amais (Semitic)		soldier?	Straubing, DE	2 nd -3 rd	graffito on TS	CN 27; Walke 1965, plate 47.44
7	Amarant(h)us			Heidenheim, DE	100-150	graffito on TS	CN 31; Reuter & Scholz 2004, 77, fig. 117
8	Andra (Thracian)		wife of an <i>ex gregalis</i>	(eastern Danube region)	157	military diploma	CN 35; Pferdehirt 2004, no. 38
9	Antioc(h)us			Chur, CH	middle 2 nd	graffito on TS	CN 37; Hochuli-Gysel <i>et al.</i> 1986, 222 and 288-289, plate 14.2
10 (=34)	Antigonos	Claudius Antigonos(?)	son of a <i>sevir Augustalis</i>	Augsburg, DE	end of 2 nd -3 rd	lost tombstone	CN 38; CIL III.5824
11	Antiochus			Bregenz, AT	Flavian	leadern curse tablet	unpublished
12	Aphrodisia	I(ulia) Afrodisia		Regensburg, DE	end of 2 nd -3 rd	tombstone	CN 45; CIL III.6533
13	Apollinaris			Regensburg-Großprüfening, DE	180-260	graffito on "rätische Traubenurne"	Pfahl 2019, 43-44, no. 7
14	Archelaus	Septim(ius) Archelaus	son of a <i>centurio leg. III Ital.</i> (Chaereas, no. 23)	Augsburg, DE	3 rd	tombstone	CN 51; Wagner 1956/1957, no. 35
15	Argivus	Aur(elius) Argivus	<i>centurio leg. III Ital.</i>	Ellingen, DE	182	building inscription	CN 53; AÉ 1983, 730
16	Aristo/Ariston	Ariston		Augsburg-Oberhausen, DE	beginning 1 st	graffito on TS	CN 54; Ulbert 1960, fig. 3.9, plate 19.13
17	Asiaticus			Bregenz, AT	Flavian	leadern curse tablet	unpublished
18	Aster		gladiator?	Augsburg, DE	?	lost mosaic	CN 58; CIL III.5835a
19	Asuodana (Semitic)		<i>miles coh. I Fl. Canath.</i>	(Roma, IT)	162	military diploma	CN 59; CIL XVI.118
20	Basileus		slave	Aufkirchen, DE	2 nd -3 rd	tombstone	CN 87; Garbsch 1975, 89-93
21	Burius (Thracian)		<i>cives Tracus</i>	Augsburg, DE	after 260	inscription from funeral monument	Gairhos & Gram 2012, 102; AÉ 2012, 1051; Pfahl 2015, 73, note 671
22	Castor		<i>legatus Augusti pro praet. prov. Raet.</i>	Nördlingen, DE	205-208	votive inscription	CN 133; AÉ 2005, 1146
23	Chaereas	Septimius Chaere[as]	<i>centurio leg. III Ital.</i>	Augsburg, DE	3 rd	tombstone	CN 153; Wagner 1956/1957, no. 35
24	C(h)ryseros			Bregenz, AT	Flavian	leadern curse tablet	unpublished
25	Chrysis		daughter of Chrysogonus	Mals, IT	2 nd -3 rd	tombstone	CN 154; CIL V.5091
26	Chrysogonus		father of Chrysis	Mals, IT	2 nd -3 rd	tombstone	CN 155; CIL V.5091
27	Daphnis	[- - -]ia Daphnis	wife of a <i>Sequanus</i>	Epfach, DE	1 st	tombstone	CN 190; CIL III.5782

Table 1. List of Greek and oriental names attested in Rhaetia (continued on the next pages).

no.	Greek/oriental cognomen	full name	person status	site	date (century AD)	inscription type / writing carrier	CN-no.; CIL-no.; publication
28	Demetrius?	Demittius	<i>sacerdos?</i>	Pfünz, DE	2 nd -3 rd	bronze votive plaque	CN 197; CIL III.11926
29	Diodotus		soldier?	Straubing, DE	2 nd -3 rd	graffito on TS	CN 203; Walke 1965, plate 46.27
30a	Dionysius		<i>legatus Augusti pro praet. prov. Raet.</i>	Lauingen, DE	219-221	votive inscription	CN 204; CIL III.5874; AÉ 2008, 989
30b	Dionysus	Q. Caturi Deonyse(l)	soldier?	Ellingen, DE	131-260	stamp ring	Zanier 1992, 182, no. 103, plate 18.B 103
31	Ditusenis (Thracian)	Ditusenis Salae f.	<i>ex gregalis alae Thrac. vet.</i>	(eastern Balkans)	86	military diploma	CN 205; Eck & Pangerl 2007, 240
32	Dizza/Diza (Thracian)	Disa Phodinicenti f.	<i>ex gregalis alae I Hispan.</i>	(eastern Danube region)	157	military diploma	CN 208; Pferdehirt 2004, no. 38
33	Epap(h)roditus			Bregenz, AT	Flavian	leadern curse tablet	unpublished
34 (=10)	Epigonus	Claudius Epigonus(?)	son of a <i>sevir Augustalis</i>	Augsburg, DE	end of 2 nd -3 rd	lost tombstone	CN 220; CIL III.5824 (reading Antigonus)
35	Eros			Bregenz, AT	Flavian	leadern curse tablet	unpublished
36	Euander	Aur(elius) Euander	(<i>miles leg. III Ital.</i>)	Regensburg, DE	222-235	honorary inscription for the emperor	CN 227; CIL III.5944 I 10
37	Eudiapactus	Fl(avius) Eudiapactus		Augsburg, DE	2 nd -3 rd	votive inscription	CN 228; AÉ 1982, 726
38	Euhodus	L(- - -) Euv[odus?]		Faimingen, DE	150-250	bronze votive plaque	CN 229; CIL III.11901
39	Euphrates	Tib. Cl(audius) Euph[r]a[tes] / Euph[r]a[s]	<i>sevir Augustalis, negotiator artis purpurariae</i>	Augsburg, DE	end of 2 nd -3 rd	lost tombstone	CN 230; CIL III.5824
40	Eupolis			Bregenz, AT	middle Imperial period	3 graffiti on TS	unpublished
41	Eutropus	Q. Caecil(i)us Eutropus		Partschins, IT	2 nd	tombstone	CN 232; CIL V.5089
42	Eutychia	Heuticia		Pfünz, DE	?	2 graffiti on TS	CN 233; ORL B, Band VII, 1914, no. 73 Pfünz, page 58 no. 26-27 and plate 9.26-27
43	Gerontius			Augsburg, DE	beginning 4 th	lost votive inscription	CN 280; CIL III.5785
44a	Helenius		potter	Westerndorf, DE	end of 2 nd	potter stamp	CN 285; Streitberg 1973, 139-140 and 142, fig. 3.7-20
44b	Helenius		potter	Schwabegg, DE	200-250	potter stamp	Sölch 1999, 65, fig. 23.3-4
45	Helius	P(ublius) P(- - -) Helius		Augsburg, DE	150-250	votive inscription	CN 286; AÉ 1992, 1306
46	Heraclius		<i>praepositus mil- itum Fotentium; civis secundus Retus</i>	Roma, IT	300-350	tombstone	CN 287; CIL VI.32969
47	Hermes	(Flavius) Hermes		Langenau, DE	2 nd -3 rd	tombstone	CN 289; CIL III.14370-1
48	Hermogenianus	Vindelicius Ermogenianus		Regensburg, DE	end of 2 nd -3 rd	tombstone	CN 290; CIL III.5969
49	Leonides		gladiator?	Augsburg, DE	?	lost mosaic	CN 339; CIL III.5835a
50	Lytra		gladiator?	Augsburg, DE	?	lost mosaic	CN 363; CIL III.5835a
51	Macedo	Tib. Cl. Mace[do]		Epfach, DE	beginning 3 rd	votive inscription	CN 364; CIL III.5774
52	Moronus (Syrian)		(<i>decurio</i>) t(urmae)	Straubing, DE	end of 2 nd -3 rd	owner inscription on knee protection pad	CN 430; Wagner 1956/1957, no. 125.3B and 125.4B

no.	Greek/oriental <i>cognomen</i>	full name	person status	site	date (century AD)	inscription type / writing carrier	CN-no.; CIL-no.; publication
53	Muscella (Thracian)		potter	Westerndorf, DE	end of 2 nd	potter stamp	CN 434; Streitberg 1973, 145-146, fig. 5.5
54	Narcissus			Bregenz, AT	Flavian	lead curse tablet	unpublished
55	Nicias	Managnius Nicias	<i>libertus</i> of a <i>centurio leg. III</i> <i>Italic.</i>	Augsburg, DE	end of 2 nd -3 rd	tombstone	CN 443; CIL III.5817
56a	Onesime	Lol(lia) Onesime		Eholting, DE	2 nd -3 rd	tombstone	CN 456; CIL III.5618
56b	Onesimus			Egweil, DE	2 nd -3 rd	tombstone	Wagner 1956/1957, no. 72
57	Pancratius	M. Aurel(ius) Honoratus Pancratius		Meßkirch, DE	2 nd -3 rd	votive inscription	CN 464; CIL III.11893
58	Patmula (oriental?)		soldier?	Straubing, DE	2 nd -3 rd	graffito on TS	CN 472; Walke 1965, plate 47.51
59	Pergamus		potter	Westerndorf, DE	end of 2 nd	potter stamp	CN 484; Streitberg 1973, 146, fig. 5.28 and 148
60	Phaeder	Ael(ius) Mont(anus) Phaeder		Augsburg, DE	203	votive inscription	CN 492; CIL III.5802
61	Philargyrus	Pilarguirus		Bregenz, AT	Flavian	lead curse tablet	unpublished
62	Philumenus			Westheim, DE	?	carving inscription on brick	CN 493; CIL III, p. 963, no. 8
63	Sidus (oriental?)		soldier?	Straubing, DE	2 nd -3 rd	graffito on TS	CN 622; Walke 1965, plate 46.3
64	Simenteus (Greek/oriental)			Chur, CH	middle 2 nd	graffito on <i>tegula</i>	CN 629; Hochuli-Gysel <i>et al.</i> 1986, 215-216, fig. 82 and 388, plate 65
65	Stephanus	C. Iul(ius) Stephanus		Straubing, DE	?	stamp of oculist	CN 642; Wagner 1956/1957, no. 130
66	Thallus		soldier?	Straubing, DE	2 nd -3 rd	graffito on ceramic	CN 666; Walke 1965, plate 74.5
67	Theodorus	Aur(elius) Theodor(us)		Regensburg, DE	3 rd	tombstone	CN 667; AE 2011, 861
68	Trairo (oriental?)		soldier?	Straubing, DE	2 nd -3 rd	graffito on TS	CN 674; Walke 1965, plate 46.33

It was as recently as 2012 that this picture changed, thanks to the tombstone of the *civis Tracus Burius* from Augsburg (DE, Gairhos & Gram 2012, 102; Gairhos *et al.* 2022, 99, fig. 11).² The vast majority of the 29 *origo* indications collected by Dietz and Weber refers to people from the Gallic and Germanic provinces (Dietz & Weber 1982, 429-430, fig. 3). Because of this very poor epigraphic legacy, the appearance of individuals with Greek respectively oriental names is the most important evidence of people from the eastern half of the Empire: In 1982 Dietz and Weber (438-439, Liste B) documented 27 Greek and oriental names in Rhaetia.

Today, this number is considerably higher, due to the fact that Dietz and Weber did not consider (for the most part) graffiti and other small inscriptions and of course also thanks

to new findings. Furthermore, we now have a very valuable standard work on names in the Roman province of Rhaetia, written by Andreas Kakoschke (2009). My database (table 1, without claiming completeness) comprises 56 (different) Greek names,³ as well as eleven names of Semitic, Thracian or other (assumed) oriental origin.⁴ Only five names are

² In comparison, no less than 85 eastern *origo* indications on inscriptions are known from the Gallo-Germanic provinces (Pfahl 2015, 173-179). Interestingly, the ratio of Latin and Greek/eastern names is very balanced among these people.

³ Two database entries (Antigonos, no.10 and Epigonos, no.34) represent the same person – the correct reading of this name is disputed.

⁴ Eleven proofs of eight different names of uncertain origin (Greek or Celtic?, Greek/Latin, Semitic or Celtic?) have not been considered for this study. This applies to the following numbers of *cognomina* in Kakoschke 2009: CN 144 (Celadus), CN 211 (Domnio/Domnion), CN 314 (Isauricus), CN 340 (Leontius), CN 431 (Moscus), CN 620 (Sibulla), CN 652 (Surus) and CN 653 (Syrillus). The Thracian names Eptacentus, Phodinicentis and Sala/Salas (CN 221, 494 and 576) were also omitted, because they are only attested as names of the fathers of two auxiliary soldiers and a soldier's wife and therefore probably did not belong to persons living in Rhaetia.

attested with more than one proof (Dionysius/Dionysus, Eupolis, Eutychia/Heuticia, Helenius and Onesimus), three of them (Dionysius/Dionysus, Helenius and Onesimus-Onesime) at two different sites. Apart from two examples (nos 13 and 16), all Rhaetian evidence of eastern names is in Latin letters.

The inscription types and writing carriers testifying these names are quite diversified. Due to the research tradition, stone monuments (tombstones with epitaphs, votive inscriptions, building inscription) constitute the majority, but also a mosaic inscription, graffiti and potters' stamps on ceramics, graffiti on bricks, military diploma, inscriptions on other bronze objects (stamp ring, votive plaques, knee protection pad), the already mentioned leaden curse tablet and a stamp of an oculist are represented.

The chronological distribution covers almost the whole period of Roman rule in the province, from the early 1st century AD to the early 4th century AD, but is not consistent. Only four monuments/finds date from the 1st century, whereas the majority derives from the second half of the 2nd and the 3rd century. This is problematic insofar as like already mentioned this was the period when Greek names became popular in all social groups in the western half of the Empire.

The geographical distribution shows a concentration along the Rhaetian Limes, as expected, but also a quite homogenic distribution in the other parts of the province (fig. 3). Numerically, the capital of the middle Imperial era, Augsburg, stands out with 18 examples, but thanks to the new finds also Bregenz provides a significant percentage (nine names), followed by the settlement area belonging to the fortress in Regensburg (DE) with five testimonies.

Some of the inscriptions tell us something about the social status and profession of the persons with Greek and oriental names. Three were provincial governors (nos 5, 22 and 30a), coming from other parts of the Empire for the duration of their position. One of them, C. Iulius Avitus Alexianus, surely came from the eastern part of the Roman Empire – he was a Syrian in-law of emperor Alexander Severus. Another prestige function was held by C. Iulius Achilleus (no. 2): he was *decurio* of the *municipium Aelium Augustum*. In his case, Achilleus can most probably be considered as fashion name (Dietz & Weber 1982, 432). Other professions and positions of men with Greek/oriental names were *praepositus* (no. 46), *centurio* (nos 15 and 23), soldier (nos 6, 19, 29, 30b, 36, 52, 58, 63, 66, 68 and also the veterans nos 31-32), *sevir Augustalis* and *negotiator artis purpurariae* (no. 39), oculist (no. 65), potter (nos 44a-b, 53 and 59) and – with question mark since this could also be the *cognomen* of the mentioned person – *sacerdos* (no. 28).

Regarding the social status, it is quite astonishing that only one individual can definitely be identified as

libertus (no. 55). But of course within the group of *incerti*, that means people with uncertain juridical status, we can suppose some other freedmen and -women – especially because in Rome these *incerti* constituted the largest social group among Greek name bearers (Solin 1971, 40). The status as slave is also only attested once (no. 20), but to this group we have to attribute the names of four gladiators (nos 4, 18 and 49-50) on an unfortunately lost mosaic from Augsburg. It should also be borne in mind that slaves often waived their status when making dedications to family members or fellow slaves; the same custom applied to freedmen (Schipf 2013, 94 and 101).

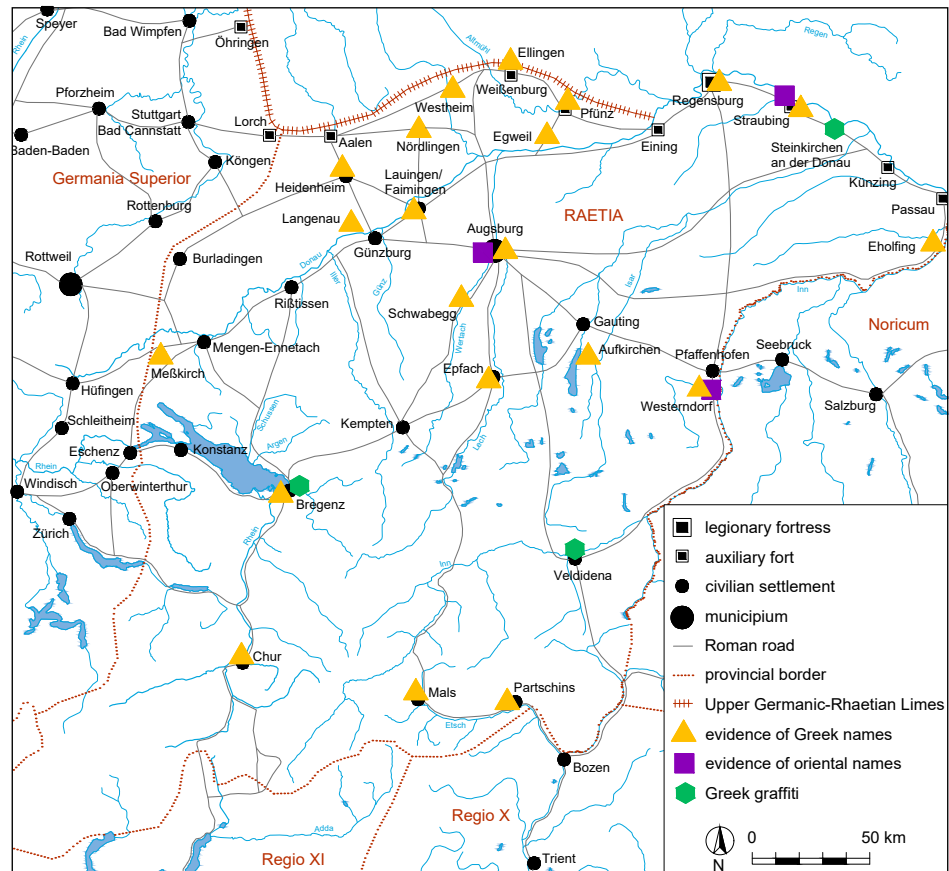
The crucial question of this study is if these people only bore Greek or oriental names or if they also came from the eastern part of the Empire. The main reasons for a migration respectively a temporary stay of people from the east in this region most probably were similar to the ones assumed for the Germanic and Gallic provinces: military service, slavery,⁵ commerce, artistic sector and in the case of women, accompaniment of husbands (Kakoschke 2002, 568; Pfahl 2015, 73). As already mentioned, the recently discovered tombstone of the *civis Tracus* Burius from Augsburg is the only monument with written declaration of an eastern provenance in Rhaetia so far. It does not tell us anything else about this person, but since it is regarded by Solin (1971, 128) as characteristic of freedmen to give their children derivations of their own name (in this case Burilla and Burinianus), we can suppose that Burius was a *libertus*.⁶

Coming back to the otherwise missing eastern provenances in the epigraphic record, we have to search for other clues indicating an eastern *origo*. Following the literature already mentioned in combination with the results of a study by Kakoschke (2002, esp. 6-20) about foreigners in the Germanic provinces, some of the Rhaetian sources show such clues. One hint is the use of Greek or oriental letters (Kakoschke 2002, 18). The bilingual Ariston-graffito in Neo punic and Latin from Augsburg-Oberhausen (no. 16) attests a provenance from the Mideast. In the case of the hallmarked owner's inscription Moronus on a knee protection pad from Straubing (DE, no. 52) this is also very probable, despite

5 However, slaves from foreign countries probably only came to the northern border provinces in larger numbers in the 1st century AD, while most *servi* and *liberti* of the 2nd/3rd century AD probably originated from the greater area of Gaul and free *Germania*. In the case of the slaves and freedmen of the 1st century in the Germanic provinces, an immigration from Italy is assumed in most cases, due to the adopted gentilicium (Kakoschke 2002, 600 and 602).

6 The absence of the *libertus* indication is not unusual in inscriptions from the middle of the 2nd century onwards (Kakoschke 2002, 21). On the reasons for the associated decline in the number of unfree persons during this period, see Schipf 2013, 109.

Figure 3. Distribution map of the Greek and oriental *cognomina* in Rhaetia (state around 200 AD) (J. Kopf based on a template by K. Oberhofer).



the Latin letters, since an attribution to *Cohors I Flavia Canathenororum*, recruited in present-day Syria, is on hand.⁷

If freeborn people as the *centurio legionis* Septimius Chaereas (no. 23) gave their children Greek names too (Archelaus, no. 14), a personal connection to the Greek-speaking regions can be assumed as well (Dietz & Weber 1982, 431). This is also the case if, like in a graffiti from Heidenheim (DE, no. 7), a Greek name (Amaranthus) is combined with the dedication to a foreign, atypical deity (Sicilian Erycina; Kakoschke 2002, 16).

Another concurrence of elements that points to an eastern provenance is the combination of a Greek name and a profession presumably characteristic of Greeks (Kakoschke 2002, 564 and 596). An example for this from Rhaetia is the stamp of the oculist Stephanus from Straubing (no. 65). And the writing of a Greek name in Greek letters as it is the case on a 'rätische Traubenurne' from Regensburg (no. 13) is also relevant for the issue in question, since the occurrence of Greek inscriptions in the western part of the Empire is considered as the most

distinct evidence of an eastern migration background (Pfahl 2019, 34). Therefore, two further examples of Greek graffiti from Steinkirchen an der Donau (DE) and Veldidena (AT, Pfahl 2019, 47-48, fig. 21; Wolff 1991, 258-259), which are not listed in table 1 due to the lack of unequivocally eastern personal names, probably originate from immigrant Orientals as well (fig. 3).

Certainly more debatable is the votive inscription of Flavius Eudiapractus from Augsburg (no. 37). Kakoschke (2002, 10-14) expresses the assumption that the less common a Greek name is in the western part of the Empire, the more likely the mentioned person comes from the Greek-speaking provinces. So according to him, the geographical distribution of a name is more significant for the question of the provenance of a person than the linguistic origin of the name itself. The name Eudiapractus ('the successful one') is otherwise unknown in the Roman Empire, what would suggest a foreign provenance. But on the other hand, his dedication is addressed to Isis Regina and in the advanced middle Imperial period, worshippers of eastern religions may have increasingly borne Greek names (Dietz & Weber 1982, 431).

After this compilation of people for whom an eastern provenance seems quite likely, I have to emphasize that of course there are also some examples for people

⁷ A military diploma proves the stationing in Rhaetia from AD 116 at the latest (Eck & Pangerl 2007, 245). On the criterion of the recruitment area for determining the origin of a soldier, see for example Schipp 2013, 79.

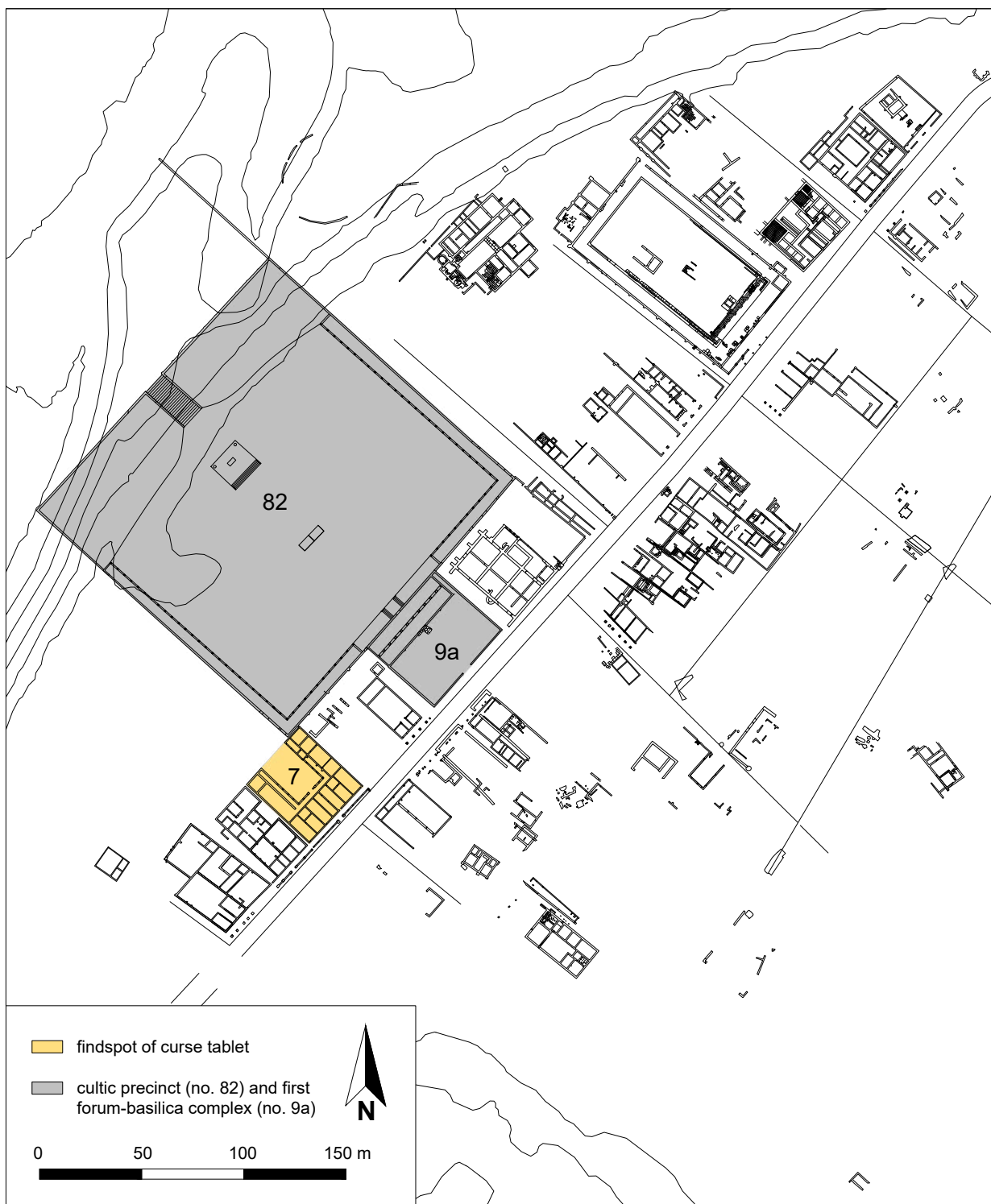


Figure 4. Settlement plan of *Brigantium* with marking of building no. 7. Scale 1:3000 (map: K. Oberhofer with additions by J. Kopf, after preliminary works by: Jenny 1898; Ertel & Kandler 1985; Oberhofer *et al.* 2016, 547, fig. 6).

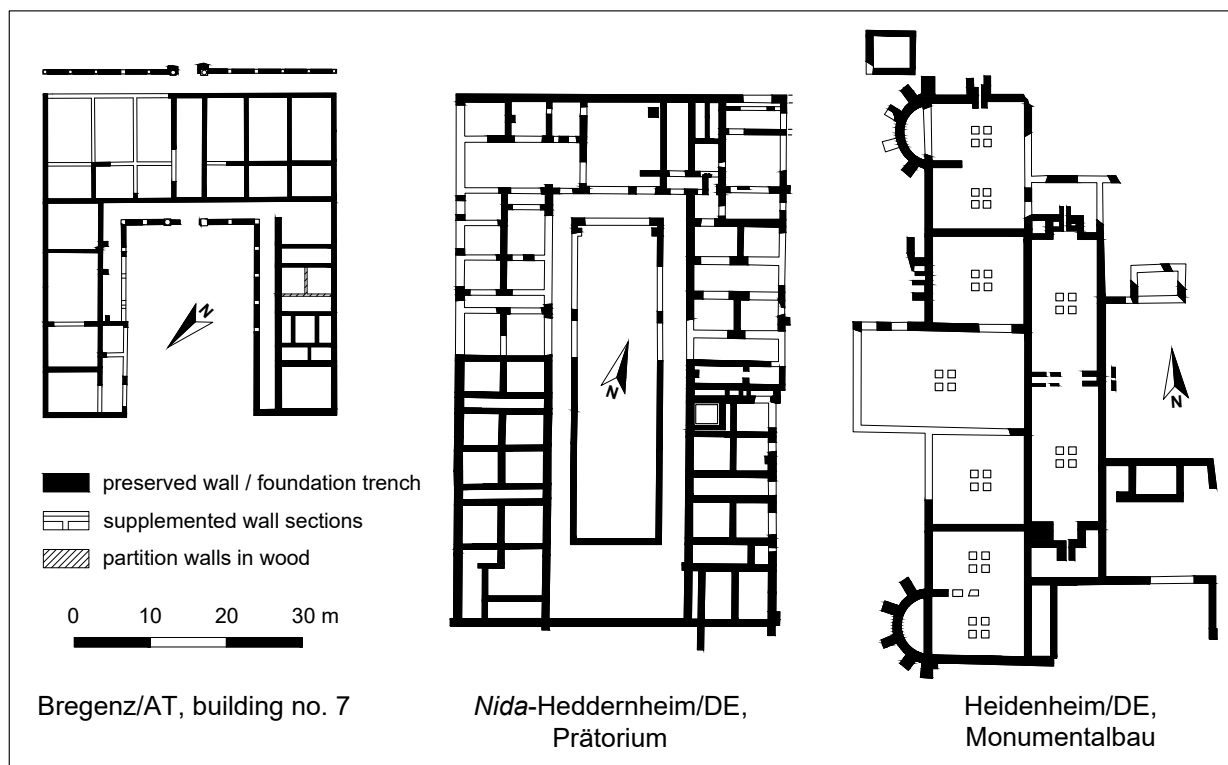


Figure 5. Comparison of the floor plan of building no. 7 in Bregenz with the Pratorium in Hedderheim and the so-called Monumentalbau in Heidenheim. Scale 1:1000 (J. Kopf based on Gündel 1918, plate II and Balle & Scholz 2018, 105, fig. 3).

with Greek or oriental names in Rhaetia who are (quite certain) local people respectively people of western origin. Vindelicius Ermogenianus (no.48) has a local *nomen gentile* and a *cognomen* with Latin suffix -ianus, thus not an original Greek name but a Latinised version of it. Another example is a young man called Hermes mentioned on a family gravestone from Langenau (DE, no.47) – his parents bear Latin names (Victoria Fortio and Flavius Serenus), so that Hermes most probably represents a fashion name or a remembrance of ancestors from the east (Dietz & Weber 1982, 431).

After this short overview of written evidence of Greek names in Rhaetia, I want to come back to my starting point, the persons with Greek names on the Flavian curse tablet and the graffiti from Bregenz. What can be speculated about their provenance, social status and profession or position? Unfortunately, the small inscriptions themselves do not deliver us any hints. But some of the names – especially Chryseros (no.24), Epaphroditus (no.33) and Philargyrus (no.61) – are very uncommon in the northwestern provinces and Eupolis (no.40) is (outside of Italy) only known in Bregenz. As already mentioned, this is a strong argument of foreign origin according to Kakoschke, especially in this large number:

“Ferner erhöhen mehrere auffällige Namen verschiedener Personen in derselben Inschrift die Wahrscheinlichkeit einer Mobilitätsbewegung” (Kakoschke 2002, 13). The presence of people from the eastern Mediterranean in *Brigantium* can also be assumed on the basis of isolated Greek graffiti in the wall plaster (Jenny 1883/1984, 6-7; Jenny 1889, 91).

Regarding the social status, it is of interest that not one of the nine names from Bregenz represents a Latinised derivation of a Greek name. As already mentioned, in the early Principate an original Greek name is regarded as a hint for an unfree status at the time of birth. This can especially be assumed for the man called Eros (no.35) – in the city of Rome, Eros is the most common name for slaves, but it is not once attested for a freeborn person (Solin 1971, 132; 2003, 352-361). The assumption that at least some of the men mentioned on the tablet and the graffiti could have been slaves or freedmen allows a for the moment daring theory: The findspot of the curse tablet – building no.7 (Jenny 1896, 16-18) – lies at the corner of a cultic precinct built in axis with the first forum-basilica complex of the settlement in the middle of the 1st century AD (fig. 4; Kopf & Oberhofer 2021). Since it is epigraphically attested that freedmen often served

as *seviri Augustales*,⁸ the hypothesis of a connection between the persons in question and this sacred office is tempting.

But of course other possibilities must also be taken into account for future studies. One would be that building no. 7 functioned as *praetorium*, as one of the buildings of the provincial administration. One argument therefor could be the resemblance of the floor plan to that of the Prätorium in Nida-Heddernheim (DE, Gündel 1918; Mylius 1936), though in Bregenz in a smaller scale (fig. 5). The so-called Monumentalbau in Heidenheim (fig. 5) is interpreted as outside residence of the Rhaetian governor by Gereon Balle and Markus Scholz (2018). In this building a handful graffiti with Greek names (for the most part unpublished) came to light, whereby the authors consider a function as administrative servants for the mentioned persons (Balle & Scholz 2018, 120).

In conclusion, we still have – like Dietz and Weber in 1982 – a quite unsatisfactory situation regarding the traceability of people from the eastern half of the Roman Empire in Rhaetia. An enlarged database of proofs of Greek and oriental names confronts a still very poor record of epigraphical declarations of eastern provenance. But findings as the curse tablet and the graffiti from Bregenz clearly show that we have to expect an up to now not quantifiable share of foreigners from the Greek speaking world also in quite small regional centres far in the hinterland of the Rhaetian frontier.

Abbreviations

AÉ: *L'Année Épigraphique*

CIL: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

CN: *cognomen* according to Kakoschke 2009

ORL: *Der obergermanisch-rätische Limes des Römerreiches*

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8 E.g. Alföldy 1986, 266-267 with examples from the Iberian Peninsula. – In an onomastic study on *Augustales*, Robert Duthoy (1970) was able to prove that among them the *liberti* more often had a Greek *cognomen* than the *ingenui*. In northern Italy (e.g. Aquileia), the majority of the *seviri Augustales* bore a Greek *cognomen* (query in <http://lupa.at>), while among the 19 mobile *seviri* in *Germania superior* identified by Kakoschke (2002, 586-588), there is not a single one with an undoubtedly Greek name.

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Challenges for *auxilia* veterans in going home

Jared H. Kreiner

This paper addresses the issue of *auxilia* veteran settlement from a novel lens, namely what are some possible challenges that auxiliary veterans could have faced if they wanted to return home after service and their homelands were distant from their final military camp? This is a preliminary study of what I hope will become a larger project on veteran settlement from Augustus to Gallienus. I came to this topic several years ago when I found myself face to face with Longinus' tombstone in Colchester (AÉ 1928, 156; AÉ 2002, 888; RIB 201). While this Thracian was not a veteran, I began to wonder how a Thracian auxiliary could get home from such a distance, especially in light of studies suggesting that Thracians, or tribes like the Batavians, tend to go home after service (Roxan 1997, 487; Mann 2002, 183-184; Derks & Roymans 2006, 121; Van Driel-Murray 2012, 118; Ivleva 2015, 437-438). At this time, Britain was at the limits of the known world. It was challenging enough to convince the soldiers to invade there in AD 43 (Cassius Dio, *Historia Romana* 60.19.2), let alone crossing back. Assuming a veteran of a Thracian auxiliary unit in Britain wanted to go home when he finished service in the final third of the 1st century AD, what could have hindered his aspirations? Or, more generally, what could have hindered veterans at a great distance from home? The choice of date is based upon the well-known idea that ethnic recruitment began to wane by the Flavian period in favor of various forms of local recruitment (Holder 1980, 118). While some soldiers served at a great distance from their hometown throughout the Principate, the Julio-Claudian period is an excellent period to survey as it provides ample challenges for veterans aspiring to return home to consider and overcome.

But first, I should make a couple general statements regarding mobility and travel to foreground the challenges veterans could have faced. Recent studies have pushed back against orthodoxies and suggest that there was a greater circulation of people, goods, and communiques in the Roman world (Adams & Laurence 2001; Alcock 2007, 690-691; Adams 2012; De Ligt & Tacoma 2016; Lo Cascio & Tacoma 2017). As Susan Alcock (2007, 690) points out, literary evidence provides a range of actors traveling around the Empire such as “pilgrims, sophists, doctors, bailiffs, missionaries,” to which one may add soldiers, veterans, shippers, and merchants. There is one qualifier to add, namely that most of this mobility probably comprised frequent movements within a region, rather than long-distance movements, though the latter obviously still occurred (De Ligt & Tacoma 2016, 6). While such works imply a high degree of mobility and circulation of people and goods and that a wide range of actors utilized Roman transportation networks, there are factors that could have negatively impacted former soldiers desiring to engage in long-distance travel home. For example, as Saskia Roselaar (2016, 138-139) points out, veterans were

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free to move wherever they desired after service, but they were impacted by the Roman government in one major way, where the government relocated them to serve. This could put a veteran at a great or inconvenient distance from their native lands, such as across major bodies of water or dangerous frontiers.

At a more specific level, were disfigured and impaired veterans likely able to make a long trek home (terms as defined by Van Lommel 2015, 92)? The concerns in this respect center upon how veterans could be received back home as well as potential mobility issues veterans experienced. Korneel Van Lommel demonstrates Roman ambiguous attitudes towards wounded, impaired, and disabled veterans. While those who served the state in war were highly regarded, in Roman consciousness disabled and impaired individuals were viewed as morally inferior because the body was a mirror of the soul (Van Lommel 2015). It is important to remember that contrary to the Republican era where a citizen militia operated not only within Italy, but its veterans also would have been ever present in the city (on impaired veterans in Republican Rome Samama 2013; Laes 2018), as the Principate progressed the fewer the number of the Roman military's veterans (at least in high concentrations) would have resided in the core of the Empire and its urban centers as a result of the *Pax Romana* (on where auxiliary veterans settled Raepsaet-Charlier 1978; Roxan 1981; 1997; Kellner 1986; Demougin 1999; Mann 2002). While it is known that Roman forces were both inward and outward facing, the vast majority of units/forts were laid on the frontiers of the Empire. As soldiers, they had mostly served at a distance from the civilian population at large and as veterans they could return to a home far from where war wounds were an ordinary occurrence, and as such they may have been more prone to stigmatization and shame than during the Republic. The ambiguous nature of Roman sociocultural norms on this front may have caused some such veterans to refuse to return home, regardless of their desire to do so, out of shame for their conditions, and instead desiring to settle among military families who would be less likely ridicule and marginalize afflicted veterans (Laes 2018, 180-181).

Perhaps, more importantly than social stigmas, are the potential mobility issues of some veterans (Van Lommel 2013; Laes 2018 for soldiers discharged because they were no longer fit for service). It is important to remember that military service was 25-years long and was physically demanding on the body. Injuries and chronic pain associated with not just warfare and training, but the everyday tasks of soldiers could have been devastating, let alone disfigurement such as loss of limbs (Laes 2018, 88, 124-125, 152-154, 158-159 and 172). Then one also should consider the impacts of debilitating diseases upon the ability to travel. Brent Shaw suggests

that between 10 and 20 % of soldiers were afflicted by such diseases in pre-modern armies (Haynes 2013, 360 and 364, citing Shaw 1983). It is one thing to endure walking or riding an animal or in a wagon for a few days for short-distance travel, but it is another situation entirely when the route home could last multiple months and one is suffering from mobility and pain issues. While it is impossible to state how many veterans would have suffered this way, we must remember their existence and the very real impact these factors would have had on the ability to return home.

Aside from mobility concerns, the other major challenge faced by some *auxilia* veterans desiring to return home, in this contribution, is finances. In terms of military pay, I am following the works of M.A. Speidel (2009; 2014) in that auxiliaries' pay rate was five-sixths that of legionaries. But, regardless of if one prefers his arguments or the alternative views of Richard Alston, both agree that there was disparity between earning and saving power of average *milites* and their cavalry and officer counterparts (Alston 1994; Speidel 2009; 2014). This alone must have played a very important role in the ability of veterans to return to their homelands, if where they served was more than a two-weeks' journey from home (which in my view is a medium-length journey, c. 500 km). The lack of a pay-increase for long periods of time during the Principate must also be a factor as it means that soldiers' pay at various times did not necessarily go as far due to inflation (Greene 2015, 495, who infers a similar point). This would especially be the case in the 1st century when there were no pay rate increases between Julius Caesar and Domitian (Suetonius *De vita Caesarum, Divus Iulius* 26.3; *Domitianus* 7.3; Cassius Dio *Historia Romana* 67.3.5). At this preliminary stage of my research, I suspect that officers and cavalrymen had a significant advantage for saving up towards retirement and return journeys.

While some auxiliaries could amass substantial sums in their savings, such as Dionysius holding 1,562 *denarii* in his savings (P.Fay 105.2.28 and 105.2.44), most soldiers had much more modest savings, if the Severan pay record P.Berlin 6866 is at all indicative of what auxiliaries typically had saved up (Suetonius *De vita Caesarum, Domitianus* 7.3; Haynes 2001, 77 with references). Furthermore, the average auxiliary veteran is at a disadvantage compared to his citizen-unit counterparts in terms of discharge bonuses. Scholarly opinion tends toward the view that auxiliary soldiers were not granted land or money upon discharge (Wolff 1986, 48-49; Starr 1993, 94; Campbell 1994, 193; Haynes 2001, 76-77; 2013, 347-348; Saddington 2005, 68; Roymans 2011, 155; Speidel 2015; Roselaar 2016, 156-157). An Egyptian papyrus dating to AD 63 (FIRA 3.171; Sherk 1988, no. 67), aligns well with those who contend that benefits and privileges varied between the legions, auxiliaries, and fleet. While

the document specifically deals with citizenship rights, it reveals that veterans' rights and privileges were not uniform. When a group of veterans approached the prefect of Egypt as a united interest group, the governor Caecina Tuscus sought to treat the complaints and issues of each group separately (Haynes 2001, 77-78; 2013, 346-347; Saddington 2005, 67-69). Without these bonuses, and maybe not even donatives, auxiliary veterans had to rely upon their and their family's savings.

One way some veterans may have resolved financial challenges was through supplementary household income or money sent from family back home. As Beth Greene (2015) has recently demonstrated, the incomes of women and children in military families contributed towards a military family's subsistence. These family members could have gained employment as traders, sellers, cleaners, spinners and sewers, barkeepers, or innkeepers in *vici*. While it is impossible to quantify, this supplemental income could possibly have aided some veteran families in their journeys home. There is a significant qualifier to this concept, however, namely that the more family members there were, the more supplies and food were required for a successful journey. And if it was a long journey, several weeks or a few months long, we must bear in mind that there would unlikely be any income *en route*, unless we envision family members taking in odd jobs along the way to the veteran's homeland (this is always a possibility). So, the additional income and presence of family members could have been both a boon and bane depending on circumstances.

Next, one must consider the impact of routine deductions from pay, which would have impinged on soldiers' ability to save up for retirement, especially in the 1st century AD. At this time, soldiers had money regularly deducted for supplies from the military such as food, hay money, and boots and socks (Tacitus *Annales* 1.17.4), which M.A. Speidel estimates was about 40 % of a soldier's *stipendium*. To this, one must add occasional deductions for clothing and considerations of purchasing new or repairing arms and armor (Speidel 2009, 359-360). And until deductions were reduced over the 2nd century (Speidel 2009, 365-366), a significant portion of a soldier's yearly salary was held back by the state, and this must factor heavily in how soldiers saved money for an expected return home, perhaps reinforcing the notion that rank or status played an important role in their ability to do so.

To finish up this foray on finances, the attendant costs of long-distance travel could have been prohibitive for some. Unlike the modern American military, there is no evidence that the Roman government gave discharged auxiliary soldiers funds to go from their last camp to their next place of residence, though an advance on their salary (*viaticum*) was given to soldiers to get to their initial

service points (Speidel 2015; Wolff 2015; Fischer 2019, 42). This means that all costs of the home journey were placed upon the veteran and anyone accompanying him. Veterans probably had to buy a diploma if they wanted one (Mann & Roxan 1988, 343; Mann 2002, 183), which would have been useful to prove their citizenship status and their right of *conubium* (before AD 110, a diploma would not have shown veteran status: Mann & Roxan 1988, 343). Though it is not known how much a diploma would have cost, nor that of the following factors, the amount of money required surely greatly increased varying upon the length of journey.

Travelers would have needed to acquire food and additional clothes for the journey and perhaps cooking utensils, have money for rooms and meals at inns in towns and *mansiones*, *mutationes*, and *stationes* along the routes. We should presume the veteran had to pay for these stays and meals as they were not on official state business. It is also imperative to bear in mind that this was a permanent move, so former soldiers and their families would need to take anything they deemed essential with them, which could mean substantial baggage. Finally, travelers could have rented animals, carts, or wagons at various stops on the *cursus publicus* or purchased their own beforehand to ease their journey, but this would have been expensive. The availability of rooms, animals, and carts were not guaranteed at any given stop due to the needs of those on official Roman business. This in turn may impact travel times and expenditure as well as decisions on whether or not to purchase vehicles in advance. And if travel by sea was required, or desired, then our travelers would need to gain passage on commercial boats, as passenger boats did not exist at this time. This would have been a time consuming and expensive affair. To book passage, the veteran needed to go down to the port or commercial office to find a ship taking them in the right direction, wait until that ship was ready to go (which could be several days) and then be at the mercy of that ship's route. This likely means that if one had to travel across open seas, they needed to switch ships multiple times to reach their destination, adding time and costs to the trip. On these boats it is very unlikely that our travelers would have had cabins unless they were on a very large ship, and so they would have brought tentlike shelters to sleep on the decks and were responsible for their own meals on board (Casson 1974, 152-155, 176-179, 184-185 and 189; on ship sizes and what this means for travelers Woolf 2016, 459-460; on switching ships Gambash 2017. On rank being a potential factor in traveling by boat Mann 1983, 13). Likewise, travel by riverine routes entailed similar numerous expenses and seasonal challenges that would have affected expenses and travel times, such as the types of vessels, regional routes and security (if travelling on the riverine borders of Imperial control), and the impacts

that seasonal droughts and freezing of rivers could have entailed. To properly understand how these conditions probably impacted veterans returning home requires further research and consideration.

Moving beyond financial considerations, one concern that may have affected some veterans was guaranteeing their rights and privileges. As authors like Ian Haynes and John Mann have noted, veterans' rights were surely easier protected the closer a veteran lived to the camps (Mann 2000, 155-156; Haynes 2013, 356-357). If a veteran lived near where he had served it was easier to find individuals who could vouchsafe their identity and status as a veteran. Furthermore, anywhere that veterans settled in numbers, they were able to act as an interest group. This brings us back to the oft mentioned FIRA 3.171 document. Even though the rewards were different across branches, the legal rights of veterans were seemingly similar or the same (Wolff 1986, 98-100; Haynes 2013, 346-347 and 357). And here, what we are seeing, is that veterans of legions, cohorts, *alae*, and fleets banded together in a common interest, namely in this case to protect their respective citizen rights. The experience of veterans settling away from their peers may have been quite different, and, as Haynes (2013, 357) writes, veteran rights and privileges "may have been less readily accepted and acted upon". As such, some might fear that their privileges and status would either not be recognized or their privileges denied. This could be a powerful disincentive to move back home, especially if one was a soldier who was concerned about their needs and rights to be guaranteed. Strength in numbers was surely quite real in these instances.

To conclude this contribution, I wish to state explicitly that I do not want to suggest that veterans could not get home, because a wide range of recent studies deploying portable artefacts with a connection to military life indicate that more veterans returned home than previously thought (Derks & Roymans 2006; Nicolay 2007; Roymans 2011; Van Driel-Murray 2012; Ivleva 2015). Clearly, these challenges were not insurmountable for all. Rather, the desire here has been to focus on the human side of the journey, what did a soldier and possibly his family have to consider or overcome to return home? Were all veterans capable of such a journey? For whom was this journey easier or more difficult? Are there specific contexts when it was possibly easier or more challenging to return? These are just a few possible avenues to explore as this project advances. In the immediate term, the next step is to study if and how the rank and status of veterans impacted the likelihood of returning home and to further explore regional variations in the distance soldiers were willing to travel to do so.

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Abbreviations

AÉ: *L'Année Épigraphique*

FIRA: Riccobono 1941

P.Berlin: *Berlin papyri*

P.Fay: Grenfell, Hunt & Hogarth 1900

RIB: *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*

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Ex toto Orbe Romano

Ethnical diversity at the western frontier of Roman *Dacia*

Eduard Nemeth

The western frontier of Roman *Dacia* (fig. 1) proves to have been a stretch of the outer frontier of the Roman Empire that hosted quite a wide ethnical diversity in what the origins of the soldiers and civilians living there is concerned. I will present the persons from the main centres along this frontier who bear names that offer an indication of their origin. In some cases, the homeplace of some individuals is given, which of course made the establishing of their origins quite certain. I have not taken into consideration the persons with names that are 'all Roman' and mention no indication of their home (*origo*, *domus*, *natio*, or similar). For each of the three frontier forts presented here as study cases, a list of the military units (for the military units in general Petolescu 2002; for the *numeri* Nemeth 1997) stationed there during time will be provided besides the list of persons, in order to observe the connections between the units and the population at the respective places.

The display of these persons with quite a wide spectrum of ethnic and geographic origins in the three most important forts and adjacent settlements at the western frontier of Roman *Dacia* offers the possibility for a few observations. First of all, it is evident that the presence of diverse ethnic groups at the western frontier of Roman *Dacia* was mostly due to the military units stationed in the frontier forts. The original ethnic component of the units, which is consistent with the units' names, was not preserved in time, as we can see for instance from the examples of Thracian soldiers in the *Numerus Palmyrenorum* from *Tibiscum* or in *Cohors I Ulpia Brittonum* from *Porolissum*. This hints at regional recruitment after the unit was settled for a longer period of time in a certain province. The Palmyrene communities seem to have been more inclined to preserve the names, religion, and home language, shown, for instance, by the presence of Aramaic short texts at the end of their otherwise Latin inscriptions. The same might be true for the Moors, although we have very little epigraphic evidence from them.

Some of the names of these persons are their original ones, while a few are a combination of native names with typical Roman ones. This is partly due to the granting of the Roman citizenship to discharged or deserving auxiliary soldiers, but there are cases where native and Roman names appear within the same family, which could indicate a personal preference. In this respect, the Ituraean Thaemus, son of a Horatius (!), whose sons were Nal, Marcus, and Antonius. While Thaemus is a typical name for semitic tribes in *Syria*, Thaemus' father bears the name of a famous Roman poet. One of Thaemus' sons also bears an indigenous name (Nal), while the other

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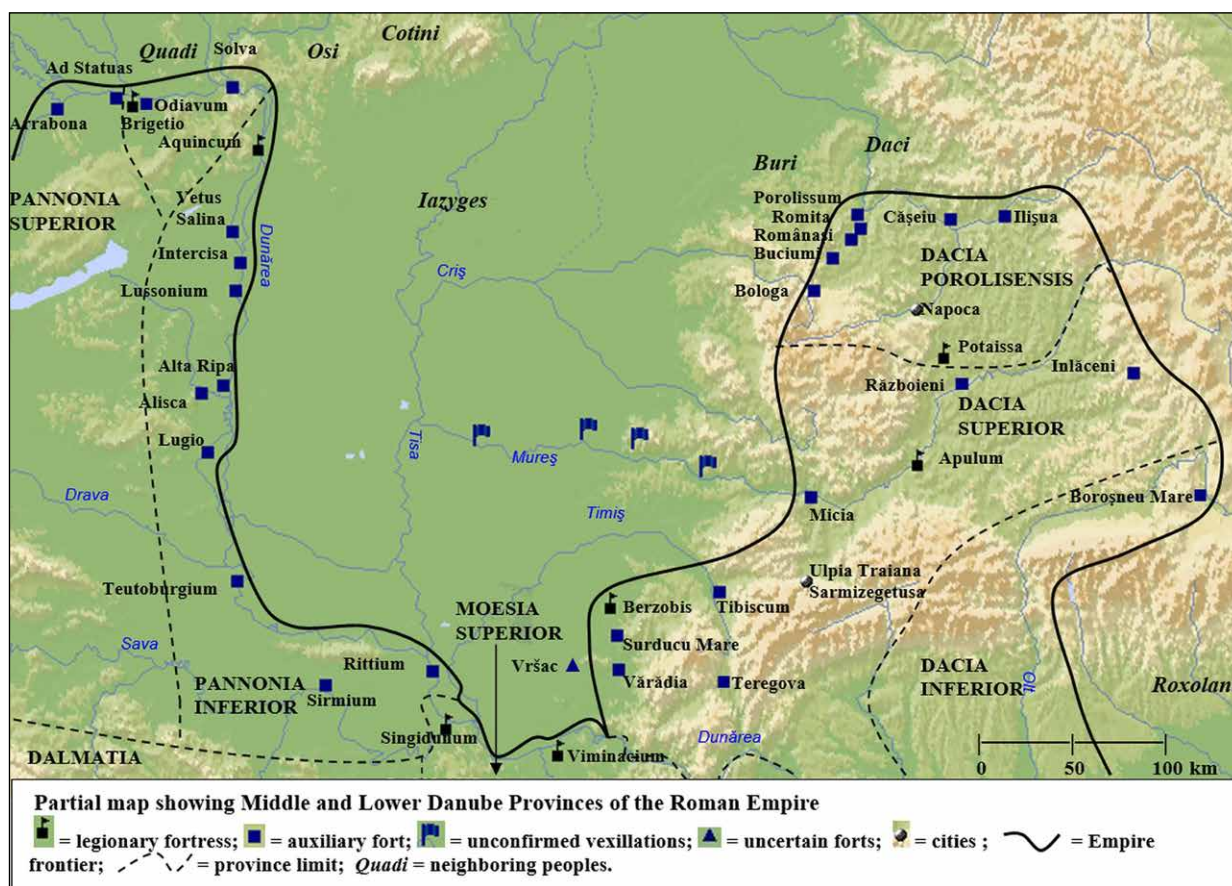


Figure 1. Partial map of the Middle and Lower Danube provinces in the 2nd-3rd century AD.

two sons are named Marcus and Antonius, so splitting between them the names of the famous triumvir from the 1st century BC. Also, the Moor Aelius Sebl[- -]er from Tibiscum had a son bearing the pure Roman name Aelius Valens.

All inscriptions are in Latin, regardless of the initial origins of the persons and their home language. Even in the case of the Graeco-Orientals, who most likely spoke Greek as their native language and despite of the long existent tradition of inscriptions in Greek language in the eastern parts of the Roman Empire, they preferred to set up Latin inscriptions here. One could say that ethnic diversity coexisted with linguistic integration at the western frontier of Roman Dacia.

Abbreviations

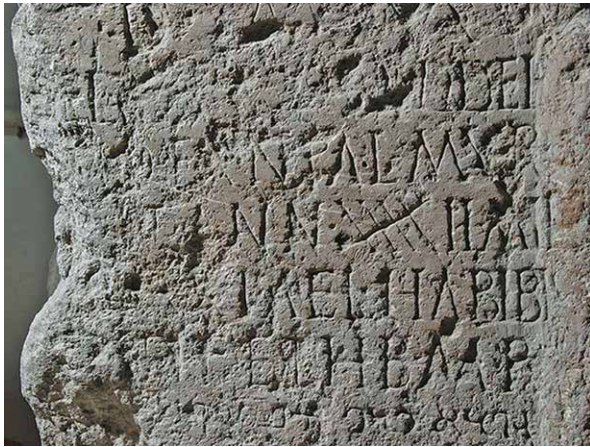
AÉ: *L'Année Épigraphique*

CIL: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

IDR: *Inscripțiile Daciei Romane / Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae*

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1



2



3



4

Figure 2. Inscriptions mentioned in the text. 1. The inscription of Aelius Guras, son of Iideus from *Tibiscum*, containing also a short Aramaic text; 2. The inscription of Neses, son of Ierheus from *Tibiscum*, with Aramaic text at the end; 3. Tombstone of Aelius Sebl[- -] from *Numerus Maurorum Tibiscensium*; 4. Tombstone of - -]dislaria (?) and Txema (?) from *Numerus Maurorum Tibiscensium* (F. und O. Harl, *Ubi Erat Lupa* 15072-3; 15016-2; 15013-1; 17563-1).

military units	
	<i>Cohors I sagittariorum milliaria</i> (between c. AD 106-161)
	<i>Cohors I Vindelicorum milliaria</i> (c. AD 161-271)
	<i>Palmyreni sagittarii ex Syria</i> , AD 159, <i>numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium</i> (c. AD 120-171)
	<i>Numerus Maurorum Tibiscensium</i> (c. AD 159-271)
persons	
<i>Palmyra/Syrian</i>	Aurelius Barsemia, son of Aurelius Barbarcas and Aelia Artemidora (IDR III/1.161, <i>Palmyra</i> ?)
	Publius Aelius Theimes, <i>veteranus ex centurione</i> , <i>Cohors I Vindelicorum milliaria</i> , buried in <i>Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa</i> , where he was a <i>duumviris coloniae</i> , with family members P. Aelius Zabdibol, P. Aelius Bericio and Aelia Phamenis (IDR III/2.369.UTS, <i>Palmyra</i>)
<i>'Palmyreni sagittarii ex Syria'</i>	Baricis, Male filius (IDR I.D5, 29 June 120, <i>Samum</i> (Cășeu))
	Hamasaesus, Alapatha filius (IDR I.D6, 29 June 120, <i>Porolissum</i>)
	Perhev, Athenatan filius (IDR I.D8, 12 February 126, <i>Tibiscum</i>)
	Ignotus, Perhev filius (IDR I.D9, 12 February 126, <i>Tibiscum</i>)
<i>Palmyrena</i> , members of the <i>Numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium</i> and <i>Palmyrene civilians from Tibiscum</i>	Aelius Guras (fig. 2.1), Iiddei (filius), <i>optio</i> and Aelius Habibis, <i>pontifex</i> (CIL III.7999 = IDR III/1.154); short Aramaic text at the end: "Gura, son of Iaddai optio"
	Bana G[- - -] Ma(Ichus?), <i>optio</i> (IDR III/1.162)
	Aelius Zabdibol, <i>armorum custos</i> (IDR III/1.134, votive inscription dedicated to Belus Deus Palmyrenus)
	Aelius Borafas, Zabdiboli (filius), <i>miles</i> (IDR III/1.152 = CIL III.14216)
	Aelius Male, <i>miles</i> (IDR III/1.155)
	Gaddes, Aninas (filius), veteran (IDR III/1.166)
	Neses (fig. 2.2), Ierhei (filius), <i>miles</i> and his siblings Malchus and Ierheus (IDR III/1.167). Aramaic text at the end: "Made by Malchus for Nese[- - -] year 470, month of Teveth" (17 December 159-16 January 160)
	[- - -] Themhes, <i>miles</i> (?) (IDR III/1.170). Fragment of an Aramaic text at the end: "son of Tybw!"
Thracian	Brisanus, Aulusani (filius), <i>miles</i> , <i>Cohors I Vindelicorum milliaria</i> (IDR III/1.163)
	Mucatra, Brasi (filius), <i>miles</i> , <i>Numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium</i> and his roommate (<i>contubernalis</i>) Mucapor, Mucatralis (filius) from the same military unit (IDR III/5.559)
Illyrian	Temaius, Dassi filius (IDR III/1.169)
Moor	Aelius Sebl[- - -]jer (?) (fig. 2.3), <i>Numerus Maurorum Tibiscensium</i> (IDR III/1.156)
	- - -]dislarius (Dislaria?) (fig. 2.4), <i>libraries</i> , <i>Numerus Maurorum Tibiscensium</i> (IDR III/1.172)
	Txema[- - -] (IDR III/1.172)
Jew (?)	Barsimsus, Callistenis filius from <i>Caesarea</i> (IDR I.D15), <i>miles</i> , <i>Cohors I Vindelicorum milliaria</i> (AD 106-118 in <i>Varadia</i> , after c. 160 in <i>Tibiscum</i>) (Grüll 2019, 13)

Table 1. List of the military units and persons in *Tibiscum*.

military units	
	<i>Cohors II Flavia Commagenorum equitata</i> (between c. AD 106-271)
	<i>Ala I Augusta Ituraeorum</i> (between c. AD 106-120)
	<i>Ala I Gallorum et Bosporanorum</i> (c. AD 119-138)
	<i>Ala I Hispanorum Campagonum</i> (c. AD 120-271)
	<i>Numerus Maurorum Miciensium</i> (c. AD 159-271)
persons	
Graeco-Oriental	Publius Aelius Euphorus (IDR III/3.49 and 119)
	Iulius Trophimus (IDR III/3.66, votive inscription dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus Commagenus)
	Claudius Nicomaeades (IDR III/3.81)
	Caius Iulius Zoticus (IDR III/3.89)

	Marcus Ulpius Phoebus (IDR III/3.91 and 136, votive inscription to Dea Syria)
	Ulpian Abascantus (IDR III/3.103)
	Calpurnius Philomusus (IDR III/3.122)
	Marcus Veracius Eu(h)odus (IDR III/3.127)
	Aurelius Dionisius (IDR III/3.139, votive inscription to Genius Turmazgadae)
	Caius Iulius Sosipater, with Caius Iulius Antipater, Caius Iulius Valentinus and Iulius Eu(h)odus (IDR III/3, 178)
	Caius Licinius Ponticus, from <i>Caesarea</i> , veteran of <i>Ala I Augusta Ituraeorum</i> , with his freedman Licinius Euprepes (IDR III/3.179)
	Lucius Mattavius Blastus with wife Mattavia Leda and daughter Blaste (IDR III/3.181)
Palmyra	Marcus Cocceius Themo (IDR III/3.87)
Thracian	Aulusanus (IDR III/3.163)
Illyrian	-- -jis, Dassi (filius) from <i>Numerus Maurorum Miciensium</i> (IDR III/3.176)
Ituraean	Thaemus, Horati filius from <i>Ala I Augusta Ituraeorum</i> , with sons Nal, Marcus and Antonius (IDR I.D2, 17 February 110)
Moor	the Moors from <i>Micia</i> and their prefect renovated the temple of the "gods of the ancestors" which collapsed because of its age, on their own expense and work (<i>Mauri Micienses et Iulius Evangelianus praefectus templum deorum patriorum vetustate conlapsum sua pecunia et opera restituerunt</i> (IDR III/3.47, AD 204)

Table 2. List of the military units and persons in *Micia*.

military units	
	<i>Cohors I Ulpia Brittonum milliaria</i> (c. AD 106-271)
	<i>Cohors V Lingonum</i> (c. AD 106-271)
	<i>Numerus Palmyrenorum Porolissensium</i> (reign of Antoninus Pius-AD 271)
persons	
Briton	Marcus Ulpius Novantico, son of Adcobrovatus, from <i>Ratae Corieltavorum</i> (Leicester), miles of <i>Cohors I Ulpia Brittonum milliaria</i> (IDR I.D1, AD 106/110)
	Marcus Ulpius Longinus, son of Saccus, a <i>Belgus</i> , veteran of <i>Cohors I Ulpia Brittonum milliaria</i> (IDR I.D3, AD 110)
	Ivonercus, son of Molacus, veteran of <i>Cohors I Ulpia Brittonum milliaria</i> (IDR I, D18, AD 154)
Thracian	Mucatralis, son of Bithus, veteran of <i>Cohors I Ulpia Brittonum milliaria</i> (IDR I, D20, AD 164)
Palmyra	Salmas, Rami (filius), <i>Numerus Palmyrenorum Porolissensium</i> (CIL III, 837)
	Aelius Bolhas, Bannaei (filius), <i>Numerus Palmyrenorum Porolissensium</i> , with wife Aelia Domestica and deceased daughter, freedman and servant: Rufina, Aelius Tiiadmes Palmura (sic!) and Surillo (CIL III.907=7693)
	Valerius Them(es? o?), a veteran and decurion of the <i>Municipium</i> (Septimium Porolissense), i.e. the time of Septimius Severus or later (AE 1971, 387)
	Aelius Thema[- - -] (AE 1979, 495)
Graeco-oriental	Iustina Eutychia, husband Livius Rufus (AE 1944, 48)
	Eufemus and his conservus Erastus (AE 1944, 49)
	Aelia Nice with family members: son Aelius Vitalianus, grandson Aelius Victor and granddaughter Aelia Mammutio (AE 1977, 663)
	Bebeia Tychenis and husband Aelius Maenemachus, a centurion (AE 1971, 391)

Table 3. List of the military units and persons in *Porolissum*.

PART 3

CHILDHOOD ON THE ROMAN FRONTIERS

Gendered futures

Children's lives remembered on Rome's northern frontiers

Maureen Carroll

Recent research on aspects of childhood in the Roman world has helped reshape the study of children in antiquity. It has done this by advocating interdisciplinarity to counterbalance earlier, predominantly text-based, approaches to the topic and by refuting the common notion that children were marginal to society (Rawson 2003; Laes 2011; Mander 2013; Laes & Vuolanto 2017; Parkin & Evans Grubbs 2018; Carroll 2018). These studies have made significant advances in understanding how children's experiences differed according to their location, time, gender, and social context. Yet, one important context in which there are serious gaps in study is that of military communities and families on the frontiers in any part of the Empire. Children growing up in a potentially dangerous location dominated by soldiers and combative professionals, who were accompanied by women and families to varying degrees, may have had their lives impacted and managed in very different ways than in a purely civilian milieu in Rome, Italy, or other places distant from the frontier zones.

It is unknown how many children might have been born and raised in Roman forts, although there is archaeological and textual evidence for the existence of women and children in these contexts. This includes writing tablets from *Vindonissa* (Speidel 1996, 180-190, letters 41-45) containing correspondence with women who were running businesses and operating within the fort, the burials of newborns in the vicinity of officers' quarters at *Vindonissa* (Trumm & Fellmann Brogli 2008), and children's shoes and other female- and child-related artefacts in soldiers' barracks at *Vindolanda* and Ellingen (Van Driel-Murray 1994; Allison 2006; 2011; Stoll 2006, 262-286; Greene 2014; Allason-Jones, Van Driel-Murray & Greene 2020). And there can be little doubt that children were part of the communities of civilian dependents of soldiers in the *vici* and towns on the frontiers. Many sons of soldiers and army veterans there continued in the career path of their father, and daughters might grow up to marry soldiers and have children of their own. Children also moved around with their military families, as the discharge diploma of the Batavian M. Ulpius Fronto of *Cohors I Batavorum* naming his Batavian wife and three daughters indicates (Van Driel-Murray 2012, 115-116). His unit was stationed in AD 113 in *Pannonia superior* when he was discharged, although the family then must have moved to the civilian settlement near the fort at Regensburg in *Raetia* where the diploma was found (Derks 2009, 248-249; Roselaar 2016, 154-155).

In this paper, I focus on funerary commemoration on the northern frontiers for the information it conveys about children and families. Commemoration of children acted, among other things, as a device for families to cope with 'unfinished lives' due

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to premature death. A particular goal here is to explore how texts and images on monuments from these locations, with supporting artefactual evidence, reflect gendered roles and futures for the children of military families and associated groups on the frontiers.

Gendered lives in funerary commemoration and material culture

The funerary commemoration of Roman children suggests that, from a very tender age, they were invested with identities and a personhood of various kinds. In many cases, the attention paid to the dead child and the way it was remembered appears to have offered some compensation for a life cut short (Mander 2013, 61-62; Carroll 2018, 243-249). The material culture associated with the burials of children also projected some future qualities that could have been developed had they lived longer and fulfilled their family's hopes. A study of the archaeological, epigraphic, and material evidence from civilian contexts shows that a child's prospects and role in society were important and that people were keen to see them realised. A few examples of this phenomenon in the centre of the Empire provide contextual background against which to examine the evidence from the northern frontiers.

With a funerary monument of the late 1st century BC or the early 1st century AD from Rome, freedmen parents commemorated themselves and their freeborn citizen son (Kockel 1993, 196-197, cat. no. M1, plates 111a and 112a; Carroll 2018, 235, fig. 8.13). The male child takes centre stage, dressed in a toga and wearing a *bullā* as visible symbols of Roman male citizenship (and free birth). This family of former slaves communicates their expectations of their prodigy, with future hopes for upward social mobility for themselves and a public career and role as head of a free-born family for him. Although his early death interrupted those prospects, the family's respectability

and legitimacy is nonetheless expressed through this constructed image of their son, hinting at what could have been. The sarcophagus of M. Cornelius Statius from Ostia (fig. 1) depicts various stages of the boy's infancy and childhood and his gendered socialisation (Huskinson 1996, 11, cat. no. I.23, plate 2.1; Carroll 2018, 133-134, fig. 4.6). This young orator and scholar in the making left the care of his mother as an infant to be raised and educated from toddler age by his father and male teachers for a future life of public service and leadership. As Huskinson (2007, 333) points out, the vignettes of infancy, play, education, and death seen on various children's sarcophagi "were deployed as equivalents to the defining moments in the biography of the Roman adult", in particular, the ideal male adult of elite status. Q. Sulpicius Maximus, whose funerary monument in Rome reveals that he died from exhaustion from his studies as a prize-winning poet before his twelfth birthday in AD 94, is depicted as an older individual in a pose of recitation, holding a scroll on which his Greek verses are written (Huskinson 2007, 329-330, fig. 17.3; Mander 2013, 59, cat. no. 50, fig. 130; Garulli 2018). Thus, the image of a learned scholar and orator was chosen for him, a role he did not experience fully in his brief life.

Although boys were trained for public roles, girls had a social role to play as well, albeit a private and domestic one: that of wife and *matrona*. Marriage was crucial in the construction of female identity, and profound sadness was felt, according to Juvenal (*Saturae* 15.138-141), when a virgin died before her wedding day. The image of the respectable *matrona*, clad modestly in a long tunic and *palla*, was a popular symbol of virtuous marital status. In funerary commemoration in Rome, the beauty, femininity and education of girls are highlighted, as these shaped them into worthy wives who could properly rear their children (George 2015, 1049). The carved lid of a sarcophagus in Malibu depicts just such a pretty, ornately



Figure 1. Sarcophagus of M. Cornelius Statius depicting stages of his life-course, early 2nd century AD (J. Willmott, copyright M. Carroll).



Figure 2. Funerary monument of Aurelius Secundianus and his parents, 3rd century AD, from Celje (O. Harl, courtesy of the Pokrajinski Muzej, Celje).

coiffed young girl with her pet dog and dolls (Koch 1988, 11-13; Wrede 1990). Dolls also are found in the graves of girls, primarily, but not only, in Italy (Martin Kilcher 2001; Harlow 2012; Newby 2019). Dolls gave girls a model for their own femininity and adulthood, but they were laid aside and dedicated when a girl reached marriageable age or before her wedding (Dolansky 2012). When placed in the graves of young girls, we may presume that this stage in the life course disappointingly had not been reached or the individual died unmarried (Hersch 2010, 65-68). Also, girls might have played with miniature furniture, serving dishes, and braziers made of lead or tin in imitative learning to prepare them for their future roles as homemakers. When they reached the age of marriage, these objects were dedicated, as in the sanctuary of Jupiter Anxur at Terracina (Barbera 1991; Darani 2021, 127-130, 142-143, figs 4 and 8), or they were buried, as a kind of miniature trousseau, with girls who had not yet moved on to the real household items as wives, as in the case of the

fifteen-year-old Julia Graphis in Brescello (Darani 2021). Death could intervene and hinder the fulfilment of the ideal roles of these girls, and the reference to such things in the context of burial underscores the poignancy of the loss of a life already planned out according to social and gendered norms.

Gendered futures of frontier children

An impressive corpus of funerary monuments with texts and images survives from the northern militarised zones of the Empire, and particularly from the provinces of *Pannonia* and *Noricum*, where, in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD family monuments became popular (Boatwright 2005; Carroll 2015). These stones afforded parents the means to project some future and unfulfilled qualities of children and to compensate for the untimely death of their offspring.

One such family grave monument in which gendered behaviour and public and private roles are displayed



Figure 3. Funerary monument of the four-year-old Vitalinus, late 2nd-early 3rd century AD, (M. Carroll, by permission of the Aquincum Museum).

is from Flavia Solva in *Noricum*, dating to the late 2nd or early 3rd century AD (Mander 2013, 88-89, cat. no. 504, fig. 68). On this relief, the son as a young man is depicted in a public role as a Roman soldier, dressed in a tunic and *sagum* which, by this time, was part of the military uniform (Rothe 2012, 159-165; Hainzmann 2015). His father, also in a public, but civilian, role appears in the toga, probably indicating his status as a veteran soldier who had been granted Roman citizen status upon honourable discharge. The mother, however, assumes a gendered role appropriate to the traditions of women of local non-Roman population groups on the Norican and Pannonian frontiers, being clothed in the female dress of

the middle Danube as a visible marker of the ethnic and cultural identity of her family and clan (Rothe 2012).

Aurelius Secundianus, a much younger boy who died at only seven in the late 3rd century in Celje in Slovenia, is depicted in his family's funerary portrait (fig. 2) already in soldierly apparel in tunic and *sagum*, like his father, Aurelius Secundinus (Rothe 2012, 195, fig. 46; Mander 2013, 267, cat. no. 497). He is shown using a stylus to write on a tablet, so we are led to believe here that he could read and write at this young age. Thus, this boy is portrayed as if he really were a soldier with skills that a much older male serving in the army would possess. Especially relevant is a funerary monument of the late second or early 3rd century

from *Aquincum* (fig. 3) in which the mere four-year-old Vitalus (or Vitalinus) is depicted as a soldier with a tunic, *sagum*, and broad military belt, just like his father, a *cornicen* of *Legio II*, who died in battle (Mander 2013, 99, cat. no. 678, fig. 84).

These examples, and many more, demonstrate that a projected military identity for boys is typical of commemorative monuments of the second and third centuries on the northern borders, particularly in *Noricum* and *Pannonia*. That is not to say that all boys joined the army when they grew up there, but a review of the funerary monuments makes it clear that many of them did and each family had many soldiers in them. Thus, we can see on funerary reliefs of the 3rd century, two, three or four adults and two or three children depicted, the men of varying ages all wearing the tunic and *sagum* and the male children doing so too (Mander 2013, 108, cat. no. 623, fig. 93, 300-301, cat. no. 671 and 302, cat. no. 679; 108). Military service passed on to the next generation was as prevalent for auxiliary troops as for legionary soldiers, but boys and young men whose fathers had not been soldiers also chose this career route. Two sons who had served in *Cohors I Asturum* and in *Legio II* and *Legio VI Ferrata* respectively, for example, are named in AD 183-185 in a funerary inscription in *Aquincum* (Óbuda) that commemorates their father, a man with no apparent military connections (Mander 2013, 300, cat. no. 670).

Commemorated girls and women on the frontiers expressed less overtly gendered identities than boys and men, often being depicted as individuals with vaguely feminine and status-related attributes, such as flowers, fruit, wreaths, or jewellery boxes. The contrast between boys and girls here is clear on a relief of the early 3rd century from Pécs (Mander 2013, 316, cat. no. 748). Two adult sons of Caesernia Firmilla and Marcius Lucidianus are named as soldiers and are shown in tunic and *sagum*, along with the wife of one of them; in the foreground their six-year-old grandson, Marcius Iulianus, also wears the tunic and *sagum* and writes on a tablet, whereas the granddaughter, Lucia, is noticeable only for her jewellery and her pet bird.

A closer examination of funerary monuments, however, reveals that girls and women certainly did express their gendered identities and ethnicity through dress (Carroll 2013c). The continuity of ethnic identity is secured through the female family line, and it is passed down from grandmother to daughter to granddaughter, as is apparent on the 2nd-century monument of Batta from *Aquincum* on which three generations of women wear Pannonian (Eraviscan) dress with slight variations (Harl 1993, 17, cat. no. 35; Rothe 2012, 183, fig. 33). This can be seen also on a 2nd-century funerary monument (fig. 4) from the same site for Brogimara, wife of Magio, and Iantuna, her two-year-old daughter (Nagy 2012,



Figure 4. Funerary monument of Brogimara and two-year-old Iantuna from Gellért Hill (*Aquincum*) (M. Carroll, by permission of the Hungarian National Museum).

36, cat. no. 20; Mander 2013, 91, cat. no. 691, fig. 77). The mother wears Eraviscan female dress, including *torques* and arm bands, and so does the daughter. The girl, however, has her hair tied back and does not wear the headaddress her mother does. This is a typical visual distinction between young girls and married women in other regions, such as around Cologne where the Germanic *Ubii* resided (Carroll 2013b). Brogimara and Iantuna are freeborn but do not have Roman citizen status; it is their Eraviscan identity that is highlighted in nomenclature and attire. It may be, therefore, that for such frontier women, being Roman – however we define that – was less important than being part of a legitimate family and a member of an ethnic group rooted in a



Figure 5. Funerary monument of a Treveran family from Selzen, mid-1st century AD. The daughter on the right holds a spindle and distaff (after Boppert 1992).

community and audience of peers and others of the same origin.

Gendered futures for girls are apparent also in the inclusion in their graves of spindles and distaffs used for spinning wool, one of the main domestic tasks of Roman women, at least ideologically (Larsson Lovén 2007). Plinius the Elder (*Historia Naturalis* 8.194 and 28.29) wrote that it was customary, in Italy at least, for a distaff with rovings of wool and a spindle with thread to accompany the bride on her wedding day, as if she was arriving ready to take on the task of spinning wool for the family's clothing (Hersch 2010, 162-164). Women occasionally were buried with their wool-working equipment, as in the late 2nd-century grave of a woman at *Viminacium* (Danković 2019).

Although women in Italy are not depicted visually with spinning equipment, outside of Italy they appear in funerary portraits with a spindle and distaff or a basket of wool, as, for example, on a marble sarcophagus of a pregnant woman from *Ephesos* (spinning equipment was also inside the sarcophagus) or the monument of the British woman Regina from South Shields at the eastern end of Hadrian's Wall (Trinkl 1994; Carroll 2013a).

Learning to spin wool began early in preparation for the role of a *matrona*, as the placement of a spindle, a distaff loaded with wool, and spindle whorls in the 2nd-century burial of a possibly six-year-old girl at Martres-de-Veyre in the Auvergne suggests (Audollent 1923, 290, 305-306, plate 7). Whether or not this girl really knew how

to spin at this tender age, the spinning equipment given to her reflects symbolically the gendered role she was to fulfil had she become a wife. A mid-1st-century funerary monument of a family from Selzen (near Mainz) on the Rhine frontier also reveals the preparation of girls for adult social roles. On the reliefs are a local man and his two daughters (fig. 5), one of whom clearly wears female Treveran dress (Boppert 1992, 59-60, cat. no. 3, plate 8). The inscription is missing. Both female figures are much smaller than the man, even though he is seated, and therefore I disagree with Boppert (1992, 48-53, cat. no. 1, plate 2) that they represent a wife and a daughter. On contemporary funerary monuments in the region, married couples normally are shown the same size and seated together. An exception is an early 1st-century funerary monument from Mainz-Weisenau which shows the man seated and the wife standing, but she is the correct size for a standing adult and towers over him. Both females on the Selzen relief are far more likely to be daughters.

The attire is best known from the contemporaneous monument of Menimane who is clothed in the multiple layered garments, bonnet, and metal dress accessories of the region (Boppert 1992, 53-59, cat. no. 2, plate 6; Böhme-Schönberger 1995; a version of it is worn also by a long-haired girl on an early 1st-century AD stele in Mainz (Boppert 1992, 69-71, cat. no. 12, plate 16). Like Menimane, who was a wife and mother, and the girl from Mainz, the taller of the daughters on the family relief from Selzen holds a spindle and a distaff with rovings of wool on it, suggesting that she has the relevant domestic skills and is on her way towards fulfilling her social role as an ideal wife to a future husband.

Conclusion

Different cultural, social, and regional factors played a role in building relationships with the youngest members of society, and they governed expectations for children's futures and roles in life. A recurring theme in Roman funerary commemoration of the young is the sense of a child having been robbed of a future by premature death, and this is apparent also in the material culture in their graves.

In Rome and in other areas away from the limes zones, civilian identities are more likely to be expressed for children. Here, boys of the elite or of the aspirational middle and freedman classes appear as public orators and statesmen in training, not as soldiers, and girls are portrayed as wives and heads of households, clothed in Roman dress in accordance with social and cultural norms. On the northern frontiers, on the other hand, images were used in the commemoration of children to reflect the reality experienced by families in ways relevant to them and specific to life in the presence of large contingents of military personnel on the edge of the Empire, especially in

the second and third centuries AD. Thus, very often in these regions, young boys were portrayed as future soldiers, perhaps destined to follow in the career footsteps of their fathers and other male relatives, rather than as togate orators. Equally, young girls of indigenous population groups here could be marked out as future wool-working homemakers and sartorial guardians of the family's ethnic identity carried on through the maternal line.

Children who died young were perceived as persons they could have become. This is true of both civilian and military children, but the evidence discussed here demonstrates that there were clear differences in the gendered futures projected for children growing up in these contexts.

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Vulnerable victims

'Barbarian' captive children in Roman Imperial conflict iconography

Kelsey Shawn Madden

Some readers might find the topic explored here grave and shocking: the trafficking and sexual abuse and exploitation of non-Roman children by Rome (see also Madden 2022). Children are among the most vulnerable people groups in the world. This is most true during times of war and conflict. Children are exploited during this time to be trained as child soldiers, used for cheap labour, and sexually exploited. This is as true today as it was during the Roman Imperial period. Non-Roman children acted as a potent image in the iconography of Roman conquest. They served to express the vulnerability and impotence of the defeated 'barbarian' tribe on display (Uzzi 2005) and acted as agents of acculturation; they no longer belonged to their culture but under the seemingly protective aegis of Rome (Rose 1990).

Non-Roman children were used as commodities and war booty to be put on triumphal display (Östenberg 2009). In conquest iconography, these children are depicted in scenes of capture, transport, and triumphal processions (Dillon 2006; Uzzi 2005; Östenberg 2009). What has yet to be done is an examination of Roman conquest iconography from the 1st and 2nd centuries AD from the perspective of trafficking. In doing so, the logistics of the trafficking process depicted on large public monuments and smaller material objects become clear. The terms and their use are what underpin this study. This paper seeks to make a primary point that the capture and transport of captives are called 'trafficking', and this trafficking process can be found in conquest iconography. Therefore, discussing terms is a primary objective to ground the outlined methodology. The pictorial and literary evidence will be examined from the perspective of sex trafficking to highlight the lived realities of these children during their capture and transportation and shed light on the trafficking of children by Rome.

The topic of the sexual exploitation of captive children in the Roman world has been minimal. One exception includes the more recent work of Jeannine Diddle Uzzi (2015), with a heavier focus placed on the literary and visual sexual exploitation of enslaved children in general (Richlin 1983; Shapiro 1992; Laes 2003; George 2005; Skinner 2005; McKeown 2007; Asso 2010; Levin-Richardson 2021; Roth 2021). I argue that this avoidance of discussing and accepting the fact that captive children were displayed with an element of sexualisation and eroticisation is because of the prioritisation of the perspective of the Roman victor over the conquered and the general inherited and perpetuated reverence for classical tradition. In most modern societies, we do not equate children and sex. What has been rarely considered is how the bodies of captive children were used in conquest iconography to express Rome's political economy as predatory and

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exploitative. Alicia Jiménez (2020) and Manuel Fernández-Götz *et al.* (2020) introduced the alternative notion of a ‘predatory’ political economy for conceptualising the Late Republican (146-30 BC) and Early Imperial Roman periods (31 BC-AD 193) evidenced through archaeological investigations. A **predatory regime** in this context is defined as “the militarisation of power and trade, pillage as an economic strategy, the pursuit of private interests under the public command and the conversion of brute violence into legitimate authority” (González-Ruibal 2015, 424). The Roman military employed this economic strategy during the first two centuries AD (Goldsworthy 2000).

Many Roman and Classical archaeologists have focused on aspects that glorify Rome and its culture. There is nothing wrong with this. However, Roman imperialism and expansionism were dark businesses filled with brutality and predation. As scholars, we should aim to illustrate the brutality and cruelty of expansionism and imperialism; if we are to have an inclusive, balanced account of the past, we must also explore the dark sides (Fernández-Götz *et al.* 2020). I think we are ready to engage in this meaningful debate about ancient Rome as a predatory regime (Jimenez 2020).

For the reasons mentioned above, the concept of sex-trafficking children in ancient Roman Italy has been avoided or neglected by many who have placed this business under the umbrella term of ‘slavery’ to generally describe the acts committed against subdued children upon the moment of capture. These children were enslaved and placed into slavery, but before that, they were trafficked. Now is the time for exploring properly and considering openly the realities lived by the dominated and enslaved children in Roman antiquity. However, we need to approach the evidence for this topic with caution.

Definitions

As modern readers and researchers, we must be alert to our inherent bias and the ethical and moral codes we follow today and not project them onto the past. Once we have acknowledged these biases and principal differences, we can better understand the ancient past. More importantly, we are then sufficiently equipped to bring to light the lived experiences of these children. Three key points must be acknowledged and remembered whilst reading this paper. First, there is a methodological complexity when examining this topic regarding terms used (Roth 2021, 211). Terms used in this study carry a high level of importance and must be defined. Without creating this foundation, we will not be able to appreciate the contextual evidence fully.

The definition of a child must be clarified. To use Jannine Diddle Uzzi’s (2005, 23) direct definition: “Any society’s concept of childhood must be understood as

a complex combination of biological, social, practical, and legal criteria unique to that society’s limited cultural and temporal space.” Additionally, Uzzi notes that what the Romans agreed to as a clear definition of what constitutes a child or childhood likely changed over time. For Roman children, their childhood was marked by rites of passage, and their adorned clothing in art signalled these various rites (Uzzi 2005, 25). The captured, enslaved children are viewed as property, so they would not go through the same rites of childhood as their Roman counterparts. In most instances, it could be argued that once captured, their childhood, however that might have looked, was stolen away.

The top three key terms used throughout this paper are abuse, exploitation, and trafficking. No words in Latin equate to trafficking, and child sexual abuse is a modern concept (Roth 2021, 211). For our purposes, **abuse** is defined as to ‘treat with cruelty or violence, especially regularly and repeatedly’. Abuse of any kind against enslaved people in the Imperial Roman period was not unlawful (Joshel 2010). **Exploitation** is defined here as ‘to take advantage of an individual’s vulnerability for one’s own benefit.’ In the context of war, the Romans actively practised taking vulnerable citizens of defeated cities, such as women and children, as a war tactic to enslave and exploit them for labour and sex (Gaca 2013).

What is the importance of using the term traffic over trade when discussing the capture and transport of captives? The difference between traffic and trade is the different steps and manners in which people are moved. Trade means buying and selling goods or services. Trade is more appropriately used in the context of slavery and post-capture; people captured by Rome were purchased and sold in the slave trade. The term traffic is used to explain the moment of capture and transportation; to traffic, someone is to take and move them by force. After captives were trafficked, they were placed into the slave trade. In some instances, trade and traffic can overlap. The nationally agreed upon definition of trafficking is what can aid us in identifying the same method used in the ancient past (Poalella 2022, 12).

The United Nations (2000) defined the traffic in human beings; article 3 (a) of that protocol defines the traffic in humans as:

“The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation.”

The critical aspects of this definition are transportation, transfer, by means of threat or use of force, the abuse of a position of vulnerability, and the giving or receiving of payments for the purpose of exploitation. The ‘barbarian’ children taken by Rome were not recruited but physically forced to submit before, during, or after a battle. Some children were then displayed in the triumph of the victorious general, while others were sent to the slave market. During the capture and transportation of these children, they were most certainly threatened, used by force, coerced, deceived, and exploited sexually.

Children taken through conquest were also used for various forms of labour, with sexual exploitation being a secondary action. For example, young boys were purchased to entertain guests at lavish dinner parties by serving wine, while afterwards, they could be sexually exploited (Seneca *Epistulae Morales ad Lucilium* 95.34; Laes 2003; Roth 2021). This point is one that this paper does not question. However, this paper focuses on those children who were taken for the primary and secondary means of sexual exploitation for the pleasure of the purchaser. It could be argued that traffic can carry a negative connotation, rendering the concept ahistorical. However, it could also be argued that slavery carries a negative connotation without being ahistorical. It makes sense that both terms could carry a negative connotation in the ancient past and the present because the acts themselves are not positive; this does not make either ahistorical. Legality is the only difference between human trafficking (and slavery) today versus the ancient past. Today, trafficking is illegal. However, in Imperial Rome, capturing and transporting people was legal, much like the capture and transport of African peoples to the New World in the 18th century was legal. We can, therefore, comfortably define and explain the capture and transportation of non-Roman children by Romans as trafficking. To go one step further, when a child is taken for the express purpose of sexual exploitation, this is termed sex trafficking (Campagna & Poffenberger 1988, 4). The evidence discussed below suggests that non-Roman children were taken during times of conflict, and their vulnerability was sexually exploited. Now that we have our definitions clear, we can move on to the second key point of caution: how Roman morals regarding sexuality and sex differ from our own from the perspective of wartime rape and trafficking.

Ancient reality. Roman sexuality, wartime rape, and trafficking

The ancient Romans perceived and understood what we would define as sexual abuse very differently from our modern world, with sexual behaviours being a ‘culturally defined term’ (Laes 2003, 320). It was socially, ethically, and legally acceptable to perform sexual acts on enslaved people, including children (Plutarch *Moralia* 288A

and 140B – volume 6, Loeb Classical Library, 1939; Perry 2021). These sexual advances do not have to carry any form of consent. This is because enslaved people had no integrity and honour and were physically vulnerable property unprotected by Roman law should they be raped or sexually exploited in other ways (Joshel 2010, 40; see Bradley 1987, 116-118; Green 2015 for a brief overview of the different types of sexual exploitation of enslaved people).

The masculinity of Roman males was defined by their ability to be the penetrator, not the penetrated (Williams 2010, 18). Social status was also a defining factor for the sexuality of the Roman male. Freeborn Romans (both male and female) were legally and socially off limits to penetrate (Williams 2010, 19); sexual exploitation of enslaved people was not viewed as abuse but as treatment fitting for a person of lower social status (Plutarchus *Moralia* 288A). Consequently, this exclusion of freeborn men and women left the sexually active Roman male with men and women of lower status: captives, enslaved people, prostitutes (enslaved and non-enslaved), and noncitizens. Moreover, sexual relationships between two freeborn males were disreputable and illegal in Rome, so exploiting young, low-born male children could serve as a sexual outlet for men who found themselves sexually attracted to the same sex (Laes 2003, 319). In the context of war, committing wartime rape against the enemy (male and female) is how a Roman soldier might further express and define his masculinity (Phang 2004).

Once a non-Roman is captured, they immediately enter the enslaved social status and become property. From the moment of capture to the moment of purchase on the auction block, the enslaved captive child is vulnerable to sexual exploitation and abuse. There is ample evidence for the market of enslaved children, especially young boys. Enslaved boys are equated with merchandise (Publius Papinius Statius *Silvae* 2.1.72-73 and 5.5.66-68), there were special markets for them in Rome and Capua (Plinius the Elder *Historia Naturalis* 32.135; Varro, in Nonius Marcellus *De compendiosa doctrina* 141.18), and there were even well-known slave dealers who prepared them to look sexually appealing on the auction block (*Historia Naturalis* 7.10 and 32.135; Laes 2010). What is unclear from this type of evidence is if these children were prisoners of war; the context in which they were captured is not provided. However, it is highly probable that male children captured during wartime and selected to be sold on the slave market in Italy would have likely passed through one of these markets.

The slave trade of Imperial Rome could be considered the most apparent form of trafficking, but this form cannot be fully understood without considering the role of sexual assault in its processes (Paolella 2022, 11; Bradley 1987; 1991; 2004). The reality of being a captured child included

rape and forced castration. Wartime rape against children has been routine in ancient Mediterranean conflicts since the Bronze Age (e.g. Gaca 2010, 147-156). Rape of women and children was a commonplace of war (Livius *Ab Urbe Condita* 21.57.14 – books 28-30, Harvard University Press, 1949), and commanders allowed soldiers to seize children to be raped (29.17.15-16). The act of wartime rape was the first step in the submission process. This sexual abuse also marked the first time the children would be sexually exploited by their conquerors. The rape of male children can act as an impetus for conflict. Tacitus (*Histories* 4.14 – Loeb Classical Library, 1925) provides an account of rape committed by Roman soldiers against Batavian boys during a military conscription ordered by Vitellius. Tacitus reports this, among other grievances held by Civilis, as reason to revolt against Roman occupation (for more on how Tacitus portrays Civilis and the revolt Master 2016, 40). The Batavian men unable to serve in the military were removed from the group. The old were separated from the young to be sold, and the young, beautiful boys were taken by the Roman soldiers and raped (*ad stuprum trahebantur*, *Histories* 4.14).

Whether Tacitus saw this as unlawful and corrupt is not of concern here. For our current purposes, this passage provides evidence of Roman soldiers' rape of young boys and the selection criteria, young and beautiful, for those singled out to be sexually assaulted. This criterion is also what attracts elite men to purchase and sexually abuse boys. A graffito at *Pompeii* reads, "if a boy has the fortune to be born beautiful, but does not offer his ass, let him be in love with a beautiful girl but not get to fuck her" (Varone 2001, 162). In the example of the Batavian boys, rape can be a part of examining male bodies during conscriptions, a way to take stock of what the Romans deemed property (van Broek 2018). Tacitus does not tell us what happened to the young Batavian boys after they were sexually assaulted. The market price for beautiful young boys was high (Polybius *Historiai* 31.25.3). Vitellius or another Roman commander could have capitalised on selling these boys. Unfortunately, for now, this remains conjecture. Castration was employed for specific reasons and could be done on the battlefield or at the hands of the slave dealer (Phang 2004; Joshel 2010, 40). It could attempt to delay the onset of puberty for the boys before taking them to the auction block; the buyers (male and female) preferred them to look young. For the female purchaser, castration could act as a natural contraception (Phang 2004). After Roman soldiers captured the children, they would be put on a cart or boat or made to walk with their families to transport them back to Rome or one of its provinces.

Transportation is a key aspect of the trafficking process. Transportation ensures the total separation of the children from everything they know. Should the children successfully escape, it prevents them from being able to find

their way back home. Most of these children would have never travelled as far as the Roman army would take them. Many children would be separated from their families to be sold separately. As isolation increased, they would not know how to find their way home; the Romans took them from their geographical and cultural home (Paolella 2020, 32). The children were stuck. Suetonius (*De vita Caesarum*, *Augustus* 21.2; Loeb Classical Library 31, 1914) notes that Augustus understood this as an essential aspect of trafficking captives: "On those who often rebelled or under circumstances of especial treachery he never inflicted any severer punishment than that of the selling the prisoners, with the condition that they should not pass their term of slavery in a country near their own."

Conquest iconography

Non-Roman children are under the threat of violence in Roman conquest imagery. In Trajan's Column (scene 90), a child grasps his father's tunic in fear as he is seemingly about to be trampled by Trajan's horse (Uzzi 2005, 94). Another scene on the Antonine Vatican Clemency Sarcophagus depicts a male child offered up to a Roman soldier by a captive woman. The soldier stands behind the child with his right arm extended out to accept the offering, and his left-hand grasps his sword, signalling an element of threat between the Roman and captured barbarians (Uzzi 2005, 102). These scenes of fearful children and Roman soldiers on alert "confirm the power structure to which non-Romans are subject and the threat of violence behind that power structure" (Uzzi 2005, 94). The threat of violence that underpins these images reflects how using this type of threat ensures total capture and submission of the enemy and what makes the first step in the trafficking process a success.

On the Column of Marcus Aurelius, some children grasp onto their mothers in fear of the Roman soldiers who are forcefully pushing the pair into a transport group (scenes 104-105); others are forcefully pulled away from their mothers (scenes 20, 104-105, and 106; Ferris 2008). The children are not depicted with gestures of wartime rape but are paired with their mothers, most of whom exhibit gestures that insinuate wartime rape and exposed erotic body parts (Uzzi 2015; Ferris 2009; Dillion 2006). Sexual violence, an unspoken truth behind these images, is also a lived threat towards these children; as discussed above, the lived experiences of captured and trafficked children would have been consumed by sexual exploitation and abuse.

The transportation of children is primarily evident in Trajan's Column, the Column of Marcus Aurelius, and the Antonine Battle Sarcophagi. In Trajan's Column, children with their mothers are ushered towards a transport boat (scene 30). In the Column of Marcus Aurelius, children and mothers are pushed together in a walking group (scenes 104-105 and 106) and sat on the back of a cart

(scene 100). A similar scene is on the left panel of the Antonine Vatican Clemency Sarcophagus, where a child is with his war-torn mother on the back of a cart. The captive women on the Column of Marcus Aurelius and the Antonine Vatican Clemency sarcophagus display gestures of insinuated wartime rape and sexualisation (bare breast, pulled tunic, bare shoulder, pulled and messy hair). The children who accompany these women serve as witnesses to their sexual assault. As mentioned above, wartime rape can be used as a weapon of war. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Antiquitates Romanae* 6.62.5 – volume 4 of Loeb Classical Library edition, 1940), when writing about the first session of the plebs, describes how rape was used in front of family members to shame the enemy and fracture their local community. In doing so, the rape brings about psychological violence to the bystanders who are forced to watch and unable to intervene; the desired result is to force the family and community to viscerally experience their helplessness and inability to protect their loved ones from the conqueror (Belser 2014, 16). Comparatively, in his work *A dying colonialism* (1976, 26), Fanon provides an excerpt from a report written by Christian Lilliestierna, a Swedish newspaper reporter, detailing her interviews at an Algerian refugee camp during the French colonisation of Algeria in 1948. Christian interviewed a detained Algerian child refugee who recalls his horrific experience:

“The next in the line was a boy of seven marked up by deep wounds made by steel wire with which he had been bound while French soldiers mistreated and killed his parents and his sisters. A lieutenant had forcefully kept the boy’s eyes open, so that he would see and remember this for a long time... This child was carried by his grandfather for five days and five nights before reaching the camp. The child said: ‘there is only one thing I want: to be able to cut a French soldier up into small pieces, tiny pieces!’”

The striking example of how this seven-year-old Algerian boy was forced to watch his family’s brutal rape and torture aligns with the scenes described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Antiquitates Romanae* 6.62.5). He calls this connection between family members a ‘natural tie’ at the end of the passage. Therefore, this natural tie can be exploited through the act of rape. This threat of wartime rape against children and the use of wartime rape to exploit the natural tie with their family members is expressed in the scenes that imply threats of violence and those that depict actual violence in Trajan’s Column and the Column of Marcus Aurelius.

There is a gender bias in the pictorial evidence. The material evidence is not from the perspective of the enslaved male and female children but from their male adult captors; the iconography was created by and for the male gaze (Kampen, 1996). Uzzi (2015) argues that the captive children on the Vatican Clemency Sarcophagus are displayed in a sexualised manner among other sexualised

non-Roman men. Uzzi (2015, 260) argues that during times of conflict, Roman authors reported that the Romans feared the sexual violation of their children, “providing reasonable evidence that Roman soldiers might likewise have considered enemy children objects of sexual desire.” Moreover, Uzzi (2015, 258) notes that the *erastes-eromenos* relationship is well-attested in literary sources and makes a solid ancient precedent that would support children as recipients of the erotic gaze. The artistic eroticisation of captive children reflects the process of sexual assault transforming into sexual exploitation once enslaved.

Conclusion

For the Romans, non-Roman captive children were a real prize of war and commodity because of Roman imperialism and conquest. From the moment of capture, they experienced and were under threat of sexual violence. Conquest iconography provides visual evidence of the trafficking of captive children through scenes of capture and transport. Suggested hints of sexualisation and eroticisation given to children in the art are evident through gestures like a short tunic that reveals the child’s bottom or messy hair, inviting the Roman viewer to participate in their vulnerability and sexual exploitation. There was an inextricable link between the conquered non-Roman and the Roman ability to penetrate the enemy physically and visually. Non-Roman children in conquest iconography, however subtle, reflect this. These children were first trafficked and experienced sexual assault and exploitation during this time before they were sold as sexual commodities, something we must all accept. When the literary and pictorial evidence is combined, they allow us to peer ever so slightly into the traffic in children during the Roman Imperial period – a reality these children were forced to endure.

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Onomastics, children and identity on Roman military diplomas

Alexander Meyer and Elizabeth M. Greene

Throughout much of the 20th-century scholars portrayed the Roman army as a powerful agent of Romanization. It was argued that service in the Roman *auxilia* led to large-scale integration, assimilation and, ultimately, enfranchisement of soldiers, veterans and their families (Davies 1974). This conceptualization has, however, been questioned increasingly in the first decades of the 21st century (Haynes 2013, 20-25, for review of debate). Recently Lavan (2019) examined the scope of the spread of citizenship brought about by service in the *auxilia*. Lavan calculated that .9-1.6 million people were granted citizenship as a result of military service in the Roman *auxilia* before the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, which granted citizenship to all free-born men in the Roman Empire in 212 AD. By contrast, previous estimates ranged from 3 to 6 million (Webster 1998, 285; Wolff 2007, 371; Valvo 2012, 545). This reassessment demands that we re-evaluate the effects of military service on peregrine populations. In essence, we are forced to question how many people were affected by service in the *auxilia* and how much that service affected them.

Military diplomas and onomastics

One way in which we might do this is by looking at military diplomas, as Lavan did, but by focussing not on the numbers of children listed on them, but on the children's names. The appearance of children on diplomas was a legal and practical matter. They were entitled to the benefits that came with the Roman citizenship bestowed upon them by dint of their fathers' service and there was good practical reason to avail oneself of those rights and privileges. By contrast, the names given to these children may be more indicative of their cultural proclivities. Although names are not comprehensive indicators of cultural associations, they can serve as proxy for assumption of new cultural practices. They are suggestive of cultural loyalties as well as aspirations.

Scholars have recognized the importance of onomastics as a reflection of identity and, by extension, Romanization for decades (e.g. Salway 1994; Mullen 2007; Dana 2011). They contend that the adoption of Roman names by non-Roman individuals reflect varying degrees of Romanization. Mullen argued, for example, that the adoption of 'colourless cognomina', a phrase with which she was understandably uncomfortable, indicated a 'low level of Romanization', while the assumption of the names of emperors, patrons and famous figures "suggests contact with Roman administrative and military environments and a relatively advanced level of Romanization" (Mullen 2007, 51 and 54). The basic tenet of this line of thinking is intuitive and it can be applied fruitfully in a number of

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circumstances. The Roman military in particular provides a context in which non-Romans came into close contact with Romans and one of their defining institutions.

We should recognize, however, that names are significant cultural markers of those naming another more than the named, and any argument based on onomastics relies on certain assumptions. This paper relies fundamentally on the assumption that soldiers and the mothers of their children, whether *de facto* spouses or less committed partners (Dana 2014; Greene 2015; Juntunen 2018), chose names for their children. Thereby, children's names are cultural or aspirational markers for their parents and family. From this we may argue that 'Roman' names suggest that the individuals' parents hoped that their children would be accepted in Roman society in some form or another. Whether this hope was aspirational, a result of reluctant acceptance, or *Realpolitik*, we cannot know. Conversely, 'native' names suggest a desire to maintain traditional local, tribal, or regional identities. Within these formulations, the children's own affinities toward their cultural identity is unknowable. There is a great deal of evidence for adults changing their names, especially freed people, and new citizens (among them many soldiers), but we have to assume that the children named on diplomas retained the names given to them by their parents.

Attempts to glean information about cultural influences based on onomastic practices are also subject to the theoretical and methodological problems associated with categorizing names. There are certainly some names that are clearly Roman. On diplomas we find traditional Roman names like Aurelius, Gaius, Julius, Lucius, Marcus and Secundus. There are also some names that we can associate closely with non-Roman, local, or native populations. These include names like Arsama, Densatralis, Dizala, Munno, Solorigus and Tarpalaris. There are, however, also names that do not fall easily into these categories. Some names, for example, are simply Latin words, like Vernus and Torquatus. Others are localized and only common in specific areas that had sometimes long been incorporated into the Empire, such as the Iberian Peninsula, Southern Gaul and *Africa Proconsularis*. One might think here of the name Norbanus which refers to *Norba* in *Lusitania*. Greek names also pose a particular problem. They may indicate origins in the Greek East or servile backgrounds, or they may reflect the level of education or life experiences of a parent (Julia Kopf this volume). These problems demand further nuanced and reflective examination of naming practices in auxiliary communities but are beyond the current scope of this contribution.

Rather, this paper will examine the clearest cases in which the names of newly enfranchised auxiliary soldiers' children recorded on military diplomas can be separated easily between traditional Roman and peregrine or

non-Roman categories. This is a particularly interesting corpus to interrogate because these children were born while their fathers, who were usually not citizens, served in the *auxilia*. Their names, therefore, may betray their parents' attitudes toward the Roman Empire and their home communities during the period when they were assimilated into the Empire. The data used in this study come necessarily from diplomas dating from 52 AD to about 140 AD. During this period children of recipients received citizenship along with their fathers. After 140, however, children no longer received citizenship as part of grants to veterans and their names are no longer recorded on diplomas (Roxan 1986; Eck & Weiss 2001; Waebens 2012a; 2012b).

The data set applicable to this study comprises 93 diplomas published before 2015. The children's names on 50 of these diplomas are all entirely Roman, although the origins of their parents' names vary. There are 27 examples of parents with Roman names whose children also have all Roman names. For example, CIL XVI.78 of 134 AD was awarded to a soldier from Stobi in *Macedonia* and names his children Lucius, Valerius, Petronius, Valens, Lucia and Annia. This proclivity for Roman names is hardly surprising in this case because the soldier himself was named Lucius Sextilius Pudens. One could hardly find a more traditional Roman name. It is important to note, however, that this was not the soldier's original name. Since he received a diploma and with it a grant of citizenship, we can assume that he was not born a citizen and that he did not carry the *tria nomina* until he was granted citizenship. Upon and even before his enfranchisement he seems to have been an eager adopter of Roman onomastic practices and possibly culture.

Similarly, there are 12 cases in which parents with non-Roman names gave all their children Roman names. The diploma of a Bessan soldier named Ciagitsa, son of Sita, is typical of this group. Ciagitsa named his children Valens, Valerius and Sabinus. There are also 11 instances of parents with mixed names who also gave their children Roman names. In all these cases we may suppose a certain level of acceptance of Roman social, or at least onomastic norms. If nothing else, the use of common Roman names would later fit well into the system of *tria nomina* that immediately identified Roman citizens and conveyed social and legal status.

The diploma awarded to Nertomarus in 114 AD (CIL XVI.61) provides an intriguing example of these types of diplomas, while also highlighting the complexities of categorizing names as either Roman or non-Roman. The relevant portion of this diploma reads:

ALAE FRONTON(ianae) CUI PRAEFUIT
L(ucius) CALPURNIUS HONORATUS
EX GRE<g>ALE

NERTOMARO IRDUCISSAE F(ilio) BOIO
 ET CUSTAE MAGNI FIL(iae) UX(ori) EIUS AQUIN(co)
 ET VICTORI F(ilio) EIUS ET P[rop]INQUO F(ilio) EIUS
 ET BEL[lae fi]L(iae) EIUS

The recipient of this diploma, Nertomarus, the son of Irducissa was a member of the *Boii* tribe. His name is clearly non-Roman and other appearances of the name are concentrated on the Danube and Rhine frontiers. Nertomarus' wife, however, has a more ambiguous name. Custa is not common but appears in Italy as well as in the provinces. Likewise, her father's name is Latin, but not so much a proper name as a repurposed common adjective, Magnus. The names of Nertomarus' sons are, however, Roman. Victor and Propinquus appear throughout the Empire. Indeed, Propinquus was the name of consuls in Rome in 120 and 126 AD. Bella is an interesting case for the same reason Magnus is. It is neither a native name nor a common Roman name. It is a common Latin adjective used as a name. The use of Latin words for names demonstrates some adoption of Latin language and integration into 'Roman' cultural practices but does not eradicate all traces of otherness.

In addition to the 50 cases in which all children received Roman names there are 43 remaining diplomas on which children with non-Roman names are listed. These 43 diplomas fall into three distinct categories: (a) 20 on which all the children listed have non-Roman 'native' names; (b) 15 with mixed Roman and non-Roman names in one or both genders; (c) eight on which the sons carry Roman/Latin names, while the daughters have non-Roman 'native' names.

All these diplomas and the names of the children on them demonstrate a certain reluctance to abandon the naming practices of the home communities of soldiers or of the mothers of their children, whom we might characterize as *de facto* wives prior to the grants of *conubium* that were contained on military diplomas. It is especially striking that there are no instances in which all boys bear traditional names, while girls had Roman or Latinized names. As a means for gauging cultural affiliations the first of these categories (a) is most interesting when the names of parents and children are compared. There are preserved on these diplomas the names of 25 parents, 16 of which are non-Roman. Furthermore, ten fathers on these diplomas have non-Roman names and eight have Roman names, while six of seven mothers identified on the document have non-Roman names. While this demonstrates a possible tendency toward conservatism among holders of non-Roman names, it also indicates that parents' names are strong predictors of children's names. Some parents with Roman names (at least at the time their diploma was issued) chose to preserve non-Roman names among their children.

The second possibility in this list (b) further demonstrates that the selection of Roman and non-Roman names for children was not a true binary. Some parents gave their children both Roman and non-Roman names. It seems that they occupied a middle ground between exclusive associations with their homelands and with the Roman world. Perhaps this is most strongly demonstrated by RMD IV.307, a very late diploma (221 AD), in which each of five children were given both a Roman and a native name (e.g. Aurelius Barsadda) by parents from *Doliche* (Dülük) in Syria. In this case the *nomina* Aurelius and Julius confirm the citizen status of the children, while their *cognomina* preserve an affinity with their parents' home community.

Perhaps the most striking evidence here is category (c), in which non-Roman names are associated with female children in a family in which all the sons bear entirely Roman names. It is especially noteworthy that there are no instances in which all the boys of a family bear non-Roman names, while girls had Roman or Latinized names. This practice seems to contribute to a broader phenomenon in which women are positioned as maintainers of conservative, native traditions, while men are more readily assimilated into Roman Imperial practices. There are eight diplomas in category (c) that make this phenomenon most visible. We might take, for example a diploma from 99 AD (AÉ 2006, 1862; Eck & Pangerl 2007, no. 2, 97-99):

ALAE I FLAVIAE GAETULORUM CUI PRAE(e)ST
 Q(uintus) PLANIUS SARDUS C(ai) F(ilius) PUP(inia)
 TRUTTEDIUS PIUS
 GREGALI DOLAZENO MUCACENTHI F(ilio) BESS[o]
 ET DENEUSI ESIAETRALIS FILIAE UXORI EIUS [B]ESS(ae)
 ET FLAVO F(ilio) EIUS
 ET NENE FIL(iae) EIUS
 ET BENZI FIL(iae) EIUS

This diploma was awarded to Dolazenus, the son of Mucacanthus in *Moesia inferior*. Dolazenus was a member of the *Bessi*, who occupied the area around *Philippopolis* in Thrace. His wife Deneusis, daughter of Esiaetralis, is also named, along with their son, Flavius, and their daughters Nene and Benzis. The name Flavius is clearly a slight variation of the very Latin 'Flavius' but in this form is found most often in *Hispania*, occurring at least 35 times, compared to a few times in Italy and 13 times in a smattering of other western provinces (OPEL 1999, 147-148). However, the daughters' names, Nene and Benzis, clearly follow a traditional, non-Roman naming practice (Dana 2011, 84). Nene is a rare name which appears only on a pair of funerary inscriptions from *Moesia inferior* (CIL III.7457; AÉ 1991, 1385), and one from Rome naming an Antiochene Nene. Benza is unique and may be compared to just one example of Benzis which appears on a diploma awarded to a Dalmatian soldier

who used this cognomen (RMD III.142). Diplomas of type (c) highlight what seems to be gendered naming practices. Daughters on military diplomas received non-Roman names more often than sons did. While this may have legal or practical underpinnings, it also fits into a pattern of female preservation of native practices that we can see elsewhere. If we accept the idea that names are proxies for cultural aspirations and allegiances, we can then see that daughters, and women in general, seem to have served as repositories for traditional habits and virtues, while boys' names were used to signal participation in Roman culture, perhaps for legal or practical purposes related to wealth and status. This phenomenon is not unique to military diplomas or to onomastic practices.

Evidence of conservatism for women and girls

Similar gender roles are visible in depictions of women on tombstones from the German provinces on the middle Rhine. Burial monuments sometimes exhibit women in traditional dress while the men moved toward Roman or regional clothing styles, perhaps symbolic of their participation in public life (Rothe 2009, 2012). Carroll (2015, 161-162) argued that these depictions of men in Roman attire and women in local dress stressed "the role of the wife and mother as the preserver of the ancestral customs of the family and tribe that were associated with female dress" and that they played important roles as "transmitters of traditional values, ideals, and identities expressed through clothing and bodily adornment." This disparity in dress and therefore social function is visible, for example, on a mid-1st-century *stela* from Slezen, Germany (CSIR Deutschland II.6, No. 3), on which a man in the center wears a 'Roman' tunic and *pallium*, while a woman on the right wears local dress (Rothe 2012, 157). This is the so-called 'Menimane's ensemble' with a disc pendant, bodice, overtunic with *fibulae* and *palla* (Rothe 2009, 155-156). Meanwhile the girl on the left wears a pendant, tunic and *palla*.

In her research on dress in the northern provinces, Rothe asserts (2009, 69) that it is common in many societies, both ancient and modern, for a "tendency to conservatism" as she calls it, to take place among the women of societies in cultural flux. Women are also expected to express the physical manifestation of modesty or chastity, or similar social ideals, and this is achieved publicly through dress. But perhaps more applicable here, women are also often considered to be the "guardians of ethnicity" (Rothe 2009, 70; 2012, 240). In a globalized world in which the options for personal adornment are many, and one in which traditional cultural habits may be slipping away, women become the embodiment of tradition. As Rothe describes it (2009, 70) they "serve as an important means of cultural reproduction".

Cultural flux describes perfectly the situation in which many auxiliary families must have found themselves when thrust into the diverse communities of the Roman army, even if stationed in their home provinces. It is possible that the decision to name children of a military family in traditional ways was motivated by a desire to uphold tradition and create cultural continuity within the family when such things were at risk. Elsewhere in the material record trends of conservatism or tradition are upheld in the domestic sphere, that is the private world of the home that is often considered a female domain. The preservation of onomastic practices amongst girls can be compared to the persistence of ceramic types (Van Driel-Murray 2009; Crizbasan & Geerts this volume). Okun (1989, 136) observed that on the Upper Rhine frontier, kitchen implements – ceramics and tools for food preparation that are typically considered the female sphere of the house – were more often native types. Meanwhile the table settings, which were the public face of the home when guests were present, were imported. She concludes that "assimilation only occurs among those segments of society which will profit from adopting new cultural processes". We might compare this to the diploma evidence in which boys received Roman names that would allow them to enter public life in the Roman Empire more easily, while girls were the ones to protect tradition and replicate their native culture.

In other times and places, though much less often, there is evidence that women adopted Roman dress, while men wore the traditional garb that represented power and status in that particular local context. This is prominent among the *Treveri* in the Moselle region, on whose burial stones we find the Gallic ensemble worn by men and sometimes also boys, while the women adopted Roman female dress (Rothe 2009, 69-72). In this example it appears that the evidence is most representative of elite individuals and suggests, therefore, that women donning Roman dress may fall under another role held by them – those who embody and publicly advertise the wealth of the man (Rothe 2009, 72). Families with aspirations to join the Roman elite needed to showcase both the requisite wealth and their willingness to conform to social norms. This could be done publicly on funerary monuments by depicting women and children in elite Roman dress. Indeed, the very acts of erecting stone monuments, including reliefs and displaying inscriptions in Latin, were themselves assumptions of Roman practices and the display of family members in Roman dress could highlight the 'Roman-ness' of the family.

This same message could also be communicated in a more ephemeral manner through onomastic practices. There is, however, only one example in the available corpus in which the boys of the family seem to carry names that are all more traditional or unusual than

the girls, but this example is not by any means straight forward. In diploma RMD IV.225, the female children are named Tertulla and Quinta. The latter indicates in Latin that she was the fifth child born into the family, while Tertulla is a perfectly good Roman name found throughout Italy and the European provinces. The boys, however, project a different public face. Two sons are named Dizala and Torcus, which Roxan and Holder (2003, 442) suggest are Thracian names (Detschew 1957, 133 and 513) and credit to the Thracian identity of at least one of the parents (Dana 2011, 58). Torcus is only known from this document and Dizala is rarely found in the Empire. The third son, however, is named Torquatus, which is not common but is a localized name in eastern *Macedonia* (written in Greek: Dana 2011, 74-75). It is quite uncommon as a Roman name but may indeed harken back to a Roman Republican military hero with this epithet. Alternatively, the name may indicate a general recognition of merit or bravery (of the father?) and would then fall into the category in which names are simply Latin words, much like the sister Quinta in this example. The name is quite rare in the rest of the Empire, found in only a few instances in *Noricum*, *Dacia*, *Hispania* and *Narbonensis* (OPEL 2002, 127). Therefore, we might see the addition of the son Torquatus as a localized tradition, or simply along the same lines as the girls named Tertulla and Quinta, with a generic Roman or Latinized ring, but holding little or obscured further meaning. Therefore, like the ‘Gallic ensemble’ worn by men in the Treveran region, some of the boys of this family upheld tradition, while the girls were shown to assimilate. Unfortunately, the document is incomplete. The personal information of the wife is missing, but the name of the soldier is somewhat unexpected. Tiberius Claudius, the husband and father, is probably a citizen but at least two of his sons carry traditional names.

Conclusion

Examples like this one provide valuable checks on generalizations we might make about naming practices on military diplomas, but also about shifting cultural practices broadly. It is important to note that any cultural assimilation that took place was not always linear or inevitable. In fact, nearly half the parents recorded on military diplomas chose to give some or all their children non-Roman names. Their motivations for doing so are impossible to know with certainty, but they may have included honoring family members, important individuals like commanders, patrons, or historical, mythological, religious and even literary figures (e.g. Achilles on RGZM 22; Dana 2004/2005; Dana 2011, 85). The example of RGZM 22 from 123 AD records a Syrian soldier with a Bessan (*Thracia/Moesia inferior*) wife, who name boys Arsama, Abisalma, Sabinus, Zabaeus and Achilleus, and a daughter Sabina. This example is clearly complex and

deserves more attention than can be given here (see Dana 2004/2005 for full discussion). Parents may also have hoped to put their children in socially or politically advantageous positions within their local communities or in expectation of returning to their homeland.

The variation in naming practices on diplomas also reminds us that social and cultural change occurred unevenly. Daughters were about 50 % more likely to receive non-Roman names than sons were. Sons were also named twice as often as daughters on diplomas. This may be because daughters had already left the household when their fathers received their diplomas, but it may also have been perceived that female status vis-à-vis citizenship was less important than male status. The evidence presented here suggests that the names of auxiliary soldiers’ daughters were sometimes used to preserve ethnic ties, which is confirmed by other evidence from the archaeological record. However, there are more questions to ask of this evidence including: Were many more daughters present in military communities than are named on diplomas? If so, why are they not named? What was the status of soldiers’ children? Is there a geographical component to veteran onomastic practices? These questions will, however, have to wait for a longer treatment of this material.

Abbreviations

AÉ: *L'Année Épigraphique*

CIL: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

CSIR: *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani*

OPEL: Lőrincz 1999-2005

RMD: *Roman Military Diplomas*

RGZM: Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz

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PART 4

**EVERYDAY LIFE IN THE
VICINITY OF THE FORTS**

Introduction to the session 'The military *vici*. Everyday life in the vicinity of the forts'

Julia P. Chorus and Monica K. Dütting

In the frontier zone of the Lower Rhine region in the Netherlands forts and watchtowers were constructed on the left bank of the Rhine, starting in the 40's AD (fig. 1). Extramural settlements, as we know, the so-called *vici*, are associated with the forts in the immediate vicinity. The knowledge of military *vici* in the Netherlands is highly fragmented. Attention has usually been focused on the forts and the military, and less on the (semi-)civilian settlements next to them. Many, often small excavations were carried out by the former State Service for Archaeological Research (the ROB) and by non-professionals. These excavations were often not or just superficially published, resulting in a backlog of our knowledge on the military *vici*. This applies to both the structures and the finds, and their dating. One assumption resulting from this has been that military *vici* in the Netherlands only emerged after the Batavian Revolt of AD 70, while most forts were founded in the 40's AD.

Research and public-outreach project 'The Roman vicus on the Rhine'

To bridge this knowledge gap, the research project 'The Roman vicus on the Rhine' has been started by the authors in 2016. Together with several specialists we re-examine, reinterpret, elaborate, combine and publish data from old excavations and more recent research on the military *vici* in the Netherlands. Besides project management, research on structures of the *vici* and forts is undertaken by Julia Chorus, while research on food, fishing, and modelling is done by Monica Dütting. Metal and glass finds are studied by Stefanie Hoss, whereas Julie Van Kerckhove, Ester van der Linden and Carlijn van Maaren research the ceramics. Guus Gazenbeek studies ceramic and stone building material and stone, and Silke Lange the construction wood, woodworking techniques as well as wooden objects.

The research group studies the rise, function and development of the military *vici* in relation to the forts in the northwestern frontier zone of the Roman Empire. The emphasis is on the Dutch part of the limes. At the moment research is carried out on the *vici* (fig. 1) of *Albaniana* (Alphen aan den Rijn), *Nigrum Pullum* (Zwammerdam) and *Matilo* (Leiden-Roomburg). The ambition is to study all *vici* along the Rhine and also compare these with extra-mural settlements abroad.

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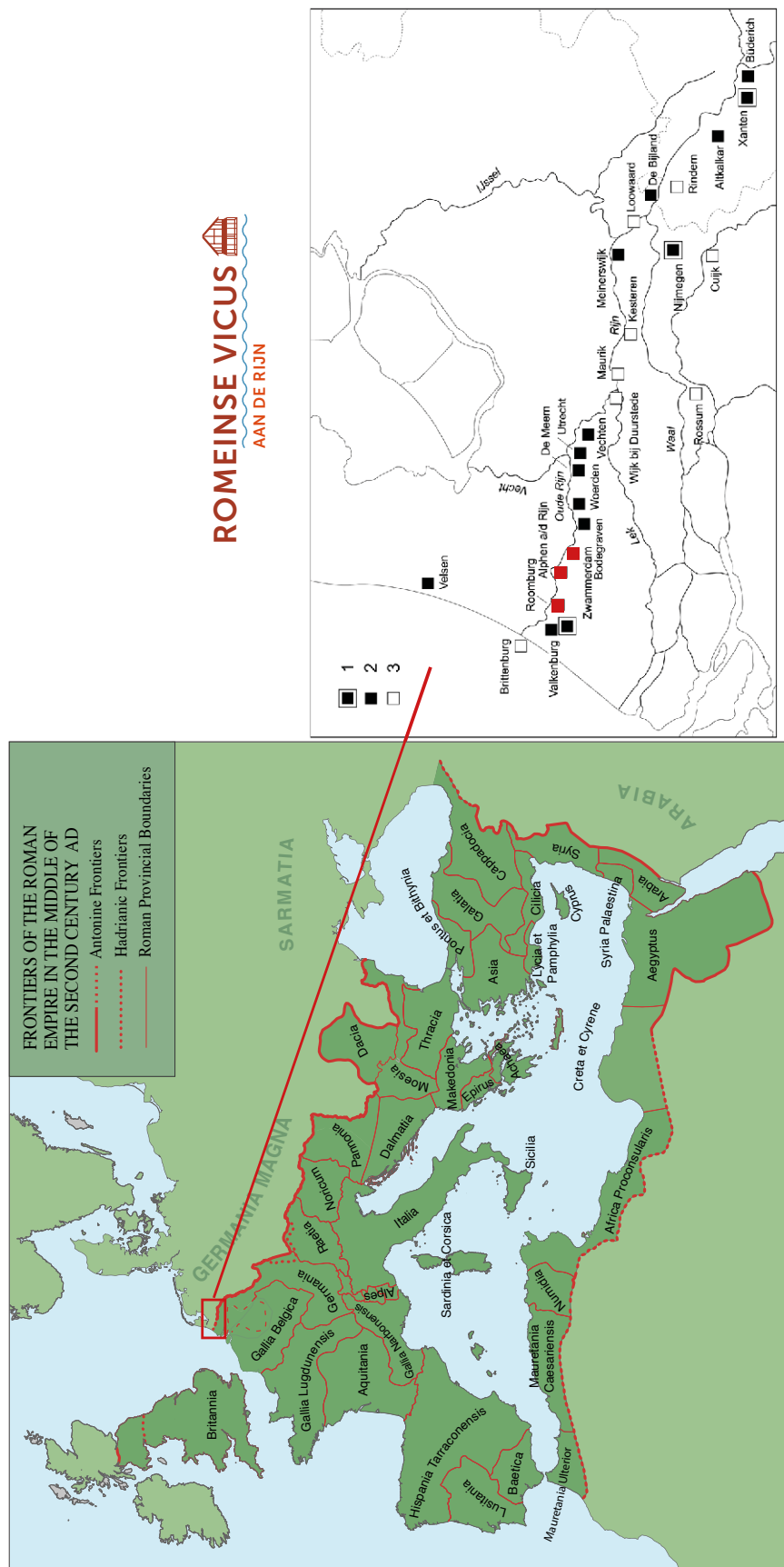


Figure 1. Sites in the research and public outreach project 'Roman vicus on the Rhine' (Romeinse vicus aan de Rijn) in The Lower Rhine area in the 1st century AD situated in the Roman Imperium. 1. Fortress 2. Auxiliary fort 3. Probable auxiliary fort (Frontiers of the Roman Empire Culture 2000 project (2005-2008); Polak 2009, fig. 1, adapted by Chorus).



Figure 3. Public outreach by inviting school classes to the 'Roman vicus on the Rhine' project, joining research in the town hall of Alphen aan den Rijn, right on top of the *vicus* (Romeinse vicus aan de Rijn).

general assumption for the early Dutch forts is that there are no associated military *vici* until c. AD 70. If so, the early forts must have been supplied centrally, at least partially, with food and military equipment, but also utensils such as pottery, wooden and bone objects, and glass. When the *vicus* takes over this supply role, what does this imply for its lay-out? Which facilities were present and what developments can be observed? Do these settlements differ from or align with the forts? Is there a specific lay-out of the *vicus* in combination with functions carried out? When we compare the *vici* on the Rhine, are there differences to be found or did the same activities take place in all *vici*?

How were the facilities arranged at the time when there was only a fort, without a *vicus*? Were they organised within the walls of the fort? If so, there should be indications for this in the inner buildings and find complexes of the forts, such as workshops, production waste and semi-finished products. Are changes in military occupation of forts reflected in the *vici*? If the fort and its *vicus* were not (entirely) contemporaneous: what does

this imply for the function and role of the *vicus*? What was the role of the *vicus* in relation to rural settlements?

The third theme concerns the inhabitants of the military *vici*. Who were the builders and residents of the *vicus*: soldiers or civilians, or both? Structural and finds evidence from the fort and the *vicus* can tell us more about military and civilian characteristics. What clues can archaeological finds and building constructions give us on the gender, age, identity and ethnicity of the residents? Can we find indications for a multi-cultural population in the *vici* in the Rhine delta during the first centuries of our era?

Concerning building constructions, as have been discussed during earlier Limes Congresses (Chorus 2017), there must be a direct relation between the forts, the recruitment areas of the soldiers and builders and their building traditions. Are these building traditions also reflected in the *vicus*? Do the finds show interactions between the inhabitants of the fort and the *vicus* (and between the *vicus* and the rural settlements)? Can changes be observed through time? By combining the data from the various *vici* and comparing them with those from the

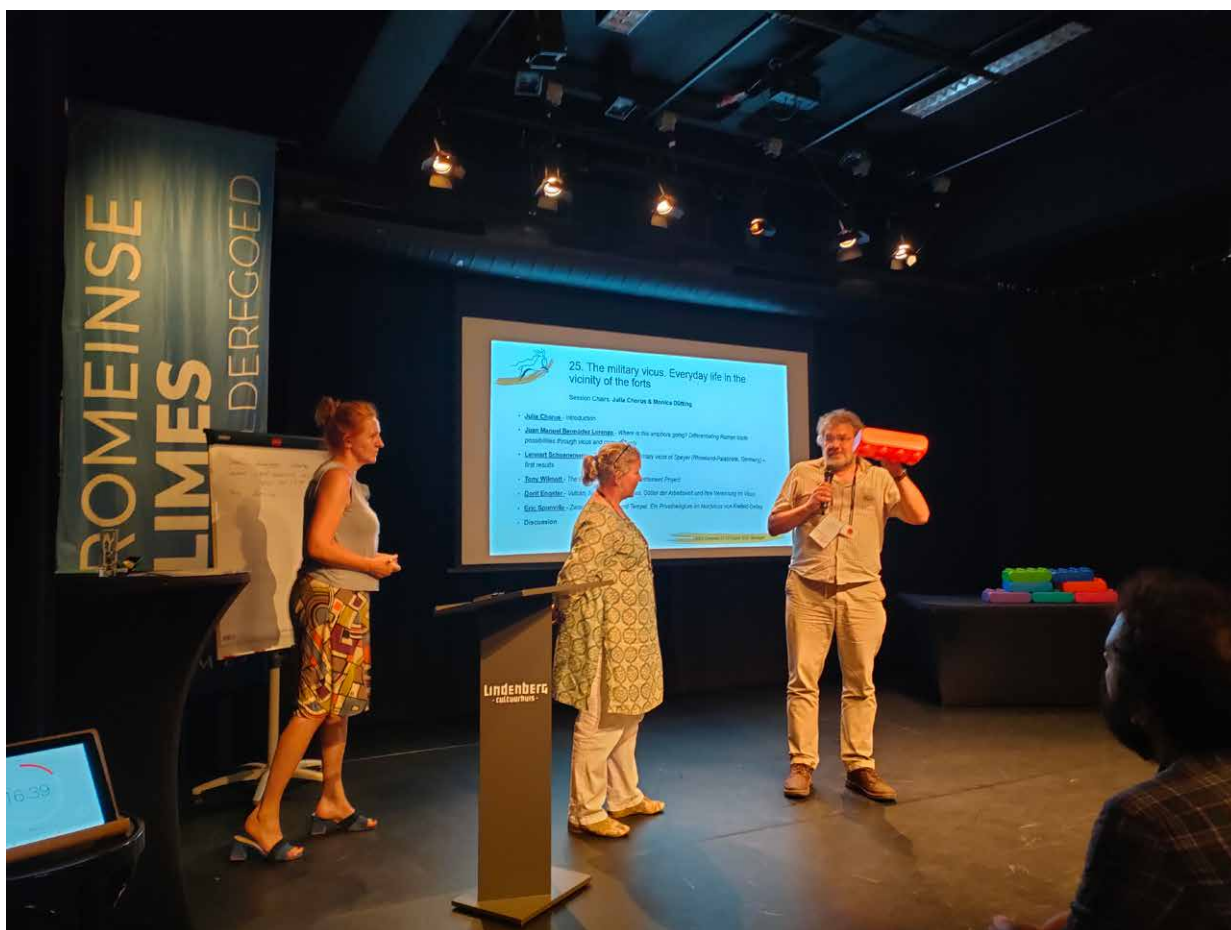


Figure 4. Military vicus session during the Limes Congress, with participants adding a building block to the 'Lego vicus wall of knowledge' (O. Láng).

forts, a substantiated insight can be obtained for the first time about the origin, location, dating, nature and function of these extramural settlements.

Session and Lego building blocks

The researchers presenting in the session on 'The military vicus. Everyday life in the vicinity of the forts' had been asked to address one or more of the above mentioned themes. The participants were asked to conclude their presentation by contributing a 'building block'. In what way did their research contribute to the theme, what specific knowledge was gained in order to answer one or more of the research questions, how could their study enhance our knowledge of the military vicus? During the

session these contributions were noted and visualised by colourful Lego blocks. These building blocks helped us to start the discussion with our fellow Roman-era researchers who attended the session. They too added to the knowledge by coming forward with suggestions and data, and by literally adding their building blocks to a varied and colourful 'Lego vicus wall of knowledge' (fig. 4). The session showed the possibilities for finding clues to daily life, lay-out, provisioning, religion and craftsmen in the *vici* from various, and sometimes surprising, sources, both archaeological and historical. It has become clear that value for future research of the military *vici* lies in the combination of these information sources, as well as in discussion with a broader audience of scholars.

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In the hinterland of the Roman fortress at *Novae*

A new contribution to the rural settlement pattern in *Moesia inferior*

Petya A. Andreeva

The excavations of the fortress at *Novae* (Svishtov) have been going on for more than 60 years, but the immediate hinterland has not been systematically explored over the years. A significant contribution to the archaeological map of the area between the towns of Svishtov and Ruse was made by a German-Bulgarian expedition conducting field-walking surveys along the Lower Danube with a length of about 50 km and a width up to 30 km south of the river (Conrad 2006). Rescue excavations have been irregularly carried out on a very small and partial scale. Recent non-destructive investigations have also enriched the archaeological data on the *canabae* and the *vicus* at *Novae* (Tomas 2014; 2015a; 2015b).

In the autumn of 2017, field-walking survey up to 50 km south of Svishtov took place in connection with a forthcoming construction project (Andreeva *et al.* 2018). Site no. 6, the subject of this paper, was recorded in the Irima locality, situated 6,5 km southwest of the village of Kozlovets and c. 20 km south of *Novae*. The high concentration of archaeological material, including pottery sherds dated to the 2nd-3rd century AD and scattered foundation stone blocks, gave grounds for conducting rescue excavations at the site. They were subsequently carried out in 2018 and 2019,¹ covering a 635 m long area in the north-south direction with an easement width of 20 m (fig. 1) (Andreeva & Pulchev 2019; Andreeva & Atanasov 2020a; 2020b).²

The aim of the paper is to present some of the conclusions based on the gathered archaeological information from the site (the rescue excavations in the Irima locality will be fully published in due course), which contribute to providing a clearer picture of the settlement pattern in the hinterland of the fortress at *Novae*. The excavations confirmed the geomagnetic and electrical resistivity data for six buildings in the north-south direction, with only one falling entirely within the 20 m wide easement. A further geomagnetic survey showed the rest of the ruins lying east of the research area.

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- 1 The field-walking survey and the subsequent excavations at the archaeological site were carried out under a contract with the National Archaeological Institute with Museum at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.
- 2 The coordinates of the excavated area are as follows: P1 N 43°28'11.3085", E 25°18'02.1895"; P2 N 43°28'11.5325", E 25°18'01.3383"; P3 N 43°28'31.5602", E 25°18'05.8695"; P4 N 43°28'31.5459", E 25°18'06.7682".

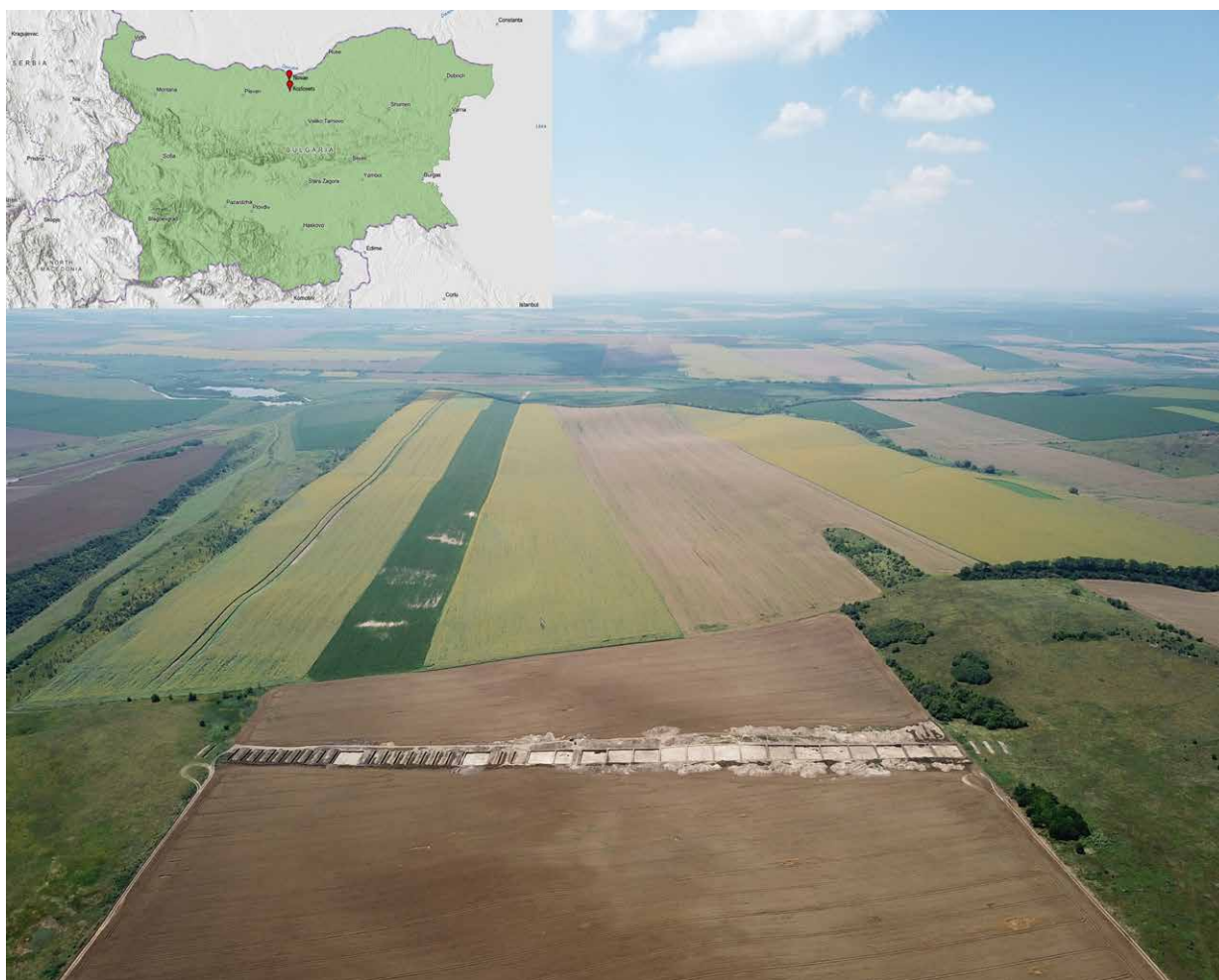


Figure 1. Aerial view from the east of the research area and a map showing the location of the site.

The buildings were mainly recorded by their fallen roofs, although only small sections of stone foundations with mud joints were unearthed in a few places. Numerous locks, keys, nails, and staples were found *in situ* between the roof tiles. Most of the pits documented between the buildings had pottery sherds and animal bones as fill material, while others did not contain archaeological material at all. The chronological range of the coins falls within the period between Nero and Maximinus Thrax, with the largest group dated to the emperors of the Severan dynasty.

The agricultural character of the site is indicated by the prevalence of cooking pottery sherds found within the buildings and in the pits between them, as well as by the small tools, including an iron drawknife used in woodworking (Humphreys 2021, 55, fig. 4.8 and 339). In addition to bowls, jugs and pots dated to the second half of the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, complete and fragmented strainers, commonly interpreted as cheese-strainers, were discovered (Jones 1974, 93, fig. 34; Small & Small 2022,

531). The lamps in different states of preservation belong typologically to the 3rd century AD. The analysis of animal osteological material revealed a predominance of bones from domestic animals, including dogs, sheep, goats, cattle, horses, and pigs.

Roof tiles

It is noteworthy that all the roofs of the buildings consisted of tiles of the so-called 'Laconian' type. The pantiles are slightly concave, but subtle variations in the shape of the profile sections could be noticed, some of them being flat-centered and the others more definitely curved. They have slightly thickened long sides with flanges protruding outwards or inwards, and straight and smooth short sides. They are very well baked. A slight variation in the flange shapes might be attributed to the manufacturing process, even in one workshop (Hamari 2017, 45). Although high fragmentation of the tile assemblage, some partly preserved pieces allowed establishing their original dimensions of 73 by 35 cm. The minimum thickness is 2 cm and the

maximum is 3,0-3,5 cm at the edge. The convex roof tiles with parallel grooves along the body are 16 cm in width and 2 cm in thickness. The width of the grooves varied from 1,5 to 2 cm. Their length should be the same as the length of the pantiles (Mills 2013, 32). It could be argued that the tiles are contemporaneous with each other due to the uniform archaeological context and no traces of repair.

The lack of precise typology of the 'Laconian' type roof tiles makes them an unreliable dating material (Hamari 2017, 40). Their shape represents a broad chronological scope from the Hellenistic to the Late Roman period. In *Novae*, the 'Laconian' type of the tiled roofs has been documented from the late 3rd century AD onwards (Sarnowski 1985, 23). It has been argued that their assumed production in small brickyards by people with limited material means resulted in their simplified shape (Mitova-Dzhonova 1966, 44). However, an important observation states that *Novae* represents one of the examples of the Sicilian style of roofing adopted in the fortress, albeit situated in an area where locals traditionally used the 'Laconian' style (Mills 2013, 4).

The only stamp from the research area was encountered among the fragments of the roof tiles of the southernmost building. It is well preserved, and the abbreviation C ATON MA is clearly visible, with AT and MA in ligature. The stamp is type XXV/4 after Sarnowski (1985, 41) and type XXV-4/a after Matushevskaya (2006, 61). It is commonly assumed that the tile refers to production in a private brickyard. Two readings of the stamp have been suggested: *C(ai) Anton(i) mag(istri)* or *C(ai) Anton(i) Mag(ni?)* (for a summary on dating Tomas 2016, 190). As compared to the stamps of *legio I Italica*, no study so far has investigated the absolute chronology of the private stamps with higher accuracy. Its discovery in an archaeological context is therefore a valuable contribution to the conclusions concerning the chronological scope of activity in the brickyard of Gaius Antonius. To date, his stamps have been documented in *Novae* (Sarnowski 1985, 49; Ivanov 2002, 97 and 121, fig. 87), the Ostrite mogili locality east of *Novae* (Ivanov 2008, 425, 427, fig. 1), a necropolis east of *Novae* (Valov 1965, 27), and *Dimum* (Belene). Two stamps are preserved in the collection of the National Archaeological Museum in Sofia (inv. nos 2249a-b), lacking detailed information about their find spot and find circumstances. Different dating is suggested for the stamps found so far, ranging from the late 1st to the mid-4th century AD. The stamp from the site in the Irima locality was found under the roof tiles together with coins of emperor Caracalla and emperor Maximinus Thrax, and unreadable worn-out coins generally dated to the 2nd-3rd century AD.

The hypothesis that the private brickyard of Gaius Antonius was situated in either *Dimum* or *Novae* has not yet been confirmed by relevant archaeological evidence. The kilns east of *Novae* (Valov 1966, 48 and 50; Mitova-



Figure 2. Silver ring with an engraved intaglio of an eagle holding *corona civica* in its beak.

Dzhonova 1966, 44) provide no certain data to attribute to the building ceramics production of Gaius Antonius. His stamp found in *Dimum* was used as evidence for the presence of the members of the Antonii family being *conductores publici portorii Ilyrici*, either alone or together with the members of the Iulii family (Gerov 1980, 122-123 and 129). It surely can be argued, though, that consumers of the building ceramics production of Gaius Antonius' brickyard were also found in the hinterland of *Novae*. The interpretation of the site was strongly driven by the artefacts with definite military connotations.

Silver ring with intaglio

A massive silver ring inset with an intaglio made of carnelian was found in one of the buildings (fig. 2). The ring shape belongs to type II/variant 3, dated to the 3rd century AD (Ruseva-Slokoska 1991, cat. nos 246-249). An image of an eagle to the left with its wings folded, seated on a baseline, and holding *corona civica* in its beak is engraved on the intaglio. Representations of an eagle with an oak wreath belonged to universal and unifying symbols of the Roman Imperial power, and the eagle set in a definitive military context between legionary standards was frequently depicted on gems and coins. It is not surprising to encounter intaglios with this scene amongst finds from military fortresses, and *Novae* is no exception in this regard (Bąkowska-Czerner 2017, 19). Gemstones showing the eagle with *corona civica*, with or without legionary standards, were also found in Thrace and Lower Moesia (Dimitrova-Milcheva 1980, 14, nos 197, 200-203, 205-207, 209, 211). It is interesting to note that the same type of ring inset with an intaglio depicting a lion was documented in the interior of Lower Moesia (Ruseva-Slokoska 1991, cat. no. 247), indicating the popularity of another image as an expression of Roman military might and a political symbol of the Imperial power (Dimitrova-Milcheva 1980, 14, nos 187-196).

It is commonly agreed that this type of ring belonged to individuals connected to the Roman victory propaganda.



Figure 3. Bronze statuette of Jupiter.

Consequently, there is a strong argument in favor that such rings were in possession of legionaries or veterans (Sena Chiesa 1966, 383; Bąkowska-Czerner 2017, 19). Such intaglio images of relatively low artistic quality are associated with large-scale production. The existence of a workshop producing gems in *Novae* in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD is strongly suspected due to the large group of engraved intaglios with similar stylistic features found in the fortress (Dimitrova-Milcheva 1980, 21).

Jupiter statuette

A bronze statuette of Jupiter of very good quality found among the roof tiles of the northernmost building at the site also supports the site's connection with the military (fig. 3). Jupiter is represented nude, with a youthful semi-muscular body in *contrapposto*; his weight is shifted onto the right leg, while the left leg is bent and extended backwards. The *chlamys* is draped over his left shoulder. He holds a thunderbolt in his right hand, while his left hand is extended upwards, probably holding a long scepter, now missing. The statuette could be assigned to the type of Jupiter the Thunderer of the Capitoline, presumably following the iconographic model of the statue of Zeus by Leochares (Veseli 2017, 168). The bearded Jupiter statuettes featuring tight curls are believed to be Hadrianic (Hill 1982, 279).

The iconographic model is widely attested throughout the Roman Empire due to the mass production of bronze statuettes of the type. A counterpart of the statuette of a naked Jupiter with *chlamys* draped over his neck and left shoulder is presented in the collection of bronzes from *Novae* (Dimitrova 1984, 18). It is noteworthy that his lost left arm provides insight not only in the method of joining the separate body parts but is also evidence of mass production. According to a study focused on bronzes with left hands missing, large-scale manufacturing triggered the appropriate technique of casting different parts separately (Hill 1982, 278). This argument lends support to the hypothesis for the existence of local bronze-casting workshops in *Novae*, which can be further supported by two other statuettes from the fortress representing Jupiter with the same body position (Dimitrova 1984, 18-19).

Terracotta figurine and pottery sherd

A base for another bronze statuette and a terracotta figurine of Heracles were encountered under the roof tiles of the same building (fig. 4). Compared to the bronze statuette of Jupiter, the quality of the terracotta figurine is rather poor, given the asymmetrical rendering of body proportions and the additionally incised schematic musculature and facial features. The figurine was made in a two-part mould. The joint surface is thicker and smoothed, probably due to poor sealing or premature opening of the mould. The figurine might have been made in the ceramic workshops at Butovo and Pavlikeni, as supported by the decoration and glaze on pottery sherds found in the Irima locality.

The cult of Heracles is epigraphically attested north of the Haemus mountain. A large number of dedications made by soldiers and veterans were found close to fortresses and military settlements and also in the interior of the province. They encompass a chronological scope between the second half of the 2nd and the first half of the 3rd centuries AD (Alexandrov 2012, 277).

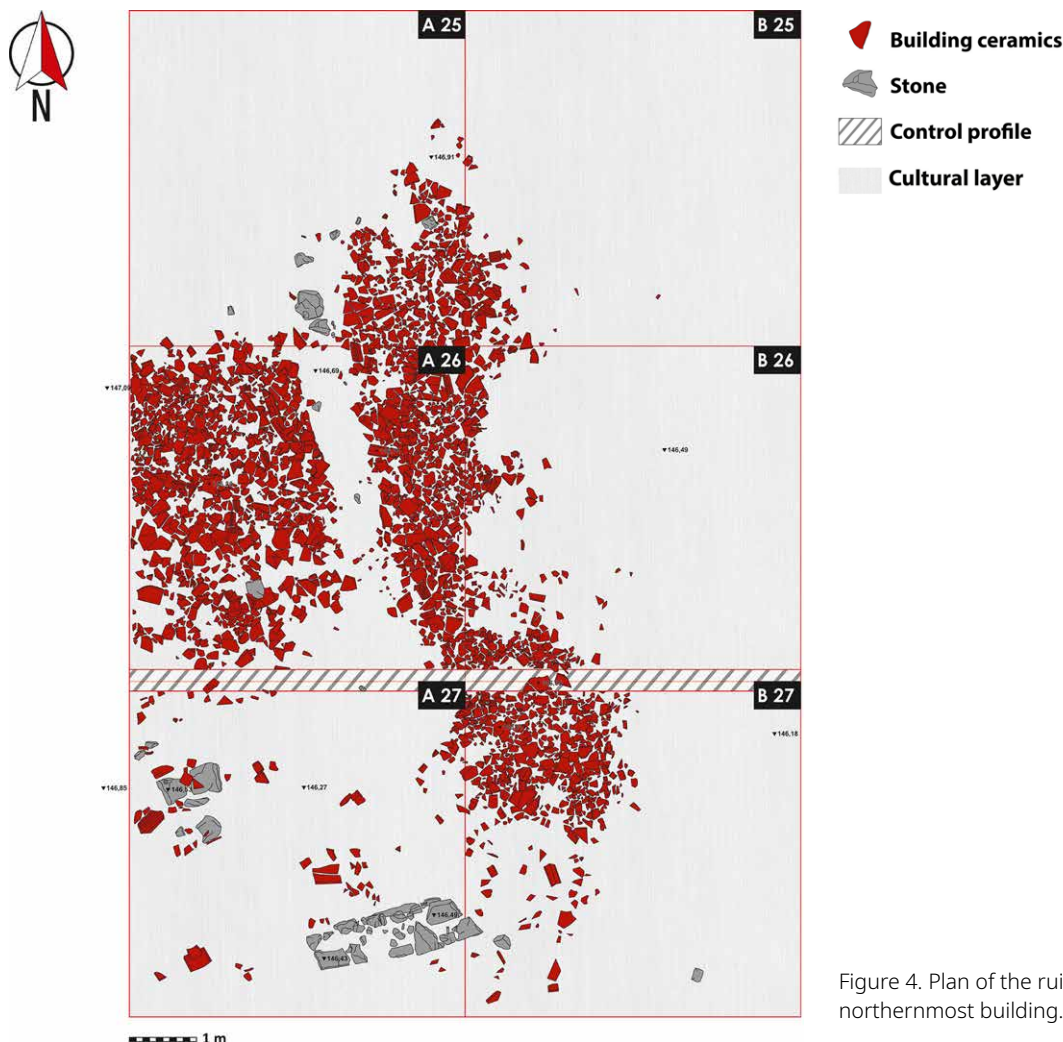


Figure 4. Plan of the ruins of the northernmost building.

A pottery sherd with an ownership inscription carved *post cocturam* might also be attributed to the artefacts implying the presence of individuals of military background. Five letters preserved could be read [n] ARCIS[sus]. The graffito is incised on a fragment of a bowl belonging to the local tableware. The ownership inscriptions on pottery sherds, mostly bowls and plates, are largely attested in military fortresses and civilian settlements in their vicinity (Dana & Petruț 2013, 21).

Discussion. A veteran settlement?

The location of the site and the artefacts discussed strongly point to an interpretation of the presence of veterans. Another artefact might even suggest their ethnic background. A marble votive plaque with an image of Thracian Horseman points towards Thracian origin (fig. 5). The horseman is schematically represented in low relief, to the right, with a high square altar depicted in front of him. Interestingly, this anepigraphic plaque was found in the corner of a room along with a bell and

a complete and nearly intact terracotta lamp dated to the 3rd century AD.

Another marble plaque of the Thracian Horseman was found close to the site under discussion (Tomas 2016, 143 and 172). However, it is inscribed below the image: *Αἴλιος Κλαύδις ὑπὲρ τῆς κοι|νῆς σωτηρίας ἀνέ[θηκεν]* (IGBulg II 742, IGLNov 184; CCET II 2, 678). The name of the worshipper and the lack of filiation might indicate a romanized individual of first generation. The veterans epigraphically attested south of the Danube were mostly named with Imperial or another common Roman *gentilicium*. Albeit the name suggests romanization in the Hadrianic period, it should not be considered a reliable indicator for the dating of the inscription, since it could also be dated to the late 2nd or even the early 3rd century AD. According to most studies, the inscription is Severan in date; only IGLNov assumes a very broad chronological range between AD 101 and AD 300.

The absence of votive plaques of the Thracian Horseman in military fortresses on the right bank of the



Figure 5. Marble votive plaque with a relief of the Thracian Horseman.

Danube indicates a certain type of religious behaviour of the Thracian soldiers on the limes. Their dedications were found in sanctuaries in the interior of the province, located far from military fortresses and cities (Alexandrov 2012, 279-280). Although the substantial recruitment of Thracians into the auxiliary regiments is considered part of a well-targeted Roman policy (Zahariade 2009, 221), the relatively low level of romanization of soldiers of Thracian origin in Lower Moesia is attested epigraphically rather than archaeologically (Alexandrov 2012, 280 and 286).

Furthermore, one should take into account Roxan's (1997, 487) argument for strong ties between the Thracian soldiers and their land of origin, which have made many Thracian veterans return to their home regions. Recently, it has even been suggested that not only recruitment but also exemption from military service should be considered an important facet of social communication of the Thracian militaries from auxiliary troops and a particular feature of the provincial culture of Roman Thrace (Zahariade 2009, 222; Haynes 2013, 374). The settlement process was implemented against a background of low levels of urbanization in Lower Moesia. Certainly, it conveniently corresponded to the interests of Roman policy to push the unifying process of romanization forward, and the Thracian veterans became proper conductors of the official political thread into the interior of the province. Good soils and favorable climatic conditions were presumably the trigger for the settlement of Roman veterans in the region

between the Osam river and the Yantra river as early as the reign of Vespasian (Gerov 1980, 86). The further settlement wave of veterans in the area is connected with the military units in Lower Moesia participating in the Dacian wars of Domitian and of Trajan. According to epigraphic data, they were mostly of Thracian origin. There is no evidence that, at a later stage, a reduction in the number of veterans settling after their discharge took place in the region. On the contrary, the epigraphic sources point to the settlement of veterans from auxiliary troops and different legions in the 3rd century AD by the finding spots of tombstones and military diplomas (Boyanov 2008, 97).

It has been established that the land plots of the veterans in Lower Moesia and Thrace only rarely exceeded 50 *jugera*. This entails that the veterans could hardly have founded *villae rusticae* south of the Danube. Moreover, the scarcity of epigraphic evidence for villa owners does not hint at their Thracian origin (Boyanov 2008, 142 and 264). Correspondingly, the hypothesis for the assumed predominance of small-scale agricultural plots in the hinterland of *Novae* meets support in field-walking survey data on 32 sites recorded south and southeast of the fortress at an average distance of 300-500 m from each other. They mostly cover between 5 and 30 ha, and only six plots are estimated between 30 and 50 ha (Conrad 2006, 322).

Contrary to the commonly accepted and long-standing view that the veteran settlements were predominantly of agricultural character (Gerov 1980), a recent study has argued that less than half of the attested veterans were engaged in agriculture. Moreover, the epigraphic material of the Severan period and of the 3rd century AD provides considerably less evidence for the veterans in Lower Moesia as landowners (Boyanov 2008, 265).

Conclusion

The topic of landownership of veterans in the province, and particularly in the hinterland of *Novae*, is enriched by the new archaeological data recorded at the site in the Irima locality, leading to the most likely conclusion about the existence of a rural property of a veteran established after his *honesta missio*. At this point, it can only be speculated whether he was a veteran of *Legio I Italica* or an auxiliary unit. However, his Thracian origin could be argued with certainty. He was also actively involved in the local market, as evidenced by the majority of small denomination coins. The trade relations with workshops at *Novae* are strongly suspected by the finds and the building ceramics. This might imply the continuation of his connection to this particular part of the limes on the Lower Danube. Hence, he also became a link in the Roman propaganda chain that pulled forward the process of romanization in the province.

According to the archaeological data, the site in the Irima locality was in use in the period between the mid-2nd and the mid-3rd century AD. The Gothic invasions are

commonly considered to have put an end to the existence of civilian settlements in the vicinity of *Novae*. This underlies the hypothesis that in the second half of the 3rd century AD, the veterans and most of the population in the hinterland migrated north to the fortress (Boyanov 2008, 96). The lack of a burnt layer or traces of raiding at the site under discussion probably indicates that the land plot was abandoned before the mid-3rd century AD, thus corresponding to the coin assemblage. Future archaeological investigations will shed more light on the diachronic development of the site and the military unit of the veteran.

Abbreviations

CCET: Gočeva & Oppermann 1981

IGBulg: Mihailov 1958

IGLNov: Kolendo & Božilova 1997

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The prison in the fortress of *Apulum* (Alba Iulia)

George Cupcea

Restoration works of the Vauban citadel of Alba Iulia were being executed in the last decade and the rescue excavations produced remarkable discoveries in different parts of the fortress (fig. 1; for the inscriptions discovered in the fortress see Cupcea 2023, where there is a chapter dedicated to the artefacts discussed here and the significance of their find spot). Of the excavations of late 2010 and early 2011, one sector is of particular interest to this paper, precisely the fourth gate of the citadel, situated in the space between the Catholic and Orthodox cathedrals. From the Roman topographic perspective, the space is somewhere in the *retentura dextra*, in the space between *porta decumana*, *via quintana* and the south eastern corner of the fortress.

Unfortunately, the results are unpublished as of yet, but a monographic study with the excavations in the fortress is on the way. However, the preliminary reports were provided by the research team, so that one can put the epigraphic discoveries into context (Gudea & Moga 2011; Ciobanu & Bounegru 2012, nos 19-20 and 25; Ciobanu 2013, 127-149; Benea 2013, 119-125; Szabó 2014, 533-44; Timofan 2019, 40-41 and 84). The excavations revealed a number of medieval tombs and a layer of occupation dating to from the beginning of the 2nd millennium. Lower, the Roman stratigraphy revealed a systematic layout of stone buildings, such as barracks, granary and sanctuary (fig. 2).

The artefacts and their text

Adjacent to these rooms, another one was unearthed, which was roughly 3 by 4 m. The room was first considered to have been a sacred space, i.e. *sacellum*, *templum*, etc., although its function has now been reconsidered. In this room three artefacts were found: an altar and a statuette of Nemesis, dedicated by the same two persons and a relief with an image of Mars, dedicated by a gladiator (fig. 3), respectively with the following inscriptions:

NEM(esi) REG(inae) SACR(um)
PRO SAL(ute) IMPP(eratorum) NN(ostrorum)
M(arcus) VIB(ius) VERINUS
EVOCATUS LEG(ionis)
XIII GE(minae) ET QU(i)N(tus)
VAL(erius) FELICIANUS
SALARARIUS
FECERUNT
(AÉ 2012, 1239)

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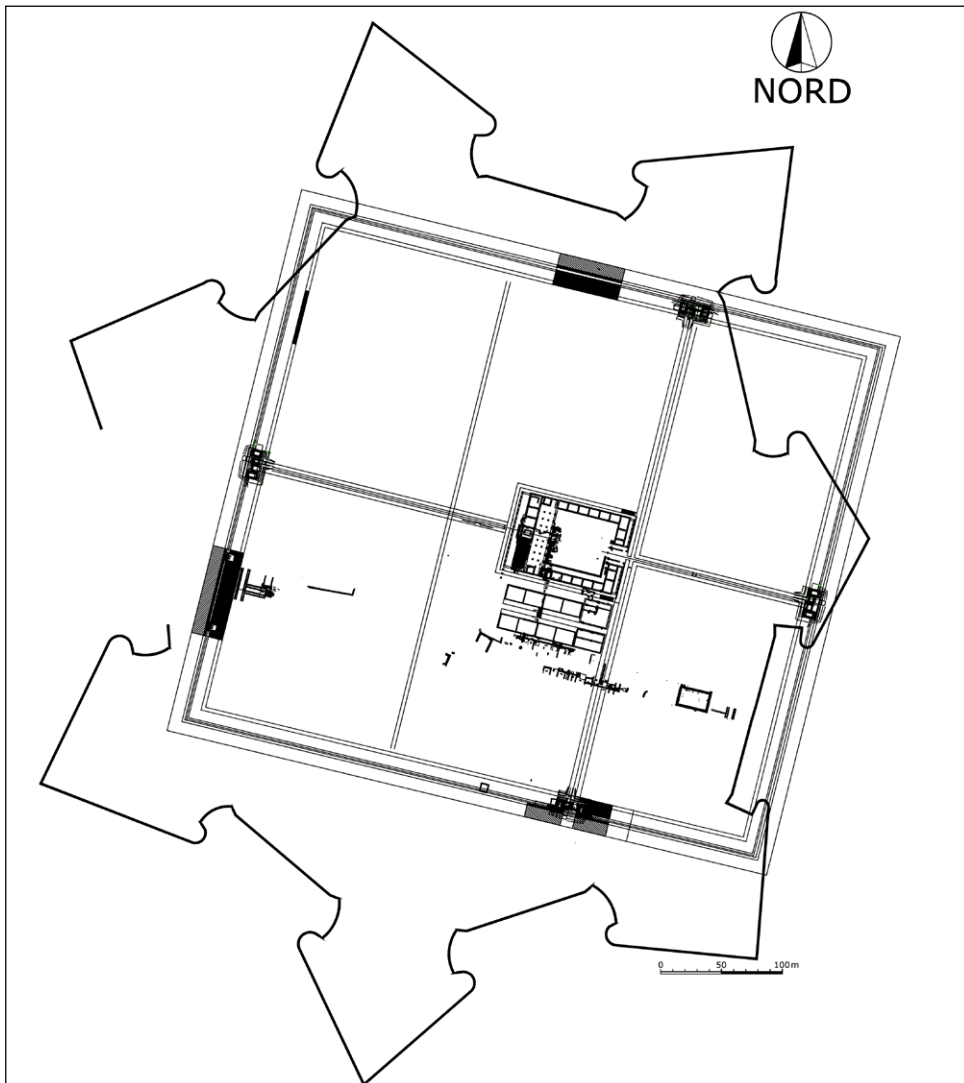


Figure 1. Map of the fortress of *Apulum* (redrawn after Gudea *et al.* 2015).

M(arcus) VIBIUS VERINUS EVOC(atus)
 Q(uintus) VALE(rius) FELICIANUS SALA(riarius)
 (AÉ 2012, 1240)
 AUR(elius) MARTINUS SECUN
 DA RUDIS POSU{u}IT
 (AÉ 2012, 1341)

The altar is roughly 1 m high, is made of white marble and has its base and crown masterfully decorated. The statuette resembles the typical iconography of Nemesis, and is likely to have been imported, as it was beautifully crafted in the workshops of *Asia Minor*. Shallow traces of pigments are visible on the object (Diaconescu 2019, 82-86). The dating depends mainly on the dedication to the two emperors and the most probable solution seems to be Severus and Caracalla (AD 198-209, for the dating discussion Ciobanu & Bounegru 2012, 42; Ciobanu 2013, 137-139; Szabó 2014, 535; Diaconescu 2019, 84). Carefully crafted, the relief resembles the god standing, in full

battle apparel. Significant traces of powder pigments are traceable, allowing for a digital polychromic reconstruction (Ciobanu 2019, 40-41).

Nemesis and the army

Nemesis is the ruler of destinies, protector of good and impersonation of justice. Both a goddess and an abstract concept, personifying divine vengeance and retribution or crime punishment, her best known attribute is the wheel of fate, and she is associated usually with Fortuna or Pax (Boda & Szabó 2014, 116). Under the Principate, Nemesis becomes a divinity very attentive to the prayers, also substituting other divinities in providing justice for the needy. Many inscriptions across the Empire prove that she was a goddess very favoured by soldiers (Le Roux 2011, 188-9).

The rise of the cult of Nemesis in the army, by the 3rd century AD, is an expression of the soldiers' and officers' need to seek personal divine assistance, outside

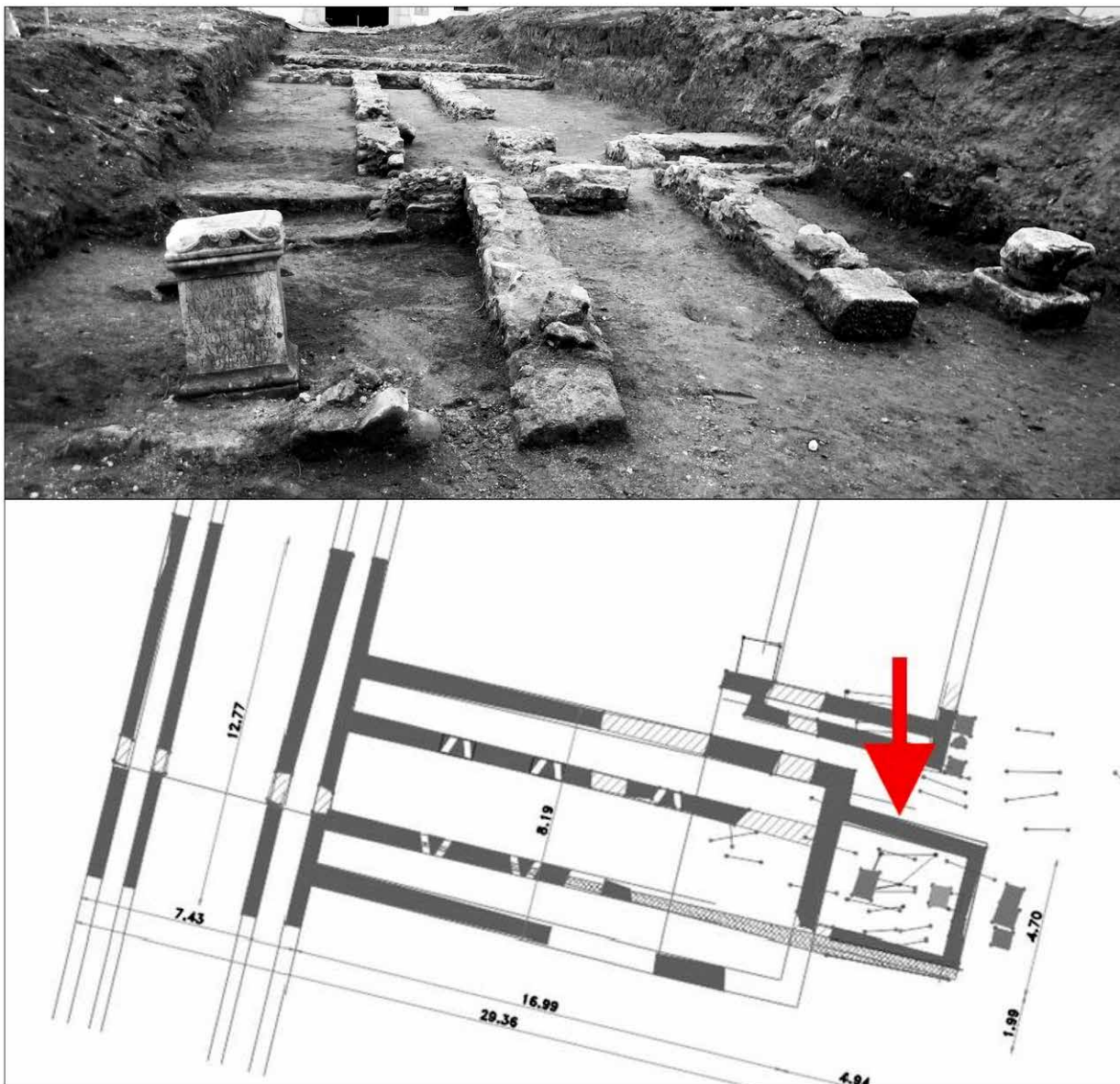


Figure 2. Photo and plan of the archaeological context (© The National Museum of the Union, Alba Iulia – MNUAI).

the regular, political religion, or the emperor cult itself (Birley 1978, 1515-1516). One 'area of expertise' of Nemesis are executions and the bloody spectacles held in the amphitheater. She is venerated mostly in the amphitheater, but also in the interior of the fortress, in the area of the prison. This can be explained through the connection between the circus games and prisoners. In the way that Diana handles the game used in spectacle hunts, Nemesis, divinity of executions, accompanies the condemned, from detention to execution (Schmidt-Heidenreich 2013, 158).

The first and most relevant space where we find Nemesis in the military context is the amphitheater. In fact, it is precisely the presence of dedications to Nemesis,

and sometimes of an adjacent *Nemeseum*, that are used as a prove that these military amphitheaters would periodically organize gladiatorial games (fights, animal hunts and trainings, etc.). It is obvious that the military would have shared the amphitheater and the activities surrounding it with the civilian population (Le Roux 2011, 183). There are dedications of soldiers to the Nemesis of the amphitheatre. Nemesis is associated as referee of the games offered on religious feasts of the army.

The amphitheater is, however, not the only space where Nemesis is seen in connection to the military. Apart from it, dedications to the benevolent part of Nemesis – Fortuna – appear in military bathhouses. Initially



Figure 3. Artefacts discovered in the room (©MNUAI and Timofan 2019).

explained by the need of good luck for gambling, it is most probably connected to the protection of the naked men while bathing (Birley 1978, 1534-1535). Nemesis also sometimes bears the title *Campestris* (CIL VI.533), when she is honoured by a training officer in connection to the *campus*, in which the martial arts are practiced (Birley 1978, 1513).

Less often, one can see a particular connection between the amphitheater and the inner space of the fortress, which we are only able to trace through the dedications to Nemesis. Some fortresses could have housed military prisons, reserved mostly for the detainees sentenced to the capital punishment. The *carcer*, circumstantially identified in *Carnuntum* (Von Petrikovits 1975, 81-82; Schmidt-Heidenreich 2013, 88-89) *Lambaesis* (Lettemey & Larsen 2021) and *Vindobona* (Mosser & Adler-Wölfl 2024, 363 and fig. 4-5), and the three categories of soldiers dedicated to its attendance (*optio carceris*, *optio custodiarum*, *clavicularius*) are also in the care of Nemesis, in connection to the public executions held in amphitheaters, mostly in the shape of gladiatorial games,

such as fights to the death, animal wrestling, *etc.* (Le Roux 2011, 185).

The dedicators

Evocatus is one of the less understood roles in the Roman Imperial army (Mommson 1884, 449-456; Von Domaszewski 1908, 77; Birley 1981, 28; Campbell 2019, 43-44). In fact, the *evocatio* seems to apply only to soldiers on duty in the cohorts of Rome. After their service, they are usually not further promoted, but could be assigned to different tasks in Italy or throughout the Empire. Those earmarked for the service in the legions are called, specifically, *evocatus legionis*, but the majority are mentioned simply as *evocati*, awaiting for the special dispatch. Some of the *evocati legionis* were assigned as training officers in the legions (very few in the cohorts of Rome) and could expect the promotion to the centurionate (e.g. CIL III.3470, 11129 and 13360), but not all as some of them were being discharged after a long service as *evocatus* (AÉ 1952, 153; CIL III.3565 (16 years as praetorian plus 46 as *evocatus*); Birley 1981,

25-26; Campbell 2019, 44). There is no such category as legionary *evocati* and they must not be mistaken as simple reservists (Campbell 2019, 44).

Around 60 % of the total *evocati* attested were confined to Italy and only 12.5 % were later commissioned as centurions (Birley 1981, 27 and 29). Birley (1981) collated 280 examples of *evocati* attested in the Empire. Although since Birley's 1981 publication the number of attestations increased (close to 350), the ratio of promotion has not changed significantly. Service outside Italy was not confined to the legions, but they might have been assigned to employment individually (Birley 1981, 28-29). The latter have missions that mainly involve internal or external security of the state, such as guards of very important prisoners (Tacitus *Annales* 2.68; CIL III.446 and 12109; AE 1911, 56, mostly in the Greek islands; AE 1940, 206;) or to settle juridical disputes over land boundaries (ILS 5966; AE 1946, 38, both in Africa).

One of these special tasks is of interest for the inscriptions discussed here, that of guards of important prisoners. An inscription in the Greek Cyclades records an *evocatus Augg(ustorum) nn(ostrorum)* (Septimius Severus and Caracalla), in charge of a group of other three praetorians, building a *Mithraeum* on the island (AE 1911, 56, Andros). The most plausible reason for their presence here is that they were in charge of a small prison-camp. Greek remote islands were often used as places for exiled prisoners: Avillius Flaccus, governor of Egypt, was also exiled in Andros by Caligula; another example is that of Glitius Gallus exiled by Nero (Reed 1975, 208). It seems that important prisoners were guarded by praetorians (especially *evocati*), even on more remote islands than those surrounding Italy. These important prisoners (including royalty or senators) needed such a professional guard, as they could organize their escape. One of the best examples is that of Remmius, *evocatus*, in charge of a small group of praetorians guarding prisoner Venones in Cilicia who one time tries to escape (Tacitus *Annales* 2.68; Reed 1975, 209-210).

The *evocati* are obviously better paid than the regular legionary, even better than the praetorian, receiving an amount three times higher than their pay (Speidel 2009, 371-373 argues for triple pay of a *miles praetorianus*; cf. the example of *evocatus triplicarius* in AE 1976, 695). The fundamental difference between them and the soldiers is that their payment is not called *stipendia*, but *salaria*, as in the case of centurions, *salariarii*, senators or knights (CIL VI.2495 and 3419; ILS 2124; Speidel 2014, 53 and no. 4). In regard to their actual position when attached to a legion, they probably stand immediately below the centurions, as can be seen on a list from *Lambaesis* (CIL VIII.18065 lists one *evocatus* under the six centurions of the Tenth Cohort; Campbell 2019, 44).

Salariarius is equally a 'ghost-rank' in the Roman army, especially because its attestations are very rare. No more than a dozen of such attestations are recorded in the entire Empire on inscriptions and *papyri* (CIL III.4308, 10439, 10501 and 10988; CIL VI.37262; CIL XI.19 and 3007; AE 1936, 12; 1993, 1596; 2012, 1239-1240; EDR 007123; IDR III/2, 285; P.Dura 97). Their position and significance can be deduced when exploring in detail the Roman army's methods of employment: the contractual personnel for highly specialized positions are paid through *salaria* and have the benefits of the soldier (Méa 2012, 207-211). In this regard, they are similar to the *evocati* and, in at least one instance, a precise connection is established between the *evocatus* and *salariarius* (CIL XI.19; Dobson 1978, no. 245).

Salariarii are usually military musicians (CIL III.10501), architects (AE 1936, 12), translators with the Dacians (CIL III.10988; AE 1951, 103) and military doctors (CIL XI.3007; EDR 007123). They are trained in more specific weaponry and fighting style – *sagittarius* (CIL VI.37262). Their position must be considered in different light than that of the regular soldiers, as they are most likely contractual personnel employed by the army from amongst the civilians, although not exclusively, and paid by the means of *salaria* (Stoll 2001, 311 and no. 43). The *salariarii* probably appear and develop in the political and military turmoil of the 3rd century AD, as the absolute majority of the epigraphic evidence is dated to this period (Méa 2012, 213).

The third dedicant, of the relief depicting Mars, is a *gladiator umpire*, standing on a high rank, that of *secunda rudis*, among the other ones attested (*tiro*, i.e. beginner or recruit, *prima rudis* and *summa rudis*). He was acting either as trainer of gladiators or referee in the arena (Bishop 2017, 71, 128 and 132).

The artefacts and the space

The significance of the three artefacts discovered in the same room in the *retentura* of the fortress of *Apulum* is important from more than one perspective. They can help to reveal the role and function of until now poorly known legionary personnel and they can help to establish the function of the space in which they were discovered. The room is roughly 3 by 4 m, has 0.8 m thick walls and has a sort of a veranda on its eastern side, with three bases probably for a portico. It is adjacent to a row of regular rooms to the west, which seem to be *contubernia* from a barrack block in the *retentura dextra*, disposed *per scamna*. The room has originally been considered as *Mithraeum* because of its slightly lower level and the finds of Mithraic reliefs in the vicinity, but it could equally have been a sanctuary of Nemesis (Gudea & Moga 2011). The only results of the excavation published until today are the epigraphic monuments, analysed subsequently in exhibition catalogues and incidentally in few journal papers (Ciobanu

& Bounegru 2012; Benea 2013; Ciobanu 2013; Szabó 2014; Timofan 2019). Based on these analyses, the function of the room has been re-interpreted, but not dramatically: in its first phase, the room could have acted as a sanctuary for Nemesis and later transformed into *Mithraeum* (Ciobanu & Bounegru 2012, 43-44); the dating of the sunken room, most definitely a *Mithraeum*, is pushed forward to after the Roman abandonment (Ciobanu 2013, 135). However, Szabó (2014, 533-534) doubts the interpretation of the rooms in which the artefacts were found as neither *Nemeseum* nor *Mithraeum*, but does not offer a solution.

The key in the resolution of the question what function the room have had is offered by corroborating the epigraphic evidence with the archaeologic one. I have compiled a catalogue of 25 dedications by the soldiers to Nemesis, focusing especially on the ones where there is a clear connection between military space and activities performed in it. The first observation is that the overwhelming majority of dedications to Nemesis in military environment belong to legionaries, with only one dedication by praetorian (CIL VI.533) and one auxiliary (AÉ 2003, 1468) are known. Evidence comes from legionary garrisons from Britain all the way to the Danube, with a bulk of discoveries from *Carnuntum* (eleven, dating to Commodus-Severus Alexander) and from two focal points in *Dacia* (dating from the Severan dynasty, until the reign of Gordian III): from *Apulum* (four) and fort on the northern frontier *Samum* (Cășeu) (six). The dedicators vary widely in rank/position, from the simple *miles* to various *immunes* and *principales* (*tubicen*, *optio custodiarum*, *clavicularius*, *tesserarius*, *optio signiferorum*, *beneficiarius consularis cornicularius*, *salararius*, *evocatus*), to the centurions and even higher (*primus pilus*, *legatus*) and some veterans. Most of the evidence is dating to the beginning of the reign of the Severan dynasty.

But the most important information that these dedications can bring us is the location of their discovery, and for the majority, it is well-documented. Roughly a half of the dedications are discovered inside or adjacent to the military amphitheater: one from *Deva* (Chester), eight from *Carnuntum*, *Aquincum* (Budapest) and *Porolissum* (Moigrad). This is expected, as we have seen above the strong and interdependent relation between the soldier and the military amphitheater. In some cases, we can precisely pinpoint the place of discovery in the military amphitheatre. This is important because there are cases where several amphitheatres coexist in and around a fortress and adjacent civil settlement such as in *Carnuntum*, *Vetera*, *Deva* and *Lambaesis* (Le Roux 2011, 179-180). Even more precisely, these dedications were discovered in small buildings or rooms adjacent to the amphitheater, which were identified as sanctuaries of Nemesis, i.e. in *Deva*, *Carnuntum* and *Porolissum*.

However, the artefacts discussed here were not discovered in an amphitheater, but inside the fortress. And the other such dedications, discovered inside fortresses could help us in elucidating the function of the place they were placed in. Three of the dedications in *Carnuntum* were discovered in the fortress, in *retentura*, in the area of *via quintana*, and were put by a very particular type of soldier – the prison keeper (CIL III.11153, fortress, *retentura sinistra*, by *immunis*; CIL III.15191, fortress, *via quitana (carcer)* by *ex optio custodiarum*; CIL III.15192, fortress, *via quitana (carcer)* by three *clavicularii*). It is probably after the dedicators' rank (*optio custodiarum* and *clavicularii*) that the function of the space in which the dedications were found was established, i.e. *carcer*/prison (CSIR Carnuntum suppl. 1, nos 377 and 379-380 – 'Gebäude XX (*carcer*)'). A similar case is the fragmentary altar discovered in Belgrade, inside the fortress of *Singidunum*, in the vicinity of a *Mithraeum*, dedicated by *optio*. Inscription reads:

NEMESI
AUG(ustae)
AUF(idius) ING[e]
NUUS OPT[io]
D P[ro]p[ri]e
(AÉ 1971, 414=IMS I, 19)

The dedications to Nemesis from *Apulum* are difficult to pinpoint, with a single exception, which reveals the refurbishment of the temple of Nemesis inside the governor's palace, by a member of his staff, *beneficiaries* (IDR III/5, 295: *templum a novo fecit ex viso*). The other two examples from *Apulum* come from a *legatus legionis* from the time of Gordian III (IDR III/5, 294) and a *optio signiferorum* (IDR III/5, 293).

Another focal point for the dedications to Nemesis by soldiers in *Dacia* is the fort and surrounding area of *Samum*, on the northern frontier. A group *beneficarii consularis* dedicated altars to Jupiter and Nemesis inside a *statio* from the time of Severus Alexander, which seems to evolve into a *regio Ans(amensium?)* under military control (of the same *beneficarii*), by the time of Gordian III (for the detailed discussion Cupcea 2012, 245-248; for the history of research in the matter Isac 2003, 48-58). Out of the fifteen inscriptions discovered there, altars were dedicated by these officers at the completion of their service. While majority were dedicated to Jupiter *optimus maximus*, six are actually to Nemesis (AÉ 1957, 328-329; CIL III.825-827; ILD 774), with one by the *beneficarii* Cassius Erotianus, who restored the sanctuary of the goddess by himself (CIL III.825). Because half of the altars discovered were dedicated to Nemesis, sanctuary to the goddess at the *statio* of *beneficarii* of *Samum* is strongly suspected. whether it was simply a sacred place inside the courtyard or a building is difficult to say. However, excluding the existence of any



Figure 4. Work photos of the openings in the walls of the *carcer* in *Apulum* (© MNUAI).

amphitheater in the area, and moreover, considering that the missions of these *beneficarii* could be of police and security (especially in a *regio*), one can assume that they also oversaw an imprisonment facility, in the shape of a *carcer*. Carceral duties of the *beneficarii* or *frumentarii* are also attested epigraphically (CIL III.3412 from *Aquincum* (*beneficiarius legati agens curam carceris*); CIL III.433 from *Ephesus* (*frumentarius legionis agens curam carceris*).

Coming back to the room containing three artefacts, i.e. an altar and a statuette of Nemesis, and a relief with an image of Mars, and putting all the evidence together, it seems that we can recognize in most of the clues a *carcer*. First, there is enough evidence to argue that these *evocati* oversaw prisoners and executions. Second, the connection between the inner space of a fort and an amphitheater, the traditional place of Nemesis, can only be done through a prison. Third, the votive relief for Mars, dedicated by a gladiator instructor/referee, can only support the connection of this space to the amphitheater. Finally, work photos from during the excavations contribute decisively to the establishment of the function of the space (fig. 4). The triangular openings

towards outside are identical to the architectural features established recently as archaeological proof of a building/room designed to be a prison, as in the case of *Lambaesis* (fig. 5). An identification of the military prison of the fortress at *Lambaesis* as the underground of the *aedes* in the first, Hadrianic phase, is argued based on the combination of archaeological, epigraphical and literary evidence (Letteney & Larsen 2021).

Up until now, the evidence for the existence of military prisons (*carcer castrensis*) relied solely on literary accounts (Juvenalis *Saturae* 6.561; Tacitus *Annales* 1.16-21; Vibia Perpetua *Passio sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis* 7.9; Letteney & Larsen 2021, 94-95). Archaeological evidence was previously assumed (for *Lambaesis*, initially Cagnat 1912, 168-169), very recent confirmed for *Vindobona*, or conjecturally deduced (AÉ 1971, 414=IMS I, 19) but never precisely pinpointed. However, the recent reinterpretation of *Lambaesis* and the complete analogy and circumstantial epigraphic evidence of *Apulum* manage to prove the actual existence of such installations in the fortress.

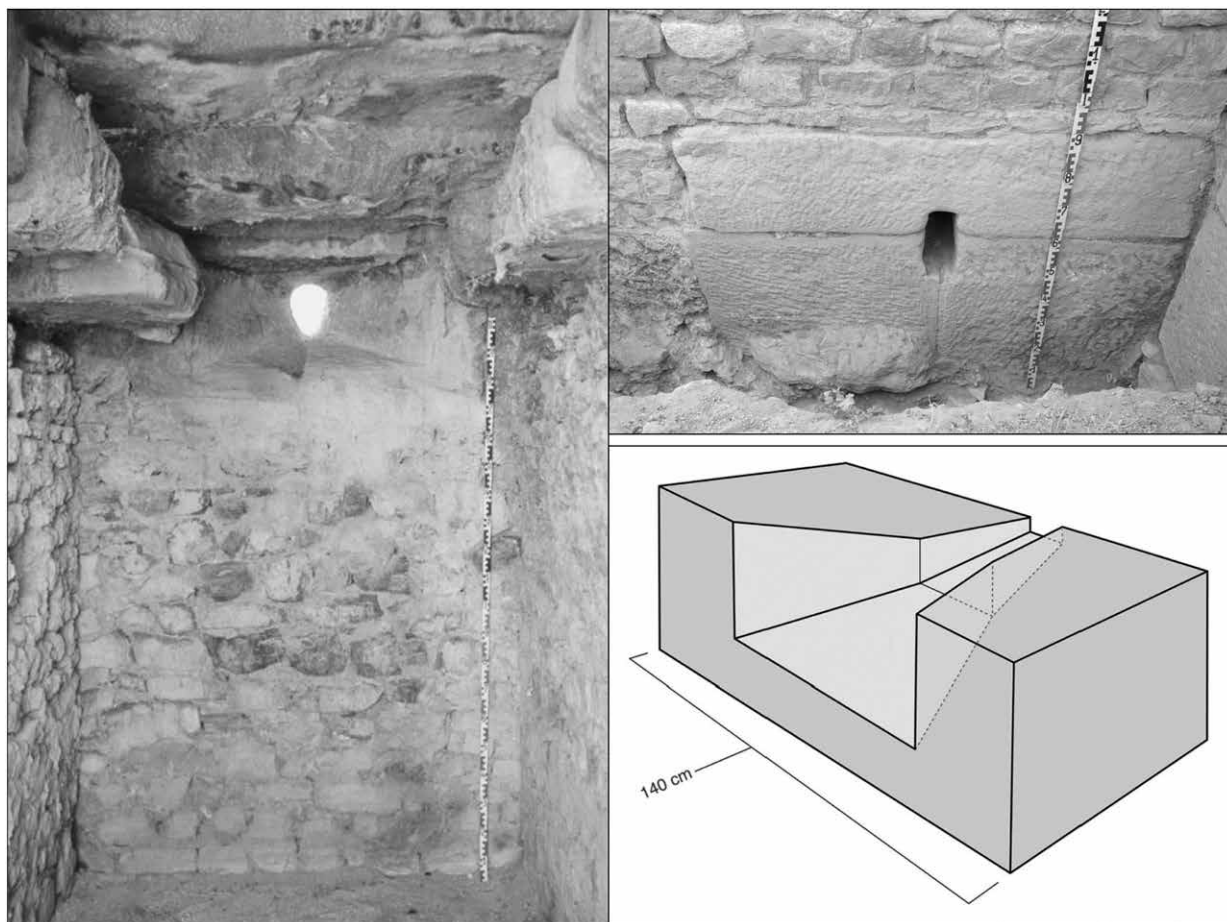


Figure 5. Photos and drawing of the openings of the *carcer* in *Lambaesis* (Letteney & Larsen 2021).

Acknowledgements

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Abbreviations

AÉ: *L'Année Épigraphique*
 CIL: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
 CSIR: *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani*, Kremer 2012
 EDR: *Epigraphic Database Roma*
 IDR: *Inscriptiile Daciei Romane / Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae*
 ILS: *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*
 IMS: *Inscriptions de la Mésie supérieure*
 P.Dura: Fink & Gilliam 1959

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Leisure facilities in the Tingitanian frontier

The baths in the roman *castellum* of *Tamuda*
(Tetouan, Morocco)

José A. Expósito, Darío Bernal-Casasola and Tarik
Moujoud

The *castellum* of *Tamuda*, in the outskirts of Tetouan, northern Morocco (fig.1), is a paradigmatic example of the fortifications built along the southern Roman limes, from its construction, on a previous Mauritanian settlement, in the first half of the 1st century AD, to its abandonment in the first half of the 5th century AD, in the context of the collapse of the Roman state structures. The results of project 'Economy and Crafts of Tamuda', carried out between 2012 and 2018 by a Moroccan-Spanish team – through a collaboration agreement between Direction du Patrimoine of the Moroccan Ministry of Culture, University Abdelmalek Essâadi and University of Cádiz – included the study and documentation of a *balneum* erected in the Oriental Quarter. This was built *extra muros* of the fortification, following the consolidation of the military settlement. The area emerged to provide services to the garrison, in the context of the emergence of auxiliary facilities for the military *vicus*. This work will examine the morphology, function, and chronology of this building, and its relationship with another small *balneum* situated *intra muros*.

The small *balneum* inside the *castellum*

A small bath complex was identified inside the Roman fort, near the *porta praetoria* and partially encroaching upon the main *via praetoria* (fig. 1 and 2AB). The building was discovered by Montalbán in 1929, and its architectural features were analysed in 2009 by a team from University of Huelva (Campos *et al.* 2012; Fernández *et al.* 2015). Based on the date yielded by this and other excavations, we know that the building was erected in the late Antonine period or the early Severan period: AD 150-225 (Bustamante *et al.* 2013, 317-347). The abandonment date is however less clear; while the authors of the seminal study about the building date it to the early 4th century AD (Campos *et al.* 2012, 241), the main access pavement seems to remain in use in the early 5th century AD (Bustamante *et al.* 2013, 340).

From an architectural perspective, the complex is very simple. It measures only 24 m², and is divided into two warm rooms that the excavators defined as *sudatio* and *caldarium* (Campos *et al.* 2012). Few remains of the underground heating system have survived, not a single of the *pilae* that supported the *suspensura* remains *in situ*. The main evidence for the *hypocaustum* system are the arcs into the *praefurnia*, situated to the north of both

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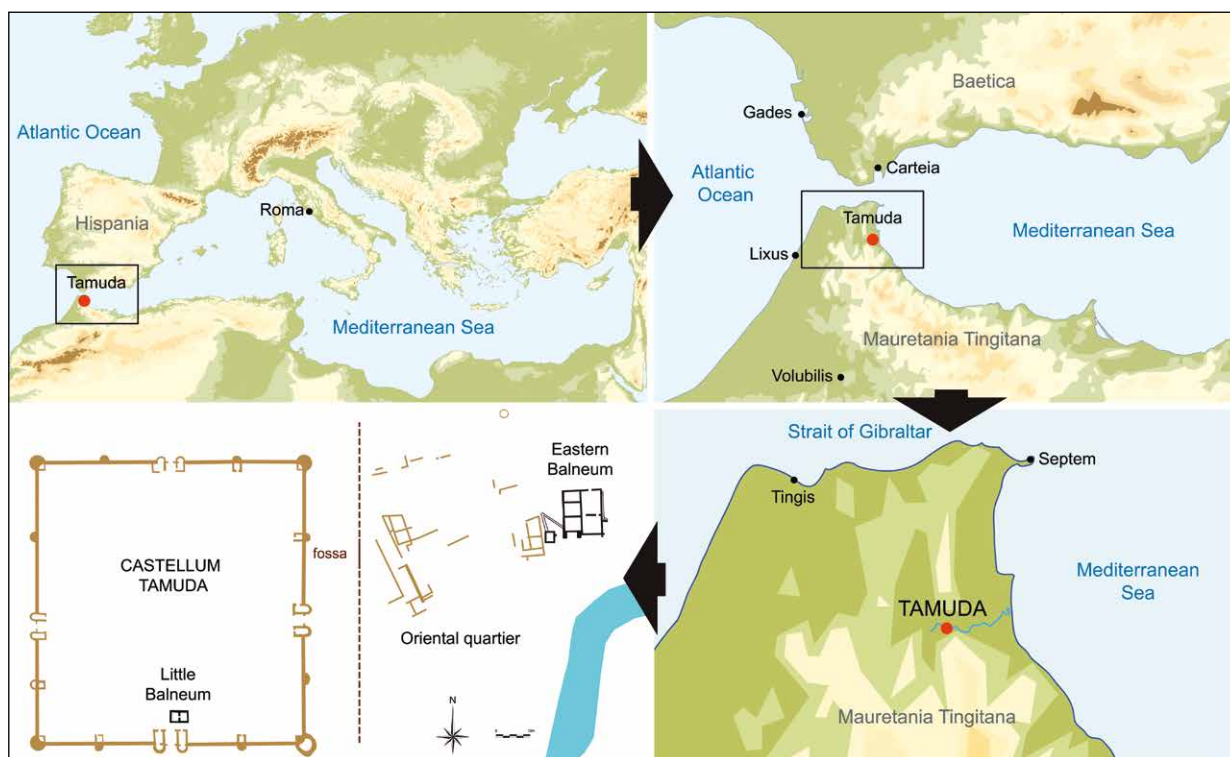


Figure 1. Location maps of the *castellum* of *Tamuda*, from less to greater detail.

rooms, and a series of low arches in the wall that separated both rooms. Concerning the walls, the *concamerationes* rested on rectangular bricks, laid vertically on their short sides, protruding from the line of the wall and regularly arranged on the west, south, and dividing walls (fig. 2B). Their absence in the northern and eastern walls is noticeable. This is remarkable for at least the eastern side, as the original heating was constructed at the northern wall, so we presume there was no need to construct this wall with box-flue tiles. The cover slabs that lined the west, south and dividing walls sat on these bricks, forming an air chamber. Based on the remains found, the ceiling rested on a barrel vault that used the ‘armchair voussoirs’ system, like in the *balneum* documented outside the walls.

Villaverde (2001) carried out the first functional proposal connecting these baths with the possible presence of a *valetudinarium* in the vicinity, and, therefore, with a potential medical or therapeutic use, rather than leisure, an interpretation followed by later researchers. At any rate, this small bath complex could not have served the whole population of the *castellum*, so the *balneum* in the Oriental Quarter of *Tamuda*, situated outside the walls, was the main bath complex in the settlement.

The *balneum* of the Oriental Quarter

Sixty years after the first excavations, the Moroccan-Spanish project resumed the excavation of the Oriental

Quarter between 2012 and 2018, which was to come to the forefront with the emergence of the largest Roman building outside the *castellum* walls, and was identified as the main bath complex at the site. Some of the results of the excavation have been published elsewhere (Bernal-Casasola *et al.* 2016; 2018). The building was completely excavated, and this allowed for a comprehensive architectural study of the building and for a first volumetric reconstruction (Expósito *et al.* 2021). However, the main material contexts on which our interpretation of the different construction phases of the building sat were still unpublished. We think that this forum is the perfect place to do so. As such, we shall present a first approximation based on contexts excavated during the two first fieldwork seasons (2012 and 2014), along with the coin assemblage and the main architectural features, on which we shall base our chronological interpretation of the eastern *balneum*.

Architectural features

From an architectural perspective (fig. 2 C-E), the complex can be described as a free-standing building, square in plan and 224 m² (14 × 16 m), in size, with annexed auxiliary buildings to the south (*propnigae*, the service area which hosted the *praeurnium* / *praeurnia*) and east (possible *latrinae*). A furnace to the west seems to be a later addition to the complex. The bath house

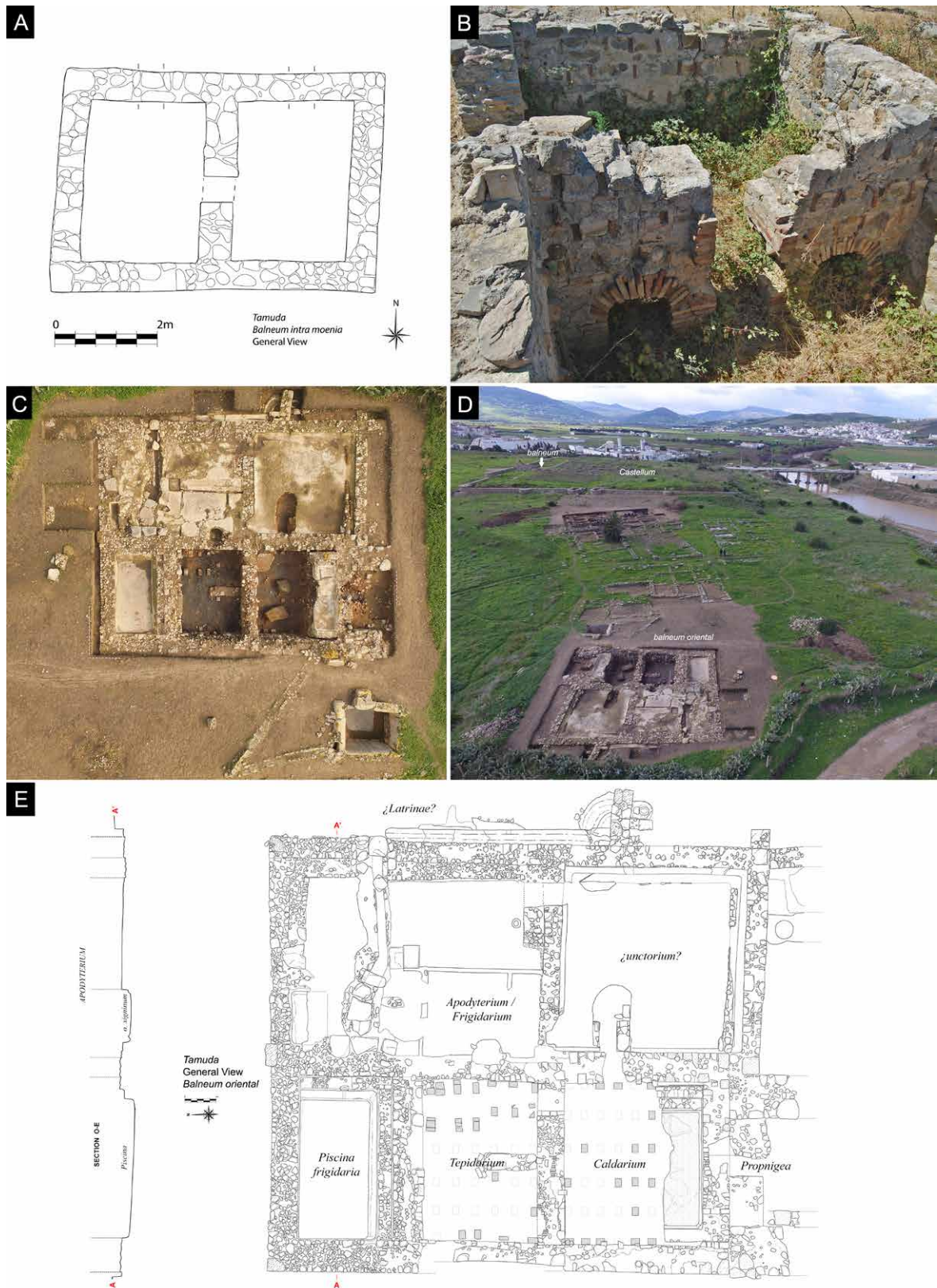


Figure 2. Plan and general view of the *balnea* of Tamuda. A. Ground plan; B. General view of the *balneum intra moenia*. Orthophotograph (C), general view (D) and plan (E) of the eastern *balneum*.

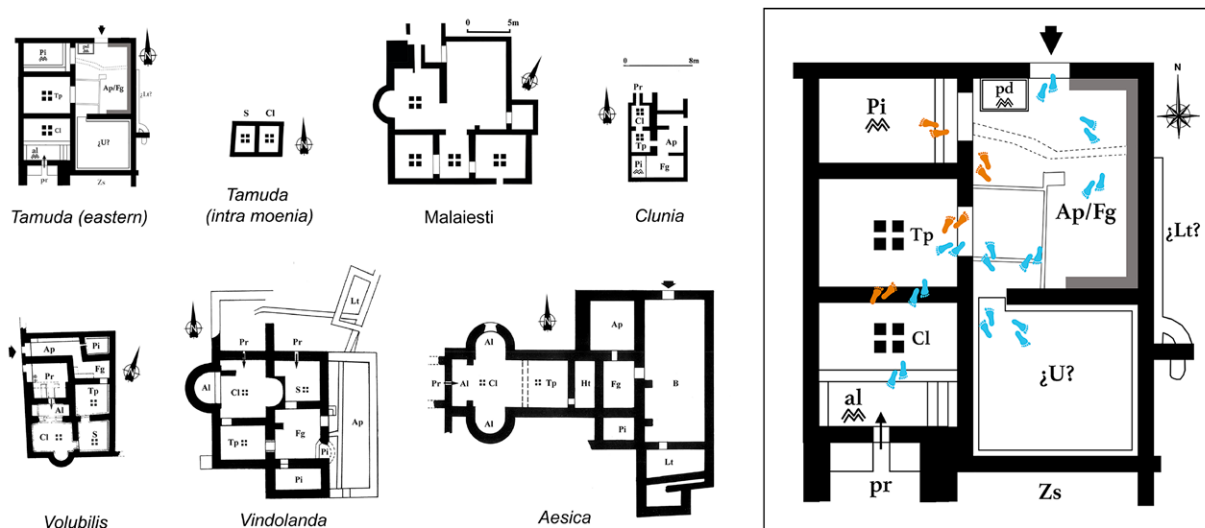


Figure 3. Parallels of the eastern *balneum* of *Tamuda* (left) and bathing 'circuit' proposal (right).

was situated in a well organised urban area outside the walls; the building has the same north-south orientation as the *castellum*, and the urban infrastructure includes the water channels that supplied the thermal building. As pointed out elsewhere (Expósito *et al.* 2021), the internal arrangement of the complex is very simple; the main access is in the centre of the northern wall, and the heated rooms are clustered to the west, to receive as much sunlight as possible. The entrance (fig. 3) gives access to a wide room that works as *apodyterium* or *apodyterium* / *frigidarium*, with a small *pediluvium* (sealed later) near the doorway, a bench running along the eastern side, and a water access point in the middle of this room, supplied by the *fistulae aquariae* that ran under the floor, of which only the trenches along which they ran to the north and west of the southern wall survive. This changing room was also the space around which the whole building was arranged. A door gave access to a room to the south, the function of which is unclear. It may have originally been a cold room equipped with portable bathtubs, or perhaps as an *unctorium*, as suggested by the size and open nature of the room. Two doorways opened in the western wall of the *apodyterium*: one to the *tepidarium* and the other to the cold pool (to the northwest). The *tepidarium* (warm room) was the first room of the heated section and gave access to the *caldarium*, following the same north-south axis. In its southern end, the *caldarium* had a stepped pool in *opus signinum*, as in the rest of the pavements preserved *in situ*. The water in this pool was heated by direct contact with the source of heat, because the main *propnigae* were situated right behind it, to the south. As usual, the heated rooms were equipped with hypocausts formed by a pillar-supported *suspensura*; the pillars were made of

rectangular bricks, some of which have survived *in situ* in both heated rooms; both hypocausts were connected underground by three small brick arches. The heating of the walls has survived well; it consisted of a system of 'tongue and groove' *concameraciones* (e.g. Lancaster 2015, fig. 5), also found in the nearby baths of *Thamusida*. This system is invariably found in combination with ceilings supported by 'armchair voussoirs', and this is also the case here, judging by the construction remains found during excavation (Expósito *et al.* 2021, fig. 11). Although the analysis of the samples retrieved from the *caldarium* are still ongoing, Débora Zurro's (2018) preliminary report – including the results of the phytolith analysis of two samples of combustion debris from the bottom of the *caldarium* – suggests that the fuel used in the furnaces was based on dung, straw, and other by-products of agricultural activity, which is interesting evidence of the efficient use of available resources.

The *apodyterium* also gave access to the *piscina frigidaria* to the northwest; this cold pool aimed to close the pores of the skin and thus end the bathing sequence. Its drainage channel ran from west to east beneath the floor of the changing room, and the water drained into a surface channel probably in connection to the *latrinae*. Similar arrangements have been attested in *balnea* in the *castella* of Castel Collen (Wales), *Vindolanda* (Chesterholm, England) and Saalburg (Germany, Nielsen 1993, 134-135).

The *balneum* was a functional and sober building. The building meets the ends for which it was built, serving the troops garrisoned in the *castellum*, but also the civilians living in the military *vicus*. The best parallels, as these complexes share the same simplicity of design, are the domestic *balneum* in house-1 of *Clunia* (García-



Figure 4. Orthophotograph of the eastern *balneum* of Tamuda, with the main chronological markers.

Entero 2005, fig. 202), and the early baths of *Volubilis* (Nielsen 1993, fig. 130) in *Tingitana*. Similar baths related to military facilities in other parts of the Empire for the same period (fig. 3), are *Aesica* (Greatchesters) and *Vindolanda* (Nielsen 1993, fig. 135 and 140) in Britain, and Malaesti and *Arutela* (Tentea 2018, fig. 2) in *Dacia*.

The construction of the eastern *balneum* during Hadrian's reign

The excavation of the Oriental Quarter of *Tamuda* has revealed an extensive Mauritanian settlement, which was levelled before the construction of the Roman *castellum*. This site was abandoned in the first quarter of the 1st century BC, as confirmed by the rich contexts examined of the latest field season (Bernal-Casasola *et al.* 2018, 72). As such, the designers of the space inside and outside the walls of the Roman *castellum* worked on a *tabula rasa*. The *fossa*, which was documented for the first time by our project in 2017, was dug at a distance of 20 m from the perimeter wall (Bernal-Casasola *et al.* 2018, 73-77). Beyond this defensive feature, there are a series of walls, the function of which is unclear, that sit on earlier structures. Based on the size and the dressing technique of the stone blocks, they may correspond to stables or similar constructions. The main Roman features in this area are the aforementioned cistern and the *balneum* which is the main subject of this work, both of which were built in a single construction phase.

The best evidence to establish a construction date for the baths came from the pillars that supported the *concamerationes* in the heated rooms, built with notched bricks, most of which presented stamps from workshops in the vicinity of *Tingis* (Bernal-Casasola *et al.* 2016, 143-144). The marks used – IMP AVG, ANTO AVG, and HADRI AVG (fig. 4D) – are an excellent chronological marker, as they can be safely dated to the reign of emperor Hadrian (AD 117-138).

In addition to this, the techniques used for the construction of the wall-heating system ('tongue and groove' system) and the system used to support the ceiling ('armchair voussoirs'), in combination with the brick repertoire, have parallels in the first phase of the 'Thermes du Fleuve', in nearby *Thamusida* (Morocco), dated to the last quarter of the 1st century AD (Camporeale 2008, 132), but also in *Carteia* on the other side of the Strait of Gibraltar (Roldán & Bustamante 2016).

The stratigraphic data offers support to this chronology. The excavation of the abandonment levels of the *tepidarium* yielded a block of mortar from the collapse of the walls and pavements, which contained a fragment of African Red Slip Ware A (ARSW-A), which is fully compatible with the chronology suggested. The stratigraphic contexts related to the abandonment of the buildings also included materials that indirectly support this construction date. Here, we shall only present data for contexts excavated

in 2012 (sounding 9) and 2014 (sounding 12), which are sufficiently representative (fig. 5). This includes shapes of ARSW-A, specifically burin-decorated Hayes 8a types, dated to between the closing decades of the 1st century AD and the mid-2nd century AD. These were found in the initial abandonment levels (figs. 5.1 and 3) in the *caldarium* (Hayes 1972, 33-35; Bonifay 2004, 156). The same levels of the *caldarium* yielded a southern Spanish amphora (Beltrán IIB type, variant b) (fig. 5.5), which can be dated to the late 1st century and the 2nd century AD (García Vargas 1998, 110, fig. 59.1). Another fragment of ARSW-A, reminiscent of the Hayes 9AB or 14/16 shapes (fig. 5.4), was found directly upon the *opus signinum* pavement in the south-eastern room, pointing again to the 2nd century AD (Hayes 1972, 35-41). Other elements that also support our interpretation were found in the top layers, but in direct relation to the pavements, including more examples of ARSW-A (fig. 5.2) and some disc lamps compatible with the Dressel 20 or similar types (fig. 5.6-7; mid-1st-2nd century AD). Taken together, the evidence points to a construction date in the second quarter of the 2nd century.

Changes and continued use in the late Roman period

We know that the building was subject to numerous changes throughout its life cycle, many of which could be architecturally characterised. For instance, the *pediluvium* was sealed by a pavement in *opus signinum*, probably to increase the available room in the *apodyterium* and give prominence to the adjacent *piscina frigidaria*. More substantial changes comprised the insertion of two new *propnigae* to improve the heating system in *caldarium* and *tepidarium*. One of them implied closing the south-eastern room to the public, while the other involved rearranging the building's eastern perimeter wall. No evidence remains as to the chronology of these renovation works, except for the relocation of the *piscina frigidaria*'s drainage channel. The excavation of the channel revealed that one of the blocks reused to cover it, was a commemorative inscription alluding to a military victory. This triumph must be dated, based on context and the epigraphic features of the inscription (fig. 4C), to the late 3rd or the early 4th century (Bernal-Casasola *et al.* 2016). The inscription block was broken in halves. The surviving text however suffices to get a general idea of its contents and reveals interesting details. It shows traces of a *damnatio memoriae* over the governor's *nomen* and *cognomen*, but gives also references to the defence of the fort (*fugatis ho[stibus]*) against an external threat. The inscription, most interestingly, confirms that the baths complex was still in operation after these events, despite its exposed position in the extramural military *vicus*, and worth renovating also to adapt to the likely shifting needs of its users.

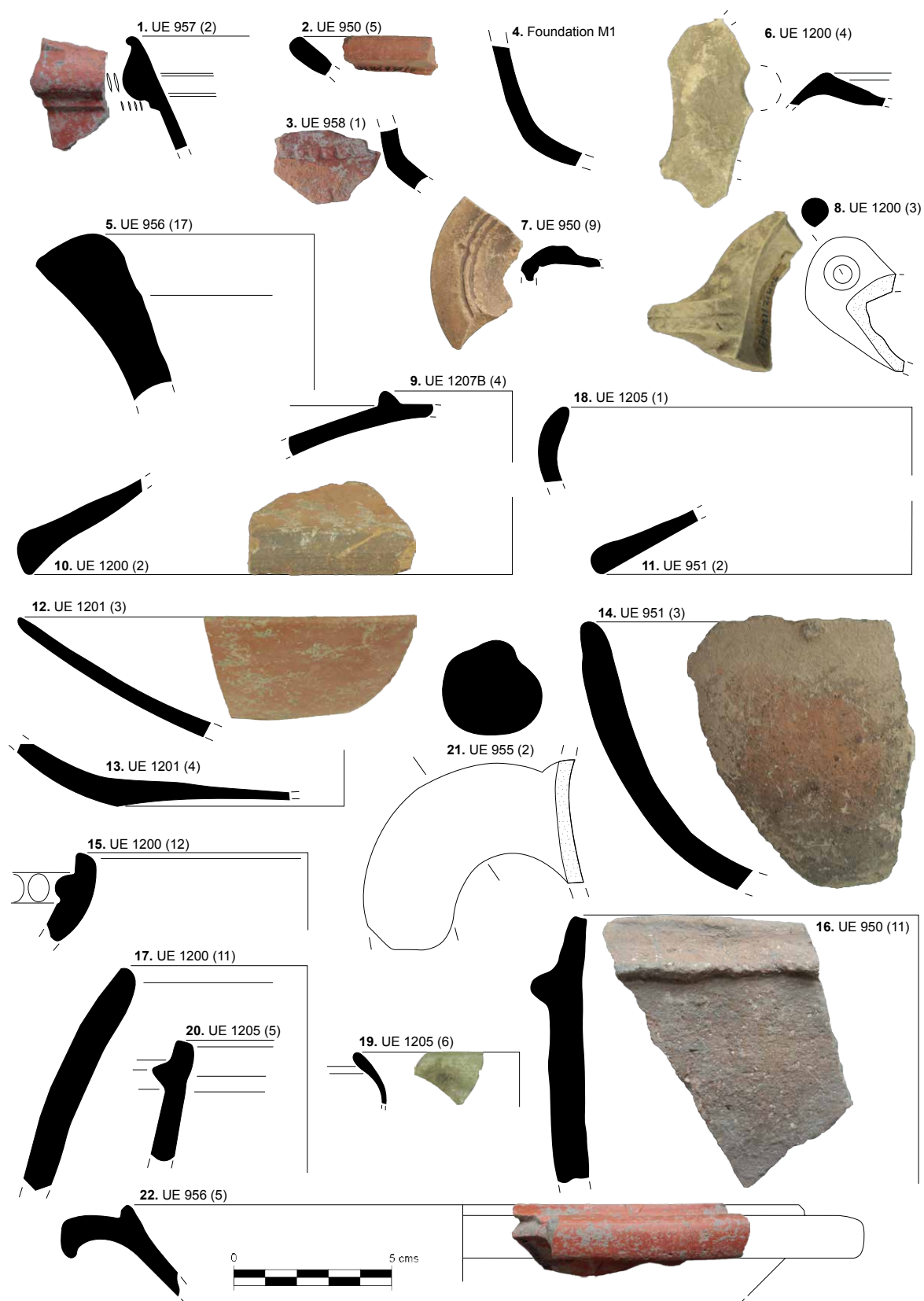


Figure 5. Materials from the eastern *balneum* of *Tamuda* (soundings 9 and 12).

Apart from this, few stratigraphic contexts provide precise information for these events. Most of the associated finds, although from abandonment levels, correspond to African kitchen wares – such as Ostia I, 261 plates/lids (fig. 5.9-11) and Hayes 23 pots – which are however too long-lived (2nd-5th centuries) to act as chronological markers. In terms of ceramic assemblages, the most significant element is the handle and pearl-decorated shoulders of a Dressel 28 or 30 lamp found in the layer that sat upon the pavement of the *apodyterium* (fig. 5.8). These types are dated to after AD 150 (Deneauve 1969) and to the 3rd-4th century AD respectively (Lamboglia & Beltrán 1952).

The final abandonment of the *balneum* during Honorius's reign

The *balneum*, like the fort, was abandoned in the opening decades of the 5th century AD, probably during the reign of emperor Honorius and a few years prior to the arrival of Genseric (AD 429). This is in line with other contexts in the settlement (Bernal-Casasola *et al.* 2020). The best evidence in this regard are the coins found upon the pavements, for instance four AE4 found sitting directly upon the pavement of the *apodyterium* (fig. 4BE), which include three *antoniniani* of Claudius II (AD 268-270), and an AE4 of Constantine II (AD 347-348). In addition to this, two more coins were found near the surface in the foundation trench for the fountain that occupied the centre of this room: an AE3 coin of Constantine I (AD 314-315), and another *antoninianus* of Claudius II (fig. 4A), with the same chronology as those mentioned above.

In addition to these coins found upon the pavements, we can highlight an assemblage of excellently preserved coins found in the fill of one of the arcs in the hypocausts that divides the two heated rooms (fig. 4F). This hoard, which was probably deliberately hid in relation to a bone assemblage found in the same context, comprised in 62 AE2 coins. This hoard is a significant chronological marker for the early abandonment of the complex, as these coin series are framed by a narrow frame of AD 378-395. The most significant numismatic evidence, from a chronological perspective, are several coins issued on behalf of Arcadius, Theodosius, and Honorius, dated to AD 392-395. As such, they present a chronological horizon in the closing years of the 4th century AD or, more likely, the opening years of the 5th century. In any case, the good state of preservation of the coins and their homogeneity rules out that they were the result of residual circulation processes, which makes them a more reliable chronological marker for the early abandonment of the baths.

In line with this, the ceramic contexts found in relation to the early abandonment of the building are also representative. Concerning the material retrieved in 2012 and 2015 (soundings 9 and 12), several contexts can be singled out. First, the levels sitting directly upon

the *opus signinum* pavement in the south-eastern room, which includes several examples of the Hayes 50 AB shape in ARSW-C (fig. 5.12-13) safely dated to the mid-4th century and the early 5th century AD (Hayes 1972, 68-73). The levels on top of this floor also yielded slow-wheel formed shapes, including a cooking pot without discernible lip (fig. 5.14), which was dated to the same period (Macías 1999, 80-94).

Further contexts confirm this chronology. Several slow-wheel formed shapes with specific marks and applied cordons (fig. 5.15-16) were found directly upon the surface level. Some of these (fig. 5.17) clearly resemble Macías's high pots form c. AD 400-550 (Macía 1999, 65, plate 6.3). Other similar contexts, such as the fills of the trenches dug by looters in search of the lead *fistulae* of the *apodyterium*, yielded a specimen of cooking pot of the Lamb. 9A/Hayes 181 type (fig. 5.18), which dates between the second half of the 2nd and the 5th century AD (Bonifay 2004, 213-215). A piece of evidence that would not be substantial, were it not for other items. An example for such is an olive-green glass cup (Foy 18/19; fig. 5.19) which is, judging by the fire-rounded and everted rim and the carved decoration to the exterior, typical of 5th century productions (Foy 1995). Another example from the same context are slow-wheel formed ceramic fragments from a pot decorated with applied cordons to the exterior (fig. 5.20), which dates between the 4th century and the 6th century AD (Reynolds 1985).

Finally, the first of the collapse levels and fills inside the *caldarium* yielded the handle of a Keay XIX amphora (4th-5th century AD) (fig. 5.21) and, beneath this level, the same context in which the monetary hoard was found yielded a Hayes 91AB in ARSW-D (fig. 5.22), a variant dated to the late 4th and especially in the first half of the 5th century (Bonifay 2004, 178-179). All the data is thus compatible with an early abandonment in the opening years of the 5th century, during the reign of Honorius, which is in line with the evidence for the abandonment of the fort (a recent review in Bernal-Casasola *et al.* 2020).

Bathing infrastructure in *Tamuda*

As pointed out by Nielsen (1993, 35), Roman bathing had to do with hygiene and leisure, but was also understood as an instrument of romanisation, especially if it was made available to the occupants of military *vicus*. For this reason, its presence in auxiliary forts in the frontiers of the Empire is especially significant; bath complexes were, therefore, anything but exceptional in military detachments along the limes. *Tamuda's castellum* was sufficiently important to be generously equipped for this purpose. There are few auxiliary military forts with baths both inside and outside the walls, for instance in the *castellum* Bothwellhaugh, more or less contemporary with *Tamuda's castellum*. Bothwellhaugh house a *balneum intra moenia* – directly related to the *praetorium* – and

a second one 100 m away from the wall, near the river (Keppie 1981, 46-91).

Considering the singular nature of the small baths associated with the therapeutic activity of the possible *valetudinarium*, it seems logical to suggest that the *balneum* situated outside the *castellum* of *Tamuda* was open to the general use of both troops as civilians. We must take into account that *balnea* that depended on *castella* garrisoned by auxiliary troops were generally outside the walls (Keppie 1981; Tentea 2018; Expósito *et al.* 2021). The separation from the military facilities is explained by several factors. First, it reduces the risk of fire, as thermal *propnigae* were in operation at all times. On the other hand such a location clearly segregates leisure from military routines, reserving the protected space *intra moenia* for basic strategic equipment. Thirdly, the position of baths largely depends on water supply, and for this reason many of these buildings were erected in fluvial terraces. And finally, the *balnea* are often associated with other military and civilian buildings related to the nearby military *vicus*, capable of offering military/civilian services to the fort. In this regards, size, internal configuration and strategic location of the eastern *balneum* of *Tamuda*, near the *Uad Sequin* or *Tamuda* stream, find parallels in *Tingitana*, such as *Thamusida*, and also in more distant frontiers, for instance in *Vindolanda* and *Malaesti*; if not the result of a premeditated design, these sites certainly follow similar patterns.

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The integration of public baths into post-military *colonia* and *civitas* capitals in Roman Britain

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In his discussion of the archaeological remains beneath the *colonia* baths at Lincoln, Michael J. Jones (2003a, 42) acknowledged that “[t]he relationship between [fortress] baths (...) and their replacements or equivalents in the *colonia* period needs further exploration.” This paper seeks to answer that call through a careful analysis of the history of construction of the civilian baths at three *coloniae* and three *civitas* capitals that developed out or overtop of military settlements (namely fortresses) in Roman Britain. These sites include Exeter, Wroxeter, Chichester, Lincoln, Gloucester, and Colchester. The results presented here are part of my larger dissertation project, ‘Which Way to the Baths? Bath Placement and City Planning in the Roman Mediterranean’ that uses baths as a case study to understand more fully the active and diverse roles taken by communities in shaping their own cultural and urban landscape through the integration of new architectural forms into the urban fabric of their cities and towns.

This project began with the goal of determining what happened to the legionary baths of Britain when the army withdrew and their fortresses were replaced by cities and towns. Did the legionary baths continue to be used during the life of the town, and if so, for how long? In those instances where the legionary baths were dismantled or destroyed, did those responsible for erecting the new civilian baths choose to build them on the same site as the legionary baths in order to make use of pre-existing bath infrastructure or building materials? And finally, is there any evidence for the conversion of military baths for civilian use?

It soon became clear, however, that the number of Romano-British sites for which even some of these questions could be answered is, unfortunately, very small. There are two main difficulties. The first challenge is recognizing the survival and use of military structures (in this case the legionary baths) into the civilian period, especially when we are lacking precise foundation dates for many Romano-British towns (Colchester is the exception: Crummy 1999, 95). The second compounding obstacle is that, among the Romano-British towns included in this survey, the location of the legionary baths has only been securely established in Exeter. The location of the military baths at Colchester (Black 1992, 120-122; Crummy 1999, 93; 2019) and Wroxeter (Webster 1988, 125; 2002, 7, fig. 1.7; White & Barker 1998, 74) have only been conjectured, while the other towns included in this study have not yet presented any conclusive evidence to suggest where

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the military baths lay or whether or not they survived the conversion of fortress to civilian settlement. At present, therefore, we cannot identify with certainty the continued use of any military baths by civilians in any of the cities or towns of Roman Britain.

Fortunately, there is more information about the types of buildings that lay beneath the later civilian baths at Exeter, Wroxeter, Chichester, Lincoln, Gloucester, and Colchester. It is, therefore, possible to conclude that those responsible for establishing these civilian baths did not make use of, convert, or build overtop legionary baths, but instead they looked to new locations for these facilities, likely either purchasing or expropriating land for this purpose. In order to explore the placement and construction of these surveyed baths in greater detail, the following section presents brief overviews of the legionary and civilian bathing history at the aforementioned towns, beginning with Exeter.

Exeter (*Isca Dumnoniorum* – *civitas capital*)

Sometime between 80 and 90 AD, following the full withdrawal of the garrison (originally from *Legio II Augusta*) and the change over from fortress to *civitas* capital, Exeter's *principia* was converted into the *forum*, and part of the legionary bath behind it (which, although left standing, showed signs of abandonment) was replaced by the town's *basilica* (Bidwell 1979, 67 and 86-87; 2021, 163; Henderson 1988, 109-111, fig. 5.12). The new civilian baths were later built sometime after c. 90 AD (Henderson 1988, 115), and they were located 15 m to the southeast of the south corner of the town's *forum*, roughly 80 m away from the position of the earlier legionary baths (measurements taken from Wachter 2015, fig. 151). Although the new baths were presumably close enough to take advantage of the aqueduct used by the legionary baths, Henderson states that the fortress aqueduct went out of use at the same time as the legionary baths, and so it could not have been used by the new civilian bathing facility. Instead, in 100/101 AD, a new aqueduct was built to bring water to the *forum* (and presumably to the baths) from a different source than the military aqueduct. Unlike the legionary aqueduct, which came into the fortress from the northeast, this civilian aqueduct drew from a spring in the Longbrook Valley north of the site (Henderson 1988, 115).

Wroxeter (*Viroconium* – *civitas capital*)

Excavations under the *palaestra* of the civilian baths at Wroxeter and the *macellum* to its southwest (both part of *insula* 5) have uncovered a complex sequence of buildings, related to the pre-legionary, legionary, and post-legionary activity on the site (Ellis 2000, 11-78; Webster 2002, 14-15 and 31-63). During the military period (57-90 AD), successive phases of timber barrack blocks,

centurial quarters, mess halls, a store building, and a stone structure filled the *insula* of the later baths (Webster 1988, 131-132 and 136, figs 6.12-13; 2002, 31-63). Around 90 AD, timber framed buildings, which Webster (2002, 49-63) identifies as military and Ellis (2000, xii) argues are more likely civilian shops with living quarters, were built along Watling Street on the footings of an earlier stone military structure (Ellis 2000, xii). These timber structures were eventually replaced by the *macellum* and public baths during the Hadrianic reorganization of the town center (Webster 1988, 131, 137 and 139; Ellis, 2000, xiii, 11 and 47).

The public baths lay directly across the street and east of a set of earlier baths that some scholars (*i.e.* White & Barker 1998, 74) believe may have been begun as a military bathing facility, built by the final legion to occupy the site, *Legio XX Valeria Victrix*; however, it is also possible that this earlier set of baths were civilian built, begun soon after the military withdrew. These early baths were left unfinished around the end of the 1st century AD and the area was then replaced by the town's *forum* by 129-30 AD (Atkinson 1942, 179; Webster 1988, 140; Barker *et al.* 1997, 1 and 221). It is possible that the construction on the new public baths was begun around the same time as the *forum* (Ellis 2000, xiii, 11 and 47). Barker *et al.* (1997, 221), however, has suggested that the baths were actually started earlier (around 120 AD), coinciding with Hadrian's visit to Britain (*Scriptores Historiae Augustae Vita Hadriani* 11.2), and that the *forum* construction may have caused a delay in the completion of the baths, which were only finished in the Antonine period (Ellis 2000, 47).

These newer civilian baths also lay directly northwest of another masonry structure south of the *principia*, which Graham Webster (1988, 125 and 137; 2002, 7, fig. 1.7) has hypothesized was the legionary baths rather than those under the *forum*, although no archaeological excavation has yet been conducted to test his theory. Regardless of whether White and Barker or Webster are correct in their identification of the legionary baths, it is clear that the Hadrianic/Antonine public baths were not constructed over top of or out of Wroxeter's legionary baths.

Chichester (*Noviomagus Reg(i)norum* – *civitas capital*)

Although excavators found what they identified as timber-built military barracks on the site of the later town, the type and extent of the military presence at Chichester are unknown (Down 1988, 8 and 18; Wachter 2015, 259-262). Some scholars such as Magilton (2003, 162) have questioned whether there was a military presence here at all. Under the present site of the civilian baths (between Chapel and Towers Streets), there are multiple phases of timber buildings. The first three may be military in character (Down 1978, 140; 1988, 8; Wachter 2015, 259). The fourth is industrial, possibly worker's huts associated with

the construction of the bathhouse (Down 1978, 140-141; Dawkes & Hart 2017, 43).

Lincoln (*Lindum – colonia*)

The presence of legionary-period timber structures beneath parts of the 2nd century civilian baths, located in the upper city of the *colonia*, suggests that these later baths did not occupy the same position as earlier legionary baths, which have yet to be identified (Jones 2003a, 42; 2003b, 80). Moreover, although Jones (2002, 71; 2003b, 80) has postulated that earlier brick courses incorporated into the civilian bath's walls could have belonged to the legionary period, he also acknowledges that the presence of Samian ware and vessel glass dating to the late 1st or early 2nd century AD at the site of the baths suggested that they were begun after the change over from fortress to *colonia*. The choice to place the bath in the northeastern section of the city could have been influenced by the position of a roughly contemporary water tank adjacent to the baths, although it is not clear which came first (Jones 2003b, 61 and 79).

Gloucester (*Glenum/Colonia Nervia Glevensium*)

Although much of the early *colonia* was built directly over the fortress, excavation of the proposed public civilian baths (Building VIII.1, c. 120 AD) has so far, not found any military predecessors. Instead, three 'insubstantial' floors, likely belonging to a timber building, were the only remains found under the possible baths (Hunter 1968, 57).

Colchester (*Camulodunum/Colonia Virtriciensis*)

Excavations by the Colchester Archaeological Trust at Colchester have revealed that the civilian bathhouse south of the temple of Claudius was not built on virgin ground, but instead atop another masonry structure (Crummy 2019). The Trust posited that this could be an earlier bathhouse, serving the 20th Legion that was responsible for building and occupying the fortress at Colchester. At present, the excavators have not precisely dated this masonry building, noting only that it is pre-Boudiccan and was destroyed during the Boudiccan Revolt (Crummy 2019). If they are correct in their hypothesis, it would mean that the legionary baths continued to be used in the earliest phase of the *colonia*. It is, however, equally possible that this structure was an early civilian bath, newly built after the military pulled out of Colchester in 49 AD. More excavation is needed to clarify this point, which unfortunately, may prove difficult, as the baths lie below a locally listed 15th-century building that is being restored into a brewery.

If, however, further excavation does reveal that the building under the civilian baths is not another bathhouse

(legionary or otherwise), there is another pre-Boudiccan structure in the northwest corner of *Insula* 38 (just south of *Insula* 30) which could have been a predecessor of the later *Insula* 30 baths (Crummy 1990/1991, 10-11; Black 1992, 120-122) and perhaps even the legionary bathhouse. Either possibility, if correct, would place the legionary baths within the military annex of the fortress. A third possibility (*insula* 20) has been proposed as the site of a bath house, which would put it right inside the fortress defences (Benfield & Garrod 1992, 33). Crummy (1990/1991, 11), however, has called this possibility "a bit of a long shot".

Discussion

From the short survey above, it is clear that those responsible for planning and building civilian baths in new towns that developed out of military settlements, chose not to convert or build over top of earlier legionary baths (with Colchester being the only possible exception). The question then becomes, why not? Afterall, legionary bathhouses shared most (if not all) of the core elements and extra amenities with civilian public baths and could be built on a scale rivalling their civilian counterparts. The fortress baths at Exeter, for example, were 4000 m² (Bidwell 1980, 24), which is similar in size to the civilian baths at *Augusta Raurica* in *Germania superior* (4230 m²), *Faesulae* in Italy (4000 m²), and those at Wroxeter in Britain (4550 m²) (Nielsen 1993, 9 and 20-21). Military baths could have, therefore, provided a comparable social experience for civilian bathers.

There are a few possible reasons why those responsible for erecting a public bathing facility might choose a new site for their baths rather than re-using elements of or building on the same site as earlier military baths. The first is the complete or partial destruction of the legionary baths, either through intentional destruction or natural decay, to such an extent that they were no longer useable. The abandonment of a military fortress was usually anticipated by the complete or partial systematic dismantling of military buildings by the army as part of their departure process (Jones 1988, 154). It is therefore possible that the military baths of these sites were included in the dismantling process, excepting Exeter where the baths seem to have been left standing (Henderson 1988, 110).

Alternatively, a long enough gap between the military leaving and the erection of civic buildings, including a new bathhouse, could have caused the legionary baths, if left standing by the army, to decay to such an extent that they were no longer usable or easily convertible for civilian use. Unfortunately, both types of destruction are hard to fully evaluate due to the aforementioned difficulties of identifying military buildings left standing into the civilian period and the paucity of extant legionary baths from Romano-British towns.

Another possible reason for building civilian baths on separate sites was money. When it came time to acquire a set of public baths for civilian use, the local community was faced with the difficulty of paying for these important, yet costly, civic structures. While it may seem like conversion is the most financially expedient choice, as we have just discussed, this may not have been possible due to the destruction or decay of the baths. It may then have been more cost effective to use another site for the baths rather than trying to clean-up and/or rebuilt an older one. This preference is clear from the several instances (Wroxeter, Lincoln, Chichester, and Gloucester) where civilian baths were built in locations previously occupied by timber or unsubstantial structures. Such timber-built construction would have been much easier to clear than the masonry rubble from a military bath.

Building afresh would also have given the town a chance to build baths perfectly suited to their needs. The legionary baths at Exeter, for example, were reduced in size, perhaps to accommodate the smaller garrison that was stationed here sometime after about 65-75 AD, and they were eventually abandoned when the army finally departed in c.80 AD (Henderson 1988, 109-110; Bidwell 2021, 153). It is possible that these reduced baths were now ill-suited to the needs of the town, and it was easier to build on a new site rather than renovate the older baths. The layout of the early baths under the *forum* in Wroxeter, meanwhile, included a very large open-air *palaestra*, a space which might not have been entirely suitable for British weather. At 52 by 73 m the *palaestra* was too large to be converted into a covered hall (and therefore be made useful year-round) as is seen in other baths in Roman Britain (Webster 1993, 55). Therefore, as at Exeter, the switch to a new site may have been deemed more economical than trying to rework the unsuitable pre-existing structure.

Another potential reason behind the choice of a new site is that the location of the civic center of the new town necessitated a shift in the site of the baths. In Roman Britain, like in the rest of the Empire, the city center near the *forum* was the most popular location for public baths (Hardman forthcoming). Therefore, if the position of the legionary baths did not align with the new center of the town, this may be another reason for building the civilian baths on a new, more accessible site. For example, when the city of Wroxeter was extended west in the Hadrianic period, the civic center, including the *forum*, *basilica*, and *macellum*, was shifted further west (Webster 1993, 51). Those responsible for the re-planning of the city evidently decided to keep the new baths close to the other important civic buildings in the new civic center.

To summarize, while the current evidence does not allow for any conclusions about the continued use of legionary baths into the civilian period in the cities and

towns of Roman Britain, it is clear that, when civilian baths were introduced into the *colonia* and *civitas* capitals that had developed out of military sites, the local communities chose not to convert pre-existing military baths or make use of pre-existing bath infrastructure and locations, but rather to build these facilities *ex novo* in locations and in a style that best suited their needs. For now, Michael J. Jones' call to clarify the relationship between fortress baths and their replacement remains unanswered, but this contribution has helped to shed more light on the history of civilian baths at former military sites in Britain as well as the decision-making process behind the placement of these facilities.

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From Caesar to Late Antiquity

Roman settlement in the vicinity of
the Hermeskeil fortress

Sabine Hornung, Lars Blöck, Marvin Seferi,
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The discovery of a Caesarian fortress near Hermeskeil (Lkr. Trier-Saarburg, Rhineland-Palatinate, Germany) provides us with various new insights into the archaeology of the Gallic Wars (Hornung 2019a). This unique and remarkably well-preserved site from the time of the Roman conquest may be situated in a peripheral landscape, but it nevertheless played a key role in Titus Labienus' campaigns against the *Treveri* in 53 and 51 BC (Hornung in preparation) and therefore opens up several research questions: for example, the reasons behind this choice of a seemingly remote location, the existence of warlike or possibly even peaceful relations with the native population and, ultimately, the consequences of the Treveran defeat. In order to find at least some of the answers, it seemed imperative to consider a broader picture and gain a more precise understanding of the settlement and population developments, economic changes and cultural interrelations, which are reflected in a large number of archaeological sites in the wider region.

A project funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) and established in 2019 addresses these research desiderations by investigating continuities and discontinuities in settlement structures and material culture on the basis of intensive archaeological fieldwork. It combines large-scale geophysical prospections, fieldwalking and metal detection with targeted excavations, in order to clarify interpretations and the dating of individual sites. Far beyond expanding our knowledge on the events during the Caesarian horizon itself, this project now provides more detailed insights into the development and structure of the Roman settlement system in the Hochwald region than ever before, starting from the time of the conquest and all the way into Late Antiquity. It also helps us to understand several biases in the archaeological record, which seem of some importance with regard to the interpretation of Roman sites in other peripheral landscapes, by providing a more representative picture of Roman settlement and the dynamics of socio-economic development in the region.

Landscape and infrastructure

Hermeskeil is situated in the western Hunsrück mountains, about 35 km southeast of Trier. The surrounding landscape is dominated by the quartzite ridges of the

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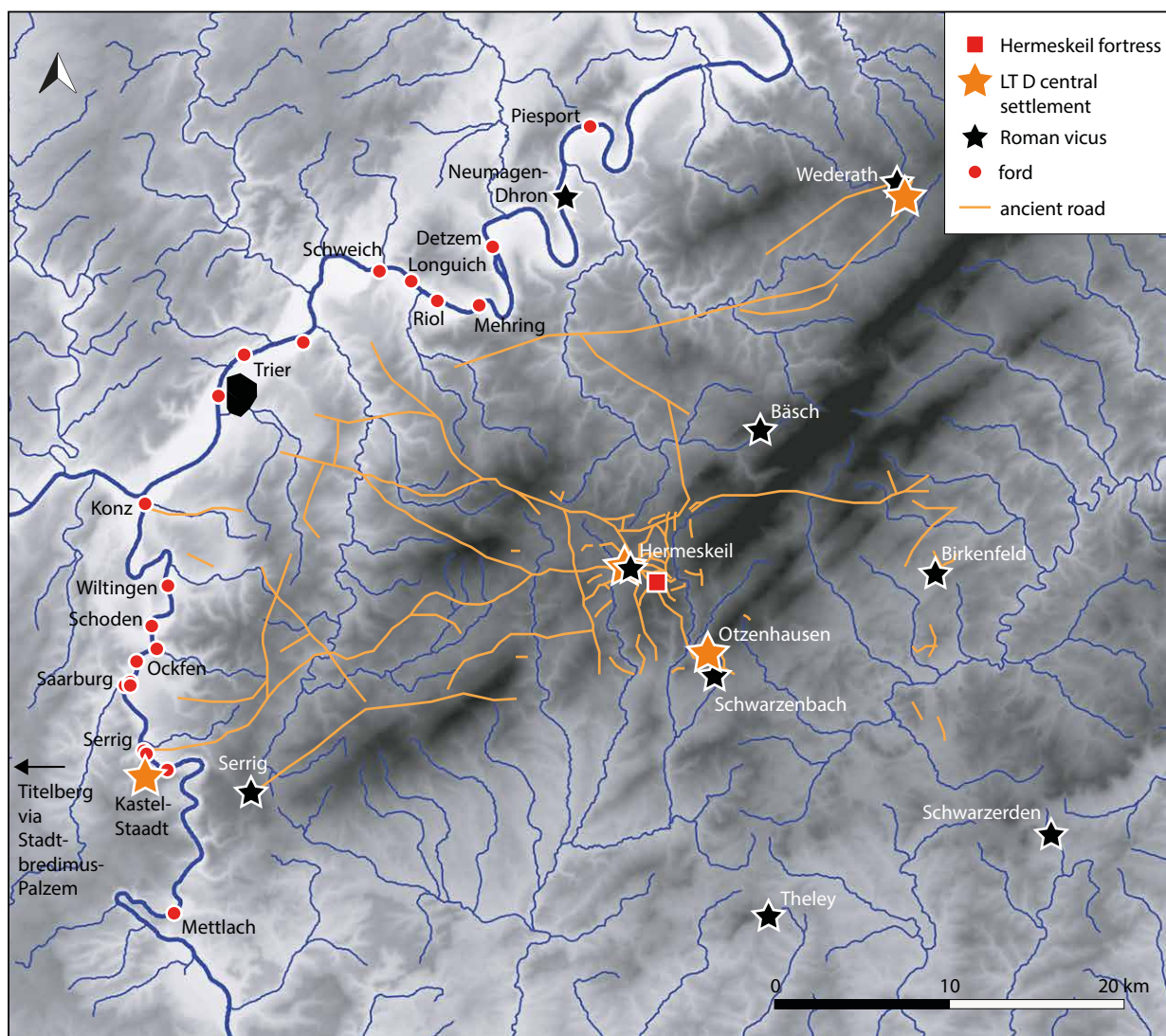


Figure 1. Reconstruction of the prehistoric road network in the western Hunsrück area and location of the most important central settlements from La Tène D and the Roman period (LiDARscan LVermeGeo Rheinland-Palatinate, graphics S. Hornung / P. Mertl).

Schwarzwälder Hochwald which are hostile to settlement and densely forested even today (fig. 1). The steep valleys of the rivers Prims, Löster and Wadrill break through this natural barrier, thus creating an axis of communication the infrastructural importance of which even survives in modern roads. The microregion around Hermeskeil occupies a central position within this passage across the mountains. It is situated in a trough on the upper course of the rivers, framed by the mountain ranges of the Schwarzwälder and Osburger Hochwald. Settlement conditions in the vicinity of Hermeskeil are therefore somewhat more favourable compared to the surrounding mountainous areas.

It seems hardly surprising that this extreme topography of the western Hunsrück resulted in continuities in the

road network from prehistoric times all the way into the pre-modern and sometimes even modern period, because the attempt to minimize the slope that had to be overcome has been an important constant throughout the centuries. This local infrastructure can be reconstructed from ancient roads, which are still preserved under forests, but also from crop marks and by considering neural points that enabled river crossings, like the fords across the Moselle and Saar, which are well documented for the pre-modern era and would not have been subject to fundamental changes throughout the centuries. Individual tracks may well have undergone marginal shifts, but main axes of communication never really changed. Accordingly, it comes as little surprise that the area around Hermeskeil always functioned as an infrastructural node in this

Figure 2. Magnetometry of the Roman *vicus* Hermeskeil (LiDARscan LVerGeo Rheinland-Palatinate, graphics P. Mertl).



reconstructed road network, the modern town for that very same reason still representing the only medium-sized centre in the entire western Hunsrück (Lang 2021, 27-28).

Two major axes of communication can be reconstructed, one of them crossing the Hochwald in a southeast-northwest direction and leading towards the Trier Basin, the other one following the northern slopes of the quartzite ridges from northeast to southwest (Hornung in preparation). Whereas the former provided access to the *oppida* at Otzenhausen (situated only about 5 km from Hermeskeil and in direct view of the Caesarian fortress) and Wallendorf during the Late Iron Age, the latter led towards Kastel-Staadt and the Titelberg in the west, as well as the Martberg *oppidum* in the east (fig. 1). A direct connection in the direction of the later 'Ausonius road' can be assumed, even though there is no clear archaeological evidence as yet. The location of Hermeskeil within the Treveran territory was therefore a very central one despite the peripherality of the surrounding landscape, which at the same time stresses the strategic position of Labienus' fortress. These roads are no less important with respect to the Roman settlement system and provided access to the Treveran capital of *Augusta Treverorum* and several neighbouring *vici*, which functioned as secondary centres. The fact that the Hermeskeil area controls the actual crossing of both major roads and, therefore, represented the most important infrastructural focus in the entire western

Hunsrück accounts for the development of a Roman *vicus*, which was only discovered in the course of this project.

The Roman *vicus* and its Late Iron Age predecessor

The *vicus* Hermeskeil covers an area of some 8.5 ha and consists of the typical strip buildings aligned along the road following the northern slopes of the Hochwald mountain ridge from northeast to southwest (fig. 2). Besides some 13 stone buildings visible in the magnetometric survey, all other houses seem to have been timber-framed constructions only the cellars of which survive. The course of this main axis of the Hermeskeil *vicus* illustrates a particular importance of its connection with the military centres along the Rhine to the east and Central Gaul to the west. Considering the settlements' relative proximity to the urban centre of *Augusta Treverorum* (Trier), situated some 35 km to the northwest, this could indicate relations between the inhabitants of the *vicus* and the Roman Rhine army in its formative phase, which seem to favour an early foundation (Reddé 2018, 158-160). The Roman settlement might therefore have evolved at a time when the importance of the Rhine axis for its civilian hinterland still surpassed that of the Treveran capital Trier (Hornung 2016, 205-209). This would have been the case at the very beginning of the Imperial period.

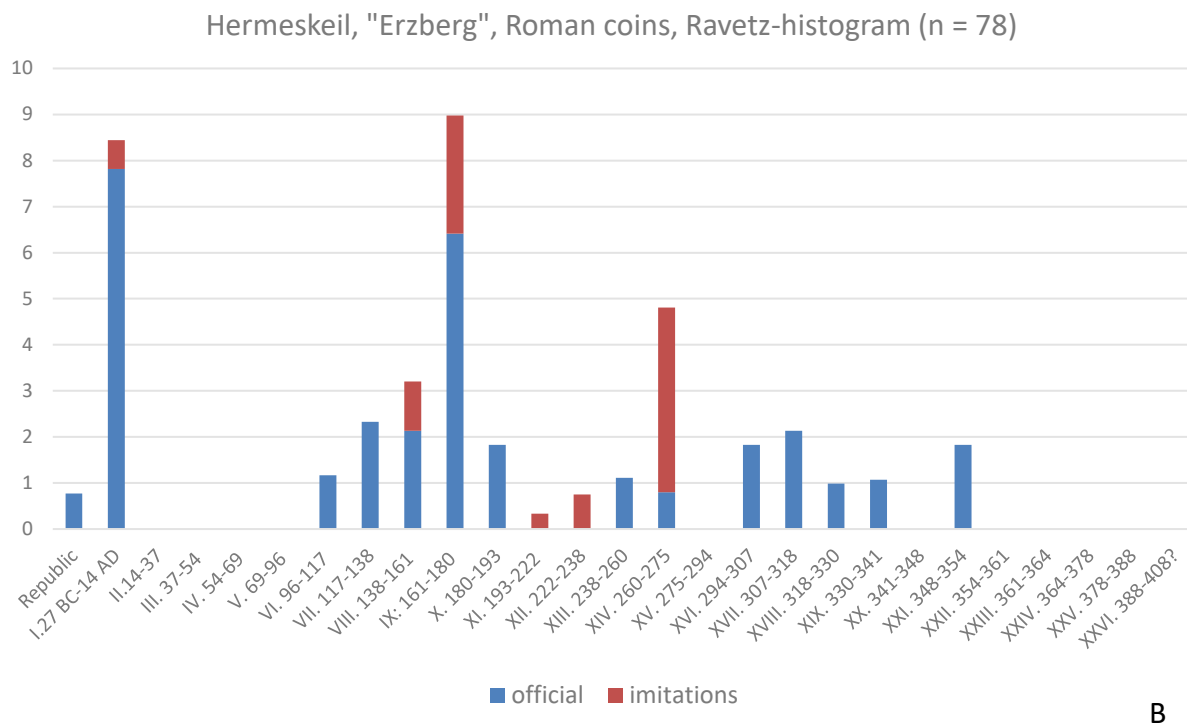
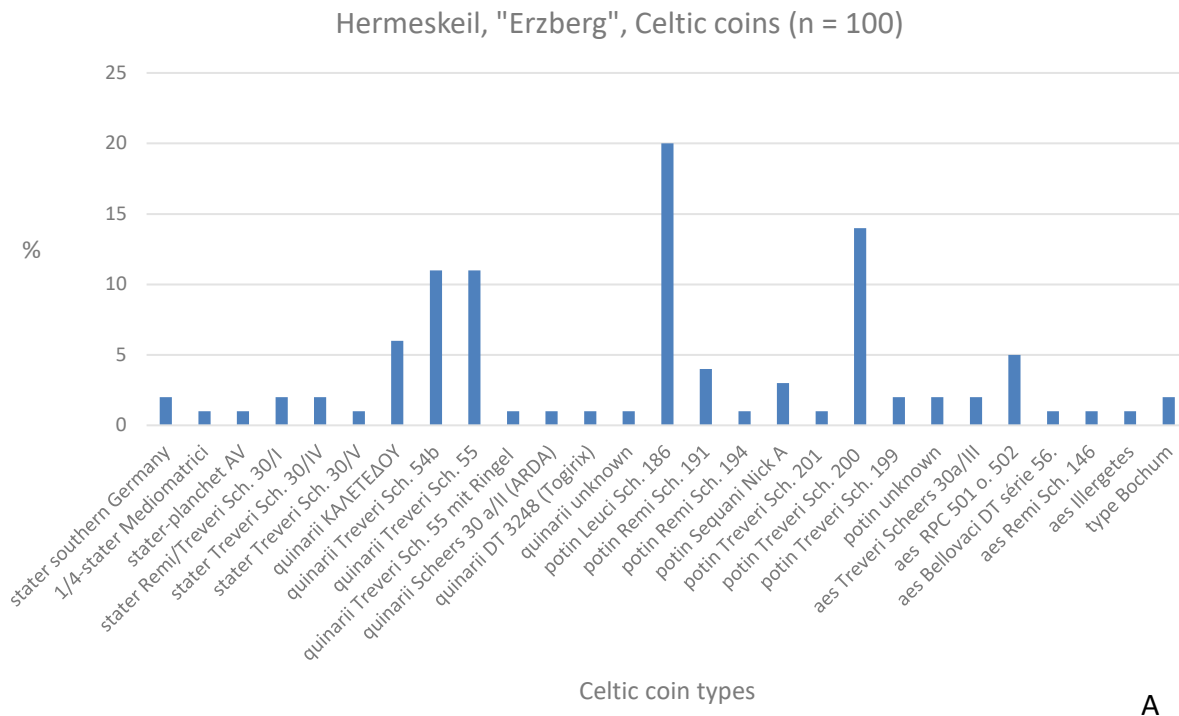


Figure 3. The Late Iron Age (A) and Roman coin series (B) from the Roman *vicus* Hermeskeil (L. Blöck / M. Seferi).

During prospection, the entire site proved to have been badly eroded, the majority of the finds being discovered somewhat downhill from the surviving remains of building structures. Erosion most severely affected the northern periphery of the settlement, which is located on higher ground. Even though no archaeological traces survive, the finds recorded during metal detection seem to speak in favour of the former existence of a sanctuary in this area. They comprise typical votive deposits like a lead miniature axe and a bronze *astragalus*, indicating ritual continuities from the Late Iron Age into the Roman period.

What is more, similar continuities in settlement activity are no less probable. This is illustrated by the discovery of post-built structures and La Tène D pottery in recent excavations but also by an impressive series of 100 Iron Age coins, the earliest emissions of which date as early as La Tène D1, whereas some La Tène D2b coins on the other hand serve to bridge the gap into the Imperial period. Among the earliest of the nine gold coins from the later *vicus* are a rainbow cup stater of the *Vindelici* (type Kellner V D), a southern German rainbow cup stater type Kellner V A and a quarter stater of the *Mediomatrici* (type Scheers 34/class I), whereas three eye staters, including a POTTINA stater of type Scheers 30/V, are somewhat younger and represent a regional gold horizon ending around the time of the Gallic Wars (fig. 3). A stater planchet even emphasises the relative importance of this settlement, which might have functioned as a Late Iron Age centre supplementing the nearby Otzenhausen *oppidum* (Hornung 2019b, 300-301). 17 out of the 32 Celtic silver coins are early emissions from the La Tène D1b period. Beside six *quinarii* of the KAΛETEΔOY type, characterised by their supraregional distribution, a total of eleven Treveran *quinarii* of type Scheers 54b represent a regional emission. The latter are supplemented by twelve *quinarii* of type Scheers 55 from the La Tène D2 period and a *quinarius* of the ARDA series (type Scheers 30a/II), as well as one *quinarius* of the TOGIRIX type (Delestrée-Tache 3248) from La Tène D2b. Additionally, there is a large number of supraregional La Tène D1 potins, such as 20 potins of the *Leuci* (type Scheers 186, ‘*au sanglier*’) and four of the *Remi* (type Scheers 191). One type A potin of the *Sequani* and a Scheers 194 type of the *Remi* are somewhat more unusual but undoubtedly early, too. Among the 17 Treveran potins that can be attributed to types Scheers 199-201, coins of type Scheers 200 are dominant and can be considered a regional characteristic. A total of only twelve bronze coins mainly represent regional emissions, for example, a local and yet unedited variant of the Hirtius-/Carrinas-series (RPC 501/502), as well as two bronzes of the Treveran ARDA series (type Scheers 30a/III). Somewhat more unusual are two bronze rainbow cups of the Bochum type from the areas further to the north (Heinrichs 2003, 322-327), whereas *Aduatuci*

and *Germanus-Indutilli* L coins are missing. It also seems worth mentioning a bronze of the *Remi* (type Scheers 146) and one of the *Bellovaci* (Delestrée-Tache sér. 56), but most unusual is a Celtiberian bronze of the *Ilergetes* (type Villaronga 41), minted between 80-72 BC and in remarkably good condition. The latter supports evidence from the Caesarian fortress indicating the presence of Iberian auxiliaries during the time of the conquest (Hornung in preparation). In all probability, five undivided Republican *asses* (1 x RRC 338/1; 4 x undetermined) can also be regarded as part of a Caesarian coin horizon from the Hermeskeil *vicus* (Martin 2017), which is probably best explained by the economic role of Late Iron Age sanctuaries as well as complex central functions of the adjacent settlement (Hornung 2016, 166-191).

The Roman coin series comprises 144 Roman coins in total of which only 78 can be precisely determined (fig. 3). Beside one *as* of the Vienna type RIC I² (RPC 517), there are 14 undivided *asses* of the Nemausus I type (RIC I² 155). Nine coins can only generally be attributed to type Nemausus I-II (RIC I² 154-158) and four coins to Nemausus I-III (RIC I² 155-161). Nine of these 13 coins are divided. Since clear evidence for series II and III is therefore missing, as is also the altar of Lyons series, the Augustan coins from Hermeskeil most probably date to the Drusus horizon. They compare well to the finds from Oberaden, where the Nemausus I type amounts to 95 % of all coins (FMRD VI 5081; Ilisch 1992; Berger 2015). Five *asses* from Hermeskeil bear countermarks of the types Werz 25.1 and 3 as well as 25.8.1 and 125.2, potentially supporting a dating to the Oberaden horizon (Werz 2009). Only one roundish countermark cannot be determined further. At any rate, the Augustan coin series seems to speak in favour of a Roman military presence during the time of Drusus’ campaigns. The latter may well be explained by an important economic central function of the settlement, which could have been an integral part of the Roman military supply infrastructure. This assumption would at the same time account for the *vicus*’ infrastructural orientation towards the Rhine. Since the Augustan coins are quite widely and more or less evenly distributed across the site, their appearance seems to relate to the entire *vicus* rather than only part of the settlement and, therefore, underlines the idea of potential continuities from the Late Iron Age into the Early Imperial period.

After a marked gap in the coin record during the 1st century AD, which is bridged only by pottery finds indicating continuing settlement, the coin series once more sets in around the turn of the 1st and 2nd century AD. Coins from the reign of Marcus Aurelius are quite frequent, albeit less important than the Augustan coin series, and after AD 180 coinage is generally rare. In contrast to other sites from the wider region, even imitations of Antoninianus coins from the time of the *Imperium Galliarum* are

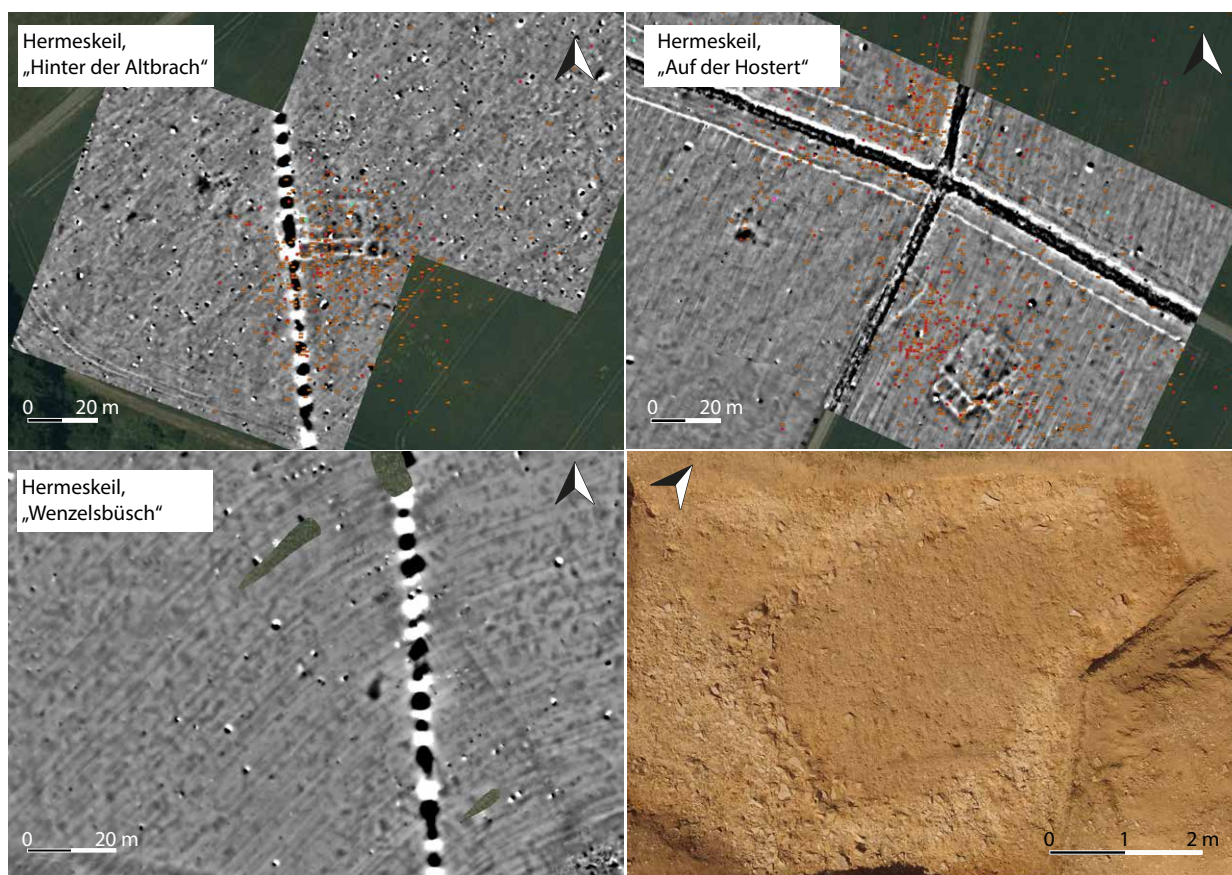


Figure 4. Main types of Roman rural settlements in the Hermeskeil area. Above: two *villae rusticae*, below: farmstead with timbered building, only the stone cellar is visible in the magnetometry (left) and excavation (right), magnetometry ± 10 nT (P. Mertl).

less frequent than the well-represented earlier mints. There is only sporadic evidence from the first half of the 4th century, the youngest coin finally dating to about the middle of the 4th century. The peaks for the minting years 330-348 and 364-378 typical for the north-eastern Gallic area are missing (Wigg 1991; Wigg-Wolff 2004; Wigg-Wolf *et al.* 2009). These peculiarities of the coin series can either be explained by a local demonetization of the economy or as reflecting demographic development (Van Heesch 2022). They are in contrast with the Roman pottery record from excavations in the area of the *vicus* though, which suggests continuity from the Augustan period all the way into the middle of the 4th century. A most recent find horizon is represented by the so-called Upper Rhine Nigra (Zagermann 2010, 114-115).

Roman rural settlement

Recent surveying and excavations have almost doubled the number of Roman rural settlements known in the area around Hermeskeil, with a large number of new sites discovered along the Rotbach Valley northeast of the

modern town. Distances between individual sites usually vary between only 200 and 400 m. Considering that their distribution is mainly limited to cultivated land and that the fringes of the study area are still densely forested today, we can probably account for a significant number of other sites which are still beyond archaeological detection. Despite being a peripheral landscape, the area around modern-day Hermeskeil would, therefore, have been quite densely settled in Roman times. Some peculiarities with regard to settlement types are worth mentioning.

Stone-built *villae rusticae* are usually small, with main-buildings no more than 25 m in length (fig. 4). There are as yet only a few examples with representative winged-portico façades, whereas other *villae* have simple rectangular main buildings whose room alignments surround a central hall or courtyard (Heimberg 2002/2003, 93-96). The number of outbuildings is rather limited and never surpasses two or at maximum three, judging by the remains of stone walls visible in the magnetometry. On the other hand, the additional existence of timbered outbuildings cannot be ruled out for certain. A second

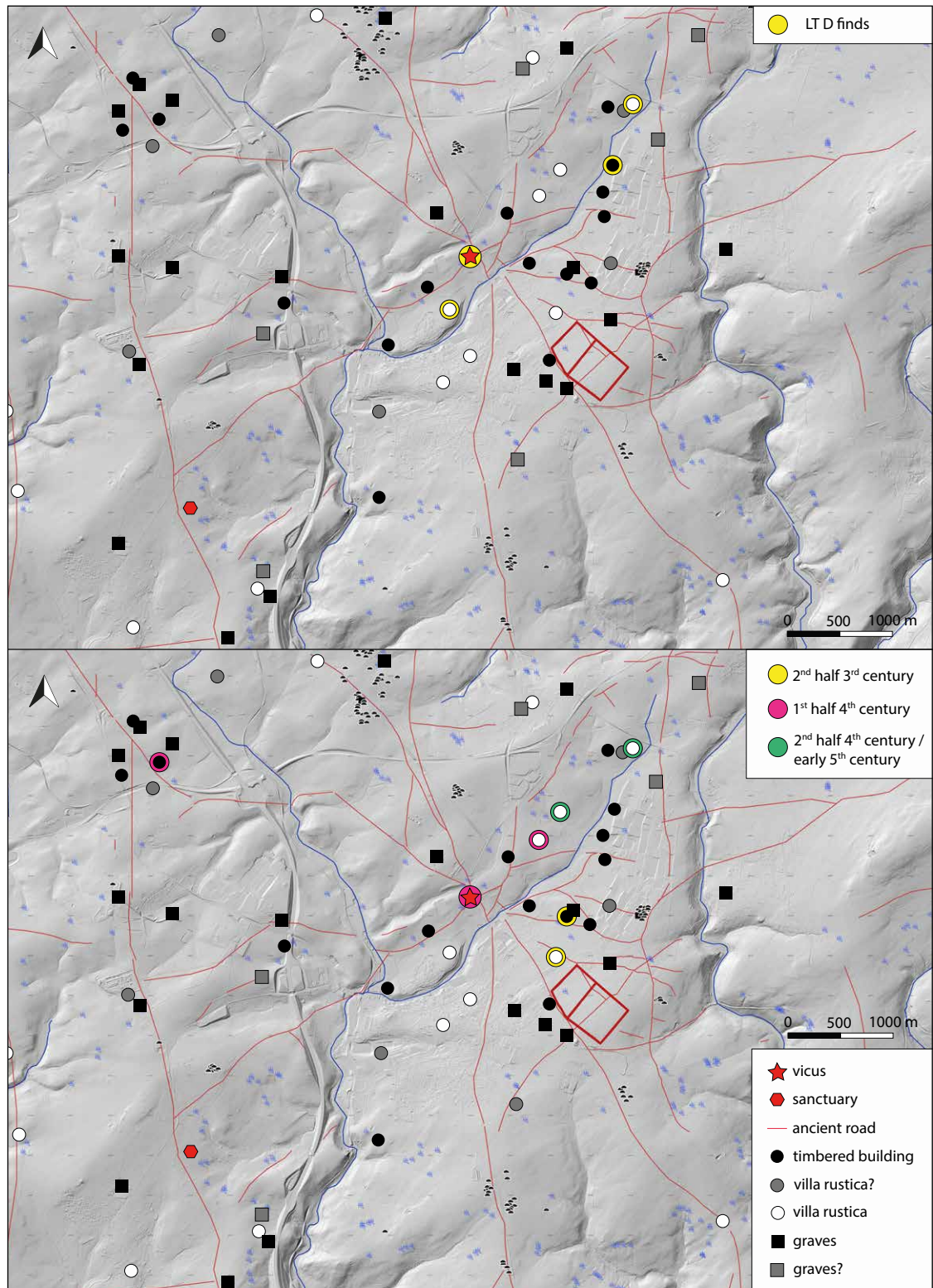


Figure 5. Chronological development of the Roman settlement system in the Hermeskeil area. Above: settlement sites with La Tène D finds indicating possible continuities from the Late Iron Age; below: decline of the Roman settlement system and dating of the latest finds from selected sites. The precise dating of individual sites is still work in progress (S. Hornung / P. Mertl).

type of Roman rural settlement is characterized by stone-built cellars or pits visible only in the magnetometry (fig. 4). Since no postholes have been detected on any of these sites, these sunken structures most likely belonged to timber-framed buildings whose size and plan cannot be reconstructed for reasons of preservation. Only one of these sites provided first-hand archaeological evidence for a possible sill beam construction. In addition to stone-built *villae rusticae*, we can therefore assume the existence of a second group of Roman farmsteads comprising timbered buildings only.

The distribution of both settlement types seems quite remarkable. All stone-built *villae rusticae* recorded during recent prospections cluster in a radius of 1 km around the Hermeskeil vicus. What is more, they are always found in the vicinity of the two most important roads described above. Evidence from the wider area also seems to confirm this spatial connection to important roads, even though the state of research does not always allow for a clear attribution of single sites to one or the other type of Roman farmstead. On the other hand, there are smaller areas where evidence for stone-built *villae* is missing completely, for example, on the southern slopes of the upper Rotbach or in the areas immediately west and northwest of Hermeskeil. These distinct distribution patterns once more underline what is also known from the archaeological finds discovered in recent excavations. Timbered farmsteads existed throughout the entire Imperial period and they can be regarded as reflecting socio-economic hierarchies in an altogether very modest Roman rural settlement system (Hornung 2019b, 302-314).

With regards to the genesis of these settlement structures and the question of possible continuities from the Late Iron Age, the evidence is still incomplete. It seems worth mentioning that only three of the known Roman rural sites in the Hermeskeil area have produced archaeological finds from the La Tène D period (fig. 5 above). La Tène D1b/D2a coinage – a potin of type Scheers 191 in one case and a type Scheers 186 potin as well as a Scheers 55 type *quinarius* in a second case – was found near two *villae rusticae*, whereas some sherds of La Tène D2 pottery come from a timbered settlement that existed at least into the Early Imperial period. All three sites are situated on the lower terrace of the Rotbach and in direct vicinity of the stream, where other Late Iron Age farmsteads might also be expected to lie. Processes of erosion and accumulation can therefore be considered as the main reason behind an insufficient archaeological visibility of La Tène D settlements in the region. The fact that all evidence for Late Iron Age rural settlements known so far comes from sites whose continuities into the Roman period resulted in a somewhat increased visibility seems no less remarkable and suggests additional methodological problems during prospection.

Some observations concerning the decline of the Roman settlement system are no less significant. Even though only the finds from very few selected sites have yet been investigated in detail, some general tendencies are already visible. The Roman rural settlements on the southern slopes of the Rotbach valley were abandoned as early as the second half of the 3rd century AD. This development seems to have concerned *villae rusticae* and timbered farmsteads alike. On the other hand, in all *villae rusticae* and simple farmsteads north of the Rotbach and, therefore, in the vicinity of the most important road, settlement activity seems to have continued into the 4th or even 5th century AD, the two latest sites so far both situated on the north-eastern fringes of the study area (fig. 5 below). Moreover, this dating mainly relies on the pottery record, whereas coinage from Late Antiquity is unusually rare in all rural settlements of the Hermeskeil area. Two crossbow brooches – one of type Keller-Pröttel 3/4, the other a Germanic bow knob derivative of type Meyer IV.2 – from the two latest sites are among the rare metal finds supporting a dating to the late 4th and 5th century AD (Meyer 1960; Keller 1971; Pröttel 1988). They indicate the presence of Roman officials or military in the Hermeskeil area even during Late Antiquity.

The marked differences in the dating of pottery and coins from rural settlements can be considered as an indirect reflection of the local Roman economy, indicating that the latter might even have been largely devoid of coinage. The Hermeskeil area would have played no more than a limited role in supra-regional trade networks, while at the same time exchange must have been of some importance in everyday life. What is more, this lack of economic power seems altogether little surprising in this remote mountainous area, the more so when considering the infrastructural situation in Late Antiquity. Trier, which temporarily functioned as an Imperial residence in the later part of the 4th century AD, Metz and Mainz can be considered as main urban centres from that period in the wider region. Accordingly, the roads connecting them would still have been of some economic importance, too. It therefore comes as little surprise that Roman rural settlements along the main river valleys or near the so-called ‘Ausonius road’ connecting Mainz and Trier did indeed survive somewhat longer than those in the more remote parts of the western Hunsrück, which would have fallen into relative infrastructural isolation from the later part of the 3rd century AD onwards (Lang 2021, 343-347). The changes in the Roman settlement system recorded during the latest research in the Hermeskeil area seem to be a direct reflection of these economic shifts.

Conclusion

Landscape archaeological research in the vicinity of the Hermeskeil fortress can, therefore, contribute to our

understanding of Roman settlement developments far beyond the Hunsrück area itself. It highlights the existence of timbered farmsteads that are archaeologically hard to detect and whose existence may well be assumed for other marginal areas too. The ongoing project also provides a more nuanced picture of the Roman economy with settlement structures and material culture directly deriving from natural and, of course, economic resources. Peripheral settlement landscapes like the western Hunsrück may therefore well have been peripheral in coin circulation too, simply due to a lack of economic power. The archaeological consequences of this development are still somewhat difficult to assess, but a cultural persistency potentially resulting from such relative isolation would not be altogether surprising. It is thus left to further research to gain a more detailed understanding of these socio-economic changes and their effect on the development of material culture as well as archaeological visibility.

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Abbreviations

RRC: Crawford 1974
 Delestrée-Tache: Delestrée & Tache 2002-2008
 Kellner: Kellner 1990
 FMRD VI: Korzus 1971
 Keller-Pröttel: Keller 1971; Pröttel 1988
 Meyer: Meyer 1960
 RIC I²: Sutherland 1984
 RPC: *Roman Provincial Coinage*
 Scheers: Scheers 1977
 Villaronga: Villaronga 2004

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Spuma Batava

Experimental research into a Germanic fad in 1st-century Rome

Hans D.J. Huisman and Dorothee M. Olthof

In the interaction between the Romans and the Germanic people they encountered along the Rhine frontier (*limes*), attention is usually on how the Roman presence affected the local population. Little attention has been paid to the influence of Germanic people on the Romans, let alone on cultural transfer to the distant heart of the Roman Empire. However, contact with Germanic people seems to have led to a fashion of changing women's hair colour from the typical dark Mediterranean colours to redder or even blond hair. In this publication, we present the results of a first experiment to recreate one of the means that was potentially used for this *i.e.*, *spuma Batava* or Batavian foam.

Blond hair in ancient Rome

Plinius the Elder describes how a substance called *sapo* was used by the Gauls to lighten or redden the colour of the hair (*Historia Naturalis* 28.191.28-47; http://www.attalus.org/info/pliny_hn.html). Other 1st-century AD writers, like Martial (Epigrammata 8.33.20 and 14.26-27; https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/martial_epigrams_book01.htm), also refer to Germanic products that were used to achieve this hair colour: *Spuma Batava*, *spuma Chattica* and *Pilae Mattiacae*. Ovidius mentions *Germanae herbae* as a hair dye (Ovidius *Ars Amatoria* 3.163-164). This may indicate that the practice was widespread among Germanic people, but it may also mean that some of the writers had little notion of the origin of the material or were more concerned with alliteration or other poetic considerations than with a proper attribution. Plinius the Elder is the only one to give some details on the general properties of this product and of its manufacture (*Historia Naturalis* 29.191.28-47):

“Prodest et sapo, galliarum hoc inventum rutilandis capillis. Fit ex sebo et cinere, optimus fagino et caprino, duobus modis, spissus ac liquidus, uterque apud germanos maiore in usu viris quam feminis” (The Gauls make soap, an invention to colour hair red. It is made from fat and ash, best from beech and goat, either solid or liquid. Both are used widely with the Germanics, both with men and with women).

The fad for women in Italy to wear red or blonde hair is mentioned by several 1st-century poets:

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Figure 1. Woman (un)dressing her blond hair. Fresco from the Villa of Arianna at Stabiae, 1st century AD (Carole Raddato CC-BY-SA 2.0).

“Chattica Teutonicos accendit spuma capillos. Captivis poteris cultior esse comis” (Chattic foam lights Teutonic ringlets on fire. You can be even more fashionable with captive hair (Martialis *Epigrammata* 14.26).

This citation makes clear that these women had the choice between actually colouring their hair, or of (unsettling for our modern views) using wigs made from the hair from Germanic captives. This is also mentioned in one of Ovidius’ love poems, which also bears witness to the experience that improper use of hair colouring products may result in catastrophic damage to the hairs themselves.

*“Dicebam ‘medicare tuos desiste capillos!’
Tingere quam possis, iam tibi nulla coma est.*

*Nunc tibi captivos mittet Germania crines;
Tuta triumphatae munere gentis eris.”*

I said: ‘Stop dyeing your hair!’
Now you’ve no hair left to colour.

Now you’ll send for the hair of German prisoners:
you’ll be safe, with the gift of conquered peoples.”

(Ovidius *Amores* 1.14.1-2 and 45-46; <https://www.poetryintranslation.com/PITBR/Latin/AmoresBkI.php>)

There is no certainty, however, that this unfortunate girl indeed used a variety of Germanic soap, or that it was a different type of product whatsoever. From a few poems alone it remains unclear how widespread the fashion of reddish/blond hair was in 1st-century AD Italy. The preserved statues and wall decorations in *Pompeii*, however, make clear that reddish/blond hair was common among the elite (fig. 1).

Nature of the foam

The above quoted description of Plinius the Elder makes it clear that Batavian foam was made of animal fat and ash-derived alkalis. He indicates that the best was made from goat’s fat and beech ash. Some scholars have speculated that it was a kind of pomade of fat and ash mixed together and applied to the hair like a hair gel (Partington 1999, 307). We would propose that it was actually a soap. Ash mixed with water produces a lye, a strong alkali, and fat and lye are the basic ingredients of soap. It is unclear whether goat’s fat and beech ash were used in the majority of cases or only for the very best types of hair dye. Other fats (beef tallow, sheep’s fat) and ashes from other hardwood trees can produce soap just as well – although it is interesting that in the Middle Ages beech ash was also a major raw material for providing alkalis for glass making (e.g. Cilová & Woitsch 2012).

Plinius indicates that different types of foam were available: a hard and a soft one. These differences fit nicely with the different properties of soap made with two different alkalis: KOH, which produces a soft soap and NaOH which makes hard soap. Hardwood would provide mostly K⁺, halophytic plants, from arid or coastal areas, would provide a mixture of Na⁺ and K⁺ (Tite *et al.* 2006). Different kinds of fat may also have influenced the hardness of the soap.

The bleaching effects when applied to Germanic peoples’ hair may have been a misunderstanding, with the Romans attributing a naturally occurring hair colour among these northern peoples to the application of the foam. However, the multiple references to this product being used among 1st-century AD Romans for bleaching hair indicate that some bleaching properties must have been present in it. A likely component that could have produced bleached hair would have been the alkali: if

more alkali was present than necessary to make soap in the *spuma Batava* or similar mixtures, the product would have been highly alkaline. This high alkalinity may have been enough to bleach dark hair and may at the same time have been so aggressive that it caused the damage mentioned by Ovidius.

The confusion about red or blond hair may also stem from the actual practice of bleaching dark hair. Hair is made of keratin, a protein. The colour depends on the ratio of two melanin proteins: eumelanin, which creates brown to black hair shades, and phaeomelanin, which creates ginger and red shades. Blond hair is the result of a low concentration of eumelanin and phaeomelanin. Bleaching aims to reduce the natural colour of the hair. Lightening substances react better with eumelanin than with phaeomelanin, which is why hair may be a reddish or orange colour after incomplete bleaching (<https://www.leonstudioone.com/school/cosmetology-school/chemistry-behind-lightener-2/>, December 2022).

Experiment

Studying all this evidence of an ancient hair dye or bleach the authors became curious as to how this substance could have been made, whether it would actually work and what kind of traces it could have left in the archaeological record. In order to investigate this, we designed an archaeological experiment to make and use *spuma Batava*.

Plinius only provides a very scanty description of *spuma Batava*: goat's fat and beech ash. He gives no recipe, no information about the amounts and methods used, so we had to rely on general (modern) soap making practices to turn ash and fat into soap. We decided to make three batches of soap with different ratios of lye to fat, ranging from very mild to very alkaline in order to test the bleaching and damaging properties of this material. We tested these batches on strands of dark hair and checked to what extent hair colour would change, and to what extent hair would become damaged.

Raw materials

Wood ash was obtained from two sources: one batch was obtained from a wood stove that was regularly used for heating a house. It derived from oak and ash, with some poplar, beech and apple. This batch was at first only selected for preliminary tests. A batch of 1 m³ of beech wood was bought from a commercial firewood seller, and it was burnt in open fireplaces in various private homes. Ashes were collected systematically and stored. Goat fat proved to be near impossible to obtain in the Netherlands, so we bought rendered organic sheep fat from vof Zorg & Natuur instead. The water needed to make the lye came from the rain barrel in the garden of one of the authors. The dark hair to test our soap on was



Figure 2. Sieved ashes are mixed with off-the-boil rainwater and left to soak and settle (a). The decanted lye water is boiled down until a fresh egg floats in it (b) (© the authors).

kindly donated by several Dutch archaeologists after an online call for donations.

Lye and soap making

In order to make soap of ash and fat, we first made lye by soaking the ash in rainwater. Rainwater was chosen as the composition of tap water may get in the way of saponification – the process that turns the fat into soap. After sieving the ash to remove charcoal and other particles, ten cups of it were put into a plastic bucket, covered with 5,7 l off-the-boil rainwater, stirred and left to settle and soak. After five days the water was decanted and its volume was measured. 3,6 l of lye water remained, the rest was soaked up by the ash. The lye water was boiled down to concentrate it (fig. 2a). Historically, the right concentration was determined by floating a fresh egg in the lye water or dissolving a chicken feather in it (fig. 2b). Standard pH electrodes would potentially be damaged by the high alkalinity of the solution, so we checked the pH

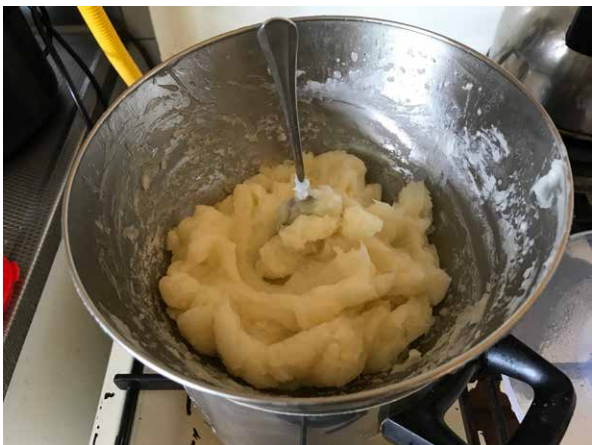


Figure 3. Fat and lye water are mixed and heated until they reach trace (a and b) and turn into soap (c) (© the authors).

with pH-paper. With pH >12 (upper limit of detection of our pH paper) it was very alkaline. The lye water made with the wood stove ash was golden yellow in colour, the lye water made with the beech ash was dark brown. The beech ash itself was much darker in colour as well, probably because it had burned at a lower temperature than the wood stove ash, which was greyish-white.

The concentrated lye water was used to make soap in the following way: the fat was melted in a double boiler, the lye water was added and everything was mixed well with an immersion blender. After a sequence of waiting, mixing, waiting, mixing, waiting, the mixture reached 'trace' after 25 minutes, meaning that saponification was well under way and the soap was becoming thicker, achieving a custard-like consistency. Modern day soap makers often stop at this point and pour the liquid soap into molds to harden and saponify further at room temperature. There are no Roman soap recipes, but (almost) all medieval recipes describe a hot process, whereby the soap is heated throughout the whole process (Verberg 2017). We decided to follow this method, so the soap was kept warm in the double boiler during the entire saponification process (fig. 3a-b) where it became thicker and harder (fig. 3c).

A test batch of wood stove lye water and beef tallow saponified perfectly. The experimental batches with beech ash lye and sheep's fat, however, did not. The lye water and fat did not mix and the fat did not saponify. It is possible that this was due to the fact that the beech ash had been burned at a lower temperature than the wood stove ash and therefore contained components that got in the way of saponification. As white ashes are the best for lye and soap making (Verberg 2015) we decided to only use the wood stove ash for the experiment and make second-best *spuma Batava*.

The soap for the experiment consisted of sheep's fat and (mainly) oak-and-ash lye water and was made in three different strengths. The mild soap consisted of lye water and fat in a 1:1 ratio (200 g fat, $\frac{3}{4}$ cup lye water (no weight was measured)). The medium soap had a 1:2 ratio (100 g fat, 200 g lye water) and the harsh soap had a ratio of 1:3 (70 g fat and 210 g lye water).

We used a traditional method to test if soap is ready, i.e. the 'zap-test': a small amount of soap is touched to the tongue. If it zaps, or stings, it is a sign that there is excess lye in the soap. For most purposes this is an unwanted situation, as the soap will then be too harsh on the skin. For the *spuma Batava*, however, it was a desired result, as we supposed that the alkalis were responsible for the bleaching properties of the soap. The batches 2 and 3 zapped nicely when tested.



Figure 4. Testing the *spuma Batava* by soaking hair in three different strengths of soap (© the authors).

Hair tests

After an online request among Dutch archaeologists, we received five bundles of naturally dark, untreated hair for tests. Three bundles were used for tests with our *spuma Batava*. The rest was kept for future experiments. For the tests each person's hair bundle (c. 10 cm long and 1-1,5 cm in diameter) was split into four locks of c. ¼-½ cm in diameter and colour coded using sewing thread. One colour was to mark each person's hair and additional colours were for the kind of soap it was going to be treated with: yellow for the mild soap, orange for the medium soap and red for the harsh soap. The fourth bundle remained untreated for reference. We then dissolved some of each strength of soap in water and soaked the hair bundles in the solutions for about two hours (fig. 4). Afterwards, the locks were removed from the soap, rinsed with water and dried with a hair dryer. Colour change was assessed by comparing the colours of the hair locks from each bundle with the naked eye and photographing them. Visible damage to the hairs was recorded as well.



Figure 5. Four bundles of hair (hair 2 in table 1) belonging to the same person. From left to right: untreated hair, hair treated with mild, medium and harsh soap. The treated hair shows some signs of bleaching (© the authors).

batch properties	batch mild (1:1)	batch medium (1:2)	batch alkaline (1:3)
	soap like	slightly lumpy	very lumpy; difficult to dissolve
hair 1 (colour code: dark green)	no visible colour change; slightly fuzzy	no visible colour change; slightly fuzzy	no visible colour change, fuzzy
hair 2 (colour code: purple)	very slight colour change, slightly fuzzy	some lighter and redder hairs, slightly fuzzy	lighter and redder hairs, fuzzy
hair 3 (colour code: white)	no visible colour change, slightly fuzzy	no visible colour change, slightly fuzzy	no visible colour change, fuzzy

Table 1. Overview of the properties and effects of hair treatment with recreated *spuma Batava*. The strength of the batches indicated behind the batch heading are the ratio of fat:lye.

Results

Compared to the untreated locks all soaped hair was damaged. It had lost some of its silky smoothness and become fuzzier. This happened in all baths, even in the mildest, but most noticeably in the most alkaline bath. The visible colour change was less convincing. Only one person's hair showed some signs of bleaching: some lighter/redder hairs appeared in the bundle, especially in the one from the most alkaline dye bath (fig. 5).

Discussion

Soap making with well burnt white ashes and animal fat is a relatively straightforward process, especially if the soap maker is not aiming for skin friendly soap. According to internet sources (e.g. <https://homesteadsurvivalsite.com/make-soap-fat-ashes/>, May 2022), every homesteader can do it, so it probably was not beyond the skills of the Germanic people along the frontier. In our experiment, soap making with brown ashes failed. This needs more experimentation, as it should be possible as well (Verberg 2015). With white ashes the soap-making process was successful. With increased alkalinity, to allow bleaching, the soap became more lumpy and difficult to dissolve.

The bleaching properties of our recreated *spuma Batava* were not entirely convincing. Slight colour change was observed, but not to the degree that dark hair turned blonde. There is a possibility that colour change would be more visible in larger strands of hair, but it is unlikely that it would be really blonde. More experiments may be needed. Their design, however, is hampered by the lack of clues in the ancient texts on how the soap should be applied. Was simply washing the hair enough? Should the soap be left in the hair for a certain time, like we did during the experiment? Should the application be repeated several times? Or did *spuma Batava* perhaps need sunlight to work its magic? We don't know anything about the Roman bleaching methods, but we do know about the hair bleaching process of the Renaissance. Italian ladies treated their hair with alkaline substances, like lye water, and sat in the sun with crownless hats, their faces in the shade

and their hair exposed, spread out over the rim of the hat. Apparently, this resulted in nicely bleached blond hair (Pointer 2005; Stephens 2019). A future experiment could involve exposing hair with *spuma Batava* to sunlight. An interesting additional question is also whether goat's fat and beech ash in are some way special, making them more suited to the making of hair bleaching soap. A comparison with other raw materials may be in order.

Finally, we can wonder whether we can expect any traces of this hair product in the archaeological record. The material itself is elusive, as the soap itself is water soluble and will have mostly disappeared. Assuming that soap making was a regular business – so regular that the soap was even exported to Italy – it may be possible to find some traces of its manufacture if it is better known what to look for. The soap making process requires huge amounts of well burnt ashes. It probably was not a case of people scraping ashes out of their fireplaces, but perhaps they used special ovens to burn large amounts of wood, like in the glass industry?

Some sort of packaging (pottery? wood?) would have been needed to transport the soap from *Germania* to Italy. An interesting avenue of research would be to study 1st-century AD find assemblages from Italy for clues of imported ceramics or other materials with northern origin that could have contained this particular beauty product. On the other hand, we cannot exclude the possibility that *spuma Batava*-like products were made in e.g. Rome following Germanic recipes.

Conclusions

We tried to recreate *spuma Batava* and to test its potential for bleaching dark hair. Plinius' recipe of goat's fat and beech ash failed to produce a soap-like product, probably because the beech wood was burnt at too low temperatures. A feasible soap was produced using mixed wood stove ash with sheep's fat. Using different fat/lye ratios, soaps with different alkalinity were produced, but none of the mixtures could convincingly change dark hair to the blond or red colours described in antique literature. More experiments are needed.

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One thing leads to another

Settlement development in the Stein- *Lauriacum*/Enns region (Austria)

Barbara Kainrath and Eva Thysell

The region where the river Enns flows into the Danube has been characterized by the military presence of the Romans at least since the end of the 1st century AD. Civilian settlement areas developed on both sides of the river, which were not only influenced by the coming and going of Roman troops, but also depended on them. Although the sequence of the individual military camps in this area is relatively well defined, the tactical reasons for the change of location from one side of the river to the other are not clear.

The settlement areas of Stein and *Lauriacum* (Enns) are situated in a topographically very prominent location, characterized by river mouths (fig. 1). Coming from the south, the Enns flows into the Danube between the two sites. This navigable river is a very important transport route for raw materials from the inner Alpine region, such as salt, ore or wood. Furthermore, in the area of Stein, the river Aist flows into the Danube from the north. It represents a main connection to the north towards the Vltava (Moldau) and is likely to be decisive for the choice of place. A comparable topographical situation can also be found not far up the Danube in *Lentia* (Linz). There, the so-called Haselgraben, a natural valley on the northern side of the Danube, leads to Bohemia and the Vltava region. Between the two settlements of *Lentia* and *Lauriacum*, the Traun, coming from the southwest from the Salzkammergut, flows into the Danube. This river, which was also already navigable in Roman times, represents again an important trade and supply route, just like the Enns.

Early settlement in *Lauriacum*

The oldest Roman settlement finds in the vicinity of the Enns estuary come from the area of the present-day town of Enns (fig. 2). So far, only a very fragmentary picture can be drawn of this earliest Roman settlement (Thysell *et al.* 2024). The settlement core, described in the literature as a merchant settlement and roadside settlement (Harreither 2003, 127; Traxler 2009, 190; Harreither 2017, 89; Ubl 2006, 61-63; 2017, 99; Freitag 2018, 33-35; Lang *et al.* 2018, 66) or in older research also as an early *vicus* (Ubl 2002, 260; 2005, 33; 2006, 61), is essentially concentrated in the area in the immediate vicinity of one of the presumed Roman bridges over the river Enns. Archaeological evidence of this has not yet been found, but there are indications of its existence (summarised in Harreither 2004, 193-194). The settlement area is situated to the north at the foot of the Georgenberg/Stadtberg and lies on a supra-regional transport link, the Limesstraße. From this area, now known as Mauthausenerstraße and Reintalgasse, comes the oldest Roman find material from the settlement context of *Lauriacum* to date. The material is mainly *terra*

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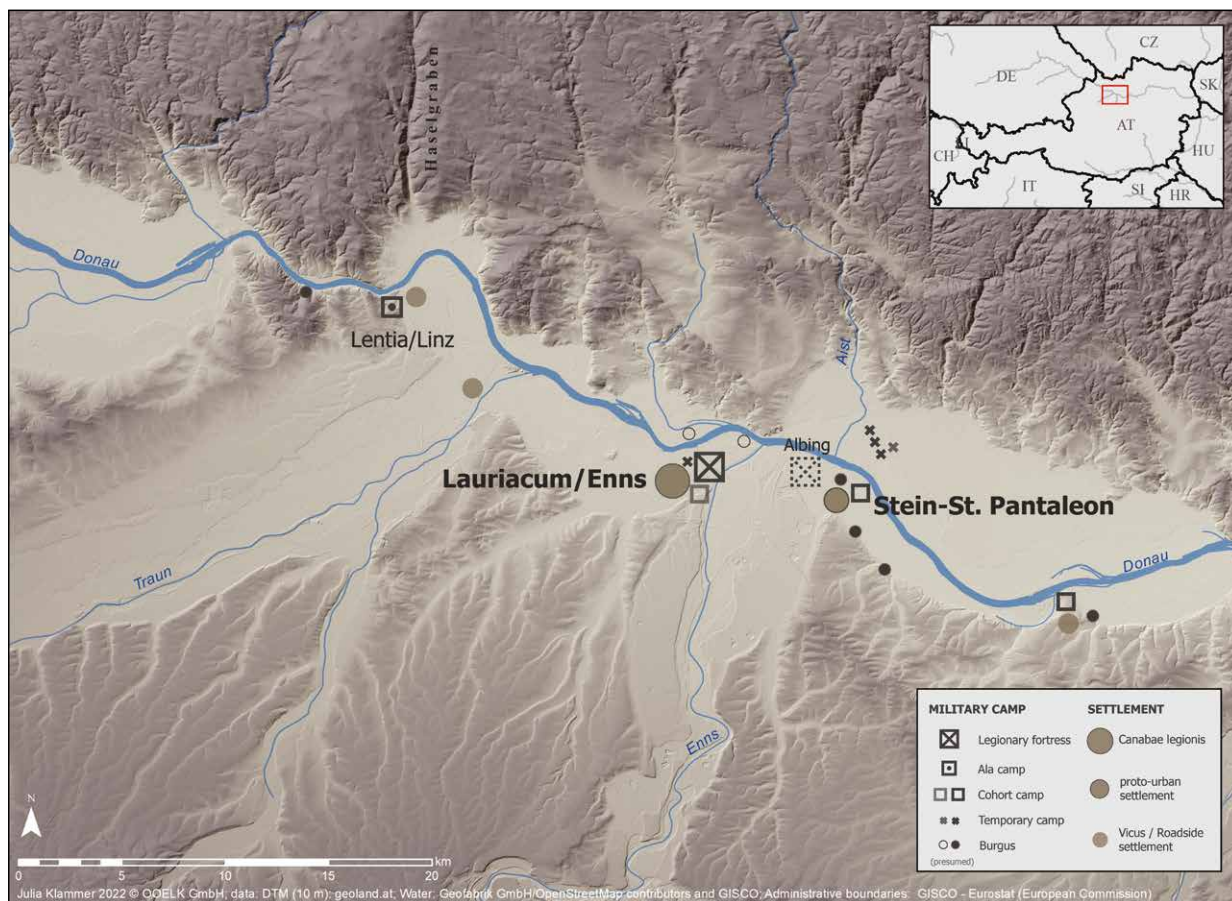


Figure 1. Topographical situation at the estuary of the rivers Enns and Traun with military camps and civil settlements known at present (J. Klammer / E. Thysell).

sigillata Tardo-Padana (TSTP) and *terra sigillata* from South Gaulish production. The earliest stratigraphically classifiable building structures are dated by Karnitsch (1953, 54-57) to the second half of the 1st century AD.

The cemetery Stadlgasse, which belongs to this early settlement, is much better researched. This burial zone extends in an east-west direction along the course of today's Stadlgasse, which gives the cemetery its name. Research to date indicates that the graves are confined to the area south of the ancient road. With the knowledge gained so far, it is only possible to determine the dimensions of the cemetery to a limited extent. An extension of about 250 m in length and about 20-25 m in width can be regarded as certain. This has been verified by archaeological excavations, several find reports and a geophysical survey carried out in 2021 using georadar (Schicker 1933, 101-102; Amstler 1946-1950, 116; Ubl 1995; Thysell *et al.* 2022, 12-15).

The use of the cemetery can be dated from Flavian times to at least 158 AD (Thysell *et al.* 2022, 10). It thus represents not only the earliest burial site in the *Lauriacum* area, but also the only one in which there are exclusively

cremated burials. A total of 13 graves can be considered archaeologically secure, to which the cremated remains of 15 individuals can be assigned. It can be assumed that the majority of the graves were marked above ground. In which form can only be reconstructed in a few cases. For example, two grave *stelae* and two grave inscriptions can be assigned to the burial site.¹ In addition, foundations and remains of the rising masonry of a burial structure, a so called 'gemauertes Grabhäuschen', as well as a foundation block of another square structure were documented. Further very fragmented wall remains provide possible indications of enclosure walls or burial districts. In the course of the geophysical investigations, further potential grave structures and grave enclosures were documented (Thysell *et al.* 2022, 6-9, fig. 4).

1 Tombstones: 1. Tombstone of Privatus Silvester (CIL III.5684, ubi erat lupa no. 471); 2. Tombstone for Aulus Barbius Gratus (CIL III.5680, ubi erat lupa no. 4703); Funerary inscriptions: 1. Titulus for Verinus (CIL III.11826, ubi erat lupa no. 4508), 2. Titulus for Claudius Cupitus (CIL III.11825, ubi erat lupa no. 4509).

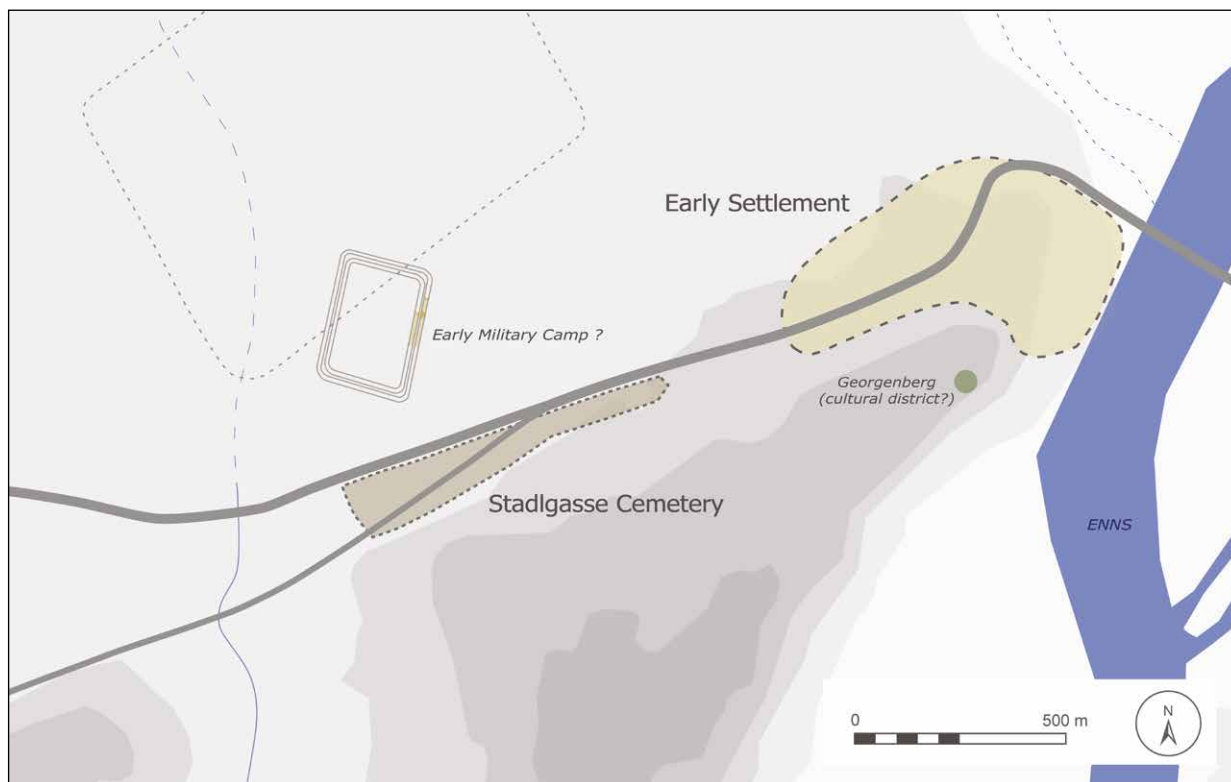


Figure 2. Topographical situation of the early find sites in *Lauriacum* (Thysell 2022).

The question of the existence of an early auxiliary camp in the area of *Lauriacum* is still disputed. Karnitsch (1954) was the first to report on parallel V-shaped ditches, which he attributed to the western flank of a 0.89 ha Early Imperial wooden-earth camp. Later research negates these findings and even denies the existence of such a camp (Ruprechtsberger 1980; Winkler 1982, 135; Ubl 1997, 19; Muschal 2018, 165). In a new examination of the features, Groh and Sedlmayer (2018) reconstructed a camp of 1.2 ha in area and assigned the ditches to its eastern camp boundary. They propose a date for the camp in the second third of the 1st century AD, based on a few finds from the Tiberian-Claudian period (Groh & Sedlmayer 2018, 56-59). In any case, there is no evidence of a later stone camp, which would be expected in comparison to other sites on the Noric Limes, where wood-earth camps are replaced by stone installations in the first half of the 2nd century AD. So far, however, there is no evidence of such a stage of expansion. This can possibly be seen in connection with the nearby auxiliary camp at Stein-St. Pantaleon.

Stein

The site of Stein-St. Pantaleon, c. 7 km east of Enns, has only been known as a troop location for a few years (Grabherr *et al.* 2020). Here, geophysical prospections revealed the south-western corner of an auxiliary camp, in the vicinity of

which large collections of finds had been made for decades. Four of these collections are currently being analyzed in the course of a project. It concerns a total of about 2000 metal objects and numerous *terra sigillata* fragments. The chronological framework for the military presence can be defined in particular by the c. 650 coins and can be dated from the late 1st century to the year 180 AD. The numerous *fibulae* and pieces of military equipment also fit into this period. The abrupt break in the coinage curve in 180 AD is due to the end of the Marcomannic Wars and the deployment of a legion in *Lauriacum*.

The majority of the finds come from fields to the west of the camp, where the accompanying settlement extends. In 2022, it was possible to continue the geophysical investigations on this same area, covering c. 16 ha.² The results were surprising in that the settlement was planned and built with a Hippodamian street plan based on squares (Grabherr & Kainrath 2024). This is a unique finding not only for the province of *Noricum*, but also in other Roman provinces corresponding urban planning structures do not appear in the vicinity of military

2 The prospections were carried out by ZAMG Archeo Prospections© (now GeoSphere Austria) under the direction of K. Löcker.

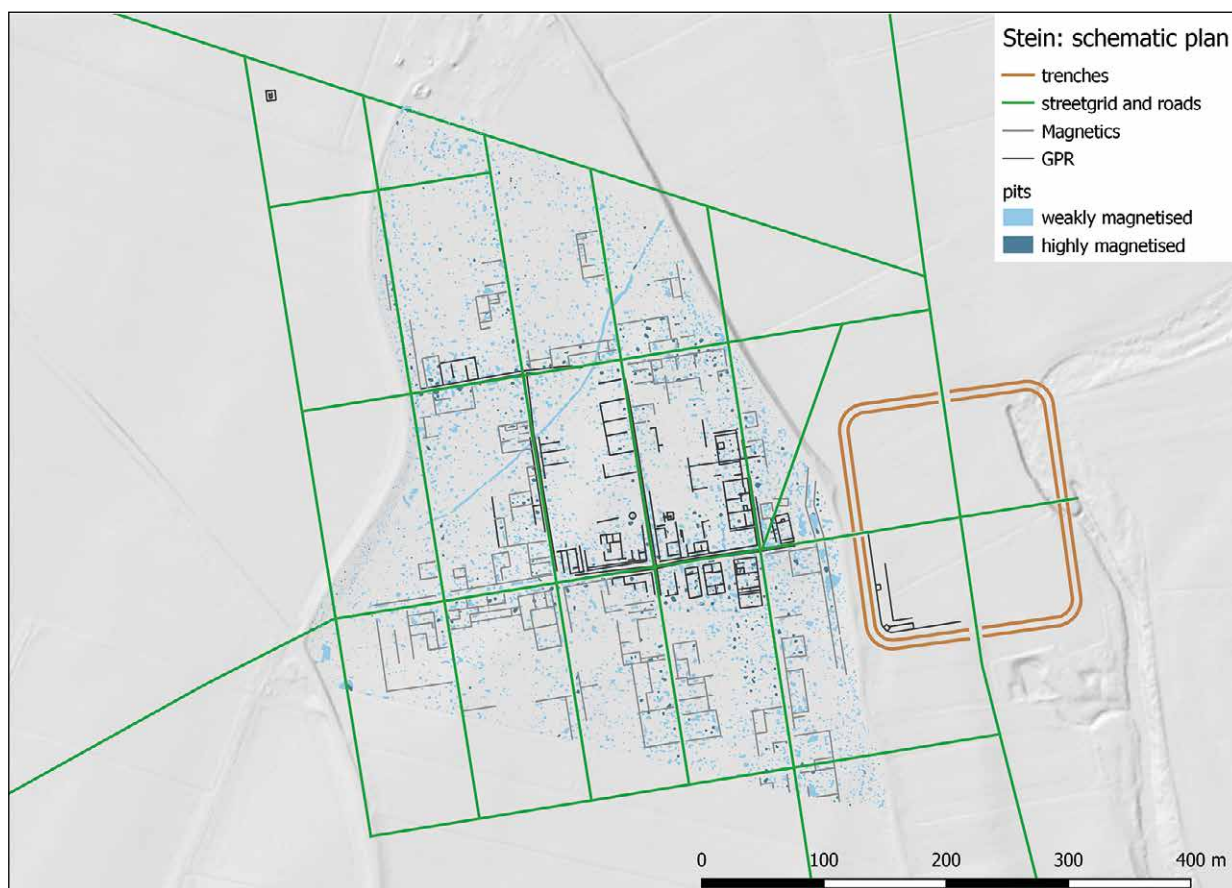


Figure 3. Schematic plan of the archaeological structures known to date in Stein (K. Löcker / G. Grabherr / B. Kainrath).

camps.³ For camp villages, settlements with several streets leading in different directions, along which strip houses are arranged, are to be regarded as characteristic and common form.

According to the current state of research, there are eleven long rectangular *insulae* in three rows at Stein-St. Pantaleon (fig. 3). These have lengths of 57 (168.72 m) and 60 *perticae* (177.60 m) and widths of 26 (76.96 m), 28 (82.88 m) and 30 *perticae* (88.80 m) and form a regular system. The *cardo maximus* represents the extension of the *via principalis*. Along this axis and the easternmost street, which runs at right angles, a dense development of stone buildings can be seen. In the peripheral areas of the settlement in the west, in the north and also in the south, the magnetogram shows predominantly wooden buildings. Aerial photographs reveal further streets suggesting an extension of the grid to the west, which will be confirmed by future planned surveys. A focus of further research will be on locating the cemeteries, which so far

are expected to be to the north, along a road leading here from Enns and to the Danube crossing. Here, a walled and enclosed burial monument has already been recorded by geophysical survey.

In any case, the layout of the settlement in the Hippodamian street plan, which is known exclusively from towns, is astonishing. Also remarkable is the area for the settlement of at least 20 ha, which was determined from the beginning. This combination could give the impression that something other than a civilian settlement of a camp was originally planned at this site. Obviously, the Marcomannic wars were responsible for the need for a change in strategy. After the successful conclusion of the wars, the camp in Stein is abandoned and the military focus is again moved further west, to *Lauriacum*, where a fortress is established. The civilian population also leaves the site of Stein completely. Of particular interest in this context is that such a change of location can also be proven for metalworking workshops. There are cast equivalent fibulae and belt fittings from both Stein-St. Pantaleon and *Lauriacum*. In addition, there is a special variant of a chased belt fitting which was probably developed in Stein and later produced in large numbers

3 The settlements at the camps in Jagsthausen and Stockstadt are arranged in a regular system, but the *insulae* are missing in each case.

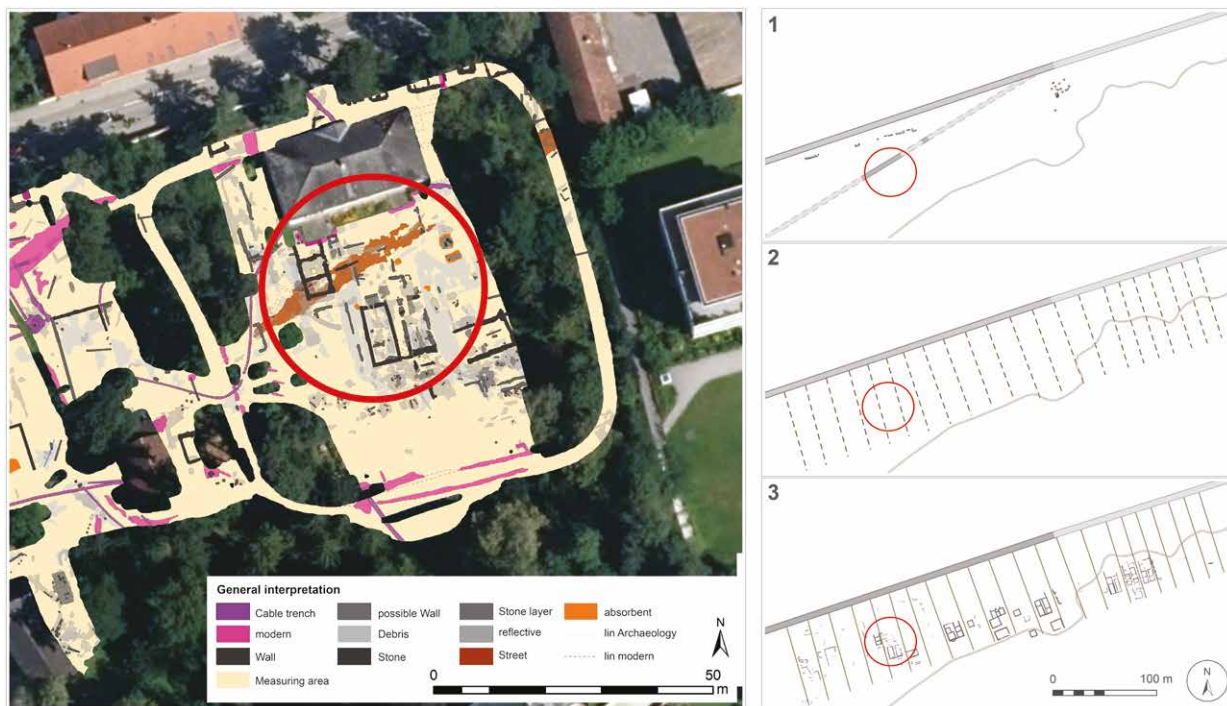


Figure 4. Geophysical survey 2021 and visible phases of reorganization. 1. Early road connection and early Cemetery Stadlgasse; 2. Relocation of the road connection and establishment of a new plot scheme; 3. Systematic building on the plots (E. Thysell / M. Wallner).

in Enns and may be regarded as a regional specialty (Kainrath & Thysell 2023).

Deployment of a legion in *Lauriacum*

The deployment of *Legio II Italica* in the mid-170's AD (Grabherr *et al.* 2020, 87-89; Groh 2018, 92) in *Lauriacum* entails a massive expansion of the settlement area. The accompanying urban growth or urbanization required, among other things, a reorganization of the building area.⁴ In the area south of the Stadlgasse, these planning and change processes are clearly reflected in the building structure (fig. 4).

The former cemetery Stadlgasse will be abandoned in the course of the reorganization of the area. Also affected is an old road that branches off from the Limesstraße to the southwest. Due to the assumed relocation of the road intersection further to the west, the resulting larger building area can be efficiently subdivided into uniform long-rectangular plots, which form a uniform development

along the Limesstraße. Such a large-scale reorganization in the immediate vicinity of the fortress is most likely connected to the Roman military. This interpretation is supported by the evaluation of the military finds in the area Stadlgasse-Plochbergergründe (Thysell 2022). The buildings themselves could also provide a clue in this direction. The floor plan of the central corridor house impresses with a wealth of variants and a wide range of possible uses. It is therefore no coincidence that, in addition to civilian residential buildings, buildings can also be found in the military sector that use this variant in their ground plan structure. Perring (2002, 61-62), for example, in his overview of Roman residential house types in Great Britain, mentions corridor houses only within the category 'military houses'. According to Hoffmann (1995, 129), variants with corridors are the most widespread floor plan solution for head-end buildings and corresponding examples can therefore be found throughout the Roman Empire. Transferred to the situation south of the Stadlgasse area, the reorganization and repopulation of this area could therefore be attributed to the Roman military, using building types known and proven to them. The buildings erected here probably represent residential houses in the civilian settlement area for military personnel and their families. Whether the actual construction was carried out by the

4 Urban growth (*Verstädterung*): The increase in urban population; Urbanization (*Urbanisierung*): The increase in urban population and the spread of urban activities and lifestyles to non-urban areas. This can be seen, for example, in the convergence of production and occupational structures as well as forms of housing (Gaebe 2004, 9).

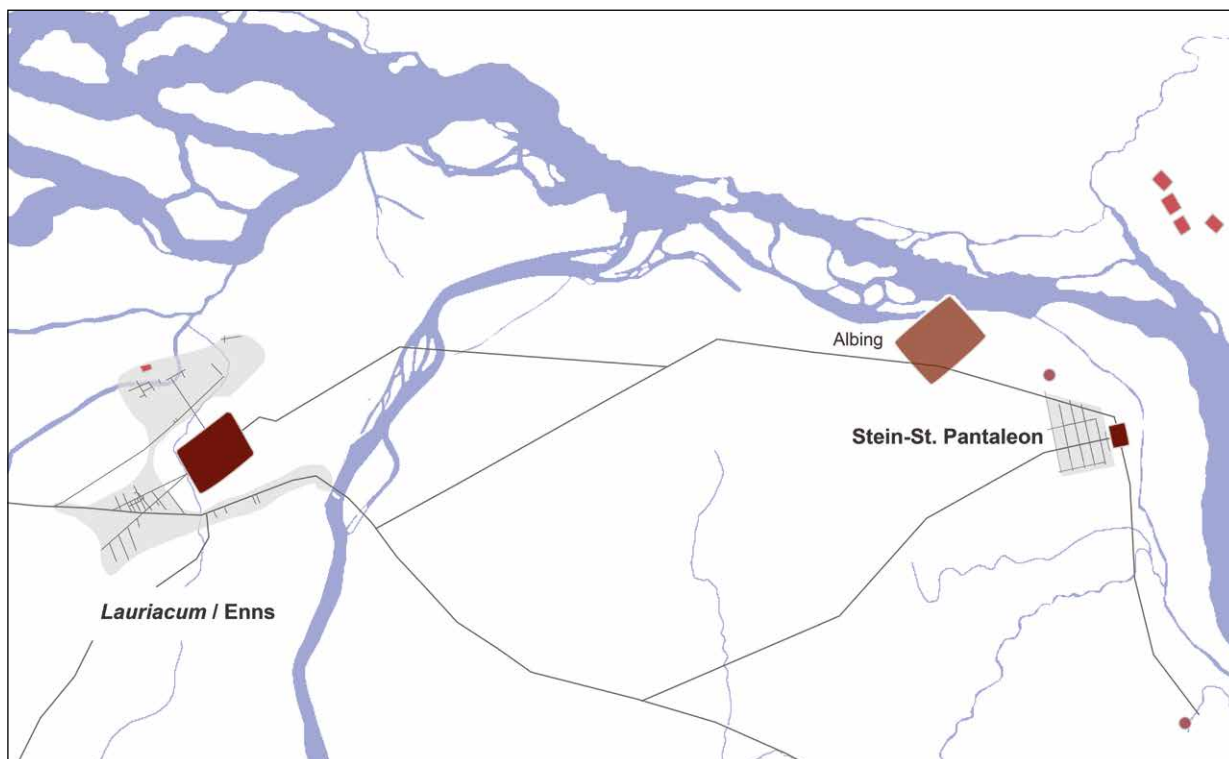


Figure 5. Overall plan of the region *Lauriacum* and Stein-St. Pantaleon (E. Thysell).

military itself or by craftsmen engaged for this purpose cannot be decided, however.

Separate and yet connected

The two settlements discussed here, at *Lauriacum* and Stein, differ not only in their beginning and end dates, but also in their basic layout. The early settlement core of *Lauriacum*, for example, can be regarded as a street settlement with a clear connection to the bridge over the Enns. The still incomplete state of knowledge only allows the assumption of an evolved structure. In contrast, in Stein there is a clear planning intention behind the layout of the settlement.

However, there are clear references to each other in the find material from the two settlement sites. Particularly in the case of objects associated with the Roman military, strong similarities can be noted. It is particularly remarkable that most of the finds are regionally very specific and that their main occurrence can be limited to this region. For example, the earliest production sites for the so-called beaded rim fittings are to be found in Stein (Kainrath & Thysell 2023). Due to the abandonment of the settlement and the deployment of the legion on the other bank of the Enns, there is evidence of a migration of the workshops from Stein to *Lauriacum*. This is underlined by the massive occurrence of this extremely specific belt fitting in the find material from *Lauriacum*, both within the fortress and in the entire area of the civilian settlement.

Summary

The settlement area at the estuary of the river Enns represents a topographically and transport-politically central point. Favorable connections in both east-west and north-south resulted in what can be described as an early Roman military presence in the province of *Noricum* (fig. 5). The earliest finds and structures are found in the area of *Lauriacum*. This early settlement core can be dated at least from Flavian times onwards and is oriented towards the assumed bridge over the river Enns. The existence of an auxiliary camp from the Tiberian-Claudian period in the area of the present-day town of Enns has still not been clearly clarified and there is as yet no evidence of a corresponding settlement.

At the latest in Flavian times, it was the camp at Stein-St. Pantaleon that was responsible for military control in the region. At this time, the control of the axis to the north (Aisttal) was probably more important. The camp, together with the civilian settlement, which impresses with its size and especially the insula system, was occupied until after the Marcomannic Wars.

Due to the deployment of *Legio II Italica*, the main focus of settlement activities changed again to *Lauriacum*, which subsequently underwent an enormous expansion as a central settlement site. Large-scale restructuring measures affecting both the course of roads and building plots can be observed. Considering the size of this reorganization

in the immediate vicinity of the fortress, this measure can probably be associated with the Roman military. It has been shown that non-ferrous metal workshops that made brooches and belt fittings came here from Stein and now made their products for the legion.

One more time the region east of the Enns enters the focus of Roman military strategy. In Albing, which lies in the immediate vicinity of Stein, an attempt was made to build a new fortress, probably in Severan times (Groh 2018, 100-102). The foundations of the fortress wall and the *principiae* are built, but further construction is discontinued for unknown reasons. The legion subsequently remained at the site in Enns until the end of the Roman presence in *Noricum*.

Abbreviations

CIL: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

ubi erat lupa: <https://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/simplesearch.php>

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The Arnsburg *tumulus* and the imagined underworld

Bathing and hunting in the meadows
of the river Wetter

Julia M. Koch

“...Es ist aber mein Wunsch, dass meine gesamte Gerätschaft, die ich mir zum Jagen und zum Vogelfang angeschafft habe, mit mir verbrannt wird zusammen mit (...) den Badeutensilien, den Liegen, dem Tragesessel und jeglicher Medizin und der Gerätschaft jener Wissenschaft...” (testament from a 2nd-century epitaph found in the territory of the Lingones in Roman Gaul. German translation by M. Dronia in Klee 2013, 230).

Excavations in 2020-2022 of a tumulus associated with a *bustum* burial near the fort at Arnsburg, the likely burial site of a commander of the First Aquitanian cohort, have illuminated various stages of funeral rites on the northern Wetterau Limes. While *tumuli* covering *busta* burials have been discovered before on Roman frontiers, for example at forts in northern Britain including *Bremenium* (High Rochester) in Northumberland, Birdoswald and Maryport in Cumbria (Struck 1993, 82-83; 2001, 344), the Arnsburg discoveries are exceptional in the sepulchral landscape of the Upper German Limes (Koch & Mückenberger 2021; 2022, see also Scholz 2012). In this paper the artefacts associated with the hunt and bathing ritually burnt on the pyre and subsequently deposited in the *bustum* burial during a rite of passage celebrated in the cemetery of the Arnsburg Fort in the first half of the 2nd century (Koch & Mückenberger 2021, 19-20) and the following construction of a *tumulus* tomb with stone tomb chamber and enclosing ditch will be presented. This aims to reconstruct funeral rituals focusing on the well-being of the deceased in the imagined underworld and the impact of pastime activities such as bathing and hunting for the officer's life and imagined afterlife in the meadows of the river Wetter.

The Arnsburg *tumulus* and its enclosing ditch. Tagging a sacred precinct

Along the Roman road running toward the central Wetterau region at a distance of c. 800 m to the South Gate of the Arnsburg Fort a ring-shaped structure was discovered through aerial archaeology by A. Kleeberg in October 2019 and verified by magnetometer prospection in March 2020 (fig. 1). In August 2020 an archaeological field school was initiated, a collaborative project of the University of Giessen, Department for Classical Archaeology, and the Hessian State Department for Monuments and

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Figure 1. The Arnsburg *tumulus* c. 800 m south of the auxiliary fort located on the hill in the left background. Close behind a line of trees along the Welsbach stream debouching into the river Wetter northwest of the village of Muschenheim, Lich, Giessen County (J.M. Koch).

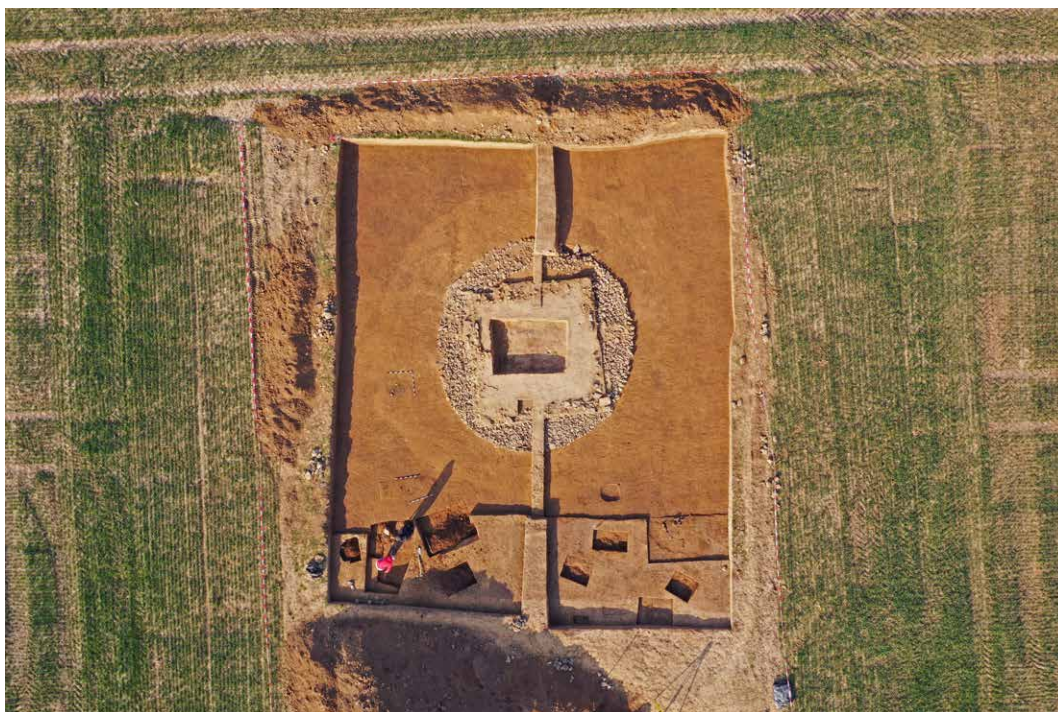


Figure 2. The Arnsburg *tumulus*: *bustum* burial, tomb chamber, wall footing of tomb chamber and enclosing ditch of the burial mound. In the fill of the enclosing ditch and east of the *tumulus* secondary cremation burials (J.M. Koch).



Figure 3. *Bustum* burial of the Arnsburg *tumulus* furnished with tiled tent and bathing implements ritually burnt on the pyre: iron folding chair, iron strigil (attached to the chair) and bronze dipper/strainer (J.M. Koch).

Sites, Department hessenARCHÄOLOGIE, its aims being to investigate the chronology and function of the ring-shaped structure.

In order to identify the circular stone structure and to further explore the newly revealed *bustum* burial within the remains of a square tomb chamber the excavation was continued from 15 to 31 March 2021. Slightly underneath the tomb chamber a ring-shaped wall footing measuring up to 2 m in width and 8.7 m in diameter was uncovered, which has been built of basaltic stone to serve as stable foundation for the stone chamber and a funerary mound piled up around the tomb chamber (fig. 2). The uneven stone surface of the basaltic wall footing was levelled with loess loam providing a flat basis for the construction of the overlying chamber. Adjacent to the circular wall footing of the Arnsburg *tumulus* another ring-shaped soil mark was revealed during the third excavation campaign from 7 March to 1 April 2022, an enclosing ditch measuring up to 13 m in diameter demarcating the sacred sphere of the *domus aeterna* (fig. 2).

The *bustum* burial

Within the tomb chamber the cut for the *bustum* burial, measuring 2.09 m in width and 3.15 m in length, deviates slightly from the alignment of the stone tomb chamber (fig. 2), suggesting that the subsequent built funerary architecture was more precisely oriented with reference to the nearby Roman road. Ash, burnt clay and a grid-like arrangement of soil marks caused by contact with burning wood on the flattened floor of the pit (fig. 3) point towards incineration of the pyre directly in place (Koch & Mückenberger 2021, 13, fig. 7). Ten samples of charcoal extracted from the floor present a variety of timber species used for the construction and lighting of the pyre: oak tree, poplar, hornbeam, birch tree and maple (the timber species of the charcoal samples recovered from the *bustum* burial were analysed by D. Jansen, Neumünster). Except for poplar, these timber species collected for the cremation of the deceased provide considerable heat of combustion: Oak tree and hornbeam provide the maximum heat of combustion (2100 KWh/m³) and are thus predominantly

attested for cremation, followed by maple and birch tree providing medium heat of combustion (1900 KWh/, Hintermann 2000, 162-163, fig. 189, 166 and 168).¹ Providing only a modest heat of combustion (1200 KWh/, poplar is much less appropriate as firewood and is thus not yet attested for cremation in the German provinces (Hintermann 2000, 166-167, fig. 193); therefore it was probably used as firelighter for igniting the pyre (on poplar as favourable firelighter Nutsch 2001, 86-87). According to sparse ashes and cremains of the deceased preserved in the cremation pit, the burial pit was cleaned of burnt residues of the pyre for the preparation of the burial pit.

Within the *bustum*, which had been severely damaged by illicit diggings probably during the 1970's, a tent-like arrangement of *tegulae* leaning against each other and covered by *imbrices* was created in order to protect the cremation remains buried underneath (fig. 3). This burial *a cappuccina* directly refers to the afterlife belief of the deceased and his family or comrades who were engaged with supervising the construction of the tomb as *domus aeterna* (in Roman Asia Minor funerary doorstones built into *tumuli* and house tombs point again to this afterlife belief considering the grave as eternal home: Koch 2015; 2021, 125-145), and the military affiliation of the deceased as a member of the First Aquitanian cohort locally stationed at the Arnsburg Fort, as indicated by the stamps on the *tegulae* of *Coh(ors) I Aq(uitanorum veterana equitata)* (Koch & Mückenberger 2021, 25, fig. 14).

Bathing equipment

Whereas all secondary grave furnishings were plundered by illicit digging, the metal objects placed on the pyre and ritually destroyed through incineration were partially preserved in the burial pit *in situ*: an iron strigil, a folded iron chair, and a bronze handle (fig. 3).

The strigil deposited in the *bustum* burial of the Arnsburg *tumulus* joins the group of 'eastern/Greek type' of strigils, as labelled by Aladár Radnóti (Radnóti 1957, 228; for detailed photos of the strigil Koch & Mückenberger 2021, 18, fig. 9 and 20-22, fig. 10-12; 2022, 63, fig. 4). In eastern Thrace another strigil of the eastern type was recently recovered from the *bustum* (mid-1st century) of the Lalapaşa İkiztepe B *tumulus* in Edirne province (Yıldırım 2007, 90; Çömlekakpınar village), while in north-western Asia Minor and northern Phrygia the strigil of the eastern type appears on funerary doorstones in the 2nd century (Waelkens 1986, 125, cat. 299 and plate 45, 125, cat. 304, plate 46 and 133, cat. 328, plate 47), a late Hellenistic funerary stele from the 1st century BC (Pfuhl & Möbius 1979, 547, cat. 2271 and plate 320) and two

sarcophagi from the 1st century BC (Pfuhl & Möbius 1979, 548-549, cat. 2275, plate 321 and 549, cat. 2277, plate 321).

On the side of a sarcophagus found at *Chalcedon* a high-ranking Roman officer commanding an auxiliary unit was commemorated by visual representation of his military equipment and a strigil of the eastern type (Pfuhl & Möbius 1979, 548-549, cat. 2275, plate 321). In north-western Asia Minor another sarcophagus from *Ilion* displays the strigil of the eastern type with the archery equipment – quiver, bow and arrows – of the deceased (Pfuhl & Möbius 1979, 549, cat. 2277, plate 321). Due to the considerable number of strigils deposited in *busta* burials in *Lower Moesia* (Ota 2007, 85) and visual representations of strigils on funerary steles both in *Lower Moesia* and *Byzantion* (Pfuhl & Möbius 1979, 547, cat. 2271, plate 320; Conrad 2004, 135, cat. 31, plate 33), as well as two strigils of the eastern type already deposited in a Hellenistic *bustum* at *Callatis* on the western Black Sea coast (Preda 1961, 299 fig. 18 and 300), it seems reasonable to suggest that this type of strigil was possibly manufactured in western Pontic workshops, as assumed by Aladár Radnóti (1957, 228).

The folding chair (fig. 3) is constructed from two pairs of straight legs, connected at top and bottom by horizontal crossbars (one bipartite upper crossbar) and hinged in the middle, thus corresponding to the so-called 'Weissenburg type A' or 'Koster type 3' (Miks 2009, 433 and 435, fig. 26; Koch & Mückenberger 2021, 18, fig. 9 and 20-21, fig. 10-11; 2022, 63, fig. 4). Two S-shaped struts forged onto the legs and one of the upper crossbars support the seat.

While folding chairs – be it either the *sella curulis* or the *sella castrensis* – are commonly interpreted as prestigious assets to indicate the social and military rank of persons in possession, the folding chair attached to the strigil in the Arnsburg *bustum* may be not only understood as insignia of prestige but also as a bathing implement, as proposed by Zsolt Mráv (2013, agreed by Rajtár & Hüssen 2021, 355; Koch & Mückenberger 2021, 15-16) on the basis of folding chairs and strigils deposited together in the furnishing of *tumuli* at Káloz and Nagylók on the Pannonian Limes. According to Mráv (2013, 106. 123-124) the persons buried in those *tumuli* are to be associated with members of the Pannonian elite who had served in cavalry units of the Roman army.

The oar-shaped handle measuring 22 cm in length (fig. 3) of a dipper or strainer (Koch & Mückenberger 2021, 18, fig. 9 and 24, fig. 13) corresponding to Eggers type 160/ Petrovsky type X.6/Bienert type 36 (Eggers 1951, 174-175, plate 13; Petrovsky 1993, 98-101, plate 3; Bienert 2007, 104-106) seems to complement the bathing implements of chair and strigil, since similar artefacts were used at water basins and wells in the Vesuvian cities (Koch & Mückenberger 2021, 16). This assumption is supported by grave goods deposited in a Flavian tomb at *Belginum* (Haffner 1989, 109, fig. 75; Bienert 2007, 92 and 100 cat.

1 An overview of the heat of combustion of various timber species is provided on <https://holzspalter-tests.de/ratgeber/brennwert-tabelle-fuer-verschiedene-holzarten>.

83-84) and in the Káloz *tumulus* 1 from the early 2nd century (Bónis 1981, 117, fig. 15.1-2 and 120-121; Mráv 2013, 122, fig. 18) including straining sets coupled with strigils, at Káloz accompanied by a chair. While in general the presumed function of straining sets oscillates between their potential use as drinking vessel and vessel to sieve liquids, thus implying the adoption of Mediterranean symposium culture in the north-western and Danubian provinces (most recently J. Gorecki, U. Lund Hansen, R. Petrovsky and H. Bernhard in Voß & Müller-Scheeßel 2016) and its supposed function as kitchenware (Nuber & Radnóti 1969, 43; Nuber 1973, 180, note 1085), no consensus has been achieved yet. Most explicitly Hans Ulrich Nuber (2000, 168) and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill had stated that the intended purpose and specific function of the straining set still remains obscure: “It is ironical and symptomatic of the state of the evidence that we cannot even agree as to the use of these vessels. What is traditionally called a *casseruola* or saucepan is a small but deep pan with steep sides and a flat, horizontal handle, ideally designed for stacking in multiples. With 190 examples catalogued from Pompeii, it is the commonest type of bronze vessel after the varieties of jug. The Italian name suggests cooking, but there are no traces of burning on the Pompeian examples, and there is a strong argument that it belongs to the context of washing and *toilette*” (Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 404). While most lately Silvia Mustăţ (2017, 100) argues against the straining sets’ supposed use as kitchenware, Bernd Bienert (2007, 98-99) doubts their predominant use as vessel for wine consumption and argues towards a multi-functional use including usage as kitchenware. The remarkable length of the elongated bronze handle of dippers and strainers commonly used as straining sets seems indeed most suitable either to prevent thermal conduction (Bienert 2007, 90-91) or to keep the person(s) holding the straining set handle at some distance from the bowls of the sieve and scoop. This property prompts the suggestion that straining sets of the type deposited on the pyre at the Arnsburg Fort may have once served (with the aid of a servant) the person seated on the chair as a combined ‘shower head’ and water scoop to have heated water poured on them during bathing. The use of straining sets for thermal bathing is further indicated by the visual representation of the ensemble of a straining set, a water basin, bathing implements of strigils and one pair of sandals on the mosaic floor of a Roman villa at Marbella (Furger 1985, 182, fig. 26; Zahlhaas 1994, 354, the latter interpreting the relevant objects on the mosaic as ointment vessel and *alabastron*; Bienert 2007, 9), and even more explicitly on a mosaic floor furnishing the vestibule of the Roman baths at *Antiocheia* by presenting staff carrying bathing equipment – among it the straining set and the strigil – towards the baths (Mráv 2013, 112-113,

fig. 6 (Bath E), who, however, identified the objects besides the strigil as sponge and *aryballos*).

According to Hans Ulrich Nuber and Aladár Radnóti (1969, 43-44), some bronze vessels deposited in the Wehringen *tumulus* 3 – among them dipper and strainer of Eggers type 160/161 – may have been manufactured in Pannonian workshops since they were widely distributed in the Central Danube region as far as to Crimea (Bienert 2007, 98). By contrast, Evgenija Veličko (2013, 419, fig. 2 and 421), assumes their production in the western provinces. Previously Petrovsky (1993, 101) suggested their production in northern Italy, northern Gaul or in the Lower Rhine Valley. Mustăţ (2017, 98) agrees with this localisation of metal workshops, but Bienert (2007, 91 and 98) suggests serial production of such straining sets at different workshops in Roman Gaul, Germany, *Britannia* and *Pannonia*. Deficiencies in localising metal workshops in *Gallia* do not support the presumed Gaulish production of straining sets, neither do the Pompeian finds point to local manufacture centres (Luik 2016).

New research in Roman *Dacia* has enhanced our knowledge on the distribution of straining sets: In *Dacia Porolissensis* straining sets from Roman military forts at Gilău, *Arcobadara*, *Porolissum* and *Potaissa* (Mustăţ 2017, 96-98, plate 18.18, 19.21-23, 21.26-27, 63.18 and 64.23) can now be added to further sets from Roman *Dacia* in Cristeşti, Mărculeni, Tălişoara, Mehadia and the fort of Inlăceni (Mustăţ 2017, 99-100). In the Central Danube region dippers and strainers of Eggers type 160 were widely distributed in *Noricum* (Sedlmayer 2016, 381, 383, 385, 390 and 392), beyond the frontier (Sedlmayer 2016, 392 and 394) and along the Pannonian frontier at *Carnuntum* and *Brigetio* (Radnóti 1938, 75-77, plate 5.24, 6.25; 16.14, 24.9 and 25.1.7; Petrovsky 1993, 100; Bienert 2007, 96). In *Brigetio*, *Siscia* and *Scarabantia* the Pannonian strainers/dippers were already in use during the Neronian/Flavian period (Petrovsky 1993, 100), which may support Radnóti’s and Nuber’s assumption of their early Pannonian production and dissemination from the Danube frontier to adjacent regions and beyond.

Hunting arrows

As well as the bathing equipment another ensemble of bone artefacts once deposited on the floor of the *bustum* burial points to the former pastimes of the deceased buried in the Arnsburg *tumulus*. One socketed arrowhead consisting of a flat, rhomboid blade in the shape of a narrow spearhead, measuring 1.6 cm in length with barbed hooks upon the notch to fix the arrowhead on the arrow shaft, and 13 bulbous arrow nocks seem to represent integral components of archery gear (fig. 4-5). According to the fully preserved arrow nocks these bone nocks would once have measured 3.1 to 3.8 cm in total length. Their uniform shape shows that all nocks deposited



Figure 4. Hunting arrows on the Arnsburg pyre: bone arrowhead (?) and 13 bone arrow nocks deposited in the *bustum* burial (J. Pfalz).



Figure 5. Bone arrowhead (?), obverse and reverse (B. Maerzke).

in the *bustum* burial were produced serially, only slightly deviating from each other in their dimensions: the U-shaped notch used to attach the arrow onto the string of the sinew measure 0.8 to 1.0 cm in depth (both depth and diameter of the notch correspond to another arrow nock made of bone from *Viminacium*, Vujović 2019-2020, 242), while the slightly conical shaft of 1.4 to 1.7 cm in length that has been roughened for a tight fitting of the nock onto the hollow shaft of the arrow measure 0.3 to 0.4 cm in diameter (for the application of arrow nocks on arrow shafts: Vujović 2019-2020, 237, fig. 2). For a better grip of the nocks their central section was carved with

mouldings in the form of one biconical torus flanked by two adjoining discs (Timoc 1995, 61). Similar mouldings are carved out from bone nocks found at *Tibiscum* (Petculescu 2002, 770, fig. 5.66-68; Benea 2003, plate 7.12). The ovoid body of the arrow nocks which had to be inserted into the sinew of the bow is uniformly incised with three circulating horizontal lines, most probably again for improved handling. Similarly, one bone nock from *Micia* presents incised carvings on the cylindrical body (Petculescu 2002, fig. 5.64).

For war Roman military archers used heavy iron arrowheads, most efficient for absorbing the bow string's thrust and for penetrating metal-armoured targets (Coulston 1985, 268), but for hunting arrowheads geared for light arrow-shooting and farther reach usually had "a maximum of sharpened edge for use against soft targets which would be hit with very little shocking power but deep penetration" (Coulston 1985, 268). According to the inner diameter of the arrow shaft (0.3 to 0.4 cm, as inferred from the nocks), the mouldings carved on the nocks to manage the impact of shooting, and the lightness of the bone arrowhead, the nocks deposited in the *bustum* were likely notched in shafts made of reed, rush or bulrush, probably growing in the wetlands surrounding the Arnsburg Fort to the north and east. The lush meadows of the Welsbach stream and river Wetter (fig. 1) and the fluvial plains would have been appropriate for hunting from a distance by use of light and aerodynamic hunting arrows perfectly matching to hit prey species of game birds (qualities of cane shafts are explained by Ureche 2013, 187).

Bone and antler nocks set on light reed shafts for fixing the arrow onto the string of the bow are attested on the Dacian Limes at the forts of *Micia* (first third 2nd century, Petculescu 2002, 765-766 and 770, fig. 5.64) and *Tibiscum* (Petculescu 2002, 765-766 and 770, fig. 5.66-68; Benea 2003, 226, plate 7.1.12', at *Porolissum* (Petculescu 2002, 766; Riesch 2017, 100, fig. 73, 2nd-3rd century) and at the Dacian hillfort at Poiana Braşov (1st century, Petculescu 2002, 766), in *Moesia* as grave goods deposited in a tomb at *Viminacium* (Vujović 2019-2020, 234-235, fig. 1 and 241-242, early 3rd century) and on the Pannonian Danube Limes at the *Kelemantia* Fort at Iža (Hrnčiarik 2017, 53-54, 121-122, cat. 117-118 and plate 5, late 2nd to mid-3rd century), the *Brigetio* Fortress (Bíró 1994, 101 and 196 plate 58, cat. 496 who described the arrow nock as 'arrow-head'), the *Aquincum* Fortress (Bíró *et al.* 2012, 78, cat. 6 'arrow nock') and the *Campona* Fort at Nagytétény (Bíró 1994, 101 and 196, plate 58, cat. 495 'arrow-head'). While these lightweight arrows are commonly associated with eastern military units of *sagittarii* and thus understood as military weapons of Syrian archers, for example (Timoc 1995, 60 and 62; Petculescu 2002, 765-766; Benea 2003, 225-227; Bíró *et al.* 2012, 37; Hrnčiarik 2017, 86, 93 and 96; Vujović 2019/2020, 242), Mária T. Bíró (1994, 48) and Liviu Petculescu (2002, 766-767) suggested that they were shot from light bows for hunting small game and Holger Riesch (2017, 143) has only recently shared further doubt on their presumed military function, due to the few finds of arrow nocks from *Micia* and *Tibiscum* (ranging only from 2 to 3). Additionally, composite bows produced at *Porolissum* (Vass 2014, 103) and by an antler workshop dated 106 to 170 AD at the *Micia* Fort (Petculescu 2002, 765) seem to fit for hunting small game, especially birds. Hunting arrows deposited in the Iron Age *tumulus* on the Glauberg located close by the Arnsburg *tumulus* reveal a pre-Roman funeral tradition of furnishing elite chamber tombs with archery equipment for wild animal hunting (Riesch 2017, 156. On the iron arrowheads, quiver and bow from the Glauberg *tumulus* 1, Flügen & Lessig-Weller 2014). The instruction cited above to burn hunting equipment on the pyre in the 'Testament of the Lingon', a likely 2nd-century will of an aristocrat, may also be echo of that same Iron Age tradition. Hunting activities of Roman military officers or their likely association with hunting game are further indicated in the north-western provinces by rural shrines dedicated to *Vinotonus Silvanus* as deity of the wild nature and patron of hunters beyond the territory of Bowes Fort on Scargill Moor worshipped by both a cohort prefect and a centurion locally stationed at the garrison (Greene *et al.* 1951 (RIB 732-733); Henig 1984, 163-164) and an altar dedicated to Diana between 89 and 122 AD by a centurion stationed on the Rhine frontier (CIL XIII.8174; Walser 1993, 80-81, cat. 28).

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Abbreviations

CIL: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

RIB: *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*

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From Imperial guardians to local patriots

The defenders of *Novae (Moesia inferior)* in
Late Antiquity and their relationship to state,
church and neighbourhood

Martin Lemke

Was *Novae* special?

This contribution is concerned with the presumed evolution and manifestation of place-related consciousness in the inhabitants of the fortress and Late Antique town *Novae* in *Moesia inferior* – ‘a feeling of home’ one might say. I will attempt to investigate the connection between the people and the particular land (‘their land’) and how this relationship becomes something akin to local patriotism. Probably the evolution hinted at here has occurred in a massive number of sites or antique cities and is indeed a logical consequence of settlement continuity. Still, it seems worthwhile to display the ‘evidence’ or even traces thereof visible in archaeology and history for the case of *Novae* in a tentative approach. Attached to this question is the rise of Christianity and its’ influence on the evolution of identity among the inhabitants of *Novae*. The following text is mostly, but not exclusively arranged in a chronological manner, but there will be some jumping across the centuries also, as required by the points made.

Novae as a fortress on the Lower Danube limes

Roman military presence in the Lower Danubian region started in the 1st century AD (Lemke 2015a; 2018; Matei-Popescu 2022). Under Vespasian, the dislocation of many legions within the Empire resulted in *Legio I Italica*, a unit created only a few years before by Nero, being sent to *Novae*, to stay there at least to the AD 430’s. In AD 86, when *Moesia* was divided, *Novae*, together with *Oescus* and later *Durostorum* became one of three fortresses within the borders of *Moesia inferior*. Throughout the 2nd century, *Novae* was upgraded into a stone fortress and the civil settlements around it flourished as well (Sarnowski 2012; Zakrzewski 2020; Tomas 2017; 2023). Layout and size made *Novae* a typical, one might say generic Roman fortress – nothing special, it would seem.

Novae and the times of crisis

In AD 250 *Novae* was attacked by the Goths of Kniva. While the defenders were able to hold the fortress, subsequent attacks in the second half of the 3rd century probably

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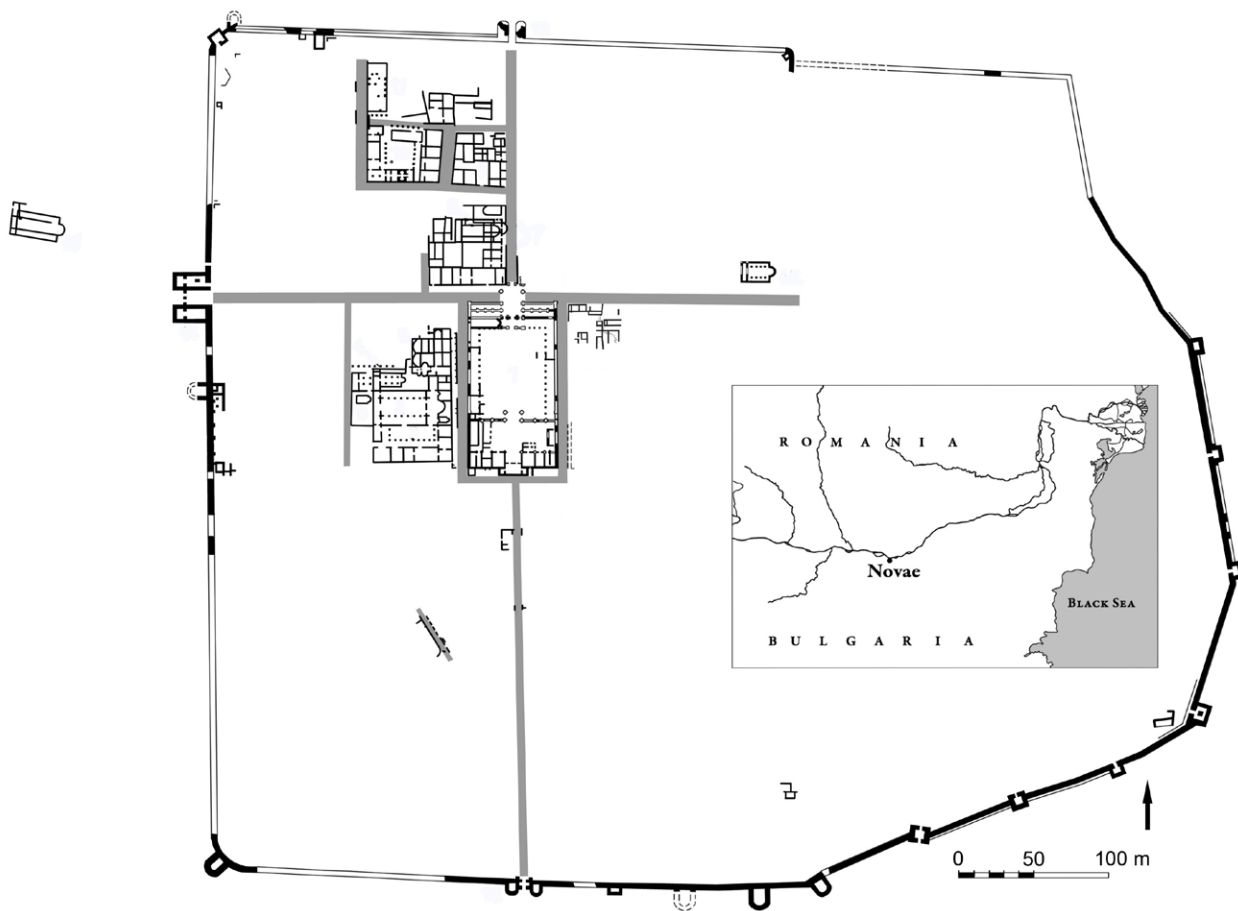


Figure 1. *Novae* in Late Antiquity (after Lemke 2015b, fig. 1).

led to at least a partial destruction (Kolendo 2008). After these turbulent times, the fortifications were redesigned and the eastern line of the new defensive walls enclosed the additional area of more than 10 ha, possibly creating a refuge for the civilians (fig. 1). From the 4th century onwards, when the legions were divided into detachments occupying smaller forts and fortlets, civil buildings constitute the main part of internal architecture of *Novae*. The *canabae legionis* and the fortress essentially become one late Roman urban complex (Lemke 2015b; Tomas 2023, 12).

Legio I Italica is no longer attested for *Novae* after the Hunnic invasion in AD 441. From the 5th century onwards, the town became a bishopric. The cathedral and neighbouring buildings were erected west of the former legionary headquarters (Biernacki & Czerner 2013). The last period of prosperity was during the reign of Justinian (527-565) when the defensive walls were rebuilt and reinforced (Zakrzewski 2020, 114), but the attacks of Slavs and Avars eventually ended the existence of the town. Still, in the 9th-11th centuries a church and a cemetery existed there (Dyczek 2008).

East and West. Changes in the Lower Danube provinces

In spite of the upheaval before and after, in the 4th century the Lower Danube region experienced a 'golden age' between AD 332 and 376 (Liebeschuetz 2007, 102). However, the second half of the century again brought numerous encounters with the Goths, which reached their catastrophic climax when Valens became the second emperor to lose his life defending the Balkan route to Constantinople in the battle of Adrianople in AD 378. In that time, the Goths seem to have bypassed the limes defences, also using ships (Poulter 2007, 37). In the aftermath, Gothic *foederati* would settle in various places on the Roman Balkan. In the early 5th century, Rome had regained control in the Lower Danube provinces, although the price for this included more Gothic settlers south of the Danube (Prostko-Prostyński 2008, 141) and a reorganization of the supply chains (see below). The Hunnic invasions after AD 447 were a disaster for the Balkan provinces overall (Liebeschuetz 2007, 104) and it took half a century before control could be restored in some form in the early 6th century (Poulter 2007).

'Frontier identity'

It appears that the years of crisis gave one of the impulses for forging a common perspective among the inhabitants of various communities in the Lower Danube region, including at *Novae*. Under Gallienus the Empire has been described as being almost “reduced to a Balkan-based rump” (Faulkner 2008) as the Emperor faced the invaders massed along the Danube. After him, a succession of three soldier-emperors from the Balkan army – Claudius Gothicus (AD 268-270), Aurelian (AD 270-275) and Probus (AD 276-282) restored Imperial power (Potter 2006, 163-166). It was also the ‘Balkan generals’ who then chose one of their own to lead them further: the Illyrian soldier Gaius Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus whose reforms would bring the Roman world into Late Antiquity. These years formed a special identity of the Danube army, such as the garrison at *Novae*, extending onto the population there in general, which was certainly aware of the perils of the time, but also the significance of the region.

In Late Antiquity, military centres started to transform and after the mid-5th century they had become fortified settlements (Torbatov 1997, 81). The principal tendency towards diminished garrisons within the old fortresses and civilians moving inside the army buildings in Late Antiquity is confirmed by changes in both architecture and artefacts at *Novae* (Lemke 2015b).

Frontier identity. Notoriety of the region

It must have been fairly obvious to anyone living in or around Late Roman *Novae* that the neighbourhood had become a little bit rough, but the obvious was also expressed in an understated way in the *Codex Theodosianus* (7.17.1; Pharr *et al.* 1952, 175), in a section about providing new ships for the region:

“We decree that there shall be assigned to the Moesian border ninety river patrol craft of recent construction and that ten more shall be added to these by the repair of old craft; and on the Scythian border, which is rather widespread and extensive, there shall be assigned one hundred ten such new craft, with fifteen added by the restoration of antiquated ones. The stipulation shall be observed that each year hereafter by the renovation of old craft, four reconnaissance patrol craft and ten inshore patrol craft shall be constructed on the Moesian border, but on the Scythian border five reconnaissance patrol craft and twelve inshore patrol craft shall be constructed entirely new. These shall be equipped with all their weapons and supplies at the instance of the duke and shall be constructed on the responsibility of his office staff.”

In this case “widespread and extensive” is merely the diplomatic way to say ‘problematic’ and *Novae* was



Figure 2. Dedicatory inscription by Dionysopolis to Gordian III and *Legio I Italica* (A.B. Biernacki).

certainly close enough to the Scythian frontier to painfully experience this regional attribute.

Frontier identity. Greek revival

In spite of the significance of the larger region for the survival of the Roman Empire, *Moesia inferior* can serve as an example of an overall not particularly successful Latinisation of a province. Despite the intensive efforts to give impetus to the local economy and urbanization (in addition to population resettlements and the founding of towns, special mention should be made here of the villages with Latin names created in *Dobruja* (Poulter 1980), an artificial naming that quickly disappeared again in Late Antiquity (Zahariade 2006, 6), the province if at all only briefly gravitated towards the Latin language and culture. In the course of the changes of Late Antiquity, the geographically and historically closer Greek element was to predominate for the rest of the province's existence,



Figure 3. The regions providing and receiving in the *quaestura exercitus* (after Opreș & Rațiu 2019, fig. 3).

while Latin was reserved for the enclaves along the limes forts, where it was also dwindling away (Tomas 2016, 119; Lemke 2021, 191).

The people of the Eastern Empire – particularly those tasked with *pastus militum* described below – were very much aware of the challenges posed to the defenders of the big river. The symbiosis between the limes forts and the Greek Pontic towns (Lemke *et al.* 2019) had further evolved. And by the time the first *primipilarius* inscription was set up in the courtyard of the principia at *Novae*, the same people were also very much aware what could happen, if the frontier would be overrun again. As a consequence the percentage of Greek inscriptions increased noticeably in that time.

Frontier identity. The first Italic legion as the saviour of the region

The significance of *Legio I Italica* as a local guardian is highlighted by one such Greek inscription, discovered in *Novae* in 2015 (fig. 2). It is dedicated by the thankful city of *Dionysopolis* to Gordian III and *Legio I Italica* for rescuing the city and its inhabitants from a barbarian attack, which occurred probably in AD 242. The text uses the phrase πάντων σωτηρίᾳ – “salvation of all” (Biernacki & Sharankov 2018). The text emphasizes the significance of the unit in question, i.e. soldiers who arguably were also inhabitants of the region, as opposed to a somewhat

similar inscription from the 1st century (Jones 2016), when all the glory for saving *Histria* went to Emperor Tiberius and the commander Iulius Vestalis.

Changes in military logistics. The Eastern supply model

As a consequence of the turbulences, but also the Empire’s division into two halves, army logistics were modified to secure the supply for the Lower Danube garrisons. The general tendency of some provinces of the East supporting the Danube area, is stated already in the *Codex Theodosianus* (8.4.17) and would be implemented by the *primipilarii* (Lemke 2015b; 2016). This model is later emphasized under Justinian in the *quaestura exercitus* (Torbatov 1997; Opreș & Rațiu 2019). The logistic novelty would also tie the region around *Novae* even closer to the Greek-speaking world (fig. 3). At the same time, the Christian church was also becoming a force when it came to logistical matters pertaining to the Army (Sarantis 2019, 360).

At *Novae*, votive statues had been set up in the headquarters courtyard in the 2nd and 3rd centuries by the *primi pili* of the legion, who among other things were responsible for coordinating supply issues. From around AD 300, the *primipilarii*, civilians responsible for organizing supplies, resumed this tradition (Łajtar 2013; Sarnowski 2013; Rizos 2015; Faure 2019; Kritzingier &

Zimmermann 2019). In accordance with the ‘Eastern supply model’ they came from the Cyclades, Hellespont and Phoenicia. The duty of the *primipilarii* was to transport supplies from the province in which they were collected (which was also their home province) to the location at which a given legion was stationed.

One particular Greek inscription (Łajtar 2013; Dyczek 2015) records, for the first time, the name of *Novae* in a context where *Legio I Italica* is also mentioned (fig. 4). It is stated that two dignitaries – *primipilarii* – from *Ilion* and *Alexandria* in the province of Hellespont founded a monument for no less than the ‘glorious town of Novesians’. Similar (but fewer) dedications were found in the colony of *Oescus*, in the western part of the province (Łajtar 2013, 109-110) and surprisingly nowhere else in the Empire. The epigraphic material suggests that over the years, *Novae* had become a little bit special after all.

Frontier identity. A centre of Christianity at *Novae* and St. Lupus

The martyr St. Lupus (also: Luppus/Louppos) lived in *Novae* at the end of the 3rd century and beginning of the 4th century, and was a servant of another martyr, Demetrius of Thessaloniki (Ilski 2008, 217-220; Salamon 2008, 210). According to legend, he was present at the death of his master, soaked his own clothing with his blood and took a ring from his hand, later working miracles with these objects. Lupus was executed by order of the emperor Galerius afterwards (probably in AD 307).

As appropriate for what was now an important Christian centre (Biernacki 2005; Biernacki & Czerner 2013) that had been thoroughly upgraded in terms of architecture under Justinian (fig. 5), and likely a place of pilgrimage, the ruins at *Novae* consist of a large basilica, residential houses with impressive baths, a large building, which was likely designated for receiving the pilgrims of St. Lupus, and also a baptistery west from the basilica entrance. Two anecdotes connected to the Christian aspect of *Novae* known from written sources give additional input on the development of a relation between the place and its inhabitants. Both concern Peter (Petros), the brother of the emperor Mauricius (582-602), who passed with his army through *Novae* at the end of the 6th century during his campaign in Dacian territories. The chronicle of Theophylactus Simocatta describes the visit of Peter and the celebrations of St. Lupus day in *Novae* (Kolendo *et al.* 2008, 86):

“At that time, the inhabitants, having heard that the general was coming, exited from their city and offered him an extremely glorious welcome, and they beseeched Petros to be a co-celebrant in the festival of the martyr Louppos. For that very day it was the eve of the feast of Louppos the martyr. Now on the one

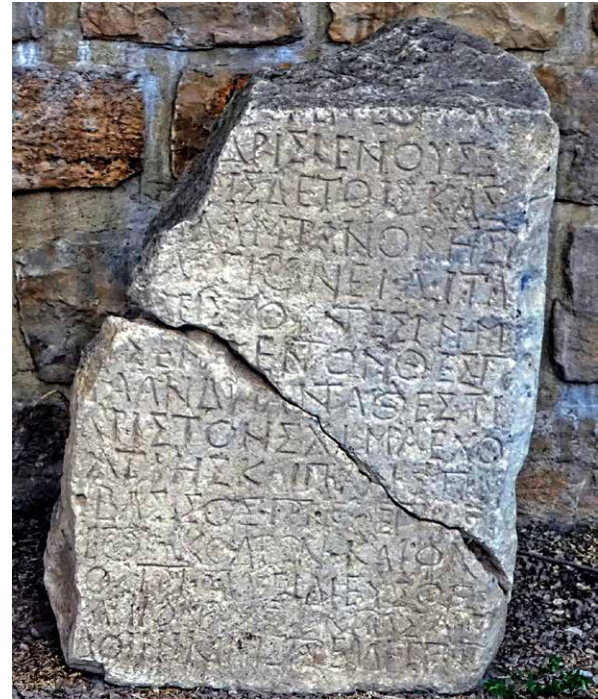


Figure 4. The primipilares inscription mentioning the ‘glorious town of Novesians’ (M. Lemke).

hand the general was saying that he would not be able to pass the day in that area because of the urgency of his march. But on the other the inhabitants of the city, redoubling their demand, compelled the general by the excessiveness of their pleas to be a participant in the festival.”

Frontier identity. The failed recruitment

From another source, Theophanes Confessor, we learn about a different take on this visit to *Novae*, when the soldiers living there felt obliged to remain steadfast in their city (Mango *et al.* 1997, 399; Kolendo *et al.* 2008, 91-92):

“So Peter, under compulsion, moved to *Novae*. The famous soldiers of this city came out to meet the general together with their bishop. Seeing these and marveling at their weaponry and courage, the general ordered them to leave their city and join up with the Roman army. The soldiers, who had been established as a garrison for the city, were not persuaded to do so. But the general grew angry and sent Genzon with a troop of soldiers. But the soldiers heard of this and fled to the church where they locked the doors of the shrine and took up a position inside. For his part Genzon remained inactive out of respect for the shrine. Peter, however, grew furious, dismissed Genzon from the generalship, and sent a scribon to



Figure 5. The episcopal complex at *Novae* (M. Lemke).

bring the bishop to him in dishonor. The inhabitants of the city gathered as one household and drove out the scribon from the city in dishonor, and closing the gates of the city, they acclaimed the emperor Maurice with praise, but assailed the general with insults. And thus Peter withdrew from there in dishonor.”

Clearly, the soldiers perceived it their main duty to protect their town with their families therein.

Conclusion

During the Principate, the inhabitants of *Novae* – garrisoned soldiers – likely did not identify too much with their workplace, a military fort, but this changed in Late Antiquity, with the new capital Constantinople and the Greek world in general close by and coming ever closer in terms of culture. Meanwhile, *Legio I Italica* had put down roots during its long stay in one place – the antithesis to the often roaming legions of the Principate. The decline in trans-Adriatic relations, and the *pastus militum* and later *quaestura exercitus* also strengthened ties with the Greek East. *Novae* of the late 3rd had a developing and from the late 4th century onward a clearly developed identity.

Through its epigraphically attested connection to the Greek Black Sea cities and also its role as the first line of defense for Constantinople, the image of *Novae* had much appeal to the Greek-speaking world: by now it had the backstory of a rock in the waves, tested multiple times. The bishopric and the connection to St. Lupus added prestige and significance. In the ‘glorious town of Novesians’, local patriotism had developed, a feeling of home.

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Game as cultural bridging

The case of the Batavians of *Vindolanda*

Alessandro Pace

The latest research perspectives have demonstrated the great potential of game as an instrument of cultural investigation, given its capacity of penetrating and highlighting attitudes and mental schemes of any society. Game also fulfills the important function of being a social glue, not only inside a community but also outside of it, as it allows individuals of different provenance to overcome their intrinsic cultural barriers by creating new spaces for interaction (Dasen & Vespa 2020, 13-16).

This penchant for bringing people together is all the more evident during moments of tension and attrition. It is in these circumstances that *ludus* provides one of the few instances in which interpersonal relationships can be re-established. To use an example from current times, we can look at the Iraq War, where playing games has always represented one of the few opportunities in which American soldiers and local populations could come into contact with one another, notwithstanding the insurmountable linguistic and cultural barriers (Hall 2019, 201). Given these premises, this contribution aims to analyze the diffusion of games in the military garrisons around the limes. Our goal is to investigate the dynamics that developed as a consequence of the progressive incorporation into the Roman orbit of different ethnic groups, in that wide and articulated phenomenon usually called 'romanization' (Pitts 2015, 69-74; Pitts & Versluys 2015, 5-23). In the context of this complex dynamics of cultural cooptation, game can deploy all of its potential to trace the diffusion of new cultural models among the *peregrini* (individuals that did not have Roman citizenship), and consequently their progressive integration into the Roman world (Pace 2015; 2020; 2022). Game is not just a pastime but, as a regulated activity, it fulfilled the fundamental function of introducing people to a new lifestyle organized and disciplined by a precise series of shared binding norms, exactly as it happens in any ludic activity (Vespa 2020, 88-93).

To demonstrate the potential of game as an element of social integration we want to focus on a particular case study, namely the auxiliary troops (*auxilia*) stationed in *Vindolanda* (Chesterholm, Northumberland), in the province of *Britannia*. *Vindolanda* was a fundamental strategic hub in the northern defensive system of the province (fig. 1), a role that grew in importance after the campaigns in the Highlands led by Julius Agricola in the second half of the 1st century AD (Birley 2002, 49-56). It was during this time that the northern border of the province was established along the Stanegate road running between *Luguvalium* (Carlisle) and *Coria* (Corbridge).

We have chosen to focus on *Vindolanda* for two main reasons. First, the special conditions of the archaeological record have allowed the conservation of many objects made of perishable materials, among which the famous inscribed tablets. In addition,

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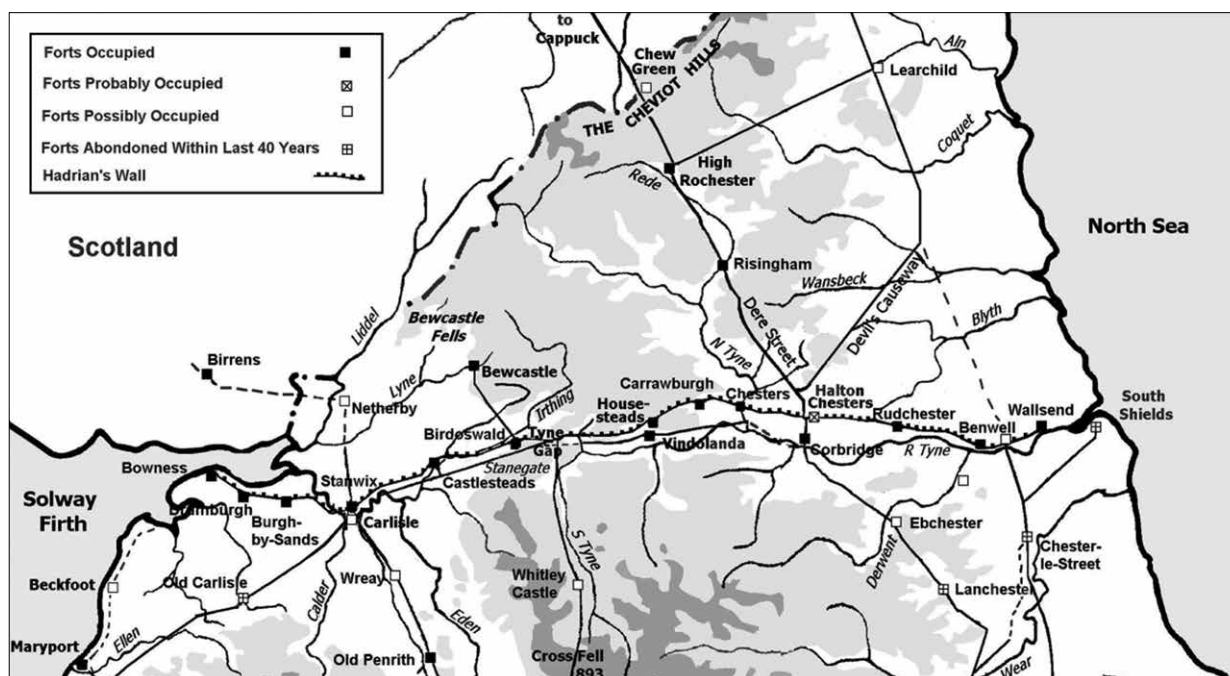


Figure 1. Map showing the forts and major road systems of Hadrian's Wall (after Breeze & Dobson 2000, 221, fig. 32).

the accurate methodology followed during the excavation and the prompt publication of the reports have also allowed scholars to divide the occupation phases of the site into fourteen precisely dated periods. Second, the data from *Vindolanda* allows us to focus our attention on the *Batavi*, a Germanic population settled in the Rhine delta that provided troops for one of the units of *auxilia* stationed there (fig. 2), *Cohors VIII Batavorum*, attested at *Vindolanda* between AD 90 and 105 (Russell *et al.* 2022, 174-175).

The Batavians are probably one of the better-studied populations (at least among those coming from northern Europe) among those that served in the ranks of the auxiliary troops of the Roman army (Roymans 2004; 2014; Derks 2009). These studies certify a fundamental aspect of our work, that is, that at the beginning of the 2nd century AD these populations were recruited essentially on an ethnic basis in an only partially Romanized context. The period between c. 90 and 105 is generally known as the 'Batavian phase' of *Vindolanda* (periods II and III), as *Cohors VIII Batavorum* was stationed there (Russell *et al.* 2022, 174-175). The importance of this unit for our study derives from a lucky convergence between archaeological data and a long tradition of studies regarding the motherland of the soldiers, both aspects that allow us to touch upon some relevant topics.

We want to highlight that at the beginning of the 2nd century the Batavian units were still supplied with fresh recruits on an ethnic basis. Other formations

of *auxilia*, while maintaining their original titles, had started to welcome among their ranks recruits from the region where they were stationed as early as the 1st century AD (Derks 2009, 243; Russell *et al.* 2022, 203). Several sources suggest the continuous influx of *tirones* from the land of the *Batavi*. First, onomastics: the inscribed tablets dating from the period in which *Cohors VIII Batavorum* was stationed at *Vindolanda* provide a plethora of names that suggest a provenance of these soldiers from the Rhine delta (Derks 2009, 252). Naturally, we cannot claim that the unit was exclusively composed of Batavians, but they were certainly the majority; consequently, we cannot doubt the ethnic homogeneity of this unit as a whole. Further proof of this is the fact that texts dating from period III (AD 100 to 105) mention some soldiers by their ethnic origin, like for instance Sabinus of the *Treviri* and Victor of the *Vangiones*, to somehow point out their different origins compared to the rest of the company (Birley 2002, 99; Derks 2009, 252).

According to some scholars, the presence of Greek names recorded on other tablets discovered in *Vindolanda* would be further proof of the presence of Batavians, since this fashion may have spread in their region from the soldiers who had served among the *Germani corporis custodes* during the Julio-Claudian dynasty (Speidel 1994, 12-29; Roymans 2004, 229). A direct connection with their motherland would also be proven by the letters exchanged between some soldiers

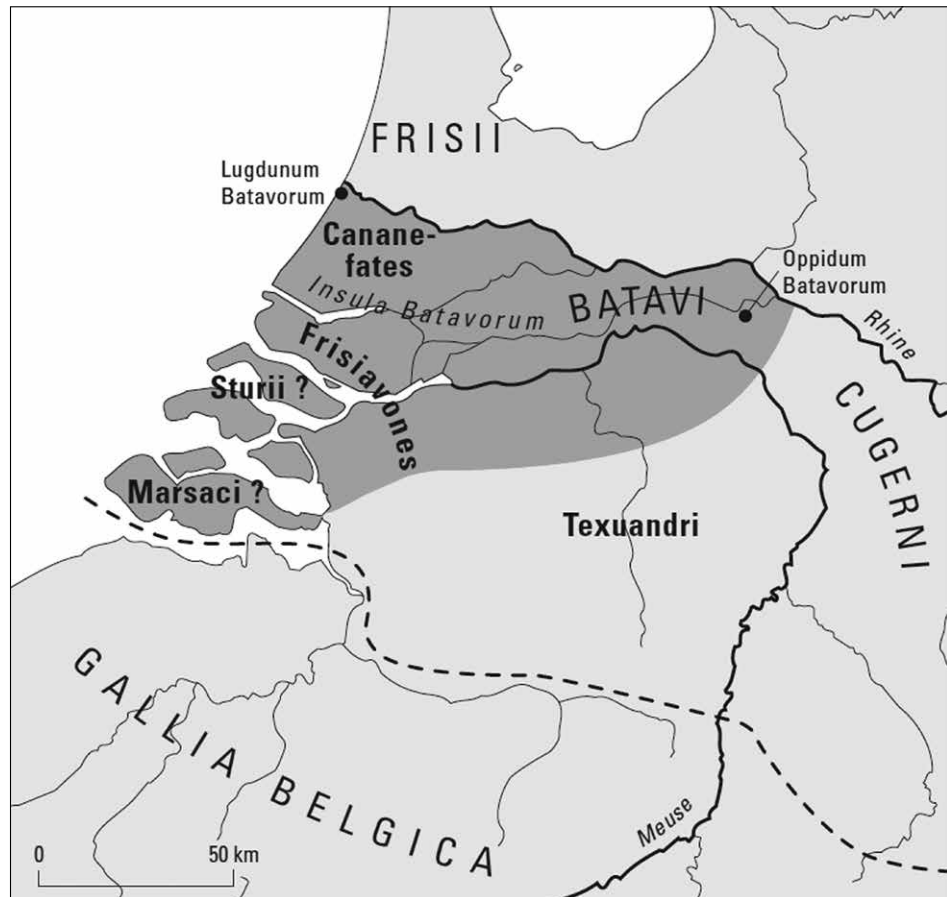


Figure 2. The area of the Rhine/Meuse delta (after Roymans 2004, 26, fig. 8.4).

stationed at *Vindolanda* and their families back home, if some of the tablets can indeed be interpreted this way (Birley 2002, 100; Derks & Roymans 2002, 100).

The markedly identity-based character of *Cohors VIII Batavorum* is the expression of a broader sense of belonging that characterized these people, an aspect on which scholars have long focused their attention. The very ethnogenesis of the Batavians might have been favored by the intervention of the Romans, always interested in finding solutions to manage the new frontier created after the Gallic campaigns of Julius Caesar (Roymans 2004, 55-64). Having experienced the warlike qualities of these people, Rome may have somehow favored the creation of a self-aware identity by recruiting Batavian regiments on an ethnic basis and deploying them to fight together in the same operational units. Four Batavian cohorts fought side by side in *Britannia* on the frontline of the battle of *Mons Graupius* (Tacitus *Agricola* 36). Some of them kept interacting with each other after the war, as proven by the fact that the Third Cohort of the Batavians was probably stationed in *Ulucium* (Newbrough), on the axis of the Stanegate, roughly 11 km east of *Vindolanda*, as suggested by a 'letter' found at *Vindolanda* and addressed to *Paridi Ulucio cas[tris coh]ortis III Batavorum* (Birley 2002, 38).

Another tool to maintain a strong communal spirit of these troops was the special command chain characterizing the Batavian units (Nouwen 1995, 130; Derks & Teitler 2018, 56). Based on a *vetus institutum* (Tacitus *Historiae* 4.13), from the very beginning each battalion was led, unlike other troops of *auxilia*, by local noblemen who in time were rewarded with Roman citizenship. In the Augustan period, the Batavians were led into battle by a certain Chariovalda (Tacitus *Annales* 2.11), but it was probably in the same years that a new Romanized aristocracy was born. This is demonstrated by the *nomina* of people like Iulius Civilis or Iulius Paulus, whose families may have obtained Roman citizenship between the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. The revolt led by Iulius Civilis, widely discussed in the scholarship, led to a general reorganization of the Batavian auxiliary troops. According to some scholars, the old aristocratic families that had become compromised during the revolt were expelled. However, there is no data confirming that Flavius Genialis and Flavius Cerialis, the two commanders of *Cohors VIII Batavorum* stationed at *Vindolanda* after the revolt, belonged to a new social class that had emerged from the turmoil. Certainly, both men's *nomina* show a close relationship with the Flavian

dynasty, so it is more plausible that they were a sign of the loyalty of their families to the Roman cause. In the case of Flavius Cerialis, his *nomen* is directly linked to Petillius Cerialis, the commander who had quelled the revolt (Roymans 2004, 257).

A message from *decurio* Masclus, whose presence proves that *Cohors VIII Batavorum* was a *cohors milliaria equitata*, provides a suggestive insight into the relationships existing inside the unit. In a message to Flavius Cerialis asking for orders and beer for his soldiers, Masclus calls him 'rex' (TV III.628). Scholars have long debated the meaning of this salutation. We can exclude an interpretation of this term as a sign of formal deference, as the latter would be fit for a different diastratic context. This is also suggested by the spelling mistakes of Masclus (*habunt* instead of *habent*) who, judging by his single name, was probably not a Roman citizen. The word *rex* then is more probably employed by the *decurio* to deferentially refer to the fact that *praefectus* Flavius Cerialis belonged to Batavian nobility. *Rex* is not to be interpreted in a literal sense because from at least the first half of the 1st century AD the 'king' of the Batavians had been replaced by a *summus magistratus*. Masclus is then not making a distinction between the status of Flavius Cerialis as a commander and as a nobleman, two aspects that were not mutually exclusive and probably conferred more charisma and authority to his office (Cuff 2011, 154).

The very title of *praefectus* held by Flavius Cerialis underlines the special character of the Batavian troops. Since *Cohors VIII Batavorum* was *milliaria*, it should have been led by a *tribunus*, as *praefecti* would usually command the 500-strong *cohortes quingenariae*. The peculiarity in the command structure of these units might be a consequence of the *vetus institutus* that allowed members of the *stirps regia* of the Batavians to lead their troops. In the same message, *decurio* Masclus addresses his *rex* lamenting the fact that his men are short of beer. The consumption of this drink has attracted the interest of scholars who have seen in this fact a further expression of the identity of the Batavian soldiers. The preference expressed for beer as opposed to more 'Roman' wine or *posca* (watered wine) may be a continuation of the customs of the motherland, as the Lower Rhine region is a 'beer-drinking area' (Pitts 2015, 85). While this does not mean that the Batavians were completely resistant to new customs, as proven by the presence of wine amphorae in the fort, it is also true that the presence of a *cervesarius* (brewer) at *Vindolanda* alongside *Cohors VIII Batavorum* cannot be a coincidence (Birley 2002, 130).

To this immaterial aspect, we can add another one, more easily readable in the archaeological data. The appearance in the fort of a type of grey-clay pottery (*terra nigra*) belonging to a broader production usually called 'Gallo-Belgic ware' merging local and foreign traditions (especially *terra sigillata*) is closely related to the presence of Batavian troops (Pitts 2017, 47-49). The production centers of this

type of pottery are localized in the area of northern Gaul, part of which was in the province of *Germania inferior*. Notably, one of the cities situated in this territory was *Ulpia Noviomagus* (Nijmegen), known before AD 70 as *Oppidum Batavorum* or *Batavodurum*, the capital of the Batavians. What has drawn the attention of scholars is not the mere presence of this class of pottery in *Britannia*, which is a well-known and well-documented phenomenon, but rather the distribution pattern (or object-scapes) of these objects in *Vindolanda*. One of the shapes found more often on this site is the beaker, whose main production centers, traditionally still linked to pre-Roman pottery shapes, were active in the area between the rivers Meuse and Rhine. Gallo-Belgic products (especially those in *terra nigra*) are not usually widespread in military centers and large cities in the province of *Britannia* because they were perceived as too closely related to local productions. However, there are significant exceptions.

For instance, in the military fort of Usk (Wales), occupied by *Legio XX Valeria Victrix*, archaeologists have discovered numerous beakers in Gallo-Belgic Ware. This fact might be directly connected with the movement of these objects alongside the soldiers: *Legio XX* had moved there from its former camp in Neuss north of Köln, an area where the beaker was the preeminent shape (Pitts 2017, 53-56). The same explanation might also work for the *terra nigra* beakers found in *Vindolanda*, as they may have arrived in *Britannia* with the Batavians. If that is the case, this might also be a sign of a direct connection between the soldiers and their original region and customs, as this kind of drinking vessels could contain a larger volume of liquid compared to more genuinely Roman ones (especially shapes in Italic samian ware), and may then be regarded as beer mugs (Pitts 2015, 85).

The identity of the Batavians deployed in *Vindolanda* can be observed not only in the preference for a certain type of drink but also for a certain type of food. In fact, the text found on one tablet consists of a list of ingredients used to prepare a typical dish of the Batavian region (dressed with a garlic sauce), as suggested by the adjective '*batavico*', plausibly followed by the words '*more paratum*' (TV II.208). Another field in which we can glean identity markers is that of building techniques. Scholars have highlighted how the techniques and tools employed by soldiers in building the fort defenses can be read as an expression of identity. In the case of *Vindolanda*, recent excavations have highlighted the differences in the turf and timber fortifications during the phases that preceded the stone fort. In particular, in the fort built by *Cohors VIII Batavorum* (period III), we can recognize a different *modus operandi* compared to the earlier and following phases. The fortifications of periods I, II, and IV were built by *Cohors I Tungrorum*, while those in period V were probably the work of *Cohors II Nerviorum*. These differences might then point to the existence of

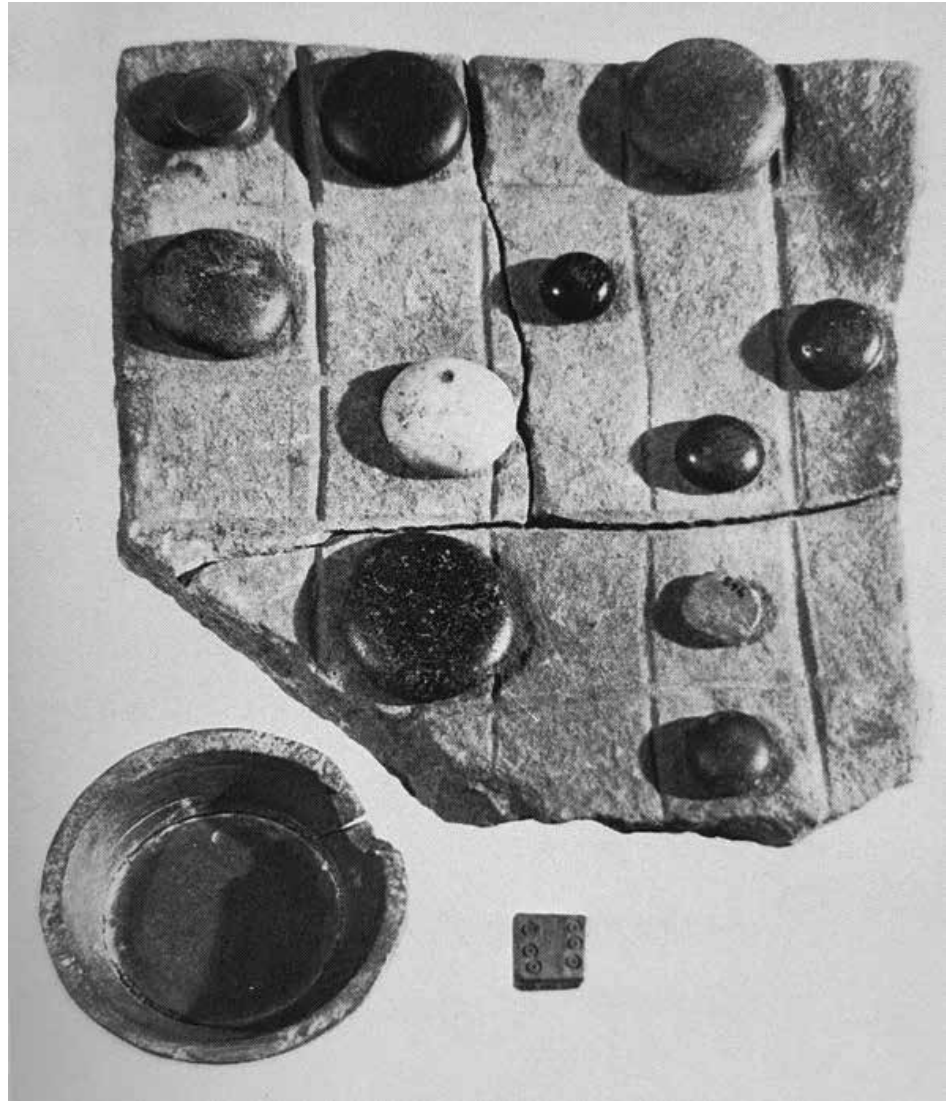


Figure 3. Gaming objects from the pre-Hadrianic fort of *Vindolanda* (after Birley 1977, plate 74).

different building traditions, and perhaps different tools, circulating among the *auxilia* that were responsible for the construction of the defensive structures (Russel *et al.* 2022, 202-203).

We have highlighted the strong identity of the soldiers belonging to *Cohors VIII Batavorum* to underline how these people, although already enduring intense cultural pressure during the 1st century AD, were still not totally Romanized at the very beginning of the 2nd century AD (Derks 2009, 264). They instead showed strong cultural resistance to Roman penetration, as well as a strong identity built around their sense of ethnic belonging. The relationship of the Batavians with Rome was incredibly complex, and it cannot be reduced to linear dynamics of passive cultural homologation. The very perception that the Batavians had of themselves was the result of a continuous negotiation process between their self-representation and the image that outsiders projected

onto them. In this game of mirrors, the Romans favored the creation of a strong sense of identity focused around the warlike qualities of the *Batavi*, the *ferox gens* par excellence, to exploit their human capital. Based on an *antiqua societas* the Batavians were exempt from tributes: “free from the burdens and obligations to contribute, they are reserved exclusively for battle and kept aside for war as if they were arrows or weapons” (Tacitus *Germania* 29). It is not surprising then that during the pre-Flavian period there were already eight cohorts of Batavian infantry, in addition to one *ala* of cavalry, not to mention the many who served in the Imperial guard or other non-Batavian units (like Iulius Briganticus, nephew of Iulius Civilis). This intense recruitment likely exerted heavy demographic and cultural stress on a population that, according to calculations, amounted to less than 35,000 people. Certainly, military service became a distinctive trait of a good portion of its members, promoting the collective self-

awareness of belonging to a community of *milites* (Derks & Roymans 2006, 131).

Likely, the Batavian men who went home having obtained Roman citizenship after a long military service had a fundamental role in modifying the social structure and cultural profile of the population, as they spread the new lifestyles they had learned and adopted during the years spent in the army. Veterans played an important role both in the progressive alphabetization of the population (as demonstrated by the diffusion of writing instruments), and in the progressive self-identification of the Batavians as a community of soldiers, as clearly shown by the social value gained by weapons, displayed even in civilian contexts as a status symbol. Notwithstanding the increasing external pressure to adopt foreign lifestyles, it is clear that at the beginning of the 2nd century the romanization of the Batavian territory was still far from complete. This is demonstrated for instance by the continuity of numerous local customs that seem to have been particularly resistant to external influences, particularly in the funerary sphere. There is then no reason to doubt that the *peregrini* who made up the ranks of *Cohors VIII Batavorum* were individuals not used to a Roman lifestyle when they were drafted, but who were bound to learn these new customs during the long years of military service (Pace 2022, 166).

In recent years scholars have also stressed the importance of everyday activities as a tool employed by the Roman army to forge and modify the cultural identity of soldiers belonging to units characterized by a strong collective spirit, like the Batavians (Petruț 2012, 93). Exposing the recruits to a new lifestyle characterized by previously unknown practices (new habits in terms of food, hygiene, clothes, etc.), and more broadly inserting them in a new, rigidly organized daily routine had a strong impact on their psychology, both as individuals and as a group (Bowman 2006, 83-86; Petruț 2012, 102). The threats that could potentially result from a too cohesive unit are well explained in a passage of Tacitus in which a whole cohort of *Usipi* drafted in Germany and sent, much like the Batavians, to *Britannia*, had rebelled *en masse*. They “killed their commander and the soldiers that had been inserted in the *manipuli* to teach them discipline, and to be an example and guides for the Germans” (Tacitus *Agricola* 28.1-3). Unlike the *Usipi*, the Batavian *tirones* in *Vindolanda* were getting used to going to the baths (certainly already existing in period III: Birley 2002, 67), learning how to write, and dealing with army regulations as well as a new command chain. All of these activities were plausibly made easier by the constant example offered by their officers and instructors, as well as their countrymen who had been living in this way for years.

In this context, it is then particularly suggestive to point out the presence of dice and counters (fig. 3) in the occupation phase of *Cohors Batavorum* (periods II and III: Birley 1994, 50-76; Birley 2003, 14). These are the same types of objects

often found in military contexts not only in *Britannia*, but also in many other provinces, although in the vast majority of cases these are fortresses, and therefore inhabited by Roman citizens (Cool & Baxter 2002, 367). The objects found in *Vindolanda* did not come with the soldiers, considering their almost complete absence in the Batavian region (Pace 2020, 323). It is clear that the Batavian soldiers were introduced to and learned how to play these games during their years in service of the Roman army in *Britannia*. The most common gaming tools are the counters, made of different materials, and this suggests that the ludic activities were mostly board games. The scarcity of dice and the widespread presence on the site of *tabulae latrunculariae* point specifically towards the *ludus latrunculorum* (Courts & Penn 2019, 11-12), a game that can be compared to modern-day checkers (Schädler 1994). We cannot know whether the games taking place in the fort followed traditional rules or local variants, but what matters in this context is the cultural value that playing these games held in the everyday life experience of the auxiliary soldiers. *Ludus*, as mentioned at the beginning of this paper, fulfills an important social function as it can create a *communitas* among players, replicating the spirit of camaraderie forged between comrades who share burdens and dangers. Games were then an ice-breaking tool, a ‘social lubricant’ allowing newcomers to mix in with others who had been living in the fort for some time, be they instructors or simple soldiers. Playing games probably also had the practical function of helping soldiers constructively spend their spare time, exercising acumen and intelligence, and avoiding inactivity that could harm their discipline (Vespa 2020, 88-93).

But there is more. It is not a coincidence that the games found in *Vindolanda* among the Batavians were board games. Ancient writers had already understood and stressed the importance of these ludic activities. If learned during infancy, they could in fact help people to understand their place in society as part of a *kosmos* regulated by rules. To conclude, it seems evident that *ludus* allowed the creation of new social spaces and favoured the integration of individuals coming from foreign cultural contexts (and certainly extraneous to Roman culture) by introducing them, in an informal way, to a new world regulated by rules that could also be learned through playing games.

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Abbreviation

TV: *Tabulae Vindolandeses*

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Alchester

Life in a fortress of the AD 40's

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Fortress of *Legio II Augusta*

The remarkably square plan of Alchester, a Roman small town 15 km NNE of Oxford, points to a foundation from scratch. In the course of many centuries of urban life, however, thick occupation layers built up in the intramural area, and the earliest horizons are now buried deep below the surface. Little was known therefore about the site's origins until the 1990's, when examination of earlier aerial imagery and survey by Simon Crutchley led to the discovery of a large enclosure south-east of the town, almost certainly a training ground, as well as a marching camp (Sauer 1999). Cropmarks to the west of the town revealed a double-ditched enclosure with rounded corners, clearly the defences of a Roman military compound. Subsequent excavations unearthed typical traces of military timber buildings and a rich assemblage of military equipment and other artefacts of the Claudian era. We also found three of the oak posts of the western gate *in situ*. Two of them retained their bark and yielded Britain's earliest Roman tree-ring dates: they were felled in autumn AD 44. A date early in AD 45 is in theory possible as well, but it seems unlikely that the army waited until the coldest time of the year to erect its winter quarters. A secure base was vital, all the more so in recently conquered and potentially hostile land where the garrison could not rely on reinforcements. The gated compound of AD 44 to the west of the later town was, however, probably not the earliest military establishment at Alchester, but an annexe to an earlier fortress concealed under the later town. The latter may well date back to the very year of the Roman invasion of Britain in AD 43. Alchester is thus one of the earliest military bases on the newly-conquered island, of a similar date as, and with many architectural parallels to, mid-1st-century military sites on the Lower Rhine, such as the fort and fortress at Valkenburg (Vos *et al.* 2021).

The size and history of the military complex at Alchester are evidently crucial for establishing what role it played during the Roman conquest of Britain. How can we tell that the town of Alchester roughly mirrors the plan of an earlier fortress and that the gated compound west of it is a later addition? The following observations support this hypothesis:

1. Several other towns of rectangular plan (*e.g.* Gloucester, fig. 1) overlie fortresses (though there are also urban foundations of rectangular plan from scratch).
2. Our excavations produced a wealth of military-era finds and structures from the area of the later town (fig. 2). Admittedly, most of the former are from Trenches 32 and 41, in the area of the west gate of the later town. They would be within the area of the AD 44 compound if it extended further east, but would also be perfectly compatible with the fortress-annexe hypothesis.

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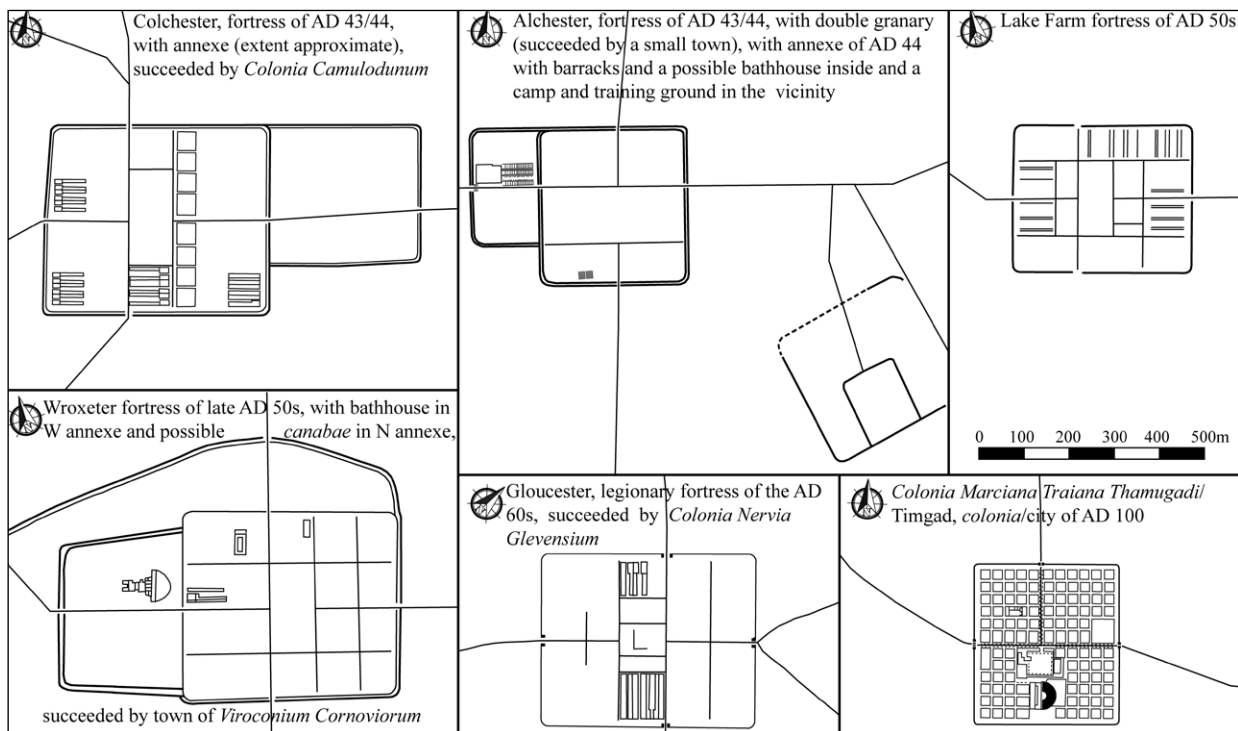


Figure 1. Alchester in comparison with some other early fortresses in Britain and the veteran colony of *Marciana Traiana Thamugadi* in Northern Africa. With its annexe, it was no smaller than the Lake Farm fortress (and some other early legionary fortresses), though well below average size for a legionary fortress. Like many other fortresses, though not Lake Farm, Alchester evolved into a town, undoubtedly a result of the veteran community, their dependants and camp followers staying, once the army had moved on. Whilst *Thamugadi* was probably a veteran colony established from scratch, rather than a reoccupied fortress, it is included in the comparative plan, as it is similar in plan and size to Alchester (Sources: Colchester: Fishwick 1997, 32, fig. 1; Crummy 1999, 88 fig. 1 and 91, fig. 3; Gascoyne & Radford 2013, 61, fig. 5.1; Alchester: our project; Simmonds & Lawrence 2018, 16, fig. 2.1; Booth *et al.* 2002, 3, fig. 2.1; Lake Farm: Stewart *et al.* 2020; Wroxeter: White *et al.* 2013, 161, fig. 4.2; Burnham & Davies 2010, 193-196, fig. 7.21-22; White & Barker 1998, 40, fig. 16; Gloucester: Hurst 1988, 52, fig. 3.4; 1999, 116, fig. 2; Wachter 1995, 152, fig. 65; Webster 2002; Timgad: Février 1982, 396, fig. B11; Orfeo 2018. Plans plot traceable/likely ramparts and/or ditches, roads and internal features, but no attempt has been made to always plot all elements of the multi-layered defences).

3. The lack of military-era structures in Trench 41 and the west of Trench 32, other than a water supply gully and a covered drainage ditch, suggests that the *intervallum* of the original fortress was here and that one of its gates was to the west of Trench 41 (fig. 2 and 4).
4. There are traces of potential military ditches immediately south and east of the town.
5. A water supply channel found in Trenches 41 and 20N slopes at a clear gradient from east to west, and an early water channel within the western compound, that probably led to a water basin, curves from southeast to northwest (fig. 2-3). This implies that water was channelled first into the postulated main fortress from the south and that a later branch channel supplied the annexe in the west. Had there just been one fortress, it would have made more sense to tap the likely source (the Gagle Brook) upstream, west of the gate of AD 44, rather than downstream, to the south of the later town.
6. A double granary (fig. 1-2) in the south-west of the area of the town is almost certainly a military feature. It is to the south of the alignment of the southern defences of the compound of AD 44. This implies that either vital food supplies were stored outside the defences, that the compound of AD 44 followed, for no obvious topographical reason, an unparalleled zigzag course or, most probably, that the granary was within a fortress under the later town.
7. Trench 42, dug immediately to the east of the point where the late town ditch cuts the southern defences of the compound of AD 44, failed to reveal any military ditches (fig. 2). Had the southern defences of the compound of AD 44 extended further east, or had it been a fort with a rounded corner here of a similar radius to those in the southwest and northwest, then the ditches would have crossed this trench. Their absence indicates that the western compound was an annexe to a fortress whose

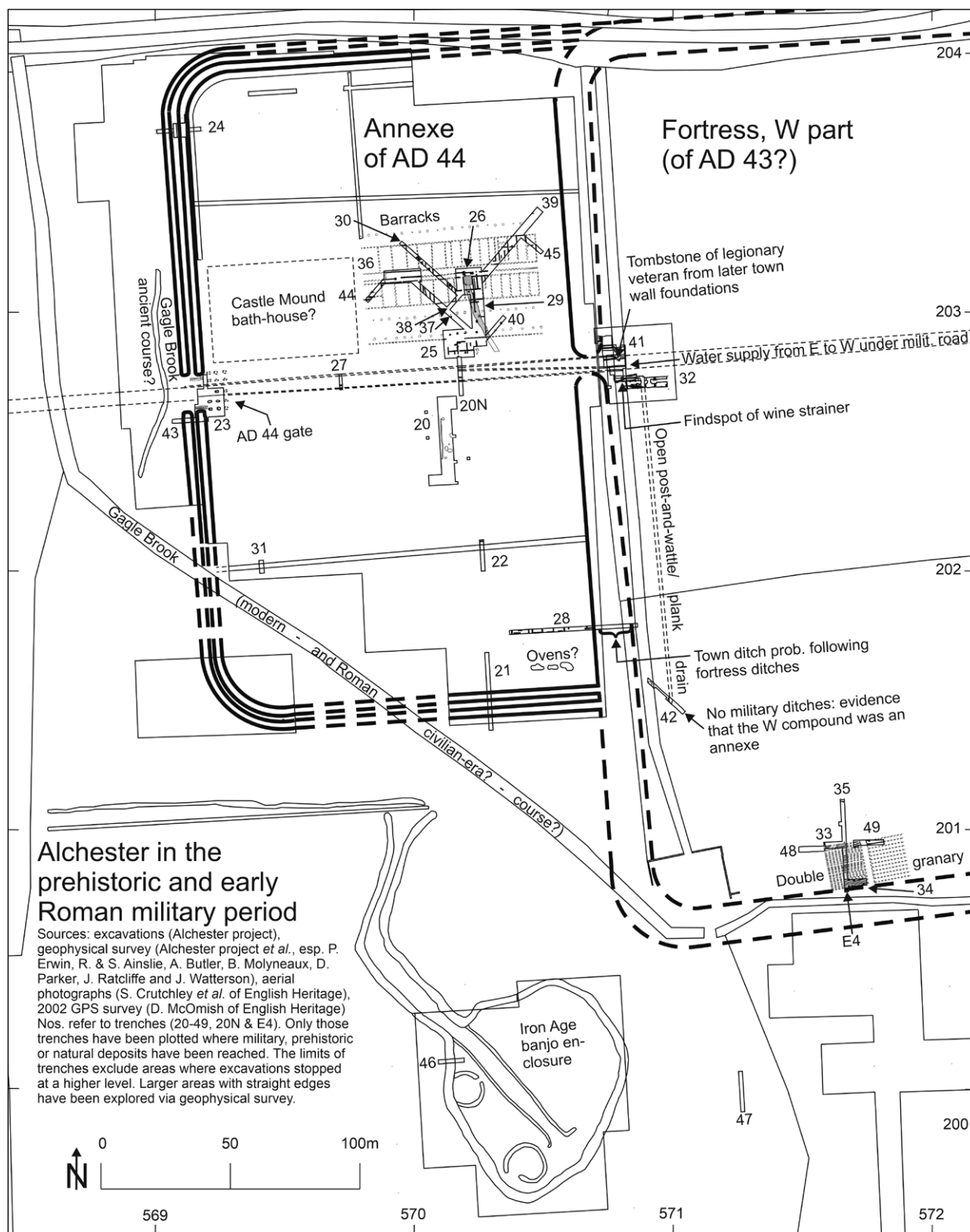


Figure 2. The western part of the Alchester fortress and its annexe.

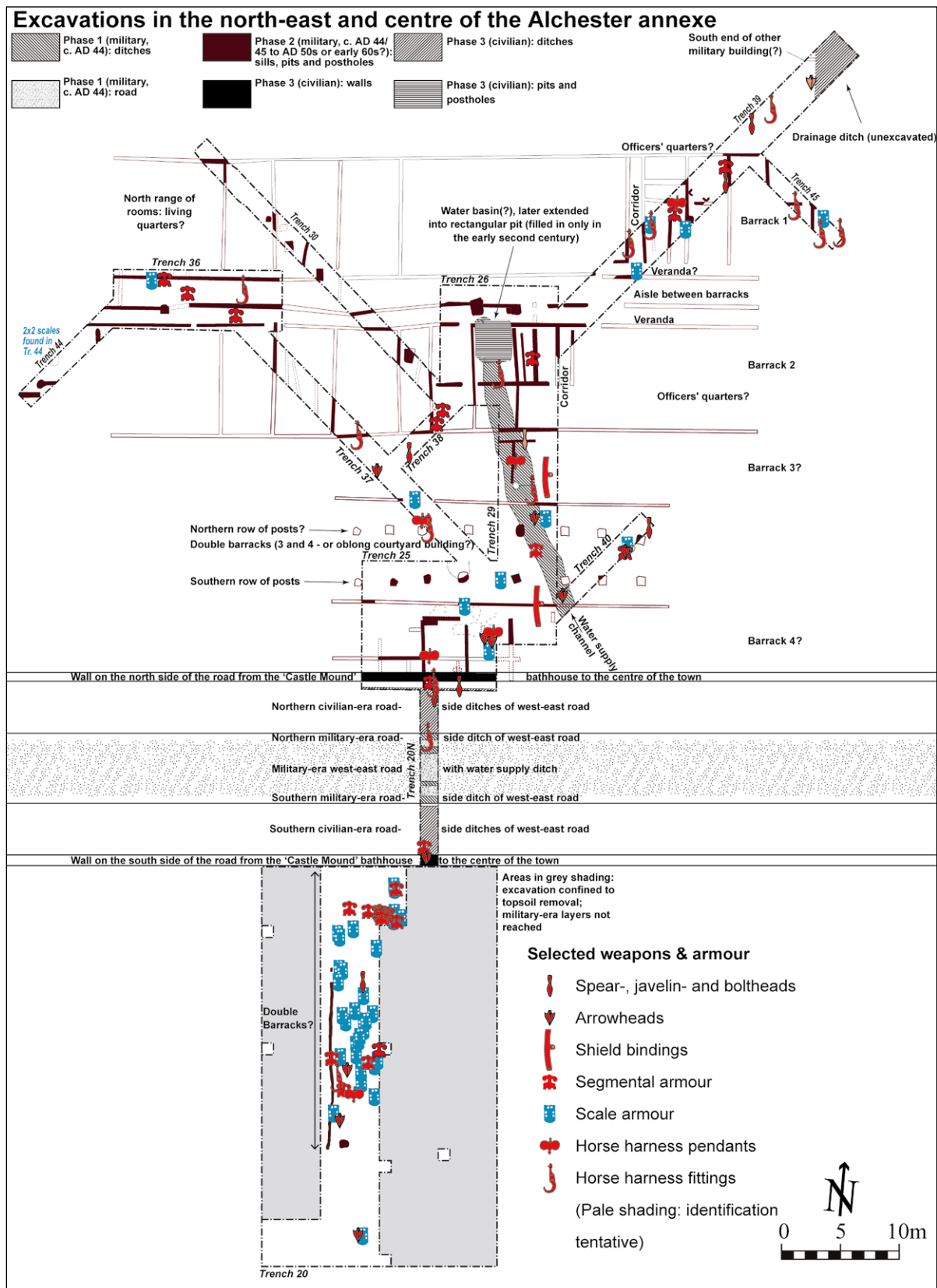


Figure 3. Spatial distribution of selected military equipment in the annexe of the Alchester fortress.

defences were in a similar position to those of the later town and were at least partially erased by them.

The combined size of the postulated fortress and its annexe was c. 14 ha. The foundations of the Alchester town walls, probably erected in the early AD 290's under Carausius (AD 286-293), contained the smashed-up fragments of an early tombstone of a veteran of *Legio II Augusta*. Other tombstones of legionary veterans in Britain are from the site of their former base or from a veterans' colony. It seems unlikely that so soon after the invasion, this ex-soldier of north-west Italian origins would have felt safe and comfortable to spend his retirement amongst non-compatriots. His presence suggests that Alchester was a fortress where he had served (Sauer 2005). Indeed, it is hard to see how Alchester could have evolved into a town if it had been anything other than a major military base for several years. Large numbers of men retiring every year, their dependents and camp followers must have formed the nucleus of the urban population. That the area around the town, which was abandoned in the Early Middle Ages, is liable to flooding and not on a waterway adds strength to the argument. Even if Alchester is near a major crossroads, it seems doubtful that an urban centre would ever have sprung up at this wet spot, had not a sizeable community of newcomers decided to stay on. They will have felt safer and more comfortable in familiar surroundings – and within the defences of the former fortress – and this ensured continuity once the army had moved on. At c. 10.3 ha plus c. 3.7 ha, Alchester is admittedly smaller than most imperial fortresses of the Imperial era, but there are some which are no larger (fig. 1, Bishop 2012). The small size may in part represent an effort to keep the perimeter to be defended small and may reflect the security situation during the conquest of Roman Britain – and perhaps also that fortresses were not expected to remain at the same place for long.

Worth noting, however, is the recent discovery of a tombstone of another veteran of the same legion at Dorchester (Tomlin 2018, 427-428; Sparey-Green 2019). At present, it is uncertain how best to explain this: perhaps Alchester was the first base of the legion and Dorchester the next base before the legion, not before the mid AD 50's, moved on to Exeter. Lake Farm may also have sheltered the legion at some stage (Stewart *et al.* 2020) though, to judge by the numismatic evidence, not before the AD 50's (Sauer 2000, 43-50). By contrast, the Roman fort on Hod Hill, far too small to house a legion, is on numismatic grounds of a similar date to Alchester. The ratio of Caligula to Claudius coins is even higher at Hod Hill than at Alchester, but this is probably a result of earlier abandonment rather than earlier foundation, in the light of the fact that Alchester is no later than AD 44, but may well date back to AD 43. We cannot exclude that the occupation of

the Alchester fortress and that of a fortress at Dorchester overlapped. Was the legion split into two vexillations, perhaps with auxiliary reinforcements? This would have much reduced its fighting strength, would have made it more vulnerable to attack and would have meant that its legate (*i.e.* Vespasian from AD 43 to c. AD 47) would only have been able to command some of his troops. More probably perhaps, the legion moved from one fortress to another and back again, depending on where it was most urgently needed. This may also explain the discovery of a chamfron and a set of *phalerae* thrown into the annexe ditch after most of the silver decorations had been torn off. This incidence of theft or plunder is not likely to have taken place in a densely occupied compound where the perpetrator risked being caught red-handed. Perhaps it happened when the legion was on campaign away from Alchester with some of the soldiers' bulky gear left behind and with few or untrustworthy caretakers in charge of the empty compound.

Arms and armour in the arsenal of Alchester's garrison

The Alchester fieldwork has taken place from 1996 to 2004, and some of the highlights mentioned above have featured in preliminary reports. Yet, the abundance of finds and the limited budget has delayed their full examination. This article therefore focuses particularly on the recent results of our post-excavation. Much progress has been made in analysing the copious small finds and their meticulously recorded spatial distribution. These are mostly from ancient disturbed horizons immediately above the foundations of the military timber buildings, probably the result of a brief period of ancient ploughing, but there is nothing to suggest that they have been moved far. Their distribution has yielded a wealth of new insights into life at this pivotal base at the heart of the Midlands.

One wonders what unit(s) occupied the annexe. Annexes were not always densely occupied, but the Alchester annexe has not only yielded an exceptionally rich assemblage of finds, but was also densely filled with buildings. Those in the northern half of the annexe are much better preserved and were probably parallel barracks. There is no doubt that elongated buildings, subdivided it seems into numerous *contubernia* of two rooms each (labelled Barrack 1 and Barrack 2 in fig. 3), served this function.

It is less certain how to interpret the structures between Barrack 2 and the road. There appear to be two rows of posts. Could they have been part of verandas in front of barracks? South of the southern post alignment, there appears to be another elongated building split into multiple double-rooms, which may well be another barrack (labelled 'Barrack 4?'). Between the postulated northern row of posts (of which fewer traces have been

found) and Barrack 2, there is however, not enough space for another barrack of similar width, nor clear evidence for room partitions. We cannot be sure if there was a further, but unusually narrow and lightly built barrack here ('Barrack 3?'). Alternatively, one wonders if 'Barracks 3 and 4' could in fact be a courtyard building. Yet, an elongated building with a long courtyard and asymmetrical blocks of structures on either side would be unusual in Roman military architecture. Furthermore, the finds assemblage is in most respects similar to that from Barracks 1 and 2. It is therefore perhaps more likely that all buildings in our trenches in the annexe were barracks, even if those closer to the road may have been somewhat irregular.

The length of Barracks 1 and 2, assuming our reconstruction is correct, amounted to over 67 m, a possible indication that they were designed to house legionaries (Davison 1989, 21-22, 79, 284 fig. 2.2). Traces of sill beams in Trench 28 in the southern half of the annexe (fig. 2), sometimes spaced c.4 m apart, are compatible with an interpretation as further barracks. These timber foundations are, unfortunately, poorly preserved. The finds assemblage in the southern half of the annexe is, however, similar to the northern half, and the north-south extent of the dense cluster of finds in Trench 20 corresponds to the normal width of double-barracks; a long sill beam in Trench 20 may form part of it (fig. 3). We may thus conclude that it is likely that most of the Alchester annexe was densely filled with barracks, though it is also possible that there were a range of other buildings.

A number of scenarios may account for the erection of the Alchester annexe:

1. The whole *Legio II Augusta* lived under cramped conditions in the fortress. In AD 44, the garrison was strengthened by auxiliary units housed in the annexe.
2. Only some cohorts of *Legio II Augusta* initially occupied the fortress; the rest was deployed elsewhere. In AD 44, the legion was reunited and the annexe housed those cohorts which had temporarily been on duty elsewhere. If the annexe only contained barracks and perhaps a bathhouse (plus small structures such as possible ovens in the *intervallum*) it could have accommodated up to four cohorts (each of which required c.0.7 ha at Inchtuthil: Pitts & St Joseph 1985, figs 79-84).
3. Only some cohorts of *Legio II Augusta* occupied the fortress throughout its occupation; the rest was deployed elsewhere. In AD 44, auxiliary units joined them.

Other scenarios are, of course, in theory possible, e.g. that the fortress housed a mixed contingent of legion-

aries and auxiliaries and was later reinforced by other troops, whether legionaries, auxiliaries or a mixture. The discovery in Trench 38, in the area of the back room of a *contubernium* of Barrack 2, of a provincial coin, issued at *Carteia* on the northern shores of the Straits of Gibraltar, makes one wonder if the garrison also included soldiers who had participated in the conquest of *Mauretania* – perhaps auxiliaries or legionary officers, as there is no evidence that *Legio II Augusta* had fought in this war (Gozalbes Cravioto 2006). Considering that smaller units were at a considerable risk if operating deep in enemy territory, it seems unlikely that Rome would have split its strongest units (the legions) into numerous small vexillations, whilst uniting those intended for a supporting role (the auxiliaries) into large battle groups. If we accept this argument – and bear in mind that the main fortress was not large enough to house an entire legion in comfort and that the length of the barracks in the annexe is typical for legionary barracks – perhaps the second scenario seems the most plausible.

In the light of the discovery of the cited tombstone of a legionary veteran, it now seems likely that Alchester was a legionary base, but this does not necessarily mean that no auxiliaries could have been present. Does the equipment shed light on Alchester's garrison? Much ink has been spilled on whether segmental armour was the prerogative of legionaries (e.g. Bishop 2002, 91) or was worn by auxiliary soldiers and legionaries alike (e.g. Sauer 2000, 22-29). Scale armour is mostly associated with legionaries or auxiliary horsemen. Mid-1st-century forts or fortlets whose size suggests an auxiliary garrison (even if legionary vexillations might have been present here and there) often yield exclusively segmental and no scale armour. At Alchester, we see no distinct difference in the distribution of these two types of armour (fig. 3). It appears that soldiers equipped with scale armour served side by side with soldiers preferring segmental armour in the same barracks. This is a possible argument for a legionary garrison, as the archaeological comparanda suggest that scale armour was not typically worn by auxiliary foot-soldiers, and segmental armour not by auxiliary horsemen. Legionaries, however, used both.

A potentially more diverse picture emerges when we examine the spatial distribution of arrowheads: there was none from Barracks 1 and 2, but several were found in the area of the less regular buildings south of them, i.e. postulated Barracks 3 and 4 (fig. 3). They occur within the finds cluster in Trench 20 south of the road as well as in Trench 22 further south. They are also frequent in a military building, probably further barracks, in Trench 32 (fig. 4). Admittedly, their concentration is nowhere so distinct that we can be entirely confident that their absence from Barracks 1 and 2 is meaningful. Yet, as the areas excavated within these two barracks

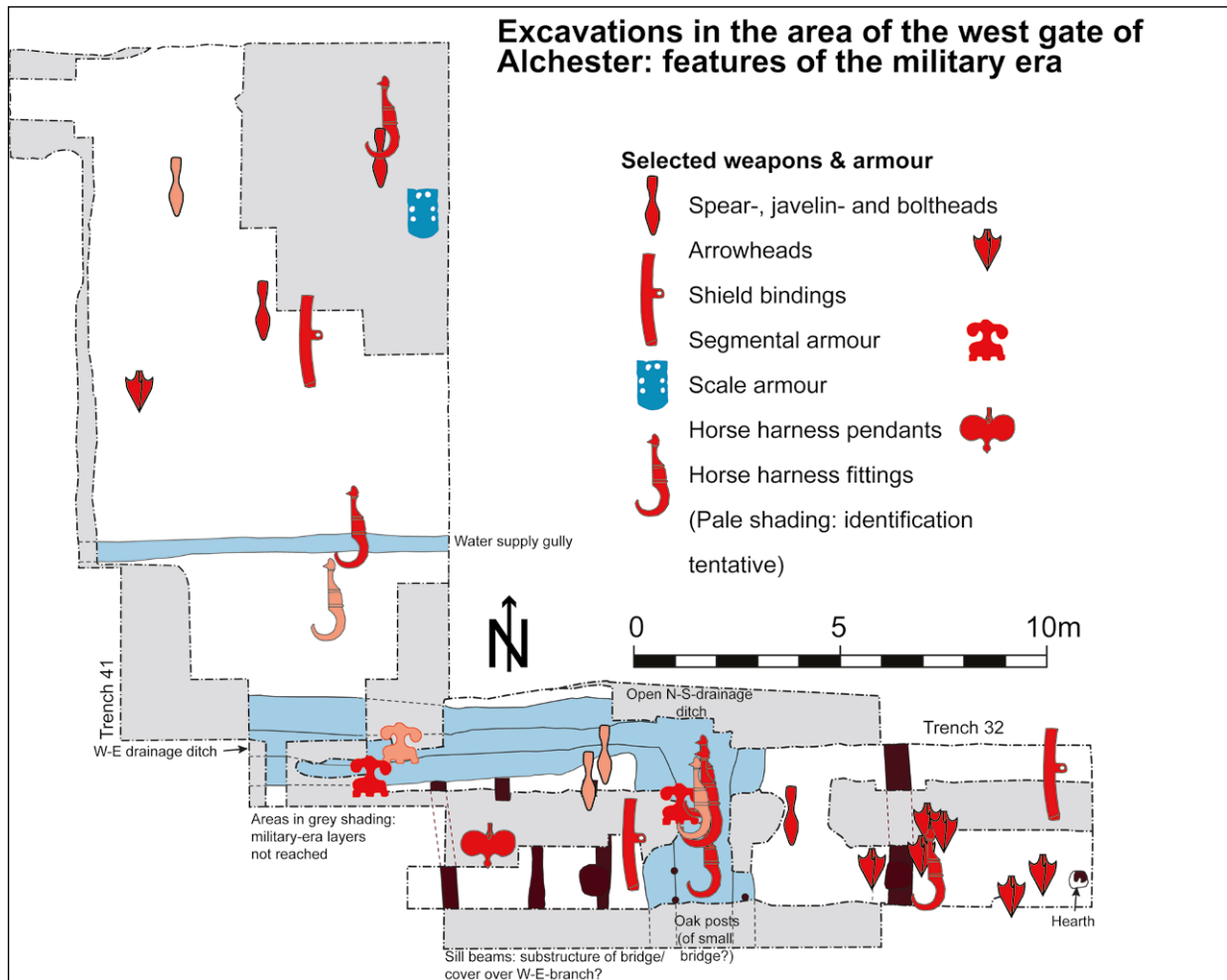


Figure 4. Spatial distribution of selected military equipment in the west of the Alchester fortress.

was rich in finds otherwise, one is inclined to think that there were indeed no bowmen amongst the occupants. Only a single certain specialised archery unit is attested in Roman Britain, but archery equipment has been found at numerous sites (Zanier 1988), and Vegetius (*Epitoma Rei Militaris* 1.15) attests that a third or fourth of young soldiers were trained in archery. Perhaps a significant proportion of the centuries stationed at Alchester included bowmen, but some did not, but more excavation is required to verify or correct this hypothesis.

It is interesting to note that horse harness fittings and pendants occur more frequently in the area of the front rooms of barracks or outdoors than in the back rooms. Horses or beasts of burden and their gear unsurprisingly did not normally find their way into the living quarters. Brooches also tended to cluster in front rooms and entrance areas of the barracks (fig. 5), perhaps suggesting that they were mainly worn outdoors. Yet the numbers are not large enough for certain conclusions. One back room, perhaps within the officers' quarters (though the identification of

the latter is far from certain), with preserved floor horizon and two hearths, also yielded a bone dice, suggesting that games were played in the living quarters. The distribution of the small number of gaming counters is, however, uneven, and suggests that soldiers played games or gambled perhaps also in the entrance areas.

The town's military origins

It is possible that in addition to barracks there was a bathhouse in our annexe. The so-called Castle Mound (fig. 2) still forms a landmark and antiquarian investigations and geophysical survey suggest that it represents the collapsed remains of monumental baths, once impressive enough to inspire the belief that these were the ruins of a castle. Without modern excavations, it is impossible to verify whether this complex originated before or after the withdrawal of the army. There are, however, good arguments for possible military origins:

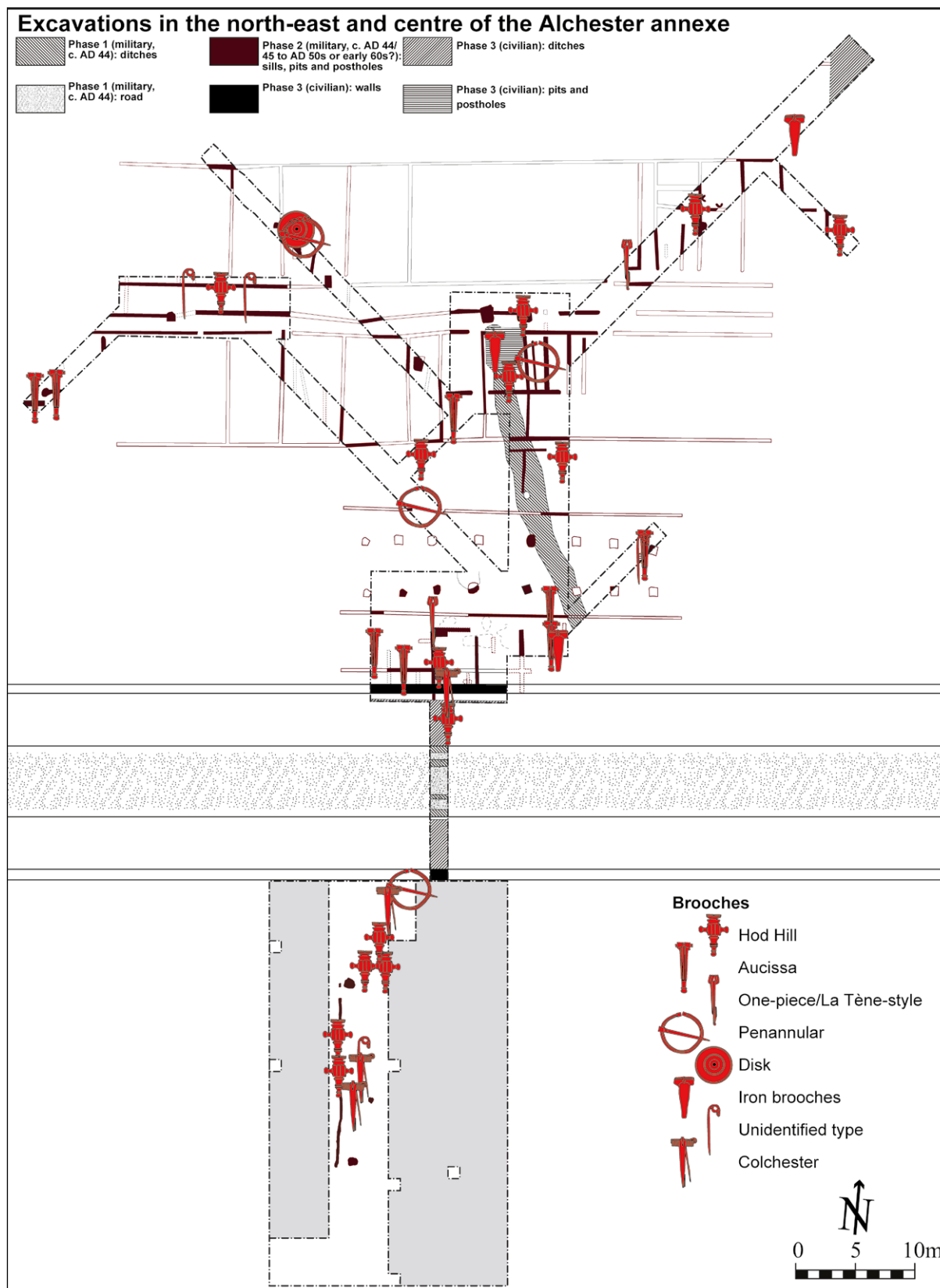


Figure 5. Spatial distribution of brooches in the annexe of the Alchester fortress.

1. The army was often amongst the first in newly conquered northern provinces to benefit from such facilities.
2. Bathhouses are often found in annexes, *e.g.* at Wroxeter – notably in insecure areas and/or times (Sauer 2006).
3. There is evidence that the water supply channel network at Alchester predates the construction of buildings in the annexe, which suggests that flowing water was available as early as AD 43 or 44. There is no reason to think therefore that the garrison lacked the capacity to erect at least basic bathing facilities. The location in low-lying land near the Gagle Brook would have made it easier to channel water in and out of the complex.
4. There was little occupation in the annexe area after the withdrawal of the army. Had the bathhouse been built from scratch later, it most probably would have been established in the intramural area, not all of which was densely occupied.

The only major civilian-era building in the annexe is a probable temple (Sauer 2000, 6-8). The famous temple of Claudius at Colchester, as well as a hypothetical bathhouse, appear to have been here within the area of a former annexe to a fortress as well (Fishwick 1997; Crummy 1999), an interesting parallel, even if the Alchester temple cannot have matched its Colchester counterpart in prominence.

Whether or not Alchester's garrison already benefited from a bathhouse, the fortress boasted a flowing water supply, mirroring similar infrastructure at forts in Germany. The incomers also introduced new culinary habits to Britain, and there is evidence for the import of new foodstuffs, such as millet. Yet, there was also interaction between the invasion army and the local population. There is no space here to do justice to coin distribution, with much base metal and silver coinage circulating in the base, but it is worth noting that Iron Age coins were used as small change alongside Roman currency, and an Iron Age wine-strainer was used to prepare a Mediterranean-style beverage (Sauer *et al.* 2020). Yet, whilst there is much evidence for economic exchange with local communities, the garrison took no chances and defended the approaches to the compound with sharpened stakes – a feature commonly found in contested territory more than in pacified lands. A site of technical innovation at a major crossroads, it evolved after withdrawal of the army into the largest town in the area, of a similar size to the veteran colony of *Marciana Traiana Thamugadi* (fig. 1) – no doubt a result of many veterans having stayed behind.

Acknowledgements

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How were milestone texts transmitted to the stonecutters?

Dé C. Steures

Two identical milestone texts in Lower Germany, but as far apart as the extreme northwest, Naaldwijk-Monster in the present-day province South-Holland, and the extreme south, Remagen south of Bonn, lead me to two questions: how did the milestone cutters know so precisely all the Imperial titles of the year, and how were these transmitted to them? The two milestones are best introduced by Piet Stuart (1986, 16-18), who taught me provincial-Roman archaeology.

A much-discussed milestone

Already round the year 1500, a milestone was found near Monster or Naaldwijk (fig. 1). Its first mention was made in 1521 by Willem Heda in his history of the bishops of Utrecht. He writes that the stone came to light during the ploughing of arable land near Naaldwijk. Later on, Hadrianus Junius in his work *Batavia* (1588) mentions the village of Monster near Naaldwijk as find-spot. The exact location cannot now be identified. The column was transported to the convent of Sion near Delft and then, c.1550, to the house of Dr. Hipolytus Persijn, between The Hague and Wassenaar. He had exchanged the monument with the monks 'for a better example, made of marble'. Between 1555 and 1558, Persijn had a sandstone companion piece made with a honorary inscription for emperor Charles V and his son Philip II.

The house of Persijn was demolished c.1780. By inheritance the milestone came in house De Baak near Zutphen. There, Reuvens [founder of the Leiden National Museum of Antiquities] detected it in 1827. In 1838, it was presented to the museum by baron Van der Heyden of Baak.

The milestone was once split in halves lengthwise; thereby, the text was damaged. There were always doubts whether the milestone was genuine, *i.e.* that it stemmed from Roman times and was not a later forgery. The first reason for that was that the letters were chiselled quite differently from the usual Roman way (fig. 2); they do not have the usual V-shaped profile, but they are rectangular channels. Moreover, some letters have strange shapes, *e.g.* all P's, in line 3 the G and in line 5 the X. On top of that, there occur errors which are really impossible: AVREI instead of AVREL (line 2), IONT instead of PONT (line 3), cox instead of cos (line 5).

Initially, it was therefore thought to be a forgery, until in 1769 in Germany, near Remagen, a tangible counterargument turned up, a milestone with exactly the same text (apart from the last two lines). Since then, common opinion has it that the original

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Figure 1. The milestone from Naaldwijk/Monster, now in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden).

text was reworked after the stone was found, and partly corrupted. Still, it cannot be understood that an L could be changed into an I (line 2), and a P into an I (line 3) without leaving a trace. The important thing for the user are the last lines, the distance to a known place. The largest part of the inscription, however, consists of names and titles of the reigning emperor. This is also the case here. Eight out of ten lines contain those of emperor Marcus Aurelius (AD 161-180) and his co-emperor Lucius Verus (AD 161-169). In lines 4-5 and 8 there are numbers indicating how many times they had exerted the power

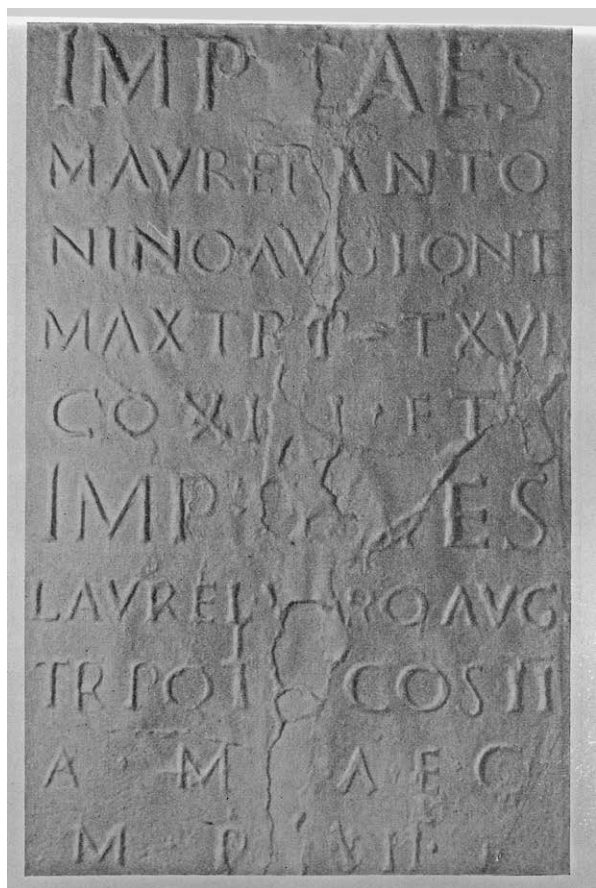


Figure 2. Squeeze of the milestone from Naaldwijk/Monster (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden).

of tribune of the people and that of consul. For Marcus Aurelius, that is 16, respectively 3, and for Lucius Verus (2) and 2, which gives us the year AD 162.

The last line but one gives, in abbreviation, the place from where the distance mentioned in the last line is given. The last line but one can only be satisfactorily be explained if we take it that the fourth letter (E) should not be there. In completed form, it then is: A M(unicipio) A(elio or Aurelio) c(ananefatum). This is *Foro Hadriani* of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, nowadays Arentsburg, an estate in Voorburg near The Hague. The settlement, founded AD c.100, was given market-privilege (indicated by *Forum*) by the emperor Hadrian during his visit in our regions AD 120-121. It became a town (*municipium*) under T. Aelius Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius. Also the last line is not without problems. It is clear that it is measured in M(ilia) P(assuum), miles (c.1.500 meters), but the number XII?, VII? is again unclear. All in all, the milestone of Monster or Naaldwijk remains an enigma. That it has been tampered with is clear. In spite of the flair of many people, the real facts remain wrapped in darkness.

Some comments on Stuart's text: the 'better example, made of marble' is unknown to me; the sandstone companion piece made with a honorary inscription for emperor Charles V and his son Philip II is now standing in a garden behind the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden; reworking the text of another Roman milestone in the time of the Humanists is discussed and compared with that of Naaldwijk by G. Walser (1981, 390).

The museums, inscription numbers and the texts on the milestones are the following:

Naaldwijk/Monster		Remagen	completed lines
Leiden, National Museum of Antiquities		Mannheim, Reiss Engelhornmuseum	
CIL XIII.9165 = CIL XIII.04 add, p.147 = CIL XVII.02.00588 = HD081960		CIL XIII.09153 = CIL XVII.02.0058 = HD077733	
present, reworked state	original state		
IMP CAES	IMP CAES	IMP CAES	IMP(eratori) CAES(ari)
M AVREI ANTO	M AVREL ANTO	M AVREL ANTO	M(arco) AVREL(io) ANTO-
NINO AVG IONT	NINO AVG PONT	NINO AVG PONT	NINO AVG(vsto) PONT(ifici)
MAX TR P T XVI	MAX TR POT XVI	MAX TR POT XVI	MAX(imo) TR(ibunica) POT(estate) XVI
CO X I I ET	COS III ET	COS III ET	CO(n)s(vli) III ET
IMP CAES	IMP CAES	IMP CAES	IMP(eratori) CAES(ari)
L AVREL V RO AVG	L AVREL VERO AVG	L AVREL VERO AVG	L(vcio) AVREL(io) VERO AVG(vsto)
TR POT COS II	TR POT II COS II	TR POT II COS II	TR(ibvnica) POT(estate) II CO(n)s(vli) II
A M A E C	A M A C	A COL AGRIPP	
M P XII or VII	M P XII	M P XXX	

Translation:

For Commander-in-Chief Caesar

Marcus Aurelius Anto-

ninus, Augustus, Highest

Priest, in the 16th year of his tribunician power,

consul for the third time, and

for Commander-in-Chief Caesar

Lucius Aurelius Verus, Augustus,

in the second year of his tribunician power, consul for the second time.

From the Aelian city of the Cananefates (Voorburg) / From Colonia Agrippina (Cologne)

12 miles / 30 miles

Do more copies of this milestone text exist? For the search term *Lucio Aurelio Vero* the Epigraphic Database Heidelberg has one more milestone fragment from Nettersheim from this series of AD 162, HD082446, preserving the last three lines. It is reconstructed with the same text and layout as HD077733 from Remagen and it shares the formula A COL AGRIPP with it. It indicates the distance to Cologne as MP XXX. The only other known (fragmentary) milestone of this year AD 162 is HD006821 (= AÉ 1980, 08234) from *Moesia inferior*, which however has a different layout in L AV/RELIO VERO and apparently adds the adoption lineage of the two emperors, as shown in this reconstruction by the Epigraphic Databank Heidelberg:

imp(eratori) caes(ari)	[]
m(arco) avrel io an-	[]
tonino avg(vsto)	[]
trib(vnica) pot(estate) xvi co(n)s(vli) III ET	[] COS III ET
imp(eratori) CAES(ari) L(vcio) AV-	[] P CAES
RELIO VERO	[] ELIO VERO
avg(vsto) TRIB(vnica) POT(estate) II	[] G TRIB POT II
co(n)s(vli) II divi PII	[] II [] VI PII
fil(ii)s div(i) HADR(iani) nep(otibvs) div(i) tra(i)ani	[] HA[]
pronep(otibvs) div(i) NERVAE abnep(otibvs)	[] ER[]
	[]

Translation:

For Commander-in-Chief Caesar
Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus,
in the 16th year of his tribunician power, consul for the third time, and
for Commander-in-Chief Caesar Lucius Aurelius Verus
Augustus, in the second year of his tribunician power, consul for the second time, of the deified Pius the sons, grandsons of the deified Hadrian, of the deified Trajan
the great-grandsons, of the deified Nerva the great-great-grandsons
[]

So in two Roman provinces we see two different redactions for all four known milestones AD 162. In Lower Germany the modules are: 1) names and titles of the emperors, and 2) distance from a town, whereas in *Moesia inferior* these are separated by a module with adoption lineage.

We see that the text for milestones was decided on at a lower level than the Imperial chancellery in Rome. That lower level lies in the provinces, either decided upon by the governor, as must be the case in the three identical milestones, or by the *civitas* that took the distance from its town and presumably paid for the milestones. Walser (1981, 391) discusses the freedom for *civitates* to vary the texts.

But when and how were the always changing titles of the emperors transmitted to the stonecutters? There was an annual opportunity to get hold of these: the *Concilium Provinciae* in or near the province capital. In his monography on this type of meeting, Deininger (1965) however stresses four times (144, 151, 156, 170) that the *Concilium* was separated from the province government: it had to keep its hands free in case it wanted to indict the governor for misbehaviour, just as it happened with the governor of Sicily, Verres, made infamous by his own greed and by Cicero (Deininger 1965, 168). In the Gallic provinces it was not held in *Lugdunum* (Lyon), but at the altar for Rome and Augustus nearby, near the place where the river Saone streams into the Rhone. Although we have no evidence, we may assume that the Germanic provinces

held it *Apud Aram Ubiorum* in Cologne where the unity of the Germanic provinces with Rome was celebrated and the priest of the Imperial cult was chairman of the *concilium provinciae* (Deininger 1965, 148). And now that delegates from all *civitates* were nearby, I suggest that they got their instructions for milestone texts informally but in written form and with prescribed layout at the chancellery of the province governor on an afternoon off.

A table in Walser (1981, 392-393) gives per province and emperor the number of 677 milestones known for the western provinces; CIL XVII gives all known milestone texts already published in the other volumes of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (the Latin word for inscription being *titulus*). Together, they open a wide field to be studied in a PhD thesis.

Acknowledgements

My thanks go to A.J.B. Sirks, who went out of his way to procure the literature I was looking for, and who commented on the first draft of this article, and to R.S.O. Tomlin for his ample comment on the first draft.

Abbreviations

AE: *L'Année Épigraphique*

CIL: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

EDH: *Epigraphic Database Heidelberg*

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The Birdoswald Extra-Mural Settlement Project

Tony Wilmott and Ian Haynes

This new project, which is jointly resourced by Newcastle University and Historic England is designed to investigate and characterise the extra-mural areas of the fort of Birdoswald on Hadrian's Wall. The brief paper given at the Limes Congress was intended to introduce the project and to share the first results. The fort of Birdoswald was built in connection with the primary Turf Wall of Hadrian's Wall as a projecting fort, but when this wall was replaced in stone at the end of the Hadrianic period the new wall took a different course, abutting the northern corners of the fort (fig. 1). Over 21 % of the fort interior is known from excavation (Wilmott 1997), but, apart from the cemetery, examined in 2009 (Wilmott forthcoming), only a small area south of the fort has been excavated in recent times. This work showed a 3rd-century settlement of timber buildings, associated with the pottery known as Housesteads ware, which has Frisian antecedents and none of which has been found within the fort walls (fig. 2) (Wilmott *et al.* 2009, 251-74).

In 1930 Ian Richmond, in searching for the Vallum on his quest to investigate the principal major features of the frontier system, came upon what he described as "a good building 20 ft square with walls 3ft 6 ins wide standing 13 courses high" (Richmond 1931, 130), but his investigation of this was halted when he was flooded out. This building was later tentatively interpreted as a possible signal tower (evidence for this was considered unsatisfactory by Breeze and Dobson 1976, 24). The full extent of several fort settlements on the frontier was revealed by the pioneering geophysical work of Biggins and Taylor (1999; 2004), first here at Birdoswald (fig. 3), and subsequently, famously, at Maryport. At Birdoswald the extent of settlement indicated to west, east, and intriguingly, north of the fort, beyond Hadrian's Wall, is in total almost three times the area of the fort itself. On the survey these areas show distinctly different patterns. To the east there seems to be a cluster of closely packed stone buildings, and the road from the main east gate is very narrow. To the west Biggins and Taylor (2004, 165, 176) interpreted what they saw as a sub-elliptical space on the line of the road as a possible ceremonial space or market, edged on both sides with structures. To the north of the fort the geophysical anomalies appeared to indicate enclosures and possible structures.

Our project, which is resourced jointly by Historic England and Newcastle University, and facilitated by the site owners, English Heritage was conceived as a five-year programme of seasonal excavation, aimed at characterising the areas of settlement to east, west and north. Work was due to begin in summer 2020, though this first season was cancelled due to the Covid-19 pandemic. Instead, the 2021 season was of double length (9 weeks). In 2022 a five-week season took place, and in 2023 and 2024 excavations of

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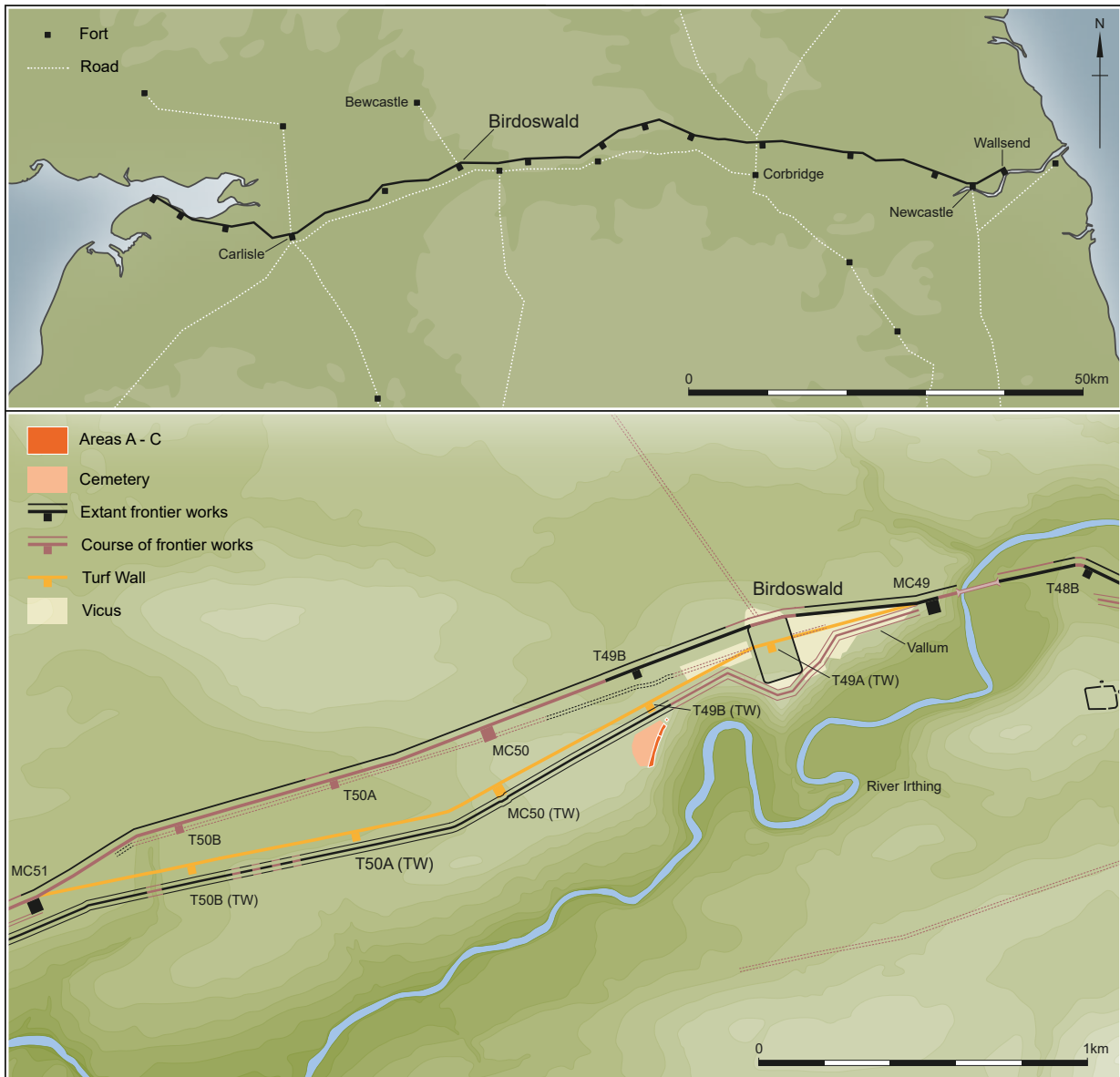


Figure 1. Location plans of Birdoswald and its associated frontier features (Historic England).

the same duration are planned. To the east, guided by the geophysical survey, and by Richmond's highly accurate site plan, excavation areas targeted Richmond's 'square building', and buildings fronting onto the main road leading from the principal east gate. Figure 4.1 shows our eastern Areas A and B, and, just, Area D located north of the Wall. Area C, investigated in 2021, was designed to address separate questions about the presence or absence of obstacles north of the curtain wall. It is not included here.

Area B, excavated 2021-22, uncovered the complete plan of a substantial strip-building on the north side of, and fronting onto the east-west street (fig. 4.2).

The building shows complex horizontal structural stratigraphy, which will require unravelling, however its relationship with the principal east gate is clear. The excavation of the gate in 1852 showed that the northern portal of the double portal gate had been blocked. Analogy with the known date of the partial blocking of the west gate would suggest that this took place in the mid-3rd century. The reduction of the width of the gate resulted in the narrowing of the road to the east of the gate observed in the geophysical survey and confirmed in excavation. The excavated building was originally built with its frontage on the broad road, but after the blocking of the gate it was lengthened southwards to face the

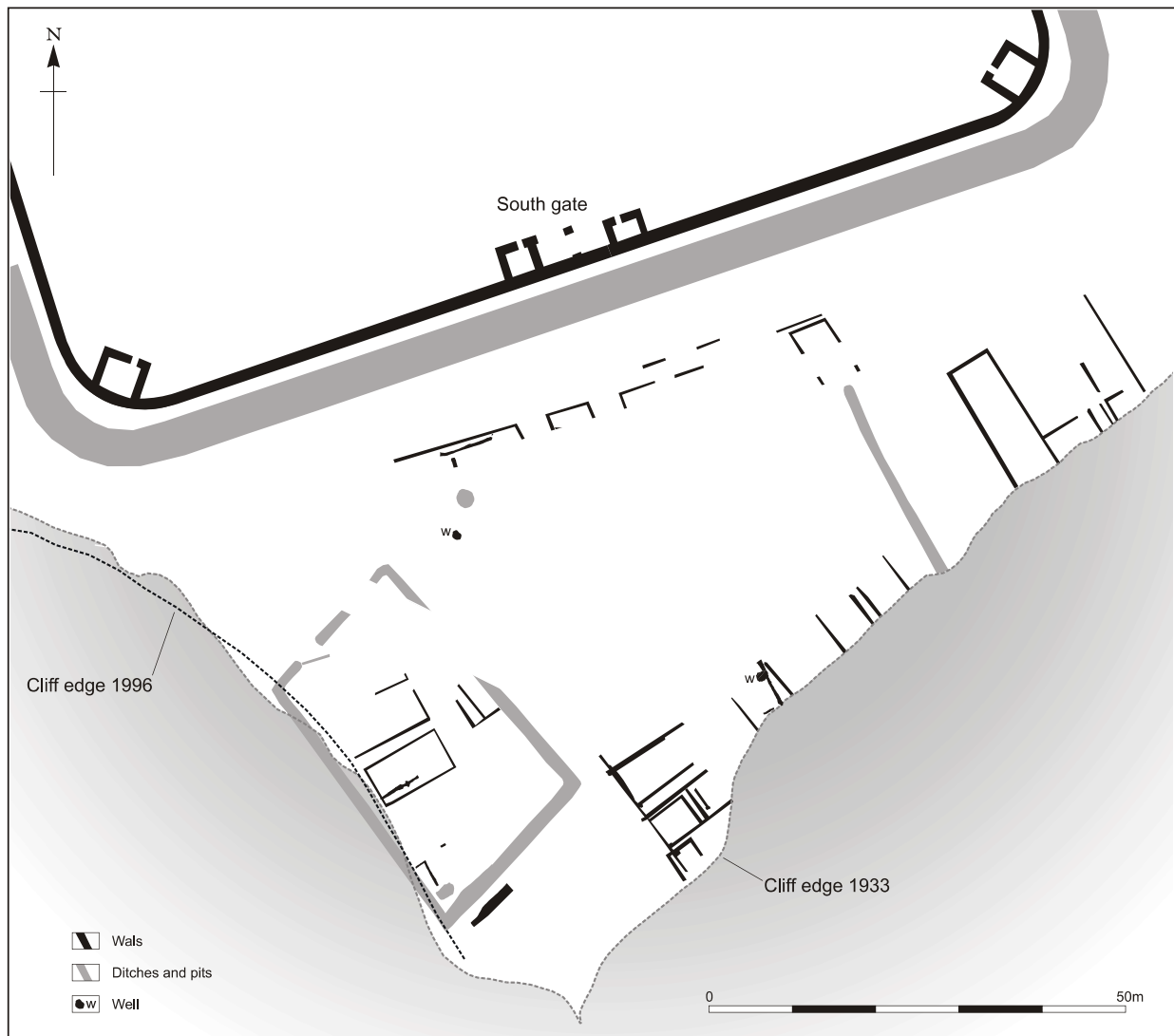


Figure 2. Plan of the timber buildings excavated to the south of the fort (Historic England).

narrowed road, and the secondary roadside drain was aligned with the *spina* of the gate. The rear (northern) wall of the building survives to a height of just under a metre. This rear wall is in line with those of other buildings, laid out on a terrace overlooking a lower area of building which backs on to the stone Wall. This suggests deliberate planning at an early stage in extramural development. The relationship between these buildings and the stone Wall further suggests a context for the construction of the stone Wall on a different line to its turf predecessor; it appears as though, rather than for any military purpose, the realignment was undertaken to enclose a greater area for extramural development.

Area A, excavated during 2021-2022 and to be the subject of further work in 2023, was sited partly to examine Richmond's 'square building', and partly to

explore structures to the north of this building attested by geophysics. Figure 5.1 is a composite drone photograph showing the structures excavated during both seasons to date viewed from the east. The buildings to the north were well stone constructed with carefully laid flagstone floors, and a semi-apsidal element. It was apparent from the geophysical survey that these were part of a much larger complex. On the floor within the apsidal room was a bench support, exactly like those found in the bathhouses of Chesters on Hadrian's Wall and Bearsden, on the Antonine Wall (Breeze 2016, 93-94). Other indications that we were near to a bathing establishment were found, including extensive spreads of ash and soot, and the frequent finds of hypocaust related ceramic building material including fragments of box flue tile and spacer bobbins.

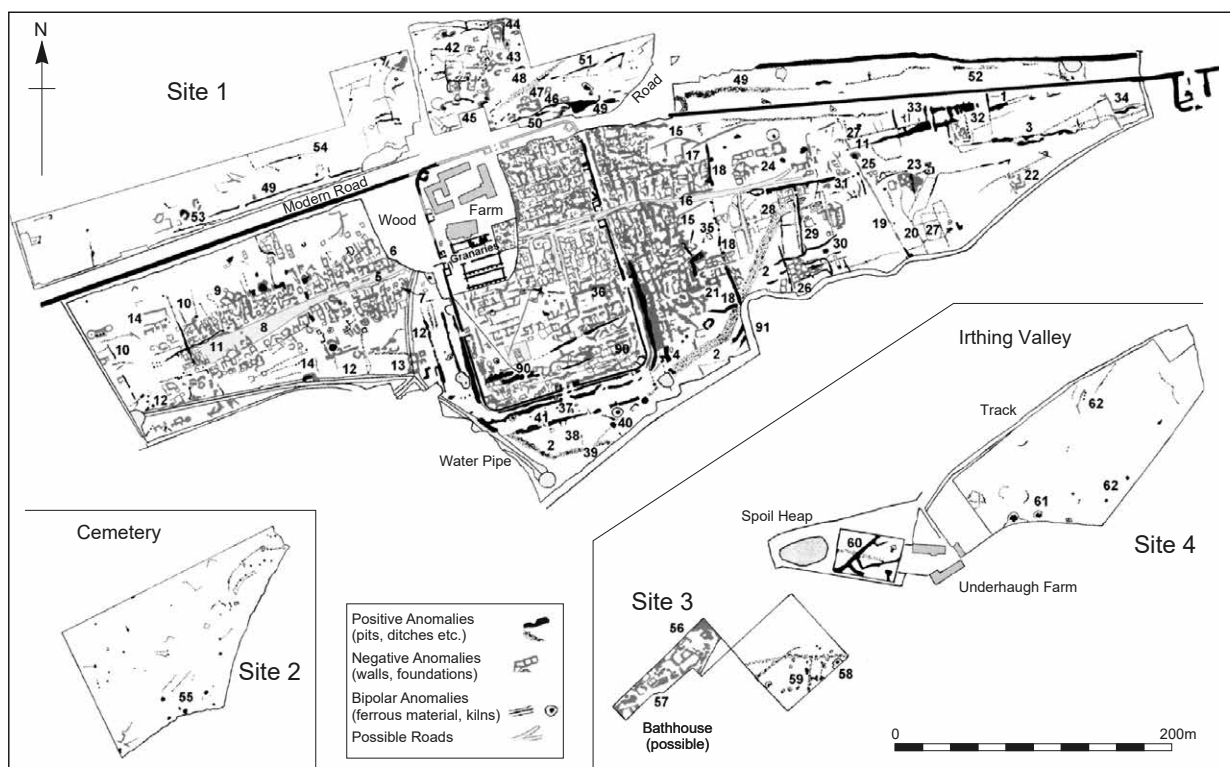


Figure 3. Geophysical survey of Birdoswald fort and its associated extra-mural settlements (Timescape Surveys).

The structure to the south in figure 5.1 is Richmond's 'square building'. In fact, this building is rectangular, and continues beyond the excavation area to the east. Richmond was accurate in his statement that the building survived to a height of 13 courses (2.06 m), and this level of survival raises important questions about the change in ground level and in hydrology during the Roman period and subsequently. The building was constructed in the bottom of an existing depression, or small natural valley, and over time the ground level was deliberately built up around it and levelled. The fact that the building was constructed from this primary low level suggests an early date, and the building is likely to have been Hadrianic, and part of the original planning of the fort settlement. Like the other structures it appears to have been part of a more extensive complex, though whether this is the same complex is uncertain. In a room at the eastern end of the excavated area was a hypocaust featuring tile *pilae*, and a complete box flue tile was recovered. The area around the room was heavily scorched.

An important aspect of the archaeology of Area A was the discovery of lines of water pipes, the evidence for which consisted of iron rings, set upright in narrow trenches. These would have connected bored wooden pipes, and upon conservation mineralised wood was found within the corrosion products, which will be

submitted for species analysis. The main pipeline ran from the north, along the side of, and parallel with the walls of the buildings to the north of the 'Richmond building'. This alignment seems to have changed direction slightly and seems to have been heading for the heated end of the Richmond building. At the north-eastern corner, the north wall of this building, and a large area of the interior were destroyed by a very large robbing pit. The question of what was removed from this pit is intriguing. Given the direction of the water pipes it seems at least possible that they were feeding a metal boiler within the heated area, and that this is what was removed. These ideas will be further explored in 2023, as will the slight indication that the pipeline was the latest in at least two phases of water supply lines. A second pipeline bifurcated from the main run to cross the apsidal structure, which had clearly fallen out of use before the pipeline was laid.

An important aim of the project has been to examine the indications of Roman occupation to the north of the linear barrier, where a road, the Maiden Way, leads from the north gate of Birdoswald to the outpost fort at Bewcastle. Area D (fig. 5.2) was begun in 2022 and work here will continue in 2023. Although the road itself was not encountered, the excavation revealed vestiges of an extensive zone of clay-sill founded buildings and ditched enclosures. Though these are rather less

1



2



Figure 4. Drone images. 1. The fort from the east locating Areas A, B and D; 2. Strip building excavated in Area B from the east (Historic England and Newcastle University).



1



2

Figure 5. Drone images. 1. Area A to combine evidence from both 2021 and 2022 excavation seasons; 2. Area D to the north of Hadrian's Wall (Historic England and Newcastle University).

visually impressive than the other two areas, evidence for intensive activity was present. Industrial waste and smithing hearths yielded hammer scale and evidence for the use of nearby surface coal reserves as fuel. More pottery and other cultural material was discovered here than in the other two areas put together, and included the only two *intaglii* to be found. It is clear that this area hosted vibrant occupation. As far as excavated structures are concerned this was industrial in nature, though the material culture recovered suggests that domestic activities were happening nearby.

Though at an early stage of analysis, the work has so far proved conclusively that the extra-mural settlement was zoned, with completely different types of occupation taking place contemporaneously at least to the north, west and south. We look forward to completing the characterisation in the next two years, examining the apparent market area and its surrounding structures on the west side of the fort. We hope to return to the next Limes Congress with some synthesis of the work as a whole.

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PART 5

CULT AND RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

Sub-Roman and post-Roman christianity on Hadrian's Wall

The remarkable new evidence from *Vindolanda*

Marta Alberti and Andrew Robin Birley

Introduction

Although the formal Roman occupation in Britain is believed to have ended soon after AD 400, a detailed appreciation of what happened next remains poorly understood. At the Roman military site of *Vindolanda* (Birley 2013; 2014; Birley & Alberti 2021), and along the line of Hadrian's Wall (Wilmott 1997; Collins & Symonds 2019), a growing body of evidence points towards the continuation of activity and occupation from the sub-Roman period (5th-6th century) into the post-Roman period (7th-9th century). Most of those who continued to occupy former military sites were likely to have been Christians in faith and the evidence for their beliefs, unearthed through modern excavations, is becoming stronger each year (Birley & Alberti 2021). This paper summarizes such evidence, from the role of the landscape in supporting the sub-Roman and post-Roman communities, to architectural modifications within the blueprint of a late 4th century fort. In particular, the paper focuses on apsidal buildings and their associated material culture, making a case for the presence of places of Christian worship at *Vindolanda*.

A strategic, connected and resourced landscape. Ready for christianity

The eight centuries of occupation at *Vindolanda* make it one of the longest continually inhabited sites on the Roman frontier, outside urban centres such as Carlisle and Corbridge (Birley & Alberti 2021). The location of the site, on the 'Stanegate Road', once linking *Coria* (Corbridge) in the east to *Luguvalium* (Carlisle) in the west, played an important part in *Vindolanda*'s continued existence throughout the period. However, *Vindolanda*'s geographical location relative to other Roman/post-Roman settlements cannot be used to entirely explain why the site continued to be occupied for such a length of time, nor why it was eventually abandoned after the end of the 9th century (Birley 2014, 196; Birley & Alberti 2021, 10). For this, we need to appreciate what made *Vindolanda* a sustainable long term military installation and settlement, and how those same factors may have been crucial to its continued existence in a post-Roman and largely Christian world. One such consideration is its initial military purpose, which may have extended beyond filling in a gap in the line of a Roman Frontier.

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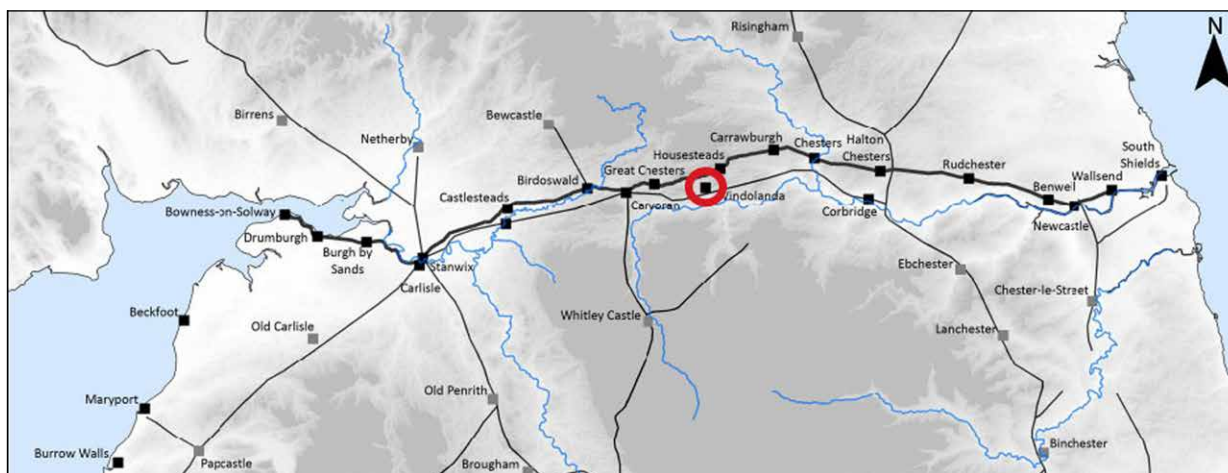


Figure 1. The location of *Vindolanda* in relation to Hadrian's Wall (© WallCAP and Rob Collins).

Vindolanda was strategically placed both on the east/west axis, which would eventually become the line of Hadrian's Wall, and on the north/south axis, controlling the junction of the Allen valley with the Tyne valley (fig. 1). Such a nexus in the landscape allowed the site to remain a focus point, throughout its occupation, for transport, trade, and industry as well as a natural meeting point for religious activities.

An especially important factor in the continued development of the site would also have been the availability of natural resources in the surrounding landscape (Birley 2014, 196). The site benefitted from fresh ground-water springs, largely resistant to drought conditions. This was a vital aspect for both garrisons in residence and for those travelling past the site on journeys or pilgrimages. Mineral resources from the adjacent hillsides, such as iron, coal, lead, sandstone, and limestone continued to be exploited from the Roman period, through the post-Roman years and up to the 18th and 19th century (Birley 2013).

By the 3rd century the landscape surrounding the site would have played a key role in supplementing Imperial infrastructure. It would have contributed to feed, water, clothe and heat both the garrison in residence – the c. 600 strong, part-mounted, Fourth Cohort of Gauls – and those who lived in the adjacent extramural settlement. Towards the end of the 3rd century the extramural settlement was abandoned, and it is unlikely that the site ever supported a community larger than 600 again. By the end of the 4th century, garrison strength may not have amounted to more than a few hundred soldiers. By then, the basic needs of the community were most likely met from locally grown agricultural produce rather than rely on shipments of grain from bases such as *Arbeia* (South Shields, Huntley 1999, 68-79; 2007, 205-219). Further remodelling of the interior of the

fort, including the replacement of habitations such as former chalets built over barracks, by more open spaces (Bidwell 1985, 3), suggests that this number would have fallen again in the 5th and 6th century. Evidence for post-Roman activity on the frontier from sites such as *Banna* (Birdoswald, Wilmott 1997), and *Vercovicium* (Housesteads, Rushworth 2009) indicates that this was a shared trend.

As Imperial infrastructure gradually waned in the 4th century, to be replaced by established agricultural practices, it is not difficult to postulate that by the 5th and 6th century such practices alone could have supported the much reduced sub-Roman and post-Roman population. In other words, the Empire slow retreat of resources helped to establish the foundations for an organised, self-sufficient community, based on religious order rather than military order alone.

Remodelling inside the fort

The sub-Roman and post-Roman inhabitants of *Vindolanda* were as proactive in changing the fort layout to suit their needs as the Roman army units that had gone before them. Nearly all the changes identified as being typical of the 4th- and 5th-century Roman military sites (Collins 2012, 74-110) are present at *Vindolanda*. These included the modification of all the major internal structures in the central range (*principia*, *praetorium* and *horrea*) as well as barrack refurbishments and/or demolition, new defensive works, infringements on road spaces, and the addition of internal bath suites.

Excavations conducted in the north-western and south-eastern quadrant of the last stone fort at *Vindolanda*, paired with a reappraisal of data from historical excavations of the central range, have offered evidence for a least three periods of occupation after the end of the 4th century. The first period, IXA, extends between c. AD 409 and AD 600,

and features extensive refurbishments of Roman structures as well as the erection of new buildings with stone foundations. When new buildings are erected, they are laid out respecting earlier building plots and the road layouts within the 4th-century fort. Such continuity has led excavators to term this period ‘sub-Roman’ rather than post-Roman, to acknowledge the permanence of some elements of the 4th-century architecture and population. In the second period, IXB, lasting between c. AD 600 and AD 800, the post-Roman builders, by then distanced from their Roman ancestors through at least two generations, showed greater flexibility by occasionally, but not always, ignoring the earlier Roman grid. The third period, X, includes the years between AD 800-900 and the final abandonment of the site (Birley & Alberti 2021,10).

Exploring the identities and religious beliefs of people living at *Vindolanda* between AD 600-900 is a challenging and multi-faceted task. Evidence of the ways in which those who inhabited the site constructed and expressed their own identities is ephemeral for the sub-Roman and post-Roman period, especially when compared to the wealth of material culture offered by earlier *Vindolanda* strata. However, the continued use of Latin and significant role of Christianity, its worship and expression through architecture and material culture are unifying aspect of daily life of the site and can be illuminated by archaeological evidence.

Brigomaglos and Riacus

The Brigomaglos stone was discovered at the site of *Vindolanda* by Robert Blair and Collingwood Bruce, in 1889, in a pile of loose stones outside the kitchen door of Chesterholm cottage (Birley *et al.* 1999, 22). John Clayton later discovered that the inscription had originally been taken from another pile of stones “a little to the northeast of the fort”, which had been previously gathered for the construction of a new road (Birley 2014, 198).

Bruce first reported the discovery to the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries at their meeting on November the 11th, 1889. He drew attention to the Christian formula [HIC] IACIT, and to the obvious British name of the deceased. He also first suggested that this must have been a monument to a post-Roman inhabitant. Haverfield then raised the hypothesis that *Vindolanda*’s Brigomaglos might have been the same person as Brigomaglus, also known as Briocus, a priest sent from Gaul to join St Germanus in the late 4th or early 5th century – a friend of St Patrick (Haverfield 1918, 29-30). This view was accepted by scholars without a great deal of debate and when Wright completed the *Vindolanda* section of RIB volume I, he noted the Brigomaglos stone (without awarding it a RIB number) and restored the damaged text to follow the Haverfield suggestion (Collingwood & Wright 1965, 541): BRIGOMAGLOS IACIT [qui et Brioc]US, ‘Brigomaglos, who is also known as Briocus, lies here’.

This suggestion was later dismissed by Jackson in his comprehensive re-evaluation of the stone. He instead proposed a plausible alternative reading (Jackson 1982, 60): BRIGOMAGLOS [HII]C IACIT[...IC(or G)US, ‘Brigomaglos lies here...’. Jackson points out that ‘Brigomaglos’ is a familiar type of Celtic name, consisting of two main elements: ‘brigo’ meaning ‘high’ and ‘maglos’ meaning ‘chief, lord’ (Jackson 1982, 62). This view is supported by Swift in her book ‘Ogam and the Earliest Christians’ (Swift 1996). She suggested that the name Brigomaglos appeared to have Welsh and Irish connections, and that it could alternatively be translated to mean ‘mighty prince’. All the scholars who have studied the stone broadly agree on its dating between AD 500 and 600: this agreement places Brigomaglos firmly into the post-Roman environment. Or not Brigomaglos was a ‘high chief, lord’ or ‘mighty prince’, he was likely a man of high status, reflected in his formal Christian burial and accompanying tombstone. The carving on Brigomaglos’ tombstone also offers important evidence of literacy in the post-Roman period, either of the man himself, or of the community who commissioned his funerary monument.

Supporting the case for a literate sub- and post-Roman community is another name carved in stone: ‘Riacus’. The inscription bearing this name was uncovered in 2008, set into a small and plainly bordered panel and carved on the foundation step of a commercial building on the north side of the *via principalis*, opposite the north wall of the most westerly of the two granaries (Birley 2014, 198). This building had originally been constructed in the 4th century but was then modified into the 5th century. Several refurbishments followed, stretching the post-Roman occupation of the building into the 9th century (Birley 2013; Birley & Alberti 2021).

The name ‘Riacus’ is not attested elsewhere but, like Brigomaglos, it features a Celtic component. The first part of the name is related to the word for ‘king’, *rix* (close to Latin *rex*) and is found as a suffix in numerous personal names, of which Vercingetorix is the most famous. As a prefix, one finds the forms Rigi-, *e.g.* the god Mars Rigisamus (RIB 187, 711, *Deo Mar(ti) Rigae*) and CIL XIII.1190), and Rigo-, the latter particularly in place-names, *e.g.* *Rigodunon*, ‘royal fort’ (Ptolemaeus *Geographia* 2.3.10; Rivet & Smith 1979, 448, thought to be the Roman Castleshaw).

Numerous examples of names beginning with Ri-, Ric-, Rig-, Rio-, are cited by Holder (1922, columns 1181-1192). In particular, he cites Riocus, an early medieval Breton saint. The terminations -aco or -acus is also extremely common (Holder 1922, *op.cit.* I, columns 20-31, gives hundreds of examples). Patrick Sims-Williams kindly offered the comment that: ‘RIACUS would be expected as the earlier form of RIOCUS[...]. Originally it should have been *RIGACVS but the ‘gh’ was lost sporadically after the

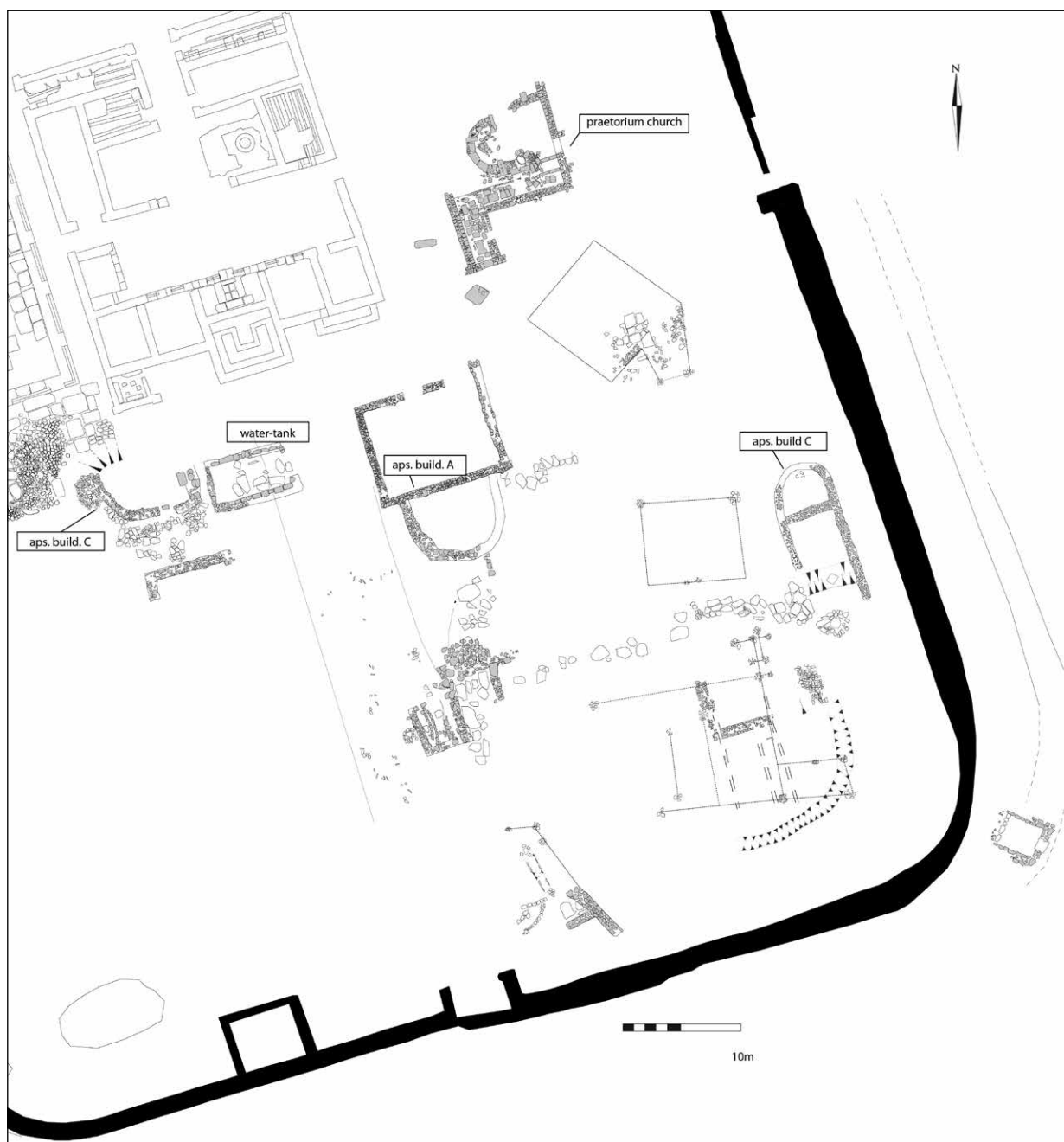


Figure 2. The 'praetorium church' in relation to the 4th-century water tank, and to other apsidal buildings in the southern half of the fort.

long i.' and has offered a late Roman to post-Roman date up to AD 600.

It is impossible to tell whether Brigomaglos and Riagus would have been contemporaries. However, the fact that their names both appear in stone-carved post-Roman inscriptions provides evidence for the continuation of a written Latin tradition, which stretches back to the site's foundation and is so well represented in earlier periods by the *Vindolanda* tablets and stone inscriptions. It is difficult

to know whether commemorations and carvings on stone remained as standard in the 5th and 6th century as they had been in previous centuries, but it can be argued that there would have been little point in writing something down if no other member of the community could understand it. The Brigomaglos and Riagus inscriptions therefore suggest a wider level of literacy at *Vindolanda*, one which is easier to explain when considering the presence of a strong Christian community at the site from the Roman to Post-Roman periods.

A centre for worship. Forms of *basilica* building, churches, or a combination of the two?

The idea of a formal religious space, whether Christian or otherwise, within a Roman fort, remains a relatively new concept for archaeologists. The ‘chapel of the standards’ and the evidence for Imperial cults have long been considered by Roman scholarship the only structural expressions of cultic activities permissible within the fort walls. Otherwise, scholars accepted the location of cultic spaces such as temples and shrines outside the fort walls as the norm for military contexts (Birley & Birley 2010, 25). The 2009 discovery of a temple to Jupiter Dolichenus on the northern rampart at *Vindolanda* challenged this view. It also stimulated the reflection that the practice of building sacred spaces within the fort walls may have had a continued tradition at the site (Birley & Birley 2012, 231-257).

Four apsidal building foundations have been excavated at *Vindolanda*, ranging in date from the late Roman period VIIIA (c. AD 367-408) to the sub and post-Roman. One more potential apse remains partially buried under the turf of the north-eastern quadrant of the fort (Birley & Alberti 2021, 34). Apsidal buildings are not uncommon in the late strata of Hadrian’s Wall forts: similar structures have been found at Housesteads (Crow 2004, 114; Rushworth 2009, 178), Birdoswald (Wilmott 2009, 395) and South Shields (Bidwell & Speak 1994, 103-104). While these apses have been tentatively described as potential church foundations, the lack of associated material culture, Christian iconography and discrepancies from more traditionally recognised church building doctrine (often with west rather than east facing apses) has relegated discussion of those buildings to a footnote rather than a central pillar of scholarly debate. The *Vindolanda* examples of apsidal buildings, however, paint a different and clearer picture. Their features, their building sequence, the presence of Christian inscriptions and material culture depicting Christianity: all elements combined provide us with a chance to argue for *Vindolanda* as a focal centre of Christianity during the sub-Roman and post-Roman period.

The building sequence

The earliest apsidal building was constructed towards the end of the 4th century, or possibly in the early 5th century, within the courtyard of the then abandoned *praetorium* (Birley *et al.* 1999, 20-23). The apsidal building’s foundations dated to a period some years after the building alterations of c. AD 370, for its floor was nearly 20 cm above the last layer of courtyard flags. How much of the *praetorium* structure was still standing at that time remains open to debate, together with the nature of the apse’s use as a space for private worship or as a public gathering spot.

The building’s apse opened to the east and was built using large sandstone block foundations, almost certainly recycled from the foundations of early 3rd century extramural buildings, in a process of ‘quarrying’ of existing buildings often seen at *Vindolanda* during the sub-Roman and post-Roman period. The apse maximum internal width was 4.00 m north to south, and 2.24 m east to west. At the eastern end, where it joined the former courtyard wall, the internal width was 7.33 m, and overall internal length reached 6.51 m. The total useable area inside the structure was c. 39 m². It is possible that the 4th century water tank, some 25 m to the west (fig. 2), was re-purposed as an indoor baptismal font for a brief period and was associated with the use of this building before being backfilled and used as a later dwelling. A parallel for the association between a church-like building and a rectangular stone lined tank with potential baptismal functions can be found at Housesteads (Crow 1995, 96-7).

Apsidal building A shared some of the characteristics of the *praetorium* church: erected directly above a layer of 4th-century demolition, it was contained within the boundary walls of a re-used Roman barrack. The shape of the building was also similar to that of the *praetorium* church, suggesting continuity in the buildings’ form. A semi-circular apse opening towards the north was attached, slightly off centred, onto a pre-existing 4th-century barrack room, which had been turned into a nave. In the case of the *praetorium* church, the nave was rectangular, while apsidal building A had a squared and much larger nave. With its 116 m² of overall internal surface and an apse of 9.30 m in diameter, this remains the largest apsidal building excavated at *Vindolanda* to date.

Apsidal building B differed from the other two, and its construction ushered in a new era for apsidal buildings at *Vindolanda*. Its foundations, a series of rubble filled trenches, were cut through the sub-Roman re-paving of the *intervallum* road, effectively blocking that space to traffic (Birley & Alberti 2021, 56). The building was characterised by a distinct elongated, ‘rocket-like’ shape. Its long, north to south oriented rectangular nave was topped by a south facing apse, 5.5 m in diameter. The total useable area inside the building was c. 58.18 m². The building presented striking similarities to the Housesteads ‘church’, which was also built over and closed an *intervallum* road (Bosanquet 1904, 242; Crow 2004, 114; Rushworth 2009, 178).

Apsidal building C followed the same construction style as B and shared some of its features. It encroached on the road surface of the *via quintana* and was characterized by a similar ‘rocket-like’ shape. Much like building B, this structure was built over a sub-Roman re-paving of the road, but its foundations were composed of loosely arranged facing stones rather than negative features. Traces of a partial stone elevation, which had

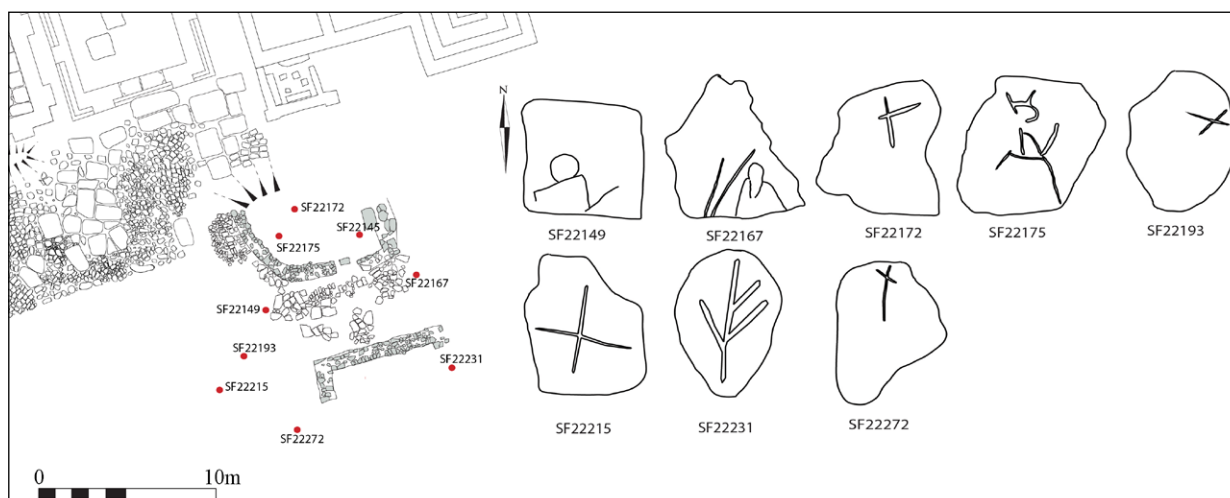


Figure 3. A plan of apsidal building C and its associated finds displaying Christian connotations. These include lead vessel SF22145, see fig. 4-5.

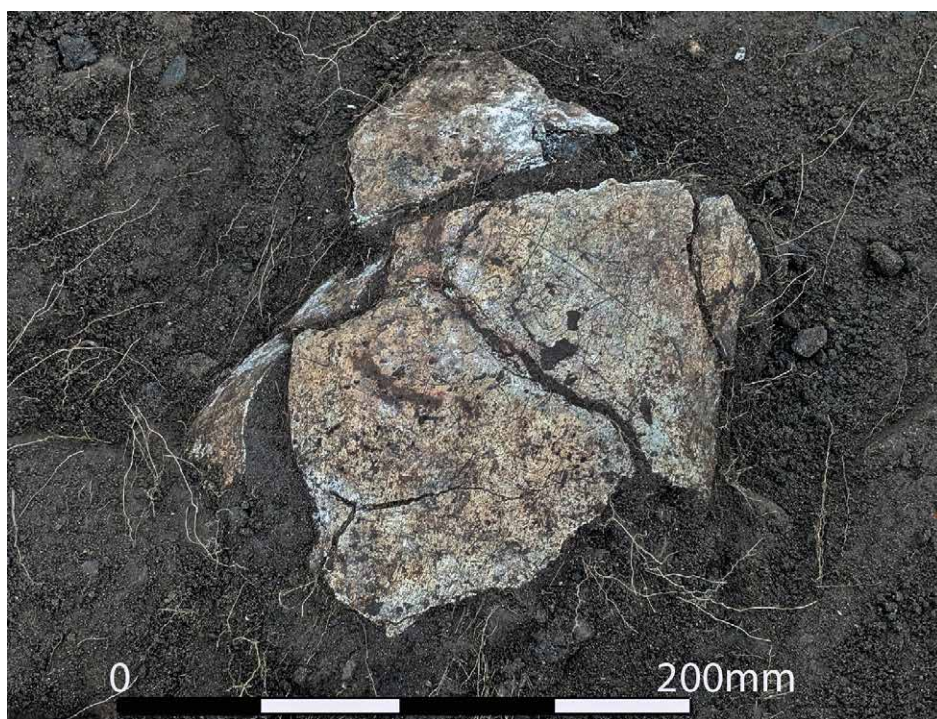


Figure 4. The lead vessel SF22145 *in situ*.

collapsed both inwards and outwards, were detected during excavation (Birley & Alberti 2021, 57). Shorter and wider than the previous structure, apsidal building C did not show a clear separation between its apse (which opened towards the east) and nave. Based on the excavated remains, this building would have had an internal surface area of c. 35.50 m².

Two distinctive building styles can therefore be identified in apsidal structures at *Vindolanda*: *basilica*-shaped buildings such as the *praetorium* church and apsidal building A, and ‘rocket-like’ apsidal buildings

such as B and C. These could have reflected different traditions of Christianity through different organization of the space. The changing shape and features of the buildings might have mirrored a gradual distancing from the canonical forms of Christianity as the religion of the Empire, represented by the *basilica*-like plans, towards a more independent British Church, which would later be reported to have its own significant dealings with the Gallic Church (Petts 2016, 671). Such a paradigm shift can also be observed when examining material culture from the sub-Roman and post-Roman strata of the site.

From strap ends to a lead vessel. Christian material culture

Hints of Christianity being practiced on Hadrian's Wall emerge through material culture as early as the 2nd and 3rd century. A now contested example is the Aemilia golden ring: found in Corbridge in 1840, and bearing words known to be a formulaic expression used by early Christians, it is likely a love token (Collins 2020, 123). Artefacts with a more explicit Christian association have been identified in contexts dating to the 4th century and beyond, leading Mawer (1995, 143) to indicate Northumberland as a focal area for portable evidence of Christianity, together with Cambridgeshire, Suffolk and Kent. The *Vindolanda* collection includes objects whose Christian connotations have been curated from non-Christian artefacts, such as carefully cut out fragments of pottery with palm leaves or cross-like patterns, as well as a copper alloy triskelion lid, both found in firmly sub-Roman and post-Roman contexts. However, most Christian artefacts from the site were originally crafted carrying religious iconography and were found in contexts associated or neighbouring the apsidal buildings. SF17286, a copper alloy nail cleaning strap end, was found in a layer of collapse outside apsidal building A and carries the image of a figure holding a shepherd's crook, its head surrounded by a halo.

P.E Testa (1962, 1), in his study of Christian symbolism, states that: "The theology of Judeo-Christians, from the first to the 4th century, loved to express its faith, more than with theological and metaphysical formulations, with a system of symbols and signs which were almost projections of their beliefs." It is therefore not surprising that the most common form of Christian expression at *Vindolanda* is the carving of symbols such as Chi-Rho, angels, palm leaves and crosses in stone, surrounding and within apsidal buildings (fig. 3).

The most outstanding example of the use of such symbols was a lead vessel unearthed within apsidal building C in 2019 (fig. 4). The vessel's interior and exterior provide a veritable catalogue of marks, including the monogram of Christ, fishes, whales, and the cross as the mast of a ship leading the faithful to the afterlife (fig. 5). The way in which symbolism is used on this extraordinary object is compatible with the Judaeo Christian practice of enriching an artifact with several symbols, repeated again and again, in order to benefit from the power contained in each of them.

Conclusion

A combination of new and re-appraised evidence from *Vindolanda* demonstrates that the site was extremely well placed for the continuation of a thriving community, from the end of Roman Britain to the 8th century. Named Christians lived within a well-defended, carefully structured settlement, surrounded

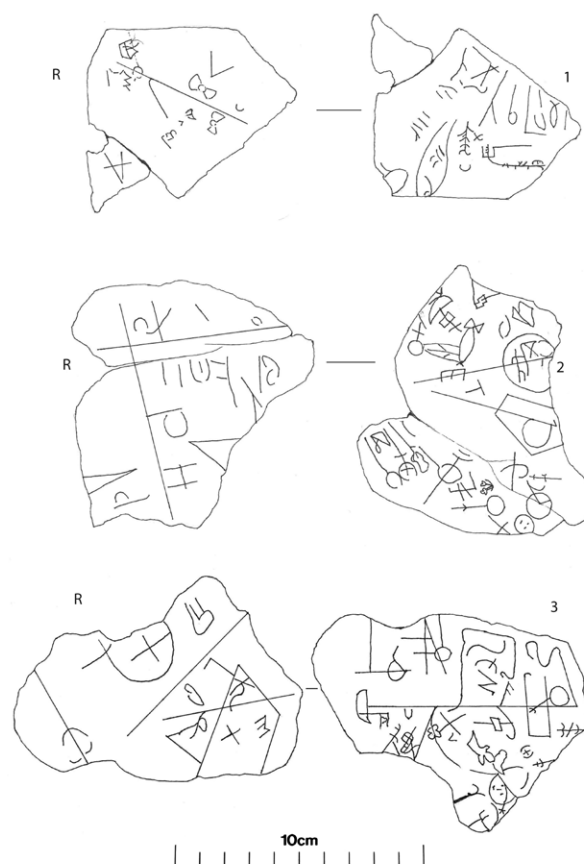


Figure 5. A line drawing of symbols on the surface of SF22145. This image shows the exterior and interior (marked R) of the three largest fragments of the object (for a full line drawing of all 14 fragments Birley & Alberti 2021, plate 12-13).

by abundant natural resources, and were connected to neighbouring communities by a pre-existing, if slowly decaying, network of Roman infrastructure.

The remains of four purposeful apsidal structures represented a prominent architectural statement, with stone foundations in a landscape dominated by wooden buildings. Although the apsidal buildings of *Vindolanda* do not readily conform to the 'standard' for traditional churches, they clearly better served the community and the performance of the many facets of Christian faith at the site. When the apsidal buildings are associated with material culture depicting Christianity on site, and with the evidence for Christian burial rites provided by Brigomaglos' stone, a new picture of sub-Roman and post-Roman *Vindolanda* emerges. In this picture the people of *Vindolanda* found their place in a changing world, blended new and old ideas together, worshiped in communal spaces and, when they died, were buried by their priests.

The evidence from both *Vindolanda* and the wider Hadrian's Wall in the sub-Roman and post-Roman period is therefore best understood through the lens of cultural relativism, rather than by judging a developing Christian community and its expressions from the established Christian doctrine. From apsidal buildings to material culture and inscriptions, this paper has summarised evidence for the ways in which the *Vindolanda* community practiced Christianity on their own terms, for over 300 years after the end of the Roman occupation. This new perspective sheds blinding light on our limited understanding of Christianity on Hadrian's Wall, and the ways in which the *Vindolanda* community fitted within the wider landscape of sub-Roman and post-Roman Britain.

Abbreviations

CIL: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

RIB: *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*

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Merkur, Vulkan, Neptun und Herkules

Die Götter der Arbeitswelt und ihre
Verehrung im Vicus

Dorit C. Engster

Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt, cui certis diebus humanis quoque hostiis litare fas habent. Herculem ac Martem concessis animalibus placant (Tacitus *Germania* 9.1).

Mit diesen Worten charakterisiert Tacitus in seiner *Germania* die religiöse Praxis in dem von ihm beschriebenen Raum. Dabei verwendet er das gängige Schema der *interpretatio romana* – die einheimischen Gottheiten werden mit römischen Äquivalenten gleichgesetzt, mit denen sie Zuständigkeiten und Attribute teilen (zum Konzept der *interpretatio romana* Spickermann 1997, 145-168). Als bedeutendste Götter identifiziert Tacitus in seinen Ausführungen zur germanischen Religionspraxis Merkur, Herkules und Mars. Hinter diesen stehen lokale Gottheiten, wobei die genaue Zuordnung in der Forschung noch umstritten ist. Der römische Autor sieht zwischen den einheimischen und den römischen Göttern genügend Parallelen, um sie als Pendants zu identifizieren. Tacitus ist dabei durchaus bewusst, dass die germanische Religion nicht mit der römischen Kultpraxis gleichzusetzen ist und verdeutlicht diese Differenz durch eine Problematisierung der Opferriten. Die Gleichsetzungen mit Merkur und den anderen Gottheiten dürften auf einem ähnlichen Aufgabenbereich sowie auf einer äquivalenten Rolle im germanischen Pantheon beruhen. Dies ist bemerkenswert, denn die Genannten zählen zwar zu den populärsten römischen Göttern und ihre Verehrung war weit verbreitet. Sie waren jedoch nicht Teil der kapitolinischen Trias. Besonders auffällig ist, dass von Tacitus keine germanische Entsprechung für den höchsten römischen Gott Jupiter angeführt wird. Die Hierarchie des römischen Pantheons wird nicht auf den lokalen Götterhimmel übertragen beziehungsweise ist für die Gleichsetzungen nicht ausschlaggebend. Stattdessen wird an erster Stelle Merkur genannt, auf dem zweiten Platz Herkules. Die Aussagen in der *Germania* werden durch den archäologischen Befund bestätigt.

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Der Kult des Merkur

Weihinschriften und Darstellungen des Merkur sind in beiden germanischen Provinzen äußerst weit verbreitet, wobei der Schwerpunkt der Verehrung dieser Gottheit im Rheinland lokalisiert ist (Hupe 1997; Spickermann 2003; 2008). Dabei stammen Funde aus städtischen wie ländlichen Kontexten. Wie die Analyse der Weiheformeln des Gottes zeigt, handelt es sich in vielen Fällen um die römische Formung einer einhei-

mischen Gottheit. Als Hinweis auf die erfolgte *interpretatio romana* kann unter anderem die hierfür typische Hinzufügung des Attributs *Deo* angesehen werden. Der ausdrückliche Bezug auf die göttliche Natur des Merkur deutet auf einen einheimischen Stifter beziehungsweise entsprechende Vorstellungen hin. Noch deutlicher werden die lokalen Züge der Gottheit herausgestellt, wenn ein spezifischer Beiname als Attribut gesetzt ist, der auf deren Charakter oder auch auf die regionale Anhängerschaft verweist. Beispiele für diese Praxis sind der Merkur Gebrinius, also der Merkur mit dem Widder (Spickermann 2018, 607; Pertmandl, Schmölzer & Spickermann 2019), oder der Merkur Cimbrianus, der Gott der Kimbern.

Zumindest gewisse Hinweise für eine Einordnung ermöglicht auch die prosopographische Analyse der Inschriften. Generell stammen zahlreiche Weihungen von Personen mit offensichtlich keltischem oder germanischem Hintergrund. Auch bei den Tempelanlagen des Gottes handelt es sich vielfach um Umgangstempel nach gallo-römischen Vorbild. Im Fall des Merkur ist also die Verschmelzung des römischen Gottes mit einheimischen Gottheiten häufig und durchgängig belegt. Seine Gestalt war in Germanien zudem mit einem weiten Spektrum an Attributen und Zuschreibungen verknüpft. Merkur war nicht lediglich der geflügelte Götterbote, sondern Helfer vor allem in geschäftlichen Angelegenheiten. Auf zahlreichen Reliefs aus Germanien erscheint er mit dem Geldbeutel als Symbol für Handel und Geldverkehr (Bird 1992, 205-212; Spickermann 2018, 599-611). In besonderer Weise scheint Merkur im gallo-germanischen Raum mit persönlichem Erfolg und Wohlergehen verbunden worden zu sein. Dies berichtet bereits Caesar im Zusammenhang mit seinen Ausführungen zur Religion der Gallier:

Deum maxime Mercurium colunt. Huius sunt plurima simulacra: hunc omnium inventorem artium ferunt, hunc viarum atque itinerum ducem, hunc ad quaestus pecuniae mercaturasque habere vim maximam arbitrantur (Caesar *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* 6.17.1).

Auch von Caesar wird die führende Stellung des Merkur innerhalb des Pantheons herausgestellt, dessen besondere Popularität mit dem weiten Spektrum an Zuständigkeiten in Verbindung gesetzt wird. Letztere betreffen in unmittelbarer Weise die Lebensrealität beziehungsweise das Wohlergehen der Menschen im Diesseits. Die von Caesar festgestellte Bedeutung des Kultes zeigt sich entsprechend auf der lokalen Ebene in den Stiftungen von Privatpersonen. Die Zeugnisse für seine Verehrung, insbesondere auch aus den Vici, belegen die Rolle des Merkur als Schützer der Kaufleute. So gilt eine Weihung aus Baden Baden dem *Mercurio Mercatori* (CIL 13.06294; EDH036772):

IN H(onorem) D(omus) D(ivinae)
DEO MERCUR(io)
[m]ERC(atori)(?) PRUSO
[- - - - -]
[- - - - -?]

Das Attribut *Deo* ist Indiz dafür, dass hier eine einheimische Gottheit angesprochen ist, welche als Patron der Kaufleute angesehen wurde. Ähnliche Weihungen sind auch an anderen Orten gefunden worden. In Nida-Hedderheim stifteten die *Taunenses*, die Bewohner der *civitas*, dem *Mercurio Negotiatori* ein Bildnis des sitzenden Merkur (CIL 13.7360; EDH041963). Aus Wiesbaden stammt die Stiftung für *Mercurio Nundinatori*, den Schützer der Märkte (Egger 1965, 11-32).

In den angeführten Weihungen wird allgemein auf den Zuständigkeitsbereich des Gottes, den Handel und Warenverkehr, Bezug genommen. Daneben ist eine Reihe von Weihungen durch spezialisierte Händler belegt (Hupe 1997, 132). So gibt in Groß Gerau der Stifter einer großformatigen Darstellung des Gottes mit seinen charakteristischen Attributen (AÉ 1997, 1187; EDH049731) als Beruf den Handel mit Fleisch an:

MERCURIO
QUILLENIO A(ulus)
IBLIOMARIUS
PLACIDUS NEG(otiator)
CAS(tello) MAT(tiacorum) LANIUS
V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) L(aetus) M(erito)

Der Zusatz *negotiator* lässt vermuten, dass der Stifter nicht nur vor Ort tätig war, sondern Fern- und Großhandel betrieb (Kneißl 1983, 73-90. Vgl. zur Ikonographie der Weihung außerdem Klein 2003, 110). Für seine Geschäfte sah er Merkur als geeigneten Helfer an. Ähnliches gilt für einen Anhänger des Gottes aus Bonn, der sich als *negotiator cretarius* bezeichnete und einen kleinen Altar mit Reliefdarstellung des Gottes weihte (AÉ 1931, 0027, EDH025311):

DEO MER(curio) GEBRIN(io)
C(aius) VICTORIUS
LIBERALIS [- - - - -]NEGO
T{t}IATOR CRETARIUS V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

Der Genannte dürfte als Tonwarenhändler tätig gewesen sein (Hupe 1997, 132; Klein 2003, 116). In beiden Fällen gelten die Weihungen der lokalen Erscheinungsform des Merkur. Dieser erfuhr nicht nur durch Einzelpersonen Verehrung, sondern wurde auch durch Vereinigungen als Schutzgottheit angerufen. So wurde in Mainz eine Inschrift zu Ehren des Merkur von den Angehörigen einer Familie gesetzt, bei denen es sich wohl um Tuchhändler

handelte (CIL 13.06744; EDH055276; Hupe 1997, 132; Klein 2003, 111):

[in h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) d]EO MERCUR
[io --- et ge]NIO NEG(otiatorum) PANN
[ariorum ---] OPTATIUS
[---]ARRIANIA PA
[--- op]TATIUS PATRI
[cius? fil(ius?) fus]CO ET DEXTRO
CO(n)s(ulibus) O

Die Tatsache, dass die Weihung auch dem Genius der panonischen Kaufleute galt, lässt darauf schließen, dass die Stifter ebenfalls zu dieser Gruppe von Fernhändler zählten, welche möglicherweise als *collegium* organisiert waren. Die Anrufung des Schutzgeistes der Vereinigung wurde dabei mit der des Merkur verbunden, da dieser als Patron der Handelstreibenden galt.

Generell finden sich zahlreiche Dedikationen, die sowohl von überregional agierenden wie lokal ansässigen Personengruppen gestiftet wurden. Ein Beispiel ist eine Inschrift, die von der Gesamtheit der *vicani* aus Nida-Hedderheim bei Frankfurt zu Ehren des Merkur und seiner Gefährtin Rosmerta gesetzt wurde (CIL 13.06388; EDH036510):

NIDA : [mercu]RIO
[et ros]MERT(a)E
[sac(rum)] VICANI
[vici n]EDIENS(is)

Die Inschrift gibt keine Auskunft über die Motive der Weihenden. Da Merkur als Gott der Händler galt, liegt aber nahe, dass ökonomische Gründe eine Rolle gespielt haben. Die in unterschiedlichen Branchen tätigen Bewohner des Vicus verbanden mit der Stiftung die Hoffnung auf zukünftigen wirtschaftlichen Erfolg. Der Kult des Merkur war in den germanischen Provinzen sehr verbreitet und der Gott außerordentlich populär. Es überrascht daher nicht, dass er von den unterschiedlichsten Personen und Gruppierungen verehrt wurde. Die Motivation der Stifter ist dabei nicht immer zu fassen, war aber, wie die angeführten Beispiele zeigen, häufig mit den spezifischen Charakteristika der Gottheit verbunden.

Überschaubarer sind die Befunde für drei weitere Gottheiten, die ebenfalls einen engen Bezug zur Alltags- und Arbeitswelt des Vicus besaßen: Herkules, Neptun und Vulkan. Aufgrund der insgesamt geringeren Anzahl der Weihungen lassen sich deren Anlässe und Kontexte besser fassen beziehungsweise eingrenzen. Im Folgenden soll jeweils kurz der Charakter dieser Kulte in der *Germania inferior* und *superior* betrachtet und analysiert werden, in welcher Weise berufliche Tätigkeit und soziale Identität sich in spezifischen religiösen Vorlieben widerspiegeln.

Die Verehrung des Herkules in den germanischen Provinzen

Herkules wird in der oben zitierten Passage von Tacitus ebenfalls unter den wichtigsten Gottheiten der Germanen aufgeführt. Ähnlich wie im Fall des Merkur lässt sich auch hier zwischen der rein römischen Form sowie Verehrung des Gottes und der Verschmelzung des Herkules mit einheimischen Gottheiten unterscheiden. Letztere lässt sich in der Ikonographie wie in den Weiheformeln festmachen. In den beiden germanischen Provinzen war der Kult des Herkules weit verbreitet, wobei im Einzelfall schwierig zu entscheiden ist, wo eine *interpretatio romana* vorliegt oder wo in den Weihungen der traditionelle griechisch-römische Gott angesprochen ist. Eindeutig ist die Verbindung mit einheimischen Vorstellungen, wenn der Gott in den Inschriften einen zusätzlichen Beinamen trägt. Häufiger bezeugt sind zum Beispiel der Hercules Magusanus im Gebiet der Bataver und der Hercules Saxanus im obergermanischen Raum (zur strittigen Einordnung des Hercules Saxanus Matijević 2016, 41-73).

Auffällig ist die Popularität dieser beiden Erscheinungsformen des Herkules unter den Angehörigen der römischen Armee. Herkules beziehungsweise die mit diesem identifizierte lokale Gottheit war mit Bewährung im Kampf sowie Stärke und Sieghaftigkeit verbunden. Es ist daher wenig verwunderlich, dass er unter den Soldaten außerordentlich beliebt war, weshalb ihm zahlreiche Weihungen gestiftet wurden. Auch über den Bereich des Militärs hinaus gewann der Kult im germanischen Raum Anhänger und war offenbar für weite Personengruppen attraktiv. Dies zeigt die große Zahl von Stiftungen, die von Personen mit einem zivilen Hintergrund gesetzt worden sind. Durch seine berühmten Taten konnte Herkules auch als Vorbild und Patron für Werktätige gesehen werden. Eine Reihe von Weihinschriften stammt von Gewerbetreibenden und Händlern. So stiftete in Bonn ein Kaufmann eine Inschrift für Herkules (AE 1963, 0044; EDH017074):

[hercu]L[i]
[-----]
MERCA[t]OR

In diesem Fall lässt sich der spezifische Bereich, in dem der *mercator* tätig war, aufgrund des schlechten Erhaltungszustandes der Inschrift nicht mehr bestimmen. Anders ist dies bei einem Fall aus Mainz. Von dort stammt die Weihinschrift eines *manticularius* (CIL 13.11805; EDH021782):

IN H(onorem) D(omus) D(ivinae)
[h]ERCULI
POSUIT M(arcus)
PATIENS
----- MANTICUL(arius)

Bei diesem handelte es sich wahrscheinlich um einen Kleinhändler, der Lederwaren herstellte. Die Berufsbezeichnung ist möglicherweise vom Begriff *manticula*, zu übersetzen mit 'Geldbörse' oder 'Beutel', abzuleiten (für weitere Möglichkeiten der Übersetzung und die Einordnung des Begriffs Klein 2003, 116).

Eine andere in diesem Kontext interessante Weihinschrift stammt aus Passau und wurde von dem *collegium bubulariorum*, der Vereinigung der Rinderhändler, gestiftet (zur Lesung der Inschrift und der Übersetzung des Terminus *collegium bubulariorum* Dietz 1987, 383-393; AÉ 1984, 0708; EDH001806):

HERCUL(i)
AUG(usto) SA[c(rum)]
COLLE(gium)
BUBU[l(ariorum)]

Die Verbindung von Viehhändlern mit Herkules scheint zunächst nicht unbedingt naheliegend, doch könnten hier spezifische mythische Traditionen eine Rolle spielen. Zwei der legendären Taten des Herkules, die Säuberung der Ställe des Königs Augias und der Diebstahl der Rinder des Riesen Geryon, haben möglicherweise den Ausschlag dafür gegeben, sich gerade diesen Gott als Patron zu wählen. Von den Rinderhändlern wurde Herkules aufgrund seiner Erfahrungen und Leistungen als geeignete Schutzgottheit angesehen.

Aus dem Vicus von Öhringen stammt eine weitere bemerkenswerte Weihung. Hier setzte das *collegium convenarum* dem Gott folgende Inschrift (AÉ 1978, 0522; EDH004546):

[in] H(onorem) D(omus) D(ivinae)
DEO HER
CULI COL
LEGIUM
CONVENA
RUM LUPO
ET MAXIMO
CO(n)s(ulibus)

Die genaue Übersetzung des Terminus *convenae* ist umstritten. Es liegt aber nahe, anzunehmen, dass es sich bei denjenigen, die in Öhringen zusammengekommen waren, ebenfalls um Händler handelte (Nesselhauf & Strocka 1967, 115; Kemkes & Willburger 2004, 108-109). Diese hatten ein *collegium*, eine berufliche Vereinigung, etabliert und diese unter den Schutz des Herkules gestellt. Auch aus anderen Provinzen sind kollektive Weihungen für Herkules beziehungsweise Stiftungen durch *collegia* bezeugt. Dies spricht dafür, dass der Gott von derartigen Berufsvereinigungen gerne als Schutzpatron gewählt wurde.

Die Zeugnisse für den Kult des Neptun

Der Kult des römischen Gottes Neptun fand in den germanischen Provinzen vergleichsweise wenige Anhänger. Die Zahl der Weihungen wie auch der bildlichen Darstellungen ist relativ überschaubar. Es lassen sich dennoch einige Spezifika der Verehrung festmachen. Neptun wurde in Germanien nicht primär als Meeresgott sondern als Gottheit der fließenden Gewässer angesehen. So erscheint er in einer Inschrift aus Rennertshofen gemeinsam mit der Personifikation der Donau (AÉ 2012, 1054; EDH058091):

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)
NEPT(un)o
DAN(uvio)
TR(ebius) PROFE
[ssus v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)]

Unter seinen Verehrern sind, wie nicht anders zu erwarten, zahlreiche Soldaten. In den Inschriften werden aber auch Personen genannt, die nicht unbedingt direkt der militärischen Sphäre zuzurechnen sind wie zum Beispiel ein Architekt aus Heidelberg. Dieser setzte dem Gott einen kleinen Altar mit Weihinschrift (CIL 13.06403; EDH036458):

IN H(onorem) D(omus) D(ivinae)
NEPTUNO
(a)EDEM CUM
SIGNO VAL(erius)
PATERNUS
ARC(hitectus) ET AELI
US MACER EX
VOTO POS(uerunt)

Bei Valerius Paternus dürfte es sich um einen Zivilisten handeln, auch wenn nicht gänzlich ausgeschlossen werden kann, dass er im Dienst des Militärs stand. Nicht nur Einzelpersonen sondern, wie auch im Fall des Merkur und Herkules, Angehörige bestimmter Berufsgruppen sind kollektiv als Stifter von Dedikationen bezeugt. Leicht erklärbar ist die Verbindung des Neptun mit den *navatae*, den Schiffsleuten. Diese weihten in Ettlingen ihrem 'Gefährten' beziehungsweise *contubernio* eine großformatige Weihung, auf welcher der Gott mit seinen typischen Attributen neben der Inschrift abgebildet ist (CIL 13.06324; EDH03686):

IN H(onorem) D(omus) D(ivinae)
D(eo) NEPTUNO
CONTUBERNIO
NAUTARUM
CORNELIUS
ALIQUANDUS
D(e) S(uo) D(edit)

Vergleichbar ist eine Dedikation aus Lausanne, die die *nautae Leusonnenses*, welche den Genfer See befuhren, stifteten (AÉ 1946, 256). Diese belegt, dass Neptun auch als Gott der Seen, also der stehenden Gewässer, betrachtet wurde (Cumurciuc 2012, 118-119). Die auf diesen tätigen Schiffer wandten sich an ihn um Hilfe und Schutz bei ihren Unternehmungen.

Aber auch andere Gewerbe konnten in Neptun einen geeigneten Patron sehen. Ein Beispiel ist eine Weihung aus Günzburg in der Provinz *Raetia*, die von den dortigen Müllern, den *molinari*, gesetzt wurde. Deren Mühlen wurden wahrscheinlich mit dem Wasser der Donau betrieben, weshalb sie Neptun um Schutz und Unterstützung baten (CIL 03.05866; EDH058331):

NEPTU(no)
SACR(um)
MOLIN(arii)

Der eher kleinformatige, bescheidene Altar weist dabei auf die begrenzten finanziellen Möglichkeiten dieser Gruppe hin. Insgesamt sind die inschriftlichen Zeugnisse für den Neptunkult spärlich; der Gott scheint aber immerhin für bestimmte Personenkreise, die beruflich mit dem Element Wasser in Verbindung standen, attraktiv gewesen zu sein (Spickermann 2018, 603-604).

Vulkan und seine Verbindung zu anderen Gottheiten

Ein eher heterogenes Bild bieten die Zeugnisse für den Kult einer weiteren Gottheit. Auffällig ist zunächst, dass für Vulkan in den germanischen Provinzen kaum inschriftliche Weihungen gestiftet wurden. Dies bedeutet allerdings keineswegs, dass diese Gottheit unbekannt oder nicht populär gewesen wäre. Im germanischen Raum ist der Kult des Vulkan sehr gut bezeugt. Bei den Weihungen handelt es sich allerdings in der Mehrzahl um figürliche Darstellungen oder Reliefs. Wie Brommer (1973, 16) festgestellt hat, stammen aus einem relativ kleinen Gebiet in Germanien mehr Reliefdarstellungen des Gottes als aus allen anderen Provinzen insgesamt. Die Vermutung liegt daher nahe, dass die Verehrung des Vulkan an lokale Vorstellungen anknüpfen konnte. Seine Popularität insbesondere im Raum der *Germania superior* spricht für die Anbindung des Kultes an den einer einheimischen Gottheit, wahrscheinlich den eines lokalen Schmiedegottes.

Die Ikonographie der Weihungen entspricht dabei den gängigen Darstellungsmustern: Vulkan trägt auf dem Kopf die für ihn typische Kappe, in der Rechten hält er den Schmiedehammer, in der linken Hand die Zange (Brommer 1973, 18-21). Auf einen einheimischen Hintergrund weisen die Hinzufügung des Attributs *Deo* sowie die teilweise ungewöhnliche Schreibweise des Namens hin. Ein Beispiel für eine Dedikation, in der der Kult des Vulkan

mit dem eines lokalen Gottes verbunden wurde, stammt aus Augsburg (CIL 3.05799; EDH058493):

DEO VOLKANO
IUL(ius) MARCIA
NUS EX VOTO
V(otum) R(eddidit) L(ibens) L(aetus) M(erito)

Der Stifter setzte die Weihung *ex voto*, löste damit also ein Gelübde ein – der Gott hatte offenbar die von ihm erhoffte Unterstützung geleistet. Wie im Falle der anderen Gottheiten wurden Weihungen an Vulkan auch von Personengruppen gesetzt. Aus Benningen stammt eine Weihung, die von der Gesamtheit der Einwohner des Vicus gestiftet wurde (CIL 13.06454; EDH036881):

IN H(onorem) D(omus) D(ivinae)
VOLKANO(!)
SACRUM
VICANI
MURREN
SES V(otum) S(olverunt) L(ibentes) M(erito)

Sie belegt die lokale Bedeutung des Vulkan, zu dessen Verehrung sich die Bewohner der Siedlung zusammenfanden. Anlass und Kontext der Weihung werden zwar nicht genannt, doch lässt sich vermuten, dass der Gott von diesen als geeigneter Helfer bei ihren alltäglichen Geschäften und beruflichen Tätigkeiten gesehen wurde.

Auffällig ist die häufige Verbindung der Verehrung des Vulkan mit dem Kult anderer Gottheiten. Von Interesse sind insbesondere Weihungen, die für Vulkan und Merkur gestiftet wurden. Dabei handelt es sich um eine Reihe von Reliefdarstellungen, auf denen beide Gottheiten nebeneinander erscheinen. Ein entsprechendes Beispiel stammt aus Rheinzabern (Brommer 1973, 46-47; Hupe 1997, 182, Nr. 139). Die Verbindung der beiden Götter ist in den germanischen Provinzen jedoch lediglich in dieser bildlichen Form belegt. Weihinschriften, die nur Vulkan und Merkur gemeinsam gelten, sind noch nicht gefunden worden (Hupe 1997, 103). Die Paarung Vulkan-Merkur konnte allerdings noch erweitert werden. Bemerkenswert ist eine Reihe von eher kleinformatigen Weihungen, bei denen Vulkan gemeinsam mit Merkur und Minerva erscheint (Brommer 1973, 27-28, Nr. 11, 19, 38 und 49-50). Die Reliefs stammen aus Nida-Heddernheim, Worms, Mainz und Gimmeldingen. Das relativ häufige Auftreten dieser Kombination weist auf spezifische verbindende Elemente hin. Vulkan wird mit Gottheiten zusammengestellt, die ebenfalls mit ökonomischen Aspekten assoziiert werden. Wie bereits angeführt, galt Merkur als Gott des Handels, Vulkan konnte als Schützer der Metallhandwerker sowie Minerva als Patronin der Künste angesehen werden. Die Weihungen sind entsprechend als Beleg für

die Bedeutung dieser Gottheiten in den Vici angesehen worden (Hupe 1997, 103). Die Kombination von Göttern mit ähnlichen, aber leicht differierenden Zuständigkeitsbereichen könnte darauf hinweisen, dass der oder die Stifter sich für ihre Tätigkeit eines möglichst umfassenden göttlichen Schutzes versichern wollten. Möglich ist ebenfalls, dass Personengruppen, die in verschiedenen Gewerben tätig waren, die Votive gemeinsam weihten, wobei die jeweils für eine Berufsgruppe relevante Gottheit berücksichtigt und abgebildet wurde. Auf den Reliefs aus Nida-Heddernheim erscheinen über der Dreiergruppe die Wochengötter, die symbolisch für die Arbeitswoche stehen und somit von genereller Bedeutung für Handwerker wie Händler waren.

Über den sozialen Hintergrund der Stifter der Reliefs und ihre Motive lassen sich mangels zugehöriger Inschriften keine gesicherten Aussagen treffen. Dennoch lassen sich, ausgehend von den Einzelweihungen, weitergehende Vermutungen anstellen. In den Vici existierten Verbände von Personen und diese stifteten, wie auch für Neptun und Herkules gezeigt werden konnte, den ihnen nahestehenden Gottheiten Weihungen. Es liegt nahe, dass derartige Reliefs von Berufsvereinigungen gestiftet wurden, sei es organisierten *collegia* oder anderen, eher lockereren Formen von Zusammenschlüssen. Vermutlich waren sie an einem zentralen oder zumindest für die Gemeinschaft bedeutsamen Ort aufgestellt.

Die Reliefs erinnern in der Kombination von Gottheiten und Elementen zudem an einen weiteren Typ von Weihung, der für die germanischen Provinzen typisch ist – die sogenannten Jupitersäulen. Auf dem sogenannten Viergötterstein, der die Basis der Säule bildete, sind jeweils verschiedene römische Gottheiten abgebildet. Statistisch gesehen erscheinen Iuno, Merkur, Herkules und Minerva am häufigsten (Bauchhenß & Noelke 1981, 49). Aber auch Vulkan begegnet in vielen Fällen auf einer der vier Seiten der Basis. Tatsächlich stammt ein Großteil der Darstellungen des Gottes von eben diesen Säulen. Weitere Gottheiten, die häufig im Relief abgebildet werden, sind Apoll und Fortuna (Bauchhenß & Noelke 1981, 51). Auf den Viergötterstein ist zudem bei zahlreichen Säulen ein Zwischensockel aufgesetzt, dessen Abbildungen die Wochengötter zeigen; auch dies eine Parallele zu den oben erwähnten Reliefs. Auf den Viergöttersteinen manifestiert sich wie auf diesen die Bedeutung derjenigen Gottheiten, die mit Handel und Handwerk in Verbindung standen. Lokale Besonderheiten bestätigen diesen Eindruck. So erscheint in der Nähe von Flüssen, also eben dort, wo entsprechende Gewerbe ihren Ort hatten, auch Neptun auf den Viergöttersteinen, so zum Beispiel in Mainz (CSIR Deutschland 2.3, 1984, Nr. 48) und Stokkem (Noelke 1981, 286, Nr. 184). In Wildberg im Schwarzwald werden dagegen Diana und Silvanus auf den Reliefs einer Säule abgebildet (Bauchhenß & Noelke 1981, 245, Nr. 561). Die Kombination

bzw. Auswahl der Gottheiten war auch im Falle der Jupitersäulen offensichtlich davon abhängig, welche Berufsgruppen vor Ort aktiv waren.

Ausblick

Die vorgestellten Kulte beziehungsweise kultischen Praktiken fügen sich gut in das religionswissenschaftliche Konzept der sogenannten *lived religion*, bei der der Fokus auf den einfachen Leuten und ihrer Kultpraxis bzw. den materiellen Zeugnissen für diese liegt (vgl. zu diesem Konzept und seine Aspekte die grundlegende Publikation von Gasparini *et al.* 2020).

Die vorgestellten Weihungen lassen sich in diesem Sinne auswerten und analysieren. Die Personen und Personengruppen stifteten ihre Dedikationen aus persönlichen und sehr individuellen Motiven heraus. Die Gottheiten, an die sie sich wandten, hatten einen unmittelbaren Bezug zum Alltagsleben der Stifter. In keiner der Weihinschriften werden außerdem staatliche Funktionsträger oder Priester genannt. Vielmehr handelten die *collegia*, die *negotiatores*, die *vicani* autonom. Sie stellten sich und ihr Gewerbe unter den Schutz einer bestimmten Gottheit. Die Stiftungen ermöglichen somit einen Blick auf die Existenz von selbstorganisierten Einheiten innerhalb der Vici. Diese bestimmten nicht nur das wirtschaftliche Leben sondern, in einem gewissen Grad, auch die lokale Kultpraxis. Durch die teilweise sehr qualitätsvollen Weihungen wurden diese Gruppierungen sichtbar und demonstrierten im öffentlichen Raum des Vicus ihre Stellung und Bedeutung.

Abkürzungen

AË: *L'Année Épigraphique*

CIL: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

CSIR: *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani*

EDH: *Epigraphic Database Heidelberg*

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The marble bust of Mithraic tauroctony from *Olbia Pontica*

Roman Kozlenko

Relief marble sculptural images from Roman times are a rare category of finds for *Olbia Pontica*. Each of them is of considerable interest from the point of view of sculptural art and the archaeological context of their discovery. It especially applies to items such as votive reliefs with images of Mithraic tauroctony and the Thracian horseman, as they are related to the Roman military presence, the study of which is an actual problem in the research on *Olbia* (Козленко 2016; 2018; 2020; 2021; 2021b; Kozlenko 2022).

At the beginning of the 1st century AD, the cult of Mithras, a multifunctional sun god of Iranian origin, was borrowed and adapted by the Romans as the supreme deity of the enigmatic mysteries (for more details on the genesis of the Mithras mysteries, the place of their origin and spread, and the veneration of this deity in the Roman army see Cumont 1913, 1-29 and 39-57; Daniels 1975, 459-474; Speidel 1980, 4-18 and 38-45; Najdenova 1989, 1397-1422; Clauss 1990; Beck 1998, 115-128; 2006, 76; Gordon 2009, 379-450; Hensen 2013; Chalupa 2016, 65-96; Bottez 2018, 243-262). He personified the cosmocrator and the creator of mankind. One of his hypostases was tauroctony, where Mithras slayed a bull, and gave light and life to the world. The tauroctony, with its iconography of sacred animal sacrifice surrounded by zodiacal signs and planets, and two *genii* with raised and lowered torches, symbolized the life cycle and power of the deity of light.

In the 2nd-3rd centuries AD the cult of Mithras, as the patron of soldiers, became widespread among the Roman army (Daniels 1975, 459-474), in particular with the military units stationed in the Danube provinces (Тачева-Хитова 1982, 447-450; Najdenova 1989, 1397-1422; Królczyk 2009, 167-168; Hensen 2013, 124; Bottez 2018, 243-262). From there, as part of Roman vexillations, it got to the ancient centers of the northern Black Sea region (Blawatsky & Kochelenko 1966, 6-22; Krapivina 1997, 80-82; Зубарь 1998, 100). A series of votive plaques with Mithraic tauroctony is associated with the stay of a permanent Roman garrison in *Olbia* (Ростовцев 1911, 17-18, fig. 17-18; Blawatsky & Kochelenko 1966, 32-34; Крапивина 1994, 168-171; Krapivina 1997, 80-90). Its veneration in the city is recorded by finds of several relief fragments (fig. 1).

In 2010, during the excavations at the citadel of *Olbia*, site R-25, in a pit dating to the 2nd-3rd centuries AD, a marble bust of Mithras was found (Крапивина *et al.* 2011, 44; Козленко 2021a; Bujskich & Novichenkova 2021, 31), measuring 15.8×16.0 cm (fig. 2). Round recesses with a diameter of 0.05-0.06 cm and with a depth of 2.2 cm are visible on the frontal side, on the head, below, and on the sides of the sculpture. The

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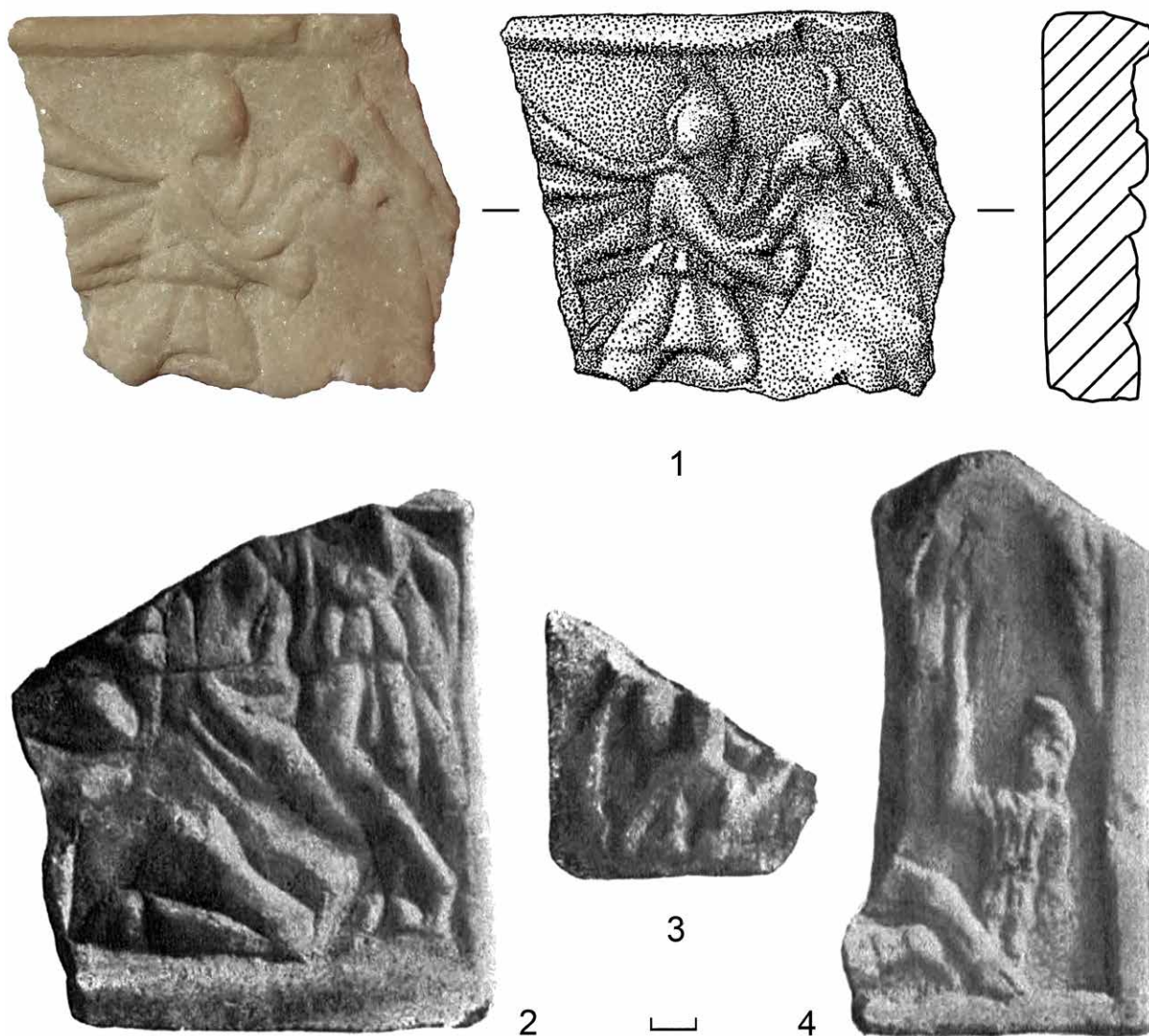


Figure 1. Marble votive reliefs with Mithraic tauroctony from *Olbia* (1. photo R.O. Kozlenko, drawing V.V. Krapivina; 2-4. M.I. Rostovtzeff).

side holes contain rust from iron rods. These were apparently intended as fasteners. Similar holes for metal fasteners that could fix the crown with rays have been found on sculptural relief of Mithras in southern Germany (Alexandrescu & Topoleanu 2019, 185). The reverse side of the chest is finished with a boaster, the lower part is polished. Wearing a Phrygian cap and draped in a cloak fastened on the left shoulder with a round *fibula*, Mithras is depicted with long curls. Large almond-shaped eyes and soft facial features emphasize the youth of the deity. The head of a rounded shape is turned at a slight angle to the right. The gaze is turned upwards, waiting for a sign to make a sacrifice.

The inclination and the head turn of the bust is typical for sculptural images of tauroctony (CIMRM 76, 164,

172-174, 310, 370, 531, 584, 592, 596, 605, 657 and 771; Toynbee 1986, 7; Adrych *et al.* 2017, figs 1.1-1.2). Made of white marble, it may be part of a sculpture in which Mithras, surrounded by animals and *genii* with torches, slays a bull. This is a wonderful example of Roman sculptural art and it occurs for the first time in the northern Black Sea region. Similar sculptures of Mithras, although not always so realistic, are found in the Mithraic temples of the European and Near Eastern provinces of the Roman Empire.

White marble is considered to be Proconesian. Regarding the sculptural workshops that arose at the locations of the Roman troops in Lower Moesia, where Mithras sculptures were made, and the marble supply centers for them (Alexandrescu-Vianu 2007, 55-60;



Figure 2. Marble bust of Mithraic tauroctony from excavations at the site R-25 in *Olbia* (©R.O. Kozlenko; inv. no. O-2010/P-25/3693; stored in the Archaeological Museum of the Institute of Archaeology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. Museum, inv. no. AM3507/11312).

2008-2009, 53-80). According to the conclusions of O.M. Shcheglov, the tauroctony reliefs from Chersonesus are made of the same type of marble as the votive plaques from Charaks and *Olbia* (Щеглов 1969, 153).

In the northern Black Sea region, the marble head of Mithras dating to the 2nd-3rd centuries AD comes from *Chersonesus* (Khersones, Saprykin 1995, 324-333). It is similar to the head found during the excavations of the Roman fortress of *Oescus* (Gigen) and is associated with the presence of Roman military units in the city, in particular of *Legio V Macedonica*, which was based in this camp.

Along with the bust of Mithras, a marble head of Apollo measuring 20 × 17 cm was also found in *Olbia* (inv. no. O-2010/P-25/3692; stored in the Archaeological

Museum of the Institute of Archaeology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine). Since the syncretic cult of Mithras was closely associated with Apollo, Sol and Helios (CIMRM 30, 32, 53, 167, 170, 422, 546, 803 and 890; Cumont 1913, 133 and 139; Rostovtseff 1923, 393-394 and 405; Beck 2006, 222-226 and 230; Adrych *et al.* 2017, 98 and 128-133; Bottez 2018, 254-255; Alexandrescu & Topoleanu 2019, 185), both sculptures could have come from the same sanctuary. The veneration of Apollo in the Roman army is evidenced by epigraphic monuments (CIL VII.218; АЭ 1978, 0555; 1985, 0738 and 0751; ILD 482; Александров 2010, 250-251 and 279-283). In the fortress of *Legio I Italica* the statues were, for example, erected to this deity (Lajtar 2015, 277-281). In the Roman period, there was



Figure 3. Terracotta figurines of Roman soldiers from Olbia (1. S.B. Bujskich; 2. A.V. Bujskich; 3. photo R.O. Kozlenko, drawing A.V. Burakov; 4. V.D. Blawatsky; 5. R.O. Kozlenko).

a temple of Apollo in *Olbia* (IOSPE I² 98), which might have been located in the Upper City (Крыжицкий 1985, 162).

During the time of emperor Severus Alexander, Aurelius Julian, an Olbian resident with Roman citizenship, built a temple in *Olbia* at his own expense, dedicated to Serapis, Isis, Asclepius, Hygeia and Poseidon (IOSPE I² 184) deities who were revered in the Roman military environment of the Danube provinces (Иванов *et al.* 2006, 164-165; Królczyk 2009, 165). The discovery of the marble head of Serapis in *Olbia* can thus be connected with this temple (OAK 1913-1915, 49-50, fig. 78). Moreover, sculptures of this deity have been found in Mithraic temples (CIMRM 479, 783 and 818; Shepherd 1998, 107), and this deity is also depicted on some Mithraic reliefs (CIMRM 693).

Along with a bust of Mithras and a marble head of Apollo, numerous human bones were found in the pit, including the skull of an c. 40-year-old male with traces of knife injuries. Other finds include bricks and tiles with human fingerprints and animal footprints, bronze nails from Roman military shoes, as well as red-slip pottery fragments, glassware and fragments of the 2nd-3rd-century AD amphorae (Крапивина *et al.* 2011, 44, plate 254). In addition, a fragment of a marble slab was discovered in the pit, the reverse side of which was decorated by boaster, a very common type stone dressing of stone, in which the surface of the stone is covered with parallel marks that may run in any direction. A boaster, which is actually a wide-edged chisel, is used for this purpose. These marks may be horizontal or at any angle. The chisel marks are not continuous across the whole width of the stone), with a Greek inscription. It speaks of the installation of this slab or some statue at the expense of the *archon*.

In the same area, fragments of marble sculptures, architectural details, tiles and part of a marble altar were found in the layers dating to the Roman period (Крапивина *et al.* 2011, 11, 16, 18, 45 and 50). This might be related to the re-construction and re-planning of the citadel after the Gothic invasion in AD 269-270. As a result, the mentioned objects might have been removed from their primary location in the sanctuary and ended up in household pits and on the slopes of the terraces of the Upper City of *Olbia*.

As marble sculptures of Mithras are occasionally found in Mithraic temples (CIMRM 91, 335, 344, 435, 542, 771; Shepherd 1998, 107-109; Wulfmeier 2004, 89-94; Szabó 2013, 50), this bust is likely to have originated from the sanctuary built by soldiers of the Roman garrison in *Olbia*. It could be both a separate sculptural image, which was fixed in a specially designed niche with the metal fasteners and a part of a collapsible tauroctony, the elements of which were connected to each other with the metal rods. Such an example can be the hand of a marble

statue with an iron rod found in the *Mithraeum* in London (CIMRM 818). On some Mithraic reliefs, iron fitting rods positioned behind the pierced sun-crowns or deity's nose might have held a candlestick to create special visual effects. For example, the altar dedicated to the Sol deity in the recently discovered *Mithraeum* at the Roman camp of Inveresk, in Scotland had such fitting (Hunter *et al.* 2016, 119-168).

A fragment of a terracotta head in a Phrygian cap (fig. 3.2) found in the citadel of *Olbia* in a pit of the middle of the 3rd century AD may be connected with the cult of Mithras (Буйских *et al.* 2015, 17). Tauroctony terracottas with a head in the Phrygian cap are known at the territory of the Bosphorus (Blawatsky & Kochelenko 1966, 14-20, figs 8-10; Сапрыкин 2009, 355, figs 137-138). Terracotta figurines of Roman soldiers with the image of Mithras on their shields are frequent finds at the locations of Roman forts in the northern Black Sea region (Савельева & Савельев 2012, 43). The personification of warriors-worshippers of the Mithras deity in coroplasty is an unique tradition that arose in *Olbia* as a result of the Roman military presence (Козленко 2020, 9). These terracotta figurines with movable limbs (figs 3.1 and 3.3-5) could have served as votives in ritual actions related to the cult of Mithras, popular in the soldier community (Русяева 1992, 154). Altars with dedications to Mithras by Roman soldiers are known in the northern Black Sea region: one was found in *Tyras* (Карышковский 1979, 87) and another in *Chersonesus* (Соломоник 1983, 40-41).

On the basis of the analysis of the relief cup from Mainz, with the scene of initiation, Horn (1994, 21-66) distinguished seven grades of initiation in the hierarchy of Mithraism. The armored warrior depicted on the shields of the terracotta figurines of Roman soldiers from *Olbia* may represent one of the initial grades of initiation into the Mithraic mysteries, since the 'soldier' (*miles*) is the name of the third initiation grade in the Mithraic cult (Cumont 1913, 39; Merkelbach 1995, 6; Gordon 2001, 252; Chalupa 2008, 184-185). The religion of Mithras was dominated by cosmic principles (Cumont 1913, 120-137; Speidel 1980, 19-27; Beck 2006, 30-40 and 153-256; Александров 2013, 278-293; Assasi 2016, 233-246; Gordon 2017, 108-117), so the circles around the deity on the shields of terracotta figurines of Roman soldiers (fig. 4.1-3) can be perceived as the planets of the solar system, and the crescents and constellations as connecting elements of the cosmological plot.

Another monument, which may be connected with the stay of Roman troops on the territory of the Olbian state, is a limestone relief from Skelka settlement (Манцевич 1961, 11-12). Roman-period reliefs, depicting Nymphs, Hecate, Cybele, Hermes and other deities, are also known from the excavations of *Olbia* (Манцевич 1961, 12-19; Щеглов 1967, 255-259). They may be associated with the recruitment of natives from the Danube provinces to the

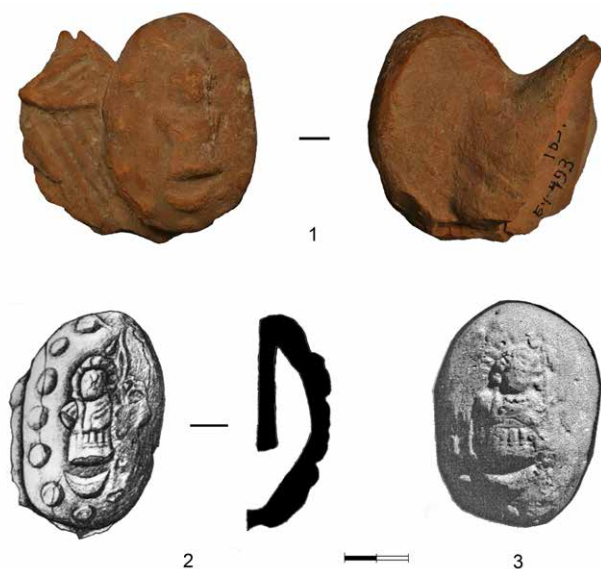


Figure 4. Terracotta figurines from *Olbia* (1. R.O. Kozlenko; 2. V.V. Krapivina; 3. A.V. Bujksich).

Roman troops stationed in *Olbia*. Similar reliefs, depicting Dionysus, Hermes, the Horseman, Artemis and Hecate, are known from the sanctuary of the Thracian deities near the Roman fortress Charax (Ростовцев 1911, 12-15). In this aspect, a Roman-period terracotta herm with the head of Hermes found in the citadel of *Olbia* together with a marble base and a fragment of a marble plaque (8×9.5×3.5 cm, Крапивина & Буйских 2007, 33-34) is worth mentioning. The plaque depicts the bent leg of a horse or bull (fig. 5), which could either belong to the lower part of a relief depicting Thracian horseman or tauroctony. It is known that the cult of Mithras was also associated with Hermes (CIMRM 32; Adrych *et al.* 2017, 128-133). On the one hand, this plaque could have been part of the sculptural tauroctony relief described above, since they are made of the same type of marble and were found at the same site in the Upper City of *Olbia*. This might explain why the plaque is quite thick, because if it was part of the tauroctony, the Mithras bust might have actually been located on it. On the other hand, it could have been part of a plaque depicting Thracian horseman, as plaques and reliefs connected to the cult of Thracian horseman have been found in *Olbia* (Русяева 1992, 152). Six fragments and one complete votive plaque with his image were discovered during the research of the Olbian hillfort. Fragments of marble plaques with relief images of the Thracian horseman come from the excavations of the *praetorium* (Ветштейн 1966, 14) and from a structure located north of the *praetorium*, which is associated with the officers' quarters (Ветштейн 1971, 168). Such votive plaques were mounted on the walls or placed in the niches of sanctuaries (Gordon 2004, 263-264).

A fragment of another marble votive plaque from *Olbia*, depicting the tree of life with a serpent in its branches, bears the text ΤΟΡΟΒΟΝΟ (IOSPE I² 171) at the top. It has been suggested that the text should read either [ex vo]to *Poro bono* or [sanc]to *Poro bono*, with the dedicant's name at the beginning and the interpretation of *Poros* as the theonym of the Greek *Poros* (Иванчик & Фалилеев 2011, 135-143). The plaque belongs to a series of reliefs with the image of the Thracian horseman (Русяева 1992, 152), dated from the second half of the 2nd or the first half of the 3rd centuries AD, and is connected with the stay of the Roman garrison in *Olbia*.

One of the reliefs with the image of the Thracian horseman, found in the citadel, testifies to the presence of the auxiliary troops of the Roman army in *Olbia*, as it was dedicated in the middle of the 3rd century AD by the soldiers of *Cohors I Cilicia* (Зубарь & Крапивина 2000, 239-247). Votive plaques depicting the Thracian Horseman reflect the religious beliefs of soldiers of Thracian and Moesian origin (Rostovtseff 1923, 405-408; Boteva 2005, 199-210; Gencheva 2013, 44-47). In the northern Black Sea region, such plaques are known from the excavations of Charax (Ростовцев 1911, 15), *Tyras* (Фурманська 1965, 158-163), the Saky sandbak (Зубарь 2003, 34) and *Chersonesus* (Щеглов 1969, 150-153). They can be dated to the second half of the 2nd or the first half of the 3rd centuries AD, when Roman troops were stationed in *Olbia*. The Roman recruits appeared in *Olbia* in the middle of the 2nd century AD (Suetonius *De vita Caesarum*, *Antoninus Pius* 9.9), serving in a vexillation consisting of units from *legiones I Italica*, *V Macedonica* and *XI Claudia* (Ростовцев 1915, 7-10; IOSPE I² 322) and the Moesian fleet (Иванчик & Крапивина 2007, 219-242).

Since the Roman cults did not become widespread among the local population (Русяева 1992, 154 and 160), the finds of votive reliefs depicting the Thracian horseman and Mithraic tauroctony in *Olbia* should be associated exclusively with the soldiers of the Roman army (Крапивина 2014, 82). Taking into account the presence in *Olbia* of terracotta figurines of Roman soldiers with the image of Mithras on their shields, votive relief plaques, as well as a marble bust of Mithras, it seems quite probable that the soldiers of the Roman garrison built a sanctuary of Thracian horseman (Ростовцев 1911, 17-18; Крапивина 1997, 82; Зубарь 1998, 100; Зубарь & Крапивина 2000, 243) or *Mithraeum* (Русяева 1992, 155). That such sanctuary had existed can be confirmed by the occurrence of terracotta figurines of Roman soldiers with moving limbs from which they could have originated. The *Mithraea* are constantly discovered nearby Roman military forts (Gillam & MacIvor 1954, 176-219; Najdenova 1999, 117-120; Hunter *et al.* 2016, 119-168) and in places of deployment of Roman troops (Rostovtzeff 1934, 180-207; Allason-Jones 2004, 183-189). Mithraic temples are usually rectangular in plan, measuring

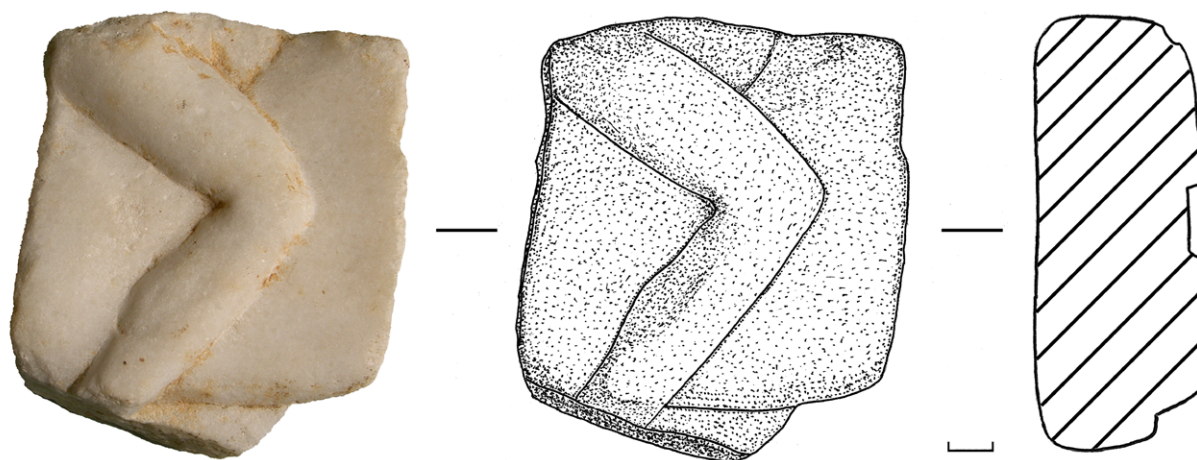


Figure 5. Marble plaque from excavations at the site R-25 in *Olbia* (R.O. Kozlenko).

an average of 12 × 5 m, with altars and sculptures located on the opposite side from the entrance (CIMRM 287, 300, 829 and 852).

Considering that the marble bust and all the finds of votive reliefs with images of Mithraic tauroctony are concentrated at the territory of the citadel, the presence of the *Mithraeum* in *Olbia* must be assumed in the Upper City. In favor of the existence of such sanctuaries in *Olbia*, finds of fragments of a marble eagle from the Roman period from excavations in the Upper City (Новиченкова & Буйських 2019, 359, fig. 2, no. 2-4) indicate that. The dimensions of its individual parts testify that the total height of the sculpture reached about 0.5 m. In the northern Black Sea region, fragments of a marble eagle sculpture are known from the excavations of the temple of Jupiter Dolichenus in the Roman camp in Balaklava (Sarnowski & Savelja 2000, 77, plate 9, no. 4). Such items are common in the places of Roman troops deployment (Rostovtzeff *et al.* 1952, plate 23.2; Moga 1974, 592, fig. 1; Иванов *et al.* 2006, plate 3.2; Gencheva 2013, 97, no. 249), and are dated by the 2nd-3rd centuries AD.

Its location can be localized on the territory either of the citadel (Крапивіна 2014, 82), as in *Dura-Europos* (Rostovtzeff 1934, 180-207) or outside the boundaries of the Olbian hillfort (Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski 2018, 193), as in Charax (Ростовцев 1911, 7-9; Зубарь 2000, 189-190) and in *Novae* (Svishtov, Tomas & Lemke 2015, 227-247). That there was a separate *Mithraeum* in *Olbia*, can be supported by the occurrence of several reliefs with images of the Thracian horseman. These reliefs, usually found in separate sanctuaries (Garbsch 1985, plate 39; Borisov 2010, 21-24; Христов *et al.* 2013, 67-117), were found here within and around the *praetorium*, rather than in the designated sanctuary of the Thracian deities.

In the northern Black Sea region, Roman-period sanctuaries were investigated near the Roman fortress

of Charax (Ростовцев 1911, 1-42) and in the Roman fort in Balaklava (Sarnowski & Savelja 2000). However, the existence of temples connected to the cults practiced by the Roman troops in the cities can be supported by a number of finds such as dedications (IOSPE I² 167, 748), sculptural images, votive reliefs, *etc.* Therefore, the discussed here marble bust belongs to the category of temple sculpture, and indicates that the cult of Mithras played an important role in the religious life of the soldiers of the Roman garrison in *Olbia*. Further systematic research of the Roman-period citadel will certainly shed light on the localization of the sanctuary built by Roman soldiers.

Abbreviations

АЕ: *L'Annee Epigraphique*

CIL: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

CIMRM: *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae*

ILD: *Inscriptii Latine din Dacia*

IOSPE: *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae*

КСИА АН УССР: *Краткие сообщения Института археологии Академии наук УССР*

ОАК: *Отчеты археологической комиссии*

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Of pigs and gods

An altar to Jupiter Heliopolitanus from *Siscia* (Sisak) revisited

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Segestica, which was to become Roman *Siscia* (Sisak), is one of the most important archaeological sites in Croatia, but as it usually is in the urban environment, this Pannonian Roman city lies completely under the historical core of Sisak, making the research both easier and more complicated. Existing extensive literature covers many aspects of Roman life, administrative arrangement, and urbanism of the Roman city (for further reading *e.g.* Lolić 2022; for detailed overview of *Segestica/Siscia* mentioned in ancient sources: Šašel 1974; on metal production: Košćević 1995; Baćani & Barišić 2018; on burials and religion: Nenadić 1986; Buzov 2012).

In 1873 Theodor Mommsen visited Sisak, as he was preparing the third volume of *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. During that visit, he noted the inscriptions of 15 Siscian monuments. Some of them had already been lost in his time, others he examined in person. One of them was an altar erected by Lucius Virilius Pupus (Fumić 2019, 47-48). This monument was transcribed by Mommsen's own hand. According to his words, the altar was built into the walls of *Siscia's* fortress *Stari grad (Sisciae in arce)*, whose construction began in 1544, with abundant use of construction materials from ancient *Siscia*. Sadly, the monument was destroyed during the renovation of the stone grooves of the Sisak's seat of the Roman Catholic church (Vukelić 2011, 130-132). Since Mommsen found the monument in secondary use, we do not know its original location, as well as its physical characteristics (dimensions, stylization of the inscription field and letters, iconographic representations, *etc.*). Luckily, the text of the inscription has been preserved in its entirety and it reads:

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I(ovi) o(ptimo) M(aximo)
HELIOPOLITANO
L(ucius) VIRILIVS
PVPVS B(ene)F(iciarius) CO(n)s(ularis)
v(otum) s(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)
NE QVIS IN HAC
ARA PORCOS AGI
FACERE VELIT

There are two ligatures in the second row, both in Heliopolitanus: *he* and *lit* (CIL III.03955). The altar is dated to 2nd century or to the first half of the 3rd century. It presents a valuable source not only for the study of the cult of Jupiter Heliopolitanus,

but for the way *spolia* were used. Not much can be said about the dedicant Lucius Virilius. His name points to his Gallic origin (*Gallia Belgica* or *Gallia Narbonensis*). His cognomen Pupus is derived from the age-type as it was usually given to very little children as a substitute for lacking praenomen (OPEL IV 2002, s.v. Virilius; Kajanto 1965, s.v. Pupus). Details about his previous military service are omitted, as well his age. We also do not know if Pupus came to worship Heliopolitanus in *Siscia*, or he brought the cult of Heliopolitanus with him. Both cases look plausible.

Oriental cults in *Siscia*

The inscription is the only dedication to Jupiter Heliopolitanus, a Syrian deity, ever found in *Siscia*, and, thus, the only attestation of the presence of this cult in the city. However, its appearance in a diverse and heterogeneous society of Roman *Siscia* is not surprising. *Siscia* was, what we would call today, a metropolitan city that attracted many people of different origins and of different professions. The existence of several so-called oriental cults in *Siscia* is confirmed through the presence of various monuments. Mithra's monuments are the most numerous, suggesting that Mithraism was particularly popular in the area of the city (Brunšmid 1905, 60, 120, 62 and 121; Selem 1980, 82, no. 11; Zaninović 1981, 203; ROMIC II: 96, no. 26). Egyptian cults were also present in *Siscia*, e.g. there are traces of the activities of the cult of Serapis (Selem 1980, 8, no. 10; ROMIC II, 40, no. 28) and Jupiter Amon (Selem 1980, 9, nos 11-12; ROMIC II, 41-43, nos 30-31 and 33); a sphinx figurine, now lost, was also recorded (ROMIC II, 43, no. 32). The existence of a collegium of *dendrophores*, bearers of trees during the spring festival of the goddess Cybele, suggests the existence of a larger community of followers. Of the figural representations related to the cult, four bronze figurines/appliques of Attis (Selem 1980, 202, no. 10; 203, no. 11; 204, no. 12; 205, no. 13; ROMIC II, 142, no. 9; 131, no. 5; 132, no. 6; 132-133, no. 7) and one lamp with a depiction of Cybele have been preserved (Selem 1980, 205, no. 14; ROMIC II, 143, no. 11). The presence of the cult of the Thracian and Danubian horsemen is also confirmed by led plaques (Brunšmid 1905, 56, no. 109; ROMIC II, 173-176, no. 8-13). There is also evidence suggesting the existence of Isis temple (Buzov 2012, 69).

The cult of Jupiter Heliopolitanus

Jupiter Heliopolitanus is a deity of Semitic origin, and his cult originates from *Heliopolis* (Baalbek), located in the Beka'a valley in eastern Lebanon. The temple in Baalbek was dedicated to a god who, at various periods in history, was called Ba'al, Hadad, Helios, Zeus or Jupiter Optimus Maximus Heliopolitanus (Ragette 1980, 81-99; Fumić 2019, 44). According to Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 1.23.12), the cult has

several aspects that may or may not have originated from Egypt. Though valuable in descriptive details, Macrobius' account, supposedly recounted from Porphyrios of Tyre's *On Statues* (Περὶ Ἀγαλμάτων), is fraught with problems in connection with the alleged solar syncretisms of Jupiter (Kropp 2010, 231). Furthermore, such simplicity of transferred and/or applied characteristics from one god to another is a very dangerous tool. For Heliopolitanus in particular, compounds like Jupiter-Hadad or Venus-Atargatis are hazardous, as they are never addressed with Semitic names and rarely if ever depicted with visual contaminations. The similarities to many related deities and, as a result, our difficulties in keeping them apart are thus no licence to conflate them, but must on the contrary inspire particular caution in how to label them. In other words, the principle should be not to multiply names and epithets more than absolutely necessary (Kropp 2010, 230). In any case, it is not our intention to divorce Jupiter from Heliopolitanus, or vice versa, but to provide a fresh perspective on one monument that probably could have been dedicated to some other 'oriental' deity.

The cult spread west in the first half of the 2nd century, judging by dated epigraphic material from *Dacia* and *Campania* and the cult sanctuaries in Rome and *Carnuntum*, which were already in use in the second half of the 2nd century. According to the current state of research, the largest number of monuments and cult material (outside Syria), as well as temple buildings, were found in Rome, *Pannonia superior* and the first Italic region. About 80 inscriptions dedicated to Jupiter Heliopolitanus are known, and nine of them are found in *Pannonia superior* (Fumić 2019, 44, footnote 15).

On pigs

The altar of Lucius Virilius Pupus presents a unique and a very curious case because it is the only inscription that contains any wording related to pigs. At the end, the inscription contains a warning that says: NE QVIS IN HAC ARA PORCOS AGI FACERE VELIT or, translated, 'let no one bring pigs to this monument, I would like' (ROMIC II, 188, no. 21). In an article by Tea Fumić (2019, 43-59), it was argued or assumed that this wording calls for a dietary ban on pork meat or that Lucius Virilius Pupo is forbidding the sacrifice of a pig on the altar. It must be mentioned that this monument has been referred to a number of times and it has a relatively long history of appearance in scholarly publications. Furthermore, in Croatian scholarly literature, there were two different readings for that last line of the inscription, but it was either an honest mistake or a mistake in reading the Latin text (Fumić 2019, 45-46, footnote 46-49).

Here historians, who occasionally have a tendency of creating narratives and arranging various pieces into grand schemes, would not resist a great seduction of making

another theory about the long dead and mostly unknown cultural phenomenon. It is quite easy to suggest that the ban of the pork meat was a part of the 'Oriental' origin of the cult. By extension, one can assume that not only this one specific cult but also other 'Oriental' cults had rather strict dietary requirements. This gives an opportunity to make more generalized conclusions and update existing narratives of religious life in Roman world – may be even start debating the concept of 'orientalization' (e.g. Volokhine 2014). Luckily, for every historian with a big theory and a set of narratives there is an archaeologist who is not willing to be drowned in the pool of pure fantasy made out of a sole and unique piece of evidence. Instead of grand schemes, a local perspective, a case for micro-level history should be made. We argue here that the warning not to bring pigs to the monument was important not only for Lucius Virilis Pupus but actually even more so for the local population.

This monument is conveying to us a layered slice of time. This is not something special, as every monument does the same. But, from this specific monument we learn, for one, that pork meat was not a preferred choice, to put it mildly. Pork meat was not (and still is not) a favoured option in most of the east (Near East) and south Mediterranean (e.g. Egypt) neither as the sacrificial animal nor as a daily meal (Horwitz & Studer 2005, 222-240; Price 2020; cf. Hesse & Wapnish 1998). The analysis of the bones from the pits from the Jupiter Heliopolitanus' sanctuary from *Carnuntum* also supports this (Gal & Kunst 2014, 336-346; Kunst *et al.* 2021, 123-141). In addition to understanding that pork meat was not preferred, the Siscian monument warns us that the pigs themselves were not allowed to walk freely there. But where exactly? The Siscian *beneficarii consularis* station has not yet been archaeologically identified, but it is assumed that it was located south of the city, outside its walls, probably near the Stari Grad fortress. In the area some other beneficiary monuments were also found, which were also re-used as a building material for the Stari Grad fortress in the same way as the monument under discussion here (Fumić 2019, 50; Radman-Livaja & Vukelić 2016, 211).

If Lucius Virilius Pupus erected this monument inside the *beneficarii consularis* post, then there would be no need for such a warning. We may presume that it was a common knowledge not to bring animals, or pigs specifically, to the votive monuments inside the *beneficarii consularis* post. We may suggest that it was common knowledge for worshipers of Jupiter Heliopolitanus that they should not sacrifice pigs on the monument. It was also probably not a custom to sacrifice pigs for one god on an altar dedicated to another god. That leads us to conclude that the monument stood *sub divo*, out in the open. If it was out in the open, it means that it was erected somewhere close to the path where pigs were taken to the pasture, a custom still alive in that area.

If that is true, was it disruptive for the way of life of the local population? How did Siscian swineherds react to this? Could they read it and understand the reasons of Pupus?¹ Would they have gone home and discussed the warning with the members of their families how to behave in those changed circumstances? And was the inscription actually intended to warn local population who took pigs to pasture around and through the wooded area where both the post and the monument were located? Granted there are maybe too many 'ifs', but all of them are questions that we may legitimately ask ourselves. With the most important question being: what if this is not the only disruptive element for the local population?

Addressing these questions require looking for a new theoretical perspective. In (cultural) anthropology a lot has been said about the term friction, and for the purposes of this paper we have used a book on friction by Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing (Tsing 2005; for a brief description of theory of friction in Roman archaeology Versluys 2021, 41-43). In the book she focuses on zones of awkward engagement, where words mean something different across a divide even as people agree to speak. These zones of cultural friction are transient; they arise out of encounters and interactions. The effects of encounters across difference can be compromising or empowering. Friction is not a synonym for resistance. They reappear in new places with changing events (Tsing 2005, 5-12).

What happens when Roman *beneficiarius consularis* wants to honour Jupiter Heliopolitanus in a place where very few know how this god is worshiped? What happens when local population who took their pigs to a pasture are suddenly met with a warning? What the text meant for both sides? How did it change their daily life and routine? Different pictures can be drawn. Lucius Virilius Pupus probably intended to deliver a rather simple message for (ignorant?) locals; he might have tried to deliver it before, without inscribing a stone, but failed to convince them. The locals could read it as a warning or even a threat from the person who represents the existing power structure; their habits could be disrupted by this altar. Lucius Virilius Pupus could have witnessed that locals used to sacrifice pork meat for the gods and politely asked them not to do it. Also, this text could be addressed not only to people but to Jupiter himself: just to prove that he did his best to follow the rules and convince others to respect the deity. Locals, if they understood the inscription

1 The mere existence of such inscription also means that locals who brought pigs to the place where the monument had been erected could read Latin and understand the warning. If we wanted to start a bar fight, we would say that romanisation must have gone well, at least for this part of *Pannonia* in the 2nd-3rd century, because even Pannonian swineherds knew how to read and understood well Latin inscriptions. But we are not at the bar right now, so no fight is needed.

correctly, could have faced a challenge of changing not only usual paths to the pasture but also their ways of honouring deities. The pork meat, now not needed by Jupiter, should have been redistributed to other gods. Could they ask themselves whether this new god was worth such efforts?

Conclusion

The future investigations of the southern part of *Siscia* as well as the examination of the suburban territory may provide researchers with new insights and solve at least some of the questions asked here. The questions that the monument cannot answer itself since it has been lost and the only trace of it remains in Mommsen's work. This serves as an important reminder about the necessity of the big scale projects like *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. We may ask ourselves why are there so few projects on the similar scale now and why is the funding hard to obtain to finance them, while clearly both the interest and need for such a project still exists? The discussed monument presents an unique case but is it indeed so? Is it only one of its kind? If there were no Mommsen at Sisak in 1873 we – highly likely – would have no idea that such text ever existed. The loss of evidence is an inevitable process (and with the inscriptions the damage is usually unrepairable) and only big scale projects can help to save the data. Will we find the way to organize our efforts for this purpose in the declining world? We must.

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Abbreviations

CIL: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

OPEL: Lorincz 1999-2005

ROMIC: Selem & Vilgorac Brčić 2018

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A puzzling votive inscription by a decurion of Cohors I Belgarum

Ivan Radman-Livaja

Inscription

The revision and digitalisation of the Roman stone monuments' collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb has brought to light a certain number of previously unknown and unpublished inscriptions. Among them is this fragmented limestone votive altar (the preserved height is 57 cm) dedicated to an unknown deity by a *decurio equitum* of *Cohors I Belgarum equitata* (fig. 1). It appears to have been brought to the Zagreb Archaeological Museum between the two World Wars where it remained in storage, forgotten for many decades. We are still checking the museum archives, hoping to find out more about the exact circumstances of the discovery but for the time being, the only certain information is that it was discovered somewhere in the territory of the Roman province of *Dalmatia*, i.e. in southern Croatia or Bosnia and Herzegovina. The altar is badly damaged and the inscription is not much better preserved. The reading is thus somewhat problematic, especially the first and second lines.

After the monument was (re)discovered, Frederike and Ortoft Harl, while working on the *Ubi erat lupa* database, suggested the following reading (<http://lupa.at/22811>):

[is]IDI
AUG(ustae)
PUBLICIUS
CLEMENTINUS
++ EQ(itum?) COH(ortis) I BELG(arum)

While I mostly agree with their transcription, after a more thorough visual inspection, I believe that it has to be amended to some extent. What could be the first letter of the first line is almost entirely missing and I am not convinced that we may identify the barely visible remaining traces in the lower part as the letter I. The third letter in the first line is far more likely an R than an I. At first, I thought that a fourth letter might also be present in that line after the R, but it is more likely a deep scratch to the surface. The abbreviation SAC is also visible in the second line after the abbreviation AVG, the A being clearly noticeable, while the rank *dec(urio)* might also be discerned at the beginning of the fifth line. The sixth line may likely have been present as well,

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Figure 1. Votive inscription by a decurion of *Cohors I Belgarum*.

presumably containing the adjective *equitata*, but it remains a matter of conjecture. I would thus rather suggest the following reading:

[.] D(eae) R(eginae)
AUG(ustae) S(acrum)
PUBLICIUS
CLEMENTINUS
d(e)u(r)io EQ(uitum) COH(ortis) I BELG(arum)
[eq(uitatae)]

While the name of the dedicant, *Publicius Clementinus*, his rank (*decurio equitum*) and unit (*Cohors I Belgarum*) may be read with a high level of certainty (Von Domaszewski & Dobson 1967, 53-54, 57 and 59; Wintjes 2015, 401-402), the name of the divinity appears in an abbreviated form which cannot be unequivocally interpreted, even more so since some letters are either missing or are hardly legible.

The unit

This is certainly a votive monument erected by a non-commissioned officer of *Cohors I Belgarum*, which provides a more or less assured chronological time-frame (Alföldy 1962, 266-267; Wilkes 1969, 141-142, 470 and 472;

Bojanovski 1988, 356; Spaul 2000, 190-192; Tončinić 2009, 1455-1456; Matijević 2011, 183-205; Ivleva 2012, 74-82; Marić 2016, 105-116; Matijević 2016, 202, 207-208, 210 and 217; Cesarik 2020, 310; Matijević 2020, 48-49, 62, 106-107 and 167; Radman-Livaja 2022, 43, 46, 49 and 52). All the researchers agree that *Cohors I Belgarum* was transferred to *Dalmatia* by the very end of the 1st century AD. It was most likely garrisoned in *Bigeste* (Ljubuški), north of *Narona*, but during the 2nd century AD (and presumably somewhat later as well), just like *Cohors VIII voluntariorum* stationed in *Tilurium* (Gardun near Trilj), it often detached troops to other places within the province. It would appear that from the early 2nd century AD onwards the main role of the provincial garrison reduced to several cohorts was to take care of law enforcement, i.e. of securing roads leading to urban centres on the Dalmatian coast. Thus, besides its garrison site, the epigraphic monuments of *Cohors I Belgarum* appear in many places all over the province, from the provincial capital *Salona* (Solín) to outposts in the hinterland. It is often assumed that this cohort was transferred to *Germania superior* at the end of 2nd century AD. However, some scholars claim that *Cohors I Septimia Belgarum* recorded in Germany is not the same unit as *Cohors I Belgarum* garrisoned in *Dalmatia*, basing their opinion on some Dalmatian epigraphic monuments mentioning *Cohors I Belgarum* which could be dated to the 3rd century AD (Alföldy 1962, 266; Matijević 2011, 184-185). If so, we may assume that this cohort remained in *Bigeste* throughout much of the 3rd century AD. Taking all of that into account, this inscription may safely be dated within the 2nd century AD, and one may not necessarily exclude a somewhat later dating.

The soldier

The decurion *Publicius Clementinus*, obviously a Roman citizen, bears a bipartite nomenclature, i.e. *duo nomina*, the *nomen gentile* and the *cognomen* without the *praenomen*, a detail which fits well into a 2nd or 3rd century AD dating. Both his *gentilicium* and his *cognomen* are not uncommon and may hardly be considered as being very distinctive. The *nomen* *Publicius* appears at least occasionally in most European provinces of the Empire and is fairly popular in Italy. It is also rather widespread on the Iberian peninsula as well as in *Dalmatia* and not infrequent in Gaul and the Rhine provinces (Schulze 1904, 216, 414, 456 and 518; Alföldy 1969, 112-113; Solin & Salomies 1994, 150, s.v. *Publicius*; Lőrincz 2000, 170, s.v. *Pvblivivs*). The *cognomen* *Clementinus* has much fewer records than the *nomen* *Publicius*, but it can also be encountered all over the Empire. Most occurrences are known in Italy, the Iberian provinces, *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia* (Kajanto 1965, 263; Alföldy 1969, 178-179; Solin & Salomies 1994, 315,

s.v. Clementinus; Lőrincz 1999, 63-64, s.v. Clementinus). Interestingly, for a unit recruited in *Britannia*, this *nomen* does not appear to have been common in that province, while this *cognomen* has not been recorded there at all. Thus, we may assume that Publicius Clementinus was not a Briton. He may have been recruited locally, presumably a Roman citizen residing in *Dalmatia* who wanted to serve not far from home.

The deity

The identification of the deity remains a problem. The reading [Is]idi might likely be discarded, but what other possibilities do we have? I thought of two possible readings, namely [B(ona)] D(eae) R(eginae) Aug(ustae) or [N(emesi)] D(eae) R(eginae) Aug(ustae). While not utterly unlikely, those interpretations are riddled with uncertainties, especially the first suggestion.

The cult of *Bona Dea* as such is far from being well understood (Woodard 2013, 1154-1155; Ambasciano 2016, 136-140). Even the exact identity of the goddess is a matter of discussion (Brouwer 1989, 231-245), although she had a temple on the Aventine as well as sanctuaries in several other Italian towns, both official, *i.e.* belonging to the state cult, and private (Brouwer 1989, 400-430; Arnhold 2015, 68-69). She had a festival as well, celebrated as a secret rite in December at the home of a distinguished Roman, a consul or at least a praetor, and the cult was also celebrated by private individuals and *collegia* (Brouwer 1989, 358-399). She is mentioned by quite a few ancient authors, notably Cicero because of the infamous *Bona Dea* scandal, but also Tibullus, Propertius, Ovidius, Livius, Velleius Paterculus, Plutarchus, Juvenalis, Festus, Arnobius, Lactantius or Macrobius, to name just a few (Epstein 1986, 229-235; Tatum 1990, 202-208; Versnel 1992, 31-54; for a complete overview of the literary sources Brouwer 1989, 144-228 and for a list of epigraphic records Brouwer 1989, 15-143). The Romans themselves were well aware that *Bona Dea* is not a name, and that her true name shall not be known by males. Macrobius, quoting older sources, identify her with *Maia* or *Terra*, but hints other names as well, like *Fauna*, *Ops* and *Fatua* (Brouwer 1989, 350-358). A votive inscription might insinuate an association with Juno (CIL III.10400), while Festus, relying on Verrius Flaccus, claims that she was called *Damia* (*Bona Dea*'s priestess was actually called *damiatrix*). According to Lactantius, who quotes several sources, she may have been called *Fenta Fauna* or *Fenta Fatua*, a name also mentioned by Arnobius. Be that as it may, we might say that it is an ancient Italian fertility deity associated primarily with women and actually referred to as a women's goddess.

Coming back to the epithets appearing on this altar, as far as *Bona Dea* is concerned, the epithet *Augusta* is not uncommon (CIL XI.2996; AE 1906, 92 = ILA II 2, 6863;

CIL VIII.10765; IJug 260 = AE 1964, 270; Brouwer 1989, 299, 319, 321-322, 389-391, 412-416 and 420-421). One also sees occasionally *Bona Dea Regina*: examples include dedication from *Sutrium* (Sutri) by a certain Decimus Rupilius (CIL XI.3243); by an unnamed dedicant from *Cilurnum* (Chesters, RIB 1448); combined with epithets *Triumphalis* and *Caelestis* (Brouwer 1989, 299, 319, 321 and 391-392; the epithet *Triumphalis* also appears in the only known votive inscription to *Bona Dea* in *Dalmatia*, AE 1964, 270; IJug 260). But *Bona Dea Regina Augusta* is unheard of.

Not only there are no analogies for this combination of epithets, but it is also a rather unusual votive monument for a Roman soldier. Nonetheless, it might not be utterly impossible that soldiers (or people related to soldiers) may have been erecting altars to *Bona Dea*. Especially, if we take into account that the altar from Chesters had been found not far away from the fort, and that some votive inscriptions of *Bona Dea* found in Rome and Aquileia bear the epithet *Castrensis* as well. Admittedly, the dedicants do not appear to be related to army personnel and the epithet might simply be referring to the site of worship, the connection with the army being purely speculative (AE 1960, 253; CIL V.760 and VI.30854; Brouwer 1989, 299, 416). The epithet *Triumphalis* may also be considered as quite evocative in this respect, although no clear connection to the army is to be seen in inscriptions where this epithet appears.

The cult of *Bona Dea* may be described as gendered although the presence of men in the cult of the goddess has been well attested (Arnhold 2015, 51-69). There are quite a few votive altars devoted to *Bona Dea* erected by male worshippers (Brouwer 1989, 254-296), and although one finds some military personnel among them (or at least people related to the army), they all appear to have been high ranking officers belonging to the senatorial or equestrian order. Examples include: the *legatus Augusti pro praetore* of *Numidia* Petronius Iustus (AE 1960, 107), the *praefectus legionis II Adiutricis Piaae Fidelis* Caius Iulius Valens (CIL III.10394; ILS 3516). We also know of a certain Renatia Maxima, the wife of a *primipilaris*, who erected an altar near *Spoletium* (Spoleto, CIL XI.4767; ILS 3492; Brouwer 1989, 268-275). Thus, a junior officer like Publicius Clementinus does not really fit the picture.

Further doubts about this altar being devoted to *Bona Dea* can be raised by remarking that traces of the *Bona Dea* cult in *Dalmatia* are far from being numerous, the only known altar having been found on a senatorial estate not far from Iader, at *Cissa* (AE 1964, 270; IJug 260; Brouwer 1989, 386-399; Cvetko 2022, 37 and 207-208, cat. 323).

What about the other suggestion? *Nemesis Augusta* is very common, *Nemesis Regina* also appears often in votive inscriptions (Hornum 1993, 68-69 and 333, table 3,

no. 336 and table 4) and one also sees occasionally *Nemesis Regina Augusta*. Examples include: a dedication by veteran to *Nem(esi) Reg(inae) Aug(ustae) sac(rum)* (CIL III.4008; Hornum 1993, 175-176, cat. 38); a dedication by a *cornicularius praefecti* to *Nemesi Reg(inae) Aug(ustae)* (Hornum 1993, 221-222, cat. 127).

However, one must point out that when *Dea* appears in an inscription, the usual formulations are *Deae Nemesis Reginae* or *Deae Nemesis Augustae*, not *Nemesis Deae*. As a matter of fact, I was unable to find a single example of an inscription where *Nemesis* would precede *Deae*. The soldiers are among the most numerous worshippers of *Nemesis* (Hornum 1993, 1-2, 72-73, 89 and 331, table 1, no. 332, table 2, no. 333, table 3, no. 336, table 4), so it would not be particularly surprising to see our decurion being among her worshippers. However, the unusual formulation and the fact that dedications to *Nemesis* are not particularly numerous in *Dalmatia* impose some caution (AÉ 1971, 00303; CBI 451; IlJug 602, 775 and 2263; Imamović 1977, 432, cat. 205; Škegro 1997, 100, cat. 105; Matijević 2020, 95, cat. 62; Cvetko 2022, 263-264, cat. 465 and 313, cat. 594). I am thus not absolutely convinced that this could be an altar dedicated to *Nemesis*, although it might be a more plausible interpretation than *Bona Dea*.

Is there another possibility? If we assume that there was actually no letter preceding D R in the first line – something I am not too sure about – we might perhaps suggest the reading *D(ominae) R(eginae)*. Such a formula appears in one inscription dedicated to *Nemesis* in Spain (Hornum 1993, 277, cat. 221), where the goddess is only referred to as *Dominae Regi(n)ae*. While this might be an interesting analogy, it would be rather conjectural to assume that our inscription bears the formula *D(ominae) R(eginae) Aug(ustae) sac(rum)*. Could it then be *D(eae) R(omae) Aug(ustae) sac(rum)*? The worship of *Dea Roma* was present in *Dalmatia*, just like in other provinces, incorporated as it was in the Imperial cult (Mellor 1981, 983-1004; Fishwick 1993, 48-55 and 97-149; Jadrić-Kučan 2011, 93-109). The epigraphic records of *Dea Roma* we know of in *Dalmatia* are clearly related to this cult and the dedicants were obviously members of the city elites, i.e. wealthy freedmen, Imperial priests and their family members (Imamović 1977, 191-194 and 426, cat. 195; Cambi 1980, 38; 1997, 77; Jadrić-Kučan 2011, 97-109; Gotovac 1993, 53). In any case, there are no soldiers among them and I find it unlikely that Publicius Clementinus may have erected an altar to *Dea Roma*.

Conclusion

Since we lack data about the discovery spot for the moment, we can only conjecture that it was found in *Bigeste*, where the unit was garrisoned throughout this period. As pointed out above, *Cohors I Belgarum* left epigraphic traces at quite a few places in *Dalmatia*, its detachments were certainly

stationed in *Tilurium* as well, and some of its soldiers spent time in the provincial capital *Salona*, serving in the office of the governor. The altar erected by Publicius Clementinus does not appear to have an official character. We may thus presume that it is a testimony of private devotion. We may wonder if the cult of *Bona Dea* would have been popular in small garrison places like *Bigeste* or *Tilurium*. As far as this cult is concerned, *Salona* might be a more convenient discovery spot (or *Narona* as one of the largest city in the province and quite close to *Bigeste*), but one must admit that worship of *Nemesis* appears as a more likely option for a soldier, notwithstanding the unusual order of *Nemesis'* epithets if she really is the deity celebrated on our fragmented altar.

For the time being, there are more questions than answers about this monument, and this paper should rather be seen as a preliminary publication. Hopefully, some information will be found in our museum's archives in a not too distant future, which will prompt me to write another paper about this highly interesting monument.

Acknowledgement

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Abbreviations

AÉ: *L'Année Épigraphique*

CBI: *Corpus der griechischen und lateinischen Beneficiärer-Inschriften des Römischen Reiches* (Schallmayer et al. 1990)

CIL: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

ILA: *Inscriptions latines d'Aquitaine*

IlJug: *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia repertae et editae sunt*

ILS: *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*

RIB: *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*

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***Principia* or monasteries?**

Two fortified basilicas in the
North African frontier zone

Alan Rushworth

Comparing the Eastern and African frontiers in late antiquity

Recent Roman Frontier Congresses have featured important contributions relating to the forts of the Eastern frontier, in particular the *limes Arabicus*, presented by Ignacio Arce (e.g. 2009; 2017; 2018). Based principally on detailed analysis of the built fabric of the forts, but combined with some excavation, these papers have presented a site development sequence involving evolution from small square fortlets erected during the Severan period, which were then enveloped within larger late Roman *quadriburgia*, probably erected c. 300 as part of a Diocletianic reinforcement of the frontier zone and its garrison. The *quadriburgia* were subsequently transformed to house monasteries (*coenobia*), along with *praetoria* – administrative and palace sites furnished with reception halls – under the aegis of federate Ghassanid phylarchs in the mid to late 6th century. The Ghassanids, employed more mobile forces, focussed on strategically located, seasonal encampments, rather than relying on permanent garrisons installed in defensible forts. However they did require centres of logistical support, which a network of ideologically supportive Monophysite monasteries could provide, and spaces where the phylarchs could present themselves to their assembled followers in suitably impressive settings, both of which the old forts could accommodate. Finally, following the Islamic conquest of Syria, Arabia and Palaestina in the mid-7th century and the end of the frontier, the former forts were again adapted to become desert palaces and hunting lodges (*qusur*) for the new Umayyad elite. These changes in form and use reflect the overall political and military evolution of the Eastern frontier zone, and Arce's model better integrates the sites into the shifting historical processes witnessed on the frontier during the course of the 4th-8th centuries. The type site for this process is Qasr el-Hallabat (Arce 2009; 2018), but the model has been extended, notably to Deir el-Kahf (Arce 2017) and several other forts such as Umm el-Jimal, Khirbet es-Samra and Khirbet el-Khaw (Arce 2015).

This study will examine whether a somewhat similar process involving a transition from fort to monastery might have occurred at some sites on the North African frontier, using as case studies two particular examples where basilical buildings interpreted as churches have been identified within forts, Gouea and Drah Souid East (fig. 1). The structural remains recorded are analysed in detail to try to determine their function and assess how convincingly the hypothesis that some frontier forts were re-occupied by monastic communities during late antiquity would tally with what is known regarding the history of these sites in particular, and with the late and post-Imperial trajectory

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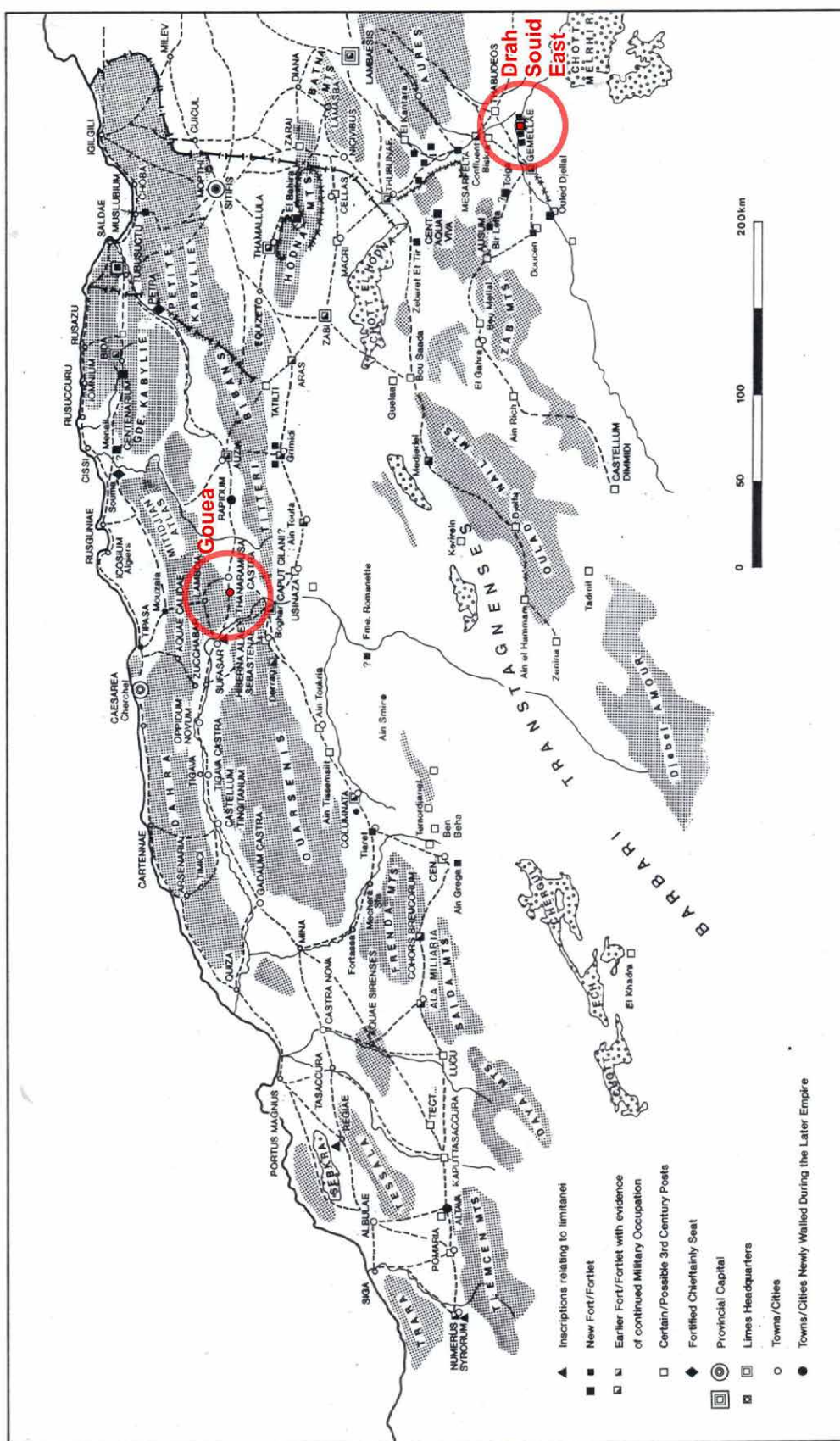


Figure 1. Map showing the location of Gouea and Drah Soud East in *Mauretania Caesariensis* and western *Numidia*.

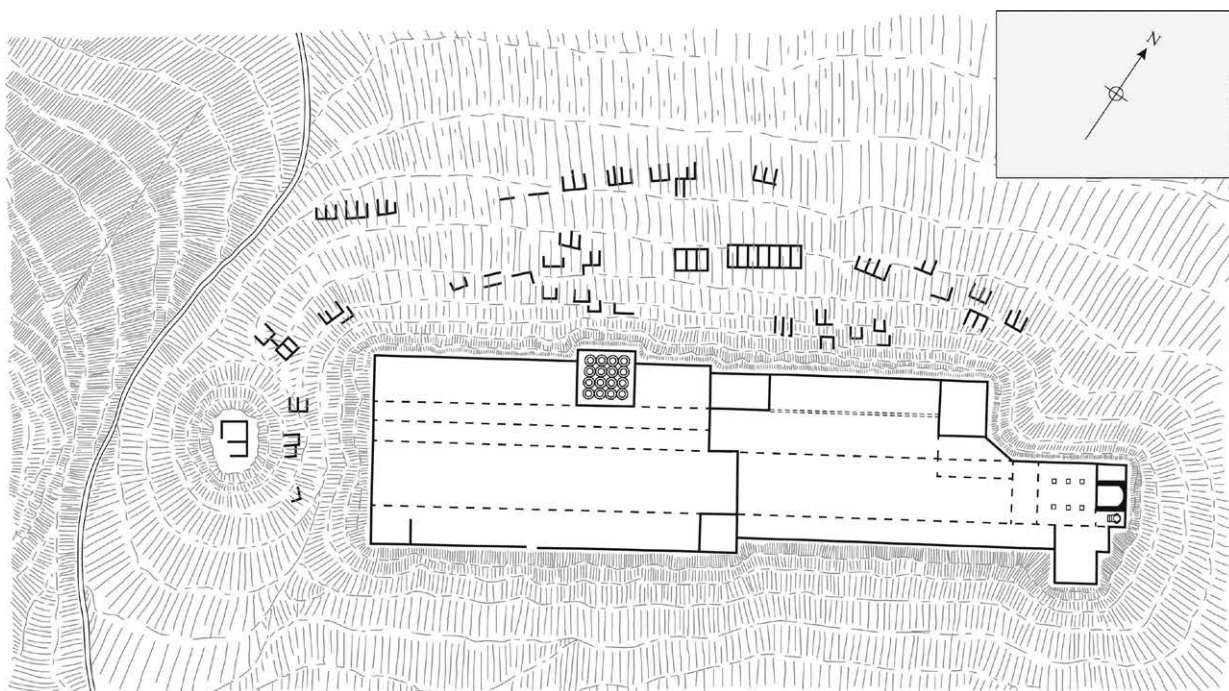


Figure 2. Krolkowski de Poray's plan of Gouea (after Gsell 1901, fig. 122).

of this regional limes as a whole. Clearly, the history of the two frontier zones differed significantly during late antiquity so the development of individual sites in the two regions over the course of the period is unlikely to have been identical, but there is nevertheless potential for parallel processes and overlapping histories.

Gouea

The first of these sites is Gouea, also known as Kherbet el-Djouhala, which has been identified as a military fortification (Salama 1977, 583, map 3; Hamdoune 2018, 198). It is located in the centre of *Mauretania Caesariensis*, in rugged country about 75 km south of Algiers, and is known from an unpublished note by Philippe (1883), accompanied by a plan by Krolkowski de Poray (fig. 2). The latter was published, along with a description based on Philippe's note, by Stephane Gsell in *Monuments antiques de l'Afrique du Nord* (1901, II, 198-200, fig. 122), whilst a further summary description appeared in the *Atlas archéologique de l'Algérie* (1911, site 14.60, hereafter AAA), where the site is located on his 1:200,000 map sheet 14 (Médéa). Gsell's plan was subsequently reproduced in the Algerian volume of *Basiliques Chrétiennes d'Afrique du Nord* (Gui *et al.* 1992, II, 44, 2-3 and I, 48-49, no. 12), along with a schematic restoration of the church by Khatchatrian (1962).

The plan shows an ecclesiastical basilica situated at the eastern end of an elongated and roughly rectangular, ridge-top complex, aligned northeast-southwest and

consisting of two, long, rectangular courtyards leading towards the basilica. There is no scale on the plan, but Gsell notes the whole site covered 4000 km² whilst the dimensions he gives for the church (23 × 12.5 m) suggest that the whole complex was just over 200 m in length, but no more than c. 27.5-33.75 m wide for most of its length, narrowing markedly at its eastern apex where the church largely extends beyond the rest of the site. The basilica comprised a nave, with a flanking aisle on either side, and a vestibule to the south-west. In the chevet at the north-east end the raised, semi-circular apse, which surmounted a vaulted crypt containing a stone sarcophagus, was encased within a solid quadrangular structure, flanked by a sacristy to the north and a small baptistery to the south. To the south-west of the basilica lay the inner and outer courtyards, perhaps with ranges of rooms or porticos along their north and south sides. A square chamber, which partially projected beyond the north wall of the outer courtyard, contained four rows of large amphora and presumably served as a storehouse. On the north and west slopes below the main buildings were the remains of small huts, built of drystone walling, many of which were laid out in rows. Gsell suggested these served as the dwellings of the peasant cultivators of the 'domain'.

It is evident that this site does not conform to the standard principles of Roman military architecture, either the square/rectangular playing card shaped forts of the Principate, or those of the later Empire which typically adopted squarish plans with projecting towers

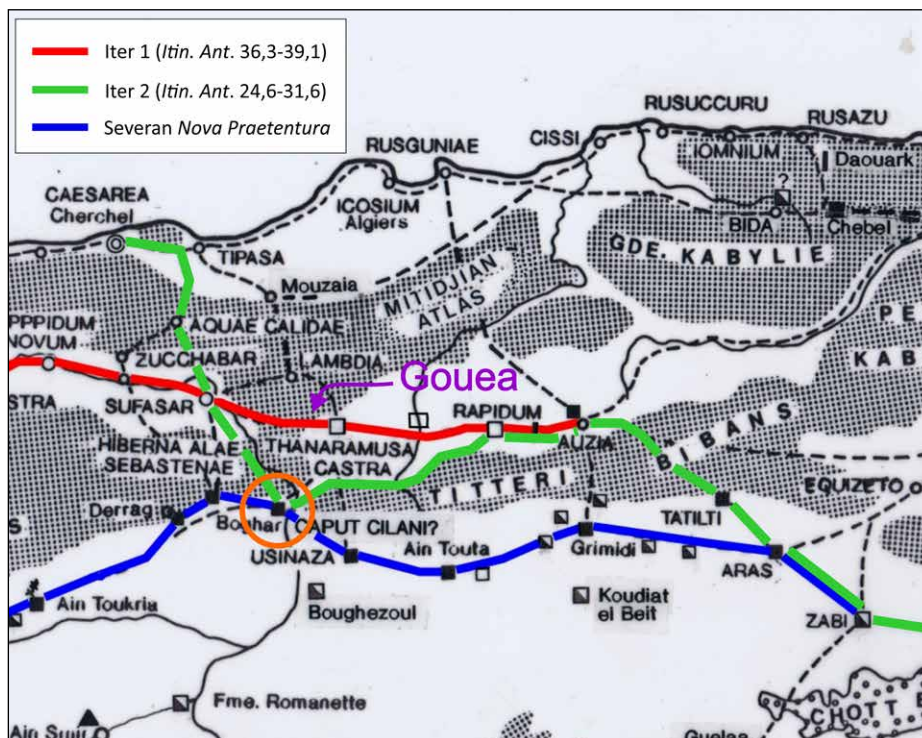


Figure 3. Map showing the location of Gouea and *Caput Cilani* in relation to the routes in the Antonine Itinerary.

and barracks set against the rear of the curtain wall. With its ridge-top location, the site was probably defensible. The smaller, squarish rooms shown at the south and east corners of the western, outer courtyard and the north and west corners of the inner courtyard might conceivably represent the bases of towers, as could the slightly projecting storage chamber, and Gsell (1901, 200, note 1) suggested that the large projecting chamber on the south side of the church might represent a defensive redoubt or lodging. Gsell labelled the site as a *castellum* and seems to have viewed it as a large, fortified agricultural domain or estate centre. However, in view of the prominent position occupied by the church at the very apex of the site, with the two courtyards apparently forming a progression towards it, the complex is more convincingly interpreted as a fortified monastery, erected at some stage during late antiquity. The rows of drystone huts on the slopes below the main complex probably represent the cells of monks living there. There is certainly little to suggest it was a military site.

Why then has Gouea been identified it as a military site, in particular by Pierre Salama, who included it amongst the fortifications of the Antonine frontier in his seminal article, *Les déplacements successifs du limes en Maurétanie Césarienne. Essai de synthèse* (Salama 1977, 583, no. 12, 594, carte 3), labelling it a *'forteresse'*?

Firstly, its location is significant because it lay beside or at any rate very close to the course of the 2nd-century military highway, itemised in the *Itinerarium provinciarum Antonini Augusti* (36.3-39.1, hereafter Iter 1), which ran from

east to west through *Mauretania Caesariensis*, linking many of the province's garrison forts. It is located between the known ancient sites of *Thanaramusa Castra* (near modern Berrouaghia), 8 km to the east, and *Sufasar* (Amoura), situated beside the Oued Chélif, c. 30 km to the west, both of which are itemised in that particular *iter* (fig. 3).

Secondly, Gouea has been identified with the place called *Caput Cilani* in another *iter* (*Itinerarium provinciarum Antonini Augusti* 24.6-31.5 (Iter 2), itemised in the Antonine Itinerary (Gsell AAA 14.60; Salama 1951, 122 and map; Courtois 1955, 82; Matthews 1976, 168 and 187, map; Hamdoun 2018, 198 and 381; *Itinerarium provinciarum Antonini Augusti* 31.2). This was clearly a military centre during the late Roman period, the headquarters of the *praepositus limitis Caputcellensis*, listed in the *Notitia Dignitatum Occidentalis* under the disposition of both the *comes Africae* (XXV.14.32) and the *dux et praeses Mauretaniae Caesariensis* (XXX.9.18). Gsell was the first to note the possibility that Gouea should be equated with *Caput Cilani*, though he expressed considerable caution, which was echoed by subsequently by Courtois and Matthews, and by the editors of the Algerian volumes of *Basiliques Chrétiennes d'Afrique du Nord* (Gui et al. 1992, I, 48). However, both Courtois and Matthews positioned *Caput Cilani* at Gouea on their respective maps and the identification has stuck. There are, nevertheless, strong reasons to doubt the validity of equating Gouea with *Caput Cilani* (Rushworth 2018, 727-728 for discussion of the itinerary routes in this area). A better candidate to

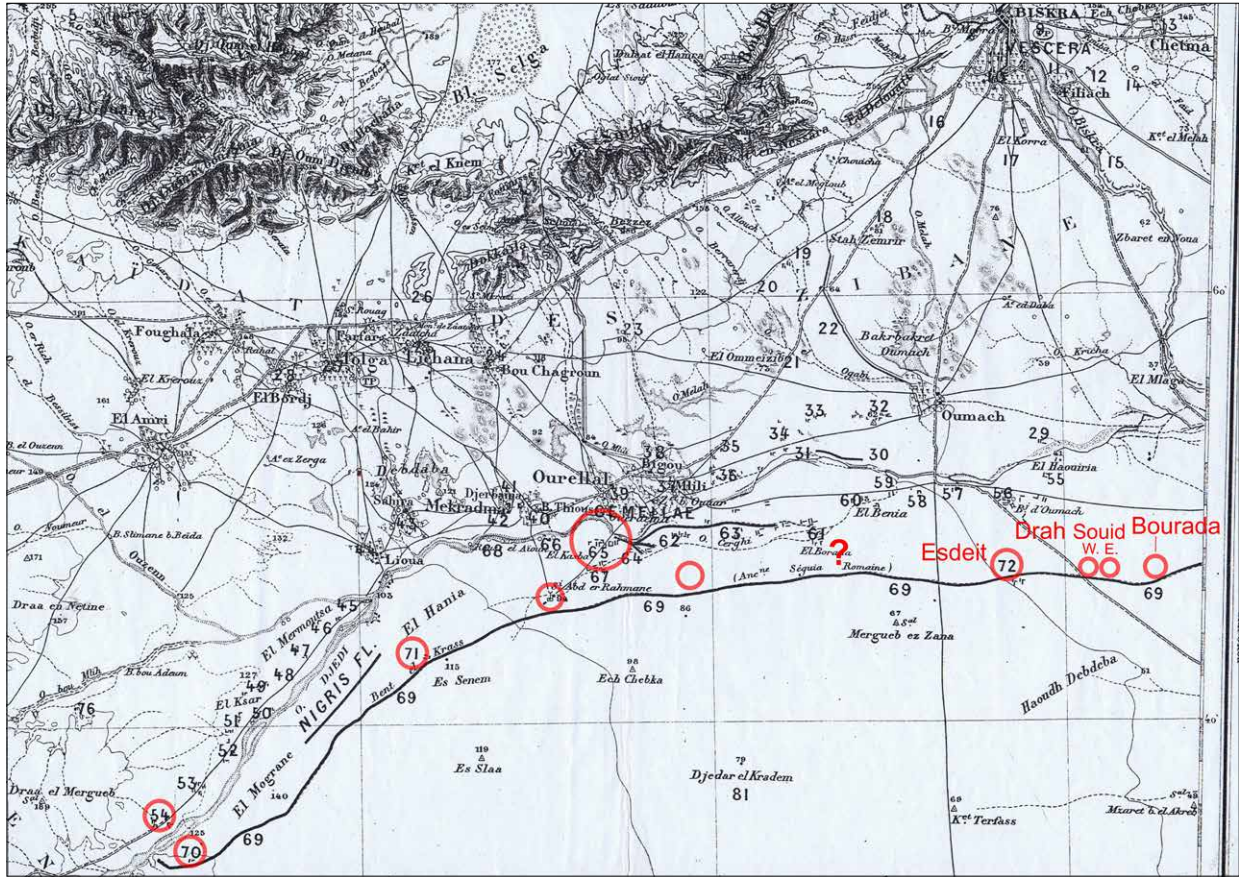


Figure 4. The *Gemellae fossatum*, highlighting the position of *Gemellae* (large circle) and the small forts beside the barrier (small circles) (base map Gsell 1911, sheet 48).

represent *Caput Cilani* is Boghar (AAA 24.8), overlooking the Oued Chélif, some 35 km south-east of *Sufasar* and 65 km WSW of *Rapidum*. It was most likely the site of a Severan fort (CIL VIII.20847; Salama 1953, 236), on the 3rd-century strategic highway, the *nova praetentura*. There are a number of riverine sites along the *praetentura* with names incorporating the prefix *Caput*. They mark, not the river's actual source, but rather the highest Roman settlement on that river. This place-name *Caput Cilani* must reflect its situation as furthest upstream post on the *Flumen Cilanus*, probably the late antique name of the Oued Chelif.¹

Caput Cilani (Boghar) is typical of many district *limes* headquarters – an auxiliary fort located at a communications node where several routes converged –

whilst Gouea was simply an otherwise unknown, late antique, monastic settlement. The surrounding region was no stranger to conflict in the decades following the collapse of Roman authority in North Africa, as evinced by the death of a bishop at the walled town of El Hadjeb, near Mouzaia (*Elephantaria*?), 40 km to the NNW, *occisus est in bello Maurorum* in 495 (CIL VIII.9286). Hence the defensive aspects of Gouea's topography and architecture may have been justified.

Drah Soud East

The second case study potentially resembles the type of model outlined by Arce more closely. The site in question is the easterly of two forts identified at Draha Soud, beside the *Gemellae fossatum*, the length of ditched and embanked linear barrier known locally as the Segua Bent el-Krass (Gsell: AAA 48.69). During the late Empire this area formed the *Limes Gemellensis*, listed in the *Notitia Dignitatum Occidentalis* (XXV.6.24) under the command of a *praepositus*, presumably based at *Gemellae*, where there was a 2nd-3rd-century auxiliary fort – the base of *Ala I Pannoniorum* –

1 The equivalent sites were both in western Caesariensis: *Kaputtasaccra* (Sidi Ali ben Youb, Gsell AAA 31.76; Lawless 1970, II, 75; Salama 1977, 586, no. 43) and *Kaput Urbe* = *Cohors Breucorum* (Henchrir Souik near Takhemaret, AAA 33.23 and additions; Lawless 1970, II, 148-152; Salama 1977, 586, no. 38), the highest garrisoned centres on the *Tasaccra* (mod. Oued Sig) and the *Urbe* or *Urbara* (Oued El-Abd), respectively.

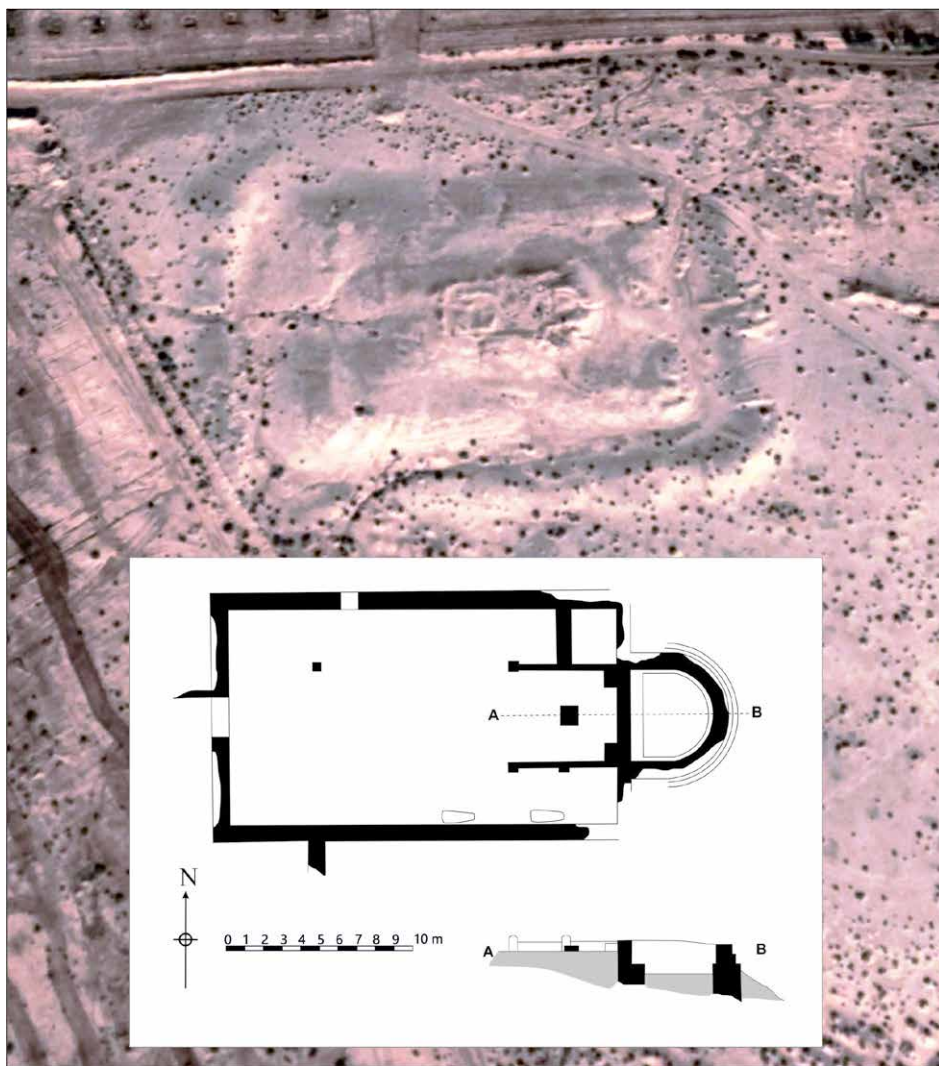


Figure 5. A Google Earth view of Drah Souid East with, inset, a plan of the basilica (after Guey 1939, fig. 5; satellite image © Google Earth 2019).

surrounded by a walled town (El Kasbat, AAA 48.65; Baradez 1949, 96-8, 100-104 and 107-108; Troussset 1977).

In addition to numerous watchtowers and gateways along the course of the *fossatum*, Baradez (1949, 94 and 99) identified a series of fortlets or small forts set just behind the barrier, which typically measured anywhere between 50 m and 80 m square (0.25-0.64 ha). His records augmented the information previously collated by Gsell in the Algerian Atlas (AAA 48.70-72) and by Guey (1939). The remains were generally covered with blown sand so details were difficult to make out, but the majority may well date back to the creation of the *fossatum* under Hadrian. For the most part the descriptions make no mention of projecting towers and the western fort at Drah Souid certainly appears to have rounded corners, typical of forts and fortlets of the 2nd and 3rd centuries, on the aerial photograph published by Guey (1939, plate 1, facing 182). The clear exception was the fort of Bourada where projecting towers were clear on aerial

photographs even prior to excavation and were confirmed by Guey's 1938 excavation. It was shown to be an addition to the barrier, erected during latter part of the reign of Constantine (324-327, Guey 1939, 214-19). For its time the excavation was well-published and the fort is consequently the best understood late Roman fort in North Africa.

Drah Souid East was the second site to be excavated as part of Guey's campaign with trenches being used to chase walls to determine the site plan, as was the case with Bourada, and, as at Bourada, these trenches are still evident on Google Earth satellite imagery. It comprises a fort enclosure, measuring c. 80 × 60 m (0.48 ha), with rooms against the back of the circuit wall and a single gateway to the west and is surrounded by a ditch and a counterscarp bank beyond that. Its distinguishing feature, however, is a basilica, which Guey interpreted as a church, set roughly in the centre of the enclosure, its long axis aligned with that of the fort itself and its apse set at its east end. The apse was judged to have had a raised floor, probably of

timber, with a crypt beneath. The site was constructed using plastered mud-brick walls, whilst the central nave of the basilica was covered by a tile roof, the apse by a shell of pottery tubes coated with mortar and the side-aisles by palm trunks and reeds. The pillars of the choir, the nave, the altar, and the arch of the apse were all furnished with stone bases, whilst the sill walls of the choir were constructed of gypsum (Guey 1939, 195-196). Again occupation was shown to be relatively late, with all the dating evidence deriving from the rooms in the south-east corner of the enclosure (Guey 1939, 205-206). This comprised five small and illegible late Imperial bronze coins (*nummi*) and five 'Christian' lamps found on the ancient ground level, one dateable to the early 5th century (a winged Victory, standing holding a long cross in her right hand).

It is clear from the aerial photographs published by Baradez (1949, 88, plate A), after excavation had taken place, that Guey's trenches traced the plan of the basilica, the rooms at the south-east angle of the site and one directly east of the basilica, and the eastern and south-eastern stretches of the counterscarp bank. However, Guey only published a plan of the basilica (Guey 1939, 195, fig. 5) and this means some of the details of what were found are a little unclear. Indeed, the position of the trenches shown on the published aerial photograph and more recent satellite imagery is the best guide to the overall plan of the fort (fig. 5).

Guey interpreted the Drah Souid East as a fort containing a Christian basilica, but didn't really address the function of the church within the complex as a whole, other than dismissing the possibility that the site was a fortified monastery (Guey 1939, 194-195). In the late 1970's, Rebuffat reinterpreted the basilica as a form of late Roman headquarters building or *principia* – co-aligned with the principal axis of the fort (Rebuffat 1977-1979), arguing that the crypt beneath the apse was in fact the strong room beneath the chapel of standards. He drew on the previous work of Fellmann (1976) and also Carrié (1974) examining the developmental sequence of 3rd century and Diocletianic headquarters buildings, including those at *Thamusida*, *Vindonissa*, *Drobeta*, *Palmyra*, *Iatrus*, *Dionysias* (Qasr Qarun) and Luxor. On this basis, he suggested that the fort and its basilical *principia* were most likely to have been constructed during the second half of the 3rd century or beginning of the 4th century. Rebuffat's interpretation of the basilica was followed by Lenoir (Lenoir 1986, 656-659; 2011, 210-211). The possibility was alluded to by both authors that the site might have been occupied by a civilian population by the first third of the 5th century, though with no significant break given the location of the finds on the original floors, and this might have involved repurposing the *principia* as a church (Rebuffat 1977-1979, 259-260 and 262; Lenoir 2011, 210-211). Rebuffat's reinterpretation of the basilica did not meet with universal acceptance, however, being questioned by Duval (1991,

1086, note 18; Gui *et al.* 1992, 142-144, no. 44), who favoured Guey's original interpretation.

Discussion

At this stage it should be noted that, based on dateable material recovered, there is no clear evidence that Drah Souid East was occupied before the late 4th or early 5th century. Bourada yielded 180 coins, all apparently of late Imperial date, the earliest clearly dateable example being a posthumous issue of Claudius II (270+) and the latest a late issue of Gratian (pre-383) as well as a Constantinian inscription (AÉ 1940, 125). Although allowance should be made for the greater extent of excavation at Bourada, as compared with Drah Souid East (where the dateable material derived only from one small area – the south-east corner), it is perhaps surprising that no earlier material whatsoever was found during the excavation of the latter, if the fort was erected in the at some point during the mid to late 3rd century, as suggested by Rebuffat and Lenoir. Indeed it would be quite compatible with the available evidence if the entire complex was newly erected at some point around 400, as a fortified Christian monastery, perhaps deliberately established in the best location to foster contact with and possible conversion of transhumant groups regularly crossing the frontier barrier. Augustine specifically mentions the recent conversion of a few small barbarian tribes along the frontier in a letter of 420/421 (Augustinus *Epistulae* 199). Guey, himself, actually raised this possibility that the site was a fortified monastery, but dismissed it, citing the proximity of Drah Souid to the frontier barrier and the analogous example of Gouea as a 'castellum' with a Christian basilica (Guey 1939, 194-195).

Alternatively, the site could represent an earlier fort, erected in the 3rd or 4th century perhaps, later taken over by a religious community, which erected a church at that stage. This would represent a sequence similar to that recognised on the *Limes Arabicus* and might mark a change in the way relations transhumant tribes along the frontier were managed. In determining which of these possible interpretations of Drah Souid East's chronology and function is the most plausible certain aspects need to be addressed, notably details of the site's morphology, the relationship of its components to one another, and its proximity to other fortifications along the *fossatum*.

Firstly, Guey made an intriguing observation, noting that the basilica dominated the fort, being situated on a point elevated some 2 m above the surrounding enceinte (Guey 1939, 194). This **might** imply that the site was deliberately laid out to accommodate the basilica from the start.

As was noted above there is no published plan of the full enclosure and the rooms set against the back of the curtain wall. Nevertheless, the aerial photograph published by Baradez (1949, 88, plate A) sheds a lot of light

on two important aspects in particular. Firstly, whether or not Lenoir was correct in arguing that the photograph seemed to show the fort was furnished with corner towers (Lenoir 2011, 210), it seems very likely, based on the position of Guey's excavation trenches, that any such towers did not project like those of late Roman forts such as Bourada (Fentress 1979, 105-108; Daniels 1987, 260 and 262-263; Rushworth 2015, 127-129). Indeed, the contrast with Bourada is particularly instructive, as it was clear there on the aerial photographs, even prior to excavation, that the angle and intermediate towers projected. Secondly, the south-east angle of the enclosure at Drah Souid East appears to be a sharp right angle, rather than a rounded corner typical of so many earlier fortlets or small fort (Mattingly 1995, 99 fig. 5.8, for a representative range of examples from *Tripolitania*). This does not rule out the possibility that the enclosure at Drah Souid East was a military site, but it does indicate that it lay outside two of the most common morphological fort types with Bourada's projecting towers being characteristic of the late Empire whilst rounded corners were typical of the military fortifications of the Principate.

Finally it is striking how large the basilica appears in relation to the area of enclosed courtyard, taking up more room than the comparable *principia* analysed by Fellmann and Rebuffat in other late Roman Forts, perhaps implying that, if it was a *principia*, it was perhaps involved in the performance of ceremonial functions over a wider sphere than a single small fort. One could envisage oath-swearing ceremonies, binding the leaders of transhumant groups to observe the peace within the provinces, of the kind reported by the frontier zone landowner, Publicola, one of Augustine's correspondents (Augustinus *Epistulae* 46-47). Again, the comparison with Bourada is instructive, where the central building probably combined multiple functions – accommodation for the commanding officer, the administrative and ceremonial functions of a *principia* (in the form of the inner U-shaped structure) and a small bathhouse – representing a more efficient and practical use of the courtyard space, whereas the basilica appears much more specialised.

One final aspect should be considered, namely the remarkable density of forts in the vicinity of Drah Souid East. Thus Drah Souid East lay only 900 m to the east of the fort of Drah Souid West (Guey 1939, 191) and some 3.5 km west of Bourada, whilst a fourth fort, Esdeit (Guey 1939, 191; Gsell AAA 48.72), was situated only 2.2 km west of Drah Souid West. This was a remarkable concentration of military installations with four such sites with the space of 6.6 km. Bourada is obviously a late Roman site and might therefore have replaced one of the other forts, but it could equally mark a decision to intensify control in this area, and, even if the military attribution of Drah Souid East is questioned, the fact remains that these sites are still far more closely

distributed than the remaining fortlets/small forts identified by Gsell and Baradez along the Seguaia Bent el-Krass to the west of Esdeit, which are typically spaced 7-8 km apart (Baradez 1949, 94 and 99; Gsell AAA 48.70-72). Indeed, the two westernmost sites (AAA 48.71 Es Senam and the unnamed AAA 48.70) were some 15 km apart, though in this case we may question whether an intervening fortification is still to be identified there.

The reason for this concentration is not difficult to divine. Even today the main road (N3) and the parallel railway line cross the line of the *fossatum* in this area before continuing down the Oued Rhir towards the major Saharan oases centres of Touggourt and Ouargla. These follow the course of a piste shown on the early 20th-century 1:200,000 maps of the Biskra region which provide the foundation for Gsell's *Atlas archéologique de l'Algérie*. This piste doubtless represented an ancient caravan and transhumance route, forming the most direct and practicable passage northwards from several major Saharan oases. Monitoring this route and the people travelling along it was probably one of the major responsibilities of the garrisons of the Gemellae *fossatum* and surely explains the number of outposts in the Esdeit-Bourada zone.

Conclusion

In contrast to Gouea, where all the morphological evidence points to the site being a rural monastery and the suggested military function can be dismissed, the data relating to Drah Souid East is much less conclusive. Further excavation would be required to clarify, confirm or reject the different hypotheses highlighted above. What is clear is that, as Guey foresaw, the sites in the section of the *Limes Gemellensis* between Esdeit and Bourada have considerable potential to illuminate the development of the frontier, and nowhere more so than at Drah Souid East itself. Further work in this sector could help to build a much greater understanding of long term change in the frontier zone, similar to that achieved in the *Limes Arabicus* in recent years.

Abbreviations

AÉ: *L'Année Épigraphique*

CIL: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

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Across Rome's southern frontier

The Meroitic cemetery at Faras in Sudanese Nubia

Henry C. Bishop-Wright

Roman Egypt is a fixture of frontier studies and much work has been completed in its western oases, eastern desert, and along its Red Sea coast (*i.e.* Maxfield 2000; Sidebotham 2011; Boozer 2013; Brun *et al.* 2018). Lesser known, and not generally discussed by Romanists, is the southern frontier with what is now Sudan (Monneret de Villard 1941; Kirwan 1957; Hölbl 1990; Maxfield 2005; 2009; Faraji 2011; Török 2012; Boozer 2018). Spanning the First and Second Nile Cataracts, this region was a vital economic corridor that funnelled a range of valuable commodities – ebony, ivory, precious stones, cotton (perhaps), animal skins, slaves – into Egypt and the eastern Mediterranean (Bashir & Emberling 2021). On the other side of this frontier was the independent Kingdom of Meroë. Drawing on the author's doctoral work (Bishop-Wright 2021; 2022), this short paper is intended as an accessible introduction to the Romano-Meroitic frontier that is designed to highlight the potential of Meroitic archaeology to Roman frontier studies.

The Kingdom of Meroë occupied the ancient territory of Kush, synonymous with present-day Sudan north of Khartoum and Egypt south of Aswan (fig. 1). Conventionally, it dates from c. 300 BC to c. 350 AD, meaning that it was contemporary with both Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. Its royal city and cemeteries were in the south – a region known as the Butana – but it was also active throughout the Kushite Nile valley as far north as the frontier region with Egypt.

In the Ptolemaic period, this northern territory was known as the *Triakontaschoinos* (Thirty-Mile Land) but is now most frequently referred to as 'Lower Nubia' (Török 2009, 384). Although officially under Egyptian administration, Lower Nubia acquired a degree of independence as the Ptolemaic grip on Egypt dwindled and, by the time of Octavian, was involved in an Upper Egyptian revolt. The newly-installed prefect of Egypt, Cornelius Gallus, responded by placing a puppet ruler (*tyrannos*) in Lower Nubia and subjecting the region to tax (Eide *et al.* 1996, nos 163-165; Minas-Nerpel and Pfeiffer 2010). This triggered a local uprising that escalated into direct conflict between Meroë and Rome in the mid-20's BC (Török 2009, 439-442).

Meroë attacked the Roman frontier town of Aswan, probably looting the well-known 'Meroë Head of Augustus' (Opper 2014). In response, Rome's third prefect of Egypt – Publius Petronius – campaigned into Kush and ostensibly sacked the major Meroitic centre of Napata (Jameson 1968; Hofmann 1977). Details of this conflict are heavily reliant on classical sources whose precision is doubtful (Cassius Dio *Historia*

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Figure 1. Map of Kush and Egypt showing the location of sites and regions mentioned in the text
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Romana 54.5.6; Plinius the Elder *Historia Naturalis* 6.182; Strabo *Geographica* 17.1.54). Nevertheless, amicable resolution appears to have been reached in 21 BC, perhaps involving a Meroitic delegation to meet Octavian (now Augustus) on the Aegean island of Samos. In the resulting treaty, Meroë maintained its status as an independent kingdom and, until the time of Diocletian, the frontier with Egypt was placed in the northern half of Lower Nubia (*Dodekaschoinos*), at Maharraqa (Procopius *De Bellis* 1.19.29; Speidel 1988, 768-770; Maxfield 2005, 201; 2009, 77). Control of this region was then divided between Kush and Egypt, with both powers having a stake in its administration.

Having established a political *status quo* that lasted into the late 3rd century AD, Lower Nubia facilitated sustained interaction between Kush and Egypt with no certain evidence of further conflict. Inscriptions

demonstrate that Meroitic delegations travelled north to the Island of Philae (Aswan) on religious pilgrimage relatively frequently (Hintze 1976, 56; Ashby 2019), there were temples in the Roman (northern) half of the territory that served both Egyptian and local cults (Höbl 1990; 2004; Frankfurter 1998, 108-111), and the southern movement of Roman auxiliaries to the frontier at Maharraqa helped to disseminate commodities throughout the region (Speidel 1988; Maxfield 2009).

The site of Faras

The focus of this paper is the site of Faras, in the Meroitic (southern) half of Lower Nubia. Excavated by Francis Llewellyn Griffith (1862-1934), Faras had a long history of occupation stretching from the 4th millennium BC to the 2nd millennium AD. In the Meroitic period, it was a major centre and incorporated a cemetery of some 2220 graves. Griffith (1924; 1925) excavated this cemetery between 1910 and 1912 and retrieved a vast array of material, much of which was imported from Egypt. Unfortunately, the results were never fully published and its objects were divided between thirteen different institutions and several private collections (Griffith 1925, 86). No record of dissemination has survived and grave assemblages were habitually divided between multiple institutions, often on different continents. This has seriously hampered subsequent study and the full potential of Faras – to date, the largest known Meroitic cemetery – has never been realised (Francigny 2007). Instead, the discipline continues to rely on Griffith's preliminary reports, canonising hypotheses surrounding chronology and frontier exchange that were never intended to be final. Exacerbating the issue, the 1960's construction of the Aswan High Dam resulted in the flooding of Lower Nubia and the destruction of almost all the riverine archaeology between the First and Second Cataracts, including Faras (Säve-Söderbergh 1987). The only opportunity to revisit the site now lies with Griffith's unpublished field records, held in the Oxford Griffith Institute.

These records were the subject of the author's doctoral work to reassess the Meroitic cemetery and produce a new chronology of the site (Bishop-Wright 2021). The results demonstrated that Faras was in use from the early 3rd century BC to the early 4th century AD and allowed grave assemblages to be arranged into eight successive periods (table 1). It was then possible to present a nuanced assessment of material connectivity at Faras and, through the lens of funerary tradition, challenge the long-standing view that the inhabitants of Lower Nubia were acculturated by sustained contact with Ptolemaic-Roman Egypt (Adams 1976, 19). This idea relies on the troubling notion that Meroitic Kush required the guiding hand of classical civilisation to achieve any cultural development (*i.e.* Adams 1977, 295).

A repercussion of this ‘civilising paradigm’ is the assumption that Lower Nubia developed a greater degree of cultural and economic prosperity than the ‘peripheral’ heartland of the southern Butana. Indeed, through classical influence, it is argued to have transitioned from a ‘cultural backwater’ to a developed buffer zone with an independent market economy and a generally prosperous population (Adams 1976). Meanwhile, the Meroitic south – the ‘African’ periphery – stagnated and regressed: apparently, it was only capable of cultural development when exposed to outside influence (*i.e.* Sayce 1912, 63-64; Reisner 1919, 67; Arkell 1961, 159).

Reassessing Faras through an archive-based study that returned to Griffith’s unpublished field notes provided an opportunity to challenge the dubious idea that Lower Nubia was Romanised. A concept that, at least in part, rests on a misreading of archaeological evidence supported by early 20th-century academic paradigms predicated on racist principals of western superiority over ‘black Africa’ (Trigger 1994; Morkot 2003, 154-161; Matic 2018).

Imported objects through time

From its 3rd-century BC foundations, imported objects were used in funerary assemblages at Faras. Reflecting an early emphasis on drinking in mortuary practice, the first imports took the form of bronze vessels such as carinated bowls of eastern type and lotiform beakers (fig. 2a-b). In the early 2nd century BC, increased Meroitic presence in Lower Nubia encouraged the uptake of pottery and a shift towards ‘typical’ Meroitic mortuary practice associated with the storage, consumption and libation of liquids (Yellin 1995, 2880; Francigny 2016, 103-105; 2021, 601). Alongside occasional imported bronze bowls or bird-headed ladles, most graves now contained a locally-produced pottery jar and cup placed at the head of the interment (fig. 2c-d). This combination of vessels set the pattern of funerary ritual at Faras for the next five centuries.

In the 1st century BC, the availability of Upper Egyptian pottery increased, and imported goblets, jugs, and *amphorae* frequently augmented the typical combination of local cup and jar (fig. 2e-g). Some of these vessels arrived at Faras as containers for wine that was redeployed in Meroitic practice as an alternative to water, milk or beer (Yellin 1982; Francigny 2016, 105-108; Bashir 2019, 79).

The availability of imports continued to increase through the 1st century AD, when peace between Rome and Meroë heralded a period of political stability in Lower Nubia that resulted in expanded commerce. The establishment of Rome’s southern frontier also saw three auxiliary cohorts stationed as far south as the hilltop fortification of Qasr Ibrim, just 75 km downstream of Faras. Qasr Ibrim was first garrisoned by Rome in the mid-20’s BC as a defensive installation during the Romano-Meroitic war and continued to be held for an indeterminate period:

Faras		corresponding epoch	
period	approximate date range	Kush	Egypt
0	275-200 BC	Early-mid Meroitic	Ptolemaic
1A	200-100 BC		
1B	100-21 BC		
2A	21 BC-75 AD	Mid-late Meroitic	Roman
2B	75-150 AD		
3A	150-250 AD		
3B	250-300+ AD		
4	4 th -5 th century AD	post-Meroitic	Late Roman

Table 1. The author’s chronology of Faras Meroitic cemetery.

possibly, into the early decades of the 1st century AD (Strabo *Geographica* 17.1.54; Cassius Dio *Historia Romana* 54.4.5; Horton 1991, 271; Welsby 1998, 167). Its primary function was to safeguard against local uprising, but its day-to-day role was probably that of an *emporium* within striking distance of major Meroitic settlement. Combined with the territory’s refreshed role as an economic corridor, this resulted in an explosion of imported objects at Faras that lasted into the middle of the 2nd century AD.

Up to 50 % of ceramics from this period were Upper Egyptian, but, consistent with the earlier graves, imports were still limited to vessels that were functionally associated with the consumption, service, storage or transport of liquids (fig. 2h-l). From the mid-1st century AD, some glassware – usually small bottles associated with the trade of powdered kohl or scented oils (fig. 3) – began to appear and, although rare, mirrors, saucepans and jugs were also used (Bishop-Wright 2024).

The importance of Faras as a Meroitic centre grew throughout the 2nd century AD when a new area of the cemetery dedicated to elite burial practice was inaugurated. This is evidenced by the introduction of pyramidal superstructures that replicated the royal tombs of Meroë (see Yellin 2021). The arrival of this Meroitic elite corresponds to the standardisation of local pottery jars and cups (fig. 2m-n), and a general decline in imports. Egyptian pottery and glassware were still available, but the relative frequency at which they were used decreased. This resulted in a progressively homogeneous **objectscape** (adopted from Pitts 2019, 7) where, regardless of assemblage size, graves were dominated by the inclusion of locally-made jars, usually capped by squat cups that fitted neatly over the mouth as if to enhance the appearance of a drinking set (fig. 4). Significantly, this functional pairing of standardised vessels for liquid storage and consumption reinforced the mortuary tradition that had defined Faras since the 2nd century BC. It then continued into the

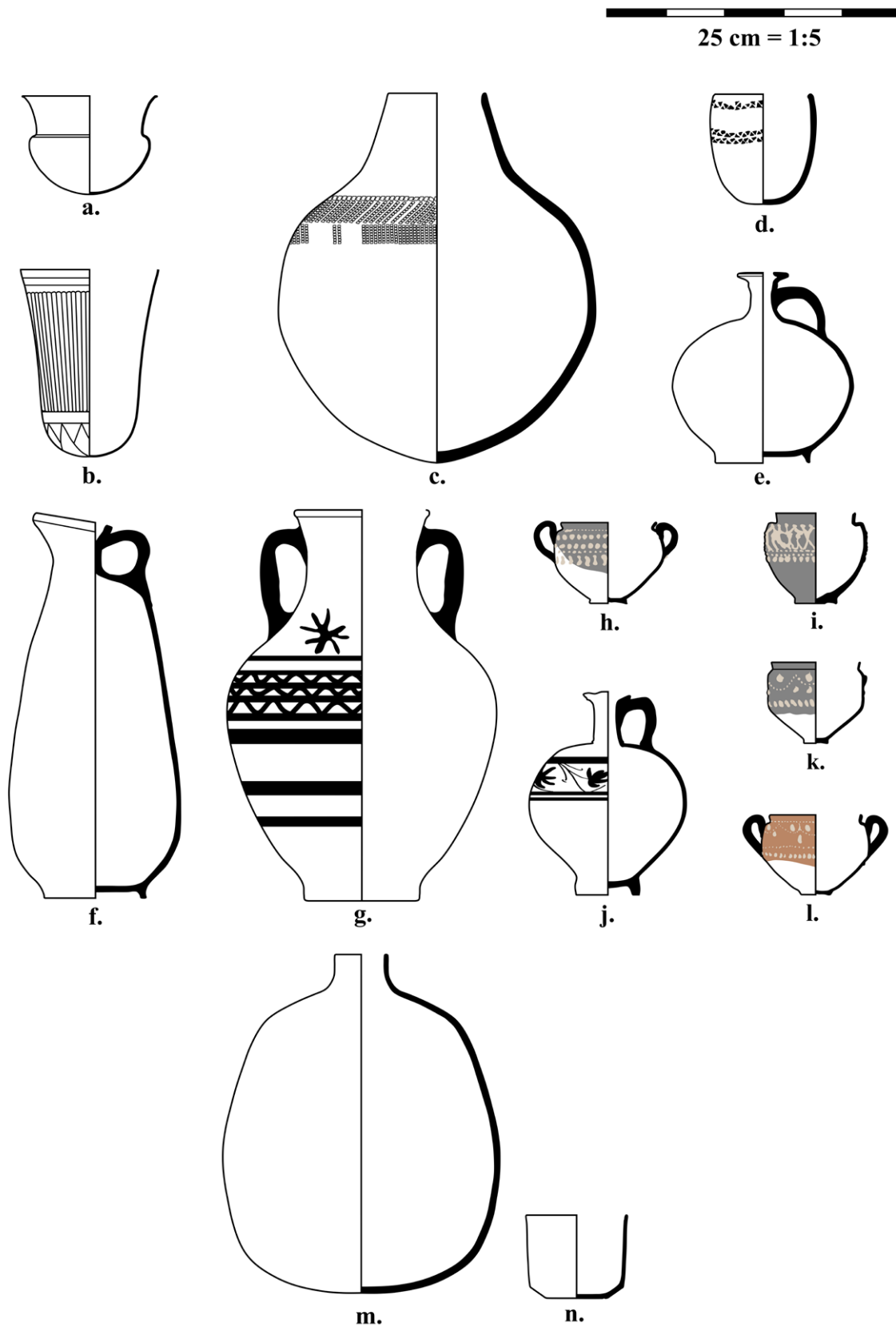


Figure 2. Pottery and bronze vessels from Faras Meroitic Cemetery (© H. C. Bishop-Wright).

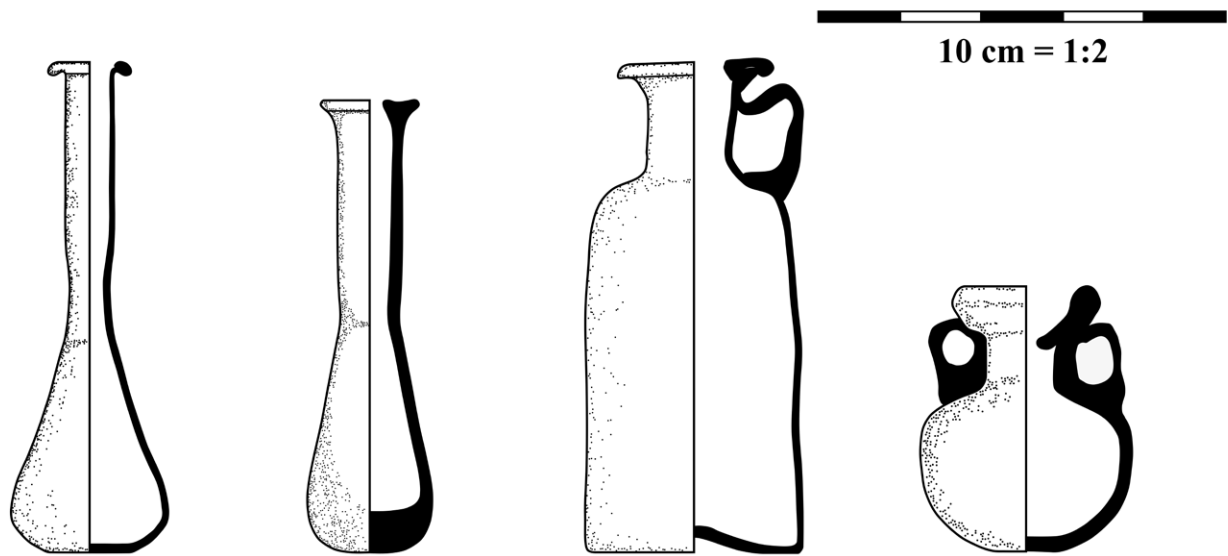


Figure 3. Glass vessels from Faras Meroitic Cemetery (© H. C. Bishop-Wright).

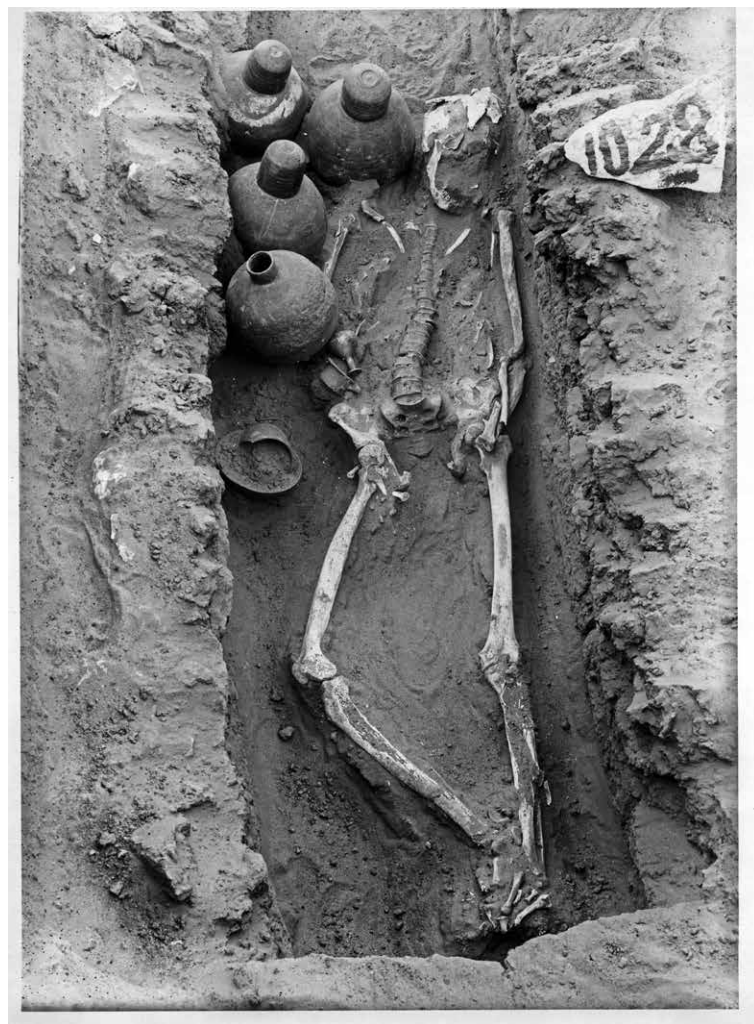


Figure 4. Grave 1028, Faras Meroitic Cemetery. The standardised pottery jars and cups at the right arm are characteristic of mid-2nd to 3rd century AD assemblages (reproduced with permission of the Griffith Institute, University of Oxford (Faras Photo. 470).

early 4th century AD, whereupon the Meroitic inhabitants abandoned the cemetery.

Conservative funerary practice

The dominant aspect of funerary ritual at Faras was clearly focussed on drinking. Hence, graves usually contained some form of locally-produced jar and drinking vessel. Imported pottery was popular, but only those vessels that were associated with the storage, consumption, or service of liquids found demand. Indeed, of the 2859 diagnostic pottery vessels recovered from Faras, the only examples associated with solid food were two imported plates: an Eastern Sigillata A platter (British Museum EA51512) and an 'imitation samian' dish that was given to the Berlin Ägyptisches Museum (unknown accession number).

The absence of these flat vessels did not result from supply issues: plates, platters and dishes were produced at Aswan and are known from Roman military deposits north of the frontier (Firth 1915, 25-29; Rodziewicz 2005, plate 50-54). There is no reason that they could not also have been exported to Faras, particularly as vessels equally unsuited to transporting commodities, like the small barbotine goblets (fig. 2h-i and k-l), were relatively popular. Supply issues discounted, the reason for their absence must relate to demand.

We observe at Faras a markedly conservative funerary culture centred on the inclusion of jars and drinking vessels. Imported jugs and amphorae were used, but only when this traditional requirement for liquid storage and consumption was met. Indeed, when assessing the frequency at which different vessel types

appeared in assemblages, and in what combinations, a clear hierarchy of functional desirability emerges (fig. 5):

1. Vessels for liquid storage (jars) were essential.
2. Drinking vessels were highly desirable, particularly when paired with jars.
3. Service vessels such as jugs were also desirable, but only when combined with storage and drinking vessels.

A jar satisfied the fundamental requirement for liquid storage, and it was highly desirable to combine it with a bowl, cup or goblet as a vessel for liquid consumption. A jug might augment this, but its desirability was dependent on the presence of storage and consumption vessels. Hence, it was extremely unlikely to be included in an assemblage without these components. Other imported objects that could be accommodated within this drink-orientated funerary system – bronze 'saucepans', ladles or squat amphorae – also appeared, but were far less common.

Flat vessels such as plates and platters that were clearly associated with the consumption and display of solid food, were almost entirely absent. Solid food evidently had no significant part in funerary ritual at Faras; hence, these vessels found no demand, were never imported, and local craftsmen did not attempt to replicate their form. To the inhabitants of Faras, they were alien objects without functional or conceptual utility and were rejected. Indeed, it is difficult to identify any class of imported object at Faras that was consistently deployed

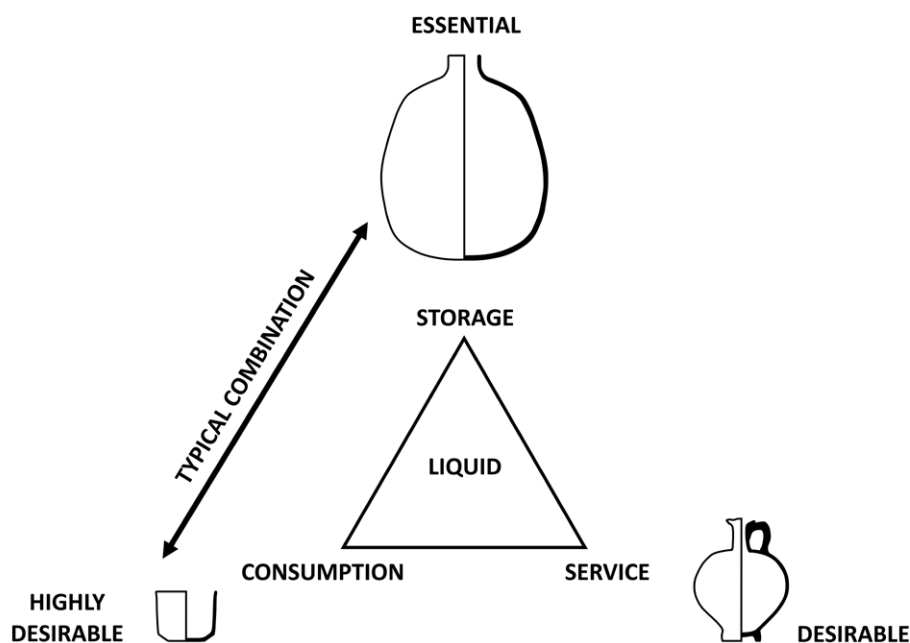


Figure 5. Diagram to show the functional relationship between vessels for liquid storage, service and consumption at Faras Meroitic Cemetery (© H. C. Bishop-Wright).

in assemblages and did not align with pre-existing funerary practice.

Imported objects without direct association with drinking were occasionally recovered: for example, a set of millefiori glass gaming pieces with a pair of ivory dice, or a single Eastern Sigillata platter (see above; the gaming pieces and dice are divided between the Oxford Ashmolean (AN1912.835) and the British Museum (EA51419; EA51695-6)). However, these objects were hardly more than isolated curios – they did not encourage systemic change and were not widely used. From the perspective of **funerary practice**, at least, there is no evidence that the inhabitants of Faras underwent any significant change as a result of material contact with Egypt. On the contrary, from the 2nd century AD, evidence suggests that there was an effort to perpetuate **Meroitic** mortuary tradition.

Standardising death

The arrival of the Meroitic elite at Faras in the 2nd century AD coincided with an apparently top-down push to reinforce traditional Meroitic funerary practice by reducing the range of grave goods available for assemblages. An increasingly restricted material repertoire, particularly pottery, meant that assemblages consistently relied on the same combination of bag-shaped jar and squat cup (fig. 2m-n and 4).

This shift to ‘standardise death’ occurred immediately after a sharp increase in the availability of imports that emerged in the wake of the Romano-Meroitic war. Here, assemblages still adhered to drink-orientated funerary practice, but they also exhibited the greatest degree of variability – something that was driven by access to new imports. This period of heterogeneity ceased when Faras transitioned into a major Meroitic centre that supported an elite population. At this point, locally-made jars and cups – the two fundamental components of traditional funerary ritual – were widely produced and standardised with the result that assemblages were refocussed on the traditional jar-cup pairing.

To elucidate this pattern, an economic explanation should first be entertained: namely, that the standardised jars functioned as transport vessels. If so, this could indicate Faras’ entrance into a wider commercial network in which vessels such as jars were required to adopt consistent form and capacity as a ‘mediating standard’ for trade (Grewal 2008, 21-26). At Faras, this would manifest as a morphological shift within the local pottery repertoire. Such a change would logically coincide with the 2nd-century AD arrival of the Meroitic elite that might pull Faras into a pan-Meroitic network or encourage greater economic integration with Upper Egypt. However, this would not account for the standardised cups that were clearly not transport

vessels, nor, from a functional perspective, is it realistic for the jars which lack any features suited to transit: they do not have handles so are difficult to pick up; they have rounded bases, so are difficult to balance, and they have narrow mouths that are difficult to fill (fig. 2m). More importantly, they do not appear in Egypt and are seldom found south of the Second Cataract. Indeed, the Meroitic heartland of the southern Butana had a recognisably different pottery repertoire (Edwards 1999, 41; David 2019, 880-882). The adoption of an external standard to facilitate participation in a wider commercial network is, therefore, unlikely. If this were the case, one would expect far broader distribution. Instead, the available evidence indicates that these standardised jars and cups were primarily funerary objects. Almost all known examples come from grave assemblages concentrated in Lower Nubia, and they clearly formed a compatible drinking set aligning with Meroitic funerary practice (Woolley & Randall-MacIver 1910, plate 41-42 and 51-52; Williams 1991, fig. 187 and 197). A plausible hypothesis that better reflects the evidence is that they were adopted to promote a single conceptual network based on homogenised funerary ritual.

This notion of ‘standardising death’ can be seen as a measure by the newly-installed Meroitic elite to reassert funerary tradition and promote a single mortuary identity that was tied to the idea of ‘being Meroitic’. The adoption of standardised pottery forms should be viewed as part of a broader pattern whereby Meroë sought to assert its presence in the frontier region by perpetuating a distinctly non-Roman identity based on traditional mortuary practice revolving around the consumption and storage of liquids.

This conclusion offers a new perspective on Rome’s southernmost frontier. By privileging Meroitic archaeology in the Lower Nubian frontier zone and reassessing the evidence of this ‘drowned land’, any notion of Romanisation or even a ‘predatory Roman regime’ dissipates (Fernández-Götz *et al.* 2020). Instead, Faras presents itself as an important example of sustained cultural resilience; of resistance to change and the staunch adherence to non-Roman funerary practice as an active measure to preserve local identity in a politically sensitive and economically valuable frontier region.

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Ein großes Iararium... oder ein kleiner Tempel

Ein privater Schrein im Nordvicus von Krefeld-Gellep

Eric Sponville

Das heutige Gellep-Stratum, ein Ortsteil der linksrheinischen Stadt Krefeld, war zu römischer Zeit Garnisonsstandort, Zivilsiedlung und Handelszentrum am niedergermanischen Limes. Bereits die römischen Autoren Plinius (*Historia Naturalis* 19.90) und Tacitus (*Historiae* 4.26, 32-33, 35-36 und 58) benennen und beschreiben den Ort unter dem Namen (*Locus*) *Gelduba*. Hier, auf einer Sanddüne oberhalb des Rheines, lag das erste Auxiliarkastell nördlich des Legionslagers von *Novaesium* (Neuss). Gleichzeitig war der Siedlungsstandort ein wichtiger Umschlagplatz für Waren aus dem Mittelmeerraum und dem freien Germanien (Reichmann 2001, 480; 2007, 147). Seit dem 19. Jahrhundert finden auf dem Gelände des früheren Kastells, den dazugehörigen Zivilsiedlungen und vor allem dem weitläufigen römisch-fränkischen Gräberfeld, archäologische Ausgrabungen statt. Insgesamt konnte bis heute eine Fläche von über 27 ha wissenschaftlich erforscht werden. Neben dem Auxiliarkastell, den beiden zivilen Siedlungen, dem Süd- und Nordvicus, umfasst die Fundstelle eisenzeitliche Siedlungsstellen, die zugehörigen Gräberfelder und eine vorkastellzeitliche römische Siedlung aus der ersten Hälfte des ersten Jahrhunderts nach Chr. Außerdem auf einem weitläufigen Areal Spuren der Bataverschlacht und des römischen Feldlagers aus der Zeit des Bataveraufstandes 69 nach Chr., sowie fränkische Siedlungsstellen und das römisch-fränkische Gräberfeld mit weit über 6500 dokumentierten Bestattungen (Reichmann 2012, 1-12).

Der Nordvicus

Vom Frühjahr 2017 bis Anfang 2018 wurde auf dem Gelände nördlich des römischen Kastells, auf einer Fläche von 3,7 ha, eine Notgrabung, im Vorfeld eines großflächigen Bauvorhabens, durchgeführt. Hierbei konnten über 3300 archäologische Befunde dokumentiert werden und circa 90.000 Einzelfunde geborgen werden. Im Rahmen dieser Ausgrabung wurden Spuren der eisenzeitlichen Vorgängerbesiedlung, der Bataverschlacht, sowie der spätantiken Nutzung des Geländes dokumentiert. Der größte Teil der aufgenommenen Befunde ist jedoch der nördlichen Zivilsiedlung, dem sogenannten Nordvicus (Abb. 1) zuzuordnen (Sponville 2021, 331). Die Gründung dieser zivilen Siedlung fällt in dieselbe Zeit wie die Errichtung des Kastells, in die Jahre 70/71 nach Chr. Ab diesem Zeitpunkt entsteht entlang der vom Kastell nach Norden führenden Hauptstraße, sowie einer vom Rhein nach Westen führenden Querstraße, ein kleiner vicus. Dieser setzt sich aus den, für die Nordwestprovinzen typischen Streifenhäusern mit vorgelagerter Portikus, mehreren großen Hallenbauten und einer zentral gelegenen *mansio* zusammen. Mehrere

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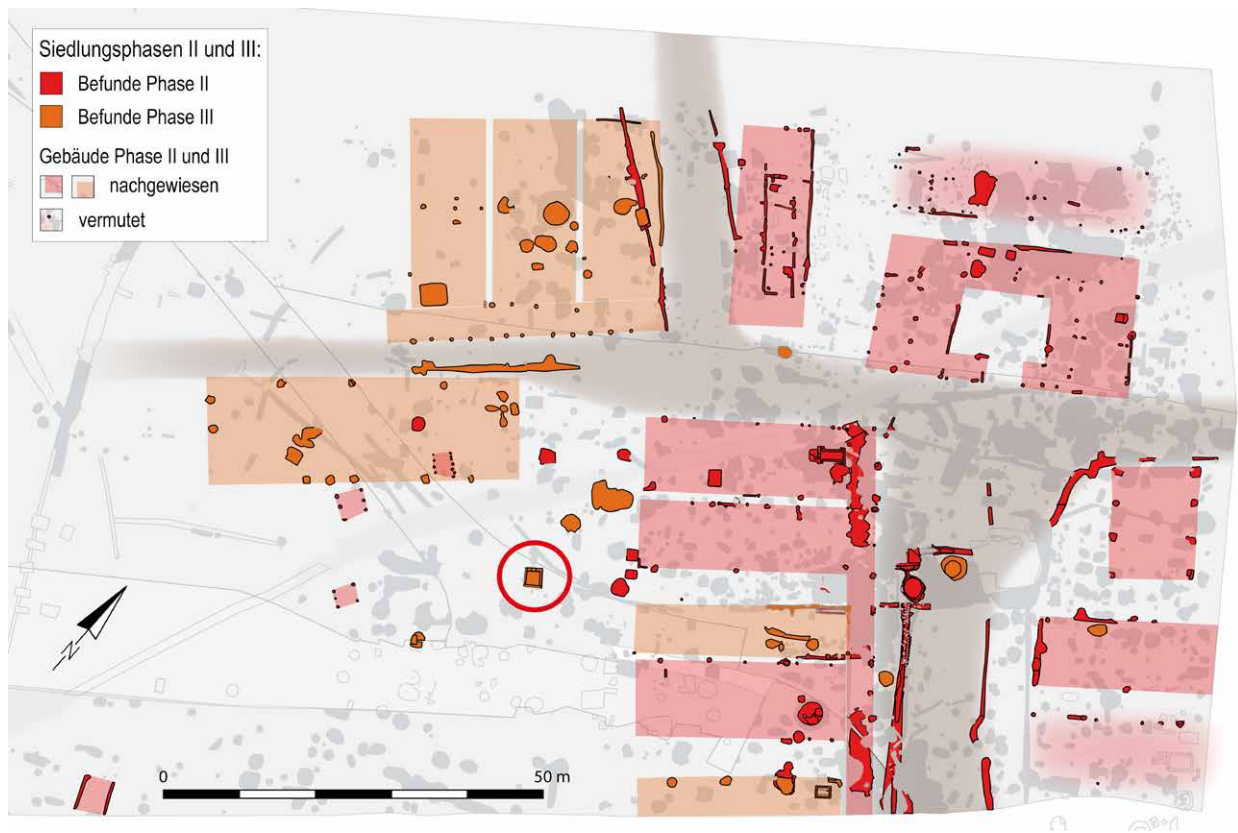


Abbildung 1. Der Nordvicus in der dritten Siedlungsphase.



Abbildung 2. Aufsicht auf den Befund des Schreines. Links der ehemalige Eingang.



Abbildung 3. Querschnitt durch den Baubefund.

gut fassbare Handwerksbetriebe, vor allem eine Töpferei und eine Buntmetall und Eisen verarbeitende Werkstatt, zeichnen die Siedlung als Standort verschiedenster Handwerker aus. Bis zur Aufgabe des *vicus* um 230 nach Chr. lassen sich insgesamt drei Entwicklungsphasen innerhalb der Siedlung nachweisen. Diese zeichnen sich vor allem durch Veränderungen in der Siedlungsstruktur, der Gebäudearchitektur und Vergrößerungen des *vicus* aus. Die dritte und letzte Phase beginnt im letzten Viertel des zweiten Jahrhunderts nach Chr. und lässt sich vor allem anhand einer Vergrößerung der Siedlung nach Westen hin fassen, sowie durch eine Veränderung in der Architektur. Während in den vorhergehenden Phasen Holz- und Fachwerkbauten ohne steinerne Strukturen dominierten, kann in dieser dritten Phase erstmals die Verwendung von steinernen Fundamentsockeln nachgewiesen werden (Sponville 2021, 331-335). In diese letzte Ausbauphase des Nordvicus ist auch eine kleine Gebäudestruktur westlich der Hauptstraße einzuordnen. Der von seiner Größe her unscheinbare Bau liegt im Bereich der Hinterhöfe des größten der Streifenhäuserblocks, in der Flucht einer schmalen Traufgasse.

Ein kleiner Schrein

Das kleine Bauwerk befindet sich knapp 12 m hinter dem Streifenhaus, an der Grundstücksgrenze zu dem nördlich angrenzenden Hinterhof des anschließenden Streifenhauses in der Reihe. Der genaue Verlauf der Parzellenbegrenzung lässt sich aufgrund des Fehlens entsprechender Befunde, wie Mauerfundamente, Pfostengruben oder

Pflanzgräben, nicht rekonstruieren. Der Grundriss des Gebäudes hat ein Außenmaß von $2,10 \times 2,50$ m und besteht aus einem einzelnen Innenraum von $1,6 \times 1,9$ m (Abb. 2-3).

Die teilweise bis zu 0,3 m hoch erhaltenen Mauern zeichnen sich sowohl durch unterschiedliche Wandstärken, als auch durch unterschiedliche Bauweisen und Baumaterialien aus. Die südliche Mauer, die Rückwand des Gebäudes, hat eine Stärke von 0,3 m und besteht aus einer einzelnen Schicht rechteckiger Tuffquader. Diese liegen in einem gelblich-beigem, mit Mittelkies versetztem Mörtel, über einer 0,2-0,3 m starken Fundamentschicht aus Grobkies. An diese Rückwand setzen die beiden Seitenmauern mit einer deutlichen Baufrage an. Die westliche Wand hat eine Stärke von 0,25 m und besteht aus einer Kombination von Ziegelbruch unterschiedlicher Größe, einzelnen Tuffsteinen und großen Flusskieseln die in gelbem Mörtel liegen. Die gegenüberliegende östliche Wand hat eine Stärke von 0,4 m und besteht aus Ziegelbruch mit wenigen großen Flusskieseln und flachen Grauwackesteinen die mit gelbem Mörtel verbunden sind. Die nördliche Wand schließt ohne Baufrage an die Seitenmauern an, ist offensichtlich in einem Zuge mit diesen errichtet worden und besteht dementsprechend ebenfalls aus Ziegelbruch und wenig Steinmaterial in gelblichem Mörtel. Diese nördliche Wand ist mittig durch einen 0,6 m breiten Bereich unterbrochen, welcher kein Ziegel- oder Steinmaterial aufweist, sondern lediglich einen weiß-grauen Mörtel, der an die Mauern und den Innenraum anschließt. Die Lage und die Breite dieser Unterbrechung sprechen dafür hier den ehemaligen Eingang zu rekonstruieren. Ein



Abbildung 4. Putzfragmente mit Wandmalerei aus dem Innenraum.

zu vermutender Schwellenstein wurde vermutlich Opfer der in Krefeld-Gellep allgegenwärtigen Steinraubaktivitäten in der Spätantike oder dem frühen Mittelalter.

Von der Kiesstickung unterhalb der südlichen Mauer abgesehen sind die Mauern und der Estrich des Innenraumes direkt auf den anstehenden Sand gesetzt (Abb. 3), eine Fundamentierung fehlt vollständig. Dies spricht für eine eher leichte Bauweise des aufgehenden Mauerwerks. Möglicherweise sind die erhaltenen Strukturen nur Teil eines gemauerten Sockels auf dem ursprünglich ein leichter Fachwerkbau errichtet war, vergleichbar mit einigen der Streifenhäuser in der Phase III (Sponville 2021, 334).

Der Boden des Innenraums besteht aus einem 0,1 m dickem weiß-beigem Estrich, welcher stark mit Ziegelbruch gemagert war. Dort wo der Übergang zu den Wänden erhalten war, zeigt sich, dass der Estrichboden an dieser Stelle in einen weiß-beigen Wandputz überging der die Innenwände verkleidet hat. Dies spiegelt sich auch in der 0,3-0,4 m starken Mörtel- und Putzschicht wider die den Innenraum des ehemaligen Gebäudes vollständig ausfüllte und offensichtlich zu großen Teilen aus ebendiesem ehemaligen Wandputz bestand. Dieser Putz besteht aus einem weißen, mit Feinkies versetzten Mörtel. Aus der Masse des stark zersetzten Wandputzes konnten mehrere Bruchstücke mit Spuren von Wandmalerei geborgen werden. Das größte

Fragment zeigt die Reste eines einfachen, 3,5 cm breiten dunkelroten Streifens (Abb. 4), sowie einen wohl parallel verlaufenden gelben Streifen. Kleinere unzusammenhängende Bruchstücke weisen zudem eine sehr homogene rote Farbe auf. Da keinerlei figürliche Malereien erhalten sind, lässt sich lediglich eine einfache Streifen- beziehungsweise Kastendekoration rekonstruieren, bestehend aus dunkelroten und gelben Linien, die einfache weiße Felder doppelt oder auch mehrfach gerahmt haben. Da die Verfüllung des Innenraums keinerlei Funde aufwies, sondern vornehmlich aus den, mit dunkelbraunem Sediment vermischten, Wandputzbrocken bestand, ist davon auszugehen, dass das Gebäude vor seiner Aufgabe leergeräumt und anschließend dem Verfall preisgegeben worden ist.

Die Datierung des Baus ist aufgrund des Fehlens von Funden schwierig. Lediglich eine Handvoll nicht näher zu bestimmender Keramik konnte geborgen werden. In Bezug auf und im Vergleich mit der umliegenden Bebauung des Nordvicus sprechen die gemauerten Wände beziehungsweise Fundamentsockel aus wiederverwendeten Ziegeln und Tuffquadern für eine Datierung in die Phase III der Siedlung. In diesem zeitlichen Zusammenhang ist der hier vorliegende Bau zu sehen, wobei eine frühere Datierung im Zusammenhang mit den Gebäuden der Phase II nicht vollständig ausgeschlossen werden kann.

Zusammenfassend handelt es sich bei den dokumentierten Überresten also um ein nur wenige Meter großes ebenerdig liegendes Gebäude, mit einem nach Nordwesten gerichteten Eingang. Der nur 3 m² große Innenraum verfügte über einen Estrichboden und verputzte, sowie mit Wandmalereien verzierte Wände. Damit stellt das Gebäude das einzige Beispiel innerhalb des Nordvicus dar, bei welchem eine solche innenarchitektonische Ausstattung sicher nachweisbar ist. Sowohl die Ausstattung als auch die Lage eines solchen Gebäudes im Hinterhof eines Streifenhauses wirft die Frage nach seinem Nutzungszweck auf. Die hochwertige Bauweise schließt jegliche Nutzung im Zusammenhang mit Handwerk oder Gartenbau von vornherein aus, während die Größe und Lage einen wohnlichen Zweck ausschließen. Dies drängt die Möglichkeit eines kultisch-religiösen Zusammenhangs regelrecht auf. Die Suche nach vergleichbaren Befunden führt nicht nur in andere Siedlungen unterschiedlicher Größe, sondern auch in das Umfeld von *villae rusticae* und ländlichen Heiligtümern. Diese Beispiele unterstreichen und verfestigen die oben aufgeworfene These eines kultisch-religiös genutzten Gebäudes.

Kleine Schreine anderswo

Im privaten Raum fand die Verehrung der Götter in der Regel an dem kleinen hauseigenen Schrein, dem *lararium*, statt (Ditmar-Trauth 1995, 95-97). Diese bestanden zumeist lediglich aus kleinen Tischen, Sockeln oder gemauerten Nischen in denen Götterfiguren und Ahnenbilder aufgestellt wurden und kleine Opfer dargebracht werden konnten. Die besterhaltenen Beispiele von Lararien stammen aus den Vesuvstädten. In den Nordwestprovinzen ist die Lokalisierung dieser Hausschreine aufgrund des Erhaltungszustandes der Gebäude selten möglich. Ein Hinweis auf das religiöse Leben im eigenen Heim liefern oft nur Funde wie Statuetten aus Ton oder Metall oder Weihereliefs aus Stein. Während sich die typischen Hausschreine dementsprechend nur schwer im archäologischen Befund fassen lassen, konnten in verschiedenen Siedlungen jedoch auch Beispiele von größeren gemauerten Strukturen nachgewiesen werden die aufgrund ihrer Form, Bauweise, Lage und dekorativen Ausstattung als eine größere Form des sonst typischen Larariums angesprochen werden müssen. Die Größe und oft auch die Lage dieser Strukturen erlaubt in manchen Fällen die Annahme, dass diese Lararien gemeinschaftlich von den Familien mehrerer angrenzender Häuser genutzt worden sind.

Zwei Beispiele solcher Befunde, die als größere gemauerte Hausschreine angesprochen werden, finden sich in Großbritannien, in den Siedlungen von *Verulamium* (St. Albans) und *Calleva Atrebatum* (Silchester). Ein weiteres Beispiel liegt im heutigen Österreich, in der Zivilstadt von *Carnuntum*. In St. Albans dokumentierten die Archäologen zwei, zeitlich aufeinanderfolgende, gemauerte *aediculae* welche sich im Hinterhof eines Streifenhauses, in der Be-

grenzungsmauer der Parzelle, befanden. Der Hinterhof und damit die *aediculae* waren über eine schmale Gasse auch von der Hauptstraße aus erreichbar. Beide *aediculae* haben einen rechteckigen Grundriss von circa 1 m² Grundfläche und bestehen aus einer aus Bruchsteinmauerwerk errichteten Rückwand, sowie aus vermörteltem Ziegelbruch errichteten Seitenwänden. An der Innenseite waren die Wände mit bemaltem Wandputz versehen. Die Vorderseite war offen (Frere 1972, 57; Ditmar-Trauth 1995, 95-96). In Silchester wurde auf der Insula XIV, im Innenhof des Gebäudes II, ein kleiner freistehender Schrein von 2 × 2 m freigelegt, welcher sowohl von den Mäßen, als auch von der Bauweise der Struktur aus dem Nordvicus von Krefeld-Gellep sehr ähnelt. Auch hier war der Bau aus Bruchstein und Ziegelbruch errichtet. In diesem Fall lag der Fußboden des einzelnen Innenraums etwas erhöht über dem umliegenden Hofareal und war über eine Stufe erreichbar (Frere 1972, 60). Dem Befund aus St. Albans ganz ähnlich gestaltet sich jene Struktur aus der Zivilstadt von *Carnuntum*. Hier wurde ein kleiner Nischenschrein an der Parzellenmauer zwischen den Häusern II und III, unter anderem durch den Fund eines Weihealtars, nachgewiesen. Dieser war von Lucius Maticeius Clemens an die Nymphen geweiht worden. Genau wie in St. Albans und Krefeld-Gellep war dieser Bereich nicht nur über die Hinterhöfe der Häuser, sondern auch durch eine schmale Traufgasse von der Straße her erreichbar (Ditmar-Trauth 1995, 96, 340-342). Während es auch in vielen anderen Siedlungen Beispiele von kleinformatigen Gebäudestrukturen gibt bei denen eine Ansprache als kleines Heiligtum möglich wäre, sind es diese gut dokumentierten Beispiele die gleich in mehreren Faktoren mit dem Befund aus dem Nordvicus von Krefeld-Gellep übereinstimmen. Oft liegen die Strukturen an der Grenze zweier Wohnparzellen und sind auch von der Straße aus zugänglich. Die Ausstattung mit Wandmalerei spricht für einen repräsentativen Charakter der kleinformatigen Bauten.

Neben den oben genannten Beispielen aus dem (klein) städtischen Bereich finden sich vergleichbare Bauten, im Folgenden als Schreine bezeichnet, auch im ländlichen Raum. Sei es im Umfeld von *villae rusticae*, ländlichen Heiligtümern oder im Zusammenhang mit *mansiones* oder wichtigen Wegmarken. Als Beispiel für Schreine im Bereich von römischen Gutshöfen sollen drei Beispiele aus Süddeutschland und der Schweiz dienen. Nur wenige Meter von dem Hauptgebäude der *villa rustica* von Meikirch (CH) entfernt wurden die schlecht erhaltenen Fundamente zweier, direkt nebeneinander liegender, kleiner Schreine von jeweils 3,2 m Seitenlänge freigelegt. Eine zentrale Steinlage innerhalb der kleinen Bauwerke wird als Fundament für Altäre angesprochen. Gegen die Interpretation als Grabstätten spricht das Fehlen jeglicher Hinweise auf eine Bestattung innerhalb der Gebäude (Suter 2004, 52). Ein zweites Beispiel soll der Befund aus

dem Umfeld der *villa rustica* von Meßkirch (D) darstellen. Bei dieser, von einer Umfassungsmauer umgebenen, Streuhofanlage wurde nur wenige Dutzend Meter außerhalb dieser Mauer ein kleiner rechteckiger Tempel von 4 m Seitenlänge ausgegraben. Der Fund eines Weihesteins welcher der Göttin Diana gewidmet war, macht deutlich, dass es sich bei dem Bau um einen kleinen Einraumtempel beziehungsweise einen Schrein handelt (Reim 1977, 148). Von deutlich größerem Ausmaß gestaltet sich das Beispiel der *villa* von Hechingen-Stein (D). Bei dieser prächtigen, ebenfalls von einer Umfassungsmauer umgebenen, Streuhofanlage findet sich außerhalb dieser Mauer nicht wie in Meßkirch ein einzelnes Tempelchen, sondern ein ganzer ummauerter Tempelbezirk. Insgesamt 10 kleine Schreine konnten hier dokumentiert werden. In ihrer Bauweise gleichen sie dem Befund aus dem Nordvicus von Krefeld-Gellep. Mit Seitenlängen von 2-3 m, einem einzelnen Innenraum und mit Wandmalereien dekorierten Innenwänden entsprechen die hier ausgegrabenen Strukturen zweifelsfrei dem Typ solcher kleinen Schreine (Schmidt-Lawrenz 2005, 182-186). Insgesamt lässt sich sagen, dass solche Schreine, einzeln oder in kleinen Tempelbezirken zusammengefasst, vergleichsweise oft im Umfeld von *villae rusticae* vorkommen und die Liste an Beispielen entsprechend lang weitergeführt werden könnte.

Doch auch anderenorts, im öffentlichen Raum, findet diese Bauform Verwendung. In den 70er Jahren wurde bei Friesenheim (D), nahe der Kreuzung zweier römischer Straßen, eine gut ausgestattete *mansio* entdeckt und archäologisch untersucht. Neben dem Hauptgebäude der Straßenstation, dem dazugehörigen Badegebäude und einigen Nebengebäuden konnte auf der gegenüberliegenden Straßenseite die Überreste eines kleinen 2 × 3 m messenden Schreins mit dekorativ vorgezogenen Anten freigelegt werden. Die Reste einer Diana-Statue sprechen für eine Verehrung dieser Göttin in diesem Bauwerk welcher aufgrund seiner Lage als Wegschrein für vorbeiziehende Reisende angesprochen werden kann (Fingerlin 1976, 27). Die gleiche Interpretation kann für das bis heute vollständig erhaltene Gebäude an der römischen Brücke von Alcantara in Spanien angenommen werden. Dieses hervorragend erhaltene römische Bauwerk diente sowohl als Wegschrein als auch als Grabtempelchen für den Architekten der Brücke (Salvador 2006, 54). Leicht erhöht ist der Innenraum über eine vorliegende kleine Treppe erreichbar. Von den Ausmaßen her gleicht der Schrein den vorhergehenden Beispielen und dem Befund aus Krefeld-Gellep. Durch die gute Erhaltung kann das Beispiel aus Alcantara als Beispiel dafür dienen wie das aufgehende Mauerwerk und die Dachkonstruktion der anderen Schreine rekonstruiert werden muss.

Der Vollständigkeit halber muss zudem darauf hingewiesen werden, dass solche kleinformatigen Schreine nicht nur im privaten und (halb-)öffentlichen Raum Ver-

wendung fanden, sondern offensichtlich auch im Bereich größerer und eigenständiger Heiligtümer. In diesem Zusammenhang sei hier das Heiligtum von Thun-Allmendingen (CH) aufgeführt. Dort wurden neben mehreren größeren Tempelbauten auch einige kleine Schreine im heiligen Bezirk der Anlage ausgegraben, die in ihrer Bauweise weitgehend identisch mit dem Gebäude aus Krefeld-Gellep sind (Martin-Kilcher 2010, 19-21).

Fazit

Mit all diesen Befunden als Vergleich, vor allem den Schreinen aus St. Albans, Silchester und *Carnuntum*, kann auch das Gebäude im Hinterhof eines Streifenhauses im Nordvicus von Krefeld-Gellep als solches Privatheiligtum angesprochen werden. Die Lage an der Grenze zweier Grundstücke, sowie der mögliche Zugang durch die vergleichsweise breite Traufgasse zwischen den Streifenhäusern, spricht für eine gemeinschaftliche Nutzung durch mehrere Hausparteien. Mit einer Gesamtfläche von 5,5 m² und dem einzelnen Innenraum von 3 m² ist das ursprüngliche Gebäude am ehesten als einfacher Rechteckbau mit Satteldach zu rekonstruieren. Als Vergleich hierfür sei nochmal auf den vollständig erhaltenen Schrein an der Brücke von Alcantara in Spanien hingewiesen. Das Fehlen von tiefergehenden Fundamenten in dem weichen Sandboden sprechen für eine eher leichte Bauweise, bestehend aus Fachwerkmauern auf den erhaltenen gemauerten Sockeln. Den mit Wandmalereien verzierten Innenraum kann man, ähnlich wie bei einem gewöhnlichen *Lararium*, mit einem Opferaltar, Statuetten und Bildnissen der verehrten Gottheiten rekonstruieren, möglicherweise auch wie das Beispiel aus *Carnuntum* zeigt mit hier aufgestellten Weihesteinen. Dieser spannende Befund bietet einen Einblick in das religiöse Leben der einfachen Bevölkerung eines solchen *Vicus* am niedergermanischen Limes und verdeutlicht wie vielfältig religiöse beziehungsweise kultische Bauten auch in römischer Zeit waren.

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PART 6

SPEAKING OF THE DEAD

FUNERARY CUSTOMS AND
GRAVE GOODS

A group of unusual burials under the *CUT* by-pass, Xanten

Clive Bridger

From 2005 to 2008 the Xanten unit of the Rhineland State Archaeological Service undertook a series of rescue excavations prior to the construction of an c. 4 km long, northern by-pass around the Roman city of *Colonia Ulpia Traiana (CUT)* in Xanten. Whereas the architectural structures and other features were published relatively promptly (Bridger 2009), it took some years to restore, document and analyse the numerous finds from the excavated 79 cremation graves of the 1st to the 3rd century, especially against the backdrop of the covid pandemic.

At both ends of the new by-pass, three cremation graves of the 3rd century were discovered in the southwest and two of the 2nd-3rd century in the southeast. The former three graves on the Roman road leaving the *CUT* to the southwest are the first ever to have been officially documented here, among them one tufa cist, robbed in the 18th-19th century, but still containing some grave-goods, including a money-pouch. The latter two graves indicated that the immediate area was not later affected by an assumed arm of the Rhine.

In an area of some 42 × 17 m southwest of the modern main road (B 57), which at this point overlies the Roman limes road of Xanten-Nijmegen, some 70 graves were uncovered, while two others lay immediately next to the road and a further two some 70 m *in agro* (fig. 1). These 74 cremation graves were analysed more closely as a group (Bridger 2024). Twelve had been disturbed in modern times, especially by WW2 trenches of 1945, three contained only finds, whereas the remaining 59 could be ascribed to nine categories of cremation graves. The most prolific were 21 small, heavily burnt pits which I have dubbed 'pseudobusta'. Whereas the six true *busta* measured between 1.72-2.24 m long and 0.84-2.08 m wide, their smaller associates were only 0.60-1.60 m long and 0.38-0.75 m wide, yet only three contained children. Such graves belong to the so-called Mala Kopašnica-Sase type I, commonly found in *Moesia* and neighbouring regions but hitherto unpublished in Xanten or the German section of the Lower Rhine in general.

Of the 74 graves, eight contained no human bones (two solely with animal bones), whereas the other 66 revealed 73 individuals, comprising ten children, six juveniles (3 female), 11 adult men and 17 adult women; the gender of a further 29 persons, of which 21 were adults, could not be ascertained. The total weight of the burnt bone found amounted to 16.7 kg with an average weight of 226 g per person. Only three graves produced burnt bone with a weight above one kilo, the average for the six *busta* being 346 g and the 'pseudobusta' merely 218 g. Only four persons exceeded 50 but nobody reached the age of 60. 23 graves contained bones from 24 animals, *i.e.* 18 pigs, 4 chickens, 1 sheep/goat

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Figure 1. Xanten, *CUT* by-pass 2005. Cemetery plan with group of 72 graves (Harald Berkel).

	undisturbed graves	of them <i>busta</i>	of them <i>pseudobusta</i>
	59	6	21
grave length (cm)	–	172-224	60-160
grave width (cm)	–	84-208	38-75
sum of burnt bone (g)	16,263	2,078	4,588
range of weight (g)	<1-1,275	126-1,035	<1-992
average weight (g)	275.6	346.3	218.5

Table 1. Xanten, *CUT* by-pass 2005. Comparison of grave sizes and weight of cremated bone retrieved.

a



b



Figure 2. Grave 52. a. Surviving surface; b. Excavated pit with pot on bottom (a. author; b. Kerstin Kraus).

and 1 indeterminate. The 74 graves contained 16 urns, 156 burnt and 110 unburnt grave-goods, as well as the usual remnants of burnt objects and detritus. Apart from the usual range of pottery and brooches commonly found in the region, some unusual objects for the area appeared: two indented pots with handles (one face-pot), two terracotta figurines, a tin-plated dish, a small bell and a strap-junction from horse-gear, as well as several non-wheelturned vessels originating from Flanders (Jung 2014); two wine amphorae came from Rhodes. A slug's or snail's egg in one urn may not be Roman.

The dating of the grave inventories was carried out using local finds types and utilising the software WinBASP for the seriation and correspondence analysis. Since the 74 graves represent only a tiny amount of those buried within the necropolis northwest of the *CUT* and its predecessor, there was little point in attempting to produce a 'living pyramid' of the former population, as there was no statistical basis for a meaningful result. However, certain characteristics of the deceased could be

extracted. Nine persons between two older children and a woman in her early forties displayed diseased or injured bones indicating persons involved in much physical work. There were indications of some being associated with the military, *i.e.* *busta* and pseudobusta graves, two face-pots and the strap junction from a saddle strap. On the one hand, the pseudobusta show a connection with the Lower Danubian region; on the other hand, handmade pottery indicates close ties with Flanders.

'Pseudobusta'

The largest category of graves comprises 21 examples of a cremation type hitherto not published for Xanten, although the author excavated four similar burials southeast of the city centre in 1982 (Bridger & Storch 1983). These resemble *busta*, yet their sizes are much smaller (fig. 2). Their lengths varied between 0.60 and 1.60 m, their widths only 0.38-0.75 m. By comparison, the six *busta* found measured between 1.72 and 2.24 m in length and between 0.84 and 2.08 m in width, yet the depths of both



a



b

Figure 3. Grave 64. a. With burnt material on bottom; b. Excavated pit (author).

types are very similar (Bridger 2017, 410). However, they do not only differ in size but in the type of their fill: they contained very pure, homogenous back-fills with very little burnt material, few grave-goods and below-average amounts of cremated bone (table 1).

From 19 of the 21 grave-pits came the remains of 21 persons. Two graves each contained cremated remains of two individuals, whereas two others revealed no human bones, although one did produce bones of a young domestic pig. Both of the latter graves showed no physical differences to the other 19. Do we have here cenotaphs, which certainly fell under the aegis of the *res religiosa*, or were the mortal remains deposited above the grave-pits or even elsewhere? As mentioned, the weight range of burnt bone of less than 1 to 992 g was less than that of the true *busta*, as was the corresponding average weight of only 218 g. The deceased comprised two

small children, one older child, a juvenile together with a 24-year old adult, four women aged 18 to 39, as well as two possible women aged about 29 and 35, one man and two possible men all about 39, in one grave of which bones of a roughly 20-year old adult were also found; moreover, six further adults between 24 and 52 were documented. A possible inference that the pseudobusta were for children is, therefore, clearly incorrect.

The most unusual feature of these graves was the nature of the pit walls, almost all of which were heavily burnt with a 2 to 8 cm thick, hard, grey to red encrustation of the loamy-sandy soil (figs 2-3). There was no obvious evidence of internal or above-ground wooden beams as found in the larger, true *busta*, so an interpretation as a result of the pyre burning down would be difficult to consider here. During the excavation I had the impression that the walls might have been intentionally flamed

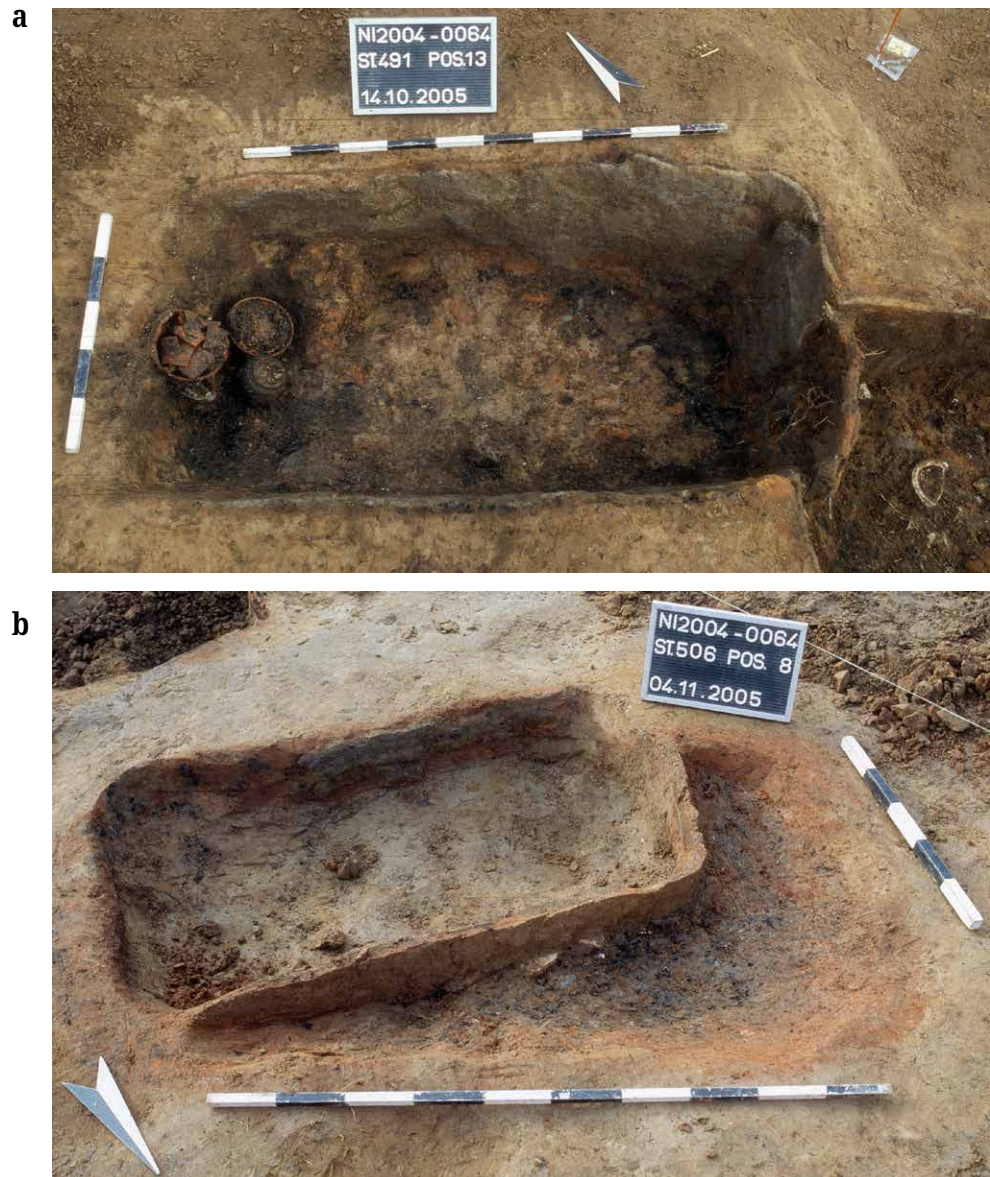


Figure 4. Excavated pits.
a. Graves 59 and (bottom right) 58; b. Grave 74 set into grave 73 (Marcel Krause).

before the actual burial. Perhaps this was connected with the wish to cleanse the pit ritually, thus accomplishing a kind of *lustratio*, before the mortal remains were interred. Consequently, the burning led to a considerable hardening of the walls, so creating a type of natural coffin. Maybe the intention was to preserve the grave's contents longer against external influences or to protect them better, so that the dead person posed no danger to the living. Similar findings and ideas were already proposed a generation ago in Mainz (Witteyer 1993), where the phenomenon occurs essentially in burials between the Flavian period and the mid-2nd century. Following the correspondence analysis, 18 of our graves could be placed in our phases 1 to 4, i.e. roughly AD 50/60 to 140/150 with no significant concentration. They thus correspond approximately in date to those in Mainz.

With most of the pits that had survived the destruction of 1945 there was hardly any overlapping, so that we would assume that the graves were marked in some way above ground (Bridger 1996, 248-249; Erkelenz 2012, 80 and 87; Rokohl 2019, 29-30). The same applies, for example, to similar small *busta* in *Vendenis*, Kosovo (Drăgan *et al.* 2018, 442). Clear exceptions are graves 58 and 59 (mother and child?) (fig. 4a) as well as 73 and 74 (adult couple?), where both 'grave pairs' had been manifestly dug into one another (fig. 4b).

In addition, a small, regular pit of 0.60 × 0.36 m and only 0.23 m deep displayed the typically burnt sides with rather more charcoal on the bottom (fig. 5a), on which an upturned pot protected a small amount of burnt bone (grave 35). This could not be closely dated. A second pot in a pit measuring 1.29 × 0.64 × 0.34 m (fig. 5b) contained burnt



a



b

Figure 5. Two pseudobusta with urn-type burials. a. Grave 35 with burnt material and inverted pot on bottom; b. Grave 56 with burnt material and finds on bottom (a. Willi Sengstock; b. Elke Brauer).

bones belonging to an c. 31 year old woman (grave 56). This could be dated to phase 3, *i.e.* roughly AD 80-120.

Discussion

The burial type documented here is presented for Xanten for the first time. Together with the six real *busta*, these could possibly be seen in connection with the presence of the military. That this category of burial was imported by auxiliary troops from the Balkan region to the Lower Rhine may be somewhat simplified, yet the custom of the pseudobusta is found mainly in *Dacia*, *Moesia* and *Pannonia* under the term of the Mala Kopašnica-Sase type I or type Viminacium IIIa (Golubović 1998; Cvjetičanin 2016). This type is said to have developed

especially in *Moesia superior* from a pre-Roman, native custom and represented the predominant grave type in the Moesian-Dacian area during the 1st to 3rd century; there they are said to account for as many as 70 % of the documented graves of *Moesia superior*. It is not clear whether examples of the Mala Kopašnica-Sase type II with its characteristic recess in the middle of the grave's base (Jovanović 1984, 49-51 and 100-110) were present in our cemetery section. However, in one grave (54) within the irregular rectangular pit of 2.24 × 1.28 m, a clearly recognisable, 1.34 × 0.66 m lower recess could be seen. However, this was found against the south-western wall of the upper pit and not in its centre, which would have been characteristic for type II. However, such type II pits

have appeared in the southern cemetery of *Asciburgium* in Moers-Schwafheim. Of the 433 graves, very few of which have been hitherto published, 172 are deemed to be *busta*, of which some have central depressions, e.g. feature 388 (own autopsy; Kraus 2004). A possible case is in Cologne, but more probably a *ustrinum* (Höpken & Liesen 2020, 266, fig. 7 and 267). Again, it would be tempting to associate these graves with the last unit of the auxiliary fort of *Asciburgium*, *Ala Moesica*, which was stationed there in the 70's and 80's, and/or their descendants. Only the chronological analysis of the southern cemetery will be able to answer this question (Langenhoff in progress). In the northern cemetery, on the other hand, among the 27 *busta*, of which reliable measurements are known for 20 graves, four pseudobusta at the most seem to be present, without having been recognised as such (Rasbach 1997).

In *Moesia superior* it was found that characteristic for these graves – with or without a sunken recess – was that coins and sometimes jewellery were burnt as primary grave goods, while pottery, glass and occasionally weapons were added unburnt as secondary grave goods (Jovanović 2000, 209). In our cases, of the 18 graves containing coins, two thirds belong to the groups *busta* (3x) and pseudobusta (9x), although with 29 of the 74 graves they only comprise roughly 40 % of all graves. Of these nine were burnt. A similar concentration was noted for the *busta* in the northern cemetery of *Asciburgium* (Rasbach 1997, 103). While pottery vessels were found in most graves, glass was found in only two pseudobusta and two genuine *busta*. Four of the six cases of shoe nails occurred in pseudobusta. Weapons did not occur, unless one wishes to include the strap distributor of a horse harness in grave 59, a rare find in a funerary context in Lower Germany.

The presence of these 21 'pseudobusta' coupled with the six genuine *busta* raises the question of whether there is a connection with the Danubian provinces here as well, either in the form of locally stationed auxiliary troops together with their relatives, as descendants of such an occupation, or as civilians from that area. On the basis of several inscriptions, Geza Alföldy (1968, 23-25) placed the presence of *Ala Moesica* in the Lower Rhine between AD 70 and the middle of the 2nd century, although he knew of no 2nd century inscriptions here. After having formed the last garrison of the camp at *Asciburgium* in Moers-Asberg in the Flavian period (Bridger 2000, 54 and 442), an inscription proves its continued presence in *Germania inferior* as late as AD 101 (Spaul 1994, 163-164). However, it seems to have been transferred to *Germania superior*, probably to Butzbach in the Wetterau, before about AD 120 and certainly before AD 127 (Haalebos 2000, 40). Where it was stationed after the abandonment of the garrison in *Asciburgium*, probably still under Domitian until the 120's, remains unknown. If, however, our graves

were connected with it, a camp in Xanten-Beek (?) or near Xanten in *Burginatum* (Kalkar-Altkalkar) or Wesel-Büderich 'Steinacker' (?) would be possible. Even before the middle of the 1st century, *Cohors VIII Breucorum* from *Pannonia* was also stationed in *Germania inferior*, its exact location being unknown, before it was then moved to *Rigomagus* (Remagen). Of the four known inscription stones, the gravestone of the soldier Marcinus, son of Surco (CIL XIII.8693), could be from *Vetera* I, which may represent an early connection to our burial type.

Abbreviation

CIL: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

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Relecture chronologique de la tombe des enfants du triérarque Domitianus à Boulogne-sur-Mer

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Dès l'époque augustéenne, *Gesoriacum* ou *Bononia* (Boulogne-sur-Mer) se trouve au carrefour d'un réseau de communication reliant la *Britannia* aux marchés de Méditerranée et de Germanie. Les premiers développements, antérieurs ou contemporains à la conquête de la Bretagne par Claude, sont encore méconnus mais l'extension urbaine et la fonction de ses différents quartiers sont mieux documentées entre les II^e et III^e siècles. L'actuelle ville fortifiée abrite le camp militaire de la flotte romaine de Bretagne, sur une superficie d'environ 12 ha. Au plus tard, sous les règnes de Trajan ou d'Hadrien, son organisation intérieure répond à la castrametation romaine. Le port militaire et commercial est installé dans l'estuaire, au pied du plateau de la ville haute et du versant appelé 'sautoir'. Les deux principales nécropoles, utilisées dès le Haut-Empire, dessinent en négatif les limites de l'agglomération antique (fig. 1). Au sud, le cimetière de Bréquerecque est situé au niveau de la voie de l'Océan, reliant Boulogne à Amiens. Et à l'est, le cimetière du Vieil-Âtre s'inscrit sur les versants exposés au sud du *Val-Saint-Martin* et se développe sur près de 20 ha. Ces nécropoles sont principalement explorées au XIX^e siècle par les érudits boulonnais.

Contexte

C'est durant cette période, entre juin 1888 et février 1889, qu'intervient la fouille de J.-B. Lelaurain, entrepreneur, ou plus trivialement 'pilleur de tombes'. À Boulogne, il est attiré par la richesse des sépultures de la nécropole du Vieil-Âtre puisqu'il est alerté par la découverte de garnitures de ceinturon dès 1887 (Ipey 1981; Dilly 2015, 17). Lelaurain obtient alors l'autorisation d'explorer les jardins maraîchers jouxtant le cimetière de l'Est, soit à l'est de l'actuelle rue Léo Lagrange (Blamangin & Leriche 2014) et à une centaine de mètres des fortifications du camp de la *classis Britannica*.

Cette nouvelle fouille livre un abondant mobilier provenant surtout de tombes du Bas-Empire: récipients en bronze, en étain, en céramique et quelques 200 verreries. Ces objets sont soit dispersés et vendus aux collectionneurs éclairés (Dilly 2015, 12), soit entrés dans les collections muséales de Boulogne-sur-Mer (c. 277 artefacts

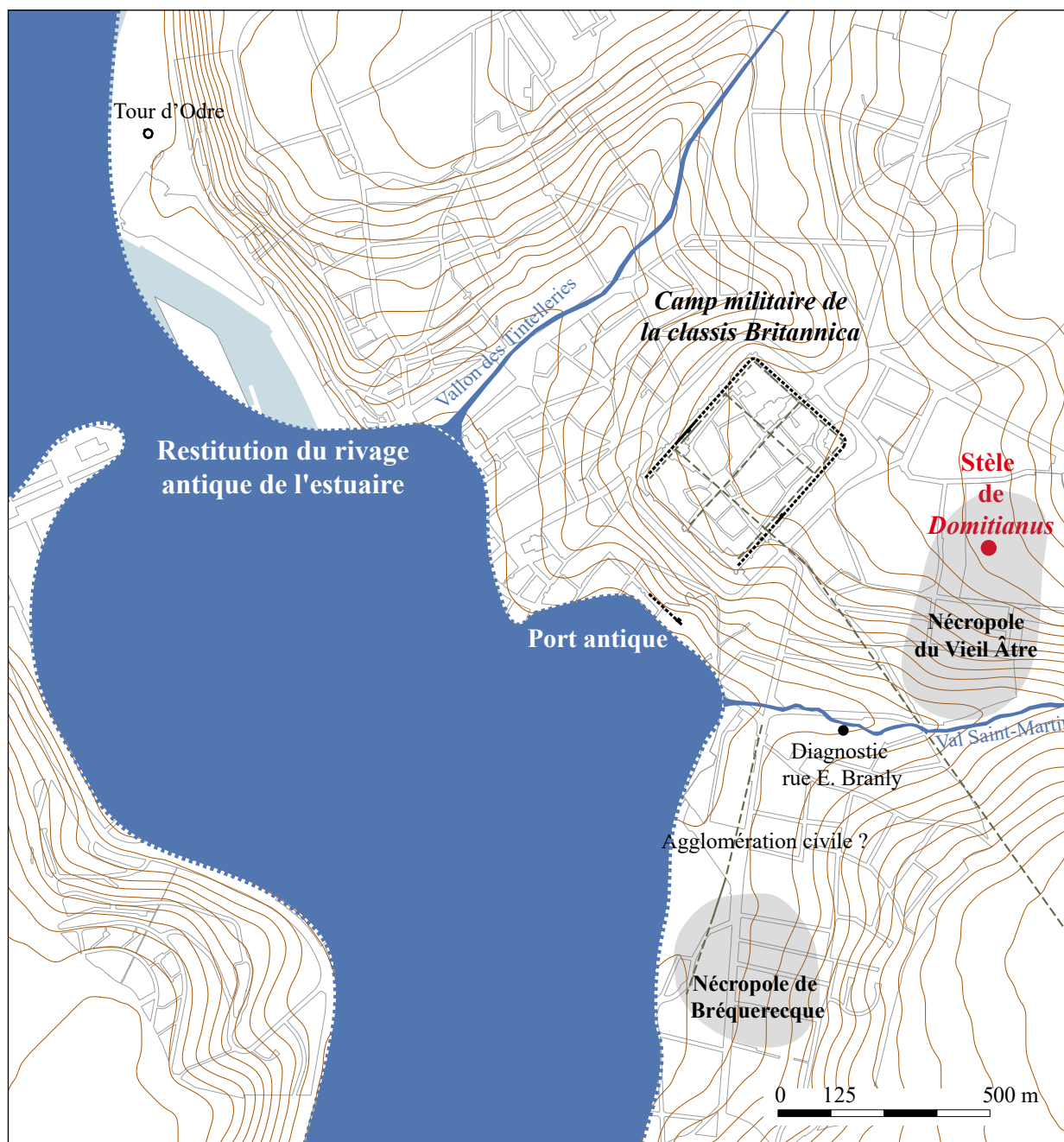


Figure 1. Boulogne-sur-Mer à la fin du Haut-Empire (dessin assisté par ordinateur, O. Blamangin-Inrap).

mentionnés dans ses inventaires) Yale, Oxford, Amiens, Saint-Germain-en-Laye ou encore Berck-sur-Mer (Dilly 2015).

Sources documentaires

Sous les ordres de Lelaurain, des ‘terrassiers’ mettent au jour l’autel funéraire des enfants du triérarque Domitianus le 27 octobre 1888. Le compte-rendu de la séance de délibération du 8 novembre 1888 du

musée de Boulogne signale l’acquisition d’un “cippe funéraire, probablement du III^e siècle en excellent état de conservation élevé par Domitianus, triérarque de la flotte, sur la sépulture de ses enfants morts en bas âge” (inventaire 4020.R5). Il est accompagné de trois céramiques d’après le registre 5 d’inventaire: un “plat en terre rouge peinte” (4008.R5), un “petit vase terre grise globulaire à dépression” (4028.R5) et un “petit vase brun noirâtre avec inscription LVDE” (4055.R5).

Cet achat intervient seulement 12 jours après la découverte de ces tombes, témoignant d'une marchandisation rapide du produit des fouilles. V.-J. Vaillant¹ (1889, 219-224; 1890), un des témoins privilégiés de cette découverte, en livre deux récits (fig. 2). Joint au travail de G. Dilly (2004; 2015) sur un pan des carnets de la collection L.-G. Bellon, ce témoignage direct est l'un des seuls disponibles pour établir le contexte de découverte de cette tombe liée au triérarque Domitianus.

La découverte d'après le récit de V.-J. Vaillant

L'emplacement précis de la découverte est difficile à établir suivant les indications données par Vaillant (1889; 1890). Le monument des enfants de Domitianus est localisé sur un "petit talus raviné" qui "limitait [une] grande dépression humide mesurant env. 50 × 30 m". Il est associé à un ensemble de riches tombes appelées 'premier groupe' par l'auteur. Ce groupe, trouvé le 19 septembre 1888, est composé de trois cercueils en plomb (4017.R5 non retrouvé)² et de deux en chêne disposés en croix. Cl. Seillier (1994, 272) propose de localiser le groupe dans la partie nord-est de l'actuel cimetière (divisions 32 et 44), le monument de Domitianus en constituant la limite sud-ouest. Ce 'premier groupe' est accompagné d'un mobilier abondant dont une monnaie de Tacite au revers orné de la divine Providence (Vaillant 1890, 201-208). Le musée de Boulogne conserve actuellement deux objets de cette tombe permettant de la circonscrire entre 275 et 300(320) AD: une tablette de défexion (4134.R5 actuellement étudiée par C. Hoët-Van Cauwenberghe) et une aiguière en verre Isings 120b d'origine rhénane d'après V. Arveiller (Bellon 819), et dessinée dans les carnets Bellon avec une bouteille Isings 103 (Bellon 815; Dilly 2004; 2015).

Suivant le récit de Vaillant, il est possible de restituer quelques éléments de stratigraphie. Il évoque d'abord une couche de "terreau", "épaisse d'un mètre et plus", correspondant au remblais des niveaux des jardins exploités à cet emplacement depuis le XVII^e siècle et identifiés dans les diagnostics archéologiques réalisés dans le même secteur (Leriche 2017). Au-dessous, les ouvriers rencontrent systématiquement les niveaux de sépultures de la nécropole antique. Le monument funéraire – renversé face épigraphique contre terre – et son élément faitier en forme d'ovoïde sont mis au jour à c.1,8 m de profondeur. Il repose sur un dallage maçonné

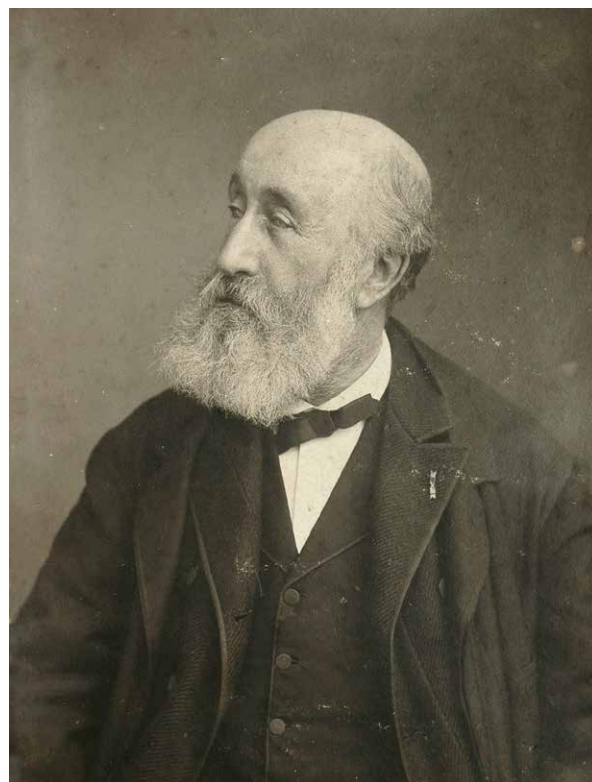


Figure 2. Victor-Jules Vaillant (Fonds de la bibliothèque patrimoniale des Annonciades, Boulogne-sur-Mer, MS 577, fol. 1).

construit en matériaux calcaires archéologiquement en place "à 2 mètres au-dessous du sol", lui-même fondé sur "un lit de gros galets et de blocages posés debout et maintenus en place au moyen de terre glaise". L'ensemble sert de base à l'autel (fig. 3.3).

Des **données taphonomiques** partielles nous sont fournies indirectement. Inhumés sous l'autel, "les cercueils" sont "restés intacts" (fig. 3.4) grâce à la base de l'autel formée par le pavement (fig. 3.2) soutenant le socle (fig. 3.1) et "aux fondations en pierre que celui-ci recouvrait". Ces "tombes d'enfants" disposées "en étoile" (Vaillant 1890, 14-19) impliquent a minima cinq sépultures d'immatures. La dernière, identifiée comme celle d'une "fillette", est investiguée après le démontage du monument. D'après la position des artefacts associés, l'enfant est inhumé en décubitus dorsal.

L'autel funéraire

D'abord attribué à la fin du II^e siècle, Vaillant (1889, 222) et X. Dupuis (1983) établissent l'autel au 'III^e siècle' d'après le style du monument et l'onomastique de l'officier de la flotte. Ces propositions sont révisées par l'étude actualisée du mobilier et du monument funéraire trouvé intact (Giroire & Szweczyk 2022, 272). Il appartient à la

1 Peintre natif de Calais (1824-1904), membre de la société des Arts, historien, membre de la Commission des Antiquités départementales du Pas-de-Calais, correspondant auprès du ministère de l'Instruction publique et des Beaux-Arts. Membre de l'administration du musée de Boulogne-sur-Mer.

2 Ceux des adultes (féminin et masculin) se font face et le sarcophage de l'immature est placé à la droite de l'adulte de sexe féminin.

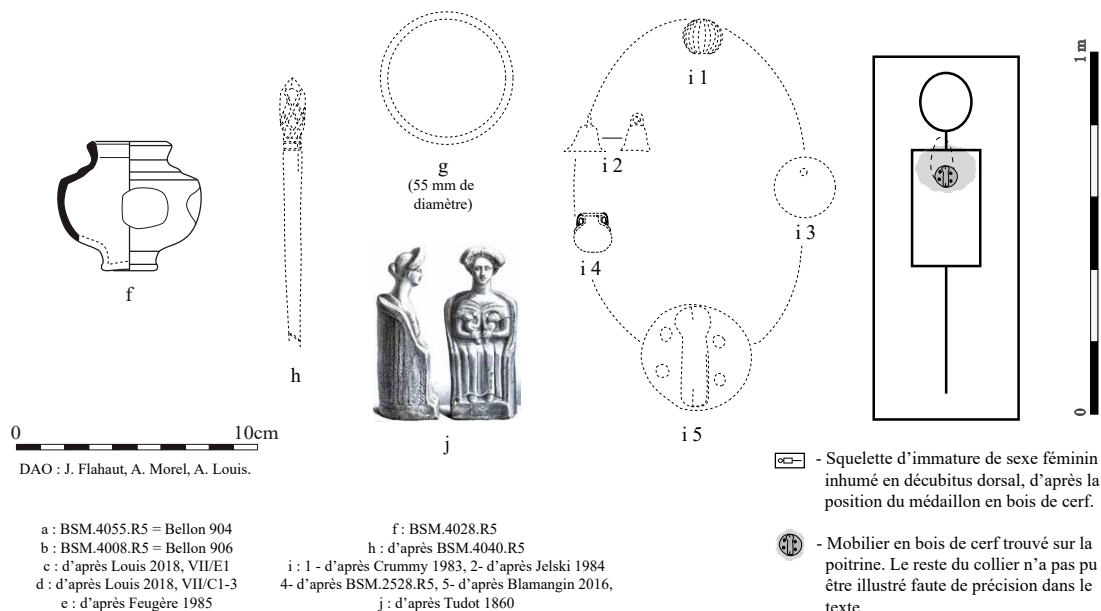
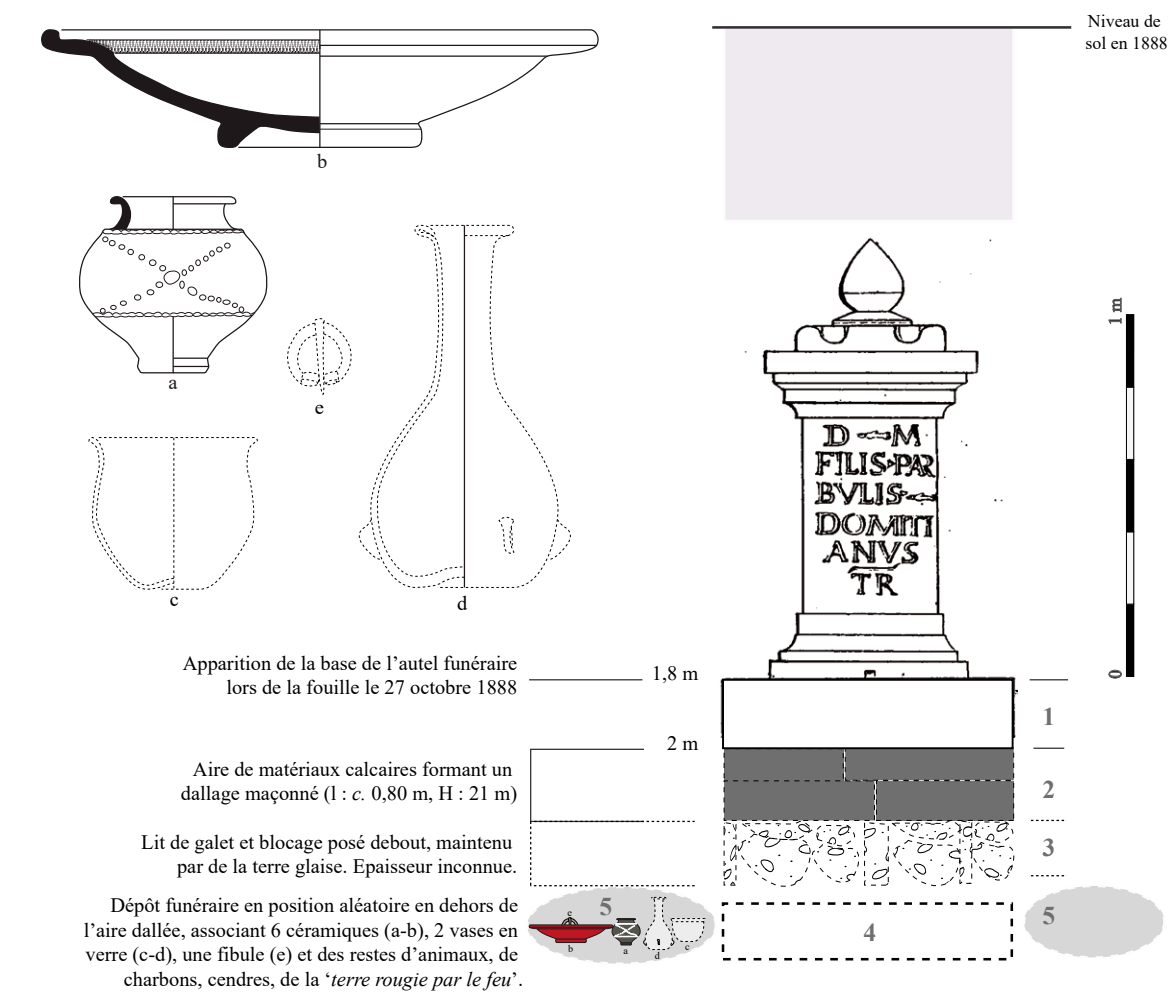


Figure 3. Proposition de restitution de la tombe et du mobilier des enfants du triérarque Domitianus (dessin assisté par ordinateur J. Flahaut, A. Morel, A. Louis-Inrap).

catégorie des autels funéraires à dé sub-rectangulaire (fig. 4). Il est surmonté d'un élément faitier ovoïde. Celui-ci est mobile et calé dans un 'focus' circulaire creusé dans la face supérieure du dé de l'autel. Des exemples similaires couronnés d'ovoïdes sculptés, parfois peints, sont répertoriés en territoire morin, nervien et trévire (Espérandieu 1913; Hoët-Van Cauwenberghe & Louvion 2017, 31). D'un point de vue typologique, l'exemplaire de Boulogne tend à se rapprocher des formes répertoriées à Lyon à partir de la fin du II^e siècle. D'après le schéma de restitution établi par la relecture des sources littéraires, l'élévation de l'autel et les niveaux d'assises de fondation sont sensiblement similaires. Son aspect assez élancé et sa largeur étroite seraient cohérents avec une datation au III^e siècle (Laubry 2021, 79-80).

Cet autel funéraire comprend l'inscription suivante: *D(is) M(anibus) / filis par / bulis Domiti / anus / tr(ierarchus)*. "Aux Dieux Mânes, à ses tout-petits morts en bas-âge, le triérarque Domitianus" (CIL XIII.3545). Ce texte est orné de deux poissons sculptés qui peuvent s'inspirer du milieu maritime environnant et/ou jouer un rôle d'accompagnateur et protecteur des 'tout-petits' dans l'au-delà. L'épigraphie boulonnaise comprend aussi deux inscriptions mentionnant strictement des triérarques de la flotte de Bretagne: celle de *Quintus Arrenius Verecundus* datée entre 170-200 ou 200-230 AD sans certitude (CIL XIII.3540; Dupuis 1983, 305-308) et de *Publius Graecius Tertinus* non datée (CIL XIII.3546; Dupuis 1983, 321-323). Ce monument est le dernier témoignage épigraphique reliant la fonction militaire à la cité de Boulogne-sur-Mer au III^e siècle – mais pas explicitement à la *classis Britannica*.

Les dépôts funéraires

Avant d'atteindre le niveau des inhumations, un **premier dépôt funéraire secondaire** (fig. 3.5) est dégagé sous l'aire du monument et sur un de ses côtés, immédiatement sous la fondation de galet "en déblayant les alentours". À proximité "des charbons, des cendres, de la terre rougie par le feu et quelques vestiges d'os d'animaux" sont interprétés par Vaillant (1890, 107) comme "des vestiges de festins et d'oblations funéraires". Le dépôt mobilier est décrit de manière inégale en fonction de l'intérêt porté par le narrateur. Les carnets privés de la collection de L.-G. Bellon, témoin et acteur de la fouille en octobre 1888 (Dilly 2015, 12), complètent la description du mobilier.

On compte six céramiques ne dépassant pas "11 à 12 cm" de haut. Deux des vases sont davantage détaillés. Le premier de "type morin à pastillage" est identifié soit comme un gobelet métallescent trévire Symonds 1 à col long à devise 'PIE' (Bellon 905), soit comme un autre gobelet à col concave Symonds 2 à devise 'LVDE', entre deux lignes ondulées, conservé au musée de Boulogne-sur-Mer (fig. 3a). R.P. Symonds (1999, 390-391) date ce dernier entre 200 et 275 AD.



Figure 4. Autel des enfants du triérarque Domitianus (collections du musée de Boulogne-sur-Mer 4020.R5, © E.Watteau).

Le "plat en terre rouge glacé" (fig. 3b) correspond à une coupe Chenet 313 à bord à marli guilloché du Cambrésis (4008.R5) et s'inspire du répertoire des terres sigillées d'Argonne. La production de cette catégorie débute vers 250 et se généralise entre 260 et 300/320 AD pour perdurer au IV^e siècle. Cet argument chronologique est conforté par un niveau d'incendie de la fouille du terrain Landrot à Boulogne daté entre 270 et 300 (Clotuche 1993) piégeant des gobelets Chenet 335 de cette catégorie. Des tessons non identifiés de bol à décor guilloché appartenant à ces ateliers ont également été relevés dans les niveaux de destruction du dernier état de la caserne H. Ces niveaux renferment des gobelets trévires et une amphore Gauloise 4 donnant un *terminus ante quem* de 275 (Dhaeze & Monsieur 2014). Les deux formes reconnues peuvent raisonnablement appartenir à la séquence 250-275 AD.

Ces céramiques sont associées à deux récipients en verre dont un *poculum* (fig. 3c). Ce terme, fréquemment utilisé par les érudits, semble désigner un bol apode à panse hémisphérique et bord coupé, populaire dès la fin de l'Antiquité jusqu'au début du V^e siècle. Mais si l'on se réfère au reste du mobilier de la tombe, notamment la céramique, il s'agirait du modèle à panse hémisphérique, sorte de bol en verre blanc. L'autre récipient est une bouteille "à goulot étroit" (fig. 3d) "en verre verdâtre dont la panse globuleuse était décorée d'appendices d'éléphants" (Bellon 853, H: 15 cm). L'une des propositions de restitution, celle d'un flacon à haut col et panse sphérique décorée de pinçures, nous paraît la plus judicieuse. Cette forme est peu répandue dans le corpus funéraire dans le sud de la Gaule belgique avec quatre occurrences appartenant à des sites à caractère militaire: Beauvais, Vermand ou Amiens dont les exemplaires de la nécropole de la Citadelle sont datés par les mobiliers en céramique entre 270-300/320 AD (Louis 2016, 692-725).

Le petit mobilier, comprenant une petite tête en bronze, une statuette en terre et des épingles en argent ou en jais, est malheureusement le moins bien documenté. Au regard de la chronologie, l'épingle en jais pourrait posséder une tête polyédrique, forme la plus courante. La mode du noir débute au III^e siècle, aussi bien pour la céramique que pour la parure, i.e. épingles, bracelets, perles, amulettes zoomorphes avec l'apparition du jais dans les dépôts funéraires (Crummy 2010, 56-60, appendix I; Vigier 2022, 150, 314-318). Autre composante du dépôt funéraire secondaire, une broche "en forme de disque évidé ou d'anneau plat avec aiguille mobile" correspond à une fibule pénannulaire (fig. 3e). Elle renvoie au type Feugère (1985) 30g, variante 2 d'après la mention de la section plate, au regard également des occurrences régionales (Piton 2006) et de la chronologie. Celle-ci englobe les exemplaires à jonc plat (ou rond), parfois ornés d'un décor simple dont les extrémités s'enroulent sur elles-mêmes. Ces fibules, dont la chronologie se fonde principalement sur des contextes funéraires, se rencontrent majoritairement entre 250 et 400 AD, les spécimens rattachés au III^e siècle correspondant aux variantes précoces de ce type (Feugère 1985, 421).

Le second dépôt funéraire appartient à la dernière inhumation, celle de la "fillette" âgée "de 4 à 6 ans au plus" (Vaillant 1889, 222-223; Vaillant 1890, 109). Il est doté d'un gobelet miniature cuit en mode B fabriqué dans des ateliers régionaux (4055.R5, la Calotterie): "charmant petit vase en terre grise (...) orné de six dépressions circulaires sur sa panse" (fig. 3f). Sa surface externe comportant des traces de suie et le pied découpé par endroits indiqueraient soit une réutilisation de ce gobelet provenant d'un contexte domestique antérieur, soit des traces laissées sur le vase durant le banquet funéraire. Ce vase s'inspire des vases métallescents Oelmann 33 de la région argonnaise

apparaissant au milieu du III^e siècle, copiés en territoire sud-nervien entre 260-300 AD (Willems 2019, 906). Un gobelet plus élancé est disposé dans une crémation de Marck-en-Calais, daté entre 250-300 AD (Pastor 2019, 84). À l'instar de la fibule du premier dépôt, les effets personnels sont recueillis dans le cercueil au travers d'une épingle à tête sculptée (fig. 3g) dont les caractéristiques techniques ne sont pas détaillées et d'un bracelet sommairement décrit "en bronze de 55 mm de diamètre" (fig. 3h). Nous ignorons si ce bracelet était porté par la jeune fille contrairement au collier à association multiple, posé autour de son cou.

Dès 1889, Vaillant avait cerné le caractère prophylactique de ce collier-amulette (fig. 3i), qu'il décrit comme la "pièce topique" de la tombe et le place "sur la poitrine de l'enfant". Il est composé de "perles d'ambre et des perles en pâte de verre côtelées" ou *melonperlen* (i 1) faisant office d'amulettes conjuratoires dans des sépultures aussi bien d'hommes, de femmes que d'enfants dès le Haut-Empire (Feugère 1993, 151; Riha 1990, 81-82). Il comprend également "une monnaie, moyen bronze de Néron, percée et enfilée" (i 3), "un minuscule vase en verre blanc laiteux à deux anses haut de 16 millimètres" se rapprochant de la forme d'aryballe à anses delphiniformes (i 4) et "une petite clochette en bronze, haute de 15 millimètres" (i 2).

Ayant la réputation d'écarter les fantômes et les démons malfaisants (Dasen 2003, 181, note 25) et comptant parmi les amulettes apotropaïques, la clochette se retrouve dans de nombreuses tombes. Elle est parfois portée autour du cou dans les sépultures d'enfants à Boulogne ou à Arras (Dasen 2003, 181; Jelski 1984, 264). Il semble aussi que ces monnaies percées jouent le même rôle que celui des clochettes: à la fois hochet et amulette destinées à éloigner les maléfices.

Le dépôt de monnaies anciennes dans les tombes tardives s'explique par la transformation opportuniste d'un objet qui n'est plus en circulation en breloque tintante. Dans les assemblages funéraires, le monnayage date de Néron pour Boulogne ou avant 250 AD pour une des monnaies d'Arras portant les traces d'un début de perçage (Jelski 1984, 264). Enfin, Vaillant (1890, 108) termine par l'élément central de cette amulette: Une "rondelle en os (...) presque circulaire, d'un diamètre de 46 millimètres environ, épaisse de 5, à bords godronnés, et percée de quatre trous qui laissent passer le fil de suspension; sur sa face supérieure se profile, en relief et dressé verticalement, un énorme phallus" (i 5). Il s'agit clairement d'un médaillon façonné dans la base de merrain d'un bois de cerf, caractérisé par ses pierrures conservées. Peu nombreux en Gaule romaine (Greep 1984, 81; Alonso 2006, fig. 12), ils sont répartis sur les frontières de l'Empire le long du limes germanique, au nord et au sud de l'Angleterre, à Boulogne et dans les camps militaires jusqu'en Hongrie (Mikler 1998, carte 5).

Un autre exemplaire fragmentaire à décor phallique a été mis au jour rue E. Branly à Boulogne dans le comblement



Figure 5. Céramiques de la tombe des enfants de Domitianus (collection du musée de Boulogne-sur-Mer) et médaillon en bois de cerf de la rue E. Branly, Boulogne (dessin assisté par ordinateur D. Bossut-Inrap, d'après J. Flahaut & S. Leclercq).

inférieur d'un fossé bordier de voirie, daté de la période claudienne par la céramique (Blamangin 2016, 254-256). Hormis sa dimension et l'absence de pierrures, il offre des parallèles avec celui de 1888: percé de quatre trous et orné d'un phallus prenant toute la longueur de l'objet (fig. 5). La datation de ces pièces est difficile à préciser. Sur les sites du limes germanique, les médaillons à décor phallique

disparaissent à partir du II^e siècle (Alonso 2006, 211-213). Trois autres médaillons tournés ont été trouvés dans l'Oise, dans des contextes compris entre 50-100 et 200-230 AD, au sein d'agglomérations importantes et à vocation militaire: Beauvais (Fémolant 1994), Vendeuil-Caply (Giraud 2008, 145) et Saint-Martin-Longueau (Information personnelle G.-P. Woimant). Le médaillon à décor phallique de ce

collier, daté par le mobilier céramique entre 250-275 AD, pourrait signifier que l'objet se soit transmis d'une génération à l'autre dans un but protecteur. Cet objet s'inscrit pleinement dans un double contexte, une sépulture d'enfant de militaire à proximité du camp de la *classis*.

Conclusion

Ainsi, l'ensemble funéraire des enfants de Domitianus, n'était jusqu'à présent connu que par son autel – exceptionnellement intact – et par la mention de la fonction militaire du père des inhumés. Il n'avait jamais été étudié dans sa globalité – dépôt et inscription – depuis 1888. Cette tombe permet de proposer une datation plus précise, entre 250 et 275 AD, soit à un moment charnière de l'histoire de la *classis Britannica*. Pour une partie des offrandes mobilières à vocation protectrice, il est question de critères pratiques et économiques. Ces aspects sont soulignés par la réutilisation d'objets du Haut-Empire dans cette tombe plus tardive suggérée par la monnaie de Néron, le mobilier coroplastique ou le médaillon. La fibule et les céramiques du premier dépôt placent clairement cette sépulture après 250, voire 260 AD. Le jais et le gobelet de la dernière tombe féminine appuient une datation après le milieu du III^e siècle. Par ailleurs, cette sépulture appartient à l'ensemble funéraire du 'premier groupe' où l'existence d'une monnaie (Tacite) conforte ces arguments chronologiques.

La dernière mention épigraphique de la *classis Britannica* (CIL XII.686), confirme le maintien d'une escadre permanente sur le littoral de la Manche jusqu'au règne de Philippe l'Arabe. Au-delà, l'épigraphie est muette et les textes ambigus (Blamangin & Demon 2019). Cette flotte était-elle encore opérationnelle lorsqu'en 285 AD, Carausius est dépêché à *Bononia* pour "pacifier, sur le littoral de la Belgique et de l'Armorique, la mer qu'infestaient les Francs et les Saxons" (Eutropius, *Breviarium Historiae Romanae* 9.21; Eutropius 1834)? D'après Aurelius Victor (*Epitome de Caesaribus* 39; Dubois 1846), "les deux empereurs le chargèrent d'équiper une flotte", indiquant que la *classis* n'était plus active. Pour autant, le Panégyrique évoque la "flotte qui autrefois protégeait la Gaule", que Carausius "avait augmentée en construisant plusieurs vaisseaux" (*Panegyrici Latini* 4.12; Galletier 1949-1952). Il suggère le stationnement d'une escadre à Boulogne, même si ses capacités opérationnelles étaient insuffisantes pour contrer l'ampleur des incursions. La construction de multiples fortins protégeant les côtes de l'est de l'Angleterre témoigne de cet affaiblissement de la flotte de Bretagne c. 250-300 AD (Reddé 1986, 439). L'expérience de la sécession de Carausius a pu précipiter la fin d'un grand commandement sur les deux rives de la

Manche (Reddé 1986, 627-628). L'archéologie n'apporte guère d'éléments probants. Et si le port de Douvres fut bien la base navale insulaire de la *classis Britannica* jusqu'au III^e siècle, en miroir de Boulogne, il est difficile d'identifier au-delà le port d'attache de cette escadre. L'inventaire des tombes tardives boulonnaises montre la présence de soldats, mais pas forcément d'une garnison permanente (Seillier 1995). Et la *Notitia Dignitatum*, difficile à interpréter (Reddé 2014, 29-39), n'évoque pas directement la cité de *Bononia* ni l'existence de la *classis Britannica*, hormis la présence d'une série d'escadres fluviales ou d'une *classis Sambrica* probablement stationnée dans les estuaires de la Somme et de la Canche.

Ainsi, la dédicace de Domitianus confirme la présence de navire de guerre (trière) dans l'estuaire de la Liane après 250 AD. L'archéologie récente conforte cette proposition chronologique, montrant les casernes du camp occupées et entretenues jusqu'en 250-275 AD grâce au mobilier céramique et numismatique antérieur à l'incendie final. La dernière monnaie (antoninien de Claude II) est frappée en 268-269 et la destruction du camp est antérieure à 275. Ceci semble indiquer que Domitianus était bien triérarque de la *classis Britannica*, flotte provinciale stationnée dans le port de Boulogne au moins jusque 270-275 AD.

Abbreviations

Chenet: Chenet 1941

CIL: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

Isings: Isings 1957

Oelmann: Oelmann 1914

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The rural burial landscape in the northern hinterland of Roman Nijmegen

Joep Hendriks

Since the last two decades our knowledge of the Roman period in the town of Nijmegen and its riverine surroundings – also known as the Eastern River Area (ERA) – has seen an enormous increase in the number of excavated sites. The current system of the developer-led archaeology has provided the possibilities to document many settlements and cemeteries. Next to this, the recent focus of heritage management at the Lower German Limes zone has underlined the research potential of both military and civilian sites, not the least in the Nijmegen area (e.g. Van Enckevort 2021; Vos & Hessing 2021). Moreover, the opportunities of the ERA for studying the integration of indigenous and new communities within provincial-Roman society in a frontier setting had already been acknowledged by Willem Willems (1986) in the early 80's of the 20th century. Willems inventoried many sites and set a theoretical framework, but there were hardly any publications available to analyse the interaction of these communities with for instance the omnipresent Roman military in great depth. Nowadays, this situation has changed greatly and especially the dataset of rural cemeteries in the ERA has become worthwhile to consider a comparative analysis of these sites and their connections towards the limes on the one hand and the urban-military complex of Nijmegen on the other (Van der Feijst & Geerts 2021).

With this in mind, in 2021 the municipality of Nijmegen launched a backlog programme to analyse, publish and synthesise the results of the many excavations carried out in Nijmegen-North, especially between 1998 and 2004. In 1995, this part of the Betuwe – the region between the Rhine and Waal rivers, known as the ‘island of the Batavians’ – consisted only of the village of Lent and more than 12 km² of agricultural land. It was here that the municipality initiated the major construction project ‘Waalsprong’ to build thousands of new houses and a recreational area with small lakes. The archaeological sites were largely unknown, but after an intensive survey, almost 80 new sites dating from the late Mesolithic to the late Middle Ages were mapped. Large-scale archaeological investigations were then launched to secure as many sites as possible. Unfortunately, funding was only available for fieldwork and post-excavation analysis had to be postponed. This resulted in a rich but largely unresolved archaeological dataset (Van den Broeke & Ball 2012).

Since 2005, it has gradually become possible to analyse and publish newly excavated sites, including a number of Roman period settlements and burial sites. So far, however, it has not been possible to integrate this new data properly into the broader narrative

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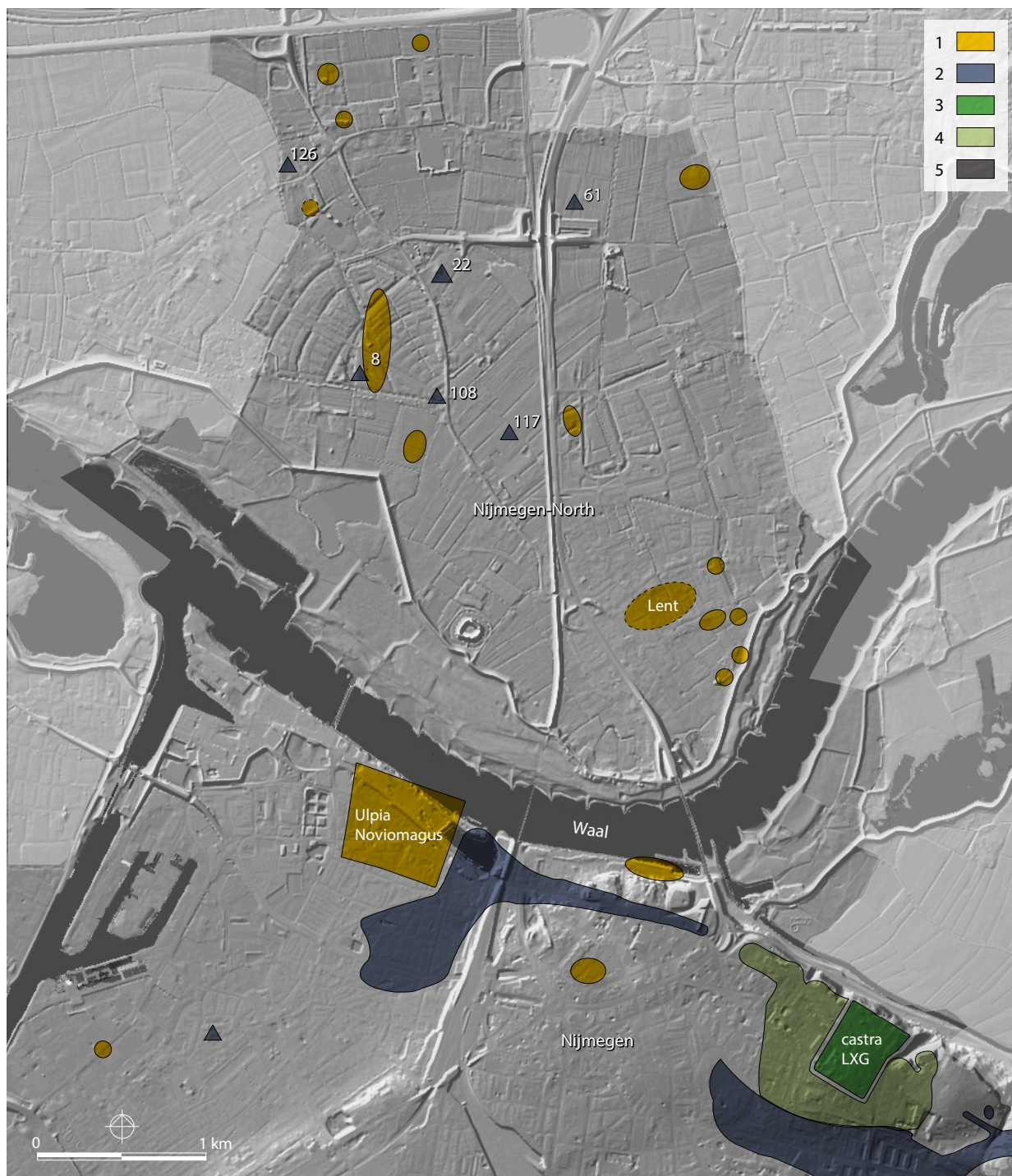


Figure 1. Roman sites in the municipality of Nijmegen between the late 1st century and the mid 3rd century AD, north and south of the river Waal. Background is the Current Dutch Elevation (version AHN2, situation 2011). 1. Civil/rural settlement; 2. Cemetery; 3. Fortress (AD 72-103/104 (170)); 4. *Canabae legionis*; 5. Water (Joep Hendriks).

of Roman Nijmegen. The current backlog programme is therefore an essential step in bringing our knowledge up to date. One of the research priorities concerns the cemeteries of the Principate, and although the post-excavation analysis is still in progress, this paper explores – by presenting some interesting cases – the applicability of current knowledge of Roman burial rites to the interpretation of these cemeteries.

A Batavian burial ritual?

The study of the ‘Roman’ inhabitants in the countryside of Nijmegen-North must take into account its special geographical position within the district of the *Batavi*. In relation to many other contemporary sites in the Betuwe and especially in the ERA, Nijmegen-North can be seen as the immediate rural hinterland of Roman Nijmegen (fig. 1). The proximity to these hubs of military and urban connectivity contrasts fairly with the distance of Nijmegen-North from the limes on the Rhine, about 15 km to the north and 11 km to the east. One of the main questions for the analysis of rural habitation in the Waalsprong is whether it is possible to determine the impact of these nearby centres on the development of the burial ritual from the mid-1st century onwards. And to what extent do the cemeteries of Nijmegen-North fit into the existing framework of what is understood as the ‘Batavian’ burial ritual (Aarts & Heeren 2017)?

Early thoughts on the funerary rites in the district of the *Batavi* can be found in the publication of the cemetery of Nijmegen-Hatert by Jan Kees Haalebos (1990). It was one of the first examples of a well-documented Roman cemetery in the Dutch river area, located with its associated settlement at a distance of 4-6 km from the Roman town and fortress. Dating from c. AD 10 to 240, it consists of more than 200 cremation graves and many low burial mounds with circular and rectangular ditched enclosures. In many respects the site is exemplary for a (large) cemetery in the Batavian countryside and therefore served as a reference site, at least until the large-scale excavations at Tiel-Passewaaij were completed and published. With two excavated settlements and a communal cemetery in between, the Passewaaij site subsequently proved to be an ideal case study to characterise the Batavian burial ritual during the 1st-3rd centuries AD (Heeren 2009; Aarts & Heeren 2017). Using an anthropological perspective, Aarts and Heeren analysed the different stages of the ritual in relation to the resulting archaeological phenomena of the burials. One of their main conclusions is that personal identity was largely not expressed in the ritual and that symbols of individuality, referring to the age, sex, gender or social position of the deceased seem to have been hardly present in burials in the Batavian countryside (Aarts & Heeren 2017, 146). Given the frontier setting of these communities along the

limes, the absence of military equipment or objects related to military service, which Batavian men were presumably obliged to perform, in most graves is particularly striking. Similar to the distribution of brooches, their sparse use as grave goods seems to contrast strongly with their frequent occurrence in settlement contexts (Nicolay 2007, 199-205; Heeren 2014). Apparently, these preferences in the way grave goods were chosen (or rather left out of the grave) occurred especially from the Flavian period onwards, possibly at the same time as the formation of the Batavian community as a socio-political entity reached a stage of completion (see below).

Comparisons of rural cemeteries in the Dutch river area – albeit limited in scope – highlight several similarities, such as the appearance of collective cemeteries around the mid-1st century AD (e.g. Tiel-Passewaaij, Zaltbommel-De Wildeman), the construction of low mounds with ditched enclosures and the existence of a more or less standard inventory of ceramic vessels as grave goods (Heeren 2009, 193-223; Veldman 2013; Reigersman-van Lidth de Jeude 2016). However, in order to understand the constitution of the funerary rite in the Batavian district, one should be cautious about using the label Batavian as an overarching term for the self-conscious funerary expressions of a supposedly uniform entity. Although from the Augustan period onwards the Romans’ strict ethnic soldiering of the newly planted Germanic groups on the Lower Rhine must have accelerated the Batavian ethnogenesis, which can be illustrated by the well-known ethnic expressions of the *Batavi* as members of auxiliary units (Roymans *et al.* 2020, 271-275), it is not self-evident that all elements of this ritual can be regarded as the invention of a common Batavian tradition. There is, for example, the rather sudden appearance of low mounds with ditched enclosures as grave boundaries; this form of monumentalism was in fact unknown in the river area during the Late Iron Age. Although its presence in cemeteries on the adjacent southern sandy plains of the Maas-Demer-Scheldt area has been documented for this period, the layout of the mounds in Roman cemeteries in the river area is much more similar to the Late La Tène cemeteries, for example in the Treverian area (Haalebos 1990, 200-201; Hiddink 2003, 28-32; Koster 2013, 237-240). For some reason, the amalgamation of newly arrived Germanic groups and remaining local inhabitants incorporated this practice, possibly provided by migrating or mobile groups from southern regions, into their shared value system. However, the composition of the grave inventories suggests that other mechanisms may have been at work. Frontier communities in the Germanic province gradually replaced handmade pots with wheel-thrown wares and embraced several objects as grave goods – other than weapons or brooches – with a military circulation profile (Pitts 2017, 154-163). Looking at the

(trans)formation of the so-called funerary objectscales during the 1st century, the burials of the Nijmegen area and especially the cemetery of Nijmegen-Hatert clearly express imperial styles of consumption, which corresponds to the strong interaction with the (proto-)urban and military society along the Rhine (*ibid.*, 194-205). This perspective, which focusses on the growing interconnectedness of local communities in the Roman provincial world and the ever-changing relationship between objects and their users, opens up new possibilities for the interpretation of the funerary rites, even after the Flavian period.

Thus, when speaking of the 'Batavian' burial ritual, the question arises to what extent it can be understood as one of the results of the constitutive process of ethnogenesis during the entire 1st century AD. Apparently this process reached a climax at the beginning of the Trajanic period with the foundation of the new *civitas* capital *Ulpia Noviomagus* and the formalisation of its *civitas* territory. These events may be seen as a form of recognition by the Roman authority of the integration of the Batavians as a meaningful entity (Willems & Van Enckevort 2009, 73-78). Although military life can be understood as the unifying force behind many processes in Batavian society, the rural funerary rite could also have encompassed divergent views on the care of the deceased from other regions in the frontier zone, both south and north of the limes. We should keep an open mind about communities that had different origins and multiple connections, to the military, to rural elites and also to urban life. Since migration, and especially military mobility took place in both the 2nd and 3rd centuries, the 'Batavian' burial ritual must have been subject to constant new influences. It is therefore much more appropriate to speak of 'local' or 'micro-regional' burial rites (Hiddink 2003, 62-63), in order to understand the specific ritual rhetorics concerning the deceased through the expression of individual or communal styles of commemoration and consumption. A recent overview of six cemeteries in the ERA has already pointed in this direction, by presenting some exceptional burials in or near 'regular' rural cemeteries (Van der Feijst & Geerts 2021).

Roman cemeteries in Nijmegen

Within the Batavian district the municipality of Nijmegen can be considered one of the most intensively researched areas of Northern Gaul. In this micro-region, burial remains have been discovered since the 19th century, resulting in a record of almost 3500 graves dating from the last decades of the 1st century BC to the end of the 5th century AD. More than 90 % of these graves were located on the south bank of the Waal. The numerous cemeteries established and used here during the Principate provide a frame of reference with a high degree of variety over time. It is useful to outline some of the characteristics of the most important burial sites.

The earliest cemeteries of any significance began in the last decades of the 1st century BC and probably belonged to the inhabitants of the Augustan fortress (AD 19-16) and the proto-urban settlement *Oppidum Batavorum* (12 BC-AD 69/70). Of these cemeteries, the Museum Kamstraat site is particularly well known for its furnished burials with mostly urns and sometimes ditched enclosures (Van Enckevort & Heirbaut 2013, 114-116). The composition of the grave goods in the first half of the 1st century AD is consistent with a civilian community with both a Gallo-Roman and military (veteran) background. While at the beginning the graves partly showed a regional North-Gaulish style of consumption, in the Claudio-Neronian period the material culture chosen for the burial rites is clearly in line with imperial funerary objectscales associated with military bases and colonies (Pitts 2019, 102-108 and 154-161). These burials can be clearly distinguished from the more simple graves around the camps on the Kops Plateau, further east. Here, the grave goods were often reduced to a single vessel, with few urns and no enclosures (Van Enckevort & Heirbaut 2013, 113). In concluding that these were the graves of regular soldiers, the differences with the 'civilian' Museum Kamstraat site and also with the first phases of the cemetery of Hatert, testify to divergent views on the constitution of the burial rite, but ultimately each was strongly linked to the military domain of the frontier zone (Pitts 2019, 161-162).

In the Flavian period, with the installation of the fortress of the Tenth Legion and, shortly afterwards, the transfer of civilian life to the new town of *Ulpia Noviomagus* in the low-lying river plain, the burial landscape south of the Waal changed dramatically: several cemeteries with multiple burial clusters were created (fig. 1). While several clusters in the east must have been used by the military-civilian occupation of the *castra* and *canabae legionis*, the large urban cemetery of *Ulpia Noviomagus* in the west extended over several hundred metres. The differences between the majority of the graves in these cemeteries were not too great, most of them consisting of a simple pit with a cremation depot and some grave goods, usually without a ditched enclosure. In both cemeteries some inhumations tend to occur from AD 100 onwards, and sometimes the graves must have been marked with a gravestone (Van Enckevort & Willems 2009, 139-140). While the use of the military-civilian cemeteries ceased in the third quarter of the 2nd century, that of *Ulpia Noviomagus* continued until the end of the 3rd century. To the south-west of the young town, a complex with four stone-walled enclosures and several remarkably richly furnished graves has been excavated. It is one of the few examples where the presence of a local urban elites was visible, who came into position during the city's formative phase between c. AD 80 and 120. They expressed themselves in a distinctive way, using different styles of

no.	Waalprong site name	excavated	reported	graves	ditched enclosures	urns	inhumations	date (AD)
8	Van Boetzelaerstraat	largely	no	c. 85	10	?	1	c. 0-175
22	't Klumke	partially	yes	26	23	-	-	c. 100-225
61	Zuiderveld	fragmentary	yes	1	-	-	-	c. 150-225
108	Rust Wat	largely	no	c. 100	30	?	2	c. 0/50-225
117	Broodkorf	partially	yes	10	4	-	-	c. 50-110
126	Rietgraaf	partially	yes	32	21	1	-	c. 70/90-200

Table 1. Overview of the Roman burial sites in Nijmegen-North, with some characteristics of sites.

consumptive to refer to their rootedness in a Celtic-Gallic or rather Germanic tradition (*e.g.* by placing weapons in a grave), as well as to their connection with the provincial-Roman urban and imperial styles that emerged along the limes in the Flavian period (Koster 2013; Pitts 2019, 180-183 and 194-200).

Whether or not these urban elites can be identified with the Batavian aristocracy, who chose to live in their new capital, possibly after a successful career in the Roman army, their funerary rites distinguish them in several ways from the rites of 'ordinary' civilian and rural population. Although not elite, the proximity to the urban centre is also reflected to some extent in the rural cemetery of Hatert (Haalebos 1990, 202-204). However, according to Pitts (2019, 201-205), the assemblages of grave goods here are much more likely to be associated with returning auxiliaries who made specific selections from the pan-regional repertoire of circulating objects – such as drinking vessels – that may refer to older traditions. It is precisely these phenomena, which can be described as local particularisations of universal practices (*ibid.*, 209), that can hopefully also be observed in the countryside of Nijmegen-North.

In contrast to the area immediately south of Nijmegen, where only one settlement is known besides the Hatert site, several indigenous-Roman settlements and at least six cemeteries have been discovered north of the Waal since the investigations began some 25 years ago (table 1). Some of these are concentrated in and around Lent, while most are scattered in the area further north, possibly aligned along the Roman road north to the limes (fig. 1). There is only one excavated settlement to which one (or more) cemeteries can be attributed with certainty: the large settlement of the Van Boetzelaerstraat site (fig. 1, no. 8). According to current knowledge, the inhabitants of this settlement – dating from shortly before or around 1 AD – used not only the adjacent cemetery (no. 8) immediately to the west, but most probably also the two cemeteries of 't Klumke (no. 22) and Rust Wat (no. 108), a little further to the east. Both sites will be discussed in more detail below. Of the other two cemeteries,

those of Broodkorf (no. 117) and Rietgraaf (no. 126), only the Broodkorf cemetery can possibly be attributed to a settlement. The cemetery of Rietgraaf is much larger and most of the graves correspond quite well to the definition of the 'Batavian' burial ritual as described for the river area (Koot *et al.* 2018, 204-211 and appendix 2). Due to the partial state of research on the sites, it is too early to present a more detailed comparison of the cemeteries as a whole. However, it is possible to take a closer look at some special graves from sites 22 and 108, which show striking local interpretations of the burial ritual.

Waalprong site 22: 't Klumke

At first sight, the cemetery of 't Klumke fits well into the general picture of indigenous-Roman cemeteries in the ERA: most of the burials must have been covered by low mounds with ditched enclosures and were furnished with a limited number of grave goods that do not seem to express specific signs of individuality. In 2018, however, a large burial pit (grave 4) was excavated containing the richly furnished graves of an adult male and an infant, dating from around 150-175 (Daniël & Hendriks 2021). The cremation remains were at the bottom of the grave (fig. 2), together with two beakers, an oil lamp, a cingulum buckle (fig. 3.2) and a remarkable iron disc brooch with silver decoration (fig. 3.1). A large number of ceramic, glass and bronze vessels were placed on a wooden bier. Next to these were also an iron knife and *stilus* (fig. 3.6), and in bronze an inkwell (fig. 3.5), a *cochlearium* (fig. 3.3), and the fittings of a drinking horn (fig. 3.4). More than 80 small nails from the soles of a pair of shoes were also found. This grave is different from all the others in the cemetery in every respect.

If we assume that this man was buried by his relatives with his possessions or with objects expressing (part of) his identity, the grave seems to have belonged to a particularly wealthy person with knowledge of Roman culture, especially based on the combination of metal objects. The *cingulum* buckle would suggest that the deceased had served in the Roman army, and the inkwell,

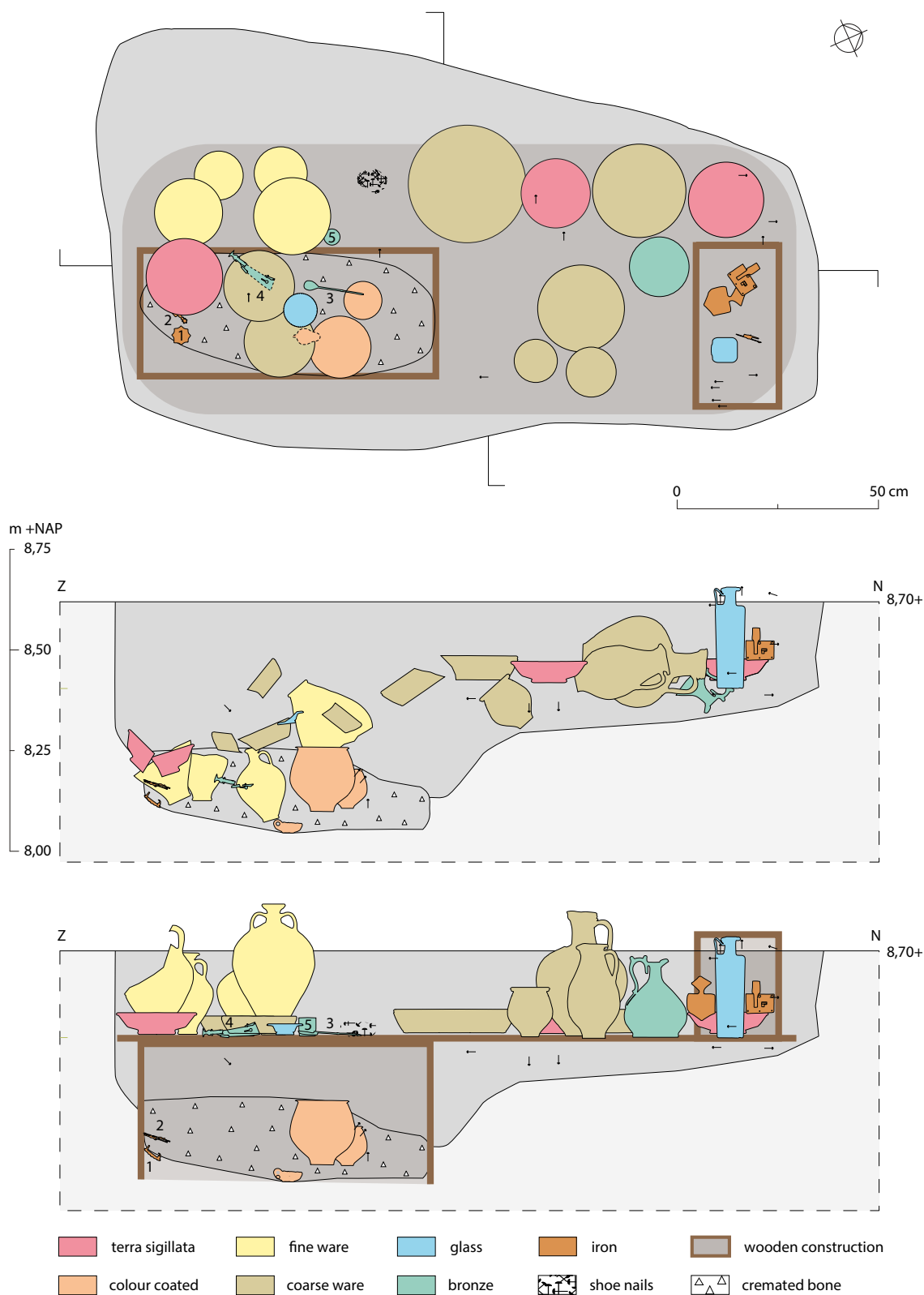


Figure 2. Site 22, grave 4. Horizontal and vertical documentation plus reconstruction drawing (below), with a projection of the grave goods in both their archaeological and original situation. The numbers of the metal finds refer to figure 3 (Matthijs van Kooten and Joep Hendriks, Municipality of Nijmegen).

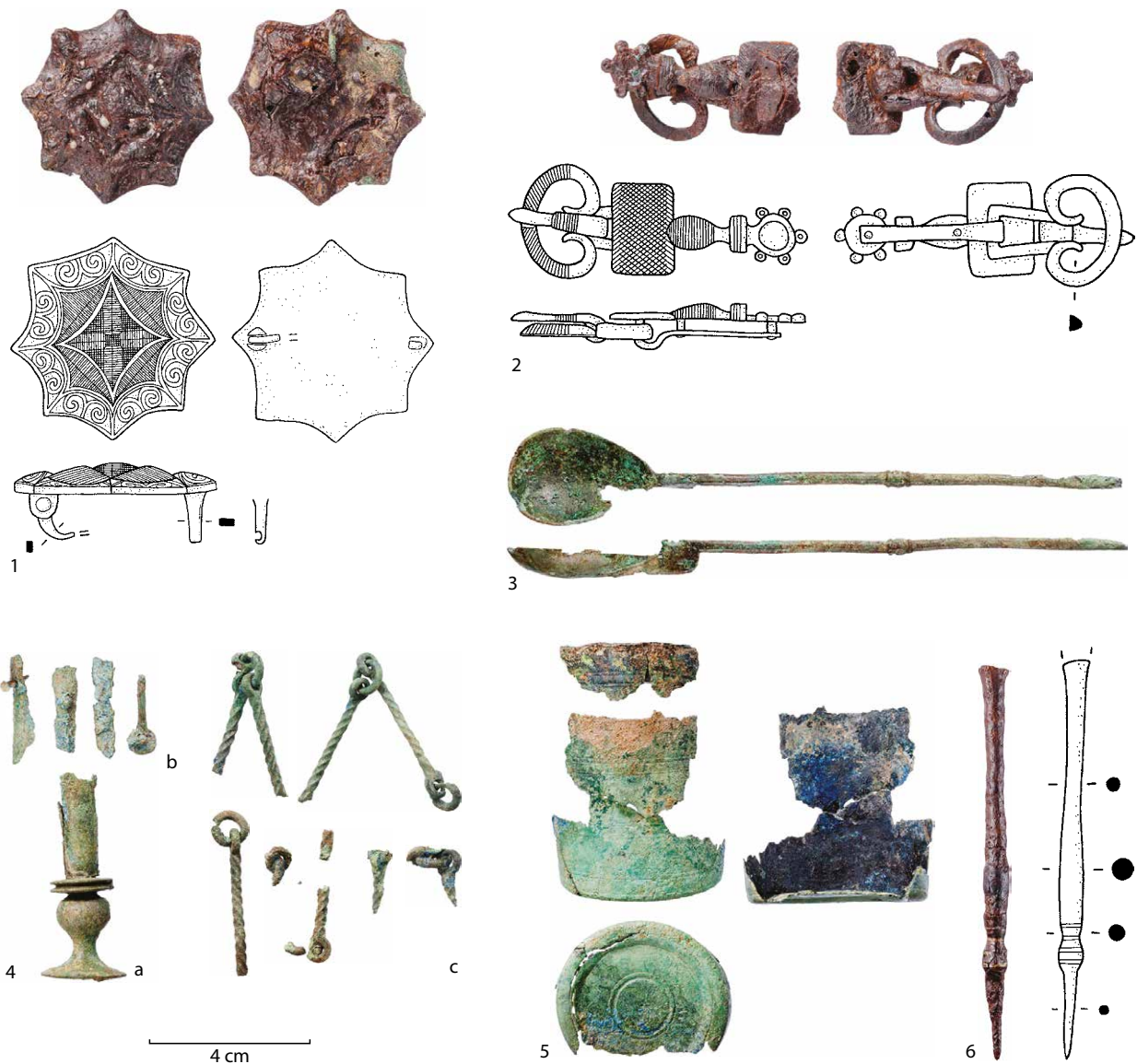


Figure 3. Site 22, grave 4. Selection of the metal objects (with inventory number). 1. Iron disc brooch; 2. Iron *cingulum* buckle; 3. Bronze spoon; 4. Bronze drinking horn fittings with foot (a), a selection of the larger fragments of the three arms (b) and parts of the chain (c); 5. Remains of a bronze inkwell; 6. Iron *stylus* (photos Rob Mols, Municipality of Nijmegen; drawings Germ Berkenbosch).

stylus and possibly the knife are clearly related to Roman literacy. The bronze water jug and spoon, which could be considered luxury items, show familiarity with Roman table customs. The parts of the drinking horn, on the other hand, are clearly related to Germanic drinking customs, as these types of objects are mostly known in Central Europe. Presumably it was given as a kind of antique (Van Hemert 2020). What this tells us about the origin of the deceased and his family is not certain. Although the rest of the grave goods have a typically Roman character, the disc brooch and drinking horn clearly point to a Germanic origin. In this case, it could be a Germanic auxiliary

soldier who stayed in Nijmegen at the end of his service. Or perhaps he was a returned Batavian veteran who had been stationed along the Danube in Central Europe during his military service, or who had served in the wars in free Germania under the emperor Antoninus Pius (138-161).

Walsprong site 108: Rust Wat

The second cemetery worthy of mentioning is that of Rust Wat, is located c. 250 m east of the large Van Boetelaerstraat settlement (fig. 1). Compared to the other cemeteries in Nijmegen-North, it is relatively completely excavated, which will hopefully make it possible to



Figure 4. Site 108. Plan of the cemetery at Nijmegen-Rust Wat. 1. Roman period ditch; 2. Cremation grave; 3. Inhumation grave; 4. Ditch; 5. Residual channel/depression (Leon Scheffer and Joep Hendriks, Municipality of Nijmegen).

unravel its chronological development (Hendriks in preparation). As in the Rietgraaf and 't Klumke sites, there is an alternation of round and rectangular ditched enclosures and apparently also graves without visible monuments (fig. 4). Specific aspects of the burial ritual are not yet fully understood, but two graves stand out for the construction of a square, timber-lined burial chamber, 1.2 m and 2.0 m wide, respectively. Not only the appearance but also the contents of these graves are remarkable. First of all, there is the grave of an adult individual (fig. 4, s9.8), which dates to the third or last quarter of the 2nd century. In addition to a jar, the grave goods include one or two wooden boxes (with bronze fittings) which, in addition to glassware, contained a very special cosmetic attribute: a presumed eyeliner dispenser in which a plant stem had been filled with lead white (Van den Broeke *et al.* 2021). Although the use of such objects for cosmetic purposes is often seen in urban or civil contexts, an Eastern European origin may also be evident here. The small silver-ornamented collar fibula from the same context was particularly common in the eastern Danube basin. The grave may have belonged to a woman who originally came from this region and ended

up in Nijmegen-North with her Batavian(?) husband after his service (*ibid.*, 15-16).

The second chamber grave (fig. 4, s11.10), dating to the early 3rd century, was even larger and belonged to an adult woman (fig. 5). After her cremation, she was given a large number of tableware (beakers, plates and bowls), a glass aryballos and an *unguentarium*. Such grave goods are still rare in rural contexts, as is the wooden box with iron and bronze fittings. Not only the size of the burial chamber is remarkable, but also the dimensions of the ditched enclosure: at 12 × 12 m, it is the largest in the entire Waalsprong. The position of this burial in relation to the others on the Rust Wat site is still unclear.

Concluding remarks

It should be clear that the richly furnished graves mentioned above are not the basis for understanding local burial rites in the Roman countryside of Nijmegen-North. For that, we also need the other graves, which are much less exceptional. But it is precisely these examples that allow us to get closer to specific choices and local interpretations of the funerary customs. Why did a burial community decide to bury some of its members in such



Figure 5. Site 108, grave s11.10. Top view of the inner content of the burial chamber (c. 2 × 2 m.) of an adult female, dating to the early 3rd century AD (Municipality of Nijmegen).

particular way? Until recently, our idea of rural burial in the ERA was one of rather simple and undifferentiated practices. Since the discovery of the remarkable burials at Huissen and Bemmelen, however, it has become clear that burial rites in the limes hinterland did in fact express variations in connectivity and individuality (Van der Feijst & Geerts 2021, 19-21). This also puts the rich graves of the Waalsprong into a broader perspective: the proximity of the Roman centres in Nijmegen will not have been the only source of influence for such divergent practices. While the rural grave assemblages in the Lower Rhine area during the 1st century show a clear development towards an increasing influence of military and ‘imperial’ objects (Pitts 2019, 212-216), the younger grave assemblages also deserve such an approach. How far into the 3rd century AD is it possible to trace returning Batavian veterans in the countryside, without the presence of weapons or military equipment? In the case of grave 4 of ‘t Klumke, an interpretation based on the consumptive

style of the villa world is more obvious. Certainly, with the grave complex of Bemmelen-Baalsestraat in mind, we can expect a greater differentiation of settlements in the ERA (with stone-built constructions) than was thought possible until recently.

These considerations provide a good starting point for studying the rural habitation of Nijmegen-North and its cemeteries in the right perspective: as the hinterland of the urban and military centres south of the Waal, and also as the hinterland of the limes, where each indigenous-Roman community will have given its own interpretation to the gradually universalising ‘Batavian’ burial customs. A specific issue that requires further investigation in this context is the reality of the collective cemetery as it was used by co-resident groups in Tiel-Passewaaij around the mid-1st century (Aarts & Heeren 2017, 149-150). To what extent does this model apply to the Waalsprong, and is it possible that the opposite was the case? The existence of several cemeteries, which overlap in time, suggests

rather a complementarity of cemeteries, where the burial community did not concentrate on one cemetery, but had the possibility to bury the deceased at different places (Theuws 2000). Especially in a densely populated area like the Waalsprong, this perspective could add an additional dimension to the study of local Roman burial ritual.

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Germaanse invloeden in Nijmegen-Noord?

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Life and death at the Danube Limes

The cemeteries of *Lauriacum*/Enns (Austria)

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Lauriacum, located at the Danube Limes and underneath the modern city Enns in northern Austria, was the most important military site in *Noricum*. Beside several smaller burial plots, five larger cemeteries with more than 1500 documented graves have been at least partially excavated (fig. 1). Only two cemeteries (Ziegelfeld and Espelmayrfeld) have already been published (Kloiber 1957; 1962), the publication of the Steinpaß cemetery is in preparation. Parts of the Kristein and the Am Lagergraben cemeteries have been excavated in the 2000's and are currently being investigated in the course of the interdisciplinary project 'Life and Death at the Danube Limes. The cemeteries of Lauriacum/Enns.'

Historical background and overview of the cemeteries

The earliest Roman traces, dating to the second half of the 1st century, can be attributed to a small settlement on the so-called Limes Road (Freitag 2018, 35-38 and 53; Traxler 2018, 170-171) and 13 associated burials, located at the site Stadlgasse-Plochbergergründe (Freitag 2018, 34; Huber *et al.* 2023, 109). Due to the deployment of *Legio II Italica* and the construction of the fortress around 175 AD, the population of *Lauriacum* increased rapidly, resulting in an expansion of the civilian settlement (Freitag 2018, 35-38; Lang *et al.* 2018, 67). In addition to several smaller burial plots (for an overview of the cemeteries Ployer 2018, 39-40; Freitag 2018, 48-58), two larger cemeteries of the late 2nd-4th century are known: the Steinpaß cemetery and the Kristein cemetery. A decimation of the population and a gradual reduction of the settlement during the late 3rd and 4th century was accompanied by the shifting of the burial sites. The late antique and possibly also early medieval cemeteries Ziegelfeld (Kloiber 1957) and Am Lagergraben were very close to the fortress. The cemetery Espelmayrfeld/Eichberg (Kloiber 1962), on the other hand, is located on both sides of an important road in the south of *Lauriacum* and indicates another, not yet localized late antique/early medieval settlement around Stadtberg and/or Eichberg.

Steinpaß, Kristein and Am Lagergraben cemeteries

The Steinpaß cemetery is located to the east of the fortress on a road leading north-east. Between 1951 and 1962, rescue excavations under the direction of Ämilian Kloiber at

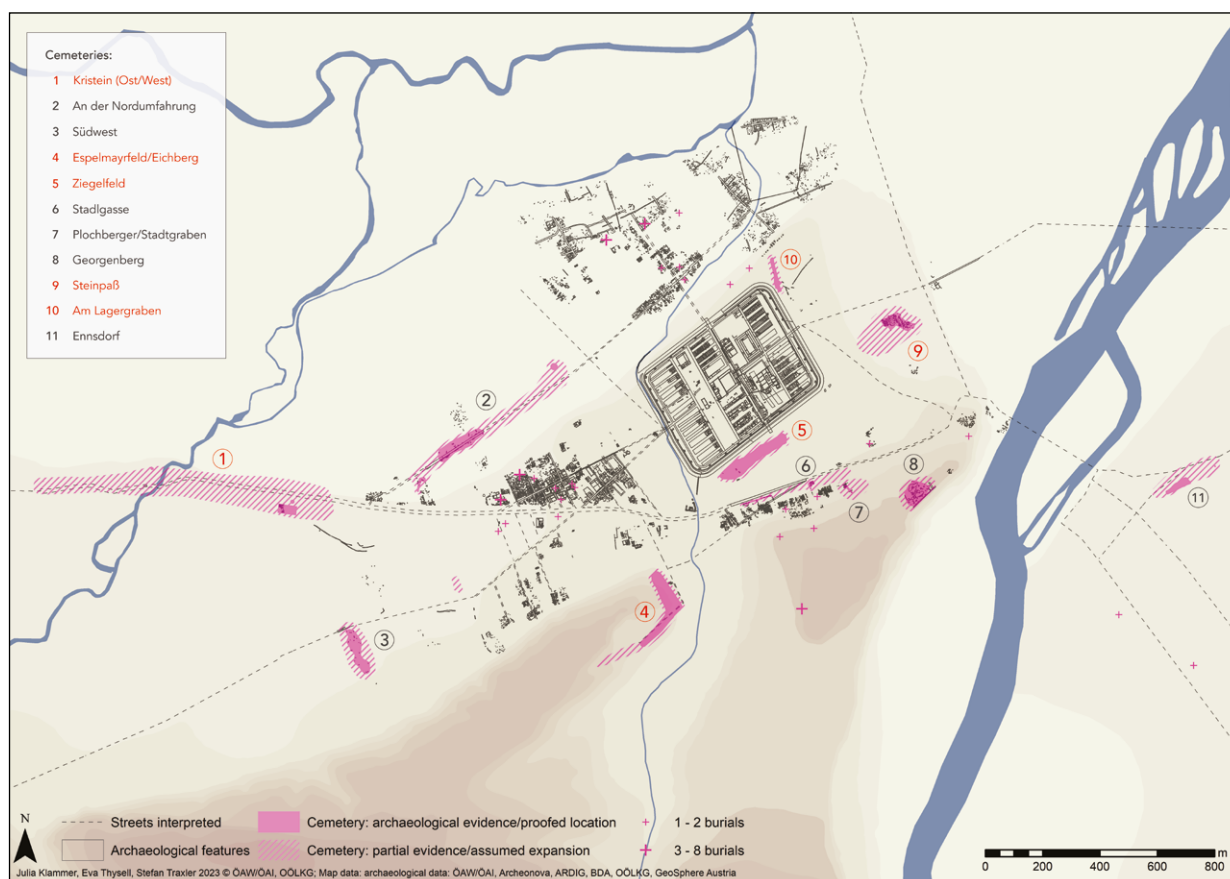


Figure 1. Map of *Lauriacum*/Enns (J. Klammer, E. Thysell & St. Traxler).

the edge of a gravel pit uncovered a total of 381 burials (91 cremation and 290 inhumation burials), dating to the 2nd-4th century (Winklehner 2013, 282 and 290). The results were presented in an unpublished thesis by Thomas Winklehner (2013). In 2018, anthropological analysis of the human remains, including 249 individuals of inhumation burials and 40 individuals of cremation burials (Marschler & Stadlmayr 2018a, 179; Stadlmayr & Marschler 2018), was carried out. The complete publication including archaeological and recent anthropological, archaeozoological and archaeobotanical analyses is in preparation.

The Kristein cemetery is known since 1844 as a Roman burial ground. From 1904, an unknown and only partially documented number of graves were uncovered during construction and field work (Schicker 1933). The first large-scale excavations, which took place 2004-2006 and in 2009 (for preliminary reports Muschal 2004; 2006; 2009) in the eastern part of the cemetery, are currently being investigated. They uncovered at least 170 Roman burials, probably from the 2nd-4th century, as well as three prehistoric cremation burials. With at least 116 examples, cremation was the predominate practice (81 urn

graves, 30 cremation graves with pyre debris and five *busta*). Most of the cremation burials already examined contained only few grave goods, such as a lamp, a coin or an *unguentarium*. At least 55 burials were inhumations, mostly of adults. In 12 cases multiple burials with two or three individuals were excavated. The majority contained little or no grave goods. It is worth noting that several individuals appear to have been placed in the burial pits with less care, some of them showing contextual evidence for decapitation. Furthermore, 65 pits, containing no, or very little, human remains, were uncovered. These might represent destroyed burials, probably already found in the early 20th-century, waste pits or cultic pits. There is little evidence for funerary monuments or tomb chambers. A brick built, barrel vaulted tomb with a wooden coffin inside was discovered in 1930 (Schicker 1933, 110-114). The only trace of a grave monument uncovered in recent times is a stone base (probably of a stela) found in 2005.

The Am Lagergraben cemetery was excavated between 2006 and 2009 during road construction works (Krenn *et al.* 2006; 2007; 2008; Krenn & Leingartner 2009). It is located north to the fortress and contained 65 inhumation burials. In contrast to the



Figure 2. Steinpaß, grave 19, 22-26-year-old male, perimortem cut marks on two cervical vertebrae (ÖÖLKG; NHM Wien, W. Reichmann).

Kristein cemetery, many of the deceased were buried with grave goods, wooden coffins or tile graves. They might belong to a social higher class.

Steinpaß cemetery. Demographic and paleopathological analysis

Demographic analysis of the inhumed individuals buried at the Steinpaß cemetery showed that the majority were adult men, who died between the age of 20 and 40 years. Among the sexed individuals, women were greatly underrepresented (Marschler & Stadlmayr 2018a, 179). The same tendency is observed in the cremated individuals (Stadlmayr & Marschler 2018, 196). The state of health of the deceased was generally rather poor, especially considering

dental diseases: Nearly three quarters of the assessable individuals suffered from caries and its consequences. It was already diagnosed in over 60 % of adolescents, and nearly all individuals over 40 years showed signs of this disease. Dental calculus was documented in nearly all assessable individuals (Marschler & Stadlmayr 2018a, 189-190). These diseases are due to a diet which was high in carbohydrates as well as inadequate dental hygiene.

132 individuals could be investigated on signs of chronic sinusitis (Marschler *et al.* 2023). 113 of them showed pathological changes in at least one paranasal sinus. Sinusitis occurs in particular in unfavourable climatic conditions (*e.g.* wintry, wet and cold weather) and in case of poor air quality, caused by air pollution

from smoke, grime, gases, dust, fungal spores, pathogens, etc. The very high proportion of individuals with chronic inflammation of the paranasal sinuses from the Steinpaß cemetery relates to the living conditions at *Lauriacum*. As comparative palaeopathological studies show (Roberts & Lewis 2002; Roberts 2007), there is a connection between the occurrence of sinusitis and socioeconomic status: A high socioeconomic status seems to be able to buffer the occurrence of respiratory diseases, since it is associated with improved living conditions (e.g. sufficient high-quality nutrition, good hygienic conditions, but also living in houses with smoke vents), which have a positive effect on the state of health (Roberts & Lewis 2002, 189-190; Roberts 2007, 803-804). Therefore, the high incidence of sinusitis in the Steinpaß cemetery suggests that the deceased represent a socially weaker part of the population. Stone buildings may have been the exception in the civilian settlement (for a compilation of building types: Freitag 2018, 104-157). Most people lived in houses without hypocaust heating that were heated by open fireplaces (Gassner *et al.* 2002, 189). In these rooms it was probably rather smoky and cold during the cold season. Poor air quality together with hypothermia and the associated weakening of the immune system were perfect conditions for chronic sinusitis.

Another focus of the palaeopathological analysis were traumata. Postcranial fractures were recorded in nearly half of the assessable individuals. The type and location of the fractures indicate that they were mostly the result of accidents or repetitive physical overload. Most of the fractures show no or minor displacement, indicating good medical treatment (Marschler & Stadlmayr 2018a, 184). Cranial trauma was diagnosed in c. a quarter of the assessable individuals, including healed depression fractures of the external table, the outer layer of the cranial bones, healed and perimortem sharp force trauma and differently shaped penetrating fractures. A comparatively high proportion of fractures (c. 40 %) occurred around the time of death. While healed fractures affected both sides of the skull, perimortem fractures were located mainly on the left side above the hat brim line, indicating that they were more likely to have resulted from interpersonal violence than from falls (Kremer *et al.* 2008, 717; Kremer & Sauvageau 2009, 924; Marschler & Stadlmayr 2018a, 182; Huber *et al.* 2023, 111-112).

The well-preserved cranium of an adult male (age 20-40 years) from grave 223 had two linear cranial lesions due to sharp force trauma: a healed one at the middle of the forehead and a perimortem at the left parietal region, which was caused by a cut of a very sharp blade, most probably by a sword (Marschler & Stadlmayr 2018a, 183). The corpse was buried without any grave goods (Winklehner 2013, 540). The probably male, 20-50-year-old individual from grave 295, which is only

represented by cranial fragments, died of a shot wound caused by a 10.5 cm long projectile tip of a torsion artillery (for similar examples Steidl 2006, 285-286, fig. 4), that pierced the right side of the cranium and got stuck on its left side. Traces of iron oxide on the inner side of the skull prove that it was still in there when the man was buried.

Particularly noteworthy are decapitation burials recorded in three cases from the Steinpaß cemetery. The skeletal remains of a 22-26-year-old male from grave 19 have perimortem cut marks on the 4th and 6th cervical vertebra (fig. 2). Similar injuries are recorded for the 17-25-year-old male from grave 205 with cut marks on the 4th cervical vertebra and the mandible. The bones of the latter were ¹⁴C dated to 1880±30 BP (66-222 cal. AD: 95.4 %; Beta Analytics 490796). Furthermore, grave 249 had contextual evidence for decapitation. The cranial base and the upper cervical vertebra of the 17-25-year-old male are not preserved, but the head was placed beside the right knee. All three individuals were buried in supine position (Marschler & Stadlmayr 2018b).

Summary and outlook

Demographic analysis of the individuals buried at the Steinpaß cemetery showed that the majority were adult men who died between the age of 20 and 40 years. The state of health of the deceased was generally rather poor. The majority suffered from dental diseases like caries and dental calculus, indicating a diet rich in carbohydrates and poor dental hygiene. The very high proportion of individuals with chronic inflammation of the paranasal sinuses is to be placed in direct connection with the living conditions in *Lauriacum* and may be an indication that the deceased represent a socially lower class of the population. Besides various other fractures, decapitation was diagnosed on the skeletal remains of two individuals and in another burial, there is contextual evidence. In the case of the osteologically proven decapitations, the similar site and morphology of the cut marks rather indicate executions.

Besides difficulties in stating a person's social status on the basis of grave furniture – especially in periods when grave goods are rare or absent – the archaeological observations from the Steinpaß cemetery seem to reflect the paleopathological evidence. Most of the burials were simple in layout and grave goods are rare. The preliminary observations indicate not only rather poor living conditions – at least for the socially lower classes – but a high degree of perimortem cranial trauma due to interpersonal violence in comparison to other approximately contemporaneous cemeteries in Austria (Wiltshcke-Schrotta & Teschler-Nicola 1991; Marschler 2012; 2013; Berner 2014). Various fractures may also have been caused by accidents or during training sessions. However, in view of the military



Figure 3. Network of the LDDL-project with all cooperating institutions (LDDL).



Figure 4. Krstein, urn grave 32/2005 (BDA).

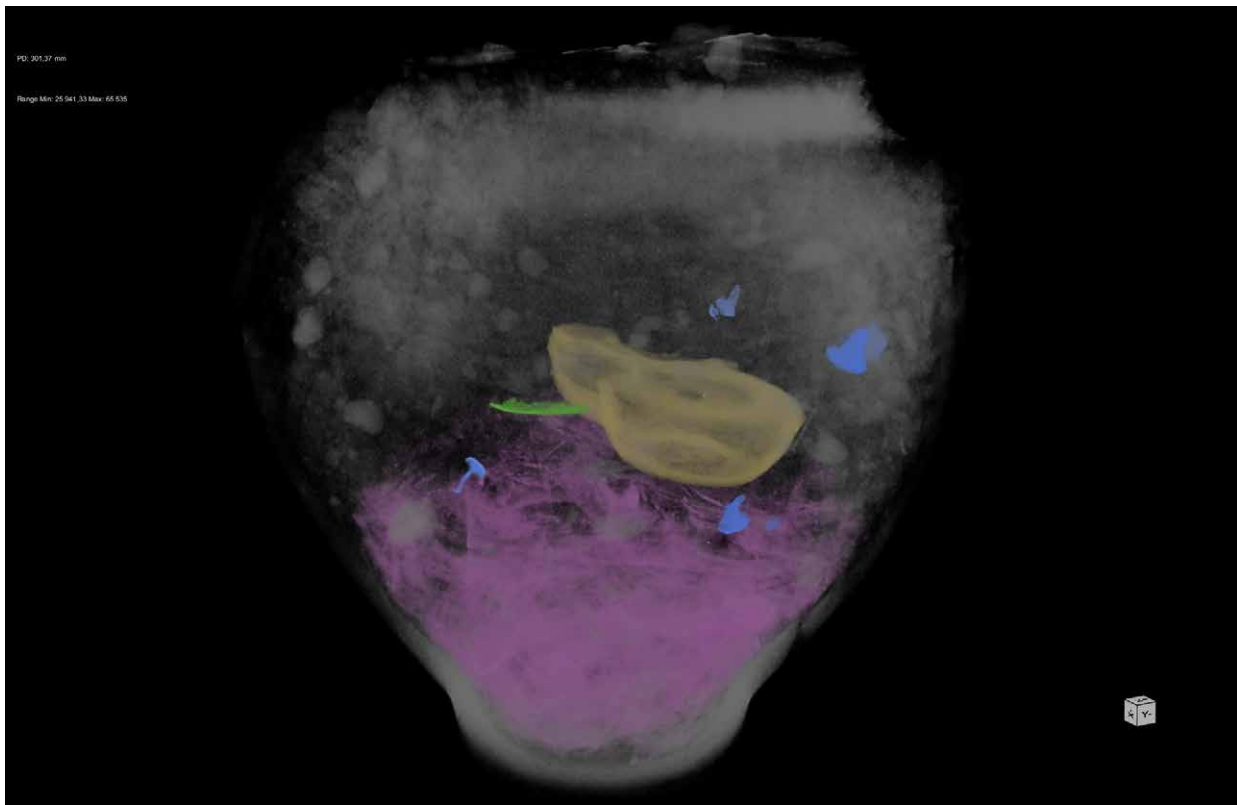


Figure 5. Revised CT-Scan of urn 32/2005 with cremated bones in the lower segment and grave goods including an oil lamp (FH OÖ Campus Wels, J. Herr (scan); NHM Wien, A. Stadlmayr (interpretation)).

context, the high number of ante- and perimortem trauma is hardly surprising. The Steinpaß cemetery seems to have been a burial site which was used by a large extent for soldiers.

In the course of the 'Life and Death at the Danube Limes'-project, two more cemeteries of *Lauriacum*, Kristein and Am Lagergraben, will be investigated by an interdisciplinary research group in accordance with international standards (fig. 3). A special focus will be placed on the chronological development of the individual cemeteries, which will allow conclusions about the development of the settlement. ^{14}C dating of multiple graves without grave goods is intended to clarify the chronological range of the late antique and possible early medieval burials.

Further emphasis will be placed on demographic patterns and the questions of the social background and the living conditions of the deceased. These results will be compared to the Steinpaß cemetery to identify similarities or differences, respectively. The intact urns of the Kristein cemetery are of particular interest (figs 4-5). Besides anthropological information on the buried individuals and insights into local burial habits, the yet untouched contents may provide valuable evidence for

food gifts and firewood identification. Archaeobotanical analyses of Roman cremation burials in various provinces have already delivered highly valuable insights into the cremation process itself and into the various aspects of plant-based grave goods. For the province of Noricum, however, evidence is still extremely rare.

Additional analyses will be applied in order to explore diet, mobility, genetic variability, kinship patterns, and parasite load characterizing the studied population. The analysis of stable isotopes of carbon, nitrogen, and sulphur will serve to explore the dietary contribution of C3 versus C4 plant products, the relative access to animal proteins, and the possible exploitation of freshwater food sources. Paleodietary data from the inhumations will be compared with grave good features in order to test for possible dietary differences based on social stratification. Strontium isotope analysis will be carried out on a subset of around 50 adult individuals and may provide insights into food sources from different origins. DNA analyses will be carried out on individuals for whom there are initial indications of a possible biological kinship (double or triple burials) and will also serve to explore the possible presence of a variety of different haplotypes at the presumably cross-cultural *Lauriacum*.

In the Krstein cemetery, there is also contextual evidence for decapitation. Anthropological analyses might also give osteological evidence. Decapitations are so far in *Noricum* only known from *Lauriacum*. This might not only be due to the current state of research but is probably linked to the site and the military context. The investigations might provide indications, if they can be linked to combat, capital punishment and/or ritual activity (Boylston *et al.* 2000, 248; Tucker 2015, 17-20; Wiseman *et al.* 2021, 153).

The analysis of the cemeteries of *Lauriacum* will be conducted in close scientific exchange with the ongoing investigations of the Great Cemetery of *Castra Regina* (Regensburg), the base of *Legio III Italica*. This cemetery, which was in use from the 2nd to the 7th century, is not only eligible due to the chronological range, but above all by the fact that *Castra Regina* was the base of the sister legion which was raised at the same time as *Legio II Italica* stationed in *Lauriacum*. Furthermore, Regensburg and Enns are essential components of the UNESCO World Heritage Frontiers of the Roman Empire – The Danube Limes (Western Segment).

Acknowledgements

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The burials of Stadlgasse-Plochbergergründe are currently being investigated by Eva Thysell as part of a PhD-project at the University of Innsbruck.

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Challenging late antique chronology

Graves as continuity indicators along the Rhine frontier of *Germania prima*

Rebecca Nashan

Status quo

The overall idea of Late Antiquity is gradually changing from an epoch of decline and collapse towards an era of transformation. While this change in perception is truly welcome, it sets in motion a lengthy process of reassessment of earlier archaeological research which is not accomplished lightly. Starting off with a fresh look at some polarising aspects of this period, such as ethnicity, identity and gender roles, is meaningful and resonates with our zeitgeist. In order to overcome the traditional narrative of an epoch in crisis it is, however, essential to dig deeper. A step forward towards a revised presentation would be a critical assessment of its foundation: the chronology of material culture.

A chronological construct delivers the answer to the question ‘When?’ and is therefore critical for our comprehension of history. Chronology, and more so the underlying typo-chronologies, have a great influence on the interpretation of historical processes. Though some promising reappraisals have been made in recent years (Friedrich 2016), the overall framework has not been altered yet. Thus, the 4th and 5th centuries AD along the north-western border of the Roman Empire currently lack a robust chronology of archaeological evidence. This status quo is the result of manifold issues which on the one hand are rooted within the epoch itself and on the other hand have accumulated over decades of research. A key challenge lies within Late Antiquity itself and the absence of reliable textual sources and only a few histories. Nevertheless, written sources were consulted and often strained beyond measure to interpret the archaeological record and reconstruct the narrative history of events. It is a practice that can easily lead to inaccurate assumptions that replicate via citing. A prominent example is the end of the 4th and the first half of the 5th century along the Rhine frontier, where identifying and dating evidence has become closely tied to a master narrative telling the end of the Roman Empire (Van Thienen 2020, 15). The following observations provide an overview of to what extent this methodology still has an impact on today’s research and interpretation of material culture. It highlights why the circumstances are not only reflecting a biased perception but also hindering a comprehensive new approach.

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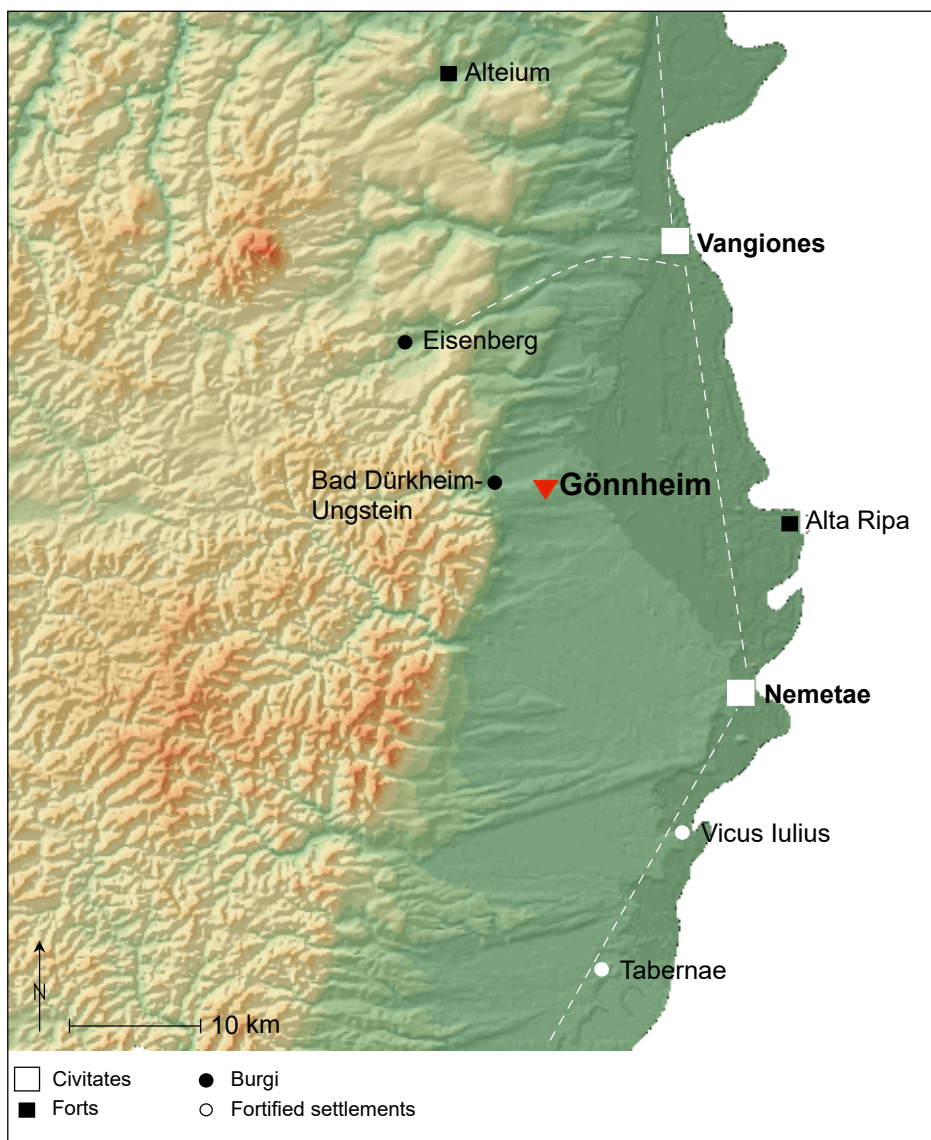


Figure 1. Location of Gönheim (© Data licence Germany – attribution – Version 2.0, URL: <https://www.govdata.de/dl-de/by-2-0> © GeoBasis-DE / LVerGeoRP (2022), dl-de/by-2-0, <http://www.lvermgeo.rlp.de>. Data arranged by R. Nashan).

Problematic chronology through the archaeological lens

The end of the 4th and the first half of the 5th century AD are characterized by a lack of datable sources, leading not only to severe dating, but also identification difficulties of latest Roman material culture and settlements. Of particular relevance is the end of minting of low denomination coins in Trier, Lyon and Arles around 400 AD (Wigg-Wolf 2016, 227), a phenomenon that is clearly noticeable in the archaeological record. The absence of new low denomination coins diminished the capacity to establish an accurate *terminus post quem* or to correlate other types of objects with coin-derived dates. That means that the appearance of new types of objects and structures, or the continued use of 4th-century forms, cannot be dated with as much confidence. However, these specific sets of

material culture are essential in the creation process of typo-chronologies.

Due to the lack of coins the archaeological evidence has not been able to contest or refine narratives derived from textual sources. This has led to the persistent reference to dates and events derived from textual sources which then become explanatory for absence in the archaeological record. Linking these two types of sources without a critical assessment can result in false references and impedes the development of an independent archaeological material horizon (Heising 2015, 169).

Over the past decades, historical interpretations have become deeply embedded in the evaluation of the archaeological evidence. Where the archaeological sources remained silent, written sources apparently supplied the answer: from the duration of forts to crisis situations and

periods of prosperity, demographic changes, and armed conflicts. Due to the extent in which these upheavals along the frontier were described, it was assumed that they are strongly visible in the archaeological record of the 4th and 5th century AD. Since it is a story of a declining empire, the focus was often placed on crisis situations. The so-called fall of the limes in 260, the usurpation of Magnentius in 350 and the crossing of the Rhine in 406/407 supply presumed event horizons of hostile invasions and lootings. Along the Rhine various categories of features, such as hoards, mass graves, burnt layers and abandoned or reduced settlements have been presented as testimonies of uncertain times. This in turn leads to an accumulation of archaeological evidence around these events and the creation of catastrophe horizons (Prien 2014, 85). Lastly, the collected data is deployed to verify the historical narrative, resulting in a circular argument (Witschel 2020, 423).

This methodology leaves a chain of dating references in footnotes which can easily be traced back over a hundred years. A prominent example to demonstrate the implications of this procedure are the events around New Year's Eve 406/407. The author Hieronymus (Jerome 1893, 236-237) describes the crossing of the Rhine by barbarian tribes and the destruction of cities between Strasbourg and Mainz in a rather drastic way. It was believed that the incident led to a widespread abandonment of military and civilian settlements in the region, with a particular impact on the rural part of the frontier zone.

Due to the lack of archaeological sources, such as coins minted after 400, this perception has persisted. The visibility of Late Antiquity is often limited to a few 'islands' along the Rhine focused on military installations. Their continued existence is considered relatively secure given their mention in the *Notitia Dignitatum* dated to 425/426. However, no major destruction has yet been documented at those very sites that were allegedly overrun by barbarians at the beginning of the century. Given the fact that the archaeological sources convey a different picture than assumed, it is justified to challenge the existing chronology (Himmelfmann 2018, 32).

The case study. A new burial site at the frontier

Late Antiquity in Rhineland-Palatinate is characterized by some extraordinary sites that provide insight into political and cultural processes along the frontier. Nevertheless, relatively little is known about civilian life in the rural areas of the hinterland of the Rhine frontier. The result is an empty map that misrepresents the actual settlement landscape of the era. Many sites have an abandonment dated before the 406/407 horizon or are not even published yet. Without reassessing key typologies within material culture either of those places will remain invisible. A

new burial site in the village of Gönnsheim, Rhineland-Palatinate, is currently assessed as part of my doctoral thesis. Situated only 20 km away from the Rhine it is a part of the frontier zone of the *Germania prima* (fig. 1). The location is within the rural region of the province and is distinguished by its mild climate and fertile soils.

The graves probably belonged to a *villa rustica*, of which there are several documented in the area (e.g. Wachenheim). In Gönnsheim, stray finds of *tegulae* indicate the existence of Roman buildings, but since they have been found within a vineyard, there are currently no identified structures or plans to carry out an excavation of an associated settlement. Despite the rural, civilian character of the site, the surroundings were clearly influenced by the military. The fortified *civitates* centres of *Noviomagus/Nemetas* (Speyer) and *Borbetomagus/Vangiones* (Worms), the forts of *Alteium* (Alzey) and *Alta ripa* (Altrip) as well as the *burgi* of Eisenberg and Bad Dürkheim-Ungstein all lie in the vicinity.

The Roman cemetery of Gönnsheim was excavated in 7 campaigns between 2001 and 2011. During this time 126 burials were documented, of which 85 are inhumations and 41 are cremations. The site stretches over a length of c.55 m from east to west and started with cremation burials in the 3rd century and continuing with inhumations into the 5th century. Despite its modest size, there is a diverse range of burial customs: stone cist, tree coffin and sandstone sarcophagus, are just a few worthwhile mentioning. Due to the soil conditions the preservation of skeletal remains was not very good. This especially affected the 85 inhumation burials with signs of a simple wooden coffin or no coffin at all. In comparison, the preservation in the 17 sarcophagus burials was better. Where possible, an east-west orientation can be stated for the inhumations.

The material culture is very typical in terms of provincial Roman tradition and shows parallels to the burial sites like Andernach and Krefeld-Gellep (Brückner 1999; Pirling & Siepen 2006). The composition of grave goods is dominated by pottery and glass vessels, followed by a range of metal objects. In terms of pottery the spectrum reaches from typical vessels made of Argonne ware (e.g. Chenet 304 and 320) and coarse ware from Mayen (e.g. Alzey 28 and 34) to hitherto less known and partially non-typologized vessels of Late Roman *terra nigra*. The glass product range includes some well-known and persistent types such as hemispherical cups (Isings 96) and bulbous flasks (Isings 101), but also some remarkable beakers, cups and jugs partially with elaborate and colourful decorations (e.g. Isings 106b, 107b and 128).

The dating debacle

A traditional dating approach would be to focus on singular extraordinary finds, so called *Leitfunde* ('leading

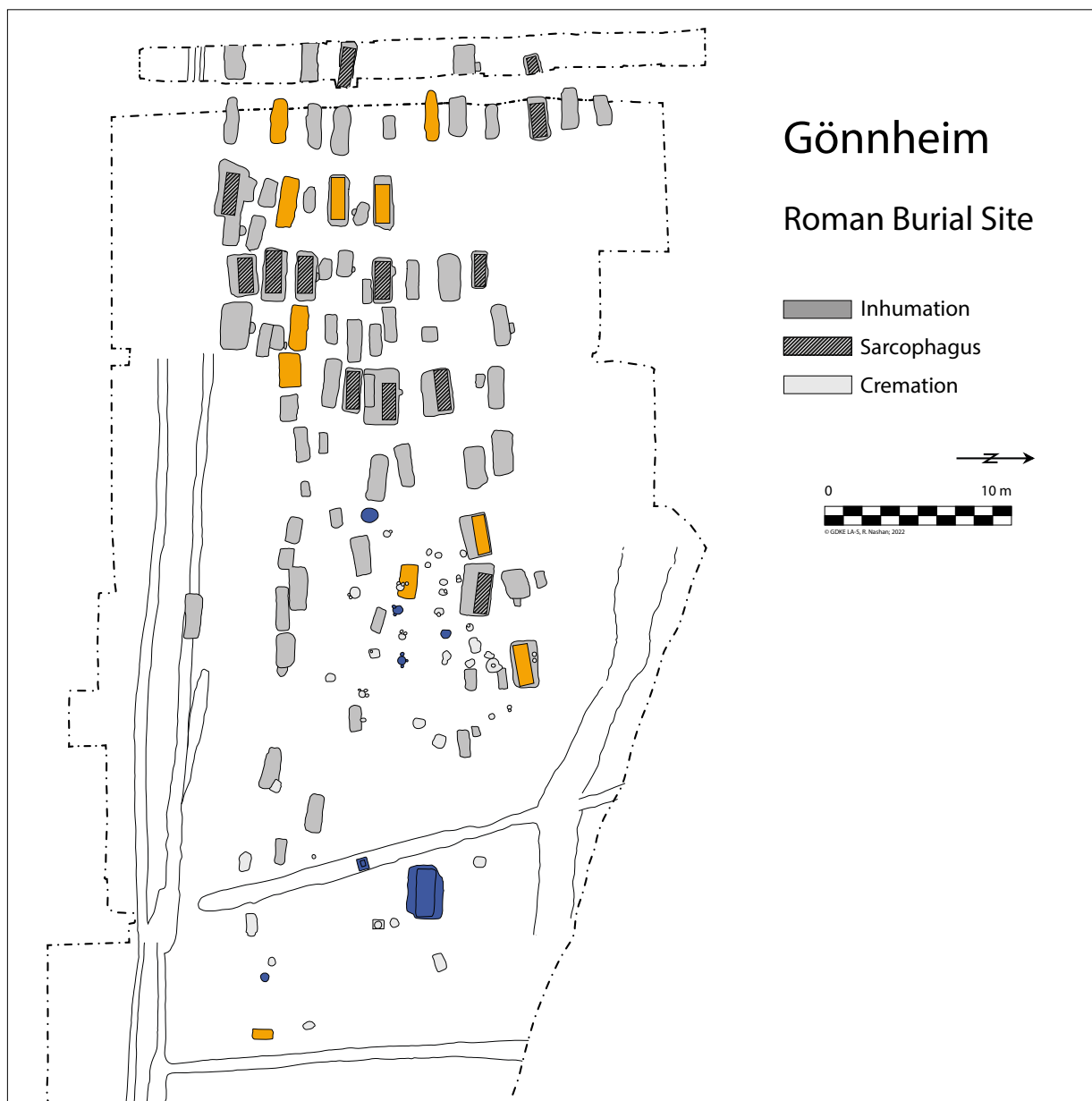


Figure 2. Plan of the burial site with the distribution of graves with coins. Inhumations in orange, cremations in blue. © GDKE LA-S, graphics by R. Nashan, 2022.

finds') in German research literature. These finds include coins, belts, brooches or roller stamps on Argonne ware. Using coins as an example, the implications of circular reasoning are outlined in the following. A total of 34 coins were retrieved from the burials, of which 26 were found in inhumation burials and 8 in cremation burials (fig. 2). So far, 21 out of 26 coins from the inhumation burials have been identified. Taking a look at the latest burials, the inhumations, the majority of coins were minted in the second half of the 4th century AD with an emphasis on the period 378-388 (n=10). The year 388 AD marks the latest

mint date of a coin find from Gönheim. Despite the small number of coins, a typical situation emerges here: the absence of coinage from the period after 400 AD in burials. This is one of the reasons why the question of hiatus or continuity after c. 400 AD still arises for many rural settlements and cemeteries. For a long time, the thesis of a declining coin circulation along the north-western periphery of the Empire was taken as an indication of the correctness of the historical narrative. This model led to the idea of a brief circulation of 4th-century coinage and a subsequent break around 400 AD. The concept multiplied

in coin-associated finds and had strong impact on current influential typo-chronologies (e.g. belts). As a result, an artificially created gap in material culture emerged in the first half of the 5th century which originates from a shortened lifespan of finds. Based on this model a continuous use of the burial site in Gönnsheim beyond the beginning of the 5th century would be questionable. The coin dates would rather manifest the hypothesis of depopulation and settlement demolition in the rural areas along the frontier.

It seems more likely that the lifespan of the material culture was longer than previously suspected. By balancing the chronology, the settlement landscape at the transition from the late 4th to the early 5th century would become more visible. Of particular relevance for this approach is the reappraisal of typologies, in particular those of *Leitfunde* which are mainly dated based on coin-associated graves.

Towards a new perspective

Graves belong to a different sphere of evidence as the composition of grave goods represents an intentional selection that does not necessarily correspond to the current repertoire of material culture. It is reasonable to question whether the dating of finds and typo-chronologies should be based on grave goods at all. However, given the advantage that burials represent a single act of deposition, and the preservation of the finds is often above average, there is a strong argument in favour of this type of evidence.

First steps towards a critical evaluation will be the inclusion of scientific data, such as ¹⁴C dates. The plan is to take 10 to 20 samples from skeletons in Gönnsheim. The selection focuses on graves from the western half of the cemetery, where the most recent burials were located. In terms of selection, some burials with classical pottery and glass inventories were chosen as well as some with a rather obscure composition of grave goods. Furthermore, the objective is to not base the dating on single key finds (such as belts) but to pay attention to the composition of all objects in the grave assemblage and to be able to trace an evolution of these assemblages. This can be achieved through statistic evaluation as well as a comparison with other burial sites, that share a similar range of products and are located within the same geographic and cultural area. Working with a set of robust data will facilitate a shift away from textually derived dating horizons.

Conclusion

While our perspective on Late Antiquity is in transition, it is time to detach the interpretation of archaeological evidence from historiography. A move away from historically charged dates will allow us to disentangle distorted dating approaches of material culture and

sites. The development of independent material horizons supported by robust scientific data will open up new paths of interpretation. Decentring the historical narrative will therefore provide an unbiased view of the settlement landscape of the 4th and 5th century AD. The result could be a new narrative that underscores the existence of continuity instead of omnipresent decline.

Acknowledgement

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Buried with the dead

Grave goods from twelve Roman cemeteries in the Dutch eastern river area

W. Frederique Reigersman-van Lidth de Jeude

The Dutch eastern river area is part of the large estuary of which The Netherlands consists. This area is situated roughly between Utrecht in the west and Nijmegen in the east and the rivers Rhine (Rijn) in the north and Meuse (Maas) in the south (fig. 1). Various smaller rivers and streams have created a very fertile region over the centuries. The embankments were therefore very suitable for people to live on, and many larger and smaller settlements have existed here ever since people came to this region. In Roman times, mostly starting in the Flavian period, this area grew to become the crowded hinterland of the limes and more small villages, farmhouses and some *villae rusticae* appeared. For a long period of time, the people buried their deceased in larger or smaller cemeteries close to their homes. The cemeteries differ in wealth, due to the type of settlement they belonged to. This article will give a general overview of the various grave goods found in the graveyards of different types of settlements from the 1st to the 3rd century AD. The focus will be on pottery, though finds of metal, glass, and bone will be discussed as well. Furthermore, attention will be paid to gender and age-related gifts in grave contexts.

Cemeteries

In the 20th century, several well-known Roman cemeteries from Nijmegen have been published. The municipality of Nijmegen and certified archaeological companies have investigated more cemeteries in the 21st century. ADC ArcheoProjecten has had the opportunity to excavate and investigate at least twelve cemeteries in this area, and three more southward along the river Meuse (the cemeteries investigated by ADC ArcheoProjecten in other regions or mainly dating in a different era are excluded). Van der Feijst and Geerts (2021, 10-23. For a characterization of the smaller cemeteries Reigersman-van Lidth de Jeude 2016, 407-410) recently described six of these cemeteries in the eastern river area.

Most of the cemeteries were situated near rural settlements or a cluster of farmhouses that had been founded between the rivers Rhine and Waal. Others served the inhabitants of villages nearby the limes or the city of *Ulpia Noviomagus* (Nijmegen). The map (fig. 1) indicates the cemeteries discussed in this paper, as well as some of the most important cemeteries that have been found in Nijmegen and the area around Tiel. This map, however, is not a complete overview of all Roman cemeteries in the region.

Most of the cemeteries could not be excavated in their entirety for various reasons. In some cases, for example, the cemeteries had already been disturbed by previous

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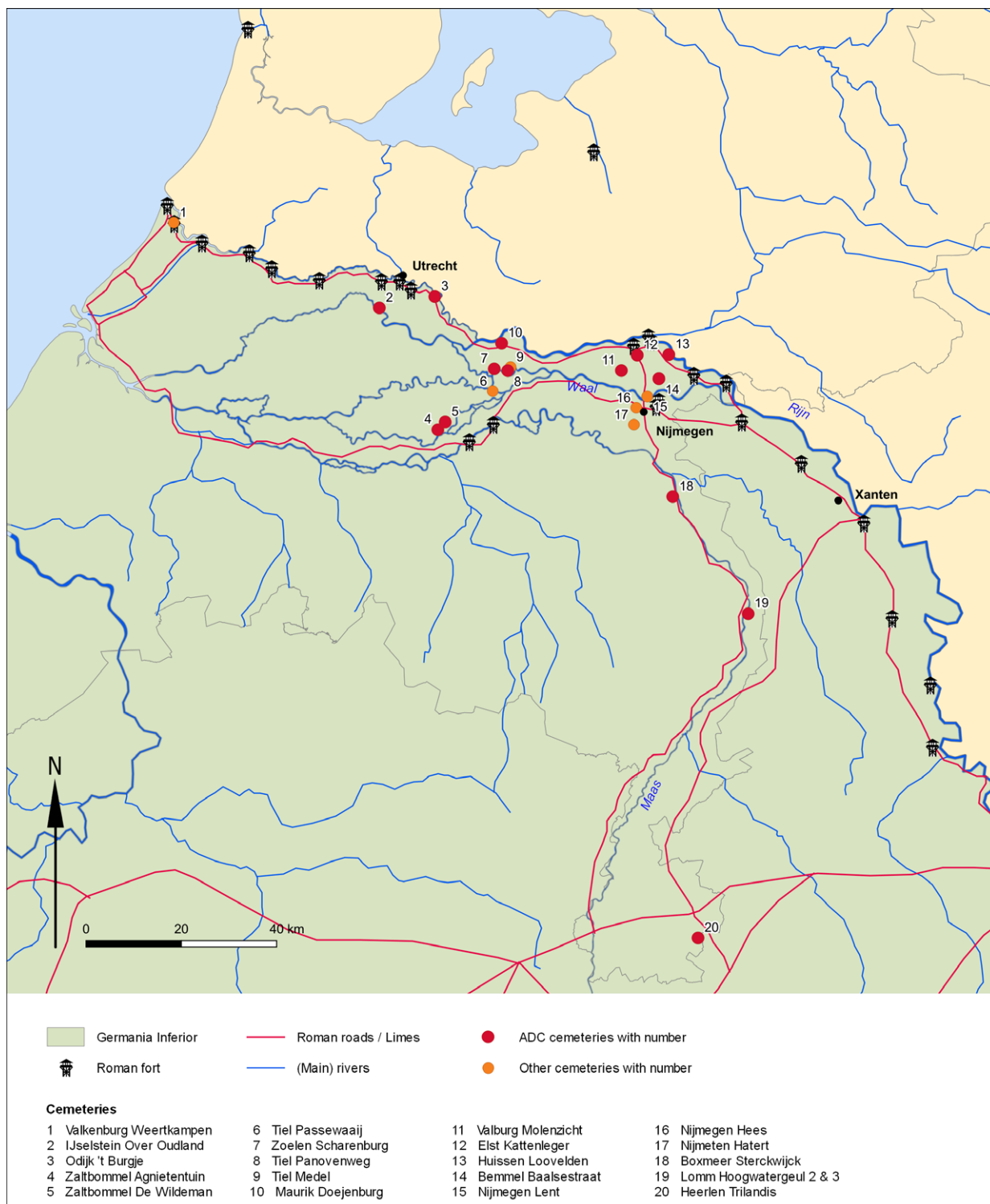


Figure 1. Selection of Roman cemeteries in *Germania inferior*.

place name-toponym	date start	date end	N graves	reference
Elst-Kattenleger	-5 BC-25 AD	200-250	26	Verniers <i>et al.</i> 2018
Lomm-Hoogwatergeul 2	1-25	160	7	Gerrets & De Leeuwe 2011
Tiel-Panovenweg	1-25	200	44	Kenemans & Vossen 2023
Lomm-Hoogwatergeul 3	25	100	12	Gerrets & Williams 2011
Maurik-Doejenburg	1-50	200	30	Veldman 2012
Boxmeer-Sterckwijk	1-50	225-250	93	Blom & Van de Velde 2015
Huissen-Loovelden	25-50	325-350	105	Van der Feijst <i>et al.</i> 2017
Zaltbommel-De Wildeman	50	200-225	86	Veldman & Blom 2010
Valburg-Molenzicht	50	250-300	37	Van der Feijst & Veldman 2018
Odijk-t Burgje	50-70	550-600	51	Van der Feijst & Loopik 2020
Bemmel-Baalsestraat	100	300	50	Feijst <i>et al.</i> in press
Zoelen-Scharenburg	100	250-275	34	Veldman 2011
IJsselstein-Over Oudland	125	200	6	Verniers 2012
Heerlen-Trilandis	125	250-275	9	Weekers-Hendriks 2018
Zaltbommel-Agnietentuin	150	250	6	Van Benthem 2020

Table 1. Investigated cemeteries dated using ceramic and metal goods.

activities, or it was not necessary to excavate the whole site. After all, rescue excavations are limited to the extent of the development of the location. The number of graves in table 1 is therefore only an indication of the number of people that once were buried in the sites.¹ As a consequence, the dating of the cemeteries in this table reflects the period it had been in use, based on the data retrieved during the excavations. However, after investigating the grave goods, mainly consisting of ceramics and metal objects, it became clear that most of the cemeteries had their starting date in the first half or third quarter of the 1st century AD, before Roman influence became common or Roman culture became standard. They subsequently existed throughout the Flavian time and the 2nd century. A number of cemeteries were still in use at the beginning of the 3rd century. Only a few persisted into the second half of the 3rd century. Graves that could be dated in the 4th or 5th century are rare.

Grave goods

The cemeteries found in rural areas such as Zaltbommel, Zoelen and Tiel served a small settlement or several neighbouring farmhouses. Men, women and children were cremated and buried here, and most of them got at least one gift. Often this would be some kind of pot or a fibula. The cemeteries close to Nijmegen or along the limes tend to be wealthier than those in the hinterland. The dead

sometimes were buried in a stone ash chest or a wooden chest. The richest graves in these cemeteries contain much more (expensive) goods than the richest graves in rural graveyards. As long as people did not have so much wheel-thrown pottery at their disposition, the dead were mostly accompanied by handmade pots, bronze *fibulae*, and occasionally glass beads, or a combination of these objects. When wheel-thrown pottery became a more common consumer good, the dead were buried with more luxurious grave goods.

The pottery found in the graves, however, is not very different from the pottery that can be found within the settlements. Most objects were general objects for everyday use like jars, beakers, plates, and jugs. The ceramics could thus serve both a domestic and a ritual function. People chose luxury goods like *terra sigillata* plates and cups, as well as colour-coated plates and beakers to accompany the dead, but also less expensive coarse ware plates were common burial gifts. The metal finds in the graves are mostly iron (shoe) nails and bronze *fibulae*, but knives, scissors, small utensils, and coins also occur.

Less frequent, but fairly common grave goods are glass beads, bottles, beakers, and jars, bone artefacts like spindles and distaffs, small metal instruments, pots for special use such as *mortaria* and chalices, and animal bones. The animal bones represent food for a meal. Some of these objects may have been personal belongings. Unfortunately, there is hardly any evidence for perishable material like herbs, baskets, and cloth, or objects made of wood or leather. It is assumed, though, that the human remains were assembled from the funeral pyre and interred in a burial pit in some

1 The cemeteries southwards along the Meuse in the Netherlands near Lomm and Heerlen have shown a somewhat different tradition and consisted of a small number of graves.

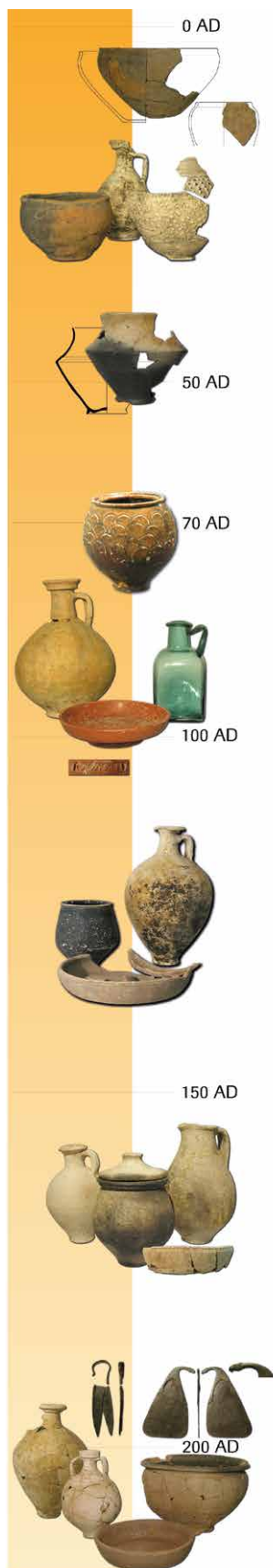


Figure 2. Chronological development of pottery in graves. From top to bottom: Boxmeer CR97, adult, 20-40; Elst CR13, female, 20-30; Lomm-3 CR8, male, >18; Huissen grave 70, female, 20-40; Elst CR6, female, 20-30; Zaltbommel INH 2, female, 37-46; Elst CR3, female 20-30 and child, 2-6; Zoelen CR24, male, 30-50.

kind of organic container like a bag or a piece of cloth or leather (Van der Feijst & Geerts 2021, 11).

Chronological changes

After analysing the grave goods thoroughly, a change of rituals can be distinguished in the course of the Roman era (fig. 2). At the beginning of the 1st century, the indigenous people had their own rituals, in which they mainly interred handmade pots and brooches with the deceased. They tended to stick to their tradition for quite some time. Only people that took part in, or had intensive contacts with the Roman civilisation, like veterans or important leaders and their families, would be accompanied by luxurious wheel-thrown pottery or military equipment. This is, for example the case in the cemeteries of Elst and Tiel, where military equipment dating from the beginning of the 1st century was found (Verniers, Blom & Van der Feijst 2018, 131-172 and Kenemans & Vossen 2023, 286-296).

Towards the middle of the 1st century, a gradual change in grave goods can be observed, provided there was some contact with the Roman culture, though it should be noted that in the settlements and cemeteries of Lomm 2 and Lomm 3 along the Maas, Roman influence started a few decades earlier than in most rural settlements in the eastern river area. Wheel-thrown pottery thus becomes a less seldom phenomenon. Graves with a combination of indigenous handmade pottery and modern pieces of earthenware, like beakers, plates, and jugs begin to occur. It is striking that people tend to give a wheel-thrown equivalent of their handmade pots in this phase. *Terra nigra* urns, colour-coated beakers, or small coarse ware jars are the first objects to appear in the graves of ordinary people.

In the Flavian period, when the Roman culture is more widely embraced in the rural river area, handmade pottery becomes of decreasing importance and seems no longer to be a part of the funeral rites. In the majority of the graves, at least one jar-like vessel was interred. Combinations with a plate or jug also become more usual. In richer graves a combination of luxury goods like *terra sigillata* plates and cups, beakers, metal objects, glass bowls, and jars may be found. In the cemeteries of Huissen and Bemmelen there are several examples of this kind of luxury (fig. 3, Van der Feijst & Geerts 2021, 13-15).

From the Flavian time onward, the grave goods seem to reach a kind of standardisation. They mostly consist of a beaker, a plate, and a jug. In some cases, the beaker or plate can be replaced by a cup or small bowl. Incomplete standard sets also occur (Reigersman-van Lidth de Jeude 2016, 410-411). Metal finds become a little less common. The combination of grave goods represent different aspects of the funeral rites. The vessels can be interpreted as a banquet set but also as a washing set. Both interpretations can be valid. The interpretation as part of

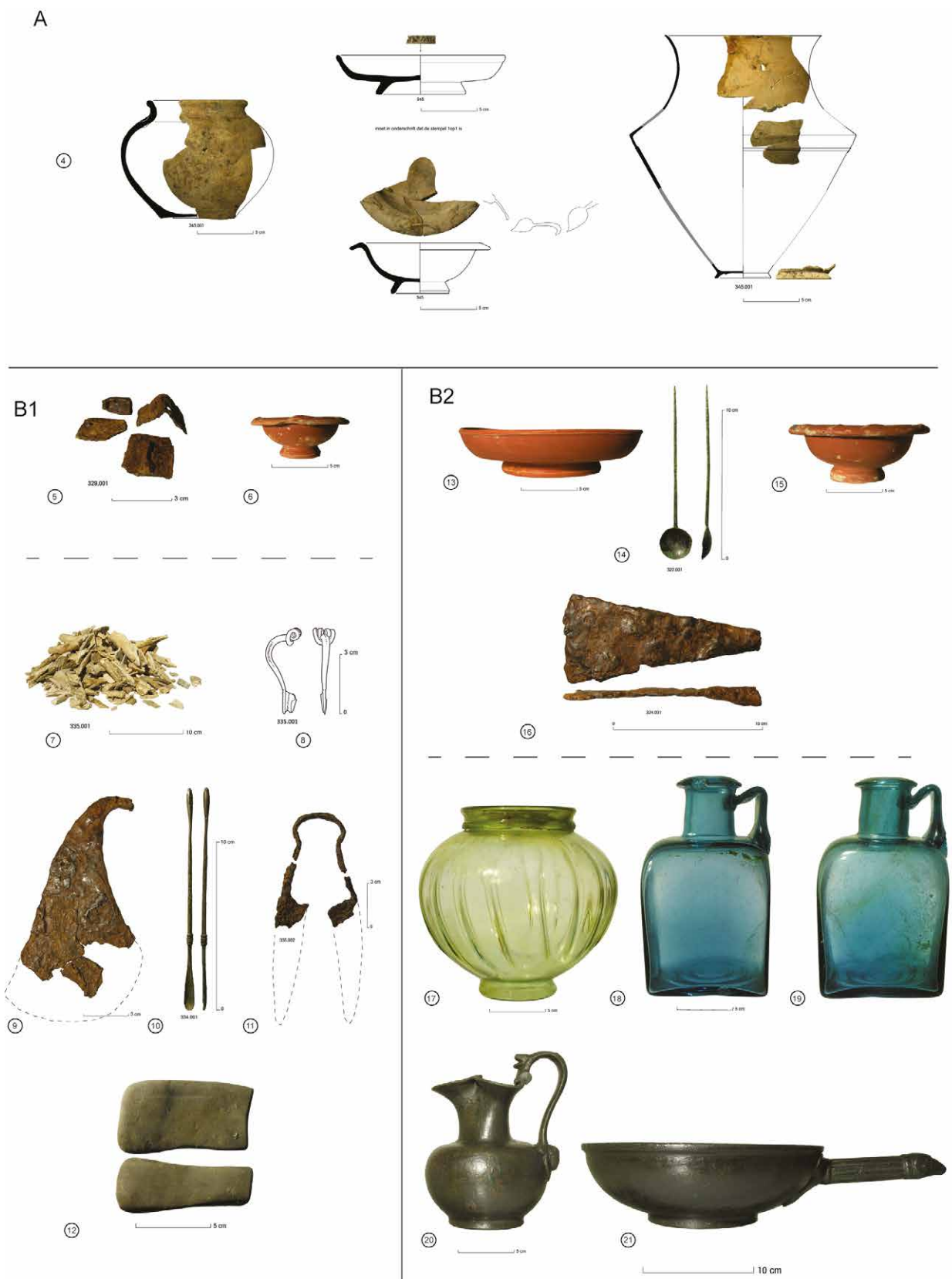


Figure 3. Huissen grave 24, male, 20-40.



Figure 4. Cemetery of Huissen. a. Grave 71, no human remains; b. Grave 12, female 20-40.

a ritual meal either for the deceased in the afterlife or for the mourning relatives is the most general interpretation. The precious bronze washing set Nuber service E found in Huissen speaks for itself (fig. 3). Also from this cemetery comes an imitation of bronze and glass vessels that can be interpreted as a washing set (fig. 4a).

In the mid-2nd century, between 150-175 AD, another change can be noticed. It seems that the ritual is somehow loosened. Although the standard combination of a beaker, plate, and jug is still in use, this becomes less exclusive. More common and less expensive vessels become part of the ritual as well. Cooking jars and storage pots appear in the graves and can sometimes even be used as a container for the human remains. Large, flat based amphorae and coarse ware pitchers often replace the jugs. *Mortaria* are sometimes

added, and bone objects like spindles or distaffs increase in popularity. This somewhat looser interpretation of the funeral ritual also remains prevalent in the 3rd century.

Similarities and differences

The grave goods from the investigated graveyards show both similarities and differences regarding interpretations of the ritual. The above-described chronological development can be recognised everywhere in the eastern river area and along the Meuse (Pitts 2018, 207-210). However, each community had its own characteristics and customs partly due to local crafts and trades, and therefore different preferences in the rituals can be distinguished. One of the similarities is that some of the grave goods were part of the cremation ritual and placed near or even

on top of the funeral pyre. As a consequence, the pottery shows signs of burning and can be completely shattered. In Zaltbommel, Zoelen and Boxmeer the number of unrecognisably burnt and fragmented vessels was much larger than in Huissen. In addition, the degree of burning also varies in each cemetery. In every graveyard, there are graves that contain only burnt gifts, only unburnt gifts, or a combination of both burnt and unburnt gifts. In some graveyards, there would be a higher percentage of unburnt gifts than in others.

Graves without any gifts occur as well. In the cemeteries of rural settlements this is a more common phenomenon. This seems, however, in contradiction with the large amount of grave goods in other graves in the same cemetery. Although there is no evidence left for baskets, wooden artefacts, leather or cloth, it seems likely that objects made of perishable materials may also have been part of the ritual.

Gender

While analysing the graves in the cemetery of Zoelen, a difference in gender and age-related grave goods was noticed. In fact, there appeared to be patterns in the burial gifts (Reigersman-van Lidth de Jeude & Vanderhoeven 2011, 126). The men's graves were generally the richest, with often an (extended) standard combination: many plates, flagons, large flat based amphorae, jugs, and storage pots. They also obtained relatively many metal objects like *fibulae*, knives, scissors, and razors (fig. 2 bottom picture).

Babies and small infants were also interred with a number of goods. They at least got a small colour-coated beaker, and even a small glass beaker, but also a lot of standard inventories. Older children, and especially adolescents, seem to have had another kind of status, and sometimes got very different goods in their graves. They did not very often get a standard inventory but they obtained different gifts, depending on the period. A child in Zoelen with a rich assemblage in the grave, not only got many different pots, but also a silver *fibula* and a bone distaff (Veldman 2011, 276 CR11). An adolescent found in Boxmeer got a pitcher, a *fibula* and two hammerstones (Blom & van der Velde 2015, 327-328 CR66). The women's graves in Zoelen are less richly furnished. Fewer goods and less wealth were found in most of their graves. In six graves no grave goods could be found at all. Compared with the carefully selected goods in the graves of men and children, this seems to be a great contradiction. Why would people pay seemingly less attention to the burial of their women than the other deceased? This seems rather illogical, unless the women were accompanied by other gifts that would not remain intact for nearly 2000 years. It is possible that baskets, cloth, herbs or other perishable goods were interred. In other graveyards, women were treated equally as men. Maybe their burial gifts

were somewhat smaller with jugs in stead of flat based amphorae. Typical female goods are perhaps bone spindles and distaffs and mirrors like the ones found in a grave in Huissen (fig. 4b). In other cemeteries, these tendencies could not be observed as clearly. Only the small beakers for babies and small children are universal. A slightly different pattern for older children and adolescents with unusual or atypical gifts seems to be a correct conclusion as well (Reigersman-van Lidth de Jeude 2016, 411-415).

Wealth in Huissen

Of all cemeteries that have been investigated by ADC ArcheoProjecten, two show more wealth than the others. These are the cemeteries of Huissen and Bommel. The wealth in both cemeteries may be explained by the vicinity of the important Roman military and urban centres. The Huissen graveyard is remarkable in every way. The splendour is both visible in the ash chests made of stone or wood, whereas people in rural villages were just buried in a funeral pit, and in the burial gifts. Overall, there are many bronze, glass, and bone objects, in much higher quantities than at rural cemeteries. Furthermore, in many graves animal bones have been found that represent food. Finally, there is a much higher percentage of unburnt grave goods than elsewhere (Van der Feijst & Geerts 12-13).

Figure 3 shows the wealthiest grave of Huissen that consisted of three compartments that formed a separation between the burnt and unburnt goods. The pieces of the bronze washing set are the most eye-catching objects, but the pottery and glass gifts are also special. The *terra sigillata* plates were bought especially for the occasion, because they were unused (Reigersman-van Lidth de Jeude 2017, 89). The glass vessels also look rather new. Other remarkable graves in Huissen are the ones in figure 4. In grave 71, the imitations of a bronze washing set and glass ribbed bowl are the most striking. These imitations are high standard products in a very fine white clay and a delicately detailed design, probably made in Xanten, and very rare in The Netherlands (Reigersman-van Lidth de Jeude 2017, 94-96). In probably six graves, pieces of bronze mirrors and even a glass mirror were found. The mirror of grave 12 in figure 4b bears a graffito. Other gifts in this grave are a coarse ware bowl and a complete bone distaff. The discovery of a wooden box originally containing a bronze and bone writing set with an inkwell is evidence that people in this cemetery were not only rich, but at least one of them was also well-educated.

An early start in Tiel Panovenweg

The cemetery of Tiel Panovenweg takes a special place among the rural sites, because of its relative wealth at an early stage. This cemetery is situated close to a settlement where people came in contact with the Roman culture at the beginning of the 1st century. At both sites wheel-

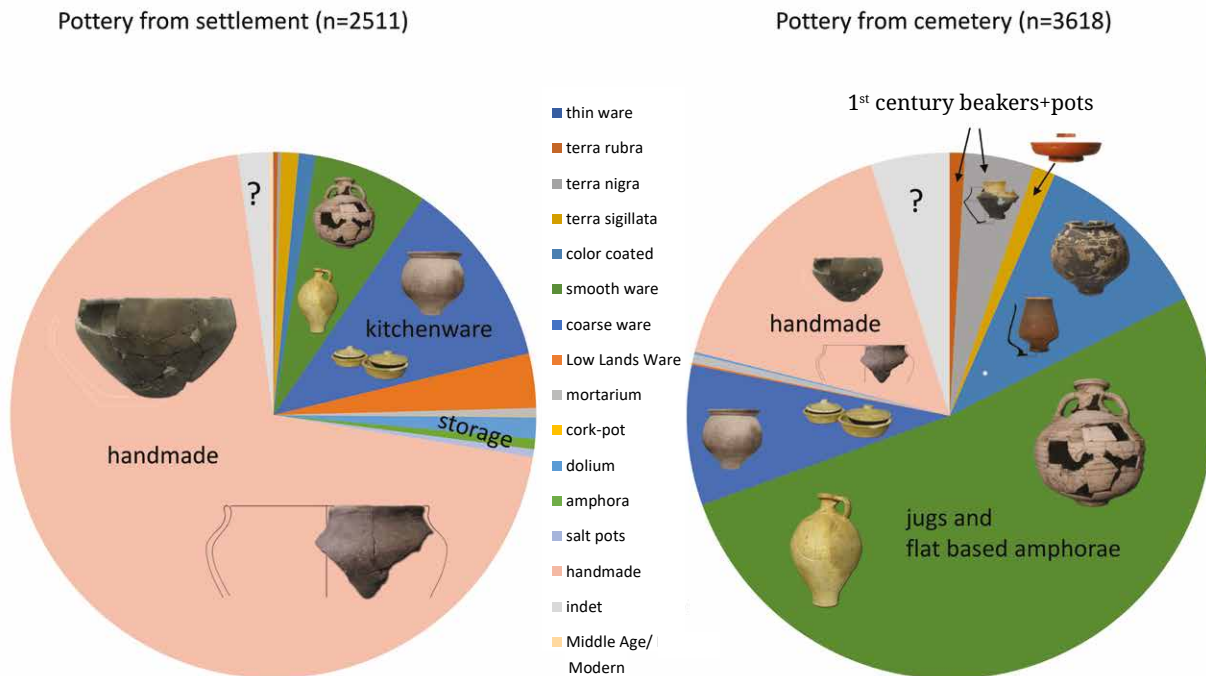


Figure 5. Pottery from Tiel Panovenweg.

thrown pottery and brooches dating in the first half or maybe even the first quarter of the 1st century occur. Even if the cemetery served the inhabitants of more than just the excavated settlement, there is a striking difference between the pottery found at these sites (fig. 5). In both assemblages wheel-thrown pieces and brooches dating from the first decades of the 1st century occur. In the graves however, a much higher percentage of wheel-thrown pottery is found. The total weight of the sherds per category shows a similar percentage as the total number of sherds (Reigersman-van Lidth de Jeude 2023, 237).

This relative wealth can probably be related to a military connection of one of the male villagers, according to the military equipment found in both sites. Incidentally, graves containing only handmade pottery or a combination of handmade and wheel-thrown pottery occur during the same period. Whether the deceased was accompanied by one or both types of pottery reveals the status and contacts of the person in question or his relatives.

Final remarks

Although every cemetery has its own story depending on location, dating and standing of the people that were buried, we can conclude that the basis of the burial ritual was fairly universal. There is a clear development in the combination of grave goods from the beginning of the 1st to the 3rd century. When the people got used to the Roman culture, they not only used the modern vessels,

but also incorporated the Roman customs with their own. Eventually they adopted the new rituals entirely.

The earliest changes can be observed along the Meuse (Lomm) and around Nijmegen (Elst and Huissen). Surprisingly, in the cemetery of Tiel, which is situated in a rural area, evidence is found for an earlier integration of Roman customs than in the neighbouring settlements and graveyards. There has obviously been early contact of some kind between indigenous people and Roman civilisation, probably military-based.

Have the youngest graves been found in less predictable regions? Perhaps not. The cemetery of Odijk was located closest to the limes and remained in use until the 6th century, but not as intensively as during the 2nd and 3rd century. The cemeteries of Huissen and Valburg, both situated in the vicinity of Nijmegen, continued to be in use throughout the end of the 3rd or beginning of the 4th century. Zoelen and Heerlen stayed in use until the second half of the 3rd century. Based on these data, it appears that the river Meuse, the region of Nijmegen and the Tiel-region remained important throughout the Roman era.

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Roman funerary archaeology in Slovenia

The known, the new, and the missing

Kaja Stemberger Flegar

Despite studying Roman mortuary archaeology for most of my academic life, it was in 2018, when I was invited to Birkbeck University in London to present a paper on Late Roman period burials in Slovenia, that I realised the degree to which we lack systematic research on the Roman mortuary sphere in Slovenia. While two broad overviews of the Roman archaeology of Slovenia have been published (Horvat 1999; Petru P. 1964-1965), we are still missing a unified terminology, comparisons between different regions, comparisons between cemeteries of different settlements, and even a methodology particular to funerary archaeology. The topic deserves nothing less than a book, but I will do my best to provide a summary of what has been discovered and studied; of the latest developments and advancements; and of what ought to be done or improved. Due to space constraints, not all published sites are mentioned. I strive to cover the main publications and trends. Unpublished preliminary reports and unpublished essays were omitted.

Roman archaeology in Slovenia

Roman archaeology in Slovenia, broadly speaking, begins in the early Augustan period. Nevertheless, the influence of Roman culture on the territory of modern Slovenia can be traced from around a century and a half sooner, coinciding with the founding of *Aquileia* in 181 or 182 BC (Horvat 1999; Šašel Kos 2002; 2003). But major Roman towns and the accompanying infrastructure were established in Slovenia in the 1st century AD. It is broadly accepted that Late Antiquity, which includes Late Roman archaeology, begins between the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine and finishes at the end of the 6th century AD (Ciglenečki 1999).

In the Roman Empire, Slovenia was not one administrative unit: it was divided between *Regio X, Noricum, Pannonia*, and *Dalmatia*. The largest town was *Colonia Ulpia Traiana Poetovio* (Ptuj), followed by *Colonia Iulia Emona* (Ljubljana) and *Municipium Claudium Celeia* (Celje). Several smaller settlements, coach stations, *villae rusticae*, etc. have also been unearthed and documented.

Late Antiquity is typically studied together with the Early Middle Ages rather than with the Roman period in Slovenia. What is more, Roman archaeology and Classical philology are two entirely separate disciplines studied at different departments. Classical archaeology, which consists mostly of Roman and Greek art and architecture, and Roman archaeology, dealing foremost with excavation-obtained data, are studied alongside Prehistory and the Middle Ages. While epigraphy and Roman history are a part of the

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archaeological curriculum, the study of Roman literature is completely omitted – at least that was the situation during my student years.

Burial manner

Like Roman archaeology in general, Roman mortuary archaeology relies heavily on excavation-obtained data, overwhelmingly from rescue excavations. Studies on mortuary archaeology generally gravitate around three focal points: burial manner, grave goods, and interpretation.

Under burial manner, I also count research tackling the topic of where and how burials occurred. Locations of graves receive more attention where roads were and, more importantly, where walls of grave plots are discovered. This is especially true for large settlements like Ljubljana (e.g. Plesničar Gec 1972, 12; Stemberger 2018, 54-56; Miškec 2021, 16, fig. 5), but also holds for small sites such as the cemetery of the *villa rustica* at Školarice (Novšak *et al.* 2019) or the cemetery at Draga pri Beli Cerkvī (Udovč 2022). Burial mounds, which are found east of Ljubljana, towards *Noricum* and *Pannonia*, were compiled in a list in 1972 (Pahič 1972).

Burial markers are not usually a focus of archaeological research, as everything to do with inscriptions is left to philologists. Studies of burial markers are thus either included in broader epigraphic studies (Šašel & Šašel 1963; 1978; Šašel Kos 1997; Lovenjak 1998) or are subject-specific, e.g. military-related funerary inscriptions (Pahič 2003; Ragolič 2015), centenarians from *Emona* (Šašel Kos 2006), and the famous statue of the *Emona* citizen (Istenič 2013a; Petru S. 1962-1963). There is no comprehensive study of burial markers from an archaeological perspective, with the possibly sole exception of the *aediculae* from Šempeter (Klemenc *et al.* 1972).

Regarding burial manner, publications typically record what types of graves were excavated. Burial types are systematically separated into two major categories, cremations and inhumations. There was a general shift from cremations to inhumations at the end of the 2nd century AD. Early typologies (Knez 1968; Petru S. 1972; Plesničar Gec 1972; Breščak 1985) focussed more on detailing the variation in cremations, clearly based in the German typological tradition. These early typologies broadly divided burials into simple burial pits, *tegula* constructions, amphora constructions, stone containers, and walled graves. Each was further divided into many subtypes, sometimes establishing a type to accommodate a single known burial (e.g. Plesničar Gec 1972, t. CCXII, 10-13; t. CCXIII, 8, 12; t. CCXIV 9-11; t. CCXV 8-10, 12, 13, 15, 16; t. CCXVI, 4). In the last 20 years, Slovenian scholars have started describing burial manner in terms of more general categories, while detailed typologies, and even typology making as such, went out of use.

As most grave typologies were established relatively early on and have not been revised since, certain styles of burials have occasionally been ascribed to specific ethnicities. For example, only cremations in simple grave pits were associated with the 'indigenous', i.e. pre-Roman population, while the rest of cremations were interpreted as Italic. Although this assumption is inconsistent and not at all well researched, it is true that there are certain geographically limited styles of burials. In Dolenjska, a special type of walled grave with a shelf for grave goods, large *pithoi* made specifically for burials (Knez 1968), as well as so called house urns (Petru P. 1971; Dular 1976), can be considered a local tradition due to its pattern of occurrence. Importantly, however, it is not the continuation of a prehistoric tradition since it began to appear only in the Roman period.

The typologies have been less detailed regarding inhumations. For *Emona*, they were divided into three broad types: single and double inhumations (Plesničar Gec 1972, T. CCXVI), both with two subtypes based on the presence or absence of coffin nails, and stone chest burials, including sarcophagi (ornamented). Many aspects of inhumations, such as shrouding or the reconstruction of wooden coffins, were never specifically studied.

More recently, a handful of works on funeral manner have been published that focus on specific topics, e.g. a study of ossuaries from *Poetovio* and *Celeia* (Pochmarski 2014) and a reinterpretation of existing typologies such as Norico-Pannonian mounds and house urns (Mason & Županek 2018). Inhumations were predominant in the 3rd and 4th century. The shift in burial style is typically explained with the spread of Christianity (e.g. Plesničar Gec 1977, 66-68). Due to the conception that Christians did not deposit many grave goods since they did not consider them necessary for the afterlife, a very large number of burials where the deceased was not accompanied with any datable grave goods is frequently assumed to be Christian and dated to the 3rd and 4th century, but this is circular logic. There are studies demonstrating the existence of early inhumations, and, conversely, of late cremations (Županek 2002), and there is even an entire group of 3rd and 4th century female inhumations with loads of jewellery (Stemberger 2014). Moreover, items with religious connotations in graves are exceedingly rare, but this brings us to the next topic.

Grave goods

Certain generalisations can be made regarding grave goods. They are typically more abundant in the 1st and 2nd century AD, with oil lamps, coins, *unguentaria* and nails probably the most consistently present single artefact at the majority of sites. The largest group, however, consists of items related to dining (e.g. DeMaine 1990; Stemberger 2018, 143-146). Toiletry items, jewellery, tools, and weapons are

unified term (possible meaning)	Slovene terms used in the catalogues
beaker (ceramic, glass, or thin-walled)	čaša, lonček
bowl (ceramic, glass, or <i>terra sigillata</i>)	skleda, skodela, krožnik
cup (glass or thin-walled)	skodela, skodelica, čaša, posodica
jug (ceramic, glass, or metal)	vrč, steklenica, posoda
plate (ceramic, <i>terra sigillata</i> , glass)	krožnik, skodela
jar (ceramic, glass)	lonec, lonček, posoda
vase (ceramic)	lonec, lonček, posoda

Table 1. Inconsistent terminology from Slovenian reports (Stemberger 2018, 134).

represented in graves in much smaller numbers. Thin-walled pottery and *terra sigillata* are much more common in *Emona* than in *Poetovio*; the latter had its own production of pottery and glass (Istenič 1999) and is characterised by the widespread use of *turibula* in the mortuary setting, which on the territory of Slovenia is more or less limited to *Pannonia*. A separate case is Dolenjska, the territory of the *Latobici* before the Roman occupation, which had retained a lot of prehistoric ceramic forms (Petru P. 1969). Even though imports are found at its settlements, they are very rare in the funerary sphere (Stemberger Flegar & Kovačič in press).

Material studies of Roman artefacts from Slovenia tend to be based on grave goods, mostly because chronologically more reliable contexts are absent from the Slovenian archaeological record. The most notable works in this area are probably overviews of (predominantly local) pottery (e.g. Petru P. 1969; Plesničar Gec 1976; 1977). While studies of imported pottery certainly exist (e.g. Mikl-Curk 1972; 1979; Plesničar Gec 1987; 1992; Zabehlicky-Scheffengger 1992), they adhere to generally accepted typo-chronologies (e.g. Dragendorff 1895; Loeschcke 1909; Ettlinger *et al.* 1990). Pottery from the funerary assemblages from *Poetovio* has been analysed petrographically (Istenič 1999).

General (Petru S. 1969; 1974); Šubic 1976; Lazar 2003) and subject specific studies of glass (e.g. Plesničar Gec 1974; Lazar 2019) were also partially or completely based on finds from cemeteries. Other studies of grave goods cover predominantly items related to costume and personal adornment like bracelets (Budja 1979) as well as earrings and finger rings (Mihovilič 1979), while other groups of material have been addressed only very selectively: oil lamps (e.g. Perko *et al.* 2012), bronze vessels (Breščak 1992), coins (Miškec 2012), and weapons (Gaspari 2008), to name a few.

Interpretation

In the last two decades, interest in archaeological theory and interpretation has been gradually increasing in Slovenia, but there is still a lack of comprehensive and comparative works. The relatively few early studies

were predominantly focussed on the social status, and occasionally on the ethnicity of the deceased (e.g. Mikl-Curk 1985; 1996; DeMaine *et al.* 1999). Ethnicity and culture were usually considered synonymous in these studies (see discussion in Stemberger 2020b).

Recent studies are usually limited in scope, in the sense of focussing only on individual sites and sometimes narrow topics. I am as guilty of this as anybody else, but we tend to cherry pick really nice grave finds or examine just a couple of graves in detail, while the rest of the graves, let alone walking surfaces, ritual pits, *etc.* do not get the same treatment. A notable example are military burials (e.g. Mulh 2012; Gaspari *et al.* 2013; Istenič 2013b; Breščak 2015; Gaspari *et al.* 2015; Stemberger & Vidrih Perko 2015; Tomažinčič 2018), which typically receive a lot of attention, while medical graves (Stemberger & Kovačič 2020) or female burials (Stemberger 2014; Stemberger 2020a) are studied to a much lesser degree and mainly as a personal interest of individual researchers. Furthermore, individual burials or burial groups are occasionally used for generalised interpretations of broader issues, e.g. 'Romanisation', which continues to be vigorously debated (see Stemberger 2020b).

Beyond the reports?

As had been observed already in the two overviews of Roman archaeology in Slovenia published in 1964-1965 (P. Petru) and 1999 (Horvat), research publications could not keep up with the amount of material that was being excavated at the time, and this remains true to the present day. Publications such as the large *Fundberichte* volumes covering several hundreds of graves that were being published in the 70's, 80's, and 90's (to name just the largest volumes: Petru S. 1972; Plesničar Gec 1972; Kolšek 1976; Kujundžić 1976; Mikl-Curk 1976; Knez 1992; Slabe 1993; Istenič 1999; 2000) have been noticeably rarer in the last 20 years. Nevertheless, a handful of large (e.g. Novšak *et al.* 2019; Miškec 2021; Stemberger Flegar & Predan 2022; Vojaković & Novšak 2022) and small (e.g. Grahek & Horvat 2022; Udovč 2022) sites were published, as were an even smaller number of brief and purely descriptive multi-site overviews limited to specific areas, such as Pomurje (Sankovič 2019) and Ptuj (Tušek 2004). Modern excavation reports benefit from the systematic inclusion of osteological, zoological, and paleo-botanical analyses, as well as from better recording methods. While modern approaches such as 3D scanning, GIS, database processing and others have improved a lot and have made excavations significantly faster (Urancar & Krajšek 2022), certain problems have not really been solved. The most glaring one in relation to digital data processing is terminology (Table 1). Simply put, we cannot afford to be using many different terms for one and the same object, especially not if some of the terms are sometimes used for other objects as well.

The overview of terms used for pottery forms presented in this table was compiled from somewhat older publications, but it is obvious at a glance that it would wreak havoc if directly copied into a database. Similar problems appear at almost every level of documentation, with the exception of standardised forms such as *terra sigillata* or brooches. Of course, this translates to burial types and all other classifications as well. A separate issue is that in spite of the substantial degree of digitalisation, large amounts of data are available only as preliminary reports, which are not necessarily accessible to all and can, furthermore, lack the information necessary for detailed research.

Conclusion

In summary, cemeteries are in my opinion not viewed in Slovenian archaeology as constituting a common object of research to be studied in its totality. They are, when not looted, primarily used as a really good time capsule mechanism to study small finds and pottery, with much less focus on the processes that accompany the act of burial. More attention is given to grave goods, while the backfill, remains of treatment of the body, how grave constructions were made, *etc.* are left to the accuracy of the person writing the reports. At best, they are mentioned in site reports, but not studied further. And without knowledge of what we can do with this information, details that could tell us a lot about the burials are permanently lost. As it stands now, data on special cases of burials such as mass burials, plaster burials, decapitations or skull burials, and animal burials are virtually non-existent, although it is true that burial manipulations have received a little more attention in the recent years. Pyre constructions, funerary and post-funerary rituals, sometimes even the importance of intentionally broken objects are not discussed, and frequently poorly recorded. It does not help that one can still encounter ideas such as 'graves just reflect the world of living', or my favourite, 'digging up graves is the easiest thing ever, it is like popping open a Kinder Surprise'.

Time is of utter importance, but unfortunately in equally short supply in modern archaeology. I would argue that we cannot afford to wait for all the unpublished sites to be published before attempting to write a comprehensive overview of Roman mortuary archaeology in Slovenia. In three points, I would argue that we need:

1. Coherent terminology in the form of a thesaurus or terminological dictionary for archaeology.
2. A framework defining the scope and methodology of mortuary archaeology with its specifics, so that excavation reports will be written with research in mind. That is to say, we need a strategy, preferably on the national level, of how to study the mortuary sphere.
3. Comparative research discussing regional and suprar-regional varieties of the funerary material and customs.

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Deviant burials in late antique *Atuatuca Tungrorum* (Tongeren, Belgium)

Steven Vandewal

When Ammianus Marcellinus (*Res Gestae* 15.11.7: “*At nunc numerantur provinciae per omnem ambitum Galliarum. Secunda Germania, prima ab occidentali exordiens cardine, Agrippina et Tungris munita, civitatibus amplis et copiosis*”) called *Tungris*, also known as *Atuatuca Tungrorum*, present day Tongeren in Belgium, together with Köln ‘*amplis*’ and ‘*copiosis*’, he must have been right. After a setback during the second half of the 3rd century, the city thrived again. *Atuatuca* was a bustling economic and military hub, situated halfway between the Rhine limes and the North Sea and controlling a significant part of the route from Boulogne-sur-Mer to Cologne. It was a Roman *municipium* and the capital of the *civitas Tungrorum*, part of the Late Roman province *Germania secunda* with Cologne as its capital. As the capital of a *civitas*, Imperial officials were also based in the town, as were military personnel who had to maintain the safety of the roads, collect taxes, and recruit troops (Vanvinckenroye 1985; Nouwen 1997; 2012; Vanderhoeven 2012; 2017).

However, the mainly Frankish invasions had changed things considerably since the period Ammianus was writing. The so-called Salian Franks settled in *Toxandria*, the northern and less fertile part of the *civitas*. Gamechangers were the incursions of the beginning of the 5th century, with the Rhine crossing of 406/407 as a catalyst. Nonetheless, most of the turmoil seems to have left *Germania secunda* to one side at this time. Van Tongeren (2021, 18) shows a map of how an invasion of Gaul usually took place via the zone between the Ardennes and the Vosges, with Metz in the path either north of the Ardennes, choosing to follow the Meuse valley south of the *Silva Carbonaria* (towards Rheims and Amiens) or north of it towards Bavay. Ewig (2009, 110-111) suggests that also the Salian Franks, moving from *Toxandria* towards *Belgica Secunda* from the 440’s onwards, left Tongeren aside. Although several scholars claim that Tongeren was abandoned in that period and was no more than a ruin, the opposite seems true, even though the town declined significantly in surface area and population (Balau 1901, 7-8; Van Laere & Van den Hove 2002, 59, contra Van de Weerd 1950, 142; De la Haye 2003, 15; Verhulst 2003, 2; Vanderhoeven 2012, 141; Brulet 2017, 128; Derwael 2022, 7).

One of the most essential and abundant sources of information about *Atuatuca* during Late Antiquity are the graves and grave gifts. These are found on the burial grounds located outside the residential area from the settlement’s foundation. Until the middle of the 1st century, there were smaller burial grounds along the main access roads. From

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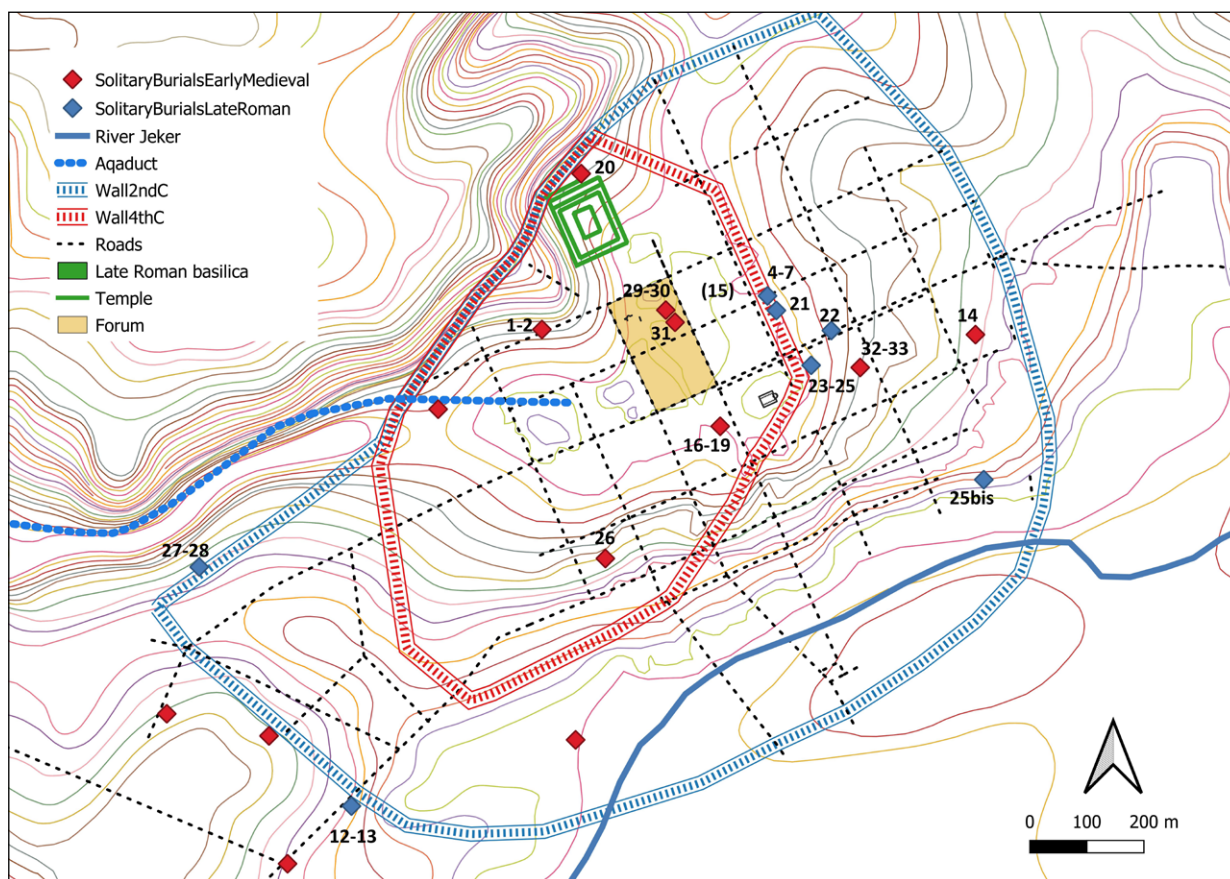


Figure 1. Overview of so-called deviant burials in Tongeren. Indicated are Late-Roman and Early Medieval inhumations (map author, created with QGIS 3.28, 2022 on the background of the digitised topographic map of 1935).

the 2nd century onwards, larger ones arose on the town's west, north and east sides (the south side was occupied by the Jeker valley wetlands). As the settlement grew, these burial grounds became part of the inhabited area and were built over (Van Crombruggen 1960; Vanvinckenroye 1984).

As *Atuatuca* and the *civitas Tungrorum* are located in the northernmost part of the Roman Empire, the Germanic influence on the grave gifts from the 4th century onwards is indeed a challenging topic. The same goes for the interpretation of presumed Christian burials. However, another peculiarity are the so-called solitary and/or deviant burials. These burials have received very little attention in Tongeren (Van de Vijver & De Winter s.a.). At first sight, they seem to occur in the Late Roman city ditch, near roads or places with a symbolic function. However, the question is whether they are indeed solitary burials or whether a pattern can be established. Aspöck (2008) discusses the term 'deviant burials' and its interpretation in German and English research and shows how some burials that were considered deviant are actually 'normal' burials (for example, near buildings with a symbolic function), however different from what is considered a typical burial in a Roman burial ground.

It was also hard to interpret and distinguish some Roman and early medieval burials, although a typological distinction does indeed emerge at the moment. Apart from typology, there is also a contextual question. Early Medieval burials inside the old city walls can indicate a no longer functioning town. However, some authors argue that those burials were deliberately placed near a specific building or a place of ritual significance. The latter's conclusion would mean that the city was no wasteland but still functioned (Farmer 2011, 136-137).

At the moment, fifteen 'deviant' burial sites are located, half of them being Late Roman and the other half either Early Medieval, or of unknown date. The following example shows how complex it is to date such graves when the finds are no longer present and ¹⁴C dating is no longer possible. Difficult to interpret were three burials reported on the north side of the *Hemelingenstraat*, also on the north side of the presumed Late Roman *forum*. Two inhumations were found in the garden of the corner house of the *Hemelingenstraat* and were wrongly attributed to graves of the 17th-century convent of the Celestines (fig. 1.29-30). This convent was only established in Tongeren

between 1640 and 1677; however, not in the place stated in the report's author, and there were no burials there. Both inhumations lay above the other, the upper one at a depth of 40 cm, oriented north-south, and the lower one at a depth of 80 cm oriented west-east. This shallow depth may be due to the excavation of the site. As modern potsherds were also found nearby, these were considered recent burials, which cannot be the case. Because Early Roman burials are absent from this site, these may be Late Roman or rather Early Medieval burials, possibly related to the toponym Hemelingen. Interestingly, according to the newspaper *De Postrijder* of 21 November 1936, human remains were found 15 m south of this spot, on the other side of the *Hemelingenstraat* (fig. 1.31). A similar contextual find was made during excavations in the *Kielenstraat* in the 1990's, where two inhumations were thought to belong to the Jesuit monastery, which is also topographically impossible (fig. 1.32-33). In both cases, the conclusion is that we are dealing with Early Medieval burials. The location of these and several other graves, as well as other finds, seems to lead to the conclusion that graves found within the city walls are exclusively Early Medieval, besides some Early Roman burials at the outskirts of the town and except for 'illegal' burials such as babies. No other graves have been found within the Late Roman walls. While these Early Medieval burials seem to be 'normal' burials, the case is different with the Late Roman inhumations nearby the city ditch that do have a deviant character as will be discussed further on.

However, before discussing some of the sites, a comment is needed on the presumed continuous use of the burial grounds after the Roman period. Although fewer burials are recorded, this may be due to how particular grave finds are interpreted or dated. Nonetheless, as for the three burial fields around Tongeren, there is archaeological evidence that they remained widely in use until the middle of the 5th century. In addition, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that the southwestern burial ground and probably the eastern one as well, not coincidentally located along the trade route from the North Sea to the Rhine, remained partly in use until the second half of the 7th century. It is also in this period that the first burials around the Church of Our Lady, in the present-day city centre, are dated (grave no.92, 647-877 AD). Nevertheless, based solely on these scattered and fragmentarily preserved finds, it is not easy to make any statements about the size and function of Tongeren in this period. Although other elements that will not be discussed in this article, do confirm the continuity of habitation.

In the following, four sites with burials with a deviant character are discussed. In 2017, the 4th-century town wall with its ditch was found while constructing the eastern part of the underground car park in the *Vermeulenstraat* (fig. 1.4-7). An unusual find was of two inhumations and several human remains in or near the ditch (De

Winter 2018, 130-141 and table 4-6). The first inhumation (V1399) is of a man between 20 and 40 years of age and seems buried in a deviant manner. It looks as if his body had been thrown into the ditch because he was lying on his stomach. His arm was outstretched above his head. However, his body shows no visual traces of violence. He lay in the filling of the ditch, 40 cm above the bottom. Near the human remains, a coin of emperor Constantius II was found, dated 337-341. This coin was not part of the grave but can be used as a date *post-quem*. This is confirmed by ¹⁴C-dating that places the human remains in the period 413-547, with the highest probability in 470-480 (36 %), 413-440 (21.1 %) and 440-450 (11.1 %) (RICH-23390, 1603 ± 33 BP: De Winter 2018, 74, 135-137 and table 4-5).¹

A second individual (V1398) was found at the bottom of the ditch. Traces of so-called 'mechanical stress' were found on several bones, which also occur with age. The right calf bone (*fibula*) was ¹⁴C-dated to 350-530, with the highest probability 310-380 (36.1 %) (RICH-23392, 1724 ± 32 BP: De Winter 2018, 74, 134-135 and table 4-5). The skull had a perimortem puncture, possibly caused by a projectile or a stabbing weapon.² In addition to these inhumations, the remains of possibly nine other individuals were found. However, some remains are probably from the same individual, some from a secondary deposition (isolated bones as a sign of disturbed burial or displaced body parts, Kramis 2020, 141-143). Fragments of a skull (V1862) were found in the robber trenches of a hypocaust and are dated to the Early Middle Ages. A *femur* bone of a new-born was found in the filling of a water well and is also dated to the Early Middle Ages. Finally, the left *tibia* of another young born was found in the filling of a cesspit and is dated in the 4th century.

At least two of these burials dating from the Late Roman period are non-regular burials. At first sight, they seem to be isolated burials that we encounter sporadically elsewhere in Tongeren but whose context is unclear. These kinds of burials are not unique to Tongeren because we see them in other Roman sites in Flanders, such as Tienen, Velzeke and Oudenburg. In any case, these solitary burials are also considered deviant, often on the outskirts of settlements and in canals or wells. Also, the first inhumation's position or arrangement; on the belly and with an outstretched arm above the head, is considered deviant. Such a burial was associated in Roman times with a different social background or protection against ghosts, as we see in the later Middle Ages (De Winter 2018, 142-143; Kramis 2020, 153). People executed as punishment, people from a different population group, suicides, etc., were often buried differently. However, like the archaeologists

1 Recalculated by Oxcal 4.4 IntCal20 to 413-547 (95.4 %).

2 Recalculated by Oxcal 4.4 Intcal20 to 248-410 (95.4 %), 306-410 (65.4 %).

who carried out this excavation, I think these deceased were buried clandestinely after an accident or instead because they had to be buried quickly and without much attention to the grave ritual (De Winter 2018, 74). And although it seems that some of the human bones come from a secondary deposition, more burials in this area are a certainty. That these are not the only human remains found in this neighbourhood is, for example, proven by a mention by Jacques Breuer (Archéomuseum Ramioul, Florent Ulrix Collection, map 85_8, City Archives Tongeren digital collection), who found an inhumation just east of the town wall in 1934, a couple of meters to the south of the above mentioned excavations in the Vermeulenstraat (fig. 1.21, Archéomuseum Ramioul, Florent Ulrix Collection, map 85, City Archives Tongeren digital collection).

During the excavations that preceded the expansion of the Gallo-Roman Museum in 2006, the inhumed remains of three individuals were found inside the ruins of a building that was destroyed around 275/76 (fig. 1.23-25). A young man (S178), about 20-40 years old, was buried near the courtyard. He seems to have been covered with earth soon after his death. Interestingly, he had multiple perimortem injuries inflicted by a sharp weapon (a sword or multiple swords) besides bone damage caused by heavy physical activity. The remains are ¹⁴C-dated, with the highest probability in 320-420 (81.8 %) and 335-405 (68.2 %) (KIA-40429, 1685 ± 25 BP; Driesen 2018, 36, 134-135 and 160-177).³

A second young man (S153), also around 20-40 years old, was buried in the northern corridor of the destroyed house. He is ¹⁴C-dated with the highest probability in 320-390 (KIA-40431, 1705 ± 25 BP). A second ¹⁴C dating, places him in 330-540, with the highest probability in 340-440 (64.6 %). S153, a robust man, also suffered several perimortem traumas caused by bladed weapons. A remarkable injury was inflicted on the spinal cord when he was hit from behind. The conclusion about the death of both men is that they “died in a brutal, frenzied violence that involved numerous blows and that their bodies were deliberately mutilated, possibly reflecting ritualistic aspects of violence” (Driesen 2018, 174).⁴

Furthermore, an older man (S167), aged over fifty, was buried in a cutaway part of the floor of that northern corridor. He was probably buried with an

enamelled disc-shaped bronze fibula dated to the late 2nd or early 3rd century. S167 was a muscular man who had some age-related diseases and chronic disorders. He had no visual peri-mortem traumas. S167 is dated around 210-330, with the highest probability in 210-260 (41.5 %) and 280-330 (21.2 %) (KIA-40430, 1785 ± 25 BP). A second dating gives 210-400, with the highest probability in 240-335 (RICH-28641, 1668 ± 23BP; Driesen 2018, 36).⁵

During excavations at the *Maastrichterstraat* in 2021, the human remains of one individual were found in a ditch or canal next to the *decumanus maximus* (fig. 1.22). This male is ¹⁴C-dated in 240-410 with the highest probability for 320-380 (RICH-31498, 1732 ± 25BP). The *decumanus*, like the Late Roman town wall and ditch, was still in use, so there may be a contextual relationship between the manner and reason of this burial and the ones in the *Vermeulenstraat* and *Kielenstraat*. During an excavation in 2014, in the southwestern part of the city, the ditch of the 2nd-century town wall was investigated. Two inhumations were found (fig. 1.12-13). The hands of one buried person were tied, and his head was not present. This grave was ¹⁴C-dated in 250-408 (Van der Velde *et al.* 2022, 138). A second grave was ¹⁴C dated 252-414 (Wesemael & Hoebreckx 2015; Van der Velde *et al.* 2022, 133). During another excavation in 2020 on the corner of the *Cottalaan* and *Koninksemsteenweg*, some 20 m to the southwest of the 2nd-century town wall and northwest of the excavation of 2014 mentioned above, this wall's two ditches were exposed. In it, two Late Roman inhumation graves were found in a burial pit. However, the excavators did not consider them to be deviant burials (Heirbaut & Dockx 2020). Nonetheless, in 1935, inhumations were found, together with *terra sigillata*, in each of the two ditches of the 2nd-century town wall at the *Sint-Truidersteenweg*, indicating some kind of burial pattern (fig. 1.27-28, *De Postrijder* of 16 February 1935).

To conclude: the type of so-called solitary or deviant burials in the vicinity of the Late Roman city wall or markers or places that still had a function in the Late Roman town appear to be exclusively Late Roman or Early Medieval. Furthermore, it is striking that no Late Roman burials were found within the Late Roman wall. These are either Early Roman or rather Early Medieval. My three other conclusions, however, are open for debate. I argue that the burials found in the ditches of the 2nd-century wall have a deviant character. Burials near the Late Roman town wall all seem to be in a military context of possible defenders or attackers of the city who needed a quick

3 Recalculated by Oxcal 4.4 IntCal 20 to 405-593 (95.4 %) (Oxcal 13 350-535 95.4 %) with a peak in the chart in the beginning of the 5th century.

4 The first ¹⁴C-dating is recalculated by Oxcal 4.4 Intcal 20 to 255-415 (95.4 %) with the highest probability in 326-415 (75.1 %) and 255-285 (20.3 %) (Oxcal 13 255-399 95.4 %) with a peak in the chart in the beginning of the 5th century. The second dating is recalculated by Oxcal 4.4 Intcal 20 to 265-538 (95.4 %) (Oxcal 13 322-535) with the highest probability for 353-538 (94.0 %) and 265-272 (1.4 %) and with a peak in the chart in the beginning of the 5th century.

5 The first ¹⁴C-dating is recalculated by Oxcal 14.4 Intcal 20 to 216-342 (95.4 %) with the highest probability for 276-342 (62.3 %) and 216-263 (33.1 %) (Oxcal 13 137-330 95.4 %). The second dating is recalculated by Oxcal 4.4 IntCal 20 to 241-402 (95.4 %) (Oxcal 13 216-390 95.4 %) with a peak in the charts around 330.

burial. Nearly all the mentioned burials are probably not coincidentally males without grave gifts and without much care for the burial ritual. On the contrary, it is striking that the Early Medieval burials are found near or oriented toward places that had a functional or symbolic meaning in the Late Roman town. A final critical remark is that I am sketching a theoretical framework in search of a pattern for so-called solitary or deviant burials that will be further examined in the future.

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Dying outside the gates

The Brooklyn House, Norton, Yorkshire, *bustum*
burial and *busta* in Roman Britain

Pete Wilson

Background

Roman *Delgovicia*, underlying the modern towns of Malton and Norton (Wilson 2006; 2017), is located some 17 miles north-east of *Eboracum* (fig. 1). The civilian settlement associated with Malton Roman fort was substantial, occupying extensive areas around the fort and also across the river Derwent under what is now the town of Norton (fig. 2). Roman discoveries from Norton are extensive, but, until the advent of developer-funded archaeology, were largely the results of serendipity and the determined efforts of dedicated local amateur archaeologists (Robinson 1978, 34-40, gazetteer numbers 231-377). Their work demonstrated the existence of substantial buildings and industrial areas relating both to an extensive 3rd-century pottery industry and also metalworking. Evidence for the latter including an inscription recording the existence of a goldsmith's shop (Collingwood & Wright 1995, no. 712). In addition there were many discoveries of both cremation and inhumation burials pointing to the existence of major cemeteries alongside the main Roman roads to the east and south (fig. 3). More recently, professional archaeological organisations have undertaken a number of projects in advance of developments in Norton, including excavations by JB Archaeology Ltd at Brooklyn House, located close to the line of the main Roman road 81a from *Delgovicia* to York, (Margary 1973).

The Brooklyn House *busta* and Roman Malton and Norton

The area of Langton Road, which runs parallel to the line of road 81a, has over time produced many Roman-period burials. An evaluation at Brooklyn House in 2002 by MAP Archaeological Consultancy produced two infant burials, along with structural evidence confirming the archaeological potential of the area (MAP 2002). The 2015-2016 excavations in advance of the construction of a school on the site revealed a variety of evidence including, at the limit of the permitted excavation depth, elements of a possible mausoleum, buildings set at right-angles to the Roman road and a number of burials, including a probable *Grubenbustum* cremation (Phillips & Wilson 2021, 29-34).

The *bustum* was found during the excavation of a narrow service trench located in the access road to the site, a factor that limited the area around it that could be excavated. The deposit incorporated the main cremation vessel, an intact calcite-gritted jar of mid-2nd to, more probably, 3rd century date. Also present was a broken, but complete and unburnt folded grey ware beaker produced at the Norton kilns, along with the unburnt base of a large rouletted colour-coated flagon. A fragmented heavily burnt Black-Burnished 1 lipped

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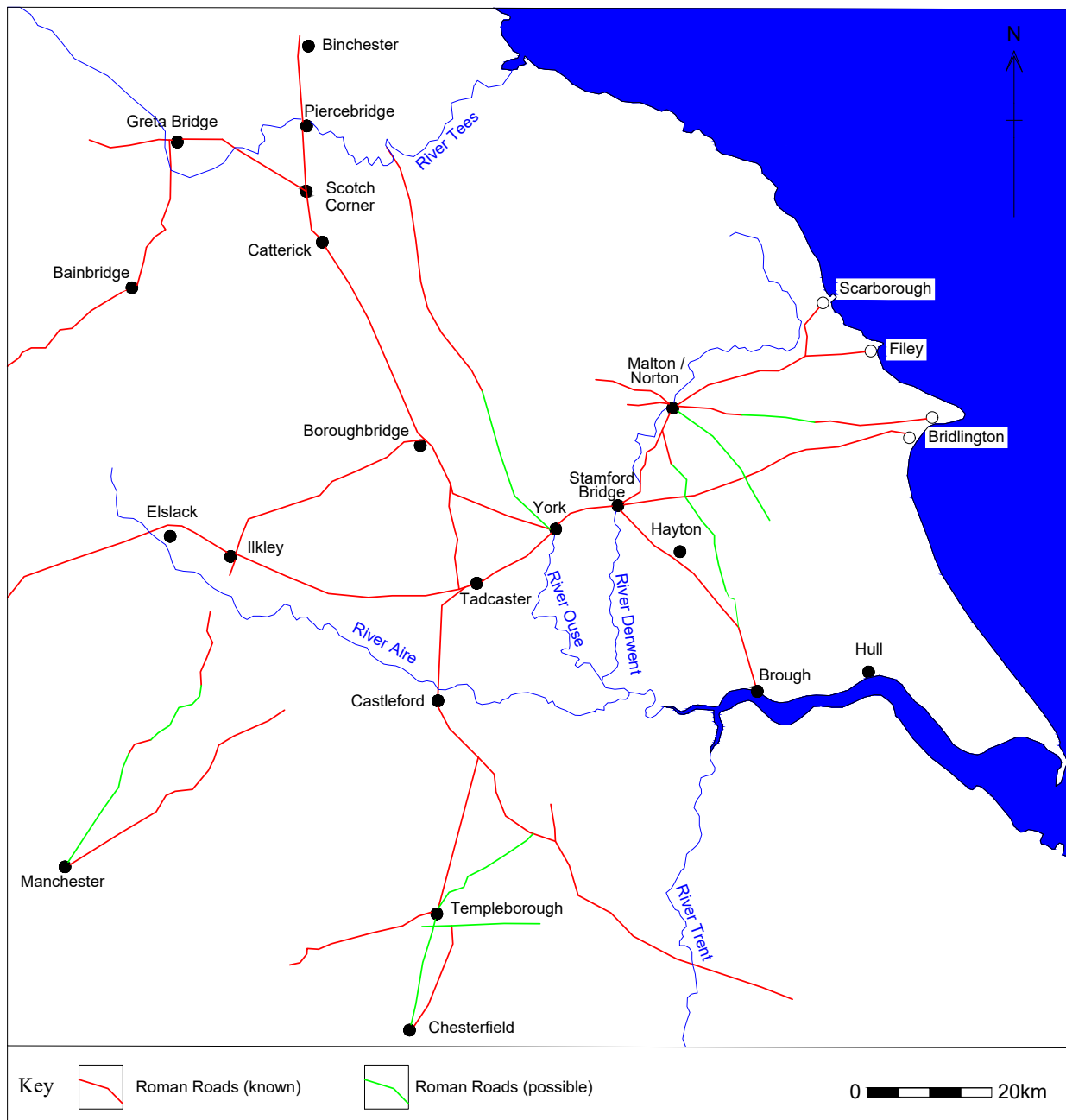


Figure 1. Roman Norton location map (Phillips & Wilson 2021, fig. 1, drawing Janet Phillips).

dish was also associated with the burial (Rowlandson & Fiske 2021, 133-134). Analysis of the cremated bone demonstrated that the *bustum* cremation was that of an 'old middle-aged or mature adult' (Keefe & Holst 2021, 241), although it was not possible to determine the individual's sex from the bone assemblage. Fortunately, analysis of the finds that had accompanied the deceased on the pyre provided further data, although the extent of fire damage demanded considerable reliance on the x-radiographs.

The material associated with the burial included: fragments of two fretted openwork belt plates, typical of fittings worn by soldiers between the mid-2nd and mid-3rd century AD, two strap ends, two frog fittings to support a side arm, a type of heart-shaped openwork pendant – usually seen as a fitting for the front of a baldric, three fragments from a single iron blade, probably from a narrow knife rather than a typical military dagger, an enamelled plate brooch that would have been suitable for holding a cloak, four small bone triangle inlays, possibly

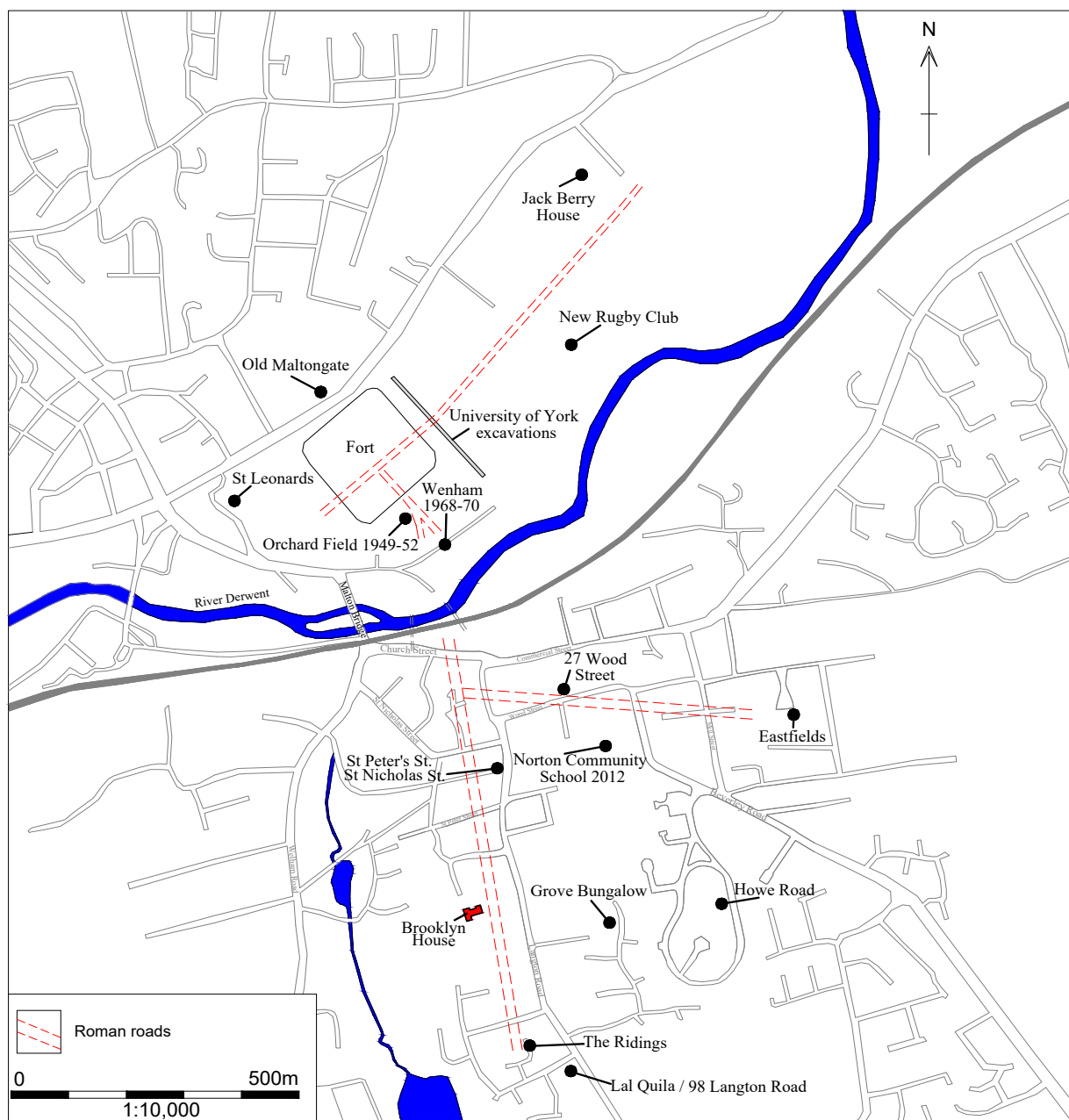


Figure 2. Roman sites in Malton and Norton (Phillips & Wilson 2021, fig. 2, drawing Janet Phillips).

from a small box or casket and one or possibly two lathe-turned bone terminals and a disc, possibly from cylindrical boxes or scroll holders (Cool & Greep 2021, 187-199).

The belt plates, strap end, frog fittings and openwork pendant all point to the deceased being a soldier, or a veteran, buried with at least an attempt at appropriate military symbolism. While the ovoid pit in which he was interred is not typical of the rectangular pits often used for *busta*, the burial does seem to reflect a number of the other traits associated with *busta* observed by

McKinley (2017, 266-269). This was particularly notable with respect to the post-cremation manipulation of the cremated material, which included a collection of bone for deposition in an urn and the pyre material, incorporating cremated bone, being scraped-up and mounded over the burial pit. With respect to the latter point, the Norton urn contained 875 g of bone, which is well below the mean of 1600 g expected from a modern cremation, but when all of the bone from the pit fill and overlying associated burnt deposits is taken

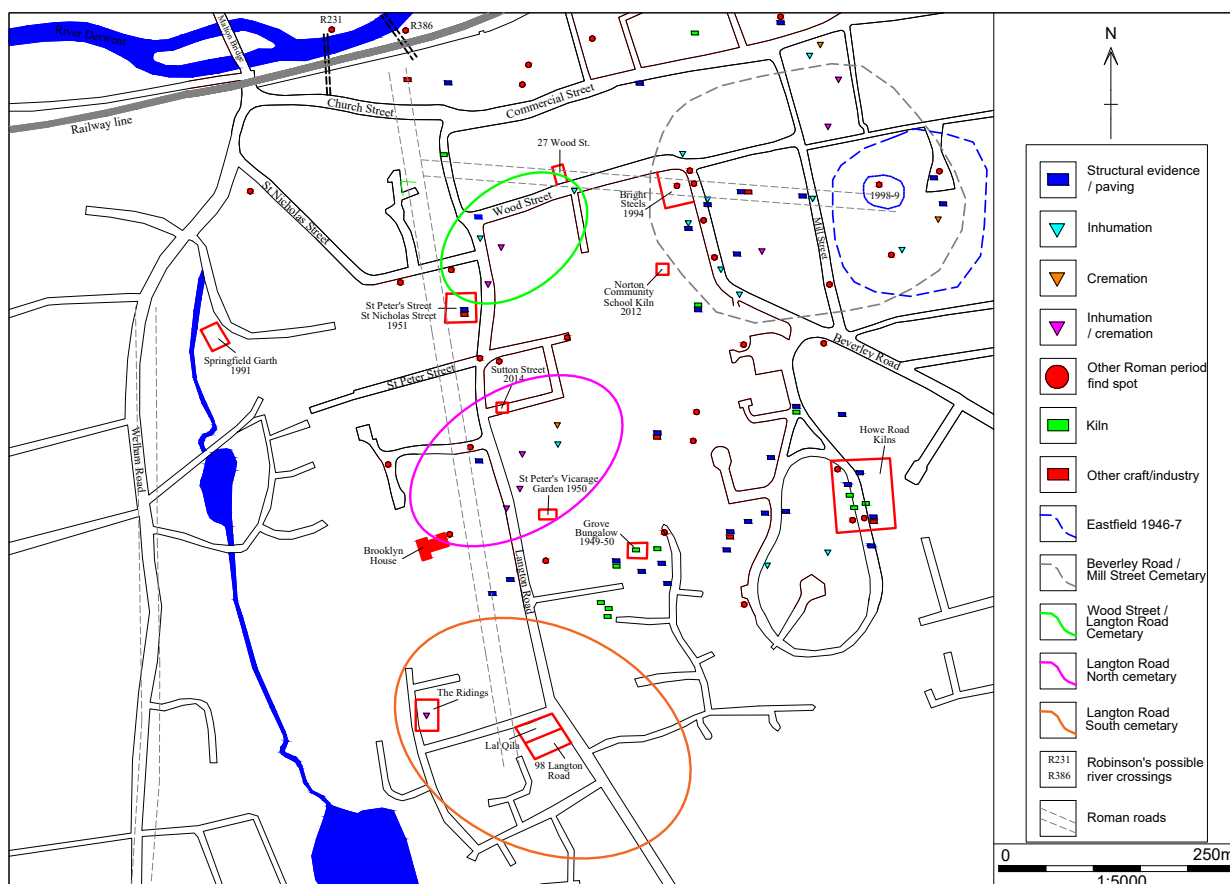


Figure 3. Roman Norton. Sites and findspots (Phillips & Wilson 2021, fig. 209, drawing Janet Phillips).

into consideration, the total of over 1900 g exceeds the modern mean.

Perhaps counter-intuitively, it has been observed that it was common military practice not to closely tend the pyre (Thompson *et al.* 2016). Contemporary mores might expect that, if soldiers were honouring a deceased comrade, one or more of his brothers-in-arms might stand watch. Untended pyres lead to variable combustion of the deceased and pyre material and the Brooklyn House *bustum* was no exception. All that said, in addition to the anomalous pit shape, two other things point to the Norton *bustum* perhaps not being the work of soldiers, but rather of a veteran's family and friends:

1. Burial in an apparently primarily civilian cemetery.
2. The possibly symbolic provision of a non-military bladed weapon.

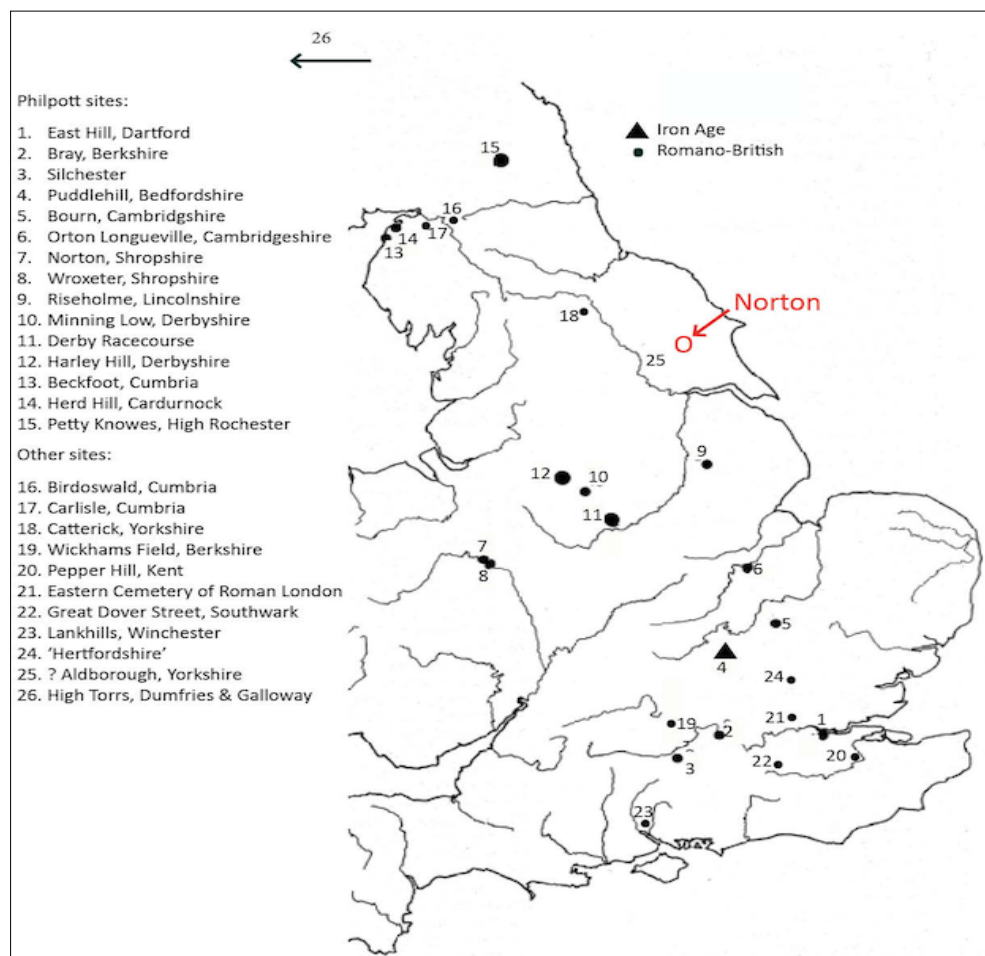
Despite the extensive areas over which burials have been discovered *Delgovicia* lacks clearly identified military cemeteries, perhaps in part because many of the burials known are the result of antiquarian observations during the 19th century. That said, the discovery of military burials

elsewhere in what are believed to be primarily civilian cemeteries is well known, examples include three cremations, possibly of legionaries, from the Valiant Soldier site in Exeter (Salvatore 2001; 2021, 182-183).

There is one undoubted military tombstone from *Delgovicia* which was found north of the fort, from an area formerly known as 'Pye Pits' which would have been close to the line of a road exiting the *porta decumana*. To date there is no firm evidence of a road in that area, but the *porta decumana* is the most likely origin of Roman road 814 (Margary 1973) that is suggested to extend east towards Hovingham where a high status later Roman site is known (Clark 1935, 88-92; Neal & Cosh 2002, 341).

Little is known about the garrison of Malton fort, although a dedication slab, found in a Severan context in the civilian settlement south of the fort, was set up by the prefect of a cavalry regiment (*Ala Picentiana*). However, the slab was probably residual in the context in which it was found and, therefore, not Severan in date, (Wenham & Heywood 1997, 39; Tomlin *et al.* 2009, 210, no. 3207). Holder (1982, 109) has *Ala Picentiana* arriving in Britain between the reign of Domitian and Hadrian's visit to Britain and suggests it could have arrived prior

Figure 4. *Busta* and *in situ* cremations in Roman Britain (after Philpott 1991, fig. 5, with additions, drawing Max Stubbings).



to AD 89. However, Jarrett (1994, 41) suggests it could still have been in Germany after AD 90. A diploma of AD 124, from Stanington, Yorkshire (Frere *et al.* 1990, 13-17, no. 2401.6) provides the only evidence, in addition to the Malton inscription, of the unit in Britain, although Jarrett (1994, 77) suggests that it was probably amongst the units stationed in Britain in AD 200-220.

Obviously, there ought to be many more military burials from *Delgovicia*, as the fort was garrisoned for the bulk of the Roman occupation of Britain (Bidwell & Hodgson 2009, 165-169). That said, in common with other forts in Northern England, the fort was either abandoned in the Hadrianic period, or possibly, as suggested by M.R. Hull in his report on the pottery from the site, held by a 'small detachment' (Hull 1930, 69). Full reoccupation of the fort took place in the AD 150's following the withdrawal from the Antonine Wall.

***Busta* in Roman Britain**

Busta in Roman Britain have been discussed by both Struck (1993) and Philpott (1991, 48-49, fig. 5), but much remains to be fully understood about the rite. Indeed, when looking at the distribution of *busta* in Britain (fig. 4) an obvious

question is, within a relatively small total number why do we see so many that are apparently isolated within cemeteries that display a variety of burial rites? More fundamentally, it should be noted that Weekes (2008, 149) has argued 'that no sufficiently compelling evidence is yet available to prove the existence of the so-called '*bustum* burial', at least in Britain'. Despite Weeke's caution, there does appear to be, at least to this author, sufficient data and academic interest to warrant further discussion.

There is a sense in the British literature that *busta* are most often associated with the military as at: Milefortlet 4 Herd Hill (Cardurnock, Bellhouse 1954, 54-55), Beckfoot (Hogg 1949; Bellhouse 1954, 51-53; Caruana 2004), Petty Knowes (High Rochester, Charlton & Mitchelson 1984), Birdoswald (Wilmott 1993; forthcoming) and a possible example from Botchergate (Carlisle, F. Giecco personal communication; Giecco *et al.* 2001). However, looking more widely possible *busta* and other *in situ* cremations are also known from a number of sites away from the northern frontier in addition to Norton. Philpott (1991, fig. 5) locates a number further south at: Bray (Berkshire), Harley Hill (Derbyshire),

Derby Racecourse, Riseholme (Lincolnshire), Bourn (Cambridgeshire), Orton Longueville (Cambridgeshire) and Silchester. Other, generally more recent, discoveries include: Brough Park (Catterick, Yorkshire, Speed & Holst 2018, grave 6790 and, possibly, grave 6782), Pepper Hill (Springhead, Kent, six *busta*, Biddulph 2006, 25-31, fig. 8), the Eastern Cemetery of Roman London (Barber & Bowsher 2000, G0.36), Great Dover Street (Southwark, a female, Mackinder 2000, 10-13, 27-28 and 33-37) and Lankhills (Winchester, Hampshire, eight possible *busta*, including a female and an infant, Clarke 1979; Booth *et al.* 2010, 405). McKinley (2017, 267) refers to a *bustum*-type burial from Hertfordshire based on information from Ros Niblett, and Struck (1993, list 1) notes possible *busta* from Redhills, Aldborough, Yorkshire and Thornborough, Buckinghamshire, as well as a possible *Flächenbusta* from High Torrs, Dumfries, and Galloway.

The preceding list suggests that *bustum* burials were not confined to 'military' areas, nor, on the evidence of Great Dover Street and Lankhills, were they reserved for men, or adults. However, for adult male *busta* there are potential questions around the roles and potential non-fort locations of soldiers, particularly in the later Roman period, including the possibility of troops being garrisoned or billeted in urban centres, as might be the case with the Winchester *busta*. However, the extent to which such dispositions were common in Britain, even in the 4th century is questioned by some, for example Speed (2014, 104).

There are a number of other potential issues in discussing *busta*, not least the wide variation of burial practice in the Roman period. Philpott (1991) and McKinley (2017) both note the existence of pits with burnt sides located in cemeteries, some of which appear to contain little or no bone and could represent updraught pits for pyres. One pit at Wickhams Field, near Reading contained 140 g of bone in its upper fill which overlay charcoal rich deposits, which appears to be such a pit where the remains of the deceased were disposed of elsewhere (Crockett 1996, 132). At Derby Racecourse Grave 134 contained two charred skeletons, with single charred skeletons found in Graves 163 and 171 (Philpott 1991, 48), burials that certainly do not meet the usually accepted criteria for identification as *busta*.

In terms of the origin of the *bustum* burial rite in Britain, Manuela Struck (1993, 92), while recognising that *busta* are widespread across the Roman Empire, noted that there are usually only a few examples from any one site. She identified four areas where there were greater concentrations: Southern France, Northern Italy, the Rhineland and the Balkans with Dacia, all areas which provided troops for the British garrison. Her conclusion was that in Britain 'most *busta* stem from immigrants, mainly soldiers', but she accepts that

'the possibility that some burials originate from a native tradition cannot be excluded'.

Our knowledge of pre-Roman Iron Age burial traditions across much of Britain is limited (Philpott 1991, 6-7; Carr 2007, 245), particularly for the North of England. Philpott (1991, 6) notes that Late Iron Age cremations are restricted to southern England and notes two possible late Iron Age *busta* from Puddlehill, Bedfordshire (Philpott 1991, 48). In looking at continental Europe Struck (1993, 91) was able to suggest that *busta* played a minor role in the prehistoric burial rite of every region. Clearly it possible that, as more Iron Age cemeteries are investigated in Britain, we may see a corresponding rise in confirmed pre-Roman *busta*.

None of the above tells us why we get *bustum* burials in particular locations. The groups associated with the forts of High Rochester and Beckfoot suggest that the practice may have been of particular significance to the Units stationed there, but at High Rochester where 8 of the 15 cremations are *bustum* type, the pottery indicates that the rite was in use from the 2nd to early 4th centuries at least, spanning both changes in garrison and, quite probably, an increasingly native British origin of the soldiers. Haynes (2013, 121-134) has questioned the received wisdom regarding the importance of local recruitment, while accepting that units increasingly drew on recruits from their immediate vicinity, he argues that it is wrong to assume that this became the primary source of manpower (Haynes 2013, 134). He also argues (Haynes 2013, 133) that a unit's cultural memory could extend over decades; citing the 3rd-century tombstone of a child from Birdoswald called Deciba[us] (Collingwood & Wright 1965, 593, no. 1920). Decibalus was the Dacian king defeated by Trajan a century or more earlier, but the name may still have had significance to the troops of *Cohors I Aelia Dacorum*, the regiment stationed at Birdoswald. Given the origin of the unit it is tempting to suggest that *Cohors I Aelia Dacorum milliaria* might have brought the *bustum* tradition with them when they were transferred to Britain, despite the unit having arrived decades before the death of the child.

Similarly, at Beckfoot, we have a broad date range, 2nd to later 4th century, and again potential changes in garrison. The one unit that can be assigned to the fort there, *Cohors II Pannoniorum equitata* which, while again originally hailing from close to an area where *busta* are relatively common, was raised during or before the reign of Claudius. Therefore, by the time it was in residence at Beckfoot, probably in the 2nd century, its direct cultural connections with *Pannonia* could have been tenuous but, following Haynes' argument, 'cultural memory' could have remained strong. We don't know how long *Cohors II Pannoniorum equitata* remained at Beckfoot and, even if it did, presumably

it will have recruited from Britain as time wore on. So again, if the presence of *busta* reflects the origins of the garrison, it must, later in the Roman period, at least in part, reflect the ‘cultural memory’ of the unit or, if the unit was redeployed, the appropriation and continuation of those cultural memories by the wider military community at Beckfoot. That said, it should be noted that Caruana (2004, 156) has expressed misgivings regarding the identification of *busta* at Beckfoot largely because of the nature of discovery and recovery of many of the cremations which have been exposed through coastal erosion.

Irby-Massie (1999) does not discuss funerary rites and a possible explanation for this could be that military funerary practices were not closely tied to religious observance, but primarily reflected social and cultural practice. If that suggestion is correct that could be seen to underpin the importance of cultural memory with respect to preferred burial rites. At sites where a number of *busta* are known, as at High Rochester and Beckfoot, we may be seeing the influence of military burial clubs. A *bustum* burial perhaps being one option available to members from a suite of possible burial/cremation rites, as might be seen in the range of practices observed in the Birdoswald cemetery (Wilmott 1993; forthcoming). If that, or something similar, were the case, what choices were available to a veteran and their family on his death? Without challenging the concept of a wider military community that effectively crossed the walls of the fort (e.g. James 2001, 80), and recognising that military links and loyalties may well have survived retirement; it may be that the bonds of civilian life, family and friends that formed part of the wider military community, but who were located outside the fort walls, may have become dominant. Presumably, every veterans’ experience of civilian life was different in detail, as may have been their emotional attachment to their former military status. However, in the case of the former soldier represented in the Norton *bustum* burial it would seem that his prior military status was important enough for him to want it to be recognised, or perhaps even emphasised as he was committed to the flames. Whether-or-not his family and friends outside the fort shared that pride, as those presumably responsible for the funeral they clearly sought to provide him with a ‘military-style’ send off; details, such as the provision of a ‘substitute’ edged weapon suggesting they were committed to the process.

Philpott (1991, 49) concluded that “flat grave *in situ* cremation”, which in his discussion incorporates *bustum* burials, “is not typical of mainstream native Romano-British burial practice and a continental origin is likely in the majority of cases.” While from his wording it is not absolutely clear whether Philpott saw the rite, those buried using it, or both as intrusive, as noted

above, Struck (1993, 92) saw most *busta* as representing “immigrants, mostly soldiers”. Philpott (1991, 50-52) considers “late 3rd-4th-century cremation” separately from his discussion of “cremations *in situ*”, starting from the position that, when he was writing, “much interest in 4th-century cremation in Roman Britain centres on the identification of intrusive Germanic elements”. While the focus of discussions may have shifted in the intervening years his statement that “late cremations represent the survival of Romano-British burial practice, rather than the introduction of an intrusive rite”, holds true. However, in considering Petty Knowes his statement that “*in situ* cremation ...[was] initially intrusive” contradicts his less emphatic statement cited above and is contradicted by the evidence of possible Iron Late Age *busta* from Puddle Hill.

Summary

Bustum burial was a long-lived rite in Britain, possibly originating in the Late Iron Age and continuing in use into the 4th century but given existing evidence, it was rarely, if ever, the dominant rite in cremation cemeteries – even at Petty Knowes only eight of the seventeen excavated burials are *busta*. Even where it is seen as relatively common, as at Petty Knowes and Beckfoot, other variations of cremation are known. No cemetery where *busta* have been found has been fully excavated and, therefore, *busta* cannot be assessed quantitatively against other types of cremation with any confidence. Despite their presence at a number of military sites, the use of the *bustum* rite for women and children as evidenced in Southwark and Winchester, along with its possible pre-Roman origin, suggests it cannot be seen as solely a ‘military rite’, although for the Roman period it is not possible to discount the possibility that the women and children may have been family members of serving, or former, soldiers or had other military associations. Overall, the limited number of *busta*, even at Petty Knowes and Beckfoot, suggests that the choice of a *bustum* burial in many cases may have been driven by individual preference, rather than being the result of an embedded cultural imperative.

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PART 7

**REVISITING ROMAN
IMPORTS BEYOND
THE FRONTIER**

INVESTIGATING PROCESSES
OF MOVEMENT

Roman-barbarian interaction

Revisiting Roman imports beyond the frontier;
investigating processes of movement.
Introductory remarks

Thomas Schierl, Fraser Hunter and Thomas Grane

Finds of Roman objects outside the ancient Roman Empire have long fascinated people, with such discoveries recorded from at least the 16th century (e.g. Laser 1980, 7), and their research has been an important field of investigation since then. Today, study of Rome's material footprints outside the Empire is just one small scientific area of provincial Roman archaeology but the various facets of this phenomenon are of great importance for many aspects of prehistoric archaeology, while the archaeology of Roman-Barbarian relations is a critical topic because their reflections in ancient written sources are limited.

The Congress of Roman Frontier Studies has offered a perfect auditorium over the last twenty years to develop new scientific approaches and to present new data unearthed by field archaeology. We wish to give a new impetus to a longer tradition of discussions on Roman-Barbarian interaction at Limes Congresses by developing thematic sessions. Against the background of an enormous increase of archaeological data in recent decades it seems sensible to focus discussions at future meetings on particular issues. Such an approach offers more comprehensive insights to topics and can stimulate intensive and profitable discussion, as our first session 'First Contacts between the Roman Military and the local people' at the congress in *Viminacium* 2018 demonstrated. This introductory paper offers an overview of current research in relation to the topic for the Nijmegen congress: investigating processes of movement beyond the frontier. Our focus is on central European evidence, but we draw in some northern British and southern Scandinavian parallels to illuminate particular points.

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New demands

2021 marked the 70th anniversary of Hans Jürgen Eggers' ground-breaking work '*Der römische Import im freien Germanien*'. This gave the impetus to examine the state of modern research and explore current boundaries of interpretation. Although a second volume with Eggers' comprehensive evaluation was never published, the first volume provides basic information and ideas concerning their interpretation. The enormous collection of data, newly introduced typological order of silver, bronze and glass vessels, and spatial and chronological contextualisation of the finds offered a fundamental basis for future research; an absolute chronology of the Roman Iron Age based on Roman

imports was published shortly afterwards (Eggers 1955). Eggers' work showed clearly that the presence of Roman objects outside the Empire is a pan-European but heterogeneous phenomenon. This work inspired subsequent investigations concentrated primarily on certain regions, materials, or contexts (e.g. for Ireland and Scotland Curle 1932; Robertson 1970; Campbell 2007; Hunter 2007; 2013; Péterváry-Szanyi 2009; Daffy 2013; Wilson 2017; for Scandinavia Lund Hansen 1987; 2017; Grane 2007; 2017; for Central Europe Svoboda 1948; Sakař 1970; Wielowiejski 1970; 1985; Kunow 1983; Berke 1990; Kuzmová 1997; Karasová 1998; Laser 1998; Meyersieck & Oosthuys 2006; Hrnčiarik 2013; Steidl 2016a; Voss & Wigg-Wolf 2018; Droberjar & Chvojka 2006; Droberjar et al. 2018; for the East Simonenko & Marčenko 2008; Popa 2015). Roman coins had long attracted particular attention, with numerous academic publications (e.g. Bolin 1926; Laser 1980) culminating in the synthetic project '*Fundmünzen der Römischen Zeit in Deutschland*' (FMRD) started in 1953 (Gebhart et al. 1956; for Roman coins in Denmark Horsnaes 2010; 2013). Since the ever-growing number of Roman finds outside the Empire could hardly be investigated by a single person on a superregional level, the *Zentralinstitut für Alte Geschichte und Archäologie* started to collect all Roman finds on the area of the German Democratic Republic in 1988. In the early 1990's this grew into the '*Corpus der Römischen Funde im Europäischen Barbaricum*' (Erdrich & Von Schnurbein 1993) coordinated by the Romano-Germanic Commission of the German Archaeological Institute. This very ambitious project is still running today; catalogues have been published for Germany, Poland, Hungary, Latvia and Romania (for some results Voß & Müller-Scheeßel 2016), but unfortunately, only a few works focussed on the evaluation of data have appeared so far (Erdrich 2001; Grane 2007; 2016; Popa 2015), a gap which needs to be filled.

Studies of Roman-Germanic interaction (to focus on this area) are traditionally grounded on the evaluation and interpretation of Roman objects or find ensembles, often in combination with re-interpretation of written sources. Roman imports have often been studied independent or supplementary to their indigenous context as a transregional phenomenon. For instance, movement by trade or as gifts seemed obvious for the well-preserved Roman bronze or silver vessels known from often very rich indigenous inhumation graves. For the central European region, however, hints of a broader range of exchange mechanisms have gradually come to light thanks to the growing number of Roman finds from cremation burials and settlements. The enormous increase in Roman objects discovered in extensive commercial excavations or intensive metal detector surveys changed our understanding of Roman imports. The broad spectrum of objects from settlement sites offers unexpected insights

into the quantity of such objects and how they accompanied many aspects of ancient daily life in *Barbaricum*, while their varied character raises questions about cultural identity and how it changes. What is thoroughly of Roman origin? What is a Barbarian item? And which objects are of mixed or hybrid identity? What does it mean? As well as imported goods, imitations from both outside and inside the Roman Empire are a significant category which can offer intimate insights into how Barbarian societies dealt with the 'big neighbour' and its cultural products. Within settlements some structures suggest provincial Roman archetypes (buildings: Steidl 2000, 104-105; Kossack & Baessler 2001; Von Schnurbein 2007, 32; Karlsen 2020, 69-72; roads: Lund Hansen 1987, 249; Jørgensen et al. 2003, 202; kilns: Dušek 1992). These could be interpreted as technical adaptations or might be caused by a local presence of people from the Roman provinces.

The methodological and technical progress of the last decades has been eye-opening; only a few examples can be highlighted here. Eggers based his typological, chronological, and spatial considerations solely on finds from outside the Roman Empire, but a cross-limes mapping of such items can not only narrow down the region of origin and cultural background of the objects, but also help to reconstruct the historical processes behind this (e.g. Becker 2016).

Without question, the greatly expanded use of metal detectors by hobby detectorists and archaeologists had a huge impact on the known numbers of Roman items outside the Empire, while detecting in forested areas barely investigated by conventional surveys led to the discovery of new Roman camps and other important sites beyond the limes in recent decades, such as Hedemünden (Lower Saxony, DE, Grote 2012; Baatz 2014; Von Schnurbein 2015). The technique also greatly assisted in the development of conflict and battlefield archaeology (Lynch & Cooksey 2007; Meller 2009; Carman 2013; Fernández-Götz & Roymans 2018). The extensive use of detectors helped to locate and understand countless places of violent interaction between the Roman army and indigenous groups such as Kalkriese (Lower Saxony, DE, Berger 1996; Harnecker 2004; 2008; 2011; Wilbers-Rost et al. 2007; Rost & Wilberts-Rost 2012; Moosbauer 2020), Döttenbichl (near Oberammergau, Bavaria, DE, Zanier 2016) or Burnswark (Dumfries & Galloway, UK, Reid & Nicholson 2019).

The use of geophysical survey methods (georadar, geomagnetic / GPA and geoelectric) has become more and more common since the second half of the 20th century. Thanks to recent technical progress GPS-located magnetometer systems with multiple probes moved by vehicles or drones reduced measurement times and increased the surveyed area, permitting whole ancient landscapes to be documented and deciphered, e.g. Marwedel (Lower Saxony, DE, Ullrich et al. 2018);

Limburg-Eschhofen (Hesse, DE, Schade-Lindig 2020, 3-18). Battlefields became conflict landscapes in a wider sense, such as Kalkriese (Lower Saxony, DE, Rost & Wilbers-Rost 2021) or the Harzhorn near Kalefeld (Lower Saxony, DE, Pöppelmann & Steinmetz 2013; Moosbauer 2018). LiDAR Remote Sensing has made it possible to detect previously unknown Roman sites from vestigial remains such as the Roman camp at Bielefeld-Sennestadt (Tremmel & Schubert 2019), and document geographical positions of find spots within complex settlement landscapes (generally Song & Coolen 2021).

Detailed information about the origin and cultural background of an object can be gathered by analysing techniques and materials. Transfer of technologies, particularly what and when it is transferred, reveals an important step of cultural exchange (e.g. Voß *et al.* 1999; Voß 2008; 2016; 2020). Growing databases and an increase in publications allow increasingly precise statements and highlight the importance of multivariate statistical analyses of such big data. For example, the origin of prestigious metal objects as well as unpretentious items such as Roman millstones (Gluhak 2010; 2015) or coarse ware pottery (e.g. Agricola *et al.* 2013; Helfert 2015), can be narrowed down by trace element analyses. Recently, the assignment of metal objects to a specific forge and therefore to a particular individual or work-unit has been discussed using finds from the battlefield near Kalkriese (PhD thesis by Annika Diekmann, Deutsches Bergbaumuseum Bochum; Fernández-Reyes 2014). The increasingly common use of portable XRF spectrometers enables large amounts of finds to be examined with little effort. Large amounts of data allow statistically relevant conclusions in the sense of an economic archaeology (Helfert 2013; Mecking *et al.* 2013; Von Kaenel & Helfert 2016).

Scrap metal, increasingly known from various settlements, points towards secondary use of metal objects as raw material for the making of indigenous products. Other raw material and consumables such as leaf gold, mercury, and colours like vermilion or Egyptian blue, as well as textiles or dye (Lund Hansen 1987, 232; Lehmann 2002) reached *Barbaricum* as well (see Neudorf-Bornstein, Schleswig-Holstein, DE, Abegg-Wigg 2008, 287; Gommern, Saxony-Anhalt, DE, Becker *et al.* 1998, 206-210; Schnarr *et al.* 1994, 259; Fütting 2010; Wunderlich 2010; Wehry 2020). Near to the limes an import of beverage, perhaps mostly beer, seems to be implied by some fragments of amphora (Steidl 2016b, 970-971).

Current archaeozoology provides numerous hints of animals of conspicuous size, such as (big) bovines, (big) horses, and (little) dogs, which have been interpreted as imports (Missel 1987; Teichert 1990a-b; Benecke 2000, 245-248). Based on the isotopic composition of the bones, a local or regional origin of such animals seems possible, and regional breeding cannot be ruled out (e.g. Papa *et al.*

2021, 521). While above-average cattle received special attention, large horses and conspicuously small dogs have only occasionally been discussed, in part because they are less frequently documented. At present, it is still difficult to assess what significance domestic chickens, pigeons, domestic cats, and donkeys had in cultural exchange between Romans and Barbarians (Benecke 1994, 144-146). Archaeobotanical data are still not available in various regions, although plants introduced from the Empire have been identified (e.g. coriander: Leineweber & Willerding 2000, 159-161). A direct Roman influence on vegetation is most likely to be detected near the Roman borders, particularly in river valleys such as those of the Rhine and Danube. More and more isotopic and genetic analyses of human remains will help to reconstruct population dynamics and mobility of individuals and groups, as it has been already possible within the Empire (Prowse 2010; Eckardt *et al.* 2015).

Areas of interaction

The technical and scientific developments of the last decades described above offer new perspectives and a lot of specific information which helps us reconstruct processes and events more precisely and detailed than ever. But these methods need to be used consistently and on a large scale in the future to generate comprehensive and statistically relevant data to search for regional patterns in the phenomena of Roman imports. The causes and contexts of transmission of foreign items are still extensively discussed and must be differentiated in relation to place and space, context, as well as time. Of course, a single interpretation will almost never be possible since it must be assumed that different processes were running simultaneously.

Space Distribution patterns mostly reflect the end-use of objects but in certain circumstances they help to provide a clue about production as well as transfer routes and transmission contexts of individual find types or groups. Of course, caution is required in interpretation since redistribution, particularly of prestige items, is very likely (Mildenberger 1969). A countercheck with indigenous findspots is helpful to assess critically the presence and frequency of foreign items.

However, density differences in general and particular object groups can reflect regional differences in accessibility, use/handling of foreign goods, or the background of their transition. A concentration of relief-decorated samian wares in settlements along the Roman frontier seems to have an economic cause (Schücker 2016). B. Cunliffe described a c. 200 km wide area in front of the *limes* as Market Zone followed by a Rich Burial Zone where different and partly indirect trading systems have been working (Cunliffe 1988, 186-187, fig. 71 and 199-200; 2008, 395-400 and 396, fig. 11.17). Such zones might

reflect different kinds of interaction performed by different social groups (Karlsen 2018, 587-590, fig. 8; Ebel-Zepezauer 2021, 440, fig. 7). On the other hand, regional evidence of items such as the numerous fragments of Roman imported (and regionally imitated?) mortaria found, for instance, in Thuringia/DE (Dušek 1989; 1991) or Vorbasse (Syddanmark, DK, Lund Hansen 2014), suggest that particular preferences of the living (Barbarians or captured Romans?) have been the reason for use.

Water and land routes can also operate as linear contact and distribution zones, where certain objects have been spread or exchanged as is suspected along the Hellweg (North Rhine-Westphalia, DE, Eggenstein 2008; Ludowici 2010; Melzer 2010); the distribution of Roman millstones seem to be related to known transport routes, particularly waterways (Cosack 2002; Mückenberger 2013, 192-194; Enzmann 2016; Karlsen 2018, 587, fig. 7). In some circumstances, a strong exchange can be reconstructed between both sides of river valleys; for instance, the river Rhine can be understood as a direct contact zone particularly in the 2nd and 3rd century (Kyritz 2018, 570-573 with 563, fig. 2). Obviously, the general context must be kept in mind when interpreting distribution patterns. A production of Germanic Eye brooches in *Augusta Vindelicum* (Augsburg, Bavaria, DE), for instance, had been understood as indication of a long-distance trade of such items (Voß 2008, 344-345 with fig. 1) but Germanic settlers around Augsburg offer the cultural background for a regional target market (Steidl 2013; Pauli 2021).

Infrastructural and economical differences in space and time have of course to be considered in evaluating the distribution of foreign objects. Roman camps such as Anreppen (North Rhine-Westphalia, DE, Hallenkamp-Lumpe 2021) or Markbreit (Bavaria, DE, Völling 1995, 81-86), seem to have been distribution points and even Waldgirmes (Hesse, DE) was used as a source for Roman objects after its decline (Schäfer & Schroth 2008). Hierarchical differences and functional distinctions between individual settlements are often sought based on the Roman finds. Whether they were anchorage sites, settlements with a central function or even temporary marketplaces can seldom be decided categorically due to the lack of large-scale excavations and insufficient knowledge of the neighbouring infrastructure (generally Ludowici 2010), for instance Elsflöth (Lower Saxony, DE, Mückenberger 2013), Castrop-Rauxel (North Rhine-Westphalia, DE, Schröder 2020) or Kamen-Westick (North Rhine-Westphalia, DE, Könemann 2018; Cichy & Fahr 2018; generally Siegmüller 2015, part. 188; Karlsen 2018, 590-592); on the Roman anchorage site Bentumersiel (near Jemgum, Lower Saxony, DE, see Brandt 1977; Erdrich 2015).

Context The documented range of Roman objects and written sources allow reconstruction of different

contexts of exchange. These can be broken down into categories such as trade, bribes, subsidies, pay, loot, gifts, and souvenirs (e.g. Grane 2013). Significantly increased numbers of regionally differentiated datasets allow regionally varied considerations about the character and mechanisms of contact and exchange. Until now, little attention has been placed on the importance of imitations of forms, techniques, and behaviour (an exception is Grane & Pauli Jensen 2016). This indicates a targeted selection and integration of innovations into the maker's own cultural environment, which may also materialise as products for an export market e.g. Roman-produced finger rings for Germanic users.

Generally, Roman imports mark both temporally and spatially limited events as well as longer-term processes that had an impact on whole regions. Especially in the last few decades, the connection between Roman campaigns in *Barbaricum* and corresponding finds became increasingly evident, although it is still not possible to decipher each underlying single mechanism in detail. Rapid looting and removal of objects after the abandonment of places or battlefields may be partly responsible for this. Archaeological finds from recent decades point to the enormous importance of plundering raids and the participation of Barbarian troops in Roman conflicts. Based on find spectra and written sources it is obvious that not every group was involved; even the inhabitants of the neighbouring settlement might not have been taken part in raids (Steidl 2007, 42-44 fig. 6; 2016b, 965-966).

There is no doubt, however, that transregionally networked indigenous elites directly or indirectly played a decisive role in conveying non-local objects and ideas. They in particular had the economic power and probably also the social pressure to stand out with high-quality works of art that reflect their possessions and/or status, by probably also conveying *Zeitgeist* or cosmopolitanism, whether with an original object from the Roman Empire or implementation of external models and forms adapted to their own wishes. But accessibility to foreign goods was very likely not only regulated socially; there are indications that individual entities had a bigger impact on it than was thought before, especially at times of great military confrontations and spatial mobility. Not only local traders but also people on the move for personal reasons, small-scale trade, or as warriors, could also act as transmitters; access and possibilities of transportation were the decisive parameters (Bemmann 2003).

Scrap metal of different sizes is known from various settlement sites. This is mainly interpreted in the context of secondary use, but when it comes to hacksilver, a function as substitutes for coins is obvious (e.g. Hunter & Painter 2013). Fused and fragmented glass suggests the production of simple beads from Roman sherds

(Vogt 2002). Since evidence for trade of scrap metal and used glass can be provided from the Roman Empire, such a practice may also have been important in dealing with the barbarian neighbours.

Time There is no doubt that the duration and intensity of contacts are decisive parameters for the nature of an exchange. This may also have been limited by a voluntary abstention (resistance) or promoted by a targeted intensification (by whatever side). Import ‘waves’ through time can be reconstructed in many regions and are interpreted as indications of political and social processes. These are not always contemporary in different regions, which may reflect Roman foreign policy (e.g. Erdrich 2001; Rau 2012; Ingemark 2014, 181-182; Popa 2015; Grane 2017, 100), but numerous other phenomena might be involved as well.

Fundamentally, the circulation time of each item is the key factor to decipher chronology, but it is also necessary to recognise historical processes or events and understand the social meaning of Roman imports. Circulation time can be estimated best in graves; settlement contexts seldom offer good chronological indications. Without traces of wear and tear, insights into the object biographies (e.g. Schreiber 2018) that are so important for social interpretation of foreign items are largely denied us. While key questions like ‘How long did objects circulate until they were brought to *Barbaricum*?’ or ‘Were items used or exchanged inside *Barbaricum* before recycling?’, and if so ‘How long for?’ are often unanswered (for south Scandinavia, Lund Hansen 2017), the real economic and historical relevance of these processes remain largely hidden from us.

Generally, time is, of course, an important factor in reconstructing processes of cultural appropriation. While changing a mindset can take a long period if there are no compelling practical reasons or needs for it (e.g. the change to inhumation graves; Faber & Fasold 2007), implementation of new cultural features – imitation of techniques, forms and behaviour, including the practical knowledge of how to do it in an original or ‘right’ way – can take place much more quickly, though this can be hard to recognise archaeologically.

Something missing? Particularly in regularly surveyed areas or extensively excavated sites, it is possible to draw conclusions about groups of finds that are absent in the find spectrum in comparison to other areas in *Barbaricum*. From this, the illuminating mind game of what can be found in the Roman Empire but does not exist on the other side of the limes (Steidl 2007; 2016b) can be played out for numerous regions, both directly on the frontier and further away from it on both sides.

Due to sparse references in Roman written sources but also a lack of systematic and targeted investigations of provincial Roman contexts (e.g. Quast 2017), we are still

largely dependent on speculation when it comes to the range and number of imported objects from *Barbaricum* into the Roman Empire. Although Roman exploitation of resources on the right bank of the Rhine is known (lead: Pfeffer 2018; lead and silver: Bemmman & R nger 2020; timber: Steidl 2017), the extent to which local people were involved has only been partially investigated. Finds of Roman coins suggest that these also served as a means of payment in *Germania magna* at least at certain times and regions; scrap metal might be of importance here as well. As for raw materials and natural resources, hardly any traces have survived, and the export of iron, charcoal, (burned) lime, salt, and raw material for millstones is still controversial (Domański 2009; Karlsen 2018, 583-586; Meyer 2020). A few hints indicate export of animals or meat (Peters 1998, 53-54.; Benecke 2000, 250 and 254). Germanic goose quills were famous in the Roman Empire (Plinius the Elder *Historia Naturalis* 10.53; Karlsen 2018, 586), while both literary sources (Plinius the Elder *Historia Naturalis* 37.11; Strabo *Geographica* 2.4.2) and archaeological evidence indicate that amber was an important export item (Nüsse 2012, 238-242; Quast & Erdrich 2014, 48-91). Without doubt, human resources and manpower were of importance over the centuries of exchange; while Germanic warriors fighting for Rome decisively pushed forward a material and cultural exchange, the potential role of seasonal workers in agriculture should also be discussed (Steidl 2007, 38). Fragments of chains and locks were interpreted as an indication of slave trade (Steidl 2002; Schuster 2009; Czarnecka 2013; Grundvad *et al.* 2022), its scale uncertain. The presence of some materials can only be proven by scientific analyses; organic substances are generally difficult to detect, and the extent of products known from written sources, such as honey, feathers, skins, women’s hair, and soap in return for imported objects from the Roman Empire, remains unclear (Wolters 1990; 1991).

Let us move on

To understand Roman imports as multi-faced social phenomena it is necessary to consider regional differences in a supra-regional perspective. Spatially limited particularities allow more precise conclusions about a social and historical background. On the other side, overarching investigations help to narrow down general mechanisms. Therefore, a key task will be to distinguish local, regional, and overarching processes and contrast them with indigenous developments to reconstruct the multi-layered historical background in as much detail as possible and reconstruct most likely scenarios on different levels.

By using the available spectrum of modern methods as comprehensively as possible, more detailed analyses of particular objects or object groups and sites can describe

import landscapes as a whole and interconnect site and object information on a superregional level, unrestricted by ancient or modern boundaries. To decipher the meanings of Roman imports for ancient Barbarian societies it is necessary to pay more attention to the human individuals themselves and their environment; how they lived and how they shaped their environment.

Finally, the recent turn to an anthropological archaeology in Central Europe, the newly introduced or developed methods, and ongoing research into Roman-Barbarian interactions, start to open new subjects, change perspectives and generate new approaches. More work needs to be done to understand the technological background and Roman influence on the creation of Barbarian objects. Economic dimensions of Roman impact need to be explored in more detail on both sides of the limes, differentiated in time. An important focus on sociological topics including gender perspectives is still missing.

Our sessions aim to promote these developments actively by putting innovative questions in discussion. In the following papers, various contributors will present new approaches to and data about the question of identifying processes lying behind the observed movement of import goods.

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Luxury, resources, or both?

Roman objects in Germanic settlements on the example of Ostwestfalen-Lippe

Hannes Buchmann

Is it possible to completely understand the Germanic culture without looking at the Roman influence on it? And can the functioning of the Roman borders be explained without the miscellaneous relationships with the barbaric societies? Of course, not – and this is clear since at least the last century thanks to results of the archaeologies of the Roman Iron Age as well of the Roman provinces. Hence the research of the so-called Roman import in the *Barbaricum* does not only connect the archaeology of the Roman Iron Age with the archaeology of the Roman provinces. Moreover, this research is fundamental for comprehending the complex cultural developments in the Roman Iron Age.

For a long time, the interpretations of the Roman ‘import’ based mainly on grave and hoard finds. This is mostly due to research history as there were no big settlement excavations in most parts of Europe. But already Hans-Jürgen Eggers for example noticed some settlement finds, especially ceramics and glass (Eggers 1951). However, the conditions and the contexts could not help him to answer his research questions so that they played no important role in his chronological work.

Since at least the 1980’s the number of excavated settlements dating in the Roman Iron Age significantly increased. Due to that it got more and more obvious that finds of Roman origin occur in Germanic settlements frequently. The different contexts, type spectra, and conditions make clear that the traditional interpretation models for the Roman import must get corrected (Becker 2003; Becker 2016; Rau 2012, 354; Sedlmayer 2016; Voß 2013, 204; Willis 1994). The following example might explain this problem. Copper alloy vessels in graves are traditionally interpreted as proxies for rich graves and thus they relate to the interpretation of Roman import as luxury. But in the settlements, there are small cut pieces of such vessels, which means that they have been used as raw material for recycling – and that the value of the material exceeded the prestige value in that case. This paradox alone shows that only by connecting both spheres the Roman material in the *Barbaricum* can fully be understood. This project aims to determine which and how much Roman objects were brought into the Germanic settlements. On this basis, the functions and values of the foreign goods can be traced. To obtain results not only for individual settlements, entire regions will be considered.

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The region Ostwestfalen-Lippe

Ostwestfalen-Lippe is the eastern part of the German federal state Nordrhein-Westfalen. So, this region is located in the western part of Germany, around 100 km east of the river Rhine. With that and the province *Germania inferior/secunda*, Ostwestfalen-Lippe

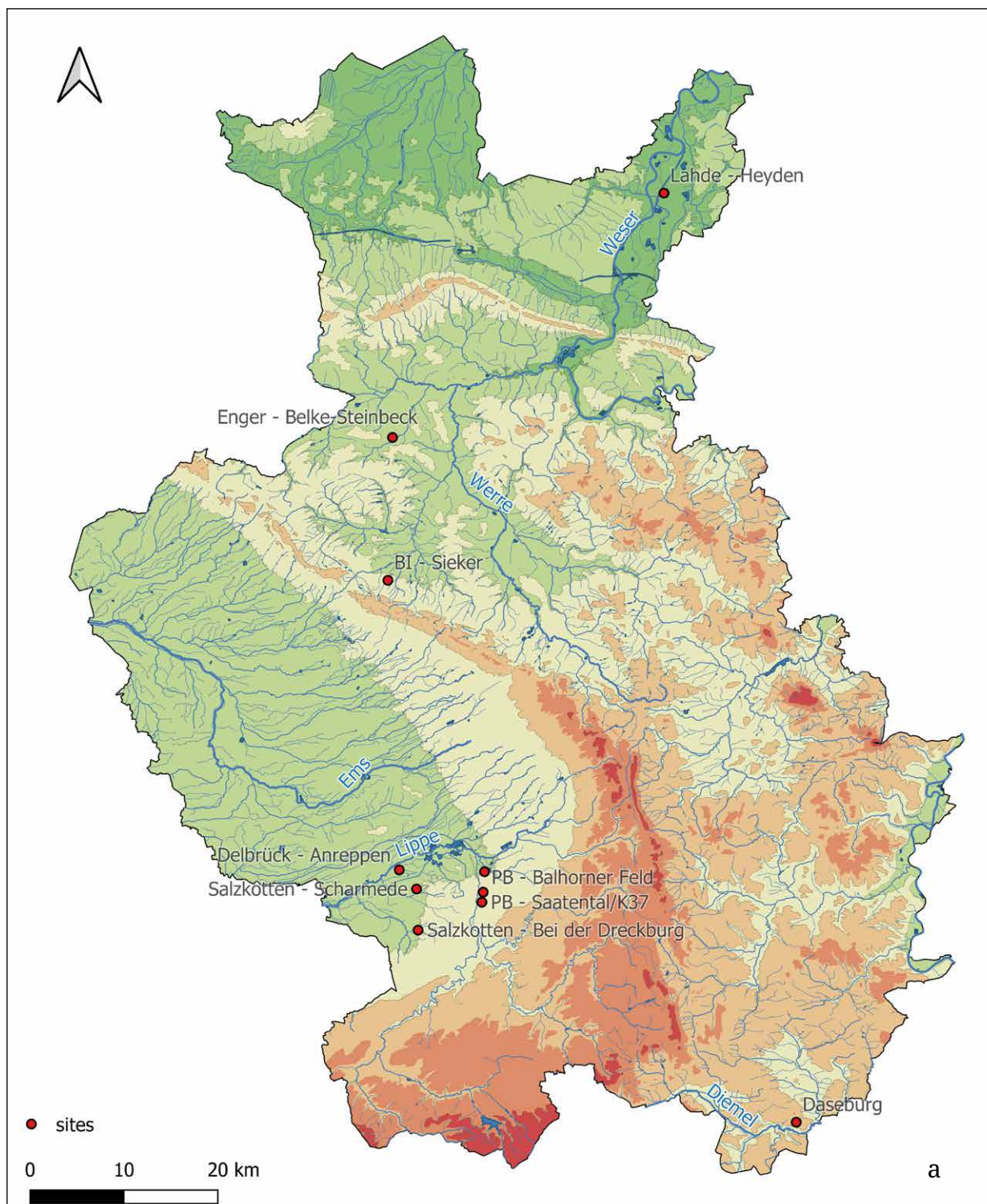
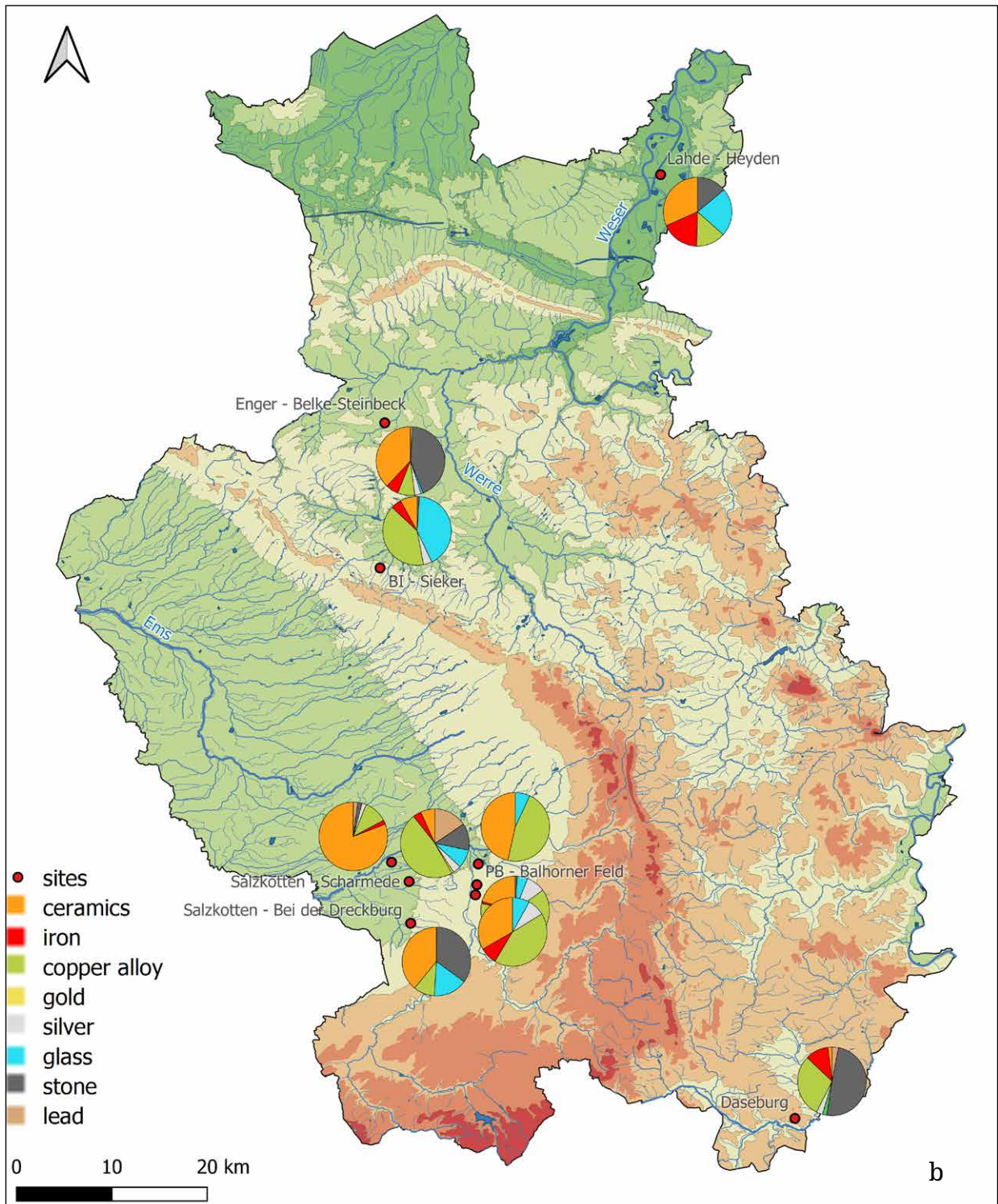


Figure 1. a: Map of Ostwestfalen-Lippe with the analysed settlements (left); b: with the proportions of materials of the Roman objects from the sites (right) (data basis: GeoBasis-DE / BKG 2022).



site	ceramics		iron		copper alloy		gold		silver		glass		stone		lead	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Bielefeld-Sieker	7	8	4	5	34	40	-	-	3	4	35	42	1	1	-	-
Daseburg	1	2	7	11	19	30	-	-	2	3	-	-	32	50	2	3
Delbrück-Anreppen	164	80	5	2	23	11	-	-	5	2	-	-	5	2	4	2
Enger-Belke-Steinbeck	46	38	7	6	10	8	-	-	4	3	1	1	52	43	1	1
Lahde-Heyden	7	32	4	18	3	14	-	-	-	-	5	23	3	14	-	-
Paderborn-Am Hoppenhof	7	47	-	-	7	47	-	-	-	-	1	7	-	-	-	-
Paderborn-Balhorner Feld	23	21	1	1	71	64	-	-	10	9	5	5	1	1	-	-
Paderborn-Saatalental/K37	4	33	1	8	5	42	-	-	1	8	1	8	-	-	-	-
Salzkotten-Bei der Dreckburg	19	39	-	-	5	10	-	-	-	-	8	16	17	35	-	-
Salzkotten-Scharmede	9	7	5	4	60	49	1	1	5	4	11	9	16	13	16	16

Table 1. The number of Roman finds of the individual material groups from the sites.

was connected via the river Lippe and via the Hellweg route that has been there already in the Roman Iron Age (Reichmann 2007). Furthermore, the region lies at the edge of the middle mountains range. Ten excavated Germanic settlements from Ostwestfalen-Lippe were included in the analysis (fig. 1, left). They have a chronological range from Latène D2b to the migration period, but mainly date from the 2nd to the 4th centuries AD. These settlement sites contained c. 83,000 indigene finds and c. 770 Roman or potentially Roman finds ('potentially Roman' is supposed to mean the unclear finds (see below) that cannot get properly identified). The Germanic settlements in Ostwestfalen-Lippe belong to the Rhine-Weser-Germanic group. They were mostly hamlets or single farmsteads and consisted of typical west-east-oriented byre houses (*Wohnstallhäuser*), pit-houses (sunken-floored buildings), pits, and granaries. Many sites contained ovens respectively furnaces and show further indications of iron melting. However, this paper will not focus on the sites and the spatial analysis but on the finds.

Materials

With 36 % of the Roman finds from the analysed settlements, ceramics are the most frequent find group. Second are copper alloy objects with 30 %, but they are mostly very small finds. This is one of the reasons why it is often hard to prove a Roman origin of these finds. They are mainly fragments, sheet metal, and coins – but there is a wide spectrum of other object categories, too. Surprisingly, the third most frequent find group are stone artefacts with 14 %. They are fragmented rotary querns

of basalt lava from the Mayen area in the Eifel mountains in *Germania superior* (fig. 2.1). Despite their high quantity, the Roman querns are an underrated category of Roman import and are missing in most interpretation models. The reason for this is: they do not appear in graves. But the missing or short mentions in many papers and books do not match the significance of the querns within Germanic settlements. Almost every Roman Iron Age settlement within the distance of 100-150 km from the Roman frontier contains querns. Even in some more distant regions they are common, like the south-eastern North Sea coast (Bischof 2001, 96-97; Enzmann 2019, 123-174; Erdrich & Teegen 2002). The querns are distributed in Germany as far as Mecklenburg (Enzmann 2019, 123-174; Erdrich & Voß 1998, 88) and Braunschweiger Land (Enzmann 2019, 123-174; Erdrich & Teegen 2002, 191).

The Roman querns were more efficient than the Germanic grinding stones. When it is possible to reconstruct the measurements, it becomes clear that they could be powered by one person. As the querns do not appear in graves, it seems that they have not been attributed with prestige value (the quantities of the querns would have made it easy to use them as grave goods). An exception for Ostwestfalen-Lippe is the grave 26 from Haltern-Colettenberg, though it contained only one small burnt basalt lava fragment (Wilhelmi 1967, 142). So, Germanic use of Roman querns is based on the efficiency, but not on prestige or other non-material forms of value.

Other Roman material groups that could be detected in the settlements in Ostwestfalen-Lippe were glass (9 %), iron (4 %), silver (4 %) and lead (3 %). Furthermore,



Figure 2. Roman finds from Germanic settlements. 1. Fragment of a basalt lava quern, stone, Paderborn-Balhorner Feld; 2. Terret ring, copper alloy, Bielefeld-Sieker; 3. Fragment of a knife scabbard, copper alloy, Salzkotten-Scharmede; 4. Spoon-shaped drill, iron, Bielefeld-Sieker.

another category of import are Roman animals: an archaeozoological analysis of the animal bones from the site Bielefeld-Sieker showed with regard to the growth that Roman cattle and Roman horses probably were present (Becker *s.a.*, 4-7; Becker 2007, 136-141; Leube 2009, 48). The above-mentioned proportions of the material groups refer to the entire study region. When looking at the individual settlements, differences between the sites become apparent (fig. 1, right). Not only the ratios differ, but even the types of material that occur at all. Only pottery and copper alloy have been found in all settlements. Yet, the respective proportions vary widely. The values are shown in table 1.

The different distributions of the material groups in the settlements have various causes. They cannot be discussed in detail here, but at least they should be mentioned, as they will have a strong influence on later interpretations. First of all, the excavation and post-excavation methodology has a direct influence on the figures. For example, there are more metal finds from modern excavations with detector use, such as Salzkotten-Scharmede, especially as stray finds. In addition, many of the excavations recorded only parts of the former settlements, so that just a portion of the actual preserved finds can be included in the research. In addition, the conditions of preservation and

transmission are very different: whereas some sites had an undisturbed Roman Iron Age horizon (e.g. Enger-Belke-Steinbeck), others were heavily overlaid with medieval and younger horizons (e.g. Salzkotten-Bei der Dreckburg and the Paderborn sites). One consequence of this is that sheet metal and glass fragments from mixed find inventories cannot be reliably assigned to the Roman Iron Age. These aspects relate to what happened to the finds after they entered the soil. Clearly more complex, but all the more important, is the question of the circumstances under which the finds came into the soil after their last use in the Roman Iron Age (Eggers 1951, 24-26). Hans-Jürgen Eggers already explained that settlement finds are a 'negative selection', and that recycling has minimised the number of metal and glass finds. Here we arrive at the phenomena that the research project aims to shed light on: it is not only the question of which Roman objects found their way into the Germanic settlements, but also what functions, meanings and values the Roman objects had in the Germanic communities. Only in individual cases can the ratios of the material groups be explained with certainty. For example, the high number of Roman ceramics, especially coarser ware for cooking, *etc.*, in the settlement of Delbrück-Anreppen can be explained with

material	object type	types
ceramics	sherd	5x Alzey 27/Niederbieber 89, Alzey 28/Niederbieber 104
		(6x Chenet 320)
		2x Dressel 20
		Gose 191, 463
		Haltern 40/41, 43A, 3x 45, 48, 50, 53, 56, 58, 58A, 67, 91A, 91B
		Niederbieber 63, 69a
		2x Cologne ware
		21x Mayen or Speicher ware
<i>terra sigillata</i>	sherd	Conspectus 22.1.3 with stamp OCK 270.61
		Dragendorff 33, 6x 37, 45
copper alloy	attache	Eggers 36, 122-128
		Oldenstein 265
	<i>balteus</i> fastener	Oldenstein 1115-1125
	coin	1x republican, 5x Augustus, 1x Antoninus Pius, 2x Marcus Aurelius, 1x Commodus, 14x Constantinus and sons, 3x Constans, 3x Gratianus, 2x Valentinianus II
	<i>fibula</i>	Almgren 2b, 19aI, 5x 22a
		2x Keller/Pröttel ¾
		Riha Typ 5.2 var. 1b = Aucissa
	fitting	Oldenstein 270, 2x 696-699
		Sommer ser. 2 var. 1 Form c
	(needle)	(Cortrat, Fécamp, 2x Wijster)
	<i>phalera</i>	Oldenstein 686-695
	rivet	Oldenstein 451-489, 458-468, 473-489, 485-486
	scale	Walbrook
	tweezers	Riha var. G
	vessel fragment	Eggers 117/118, 160/161, 128/128a
		1x or 2x Hemmoor bucket
copper alloy with glass	<i>fibula</i>	Riha 5.17.5, 7.13
copper alloy with silver	rivet	Oldenstein 451-459
glass	(beads)	(Tempelmann-Maczynska 6, 8, 57/58, 101, 142)
	sherd	2x Eggers 205-207, 227-230
		Goethert-Polaschek 47a/Isings 85b, G.-P. 146b/I. 67c, 2x like G.-P. 38/I. 94
		Isings 106b, 106b2/Trier 53b, 115
		Rottloff Augsburg 127
iron	grommet gouge	Hanemann 1B
		Hanemann 1
	spoon shaped drill	Hanemann 2
silver	coin	1x republican, 1x Octavianus/Augustus, 1x Claudius, 1x Hadrianus, 3x Antoninus Pius, 1x Marcus Aurelius, 2x Commodus, 1x Gordianus III, 1x Philippus II, 1x Diocletianus

Table 2. Overview of the typological spectrum of the Roman finds from Germanic settlements in Ostwestfalen-Lippe. Only safe determinations are noted. The types of finds for which a Roman origin has not been conclusively clarified are given in brackets.



Figure 3. Roman finds, recycling residues, and repairing pieces from Germanic settlement at Salzkotten-Scharmede. 1. Melted fragment, glass; 2. Melted fragment, copper alloy; 3. Bent fragment of two sheet metals connected by rivets (patched), copper alloy; 4. Folded sheet metal, copper alloy; 5. Lead ball with iron (weight?).

the direct proximity to the Roman camp that existed at the same time (Eggenstein 2002, 50-63). The Germanic settlement and the Augustan camp were closely connected economically, so that an above-average number of Roman vessels came into Germanic possession.

Types

The Roman imports did not reach *Germania magna* as raw materials ready for further processing, but mostly as finished artefacts. There they could be used according to their originally intended function, given new uses, or recycled directly (see below). Whereas a functional classification of the finds helps to locate them in the various spheres of everyday life (Crummy 1983, 5-6), the typological determination can provide information on the time and place of production of the objects. Of course, these dating references are often only rough *termini post quem* for the Germanic contexts, since many of the Roman objects have been used for a long time before they ended up in the ground. This uncertainty can hardly be counteracted, because find inventories from settlements are not closed finds and usually show large dating ranges. There is not enough space here to go through all types and kinds of finds. Based on the compilation in table 1, a few basic observations can be noted.

In addition to the finds on the list, other finds were identified, but without typological classification, primarily including devices and militaria such as a locking hook of a Roman leather armour, a knife scabbard fitting (fig. 2.3), a fragment of a mirror, or a terret ring (fig. 2.2). The table shows that certain types of finds, such as pottery, fibulae, or coins, could be identified more often. In contrast, lead

finds could not be determined with certainty in any case. Some could be small ingots or weights (fig. 3.5), but the masses never correspond to the Roman weight system. In the case of lead – similar to the copper alloy fragments –, there is still the question of whether the raw material must be considered Roman of itself (Bode *et al.* 2007; Melzer & Pfeffer 2007; Rothenhöfer 2007).

It is not possible to go into detail here about the cultural-historical implications of each find, but it is noticeable that there is an accumulation of Augustan objects (coins and *fibulae*). It seems obvious to associate these with the occupation efforts under Augustus in this region, especially since brooches such as Almgren 22a or Aucissa are typical of military contexts (Böhme-Schönberger 1998, 352-359; Völling 1998, 46-48). The chronological and typological distribution of the finds coincides in many points with Michael Erdrich's (2001) results for north-west Germany. However, there is also a bias in that most of the settlements investigated do not begin until the 2nd century. So, they only contain Early Imperial finds if they had been in circulation for a longer time.

Not only can the many unidentifiable fragments not be dated, but also most of the devices and tools because of their functional form. This makes it difficult to determine a Roman origin. But for iron tools like the spoon shaped drill from Bielefeld-Sieker (fig. 2.4) or the hearth shovel from Salzkotten – Scharmede, it is clear – because they are common at Roman sites and unknown from Germanic sites. Yet especially the iron tools and the querns are an underrated category of Roman objects in the *Germania magna* – for they do not appear in graves.



Figure 4. Roman objects from Germanic settlements with signs of secondary use. 1. Perforated *terra sigillata* sherd, pottery, Enger-Belke-Steinbeck; 2. Perforated coin, copper alloy, *follis* (Constantinus and sons), Salzkotten-Scharmiede.

Conditions

To understand what happened to the Roman objects in the Germanic settlements, a detailed examination of the conditions can help. First, there is an important difference between completely preserved and fragmented finds. It is crucial to understand why some find groups are complete and some are not. Therefore, it should be figured out whether the fragmentation happened through processes during the time of use or during deposition in the soil. The latter must be excluded from the interpretations. For some artefact groups it is relatively easy to comprehend why they have been fragmented. For instance, the copper alloy vessels have been cut to small pieces for recycling for there are separations at massive parts that would not have broken by chance. But there are still many open questions, for example, in which extent have those vessels been used before they were dismembered? And, what are the differences of the find conditions between the settlements, regions, and chronological phases?

Recycling

Recycling is an aspect of how the Germanics handled Roman objects that can only be approached through settlement archaeology. Recycling happened in the settlements since most crafting took place there. Two materials were reprocessed on larger scales: copper alloy and glass. The Germanic people had no access to tin deposits and therefore had to rely on scrap metal and Roman 'imports' to make their own copper alloy objects (Hammer *et al.* 1997). Not only vessels from copper alloy have been recycled, also smaller artefacts like brooches, belt pieces, and so on. But they were not supposed to be recycled in first place because

they are so small that the resource quantity obtained would have been marginal compared to the vessels (Becker 2003, 283). Presumably they were used as originally considered until they got unusable.

There is no evidence that Germanic people in middle, north and central Europe were able to make their own glass (e.g. Laser 1982, 481). However, there are many finds indicating that they were able to work glass into beads from many Roman Iron Age settlements (Laser 1982, 482-484; Gustavs 1989, 168-171; Voß & Erdrich 1997; Thomsen 2002). The raw material for this was melted Roman glass. Pre-Roman Iron Age glass is very rare in middle and north Europe – the few examples of La Tène bracelets cannot be placed in the context of Roman Iron Age recycling (Rauchfuß 2020).

In the settlements we often find melted glass and copper alloy that can be assumed as recycling residues (fig. 3.1 and 3.2). Of course, one melted fragment does not prove metal or glass working. It must be connected to other finds. Yet, finds from the next recycling steps are much rarer. An exception is the early Roman Iron Age settlement Daseburg: Roman objects, melt pieces, ingots, semi-finished products, and Germanic artefacts account for the whole crafting process (Günther 1990). Also, silver and lead finds are important in the context of recycling (Hammer *et al.* 1997). However, there are no such finds from the investigated sites that would directly prove recycling. The reuse of Roman pottery and querns as temper cannot be proven as a common practice for Ostwestfalen-Lippe (Lau 2014, 258-261).

Repairing

In the examined material it was possible to find evidence that copper alloy vessels had been repaired. From different Roman sites we know how patch sheet metal and patch rivets looked (Drescher 1963, 43-49; Schmidts 2004, 74). They are made of folded or rolled sheet metal. In at least four settlements, bronze sheet metal was found with folds and rivets that correspond to comparisons of Roman sites (fig. 3.4). In some cases, the rivets are preserved in their original position, but detached from the vessel (fig. 3.3). Did the repairing happen in the Germanic villages, by Germanic smiths? An unused rivet from Paderborn-Am Hoppenhof would be an indication for this (Klapp 2013, 106, 211). The rolled sheet metal is a typical form for Roman patch rivets. If it had been used, at least one end would have been hammered flat. It would mean that the repaired vessels have been used within the communities before getting recycled and that they were so valuable that they have got repaired.

Secondary use

Some finds show signs of secondary use apart from the mentioned recycling. From the site Enger-Belke-Steinbeck

comes a *terra sigillata* sherd, which has a perforation indicating a use as pendant (fig. 4.1). Also, there are some examples of the more common phenomenon of perforated coins that have been used as pendants or fittings (fig. 4.2). A third example for secondary use is a *terra sigillata* sherd from Paderborn-Am Hoppenhof. It was reworked to a token while preserving the leaf motif in the centre (Klapp 2013, 41 and 214).

Luxury, resources, or both?

As might be expected, there is no simple answer to this question. On the one hand, the Roman objects from settlements can be explained due to their technical and economic advantages, *i.e.*, they were more effective tools (iron, querns) and necessary resources (copper alloy, glass). This is an aspect which cannot be derived from grave finds, since Roman iron tools and recycling material known from graves are very rare. That, in turn, is very interesting regarding the attributed values of those finds. On the other hand, the settlement finds can complement our understanding of the social benefits and values which the Roman artefacts had within the Germanic communities, for example regarding the status symbols of soldiers, the possible adoption of a Roman lifestyle, or non-material forms of value. For further interpretations spatial and statistical analyses will be carried out. Moreover, it is necessary to compare the quantities and quality of the Roman finds with those of the indigenous finds and with the grave finds.

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Asking 'Why'

Seeking indigenous motivations behind the movement of Roman material into Ireland

Karen Murad

In the century since Francis Haverfield dismissed the amount of Roman material in Ireland as being as rare as Solinus had once described the bees and snakes of Iuvernica to be, the corpus of accepted Roman artefacts in Ireland has grown dramatically (Haverfield 1913, 4). Alongside chance finds, excavations at sites such as Tara and Drumanagh peninsula have added new material to a once-scant assemblage (Grogan 2008; Baker 2018; 2019), while geophysical surveys at sites such as Tara, Freestone Hill, and Lambay Island have deepened our understanding of Hiberno-Roman contact in the late Iron Age (Ó Floinn 2000; Cooney 2009; Ó Drisceoil & Nicholls 2010; 2015; Cahill Wilson *et al.* 2014, 91-112; Dowling 2014, 59-90; Ó Drisceoil 2016). With this new material comes new questions, many of which concern the factors which drove the movement of Roman products into Ireland: trade, diplomacy, migration, and raiding (Haverfield 1913; Ó Ríordáin 1947; Bateson 1973, 29-31; 1976; Warner 1976; 2020; Crawford 2015, 69-89). However, these explanations have focused disproportionately on the agency of systems and people originating within the Empire – the factors which drove material **out** of the Empire, not **into** Ireland. By shifting our focus of inquiry to rectify this and centre perspectives and agency from Ireland, the question evolves from 'how' Roman objects moved into Ireland – the physical mechanisms of movement – to 'why' the social and cultural motivations behind the importation of Roman material.

Reassessment of the corpus of Roman material in Ireland suggests that elite emulation may provide part of the answer to this question. Within the framework of elite emulation, it appears that the types of Roman material and cultural products which made their way into Ireland were being deliberately selected for incorporation into existing frameworks of power and status display and negotiation by existing or would-be elites. Using elite emulation as an interpretive framework thus adds a new dimension to the understanding of the mechanisms which drove both the reception of certain Roman exports as well as the rejection of others, and begins to accord agency to the people within Ireland during this dynamic period.

Mechanisms of movement

There are a number of accepted mechanisms to explain the movement of goods from the Roman Empire to Ireland. Traditionally, Irish raiding was cited as the primary driving force (e.g. Haverfield 1913; Carson & O'Kelly 1977, 42): Irish raids on Roman Britain are well-attested in the classical sources, and the spectacular nature of many of the earliest finds of Roman material looked at first glance like booty. As the study of Hiberno-Roman

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relations has developed, however, additional and more nuanced explanations have been proposed, including trade and official Imperial payments (Bateson 1973; Crawford 2015; Hanson 2020; Warner 2020). The Roman remains from Drumanagh peninsula, for example, are indicative of high levels of trade with the Imperial world (Raftery 1994, 207-208; Cooney 2009, 21; Cahill Wilson 2014, 25-28; Baker 2019, 41-42 and 47-48), while a similar argument has been put forward for the area around Stoneyford and Freestone Hill in County Kilkenny (Raftery 1994, 207; Cahill 2011; Cahill Wilson 2016; Ó Drisceoil 2016). Additionally, the origins of the two 2nd-century silver coin hoards in north-east Ireland – the Flower Hill and Feigh Mountain hoards – appear to be better explained by wider patterns of imperial subsidies than by Irish raiding activity (Hunter 2009, 1625; Crawford 2015, 83-88; Hanson 2020, 100; cf. Bateson (1971) for the most comprehensive overview of the Feigh Mountain and Flower Hill hoards, as well as of their tangled and often-confusing historiography. It should be noted that he, however, credits their presence in Ireland to traders or refugees rather than Imperial subsidies). The early 5th-century Ballinrees hoard may also be a form of official payment, paralleling in content and chronology the Traprain Law hoard (Raftery 1994, 216; Painter 2013; Crawford 2015, 84; Hanson 2020, 100;).

Another mechanism is the migration of people in and out of Ireland. These migrations may have included refugees fleeing the invading Romans (Rynne 1976; Raftery 1994, 200-203; Freeman 2000, 6-7; McGarry 2012); they certainly included the movement of merchants and traders, for whom we have both classical as well as archaeological evidence (Tacitus *Agricola* 24; Ptolemaeus *Geographia* 1.11). Pilgrimage movements, both pagan and Christian, internal and external, may have resulted in the deposition of Roman goods at sacred sites (O’Kelly 1971, 101; Carson & O’Kelly 1977; Swift 1996; Cahill 2011; Janiszewski 2011; Gibbons & Gibbons 2016; Ó Drisceoil 2016). Additionally, the Irish themselves moved between Ireland and the Empire: they likely participated in the army as *foederati* and colonised parts of Wales in the late Roman period, as well as raiding Britain’s shores (Thomas 1973; Rance 2001; Wmffre 2007; Bland 2012; Cahill Wilson 2014). This last was a double migration: not only were the Irish traveling between the Islands of *Hibernia* and *Britannia*, but the slaves they captured on Britannia’s shores were forced to move as well.

Thus, we can see that the physical mechanisms for cross-cultural exchange are numerous and complex, with ample and growing evidence to provide support for each of the various mechanisms throughout the Roman period. The question remains, however: why is this movement of goods into Ireland taking place at all?

Elites in late Iron Age Ireland

Research elsewhere has demonstrated that, in areas beyond direct Roman control, the degree of cultural relevance of Roman material to a given population group affects which items are imported, and to what extent they are incorporated into the cultural *zeitgeist* (Hunter 2001). In order to begin to understand how ‘elite emulation’ can help explain why Roman material makes its way into Ireland, it is therefore first necessary to understand the cultural mindset for the elite population group under study. By identifying the characteristics which appear to have defined eliteness, it becomes easier to see how certain Roman imports would have been able to fit into existing cultural frameworks. Identifying such characteristics for the late Irish Iron Age is difficult, as this period is notorious for a dearth of archaeological evidence overall (Raftery 1994, 112); in spite of this, however, it is possible to draw some conclusions about the people living in Iron Age Ireland.

The extant evidence suggests that the elite political class emerged during the Iron Age. It seems likely that kings fulfilled a sacral role connected with the fertility and prosperity of the land; these kings appear also to have been responsible for throwing regular assemblies, known in the early Medieval period as *óenachs* (Raftery 1994, 80-81; Crabtree 2004; Gleeson 2014; 2015). These elites conveyed status by demonstrating their control over land and resources, particularly through the manipulation of the physical landscape as well as through displays of martial prowess (Raftery 1994, 65; O’Sullivan 2012; Ó Cróinín 2017, 70-71). Control of resources would have generated greater wealth and influence, which in Iron Age Ireland, could take the form of greater political power, an increased ability to command and reward allies and dependent clients, and the ability to fulfil social obligations between classes and groups. Additionally, artisanal skills such as smithing and carpentry seem to have been highly prized, given that their knowledge was specialist and their products could convey status for their patrons (MacLean 1995; Ó Cróinín 2017, 70-1; cf. Schot (2018) for a discussion on the multiple social and religious roles which seem to have been performed by Iron Age smiths in Ireland: according to her, they were not just responsible for the creation of fine status objects, but could have acted as mediators between societies (such as Ireland and Rome) through the transformative properties of their craft, and even between this world and the next). Possession of such skills granted the artisan a degree of high status, while exclusive patronage of their abilities enhanced the status of their elite patrons.

Elites also appear to have gained control at this time of particularly meaningful landscapes which were imbued with such cultural importance. Such sites were in high usage at this time: monuments were being constructed or re-used all across Ireland, and ritual practices such as votive

depositions or feasting, in addition to the afore-mentioned óenachs, took place in both small- and large-scale contexts (Carson & O'Kelly 1977; Raftery 1994, 65; Crabtree 2004; McCormick 2009; O'Sullivan 2012; Johnston *et al.* 2014; Gibbons & Gibbons 2016). Control over these 'topographies of power' conveyed elite status at the same time they were being manipulated to 'preserve and entrench' eliteness (O'Sullivan 2012, 21; Johnston *et al.* 2014). Crucially, manipulation of space and place was a multi-class affair, where landscapes became performance spaces in which rituals of power were carried out; claiming dominance over such spaces both reflected the power of a group or individual and also increased the importance of the ones claiming control over the area. Status and power at this time and in these contexts was heavily performative.

Roman material in Irish contexts. Interpreting the data

For considerations of scope, the rest of this paper focuses on two categories of material for closer analysis: votive depositions and objects of personal adornment. There is an element of overlap here: objects of personal adornment were also frequently interred at sites of ritual importance as votive depositions. Three gold bracelets (Bateson 1973, 70 and 78-79; Janiszewski 2011), two gold medallions of Constantine (pierced for suspension, Bateson 1973, 71; Bland 2012), two gold finger-rings, and one gold chain (Bateson 1973, 70) were interred at Newgrange, while two bronze bracelets were discovered at the theorised Romano-British shrine at Freestone Hill (Bateson 1973, 67). There are also a number of votive coin deposits from these two locations: 17 copper, silver, and gold coins from Newgrange (Bateson 1973, 46-47) and one copper coin (a memorial issue of Constantine the Great) from Freestone Hill (Bateson 1973, 45). All but one of these objects date to the later Roman period, from the 3rd to 5th centuries (the exception being a *denarius* of Domitian). There are, additionally, several other potentially votive coin deposits in Ireland, including the 2nd-century hoards at Feigh Mountain and Flower Hill (Bateson 1971; 1973, 25 and 44-5), the 5th-century Ballinrees hoard (Bateson 1973, 25, 42-43, and 63; 1976, 171-173; Crawford 2015), a 4th-century hoard of 15 copper coins of Constantine the Great from the Rath of the Synods (Bateson 1973, 59-60; cf. Grogan 2008, who reclassified the hoard as genuine after Bateson rejected it), a *solidus* found near the Giant's Ring in Antrim (Bateson 1976, 173 and 177), and a *solidus* of Valens found by the river Dodder in Dublin (Bateson 1973, 47). The Balline hoard of silver ingots and *hacksilber* may also belong to the category of votive depositions (Gleeson 2014).

A not-insignificant number of these objects have or are theorised to have Imperial and/or specifically military connotations. The medallions of Constantine, for example, were given out as rewards for military

service (Bland 2012), while Roman bracelets and bracelet fragments may have been part of a cultural visual language that coded these objects with meanings of martial valour, bravery, or success (Janiszewski 2011). The silver ingots from the Balline hoard have been interpreted by some as donatives for military service (Gleeson 2014; Lynch 2015), and the Feigh Mountain, Flower Hill, and Ballinrees hoards, as discussed above, seem likely to have been official Imperial payments or subsidies. Such objects with militaristic connotations would have been heavily meaningful in a society which used martial prowess as one criterion for elite status, and could explain why they found their way into a society with no coin-based currency, no evidence for the use or reuse of silver until the 5th century, and no evidence of regifting of silver coins. (Close analysis of the coins from Bateson's catalogue (1973) reveals only three accepted silver coins in Ireland: one clipped *siliqua* of Valentinian from Newgrange (47) and two *denarii*, also from Newgrange, of Domitian and Valentinian (47). Not only are these coins nowhere near the findspots of the coin hoards, but their small numbers indicate that the hoards were probably buried intact and not redistributed as gifts.) It would appear odd that such payments were even accepted at all; however, if one reconsiders the coins, ingots, and *hacksilber* from their **symbolic** value, rather than their physical, it becomes much clearer why they would have been valued and accepted into an Irish milieu.

It is important to here recall the prominence of public ritual in Iron Age Ireland. Depositing status objects in public spaces during rituals which reinforced status to the wider community would have dramatically altered the social standing of the groups or individuals performing the act. If the objects just discussed represented payment for mercenary services, rewards for martial prowess, or patronage of a powerful client, they would have reflected prestige onto the individuals or groups performing the deposition for a large audience to witness and appreciate. This growth in personal and group status would certainly be a strong motivating factor behind the acceptance of Roman currency. In such a scenario, the Roman objects would have become part of an Irish ritual replete with Irish symbolism, in effect 'Irish-ising' the Roman materials. It seems likely that for at least some of the votive personal adornment and coin depositions, their martial connotations transcended their foreign origins and lent a bilingualism to the objects that spoke to the non-Roman audience and were keyed in to indigenous conceptions of status and power. The presence of these particular Roman objects in Ireland, then, may be explained through their ability to fit into an existing cultural framework, which would have made them attractive to both existing elites and those wishing to attain elite status.

Pivoting now to the second half of the discussion, a number of objects of personal adornment have also been

found on sites associated with contact with Roman Britain, such as the dolphin and thistle brooches associated with the intrusive crouched inhumation burials on Lambay Island (Bateson 1973, 68-70; Rynne 1976), *fibulae* contexted with toilet implements and bronze Roman coins in the sandhills of Donegal (Bateson 1973, 63-65), the two newly-discovered brooches from Drumanagh peninsula (Baker 2019, 32, 43-44 and 49, plate 28), a *fibula*, a pin, and a bracelet from the Rath of the Synods at Tara (Grogan 2008, 86, 154 and 158, respectively), and the two aforementioned bronze bracelets found at Freestone Hill in Kilkenny. When this paper was originally presented at the Limes Congress in August 2022, the author argued that the imported Roman personal adornment objects were directly incorporated into Irish systems of status and power, after introduction via migration and trade, by native elites. This conclusion, however, no longer seems tenable. Rather, it should be more properly argued that the objects of personal adornment which have been found on sites with evidence for Hiberno-Roman contact and interaction are best interpreted as evidence for the kinds of cultural contact which resulted, in the later Roman and early Medieval periods, in the adoption of Roman-style brooches and pins by Irish elites, rather than as proof that Irish elites were adopting Roman-style personal adornment throughout the five centuries of Roman contact.

There are 31 accepted objects of Roman personal adornment in Ireland, 16 of which are brooches. Of these 16 brooches, five are associated with the Lambay Island burials widely believed to belong to Brigantian refugees (Bateson 1973, 68-70); two come from the trading centre at Drumanagh, where people from Ireland and Britain would have mingled freely (Baker 2019, 32, 43-44 and 49, plate 28); one is uncontexted (Bateson 1973, 76); one comes from the Rath of the Synods, where it is unclear if the occupants were native or Romano-British (Grogan 2008, 86); and the remaining seven have unclear contexts: two only have vague attributions to Dublin and Cork (Bateson 1973, 67 and 74, respectively); another two are from the sandhills and could have been either losses or deliberate depositions, possibly votive (Bateson 1973, 63 and 65); one is smack-dab in the middle of a Middle Bronze Age bronze hoard (Bateson 1973, 63); the sixth was accepted by Bateson only with severe reservations and may actually be a fluke (Bateson 1973, 31, note 14); and the last was submitted without any site-find context (Bateson 1976, 175). Based on this, all that can actually be said is that the brooches were **present** in Ireland; it cannot be stated unequivocally that they were **used** by the indigenous population.

Furthermore, not only do the findspots and contexts preclude confident correlation between brooch usage and the indigenous population, but the distribution patterns of the Roman brooches do not appear to line up with

the La Tène brooches, whose importation and use in the previous centuries would have provided a precedent for accepting exotic brooches as personal status symbols (Raftery 1994, 127 and 138-141). Nine of the 15 contexted Roman brooches, and 23 of the 29 overall contexted Roman objects of adornment, come from the east or south-east of Ireland; this is in direct contrast to the northern and western distribution of the La Tène brooches.

Of the remaining 15 non-brooch objects of personal adornment, nine are votive depositions from Newgrange; two are from the theorised shrine at Freestone Hill; two are from the settlement complex at the Rath of the Synods; one is from Stoneyford; separate from but in the same area as the 1st-century Romano-British cremation burial and the theorised trade settlement; and the last one concerns a medallion of Constantine (like two others from Newgrange), but without provenance. Arguments have been put forth that the votive depositions at Newgrange are likely to have been at the agency of the indigenous population (Swift 1996; Carson & O'Kelly, 1977), but the remainder, like many of the brooches discussed above, come from contexts where it would be difficult to discern who, exactly, was using them.

The evidence therefore cannot actually be interpreted to mean that indigenous elites were emulating Roman/Romano-British forms of personal adornment – at most, all that could be said is that types of Roman adornment were being adapted for use in Irish ritual contexts which, as stated above, may have more to do with their symbolic or metaphorical qualities than anything else. It may be **speculated** that in areas of contact styles of adornment may have been contemporaneously adapted by the indigenous elite population, and yet because of the very nature of these contexts of cultural mingling nothing definitive can be said regarding the identities of those using these forms of adornment. And yet, the available evidence shows that by the end of 'Roman' period, smiths in Ireland were producing expertly-crafted metal adornment items for indigenous elite use using Roman-derived aesthetics, tech, and materials (Kilbride-Jones 1937; Ó Ríordáin 1947, 6 and 57-58; Bateson 1973, 82-84; Gavin & Newman 2007; Gavin 2013; Cahill Wilson 2014, 38-39). How should these facts be reconciled?

As stated, the area which shows the greatest concentration of Roman personal adornment pieces is the east and south-east of Ireland. This pattern holds against the wider distribution of Roman objects in Ireland, the majority of which come from this same region (Cahill Wilson 2017, 52). Additionally, the wider archaeological and textual evidence suggests that the Leinster and Munster regions were deeply connected and keyed into the Roman world, perhaps moreso than has previously been recognized (see, for example, Ó Floinn 2000; Rance 2001; Cahill Wilson 2014; Johnston 2017). While the evidence of Roman-style personal adornment in Ireland may not be enough to definitively

conclude that such pieces were being adopted in the moment by Irish elites, when taken together with the range of other evidence for Hiberno-Roman interactions they attest to the spread of objects and ideas between Ireland and the Roman world which resulted, in the late Roman and early Medieval periods, in a range of social and cultural changes – including the wearing of Roman-style objects of personal adornment.

As for the indigenous development of the artistic skill and technological know-how for crafting such objects, an explanation may be speculated at now. As mentioned above, one of – if not **the** – defining characteristics of the Irish Iron Age is the dearth of archaeologically-preserved material. The bits and pieces that have survived, however, show that people in Ireland were producing tools, clothing, adornment, *etc.* out of biodegradable material (Raftery 1994, 112-121). There was a preponderance of worked bone excavated at Drumanagh (Baker 2019, 26-27, 30, 32, 41-42 and 47-48); Bateson (1973, 82) included bone pins “very similar to Romano-British ones of the same [material]” in his catalogue; and both worked bone, metalwork, and evidence of smithing came from the Rath of the Synods (Grogan 2008, 62-68, 75 and 78-80). Perhaps, then, in the earlier Roman centuries, rather than adopting metal adornment objects directly from the Roman world and incorporating it into their own visual lingo, some indigenous Irish craftsmen were adopting the artistry of the objects and incorporating it into their own culture via a medium that was more culturally acceptable to them: that of impermanent, biodegradable material. Such a development, though admittedly speculative, might have facilitated the appearance of expertly-worked metal objects of Irish personal adornment in the late Roman and early Medieval periods and their broader cultural acceptance.

Conclusion

For purposes of brevity, this is just a small sample of the work done so far exploring elite emulation as an interpretive framework for the Roman material in Ireland. The research thus far strongly suggests that prolonged and sustained contact with the Roman world exposed the Irish to new yet familiar forms of elite expression, and that elites in Ireland were most likely deliberately selecting and adapting very particular Roman objects for importation because they already held meaning in existing systems of power and status. These objects are considered to be acceptable means of displaying status because they are already meaningful within that society, but their Roman-ness has to be incorporated within a context of Irish power construction. This interpretation accords a level of agency to the Irish that has previously been missing from discussions of the Irish Roman material, and in doing so, we are able to start answering that most fundamental and difficult of all questions: why?

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This publication – Living and Dying on the Roman Frontiers and Beyond – is the third volume of the LIMES XXV's congress proceedings and deals with a variety of themes, including the iconography of victory; aspects of frontier societies; mobility and the place of children; funerary archaeology; the significance of Roman imports beyond the frontiers. The proceedings are mostly arranged around the original sessions, creating coherent thematical collections that make the vast output more accessible to generalists and specialists alike.

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