THE BATAVIANS IN THE
EARLY ROMAN EMPIRE

Ethnic Identity and Imperial Power

Nico Roymans

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THE BATAVIANS IN THE EARLY ROMAN EMPIRE

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CONTENTS

1   Research aims, central concepts and perspectives

The primary aim of this study is to arrive at a model of Batavian ethnogenesis in the specific context of the Germanic frontier of the Roman empire. This implies both the reconstruction of ethnogenetic processes and their political context, and an attempt at reconstructing the image and self-image of the Batavian community. With this study I hope to make a contribution to the broader discussion of ethnicity and ethnogenesis in antiquity. My approach is a 'historical-anthropological' one, employing concepts and insights from both the social and the historical sciences, as well as a micro/macro-perspective that analyses local developments against a broader historical backdrop. I also look at comparative historical research. However, this comparison is not only driven solely by the desire to make generalisations but also by the search for a better understanding of historical specifics. My research focuses on the period from the 1st century BC to the Batavian revolt in AD 69/70, but this timeframe is broadened where relevant.

Why the Batavians? The relative wealth of both historical and archaeological evidence makes them an attractive field of study. Their reputation as troop suppliers to the Roman army and the occasion of the Batavian revolt of 69/70, described at length in the surviving books of Tacitus' *Historiae*, has earned them considerable attention in the literary sources. Their role as a soldiering people has created a comparatively rich database of epigraphic material in the form of epitaphs, votive inscriptions and military diplomas. A great deal of archaeological research has been carried out at the *civitas Batavorum*, both into its urban and military centre at Nijmegen and the settlements and cemeteries in the countryside. And recently, fundamental advances have been made in numismatic research and the study of public cult places. All this material has enabled us to put together an interesting case study of the Batavians, one which is also relevant for the broader discussion on ethnic identities in the Roman empire. In the context of Dutch archaeology, this book introduces a new field of research that is relevant for the study of both civilian and military aspects of the Lower Rhine frontier zone.

1.1   THE STUDY OF ETHNICITY AND ETHNOGENESIS

The study of ethnicity occupies a prominent place on research agendas within the disciplines of history and the social sciences, including archaeology. Ethnicity refers to 'aspects of relationships between groups which consider themselves and are regarded by others, as being culturally distinctive'.[1] Ethnic identity can be expressed inter alia in language, material culture, oral tradition and ritual acts. European archaeology has a long tradition of using ethnic concepts to explain regional patterns and changes in material culture. For a long time, however, this practice was based on false assumptions. In keeping with a normative concept of culture, ethnic groups were depicted as homogeneous, static units, whose specific identity was reflected in material culture. This view of ethnicity, which has its origins in the 19th century, has been heavily criticised by archaeologists,[2] who use insights from the fields of anthropology, sociology and history in an attempt to redefine the subject.[3] The main insights are that:

[1]   Eriksen 1993, 4.

[2]   Cf. Jones 1997; Brather 2000.

[3]   E.g. Barth 1969; Eriksen 1993; Pohl 1998.

a. the identity of ethnic groups is to a large extent based on the notion of a communal past, hence the importance of origin myths.[4] An idiom of kinship is often used to emphasise the social cohesion of a group. A further key aspect of origin myths is their potential to define and legitimise territorial claims, often by explaining how ancestors had acquired a particular territory in the past and had subsequently passed on their rights to the present inhabitants.

b. ethnic categories only acquire form and meaning through interaction with outside groups and cannot therefore be studied in isolation.

c. ethnic formations are less homogeneous than is often asserted; their assumed unity is generally an ideological construct.

d. ethnic identities are essentially subjective categories[5] and often appear contradictory. Individuals belong to numerous, partly overlapping identity groups, to which they refer as circumstances require;[6] the identity that a person assumes or is assigned by others is therefore a 'situational construct'.[7]

e. ethnic formations are not static units; they have always been dynamic over time.[8]

f. the relationship between ethnic formations and material culture is anything but unequivocal; in fact it derives from the above insights.

In the light of the above, we can define ethnic identity as the temporary resultant of a process of developing collective self-images, attitudes and conduct that takes place in a context of interaction between those directly involved and outsiders. Ethnic identities are by definition subjective, dynamic and situational constructs, which renders their relationship to material culture problematical. In contrast to many other kinds of cultural identity, they are in principle archaeologically intangible, unless combined with contextual historical data. The objective of this study is to elaborate on and operationalise these general principles in the specific case of the Batavians.

There is by definition a tension between ethnic identity as an image or representation and as a social reality. As a rule ethnic identities are constructed around a set of clichés, stereotypes and invented histories. They relate to a collective of people who – in interaction with their self-image and the picture that others construct of them – formulate and use rules of belonging, role filling and exclusion.[9] However, ethnic identities refer not only to images but also to actions. Thus we can say that ethnic identities are shaped, managed and modified through constant interaction between the group image and the praxis of individual and collective actions.[10] In terms of my research theme, this means that Batavian identity was created in the forcefield that existed between internal and external perception, between the self-image and the image created by outsiders, and was subsequently labelled and appropriated.

We also need to distinguish – now and in the past – different levels of scale within ethnic categories. At the highest level there are large, macro-ethnic entities such as Germans and Gauls. Research has shown that such *Grossgruppen* were to a large extent Roman constructs that had little significance for

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[4] Hobsbawm/Ranger 1983.

[5] This is not to suggest that the participants did not frequently *experience* ethnicity as a real, meaningful category.

[6] For example, apart from being a Batavian in a general sense, the Batavian leader Julius Civilis was a member of the Batavian royal family (*stirps regia*), a Roman army officer and a Roman citizen. These identities are linked with sets of symbols connected inter alia with language, clothing, hair style, and drinking customs. He would also sometimes have been labelled (mainly by Romans) as a German. The identity assumed at a given moment will

have depended on the context in which he found himself. Cf. Slofstra 2002, 29.

[7] Geary 1983.

[8] Wenskus' study (1961) on the genesis of the early-medieval Germanic *gentes* is innovative in this respect. He describes a continuous process of the disappearance of ethnicities and the formation of new units (ethnogenesis). These dynamics must be understood in association with changing socio-political constellations.

[9] Frijhoff 1992, 624.

[10] Frijhoff 1992, 615.

local groups and individuals and that bore no correspondence to political formations.[11] On the other hand, there are small ethnic groupings, which usually equated to tribes. These did function as emic categories and often overlapped with political units.[12] This study deals with a representative of the latter category of small, politicised ethnicities. The epigraphic material reveals that soldiers and civilians from the Gallic and Germanic provinces often referred to a tribal identity in grave or votive inscriptions. Small communities or *civitates* constituted the primary basis of allegiance, and as such were meaningful categories for individual participants.[13] A special focus of this study is the relationship between the emergence of the Batavians as a political formation and as an ethnic group. Did the one succeed the other? Which group or individuals took the lead in cultivating a Batavian identity? How long did that identity retain its vitality? And what was the role of Roman imperial power?

An important point of departure for this study is Wenskus' ethnogenesis theory and its elaborations by members of the 'Vienna school' around Herwig Wolfram and Walter Pohl.[14] Although in essence a discussion among historians about ethnic dynamics in the Late Roman period and Early Middle Ages, it is of interest to us in conceptual and methodological terms. These scholars proceed from a strongly politicised concept of ethnicity that builds upon Wenskus' *Traditionskern* model, as outlined in his book *Stammesbildung und Verfassung* (1961). Pohl summarises the model as follows:[15] "Wenskus's model of ethnicity assumed that a small *Traditionskern*, a nucleus of tradition (not necessarily a royal family), transmits and propagates ethnic traditions which have the potential of conferring identity on a much larger population. *Stammesbildung*, termed 'ethnogenesis' by later scholars, is the process in which people of quite heterogeneous backgrounds are drawn into a new ethnic community and come to be convinced by such ancient and orally transmitted traditions that they share a common origin and should therefore live according to certain models and norms (called *Verfassung*, 'constitution', by Wenskus)." The model has also been the subject of critical debate.[16] Pohl himself warns that "the image of the kernel implies a misleading sense of solidity and immutability. Rather it was a loose set of groups and networks more or less involved in ethnic practices."[17] In this study I will be examining the relevance of Wenskus' ethnogenesis model to the Batavians.

A further research theme is the significance of strategies of remembering and forgetting (oblivion) in ethnogenesis processes. The emphasis to date has always been on the role of remembering and, more generally, the historical anchoring of a people's core values. However, we also need to consider the role of the conscious forgetting – or even destroying – of elements from the past when new collective identities are being constructed.[18] In pre-modern and modern societies, this always seems to have involved a 'synergy of remembering and forgetting'. I will examine the extent to which Batavian ethnogenesis included – alongside strategies of continuity and remembering – strategies of conscious forgetting and destroying.

I.2 ROMAN IMPERIAL POWER AND THE ETHNIC DYNAMICS IN THE LOWER RHINE FRONTIER

The Romans, with their powerful bureaucracy and military apparatus, had a comprehensive system of ethnic categorisations that structured the world around them. It was based on a centrist geographical model

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[11] Cf. the recent synthesis by Lund 1998, chapters 2 and 4.

[12] In the historical and archaeological literature of the Roman period, tribes are often not regarded as an ethnic category, and a distinction is made between ethnic and tribal affiliations (e.g. Carroll 2001). The term ethnicity is associated primarily – and incorrectly – with *Grossgruppen* like Celts and Germans.

[13] Derks 2004. See also Krier 1981; Nouwen 1997.

[14] Wenskus 1961; Pohl 1998; Wolfram 1988.

[15] Pohl 2002, 221.

[16] See Gillett 2002.

[17] Pohl 2002, 231.

[18] Kolen 2004, chapter 1, section 'De temporele structuur van landschappen en de *longue durée*'.

with a civilised core surrounded by barbarian peoples. In the northwestern frontier these were the Celts and the Germans. To a significant degree the Roman empire gave its own interpretation to these ethnic macro-concepts and continually cultivated them.[19] Under the Roman system, the Batavians were categorised as Germans. They are an example of a newly formed tribe in the empire's Germanic frontier zone, and a key theme of the present study is the role of the Roman authorities in the ethnogenesis of this group.

There were three ways in which Roman imperial policy had a direct impact on ethnic dynamics in the Lower Rhine frontier. Firstly, in a destructive sense through the extreme violence of Caesar's legions during the conquest of the region. Tribes who were destroyed, like the Eburones and the Aduatuci, vanished altogether from the political map. Secondly, in a constructive sense through Rome's direct involvement in the creation of new tribal polities, especially the Batavians, the Ubii and the Cugerni.[20] Thirdly, in developing new tribal identities by cultivating the phenomenon of 'ethnic soldiers' in the Germanic frontier. Certain groups, particularly the Batavians, were selected for intensive ethnic recruitment. This phenomenon of 'ethnic soldiers' within empires can be investigated further by making use of historical analogies. Thus Carol van Driel-Murray has recently looked at the role of the Gurkhas in the former British empire as a means of shedding light on the Batavian situation.[21]

Frontiers in general, and Roman frontiers in particular, are interesting because of their ethnic dynamics, yet they have rarely been the object of serious study. In the Lower Rhine frontier we are confronted with processes of both ethnogenesis and the dissolution of ethnic groupings. Ethnic dynamics acquired an additional dimension in this region through the permanent stationing of large numbers of foreign troops along the *limes*, and the settlement of groups of traders and craftsmen from other regions. In the northwest frontier of the *imperium Romanum* we are also dealing with a Roman authority which itself made extensive use of ethnic labels, giving them a specific interpretation based on the bipolarity between 'civilisation' and 'barbarism' in Roman cultural discourse. Ideas about the 'barbarian other' in this ethnocentric ideology are expressed in the Roman sources on Germans and, more specifically, Batavians.[22]

However, it is important not to focus too one-sidedly on the role of Rome in the construction of ethnic identities. The driving force behind ethnic dynamics lay primarily of course in the communities themselves; groups created collective self-images in relation to the Roman empire. These self-images had to be negotiated with both internal and external forces, and were continually subject to change. In addition, individuals as well as entire groups could abandon traditional ethnic affiliations and assume other identities.

1.3 ETHNICITY, TEXTS AND MATERIAL CULTURE. METHODICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

The purpose of this study is to arrive at a model of Batavian ethnogenesis. Fundamentally, we have two types of evidence at our disposal – historical and archaeological. Neither can be interpreted in a simple straightforward way, yet each requires a specific methodology, which I will briefly explain here.

The literary works of classical authors, and Tacitus in particular, are an important – though not unproblematic – source for the study of Batavian ethnicity. Historians point to problems of interpretation when studying ethnicity on the basis of literary sources. After all, the texts themselves are an instrument of Roman ethnic discourse and, in the case of the early-medieval period, ethnicity has even been regarded as a primarily literary construction.[23] I use Roman reports primarily to gain insights into how

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[19] See chapter 3.3.

[20] See chapter 3.

[21] Van Driel-Murray 2003, who was inspired in particular by a study of the American sociologist Cynthia H. Enloe

(Enloe 1980).

[22] Cf. Bazelmans 1991; Roymans 1996, 100 ff.

[23] Cf. Gillett 2002, 14.

the Romans, especially the administrative and military elite, *wished to see* the Batavians.[24] I also use them to reconstruct the historical contexts in which Batavian ethnogenesis occurred.

One methodological problem we face is whether literary sources can serve as a basis for claims about the Batavian self-image. Although they clearly cannot provide us with any direct information, I would like to use an indirect route to say something on the subject. I proceed from the assumption that Roman image-forming about the Batavians constituted a key point of reference for the latter group when it came to defining themselves. Thus we can assume that the Batavian view of themselves was in part a response to the Germanic stereotype constantly applied to them by the Romans.[25]

To what extent can archaeological data be used to gain insights into Batavian ethnicity? Archaeology has a long tradition of *ethnische Deutung*, based on 'ethnic ascription theory', which stemmed from romantic 19th-century ideas about the relationship between people and material culture. In the past decade this approach has been heavily criticised and deconstructed.[26] I am one of those archaeologists who claim that ethnic identities cannot be identified solely on the basis of material culture. Attaching archaeological substance to historically transmitted ethnic macro-concepts like 'Gauls' and 'Germans' is also fraught with risk, given that they were largely Roman creations that had little value as self-ascriptive, emic concepts for individuals or groups. Only in combination with historically transmitted contexts can archaeology make a positive contribution to the discussion on ethnicity; ethnic groups and their territories must thereby be historically documented. For the Roman period I see particular potential for tribal ethnicities, which were generally significant categories for individuals. However, it is not a simple matter of identifying correlations between ethnic groups and spatial patterns in material culture (house types, types of pottery, etc.). Ethnic groups should not be seen as monolithic cultural entities. It is therefore often impossible to indicate the extent to which groups used material culture to define boundaries with outside groups. Archaeology can contribute to the study of ethnicity in other ways, however, and this is something I wish to elaborate on in this case study of the Batavians. Archaeology can inform us about themes that the Romans *failed to see* in Batavian ethnicity.

Firstly, Roman archaeology (compared with the archaeology of the early-medieval period) has access to a unique category of sources, namely epigraphic material and in particular private votive inscriptions and epitaphs. These give us unique insights into how individual Batavians defined themselves in ethnic terms. Here I am able to make use of a study by Derks, which presents a catalogue of 62 people (almost all soldiers), who explicitly claim a Batavian origin.[27] The epigraphic material demonstrates that Batavian ethnicity was not simply a Roman literary construction, but that it also had real meaning for individuals as an emic ascriptive label. We could ask numerous questions about the epigraphic material. In what kind of social contexts did individuals assert their Batavian origin? Were there changes over time in the way in which people reported their origin? Why did references to a Batavian identity disappear during the 3rd century?

Secondly, iconographic data is relevant, in combination with inscriptions. Figurative representations on the gravestones of auxiliary soldiers from Lower Rhine tribes tell us something about how they saw themselves. Gravestones depicting them as a Roman cavalry soldier vanquishing a barbarian warrior, reveal that they were emphatically distancing themselves from the barbarian 'other'.[28]

Thirdly, research into Batavian public sanctuaries and associated cults offers us insights into ethnic self-definitions. Our starting point is the general pattern of ethnic group identity being anchored in a mythical past, and of political integration into the Roman empire often going hand in hand with the creation of new origin myths.[29] It was in the public cult places that such origin myths were cultivated

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[24] See chapter 10.3. Cf. Dench 1995 on different *ways of seeing* of peoples in the Central Apennines in Early Roman Italy.

[25] See chapter 10.4.

[26] Cf. Jones 1997; Brather 2000.

[27] Derks 2004. See also chapter 12.

[28] See chapter 10.4.

[29] Cf. Derks 1998, 101. The emergence of public cults of syncretised native and Roman gods in many Gallic *civitates* may be linked to the incorporation of Rome's mythical past into that of the local community.
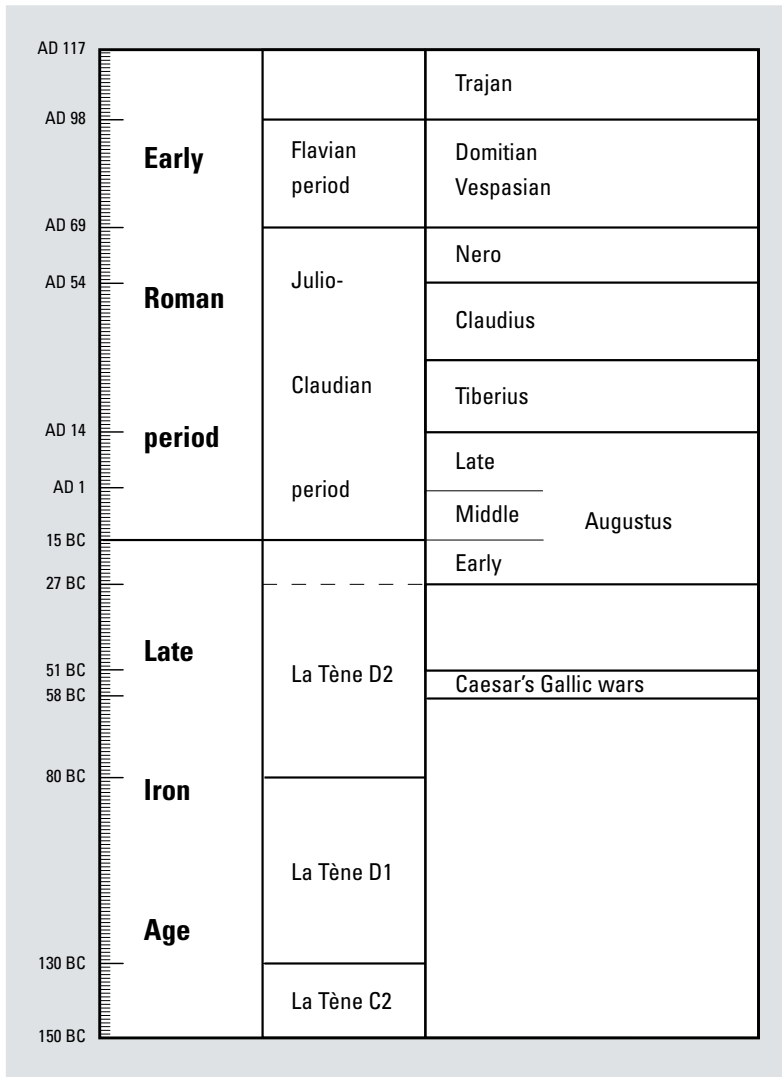
Fig. 1.1. Chronological scheme of the Late Iron Age and the Early Roman period in the Lower Rhine region.

AD 117		Trajan
AD 98	Flavian period	Domitian / Vespasian
AD 69		Nero
AD 54	Julio-	Claudius
AD 14	Claudian	Tiberius
AD 1	period	Late / Middle — Augustus
15 BC		Early
27 BC	La Tène D2	
51 BC / 58 BC		Caesar's Gallic wars
80 BC	La Tène D1	
130 BC		
150 BC	La Tène C2	

Early Roman period — Late Iron Age: Early / Roman / period — Late / Iron / Age.

and linked to ethnic practices. Particularly deserving of our attention are the sanctuaries dedicated to a tribe's principal deity. Although historical sources have nothing to say on the subject with regard to the Batavians, there are a host of inscriptions that reveal Hercules Magusanus to be the chief deity: the most important temples were dedicated to him. Chapter 11 argues that Hercules had everything to do with negotiating a Batavian identity in the Roman world. His sanctuaries were probably key sites in the symbolic construction of the Batavian community.[30]

Fourthly, archaeology has a vital contribution to make to a contextual approach to Batavian ethnicity and ethnogenesis. The central aim is not to propose ethnic ascriptions of material culture, but to analyse the political, economic and religious contexts in which processes of ethnogenesis and ethnicity construction must be understood. This study presents examples of analyses of distribution patterns for certain categories of artefact – such as types of swords, fibulae or belt hooks – in the Lower Rhineland; these tell us about networks of social relations of a regional and interregional nature. Late Iron Age coins represent a special category of artefacts as they were issued by a tribal authority, and thus are the direct outcome of a

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[30] On the role of central places, particularly cult places, in the symbolic construction of early-medieval groups, see Theuws 2003.

political decision. I will investigate the extent to which Lower Rhine silver and copper *triquetrum* coinages can be considered Batavian emissions, in the sense that they were issued by a Batavian political authority. Their distribution tells us something about internal social networks, as well as networks vis-à-vis the outside world. The study of the circulation and deposition of Roman militaria in civilian contexts alerts us to the importance of a martial ideology in the Batavian self-image.[31] Recent research into the distribution of bronze seal-boxes and writing materials has led to important conclusions about the spread of Latin and Latin literacy among the rural Batavian population.[32] These contradict the general stereotypical image of Germans as unlettered barbarians in the literary sources. A final example concerns the study of the distribution of glass La Tène arm rings in the Lower Rhineland. This suggests a considerable degree of demographic and cultural continuity from the Late La Tène period into the Augustan-Tiberian period, and thus supports the claim that the Batavians arose from a fusion of indigenous and immigrant groups.[33]

I hope to be able to demonstrate in this study that, subject to the availability of contextual historical frameworks, archaeological research is well-placed to make fundamental contributions to the discussion on Batavian ethnicity and ethnogenesis in the Roman empire's Lower Rhine frontier. It is largely a matter of taking the available data and asking the right questions.

I.4 STRUCTURE OF THE TEXT

I have opted for a chronological structure for the book, with a focus on the 'key period' 50 BC – AD 70. These boundaries have been determined by Caesar's departure from Gaul and the end of the Batavian revolt. Where relevant, however, I have used a broader timeframe. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 deal mainly with social developments in the pre-Roman period preceding Batavian ethnogenesis. Chapters 5 to 9 address the formation of the Batavian polity and its earliest transformations. Chapters 10 and 11 analyse the Batavian image and self-image in the 1st century AD. A summary and final discussion is presented in chapter 12.

The structure of the text is also determined by the nature of the sources. I have chosen to present historical and archaeological data separately, as each has a different story to tell. The result is an alternation of chapters that are primarily historical (3, 5, 8, 10, 11) with ones that are primarily archaeological (2, 7, 9) or numismatic (4, 6). In three chapters the emphasis is on the presentation of new archaeological evidence that is central to the discussion on Batavian ethnogenesis: numismatic material in chapters 4 and 6, and evidence for a hitherto unknown central place in the Batavian region in chapter 7.

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[31] Roymans 1996, 28 ff.; Nicolay 2001; idem 2004.

[32] Derks/Roymans 2002.

[33] Cf. chapter 2.5 and 3.2.

2 Social change in the Late Iron Age Lower Rhine region

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In recent decades the study of Late Iron Age societies in Gaul and the Rhineland has been at the fore-front of discussion in both academic and popular archaeology. The primary focus has been the major social changes that occurred during that period, leading to more complex societies with a more highly developed social hierarchy and the first moves toward urbanisation. The most notable archaeological evidence is the appearance of major fortified settlements or *oppida*, a rapid rise in the use of coins and the emergence of collective sanctuaries. Such changes are usually regarded as diagnostic of the La Tène cultural region, distinguishing it from regions to the north where they did not occur.

In the Northwest European context, what picture do archaeological texts of today paint of Late Iron Age societies in the Lower Rhine region? The first response is that this region barely rates a mention in the international literature. It is viewed as part of the northern border zone of Gaul, as a region weak in La Tène cultural influences and which saw no structural social change in the Iron Age. Many publications reproduce a map showing the distribution of Late Iron Age *oppida* (fig. 2.1); the northern border runs through Northern France, Southern Belgium and the German Middle Rhine region towards Central Europe. The Lower Rhine region is thus usually seen as part of the northern zone of rather static socie-ties with relatively egalitarian social structures. This picture stems chiefly from the Lower Rhineland's 'poor' material culture, in particular the weak presence of elements associated with elite power, such as major fortified settlements and rich metalwork. Characteristic are the simple burial ritual and the barely differentiated settlement pattern with an absence of *oppida*. Major social change, the texts suggest, would not occur there until after the Roman conquest. Some authors explain these regional differences by using core-periphery models or social evolutionary perspectives.[34] There is also a long and powerful tradition of explaining the differences in ethnic terms (fig. 2.1). The Lower Rhine region is regarded as part of the northern 'Germanic' world, the counterpart of a southern 'Celtic' world.[35]

Some doubts have been raised in recent years about this stereotypical picture of the Lower Rhineland. Hiddink has argued that we chiefly owe this image of egalitarian, relatively undifferentiated communi-ties to the lack of a tradition of depositing weapons and ornaments in graves. Gerritsen has criticised the portrayal of Lower Rhine societies as static and traditional, by demonstrating that significant social changes occurred at a local level during the Iron Age, with the Late Iron Age in particular being a period of change.[36] It is this latter picture which I wish to reinforce in this chapter. Because recent archaeologi-cal studies of settlements, cult places, and coins have produced a more complex picture of Late Iron Age societies, a major reappraisal of traditional perceptions is called for. In this chapter I shall first outline some of the areas where change is most evident, by looking at the adoption of coinage, the emergence of regional sanctuaries, the development of a major nucleated settlement, and the circulation of glass bracelets. These analyses are followed by a more general discussion on interpreting Late Iron Age social

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[34] Haselgrove 1987 and Roymans 1990 respectively.

[35] E.g. Fichtl 1994, 104; idem 2000, 20 ff.

[36] Hiddink 1999, 42–82, 229-238; Gerritsen 2003-a, chap-ter 1.2.
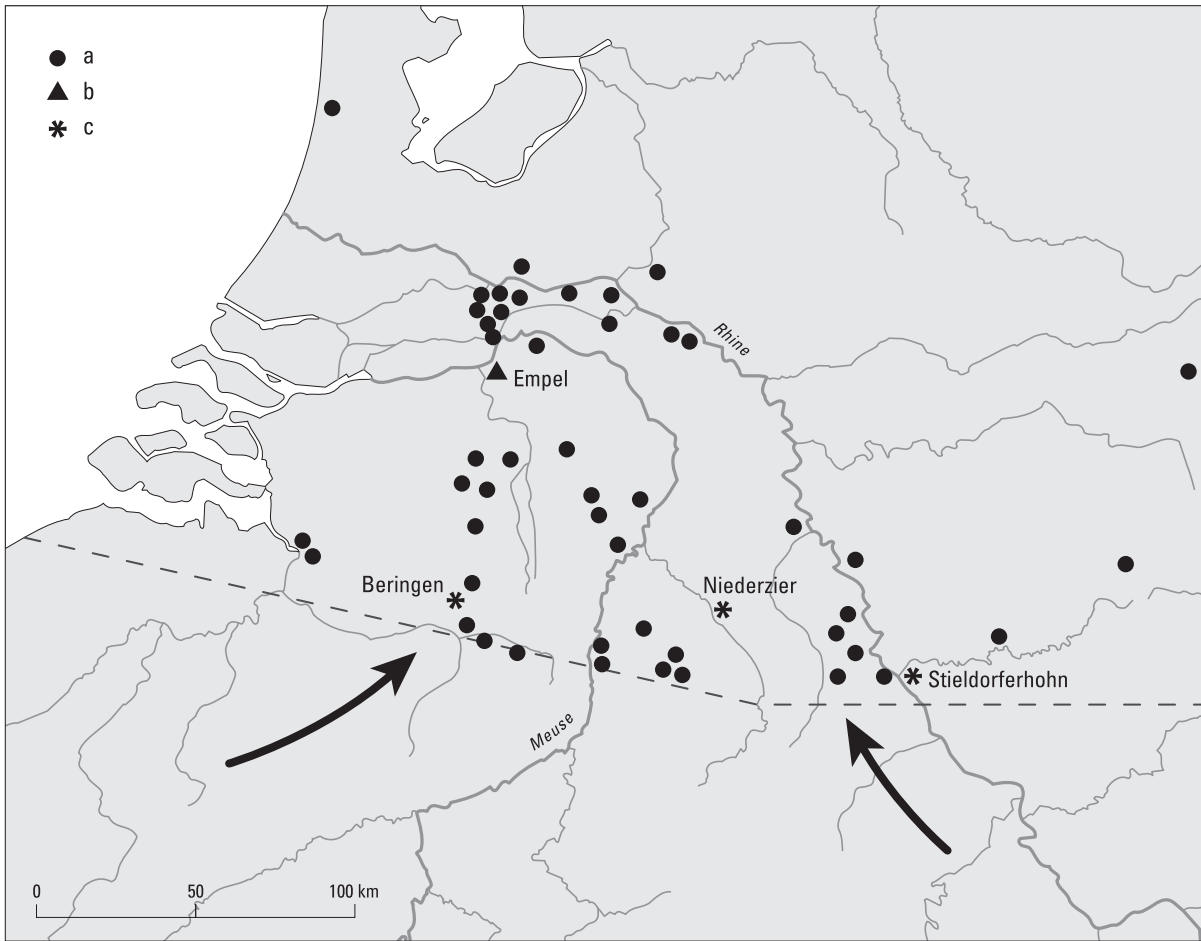
Fig. 2.2. Distribution of Late Iron Age gold coins in the Lower Rhine region.

a isolated find, mostly from settlement context; b sanctuary; c gold hoard

In addition, we need to give serious attention to the many small metal finds collected by detectorists at Late Iron Age sites. Creating a sophisticated regional typochronology of the Late Iron Age in the Lower Rhine region is a research priority for the near future. In the meantime, we are often obliged to work with a rather approximate chronological framework.[39]

2.2 THE ADOPTION OF COINAGE

Two decades ago, pre-Roman coinage was generally thought to be a marginal phenomenon in the Lower Rhineland. With the advent of detector archaeology and a more systematic inventorisation program for coins, this picture has changed substantially. We see this most notably in data from the southern Netherlands, where there has been a ten to twenty-fold increase in the main coin types found since 1980.[40] This has given us a clearer picture of the process by which coinage was adopted and dispersed in the Lower Rhine region. The circulation of gold coins did not begin here until the middle of the 2nd century BC,

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[39] Dutch archaeology makes a distinction between the Early Iron Age (c. 750-500 BC), the Middle Iron Age (c.

500-250 BC) and the Late Iron Age (250-12 BC).

[40] See chapters 4.2 and 6.1.

albeit on a modest scale and with 'imported' coins from neighbouring regions to the south (fig. 4.1). The chief evidence is the gold hoards of Beringen and Niederzier, both of which also contained torcs.[41] Circulation increased rapidly in the course of the 1st century BC (fig. 2.2). From Haselgrove's phase 4 onwards (c. 60-30 BC), coins were also minted in the Lower Rhine region. We can distinguish two local emissions: the gold Scheers 31 staters, which can be ascribed to the Eburones, and the silver and copper 'rainbow' staters of the *triquetrum* type (fig. 6.1), which are probably linked to the Batavians.[42] The first base metal coinages did not appear here until the Middle Augustan period and in close association with the establishment of Roman army camps along the Rhine. These were bronze Scheers 217 coinages, the oldest of which were inscribed with the legend AVAVCIA.[43]

In the pre-Augustan period, the coins circulating in the Lower Rhineland were almost exclusively gold coins in the stater tradition or coinages that developed from these. These coins were used primarily as a means of payment by tribal leaders to form and maintain clientship networks, in particular to establish *comitatus*, or loyal bands of horsemen.[44] The frequent presence of gold and silver coins in settlement contexts suggests that rural populations were closely involved in these networks that were dominated by elites. Coinages were issued from a political centre; they imply the existence of authorities who used the emissions to establish personal power networks, albeit ones of limited stability.

2.3   THE EMERGENCE OF REGIONAL SANCTUARIES

Until recently we have assumed that sanctuaries supported by larger communities (tribes or subtribes) in the Lower Rhine region were a phenomenon from the period after the Roman conquest. We do know of open-air cult places in the form of rectangular, ditched enclosures from the 3rd century BC; examples have been excavated at Oss, Mierlo-Hout and Kontich.[45] These rectangular cult places are often associated with small cemeteries, but they also occur in settlements separately from burial places. The relationship between cult places and graves has led various authors to suspect that the cult practised there was associated with ancestor worship. Gerritsen and others are probably correct in assuming that these cult sites functioned at a local level; there is nothing to suggest that they had a regional significance.[46]

However, this picture should be revised in the light of recent research into several Roman cult places with monumental podium temples at Empel, Elst and Kessel in the Rhine delta (fig. 2.3). They fall into the category of *grands sanctuaires gallo-romains*, which undoubtedly had a public function in what was then the *civitas Batavorum*. These monumental sanctuaries appear to have succeeded older open-air cult places. However, we know as yet very little about the spatial organisation of the earliest phases. Only in Empel do we have some clues as to the appearance of the cult place in the pre-temple phase.[47] Traces were found there of ritual post alignments and pits on a sandy elevation enclosed by picket fences. However, we owe most of our knowledge of the pre-temple phase to stray finds: pottery, animal bones and in particular metal objects. At Elst, a culture layer was discovered which extends over the entire cult site and which predates the building of the first stone temple around AD 50.[48] The layer contained many bones of cat-

[41]   Van Impe et al. 1997/1998; Göbl et al. 1991.

[42]   See chapters 4 and 6 respectively.

[43]   Van den Berg 2001.

[44]   Creighton 2000, 14 ff.

[45]   Fontijn 2002; Gerritsen 2003-a, 150 ff.; Annaert 1995/1996. Referring to the rectangular stone enclosure excavated at Nijmegen, Fontijn (2002) traces the origin of the rectangular cult places in the Lower Rhine region

back to the Late Bronze Age. However, this still leaves a gap of half a millennium between the enclosure from Nijmegen, in many respects unique, and the first ditched cult places from the Middle Iron Age.

[46]   Gerritsen 2003-a, 167.

[47]   Roymans/Derks 1994.

[48]   Bogaers 1955, 42, 59.

Fig. 2.1. Distribution of Late Iron Age *oppida* in West and Central Europe. After Fichtl, 2000, 16, 18-19.

— — — Late La Tène *oppida* zone.

changes in the Lower Rhine region, the significance of external contacts, and the possible implications for our understanding of the substantial changes that occurred there after the Roman conquest.

My analysis will not only examine the changes in terms of broad, abstract processes such as social hierarchisation and the institutionalisation of new social relationships. I will also attempt to show how broad societal changes in the political and religious spheres could interact with structural changes at the level of individual households and small local communities. My approach is primarily a regional one. I do of course recognise the importance of external influences, but their impact can only be understood in the context of the long-term social dynamics of Iron Age societies in this region.

Finally, I will briefly discuss a major methodical problem in the study of Late Iron Age societies in the Lower Rhineland and the Rhine/Meuse delta in particular, namely the absence of a sophisticated typochronological framework for archaeological data. This is due to the limited archaeological visibility of the material culture, given the almost total absence of a tradition of depositing objects in graves. In large parts of the Lower Rhine region we encounter no formal cemeteries from this period; at most there are a few small groups of graves near farmsteads containing almost no finds.[37] We are therefore mainly dependent on material from settlements for drawing up typochronological surveys.[38] However, the chronological resolution of settlement material (for the most part handmade pottery) is relatively low and metal finds are much underrepresented. Awareness is only now beginning to dawn that the evidence from cult places and river depositions is essential for a balanced picture of Late Iron Age material culture.

[37]   Roymans 1990, fig. 9.12; Gerritsen 2003-a.

[38]   Van den Broeke 1987; Van Heeringen 1989.

Fig. 2.3. Roman temples with Late La Tène forerunners in the Lower Rhine region.

tle; the young age of slaughter of the animals, deviating from the regional pattern, suggests that they had been sacrificed.[49] It was assumed that the pre-temple phase corresponded to the earliest Roman period, but recent small-scale research has produced some Late Iron Age coins and a LT D2 brooch and sword fragment, which point to a pre-Roman origin.[50] In Kessel, the cult place is primarily known from a large ritual find complex from the border zone of a fossil course of the Meuse, containing pottery, animal and human bone material and many metal objects from the Late Iron Age.[51] This ritual complex may be related to the remains of a monumental Roman temple found about 200 m. to the south, used as spolia in a Late Roman fortification.

In Empel, Kessel, and Elst isolated metalwork finds are the primary source of information for establishing the earliest date of the cult places. The oldest material stems mainly from the LT D2 period, although LT D1 is represented as well in both Empel and Kessel. The brooch chronology is particularly helpful here. Both sites have produced fibulae of the Middle La Tène type as well as early Nauheim brooches. We can therefore say that the regional cult places began a stage later than in Northwest France, where they are known from LT C onward.[52]

Although the find data provides no hard evidence of collective rituals, there are good reasons for assuming that the above sanctuaries already functioned at a regional level as cult centres of a larger com-

[49] Lauwerier 1988, 120.

[50] Unpublished excavation 2002 by the Archaeological Centre of the Free University, Amsterdam. A publication

is currently under preparation. See also note 369.

[51] See chapter 7.

[52] Brunaux 2000.

munity in the Late Iron Age.[53] Clues here are the rich metalwork assemblages found at the Kessel and Empel sites, including coins, weapons, fibulae and bronze cauldrons. Moreover, in both Empel and Elst, there were relatively large numbers of cattle among the animals that were sacrificed and then eaten.[54] The sacrifice of cattle was a rather expensive affair, probably carried out on behalf of a larger community during collective rituals. Also notable is the large number of human bones dredged up at Kessel; they seem to be mainly those of adult males, some with clear indications that they met a violent death.[55] They too suggest collective rituals, carried out on behalf of a community. They are probably closely linked to the domain of warfare (remains of trophies?). Finally we may point to the fact that these three cult sites went on to become the most important public sanctuaries of the *civitas Batavorum* in the late 1st century AD. The sanctuaries had yet another characteristic in common in the Roman period. There is evidence to suggest that the popular deity Hercules Magusanus was worshipped there as the principal god. Hercules occupied a prominent place in the public cult of the Batavian *civitas*;[56] in the private sphere he was worshipped primarily by soldiers. It is unclear whether the sanctuaries' known link with Hercules Magusanus had pre-Roman roots. However, given the continuity in the use of the cult places from LT D2 to the early Roman period, it is tempting to link the Late La Tène cult places to Magusanus, the Lower Rhine deity whom the Batavian elite associated with the Roman Hercules, probably in the course of the Augustan era. A terminus ante quem for this syncretism is offered by the votive stone from St.-Michielsgestel –'Ruimel', dedicated to Magusanus Hercules by a *summus magistratus* of the *civitas Batavorum* (fig. 8.2);[57] the stone is dated to around the middle of the 1st century AD.

Thanks to recent research into the cult places of Empel, Elst and Kessel, we are now confronted in the Rhine delta with a phenomenon that – until recently – we associated mainly with the regions of Northern France and the neighbouring Middle Rhine area : namely, major Gallo-Roman sanctuaries that go back to pre-Roman cult places with a supra-local significance. The appearance of regional cult places went hand in hand with the introduction of new ritual practices of both an individual and collective nature – the offering of coins and weapons, and possibly human sacrifice as well. Futhermore, it was mainly cattle that were sacrificed and then subsequently eaten at collective meals. These findings open up a host of possibilities for new discussions. I will make a first attempt below.

2.4 THE DEVELOPMENT OF A MAJOR NUCLEATED SETTLEMENT AT KESSEL/LITH

The current picture of Late Iron Age habitation in the Lower Rhine region is one of an almost undifferentiated settlement landscape, wholly dominated by small villages and single farmsteads. This contrasts markedly with the settlement pattern further to the south in Gaul and in the Rhineland, which is characterised by increasing differentiation and hierarchisation.[58] There, the Late La Tène period saw the emergence of major defended settlements, or *oppida*, which in several ways fulfilled a centre function in larger tribal communities.

However, recent research has produced a growing body of evidence to show that the settlement pattern in the Lower Rhineland was more complex and more differentiated than we have hitherto believed.

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[53] We could speak here of 'public' cult places, although I am aware that we owe the distinction between a 'private' and 'public' cult to Roman religion, where it has specific legal connotations. Nevertheless, I am assuming that somewhat analogous structures existed in pre-Roman Gallic societies. Cf. also Derks 2002.

[54] Lauwerier 1988; Seijnen 1994.

[55] Ter Schegget 1999.

[56] See chapter 11.

[57] *CIL* XIII, 8771. See chapter 5.3.

[58] E.g. Haselgrove 1987; Roymans 1990; Fichtl 1994.

I have already mentioned the development of central cult places from LTD1 onward. Still more significant is the settlement complex at Kessel/Lith on the Meuse, where an important complex of dredge and metal detector finds has been collected in recent decades. Because this site and the material remains uncovered there will be described and interpreted in detail in chapter 7, I will confine myself here to the main points.

As is customary with dredge finds, we are poorly informed about the archaeological context and know only a small part of the total find complex. For this reason, the material from Kessel/Lith has to date attracted little attention from archaeologists. However, this find complex is relevant in that it forces us, by virtue of its sheer size and the wealth of metal objects, to modify the current perception of Late Iron Age communities and their material culture in the Lower Rhine region. There are indications that an extensive settlement was located at Kessel/Lith, one which fulfilled a religious and socio-political centre function in the Rhine/Meuse delta.

Kessel/Lith is situated at a geographically strategic location in the Dutch river delta: on the southern bank of the Meuse river near the former confluence with the Waal river, the main branch of the Rhine (fig. 7.13). Until recently, the site (or cluster of sites?) lay in the forelands (*uiterwaarden*), covered by thick layers of clay and sand. In the past, parts of the complex were affected by post-Roman river erosion, and what remained has been destroyed in recent decades by large-scale sand and gravel extraction. It was during these dredging operations that dredging workers and local amateur archaeologists collected large quantities of archaeological material from the Late Iron Age and Roman period. This consisted of pottery, bone material, stone building remains and metalware, mainly in the form of isolated finds. Small-scale excavations were only carried out at a few locations. By using the excavation results, the data and observations from amateur archaeologists and dredge workers, as well as paleo-geographical research, we can make a rough reconstruction of the find complex, inasmuch as it relates to the Late Iron Age and Early Roman period. The material we are dealing with originates firstly from the southern bank of the former Meuse. Typical settlement material (large quantities of hand-made pottery, mixed with spindle whorls, loom weights, stone quern fragments, animal bone material and smaller numbers of metal objects) has been found over an area of almost 2 km. The material comes secondly from a fossil bed of the Meuse, and consists of large quantities of pottery, animal and human bones, and metalware, including many weapons. We must bear in mind, however, that only a fraction of the find material has been collected; the vast bulk has been lost without being documented.

The complex at Kessel/Lith can be dated more precisely using the typochronology of the metal objects. Although the pottery evidence suggests that habitation may have begun somewhat earlier, the metalware indicates that the site did not acquire a supra-local significance until LTD1, the period of the early Nauheim fibulae.

So how should we interpret the find complex at Kessel/Lith? The almost complete lack of regular excavations means that the information we have at our disposal is very fragmentary. With regard to the internal spatial structure and development of the settlement complex, we can do little more than roughly divide the material into two groups, as above. As already stated, the material from the riverbank zone should be viewed as mainly settlement remains; the finds from the bed of the Meuse, however, can best be seen as a ritual find complex. The main clues to this interpretation are the weapons and large quantities of human and animal bones. A sanctuary was probably located on the edge of the riverbank, with the remains of votive gifts and sacrificial meals being regularly deposited in the adjacent river bed.

Kessel/Lith was a sizeable settlement or settlement cluster on the southern bank of the Meuse. Although we are no longer in a position to establish either the true density of habitation or habitation fluctuations within the complex, we are clearly dealing here with a fundamentally different site from the many small villages and isolated farmsteads that characterised the settlement landscape of the Lower Rhine region. This is supported by the presence of an important ritual find complex in a former bed of the Meuse river.

What then from our perspective is the significance of the find complex at Kessel/Lith when considered in a Northwest European context? Three points can be made:

1. Kessel/Lith is a key site for the study of metalwork circulation in the Lower Rhine area in LT D.
2. The artefact assemblage collected here points to the existence of specialised metalworking in the Lower Rhine area in LT D. We have been able to identify certain artefact types (swords, bronze belt hooks, fibulae, coins) which seem to have been manufactured in the Rhine/Meuse delta. All of this suggests that production sites for specialised crafts must have existed in this region. These sites have yet to be located. Kessel/Lith, however, is the only serious candidate at present, as several distribution maps suggest (see chapter 7).
3. Kessel/Lith seems to have functioned as a central place from LT D1 onwards. It may have been an important cult, craft and political centre and have served as a symbol of a larger community. For the second half of the 1st century BC we could think of a link with the Batavian polity. This may have been a pre-Roman Batavian centre, which was transferred to Nijmegen in the Augustan period as part of the Roman reorganisation of the topography of power.[59]

The above interpretation of the Kessel/Lith site has implications for current perceptions of the Late La Tène settlement pattern in the Lower Rhineland. This was more complex and more hierarchical than we have supposed to date. The Lower Rhine area does not really fit within the simple dichotomy of a Celtic world dominated by *oppida* and a Germanic world consisting solely of small villages and farmsteads.

2.5   THE MASS CIRCULATION OF GLASS BRACELETS

Fragments of glass La Tène bracelets are undoubtedly some of the most common artefact types encountered in Late Iron Age settlements in the Lower Rhineland. Nowhere in the *oppida* zone of 'Celtic Europe' are they so densely distributed as in the eastern part of the Dutch river area, where more than 3000 items have now been found (figs. 2.4 and 2.5). They occur on almost every settlement site, frequently in spectacular numbers; twenty-five sites produced over 20 items, and seven sites more than 100 items.[60] Although the circulation period runs from the 3rd century BC up to the early 1st century AD, almost nothing is known of the typochronological development.[61]

Of interest here are the production aspects of glass bracelets, since there are good reasons for assuming large-scale manufacturing in the Lower Rhine region. The principal evidence, apart from the massive concentration of finds in this area, is provided by the typological study of the bracelets. The bracelet finds are characterised by regionally specific variations in form and colour, which makes large-scale importation from southern areas improbable.[62] Most items appear to have been produced in the Rhine delta. To some extent, imported raw materials or semi-manufactured products will have been utilised. However, as no concrete evidence for glass workshops has been found, we can say little about the social organisation of production. If we assume a more or less centralised production, as appears to have been the case in Central Europe, then Kessel/Lith is the main candidate.

Just as important are the social aspects of bracelet use. In the light of their presence in women's graves, they are generally considered a female attribute in the La Tène cultural region. Their mass presence in the Rhine delta suggests that almost every woman had one or more of them. This association with women has been confirmed in the recently excavated cemetery at Weert,[63] where the cremation remains have

[59]   The new Batavian centre at Nijmegen was called Oppidum Batavorum. Cf. Tacitus, *Hist*. 5.19.

[60]   Roymans/Van Rooijen 1993.

[61]   Lenz/Schuler 1998.

[62]   Roymans/Van Rooijen 1993.

[63]   Roymans 1996-b; Hiddink 2003, 194–197..
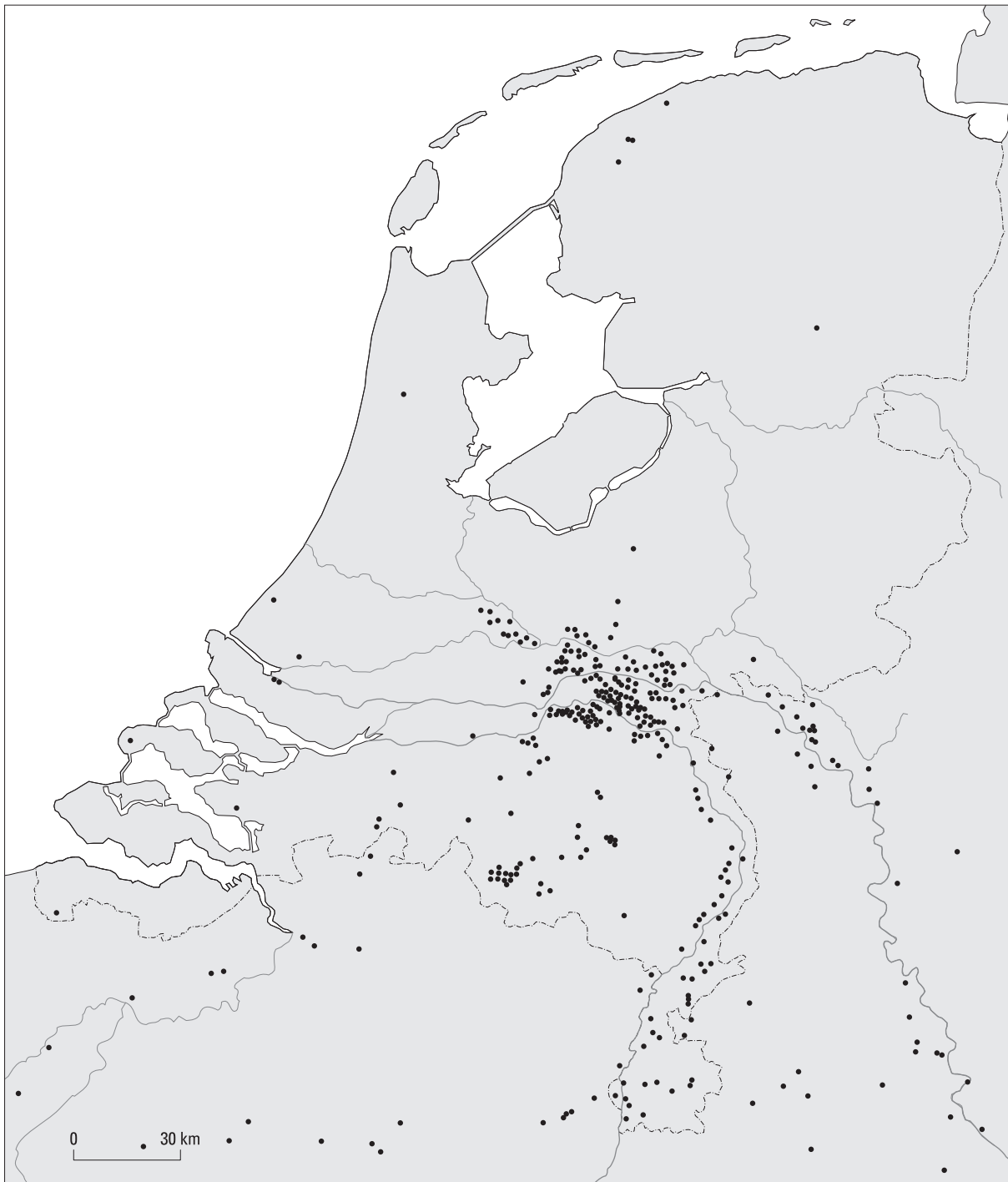
Fig. 2.4. Distribution of La Tène glass bracelets in the Lower Rhine region. After Roymans/Van Rooijen 1993, fig. 2.

been investigated anthropologically. There the wearing of glass bracelets seems to be linked to adult women; they are absent from children's graves. We might hypothesise that the moment at which women began wearing bracelets was associated with a rite of passage, marking the entry of young girls into the group of adult women. The wearing of the first bracelets may have been the female equivalent of the girding on of the first weapons for men. These glass bracelets were the symbolic expression of sex and age-class identities within the Lower Rhineland, whose significance gained steadily in the course of the

Fig. 2.5. Fragments of Late La Tène glass arm rings from settlement sites in the Dutch river area.

Late Iron Age. We also observe an interesting distribution pattern for bracelets in the Rhine delta, which suggests that they also functioned as a marker of cultural boundaries with outside groups. Significantly, they are almost totally absent in the western coastal region and in the region directly north of the Rhine (fig. 2.4). The few bracelets in the latter two areas may indicate incidental marriage relationships.

2.6 DISCUSSION. A NEW KIND OF SOCIETY IN THE LOWER RHINE REGION?

The changes in the Lower Rhineland suggest a considerable social dynamic in the Late Iron Age, involving processes of hierarchisation and increasing complexity. The issuing of coins, the rise of regional sanctuaries that were linked to the realm of warfare, and the emergence of specialised crafts, all point to the growing power of elite groups. This becomes even more marked if we compare it with the image we have of Early and Middle Iron Age societies in the same region. We have no evidence for these earlier periods of larger settlements with centre functions, cult places of regional significance, the use of coins or increasing craft specialisation.[64] Although these phenomena did not appear until LTD1, that does not mean that the social changes underlying them could not have begun earlier. We should also take into account the considerable differences between regions. The changes occurred primarily in the eastern half of the river delta, running southwards via the Meuse and Rhine valleys, and scarcely seem to have affect-

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[64]   Several elite graves from the Ha C and La Tène A period, some of them under barrows, are known in the Lower Rhine region (Roymans 1991). There is nothing to suggest, however, that these burial places subsequently played a role as central localities in the construction of supra-local identity groups.

ed the holocene coastal zone and the region north of the Lower Rhine. Perhaps these changes should not be viewed separately from demographic developments in the Rhine/Meuse delta, even though their precise articulation is still far from clear. The Late Iron Age was a period of settlement expansion in the holocene as well as pleistocene landscapes, often leading to a significant rise in population. However, in the peat landscapes of the Western Netherlands, habitation was often of limited permanence because of the vulnerability of the region to fluctuations in the water table.[65]

In the light of these changes in the Lower Rhineland, we can first of all attempt to reconstruct the changes at the level of supra-local social formations. Historical sources provide us with some useful clues. Caesar's *Commentaries* make reference to several large-scale tribal polities or *civitates*, namely the Menapii, the Eburones, the Tencteri and Usipetes, and the Sugambri (fig. 3.1). They were headed by kings (the Eburones and Sugambri) or by *principes* (the Tencteri and Usipetes), and had a council of elders or tribal senate which wielded considerable political influence.[66] The fact that the Eburones and, somewhat later, the Sugambri were in a position to triumph over Roman armies attests to the ability of groups and individuals in these societies to summon considerable strength, at least in periods of crisis. However, there are indications that the Lower Rhine *civitates* mentioned by Caesar should be seen as loosely structured, fluid confederations of smaller ethnic groups, each with their own leaders, who were bound together by alliances and clientship relations.[67] Each of these groups retained their own cults. In view of this, we can best interpret the regional sanctuaries from the Rhine/Meuse delta as central cult places, not of the larger *civitates* that Caesar refers to, but of smaller polities which go almost unmentioned in the historical sources.

In addition, we should understand that the political geography of the Lower Rhineland described by Caesar was subject to constant change, which may have affected the ability of the *civitates* he mentions to establish any degree of permanence. However, what did have a far-reaching and destructive effect, certainly on the Lower Rhine region, were the direct consequences of the Roman conquest itself. Caesar refers to the genocide of the Eburones and the major part of the Tencteri and Usipetes. In the second half of the 1st century BC, as part of the reorganisation of the Roman frontier, new groups (Ubii, Batavians, Cugerni) made their appearance on the left bank of the Rhine. Migration played a key role, in combination with processes of ethnogenesis. However, the fluid, unstable nature of the political geography of the Lower Rhineland in the 1st century BC should not suggest that the Late Iron Age saw few structural social changes.

Relying on historical data, Creighton refers to the emergence of warrior bands of picked horsemen (Tacitus calls them *comitatus*) as one of the most important social innovations in Late Iron Age Western Europe.[68] These retinues lay at the heart of the power and authority of individual leaders and they were the force behind the process of social hierarchisation. Warriors had a personal, semi-sacred bond of loyalty to their leader, who in turn offered protection and regular material rewards to his followers. Historical sources reveal that the *comitatus* had become a key social institution.

The *comitatus* also appear to have been a phenomenon in the Lower Rhine region in the Late Iron Age, as evidenced by information on the prominence of horsemen in warfare and raiding. Caesar reports that Ambiorix, the Eburonean leader, was flanked by a retinue of *equites* when he fled from the Roman troops.[69] He also mentions a raid into Eburonean territory by 2000 Sugambrian horsemen, who made a surprise attack on a Roman army camp;[70] they were probably the *comitatus* of a Sugambrian war leader, who is not mentioned by name. Elsewhere, Caesar refers to a raid carried out by a large group of Tencteri and Usipetes horsemen into the territory of the Ambivariti along the Meuse; a smaller group of 800

65   Van Heeringen 1989; Van den Broeke 1993.

66   Roymans 1990, 29 ff.

67   Roymans 1990, 27; Creighton 2000, 13.

68   Creighton 2000, 14 ff.

69   Caesar, *BG* 6.30; 6.43.

70   Caesar, *BG* 6.35.

horsemen is said to have stayed behind in their homeland.[71] Caesar himself was personally acquainted with the qualities of the Germanic *comitatus*. His retinue included a band of 400 picked Germanic horsemen who functioned as his bodyguard. At the beginning of his Gallic campaigns, Caesar must have received this cavalry escort from an unspecified war leader of Ubian or Chatto-Batavian origin.[72] Even if the numbers were sometimes exaggerated, this historical information suggests a marked rise in horsemanship in the Lower Rhine region during the Late Iron Age. It also seems to indicate that the widespread fame of the Lower Rhine cavalry, and especially the Batavian cavalry, in the early Roman period was founded upon pre-Roman developments.

It is difficult to come up with direct archaeological evidence for the rise of the *comitatus*. Nevertheless, the Lower Rhine region offers some clues. Firstly, there is archaeo-zoological evidence from the Rhine/ Meuse delta, which shows that horses were kept in every Late Iron Age settlement.[73] If we assume that horsemen were organised in larger groups, then the increased occurrence of horse remains might reflect the significance of the *comitatus* system. Secondly, we can point to the extreme lengths of Late La Tène swords in this region (as well as in a much wider area), which suggests that they were primarily used as cavalry weapons. Thirdly, there is the introduction of gold in the form of coins and torcs from the middle of the 2nd century BC. Gold opened up new possibilities for individuals to build up positions of power. According to Creighton, 'torcs were retained and worn to display the status of the leader, whereas coin could be distributed to articulate social relations.'[74] Coins represented 'portable and transferable symbols of authority' and marked the involvement of individuals in supra-local networks. In addition, we should bear in mind that in the Lower Rhineland, where pastoral traditions had long played a key role, cattle and horses will also have been used as exchange items in the articulation of a range of social relationships.[75]

It seems likely that there was a link between the emergence of new forms of authority, based on command of a *comitatus*, and the appearance of regional sanctuaries from LT D1 onward. In any event, the presence of weaponry remains suggests a connection with the domain of warfare and raiding, even if the precise nature of that association is still not clear. If we assume a close interrelationship between politics and religion in the public cult, the emergence of collective cult places can be linked to the process of social hierarchisation described above. The cult places may have provided new rituals and symbols through which social relationships could be redefined and ultimately institutionalised as relationships of inequality.[76]

At the same time, the regional cult places may have played a role in the constitution of tribal groups with a shared identity. The approach of anthropologist Anthony Cohen (1985) may be helpful here. He views communities as symbolic constructs that can be manifested in many ways: through language, clothing, jewellery, oral traditions, shared day-to-day practices, and participation in collective rituals or festivities at cult sites. Sanctuaries such as those of Kessel, Empel and Elst were probably key sites in the symbolic construction of smaller polities or ethnic groups on which Caesar's *Commentaries* shed no light. Through their significance as centres for collective rituals and festivities, they could give expression to a community's identity and cohesion. Moreover, sanctuaries were often the places par excellence for commemorating collective origin myths and the ancestral histories of ethnic groups. One example is Tacitus' report of the central sanctuary of the Germanic Suebi, where delegations of subtribes periodically gathered for the ritual celebration of the *initia gentis*.[77]

How do these broad social developments relate to changes at the level of local communities? Gerritsen's recent study of changes in local habitation and land use structures in the southern Netherlands in the

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[71] Caesar, *BG* 4.12.

[72] Speidel 1994, 12 ff.

[73] Roymans 1996-a, table 5; IJzereef et al. 1989.

[74] Creighton 2000, 31.

[75] Roymans 1996-a, 47.

[76] Derks 1998, 183.

[77] Tacitus, *Germ*. 39.

course of the 1st millennium BC is relevant here.[78] He observes a specific structuring of the social and symbolic landscape of local communities in the Early Iron Age, with collective, stable urnfields as core elements, surrounded by diffuse habitation in isolated, single-phase farmsteads. This disposition symbolises a social organisation with a strong collective ideology at the local level, with the urnfields as central localities in the construction of local communities. Gerritsen notes a significant reordering of the social and symbolic landscape in the Middle and Late Iron Age. Houses and farmyards acquired greater permanence, while at the same time the traditional burial communities with their collective, stable cemeteries disintegrated. Collective urnfields were replaced by a system of dispersed clusters of graves within settlement territories, which were probably connected to single families. Other social practices and symbols were now used in the constitution of local communities; we can point to the use of local cult places, but in particular to a trend toward greater permanence in the location of individual farmsteads. This latter practice would have allowed more scope for inherited claims to land. The overall impression is that within local social organisation, the emphasis came to lie more on separate family groups than on communal ties based on co-residence.

The social changes that Gerritsen observes at the local level in the Lower Rhineland are consistent with the regional trends mentioned earlier. Since the Middle Iron Age, membership of a local co-resident community was no longer the key factor that determined the identity of households and individuals. Gerritsen posits a certain degree of social fragmentation within local groups.[79] He observes a greater emphasis on household or family groups within local social networks and sees the farmstead as the symbol that gave expression to the identity and permanence of a family group, and of its long-established link with the land surrounding the farmstead. His general conclusion is that family groups became more dominant in the social order at the expense of the collective identity of co-resident local communities. Nevertheless, he interprets this development not in terms of social disintegration or individualisation, but of a growing diversification of an individual's social identities. This term perhaps suggests too readily that a new set of identities was being created during this phase. It would be more appropriate to speak of major shifts in the relative importance of the various identities that individuals took on. There seems to have been a greater emphasis on the expression of supra-local identities. We may think here primarily of ethnic identities and of identities – partly overlapping – that were connected with warriorship, clientship, and membership of regional cult communities. The greater importance of these supra-local identities arose from the growing involvement of individuals in supra-local social networks.

It should be emphasised that the social changes in the Lower Rhineland in the Late Iron Age cannot be understood without examining the role of external contacts. Artefact studies – for example of gold coins (fig. 2.2) – point to an intensive interaction via the Rhine and Meuse valleys with Northern France and Central Belgium as well as with the Middle Rhine region. There were also dealings with the North German region, as evidenced by some categories of belt hooks (figs. 7.6 and 7.7). Contacts over the North Sea with Britain seem to have been of no significance. These did not develop until the Augustan period, as some late British Iron Age coins found in the Rhine delta suggest. The social mechanisms behind these external contacts were very diverse. Elites became increasingly involved in interregional exchange networks, alliances, and clientship relations. The latter in particular were asymmetrical, as demonstrated by Caesar's comment that the Eburones were clients of the Treveri, and also paid tribute to the Aduatuci.[80] Group migration may also have played a role. All these types of external contact resulted in the exchange of people, ideas and goods. However, it is still not clear how precisely the external relationships articulated with the internal changes in the domestic life of local communities in the Lower Rhine region.

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[78]   Gerritsen 2003-a and b.

[79]   Gerritsen, 2003-a, 252.

[80]   Caesar, *BG* 4.6; 5.27.

It is interesting to note that Lower Rhine groups did not participate in the consumption of Mediterranean luxury goods, and wine in particular. There are almost no Dressel 1 amphorae and imported bronze vessels associated with the consumption of wine. This may mean that Lower Rhine elites simply had no access to Mediterranean exchange networks or – as Caesar suggests for the Nervii and the trans-rhenine Suebi – that they were less motivated to accept, or even rejected, the consumption of Roman luxury items. However, the absence of imported goods from the Mediterranean does not preclude the possibility that Lower Rhine groups were involved in more indirect exchange relationships between Italy and Gaul. The Northwest European plain may have been an important supply zone for slaves (a product of intertribal warfare and raiding), who were traded to Italy via intermediary groups in Northern France or the Middle Rhine region.[81] This trade may be related to the Late Iron Age 'importing' of gold into the Lower Rhine region from more southern parts.

In conclusion, we can say that Late Iron Age societies in the Lower Rhineland had an essentially different structure from those of the Early Iron Age. The Middle Iron Age appears to have been a period in which local social relationships and identities changed fundamentally. Instead of a strong collective ideology at the local level, a more open social system developed that allowed individuals and families more scope to construct supra-local networks and associated identities. In the Late Iron Age, and in particular from the mid-2nd century BC onward with the appearance of the gold hoards of Beringen and Niederzier, there emerged on this new social fundament hierarchically structured polities around leaders who owed their positions of power to their ability to command a *Gefolgschaft* or *comitatus* of horsemen. Although these Lower Rhine polities certainly had less developed and less stable social hierarchies than most of the *civitates* in Interior Gaul, the differences between the two appear less extreme than we have supposed until recently. The end of the 2nd century BC saw the appearance of sanctuaries which went on to play a prominent role in the symbolic construction of polities and associated ethnic identities. These regional sanctuaries were also an expression of the process by which new social relationships and networks became institutionalised.

Finally, it should be noted that the focus of the above overview has been the analysis of a set of structural social changes operating in the Late Iron Age Lower Rhine region. This leaves the serious problem that the archaeological and historical evidence tells us little about the agency aspects of these changes. We must therefore use our historical imagination and try to sketch a picture of the role individual agency has played at several societal levels (local, regional, supra-regional). Here, too, the *comitatus* system offers some important clues. These bands of horsemen were raised and controlled by individual leaders who maintained personal ties with their retainers. Archaeological evidence from rural setlements (gold coins, skeletal remains of horses) may illustrate how individuals within local communties of only a few farmsteads were integrated in this kind of network.

If we accept the interpretations proposed above, this in turn has implications for the interpretation of developments in the Early Roman period. I do not wish to detract here from the fundamental changes that rapidly succeeded one another in Roman times following Drusus' reorganisation of the Lower Rhine frontier zone in c. 15/12 BC. However, several of these changes had their roots in the pre-Roman period. In many respects, the tribal *civitates* from the early 1st century AD built on existing institutions (*comitatus*, council of elders, tribal cult communities). The continued use of the Late Iron Age sanctuaries of Empel, Elst and Kessel in the Roman period provide concrete proof of that.

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[81]   Creighton 2000, 20.

3   Caesar's conquest and the ethnic reshuffling of the Lower Rhine frontier zone

The creation of a Batavian polity needs to be understood not just in the context of social developments in the Late Iron Age Lower Rhineland – as revealed by the archaeological record[82] – but also against the specific historical backdrop of Caesar's conquest and its direct consequences for the region. We are confronted here with the harshest side of Roman imperialism, which included large-scale plundering, mass enslavement and even genocide. I wish to focus in this chapter on fundamental changes in the tribal map of the Lower Rhine region in the second half of the 1st century BC. Two key questions arise: 1. what is the relationship between Caesar's conquest of the Lower Rhineland and the ethnic reshuffling that occurred there in the ensuing fifty years? 2. to what extent did groups in the Lower Rhine frontier zone attach importance to Germanic ethnicity?

3.1   MAJOR CHANGES IN THE TRIBAL MAP AFTER THE ROMAN CONQUEST

Caesar's *Commentaries* are the first source to inform us about the ethno-political landscape of the Lower Rhineland. Caesar gives the names of the principal tribes and a specification of their territories (fig. 3.1). The Menapii occupied the coastal area of modern Belgium and the southwest Netherlands as far as the Rhine.[83] Their eastern neighbours were the Eburones, who inhabited the region between the Meuse and the Rhine, and the adjacent area to the west, which corresponds roughly to the present-day southeast Netherlands, northeast Belgium and the neighbouring German Rhineland north of Bonn.[84] For this reason, we can also regard the eastern half of the Rhine/Meuse delta – the core of the later Batavian territory – as belonging to the Eburonean polity.[85] The Eburones seem to have formed a somewhat loose tribal federation; they were led by two kings, each of whom probably had his own territory, since Caesar refers to Catuvolcus, one of their leaders, as *rex dimidiae partis Eburorum*.[86] Much less is known about the tribes that occupied the right bank of the Lower Rhine. Caesar situated the Sugambri along the German part of the Rhine between the Lahn and Lippe rivers. We can place the Tencteri and Usipetes immediately to the north of the Lower Rhine/Lippe, although – given their search for new territories on the Gallic side of the Rhine – their presence there may have been of short duration.

Of particular relevance to this study is the fate that befell the Eburones. Having initially entered into an alliance with Caesar, they rebelled in 54 BC under the leadership of Ambiorix and Catuvolcus. They defeated a Roman legion before being virtually destroyed in subsequent retaliatory action by the Roman

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[82]   See chapter 2.

[83]   Caesar, *BG* 4.4.

[84]   Caesar, *BG* 5.24.4; 6.5.4.

[85]   Cf. also the numismatic evidence presented in chapter 4. It is improbable that the territory of the Menapii extended so far eastwards. In any event, in archaeological terms

the eastern part of the river delta is not connected with the western coastal area, but rather with the southeastern Netherlands and northeastern Belgium. See e.g. figs. 2.1 and 2.3.

[86]   Caesar, *BG* 6.31.5.

Fig. 3.1. Tribal map of the Lower Rhineland and surroundings at the time of Caesar's conquest.

army.[87] In any event, they disappeared altogether from the political map. This does not necessarily imply complete genocide, however. It may also have resulted from a policy of *damnatio memoriae* on the part of the Roman authorities, in combination with the confiscation of Eburonean territory.

In the early imperial era we encounter a radically altered tribal map (fig. 3.2). It is reported of various peoples that they came from east of the Rhine and were relocated to the west bank, although the circumstances under which this happened varied considerably.[88] The Batavians are described as a branch of the Chatti from the area east of the Middle Rhine who had broken away in order to settle in an almost uninhabited part (*vacua cultoribus*) of the Rhine/Meuse delta.[89] This move can be dated to the period between Caesar's departure from Gaul (51 BC) and the start of Drusus' activities in the Rhineland (15 BC). The Batavians probably formed around an aristocratic leader and his retinue; he would have been supported as a client king by Rome and would have organised migrant and indigenous groups into a new polity.[90] In the case of the Ubii, the Romans appear to have supervised the transfer of the entire tribe from the east to the west bank; in any event, we do not find any traces of Ubii east of the Rhine after that time. The Cugerni, who were formerly part of the Sugambri, were clearly forced to relocate by the Romans.[91] Finally, we encounter the Tungri in the eastern Belgic region in the early imperial era. They were also a new ethnic formation, but they probably evolved entirely from indigenous groups.[92]

[87]   Wolters 1990, 63–65.

[88]   Cf. Wolters 2001.

[89]   Tacitus, *Germ*. 29,1; *Hist*. 4,12.

[90]   See chapter 5.

[91]   Cf. Heinrichs 2001; Galsterer 2001b.

[92]   Nouwen (1997, 43) sees the Tungri as originating from the former Eburonean confederation. He bases this on a comment by Tacitus (*Germ*. 2.5), who identifies the Tungri as descendants of the first group of Germans to cross the Rhine and drive away the Gauls, which supposedly relates to the period before the Roman conquest. Cf. also Wightman 1985, 53.

Fig. 3.2. Historically documented migrations of Germanic groups to the west bank of the Lower Rhine in the second half of the 1ˢᵗ century BC. Central zone: the later military district of Germania Inferior.

Strikingly, the new tribes created with Roman support along the Lower Rhine and also the core of the Tungrian tribe all occupied territory that had previously belonged to the Eburonean polity. This suggests a direct link between the disappearance of the Eburones and the series of new ethnogeneses in the region. The new groups seem to have filled the political vacuum that arose when the Eburones were destroyed.[93] What were the chief driving forces behind the new tribal formations along the Lower Rhine? Firstly, there was the Roman frontier policy, in particular the policy designed to gain tighter control of the Gallic frontier zone by granting east-bank allies permission to settle there.[94] In the main, Rome used the former Eburonean territory for this purpose. As already mentioned, the territorial claims of the remnants of indigenous groups do not appear to have been respected. A second factor affecting migration was of course the preparedness of east-bank tribes to cross the river and to settle in Gaul. This may have been motivated by internal political conflicts, demographic pressure, military pressure from other Germanic tribes (the Suebi) and perhaps promises made by the Roman authorities. The information provided by Caesar suggests that the migration of east-bank groups to the area across the Rhine was a continuation of a trend dating back to the pre-Roman Iron Age. He points to the trans-Rhenish

[93] We also encounter new tribal groups in the western coastal zone of the Rhine/Meuse delta in the 1ˢᵗ century AD, in particular the Cananefates and the Frisiavones (fig. 3.2). They occupied the territory that belonged to the Menapian polity at the time of Caesar's conquest.

[94] Cf. Wolters 1990, 141 ff., 150 ff. Rome employed a similar policy in the Upper Rhineland south of the Mosel where Strabo and Plinius refer to Vangiones, Nemetes and Triboci, who were living on the right bank of the Rhine at the time of Caesar. Cf. Wightman 1995, 54.

origin of many Belgic tribes,[95] of the Aduatuci (a splinter group of the Cimbri and Teutones),[96] and of a group of tribes (including the Eburones) whom he collectively refers to as *Germani cisrhenani*.[97] During his Gallic campaigns, Caesar also encountered moves across the Rhine by the Tencteri and the Usipetes, who were in search of new territories on the west bank.

It is important for us to see the ethno-political geography of Gaul's northern frontier zone, outlined by Caesar, not as a static prehistoric world, but rather as one that was subject to intensive change.[98] The tribes living there formed small politicised ethnicities, which were sensitive to changing power networks. Given this dynamic, it would clearly be problematic − methodologically speaking − to place the tribes and territories named by Caesar further back in time.

3.2 ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCUSSION ON CONTINUITY AND DISCONTINUITY OF HABITATION IN THE RHINE DELTA IN THE LATER I ST CENTURY BC

How seriously should we take these historical reports of migrations of tribal groups? Were they really mass folk movements, or did the sources exaggerate and should we instead be thinking in terms of small-scale migrations involving leaders and their retinues? There is also the question of the extent to which new migrant groups settled in 'empty' areas. Should we assume that in most instances the ethnogeneses arose from the fusion of indigenous and migrant groups? It is difficult for modern archaeology to give more than tentative answers to such questions. Nevertheless, some archaeologists have been making categorical statements until quite recently. One well-known method has been to define *Fremdgruppen* in the material culture of a particular region, and then to explain them conveniently in terms of migrations. An example from the Lower Rhineland is Reichmann's regional study of the Lippe estuary. On the basis of grave finds, he reconstructed various migration movements, in particular from the North German area in the final decades BC.[99] A problem with this method, however, is that it too readily links the presence of *Fremdgruppen* in a region's material culture to folk migrations, while marginalising from the outset other potential mechanisms for diffusion such as trade, gift exchange, raiding, and the exchange of ideas.[100]

Central to this study is the question of whether the Batavians settled in an area that was unpopulated (as Tacitus suggests) or already inhabited. After all, in the first instance the Batavian identity group would have been 'imported' from the interior of Germania, whereas in the second it would represent a new ethnogenesis resulting from the fusion of migrant and indigenous groups in the Rhine delta in the context of the Roman empire. Below I will use archaeological data in an attempt to shed more light on this matter. My tentative starting point is Tacitus' suggestion that the Batavians established themselves in a virtually empty part of the Rhine delta at some time between 50 and 15 BC. In archaeological terms, this should be evident in a) a discontinuity of habitation in the region at about that time, and b) a related discontinuity in the material culture. However, establishing any such discontinuity is seriously hampered by the crude chronological resolution of the archaeological material. A brief habitation hiatus of 10 to 20 years is scarcely discernible in the archaeological evidence, all the more so since both settlements and cemeteries of this period were characterised by a diffuse spatial structure. The absence of a habitation

[95] Caesar, *BG* 2.4.2.

[96] Caesar, *BG* 2.29.4.

[97] Caesar, *BG* 2.3.4; 2.4.10; 6.2.3; 6.32.1. Caesar saw them as Germans from across the Rhine.

[98] See also chapter 2.

[99] Reichmann 1979. See also the recent study by Eggenstein (2003, 179 ff., 196), who uses archaeological

evidence to try to trace the influx of Germanic groups from the Elbe in the later 1st century BC, despite the lack of evidence of discontinuity of habitation in this area.

[100] Cf. the methodological discussion in Theuws, in press, regarding the interpretation of 'Germanic' material culture in Late Roman Gaul.

phase in a settlement could simply mean that a farmstead or a small cluster of graves has not been excavated. I believe that it would be more productive to study discontinuities in the material culture, three categories of which I will now briefly examine.

1. House construction. We can point to an uninterrupted development in house types during the Late Iron Age and Early Roman period in the Rhine/Meuse delta and the neighbouring sandy soils of the southern Netherlands. There is a clear continuation of the Iron-Age tradition of longhouses (predominantly two-aisled), with living quarters and a byre under the same roof.[101] Despite some degree of synchronic variation within this tradition, there is no reason to perceive a link with the immigration of new groups from across the Rhine as long as so little is known about prevailing house types in Westphalia, and Hessen in particular.[102] Changes in house construction can be explained without recourse to migration. Gerritsen, for example, observes a trend from the Late Iron Age toward sturdier, more durable farmsteads, which continued into the early imperial era. He links this to a greater role of familial claims to land at the expense of the collective claims of local communities.[103]

2. Handmade pottery. Research to date into handmade pottery in the southern Netherlands and the eastern river region has been too limited in scope to permit any conclusions about possible discontinuities of settlement. According to Van den Broeke, a new pottery spectrum featuring strong east-bank influences appeared in the area around Oss at about the beginning of the 1st century AD. He points to a shift from tripartite to bipartite forms. In his recent analysis of handmade pottery from the Roman-period rural settlement at Wijk bij Duurstede, Taayke arrives at simple, but nevertheless questionable, ethnic interpretations. He refers to 'Batavian' pottery, which is characterised by strong northern, 'Frisian' influences.[104]

3. Glass La Tène arm rings. These bracelets enjoyed a wide and uninterrupted circulation in the southeast Netherlands, and the eastern river delta in particular, from the 3rd century BC to the beginning of the 1st century AD (fig. 2.4).[105] They are generally regarded as jewellery for women. Thanks to their sheer numbers and long period of use, the bracelets argue indirectly for a considerable degree of continuity of habitation in the eastern river delta from the Late La Tène period to the earliest Roman times. In Central Hessen on the other hand (where, judging by Tacitus, the Batavians originated), glass bracelets are conspicuously rare; not a single example is known from the *oppidum* on the Dünsberg![106]

The tentative conclusion is that there is no archaeological evidence of large-scale discontinuity of habitation in the eastern river delta during the second half of the 1st century BC. The evidence simply does not support Tacitus' claim that the Batavians settled in an almost uninhabited Rhine delta. Instead, the data suggests that the Batavians, who split off from the Chatti and moved to the Rhine delta, can best be regarded as an elite group (probably a prominent, pro-Roman Chattian leader with his kinsmen and warriors), which subsequently assimilated with former Eburonean subgroups in the Rhine/Meuse delta.[107] This is

[101] Roymans 1996, chapter 3.

[102] In contrast to Van Enckevort 2001, 346-348, who does assume a relationship with the immigration of trans-Rhenish groups.

[103] Gerritsen 2003a, 247-248, 250 ff.

[104] Van den Broeke 1987; Taayke 2002.

[105] Cf. the general overview in Roymans/Van Rooijen 1993.

[106] Schulze-Forster 2002.

[107] See the discussion in chapter 5. The general view that the unity of ethnic formations is usually an ideological construct (e.g. Barth 1969; Eriksen 1993; Pohl 1998) highlights the socio-political dimension of the Batavian

origo story. Although Tacitus' claim that the Batavian community consisted *in its entirety* of trans-Rhenish migrants may be archaeologically untenable, it may have expressed the self-perception of the dominant core of the Batavians. However, and certainly in the initial phase, there will have been competing *origo* myths from other, less powerful subgroups of the Batavians. Wenskus' (1961) term *Traditionskern* is useful for conceptualising these internal dynamics. According to Wenskus, an ethnic tradition is borne primarily by a small elite group, consisting of a king and his warriors. In the case of the Batavians, this could have been the *stirps regia* to which Julius Civilis belonged.

a case of ethnogenesis with a multi-ethnic origin, probably under Roman supervision or sanctioned by Rome. If we assume that a Batavian identity group was already a fact in the mid-Augustan period, this process must have taken place over a few decades.

3.3 THE LOWER RHINE POPULATION AND THEIR PRESUMED GERMANIC ETHNICITY

Finally, a long-discussed question is the extent to which Lower Rhine groups, and Batavians in particular, attached importance to a Germanic identity. Did they refer to themselves by this name, or was it merely a label applied by outsiders? I would like to draw attention to Alan Lund's recent analysis of the development of the term *Germani* in Roman times. Relevant here is his distinction between the use of this name both as an ethnic macro-term (*Oberbegriff*) and as a term with a much narrower meaning (*Unterbegriff*). His central thesis is that the 'Germans' – in the sense of the ethnic macro-term – were not discovered but created; in other words, he maintains that the name *Germani* was not an ethnic label by which a group identified itself, but an external categorisation.[108] Lund sees Caesar as the creator of both the ethno-cultural macro-term *Germani*, and the geographical macro-term *Germania*.[109] He regards the name 'Germans' as an externally applied ethnic label, comparable to the term 'Indians' for the original inhabitants of North America.

The matter is more complex, however, in that there also seem to have been *Germani* in a narrower sense. A small group of tribes on the Gallic side of the Lower Rhine, of which the Eburones constituted the principal group, used this ethnic label to refer to themselves.[110] Thus for them the name *Germani* may well have had an emic significance.[111] What started out as the name of a local federation of tribes was later expanded by Caesar into an ethnic macro-term with a powerful political and ideological dimension.

We know for certain that the Roman system of ethnic categorisation included the Batavians with the Germans. After all, they came from beyond the Rhine and were a splinter group of the Germanic Chatti. However, because it was a new Roman construct, the term *Germani* – in the sense of an ethnic *Grossgruppe* – meant little to the Batavians themselves. It is possible that they saw themselves as Germans in the narrower sense (i.e. the ethnic umbrella term for a group of east-bank tribes), but there is to date no epigraphic evidence to support this. Nevertheless, it is safe to assume that every Batavian soldier who served in the Roman army was familiar with the Roman clichés regarding Germans: the army was the context par excellence in which they were constantly confronted with this image.[112] The Romans wanted to see the Batavians as *Germani*. This was particularly true of the Rome-based bodyguard of the Julio-Claudian emperors, which was expected to correspond to the clichéd image of fearsome Germanic warriors.[113] They regularly presented themselves as Germans to the Roman public. In their grave inscriptions, however, they emphasised only their tribal identity.[114] Whether the Batavians were happy with the imposed 'German' label is doubtful, given the negative barbarian connotations of the term in Roman ethnic discourse. In any event, we note that Lower Rhine auxiliary horsemen had themselves portrayed on their gravestones as Roman cavalry who overwhelmed their barbarian opponents (figs. 10.3-5), thereby distancing themselves emphatically from the barbarian 'other'.

[108] Lund 1998, 35.

[109] Lund 1981, 48.

[110] Caesar *BG*, 2.4.10. Cf. Tacitus, *Germ*. 2.5. It is often assumed that the term *Germani* first appeared in this sense in the lost work of Poseidonius, who wrote in the early 1st century BC.

[111] Lund 1998, 49.

[112] Cf. chapter 10.2.

[113] Bellen 1981, 82 ff., 91; Cf. Radnoti-Alföldy 1994. See also chapter 10.3.

[114] Derks 2004; Bellen 1981, 36.

Archaeologists have nothing to contribute to the discussion on the Germanic ethnicity of Lower Rhine groups, for the simple reason that this cannot be defined on the basis of material culture. In archaeological terms, Germanic ethnicity is evident only as a Roman construct, and is most apparent in public inscriptions and iconography relating to imperial propaganda.[115] It is of course possible (as Hachmann and many others have done)[116] to proceed from a strictly archaeological concept of Germans, but this is a modern academic construct which says nothing about how people referred to themselves.

What then does the archaeological record tell us about the relationship between the Roman macro-ethnic categorisation of the groups in the Northwest European Plain – as outlined above – and the macro-cultural articulation of the region? The archaeology of the Late Iron Age argues for a north-south articulation of the northwest European continent, in which the Rhine does not function as a cultural boundary. On the contrary, groups in the southern Netherlands and northern Belgium as well as in Hessen and southern Westphalia were strongly influenced by the La Tène culture, as is shown by the presence of central places, sanctuaries, specialist glass and metalworking, and the adoption of coinage.[117] However, as part of the new politico-geographic order, all emphasis in Roman *Germani* discourse came to lie on the east-west articulation, with the Rhine functioning as a boundary between the civilised world and a world of barbarism. This politico-cultural divide was seen as the logical consequence of the distinct ethno-cultural barrier between Celts and Germans.[118]

[115] See Radnoti-Alföldy 1994.

[116] Hachmann 1962.

[117] See chapters 2, 4 and 6. The La Tène culture came to an end in the east-bank area around the beginning of the 1st century AD, making way for the 'Elbgermanic' culture;

many German archaeologists interpret this as a migration of Elbgermanic groups as far the Rhine. Cf. e.g. Schulze-Forster 2002; Eggenstein 2003, 179 ff.

[118] See Wolters 2001, 146.

4   The gold triskeles coinages of the Eburones

4.1   INTRODUCTION

Central to this chapter are gold staters of the Scheers 31 type, with a triskeles or whorl on the obverse and a horse facing left on the reverse. This coinage is interesting for several reasons:

1. It represents the most northerly Late La Tène gold emission on the European continent. Pre-Roman coin circulation was a peripheral phenomenon in the Lower Rhine region, which raises the question as to what factors determined the slow acceptance of coins in this area.
2. The relatively late date and limited distribution of the coinage offers various possibilities for historical interpretation. Several scholars have ascribed it to the Eburones and proposed a direct link with the Eburonean revolt against Caesar in 54/53 BC. However, the question is whether this interpretation remains plausible following the recent revision of the chronological framework for Late Iron Age coinage in Belgic Gaul.
3. It may tell us about the politico-geographical situation in the Lower Rhine region, and the Rhine/ Meuse delta in particular, at the time of Caesar's conquest – that is, prior to the ethnogenesis of the Batavians. A gold coin emission is direct evidence of a political authority which used the coins to consolidate and enforce its power networks.
4. The use of metal detectors has led to an upsurge in single coin finds of the Scheers 31 type in the past decade, with a two-fold increase in the number of sites and a three-fold increase in the number of coins. As a result, we are now better informed about the metrology, distribution and archaeological contexts of the coins. The latter enables us to focus on the depositional processes by which the coins ended up in the soil.

Using the new data, I will attempt to sketch the production, circulation and deposition of the gold triskeles coins and to answer the questions raised.[119]

4.2   LATE IRON AGE COIN CIRCULATION IN THE LOWER RHINE REGION

In the Late Iron Age, the Lower Rhine region north of Bonn represented the northern periphery of the coin-using communities.[120] Originally, pre-Roman coin circulation was a marginal phenomenon in this region. Gold coins circulated there until the mid-1st century BC, to the virtual exclusion of silver,
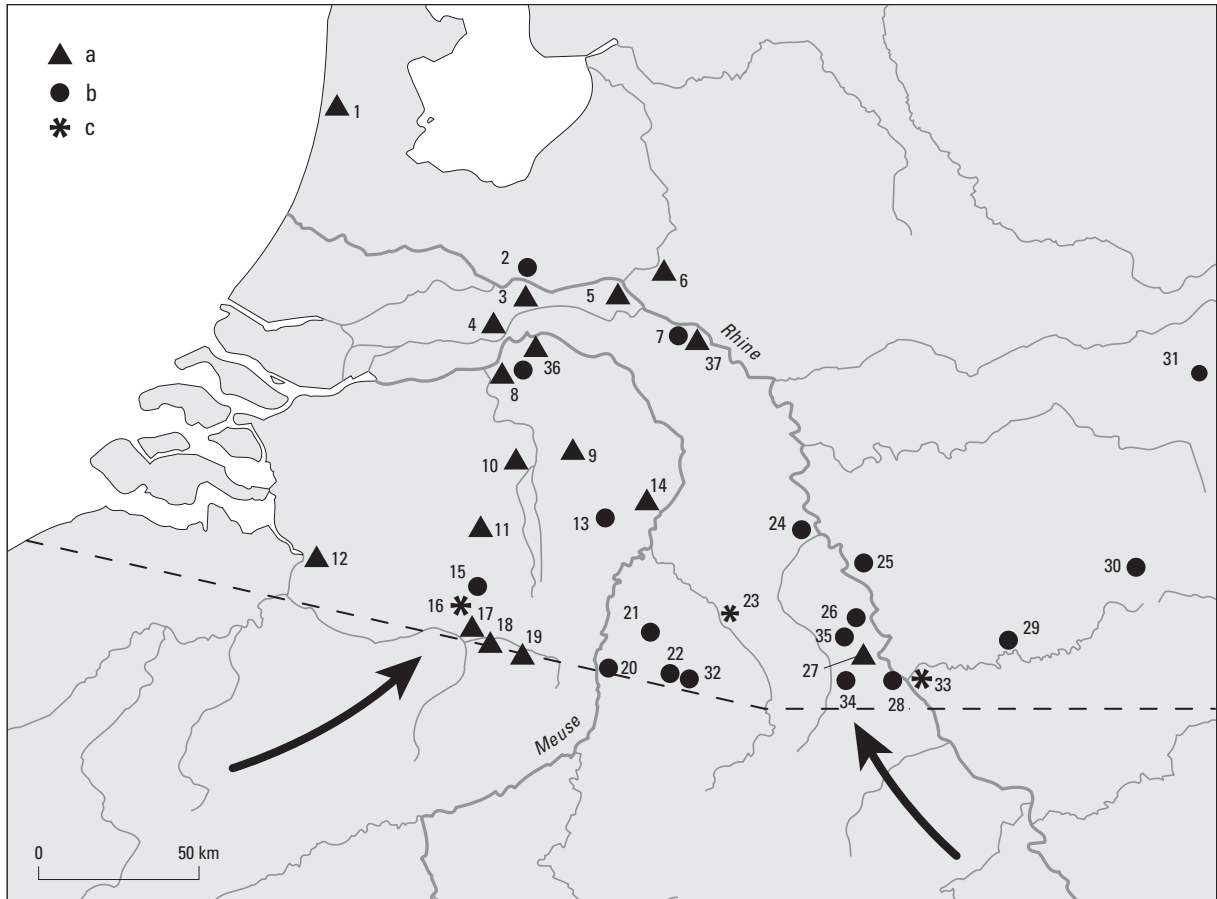
Fig. 4.1. Find sites of imported Late La Tène gold coins in the Lower Rhine region. The numbering refers to appendix 4.1.
a coin imported from the southwest; b coin imported from the southeast; c hoard find

potin and bronze pieces.[121] At present, we know of some 45 find sites of single gold coins (figs. 4.1 and 4.3) and of two gold hoards (Niederzier and Beringen), each consisting of a combination of coins and several neck and arm rings. Most of the gold coins appear to have been 'imported' from neighbouring areas to the south (fig. 4.1). On the one hand, there are coins of southwestern origin, mainly staters of the Scheers 24 and 29 type, from Central Belgium and Northwest France. On the other hand, there is a group of gold coins of southeastern provenance, mostly of the Scheers 23 and 30 type, from the Middle Rhine region. The 'rainbow' staters from the hoards of Niederzier and Beringen come from much farther afield in Central Europe.

Coin usage increased and a local coinage began in about the mid-1st century BC. The triskeles staters of the Scheers 31 type, which will be discussed below, probably represent the first issue in the northern border zone of Belgic Gaul.[122]

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[121] Early silver quinars and potin coins are scarcely found in the Lower Rhineland. As far as dating evidence is available, the few exceptions are imports from the post-Caesarian period.

[122] Not included as Lower Rhine coinages are the quarter-staters of the Pegasus type (Scheers 23), which are most densely distributed in the Middle Rhine region (Hein-richs/Rehren 1996, Abb. 12), and a local group of biface

staters (Scheers 9; Lummen/Niederzier type), which were probably minted in Central Belgium (Scheers 1995). These coinages can be dated to the mid-2nd and late 2nd/early 1st century BC respectively (cf. Haselgrove 1999, 128, 135). Scheers (1995; 1996, 8) ascribes the Lummen/Niederzier type coins to the Eburones, but this interpretation may be anachronistic as it is not known whether an Eburonean polity existed at that time.

We observe a marked increase in the use of coins in the Lower Rhine region in the second half of the 1st century BC. This increase is linked to two historically documented developments:

1. the migration of groups – the Ubii and Batavians in particular – from the area right of the Middle Rhine to the left bank. Familiar with coinage in their original homeland, these groups continued their coin traditions in the new territories. In this respect I wish to draw particular attention to the Lower Rhine silver and copper 'rainbow' staters of the *triquetrum* type, which were probably minted by the Batavians.[123]

2. the large-scale stationing of Roman troops in the Lower Rhine region under Augustus from c. 15 BC onwards. This resulted not only in the massive influx of Roman money into the region, but also the minting of the first base-metal coinage: the copper AVAVCIA coins (including the uninscribed variants) of the Scheers 217 type, large numbers of which have been found in the Roman army camps. Not until the mid-Augustan period can we speak of an advanced monetary system with coins of various denominations.

We observe clear regional differences in intensity of coin usage in the Lower Rhine region (figs. 4.1 and 4.3). Virtually no coins have been found in the western coastal zone which contains the Rhine, Meuse and Scheldt estuaries.[124] Coin usage is limited to the eastern half of the Lower Rhine region, with the eastern part of the Dutch river delta as its most northerly offshoot. It is also striking that gold coins scarcely occur in the regions directly north and east of the Lower Rhine.

Recent studies of Roman coin circulation in the Germanic territory between the Rhine and the Weser have revealed its limited extent and the fact that there were considerable fluctuations in the influx of new coins, closely linked to politico-military events.[125] It is not possible to speak of the development of a monetary exchange system in this region. Significantly, the use of Roman coinage did not spark off indigenous coin production there, as was the case in Late Iron Age Gaul when Greek coins were first introduced.

What could explain the slow introduction and peripheral position of gold coinage in the Lower Rhine region, and its virtual absence to the north and east of the Rhine? The successful introduction and acceptance of coined gold objects as a token, a means of payment and a standard of value is the result of a complex mix of socio-economic and cultural factors, such as the availability of precious metals, the intensity of contacts with coin-using groups, the structure and complexity of existing systems of exchange, and their potential 'conservative' character.[126] Thus there may have been cultural resistance to the use of coins; traditional non-coin valuables may have been linked to central ideas and values that acted as a barrier to the introduction of coins.

A major factor in the Lower Rhine region – and more generally in the holocene and pleistocene landscapes of the Northwest European Plain – may have been the key cultural role of cattle. The prominent position of cattle is of course closely related to the great economic importance of cattle husbandry in these landscapes.[127] However, its significance also lies in the social domain, cattle being the traditional means of payment and standard of value in a broad range of exchange transactions in the prestige sphere, and in the system of ideas and values of the societies involved. Illustrative of the place of cattle in Lower Rhine societies is the cattle raid by Sugambrian horsemen in the territory of the Eburones, described

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[123] Roymans 2001, and chapter 6 in this volume. Certain variants of the silver quinars type Scheers 57 were possibly minted by the Ubii, Cf. Heinrichs 2003, karte 2a and 2b.

[124] Gold coins are also extremely rare in the coastal zone of modern Belgium. Cf. Van Heesch 1998, 38-39, fig. 14.

[125] Cf. the discussions in Berger 1992, e.g. 226-227; Erdrich 1996, 91-96; Hiddink 1999, chapter 7.3.

[126] Cf. the discussion in Roymans 1996, 45-49.

[127] Cf. the discussion in Roymans 1996, 51 ff., and Hiddink 1999, chapter 6, esp. 167 ff., with further references.
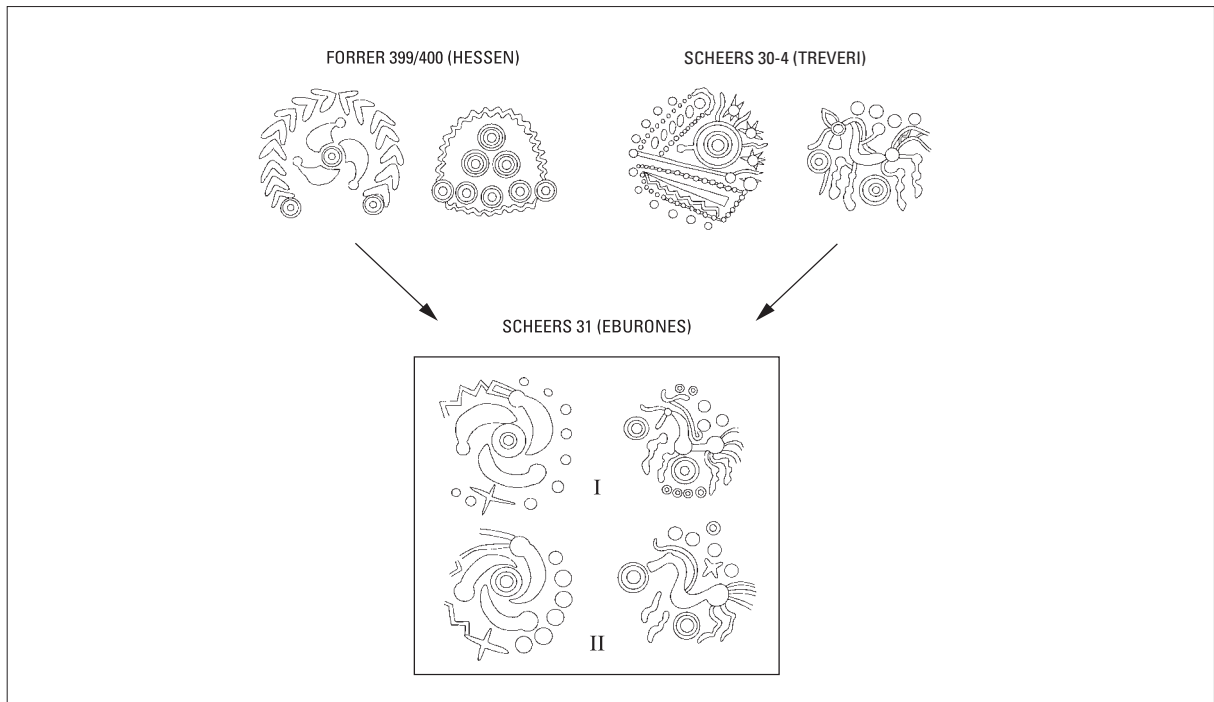
Fig. 4.2. Typology of the Scheers 31 triskeles staters and their prototypes.

by Caesar.[128] Such raids, aimed at rounding up and taking cattle belonging to hostile groups, formed the contexts in which martial values were reproduced, while the accumulated booty laid the foundation for redistribution networks, dominated by the warrior elite. As I argued in my study *The sword or the plough*, Lower Rhine societies – as well as Germanic groups further to the north – were characterised by a 'pastoralist' ideology. Archaeological evidence for this are the deeply rooted tradition of sheltering people and cattle under the same roof, the prominent role of cattle in a wide range of ritual repertoires, and the popularity of the Hercules cult in the Lower Rhine region in the Roman period.[129] It is this specific socio-cultural position of cattle, linked to their role as an exchange item and standard of value in the prestige sphere, that seems to have been one of the major factors explaining the difficult introduction of gold coinage among Lower Rhine groups.

4.3 THE TRISKELES SCHEERS 31 TYPE COINS: TYPOLOGY, METROLOGY, AND DISTRIBUTION

Triskeles staters of the Scheers 31 type have been described and classified by Scheers.[130] The central motif on the obverse (fig. 4.2) is a triskeles surrounded by a frame consisting of a zigzag line, a cross and a

[128] Caesar *BG*, 6.35.6. Cows and horses as a means of payment and standard of value: Tacitus, *Germ.* 5, 12, 18, 21.

[129] Cf. Roymans 1996, 54 ff., 90 ff.; Derks 1998, 112 ff.; Hiddink 1999, chapter 6.2.3. Illustrative here is a comparison with the cultural significance of cattle in early-medieval Irish society, a theme studied by Lucas (1989). Related to the significance of cattle as a standard of value is its

extensive use as a means of payment in a broad range of transactions in the prestige sphere of Irish society: gifts to clients, wergeld, bride prices, gifts to the church etc. Only at a relatively late stage were payments in cattle replaced by payments in an equivalent of coined silver.

[130] Scheers 1977, 439 ff.
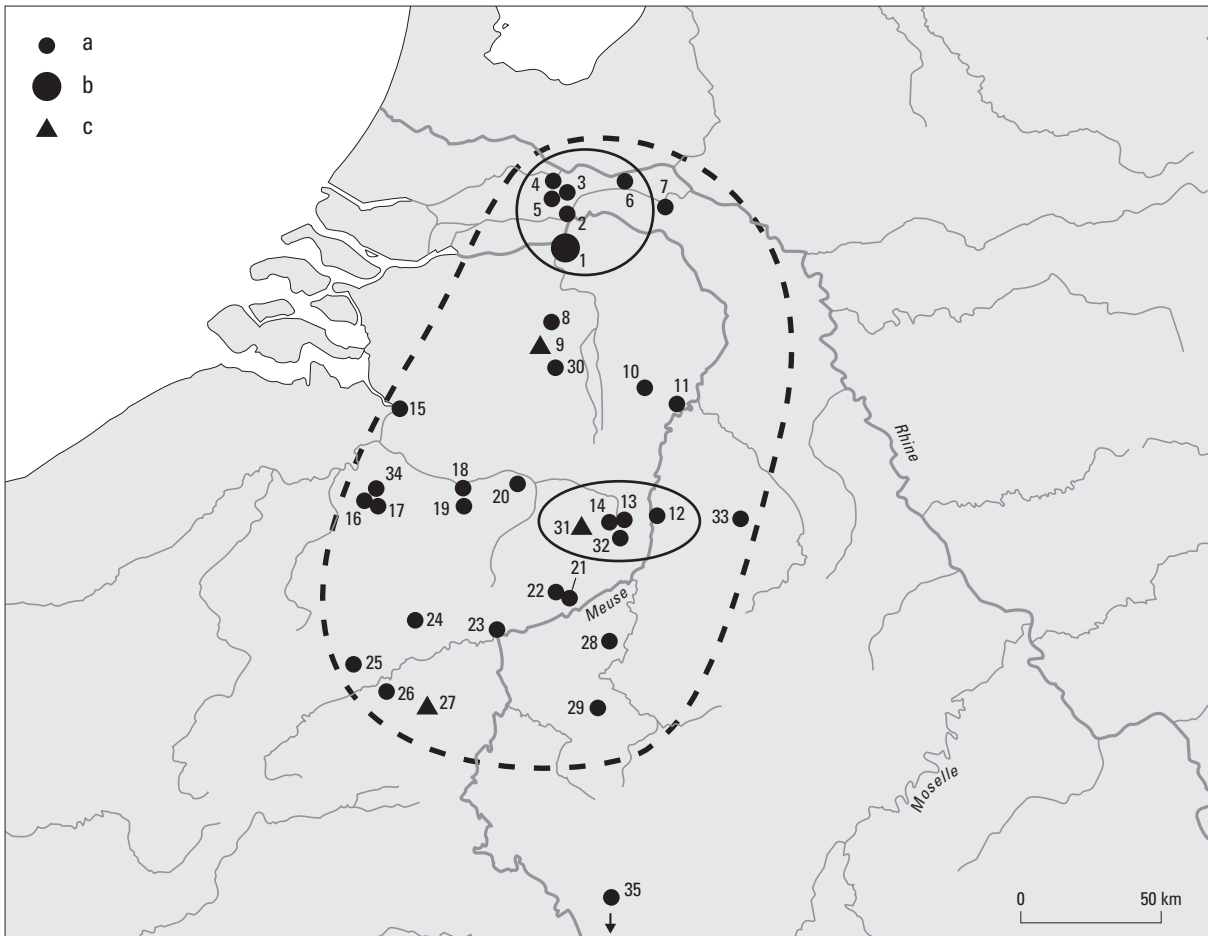
Fig. 4.3. General distribution map of the Scheers 31 triskeles staters.

a 1-5 specimens; b >20 specimens; c hoard find

1 Empel (22 pieces); 2 Rossum; 3 Meteren (2 p.); 4 Deil (2 p.); 5 Est-'Tieflaar'; 6 Randwijk (2 p.); 7 Nijmegen; 8 Oirschot; 9 Hapert; 10 Weert; 11 Thorn; 12 Maastricht; 13 Tongres-'Berg' (3 p.); 14 Tongres environment; 15 Antwerp; 16 vicinity of Asse; 17 Brussels; 18 Rotselaar; 19 Leuven; 20 Molembeek-Wersbeek; 21 Braives (5 p.); 22 Petit-Hallet; 23 Namur; 24 Liberchies (3 p.); 25 Haulchin; 26 Fontaine-Valmont; 27 Fraire (4 p.); 28 Vervoz; 29 Marche-en-Famenne; 30 Bergeyk; 31 Heers (82 p.); 32 Tongres; 33 Inden; 34 Asse; 35 Boviolles

number of scattered dots. The reverse shows a finely engraved horse facing left, and a configuration of dots and circles. Two subtypes (classes I and II) can be distinguished. The coins in class II are character-ised by a heavier engraving of both the horse and the triskeles and by the presence of a cross above the horse's back. Class II is definitely the more recent type because of its slightly lighter weight and higher copper content (see below).

In typological terms, the triskeles staters are closely related to some Middle Rhine gold coinages. The triskeles motif on the obverse is probably inspired by the gold or electrum 'rainbow' staters of the *triquetrum* type (fig. 4.2), which originated east of the Middle Rhine (see fig. 6.5). The reverse is almost an exact copy of the Scheers 30-IV 'eye' stater, which can be attributed to the Treveri.[131]

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[131] On the Rhineland 'rainbow' staters of the *triquetrum* type, see chapter 6, and Roymans 2001. For a recent distribution map of the Scheers 30-IV 'eye' staters, see Loscheider 1998, 134-135.
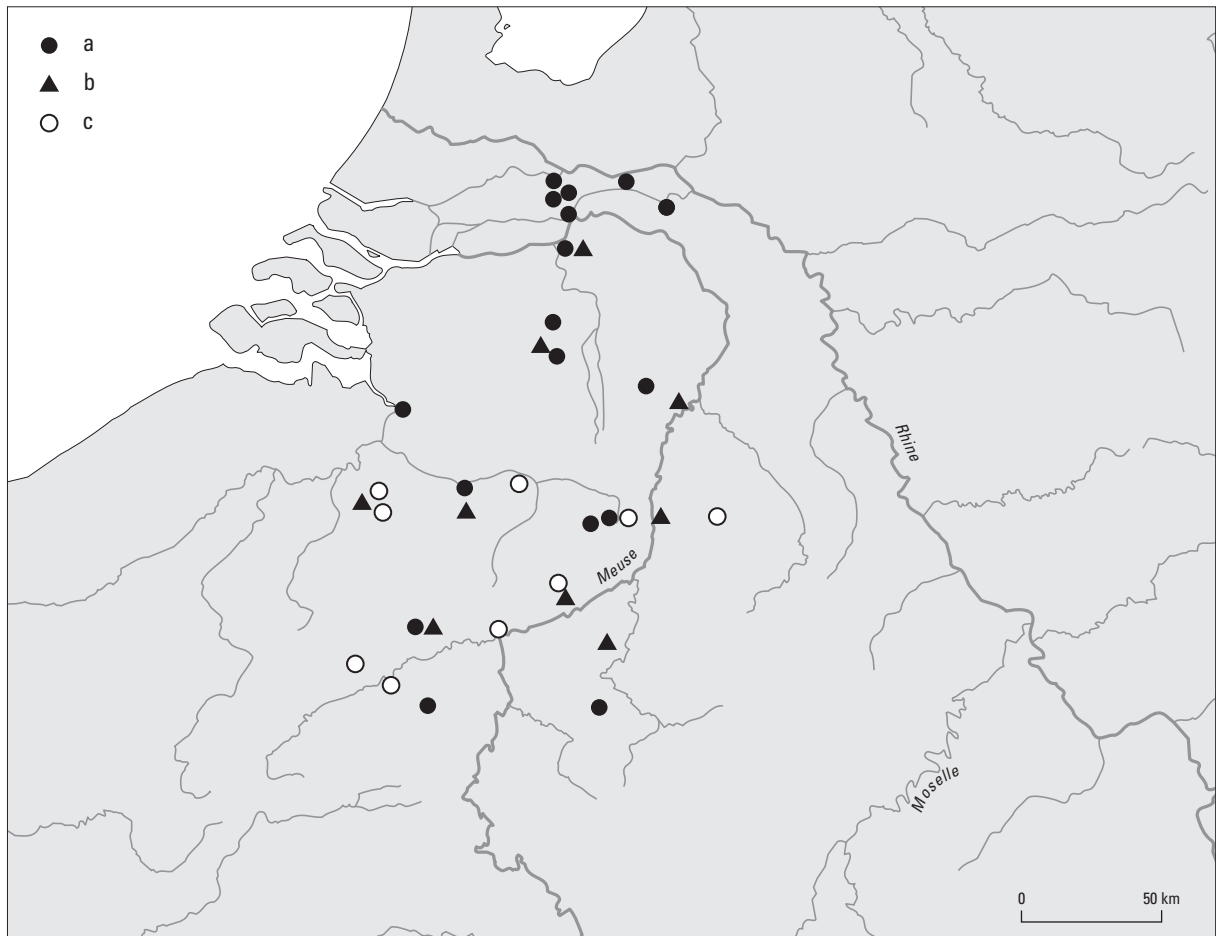
Fig. 4.4. Distribution of the two subtypes of the Scheers 31 triskeles staters. Based on the data in appendix 4.2.

a class I; b class II; c class unknown

Table 4.1 presents an overview of the weight of the coins currently known. Great differences in weight are apparent, though we should bear in mind the over-representation of the lighter weight categories because of the considerable wear of many of the coins. The original weight of the class I coins varies between 5.85 and 5.50 g, and class II between approx. 5.49 and 5.20 g. Bronze specimens are found in both classes, however, and are considerably lighter.

The coins consist of gold alloyed with a considerable amount of silver and in particular copper. To gain a better understanding of the composition, some coins were subjected to neutron-activation analyses (table 4.2).[132] The class I coins consist of approx. 50% copper, whereas both the gold and silver content fluctuates around 25%. The class II coins have rather more copper added (totalling over 60%), in particular at the expense of silver. The considerable variation in metal composition can also be established visually. The class I coins are pale, whereas those in class II are reddish in colour. But colour differences are also observable in coins within the same class and even within a group of die-identical coins, as is the case in the recently discovered Heers hoard.[133]

[132] The neutron-activation analyses were carried out in the 1980s in the nuclear laboratory at Mol (Belgium). I am very grateful to Philips N.V., and especially to W.A. Witmer and A. Jaspers, who conducted the metal analyses. The neutron- activation analysis gives us a reliable picture of the composition of the entire coin, including its core. For a comparison of the results obtained with neutron-activation analyses and X-ray fluorescence analyses, see Roymans 2001, 141-142, table 2, 104 ff.

[133] Scheers/Creemers 2002, 175.

grams	Scheers 30-IV	Scheers 31-I	Scheers 31-II	Scheers 30-V	Scheers 30-VI	Scheers 29-IV
6.19-6.10	/					
6.09-6.00	oo					
5.99-5.90	ooo/					
5.89-5.80	oo	///				
5.79-5.70	////	o//				/
5.69-5.60	/	///		/		oooo/
5.59-5.50	/	o/		ooo///	//	oo/
5.49-5.40		////	///	ooooo////	////	/
5.39-5.30		//	///	ooo///++	o+	
5.29-5.20		/	/	//	//	
5.19-5.10		/	//	///+++		//
5.09-5.00		//				
4.99-4.90		/	//			
4.89-4.80		//	/			
4.79-4.70		//	//	+		
4.69-4.60		/		++		
4.59-4.50		/				
4.49-4.40		+	+			
4.29-4.20				+		
4.19-4.10		+				
4.09-4.00	+			++		
3.89-3.80				+	+	
3.79-3.70		+				
3.59-3.50		+				
3.29-3.20		+				

Table 4.1. Weights of the Scheers 31 triskeles staters and some related gold coinages. Based on the data in appendix 4.2.
/ = single coin; o = 5 coins; + = bronze coin or gilded bronze coin

The distribution area covers Central Belgium, the Southeast Netherlands as far as the Rhine, and the adjacent border zone of the German Lower Rhineland (fig. 4.3). The coins in classes I and II appear to have an identical circulation area (fig. 4.4).

On the basis of the current data, we are able to give a rough indication of the size of the emission. At present, only 35 find sites are known (fig. 4.3), from which a total of 151 coins originate, including 82 pieces from the hoard of Heers. If we include ten coins whose find sites are unknown, we arrive at a total of 161 specimens. This small number and the limited number of dies identified by Scheers imply that this must have been a remarkably small emission.[134] Nevertheless, many thousand specimens

[134] For the two classes together, Scheers (1977, 441) identified 14 obverse and 14 reverse dies, based on a sample of 17 coins. The number of dies will probably increase once new coins are included in the analysis. Several die connections have been identified among the coins recently found in the Netherlands. Obverse die 1: coin nos. 2, 3, 4, 5 (appendix 2). Obverse die 2: coin nos. 18, 19. Obverse die 4 : coin nos. 26, 27, 32. Reverse die 1: coin nos. 2, 4, 5. Reverse die 2: coin nos. 18, 19. Reverse die 3: coin nos. 26, 27, 32. Moreover, the obverse of no. 24 (Meteren) is die-identical to the obverse of one of the coins from the Heers hoard (no. 68). Cf. also the production output of gold coinages from Belgic Gaul calculated by Haselgrove (1984, table 2).

		class	Au	Ag	Cu
2	Empel	I	25	28	47
9	Empel	I	31	34	35
7	Empel	I	28	23	49
65	Fraire	I	36	24	40
41	Tongres?	I	26	21	53 (gilded)
42	Tongres region	I	34	8	58
29	Nijmegen	I	-	-	86 (Sn 14%)
66	Vervoz	II	23	14	63
17	Empel	II	26	10	64
13	Empel	II	24	11	65

Table 4.2. Metal composition in percentages of Scheers 31 triskeles staters. The numbering of the coins refers to the list in appendix 4.2. Neutron-activation analyses were used, except for the two coins from Tongres (nos. 40, 41), which were analysed using an electron microscope. The data for the coins from Tongres, Fraire and Vervoz after Scheers et al. 1991, 34 ff.

of both classes of coin will have been minted, and the first observations regarding the new coins from the Netherlands and the hoard of Heers suggest that more dies were used than the number that Scheers originally reconstructed.

4.4 CHRONOLOGY AND THE PROBLEM OF HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

The Scheers 31 type staters are traditionally attributed to the Eburones and linked to Caesar's Gallic wars, and more particularly to the Eburonean revolt of 54/53 BC.[135] This date and ethnic attribution is in keeping with a tradition in Celtic numismatics of linking the absolute chronological order to important historical events. Caesar's conquest plays a central role in the dating of North Gallic coinages, as it is assumed that the Gallic wars had a major impact on indigenous coin circulation. This has resulted in a tripartite division of the numismatic material into coins minted before, during and after the Roman conquest.[136]

The past decade has seen repeated objections raised to the current dating system and its associated historical interpretations.[137] Increasingly, independent archaeological coin datings are emerging which do not correspond to Scheers' system. Many of the gold series which she dated to the conquest period have proved to be older, and the potin coinages also began considerably earlier than originally assumed. Moreover, there is growing scepticism with regard to the attribution of coins to the territorial groupings mentioned by Caesar. The risk of anachronistic interpretations is particularly high in the case of the earlier coinages. In addition, there are coin types with a highly supra-regional distribution which cannot simply be linked to a group referred to by Caesar.

Haselgrove has recently developed an alternative dating system, based on archaeological dates, for Iron Age coinages in Belgic Gaul.[138] The result is an 'extended' chronology in which the dating of many coin

[135] Scheers 1977, 82-83, 441; idem 1986; 1996, 10; Roymans 1994; Heinrichs 1999, 281 ff.; Delestrée 1997, 114-115.

[136] Cf. Scheers 1977, 17 ff.

[137] Cf. Haselgrove 1993; idem 1999; Loscheider 1998; Delestrée 1997; Wigg/Riederer 1998.

[138] Haselgrove 1999.
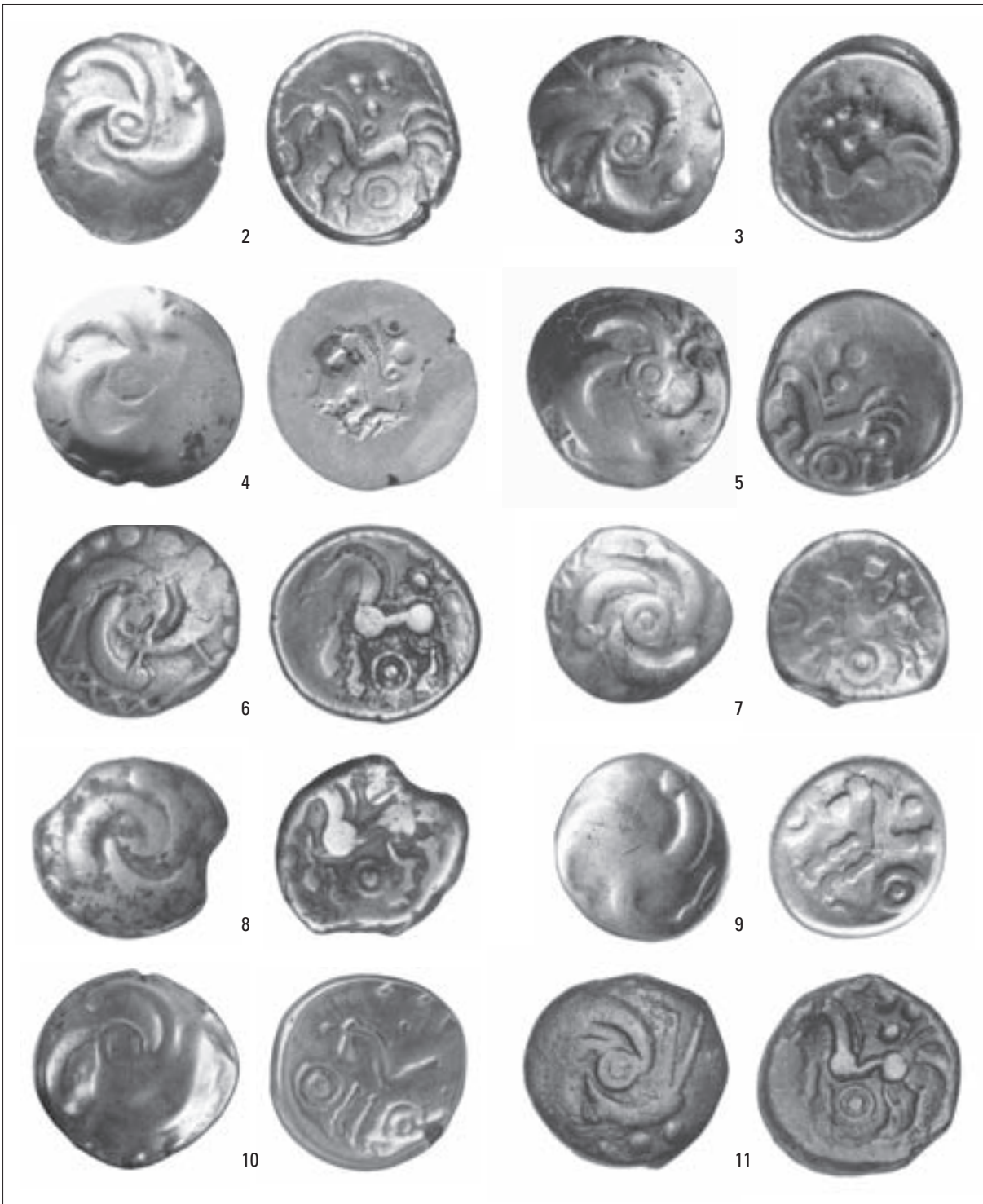
Fig. 4.5. Scheers 31 triskeles staters found at Empel. Scale 2:1. The numbering of the coins refers to the list in appendix 4.2.

types has been brought forward. He recognises five main phases of coin production and circulation: stage 1, 3rd century BC; stage 2, c. 200-125 BC; stage 3, c. 125-60 BC; stage 4, c. 60-20 BC; stage 5, c. 20 BC until the early 1st century AD.

Fig. 4.6. Triskeles staters found at Empel. Scale 2:1. The numbering of the coins refers to the list in appendix 4.2.

Although I basically support Haselgrove's chronological framework, further substantiation and testing is needed. Nevertheless, one positive effect of the new framework is that it forces archaeologists and numismatists to critically review current datings and historical interpretations of coinages.

Haselgrove places the triskeles staters in stage 3, together with the majority of the typologically related coin series which Scheers had attributed to the conquest period. However, the arguments in this specific case are not very convincing and are in fact based on two considerations. First, this is the dating in phase 3 of the Scheers 30-IV 'eye' stater, which served as the prototype for the reverse of the triskeles staters. This provides a terminus post quem for the dating of the latter group of coins, but it is possible that there was hardly any difference in time and that the triskeles staters also belong to that phase.[139] Second, there is the association in the Fraire-2 hoard of four triskeles staters with early Scheers 29 types (classes I and II) and several Middle Rhine 'rainbow' staters of the *triquetrum* type; the two latter coinages are considered characteristic of stage 3. Haselgrove places the Fraire-2 hoard in phase 3.[140]

In my opinion, however, there are no convincing arguments for bringing the date of the triskeles staters backward. On the contrary, inclusion in stage 4, and especially the period of the Gallic wars, remains the most plausible option. This proposition is based on a combination of the following arguments:

1. From the point of view of weight, the triskeles staters belong to the most recent gold coinages in Northern Gaul (table 1). They cover the same weight class as the late inscribed Scheers 30-V staters (POTTINA), 30-VI (ARDA) and 29-IV (VIROS), which Haselgrove places in stage 4.

2. Also from the point of view of metal composition, the triskeles staters belong to the most recent generation of gold coinages in Northern Gaul. With an average gold content of less than 30% and an extremely high copper content (over 50%), they have an even poorer composition than the other gold staters from stage 4.[141] What they also have in common with several gold coinages from this stage (especially Scheers 30-V and 30-VI) is a process of metal debasement within the separate classes (table 4.1). This is particularly apparent in the occurrence of bronze or gilded coins.[142] There seems to have been an acute shortage of precious metal during the production process, with the result that quantity rather than quality of production was given priority. This metal debasement points to an unstable political situation.

3. The occurrence of stage 3 gold staters in the Fraire-2 hoard does not rule out the possibility that the hoard was buried in stage 4.[143] The triskeles staters may have been the most recent coins in the hoard.

4. The triskeles motif on the obverse of Scheers 31 is probably not derived from the gold 'rainbow' staters of the Mardorf type, but – as demonstrated by their occurrence in the Fraire-2 hoard – from more recent electrum staters of the same type which were in circulation towards the end of stage 3 and the beginning of stage 4.[144]

5. There is increasing archaeological evidence for the circulation of triskeles staters in an advanced phase of stage 4 and in stage 5, which renders a minting in stage 3 rather unlikely. Twenty-two specimens were found in the sanctuary of Empel; in view of their advanced state of wear (cf. figs. 4.5 and 4.6), they could only have been deposited there in a late phase of stage 4.[145] Another specimen is known from the Augustan military camp at Nijmegen-'Hunerberg', in use from c. 15 BC, and from a denarius hoard disturbed by ploughing from Hapert, which was buried in the Augustan period.[146]

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[139] Haselgrove 1999, 142.

[140] Haselgrove 1999, 142 and note 143.

[141] Cf. Loscheider 1998, 203; Haselgrove 1999, 150.

[142] In the case of the triskeles staters, these are a gold-plated piece from Randwijk, a gilded coin from Tongres and some bronze specimens from Empel, Nijmegen, and Liberchies. See appendix 2.

[143] Uninscribed Scheers 29 coins even occur in the hoard find of Kwaremont (Belgium), which seems to have been buried in stage 5. Cf. Scheers 1977, 887.

[144] See chapter 6.

[145] As far as is currently known, the practice of coin deposition in the sanctuary of Empel did not begin until stage 4. My assumption is that the few older coins were not deposited until this stage. Cf. Roymans 1994; Roymans/Aarts 2004.

[146] Nijmegen: Roymans/Van der Sanden 1980, 220. Hoogeloon: Prins 1994, especially 136. Twenty-one Republican and Augustan denarii and a triskeles stater were found at Hapert in a scattered hoard with a diameter of 20 m and a nucleus of c. 10 m. Other small finds from the immediate vicinity (coins, brooches, burnt pottery) may point to the presence of a local cult site.
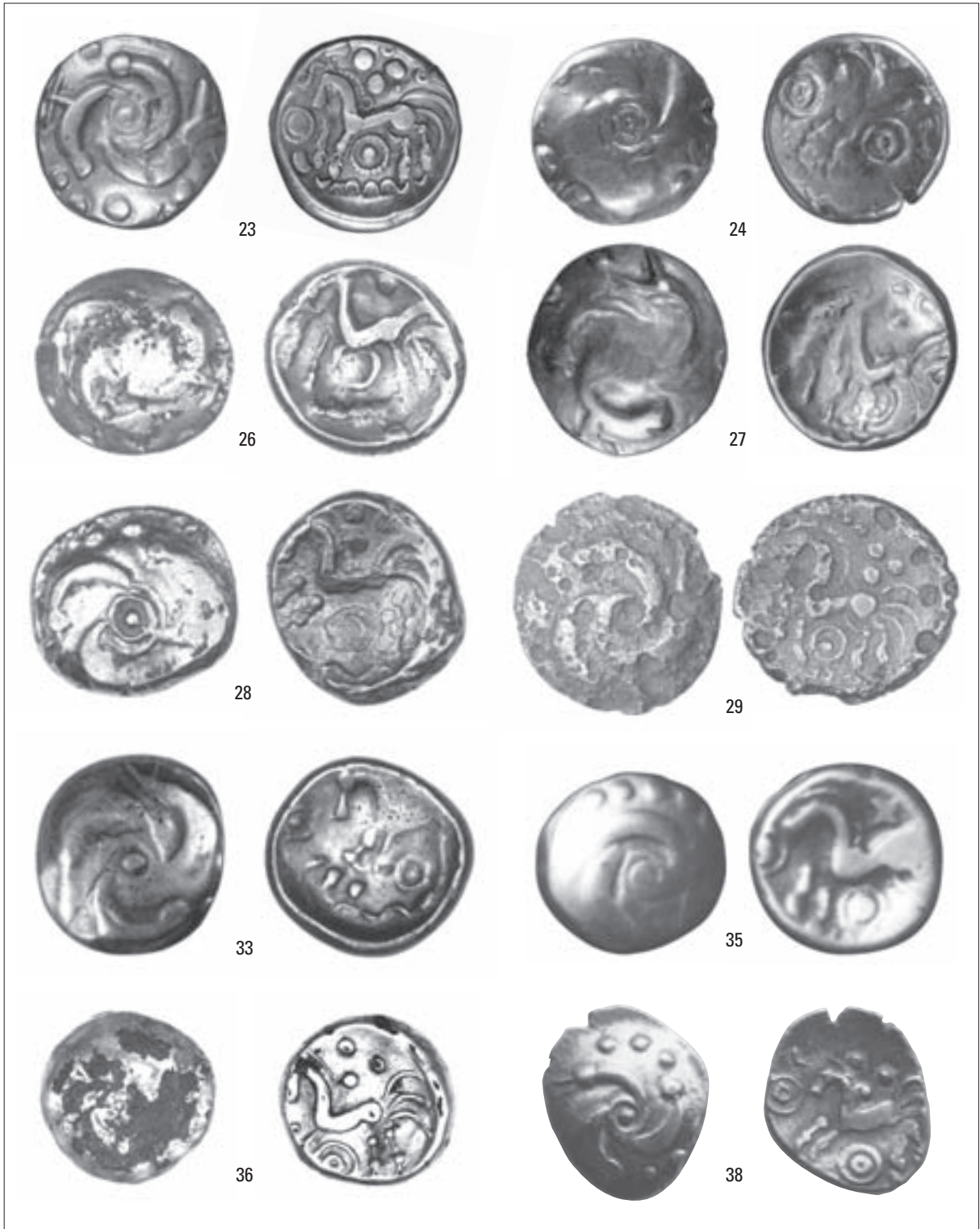
Fig. 4.7. Triskeles staters found at Rossum (23), Meteren (24), Deil (26-27), Est (28), Nijmegen (29), Weert (33), Maastricht (35), Randwijk (36) and Rotselaar (38). Scale 2:1. The numbering of the coins refers to the list in appendix 4.2.

Also indicative of a late circulation is the occurrence of specimens in the Gallo-Roman nucleated settlements (*vici*) of Braives, Vervoz and Liberchies (appendix 4.2).

6. Finally, the recent hoard find of Heers near Tongres (fig. 4.8) clearly points to a late date (early stage 4) of the Scheers 31 coins. Here, 82 triskeles staters (all class I) are associated with early types (class I and II) of Scheers 29 coins and a Scheers 30-V stater inscribed with the legend POTTINA.[147] Because most of the triskeles staters as well as the POTTINA stater show no signs of wear, they were not yet in circulation. This means that both the minting of the triskeles staters and the deposition of the hoard can be placed early in stage 4.[148]

4.5 ASCRIPTION TO THE EBURONES AND THE LINK TO CAESAR'S CONQUEST

The above combination of arguments renders the minting of the Scheers 31 staters early in stage 4, and particularly the conquest period, the most plausible option. This brings us to the question of historical interpretation. It must be said that the association made by earlier scholars with the Eburones and the Eburonean revolt of 54/53 BC remains an attractive model, and one which corresponds surprisingly well to the archaeological and numismatic data outlined above.

Proceeding from an early dating in stage 4, an attribution to the Eburones is highly probable: the distribution pattern (fig. 4.3) shows a clear concentration in the territory which, according to Caesar's information, belonged to the Eburones.[149] There is in fact no alternative. The historical evidence suggests that the Lower Rhine region was subject to extremely complex dynamics following the quashing of the Eburonean revolt. Roman reprisals destroyed the Eburones politically and reduced their numbers, though less so than Caesar would have us believe. In the post-conquest period, new territorial groupings developed in the former Eburonean territory, partly as a result of the influx of trans-Rhenish groups. The result was a completely new 'tribal map', with the Batavians in the north, the Tungri in the southwest and the Ubii and later the Cugerni in the east along the Rhine as the key units. Against this backdrop of the highly interrupted political geography in the Lower Rhine region, it is clear that the distribution of triskeles staters can only relate to the Eburonean polity of the conquest phase. The post-conquest coinages minted in this area all show substantially different patterns of distribution.[150]

If we accept a date in the conquest period and an attribution to the Eburones, the triskeles staters fit remarkably well into the complex historical constellation as sketched by Caesar. It would then seem obvious – following Scheers and Heinrichs – to link them with the most dramatic event of those years in this region: the Eburonean revolt of 54/53 BC. The class I coins could then have been minted in the years directly preceding Ambiorix' revolt, and the class II coins in the course of the revolt.[151]

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[147] For a preliminary publication, see Scheers/Creemers 2002.

[148] The Heers hoard also contains 13 triskeles staters that had been used, which perhaps points to a certain chronological arrangement within class I. The time differences might, however, be minimal and concern just a few years.

[149] Cf. chapter 3.1. Scheers (1996, 32) has observed that we can interpret in two different ways Caesar's information that the bulk of the Eburonean homeland lay between the Meuse and Rhine rivers: east-west (as is most customary) and north-south (roughly corresponding to the area between the Belgian Meuse and the Dutch Meuse/Waal).

The distribution map for the triskeles coins supports the latter interpretation.

[150] Cf. Scheers 1996, fig. 3, and the recent distribution maps of the Lower Rhine *triquetrum* coins in chapter 6.

[151] Cf. Scheers 1986; Heinrichs 1999. Significantly, the coins of classes I and II have the same distribution area (fig. 4.4), which implies that they were issued by the same tribal authority.

Fig. 4.8. The gold hoard of Heers (Belgium), consisting mainly of Eburonean triskeles staters. Copyright Provinciaal Gallo-Romeins Museum, Tongres.

This association with the Eburonean revolt can be further elaborated on the basis of the iconography of the coin images. The fact that the reverse of the coinage is almost an exact copy of the Treverian Scheers 30-IV 'eye' stater suggests a close relationship between the leaders of both polities. This link is explicitly made by Caesar, who states that Ambiorix, the Eburonean king, began his revolt against the Romans at the insistence of the Treveri.[152] In fact, Indutiomarus, the Treverian leader, was the key figure behind the anti-Roman coalition of 54 BC. This may imply some kind of clientship relation between Ambiorix and the Treveri.[153] The obverse of the Eburonean coinage adopts the *triquetrum* motif of the 'rainbow' staters, which were minted by trans-Rhenish Germanic groups. It is tempting to link this trans-Rhenish connection to Caesar's comment that the Eburones enjoyed the support during the revolt of Germanic allies from across the Rhine.

The above historical interpretation of the Scheers 31 coinage presents a picture of a short-lived emission associated with the Roman conquest and, in the case of the class II subgroup, with a specific event – the Eburonean revolt – which gave rise to a sudden need for coined gold in order to expand and mobilise clientship and alliance networks on the part of Ambiorix.

[152]   Caesar, *BG* 5.26.2.

[153]   Caesar (*BG* 4.6.4) refers to the Eburones and the Con-
        drusi as *Treverorum clientes*.

context	number of sites	number of coins
(probable) cult places	6	30
nucleated settlements	3	9
rural settlements	9	11
hoard finds	2	86
river finds	1	1
Roman town	1	1
Roman army camp	1	1
indeterminate	10	10
Merovingian burials	1	2
total	**34**	**151**

Table 4.3. Classification of archaeological sites where Scheers 31 triskeles staters were found. Based on the evidence in appendix 4.2 (specimen from Boviolles not included).

4.6 PATTERNS OF DEPOSITION AND LOSS: THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXTS

Although the triskeles staters represent a relatively small issue, several thousand specimens of each sub-class will certainly have been minted. With the help of the diagram in figure 4.9, an attempt is made to show what might have happened to these coins and how they may have entered the archaeological record. Historical evidence suggests that a substantial part of the Eburonean gold in the form of coins and jewellery fell into Roman hands during repeated raids by the Roman army in 53-51 BC, and was then melted down and carried off. Only a small proportion ended up in the soil as a result of deposition and loss. By studying the archaeological contexts of the triskeles staters, we can gain some insight into the patterns of deposition and loss.

Little research has been carried out to date into how Iron Age coins entered the archaeological record and into biases in their archaeological recovery. The numismatic documentation at our disposal is frequently uninformative in this respect because the exact find sites and context of many coins are unknown. Nevertheless, we are in a position to make several claims for the Lower Rhine region. Our starting point is the overview given in table 4.3 of the various categories of find sites for triskeles coins. I shall discuss the three main categories of find sites – cult sites, nucleated settlements, and rural settlements – in more detail below.

We are able to identify the character of 23 find sites in total. Six can be designated as cult places or probable cult places. The Gallo-Roman cult sites of Petit-Hallet and Fontaine-Valmont each yielded one triskeles stater. Isolated coins have also been found at Deil and Tongres-'Berg' in locations which can be interpreted as possible cult sites. This also appears to be the case at Hapert, where a triskeles stater was discovered in a denarius hoard from the time of Augustus.[154] In the above instances, the coins may have

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[154] Hapert: Prins 1994, and above, note 146; Deil: chapter 6, appendix 6.1. The principal argument for a cult site is the concentrated occurrence of metal objects from the Late Iron Age and Roman period (especially coins). However, no excavations have been carried out as yet.

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                    ┌─────────────┐
        ┌──────────▶│ thesaurus of│
        │           │tribal authority│
        │           └─────────────┘
 recycling                 │
        │                  ▼
        │           ┌─────────────┐
        │           │ production of│
        │           │  gold coins │
        │           └─────────────┘
        │                  │
        │                  ▼
        │           ┌─────────────┐    ──── normal circulation in tribal homeland
        └───────────│ circulation of│◀──
                    │  gold coins  │◀──  ──── exceptional coin movements to other
 accidental loss    └─────────────┘            areas
        │                  │
        │                  ▼
        │           ┌─────────────┐
        │           │ depositional│
        │           │  practices  │
        │           └─────────────┘
        │              ╱   │   ╲
        │           cult places  hoards  settlements
        ▼             │    │      │        │
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        ▼             ▼    ▼      ▼        ▼
   ┌──────────────────────────┐   ──── differential impact of coin detection
   │ post-depositional processes│◀──
   └──────────────────────────┘   ──── impact of different archaeo-political regimes
                │
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   actual archaeological distribution pattern
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Fig. 4.9. Schematic overview of the formation processes of Late Iron Age gold coinages.

been deposited as offerings for a deity. However, the most important cult place in the Lower Rhine region where Late Iron Age coins have been collected in large numbers is situated on the south bank of the river Meuse at Empel. This site has produced 22 triskeles staters, all isolated finds (figs. 4.5 and 4.6). Empel's beginnings as a cult place can be dated to LTD1 (from c. 120 BC onwards), in view of the presence of 20 Nauheim fibulae and several brooches of Middle La Tène type. However, the practice of offering coins appears to have begun here in Haselgrove's stage 4 (60-20 BC). The deity Hercules Magusanus was worshipped at Empel in the Early Roman period. His cult was closely associated with warfare and therefore heavily male-oriented.[155] Assuming that Magusanus was already worshipped here in the 1st century BC, the coins were probably deposited for religious reasons, particularly by warriors.

[155] Empel: Roymans/Derks 1994, 27 ff.; Roymans/Aarts, 2004. The prominence of Roman military equipment among the offerings and the scarcity of typically female attributes is significant.

	coin type	context	reference
Weert, Kampershoek	1 AV triquetrum stater	3 farmhouses	Roymans 1998
Zutphen, Ooyerhoek	1 copper triquetrum stater	farmhouse	Fonteyn 1996
Tiel, Passewaay	2 copper triquetrum staters	farmhouse	chapter 6, fig, 6.25
Epse	1 Ag triquetrum stater	farmhouse	Hulst 1992
Lieshout, Beekseweg	1 AV Scheers 24	farmyard?	Hiddink, in prep.
Castricum, Oosterbuurt	1 AV Scheers 29	farmhouse 3rd c. AD	Hagers/Sier 1999, 44

Table 4.4. List of Late Iron Age gold coins or 'rainbow' staters of the *triquetrum* type found in association with farmhouses in the Lower Rhine region.

Three find sites of isolated triskeles coins – Braives, Vervoz and Liberchies – are Gallo-Roman nucleated settlements (*vici*). There is no further information about the context of the coins. We may be dealing here with coins that were accidentally lost, but other interpretations are equally possible. It should be noted that the *vici* of Liberchies and Vervoz, where large numbers of Gallic and Roman coins were collected as surface finds, also include a monumental temple complex and thus seem to have functioned as cult centres.

The largest category of find sites for triskeles staters is rural settlements (nine sites).[156] The actual proportion is considerably higher, as most of the coins with an unspecified find site will also belong to this category. We are dealing here with a fairly common pattern for Late Iron Age gold and silver coins in the Lower Rhine area. The overview of the contexts of silver and copper 'rainbow staters' of the *triquetrum* type in the Rhine/Meuse delta (see table 6.4) is illustrative in this regard. The majority (86%) of the find sites are small rural settlements from the Late Iron Age, often continuing into the Roman period.

The question is how to interpret the coins from rural settlements. In general, numismatists and archaeologists think – albeit often implicitly – in terms of coins that have been accidentally lost, thus creating a dichotomy between a religious interpretation for coins from cult places and a profane interpretation for coins from rural settlements. I will argue below that this dichotomy is over-simplistic. The range of possible interpretations for coins from rural settlements is greater than we realise, and here too we must take account of ritual deposition. The problem is that there is still too little information about the specific archaeological contexts of coins; almost all coins are isolated detector finds from settlements. Nevertheless, we are able to make some valid comments on the basis of excavation evidence.

Accidental loss always played a role of course, but especially in the case of precious metal coins I believe it to be of relatively minor importance. Most coins are lost where they circulate. Since circulation was hardly relevant within small rural settlements – coins were primarily kept there – we have to consider intentional deposition in most cases.[157]

A first possibility is that the coins found formed part of small gold hoards that had been buried in settlements. Examples from the Lower Rhine region are the recently discovered Late Iron Age hoards

[156] By 'rural settlements', I mean that category of find sites whose exact location is known and where a small rural settlement can be expected on the basis of the archaeological material. Coins whose find site is referred to only by a municipality name are treated as 'context unknown'.

[157] Of interest here is a recent investigation into the distribution and context of Merovingian gold tremisses (Bazel-

mans/Gerrets/Pol 2002), which has produced significant regional patterns. In the South Netherlands and North Belgium almost all coins have been shown to come from grave contexts, while in the Frisian/Groningen clay area almost all coins are from *terp* settlements. Such patterns can only be understood if interpreted as resulting from different depositional practices.
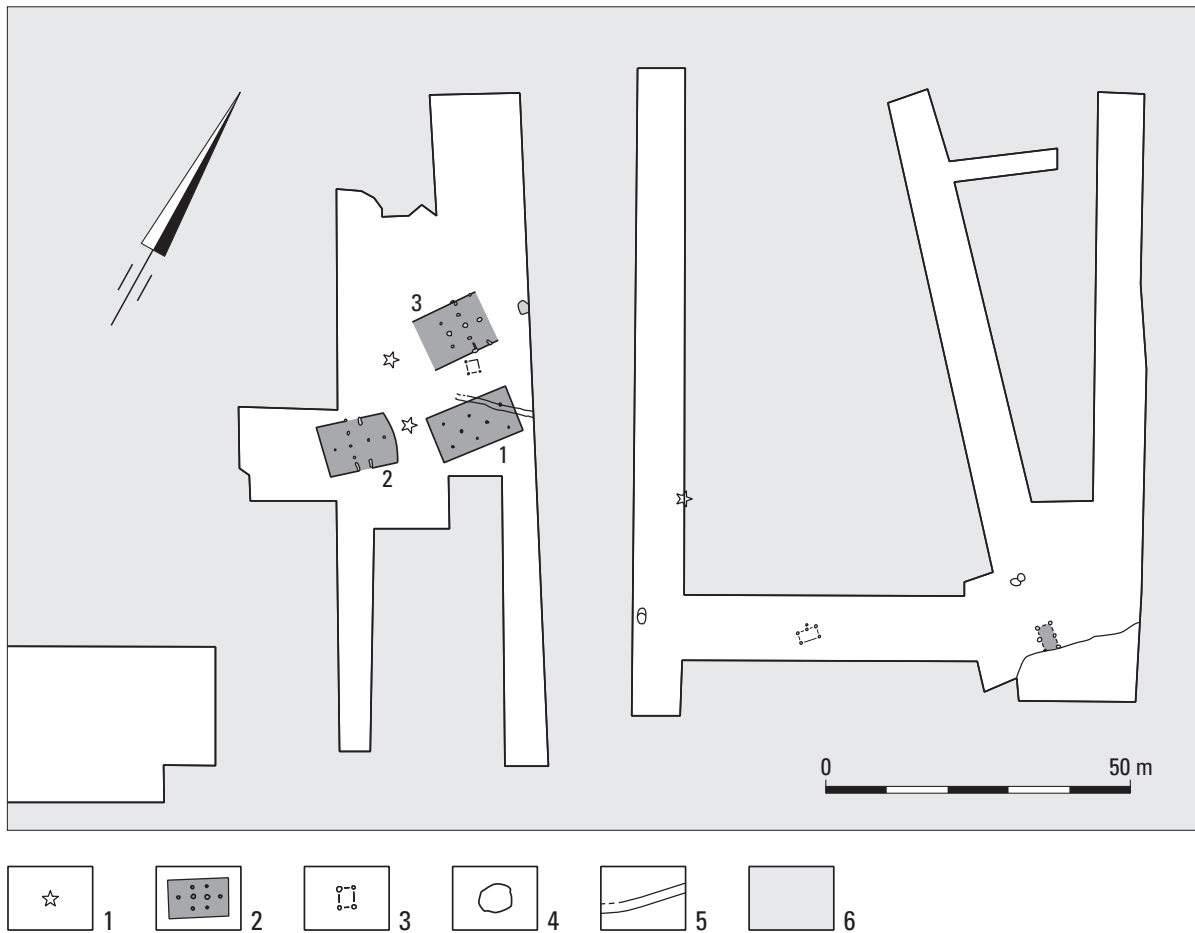
Fig. 4.10. Weert-'Kampershoek'. Some Late Iron Age farmhouses excavated at the spot where a gold 'rainbow' stater was discovered by metal detection. After Tol 1998, 32, fig. 2.19.

1 cremation burial; 2 house plan; 3 granary; 4 pit; 5 ditch; 6 not excavated

(coins, arm and neck rings) from Beringen and Niederzier, both found in a small pit within a rural settlement.[158] We would be inclined (also given the fragmentary state of some torques) to interpret these as *Versteckdepots*, buried in times of crisis. The Niederzier hoard, however, was found in a ceramic container next to what has been interpreted as a possible isolated cult post on the periphery of an enclosed settlement. In that case the hoard was probably deposited for religious reasons.

A second possibility is that the coins originated from local cult places of the Hoogeloon type, which belong to small settlements.[159] Although no Late Iron Age coins are known from these simple open-air sanctuaries to date, we could well expect them there. Almost all the examples currently excavated date from the Roman period, and Roman coins feature among them, which were probably deposited for religious motives.

A third possibility is the association of coins with farmhouses. Several gold coins or copper 'rainbow' staters have been found in the Netherlands in recent years during excavations of rural settlements. In all cases there is a relatively clear link with native farmhouses (table 4.4; fig. 4.10), suggesting that the coins

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[158] Niederzier: Göbel et al. 1991. Beringen: Van Impe 1997, 29 and 19 ff.

[159] Slofstra 1991, fig. 12; Slofstra/Van der Sanden 1988.

were originally kept there. Although further investigation is required, this category appears to represent the dominant context in the Lower Rhine region. Coins from farmhouses can be interpreted in two ways: a deposition for ritual reasons, or 'savings boxes', hidden in the house and for some reason not removed by the owners. Ritual deposition is just as plausible as profane deposition. Recent studies of material culture in Iron Age settlements show that the farmyard was the context for a wide range of ritual practices, mainly connected with the agrarian cycle and the life cycle of the house and its occupants.[160]

The above analysis of the find sites suggests that accidental loss played only a marginal role when it came to Late Iron Age precious metal coins ending up in the soil in the Lower Rhine region. The present distribution map of Euronean triskeles staters seems largely the product of a specific set of depositional practices. With regard to the reasons for deposition, we can distinguish two main categories: on the one hand, 'savings' of one or more coins hidden away for safety (*Versteckdepots*) and for some reason not recovered by the owner, and on the other hand, ritual depositions, whose relative importance we seem to have underestimated thus far.

We are confronted here in fact with 'profane' and 'religiously inspired' types of coin usage. Central to the first instance is the use of coins as gift objects or as a means of payment in the socio-political arena. Caesar's account of his Gallic campaigns can be used to sketch the historical context in which the production and earliest circulation of the triskeles staters occurred. More specifically, this would be the crises of the Roman conquest and the Euronean revolt, and the resulting mobilisation and expansion of clientele and alliance networks by Ambiorix, the Euronean king. Central to 'religious' coin usage is their use in exchange transactions with the supernatural domain.

In practice, it is not always easy to draw a line between the profane and ritual use of coins. In fact, making a clear distinction between sacred and profane is a product of modern western thought. Bloch and Parry's anthropological study on the use of money in exchange systems in non-western societies is perhaps useful here.[161] They sketch a picture of the complex articulation of two transactional spheres, the short-term and the long-term. In the latter case, the emphasis is on exchange as a means of reproducing the long-term socio-cosmic order, and in the former on the reproduction of the short-term social order, a sphere dominated by calculation, and the buying and selling of political support. Bloch and Parry's model may be useful for understanding the complex interrelationship of different kinds of usage for Late Iron Age gold coins in the Lower Rhine region, and more generally in Belgic Gaul.

4.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter's chief contribution to the general theme of the book is the unique insights it offers into the politico-geographical situation in the Lower Rhine region prior to the formation of a Batavian polity. The distribution map for triskeles staters demonstrates that the eastern half of the Dutch river area – the core region of the later Batavians – formed part of the Euronean confederation. Whether the triskeles coins were minted at a single site or at several sites is unknown.[162] What we do know is that the current distribution pattern reveals several clusters (fig. 4.3). The largest concentration occurs in central Belgium, with a core in the vicinity of Tongres. In addition, the coin distribution also shows a northern cluster, with a core in the eastern half of the Rhine/Meuse delta and with Empel occupying a remarkable position thanks to 22 specimens. There is a conspicuous absence of triskeles staters at Kessel/Lith – at that

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[160] Cf. Hill 1995 for Iron Age Britain, and Gerritsen 1999 for the Lower Rhine region.

[161] Bloch/Parry 1989. Cf. also Bazelmans 1998, and Theuws 2004.

[162] Future research into the distribution patterns of different die variants may be informative in this respect.

time the most important central place in the Rhine/Meuse delta – but this may be due to the limited extent of the coin sample of Kessel/Lith.[163]

The actual distribution pattern of the triskeles staters thus reveals several cores, which could point to a polycentric political structure. Such a structure also appears in the historical data on the federative character of the Eburonean polity. Caesar refers to the dual kingship of the Eburones. His description of Catuvolcus as *rex dimidiae partis Eburorum* suggests that this dual kingship had a territorial basis.[164] The northern cluster of triskeles staters could be linked to the sphere of influence of one of the Eburonean kings named by Caesar. New research into the die identities of all known triskeles staters, in combination with a comprehensive publication of the Heers hoard find, may give us fresh insights into the internal political organisation of the Eburones and may test existing insights.

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[163] Relevant is the ratio of roughly 11 : 1 between 'rainbow' staters of the *triquetrum* type and triskeles staters in Empel (cf. chapter 6, appendix). Based on this ratio, we would expect two to three triskeles staters among the 27 'rainbow' staters from Kessel.

[164] Caesar, *BG* 6.31.5. Cf. also Roymans 1990, 37.

The numbering of the sites refers to the distribution map of fig. 4.1.

site	coin type	reference
1 Castricum	1 AV Scheers 29	Hagers/Sier 1999, 44
2 Remmerden	1 AV Scheers 30-IV	unpublished
3 Aalst	1 AV Scheers 29	unpublished
4 Waardenburg	1 AV Scheers 24	unpublished
5 Ressen	1 AV Scheers 29	unpublished
6 Doesburg	1 AV Scheers 29	unpublished
7 Den Ham, between	1 AV Scheers 16	Roymans/Van der Sanden 1980, 216
Goch and Kleef	1 AV Scheers 30-I	Scheers 1977, 420 ('Nijmegen')
8 Empel	2 AV Scheers 29	Roymans 1994, 114
	2 AE Scheers 29	
	1 AE Scheers 30-III/VI	
9 Lieshout	1 AV Scheers 24	Hiddink, in prep., chapter 12.2
10 Acht	1 AV Scheers 29	unpublished
11 Bladel	1 AV Scheers 24	Roymans/Van der Sanden 1980, 218
12 Deurne	1 AV Scheers 29	Scheers 1977, 403
13 Weert	1 AV 'rainbow' stater, *triquetrum*	Roymans 1998
14 Kessel	1 AV Scheers 24	Roymans/Van der Sanden 1980, 218
15 Koersel	1 AV Scheers 6?	Scheers 1996, 39
16 Beringen (hoard)	3 AV Scheers 11	Van Impe et al. 1997
	22 AV plain 'rainbow' staters	
17 Lummen	1 AV Scheers 9	Scheers 1995
18 Kermt	1 AV Scheers 29	Scheers 1996, 27
19 Kuringen	1 AV Scheers 24	Scheers 1977, 351
20 Eijsden	1 AV Scheers 23	unpublished
21 Heerlen	1 AV Scheers 23	Roymans/Van der Sanden 1989, 216
22 near Aachen	1 AV Scheers 23	Scheers 1977, 333
23 Niederzier (hoard)	20 AV Scheers 9	Göbel et al. 1991
	26 AV 'rainbow' staters	
24 Neuss	1 AV Scheers 18	Scheers 1977, 322
25 Leichlingen	1 AV Scheers 23	Scheers 1977, 333
26 Cologne	1 AV Scheers 23	Scheers 1977, 333
27 between Cologne and Bonn	1 AV Scheers 29	Scheers 1977, 405
28 Bonn	1 AV Scheers 23	Scheers 1977, 333
29 Schladern	1 AV Scheers 23	Scheers 1977, 333
30 ?	1 AV Scheers 23	Heinrichs/Rehren 1996, Abb. 12
31 Brenken	1 AV Forrer 398	Berger 1992,25-27
32 Siersdorf	1 AV 'rainbow' stater, *triquetrum*	Roymans 2000, fig.7
33 Stieldorferhohn (hoard)	25 AV 'rainbow' staters	Hagen 1976
	4 AV Scheers 30	
34 Nörvenich	1 AE Scheers 30-IV	Loscheider 1998, 135
35 between Cologne and Bonn	1 AV Scheers 30-IV	Scheers 1977, 426
36 Berghem, Lallenberg	1 AV Scheers 13-III	unpublished
37 between Emmerich and Kleef	1 AV Scheers 29	unpublished

APPENDIX 4.2. DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF THE SCHEERS 31 TRISKELES COINS.

The coins from the Heers hoard have not been numbered individually.

★= bronze coin

VM= Valkhof Museum, Nijmegen; NBM= Noord-Brabants Museum, 's-Hertogenbosch; PGM= Provinciaal Gallo-Romeins Museum, Tongres; BN= Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris

	site	context	class	weight	reference/collection
1	Empel, De Werf	cult place	I	5.70	Roymans 1994; A. Verhagen, Empel
2	Empel, De Werf	idem	I	5.73	Roymans 1994; J.van Bergen, Engelen
3	Empel, De Werf	idem	I	5.76	Roymans 1994; J.van Bergen, Engelen
4	Empel, De Werf	idem	I	-	unpubl.; Rijksmunt, Utrecht
5	Empel, De Werf	idem	I	5.52	Roymans 1994; J.van Bergen, Engelen
6	Empel, De Werf	idem	I	5.40	Roymans 1994; J.van Bergen, Engelen
7	Empel, De Werf	idem	I	5.56	Roymans 1994; J.van Bergen, Engelen
8	Empel, De Werf	idem	I	5.31	Roymans 1994; J. Roymans, Bladel
9	Empel, De Werf	idem	I	4.84	Roymans 1994; J.van Bergen, Engelen
10	Empel, De Werf	idem	I	4.78	Roymans 1994; Mun. of 's-Hertogenbosch
11*	Empel, De Werf	idem	I	4.10	Roymans 1994; Mun. of 's-Hertogenbosch
12	Empel, De Werf	idem	I	4.97	Roymans 1994; H. Murray, Hedel
13	Empel, De Werf	idem	II	5.18	Roymans 1994; J.van Bergen, Engelen
14	Empel, De Werf	idem	II	5.01	Roymans 1994; Mun. of 's-Hertogenbosch
15	Empel, De Werf	idem	II	5.04	Roymans 1994; Mun. of 's-Hertogenbosch
16	Empel, De Werf	idem	II	5.14	Roymans1994; A.vandenBrandt, St.Michielsgestel
17	Empel, De Werf	idem	II	4.80	Roymans 1994; J.van Bergen, Engelen
18	Empel, De Werf	idem	II	4.56	Roymans 1994; J.van Bergen, Engelen
19	Empel, De Werf	idem	II	4.73	Roymans 1994; Mun. of 's-Hertogenbosch
20	Empel, De Werf	idem	II	4.90	Roymans 1994; Mun. of 's-Hertogenbosch
21	Empel, De Werf	idem	II	4.99	Roymans 1994; Mun. of 's-Hertogenbosch
22*	Empel, De Werf	idem	II	4.43	Roymans 1994; J.van Bergen, Engelen
23	Rossum, St.Andries	-	I	5.85	unpublished; Museum Zaltbommel
24	Meteren, Zes Morgen	rural settlement	I	5.71	unpublished; D. Billiau, Belgium
25	Meteren, Zes Morgen	rural settlement	I	-	unpublished ; H. Peters, Lieshout
26	Deil	cult place?	I	5.70	unpublished; VM, Nijmegen, 1994.3.1
27	Deil	idem	I	-	unpublished; L. van der Plaat, Geldermalsen
28	Est, Tieflaar	rural settlement	I	5.73	unpublished; VM, Nijmegen, 1993.2.1
29*	Nijmegen, Hunerberg	Roman camp	I	4.40	Roymans/Van der Sanden 1980; VM, Nijmegen
30	Oirschot	rural settlement	I	5.2	unpublished; NBM, 's-Hertogenbosch, 14.712
31	Hapert, Hoogpoort	hoard/cult place?	II	5.3	Prins 1994, 139; NBM, 's-Hertogenbosch, 12.265
32	Bergeijk, Enderakkers	rural settlement	I	5.68	unpublished; H. Joosten, Helmond
33	Weert, Veldbeemd	rural settlement	I	5.82	Roymans 1998; J. Vanderfeesten, Weert
34	Thorn, Dakpanfabriek	rural settlement	II	4.71	unpublished; Museum Maastricht
35	Maastricht, Randwijk	rural settlement	II	-	unpublished; unknown private coll.
36*	Randwijk, Pannenhuis	rural settlement	I	3.72	unpublished; P. Verwey, Hemmen
37	Randwijk, Pannenhuis	rural settlement	I	5.7	unpublished; P. Verwey, Hemmen
38	Rotselaar	rural settlement	I	5.49	Scheers 1996, fig. 2

39	Tongres, Berg	cult place?	-	-	Scheers 1996, fig. 2
40	Tongres, Berg	cult place?	-	-	Scheers 1996, fig. 2
41*	Tongres?	-	I	3.55	Scheers et al 1991, 35; PGM, Tongres
42	Tongres, environment	-	I	5.49	Scheers et al 1991, 36; PGM, Tongres
43	Tongres, Berg	cult place ?	-	-	unpublished; F. Teleng, Maastricht
44*	Braives	nucleated settl.	-	-	unpublished; private, inf. F. Teleng, Maastricht
45	Braives	nucleated settl.	II	-	unpublished; F. Teleng, Maastricht
46	Braives	nucleated settl.	II	-	unpublished; F. Teleng, Maastricht
47	Antwerp	-	I	5.53	Scheers 1977, 441; BN 8862, Paris
48	Asse, environment	-	II	5.27	Scheers 1977, 442
49	Asse	-	-	-	Scheers 1996, fig. 2
50	Brussels, environment	-	-	-	Scheers 1977, 442
51	Leuven	-	II	4.89	Scheers 1977, 442; Musée Curtius, Liège
52	Molembeek-Wersbeek	-	I	5,70	Scheers 1996, fig. 2; Jean Else, Vente 58, 734
53	Braives	nucleated settl.	II	5.44	Scheers 1977, 442; Musée Curtius, Liège
54	Braives	nucleated settl.	-	-	Scheers 1996, fig. 2
55	Petit-Hallet	cult place	-	-	Scheers 1996, fig. 2
56	Namur	river Meuse	-	-	Scheers 1997, 443
57*	Liberchies	nucleated settl.	I	3.22	Scheers 1977, 442
58*	Liberchies	nucleated settl.	-	-	Scheers 1996, fig. 2; ROMANA collection?
59	Liberchies	nucleated settl.	II	-	Scheers 1996, fig. 2; ROMANA collection
60	Haulchin	-	-	-	Scheers 1996, fig. 2
61	Fontaine-Valmont	cult place	-	-	Scheers 1996, fig. 2
62	Fraire-2	hoard	I	5.63	Scheers 1984
63	Fraire-2	hoard	I	4.72	Scheers 1984
64	Fraire-2	hoard	I	5.58	Scheers 1984; Banque Nationale, Brussels
65	Fraire-2	hoard	I	4.66	Scheers 1984; PGM, Tongres
66	Vervoz	nucleated settl.	II	5.43	Scheers et al 1991, 37; PGM, Tongres
67	Marche-en-Famenne	-	I	5.51	Cabinet des Medailles, Brussels?
68	Heers	hoard	I	82 coins	Scheers/Creemers 2002
69	Inden, Geuenich	Merov. burial	-	-	unpublished ; inf. Dr. B. Pfeffgen, Niederzier
70	Inden, Geuenich	Merov. burial	-	-	unpublished ; inf. Dr. B. Pfeffgen, Niederzier
71	Boviolles	oppidum	-	-	unpublished ; inf. S. Scheers
72	unknown	-	I	5.58	Scheers 1977, 440; BN 8859, Paris
73	unknown	-	I	5.80	Scheers 1977, 440; BN 8860, Paris
74	unknown	-	I	5.15	Scheers 1977, 440; BN 8861, Paris
75	unknown	-	I	5.63	Scheers 1977, 440; Vienne 26.691
76	unknown	-	I	-	Scheers 1977, 440, no. 9
77	unknown	-	I	5.44	Scheers 1977, 440, no. 10
78	unknown	-	II	5.32	Scheers 1977, 440; BN 8863, Paris
79	unknown	-	II	5.37	Scheers 1977, 440; Péronne 358
80	unknown	-	II	5.43	Scheers 1977, 440; British Museum, London
81	unknown	-	II	3.07	Scheers 1977, 440; British Museum, London

5   Roman frontier politics and the formation of a Batavian polity

I emphasised in my opening chapter the need, when studying Batavian ethnogenesis, to distinguish between the formation of the Batavians as a socio-political entity and their genesis as an ethnic group. This latter topic will be discussed in chapters 10 and 11. Central to the present chapter is the formation of the Batavians as a political community. I rely for the most part on historical sources. My investigation centres on the period from the mid-1st century BC until the Augustan era. This will involve some anticipation of the discussion of the political organisation of the later, pre-Flavian *civitas Batavorum*, which is the subject of chapter 8.

A reasonable argument can be made on archaeological grounds for regarding the Batavians in the Lower Rhine area as a newly formed tribe. Although Tacitus does refer to them as a splinter group of the Germanic Chatti who settled in an uninhabited part of the Rhine delta,[165] the archaeological evidence suggests that they developed from complex, multi-ethnic origins. They were not simply a group of newcomers, but – in view of the considerable local continuity of settlement and material culture[166] – included the remnants of older indigenous (probably Eburonean) groups as well.[167] There emerged a new tribal association, a process which must have occurred in the course of a single generation.

The following discussion will cover three topics: the earliest history of the Romano-Batavian alliance, the probable role of a client kingship in this formative phase, and the introduction of an aristocratic order with a magistrature.

5.1   THE ROOTS OF THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE ROMANS AND BATAVIANS

According to Tacitus, the Batavians had a special alliance (*antiqua societas*) with the Romans in pre-Flavian times.[168] The treaty regulated the supply of auxiliary troops in closed ethnic units and under their own commanders, and exempted the Batavians from paying tribute. Although the exact date of the treaty and the historical context in which it was made are unknown, it is generally assumed to have already been in place in 12 BC when Drusus used the Batavian region as a base for his campaigns into Germania magna. Willems has argued that the settlement of the Chatto-Batavian immigrant group in the Rhine delta somewhere between 50 and 12 BC was not a spontaneous process but was linked to Roman frontier policy.[169]

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[165] Tacitus, *Germ*. 29; *Hist*. 4.12.

[166] Continuity is particularly evident in house construction in the Dutch river area during the Late Iron Age and Roman period (Roymans 1996, ch. 3), and in the mass-circulation of glass La Tène arm rings, which belong in the period between c. 200 BC and AD 20 (Roymans/ Van Rooijen 1993). There is no archaeological evidence to suggest a complete break in settlement; at the very most there was simply a demographic decline. See the

discussion in chapter 3.

[167] Cf. Willems 1984, 373-374; Slofstra 1991, 171; Van Es 1994.

[168] Tacitus, *Germ*. 29. Cf. also *Hist*. 4.12.

[169] Willems 1984, 206-207. Here he is responding to the view that the Batavians acted entirely on their own initiative when moving to the Rhine delta at a time when Roman authority barely existed. Cf. Sprey 1953, 18-29; Van Es 1981, 30.
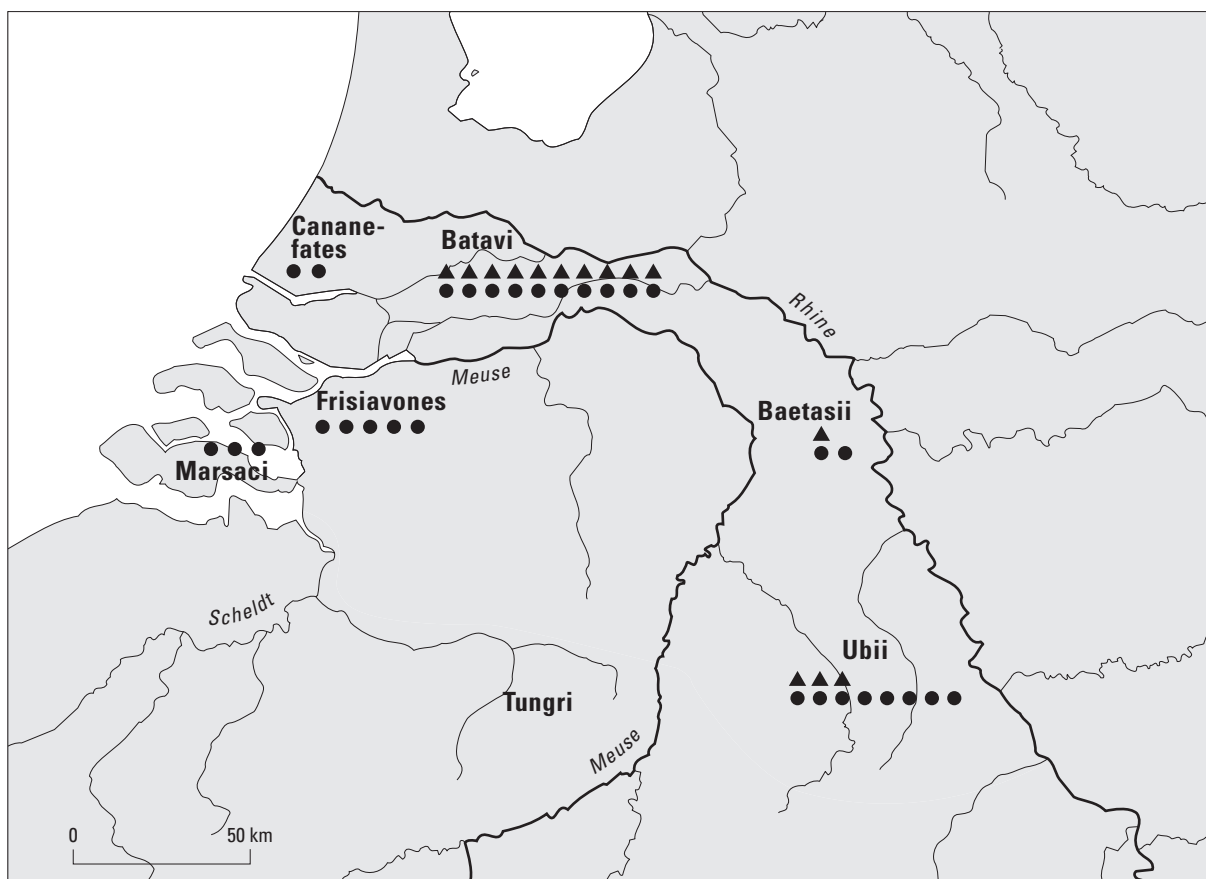
Fig. 5.1. Recruitment of the Roman emperors' Germanic bodyguard in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD. Re-drawn after Speidel 1994, fig. 2.

▲ *Germani corporis custodes* (Claudius and Nero); ● *Equites Singulares Augusti* (2nd century)

He points to the parallel with the Ubii who, as allies of Rome, were given permission in 38 or 16 BC to settle in what was to become the Cologne area on the west bank of the Rhine. A similar transfer was documented somewhat later for the Sugambri. This has given rise to the belief that the Romano–Batavian treaty dates back to the time when the Chattian subgroup settled in the Rhine delta.

Reports about Germanic auxiliary troops fighting in Caesar's army during the Civil Wars and in the *bellum Alexandrinum* have prompted the hypothesis that the Romano-Batavian alliance had its roots in Caesarian frontier policy. In one battle Caesar ordered his lightly armed *Germani* to cross a river. In another, *equites Germani* reportedly swam across a river at points where the banks were lower.[170] Who were these *Germani*? The most plausible answer is that they were auxiliary troops secured from one or more east-bank allies at the time of the Gallic wars. Chatto-Batavians may have comprised the major part of this force. An argument to support this is the fact that these *Germani* were adept at crossing rivers, a speciality of the Batavian auxiliary troops in the early imperial era.[171] Against this background it is interesting to note Lucanus' report of Batavian auxiliaries in Caesar's Civil War army. The above discussion suggests that this statement, often regarded as an anachronism, may well have been correct.[172]

The hypothesis that Chatto-Batavian settlement in the Rhine delta was linked to Roman frontier policy, implying a treaty, is further underpinned by investigations into the origin of the Germanic body-

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[170] Caesar, *BC* 1.83.5; idem, *B.Alex*. 29.2.

[171] See the list of references in Wolters 1990, 144 (note 62).

[172] Lucanus*, Phars*. 1.431. See Wolters 1990, 146 (note 63).

Fig. 5.2. The reconstructed journeys of Caesar's Germanic bodyguard. After Speidel 1994, fig. 1.
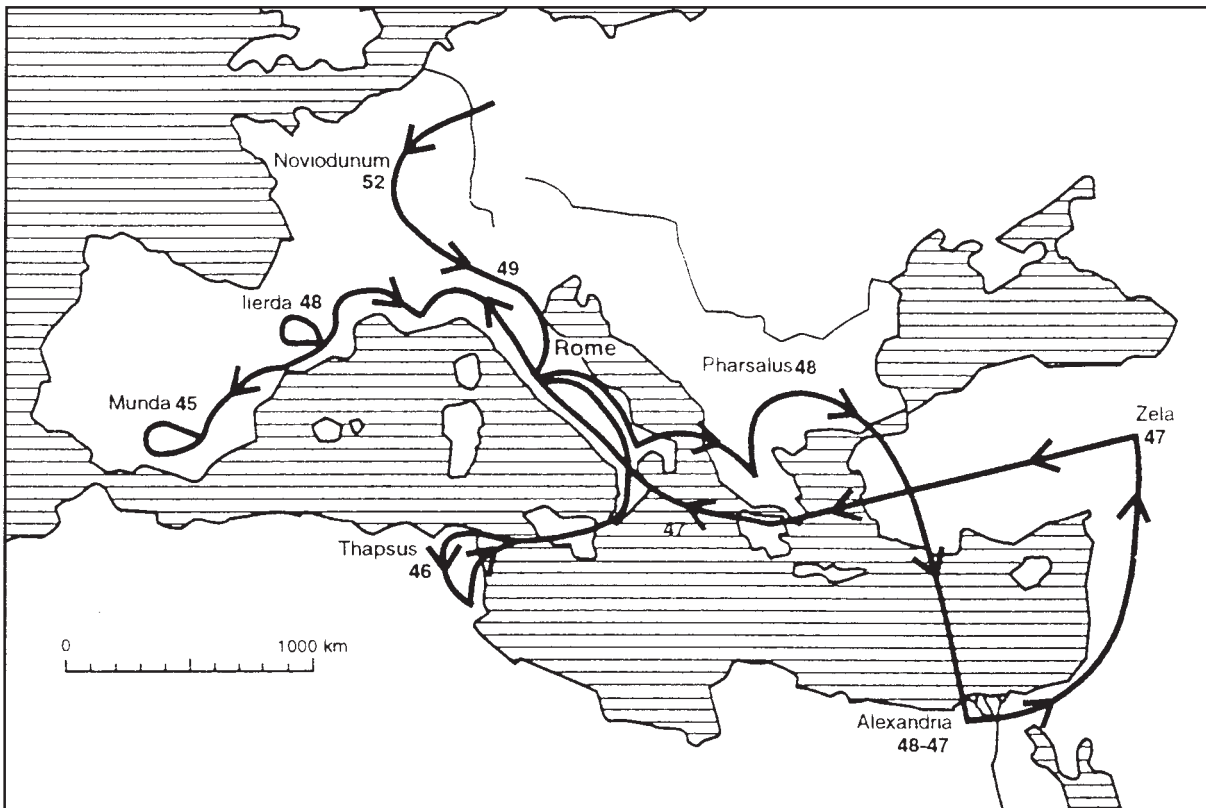
guard of the Julio-Claudian emperors. The imperial guard appears to have consisted primarily of Batavians and Ubii (fig. 5.1). How did they get there? This only makes sense in the context of treaty relations between these groups and Rome. The bodyguard would appear to have been of pre-Augustan origin. Bellen points out that the Germanic cavalry unit which accompanied Octavian in Sicily in 36 BC was already functioning as a bodyguard and probably consisted of Batavians and Ubii. Speidel goes a step further by arguing that the imperial bodyguard sprang directly from the Germanic guard that accompanied Caesar from the start of his Gallic campaigns.[173] Caesar apparently formed this cavalry unit in 57 BC under the terms of treaties with several unspecified Germanic tribes east of the Middle Rhine, whom Caesar had liberated from the yoke of Ariovistus' Suebi (fig. 5.2).[174] These tribes definitely included the Ubii, but perhaps the Chatti as well, which could explain the large number of Batavians in the later bodyguard.[175] It should be noted that the Chatti were allies of Rome until 10 BC, as the Romans had

[173] Bellen 1981, 15, 39; Speidel 1994, 12-13. Caesar, *BG* 7, 13, 1: *Germanos equites circiter CCCC summittit, quos ab initio habere secum instituerat.* Caesar deployed these Germanic horsemen, who apparently formed a strategic reserve, at a critical moment in the battle of Noviodunum against the rebellious Gauls.

[174] Caesar, *BG* 2.35. These are probably the same groups who in the previous year, according to *BG* 1.54, attacked the Suebi who had been defeated by Caesar, killing large numbers.

[175] Ubii: Caesar *BG* 4.3; 4.8; 4-11. Although the Chatti are not mentioned in Caesar's *Commentaries*, we should not

assume that they were still living in Northwest Germany and only moved to the northern part of Hessen in the period between Caesar and Drusus (e.g. Becker 1992, 97; Baatz 1997, 38-39 and fig. 4). Nor does the archaeological evidence permit such a conclusion. I am more convinced by Timpe's view that the Chatti were not mentioned by Caesar because they were a client tribe of the Suebi during Caesar's conquests: Timpe 1975, 134–135; cf. also Peschel 1997, 30. Tausend also assumes that it was mainly the Chatto/Batavian group (prior to their breaking away) who supplied the horsemen for Caesar's Germanic guard (1988, 494 ff.).

allocated them land east of the Middle Rhine to supplement their core territory.[176] At any rate, Rome's two major allies in the Lower Rhineland, the Batavians and the Ubii, were the parties that supplied troops to the bodyguard. Rome's transfer of these groups to the left bank of the Rhine will have been partly prompted by the bodyguard's reputation and achievements.

For these reasons, I share Wolters' view that the following model is the most plausible. The special military achievements of the Chatto-Batavians lay at the heart of their treaty with Rome; they supplied troops in closed ethnic units under their own commanders, and in return were exempt from paying tribute. This agreement probably goes back to the initial phase of Romano–Batavian relations. It suggests that in their dealings with the Roman empire the Chatto-Batavians operated as an independent group and were accepted as a political partner, whereupon Rome set out the substantial supply of troops in a treaty.[177] As a reward, the Chatto-Batavians were immediately or shortly thereafter allocated land in the Rhine delta. Troop supply was especially vital to Caesar during the Civil Wars, and the land allocation and accompanying privileges probably date from this time.[178] Following integration with indigenous groups the new community continued under the name *Batavi*.[179]

For Rome the alliance with the Batavians and the agreed troop supplies had a multiple objective: on the one hand they strengthened Rome's hold over the Batavian community by harnessing its energy, while on the other hand they deployed elsewhere the Batavian military potential, initially in the Civil Wars, and later under Augustus, especially in the Germanic wars. In addition, the Batavian ally came in handy for maintaining law and order in the strategically important Rhine delta. Of course, the Chatto-Batavian immigrants will have had their own reasons for entering into this alliance and for moving to the Rhine delta. Thus the assumed Chatto-Batavian supply of troops to Caesar should be understood in the context of the Germanic *comitatus* tradition, whereby it was not uncommon for an aristocratic leader with his retinue of young warriors to offer his services to a great military leader outside his homeland in order to share in the latter's honour, glory and booty.[180] Relevant too is Tacitus' remark that the Batavians broke away because of an internal dispute among the Chatti. As with so many Celto-Germanic tribes who maintained close contacts with Rome, this may have involved a conflict between a pro- and an anti-Roman faction.

If we accept the above model, the Romano–Batavian *societas* referred to by Tacitus had a long prior history, rooted in Caesarean frontier policy. It would be more appropriate to speak of a series of treaties, the oldest of which dated back to the time when the Batavians were still part of the Chatti in the area east of the Middle Rhine. The treaty will have been modified when the Chatto-Batavians migrated to the Rhine delta in the final years of Caesar's Gallic wars or shortly thereafter. A further renewal of the alliance then occurred under Drusus, when Romano–Batavian relations intensified.

Archaeologically speaking, there is not much to add to this historical model of a pre–Augustan origin of the Romano–Batavian treaty. Of relevance, I believe, is the presence of some militaria in the Batavian river area; given their date, they may well have been part of the attire of the earliest auxiliary troop sol-

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[176] Dio, *Hist. Rom.* 54.36.3. Cf. the discussion in Timpe 1975, 134 ff. This allocation of land is frequently linked with the transfer of the Ubians to the left bank of the Rhine in 38 or 16 BC; it is argued that the Chatti would then have received the vacated Ubian territory (cf. Timpe 1975, 135; Becker 1992, 97).

[177] Wolters 2001, 161.

[178] Wolters 2001, 162, note 77.

[179] It is unclear whether the Chattian immigrant group originally brought this name with them, or whether it

arose in the Rhine delta. Sprey 1954, 14-15, and Willems 1984, 370 support the latter view.

[180] Hiddink (1999, 190-195) and Wolters (2001) point to the deeply-rooted tradition of raiding on the part of aristocratic leaders and their *comitatus*. This practice was a structural feature of Germanic societies from the Late Iron Age and Roman period and constituted an important cultural context in which martial values were shaped.
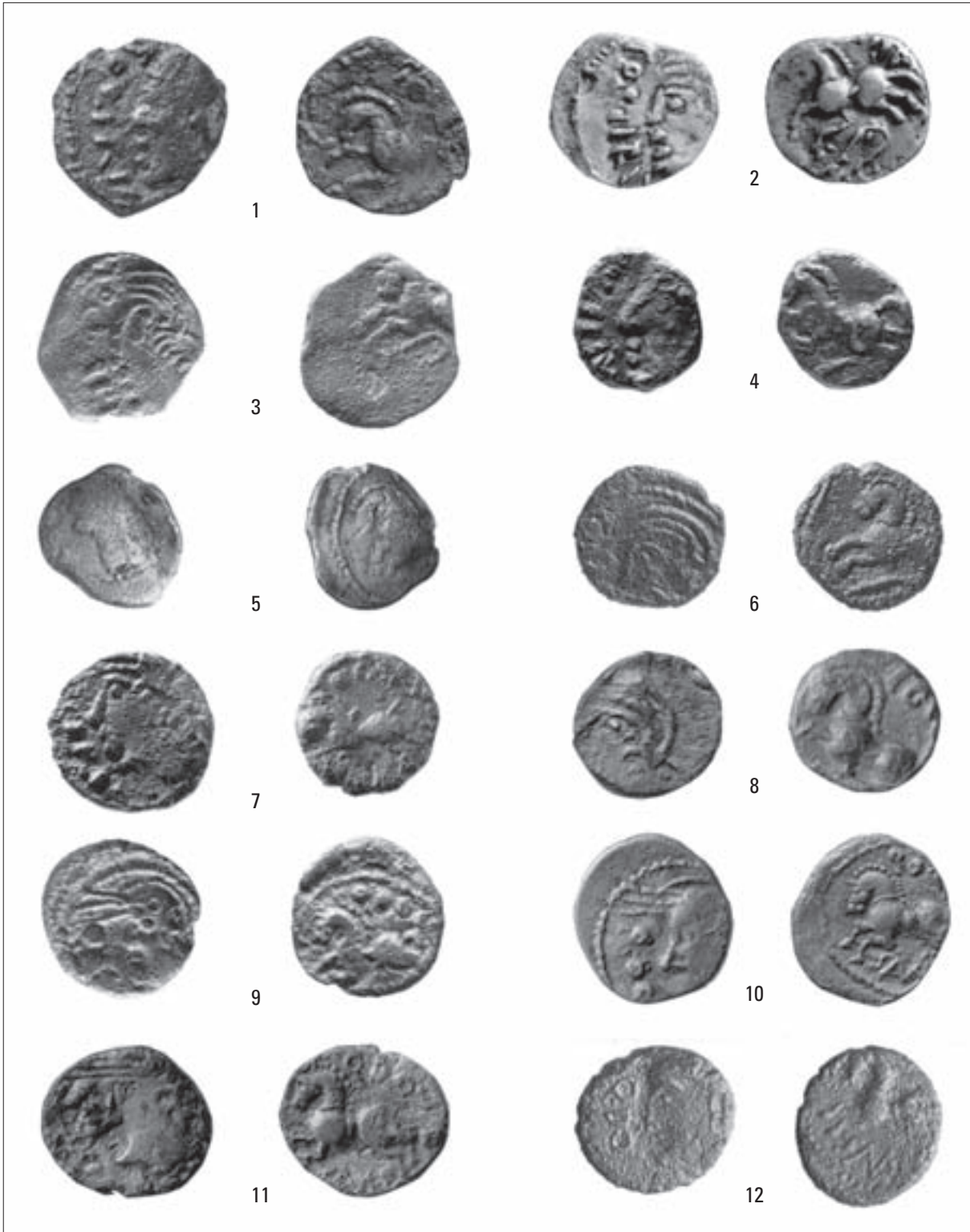
Fig. 5.3. Silver coins from Central/Eastern Gaul bearing the legends TOGIRIX (1–8) and Q. DOCI SAM F (9–12), from the sanctuary at Empel. After Roymans 1994, fig. 3.
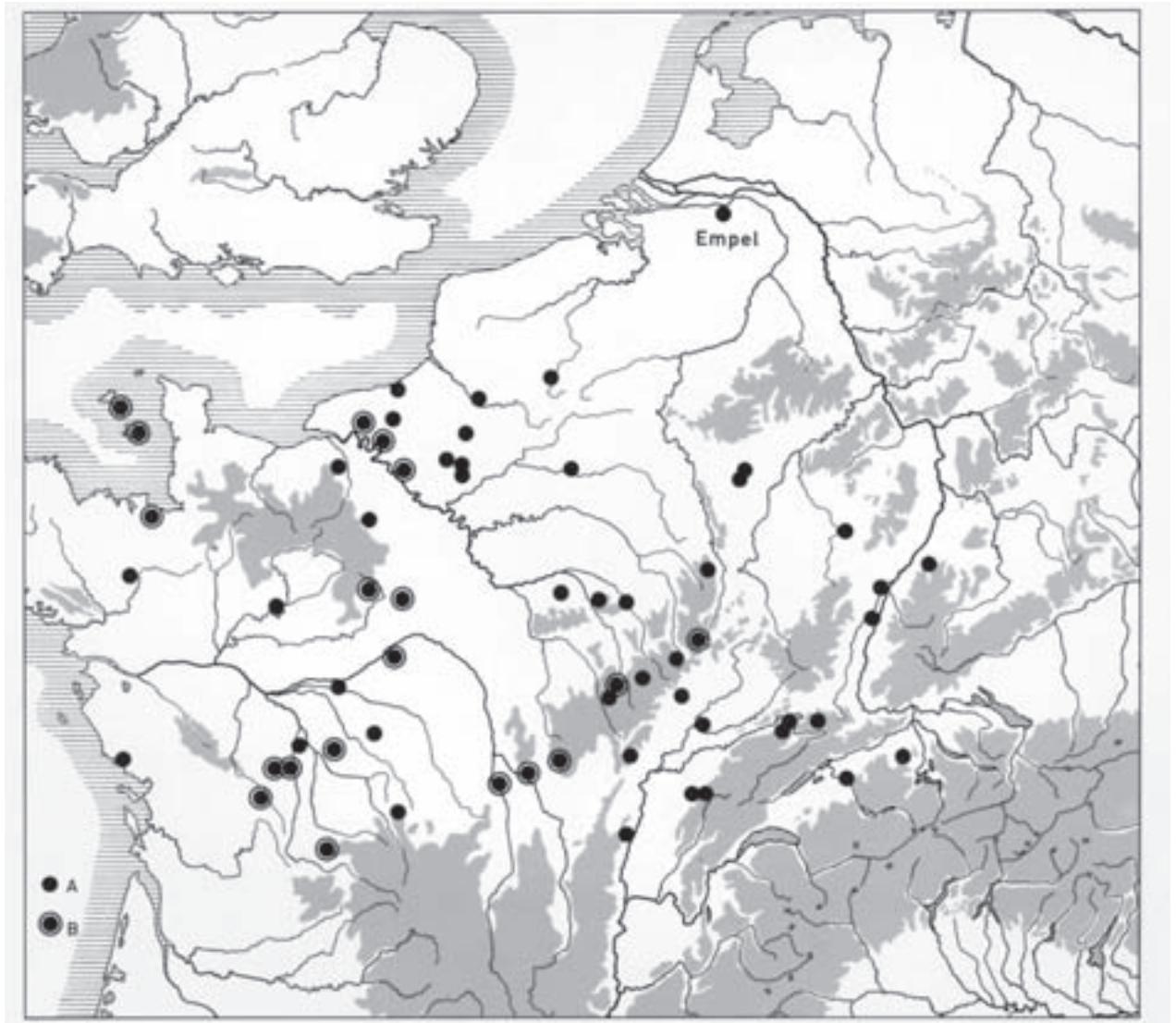
Fig. 5.4. Distribution of Gallic silver coins with the legend TOGIRIX (BN 5550). After Roymans 1994, fig. 8.
A stray find; B hoard find

diers in Roman service. We can point to an iron Port-type Late La Tène helmet from Kessel (plate 7.7), as well as long Kessel-type LT D2 cavalry swords (plate 7.1).[181] Interesting too is the presence at the cult place of Empel of some 30 silver coins from Central/Eastern Gaul bearing the legends TOGIRIX and Q.DOCI SAM F (fig. 5.3). These coins circulated widely in the second quarter of the 1st century BC, and in particular the first two decades following Caesar's conquest, as evidenced by their presence in several large hoards that also contained Roman *denarii*. Because of the wide distribution of these coins over large parts of Gaul and their frequent association with *denarii* in hoards, it is assumed that they were used extensively by the Roman authorities to pay Gallic auxiliary troops.[182] Beyond Empel in the northern half of Northern Gaul, these coins are conspicuous by their almost total absence (fig. 5.4). I submit that their presence at Empel is linked to the Romano-Batavian alliance and that the coins should be viewed as payment for the first generation of Batavian cavalry in Roman service.[183]

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[181] Cf. chapter 7.3.3 and 7.3.1.

[182] Colbert de Beaulieu 1962; idem 1973, 343, 353 ff.

[183] See Roymans 1994, 120-121.
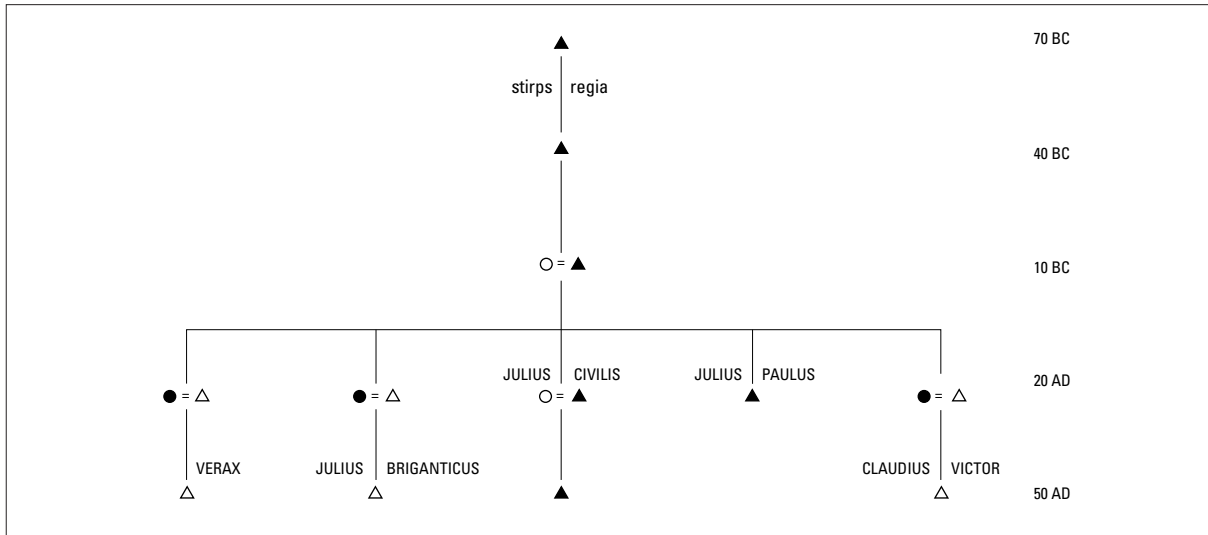
Fig. 5.5. Partial genealogy of the Batavian royal family based on information from Tacitus' *Historiae*.
Circles = men; triangles = women; open symbols = cognated kindred

It will be clear from the above that the significance of the treaty for the genesis of the Batavian tribe can scarcely be overestimated. Settlement in the Rhine delta by a subgroup of the Chatti and their subsequent integration with indigenous groups was probably a direct consequence of the alliance. The general view that the unity of ethnic formations is usually an ideological construct highlights the political dimension of the Batavian *origo* myth. Although Tacitus' statement that the Batavian community consisted entirely of migrants may be archaeologically untenable, it may express the way in which the political core of the Batavians presented themselves and thus reflect internal power relationships.

5.2 ON THE ROLE OF A KING

The historical sources are completely silent about the role of individual leadership in the creation of the Batavian polity in the Rhine/Meuse delta. They do provide two indirect clues, however: the presence among the Batavians of a royal house in the Neronian era, and the fact that this family enjoyed Roman citizenship at an early date.

Tacitus tells us that the brothers Julius Civilis and Julius Paulus – by far the most important members of the Batavian community at the time of Nero – were *regia stirpe*, or members of a royal family.[184] It is clear, however, that already then the kingship was a thing of the past, having been abolished in an earlier

[184] Tacitus, *Hist*. 4.13 and 4.32, where he refers to Civilis' murdered brother, who must have been Paulus. In the surviving excerpt from Tacitus' *Historiae* (4.13), we find *Iulius Paulus et Claudius Civilis*. Since Tacitus refers elsewhere (*Hist*. 1.59) to Julius Civilis, it is often argued that the original manuscript mentioned *Iulius Civilis et Claudius Paulus*. Another assumption is that the brothers acquired Roman citizenship independently of one other (cf. the discussion in Sprey 1953, 29 ff.; Bogaers 1955, 189). How- ever, it is unlikely that Civilis, who must have been born in about AD 25, was personally granted citizenship by the Roman authorities at the time of Tiberius or Caligula. The very early age at which this would have occurred makes it improbable. Civilis is more likely to have inherited citizenship from his father, in which case his brother Paulus would also have carried the Julian family name. For this reason I suggest that *Iulius Paulus et Iulius Civilis* be read in accordance with Clifford H. Moore's *Loeb* edition.

period. Tacitus also gives the names of three other individuals from this family whom we can place in a fragmentary family tree (fig. 5.5). They were Civilis' nephews, Verax, Julius Briganticus and Claudius Victor, all of whom were military leaders.[185]

In which period did the Batavian kingship operate, and what kind of king should we envisage? As regards the date, if we assume that the Batavian magistrature was introduced in the time of Drusus,[186] then the kingship must belong to the preceding period, being the formative phase of the Batavian polity. It is then conceivable that the Batavian *stirps regia* originated from that section of the Chatti that had moved to the Rhine delta.[187] Slofstra has recently proposed that the Batavian kingship be viewed as a client kingship introduced or supported by Rome.[188] This ties in well with the high status of the Romano-Batavian treaty, and establishes a direct link with the familiar phenomenon of 'friendly kings' at the Roman frontier, including the Celto-Germanic frontier.[189]

Although attractive on historical grounds, for the present Slofstra's idea of a client king appointed by Rome remains elusive in archaeological terms. In any event the material evidence differs fundamentally from that of contemporaneous client kingdoms in pre-conquest Britain. There it manifested itself clearly in the numismatic material, which was characterised by continuing emissions of gold coins (possibly with gold subsidies from the Roman government!) and the introduction of coin legends in Latin script (probably the names of kings).[190] From the Augustan period onward coins appeared with a clear classical imagery, marking an abrupt break with the old series tradition. The coinages functioned as a key medium in the personal power strategies of dynastic leaders. If we compare them with the probable Batavian coin emissions from the period before the coming of Drusus,[191] the latter strikes us with its conservative clinging to the old series tradition, a gradual decrease in the precious-metal content, and the absence of legends. Significant too is the almost complete lack of evidence of elite wine consumption in the Batavian region, reflected in the absence of Dressel 1 amphorae. In short, the Batavian case demonstrates that the institution of client kingship in the Celto-Germanic frontier did not produce the same archaeological evidence in all areas. One possible explanation is that native leaders in the Lower Rhine frontier zone were not receptive to certain innovations, such as drinking wine and adding Latin legends to coins.

A second point of interest is the fact that, judging by their names, the leaders of the Batavian *stirps regia* enjoyed Roman citizenship in Nero's time; this had been granted in the pre-Claudian era by one of the leaders of the Julian dynasty. How and when did they acquire these rights? There has been a tendency in the recent past to assign a fairly late date (under Tiberius or Caligula) to the bestowal of citizenship on the Batavian *Iulii*.[192] The underlying assumption is that the people in question were granted citizenship at the end of a military career. There is a practical objection to this, however, as it would mean that Julius Civilis, Julius Paulus and Julius Briganticus became Roman citizens at a very young age.[193] The Batavian

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[185] Tacitus, *Hist*. 5.20 (Verax), 4.33 (Claudius Victor), 2.22 and 4.70 (Julius Briganticus).

[186] See section 5.3 and 8.3 below.

[187] In any event, we may conclude from Tacitus' statement about the east-Rhenish origin of the Batavians as a whole that it applied to the *stirps regia*, who constituted the dominant political core of the later Batavians.

[188] Slofstra 2002, 25-26.

[189] Cf. Braund 1984, and (especially regarding pre-conquest Britain) Creighton 2000. See also Tacitus' bizarre account (*Ann*. 11.16-17) of the appointment of Italicus, a Cheruscan who grew up in Italy, as king of the Cherusci in the Claudian era.

[190] Creighton 2000, chapters 3 and 4.

[191] See chapter 6.

[192] Bogaers 1955, 190; idem 1960/1961, 270; Bloemers 1978, 83. Roymans (1998a) and Slofstra (2002, 25), on the other hand, have argued that citizenship was granted in the Augustan period or earlier.

[193] Julius Civilis, who was born c. AD 25, would then have acquired Roman citizenship from Tiberius or Caligula as a teenager – i.e. before his military career. Julius Briganticus, the son of one of Civilis' sisters and therefore a generation younger, would have been born in about 45, which means he would have been granted citizenship by Nero at the start of his military career. This is not only improbable, but also incompatible with his Julian *gens* name.

Iulii are much more likely to have inherited these rights.[194] Their fathers or grandfathers may have been rewarded with citizenship for their military services under Augustus or Tiberius. However, for the upper tribal echelon – and kings in particular – there was another way of acquiring citizenship: as a direct treaty partner of Rome. This is how Civilis' great-grandfather may have gained his status as client king at the time when the treaty was first concluded.[195] The rise of the Batavian *Iulii* thus appears to fit a similar pattern to that of the Gallic *Iulii*; both were representatives of the upper pro-Roman aristocracy who acquired Roman citizenship in the period preceding the provincialisation of Gaul under Augustus.[196]

Civilis' genealogy, however fragmentary, is interesting for another reason – the variation in the *gens* names of Civilis' nephews Briganticus and Victor (fig. 5.5). The former belonged to the *Iulii* and the latter to the *Claudii*.[197] To understand this variation, it is important to know that both nephews were sons of Civilis' sisters.[198] They appear to have acquired the status of their fathers, which would imply that the *nomen gentilicium* and Roman citizenship passed down through the male line only, in keeping with the general pattern in the Roman empire.[199] This means that Briganticus' forebear had obtained Roman citizenship from an earlier representative of the Julian house, and Victor's father from Claudius.

For Rome, granting citizenship to a Batavian leader and recognising him as a friendly king were important instruments for controlling the Lower Rhine frontier and guaranteeing Batavian troop supplies. This support from Rome undoubtedly had a major impact on internal Batavian power relations. The privileges placed the royal family above their aristocratic rivals, granting them access to an exclusive network of relationships with Roman authorities, and enabling them to rightfully claim both a Batavian and a Roman identity. This does not mean, however, that we should view the kingship as a stable political system without tensions. It is precisely within dynasties that rivalries can arise between young princes or with individuals related to the royal family by marriage. One example is the conflict described by Tacitus between Civilis and his younger nephew Briganticus. Among the Germanic Cherusci, almost the entire *stirps regia* is said to have been massacred in internal conflicts at the time of Claudius.[200]

5.3 FROM KINGSHIP TO MAGISTRATURE

Although the royal family still occupied a prominent place in the Batavian *civitas* in the Neronian era, kingship as a political institution appears to have been subsequently abolished. We do not know when this occurred, or under what conditions, but the most plausible explanation is to link it to the gradual municipalisation of the Batavian *civitas* from Drusus' time onwards.[201] An alternative system was intro-

[194] Compare the epigraphic genealogies of several Gallic *Iulii*; cf. Goudineau 1993, 190 ff.; Drinkwater 1978, 818 ff. Tacitus (*Ann*. 3.40.2) states that Julius Florus of the Treveri and Julius Sacrovir of the Aedui, leaders of the Gallic revolt of AD 21, were descendants of aristocratic families which had been granted citizenship several generations earlier.

[195] Cf. Braund 1984, 39 ff., on the bestowal of citizenship on friendly kings in the frontier zones of the Roman empire. A special case is that of the Frisian kings Verritus and Malorix, who were awarded Roman citizenship by Nero during their diplomatic mission to Rome (Tacitus, *Ann*. 13.54).

[196] Drinkwater 1978.

[197] Of the third nephew, Verax, only the *cognomen* is men-

tioned, which does not necessarily mean that he had peregrine status. Tacitus may simply have omitted the *nomen gentilicium*.

[198] Tacitus, *Hist*. 4.70 (Julius Briganticus), 4.33 (Claudius Victor), 5.20 (Verax). We read in *Hist*. 4.18 that Civilis had several sisters.

[199] Jacques/Scheid 1998, 227, 235. The epigraphic genealogies of several Gallic *Iulii* reveal that citizenship was passed on down the male line. Cf. Goudineau 1993, 188-193.

[200] Tacitus, *Ann*. 11.16.

[201] Cf. chapter 8.1. The term 'municipalisation' refers to the introduction of a Roman system of civic administration in accordance with the *civitas* model, with codified laws, elected magistrates and public priesthoods.

duced in which the leadership of the new community was entrusted to an annually elected magistrature. Thus the Batavian institutions of kingship and magistrature did not coexist; instead, one succeeded the other.

The institution of the Batavian magistrature is documented in an inscription on the well-known altar stone of St.-Michielsgestel-'Ruimel' near 's-Hertogenbosch (fig. 8.2). Here a certain Flavus is mentioned as being *summus magistratus* of the *civitas Batavorum*.[202] There are several arguments for dating the stone to the first half of the 1st century.[203] The office of *summus magistratus* does not fit into a formal Roman *civitas* system, which was based on the principle of collegiality in the highest administrative functions rather than on monocratic leadership. Furthermore, it is inconceivable that anyone of peregrine status could have filled the highest office after the mid-1st century. The post of *summus magistratus* on the stone at Ruimel can best be interpreted as a Latinisation of an indigenous office within the context of a *civitas* structure that had not yet been fully municipalised.[204] In Gaul at the beginning of the imperial era there are several examples known to us of peregrine *civitates* with monocratic magistratures.[205] Called *vergobretus, praetor* or *magister*, they were probably a native form of magistrature to which the Roman authorities seemingly did not object. We may interpret the Batavian *summus magistratus* in the same way.

It would be useful to compare the function of *summus magistratus* in this case with that described by Caesar among the Aedui in Central Gaul. This chief magistrate (v*ergobret* in Gallic), who was elected by the tribal council, held the highest authority over the *civitas* for a period of one year. The succession was laid down in a series of closely defined rules. In particular, no two people from the same aristocratic family were permitted to hold this office in one human lifespan. The *summus magistratus* thus fitted into the aristocratic order as an alternative to hereditary kingship. However, the strict rules of succession curbed the political ambitions of young and powerful aristocrats and were a constant source of tension.[206] Clearly, the *summus magistratus* did not always come from the upper echelons of the tribal aristocracy; he was sometimes a person of lesser rank who was sponsored by a much more powerful *princeps*.[207] This latter point is relevant to the Batavian situation, since it helps explain why the *summus magistratus* referred to on the stone at Ruimel did not – judging by his single name – possess Roman citizenship and was therefore not a member of the upper aristocracy.

Thus by no means did the abolition of the kingship and the introduction of an aristocratic order with a magistrature strip the royal house of its power. On the contrary, Tacitus makes it clear that Julius Civilis and Julius Paulus – as members of the *stirps regia* in the Neronian era – occupied by far the most powerful position among the Batavians. As a *peregrinus*, the Flavus named on the altar stone at Ruimel was undoubtedly a person of secondary rank.[208] He may have figured among the clientele of the leaders of the *stirps regia*. Perhaps we can view the monocratic magistrature as a strategic creation of the Batavian royal family, who saw it as a more effective means of consolidating their position than a collegiate body of magistrates.

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[202] *CIL* XIII 8771, AE 1994, no. 1281. It has recently been suggested that the stone may have originated from the neighbouring sanctuary of Hercules Magusanus at Empel. Cf. Roymans/Derks 1994, 26.

[203] See Bogaers 1960/61, 270 ff. (pre-Flavian period); Rüger 1968, 94; Will 1987, 11 ff. (1st century); Raepsaet-Charlier 1999, 279 (first half 1st century).

[204] See the discussion in chapter 8.3, and Chastagnol 1995, 188-189.

[205] Cf. Chastagnol 1995, 187-188; Dondin-Payre 1999, 150ff.; Frei-Stolba 1999, 76-77.

[206] On the office of *summus magistratus* among the Aedui: Caesar *BG* 1.16; 7.32-33. Cf. the discussion in Roymans 1983, 47-49, n. 24-33.

[207] Cf. Caesar, *BG* 1.17 (Liscus); 7.39 (Convictolitavis/Cotus).

[208] The same probably applies to the Batavian army commander (*dux*) Chariovalda, who was killed under Tiberius during the latter's Germanic campaigns. Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.11.

Although relying heavily on indirect evidence and analogies, we are able to sketch in broad outline the formation of the Batavians as a socio-political entity. They probably developed around an aristocratic leader and his *comitatus*, whom Rome recognised as king and who subsequently succeeded in organising migrant and indigenous groups in a new polity. Thus the Batavians appear to be an example of a case in which 'a leader makes a people'.[209] Precisely how this process of social integration occurred is unclear, but there is no doubt that Batavian troops in Roman service played a vital role from the outset. Within a brief space of time, a powerful feeling of cohesion and collective identity may have been forged among these troops, led by their own commanders and made up of people from different ethnic backgrounds. Social integration will also have occurred through a system of intermarriage.

This view of the origin of the Batavians and the Batavian *Iulii* gives us some idea as to how the parties involved perceived the Romano-Batavian alliance. An important clue is that the Batavian royal family possessed Roman citizenship, which they would have received from an early representative of the Julian house, possibly Caesar himself. As a result of the granting of citizenship, the Batavian *stirps regia* joined the personal *clientela* of the Julian house.[210] The emperor probably acted as its patron, and indirectly as patron of the entire Batavian *civitas*. A patronage relationship of this kind may have been expressed in public inscriptions and monuments. I will argue in chapter 9 that a marble head of Julius Caesar from Nijmegen and a fragment of a bronze *tabula patronatus*, found in Escharen and dating to the time of Claudius, are material manifestations of a patronage link with the imperial house.

The above model of the emergence of a new Batavian polity, with a king supported by Rome at its political centre, offers a clear springboard for studying the development of a collective Batavian ethnic consciousness. It furnishes us with specific themes that will be elaborated in later chapters. Firstly, it is obvious – given the power and status of the *stirps regia* among the early Batavians – that they played a leading role in the process of defining a collective identity. At this early stage they will have been a major agent in the creation and diffusion of ethnic traditions, thereby selecting from the Graeco-Roman repertoire of myths, ideas and imagery. This theme is expanded on in chapter 11, which deals with the Batavian appropriation of the Mediterranean Hercules cult. Secondly, given Caesar's probable involvement in the Batavian ethnogenesis, we might expect him to figure prominently in the historical self-image of the Batavians. Thirdly, the massive ethnic recruitment of Batavians, as set out in the treaty with Rome, is likely to have been a significant social backdrop against which a collective Batavian identity was moulded. Chapter 10 examines the extent to which Rome, through its intensive military exploitation of the Batavians, played an indirect but nevertheless key role in cultivating a Batavian collective consciousness.

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[209] Cf. a suggestion by Creighton 2002, 42. Creighton (2000, 59-64, 76) has come up with a similar example for southern Britain, where the installation of Commius as a client king of Rome formed the foundation for a royal dynasty in Southern Britain.

[210] Slofstra 1991, 174; idem 2002, 25.

6 The Lower Rhine *triquetrum* coinages and the formation of a Batavian polity[211]

In chapter 5 I presented an historical model of the genesis of the Batavians in the Dutch river delta. My central hypothesis is that the formation of a Batavian identity group had its roots in the Caesarian frontier organisation: it emerged from a process of integration between a relatively small immigrant group from the east bank of the Middle Rhine and local indigenous groups. Tacitus describes the Batavians as a branch of the Chatti who had split off in order to settle in the Rhine delta. This move can be dated to the period between Caesar's departure from Gaul (51 BC) and the start of Drusus' Germanic campaigns (12 BC). The objective of the present chapter is to test this historical model against a numismatic data set relating to the Lower Rhine 'rainbow cups' of the *triquetrum* type.[212] The phase in which these coinages circulated widely – and were probably also struck – in the Rhine delta coincides with the historically documented formation of a Batavian polity. It will be argued that most of the coinages in question were Batavian emissions. Finally, I shall discuss the role these coinages may have played in the integration process of different groups into a new Batavian polity.

6.1 DISTRIBUTION, CLASSIFICATION AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE TRIQUETRUM COINAGES

In the Late Iron Age, the Lower Rhine region north of Bonn belonged to the northern periphery of coin-using communities. At first pre-Roman coin circulation was a marginal phenomenon. Not until the mid-1st century BC did coin usage expand considerably and local coin production develop.[213] Apart from the more recent AVAVCIA coins of the Scheers 217 type, the so-called 'rainbow cups' of the *triquetrum* type were the principal local coin group. These feature on the convex obverse a cup-shaped profile with a *triquetrum* inside a 'laurel wreath', and on the concave reverse a 'pyramid' of point circles and double circles surrounded by a zigzag line. The *triquetrum* coins were minted in various metals: gold/electrum (rare in the Lower Rhine region), silver, and a copper alloy. Their weight fluctuates between 7.5 and 4.5 grams. The history of this coin group, which spans almost the entire 1st century BC, began in the area east of the Middle Rhine.[214]

Extensive use of metal detectors has led to a dramatic rise in single finds of this coin type in the Netherlands in the past two decades. An inventory made in 1981, thus representing the pre-detector era, produced 31 coins scattered over nine sites.[215] At present, 612 *triquetrum* coins, originating from 129 sites, are known from the Netherlands. Almost without exception, this 20-fold increase is due to metal

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[211] This chapter is a revised and updated version of an article published in 2001 (Roymans 2001).

[212] For practical reasons, the term '*triquetrum* coin' is used in this study for the Lower and Middle Rhine rainbow staters, while the term '*triskeles* coin' is used to indicate the gold Scheers 31 type staters, ascribed to the Eburones (chapter 4). The terms *triskeles* and *triquetrum* are synony-

mous, however, both referring to whorl motifs.

[213] See the discussion in chapter 4.2.

[214] Principal studies: Forrer 1910; Kappel 1976; Roymans/Van der Sanden 1980; Heinrichs 1999; idem, 2003; Roymans 2001; Schulze-Forster 2002, 122 ff.; Wigg 2003.

[215] Roymans/Van der Sanden 1980, 239 ff.
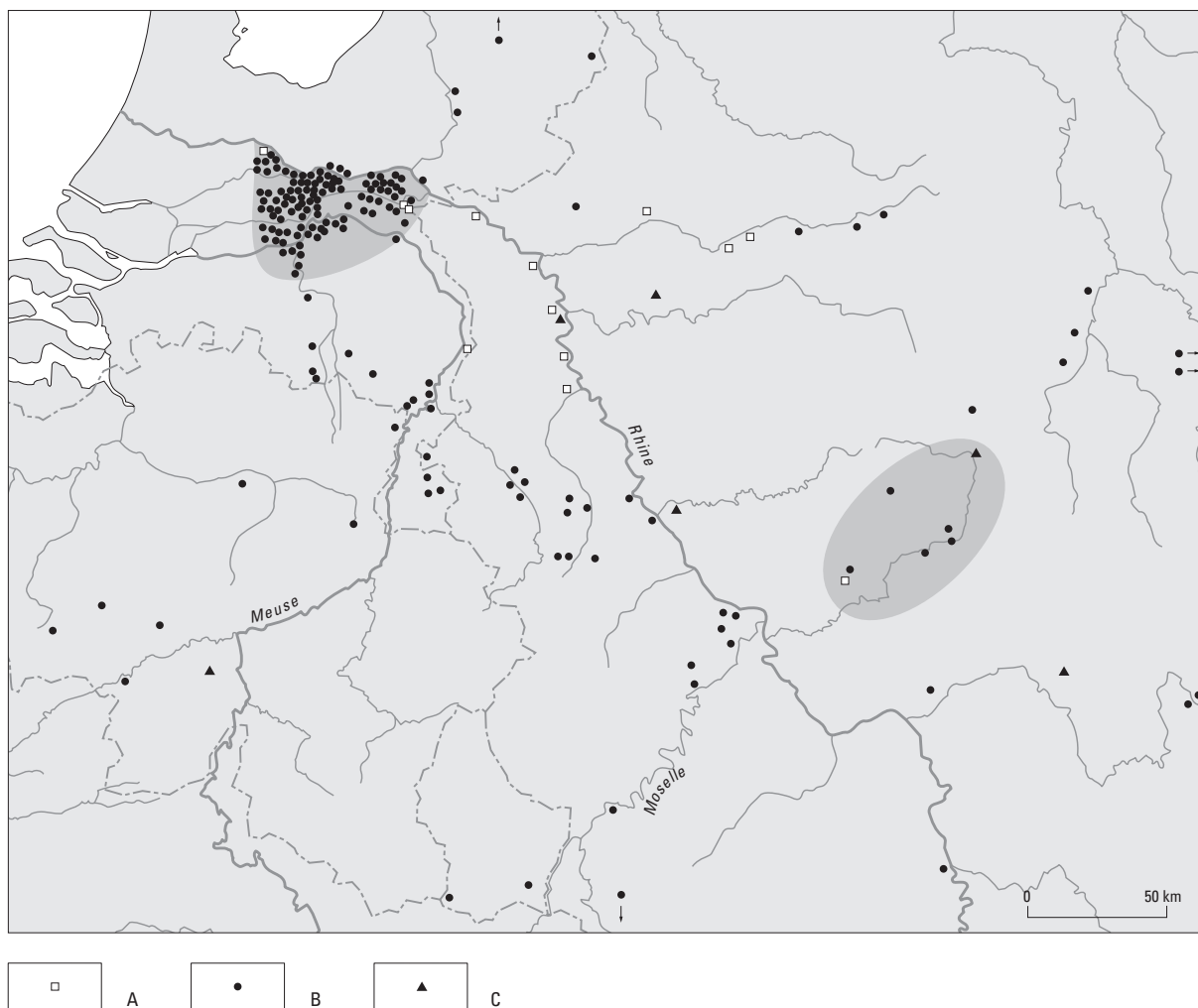
Fig. 6.1. General distribution of silver and copper *triquetrum* coins in the Rhineland and adjacent areas. Shaded: probable production areas.

A Roman army camp; B other find sites; C hoard

detection. We observe a significant increase – albeit less spectacular – for the German Rhineland in the same period. In 1981 there were 13 known sites, including the well-known Bochum hoard with 538 *triquetrum* coins.[216] A recent reinventory has produced a total of 874 coins, spread over 59 sites on both banks of the Rhine.[217] Thanks to the recent reinventories in the Netherlands and Germany, we now have a much clearer idea of where the *triquetrum* coins are located and a better understanding of the range of subtypes. At the same time, a programme of metal analysis has been initiated, which provides crucial data on the composition of the different subtypes. Taken together, this new data provides a much better understanding of how this regional coin tradition developed.

This chapter presents the new numismatic material from the Netherlands in the form of tables and distribution maps. Yet to be published is a detailed database containing information about each coin. I

[216] Cf. Roymans/Van der Sanden 1980, 209, fig. 15.

[217] Heinrichs, in prep, and Schulze-Forster 2002, 122-128.
This count does not include the Middle Rhine gold

triquetrum staters of the Mardorf group.
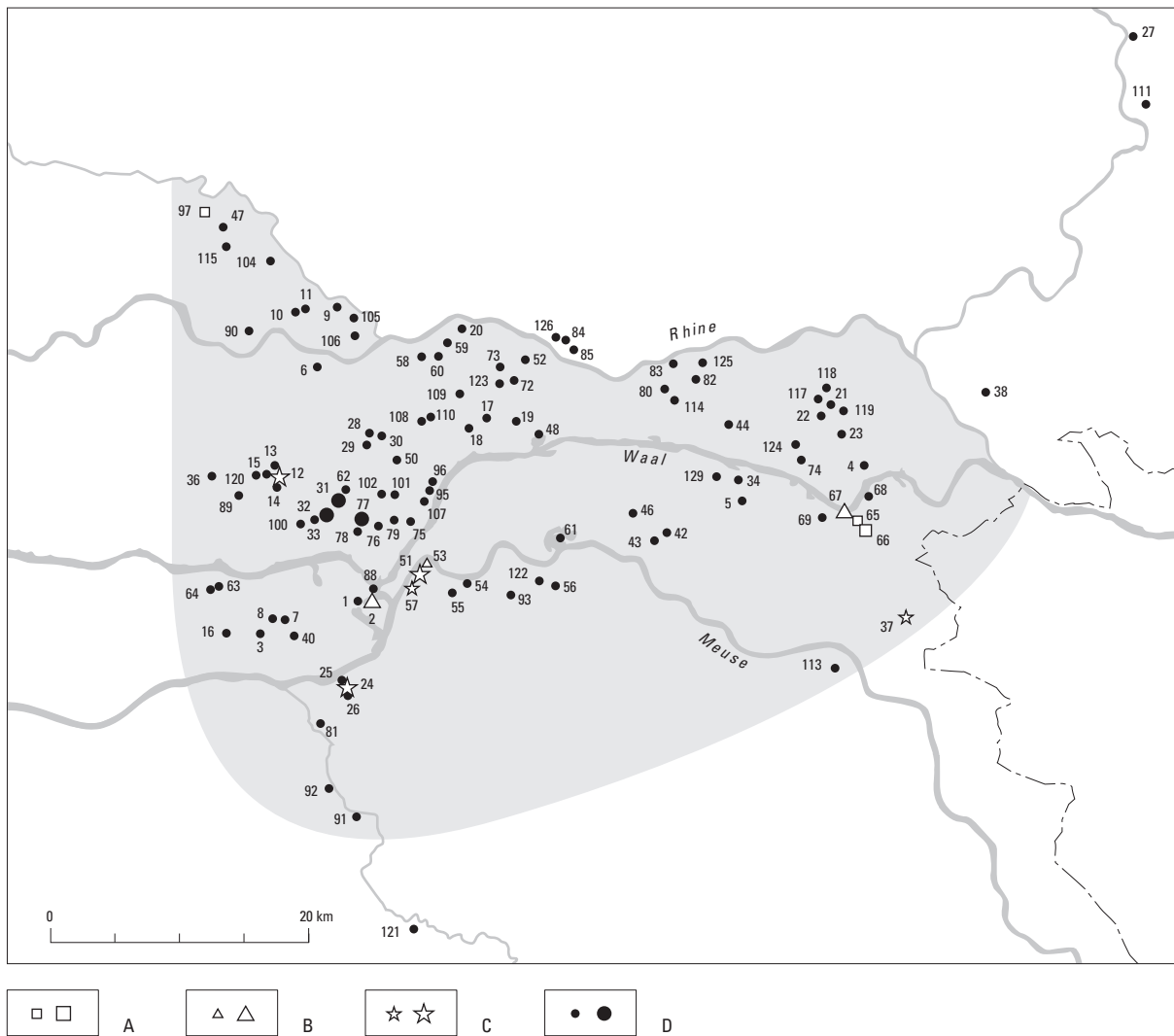
Fig. 6.2. Distribution of *triquetrum* coins in the Batavian river area. The numbering of the find places refers to the list in the appendix. Shaded: core area of the Batavian *civitas*.

A army camp; B nucleated settlement; C (probable) cult place; D rural settlement; large symbols >10 coins

have devoted considerable time over the past two decades inventorising the Dutch coins. By visiting the private collections of metal detectorists, I have been able to gain first-hand information about the exact find sites, weight, subtype and metal composition.[218] Additional information was obtained from the Rijksmuseum het Koninklijk Penningkabinet.[219] For information about *triquetrum* coins from Germany, I consulted Heinrichs' recent inventory as well as Schulze-Forster's thesis on the material from the Düns-berg *oppidum* in Hessen.[220]

	Batavian area	German Rhineland
small rural settlements	94 (86%)	10 (12%)
(probable) cult sites	4 (4%)	2 (4%)
nucleated settlements/towns	3 (3%)	4 (7%)
military camps	3 (3%)	11 (19%)
oppida/hill forts	-	3 (5%)
cemeteries	-	1 (2%)
hoards	-	5 (9%)
indeterminate	5 (4%)	22 (42%)
total	**110 (100%)**	**58 (100%)**

Table 6.1. Classification of archaelogical sites in the Batavian area (fig. 6.2) and the German Rhineland where silver or copper *triquetrum* coins have been found.

6.1.1 GENERAL DISTRIBUTION

A total of 199 sites (including sites in Belgium, Luxembourg and Switzerland), together yielding 1513 coins, have been recorded to date (see appendix). The older gold coins of the Mardorf group, which are concentrated in the German Middle Rhine region (fig. 6.5), are not included. Silver and copper *triquetrum* coins (fig. 6.1) are sparsely distributed in the Lower and Middle Rhine area, with a clear concentration in the eastern part of the Dutch river delta, where 110 sites are clustered together in a zone covering less than 60 by 40 km (fig. 6.2).

The find sites for the *triquetrum* coins can be divided into several categories (table 6.1). A total of six hoards are known, all of which – with the exception of the Fraire hoard in Belgium – come from the German Rhineland. The remaining find sites (insofar as information is available) are archaeological sites where isolated coins have been discovered as surface finds through metal detection. By far the largest category are small rural settlements. There is also a small number of cult sites and of nucleated settlements (*oppida, vici*, urban centres). Finally, there is a series of Roman military camps. However, there are substantial regional differences in the relative proportion of the various categories of sites (table 6.1), as well as the relative distribution of coins over the different types of settlement. I will return to this point later.

6.1.2 CLASSIFICATION

The *triquetrum* coins of the Rhineland can be divided into a number of subtypes based on their metal composition and the presence of additional marks. The first classification relates to the coin metal. If we disregard the older gold coins, we can identify two main groups: pieces of silver (or sometimes electrum) and of copper, with corresponding differences in weight. One problem that can arise is that of distinguishing the two groups. A visual examination of the coins reveals that the transitions between the groups are gradual, which makes the boundaries somewhat arbitrary.

A programme of metal analyses has produced important quantitative data. A total of 58 coins were analysed at the Philips N.V. Physics Laboratory in Eindhoven. Two different methods – X-ray fluorescence analysis and neutron-activation analysis – were used.[221] These methods generally produce very dif-

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[221] The neutron-activation analyses were carried out in the nuclear laboratory at Mol, Belgium, in the 1980s. I am very grateful to Philips N.V., and especially to W.A. Witmer and A. Jaspers, who conducted the metal analyses of the coins.

site	weight	type	X-ray fluorescence			neutron-activation				
			Au (%)	Ag (%)	Cu (%)	Au (%)	Ag (%)	Cu (%)	Sn (%)	Sb (%)
silver I										
Oldenzaal	(4.03)	a	23	71	6	14	70	15	-	0.5
Mariaweiler*	(2.64)	a	18	71	11					
silver II										
Hernen	(2.80)	a	-	90	5	0.5	53.5	46	-	-
Empel, 160	6.18	a				10	31	59	-	-
Empel, 161	5.77	a				10	40	50	-	-
Nijmegen, 8	5.44	a				10	36	53.5	-	0.5
Maren, 1	6.71	a	26	48	26					
Kessel, 8	6.77	a	5	44	51					
Kessel, 6	6.93	a	14	51	35					
Rossum	6.85	a	20	52	28					
Megen, 1	6.50	a	20	55	25					
Megen, 2	6.51	a	10	56	34					
Kessel, 10	6.58	b	16	62	22	7	35	58	-	-
Empel, 135	5.77	b				10	38	52	-	-
Kessel, 5	6.58	b	7	53	40	10	44	46	-	-
Maren, 3	6.20	b	29	45	26					
Maren, 2	6.62	b	26	49	25					
Lith, 5	6.51	b	15	58	27					
Alem, 2	6.50	b	20	57	23					
Kessel, 7	5.97	c	-	63	37					
copper										
Empel, 148	4.77	a				-	0.5	99	-	0.5
St.Michielsgestel, 2	4.84	d	50	31	19	9.5	22	68	-	0.5
Teeffelen	5.57	d	49	40	11	7	19.5	73	-	0.5
Alem, 1	6.08	d	50	41	9	10	25	65	-	-
Lith, 4	6.10	d	31	32	37	9	20	71	-	-
Beuningen,4	4.57	d	46	22	32	8	12	80	-	-
Macharen	4.46	e	28	18	54	5.5	8	86	-	0.5
Lith, 1	5.98	f	26	21	53	7	11.5	81	-	0.5
Beuningen, 2	4.21	i	-	3	97	-	0.3	99.7	-	-
Nijmegen, 7	4.46	i				9	13	77	-	1
Nijmegen, 1	5.25	m	4	7	89					
Nijmegen, 5	5.45	m				-	2	93.5	4.5	-
Lith, 2	5.25	m	33	15	52	4.5	6	89	-	0.5
Lith, 3	5.59	m	48	24	28	5	6.5	88	-	0.5
Empel, 150	5.34	m	30	17	52	5	5.5	89	-	0.5
Nijmegen, 3	5.71	n	8	7	85					
Hernen	4.85	n				-	-	99.5	-	0.5
Beuningen, 1	4.43	o	56	24	20					
Nijmegen, 9	4.84	q	-	6	94	-	3	96.5	-	0.5
Nijmegen, 3	5.20	q				-	9.5	90	-	0.5
Nijmegen, 4	5.50	q				-	0.5	99.4	-	0.1
Mariaweiler*	4.62	q	18	40	39					
Mariaweiler*	(3.25)	q	16	57	18					
Megen, 3	5.35	r	-	17	83					
Empel, 120	5.33	r				6.5	5	88	-	0.5
Nijmegen, 6	5.31	s	-	9	91					
Nijmegen, 1	5.42	s				5	6	88.5	-	0.5
Tongres*	5.37	s	7	22	71					
Nijmegen?	4.80	?	43	13	44	13	10	77	-	-
Lith, Het Hof	4.28	?				11	24	65	-	-
Nijmegen, 10	5.08	?	-	11	89					
Nijmegen, 2	4.34	?				0.6	1.4	97.4	0.1	0.5
Ewijk, 2	3.37	?				-	0.2	93.8	6	-
Ewijk, 1	4.13	?				-	-	95	5	-
Ewijk, 3	5.16	?	45	38	18	8	27	65	-	-
St.Michielsgestel, 1	4.59	?	18	16	65	5	6	89	-	-
St.Michielsgestel, 3	4.61	?				-	13	87	-	-
Heerlen	5.32	?				5	6	88.5	-	0.5

Table 6.2. Metal composition in percentages of silver and copper *triquetrum* coins from the Lower Rhine region detected by X-ray fluorescence analysis and neutron–activation analysis. ⋆ = analysed with electron microscope
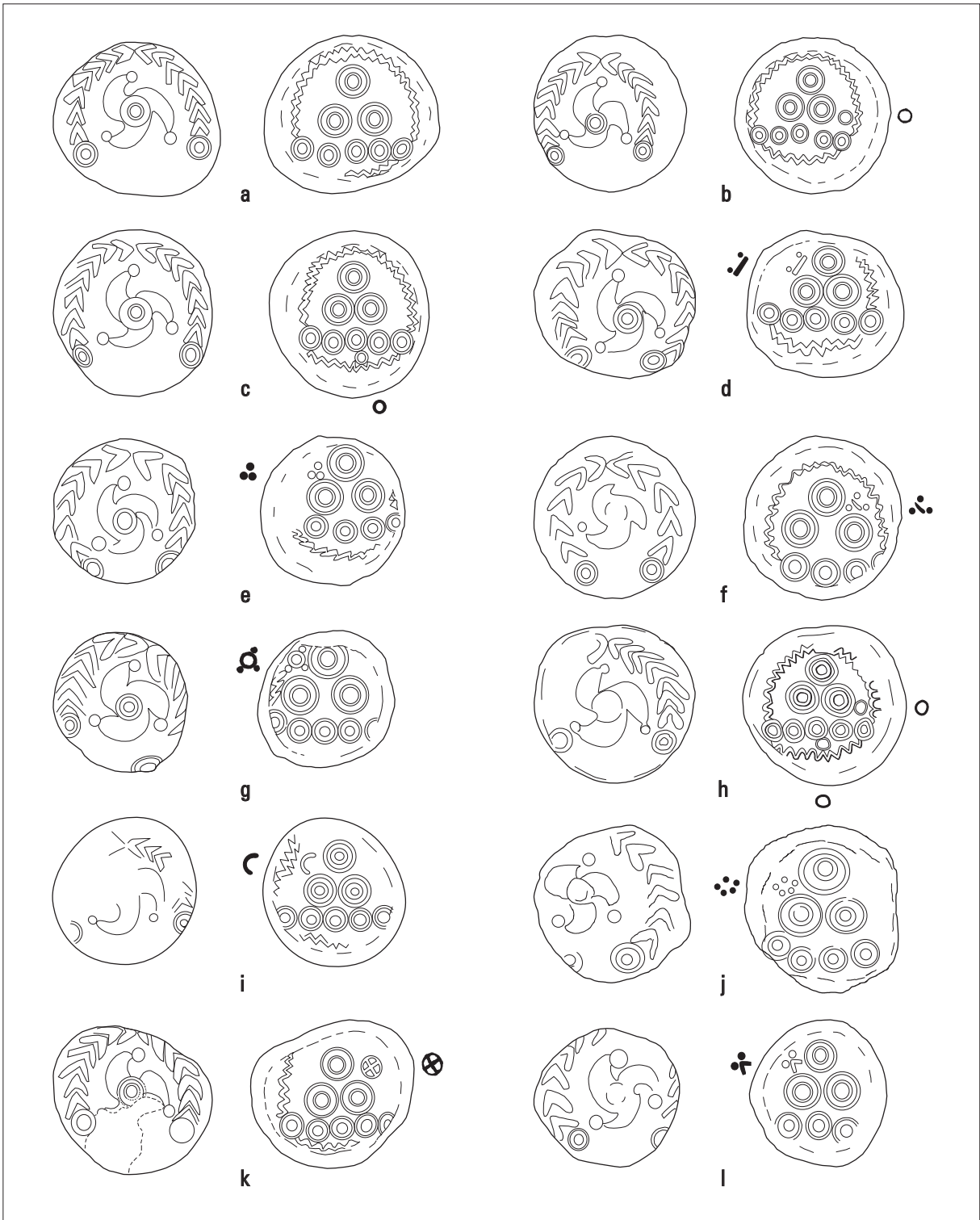
Fig. 6.3. Overview of the different subtypes of Lower Rhine *triquetrum* coinages, based on the presence of additional marks on the reverse. After Roymans 2001, fig. 4, with some corrections and additions.

ferent results, because X-ray fluorescence analysis only tells us about the composition of the outer layer of the coin, while neutron-activation analysis gives the composition of the entire coin, including its core. X-ray analysis often produces higher values for gold and silver. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, there is the natural phenomenon of surface enrichment. During a long period in the soil, the copper elements
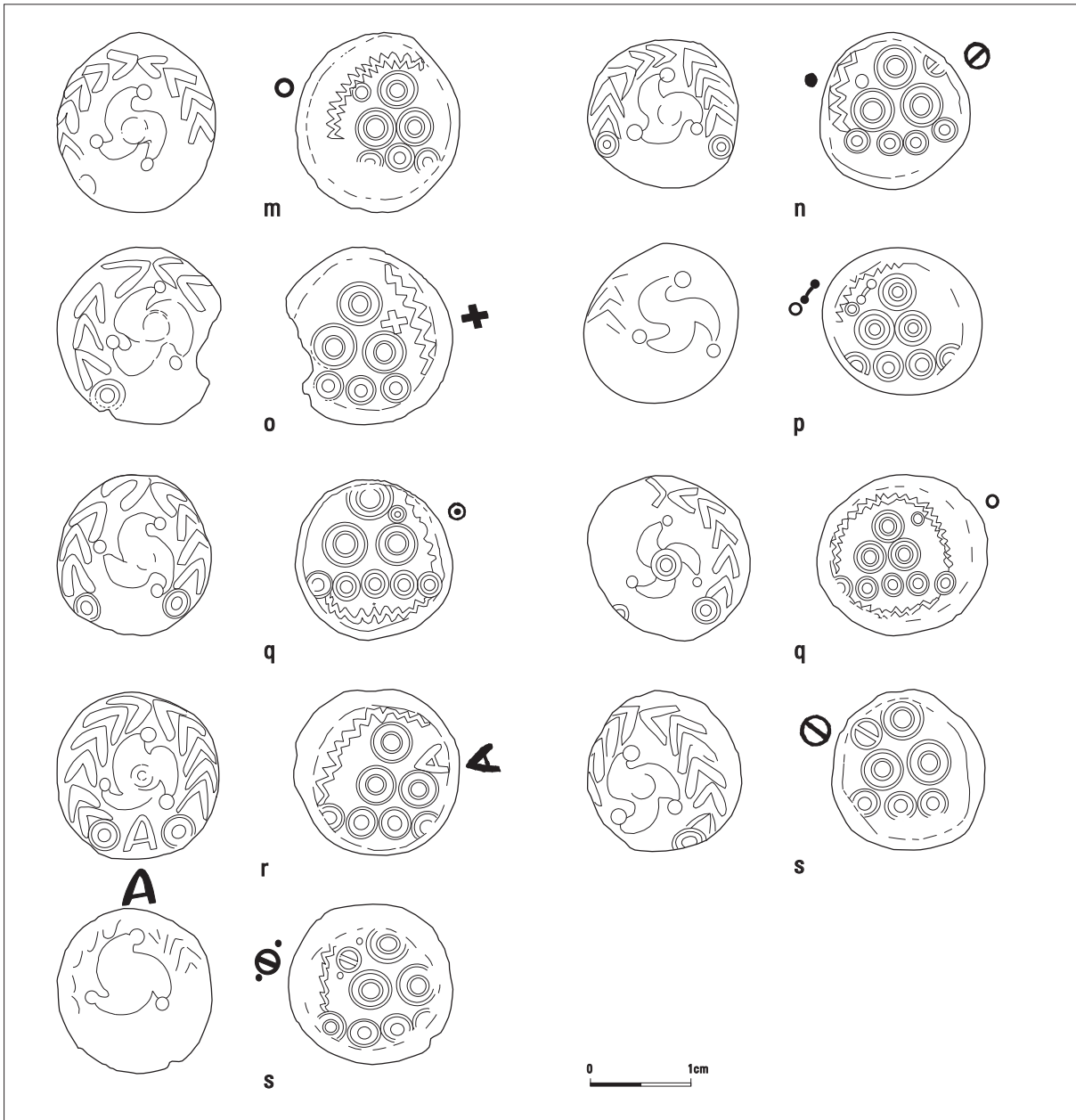
corrode, thereby increasing the proportion of the more resistant gold and silver in the coin's outer layer. Where there are significant differences between the results of the two methods, a second factor is usually involved: the practice of silvering or gilding copper coins in ancient times.

If we examine the metal analyses of the Lower Rhine coins, we can identify three subgroups on the basis of neutron–activation analyses (table 6.2):

1. silver coins with a gold/silver content of over 60%;
2. silver coins with a gold/silver content of between 40 and 60%. The remaining content (about half) is copper.
3. copper coins that are alloyed with gold and/or silver (maximum 35%).

Interestingly, even though invisible to the naked eye, the copper was mixed with gold and silver in almost all the copper *triquetrum* coins. In a number of cases, X-ray analyses clearly reveal the practice of
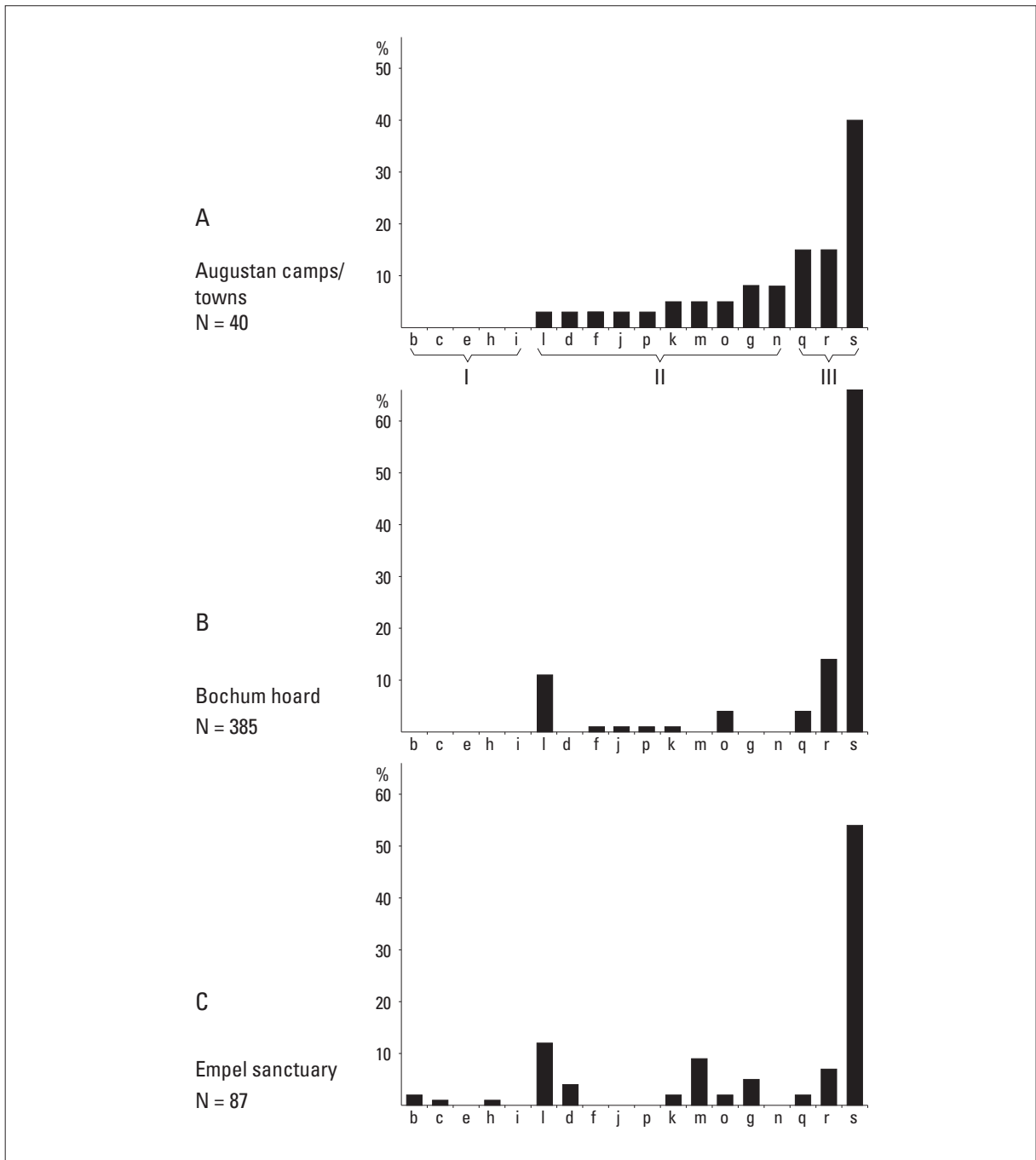
Fig. 6.4. Relative proportions of different variants of *triquetrum* coins found in military camps and some urban settlements of the Augustan period (A), the Bochum hoard (B), and the cult site at Empel (C).

gilding/silvering copper coins. Also remarkable is the virtual absence of tin in the coins, thus ruling out bronze alloys. The most important conclusions from the analysis are that many silver coins have a high copper content, and that the so-called copper coins of the Bochum type cannot simply be classified as base-metal coinages; they were often made to look like electrum or silver coins.

The Rhineland *triquetrum* coinages can also be classified on the basis of small additional marks (*Beizeichen*) on the reverse of the coins. In 1908 Buchenau was the first to arrive at a classification of these marks when he analysed the Bochum hoard discovered in 1907. His classification was adjusted in several
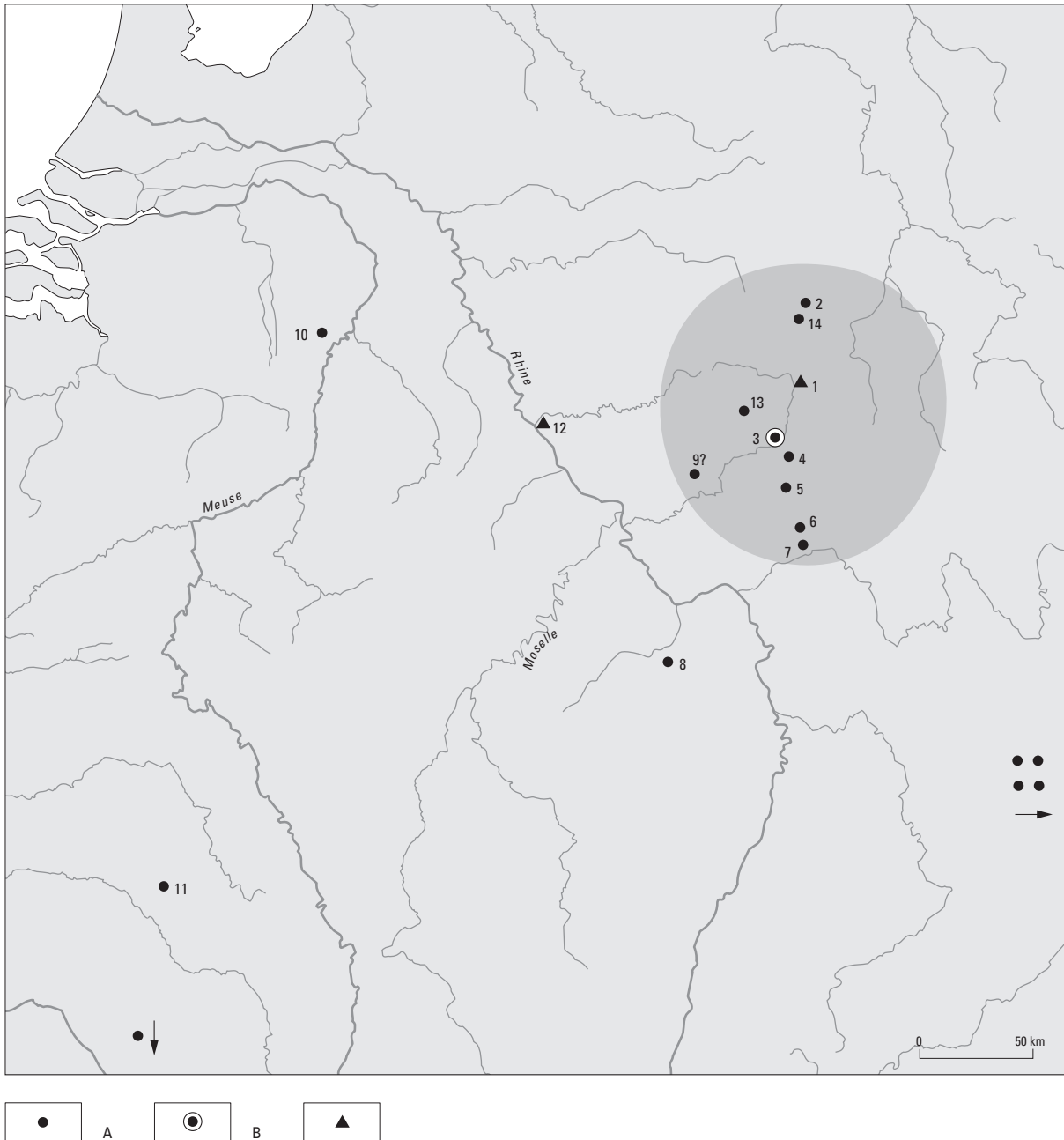
Fig. 6.5. Distribution of gold *triquetrum* coins of the Mardorf type. After Schulze-Forster 2002, Abb. 72. Shaded: probable centre of production and circulation.

A 1 coin; B >2 coins; C hoard find

1 Mardorf; 2 Kirchberg; 3 Dünsberg oppidum (13 specimens); 4 Heuchelheim; 5 Ober-Mörlen-Langenhain; 6 Heidetränk oppidum; 7 Höchst; 8 Donnersberg oppidum; 9 Dornburg (?); 10 Weert; 11 La Cheppe; 12 Stieldorferhohn; 13 Heunstein; 14 Geismar

respects by Forrer in 1910.[222] I presented a new classification system in 2001 (fig. 6.3), which includes several new variants and omits some doubtful ones defined by Buchenau. With some corrections,[223] this

[222] Buchenau 1908; Forrer 1910, 454 ff.

[223] Both my original variants h and i have now been iden-
tified as belonging to variant f. I have subsequently

labelled as h and i two recently discovered variants with
additional marks. For this purpose I used information
kindly provided by Jens Schulze-Forster (Marburg).

Fig. 6.6. Distribution of (predominantly silver) *triquetrum* coins of type a, without additional mark.
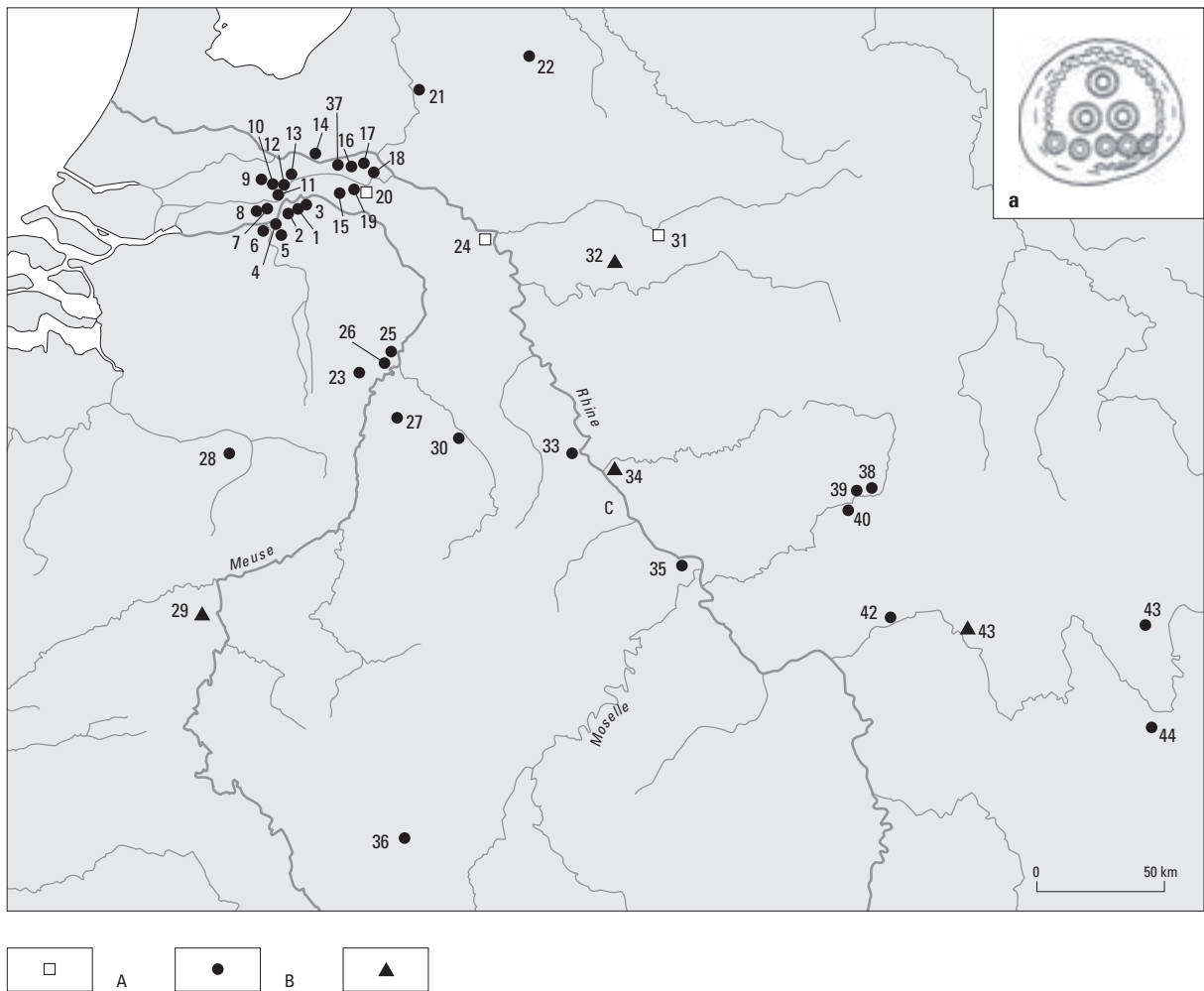
A Roman army camp; B other find sites; C hoard

1 Kessel (4 specimens); 2 Maren; 3 Megen (2 specimens); 4 Empel, De Werf (7 specimens, 3 copper); 5 Empel, Middelsten Hoek; 6 Orthen; 7 Bruchem, Broekseweg (copper); 8 Delwijnen (copper); 9 Deil, Hooiveld (2 specimens); 10 Rumpt; 11 Rossum; 12 Est, Rijs en Ooyen; 13 Echteld, Kanaal; 14 Rhenen, Koerheuvel (copper); 15 Hernen; 16 Elst, Merm; 17 Elst, Brienenshof; 18 Bemmel; 19 Nijmegen, Valkhof area; 20 Nijmegen, Kops Plateau; 21 Epse; 22 Oldenzaal; 23 Weert; 24 Xanten (3 specimens); 25 Horn; 26 Ittervoort; 27 Tüddern; 28 Molembeek, Wersbeek; 29 Fraire (3 specimens); 30 Mariaweiler; 31 Beckinghausen (4 specimens); 32 Bochum (6 specimens); 33 Wesseling; 34 Stieldorferhohn; 35 Andernach (2 specimens); 36 Titelberg (2 specimens, copper); 37 Randwijk, De Asterd; 38 Dünsberg oppidum (22 specimens, silver and copper); 39 Heuchelheim; 40 Wetzlar; 41 Höchst; 42 Albstadt (approx. 40 specimens); 43 Zeuzleben; 44 Baldersheim

system is presented in figure 6.3. Altogether, 20 subtypes are identified, each referred to by a letter code. This includes variant a, which has no additional mark.

6.1.3 CHRONOLOGY

Little is known about the chronology of the Rhineland *triquetrum* coinages. One major problem is that almost all coins – apart from those in hoards – are isolated finds discovered with metal detectors. Unfor-
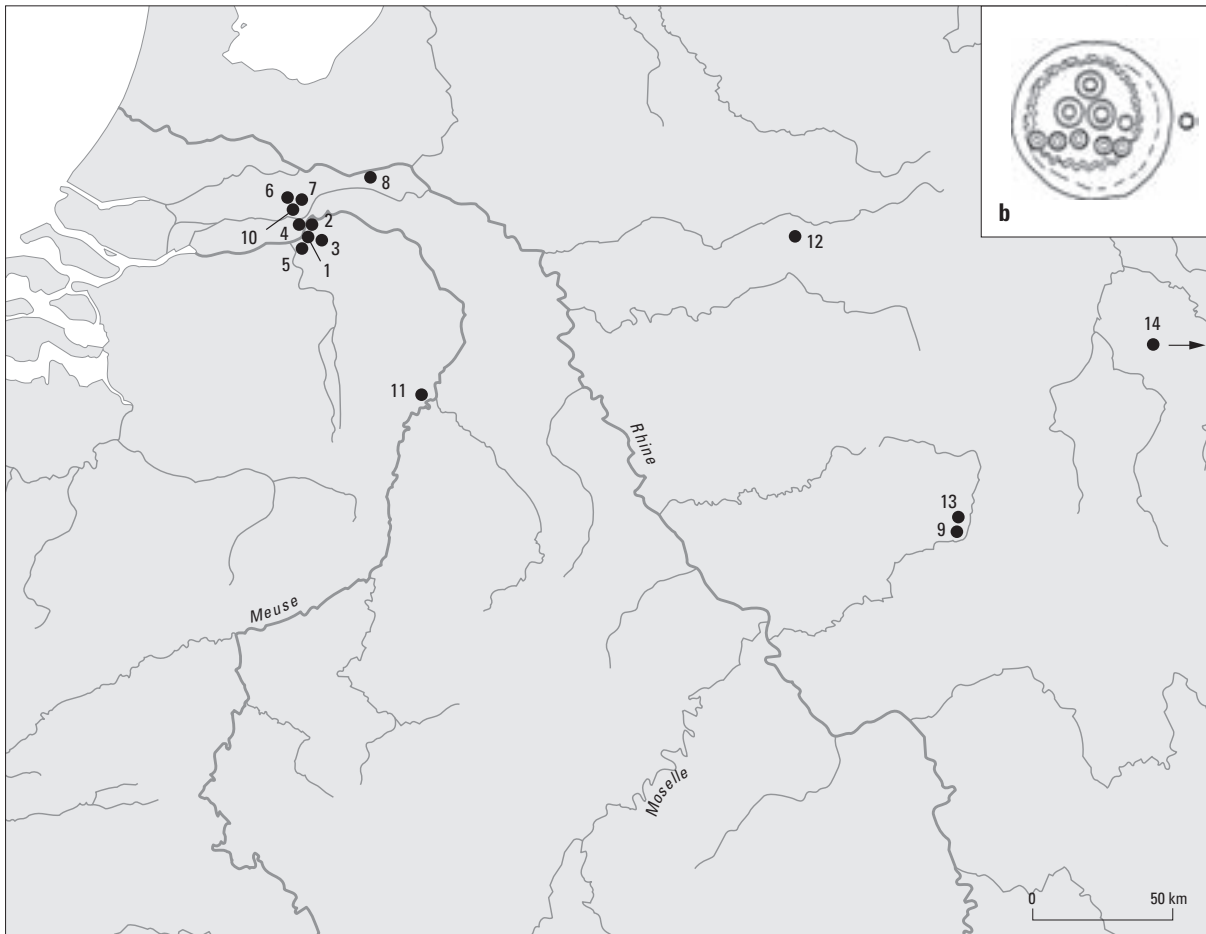
Fig. 6.7. Distribution of silver *triquetrum* coins, type b.

1 Kessel (3 specimens); 2 Lith, De Bergen; 3 Maren (2 specimens); 4 Alem; 5 Empel, De Werf (2 specimens); 6 Deil, Hooiveld;
7 Est, Rijs en Ooyen (3 specimens); 8 Randwijk, Hokkerden; 9 Heuchelheim (2 specimens); 10 Rumpt; 11 Ittervoort; 12 Werl;
13 Dünsberg (copper); 14 Zimmern

tunately, recent excavations at a cult place in Empel, where over 230 items were collected, have failed to yield any stratigraphical information. The discussion on chronology is based on the metrology of the coins, their occurrence in several hoards, and especially their presence or absence in the Roman military camps of the Rhineland from the Augustan period.

A rough relative chronology can be drawn up on the basis of the metrology of the coins (i.e. their weight and metal composition). This attributes chronological significance to the separation between the gold coins, silver/electrum coins, and the copper pieces of the Bochum group. We can also state that the many subtypes with additional marks are a relatively recent development since they are not found on the gold and electrum pieces. Such marks are only found on silver coins with a high copper content (variants b, c and h) and on virtually all copper coins of the Bochum group.[224]

It is difficult to reconstruct an absolute chronology of the *triquetrum* coinages. With regard to the starting date for the emissions, only the Fraire (Belgium) hoard offers a terminus post quem for the

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[224] However, this does not mean that coins with no additional mark (type a) always belong to the earliest emissions. The occurrence of several copper coins of the a type suggests that they may be contemporaneous with the copper pieces with additional marks. Further investigation is called for.
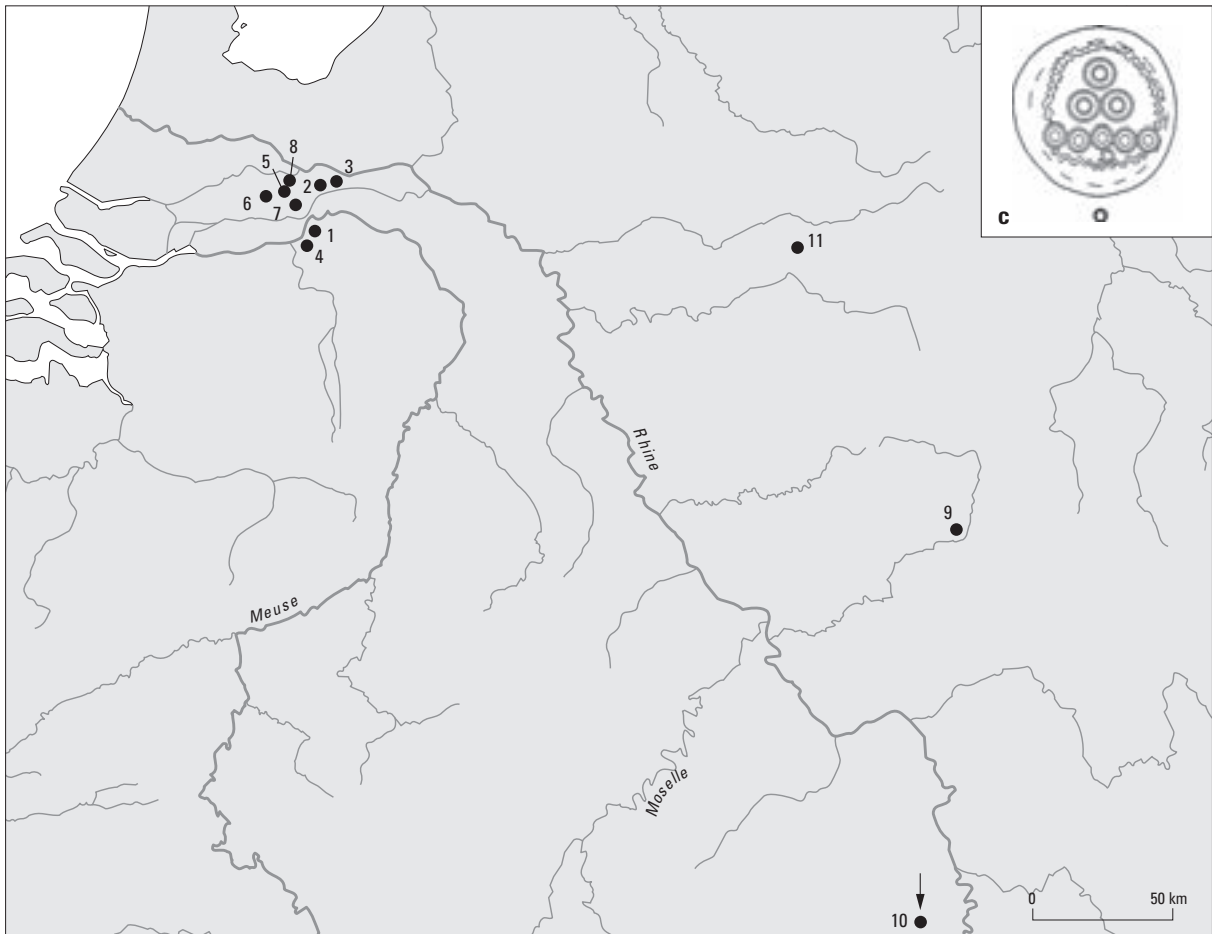
Fig. 6.8. Distribution of silver *triquetrum* coins, type c.

1 Kessel (3 specimens); 2 Echteld, Kanaal; 3 Echteld, vicinity; 4 Empel, De Werf; 5 Rumpt; 6 Gellicum; 7 Est, Tieflaar; 8 Deil, Hooiveld; 9 Dünsberg (3 specimens, copper); 10 Lausanne; 11 Werl

minting of the Lower Rhine emissions bearing additional marks. In addition to gold staters attributed to the Nervii and the Eburones, this hoard contains four electrum *triquetrum* staters with no additional marks (variant a). If we accept that the hoard was buried in Caesar's Gallic war period,[225] this means that electrum coins without additional marks were still in circulation in this phase; the silver coins with a high copper content and an additional mark (subtypes b, c and h) might be slightly more recent.

An important key to the absolute chronology of the Lower Rhine *triquetrum* emissions is the occurrence of these coins in military camps and in several nucleated settlements from the Augustan period (from c. 15/12 BC). Copper coins of the Bochum type predominate there, while silver coins are rarely found. It is clear that the copper pieces were still in full circulation in the Lower Rhineland at the time of the Augustan camps. However, it is unlikely that they were still minted at that time since the numbers found are too small.[226] For this reason I propose to take the beginning of Drusus' campaigns in 12 BC as

[225] The Fraire hoard has been briefly published by Scheers (1984) and was recently reconsidered by Heinrichs (1999). Both scholars date the deposition of the hoard to the period of the Gallic wars, particularly because of the presence of some Scheers 31 staters ascribed to the Eburones. See also chapter 4.4.
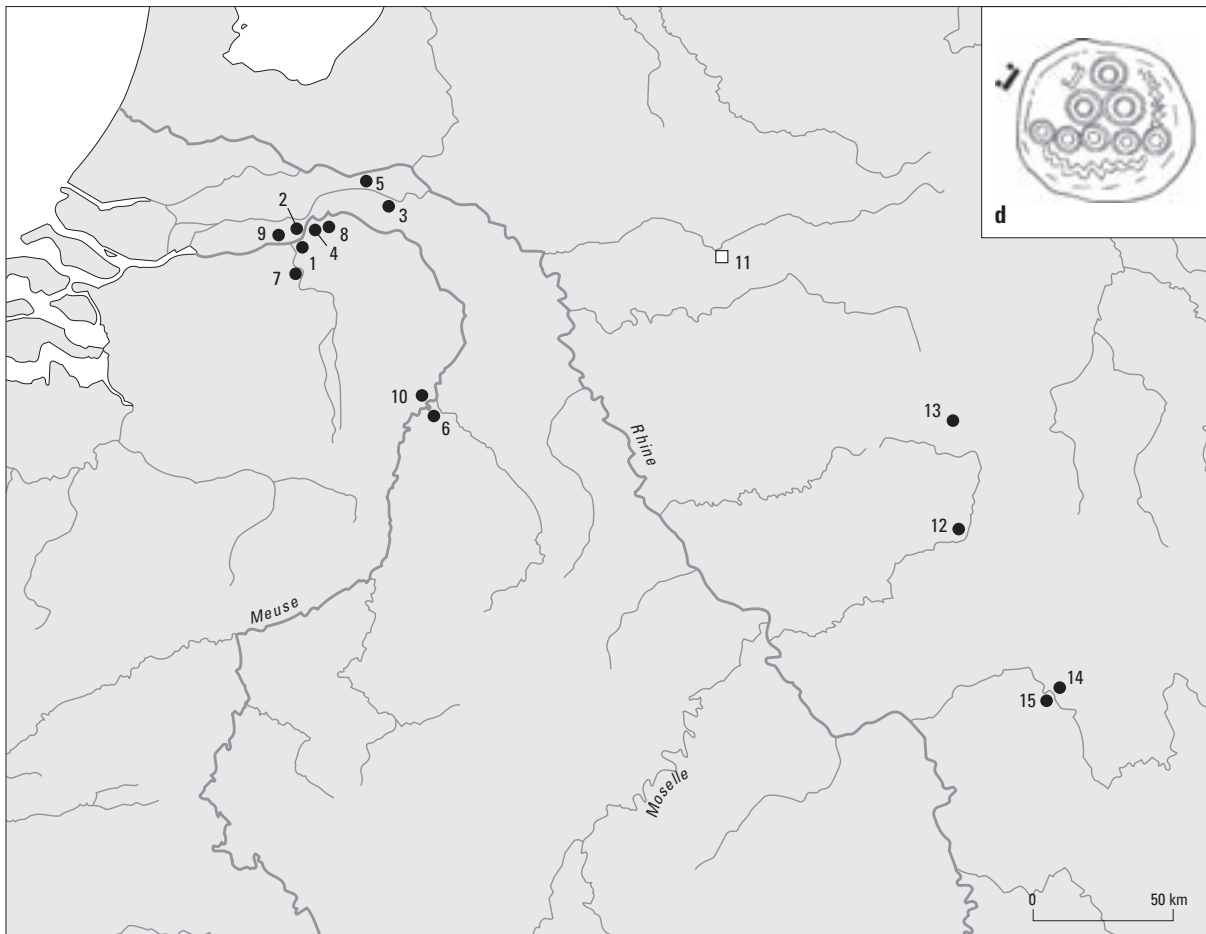
78

Fig. 6.9. Distribution of copper *triquetrum* coins, type d.
1 Empel, De Werf (3 specimens); 2 Alem; 3 Beuningen; 4 Lith, De Bergen; 5 Randwijk, Hokkerden (2 specimens); 6 Roermond; 7 St.-Michielsgestel, Halder; 8 Teeffelen; 9 Hedel; 10 Ittervoort (3 specimens); 11 Beckinghausen; 12 Dünsberg oppidum (9 specimens); 13 Battenberg-Eisenberg; 14 Karlstadt, Hirschfeld; 15 Karlstadt, Karlburg

a terminus ante quem for the production of the Lower Rhine *triquetrum* coinages. These coins continued to circulate for another two decades, however.

The *triquetrum* coins from Augustan contexts also provide the key to the chronological sequence of the various subtypes bearing additional marks. Figure 6.4A presents a survey of the relative occurrence of the different variants in Roman camps. The following three categories are the result:

[226] AVAVCIA coins of the Scheers 217 type are predominant there. Twenty-four *triquetrum* coins are known from the army camp of Neuss (in use from c. 16 BC), against about 600 AVAVCIA coins, while coins from Haltern (from c. 9 BC) number four and 882 for the respective types (Scheers 1996, 19). A further good example is the army camp on the Kops Plateau at Nijmegen, in use from c. 10 BC. The camp was almost completely excavated recently, with systematic use made of metal detectors (Van Enckevort/Zee 1996). Thirteen *triquetrum* coins were found, against a total of 558 AVAVCIA coins (information kindly supplied by Jos van der Vin, Het Nederlands Geld- en Bankmuseum, Utrecht). The camp at Vechten (used from c. AD 5) yielded two *triquetrum* coins and at least 41 AVAVCIA coins (Van den Berg 2001). The above information suggests that the circulation of *triquetrum* coins was already past its peak in the final decade BC.
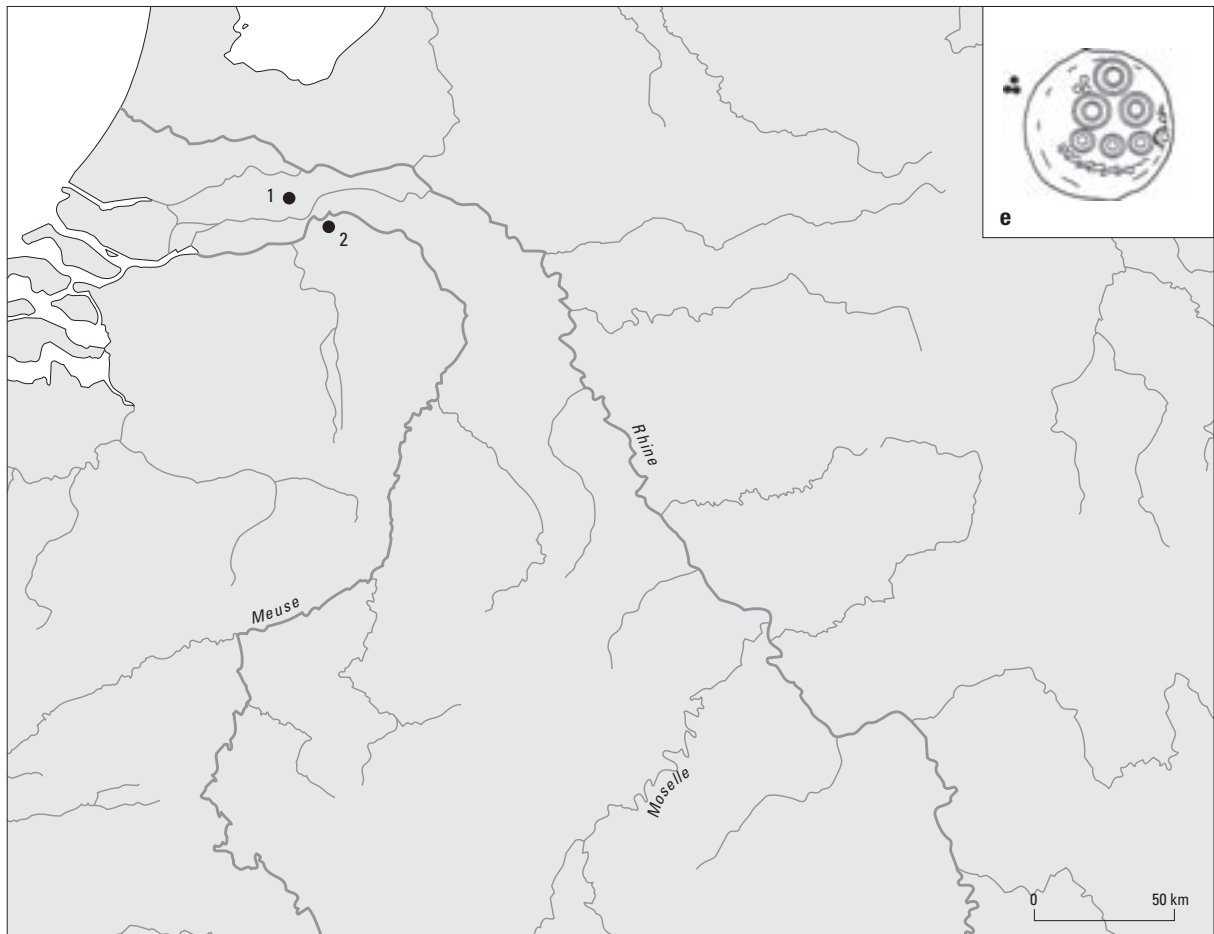
Fig. 6.10. Distribution of copper *triquetrum* coins, type e.
1 Deil, Hooiveld; 2 Macharen, Harensche Broek

I.   variants with additional marks which are not found in the camps (types b, c, e, h and i);
II. variants with additional marks which are found in small numbers in the camps (types d, f, g, j, k, l, m, n, o, and p; 40% in total);
III. variants predominant in the camps (types q, r and s; 60% in total).

These categories seem to have a chronological significance. It is reasonable to assume that the dominant variants in the camps (group III) are the most recent emissions. Group II represents somewhat older types which were only in limited circulation at that time, while those of group I had almost completely disappeared from circulation during this phase. That the latter group represents the older types is supported by the metrological evidence: the coins from group I are often heavier and have a higher precious-metal content.

The chronology proposed above allows us to determine more closely the date of deposition of the Bochum hoard (fig. 4B). The hoard's composition reflects a recent spectrum which more or less corresponds to that of the Augustan military camps. This confirms the notion that this find from the Ruhr/Lippe region should be linked to the Augustan campaigns in Germania. With the predominance of variant s (53%), the coins from Empel-De Werf (fig. 4C) also reveal a relatively recent spectrum. However, in contrast to Bochum and the army camps, coins from group 1 are also found there. The deposition of
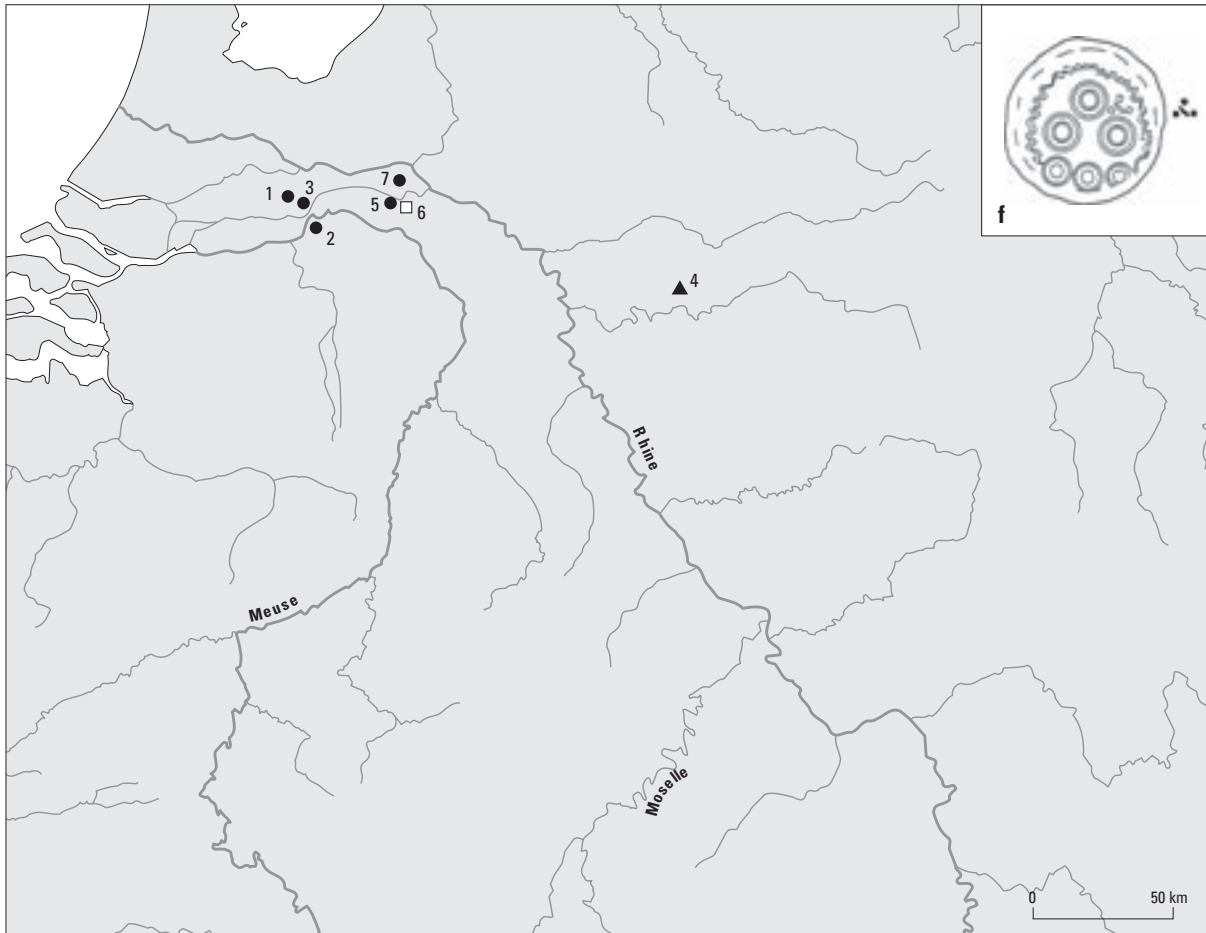
Fig. 6.11. Distribution of copper *triquetrum* coins, type f.
1 Deil; 2 Lith, De Bergen; 3 Ophemert, Schuddegaffel; 4 Bochum; 5 Beuningen; 6 Nijmegen, Valkhof area; 7 Elst, Hoge Woerd;
8 Schinveld

triquetrum coins must have begun several decades earlier in Empel, as confirmed by the presence at this site of some 25 late gold staters ascribed to the Nervii and the Eburones.[227] Also of interest is the composition of the smaller – probably ritual – coin complex at Deil-Hooiveld in the centre of the Batavian territory (see appendix). Both silver and copper coins (15 specimens with additional marks) were found there, but not a single specimen of the apparently most recent type s. In view of the complete absence of both AVAVCIA coins (type Scheers 217) and Roman coins, and the presence of two Eburonean gold staters, this assemblage would appear to be chronologically significant; the coin complex from Deil must have been deposited slightly before 15/12 BC.

The overall picture is that the Lower Rhine *triquetrum* coinages represent a series of small emissions spread over the period between c. 50 and 15 BC. In most cases the centre of circulation for the various subtypes was the Dutch river area. In addition, the size of the emissions appears to have increased over time (fig. 6.4).

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[227] Roymans 1994; Roymans/Aarts 2004.
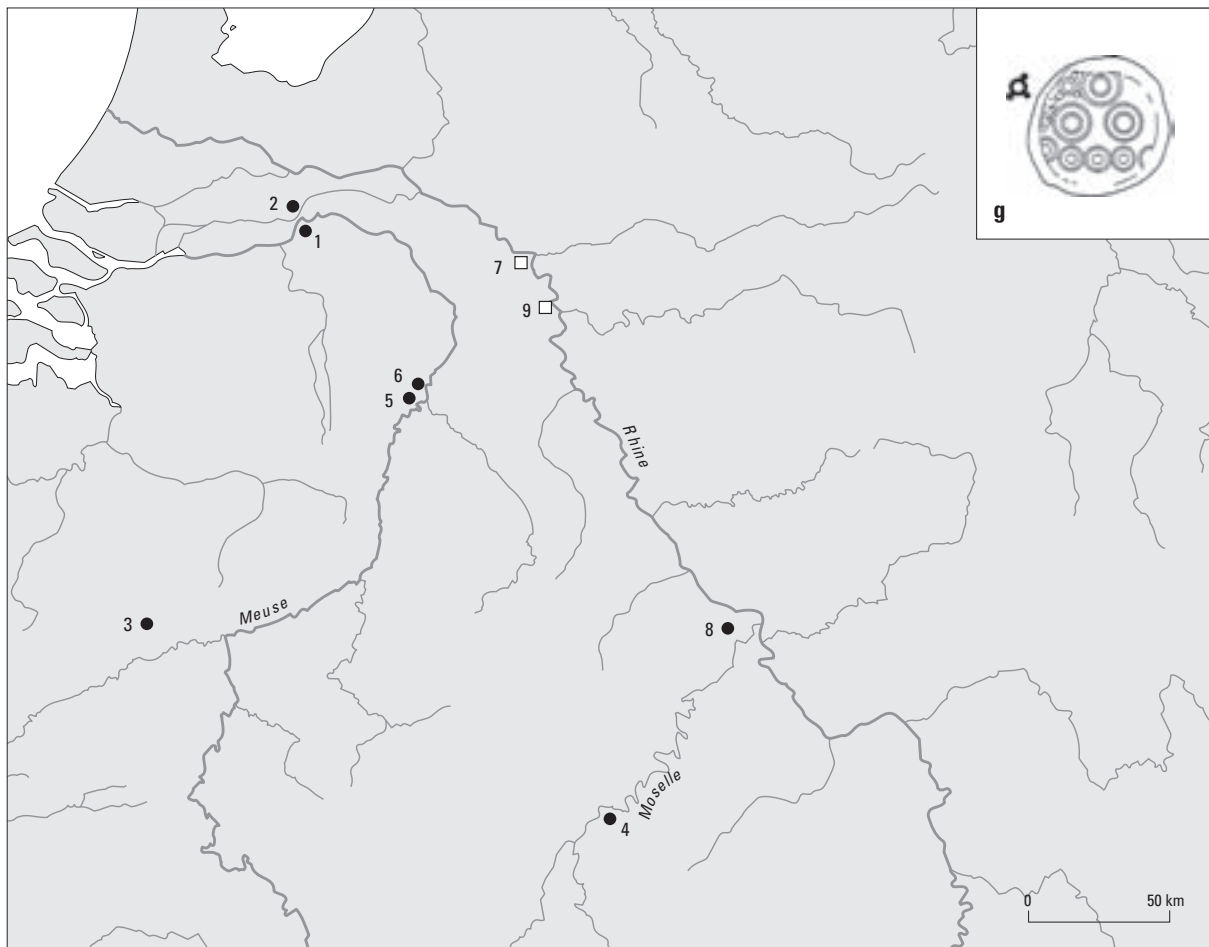
Fig. 6.12. Distribution of copper *triquetrum* coins, type g.

1 Empel, De Werf (4 specimens); 2 Ophemert, Schuddegaffel; 3 Liberchies; 4 Trier; 5 Ittervoort; 6 Thorn; 7 Xanten; 8 Ochtendung; 9 Asberg

6.2 BATAVIAN EMISSIONS?

There is a long tradition in Celtic numismatics of making ethnic or tribal attributions for Iron Age coinages; in fact, this was viewed as an important objective. The past decade, however, has seen a great deal of criticism of these ascriptions, with British scholars in particular preferring a more neutral or regional nomenclature.[228] The attribution of coin types to a specific tribe is likely to be anachronistic, particularly for coinages issued before Caesar's Gallic wars. The assumption was that the tribal polities mentioned by Caesar in the conquest period already existed as coherent tribal entities in pre-conquest times.[229] Caesar's writings, however, show that the northern areas of Gaul had a complex and dynamic socio-political and territorial structure.

The risk of anachronistic attribution does not apply to the Lower Rhine *triquetrum* coinages, since these are roughly contemporaneous with the phase for which historical sources are known. A first lead

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[228] Cf. Haselgrove 1993, 32. Cf. also Wigg/Riederer 1998; Wigg 2003.

[229] Haselgrove 1993, 32.
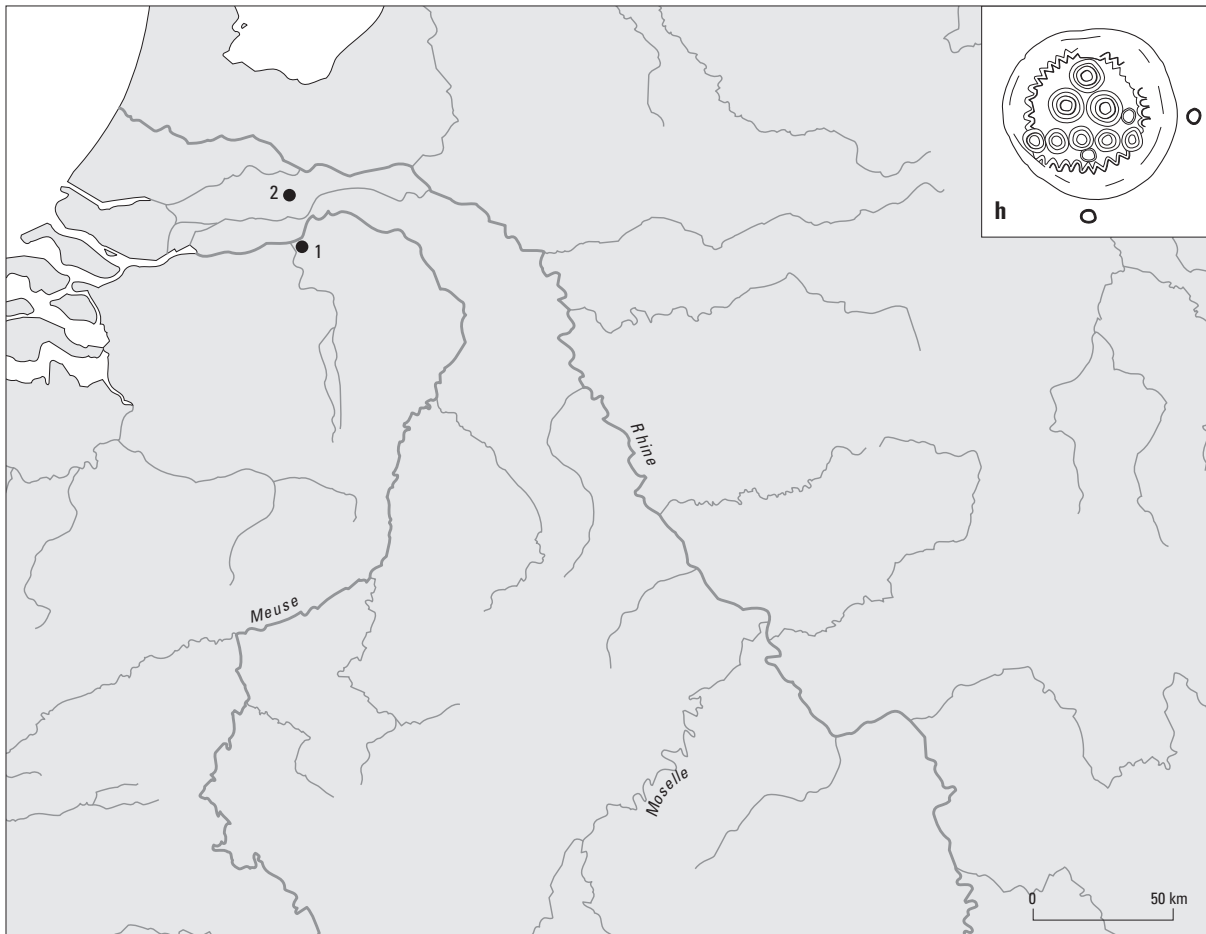
Fig. 6.13. Distribution of silver *triquetrum* coins, type h.
1 Empel, De Werf; 2 Deil, Hooiveld

for the attribution of these coinages is provided by the general distribution map (fig. 6.1). This shows a rather diffuse distribution over the German Rhineland and a clear concentration in the Dutch river area, which corresponds perfectly to the core area of the historically known *civitas Batavorum* (fig. 6.2); both the northern, western, eastern and southern borders are significant. The high density of find sites is due above all to the frequent occurrence of the coins in small rural settlements; the proportion of this category of sites is substantially lower in the German Rhineland (table 6.1). This suggests that the *triquetrum* coins circulated in almost every settlement within the Batavian core area. Furthermore, the Batavian region stands out not only for its density of sites, but also for the number of coins per site (see appendix). Of the 110 sites in the Batavian core area, 17 have produced more than five coins and 10 more than ten. The latter group includes several cult sites or probable cult sites (fig. 6.2). The most spectacular example is the recently excavated sanctuary at Empel, where 232 *triquetrum* coins have been collected. This was clearly the heart of the circulation area for Lower Rhine *triquetrum* coinages.[230]

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[230] Roymans 1994. Also significant is the proportion of *triquetrum* coins to AVAVCIA coins at Empel: 232 and 502 pieces respectively.
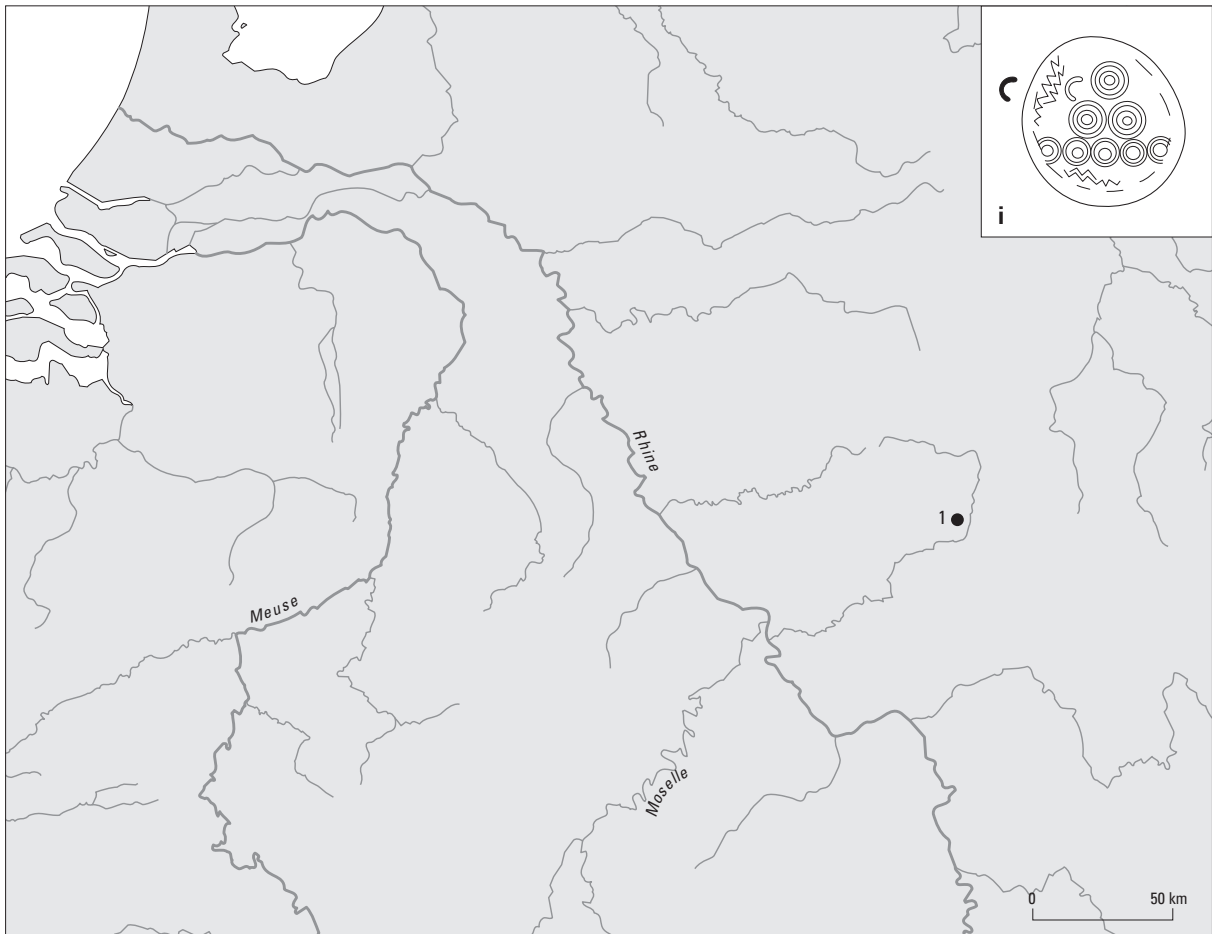
Fig. 6.14. Distribution of copper *triquetrum* coins, type i.

1 Dünsberg oppidum (4 specimens)

We cannot answer the question as to whether the Batavian territory – as the zone where *triquetrum* coin circulation was most concentrated – can also be considered a centre of production, without a criti-cal evaluation of the representativeness of the actual distribution pattern. So far there is no evidence of regional differences in coin-deposition traditions within the Lower Rhine region.[231] However, I would like to point to two post-depositional factors that have contributed to the high density of finds in the Dutch river area (see also fig. 4.9). Firstly, this is the presence of a cultural landscape that offers relatively good prospects for metal detection at settlement sites from the Late Iron Age and Roman period. The mountainous landscapes and loess regions of the German Rhineland provide less favourable conditions due to greater erosion or colluvial covering of sites. The second factor is the different extent to which coins found by metal detectorists are reported to official institutions. Although closer investigation is required, my impression is that relatively more coins are reported under the Dutch 'archaeo-political regime' than in the German Rhineland. Although such factors will have influenced the general distribu-tion pattern in figure 1, they give us no cause to seriously doubt the representativeness of the present

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[231] Insofar as information on coin find sites is available for both the Dutch and the German Rhineland, these are mainly stray finds from rural settlements and Roman army camps, and some cult sites. To date, no coins are known from graves. Cf. also table 6.1 and the discussion below.
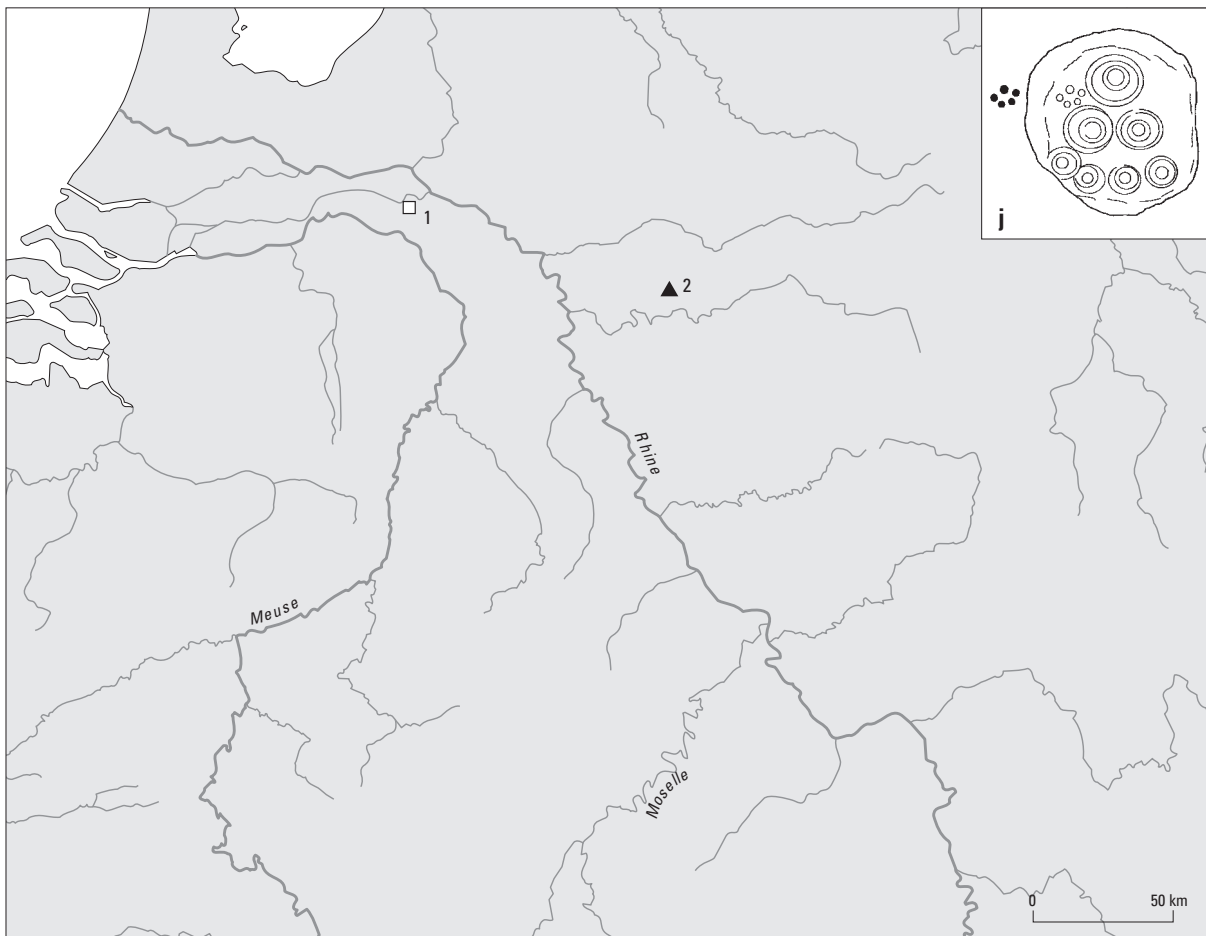
Fig. 6.15. Distribution of copper *triquetrum* coins, type j.
1 Nijmegen; 2 Bochum

distribution map. We could easily argue that the actual number of sites must have been substantially higher, not only in the German Rhineland but also in the Dutch river area, and that many coins will have disappeared undocumented into private collections.[232] A further indication that the actual concentration of *triquetrum* coins in the Rhine delta reflects a 'real' pattern is provided by the entirely different distribution of the contemporary silver quinars of the Scheers 57 type,[233] and of the older gold *triquetrum* coins of the Mardorf type (fig. 6.5). These coinages are clearly clustered in the bordering German Rhineland and are relatively rare or totally absent in the Rhine/Meuse delta.

The significant concentration of finds in the eastern half of the Dutch river delta seems a powerful argument for assuming a production centre in this region. This is further substantiated by the distribution of the various types of *triquetrum* coins. The distribution maps for most of the subtypes with an

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[232] We are confronted in the holocene Batavian river area with post-depositional factors such as the erosion of settlements by changing river courses, and the present-day use of many archaeological sites as grasslands and orchards, rendering them inaccessible to metal detec-

tion. Furthermore, many *triquetrum* coins have been lost because their finders failed to recognise them as coins, identifying them instead as 'buttons'.

[233] Schulze-Forster 2002, 119 ff., Abb. 79; Heinrichs 2003. Karte 2a and 2b.

Fig. 6.16. Distribution of copper *triquetrum* coins, type k.

1 Empel, De Werf (2 specimens); 2 Deil, Hooigraaf; 3 Bochum (3 specimens); 4 Beckinghausen; 5 Billig; 6 Xanten; 7 Lommersum; 8 Hommertshausen; 9 Heunstein; 10 Maaseik

additional mark (figs. 6.7-6.24) reveal a clear concentration in the Batavian region.[234] A few specimens of several early subtypes (b, c, and m) are also known from the Dünsberg *oppidum* or its immediate vicinity in Central Hessen. The latter coins may have been 'imported' from the Rhine delta and point to contacts between the Batavian immigrant group and their original homeland. However, not all subtypes will have been minted in the Rhine delta. Some (variants i and p) are not represented there, or only to a limited extent (d), and may well have been produced elsewhere in the Lower or Middle Rhineland. Furthermore, we are able to say that the subtypes regularly found outside the Batavian core territory (variants q, r and s) represent the most recent emissions. I will argue below that their wider distribution is mainly the result of activities of the Roman army from 15/12 BC onwards. The coins of subtype a (with no additional mark) have a more diffuse distribution over both the Lower Rhine and the eastern Middle Rhine areas (fig. 6.6). The considerable variation in weight and metal composition suggests that this is a fairly hetero-geneous group of coins consisting of various dispersed emissions that are difficult to distinguish.

[234] The distribution of types g, k, l and q reveals a more
    diffuse pattern, but an alternative tribal attribution is not
    possible.
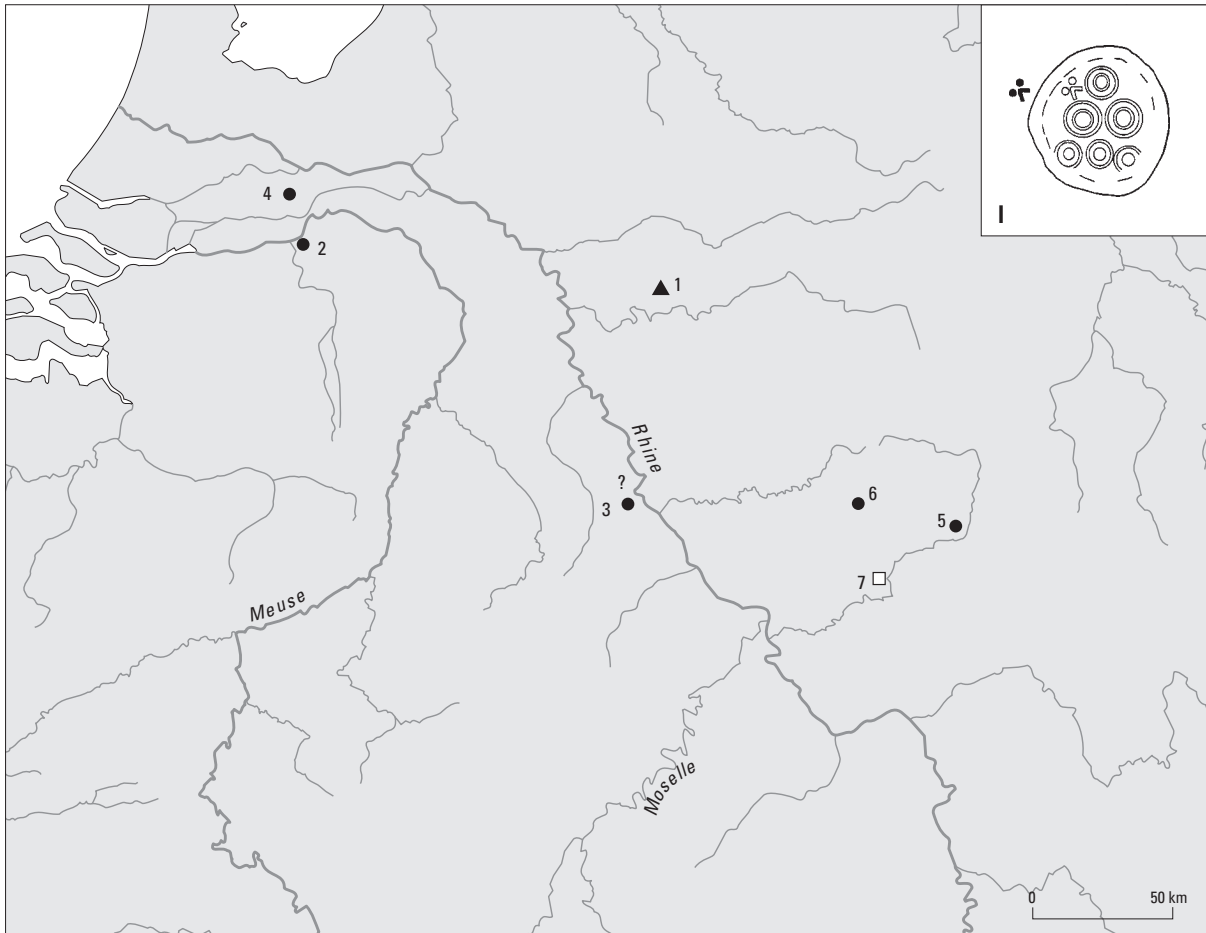
Fig. 6.17. Distribution of copper *triquetrum* coins, type l.
1 Bochum (43 specimens); 2 Empel, De Werf (10 specimens); 3 Wesseling (?); 4 Deil, Hooigraaf; 5 Dünsberg (2 specimens); 6 Heunstein; 7 Waldgirmes

Nevertheless, the broad distribution of the coins across large sections of the Lower and Middle Rhine region and eastern Belgium remains an interesting phenomenon. The *triquetrum* coinages must have been a recognised means of payment for a number of tribes, especially in the socio-political sphere. As such, the general distribution map reflects an interaction zone of culturally related groups. The *triquetrum* or whorl motif seems to have been a popular symbol in the Lower Rhine region, as it appears not only on the coinages discussed in this chapter, but also on those ascribed to the Eburones (chapter 4) and the so-called AVAVCIA coins (Scheers 217).

The conclusion is that, based on the present data, we can regard the majority of the Lower Rhine *triquetrum* coinages as Batavian emissions.[235] Production probably began with silver coins with no additional mark (variant a), was rapidly followed by silver coins with additional marks (b, c, and h), and subsequently by most of the copper series of the Bochum group which bore additional marks. However, given their distribution, some variants seem to have been struck elsewhere in the Lower or Middle Rhine region.

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[235] Heinrichs (1999, 283 ff.; idem, 2003, 279) proposes an alternative attribution of some of the *triquetrum* coinages (in particular my type s) to the Ubii. In his recent study on coins from the Dünsberg *oppidum*, Schulze-Forster (2002, 125-126) avoids making tribal attributions of the *triquetrum* coinages and calls for additional research.
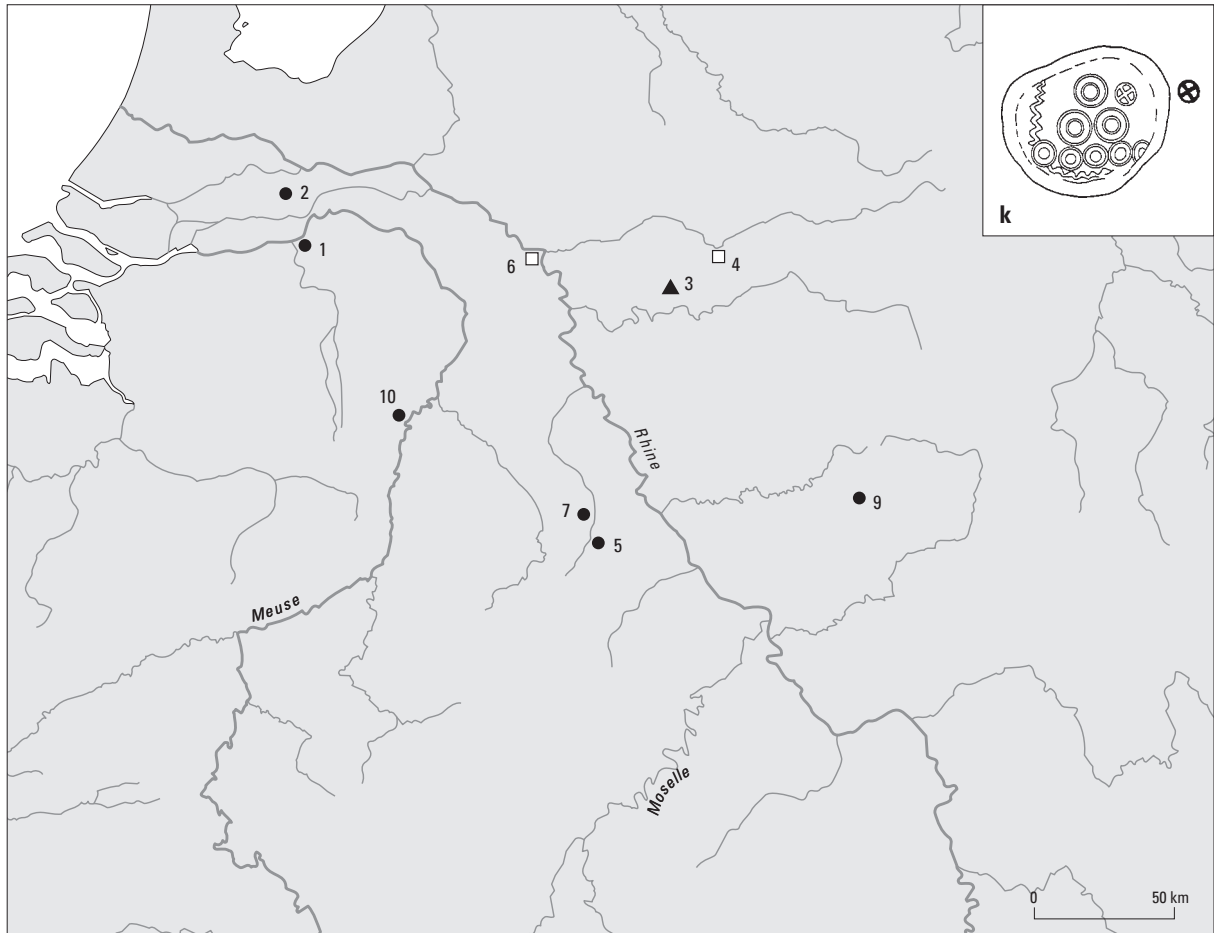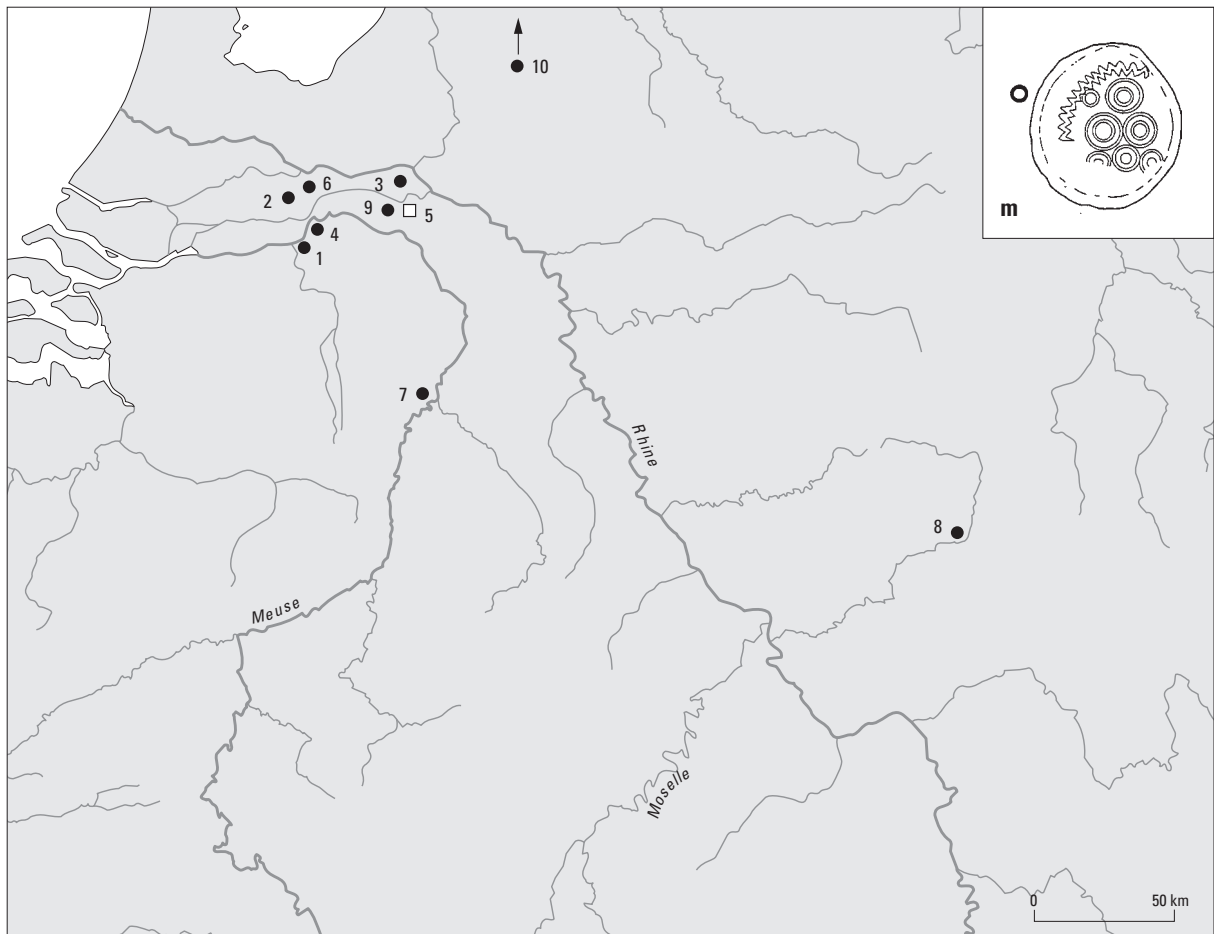
Fig. 6.18. Distribution of copper *triquetrum* coins, type m.

1 Empel, De Werf (8 specimens); 2 Deil, Hooigraaf; 3 Elst, Merm; 4 Lith, De Bergen (2 specimens); 5 Nijmegen, Kops Plateau;
6 Zoelen, Beldert; 7 Ittervoort; 8 Dünsberg (5 specimens); 9 Nijmegen, Valkhof area; 10 Wedde

The Dünsberg could have been the production centre for variants d and i at most; the numbers found there of the other variants with additional marks is conspicuously small. Within the Dutch Rhine/Meuse delta, Kessel/Lith is now the only potential production site. Traces were found there of a central place from the Late Iron Age and the transition to the Roman period.[236]

6.3 PRODUCTION, CIRCULATION AND DEPOSITION OF TRIQUETRUM COINAGES IN THE BATAVIAN RIVER AREA. SOME HYPOTHESES

In the second half of the 1st century BC (c. 50-15 BC), the centre of production for *triquetrum* coinages shifted from the Middle Rhine region to the Lower Rhine, particularly the territory of the Batavians. An obvious conclusion would be to relate this coin movement to the historically documented migration of a trans-Rhenish group of Chatto-Batavians to the Lower Rhine area. The Batavian emissions

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[236] See chapter 7.
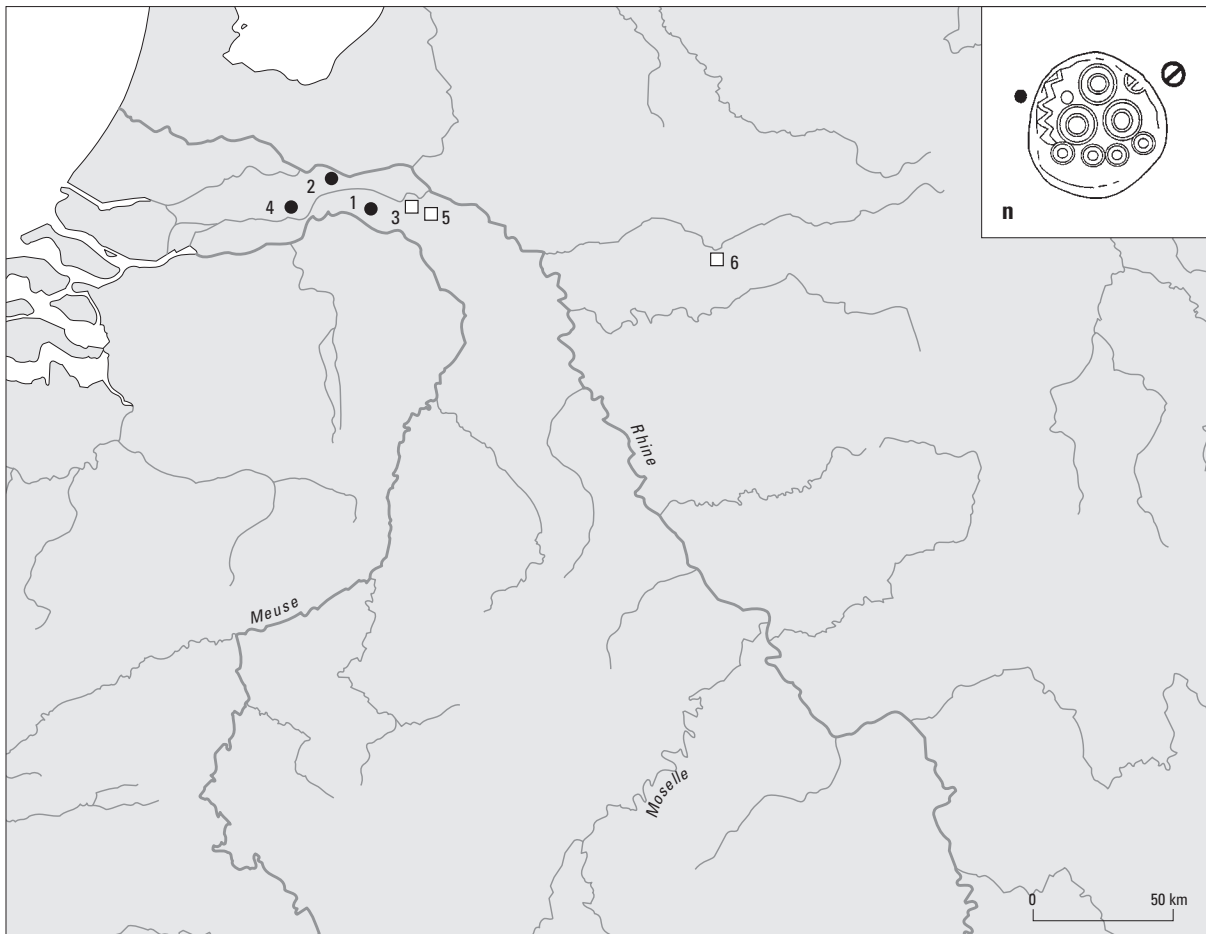
Fig. 6.19. Distribution of copper *triquetrum* coins, type n.

1 Hernen, field near castle; 2 Lienden; 3 Nijmegen, Hunerberg; 4 Waardenburg; 5 Nijmegen, Kops Plateau; 6 Beckinghausen

were originally silver coins, possibly without additional marks initially, but later only copper coins with additional marks. The earliest emissions were derived directly from the identical electrum/silver staters with no additional marks that circulated in the German Middle Rhine area around the middle of the 1st century BC, and which are known inter alia from the Fraire hoard. The older gold staters of the Mardorf group (fig. 6.5) had probably ceased to circulate by then.[237]

The introduction of *triquetrum* coinages into the Dutch river delta brought with it a type of coin that belonged to the Central European tradition of 'rainbow cups'. Until then, Northern Gaul (including the territory of the Treveri and Eburones) had belonged to the zone of the stater emissions of the *type belge*. Remarkably, in the decades after the Gallic war, when the emphasis elsewhere in Northern Gaul shifted entirely to new base-metal coinages,[238] an archaic coin type continued to be produced in the Dutch river delta. The Lower Rhine silver and copper *triquetrum* coins carried on the tradition of gold staters of the Mardorf group in terms of image, form, weight and composition. Even the most recent copper series (type s) often have a small gold and silver content, probably to make them resemble the

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[237] Wigg/Riederer 1998, 666, argue for an early date for the rainbow cups of the Mardorf type in their phase 2, which corresponds to LT D1, or the late 2nd and early 1st century BC.

[238] Cf. for the Trier area Loscheider's recent synthesis (1988).
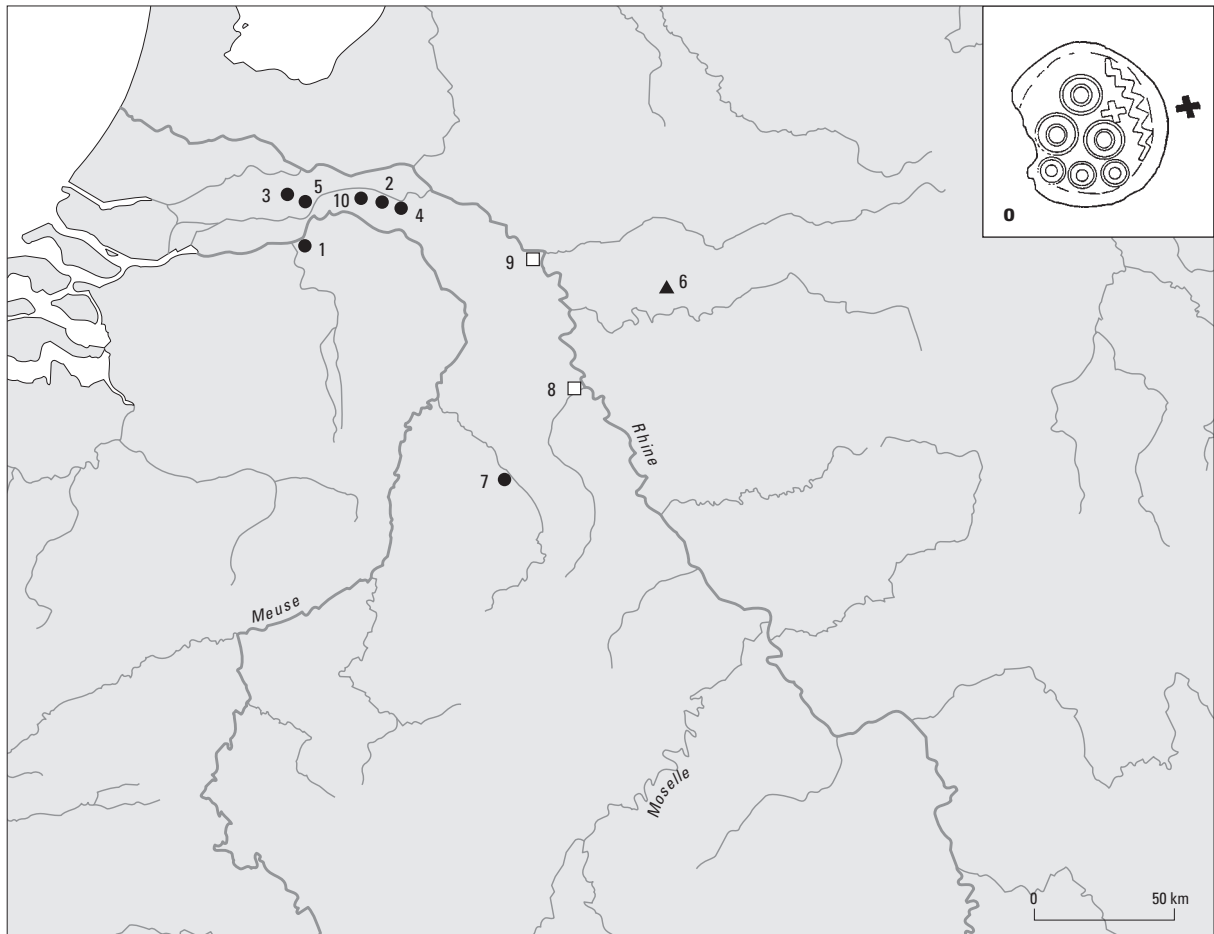
Fig. 6.20. Distribution of copper *triquetrum* coins, type o.
1 Empel, De Werf (2 specimens); 2 Beuningen; 3 Deil, Hooiveld; 4 Nijmegen, Weurtseweg; 5 Ophemert, Schuddegaffel; 6 Bochum (13 specimens); 7 Mariaweiler (2 specimens); 8 Neuss; 9 Xanten; 10 Winssen

older gold and electrum coinages. This suggests that the silver and copper coins were used in the same sphere of exchange as the older gold and electrum coins: they played a key role as a means of payment and standard of value in the socio-political sphere, especially in the establishment and reproduction of clientship networks by tribal elites.[239] In this respect they do not represent a new type of coin. Production of the first real base-metal coinages – the AVAVCIA coins, including the variants without a legend – did not begin in the Lower Rhine region until after c. 15 BC. These coins met the greatly increased need for small change in small-scale economic transactions within the subsistence sphere in the Roman camps and the contemporaneous nucleated settlements.[240]

The massive use of *triquetrum* coins as a means of payment in the socio-political domain means that their production and circulation was closely linked to the socio-political organisation of Batavian society. An intriguing question in this respect is the meaning of the additional marks on the coins. Assuming

[239] Cf. chapter 2. On the role of Late Iron Age gold coinages in the formation and reproduction of clientship networks in Northern Gaul, see also Nash 1981; Roymans 1990, 131 ff.; Loscheider 1998, 153 ff.

[240] It is significant that – in contrast to the *triquetrum* coinages – the AVAVCIA coins are concentrated in large numbers in Roman military camps and contemporaneous nucleated settlements.
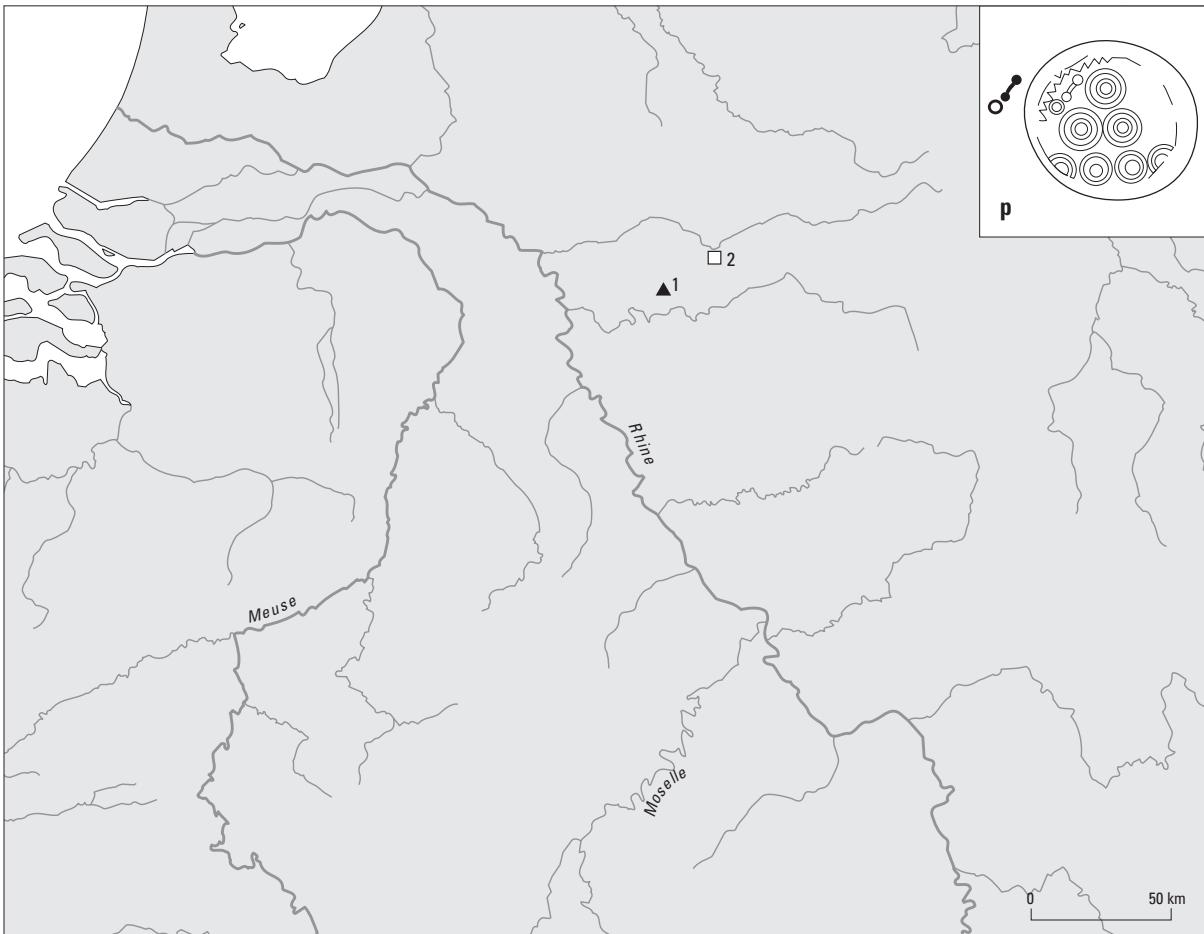
Fig. 6.21. Distribution of copper *triquetrum* coins, type p.
1 Bochum; 2 Beckinghausen

a decentralised production model, we could imagine rival local leaders, each minting their own coins bearing specific identifying marks. This is not a very attractive model, however, since the *triquetrum* emissions with additional marks were not a series of contemporaneous issues but rather were differentiated chronologically. More plausible is a model of coin production organised by a central tribal authority. I argued in chapter 5.2 that until the arrival of Drusus the Batavians had an institution of kingship that was still remembered in the Neronian period. It seems obvious to assume that the production of the Batavian *triquetrum* coins was closely bound to this kingship.[241] It is still unclear, however, how we should explain the considerable number of subtypes with additional marks. Were these the identifying marks of special functionaries charged with the mintage?

Several points can be made regarding the circulation of the *triquetrum* coins. First of all, I would like to consider the dense concentration of sites in the Batavian heartland (fig. 6.2), a region of scarcely 60 by 40 km.[242] This suggests that the *triquetrum* coins played a specific role in the Batavian ethnogenesis

[241] In an earlier publication (Roymans 2001, 129-130) I suggested to link the emission of *triquetrum* coins to an annually elected Batavian magistrature.

[242] This conclusion acquires even more weight if we consider that a large proportion of the *triquetrum* coins bear-

ing additional marks from sites in the German Rhineland and Belgium did not arrive there until after 15/10 BC, via the Roman army and through interaction with the Roman monetary system (see below).
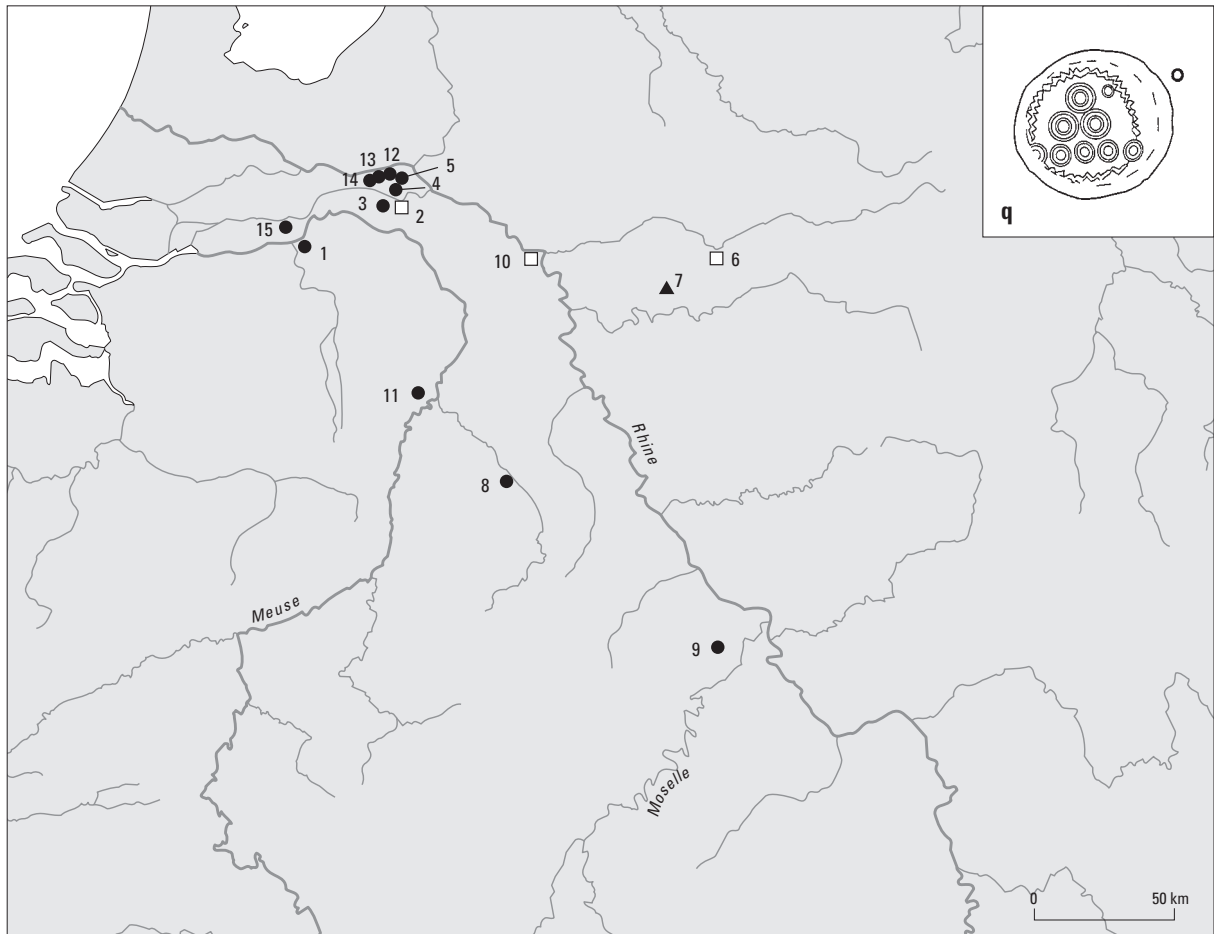
Fig. 6.22. Distribution of copper *triquetrum* coins, type q.

1 Empel, De Werf (2 specimens); 2 Nijmegen, Valkhof area (3 specimens); 3 Nijmegen, Weurtseweg; 4 Oosterhout; 5 Elst, Aamse Weg; 6 Beckinghausen; 7 Bochum (13 specimens); 8 Mariaweiler (2 specimens); 9 Polch; 10 Xanten; 11 Ittervoort; 12 Elst, Maartenskerk (2 specimens); 13 Randwijk, De Hoeve; 14 Randwijk, De Stern; 15 Nieuwaal, Kendert

process. Within the space of a few decades, a 'Batavian' identity group emerged here from multi-ethnic origins. The coinages will have played an important part in the forging of clientship networks and thus have contributed to the integration of indigenous and immigrant groups into a new tribal entity.

Also striking are the regional differences in the distribution of *triquetrum* coins in the Lower Rhine river delta. In contrast to the dense concentration in the Batavian territory in the eastern part of the delta, the coins are altogether absent in the western coastal area, particularly in the territory of the Canane-fates. This is all the more surprising in the light of Tacitus' remark that the Cananefates were related to the Batavians in origin, language and bravery.[243] This affinity is generally taken literally, in the sense that the Cananefates are regarded as a branch of the Chatti or Batavians. I have argued elsewhere that the Cananefatian *origo* passage is at odds with the archaeological evidence; it is more likely to refer to the existence of a kind of clientship relation between the two tribes in the pre-Flavian period.[244] Assuming that the pattern of distribution is more or less representative of actual circulation, the absence of coins in

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[243] Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.14.

[244] See chapter 8.5, and Roymans 1998a, 18 ff, 30-31.
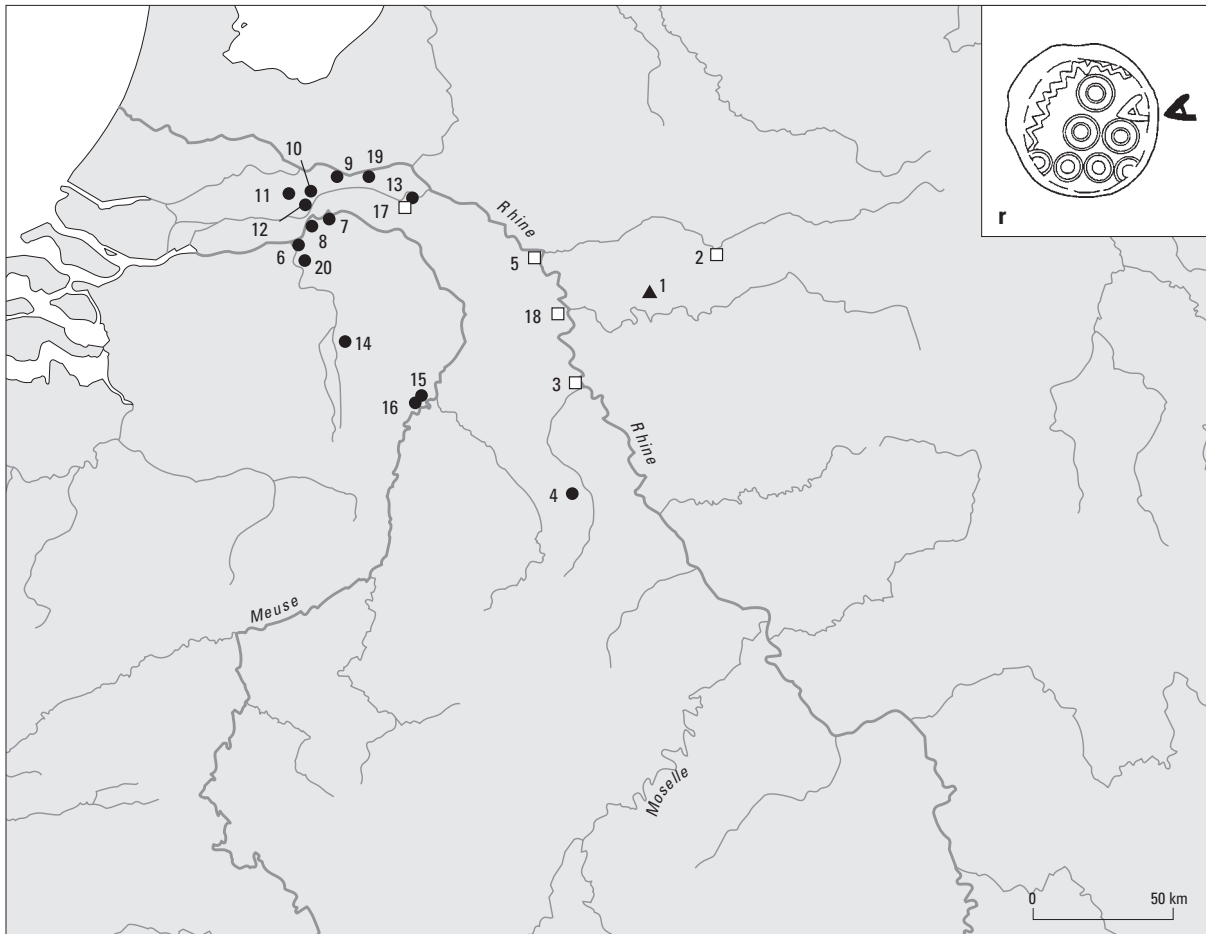
Fig. 6.23. Distribution of copper *triquetrum* coins, type r.

1 Bochum (54 specimens); 2 Beckinghausen; 3 Neuss; 4 Nörvenich (2 specimens); 5 Xanten; 6 Empel, De Werf (6 specimens);
7 Megen; 8 Alem, field near church; 9 Lienden; 10 Kapel-Avezaath; 11 Deil, Hooiveld (4 specimens); 12 Ophemert, Schuddegaf-
fel (3 specimens); 13 Nijmegen, Ooipolder; 14 Geldrop; 15 Thorn; 16 Ittervoort; 17 Nijmegen, Valkhof area; 18 Asberg; 19
Randwijk, De Asterd; 20 Empel, Middelsten Hoek

the coastal area may indicate that between c. 50 and 10 BC the Cananefates in particular were not yet
integrated into the client network of the Batavians; this would have been a more recent development.

The distribution maps for the various issues also reveal a pattern within the Batavian region. The old-
est subtypes (a, b, c, d, and h) are clustered in the western part of the Batavian territory, especially in the
Empel/Kessel/Tiel area. This was probably where the group of Chatto-Batavian immigrants settled, and
Kessel/Lith may have functioned as the political and religious centre of the emerging Batavian polity.[245]
The more recent emissions appear to have been more gradually spread over the Batavian region. The
Roman military centre and Batavian centre at Nijmegen on the eastern periphery of the *civitas Batavorum*
must be viewed as a more recent Roman creation from the time of Drusus, chosen on strategic military
grounds with an eye to the *Germania* policy.[246]

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[245] See chapter 7.

[246] Roymans/Van der Sanden 1980, 213-214; Willems 1984,
fig. 123. See also chapter 7.9, and 8.4.
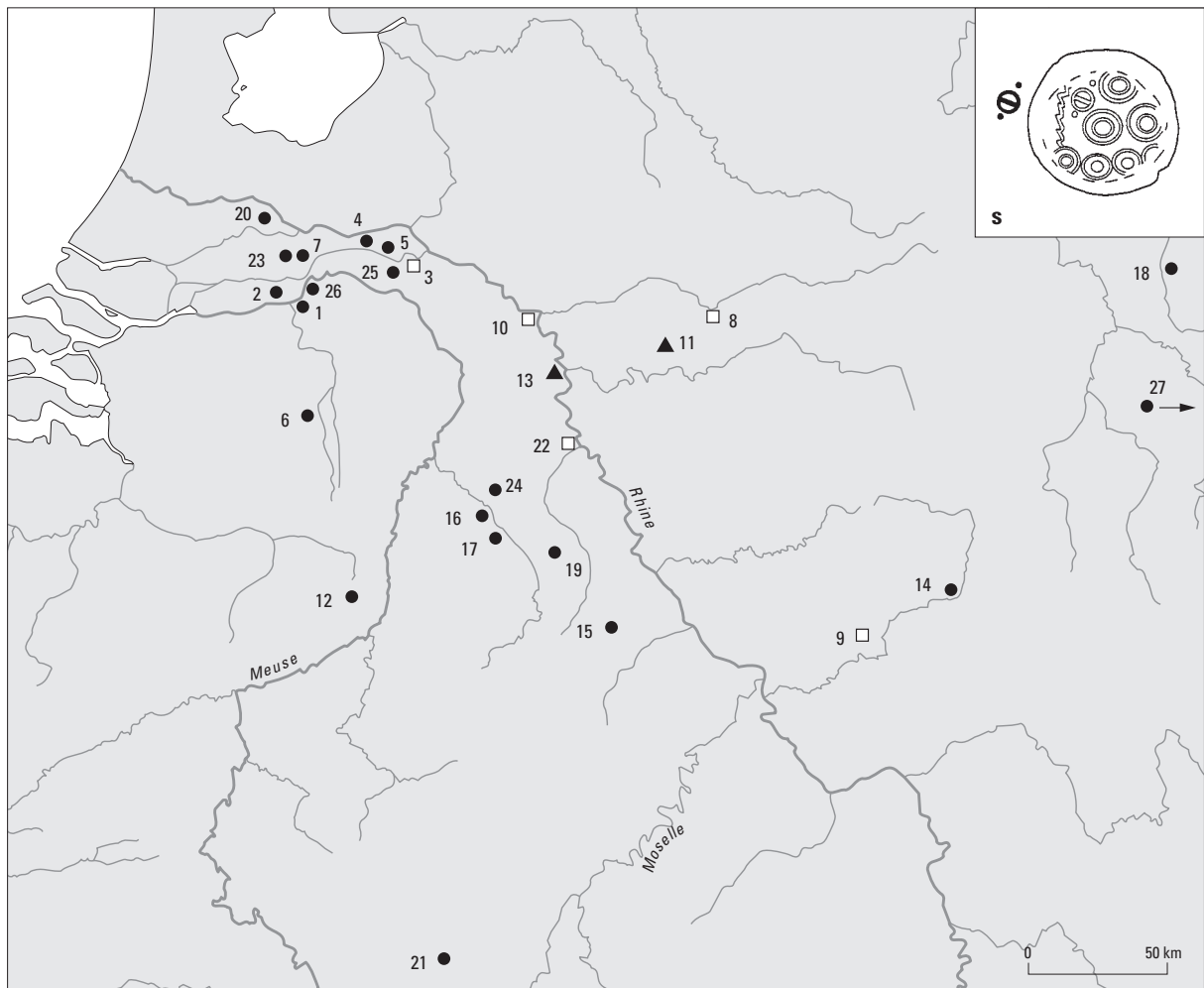
Fig. 6.24. Distribution of copper *triquetrum* coins, type s.

1 Empel, De Werf (46 specimens); 2 Ammerzoden; 3 Nijmegen, Kops Plateau (3 specimens); 4 Randwijk, Hokkerden; 5 Herveld; 6 Riethoven; 7 Est, Snelleveld; 8 Beckinghausen; 9 Waldgirmes (4 specimens); 10 Xanten (4 specimens); 11 Bochum (254 specimens); 12 Tongres (2 specimens); 13 Bettenkamper Moor; 14 Dünsberg; 15 Flerzheim; 16 Kirchberg; 17 Mariaweiler; 18 Nörten-Hardenberg; 19 Nörvenich; 20 Houten, Schalwijkseweg; 21 Titelberg (5 specimens); 22 Neuss; 23 Est, Tieflaar; 24 Titz; 25 Nijmegen, Valkhof area (2 specimens); 26 Lith, De Bergen (2 specimens); 27 Bothenkeilingen

The distribution maps for the most recent subtypes (q-s) show a greater diffusion across the German Rhineland. These are mainly coins which ended up in Roman army camps and nucleated settlements after 15 BC. We could speak of an 'exceptional coin movement'[247] from the Batavian territory, associated with movements of the Roman army, including Batavian auxiliary troops. The same interpretation could apply to several *triquetrum* coins found in some Augustan centres along the Bavai-Cologne route, such as Liberchies, Tongres and Heerlen.

The latter point raises the issue of interaction of the *triquetrum* coinages with the Roman monetary system. I have previously commented that the copper coins cannot be simply regarded as base-metal coinages because of the gold and silver content in their alloy. Like the older gold and electrum coins,

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[247] See Wigg 1999.
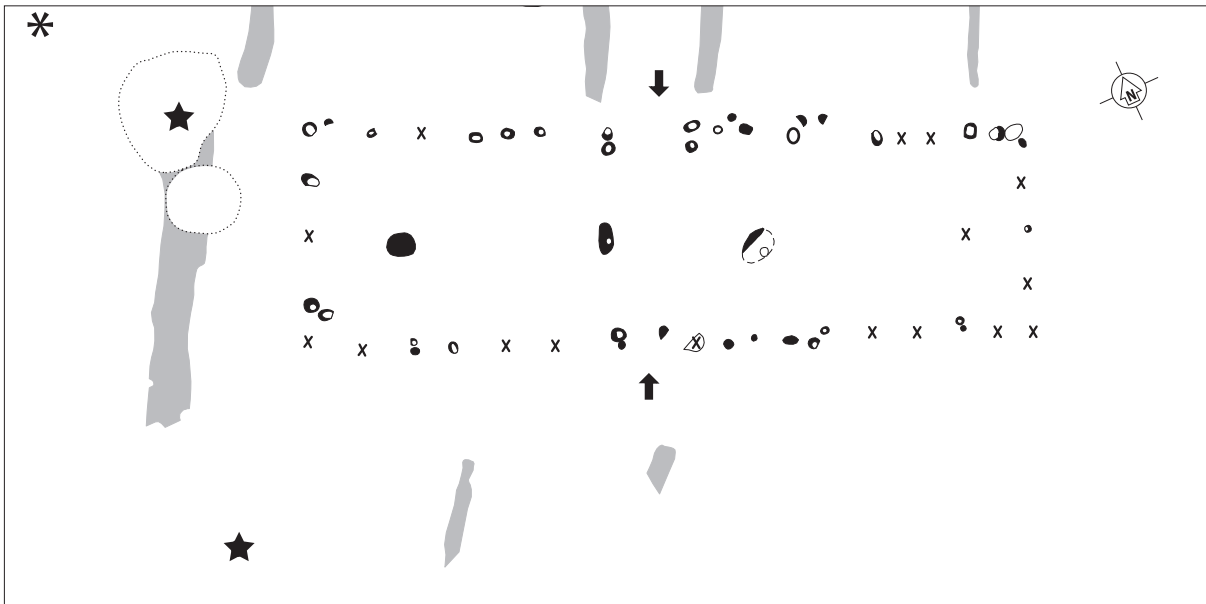
Fig. 6.25. House plan from the Augustan period excavated at Tiel-Passewaay, and the find spots of two copper *triquetrum* coins (stars) and an AVAVCIA coin (asterisk) (excavation Archeologisch Centrum Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam). Scale 1: 200.

they appear to have been minted to serve as a means of payment and a gift object in the politico-military sphere. They will have had a fixed exchange value, guaranteed by the authorities, within the Batavian polity. However, this traditional standard became untenable once the tribal system of coin usage was integrated into the far more complex Roman monetary system introduced from the army camps. The ambivalent nature of the *triquetrum* coins (adherence to the Rhineland standard of rainbow cups of precious metal although the coins were made of a copper alloy) impeded their integration into the Roman monetary system. The coins were probably devalued, joining the category of low-value coinages used for everyday economic transactions. As to their weight, the *triquetrum* coins can be compared with two AVAVCIA coins, although this does not take into account their low precious-metal content. I assume that the indigenous auxiliary troops were paid in Roman money from the Augustan period on, when a great need for base-metal coinages arose in the Rhineland army camps and contemporaneous nucleated settlements. It is against this background that we can understand the mass production of AVAVCIA coins, which circulated as a supplement to small Roman coins.

Finally, I wish to discuss the depositional processes that led to the *triquetrum* coinages entering the archaeological record in the Batavian region (see fig. 4.9).[248] Thanks to information on the archaeological contexts of the coin finds, we can make several important points in this regard. Since the finds are predominantly isolated detector finds from rural settlements and military camps (table 6.1), they are primarily regarded as due to accidental loss. However, there is evidence to suggest that we should not underestimate the part played by intentional depositional practices. This applies particularly to coins from cult sites, most of which can be interpreted as ritual depositions (or offerings). For example, over 230 specimens were found at the recently excavated sanctuary of Empel. Some other sites (Kessel, Deil, Elst-Maartenskerk) can be regarded as cult places or probable cult places.

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[248] The theme of deposition has received little attention to date in the study of Late Iron Age, Roman and Early-Medieval coins. All the emphasis has lain on research into the production and circulation of coins. An exception is Bazelmans et al. 2002.

However, we should also consider the possibility of intentional deposition in the case of isolated coin finds from rural settlements. There the number of both silver and copper coins is so high that they are unlikely to have been accidentally lost. Loss mainly occurs in places where coins are exchanged, which was hardly the case in small rural settlements, where coins were largely kept. At present, several examples are known of *triquetrum* coins discovered during excavations at the site of a Late Iron Age or Augustan-period farmhouse (figs. 6.25 and 4.10).[249] The coins do not come from dug-out pits but from the old surface layer (ploughed in later times). The many coins that were isolated surface finds in indigenous settlements can probably be interpreted in the same way. This suggests that we are dealing here with coins that were originally kept in farmhouses. Some of these would have been temporarily hidden 'savings' (*Versteckdepots*) that for some reason were never recovered. However, they could also have been ritual depositions on farms. Unfortunately, such ritual practices can seldom be traced because the original deposition sites (aboveground?) can no longer be identified.

6.4 CONCLUSION

The numismatic material presented here is important for the general theme of this study, as it supports on several key points the historical model of the ethnogenesis of the Batavians outlined in chapter 5. The trans-Rhenish, Chattian origin of the Batavians mentioned by Tacitus is reflected in the major shift in the circulation – and probably also production – of the *triquetrum* coinages from the eastern Middle Rhine region (where the Chatti were found in the early imperial period) to the Rhine/Meuse delta. The starting date for Batavian coin production (variants b, c, and h) can be fixed towards the end of, or shortly after, the Gallic wars. This supports the hypothesis that their migration had its roots in Caesarian frontier policy. The production period for Batavian *triquetrum* coinages (c. 50-15 BC) overlaps with the phase of Batavian ethnogenesis. The coins were probably used to forge and consolidate clientship networks, and thus they may have played a part in the process by which heterogeneous subgroups became socially and politically integrated into a new Batavian polity.

[249] Weert-Kampershoek: gold *triquetrum* coin of the Mardorf group in a Late Iron Age farmyard (Roymans 1998b, 103; Tol 1998, fig. 2.19). Zutphen: copper *triquetrum* coin found alongside a Late Iron Age farmhouse (Fontijn 1996, 53-54). Epse: silver *triquetrum* coin found in a Late Iron Age farmhouse (Hulst 1992, 173 and fig. 3). Tiel-Passewaay: two copper *triquetrum* coins in a farmhouse from the Augustan period (fig. 6.25; unpublished excavation Archeologisch Centrum Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam).

★ = exact find site not yet released by amateur archaeologist

	site	context	silver	copper	total
	NETHERLANDS (612 coins, 129 sites)				
1	Alem, field near church		-	1	1
2	Alem, Marensche Waarden	nucleated settlement	1	10	11
3	Ammerzoden, Achter de Vameren	rural settlement	-	1	1
4	Bemmel, Ambtswaard	rural settlement?	1	-	1
5	Beuningen, De Heuve	rural settlement	-	4	4
6	Beusichem, De Ronde	rural settlement	-	1	1
7	Bruchem, Broekseweg	rural settlement	1	1	2
8	Bruchem, Gereveld	rural settlement	-	9	9
9	Cothen, De Dom	rural settlement	-	2	2
10	Cothen, De Zemelen	rural settlement	-	2	2
11	Cothen, Dwarsdijk	rural settlement	1	3	4
12	Deil, Hooiveld?	cult place?	5	26	31
13	Deil, Bulksteeg	rural settlement	-	3	3
14	Deil, Oude Wetering	rural settlement	1	-	1
15	Deil, Oude Winkel	rural settlement	-	7	7
16	Delwijnen, De Eng	rural settlement	-	1	1
17	Echteld, De Wilmert	rural settlement	-	4	4
18	Echteld, Kanaal	rural settlement	2	-	2
19	Echteld, exact find site unknown		1	-	1
20	Eck en Wiel	rural settlement	-	1	1
21	Elst, Aamse Weg	rural settlement	-	1	1
22	Elst, Brienenshof	rural settlement	1	-	1
23	Elst, Merm	rural settlement	1	2	3
24	Empel, De Werf	cult place	12	220	232
25	Empel, Koornwaard	rural settlement	-	1	1
26	Empel, Middelsten Hoek	rural settlement	1	1	2
27	Epse	rural settlement	1	-	1
28	Erichem*	rural settlement	-	1	1
29	Erichem, Lingen	rural settlement	-	2	2
30	Erichem, Lutterveld	rural settlement	-	3	3
31	Est, Rijs en Ooijen	rural settlement	6	15	21
32	Est, Snelleveld	rural settlement	-	11	11
33	Est, Tieflaar	rural settlement	4	4	8
34	Ewijk, Grote Aalst	rural settlement	1	2	3
35	Geldrop, Riel	rural settlement	-	1	1
36	Gellicum, De Worden	rural settlement	1	1	2
37	Groesbeek, Klein Amerika	rural settlement	-	1	1
38	Groessen, Terpweg	rural settlement	-	1	1

39 Haelen, exact find site unknown		1	1	1
40 Hedel, Achterdijk	rural settlement	1	1	2
41 Heerlen, Zwarte Veldje	nucleated settlement?	-	1	1
42 Hernen, field near castle	rural settlement	-	1	1
43 Hernen, Wijnakker	rural settlement	1	-	1
44 Herveld, Groot Rome	rural settlement	-	1	1
45 Horn, Heugd	rural settlement	1	-	1
46 Horssen, Het Sunten	rural settlement	-	2	2
47 Houten, Rondweg oost	rural settlement	-	1	1
48 IJzendoorn, foreland	rural settlement?	1	-	1
49 Ittervoort, De Borg	cult place?	3	11	14
50 Kapel-Avezaath, De Bulk	rural settlement	-	2	2
51 Kessel, Kesselsche Waarden	cult place	15	-	15
52 Lienden, Brinkestein	rural settlement	-	4	4
53 Lith, De Bergen	nucleated settlement	5	6	11
54 Lith, Het Hof	rural settlement	1	-	1
55 Lith, Tusschen de Stegen	rural settlement	-	1	1
56 Macharen, Harensche Broek	rural settlement	-	1	1
57 Maren, river Meuse (= probably Kessel)	cult place?	3	-	3
58 Maurik*	rural settlement	-	1	1
59 Maurik*	rural settlement	-	1	1
60 Maurik*	rural settlement	-	1	1
61 Megen, Megensche Ham	rural settlement	2	1	3
62 Meteren, Zesmorgen	rural settlement	1	2	3
63 Nieuwaal, Middelkampse weg	rural settlement	2	2	4
64 Nieuwaal, Kendert	rural settlement	-	2	2
65 Nijmegen, Hunerberg	Roman camp	-	4	4
66 Nijmegen, Kops Plateau	Roman camp	1	12	13
67 Nijmegen, vicinity Valkhof	Roman town	1	11	12
68 Nijmegen, Ooipolder	rural settlement?	-	1	1
69 Nijmegen-West, Weurtseweg	rural settlement?	1	3	4
70 Nijmegen, exact find site unknown		-	3	3
71 Oldenzaal, Bekspringweg	rural settlement	1	-	1
72 Ommeren*	rural settlement	-	1	1
73 Ommeren, provincial motorway	rural settlement	-	1	1
74 Oosterhout, exact find site unknown		-	1	1
75 Ophemert*	rural settlement	-	1	1
76 Ophemert, Bommelse Straat	rural settlement	-	-	1
77 Ophemert, De Scheutert	rural settlement	-	12	12
78 Ophemert, Keizershof	rural settlement	1	1	2
79 Ophemert, Schuddegaffel	rural settlement	-	8	8
80 Randwijk, De Stern	rural settlement	-	3	3
81 Orthen, marina	rural settlement?	1	-	1
82 Randwijk, Schoutenbouwing	rural settlement	-	1	1
83 Randwijk, Hokkerden	rural settlement	3	2	5
84 Rhenen, Koerheuvel	rural settlement	-	1	1
85 Rhenen, Oude Dijksestraat	rural settlement	-	1	1
86 Riethoven, Heesmortel	rural settlement	-	1	1

87 Roermond, Mussenberg	rural settlement	-	1	1
88 Rossum, river Meuse		1	-	1
89 Rumpt, Boutensteinse Wetering	rural settlement	4	-	4
90 Schalkwijk, Pothuizerweg	rural settlement	-	1	1
91 St.Michielsgestel, Halder	rural settlement	1	2	3
92 St.Michielsgestel, Sterrenbos	rural settlement	-	1	1
93 Teeffelen, Rotsestraat	rural settlement	1	-	1
94 Tiel, Passewaayse Hogeweg	rural settlement	-	6	6
95 Tiel, Zennewijnenseweg	rural settlement	-	1	1
96 Thorn, Lindeveld	rural settlement	-	4	4
97 Vechten	Roman camp	-	2	2
98 Venlo, Nolensplein	Roman camp?	-	6	6
99 Voerendaal, Ten Hove	rural settlement	-	1	1
100 Waardenburg, De Woerden	rural settlement	-	2	2
101 Wadenoyen, Breeuwert	rural settlement	-	1	1
102 Wadenoyen, De Lught	rural settlement	-	1	1
103 Weert, Boshoven	rural settlement	1	-	1
104 Werkhoven, De Klaproos	rural settlement	-	2	2
105 Wijk bij Duurstede, De Geer	rural settlement	-	2	2
106 Wijk bij Duurstede, De Horden	rural settlement	-	1	1
107 Zennewijnen, Brede Straat	rural settlement	-	1	1
108 Zoelen*	rural settlement	-	1	1
109 Zoelen, De Beldert	rural settlement	1	2	3
110 Zoelen, Uiterdijk	rural settlement	-	1	1
111 Zutphen, Ooyerhoek	rural settlement	-	1	1
112 Bergeijk, Ender Akkers	rural settlement	-	1	1
113 Cuijk, Heeswijkse Kampen	rural settlement	-	1	1
114 Dodewaard, Gesperden	rural settlement	-	1	1
115 Houten, Schalkwijkse Weg	rural settlement	-	1	1
116 Eindhoven, Strijp	rural settlement	-	1	1
117 Elst, Maartenskerk	cult place	-	2	2
118 Elst, Hoge Woerd	rural settlement	-	1	1
119 Elst, Aam	rural settlement	-	-	1
120 Enspijk, Deilse Graaf	rural settlement	-	1	1
121 Liempde, Hezelaarse Akkers	rural settlement	-	1	1
122 Macharen*	rural settlement	1	-	1
123 Ommeren*	rural settlement	-	1	1
124 Oosterhout, Waalsprong	rural settlement	-	1	1
125 Randwijk, De Asterd	rural settlement	2	4	6
126 Remmerden, Industrieterrein	rural settlement	-	1	1
127 Schinveld	rural settlement	-	1	1
128 Wedde	rural settlement	-	1	1
129 Winssen, Schermersdeel	rural settlement	-	1	1
BELGIUM (16 coins, 8 sites)				
Blicquy	cult place	-	2	2
Fontaine-Valmont	cult place	-	1	1
Fraire-2	hoard	4	-	4

Itteren	rural settlement	-	1	1
Liberchies	nucleated settlement	-	2	2
Maaseik		-	2	2
Molembeek, Wersbeek		1	-	1
Tongres	Roman town	-	3	3

LUXEMBURG (9 coins, 2 sites)

Dalheim	nucleated settlement	-	1	1
Titelberg	oppidum/vicus	-	8	8

GERMANY (874 coins, 59 sites)

Albstadt?	hoard	±40	-	±40
Altenburg		-	1	1
Andernach, Burgtor		1	-	1
Andernach, Martinsberg	rural cemetery	2	-	2
Asberg	Roman camp	-	13	13
Baldersheim	rural settlement	1	-	1
Battenberg-Eisenberg		-	1	1
Beckinghausen	Roman camp	4	23	27
Bettenkamper Moor	hoard	-	48	48
Billig	nucleated settlement	-	2	2
Bochum	hoard	6	532	538
Bonn	Roman camp?	-	1	1
Borken		-	1	1
Bothenkeilingen		-	1	1
Dangstetten	Roman camp	-	1	1
Dornburg	oppidum	1	-	1
Dünsberg	oppidum	3	60	63
Erwitte		-	2	2
Flerzheim	rural settlement	-	2	2
Haltern	Roman camp	-	4	4
Haueda		-	1	1
Heuchelheim, river Lahn		2	3	5
Heunstein	hill fort	-	2	2
Höchst		1	-	1
Holzheim		-	1	1
Hommertshausen		1	1	2
Kalkar	Roman camp	-	1	1
Karlstadt, Hirschfeld	rural settlement	-	2	2
Karlstadt, Karlburg		-	1	1
Kirchberg	rural settlement	-	1	1
Kobern		-	1	1
Krefeld-Gellep		-	1	1
Limburgerhof		-	1	1
Lommersum		-	1	1
Mardorf	hoard?	1	-	1
Mariaweiler	nucleated settlement?	1	8	9
Nörten-Hardenberg	rural settlement	-	1	1

Nörvenich	cult site?	-	19	19
Neuss	Roman camps	-	24	24
Oberaden	Roman camp	-	1	1
Oberempt, Frankeshoven	rural settlement	-	1	1
Obergartzem	rural settlement	-	1	1
Oberhausen	Roman camp	-	1	1
Ochtendung		-	1	1
Polch	rural settlement?	-	1	1
Pommern, Martberg	cult place	-	1	1
Stieldorferhohn	hoard?	1	-	1
Titz, Burgfeld	rural settlement	-	1	1
Tüddern	nucleated settlement?	1	-	1
Trier	Roman town	-	3	3
Vettweiss		-	1	1
Waldgirmes	Roman camp	-	8	8
Werl		1	2	3
Wesseling	Merovingian graves	1	1	2
Westernkotten		-	2	2
Wetzlar		1	-	1
Xanten, Vetera I	Roman camp	3	14	17
Zeuzleben	rural settlement	1	-	1
Zimmern		1	-	1
SWITZERLAND (1 coin, 1 site)				
Lausanne		1	-	1

7 Kessel/Lith. A Late Iron Age central place in the Rhine/Meuse delta

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses an important complex of dredge finds retrieved by dredging personnel and amateur archaeologists during large-scale sand and gravel extraction at Kessel/Lith in recent decades. As is often the case with dredge finds, we have scant information about the specific archaeological contexts and we know only a very small part of the find complex. As a result, the finds have received little attention in the literature to date.[250] Nevertheless, I propose to discuss the Kessel/Lith finds at some length in this chapter because their quantity and richness lends them considerable scientific importance. The Kessel/Lith site compels us to reconsider the prevailing image of Late Iron Age societies and their material culture in the Lower Rhineland.

As already stated in chapter 2, reference texts on Northwestern Europe in the later Iron Age present a stereotypical geographical division into a northern and a southern world, with the boundary usually running through southeast England, northern France and central Germany. The northern world is characterised by somewhat egalitarian and static societies with a barely differentiated settlement pattern consisting solely of dispersed hamlets and farmsteads.[251] The southern world comprises the more dynamic, hierarchical, and complex societies of Gaul and Central Europe, characterised by the presence of *oppida*. These are viewed as the central places of tribal groups and are often assigned proto-urban characteristics. This spatial division is further reinforced by links to an ethnic dichotomy. The northern world is described as 'Germanic' and the southern as 'Celtic'.

Textbooks usually include the Lower Rhineland in the northern, 'Germanic' world. Provincial Roman archaeologists point out that the process of Roman urbanisation proceeded much more slowly in this region because of the complete absence of a tradition of native centre settlements. Nijmegen is considered the oldest central place in the Rhine delta, fully initiated by the Roman authorities – the army in particular – and thus constituting an implantation from outside by a superpower.[252]

This stereotypical picture has been questioned in recent years.[253] The image of egalitarian, barely differentiated societies in the Lower Rhineland was largely prompted by the absence of a tradition of depositing weapons and personal ornaments in graves. But there is evidence to suggest that the dynamic and internal differentiation in the settlement pattern in the region has been underestimated for the pre-Roman period. There were central places there too, certainly if we employ the concept in a broader sense to include all settlements with centre functions for tribal communities. This means abandoning the exclusively economic perspective, as well as the discussion about whether or not these were urban settlements. The evidence at Kessel/Lith points to the existence of a sizeable settlement which fulfilled

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[250] Cf. Roymans/Van der Sanden 1980, 191 ff.; Ter Schegget 1999; Roymans 1996a, 19, figs. 3 and 3b; Verwers 1998/1999, 342 ff.; Verhart/Roymans 1998.

[251] Cf. the discussion in chapters 2.1 and 2.4.

[252] Cf. the discussion on the Oppidum Batavorum in chapter 8.4.

[253] See chapter 2.1.

Fig. 7.1. Situation of Kessel/Lith in the Rhine/Meuse delta.

centre functions in the religious and socio–political sphere in the Rhine/Meuse delta, and which may have played a key role in constructing a Batavian identity group.

The objective of this chapter is three-fold:

a. to present a descriptive catalogue of the find complex of Kessel/Lith, especially the metalwork;
b. to discuss the chronological position and wider cultural significance of the site and metalwork from a Northwest European perspective;
c. to understand the central place within the specific historical dynamics of the Lower Rhineland. A particular focus is Kessel/Lith's significance as an early Batavian centre.

This chapter could not have been written without the support and assistance of many – museum curators, amateur and professional archaeologists, and the workers and supervisors of dredging companies – in gathering the find material from Kessel/Lith.[254] I would like to express my gratitude to all of them. I wish to extend a special word of appreciation to Leo Stolzenbach and to the late Olaf Stolzenbach (St. Michielsgestel), Gerard van Alphen (Oss) and Anton Verhagen (Empel), who over the years have devoted themselves with great enthusiasm to the archaeology of the dredging operations at Kessel/Lith. It is thanks to their many observations that we are to some extent informed about the archaeological context of the material.

7.2 DREDGED FROM SAND AND GRAVEL. HISTORY OF THE FINDS, THE FIND CIRCUMSTANCES, AND REPRESENTATIVITY

The villages of Kessel and Lith lie on the southern bank of the Meuse in the province of North Brabant, at a point in the Rhine delta where the Meuse and Waal rivers almost meet (fig. 7.1). The Kessel/Lith area has produced large quantities of dredge finds from various periods, in particular the Late La Tène and the Roman era, and the Early Middle Ages. The material was collected at two different times.[255] A small group of finds was retrieved by dredging operations in the 1930s, when large-scale river regulation was carried

[254] In alphabetical order, they are G. van Alphen (Oss), J. van Bergen (Engelen), J. Bogaert (Sliedrecht), M. Bogaers (Alem), H.J.E. van Beuningen (Neerlangbroek), L.J. van der Bijl (Voorschoten), R. Borman (Arnhem), A. van den Brandt (St.-Michielsgestel), A. Chambon (Empel); J. van de Coolwijk (Berghem), F.G. van Dinter (Dreumel), A.M. Gerhartl-Witteveen (Nijmegen), E. Graafstal (Gemeente Utrecht), P.B. Hallebeek (Amsterdam), H. Jansen (Wychen), H.A. de Kok (Hardinxveld-Giessendam), L. Maurix ('s-Hertogenbosch), J. Niessen (Zee-

land), H. van Ommeren (Elst), the late P. de Poot (Oss), J. van Rijckevorsel (Nijnsel), A. van Sprang (Barneveld-Voorthuizen), the late A.J. Sprik (Zaltbommel), R. Swelheim (Loosbroek), A. Verspaandonk (Eindhoven), W.J.H. Verwers (ROB, Amersfoort), J.P.A. van der Vin (Leiden), P. Vlemminckx ('s-Hertogenbosch), G. Weerden (Lith), J. van de Wetering (Sliedrecht), H. Wynia (Gemeente Utrecht) and the late Jaap Ypey (Amersfoort).

[255] Roymans/Van der Sanden 1980, 192 ff.

Fig. 7.2. Present-day topography of the Kessel/Lith area and location of the major archaeological sites of the Late La Tène and Roman periods.

1 modern river embankments; 2 Late Iron Age river channel; 3 water

A findspot of Late Iron Age find layers (Lith), not eroded (cf. Van den Broeke 1987); B concentration of building materials (tuff) found in 1992, eroded; C large ritual find complex at Kessel in Late Iron Age river channel; D wall remains and building materials, eroded, of a Late Roman fort; E concentration of metal finds found in the river Meuse in the 1930s; F major Roman settlement complex at Alem; G hypothetical Roman military site at Rossum

out on the Meuse. Archaeological material discovered at that time found its way to the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (RMO) in Leiden and the Noordbrabants Museum (NM) in 's-Hertogenbosch.[256] However, by far the most important stage in the collection of archaeological material began in the 1950s and continued into the late 1990s as a result of large-scale sand and gravel extraction in the forelands (*uiterwaarden*) on the southern bank of the river Meuse at Kessel/Lith. Two dredge-pits were created here, which were recently joined together to form a single pond (fig. 7.2). The dredge-pits are situated in "De Kesselsche Waarden" at Kessel, where dredging operations began in 1971 (fig. 7.3-a), and in the "De Bergen" forelands between Kessel and Lith, where dredging activities were carried out from the 1950s.[257]

Archaeological material found in the dredge-pits at Kessel/Lith from the 1950s onwards has been collected in three different ways:
a. by dredging personnel during sand and gravel extraction. Small metal objects, especially coins and brooches, were collected when the suction pumps of the dredgers were cleaned. Most of the larger

[256] The main middleman was the antiquarian A.J. Sprik (Zaltbommel), who regularly visited the dredging operations and bought the finds from the dredge workers.

[257] In this chapter the label 'Kessel/Lith' refers to the entire find complex discussed here, whereas the term 'Kessel' or 'Lith' refers to a more specific find location, respectively the dredge-pit "De Kesselsche Waarden" at Kessel, and "De Bergen" between Kessel and Lith.

Fig. 7.3. Dredging operations in the dredge-pit in 'de Kesselsche Waarden' at Kessel in 1985. General view (a) and the separation of sand and gravel (b). Photographs by the author.

objects (swords, cauldrons etc.) were found while cleaning the suction pipe or loading the gravel into smaller boats (fig. 7.3-b). Material discovered by the dredging personnel found its way to the RMO in Leiden and to other public and private collections.[258]

b. by amateur archaeologists (often using metal detectors) in gravel heaps dumped by the dredging companies on the edges of the dredge-pits at Kessel and Lith.

c. by amateurs during small-scale excavations on the edges of the dredge-pits. On one occasion, material was also found in stratigraphical association.[259]

In many respects the Kessel/Lith find complex discussed here is difficult to interpret. This is firstly because of the lack of systematic excavations, which means we are poorly informed about the original find circumstances. At best, we can partly reconstruct archaeological contexts on the basis of stratigraphical observations, information from dredging personnel and local amateur archaeologists, as well as the external characteristics and the state of preservation of metal objects and bone material. This tells us that the material from Kessel/Lith originates from roughly two contexts. Much of the material (pottery, human and animal bone material and in particular metal objects) comes from a non-eroded context in a fossil bed of the Meuse/Waal, at a depth of about 3 m. below the average water table.[260] It must have been deliberately deposited in the river at the time, close to the bank where the current was weak. A large quantity of material, especially settlement remains in the form of pottery and animal bones, originates from an adjacent settlement on a former levee of the Meuse/Waal, to the south. This material often appears to have been eroded by the river in later times.

A second factor that hampers the interpretation of the Kessel/Lith finds is the problem of representativity. We know that the material found to date is only a fraction of the find complex originally located in the ground. A host of factors are at work here, in particular the dredging methods used, the selective collection of material by dredging personnel, and the use of metal detectors by amateurs; the latter searched heaps of gravel waste on the periphery of the dredge-pits, which were accessible when water levels were low during the summer months. Clearly, the find categories of organic material and pottery are seriously underrepresented. The same applies to iron objects and small items like coins in the metalware category.

7.3 DESCRIPTION OF THE FIND COMPLEX

Only a portion of the dredge finds retrieved at Kessel/Lith will be discussed here. The primary focus is metalware from the Late Iron Age. Material from the Early Roman period (military equipment and coins) has sometimes been included in order to place the Late Iron Age material within a broader timeframe. Most archaeological finds from the Roman period and all early medieval finds have been disregarded. Late Iron Age metalwork is presented below, using a simple functional classification. Each category is discussed in terms of the following points:

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[258] Important middlemen were the antiquarian A.J. Sprik and H.A. de Kok (Hardinxveld-Giessendam). I personally purchased material from dredge workers in the early 1980s on behalf of the Noordbrabants Museum at 's-Hertogenbosch.

[259] Late Iron Age settlement material, including large numbers of pottery sherds and animal bones, was collected in two stratigraphically separated layers at Lith in 1984. Cf.

chapter 7.5 below.

[260] Oral communication from dredge workers, especially J. Bogaert and J. van de Wetering. Their information is confirmed by the external appearance of many dredge finds. The commonly occurring remains of fine clay and black organic material show that they come from a clay stratum on the edge of an active river bed. See chapter 7.5 below.

a. the typological classification

b. the dating. This is often hampered by the lack of a detailed typo-chronology of the Late Iron Age for the Lower Rhineland, due to the almost complete absence of cemeteries and of a tradition of depositing metal objects in graves. For this reason, we are heavily dependent on typochronological studies developed for other regions, which are based mainly on burial data.

c. the source. An attempt has been made to distinguish between imports from surrounding regions and local Lower Rhine products. An important methodological instrument in this respect is the creation of distribution maps for the various groups of material, which has led to some important conclusions, and has provided insights into the role of the Rhine/Meuse delta in interregional exchange networks.

A descriptive catalogue and drawings or photographs of the individual metal finds are presented in the appendix and the series of plates at the end of this chapter.

7.3.1 SWORDS AND SCABBARDS

A total of 22 Late La Tène swords or isolated scabbard plates are known from the Kessel/Lith site (plates 1-4). It is clear from information provided by dredging personnel that many more swords have been found (particularly in the dredge-pit at Kessel) than are actually known to us. Many fragmentary swords and disconnected sheath-plates were lost because they were not extracted, or were simply taken home to be thrown away later.[261] The following overview is based on items which could be recovered.

Many items are in a fragmentary state, often as a result of recent damage during the dredging process. We can assume that most of the swords were in a complete state when deposited in the water; certainly, four swords were still in their scabbards when dredged up (nrs. 13, 17, 19, 22). The Kessel/Lith area also produced ten isolated front plates of scabbards, all bronze-plated and undecorated. The back plates have been lost, an indication that they were of iron and hence more vulnerable. In addition, some swords show traces of ancient damage in the form of bends (cf. nrs. 4, 10, 12, 13), which suggests that the weapons were intentionally destroyed at the time, probably for ritual purposes.[262]

Different types of swords are represented, the vast majority of which can be dated to the phase LT D. Diagnostic features are the extreme lengths of many swords and scabbard plates, the narrow blades, and the presence of straight-mouthed as well as campanulate hilt ends.[263] There are no swords or scabbards characteristic of LT C. Most specimens do not allow a more precise dating than LT D. Only the swords of the Kessel type, discussed below, can be dated to LT D2. The find material at Kessel also includes several Roman *spathae*, a *gladius* and a sheath fragment of a Mainz type *gladius*, all dating to the 1st century AD. These finds indicate that the practice of sword deposition at Kessel continued into the Early Roman period.

Although this is not the place for a detailed investigation of the sword types represented in Kessel/Lith, I wish to make an exception for a group of weapons with a strikingly shaped grip, consisting of bronze discs surrounding the tang (fig. 7.4; plate 1, nrs. 1-6). They share the following characteristics:[264]

1. the hilt consists of a tang around which 10 to 20 bronze discs have been slipped at regular intervals. It is likely that the interspaces were originally filled with discs of organic material. The metal discs

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261 Oral communication from J. van de Wetering (Sliedrecht), former dredge worker at Kessel.

262 See the discussion in section 7.5. Oral information provided by dredge workers has taught us that many swords were found in a bent condition. The weapons were then straightened in order to make them more attractive to

potential buyers.

263 For the typo-chronology of later La Tène swords and scabbards, see Stead 1983 (Champagne); Lejars 1994 (Picardy); Schönberger 1952 (Wetterau).

264 Information about the swords has been published by Verwers and Ypey (1975) and Roymans (1984).

	number
iron swords with bronze discs on the hilt, Kessel type	5
isolated bronze disc from sword hilt, Kessel type	1
isolated bronze scabbard plates, probably from swords of Kessel type	6
iron swords, other types	4
idem, with scabbard	3
isolated bronze scabbard plates	3
Roman *gladius*	1
sheath fragment of Roman *gladius*	1
Roman *spathae*	2
total	**26**

Table 7.1. List of Late La Tène and Early Roman swords and scabbards (including fragments) found at Kessel/Lith.

are oval in shape and of equal size. Their rims are profiled, owing to the incision of shallow vertical grooves. Some of the discs from three of the swords have been subjected to spectral analysis, using the X-ray fluorescence method. They all appear to consist of bronze, with an admixture of 5 to 12 % tin.[265]

2. the swords have a campanulate hilt end. An iron disc with an arched profile surrounds the tang and marks the transition between grip and blade.
3. the blades are long and narrow. Their average length is 78.3 cm, the average width 3.4 cm.
4. six isolated bronze front-plates of scabbards have been found at Kessel (plate 2), corresponding to extremely long and narrow swords with campanulate hilt ends. They probably belong to swords of the type described above.[266]

Besides the six examples from Kessel/Lith, two more swords of this type are known from the Netherlands – from the environs of Nijmegen and from Roermond. Moreover, some isolated bronze discs from swords of this type have been found at the sanctuaries at Empel and Elst, and a rural settlement at Tiel-'Oude Tielseweg'.[267] These swords from the Dutch river area constitute a remarkable homogeneous group. As most examples were retrieved at Kessel, the group is designated here as *swords of the Kessel type*.

Within a wider geographical context, these weapons form part of a relatively small group of Late La Tène longswords with iron or bronze discs on the hilt and with a campanulate hilt end. They occur in the northeastern border regions of Gaul as well as in the Germanic area east of the Rhine (fig. 7.5). The best comparable examples outside the Netherlands are swords from Rogätz, Wederath and Bäsch (Germany), Appels (Belgium) and Denain (France). Isolated bronze discs have been found at the *oppida* on the Dünsberg (Germany; 1 example) and the Titelberg (Luxembourg; 3 examples).[268]

[265] Verwers/Ypey 1975, 88.

[266] Cf. Verwers/Ypey 1975 on the bronze sheath-plates of Kessel type swords found at Roermond and near Nijmegen.

[267] Swords from Nijmegen and Roermond: Verwers/Ypey 1975. Bronze discs from Empel: Roymans/Derks 1994,

14 ff., fig. 5. The discs from Elst and Tiel are unpublished finds from recent excavations by the Archeologisch Centrum Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam.

[268] Dünsberg: Schulze-Forster 2002, 78-79, Taf. 29, 742. Titelberg: Metzler 1995, 339-340.
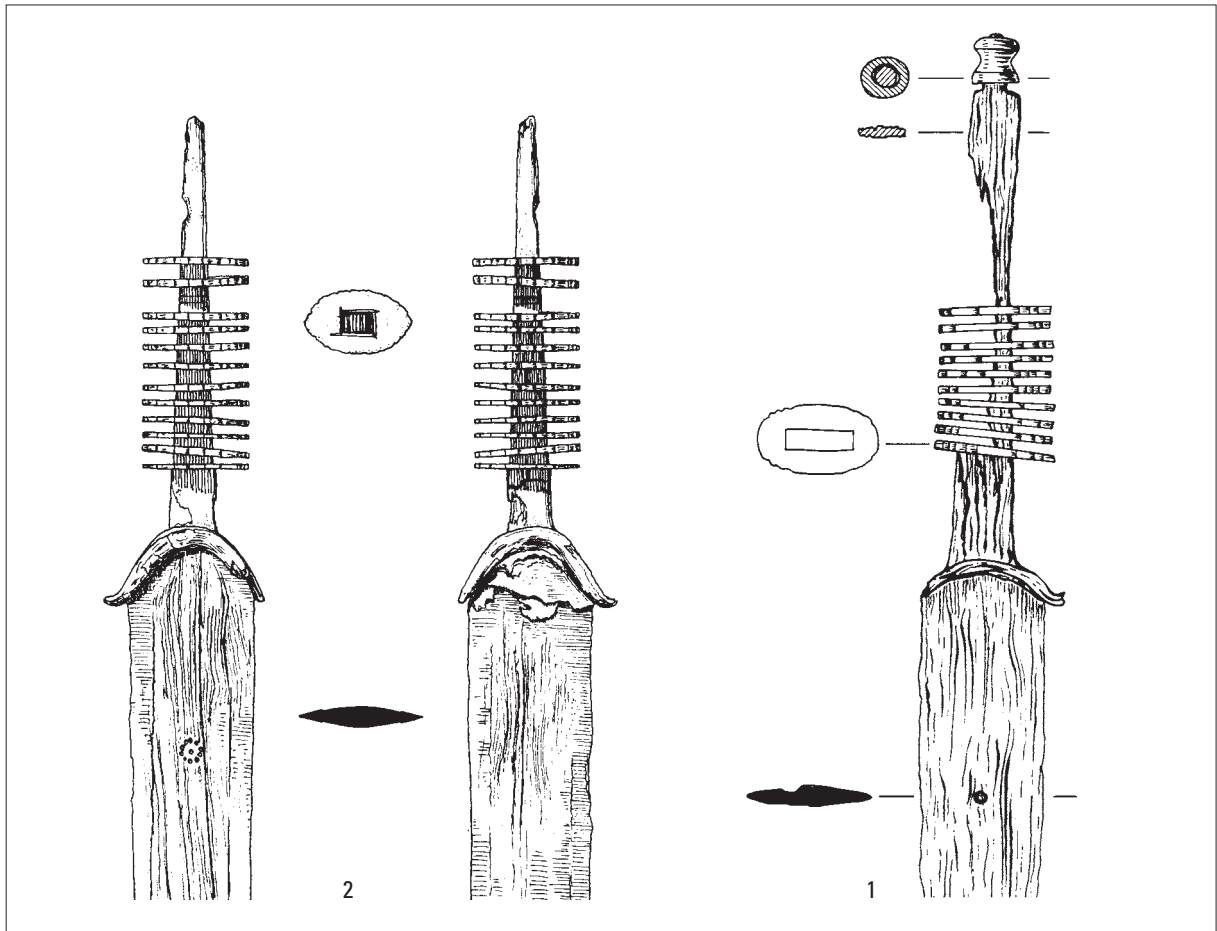
Fig. 7.4. Details of two swords of the Kessel type, with bronze discs at the hilt tang. Scale 1:2. The numbers refer to the catalogue in the appendix.

The example from Rogätz has 8 thick and 19 thinner discs on the hilt; these are all profiled with vertical grooves and are of the same shape and size as the discs from the Dutch swords. The metallic composition, however, differs; the discs consist of an alloy of copper and zinc, which means that they are of brass rather than bronze.[269] The cemetery at Wederath has yielded two swords which are important in this context. A sword with 25 bronze discs of the same shape as those from the Netherlands comes from grave 805/809. They are connected along four vertical strips of plated bronze, which are hammered into four deeper grooves in the discs. Grave 776 produced another sword with a length of 91 cm and with 20 iron discs surrounding the tang.[270] Another sword is known from the cemetery at Bäsch; it has 20 oval bronze discs on the hilt tang, but these are unprofiled. The arched mouth of the sheath indicates that the sword originally had a campanulate hilt end.[271] The sword from Appels in Belgium is a dredge find from the river Scheldt. A large number of bronze discs surround the tang; these were not cast, however, but are of thin plated bronze. The sword from Denain was also dredged from the Scheldt.[272] It can be compared in many regards with the items from the Netherlands. The weapon measures 92 cm but was originally somewhat longer, as the top of the hilt is missing. The width of the blade is 3.3 cm. Thirty-four

[269] Verwers/Ypey 1995, 90-91.

[270] Haffner 1974a, grave 805/809 and 776; idem 1974b, Abb. 4, 65; idem 1978, 94-95, 24.

[271] Mahr 1967, grave 46, table 16.

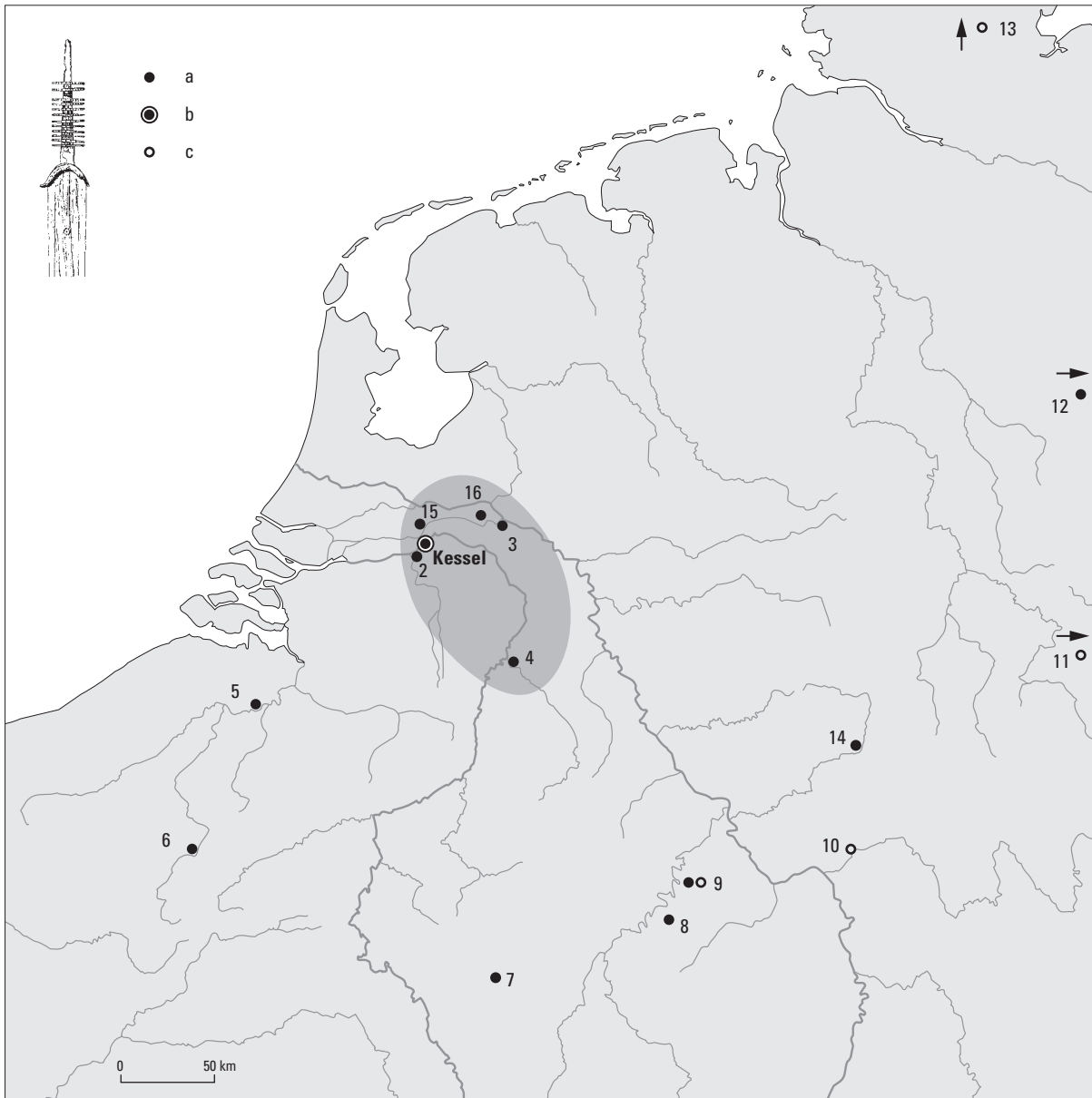[272] Hantute/Leman-Delerive 1982.

Fig. 7.5. Distribution of Late La Tène swords with metal discs at the hilt tang. Shaded: distribution area of the Kessel variant.
a swords with bronze discs; b idem >5 examples; c sword with iron discs

1 Kessel/Lith (6 examples); 2 Empel (4 isolated discs); 3 Nijmegen area; 4 Roermond; 5 Appels; 6 Denain; 7 Titelberg (3 isolated discs); 8 Bäsch; 9 Wederath (2 examples); 10 Hofheim; 11 Grossromstedt; 12 Rögatz; 13 Hedegärd; 14. Dünsberg (isolated disc); 15 Tiel (isolated disc); 16 Elst (isolated disc)

oval bronze discs with grooved rims surround the tang. Four incisions are somewhat larger and contain the remains of vertical iron strips, which held the discs in place. The same means of attachment has been described above for the sword from Wederath. One of the discs was analysed using X-ray fluorescence spectrometry. It appeared to consist of brass rather than bronze, an alloy of copper and zinc which was also found on the discs from the Rogätz sword.

The distribution map of the Late La Tène swords with metal discs around their hilt tang (fig. 7.5) shows that they are concentrated in the Lower and Middle Rhineland and in central Germany. The large distribution area and the minor differences between the swords suggest that there were several workshops.

The examples from the Dutch river area are so similar in shape, size, hilt construction and the metallic composition of the discs that they can be regarded as products from the same workshop, which may well have been situated in the Dutch river area. The swords from the Trier area give us important chronological information, as they were found in burials which can be dated to LT D2, including the early Augustan period. This date probably also applies to the Dutch swords of the Kessel type.

		SWORD			SCABBARD PLATE	
	site	total length	blade length	blade width	scabbard length	scabbard width
1.	Kessel	(50.5)	(42.2)	3.2	-	-
2.	Kessel	85.9	73	3.2	-	-
4.	Kessel	(54.2)	(43.2)	3.3	-	-
11.	Lith	93	80	4	-	-
14.	Lith?	96	82	3.2	-	-
5.	Kessel*	-	-	-	89	4
6.	Kessel*	-	-	-	85	3.8
7.	Kessel*	-	-	-	81	3.6
8.	Kessel*	-	-	-	88	3.9
16.	Kessel*	-	-	-	92	4.5
18.	Kessel*	-	-	-	86.5	3.6

Table 7.2. Measurements of the Late La Tène swords of the Kessel type, found at Kessel/Lith. The numbering of the swords refers to the catalogue presented in the appendix.

*isolated scabbard plates, probably belonging to swords of the Kessel type

7.3.2 SPEARHEADS

Among the Late La Tène dredge finds retrieved at Kessel/Lith are four iron spearheads with long, ridged blades (plate 5). The sockets are relatively short and have two holes for fastening the wooden shaft with an iron nail. The edges of the blades are severely damaged, which makes it difficult to give a more precise date to the weapons. Spearheads with long, sharply ridged blades of more or less oval shape appear to be characteristic of the later La Tène period, especially in the Lower and Middle Rhineland. They ceased to be used in the first half of the 1st century AD.[273] Four other spearheads with narrow, flattish blades can be dated to the Roman period (plate 6). Comparable items are known from the sanctuary at Empel and elsewhere.[274] The sockets of two of the spearheads contain the remains of a wooden shaft, while another still contains the iron nail, which suggests that the spears were deposited intact in the water.

7.3.3 OTHER MILITARIA

An iron helmet from Kessel has an eyebrow decoration at the front and rivet holes on the sides to fasten the (now lost) cheek plates (plate 7). The helmet does not have ear cut-outs, characteristic of the Roman

[273] Haffner 1974b, 65, 88; Schumacher 1989b (grave finds from Wederath); Joachim 1980 (settlement finds from Eschweiler); Schönberger 1952, 41 (grave finds from the Wetterau); Schulze-Forster 2002 (Dünsberg *oppidum*).

[274] Van Driel-Murray 1994, 99, fig. 8; Nicolay 2004, chapter 2.1.2, plates 29-33.

Weisenau helmets, and the edging at the back reveals that a separate neck guard (now lost) was once riveted on to it. Given these attributes, this piece clearly belongs to the two-piece Port helmets from the Late La Tène period.[275] It is the oldest iron helmet found in the Lower Rhineland. Also from Kessel is a horn-shaped tube of plated bronze with a solid terminal knob (plate 7). The holes at the base of the tube point to its use as a fitting, probably for a helmet. Although parallels are unknown, a dating in the Late La Tène period seems plausible.

Other items from Kessel include several shield fittings. These are an iron and a bronze circular umbo with a conical boss (plate 8), the bronze edging of a long oval shield, and a bronze shield grip (plate 9). They can be dated to the Early Roman period, particularly the 1st century AD.[276] Also found were four metal bridles, or hackamores, which are part of military horse gear and which are dated from the 1st to the mid-3rd century AD. Similar bridles have been found in the sanctuary at Empel.[277]

7.3.4 BELT HOOKS

One of the most remarkable categories of metalwork from Kessel/Lith is that of Late Iron Age belt hooks, a total of 22 items. With one exception, all are of bronze or plated bronze with an iron core (now lost). We should realise, however, that iron belt hooks are under-represented.[278] In contrast to their bronze counterparts, they are poorly preserved and therefore vulnerable; they are easily lost during the dredging process. Moreover, smaller iron objects go unnoticed by dredging personnel. The use of metal hooks and rings for fastening is a common feature of later Iron Age leather belts in Western and Central Europe. This simple method of fastening belts was rapidly superseded in the Early Roman period by the more advanced belt buckles. A typological overview of the belt hooks encountered at Kessel/Lith is presented in table 7.3. Three main groups are distinguished here: band-shaped belt hooks, ring-shaped ones and *Lochgürtelhaken*. In addition, two Early Roman *cingulum* fittings will be discussed.

type	number	date
band-shaped belt hook, iron, Oitzmühle type (?)	1	LT C/D1
band-shaped belt hooks, bronze, Kessel A type	12	LT D
band-shaped belt hooks, iron with covering of plated bronze, Kessel B type	5	LT D2
Lochgürtelhaken, bronze	1	LT D2
ring-shaped belt hooks, bronze	3	LT D
cingulum fittings	2	Early Roman
total	**24**	

Table 7.3. List of belt hooks from the later La Tène period and Early Roman *cingulum* fittings found at Kessel/Lith.

[275] Schaaff 1988, 307 ff.

[276] Circular shield bosses: Schumacher 1989a. Other shield fittings: Nicolay 2004, chapter 2.1.1, plates 14–15.

[277] Van Driel-Murray 1994, 98, fig. 4; Nicolay 2004.

[278] Significantly, only iron belt hooks were found in recently excavated Late Iron Age cemeteries at Weert and Nederweert (Hiddink 2003, 213 ff., and unpublished excavation of the Archeologisch Centrum Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam).

The band-shaped belt hooks fall into three subgroups. Iron belt hooks with a narrow, slightly arched band ending in an out-turned hook (plate 19, nr. 62) are represented by a single example. The base is missing. The belt hook was probably attached to the leather belt tongue by several rivets. With its elongated triangular, slightly arched band and out-turned hook, we can regard it as an iron *Plattengürtelhaken* of the late Jastorf culture, in particular the 'Oitzmühle type'. These belt hooks are concentrated in North Germany and in particular the area between the central Elbe and the Weser (fig. 7.6). They occur only sporadically in the Rhineland and are regarded there as northern imports.[279] They are dated to the Middle and the beginning of the Late La Tène period (LT C/D1).[280]

Best represented with 12 examples are the band-shaped belt hooks of cast and then hammered bronze (plates 10-15), which have many attributes in common. They are oblong triangular in shape. The narrow, slightly arched band tapers, ending in an out-turned hook with a button. Their length varies from 12 to 20.5 cm, and their width is about 4 cm. Four to six split pins, positioned across the full length of the band, are used to fasten the belt hook to the leather belt tongue. The attachment of the belt tongue is further strengthened by 'support arms', bent back at the base of the belt hook, and by the thickened long sides of the band. The pieces feature a characteristic decoration of grooves and in particular zigzag lines in triboulette technique along the edges and on the middle of the band. There is some variation in the decorative pattern but it is dominated by simple geometric motifs. Several grooves often decorate the heads of the split pins, as well as the hook button.

Within the Netherlands, belt hooks of the above type are found outside Kessel/Lith in the nearby sanctuary of Empel and in seven rural sites in the eastern half of the Rhine-Meuse delta (fig. 7.6).[281] Surprisingly, no direct parallels from neighbouring countries are known to date. The band-shaped belt hooks of cast bronze, with split pins, and decorated with scored zigzag lines seem to represent a local, Lower Rhine product. However, they are related to the iron belt hooks of the Oitzmühle type mentioned above from North Germany. These also have out-turned hooks, support arms at the base, and several rivet holes in the band. It would appear that the examples from Lith/Kessel developed from the iron belt hooks of the Oitzmühle type: the presence of one example in Kessel (nr. 62) makes such a relationship plausible. Although the support-arm construction seems somewhat archaic, a dating to LT D is the most obvious. In the absence of items from dated contexts, however, it is not possible at present to be more precise.

Given the homogeneity in terms of form, metal and decoration, the items are designated here as *band-shaped belt hooks of the Kessel A type* and are regarded as a Lower Rhine product. Some examples have been analysed by means of X-ray fluorescence spectrometry in order to establish their metallic composition.[282] On the basis of this data and on morphological grounds, three variants can be distinguished (table 7.4). The items in variant 1 are characterised by their greater length (approx. 20 cm), by split pins with a small head and a pure bronze alloy of copper and tin. The examples in variant 3 are a little shorter (approx. 15 cm), the split pens (with no head) are positioned in a concave, semi-spherical stud, and the bronze is alloyed with a small quantity of lead. The item in variant 2 features split pins like those in variant 3 but without a stud, while the bronze alloy contains a small quantity of zinc.

Given their limited geographical distribution and strong resemblance in terms of shape and decoration, the belt hooks of the Kessel A type could be products of the same workshop. Examples of the same variant may even have been made by one and the same craftsman. The composition of the casting metal varied, depending on the base material available at any given time. Small time differences between the casting campaigns might also explain the shape variations of this type of belt hook.

[279] Ebel 1990, 306.

[280] Ebel 1990; Haffner/Krause 1999.

[281] Empel: Roymans/Derks 1994, fig. 4. The finds from the rural settlements are still unpublished.

[282] The analyses were carried out by P.H. Hallebeek of the Centraal Laboratorium voor Onderzoek van Voorwerpen van Kunst en Wetenschap (now Instituut Collectie Nederland) in Amsterdam.

cat. nr.	site	length (cm)	metal	metallic composition %				type
				Cu	Zn	Pb	Sn	
45	Kessel	20.5	cast bronze	79.5	-	-	20.5	Kessel A, variant 1
46	Kessel	19.4	cast bronze	78.8	-	-	20.2	idem
47	Kessel	18.2	cast bronze	76	-	-	24	idem
48	Kessel	18.4	cast bronze					idem
49	Kessel	17.6	cast bronze					idem
50	Kessel	20.7	cast bronze					idem
51	Kessel	(11)	cast bronze					idem
52	Kessel	15.8	cast bronze	83.7	2.7	-	13.6	Kessel A, variant 2
53	Lith	14.6	cast bronze	87.7	-	5.2	7.1	Kessel A, variant 3
54	Kessel	14.8	cast bronze	82.6	-	3.3	14.1	idem
55	Kessel	11.9	cast bronze	80.5	-	3.6	15.9	idem
56	Kessel	14.8	cast bronze	86	-	2	12	idem
57	Kessel	24.7	plated bronze					Kessel B
58	Kessel	(23.6)	plated bronze	76	-	-	24	idem
59	Kessel	(17.7)	plated bronze					idem
60	Kessel	(12)	plated bronze					idem
61	Kessel	(8.1)	plated bronze	81	-	-	19	idem
62	Kessel	(7.2)	iron					Oitzmühle

Table 7.4. Typological classification of the band-shaped belt hooks found at Kessel/Lith, showing the length, type of metal, and the metallic composition based on X-ray analyses. Minute traces of elements and impurities (1 - 2 %) of Ni and Mn in some examples are not shown.

The third group of band-shaped belt hooks from Kessel/Lith, represented by five examples, are of iron with a covering of decorated plated bronze (plates 16-18). The iron is almost completely corroded and has disappeared, so that only the bronze covering remains.[283] The iron core (now lost) and the bronze cover plate were attached by six to eight bronze rivets, whose concave heads were inlaid with red enamel. However, the enamel has disappeared from many of the rivets. The belt hook was fastened to the leather belt tongue by means of a hinge mechanism, whereby the bottom end of the bronze cover plate was turned up and attached with an iron pin to the leather belt (cf. nrs. 57, 59, 60). With the exception of item nr. 60, the belt hooks are remarkably long (approx. 25 cm). They feature a separate cast bronze hook, fastened with a rivet to the band (nrs. 57, 58). The bronze cover plates are richly decorated with ridges in geometric patterns, rows of dots and circles, for which a stamp block was used. Item nr. 61, of which only the middle piece survives, has a distinct decoration. The wide cover plate, which tapers towards the end, is decorated with five ridges running lengthwise, flanked by rows of dots.

[283] Nrs. 57 and 58 still contain remains of iron at the back, and laboratory tests have revealed minimal traces of iron on the back of nr. 61.

In terms of form, technical construction, decoration and the use of identical rivets, the belt hooks described above are so homogeneous as to be regarded as an independent type. I designate them *bronze-plated iron belt hooks of the Kessel B type*. Within the Lower Rhineland, from the cult place at Empel and a rural settlement at Utrecht, bronze rivet heads are known from belt hooks of this type. Further, the Lippe estuary has yielded two long, bronze-plated iron belt hooks from Late La Tène cremation graves (fig. 7.7).[284] However, the objects were so misshapen in the funeral pyre that it is not possible to compare them properly with those from Kessel/Lith. Nevertheless, it is significant that both belt hooks were associated with arched brooches of the Almgren 18 type, which can be dated to LT D2 (see below). No direct parallels can be identified outside the Lower Rhineland, although here too there is a link with the North German area. The belt hooks are related to the long, richly decorated Holsteiner *Plattengürtelhaken*, which are characteristic of the later pre-Roman Iron Age. Hingst has developed a typology for the Holsteiner belt hooks. Of particular relevance for our purposes is the elongated triangular, bronze-plated C2 type, which is attached to the belt with a hinge.[285] Item nr. 61 has a further similarity to the Holsteiner belt hooks: three parallel central ridges running the length of the band.[286] On the basis of the association with fibulae, Keiling and Hingst date the partly bronze-plated iron belt hooks with one to three ridges to an advanced phase of LT C. However, given the association with Late La Tène fibulae in graves, these belt hooks continued into LT D.[287] All this means that there is a connection between Kessel B type belt hooks and the Schleswig-Holstein bronze-plated *Plattengürtelhaken* (Hingst C2 type; Rangs-Borchling 1d2/1d3). However, the latter lack some of the features of the Kessel B belt hooks: a separately riveted bronze hook (with the exception of Hornbek grave 709), rivet heads containing red enamel, and the typical relief decoration on the band. There are no known examples of this type from Holstein that are completely bronze-plated. Nor are there examples that feature rows of dots, although some have circle patterns in relief (*Kreisaugen*) as a decorative motif.[288]

The base fragment of the openwork, bronze belt hook nr. 63 (with the attached bronze-plated covering of the accompanying leather belt) can be regarded as belonging to the *Lochgürtelhaken* group (subtype A/B), which come from the region east of the Rhine, and central Germany in particular. They can be dated to LT D2.[289] The example from Kessel is definitely an imported item.

A relatively small group containing three examples from Kessel/Lith are the ring-shaped belt hooks of cast bronze. These are very common in the La Tène cultural area in Northwest and Central Europe, particularly *oppida* such as the Titelberg and the Heidetränk. They also occur regularly in North Germany, where they are regarded as southern imports. They date from the end of LT C and especially LT D. Two items (nrs. 64, 65) have small notches in the ring on both sides of the hook and thus belong to the variant with projections or 'wings', which circulated into the early Augustan era.[290] This type also has a very wide distribution, from southeast Britain to Central Europe.

[284] Graves from Haldern-'Landermann' (Reichmann 1979, 413, Taf. 42) and Bislich-'Düne Gunz', grave 1 (Reichmann 1979, 426, table 58; incorrectly interpreted as a sword scabbard). Empel: Roymans/Derks 1994, fig. 4.8-10. Utrecht-'Hoge Weide': unpublished excavation Archeologische Dienst Gemeente Utrecht.

[285] Hingst 1962, 70 (Abb. 3.2 and 3.4); idem, 1989, 57 (Abb. 2). The item with the strongest resemblance to those from Kessel is the *Plattengürtelhaken* from grave 709 in the Hornbek cemetery at Holstein (Rangs-Borchling 1963, table 102, left). There too the end of the hook appears to be a separate element and there is a circular relief decora-

tion on the belt plate.

[286] Hingst 1962. Hingst 1964, 178 ff., Abb. 17, types b, c.

[287] Keiling 1978, 82, 95; Hingst 1989, 66. See also Rangs-Borchling 1963, 23-24; Hingst 1964, 162, Abb. 9-6; Behrends 1968, 30, phase IIIb.

[288] Keiling 1978, 88.

[289] Völling 1995, 44-49, 109 f. Two *Lochgürtelhaken* have been found in graves at Haldern in the German Lower Rhineland. Cf. Reichmann 1979, table 12.6; Völling 1995, 109, nr. 28-29.
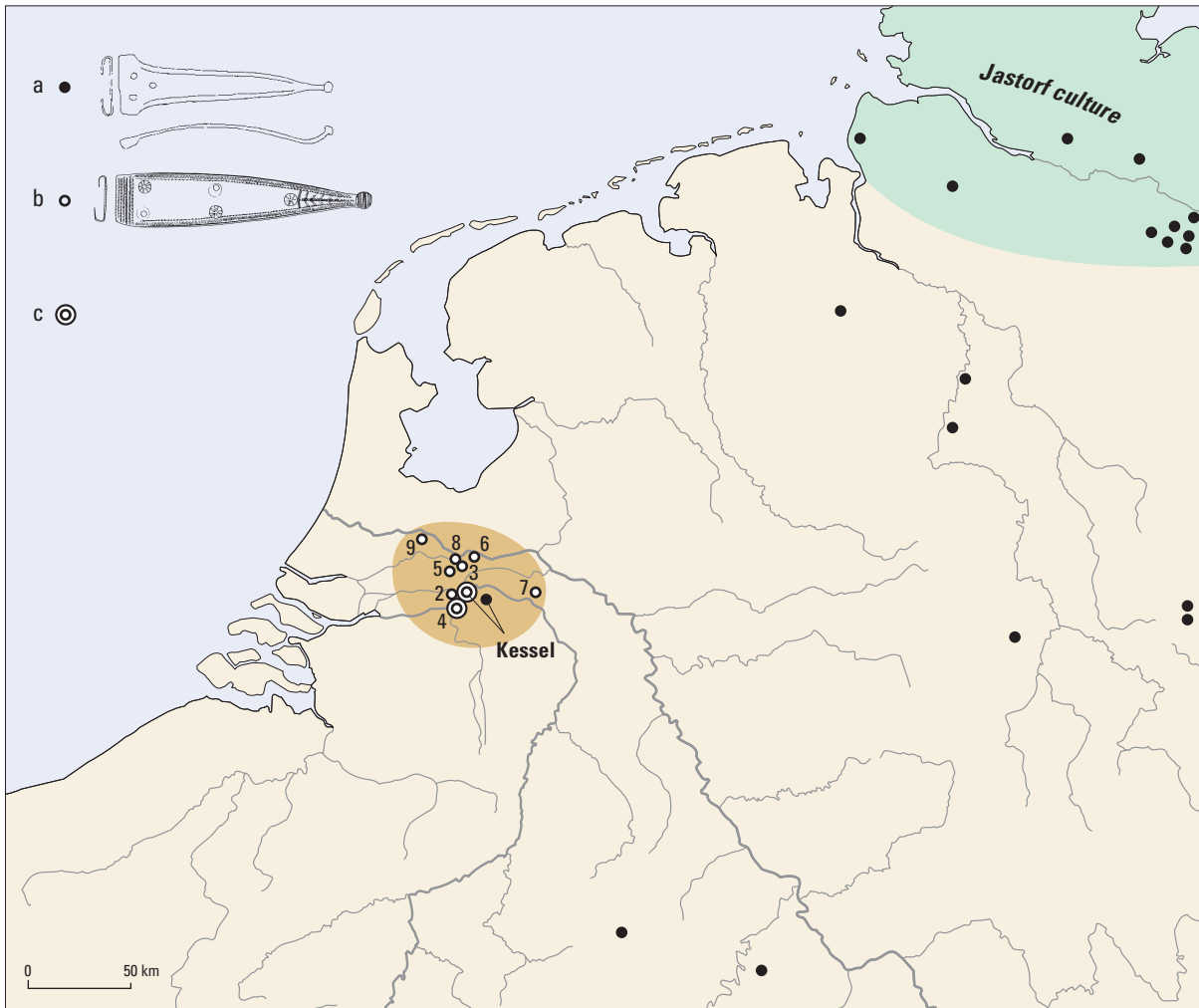
[290] Collis 1973; Bataille 2001.

Fig. 7.6. Distribution of iron belt hooks of the Oitzmühle type (a; after Ebel 1990, Abb. 2) and bronze belt hooks of the Kessel A type (b). c: >5 examples. Brown: actual distribution area of belt hooks of the Kessel A type. Green: major distribution area of other types of Late Iron Age band-shaped belt hooks.

1 Kessel/Lith (12 examples); 2 Alem; 3 Tiel, 'Passewaaij' (2 examples); 4 Empel, 'De Werf' (7 examples); 5 Rumpt, 'De Worden'; 6 Maurik, 'De Huchte'; 7 Groesbeek, 'Klein Amerika'; 8 Meteren, 'Zes Morgen'; 9 Utrecht, 'Hoge Weide'

The belt hooks from Kessel/Lith suggest multiple influences. Unlike ring-shaped belt hooks, the band-shaped types are unusual for the later La Tène culture in Western and Central Europe. These suggest a link to the North German area; the iron belt hook may even have been imported from there. The Kessel A and B types are local, Lower Rhine variants that built on the tradition of the North German belt hooks. It would appear that at some time during LT D metalworkers from North Germany came to the Dutch river area and began manufacturing belt hooks in the northern band-shaped tradition, but complemented by new, local elements which gave the hooks a character of their own.[291]

Because they occur in men's graves, ring-shaped belt hooks are generally considered a male attribute. North German belt hooks of the Oitzmühle type, on the other hand, are associated with women because

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[291] In tribal societies, such moves of specialist metalworkers may have been related to marriage relations or expanding clientship networks of aristocratic leaders. Cf. chapter 2.6.
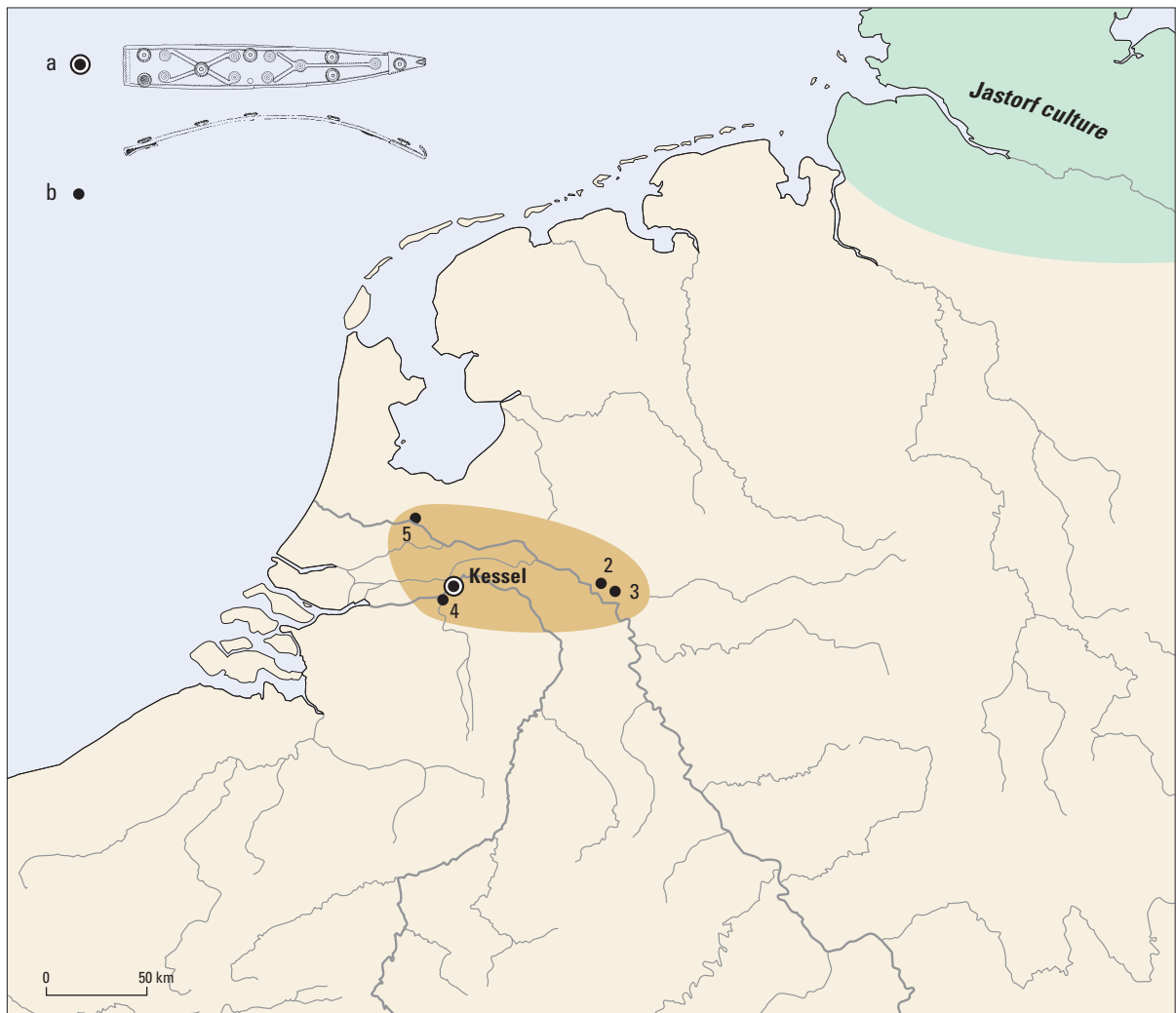
Fig. 7.7. Distribution of bronze-plated iron belt hooks of the Kessel B type.

1 Kessel/Lith (5 examples); 2 Haldern, 'Landermann'; 3 Bisslich, 'Düne Günz'; 4 Empel, 'De Werf'; 5 Utrecht, 'Hoge Weide'

of their occurrence in women's graves.[292] It remains to be seen whether the belt hooks of the Kessel type, which are typologically derived from them, should also be regarded as female attributes. Their presence at both Kessel and Empel in ritual find complexes of a strongly military nature leads us to suspect a male association. The same problem arises with belt hooks of the Kessel B type. These are related to the Hol–steiner *Plattengürtelhaken*, which are known primarily from women's graves.[293] The *Lochgürtelhaken*, which were probably imported from central Germany, are also regarded as part of female attire.[294]

Further, it should be pointed out that the hooks on many of the Kessel/Lith items show signs of wear, which suggests intensive use prior to deposition in the river bed.

Finally, two items were found at Kessel/Lith (plate 19, nrs. 67-68) which date from the Early Roman period and which can be regarded as fittings for the Roman sword belt or *cingulum*. The first may have been used for suspending a dagger from the belt; the second is the bone buckle from a sword belt.

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[292] Ebel 1990, 309. However, he also cites an example from a grave where the cremation remains have been identified as belonging to a male.

[293] Rangs–Borchling 1963, 52-53. Cf. however, Keiling 1978, 66, 70, for associations with adult males.

[294] Völling 1995, 64-70.
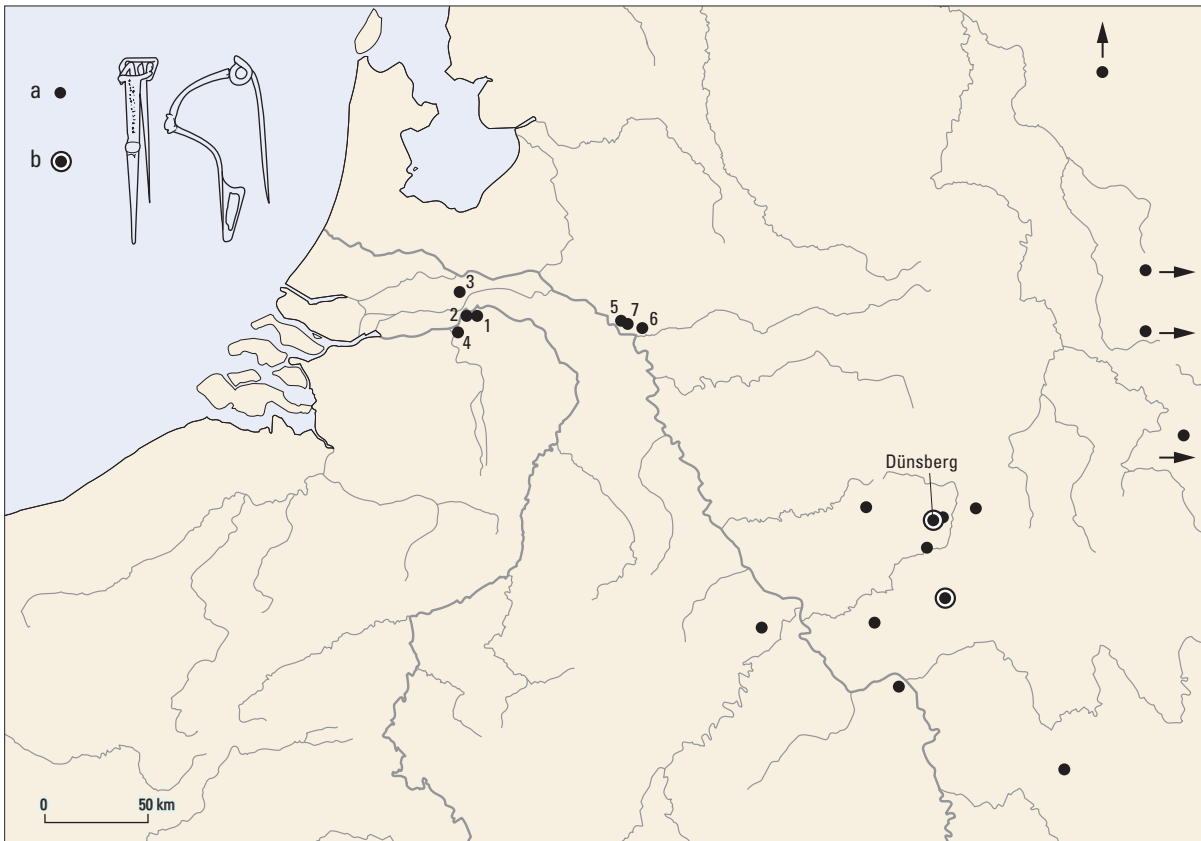
Fig. 7.8. Distribution of Late La Tène brooches of the Almgren 18 type (Dünsberg variants). After Schulze-Forster 2002, fig. 28 and list 5, with additions. B: >5 examples.

1 Kessel/Lith (2 examples); 2 Alem; 3 Est, 'Rijs en Ooyen'; 4 Empel, 'De Werf'; 5 Bislich; 6 Haldern, 'Heeren-Herken'; 7 Haldern, 'Heringsberg'; Dünsberg (20 examples)

7.3.5 FIBULAE

In total 42 fibulae are presented here from Kessel/Lith, 35 of which can be dated to the later Iron Age and seven to the earliest Roman period. With the exception of a single iron example, all items are bronze, which clearly does not represent the original ratio. Grave finds from the Lower Rhineland reveal that iron fibulae predominated in the Late Iron Age. We can assume that the iron brooches from Kessel/Lith were lost during the dredging process because of their greater vulnerability.[295]

Table 7.5 offers an overview of the brooch types found. The sequence begins with a brooch of Early La Tène construction (nr. 70) and a *Pauken* fibula of the Benstrup type (nr. 69); the latter can probably be dated to the La Tène C phase.[296] The vast majority of the brooches originate from the LT D phase, however. The Nauheim fibulae (nrs. 76-80), and probably some of the fibulae of Middle La Tène construction (nrs. 71-75), represent the early phase of the Late La Tène period (LT D1).[297] Simple wire brooches

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[295] Significantly, the only iron brooch from Kessel/Lith (nr. 71) was found in situ during a small excavation by amateur archaeologists on the edge of the dredge-pit at Lith.

[296] *Pauken* fibulae of the Benstrup type: see Sicherl 2003.

[297] For the chronology of Nauheim brooches, see Striewe

1996. Early Nauheim fibulae frequently occur in German Rhineland graves in association with brooches of Middle La Tène construction. On the continued use of Nauheim fibulae in the LT D2 and earliest Roman period, see Zanier 2004.
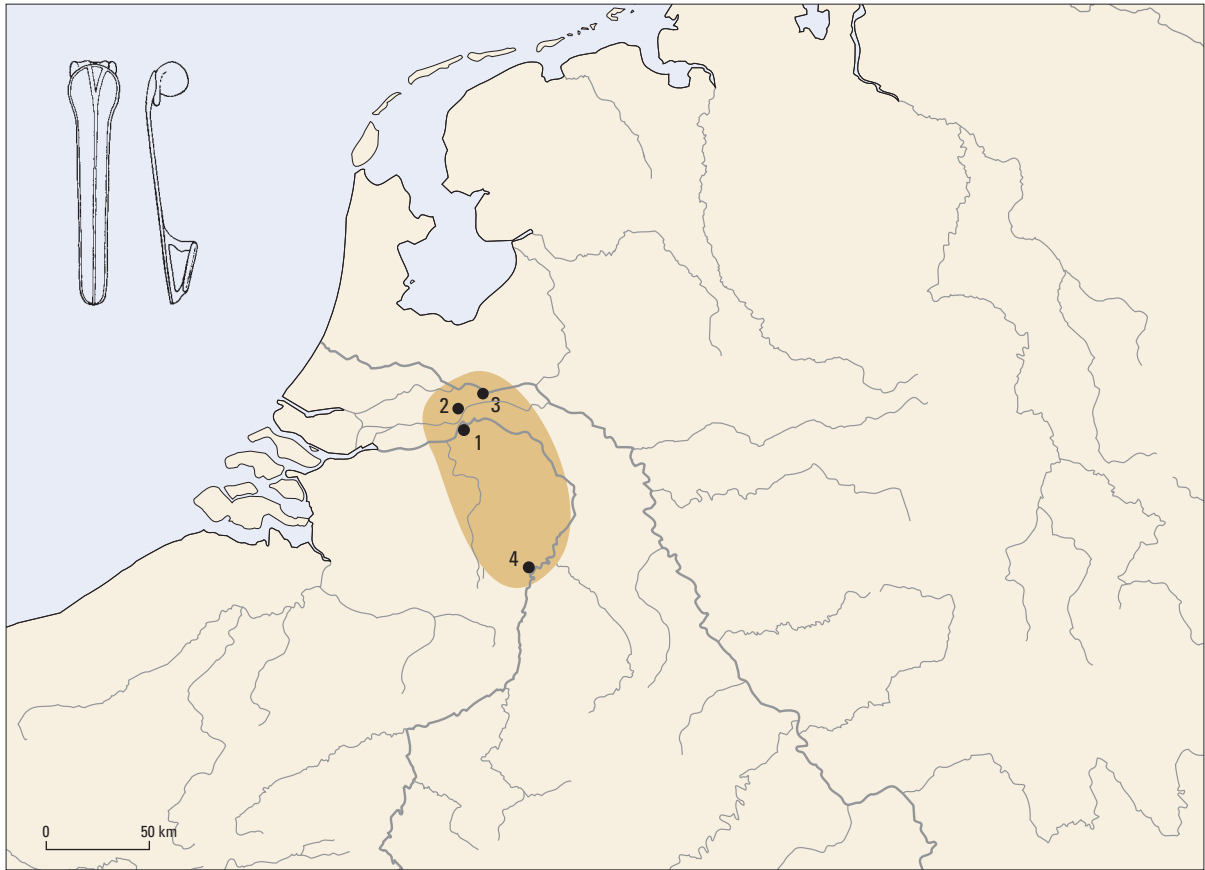
Fig. 7.9. Distribution of Late La Tène spoon-bow fibulae, Lith type.

1 Kessel/Lith; 2 Est, 'Rijs en Ooyen'; 3 Kesteren, 'De Woerd'; 4 Maaseik

(nrs. 81-86) do not permit a more precise dating than LT D. On the other hand, some arched brooches (*geschweifte Fibeln*) of the Almgren 18 type and a dozen spoon-bow brooches (*kapfibulae*) are characteristic of the phase LT D2. These are shapes that we no longer encounter in the earliest Augustan army camps in the Lower Rhineland.[298] Several early hinged fibulae and the spoon-bow fibulae of the Haalebos I type stem from the Augustan-Tiberian era and mark the transition to the Roman period.

The fibulae from Kessel/Lith show a clear affinity to the brooch repertoire of the later La Tène culture in general, and to those from the German Rhineland in particular. One example is the bronze arched brooches of the Almgren 18 type, which are concentrated in the zone between Main and Lippe (fig. 7.8).[299] The Nauheim fibulae represent an 'international' brooch type, which – although very prevalent in the German Rhineland – is distributed over large parts of the continental La Tène culture. The Late La Tène spoon-bow fibulae are also distributed over much of the La Tène cultural area, but they differ in their wide range of regional variants.[300] They are strongly represented in Kessel/Lith, and here too we

[298] For a recent survey of Roman brooches in the Lower Rhineland, see Haalebos 1986.

[299] Schulze-Forster 2002, 30 ff. Other bronze fibulae of the Almgren 18 type have been found in the Netherlands at Est-'Rijs and Ooyen' (unpublished, Van Rijckevorsel Collection), Alem (Haalebos 1986, fig. 10.1), Empel (Pulles/Roymans 1994, fig. 5.2) and also in the river Meuse in North Brabant (unpublished, NM Collection 8654).

[300] Cf. Haalebos 1986, 16 ff; Rieckhoff 1995, 115 ff; Metzler 1995, 200 ff; Schulze-Forster 2002, 35 ff.
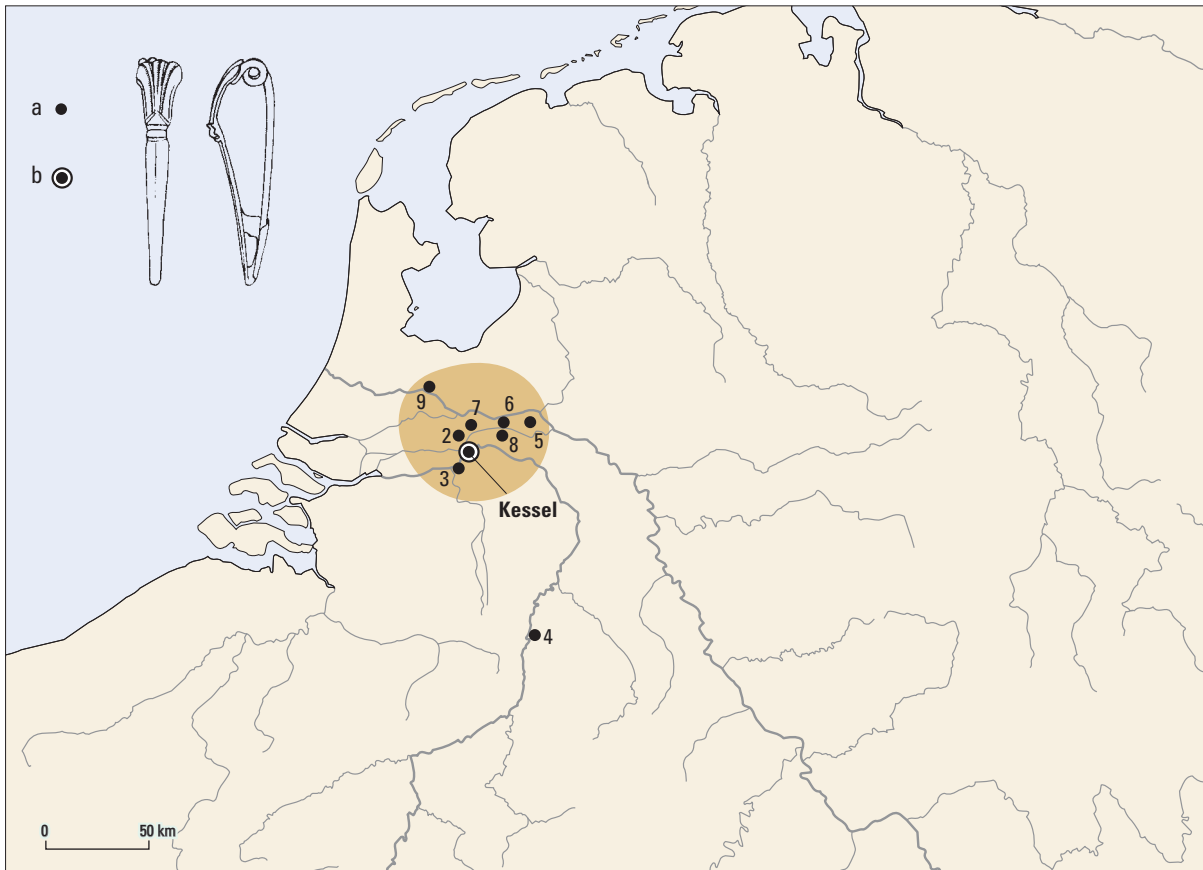
Fig. 7.10. Distribution of Late La Tène spoon-bow fibulae of the Kessel type.

1 Kessel/Lith (7 examples); 2 Rumpt, 'De Worden'; 3 Empel, 'De Werf'; 4 Maastricht, river Meuse (4 examples); 5 Elst, 'N.H. Kerk'; 6 Gesperden, 'De Hoge Wust' (Verwey Collection); 7 Meteren, 'Zes Morgen'; 8 Deest, 'Afferdensche Waarden'; 9 Utrecht, 'Hoge Weide'

can distinguish several regional (i.e. Lower Rhine) variants. Of the spoon-bow fibula without a knobbed bow and with a vertical line running the full length of the bow (nr. 92), identical examples are known from Maaseik (Belgium), and Est and Kesteren in the Dutch river area (fig. 7.9).[301] I designate them the *Lith type*. They presumably come from the same workshop, which – judging by the limited area of distribution – will have been located somewhere in the Lower Rhineland. Best represented in Kessel/Lith is a group of seven spoon-bow brooches (nrs. 97-103) with a knobbed bow and the head decorated with a series of fanned grooves. These I call the *Kessel type*. The distribution map (fig. 7.10) shows that they were manufactured in the Dutch river area, probably at Kessel/Lith, given the number of brooches found there.

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[301] Maaseik: Janssens 1977, Pl. III-39 (grave 39); Est-'Rijs and Ooyen': Verhelst 2003, 29, fig. 14.2; Kesteren-'De   Woerd': Koster/Joosten 2001, 188, fig. 7.2-c.

type	number at Kessel/Lith	Alem/Rossum	approx. date
Early La Tène construction	1	1	LT A/B
Pauken fibula	1	-	LT C
Middle La Tène construction	5	-	LT D1
Nauheim brooches	5	2	LT D1
wire brooches	7	2	LT D
Câtillon type	1	1	LT D
arched brooches (*geschweifte Fibeln*), Almgren 18	2	1	LT D2
Kugelfibel, cast	-	1	LT D
spoon-bow fibulae, Late La Tène types	12	3	LT D2
spoon-bow fibulae, Haalebos, type I	5	5	Augustan/Tiberian
Colchester brooch	1	-	LT D2/Augustan
early hinge fibulae	2	1	Augustan
total	**42**	**17**	

Table 7.5. List of the earliest bronze fibulae found at Kessel/Lith and Alem/Rossum.

7.3.6 CAULDRONS

Kessel/Lith has yielded five large cauldrons of plated bronze which can be dated to the Late La Tène or earliest Roman period (plates 23-24). Four of them were dredged up near the entrance from the river to the dredge-pit at Kessel. All items were crushed and broken by the dredging machine. With the exception of one cauldron from Lith that is still awaiting restoration, they have all been restored to their original shape.

The cauldrons are spherical with a riveted upper part of bronze (2 examples, Eggers 8 type) or iron (3 examples, Eggers 6 type). The upper part, which tapers in slightly, merges seamlessly with the bottom part of the cauldron. The cauldrons had a reinforced, iron rim with a square profile, to which two large iron rings were attached which functioned as handles. The iron rim and rings have been preserved only on the example from Lith (not shown). The cauldrons seem to have been used mainly for food preparation, although we cannot rule out their use as a vessel for liquids.

Such cauldrons from the Celto-Germanic cultural area are frequently found in rivers and in grave contexts. In North Germany they are often regarded as being of southern, 'Celtic' origin. Relevant here is the distinction between Eggers 8 type cauldrons, with a bronze upper part, and Eggers 6 type cauldrons, with upper parts of iron. Only examples of the former type are known from Gaul and the Rhineland, occurring in a number of elite graves, such as at Hoppstädten-Weiersbach, Heimbach-Weiss, Wincheringen and Goeblingen-Nospelt.[302] These graves can be dated to LT D2 or the earliest Roman period. In the Dutch river area examples are known from the cult place at Empel and from the cellar of a house at Nijmegen-Oppidum Batavorum.[303] Examples with an iron upper part of the Eggers 6 type are primarily known from graves in North Germany.[304] Hachmann assigns this type to his 3a phase, or

[302] Hoppstädten-Weiersbach (grave 13): Haffner 1969. Heimbach-Weiss: Joachim 1973. Wincheringen: Haffner 1984. Goeblingen-Nospelt (grave B): Metzler 1984.

[303] Empel: Koster/Derks 1994, 175, fig. 1-f . Nijmegen: Van

Enckevort/Thijssen 2000, 40.

[304] E.g. the cemetery of Harsefeld, Kreis Stade, yielded 8 cauldrons with an iron upper part, and 5 with bronze upper parts. Cf. Wegewitz 1937, 78-79.
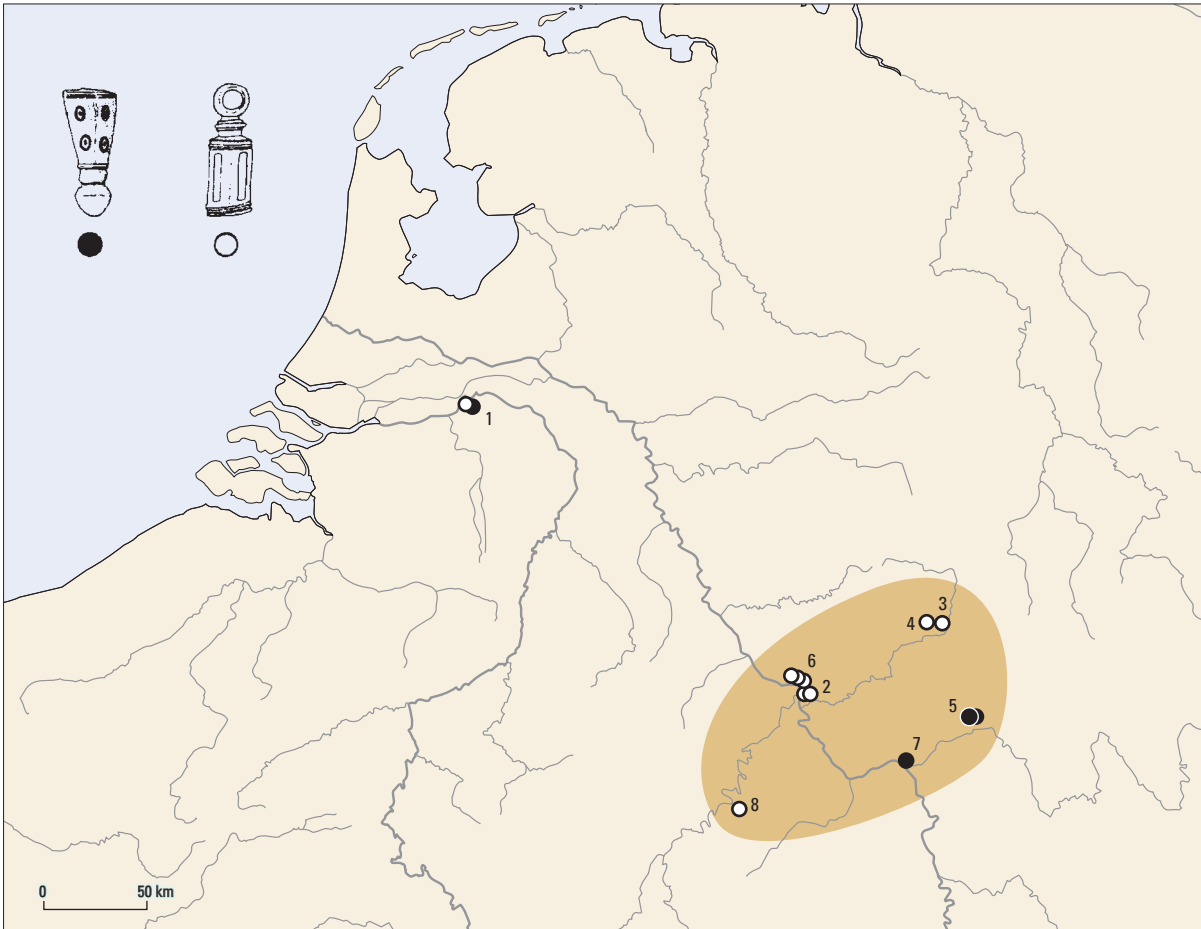
Fig. 7.11. Distribution of wild boar/animal tooth pendants. After Schulze-Forster 2002, fig. 41.

1 Kessel/Lith (2 examples); 2 Bendorf-Sayn; 3 Dünsberg (2 examples); 4 Dünsberg-Helfholz; 5 Heidetränk oppidum (2 examples); 6 Heimbach-Weiss (3 examples); 7 Rhine near Mainz; 8 Wederath

the period between about 150 and 50 BC.[305] We can therefore date the Kessel/Lith cauldrons to the Late La Tène or earliest Roman period.

The cauldrons appear to have been deposited intact into the river at that time. We also know that all have one or more patches in the form of riveted bronze plates, which shows that they were used intensively before deposition. The cauldron from Lith features dozens of patches and appears very worn. Finally, it should be reported that many more bronze vessels have been dredged up at Kessel, but as they date from Roman times, they will not be discussed here.

7.3.7 SOCKETED AXES

Nine socketed axe-heads are known from Kessel/Lith, all of iron (plate 25). They were manufactured using the same technique from a single sheet of iron. The two tips on the upper side have been hammered and folded over to form the socket. The socket has a rounded or rectangular section, and often a triangular opening near the blade. In some cases the socket is completely welded shut and the join is hidden. The

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[305] Hachmann 1960, 140 and Abb. 48.

iron socketed axe (*Tüllenbeil* or *Lappenbeil*) was a very common implement in West and Central Europe during the later Iron Age. They appear to be particularly numerous in *oppida*, including those in the German Middle Rhine area.[306] In the Netherlands they are relatively rare.[307] The axes are difficult to date more precisely. Those with a closed socket (reminiscent of the Late Bronze Age socketed axes of cast bronze) are generally dated to the Late Hallstatt and Early La Tène period, while those with an open socket (most of our examples) are characteristic of the later La Tène period (LT C/D).[308] The socketed axes were rapidly superseded by the more advanced shaft-hole axes in the course of the Early Roman period. They only occur sporadically in early 1st century AD contexts.[309] The socketed axes were used as woodworking tools and probably as weapons, which may explain their presence in a number of warrior burials.

7.3.8 VARIA

A special find category comprises two bronze fittings of wild boar teeth, worn as an amulet (plate 26). These are the looped base fragment (nr. 125) and end of a pendant (nr. 126). Remains of the tooth can still be seen in both items. The fragments are part of the same pendant type, but belong to two different examples. We know of a series of parallels from both grave and river contexts in the Middle Rhine region, as well as from the *oppida* on the Dünsberg and the Heidetränk-Tal (fig. 7.11). In addition, we know a comparable fitting of a tooth amulet (from a wild boar?) from Northern France. They are generally dated to the Middle or Late La Tène period.[310] Judging by their distribution, the pendants from Kessel/Lith are imports from the Middle Rhine region.

The gilded bronze comb with a horse-shaped grip (nr. 127) is unique in the Lower Rhineland. Seven identical pieces are known from the Middle Rhine region, and in particular the Wetterau east of the Rhine (fig. 7.12).[311] One example comes from the Heidetränk *oppidum*; the others were almost all found in cremation graves, where they are regularly associated with Nauheim brooches, making an LT D1 dating most likely. The production centre for these combs must be sought in the Wetterau, and the example from Kessel was almost certainly imported from this area.

A triangular-shaped bronze mount, belonging to horse-gear and decorated with an animal-shaped head and circular grooves (nr. 128), probably dates from the Late La Tène period, given that parallels are not known from the Early Roman period. The same date may apply to an iron knife with a curved edge and a handle made of a red-deer antler-tine (nr. 129), as well as an iron horse-bit, consisting of twisted iron bars linked by rings (nr. 130).[312]

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[306] E.g. 35 pieces are known from the Heidetränk *oppidum* in the Taunus (Müller-Karpe 1977) and some 15 pieces from the Dünsberg *oppidum* in Hesse (Schulze-Forster 2002, 99, table 39). See also Schönberger 1952, 42.

[307] Their scarcity is probably due primarily to the poor conservation of iron objects in sandy and clay soils, and to the absence of cemeteries. Examples have recently been found in rural settlements at Oss-'Schalkskamp' (Wesselingh 2000, fig. 201) and Weert-'Molenakker' (Roessingh 2003), as well as at the cult place at Empel (Roymans/Derks 1994, 17).

[308] Cf. Jacobi 1974, 28-32; Müller-Karpe 1977; Joachim 1980, 397, 409, 415, 429; Haffner 1971 and 1974a; Schulze-Forster 2002, 99. See also Fontijn 2003, 164-165, on some C14-dated Early Iron Age socketed axes with

closed sockets from the Dutch river area.

[309] Nijmegen, Haltern: Bogaers/Haalebos 1980, 95, fig. 33-1. Wederath: Haffner 1974a, graves 670 and 703. Sampont: Noël 1968, graves 63, 93, 105.

[310] A complete pendant was dredged from the Rhine near Mainz (Wegner 1976, 92-94, table 73.4). See also Schlott 1985 and Schulze-Forster 2002, 54-56. For a similar example from Bouy (Marne, France), see *Gallia* 35, 1977, 406, fig. 18.

[311] Cf. Schönberger 1952, 45, tables 9,44 and 28.11-12; Werner 1955, 117; Decker 1968, 55, 162, table IV.5. Comb from the Heidetränk *oppidum*: oral communication from Jens Schulze-Forster.

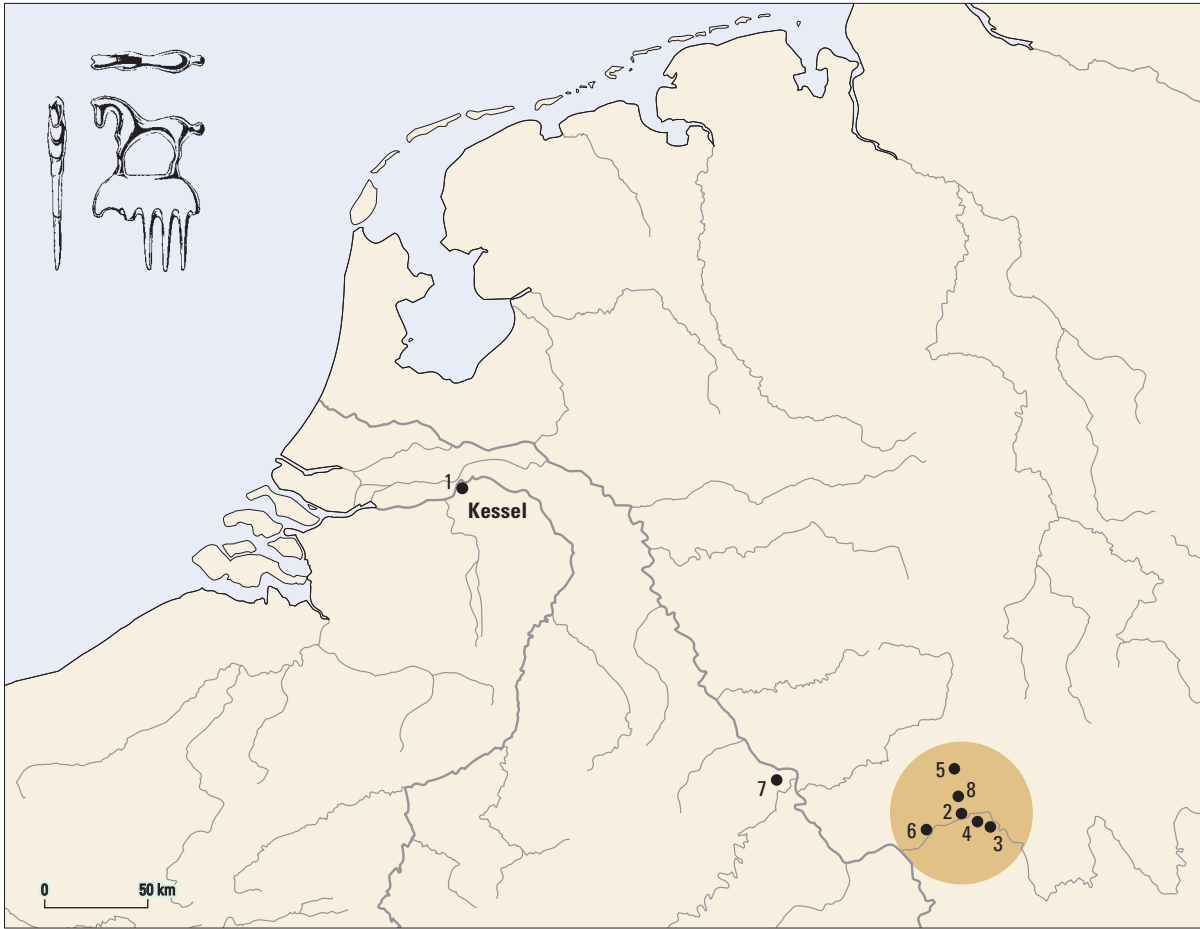[312] For the knife, cf. Joachim 1980, fig. 29.6.

Fig. 7.12. Distribution of bronze combs with horse-shaped grip.
1 Kessel; 2 Frankfurt-Fechenheim; 3 Steinheim; 4 Rumpenheim; 5 Bad Nauheim; 6 Hofheim; 7 Plaidt; 8 Heidetränk *oppidum*.

Also from Kessel/Lith are five open bronze bracelets, which can probably be dated to the Late La Tène period. These are certainly examples no longer encountered in the earliest Roman civilian and military centres in the Lower Rhineland. Parallels for the two ribbed bracelets (nrs. 132, 135) are known from Maaseik in Belgium and the Aisne valley in France.[313]

7.3.9 LATE IRON AGE AND EARLY ROMAN COINS

A total of 42 Celtic coins are known from Kessel/Lith (table 7.6), which is no doubt but a fraction of the actual number present there. Significantly, almost all coins were found by dredging personnel in the period before metal detectors were used. Metal detection on the gravel heaps at the edge of the dredge-pits has generated many larger metal finds, but very few coins. This is because most coins were drained away with the finest particles (up to 2.2 cm in diameter) and lost.

[313] Maaseik: Janssens 1977, 43-44 (grave 195), Pl XXII. 517.5.
Caranda (Aisne, France): Déchelette 1914, 1220, fig.

Of the Celtic coins, the *triquetrum* staters form by far the most important group, with 29 specimens (plates 29-30). In terms of weight, metal composition and image they can be divided roughly into two subgroups: pieces of silver (Lith type) and copper (Bochum type), a distinction which is chronologically significant as well.[314] The coins with a high silver content were minted in the period between about 50 and 30 BC and mark the beginning of the series of Lower Rhine *triquetrum* coin emissions. The copper coinages of the Bochum group were minted between about 30 and 15 BC; thereafter they still appear to have circulated widely in the late Augustan military camps. It is striking that the earliest variants with a high silver content are relatively well represented in Kessel/Lith (23 pieces or 55 % of the total). We can regard them as the direct successors of the older gold and electrum coins of the Mardorf group, which are concentrated in central Hessen and were probably minted on the Dünsberg. The coins, similar in terms of weight, quality of the image and the presence of specific additional marks, are concentrated in the eastern half of the Dutch river delta, a clear indication that a production centre was located somewhere there.[315] Although there is no hard evidence to support this, Kessel/Lith is now the only serious contender.

With ten specimens, bronze AVAVCIA coins of the Scheers 217 type are also well represented in Kessel/Lith (plate 30, nr. 167, and 31). Together with a coin of the Scheers 216 type (plate 31, nr. 177) they are among the most recent 'Celtic' coin emissions in the Rhineland. As the probable equivalent of the Roman quadrans, they were an integral part of Roman coin circulation in Augustan-Tiberian times, both in army camps and civilian centres.[316]

coin type	number Kessel/Lith	Alem/Rossum
silver triquetrum staters	23	2
copper *triquetrum* staters	6	10
potin coin, Scheers 191	1	-
bronze coin, Scheers 190, class I	1	-
bronze VERCIO coin, Scheers 145	-	1
bronze GERMANVS INDVTILLI coin, Scheers 216	1	-
bronze AVAVCIA coins, Scheers 217	10	2
total	**42**	**15**

Table 7.6. List of Celtic coins found at Kessel/Lith and Alem/Rossum.

Finally, an investigation has been made of the circulation of the earliest Roman coins. An inventory of coins minted up to Caligula yields a total of 28 examples (table 7.7). For comparison purposes, an overview is presented of the earliest Roman coins from the nearby find complex at Alem/Rossum.[317] Although the numbers are too low to arrive at significant conclusions, the coin spectrum in both cases points to an Augustan/Tiberian circulation period.[318] This is apparent not so much from the presence of Republican denarii (which can have a very long period of circulation), but from the many bronze coins of Augustus, including countermarked and halved specimens.[319] This Augustan/Tiberian timeframe ties in with the occurrence of a number of AVAVCIA coins belonging to that period.

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[314] Cf. chapter 6.2.

[315] See the discussion in chapter 6.

[316] Van den Berg 2001.

[317] See the discussion on Grinnes and Vada below in this chapter (7.7).

[318] The coin spectrum from Alem/Rossum differs from that of Kessel/Lith in its significantly higher number of Caligula coins.
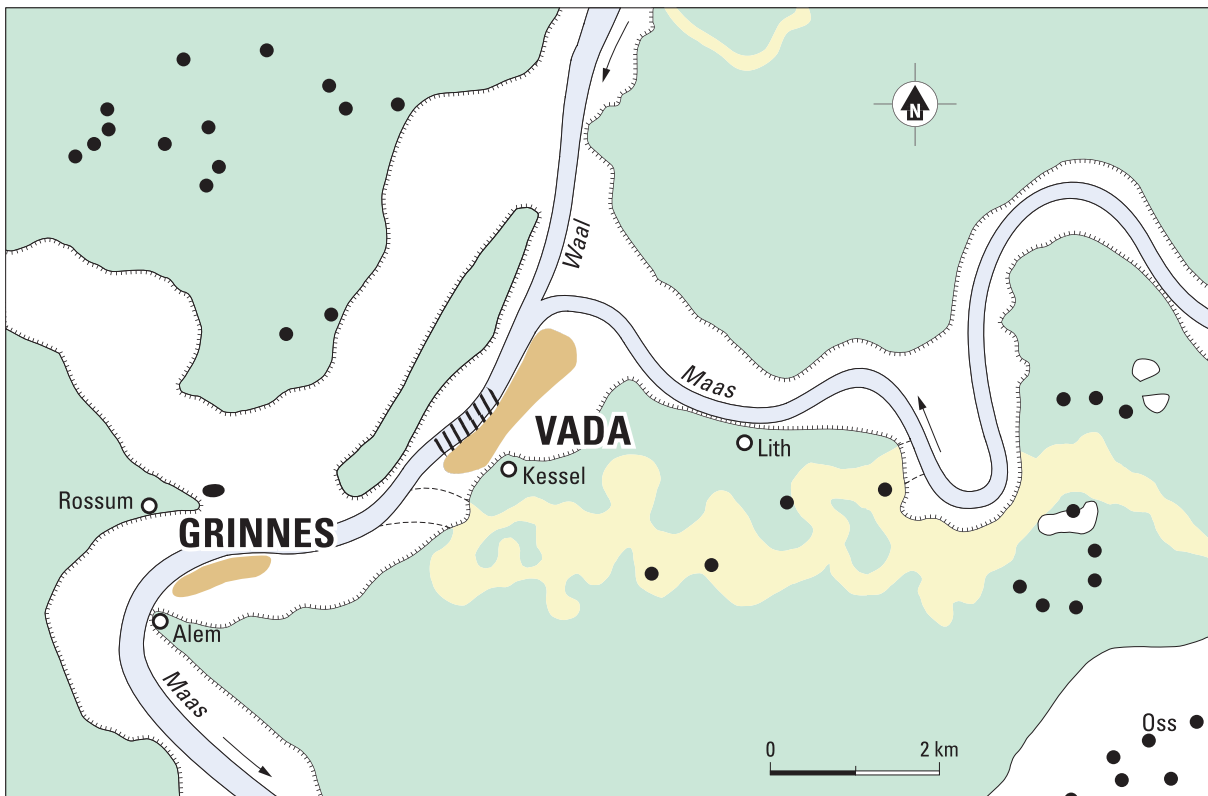
[319] Aarts 2002, 173 ff.

Fig. 7.13. Palaeogeographic reconstruction of the confluence of the rivers Meuse and Waal at Kessel in the Late Iron Age and Early Roman period.

a. late medieval river embankments; b. (sub-)modern river forelands; c. presumed river course; d. major zone with ritual depositions in river channel; e. Late Iron Age/Early Roman settlement complex; f. native-Roman rural settlement (after Vossen, in prep.); g. older Early/Middle Iron Age channel belt (after Berendsen/Stouthamer 2001); h. pleistocene sand

| | KESSEL/LITH | | | | | ALEM/ROSSUM | | | |
	aurii	denarii	bronze	total		aurii	denarii	bronze	total
Republic	-	4	1	5	Republic	-	2	7	9
Augustus	-	-	17	17	Augustus	-	1	16	17
Tiberius	1	1	3	5	Tiberius	-	1	3	4
Caligula	-	-	1	1	Caligula	-	-	8	8
total	1	5	22	28	total	-	4	34	38

Table 7.7. List of the earliest (pre-Claudian) Roman coins found at Kessel/Lith and Alem/Rossum.

7.3.10   HUMAN BONES

Between 1991 and 1993, amateur archaeologists Olaf and Leo Stolzenbach found a large quantity of unburnt human bones in the dredge-pit at Kessel (fig. 7.14). The material, which comprised more than 650 bones, was systematically collected on board a dredger, together with large quantities of Late Iron

Fig. 7.14. Human skeletal remains, predominantly of Late Iron Age date, found at Kessel. Photo M.Ydo.

Age pottery, animal bones (also unburnt) and metal objects. The human bone material is part of a find complex measuring approx. 100 by 200 m, which was situated near the entrance to the dredge-pit at Kessel (see fig. 7.2-C), and which also included most of the Late La Tène/Early Roman weaponry, coins, cauldrons, and other metalwork documented above. Earlier interviews with dredging personnel had revealed that, alongside many metal finds, the find complex generated a large quantity of human bone material, especially skulls, in the early 1970s.[320] These were then lost, however.

Muuk ter Schegget has recently studied the human bone material from Kessel, and the conclusions that follow are based on her research.[321] An examination of the material reveals that almost every part of the skeleton is represented. The minimum number of individuals that can be reconstructed is 65, but the real number must have been much higher. About 90% of the bones are those of adults (particularly young adults), but several children are represented too. Of the bones that could be determined for sex, the vast majority (75%) are those of males.

The first problem is of course dating the bone material, given that it was not found in situ. Sixteen C-14 dates of individual bones established that the majority of the material dates from the Late Iron Age, and a substantially smaller part from Roman times and the Merovingian era.[322]

A second problem is how to interpret the presence of large numbers of human bones at a Late Iron Age site. This is especially problematical given that the burial ritual at that time involved cremation and

[320] My principal informant was M. Bogaers (Alem).

[321] Ter Schegget 1999.

[322] Ter Schegget 1999, 209-210 and fig. 3.
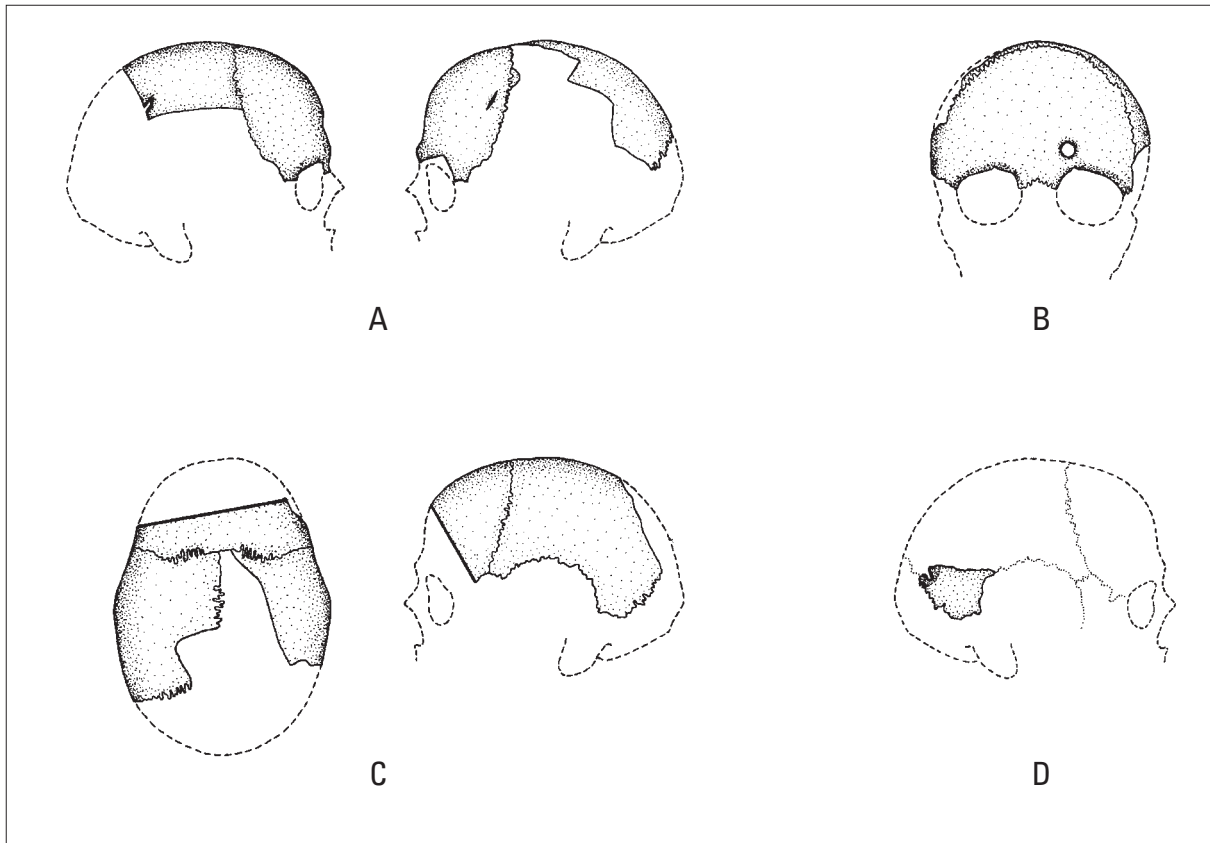
Fig. 7.15. Some C14-dated Late Iron Age skulls from Kessel with traces of injuries. After Ter Schegget 1999, fig. 8.

that, although human bones occur frequently in settlement contexts, they only do so in small quantities. It is important to note that several bones bear traces of injuries, an indication that in some cases at least we are dealing with victims of violence. There are two Late Iron Age skulls with cut marks, another with a hole above the eye (caused by a spear?), and a fourth with a hewn-off forehead, probably inflicted by a sword blow (fig. 7.15). Also striking is the fact that the bones show no traces at all of being gnawed by dogs and most of them are unaffected by river erosion. The fine state of conservation suggests that the material was cut off from oxygen almost immediately, in other words, that it was placed straight into the water. Ter Schegget assumes that complete bodies were deliberately deposited in the bed of the river Meuse at the time as part of a sacrifice ritual at a cult place.[323]

7.3.11   GENERAL CHRONOLOGY AND WIDER CULTURAL ASSOCIATIONS

The above descriptions of the different categories of material allow us to arrive at some general conclusions about the chronology of the find complex at Kessel/Lith. It is conspicuous that metal objects from the Early or Middle La Tène period are limited to a few fibulae and probably two socketed axes with a closed socket. These indicate that the levee at Kessel/Lith was inhabited at the time, although there is nothing to suggest a site of regional importance. This all changed in LT D, when we discern a spectacular jump in find material. Although it is not yet possible to date many categories of material more precisely

[323]   Ter Schegget 1999, 224.
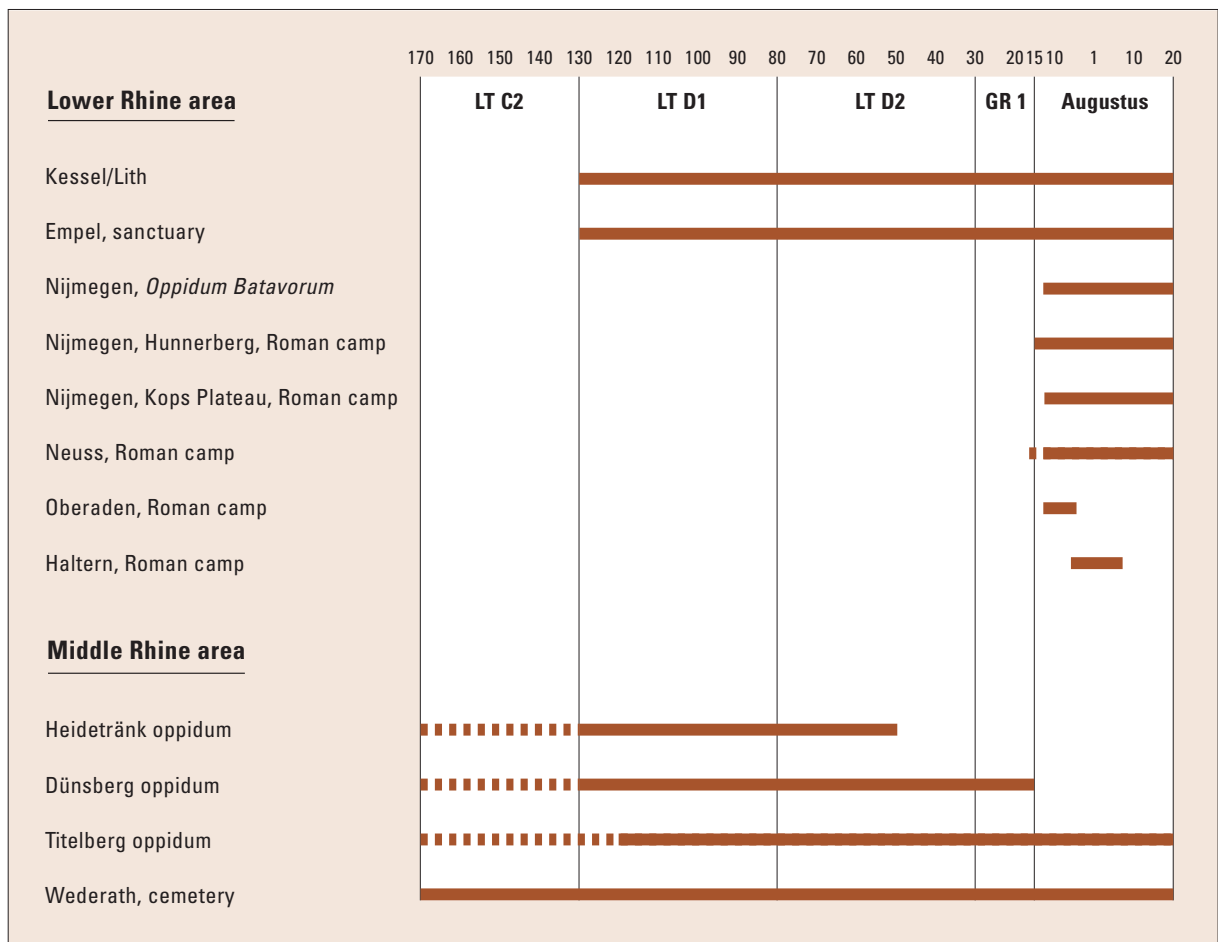
Fig. 7.16. Overview of the dating of major archaeological sites in the Lower and Middle Rhine area.

within the Late La Tène period, there are sufficient clues to suggest that Kessel/Lith began to emerge as a site of regional significance in LT D1. The brooch spectrum reveals Nauheim fibulae and fibulae of the Middle La Tène type (together more than 20%). The gilded bronze comb with a horse-shaped grip belongs to LT D1 as well. Kessel/Lith continued to grow in importance in LT D2, as attested by the fibula spectrum (the predominance of spoon-bow fibulae and several brooches of the Almgren 18 type), the coin inventory (the *triquetrum* staters), certain groups of belt hooks (Kessel B type, *Lochgürtelhaken*) and the Kessel type swords with bronze discs on the hilt. We can also conclude that the find complex continued with no discernible interruption into Roman times, as is shown by the coin inventory and weaponry from the Early Roman period.

Kessel/Lith is a key site for studying supra-regional cultural relationships in the Lower Rhineland during the Late La Tène period. With regard to the wider cultural setting of the find complex, we can say that this is strongly oriented towards the Rhineland variant of the La Tène culture. Most notable are the intensive contacts with the eastern Middle Rhine region. In addition, there were influences from the North German Jastorf culture. Although the richly decorated belt hooks of the Kessel A and B types were local Lower Rhine products, they were clearly inspired by the band-shaped belt hooks of the North German region. The bronze cauldrons with a riveted iron upper part (Eggers 6 type) are also known primarily from North Germany. It is interesting to view the archaeological evidence of strong contacts with the La Tène culture east of the Rhine and the North German region against the background of Caesar's ethnic description of the Lower Rhine groups, and in particular the Eburones, as *germani cisrhenani*.[324]

Figure 7.16 presents an overview of the major archaeological sites of the Late La Tène period in the Lower and Middle Rhine region. We know a number of *oppida* in the latter region, which – although established in LT C – did not evolve into important centre settlements until LT D1. Until recently, the general view has been that there were no archaeological sites of regional importance in the Lower Rhineland during the Late La Tène period, and it was not until the Augustan era that the first Roman army camps and urban centres, such as the Oppidum Batavorum at Nijmegen, began to appear. This picture was modified in the 1990s following the discovery of a major Hercules sanctuary of regional importance at Empel; the origin of this sanctuary could be established on the basis of the votive material at LT D1.[325] Kessel/Lith is at present the second major find complex from the Late La Tène period in the Lower Rhineland.

7.4 THE MEUSE/WAAL RIVER JUNCTION AT KESSEL/LITH IN THE LATE IRON AGE AND EARLY ROMAN PERIOD

Before interpreting the find complex at Kessel/Lith more closely, I would first like to discuss the antique topography of the site and in particular its location in relation to the course of the rivers at that time. This is no simple task, given that rivers in a delta area constantly change their course and the current situation may differ markedly from that of Roman times. Using historical and physical-geographical data, we can arrive at a rough reconstruction of the topography of Kessel/Lith at the beginning of the first millennium (fig. 7.13). Kessel/Lith then emerges as an exceptional geographical site, thanks to its location on the confluence of the Waal and Meuse rivers.

First of all, I will examine the historical evidence. Various Roman authors refer explicitly to a confluence of the Meuse and Waal (the southern branch of the Rhine) in the Dutch river area.[326] Particularly relevant are several passages in Caesar's commentaries on his Gallic Wars: he speaks of the river Meuse '*that is joined by a tributary of the Rhine, called the Waal*'.[327] Elsewhere he describes the massacre of the Germanic Tencteri and Usipetes that took place '*at the confluence of the Meuse and the Rhine*'.[328] In his *Annales*, Tacitus provides an instructive description of the main structure of the river systems in the Rhine delta in the Early Imperial period. According to him, the Rhine split into two branches as it entered the Batavian territory: the northern branch bore the name Rhine, while the southern, broader branch was called the Waal and – further downriver – the Meuse, discharging into the North Sea through the Meuse estuary.[329] From this and other passages[330] we can gather that somewhere in the Dutch river area the Meuse and the Waal merged. The precise location cannot be deduced from ancient sources, but if we consider the delta river system as a whole, the vicinity of Kessel/Lith emerges as the only possible location. This ties in perfectly with Caesar's comment that the junction of the Meuse and Waal lay 80 Roman miles (c. 120 km) from the coast.[331]

Secondly, we have the physical-geographical data. Berendsen and Stouthamer have recently presented a detailed palaeogeographic study of the fluvial systems of the Meuse and Rhine in the Dutch delta area from about the beginning of the first millennium AD. According to their cartographic reconstruction of the river systems at that time, the Meuse and Waal rivers did not meet at Kessel/Lith.[332] They assume that

[324] Cf. the discussion in chapter 3.

[325] Roymans/Derks 1994. This is illustrated by the presence of a sequence of Middle La Tène type brooches and Nauheim brooches.

[326] Cf. Henderikx 1986, esp. 453.

[327] Caesar *BG* 4.10.1–2.

[328] Caesar *BG* 4.15: *ad confluentem Mosae et Rheni*.

[329] Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.6.

[330] Cf. Plinius, *NH* 4.101. See also Henderikx 1986, 453.

[331] Caesar *BG* 4.10.2. This passage belongs to a part of the text regarded as a later interpolation.

[332] Berendsen/Stouthamer 2001, geological-geomorphological map in addendum 2.

the Waal took a more northerly course from Tiel onward and found its own way via the Linge system towards the coast. The more southerly fluvial system of the Lower Waal (*Beneden Waal*) from Tiel onwards did not emerge until Late Roman times. Since then, between Kessel/Lith and Alem/Rossum, the Waal and the Meuse almost met – or actually merged – over a distance of about 8 km.

Thus the historical and physical-geographical reconstructions contradict one another regarding a confluence of the Meuse and Waal at Kessel/Lith at the beginning of the first millennium. The historical sources are very explicit about the existence of such a river junction, but according to the physical-geographical reconstruction this could not have occurred until the Late Roman period. How convincing is this reconstruction? Remarkably, Berendsen and Stouthamer took no account of information from historical sources in their analysis of the river system in Roman times. Their arguments for a late dating of the Meuse/Waal confluence are not very compelling. Their biggest obstacle is that almost the entire course of the Lower Waal between Tiel and Kessel/Lith was eroded by river activity in later periods, so that physical-geographical mapping can no longer tell us whether or not this course of the Waal already existed in the Late Iron Age/Early Roman period. What we are then left with is indirect evidence in the form of a few C-14 datings of the tops of peat layers in neighbouring backlands, which could provide clues as to altered river courses.[333] However, the indirect evidence is too sparse to draw conclusions of any significance. In the meantime, I will rely on the information provided by classical authors, who present a clear and consistent picture, and who seem well-informed about the situation in the Lower Rhineland.[334]

There are fewer question marks about the course of the Meuse at the beginning of the first millennium. Berendsen and Stouthamer's study shows that already then the Meuse more or less followed its current course at Kessel/Lith. At that time two older branches of the Meuse, the so-called Wijchens Maasje in the north and the Osse Maas a little more to the south (fig. 7.13), played a secondary role in terms of drainage.[335] This is confirmed by archaeological observation at Kessel/Lith itself. A substantial part of the Late La Tène find material appears to have originated from an old bed of the Meuse directly to the south of the current course, whereas the associated settlement was located on the southern bank of the Meuse (cf. fig. 7.2 and 7.13).

Our conclusion is that the site at Kessel/Lith occupied a strategic position at the beginning of the first millennium due to its location at an important river junction in the Rhine/Meuse delta – more specifically the southern bank of the Meuse where it merged with the Waal. For the rest, we can assume that Kessel/Lith was a major river crossing, linking up with the road network. Especially important in Roman times was the east-west link from Nijmegen via the southern bank of the Waal and then along the Meuse towards the coast. This road, which is shown on the Peutinger map, must have crossed the Meuse/Waal at Kessel/Lith.[336] The supra-local importance of Kessel/Lith in Roman times is also substantiated by the archaeological data. Two large concentrations of Roman tuff stone were found there in recent decades, at locations B and D (fig. 7.2). They point indisputably to a monumental building or building complex. At one site (location D near Kessel), the stones constitute the remains of a Late Roman fortification (see below).

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[333] Berendsen/Stouthamer 2001, 240.

[334] Particularly relevant is Caesar's report of the destruction of the Tencteri and Usipetes. Driven by the Roman army from the Land van Maas en Waal towards the west, they came to the Meuse/Waal junction and could go no further; it was then that the massacre took place. Caesar's report of this river confluence is very specific and hence reliable.

[335] Until recently it was assumed that the Wijchens Maasje and the Osse Maas were the main branches of the Meuse in Roman times. Cf. Willems 1981, 61-62; idem 1984, fig. 58; Wesselingh 2000, 9 and fig. 6.

[336] Willems 1981, 66 ff.

7.5 SETTLEMENT, CULT PLACE OR BATTLEFIELD? INTERPRE-TATION OF THE FIND COMPLEX AT KESSEL/LITH

Any attempt at interpreting the finds from Kessel/Lith is of course seriously hampered by the lack of systematic excavations. Nevertheless, we are able to arrive at several conclusions on the basis of the find material itself, and the data regarding its distribution.

The Late Iron Age find complex of Kessel/Lith covers a long, narrow zone of roughly two by 0.5 km. (fig. 7.2). Broadly speaking, the finds discovered there come from two main contexts: a Late Iron Age river channel, and the nearby southern river bank. In the latter case, the material probably consti-tutes settlement remains. Large quantities of sherds from Late Iron Age handmade pottery and animal bone material – distributed over the entire zone – have been unearthed, together with stone quern frag-ments, bone tools, loom weights, spindle whorls and fragments of glass La Tène bracelets – all material that is characteristic of settlements. A large quantity of settlement material from the Middle and Late La Tène period was collected in stratigraphical association at a site in Lith (fig. 7.2, site A) in 1984.[337] The material came from dumps of settlement waste on the side of a levee. All this evidence does not neces-sarily mean that population density was uniform over the entire length of the river bank at Kessel/Lith. Nevertheless, the settlement complex was obviously unusually large, and its centre – judging by the find concentrations – lay at Kessel. This was certainly not a standard settlement of three to five contempora-neous farmsteads.

It has been established that habitation on the levee at Kessel/Lith continued into Roman times and that it was of a special kind. Large numbers of Roman finds substantiate this. The most compelling are two locations where substantial quantities of Roman building debris have been found. A large concen-tration of tuff stone and other heavy building material was found between 1976 and 1980 at site D in Kessel. Although some large blocks of stone were still attached to each other, the complex had been heavily affected by river erosion. The most plausible interpretation is that these were the remains of a Late Roman fortification.[338] A second major concentration of tuff stone was found about one kilometre northeast at site B. The dating and interpretation are unclear, but it seems to have been a monumental building from the Early Roman period; in any event, there is no find material from the Late Roman period.

Even though the bulk of the material can be viewed as originating from a settlement complex, the interpretation of the river-bed material is still uncertain. The many metal objects in particular render an interpretation as ordinary settlement remains improbable. The considerable quantity of weaponry could point to a battlefield. Also suggestive of a military link is the discovery at Kessel of a large quantity of human skeletal remains, some with clear traces of ancient injuries. There is also an historical argument for giving serious consideration to the battlefield hypothesis. Caesar tells us of the slaughter of the Germanic Tencteri and Usipetes by the Roman army in 55 BC at the confluence of the Meuse and Waal – in other words, in the immediate vicinity of Kessel/Lith.[339] Nevertheless, there are fundamental archaeological objections to this hypothesis. Firstly, the rich find complex from the ancient river bed at Kessel/Lith cannot be regarded as the product of a single event, but is the result of a deposition process covering the entire Late La Tène period and continuing into the Roman period. Secondly, the association of militaria and human skeletal remains with large quantities of pottery, animal bones and bronze cauldrons contra-dicts the battlefield interpretation. Thirdly, the fact that at least some of the Late La Tène swords were still in their scabbards when deposited and that some had been intentionally destroyed in antiquity does not seem to fit the battlefield hypothesis.

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[337] Roymans, unpublished report; Van den Broeke 1987, 40.
[338] Cf. below chapter 7.6.

[339] Caesar *BG* 4.15. This is the earliest battle in the Lower Rhineland for which we have historical sources.

The observations just mentioned argue instead for an interpretation as a cult place. It would be plausible to consider the majority of the metalwork and associated finds from a former channel of the Meuse as the result of a series of ritual depositions. Arguments in support of this are the composition of the find complex, their distribution over a lengthy period, the traces of ancient destruction of swords, and the presence of human bones in large numbers. All these phenomena have known parallels in Late Iron Age cult sites from wet contexts as well as from dry land.[340] The ritual material from Kessel/Lith may have been thrown in the river from a timber causeway, a pier structure or a 'bridge', as has been documented for some other votive deposition sites in watery contexts in Switzerland and Britain.[341]

If we accept the ritual character of the find complex from the Meuse river bed at Kessel/Lith, what kind of rituals should we imagine here? One starting point is the distinct martial nature of the complex, which is expressed primarily in the weaponry. We can think here of collectively sacrificed spoils of war, as well as dedications of weapons by individual warriors, for example in the context of a rite of passage.[342] Which divinity should we associate with the cult place? Given the specific context of the Lower Rhineland, (Hercules) Magusanus naturally springs to mind. He was the principal deity of the Batavians and was closely connected with the domain of warfare and martial success. The latter is mainly evident in the votive finds collected at the cult place at Empel, which bear some striking resemblances to the material known from Kessel.

Our conclusion is that Kessel/Lith was a settlement of regional significance in the Late La Tène period, one which we can regard as a central place. Arguments in support of this are the exceptional size and composition of the complex, its geographical location at a key river junction, and the presence of rich ritual deposits indicating a cult place of regional importance. I am fully aware that there is no direct evidence of specialised crafts. However, until now, central places have been defined too narrowly in economic terms. In this earliest phase, its role as a centre for communal rituals and festivities may have been the most important feature of Kessel/Lith. In Roman times the settlement appears to have survived as a *vicus*.

7.6   A MONUMENTAL ROMAN TEMPLE AT KESSEL

In the previous section, I stated that the find material from the former bed of the Meuse at Kessel/Lith points to the existence of a major cult place in the Late La Tène period and the earliest Roman times; here I wish to propose that the cult site evolved into a monumental temple complex in the course of the Early Roman period. In this context I will discuss the discovery at Kessel of the architectural remains of a monumental public building, probably a temple, which has as yet remained unpublished.[343]

[340] Cf. for parallels in Northern Gaul and the Rhineland, Roymans 1990, 62 ff.

[341] Cf. the overview of the archaeological evidence in Field/ Parker Pearson 2003, esp. 179 ff.

[342] The spoils-of-war hypothesis is often used for Middle and Late La Tène cult places containing weapons in Northern France (Roymans 1990, 83 ff; Brunaux 2000, 99 ff., 101 ff.) and for ritual complexes with large quantities of military equipment from Danish bogs dating to the Roman period (see the recent overview in Müller-Wille 1999). In the light of the material from Empel, an alter-

native interpretation is possible. Although the practice of depositing militaria may have begun here in LT D2, it reached its peak in the Early Roman period (1st century AD). There was no more scope for collective offerings of booty in the context of the Roman empire. At Empel, the practice of offering weapons seems to have been brought by individual auxiliary soldiers – in the context of a rite of passage – after their release from service.

[343] I would like to thank W.J.H. Verwers (ROB, Amersfoort) and G. van Alphen (Oss) for making available their documentation on the Kessel building remains.

Fig. 7.17. Overview of Roman building remains found during a small rescue excavation at Kessel in 1977. Photo ROB, Amersfoort.

In 1976 local amateur archaeologists discovered large blocks of stone and massive wall remains in the steep bank of the dredge pond at Kessel (fig. 7.2, site D). These lay at water level under an approx. 4 m thick layer of sandy river sediment. The find was reported to the State Archaeological Service (ROB, Amersfoort), which carried out a small rescue excavation in 1977. This involved examining an area of approx. 30 by 20 m under difficult circumstances (fig. 7.17). Unfortunately, no further work was undertaken, and in subsequent years half a hectare of rubble was dredged and dumped at the bottom of the dredge pond.[344] We do not know whether this applies to the entire complex, but the remains of the walls and foundations discovered in 1976/77 were no longer in situ; they had been eroded by the Meuse river in earlier times. The current had undermined the wall remains, causing them to collapse into the bed of the channel.[345] The rubble that was found within the investigated area was of varied composition. Firstly, there were different isolated segments of wall, approx. 1 to more than 2 m wide and up to 3 m high. Their construction was typically Roman: a core of concrete (*opus caementicium*) with a regular cladding of small, rectangular tuff stone blocks on the outside. Secondly, there were large, rectangular blocks of

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[344] Personal communication from J. van de Wetering (Sliedrecht), the then director of dredging operations at Kessel. The massive wall remains at Kessel were an important loss-making item for the dredging company at that time because the suction pipe of the dredger could not penetrate the compact layer of rubble. A decision was made to pump away the layers beneath the rubble to allow the wall remains to sink to the bottom of the

dredge pond, which is where they now lie (at a depth of 20 m). In 1980, heavy wall segments were again found, partly protruding from the water, about 40 m from the previous location. However, no further inspections were conducted.

[345] Verwers 1998/1999, 342-345.

Fig. 7.18. Fluted composite column from Kessel. Photo G. van Alphen, Oss.

tuff stone (approx. 1 m in length), still partly connected, which were probably part of collapsed foundation walls (fig. 7.17). Other large tuff stone blocks had chamfered or semi-circular sides. Many blocks contained construction holes and some showed traces of red mortar, a clear indication of secondary use. Thirdly, and most strikingly, were ornamental architectural fragments of Lotharingia limestone, probably from quarries in the Upper Moselle valley near Norroy. They comprised the following:[346]

a. a 66 cm high segment of a composite column, consisting of a fluted half column about 44 cm in diameter and two fluted pilasters 66 and 44 cm wide (fig. 7.19-A). The original surface has been cut away at one side of the segment; here too there may originally have been a half column or pilaster.[347]

b. Two interlocking blocks of a 75 cm high segment of an identical composite column, roughly equivalent in diameter to the above (fig. 7.19-B). One of the pilasters has flutes with a convex stopping in the lower part of the concave fluting (fig. 7.18).

c. The lower part of a Corinthian pilaster capital (fig. 7.20), 66 cm wide and with a present height of 33 cm. The original height must have been approx. 60 cm. In terms of arrangement and style of the leaves, it is closely related to Kähler's Form C.[348] The capital – sculpted on a 16 cm thick plate – was probably originally positioned on the broad pilaster of the above composite column, given that the width of both items is almost identical (66 cm).

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[346] Originally, all architectural fragments were preserved in the Noordbrabants Museum at 's-Hertogenbosch. The blocks with the foliated frieze still form part of its collection, but the other stones were moved to the municipality of Lith.

[347] Cf. Trunk 1991, 101, Abb. 38, for a schematic overview of profiles of composite columns in Roman temple architecture.

[348] Kähler 1939, 24 ff. There is a strong stylistic link to the capital of the Jupiter column from Mainz (Tafel 1).

d. Two complete, rectangular blocks of a foliated frieze, with a height of 44 cm. Block 1 (fig. 7.21) is 1.28 m long and has a foliated decoration on both the front and the short right-hand side, which means it must have been a corner block. Block 2 (fig. 7.22) measures 1.56 m. The frieze (with a total preserved length of 3.18 m) has scrolling acanthus leaves with alternating upward and downward-curling shoots, each ending in a rosette. Figures of animals are depicted in all the rosettes, in particular protomes of goats and sheep (some with horns, some without). These are the so-called 'populated scrolls', six in total. Two birds can be seen among the acanthus leaves in block 1, one probably a thrush and the other a snipe (fig. 7.21). The tendril on the long side scrolls from left to right, while the one on the short side scrolls from right to left. Both tendrils end in several parallel curled leaves (volutes). The sculptural design of the leaves is accentuated by deep contour lines, partly made using a drill. The many drill holes in the foliage and rosettes are particularly eye-catching on the frieze of block 2.

The building remains found at Kessel are probably those of a Roman fortification from the second half of the 4th century,[349] built within the former *vicus* on the southern bank of the Meuse where it joins the Waal. There may have been an important crossing of the Meuse here (perhaps a bridge), as was the case at Maastricht and Cuyck. Demolition material from older structures (spolia) was used extensively to build the fortification, in keeping with the trend at that time. The presence of red mortar on some of the limestone remains and on large blocks of tuff stone points to a secondary use; the building blocks were originally attached without masonry. Because the decorated architectural fragments were incorporated as spolia into Late Roman walls, the relationship between the blocks is uncertain. However, it seems likely that they were originally part of the same building.

What kind of building should we envisage here? Certainly one of monumental size and therefore exceptional for rural areas in the Rhine/Meuse delta. The presence of a cornerstone in the Kessel acanthus frieze implies a rectangular construction with a frieze running round it. Together with the associated architrave and cornice, the frieze will have been supported by a colonnade or a solid wall. The pilasters and columns probably had Corinthian capitals. The use of composite columns (*Säulenbündel*) implies a complex architectural construction with columns of different height (see below).

There are two types of buildings in the Rhine provinces that we can associate with the ornamental architectural remains from Kessel. The first is a large funerary monument. An early example is the known tower-tomb of Lucius Poblicius from Cologne. Built around AD 40 and approx. 15 m high, it also had a foliated frieze. Panhuysen describes foliated friezes on tower-tombs from Maastricht. However, it is immediately apparent that the pieces from Kessel are too colossal to have been of a funerary monument. The Kessel frieze is 44 cm high and therefore does not fit the dimensions of the presently known Rhineland monuments, whose friezes do not exceed 34 cm in height.[350] The second, more likely, possibility

[349] About 60 Late Roman coins were found among the wall remains, mainly from the second half of the 4th century (documentation from the Koninklijk Penningkabinet, Leiden). The same site yielded several 4th-century crossbow brooches (e.g. Verhart/Roymans 1998, plate 9.3) belonging to a Late Roman military setting. The Late Roman fibulae found in the Meuse near Maren in the 1930s (Van Es/Verwers 1977) may also be attributed to the Kessel complex. The Kessel find of most recent Roman date is a tin medallion with the portrait of the emperor Iovinus (AD 411-413) (Haalebos/Willems 1999, 260-261), which could mean that the fortification operated into the early 5th century. Cf. Verwers

1998/1999. The fortification at Kessel ties in with the series of fortifications established in the 4th century at strategic points in the immediate hinterland of the *limes*. Cf. Bechert/Willems 1995, 70 ff, 103 ff.

[350] The foliated frieze of the Poblicius monument in Cologne is 26 cm high (Precht 1975, 50), while those of tower-tombs from Maastricht described by Panhuysen (1996, cat. 24 and 25) do not exceed 34 cm. in height. The remains of a Tiberian funerary monument have recently been discovered at Bertrange (Luxembourg), including two foliated friezes with a height of 30 cm (Krier 2000, 53).
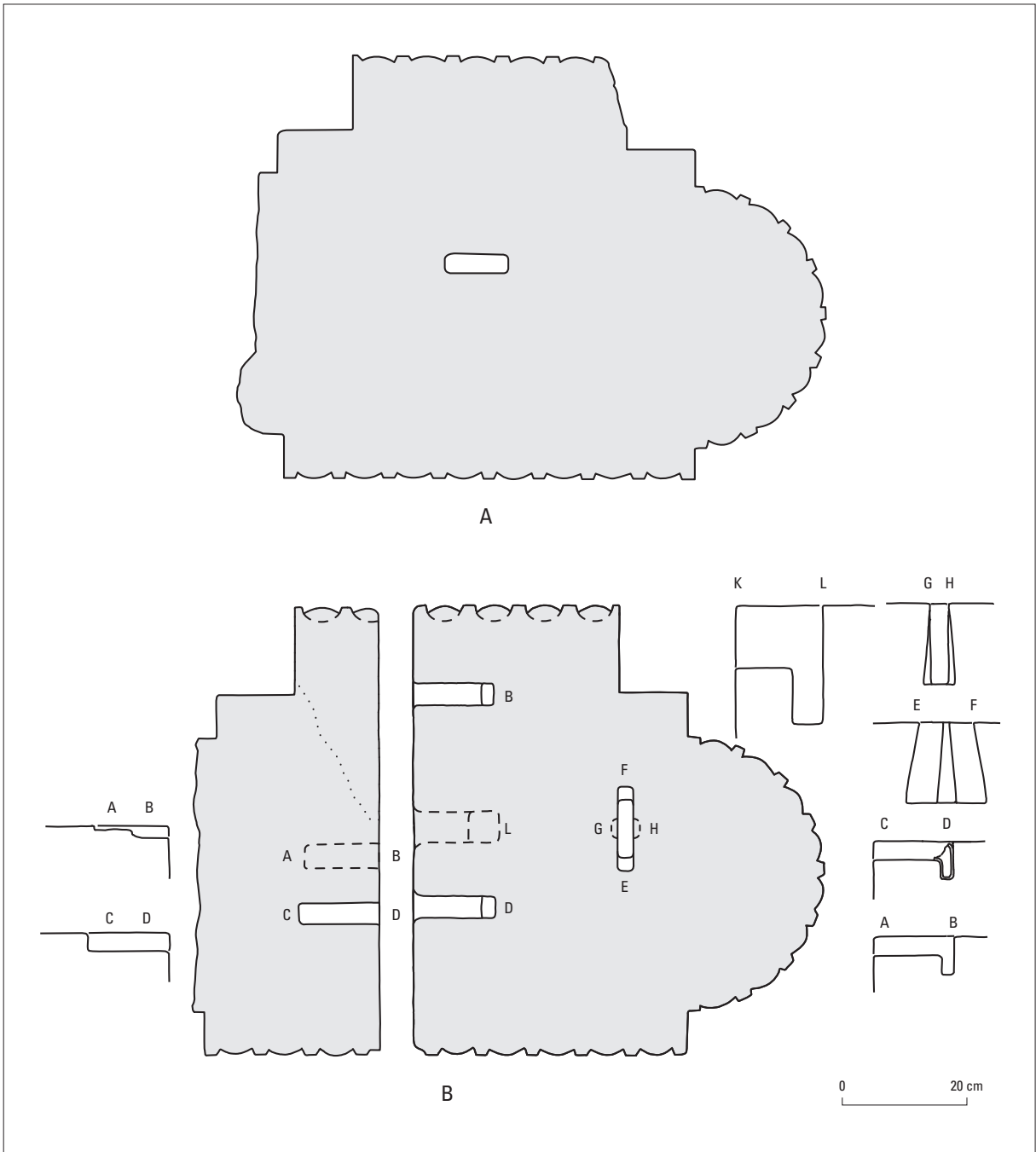
Fig. 7.19. Sections of two segments of a composite column from Kessel. Drawing ROB, Amersfoort.

is that the remains are those of a temple. The number of sanctuaries whose above-ground ornamental architecture has been preserved or can be reconstructed is extremely limited. The only example of a temple with a partly preserved acanthus frieze north of the Alps is the 'La Grange-des-Dîmes' sanctuary at Avenches (Switzerland), which was elevated to a *colonia* under Vespasianus. This is a Gallo-Roman temple of the 'classicised' type, with a limestone foliated frieze, 34 cm high.[351] We also know an acanthus frieze from Nyon (Switzerland), which was almost as high (45 cm) as the Kessel frieze and which prob-

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[351] Vezàr 1977, 12-13. Cf. Trunk 1991, 182-183, Abb. 67.   The dimensions of the floor plan are 19.8 x 20 m.
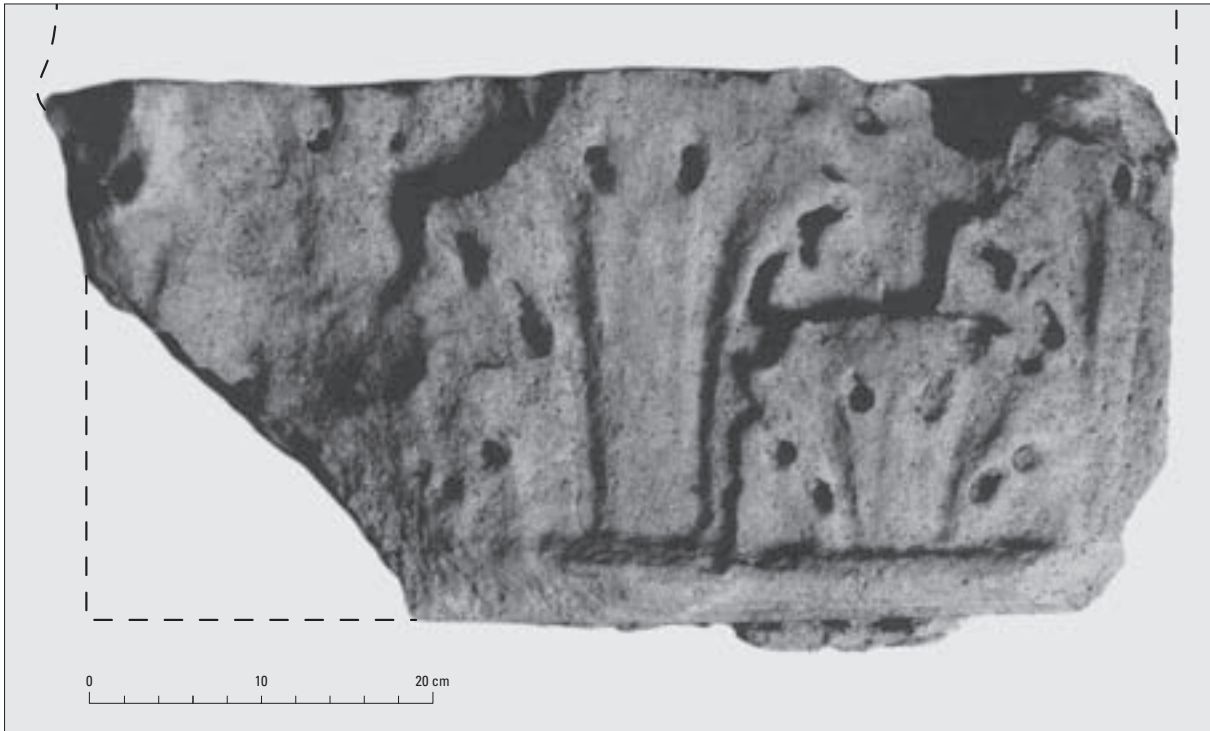
Fig. 7.20. Fragment of a Corinthian pilaster capital from Kessel. Width 66 cm; reconstructed height c. 60 cm. Photo ROB, Amersfoort.
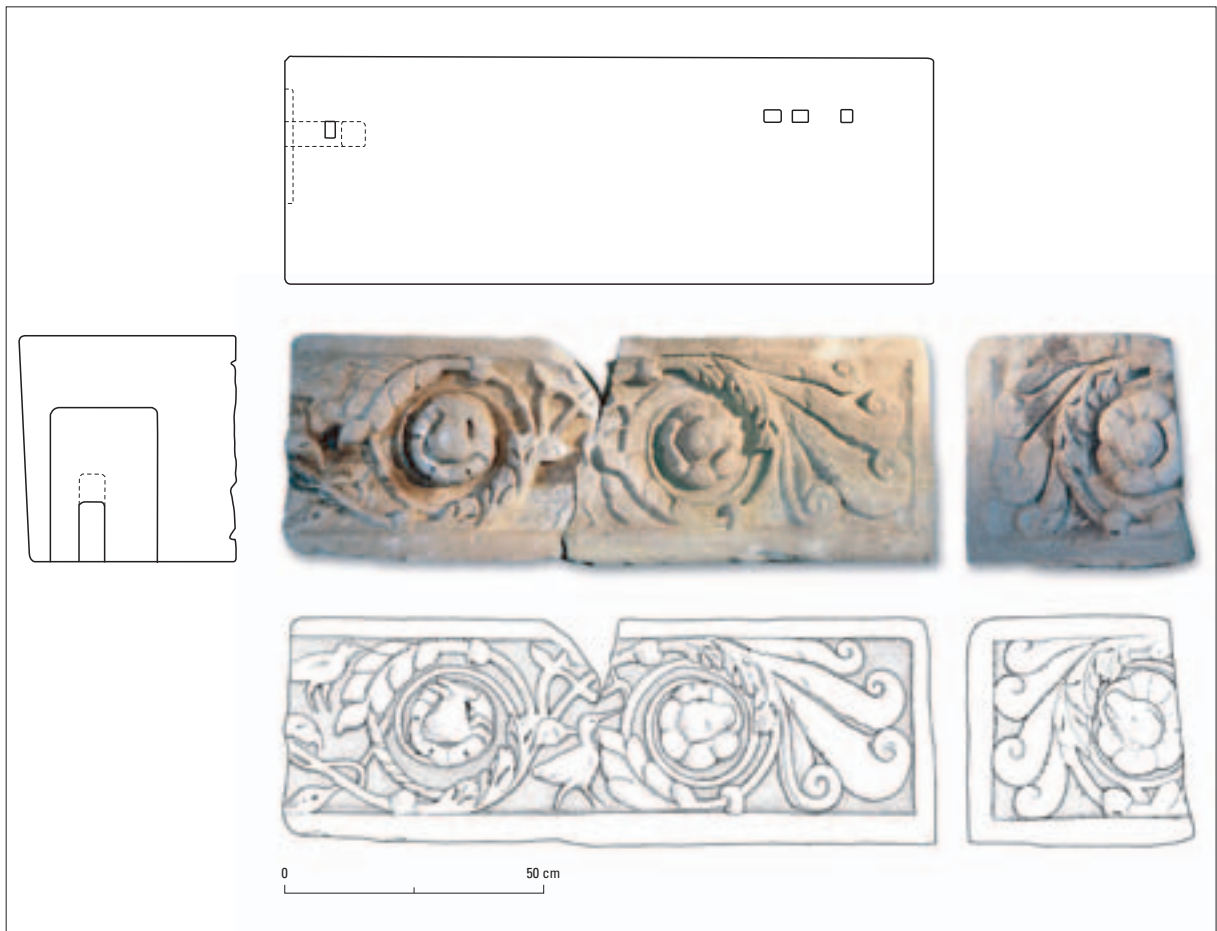
Fig. 7.21. Block 1 of a foliated frieze with animal protomes in the rosettes, found at Kessel. Length 1.28 m. Drawing B. Brouwenstijn.

ably originated from the crypto-porticus of the *forum* temple. The floor plan of the temple is unknown, but as it was situated at the *forum* of a *colonia* we can assume that it was of the Italic type.[352] In general, it appears that friezes like the one found at Kessel were largely confined to major temples in the larger cities, which in most cases will have been of the Italic type.[353] The use of foliated friezes in Gallo-Roman temples is restricted to a small, prestigious subgroup, which was strongly influenced by the classical Italic podium temples. It is the representatives of these classicised Gallo-Roman sanctuaries that also occur outside the cities in the countryside. They are often important public cult places of pre-Roman origin, which were already monumentalised in the course of the 1st century AD.

We may conclude that the foliated frieze found at Kessel probably belonged to a temple of the Italic type or to a classicised Gallo-Roman temple. The architectural remains now available do not allow us to determine precisely which type. However, it is hard to imagine an Italic temple in the context of the Batavian *civitas*, certainly outside Nijmegen. On the other hand, there are several striking monumental examples of Gallo-Roman temples in this region, namely the sanctuaries of Empel and Elst. Located on a podium and with a rectangular floor plan, both belong to the classicised variant. They are also striking because of the white limestone ornamental architectural remains: fragments of columns, Corinthian capi-

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[352] Trunk 1991, Abb. 69, 214.

[353] Cf. the famous temple at Nîmes, 'La Maison Carrée' (Amy/Gros 1979).
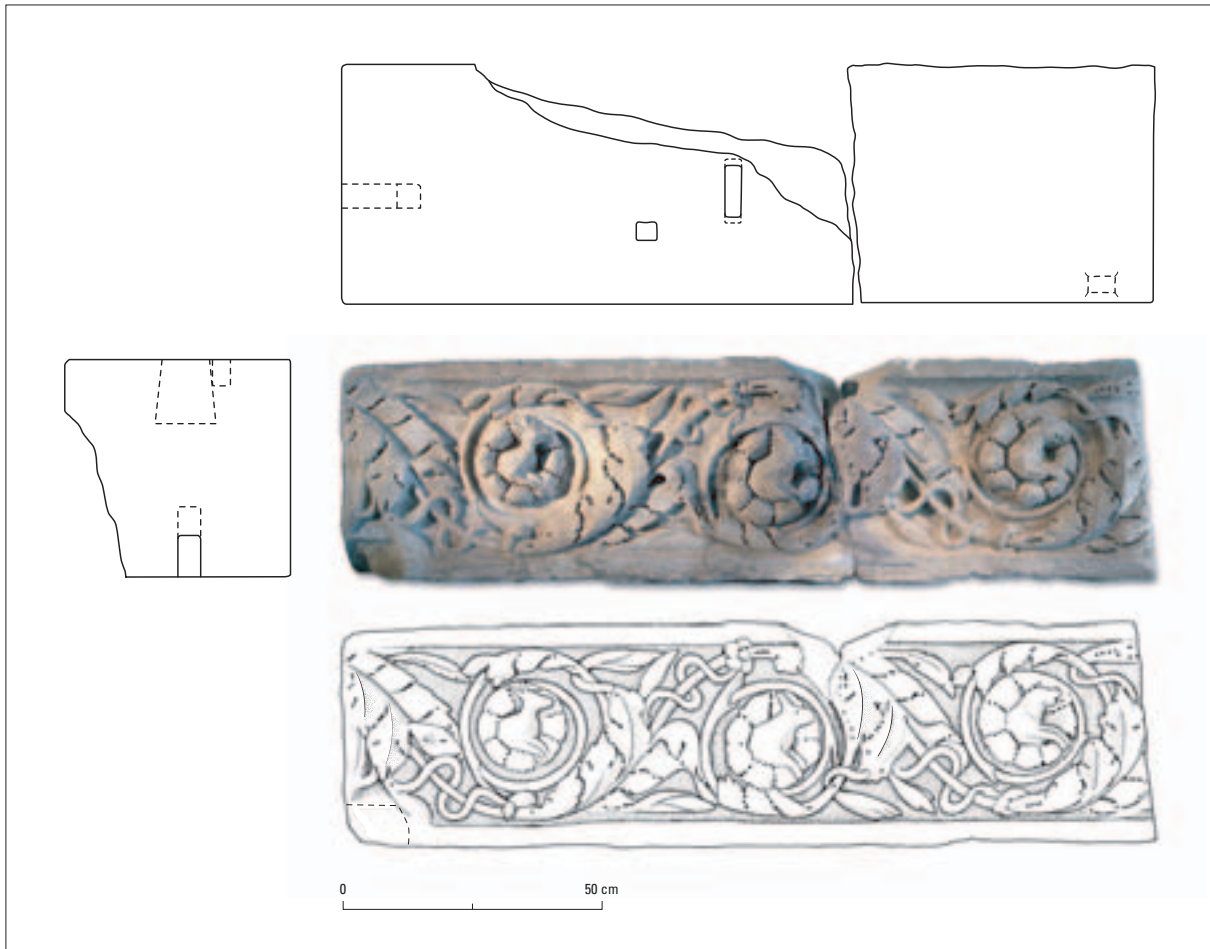
Fig. 7.22. Block 2 of a foliated frieze with animal protomes in the rosettes, found at Kessel. Length 1.56 m. Drawing B. Brouwenstijn.

tals and architraves.[354] All this suggests that the remains from Kessel are those of a large temple, certainly comparable to the Elst temple in terms of monumentality. The temple at Elst, with its vast dimensions (31 by 23 m), is one of the largest Gallo-Roman sanctuaries in Gaul. Further, the rectangular tuff stone blocks with anchor holes found at Kessel may originate from the temple *podium*, and the rectangular blocks with a semicircular top were perhaps part of the wall surrounding the *temenos* or temple enclosure.[355]

If the building fragments discovered at Kessel are attributed to a monumental temple, there is still some uncertainty as to how such a temple should be reconstructed. As no floor plan is available, we can only work with the building fragments themselves, with analogies with other temples, and with Vitruvius' rules of classical architecture. An attempt is made in figure 7.23 to reconstruct the temple, showing the position of the main architectural fragments.[356] The figure is based in the first instance on Bogaers' reconstruction of the temple at Elst.[357] We see a rectangular *cella*, surrounded by a *porticus* with a colonnade. However, the presence of a pilaster capital as well as composite columns that combine pilasters and

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[354] Bogaers 1955; Roymans/Derks/Klomp 1994.

[355] For tuff stone blocks in the podium constructions of Rhineland temples, cf. Trunk 1991, 23 ff., 35, Abb. 7, 8.

[356] I am indebted to Ton Derks (Archeologish Centrum Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam) and Kees Peterse (PANSA BV, Nijmegen) for their help and suggestions regarding the proposed reconstruction of the temple at Kessel.

[357] Bogaers 1955.
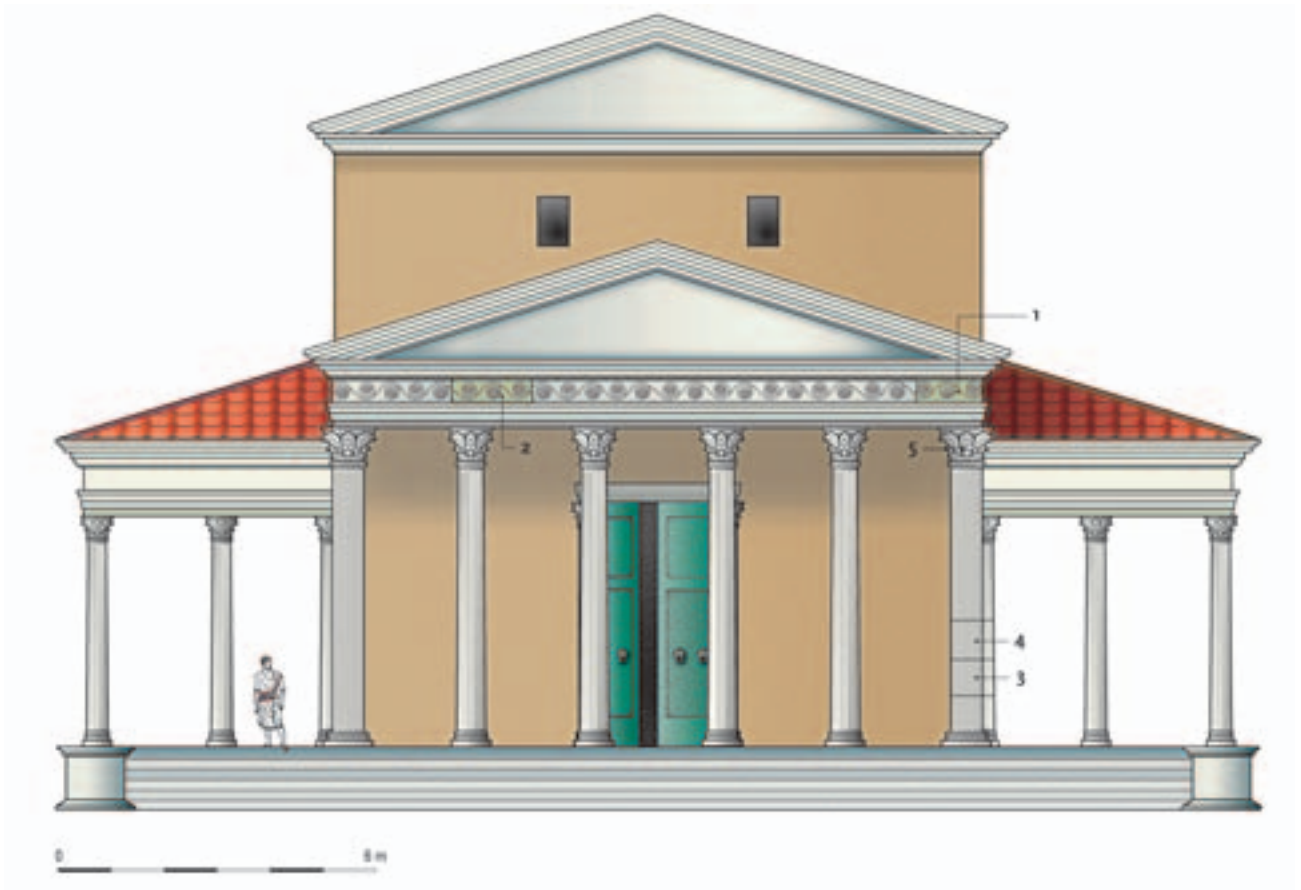
Fig. 7.23. Attempted reconstruction of the Gallo-Roman temple at Kessel. The numbering refers to architectural remains retrieved during the excavation. Drawing B. Brouwenstijn.

1-2 blocks of the foliated frieze; 3-4 segments of the composite column; 5 Corinthian pilaster capital

half columns shows that the temple building at Kessel does not fit within the reconstruction proposed for Elst. Of particular importance is the use of composite columns. According to Trunk, their use points to an architecture incorporating columns of varying height.[358] The most plausible interpretation is that the composite columns were used to link the lower *porticus* around the *cella* at the front of the temple with the *porticus* of an elevated front hall. This would mean that we could reconstruct Kessel as a classicised Gallo-Roman temple with an elevated front hall (fig. 7.23), familiar to us from Tongres, Trier-'Irminen-wingert', Avenches-'Grange des Dîmes' and elsewhere.[359] There were broad pilasters on both corners of the front hall. Assuming that the capital with a reconstructed height of 60 cm was placed on this pilaster, we are then able to estimate the original height of the pilaster – based on Vitruvius' prescribed ratio of 1:10 – as 6 m (including the capital). The half columns probably belonged to the colonnade of the (lower) *porticus* around the *cella*. Evidence for this is the smaller diameter of the half columns – 44 cm, which corresponds to a column height of 4.40 m. The narrow pilaster (also 44 cm in width) at the back of the composite columns probably supported an architrave linking the corner of the front hall to the *cella* wall, which implies the existence of a passage way between the front hall and the *porticus*. On the interior – now broken off – of the composite columns of the front hall, we might expect a pilaster which

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[358]   Cf. Trunk 1991, 99-103.

[359]   Trunk 1991, 80-83; Horne 1986.

had the full height (6 m) of the main pilaster. In the reconstruction the blocks of the foliated frieze have been placed in the frieze of the front hall; in this case, the frieze of the *porticus* on the other sides of the temple will have been undecorated.[360]

What can we now say about the dating of the reconstructed temple from Kessel? The architectural fragments provide us with some clues. Firstly, there is the foliated freeze. Acanthus leaves are regarded as a new Hellenistic decorative motif in Roman architecture; in Italy we encounter them from the Julio-Claudian era onwards. In the Rhine provinces foliated friezes are known from tower-tombs from the Claudian era onwards. Early examples from the Lower Rhineland are the Poblicius monument from Cologne and the friezes of two tower-tombs from Maastricht.[361] However, the acanthus decoration was also popular on late 2nd-century funerary monuments, as shown by examples from Maastricht, Trier, Neumagen and Lorsch, where they mainly serve to decorate corner pilasters.[362] If we look at the datings of foliated friezes from monumental temples in the Rhine provinces, we note that they occur primarily in the 1st century AD from the Claudian era.[363] This is not surprising, given that this is the period in which most public sanctuaries were built of stone; in the 2nd century they tended to remain untouched. Acanthus leaves with 'populated scrolls' in the form of animal protomes occurred in Italy from the Julio-Claudian period, and in particular the Flavian period, followed by a revival in the Severian era.[364] In the Rhine provinces they are known from the second half of the 1st century. Strangely enough, direct parallels for the populated scrolls with animal protomes from Kessel are not known from other foliated friezes.[365] A second clue for the dating is provided by the decorations on one of the pilasters from Kessel (fig. 7.18). Convex stopping in the lower part of the concave fluting of pilasters and columns was a popular feature of Roman architecture from the Flavian period onwards.[366] And finally, a third clue is the Kessel capital fragment, which is probably a Kähler's Form C. This is characteristic of the second half of the 1st century, when it was generally used in Rhineland temples. However, this type continued into the Trajan era, as attested by the capital remains of the so-called 'Hafentempel' at Xanten and – following the recently revised dating – temple II at Elst.[367]

In the light of all the above, we can conclude that the most likely dating for the remains of the Kessel temple is the second half of the 1st century or the early 2nd century. What specific historical context might explain the construction of such a monumental temple during this period? A first possibility is the

[360] Bogaers (1955, 167) assumes an undecorated frieze in his reconstruction of the temple at Elst.

[361] Panhuysen 1996, cat. nrs. 24 and 25. Cf. also Krier 2003 for an example found recently at Bertrange (Luxembourg), which can be dated to the Tiberian period.

[362] Panhuysen 1996, 300 ff., 304, n. 3. Trunk 1991, 132 ff.

[363] The foliated frieze from the *forum* of Nyon has been dated to the third quarter of the 1st century, and the Gallo-Roman temple of Avenches to the second half of the 1st century: Trunk 1996, 214 (Nyon); 182-183 (Avenches). Acanthus leaves occur on the door frames of the (Italic) temples of Augst-Schönbühl and Augst-Grienmatt, also dated to the second half of the 1st century: Trunk 1991, 126-127, Abb. 65-66. The architectural remains of the temple at Besancon, including several small fragments of a foliated frieze, can probably be dated to the late (?) 2nd century. Cf. Trunk 1996, 126 ff.

[364] Cf. Toynbee/Ward Perkins 1950, and in particular the recent survey by Schörner 1995, especially 107-108.

[365] There is, however, a comparable motif (a squirrel emerging from a rosette) on an isolated stone fragment from Cologne featuring acanthus leaves. But this piece was part of a door frame (of a temple?) and is dated to the Flavian period. Cf. Trunk 1991, 131-132, Abb. 71. We also know of a fragment of a foliated frieze with animal protomes in the central rosettes, originating from a temple (?) at the Frauenberg near Leibnitz (Noricum). Cf. Trunk 1991, 134, Abb. 76.

[366] Cf. Blagg 2002, 82, who also notes that this type of ornament was only used in major public buildings. Only four cases are known in Britain, including the temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath and the Richborough Arch, both dating to the Flavian period.

[367] Kähler 1939, 24 ff.; Trunk 1996, 104–120. For the dating of Elst II, see below.

administrative restructuring of the Batavian *civitas* and the founding of Noviomagus in the early Flavian period. The Flavian era was one of large-scale building activity in the Batavian region, with the Tenth Legion, stationed at Nijmegen, probably playing a key role.[368] A second possibility is to link the building with the granting of *municipium* status to the Batavian *civitas* around AD 100 under Trajan. The revised construction date (about AD 100) for temple II under the church at Elst shows that building was not only confined to Nijmegen, but also involved the monumentalisation of important public sanctuaries in the countryside.[369] Of the two possibilities, my preference is the latter.

I have yet to address one important question: the original site of the monumental temple building from Kessel. The spolia could have been transported from some distance away – from Nijmegen or Maastricht. However, it is unlikely in Late Roman times that heavy demolition material was brought in from so far afield. Also, those centres would themselves have required the material for construction or reinforcement purposes and, in the case of Maastricht, to build a bridge over the Meuse. A more plausible origin would be a monumental sanctuary in the Batavian countryside. At present we know of two – at Elst and Empel. In the case of Elst, however, there is no direct connection via waterways to Kessel, which would have made the transport of heavy materials an unattractive option, whereas the Gallo-Roman temple at Empel lay only a short distance from Kessel on the Meuse. But there is still the problem of the frieze from Kessel being too large for the Empel sanctuary,[370] which suggests that the Kessel material did not originate from these temples. The most plausible explanation is that the demolition material originated locally, from a temple in the *vicus* of Kessel/Lith itself. Certainly, the ritual find complex discussed above from the Late Iron Age and earliest Roman period ties in nicely with this. A possible location of the sanctuary is directly west of the Late Roman fortification near site C (fig. 7.2), the fossil bed of the Meuse where the ritual find complex from the Late La Tène period was concentrated.

If we accept the interpretation of the architectural fragments from Kessel as originating from a monumental Gallo-Roman temple, this immediately compels a comparison with the temples at Elst and Empel. They have various features in common: a pre-Roman origin, extensive monumentalisation in the second half of the 1st or the early 2nd century in the form of classicised Gallo-Roman temples, and a probable link with Hercules. These three cult places must have belonged to the most important sanctuaries of the *civitas Batavorum*, and as such have played a central role in the public cult.[371] Judging by the quality and dimensions of the decorative architecture, it is tempting to see in Kessel the most monumental temple and hence the principal sanctuary of the Batavian Hercules cult.

7.7 GRINNES AND VADA

In this section I propose to identify the settlement at Kessel/Lith with the historical settlement of *Vada*, which has not been convincingly located to date. *Vada* is mentioned only by Tacitus in his report of the Batavian revolt.[372] In AD 70, in the final days of the revolt, Julius Civilis organised attacks at four different Roman military positions in the Lower Rhine river area: the Tenth Legion's camp at *Arenacum*/Rindern,

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[368] Bogaers 1955, 146-147.

[369] This is based on the dendrochronological dating (AD 97± 6) of a foundation post under the temple, and a coin of Nerva as *terminus post quem* for the construction of temple II. Unpublished research, Archeologisch Centrum Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam.

[370] The frieze of the 'La Grange des Dîmes' temple at Avenches, whose size (19.9 by 20 m) roughly approxi-

mates that of Empel (Verzàr 1977, 12-13), is only 34 cm high, compared with 44 cm for the Kessel frieze. Earlier (Roymans/Derks 1994, 25) we suggested that the Kessel architectural fragments could have originated from the temple at Empel.

[371] Trunk (1991, 84) sees in the classicised Gallo-Roman temples the principal sanctuaries of *civitates.*

[372] Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.20-21.

the Second Legion's camp at *Batavodurum*/Nijmegen, and the settlements of *Grinnes* and *Vada* further to the west. Entrenched in *Vada* were Roman auxiliary units – an infantry cohort, and an *ala* led by the Batavian Julius Briganticus, a nephew of Civilis who had remained loyal to Rome. Civilis took personal responsibility for the attack on *Vada*, while the Treverian Julius Classicus attacked *Grinnes*. In a later stage of the battle, fighting concentrated around *Grinnes* and *Vada*. From Tacitus' report, we can make out that the two places were situated close to one another on the southern bank of a large river, undoubtedly the Waal. After all, Civilis' base of operations was the *insula Batavorum*,[373] which was bordered to the south by the Waal and – from Kessel/Lith onward – by the Meuse.

Grinnes is also mentioned on the Peutinger map, as a place on the southern road that ran through the land of the Batavians, following the Waal and the Meuse from Nijmegen to the coast.[374] In the literature, *Grinnes* is usually identified with Rossum, where a large quantity of Roman material was collected in the 19th century on the southern bank of the present-day Waal, which suggests a settlement of supra-local importance, possibly even a military one.[375] It has now been established that the settlement complex was considerably larger. From about 1950, during dredging operations in the forelands between Rossum and Alem on the southern side of the Meuse, the remains were discovered of a major settlement from Roman times (a *vicus*?), which must have been closely connected with the complex discovered earlier at Rossum (cf. figs. 7.2 and 7.13). This settlement may have occupied both banks of an important crossing of the Meuse.[376] Assuming a junction of the Waal and the Meuse at Kessel in the Early Imperial period, we would expect to find the temporary Roman troop camp mentioned by Tacitus on the south side of the river at Alem.

If we accept that *Grinnes* was Alem/Rossum,[377] where then would we expect to find *Vada*? It would need to be a site that was close to Rossum, that was of strategic importance and that has produced archaeological evidence of a larger Roman settlement. Two serious contenders have been suggested to date in the Netherlands. Firstly, there is a tradition – based on the name – of identifying *Vada* with Wadenoyen, situated approx. 15 km north of Rossum on the river Linge and referred to as *Vuada* in AD 850.[378] Despite the similarity of name, however, there are two reasons why this suggestion is implausible: Wadenoyen had no military/strategic significance in Roman times, and there is no archaeological evidence to suggest the existence of a settlement of supra-local importance.[379] The second suggestion comes from the ancient historian Byvanck. On the basis of classical sources, he placed *Vada* at the confluence of the Meuse and the Waal at Heerewaarden, on the northern bank of the Meuse directly opposite Kessel.[380] There are no concrete archaeological arguments to support this, however. Now that clear archaeological evidence has been found at Kessel/Lith of the presence of an important settlement from the Late Iron Age and Roman times, there is every reason to locate *Vada* there; it is the only place of some importance in the direct vicinity (5 km) of Alem/Rossum and it is situated near a strategically important river junction (fig. 7.13).

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[373] Tacitus, *Hist*. 5.19.

[374] *Tabula Peut*. II, 3: *Grinnibus*.

[375] Künzel et al. 1989, 154; Stolte 1963, 94.

[376] A comparable topographical situation can be found in the Roman *vicus* of Maastricht.

[377] It cannot be excluded that *Grinnes* was Kessel and *Vada* Alem/Rossum. However, the fact that Civilis took personal responsibility for the attack on *Vada*, while leaving *Grinnes* for the Treverian Classicus, suggests that the former place had a special significance for the Batavians.

This clearly pleads for an identification of *Vada* with Kessel, where remains have been found of a major Batavian cult centre.

[378] Gysseling 1960; Stolte 1963, 98; Künzel et al. 1989, 379; Henderikx 1987, 91, 125.

[379] A third point is that if *Vada* is Wadenoyen, *Grinnes* cannot be Rossum. That would contradict Tacitus' claim that both places occupied the southern bank of the same river, most probably the Waal.

[380] Byvanck 1942, 275.

The identification of the settlement at Kessel with *Vada* implies that the settlement must have changed its name in the Late or post-Roman era. Kessel was first referred to in a 10th-century document as *Casella,*[381] a name that must be derived from the Latin *castellum*.[382] The name probably points to the Late Roman fortification, whose archaeological remains have been recovered, and which possibly functioned as a Roman base until the beginning of the 5th century.[383] That would then mean that the earlier settlement must have had another name, which brings us to *Vada*.

How should we now interpret the Roman military presence at Grinnes and Vada in AD 70? It appears to have been short-lived, connected with the suppression of the Batavian revolt.[384] In any event, both places fall outside the concept of the Roman limes with its chain of fortresses along the Rhine.

7.8 THE KESSEL/LITH SETTLEMENT FROM A NORTHWEST-EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVE

What then is the archaeological significance of the find complex at Kessel/Lith when viewed from a Northwest-European perspective? We can name four points:

1. Kessel/Lith is a key site for the study of Late La Tène metalwork circulation in the Lower Rhineland. To date there are no large find complexes known from this period, mainly because the mortuary ritual is so elusive in archaeological terms.[385] In fact Kessel/Lith is the only site where Late La Tène metal objects have been found in substantial quantities.

2. The material from Kessel points to the existence of high-status metalwork production in LT D in the Lower Rhine area. There is indirect evidence for the production of swords and elaborate belt hooks, as well as certain types of spoon-bow fibulae and *triquetrum* coins. Furthermore, there are indications of mass-production of glass La Tène bracelets in this region.[386] The production site (or sites) of these categories of materials have not yet been located. However, Kessel/Lith is the only serious candidate to date.

3. Kessel/Lith can be identified as a pre-Roman central place in the Rhine/Meuse delta, which entails a substantial adjustment of the existing picture of the Late Iron Age settlement pattern in the region. In several respects we can compare Kessel/Lith with the *oppida* in the southern and south-eastern bordering areas, which archaeologists define as large, fortified settlements with a series of centre functions at the level of tribal or subtribal communities. The literature often attaches considerable weight to the presence of massive defence works at *oppida*. We do not know anything of rampart or ditch systems in Kessel/Lith, although these may have existed and have utilised active and non-active river courses in the immediate vicinity (fig. 7.13). Defence works in a river valley would probably have been of modest proportions and might well have been eroded at a later date. In any event, Kessel/Lith corresponds to a hierarchical society, with centrality being a key principle in the shaping of social relationships.

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[381] Camps 1979, nr. 26.

[382] Künzel et al. 1989, 206.

[383] See 7.6 above.

[384] Tacitus' information (*Hist.* 5.19-23) gives the impression that the Roman general Cerialis was preparing a final offensive against Civilis by attacking the *insula Batavorum* – Civilis' last power base – from Nijmegen and from Grinnes and Vada.

[385] There is no tradition here of collective cemeteries, and inasmuch as graves are present, they often contain almost no gifts. Cf. Roymans 1990, 233ff; Gerritsen 2003-a, 131-138; Hiddink 2003, 6-13, and chapter 2 of this volume. The cluster of small cemeteries in the Lippe estuary (Germany) is an exception. Cf. Reichmann 1979.

[386] Roymans/Van Rooijen 1993.

4. The site of Kessel/Lith makes a case for including the Lower Rhineland in the European *oppida* zone. The material from Kessel/Lith demonstrates contacts with both the southern – mainly central Rhineland – La Tène culture and the North German Jastorf culture.

7.9 KESSEL/LITH AS A CENTRE OF POWER AND A KEY PLACE IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF A BATAVIAN IDENTITY GROUP

The site of Kessel/Lith is also relevant for the central theme of this study: the formation of a Batavian polity and identity group. In his study *The symbolic construction of community*, the anthropologist Anthony Cohen addresses the way in which communities define themselves and give shape to their collective identity.[387] He views communities as symbolic constructs. Self-representation as a community can take many forms: through language, clothing, jewellery, oral traditions, and shared day-to-day practices, but also through participation in collective rituals and festivities. The cult places where these take place generally have an important symbolic meaning for the group.

This same perspective is also relevant for Late Iron Age settlements with centre functions for larger social groupings. It is clear that the significance of central places does not lie in the narrow political or economic sphere. In general, they play a crucial part in the creation and reproduction of collective identities. I would like here to draw attention to Kessel/Lith's possible role as a central place for a larger identity group, namely a tribe or subtribe with a *Traditionskern* in Wenskus' sense as its political and ideological core.[388] As centres of collective rituals and festivities, sites like Kessel/Lith symbolised the identity and cohesion of the community, thereby playing a key role in forging group identity. There is historical and epigraphic evidence to suggest that tribal or subtribal communities also manifested themselves as cult communities.[389] It was primarily at cult places that this collective identity acquired shape, often borne by the notion of a common mythical past. Thus we might imagine Kessel/Lith as a site where large groups of people regularly gathered to take part in collective rituals and festivities; it was during activities of this kind that the community was symbolically defined.

The growing prominence of Late Iron Age central places cannot be separated from the process of increasing social hierarchisation from the 3rd century BC onwards. Cult places provided new rituals and symbols through which social relationships could be redefined and ultimately institutionalised as relationships of inequality.[390] Tied to the emphasis on collective identity was the representation of positions of power by a tradition-bearing, elite core. As a regional cult centre, Kessel/Lith provided an arena for the representation and manipulation of power and for elite competition. Indications are that the rituals conducted here were closely linked to themes of warfare, *Gefolgschaft* and leadership. We are struck by the strong martial character of the ritual find complex, evident in the prominence of weaponry and the large quantities of human bone material, some with clear traces of injuries. The high-denomination coins were primarily used in reciprocal relations between a tribal leader and his followers.

Thanks to historical sources, we are in a position to tentatively identify the socio-political configurations in which Kessel/Lith successively operated. At the time of Caesar's conquest, Kessel/Lith will have

[387] Cohen 1985.

[388] Wenskus 1961. British archaeologists have pointed to the significance of British hill forts as symbols of community. Cf. Hill 1995, 53 ff.

[389] Cf. Tacitus' (*Germ*. 39) description of the central Suebian sanctuary in the territory of the Semnones, where the *initia gentis* was celebrated each year. Also significant is the fact that almost all Roman-era *pagus* inscriptions in Northern Gaul come from cult places and/or have a religious connotation (cf. Roymans 1990, 50-51; Derks 1998, 190-191.). See also the discussion in chapter 11.

[390] Derks 1998, 183.

been a centre settlement of a subtribe of the Euronean confederation, perhaps with its own group name and tradition-bearing core in the form of a royal lineage. In the decades following Caesar's departure from Gaul, Kessel/Lith played a key role in the symbolic construction and representation of a Batavian identity group. Relevant here is the presence of a group of early silver *triquetrum* staters constituting over half of the total number of 'Celtic' coins found.[391] These coins are direct derivations of the gold and electrum staters of the Mardorf group, which occur in larger numbers in the *oppidum* on the Dünsberg and which were probably minted there. This means that the political core of the Chatto-Batavians in the Hessian region was acquainted with a system of coin production from a central place. If production continued in the Dutch river region, it is likely to have occurred in a centre settlement. The only contender at present is Kessel/Lith, strategically situated in the centre of the *civitas Batavorum*. In this sense, the coins may illustrate Kessel's role as a central place for the political core of the Chatto-Batavian immigrant group. The settlement and cult place at Kessel/Lith was appropriated by the new political core from beyond the Rhine, who subsequently took the lead in defining a Batavian identity within the context of the Roman empire.

Important here is the development of Kessel/Lith from the Augustan period. Following Drusus' reorganisation of the Lower Rhine frontier zone from about 15 BC, Kessel/Lith declined markedly in importance, especially following the creation of a Roman power centre at Nijmegen in the eastern periphery of the *civitas Batavorum*. The army camps on the Hunerberg and the Kops Plateau were core elements of this, while a decade later a civilian centre – called the Oppidum Batavorum – arose on the Valkhof and in its vicinity.[392] The Roman authorities' choice of Nijmegen seems to have been prompted mainly by military/strategic considerations, in particular by its favourable location as an operations base for campaigns into Germania. To date there is no evidence in Nijmegen of the existence of a pre-Augustan Batavian centre.[393] The Augustan reorganisation of the Lower Rhine frontier resulted in a fundamental reshuffling of the native topography of power in the Rhine delta. The political centre shifted from Kessel/Lith to Nijmegen. Although well documented in Gaul,[394] Kessel/Lith is at present the only example of such a power shift in the Lower Rhine frontier.

However, none of this detracts from the fact that Kessel/Lith will have maintained, and perhaps even strengthened, its position as an important *lieu de mémoire* for the Batavian community in the 1st century AD. A clue to the latter is the impressive monumentalisation of the public sanctuary located there. Viewed from this perspective, we can make sense of the fierce battle for *Vada* between Julius Civilis and Julius Briganticus, his Batavian counterpart and nephew.[395] The battle cannot be understood purely in terms of military strategy. Interlinked with the Roman–Batavian conflict, an internal power struggle was being fought out between two members of the Batavian *stirps regia*. One of the issues at stake was the great political and symbolic importance for the Batavian community of just who controlled *Vada*.

[391] Nowhere in the Lower Rhineland have so many early (silver) *triquetrum* staters been found as at Kessel/Lith. Cf. the discussion in chapters 6 and 7.3.9.

[392] See chapter 8.4.

[393] Contra Van Enckevort/Thijssen 2001 and 2003-b, who presume the existence of a pre-Roman Batavian centre

at Nijmegen-West, called 'Batavodurum'. This idea, however, remains purely hypothetical.

[394] E.g. from Bibracte to Autun among the Aedui, and from Pommiers to Soissons among the Suessiones.

[395] See 7.7 above.

APPENDIX 7.1: DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF THE METAL FINDS DREDGED AT KESSEL/LITH.

The numbering of the items corresponds to the numbering of the drawings in plates 1 to 31.
KMP = Koninklijk Munt- en Penningkabinet [National Museum of Coins and Medals], Leiden; NM = Noordbrabants Museum, 's-Hertogenbosch; RMO = Rijksmuseum van Oudheden [National Museum of Antiquities], Leiden

SWORDS AND SCABBARDS

1. Iron sword, Kessel type, with a campanulate hilt end and 10 bronze discs on the hilt tang. Total length 96 cm; length of the blade 82 cm; maximum width of the blade 3.2 cm. Bought in 1954 by the Generaal Hoefer Nederlands Leger en Wapenmuseum at Delft (inv. nr. 920/Ea-2) from Esser, a Nijmegen antique dealer. Cf. Verwers/Ypey 1975, 80-82, fig. 3 and 6-1. The findspot is unknown. The sword – clearly a dredge find – was probably retrieved in the Kessel/Lith area, as at that time Esser regularly offered to sell dredge finds from there to the RMO.

2. Iron sword, Kessel type, with campanulate hilt end and 12 bronze discs on the hilt tang. The point of the blade is missing (ancient breach), as are the button of the hilt and probably some discs. Total length 54.2 cm; maximum width of the blade 3.3 cm. The blade is stamped with a small circular mark at 5.5 cm below the hilt. Found in the early 1970s by dredging personnel near the entrance to the dredge-pit at Kessel. Verhagen Collection. Bought from a dredge worker. Cf. Roymans 1984.

3. Iron sword, Kessel type, with campanulate hilt end and two bronze discs on the hilt tang. The point of the blade, the top of the hilt tang, and a number of bronze discs are missing. Total length 50.5 cm; maximum width of the blade 3.2 cm. Found in 1971 by dredging personnel near the entrance to the dredge-pit at Kessel. Ypey Collection (previously Van Beuningen Collection). Bought via A.J. Sprik. Cf. Verwers/Ypey 1975, 85-87, figs. 6-4 and 5-I.

4. Iron sword, Kessel type, with campanulate hilt end and 12 bronze discs on the hilt tang. The button at the top of the hilt tang is missing. Total length 85.9 cm; length of the blade 73 cm; maximum width of the blade 3.2 cm; length of the hilt 12.2 cm. Found in 1971 by dredging personnel near the entrance to the dredge-pit at Kessel. NM Collection (previously Van Beuningen Collection). Bought via A.J. Sprik. Cf. Verwers/Ypey 1975, 87, figs. 6-5 and 5-II.

5. Iron sword, Kessel type, with a campanulate mouth and 13 bronze discs on the hilt tang. Total length 93 cm; length of the blade 80 cm; maximum width of the blade 4 cm. The blade shows traces of non-recent bends. Found in 1969 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith-'De Bergen'. RMO Collection k 1969/5.1. Bought via A.J. Sprik. Cf. Verwers/Ypey 1975, 79-80, figs. 2 and 6.6.

6. Isolated bronze disc, belonging to the hilt of a Kessel type sword, but probably not to a known sword of this type from Kessel. Found in 1971 by dredging personnel near the entrance to the dredge-pit at Kessel. Ypey Collection (previously Van Beuningen Collection). Bought via A.J. Sprik. Cf. Verwers/Ypey 1975, 87, fig. 5-III.

7. Iron sword point. Length 42.5 cm; width 4.2 cm. Found in 1993 by A. Verhagen in the bank of the Lith-'De Bergen' dredge-pit, together with Late Iron Age material. Verhagen Collection.

8. Iron sword with a sloping hilt end. The point is missing. Total length 61 cm; maximum width of the blade 4.1 cm. The blade, which has no median ridge, shows traces of three ancient bends. Found in 1971 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith-'De Bergen'. RMO Collection, k 1971/11.17. Bought via H.A. de Kok.

9. Iron sword with a campanulate hilt end. The point of the blade and the top of the hilt tang are missing. Total length 57.3 cm; maximum width of the blade 4.6 cm. The blade has a median ridge, on both sides of which broad depressions have been hammered out, using a pointed hammer. The blade shows traces of two non-recent bends. Found in or shortly before 1955 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith-'De Bergen'. RMO Collection, e 1955/1/1. The findspot is incorrectly indicated as 'from the Meuse near Heerewaarden'. Bought via A.J. Sprik.

10. Bronze front plate of a scabbard with a campanulate mouth, probably belonging to a sword of the Kessel type. Length 92 cm; maximum width 4.5 cm. The plate shows vague impressions of cross-strips near the mouth and at two other places. Found in the early 1990s by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Stolzenbach Collection. Cf. Roymans 1996, fig. 3–c.

11. Bronze front plate of a scabbard with a campanulate mouth, probably belonging to a sword of the Kessel type. Length 89 cm; maximum width 4 cm. The plate shows vague impressions of a cross-strip at 21 cm from the point. Found in the early 1970s by dredging personnel near the entrance to the dredge-pit at Kessel. Van Beuningen Collection. Bought via A.J. Sprik.

12. Bronze front plate of a scabbard with a campanulate mouth, probably belonging to a sword of the Kessel type. Length 81 cm; maximum width 3.6 cm. The plate shows vague impressions of cross-strips at 24 cm from the point and near the mouth. Found in the early 1970s by dredging personnel near the entrance to the dredge-pit at Kessel. Van Beuningen Collection. Bought via A.J. Sprik.

13. Bronze front plate of a scabbard with a campanulate mouth, probably belonging to a sword of the Kessel type. Length 85 cm; maximum width 3.8 cm. Found in the early 1970s by dredging personnel near the entrance to the dredge-pit at Kessel. Van Beuningen Collection. Bought via A.J. Sprik.

14. Bronze front plate of a scabbard with a campanulate mouth, probably belonging to a sword of the Kessel type. Length 86.5 cm; maximum width 3.6 cm. The plate shows vague impressions of cross-strips near the mouth and at 18 cm from the point. Found in 1996 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Stolzenbach Collection.

15. Bronze front plate of a scabbard with a campanulate mouth, probably belonging to a sword of the Kessel type. Length 88 cm; maximum width 3.9 cm. The plate shows vague impressions of cross-strips at 18 cm from the point and near the mouth. Found in the early 1970s by dredging personnel near the entrance to the dredge-pit at Kessel. Verhagen Collection. Bought from a dredge worker.

16. Iron sword with a scabbard plate belonging to it. The point of the blade is missing. Total length of the sword 57.6 cm; maximum width of the blade 5.2 cm. The hilt tang is slightly rounded, but not campanulate. The blade has a median ridge, on both sides of which depressions have been hammered out, using a pointed hammer. The bronze front plate of the scabbard was found together with the sword. It is straight-mouthed and shows traces of two ancient bends, which correspond to bends visible on the sword blade. The sword is broken at the second bend. Remains of the iron shape are still present near the point, as are impressions of cross-strips at 7.5 and 25 cm from the point. Length 70 cm; maximum width 5.2 cm. Found in 1971 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith-'De Bergen'. RMO Collection, k 1971/11.15 (sword) and 16 (scabbard plate). Bought via De Kok. Cf. Roymans 1996, fig. 3-a.

17. Bronze front plate of a scabbard with a campanulate mouth. The point is missing. Length 33.5 cm; width 5.2 cm. The plate shows vague impressions of a cross-strip directly below the mouth. The inner side of the plate shows remains of iron, indicating that the sword was in the sheath when deposited. Found in the early 1990s by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Stolzenbach Collection. Cf. Roymans 1996, fig. 3–d.

18. Bronze front plate of a scabbard with a campanulate mouth, belonging to a sword with a median ridge, vague impressions of which can be seen on the inner side of the plate. The point is missing. Length 62.6 cm; maximum width 5.1 cm. The plate shows vague impressions of a cross-strip directly below the mouth. The edges of the mouth are decorated with a row of small grooves. Found in 1984 by dredging personnel near the entrance to the dredge-pit at Kessel. Verhagen Collection. Bought from a dredge worker.

19. Fragment of an iron sword with a campanulate hilt end, which is still in its scabbard. Most of the blade and the hilt tang are missing. Total length 11 cm; maximum width of the scabbard 5.2 cm. The scabbard consists of two iron plates, held together by a cross-strip near the mouth. The back of the scabbard shows a suspension loop. Found in the early 1990s by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Stolzenbach Collection.

20. Bronze front plate of a scabbard with a straight mouth. Length 68.7 cm; maximum width 4.6 cm. Impressions of cross-strips are discernable at 28.5 cm from the point and near the mouth. Found in 1976 by dredging personnel in the 'Gouden Ham' at Lith, which is the 'De Bergen' dredge-pit. RMO Collection, k 1976/11-1. Bought via De Kok.

21. Fragment of a sword blade. Length 35.2 cm; width 4.1 cm. Found in 1998 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Stolzenbach Collection.

22. Fragment of an iron sword, which is still in its scabbard. The hilt and the point of the scabbard/sword are missing (broken off recently). Length 19.5 cm; width 4.8 cm. The sheath has an arched mouth. The front plate is of organic material, probably leather; the back plate is of iron. Found in 1998 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Stolzenbach Collection.

23. Roman *spatha* with a straight hilt end. The top of the hilt is missing. Length 72 cm; length of the blade 68 cm; maximum width 3.5 cm. First century AD. Found in 1998 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Stolzenbach Collection. Nicolay 2004, nr. 164.23.

24. Roman *spatha* with a narrow blade (2.5 cm) and a clear median ridge. The point of the blade is missing. Length 66.3 cm. First century AD? For a close parallel, dredged from the Doubs near Poutoux (Fr), see Feugère 1990, 104, nr. 112, fig. 89. Found in 1998 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Stolzenbach Collection. Nicolay 2004, nr. 164.24.

25. Roman *gladius*. The point of the blade is missing. Length 30 cm; width 5.1 cm. The blade was bent in antiquity. First century AD. Found in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Verhagen Collection. Nicolay 2004, nr. 164.25.

26. Sheath fragment of a Mainz type *gladius*. Bronze edging with terminal knob. Length approx. 20 cm. First half 1st century AD. Found in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Verhagen Collection. Nicolay 2004, nr. 164.22.

SPEARHEADS

27. Iron spearhead with a sharply ridged blade. The base of the socket has two holes for iron nails and is decorated with two grooved undulating lines. The point and the edges of the blade have crumbled off. Present length 41 cm; present length of the blade 32 cm. Found by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel in the early 1970s. Van Beuningen Collection. Bought via A.J. Sprik.

28. Iron spearhead with a sharply ridged blade. The edges of the blade have crumbled off. The base of the socket has two holes in which an iron nail is still present. Total length 29 cm; length of the blade 22 cm. Found by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel in the early 1970s. Van Beuningen Collection. Bought via A.J. Sprik.

29. Iron spearhead with a sharply ridged blade. Part of the socket and the point and the edges of the blade have crumbled off. Present length 20 cm. Original wood remains are present in the socket. Found in about 1998 by L. Stolzenbach in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Stolzenbach Collection.

30. Iron spearhead with a sharply ridged blade. Found in the dredge-pit at Lith in the 1990s by T. van den Brandt. Van den Brandt Collection.

31. Iron spearhead with a narrow blade. Elongated shaft with V-shaped opening. Length 31.2 cm. Roman. Found in the dredge-pit at Kessel in the 1990s. Verhagen Collection. Nicolay 2004, nr. 164.32.

32. Iron spearhead with a narrow blade. Lenth 20.1 cm. Roman. Found in the dredge-pit at Kessel in the 1990s. Stolzenbach Collection. Nicolay 2004, nr. 164.29.

33. Iron spearhead with a narrow blade. Length 23 cm. Roman. Found in the dredge-pit at Kessel in the 1990s. Stolzenbach Collection. Nicolay 2004, nr. 164.31.

34. Iron spearhead with a narrow blade (not illustrated). Remains of wood in the shaft. Length 20 cm. Roman. Found in the dredge-pit at Kessel in the 1990s. Stolzenbach Collection.

HELMETS

35. Iron helmet, Port type. Moulded eyes and eyebrows on the front. Rivet holes for attaching cheek-pieces, also on the front and top of the helmet. Height 11.2 cm. Late La Tène. Found in the early 1990s in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Stolzenbach Collection.

36. Bronze horn-shaped tube with terminal knob, probably a helmet fitting. Length 12.5 cm. Late La Tène. Found in the early 1990s in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Stolzenbach Collection.

SHIELD FITTINGS

37. Iron circular umbo with conical boss. Original diameter approx. 16 cm. First half 1st century AD. Found in the early 1990s in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Stolzenbach Collection. Nicolay 2004, nr. 164.5.

38. Bronze circular umbo with conical boss. Diameter 18.8 cm. First half 1st century AD. Found in the early 1990s in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Stolzenbach Collection. Nicolay 2004, nr. 164.4.

39. Bronze edging of a long oval shield. Height 22.5 cm. 1st century AD. Found in the 1970s in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Verhagen Collection. Nicolay 2004, nr. 164.3.

40. Bronze shield grip. Broken at both ends. Oval loop at one end. Length 11.6 cm. First century AD. Found in the Lith-'De

Bergen' dredge-pit. RMO Collection e 1955/1.4. Findspot incorrectly indicated as 'from the Meuse near Heerewaarden'. Nicolay 2004, nr. 163.1.

HACKAMORES

41. Iron cavesson or hackamore (not illustrated). 1st – mid 3rd century AD. Found in the early 1990s in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Stolzenbach Collection. Nicolay 2004, nr. 164.

42. Fragment of a bronze cavesson or hackamore (not illustrated). 1st – mid 3rd century AD. Found in the early 1990s in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Stolzenbach Collection. Nicolay 2004, nr. 164.

43. Bronze cavesson or hackamore (not illustrated). 1st – mid 3rd century AD. Found in the early 1990s in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Collection unknown (information Stolzenbach). Nicolay 2004, nr. 164.

44. Fragment of a bronze cavesson or hackamore (not illustrated). Length 8 cm. 1st – mid 3rd century AD. Found in the early 1990s in the dredge-pit at Lith. Verspaandonk Collection. Nicolay 2004, nr. 164.

BELT HOOKS

45. Band-shaped belt hook of cast bronze, Kessel A type, variant 1. It originally had five split pins with a decorated head, one of which is still present. The button of the out-turned hook is decorated with intersecting grooves. The band is decorated with a pattern of incised zigzag lines in cross motif. The hook shows traces of wear. Length 20.5 cm; maximum width 3.9 cm. Found in the early 1970s by dredging personnel near the entrance to the dredge-pit at Kessel. RMO Collection (previously Van Beuningen Collection). Bought via A.J. Sprik. For metallic composition, see table 4.

46. Band-shaped belt hook of cast bronze, Kessel A type, variant 1. It originally had five split pins with a decorated head, three of which are still present. The button of the out-turned hook is decorated with parallel grooves. The edges and ends of the band are decorated with incised zigzag lines. The hook shows traces of wear. Length 19.4 cm; maximum width 4.1 cm. Found in the early 1970s by dredging personnel near the entrance to the dredge-pit at Kessel. RMO Collection (previously Van Beuningen Collection). Bought via A.J. Sprik. For metallic composition, see table 4.

47. Band-shaped belt hook of cast bronze, Kessel A type, variant 1. It originally had five split pins, all of which are lost. The button of the out-turned hook is decorated with intersecting grooves. The edges and ends of the band are decorated with incised zigzag lines. The hook shows traces of wear. Length 18.2 cm; maximum width 3.6 cm. Found in the early 1970s by dredging personnel near the entrance to the dredge-pit at Kessel. RMO Collection (previously Van Beuningen Collection). Bought via A.J. Sprik. For metallic composition, see table 4.

48. Band-shaped belt hook of cast bronze, Kessel A type, variant 1. It originally had five split pins, all of which are lost. The button of the out-turned hook is decorated with intersecting grooves. The ends of the band are decorated with incised zigzag lines. The hook shows traces of wear. Length 18.4 cm; maximum width 3.9 cm. Found in 1989 by P. Vleminckx in a gravel heap near the entrance to the dredge-pit at Kessel. Vleminckx Collection ('s-Hertogenbosch).

49. Band-shaped belt hook of cast bronze, Kessel A type, variant 1. It originally had five split pins, all of which are lost. The button of the out-turned hook is decorated with intersecting grooves. The edges and ends of the band are decorated with incised zigzag lines in a geometrical motif. Length 17.6 cm; maximum width 3.9 cm. Found in 1995 by R. Swelheim in a gravel heap in the dredge-pit at Kessel. J. Van Bergen Collection (Engelen).

50. Band-shaped belt hook of cast bronze, Kessel A type, variant 1. It originally had five split pins with an undecorated head, one of which is still present. The button of the out-turned hook is decorated with intersecting grooves. The edges and ends of the band are decorated with incised zigzag lines in a geometrical motif. Length 20.7 cm; maximum width 3.5 cm. Later repairs were made, involving the attachment of two bronze strips to the middle part of the band with bronze rivets. Found in 1993 by L. Stolzenbach in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Stolzenbach Collection.

51. End fragment of band-shaped belt hook of cast bronze, Kessel A type, variant 1. There is one perforation for a split pin (lost). The button of the out-turned hook is decorated with grooves. The edges and end of the band are decorated with incised zigzag lines in a geometrical motif. Present length 11 cm; maximum width 3.3 cm. Found in 1993 by L. Stolzenbach in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Stolzenbach Collection.

52. Band-shaped belt hook of cast bronze, Kessel A type, variant 2. It originally had five split pins, four of which are still present. The button of the out-turned hook is decorated with a circle and a dot. The entire band is decorated with incised lines

of stripes. The hook shows traces of wear. Length 15.8 cm; maximum width 4.1 cm. Found in 1981 by L. Stolzenbach in the 'De Hoogewaard' dredge-pit at Heerewaarden in a gravel heap that originally came from the dredge-pit at Kessel. Stolzenbach Collection. For the metallic composition, see table 4.

53. Band-shaped belt hook of cast bronze, Kessel A type, variant 3. It originally had four split pins that were placed in concave, semi-spherical studs. Two are still present, as is an isolated split pin. The button of the out-turned hook is decorated with several parallel grooves. The entire band is decorated with grooves and incised zigzag lines. The hook shows traces of wear. Length 14.6 cm; maximum width 3.7 cm. Found in 1956 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith. RMO Collection, e 1956/2.1. The findspot is incorrectly indicated as 'in the river at Heerewaarden'. Bought via the antique dealer J.N. Esser (Nijmegen).

54. Band-shaped belt hook of cast bronze, Kessel A type, variant 3. The item has four split pins, placed in concave, semi-spherical studs. The button of the out-turned hook is decorated with intersecting grooves. The entire band is decorated with grooves and incised zigzag lines. The hook shows traces of wear. Length 14.8 cm; maximum width 3.8 cm. Found in the early 1970s by dredging personnel near the entrance to the dredge-pit at Kessel. RMO Collection (previously Van Beuningen Collection). Bought via A.J. Sprik. For metallic composition, see table 4.

55. Band-shaped belt hook of cast bronze, Kessel A type, variant 3. It originally had four split pins, all of which are lost; traces of wear suggest that they were placed in concave, semi-spherical studs. The button of the out-turned hook is undecorated. The entire band is decorated with grooves and incised zigzag lines (barely discernible). The hook shows traces of wear. Length 11.9 cm; maximum width 3.6 cm. Found in the early 1970s by dredging personnel near the entrance to the dredge-pit at Kessel. RMO Collection (previously Van Beuningen Collection). Bought via A.J. Sprik.

56. Band-shaped belt hook of cast bronze, Kessel A type, variant 3. It originally had five split pins, all of which are lost; traces of wear suggest that they were placed in concave, semi-spherical studs. The out-turned hook has no button and shows traces of wear. The entire band is decorated with grooves and incised zigzag lines (barely discernible). Length 14.8 cm; maximum width 5.1 cm. Found in 1984 by dredging personnel near the entrance to the dredge-pit at Kessel. A. Verhagen Collection. Bought from dredging personnel.

57. Band-shaped belt hook, plated bronze on iron. At the base is a hinge with an iron pin for attaching the belt hook to the leather belt tongue. The iron core, of which only remnants exist at the back near the hook, was attached to the bronze cover plate with seven rivets. The concave rivet heads were originally filled with red (?) enamel, but only in one instance is this preserved. The punch-work decoration on the bronze plate consists of ridges flanked by punched dots, combined with circles. The out-turned hook part (length 3 cm) is of cast bronze and attached to the band with a rivet. The hook shows traces of wear. Length 24.7 cm; maximum width 3.7 cm. Found in 1993 by L. Stolzenbach in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Stolzenbach Collection.

58. Band-shaped belt hook, plated bronze on iron. The base with the hinge for attaching the belt hook to the leather belt is broken off. The iron core, of which only remnants exist at the back near the hook, was attached to the bronze cover plate with rivets, six of which are still present. The concave rivet heads were filled with a core of red enamel, which is preserved in three heads. The punch-work decoration on the bronze plate consists of ridges in a diamond-shaped motif combined with convex and concave circles, flanked by punched rows of dots. The out-turned hook part (length 3.7 cm) is of cast bronze and attached to the band with a rivet. The hook shows traces of wear. Length 23.6 cm; maximum width 3.9 cm. Found in the early 1970s by dredging personnel near the entrance to the dredge-pit of Kessel. Ypey collection (previously Van Beuningen Collection). Bought via A.J. Sprik.

59. Band-shaped belt hook, plated bronze on iron. The top, including the hook, is missing. At the base is a hinge with an iron pin for attaching the belt hook to the leather belt. The iron core, of which there are only minimal remains at the back, was attached to the bronze cover plate with six rivets. The concave rivet heads, four of which are still present, are filled with an enamel-like substance. The punch-work decoration on the plated bronze consists of ridges flanked by punched dots, combined with circle motifs. Length 17.7 cm; maximum width 3.6 cm. Found in 1993 by A. Verhagen in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Verhagen Collection.

60. Band-shaped belt hook, plated bronze on iron. The top, including the hook, is missing. Two rivets held an extension piece here. At the base is a hinge for attaching the belt hook to the leather belt. The iron core (lost) was attached to the bronze cover plate with six rivets. Originally, enamel was probably inlaid in the concave rivet heads, two of which are still present,

but this is now lost. The punch-work decoration on the plated bronze consists of ridges flanked by punched dots, combined with circle motifs. Length 12 cm; maximum width 3.8 cm. Found in about 1996 by J. van de Coolwijk in a gravel heap in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Van de Coolwijk Collection.

61. Band-shaped belt hook, plated bronze on iron. Both ends are missing. The iron core (of which there are only minimal remains at the back) and the bronze cover plate were linked together by at least two rivets. These are no longer present, but there are two rivet holes in the broken-off base. The bronze cover plate has a punch-work decoration with five ridges running lengthways, flanked by punched rows of dots. The plate has a rivet hole on the tapered upper side for attaching the bronze (?) hook by means of a rivet. Length 8.1 cm; maximum width 3.4 cm. Found in the early 1970s by dredging personnel near the entrance to the dredge-pit at Kessel. Ypey collection (previously Van Beuningen Collection). Bought via A.J. Sprik.

62. Band-shaped belt hook, iron. Oitzmühle type. Narrow, slightly arched band, tapering to a point. The base is missing. Near the out-turned hook is a decoration with two diagonal grooves. Length 7.2 cm; maximum width 2.2 cm. Found in 1981 by A. Verhagen in a gravel heap in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Verhagen Collection.

63. Base fragment of a *Lochgürtelhaken* of cast bronze, type A/B (Völling 1995). Length 1.8 cm. Width 2.4 cm. It is fastened with two bronze split pins to a 34.8 cm long bronze-plated covering of a (now lost) leather belt. The bronze plating was fastened to the belt with split pins; the split pins, six of which are still present, were placed in small, semi-spherical studs. Found in 1993 by L. Stolzenbach during dredging operations in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Stolzenbach Collection.

64. Ring-shaped belt hook of cast bronze, with small projections on both sides of the button. Found in the 1930s in the Meuse, most probably in the Kessel/Lith area. NM Collection, no inv.nr. Probably bought via A.J. Sprik.

65. Ring-shaped belt hook of cast bronze, with small projections on both sides of the button. Found in 1971 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith. RMO Collection, k 1971/11.13. Bought via H.A. De Kok.

66. Ring-shaped belt hook of cast bronze. Found in 1936 by dredging personnel 'in the Meuse opposite Heerewaarden', which refers to the Kessel/Lith complex. NM Collection, no inv.nr.

67. Dagger fastener of *cingulum*, bronze. Length 4 cm. First century AD. Found in the dredge-pit at Kessel in the early 1990s. Stolzenbach Collection.

68. *Cingulum* buckle, bone. C-shaped. First century AD. Found in the dredge-pit at Kessel in the early 1990s. Stolzenbach Collection.

FIBULAE

69. Bronze Paukenfibula with broad spring (18 coils) and line decoration on the semi-spherical disc on the bow. Probably La Tène C. Cf. Sicherl 2003 ('Benstrup type'). Found in the early 1970s by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. RMO Collection (previously Van Beuningen Collection). Bought via A.J. Sprik. Verhart/Roymans 1998, 79, Pl. 6.5.

70. Bronze wire brooch of Early La Tène construction. Found in the early 1970s by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. RMO Collection (previously Van Beuningen Collection). Bought via A.J. Sprik. Verhart/Roymans 1998, 79, Pl. 7.1.

71. Iron wire brooch of Middle La Tène construction. Found in 1984 by A. Verhagen in the dredge-pit at Lith in an archaeological layer with Late Iron Age settlement refuse. Verhagen Collection.

72. Bronze brooch of Middle La Tène construction. Found in the late 1990s in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Stolzenbach Collection.

73. Bronze brooch of Middle La Tène construction with broad spring (22 coils). Found in 1935 by dredging personnel 'in the Meuse opposite Heerewaarden' (i.e. the Kessel complex). RMO Collection, e 1935/9.30. Bought via A.J. Sprik.

74. Bronze brooch of Middle La Tène construction with broad spring (12 coils). Found in the early 1970s by dredging personnel, probably in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Van Beuningen Collection. Bought via A.J. Sprik. Cf. Haalebos 1988, 89, fig. 39-1 (find site 'Maurik').

75. Bronze brooch of Middle La Tène construction. Found in 1993 in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Stolzenbach Collection.

76. Fragment (part of the spiral and the bow) of a bronze Nauheim brooch. Found in 1981 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith. NM Collection, 11283. Bought via N. Roymans.

77. Bronze Nauheim brooch. Found in the early 1970s by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. RMO Collection

(previously Van Beuningen Collection). Verhart/Roymans 1998, 79, Pl. 7.5.

78. Bronze Nauheim brooch. Secondarily twisted. Found in the 1990s by A. Verspaandonk in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Verspaandonk Collection.

79. Bronze Nauheim brooch. Found in 1973 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. RMO Collection (previously Van Beuningen Collection). Verhart/Roymans 1998, 79, Pl. 7.6.

80. Bronze Nauheim brooch. Found in 1993 in the dredge-pit at Lith. Swelheim Collection.

81. Bronze wire brooch, Late La Tène. Found in 1973 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. RMO Collection (previously Van Beuningen Collection). Verhart/Roymans 1998, 79, Pl. 7.4.

82. Bronze wire brooch, Late La Tène. Found in 1993 in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Stolzenbach Collection.

83. Bronze wire brooch, Late La Tène. Found in 1973 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. RMO Collection (previously Van Beuningen Collection). Verhart/Roymans 1998, 79, Pl. 7.2.

84. Bronze wire brooch, Late La Tène. Found in 1973 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. RMO Collection (previously Van Beuningen Collection). Verhart/Roymans 1998, 79, Pl. 7.3.

85. Bronze wire brooch, Late La Tène. Found in 1992 at Heerewaarden in a gravel heap from the dredge-pit at Kessel. Verhagen Collection.

86. Bronze wire brooch, Late La Tène. Found in 1993 in the dredge-pit at Lith. Swelheim Collection.

87. Bronze wire brooch, Colchester type. LT D2/Augustan. Found in 1993 in the dredge-pit at Lith. Swelheim Collection.

88. Bronze wire brooch with a knobbed bow, Câtillon type. The bow is decorated with punched rows of dots. Late La Tène. Found in 1973 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. RMO Collection (previously Van Beuningen Collection). Verhart/Roymans 1998, 79, Pl. 8.1.

89. Bronze two-part wire brooch with a knobbed bow. Late La Tène. At the end of the bow are knobs to support the spring. Found in 1935 by dredging personnel in the Meuse opposite Heerewaarden (i.e. the Kessel complex). RMO Collection, e 1935/9.29. Bought via A.J. Sprik.

90. Bronze arched brooch, Almgren 18 type. LT D2. Found in 1989 in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Maurix Collection.

91. Bronze arched brooch, Almgren 18 type. LT D2. Found in 1935 by dredging personnel 'in the Meuse opposite Heerewaarden' (i.e. the Kessel complex). RMO Collection, e 1935/9.3. Bought via Sprik.

92. Bronze spoon-bow fibula. Flattish bow without a knob. LT D2. Line decoration over the longitudinal axis. Found in 1981 in the dredge-pit at Lith. Jansen Collection.

93. Bronze spoon-bow fibula with broad flattish foot. LT D2. Found in 1971 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith. RMO Collection, k 1971/1.5. Bought via De Kok. Haalebos 1986, 21, fig. 6.8 (findspot incorrectly indicated as 'Maasdriel-Alem').

94. Bronze spoon-bow fibula with a knobbed bow, LT D2. Found in 1973 in the dredge-pit at Kessel. RMO Collection (previously Van Beuningen Collection) Verhart/Roymans 1998, 79, Pl. 8.5.

95. Bronze spoon-bow fibula without a knobbed bow; broad flattish bow. LT D2. Found in the 1990s in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Van den Brandt Collection.

96. Bronze spoon-bow fibula with a knobbed bow, LT D2. Found in 1987 by A. Chambon in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Chambon Collection.

97. Bronze spoon-bow fibula, Kessel type. LT D2. Found in the early 1970s in the dredge-pit at Kessel. RMO Collection (previously Van Beuningen Collection). Verhart/Roymans 1998, 79, Pl. 8.3.

98. Bronze spoon-bow fibula, Kessel type. LT D2. Found in the early 1970s in the dredge-pit at Kessel. RMO Collection (previously Van Beuningen Collection). Verhart/Roymans 1998, 79, Pl. 8.4.

99. Bronze spoon-bow fibula, Kessel type. LT D2. Found in 1993 in the dredge-pit at Lith. Swelheim Collection.

100. Bronze spoon-bow fibula, Kessel type. LT D2. Found in the early 1990s in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Van den Brandt Collection.

101. Bronze spoon-bow fibula, Kessel type. LT D2. Found in the early 1990s in the dredge-pit at Lith. Verhagen Collection.

102. Bronze spoon-bow fibula, Kessel type. LT D2. Found in the early 1970s in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Van den Brandt Collection.

103. Fragment of bronze spoon-bow fibula, Kessel type. LT D2. Found in 1981 in the dredge-pit at Lith. Jansen Collection.

Haalebos 1986, 21, nr. 26.

104. Bronze spoon-bow fibula, Haalebos type I. Augustan/Tiberian. Found in 1986 in the dredge-pit at Lith. Jansen Collection.

105. Bronze spoon-bow fibula, Haalebos type I. Augustan/Tiberian. Found in 1980 in the dredge-pit at Lith. NM Collection 11246. Bought via N. Roymans.

106. Bronze spoon-bow fibula, Haalebos type I. Augustan/Tiberian. Found in 1935 by dredging personnel 'in the Meuse opposite Maren' (i.e. the Kessel complex). NM Collection, 8436.

107. Bronze spoon-bow fibula, Haalebos type I. Augustan/Tiberian. Found in 1980 in the dredge-pit at Lith. NM Collection 11246. Bought via N. Roymans.

108. Bronze spoon-bow fibula, Haalebos type I. Augustan/Tiberian. Found in 1935 by dredging personnel 'in the Meuse opposite Maren' (i.e. the Kessel complex). NM Collection, 8388.

109. Bronze hinge fibula with a knobbed bow. Augustan. Found in the early 1970s in the dredge-pit at Kessel. RMO Collection (previously Van Beuningen Collection). Verhart/Roymans 1998, 79, Pl. 9.2.

110. Bronze hinge fibula with strongly profiled bow. Augustan. Found in the early 1970s in the dredge-pit at Kessel. RMO Collection (previously Van Beuningen Collection). Verhart/Roymans 1998, 80, Pl. 9.1.

CAULDRONS

111. Bronze cauldron with a riveted bronze upper part, Eggers 8 type. The iron rim of the cauldron is lost. The upper part has three large rivet holes, one of which still contained a large iron rivet. On the inside of the cauldron there was a bronze reinforcement plate of the same shape as on the cauldron from grave B at Goeblingen-Nospelt (Metzler 1984, 94, nr. 17 and 293). The protruding rivets ensured that the iron carrying ring did not strike the cauldron wall. Diameter 36.5 cm; height 22.4 cm. The cauldron had been repaired in one spot as is evident from the presence of a bronze-plated patch. Found in the 1970s by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. A. Verhagen Collection (Empel).

112. Fragments of a bronze cauldron with remains of a riveted iron upper part, Eggers 6 type. Diameter approx. 37 cm; height now approx. 19 cm. The item showed several repairs, evident from the presence of some patches of plated iron or bronze. The bronze is composed of 78.3% Cu and 20.8% Sn (X-ray analysis). Found in 1972 by dredging personnel near the entrance to the dredge-pit at Kessel. Ypey Collection (previously Van Beuningen Collection).

113. Bronze cauldron with remains of a riveted iron upper part, Eggers 6 type. Diameter 53 cm; height now 29 cm. The cauldron has six repairs close together. The bronze is composed of 78.8% Cu and 20.9% Sn (X-ray analysis). Found in 1972 by dredging personnel near the entrance to the dredge-pit at Kessel. Museum Het Valkhof Collection, Nijmegen (previously Van Beuningen Collection).

114. Fragment of a bronze cauldron, with a riveted iron upper part (lost), Eggers 6 type. The fragment is too small to be able to reconstruct the cauldron in a drawing. The bronze is composed of 78.3% Cu, 18.9% Sn and 3.8% Ni. Found in 1972 by dredging personnel near the entrance to the dredge-pit at Kessel. Ypey Collection (previously Van Beuningen Collection).

115. Almost complete bronze cauldron with a riveted bronze upper part, and an iron quadrangular rim, to which two iron carrying rings are attached. Eggers 8 type. The cauldron has been extensively repaired as is evident from the presence of several dozen small patches. No drawing can be provided as the cauldron has not yet been restored. Found in about 1993 by A. Verhagen in the dredge-pit at Lith. Verhagen Collection.

SOCKETED AXES

116. Socketed axe with open socket (not illustrated). Found in the early 1970s by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. L. van der Bijl Collection (Voorschoten). Bought via A.J. Sprik.

117. Socketed axe with open, oval-sectioned socket. Length 10 cm. Found in 1989 by P. Vlemminckx in a gravel heap in the dredge-pit at Kessel. P. Vlemminckx Collection.

118. Socketed axe with closed, rectangular-sectioned socket. Found in 1985 in the dredge-pit at Lith by J. Niessen. Niessen Collection.

119. Socketed axe with closed, rectangular-sectioned socket. Length 10.5 cm; maximum width 5.5 cm. Found in 1989 by P.

Vlemminckx in a gravel heap in the dredge-pit at Kessel. P. Vlemminckx Collection.

120. Socketed axe with open, oval-sectioned socket. Length 12.8 cm. Found in the 1970s by A. Verhagen in a gravel heap near the entrance to the dredge-pit at Kessel. A. Verhagen Collection. Cf. Arts/Bazelmans/Ector 1979, fig. 6-7.

121. Socketed axe with open, rectangular-sectioned socket. Length 10.1 cm. Found in 1962 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith. Collection of Gemeentemuseum, Ermelo. The findspot is incorrectly indicated as `Heerewaarden'.

122. Socketed axe with open, oval-sectioned socket. Length 10.3 cm. Found in 1971 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith. RMO Collection, k 1971/11-23. Bought via H.A. De Kok.

123. Socketed axe with open, round-sectioned socket. Length 10.5 cm. Found in 1981 by H. Jansen in a gravel heap near the entrance to the dredge-pit at Kessel. Jansen Collection.

124. Socketed axe with open, oval-sectioned socket (not illustrated). Length 13.2. Found in 1971 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith. RMO Collection, k 1971/11-22. Bought via H.A. De Kok.

BOAR-TOOTH PENDANTS

125. Looped bronze fitting of a boar-tooth pendant. Triangular cross-section. Base fragment of the canine of a wild boar is still in the socket. Length 5 cm. Found in 1971 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith. RMO Collection, k 1971/11.14. Bought via De Kok.

126. Bronze fitting of the end of a boar-tooth pendant. Triangular cross-section. Line decoration on two of the three sides and a profiled terminal knob. Distal fragment of the canine of a wild boar is still in the socket. Length 7.1 cm. Found in 1936 by dredging personnel 'in the Meuse opposite Heerewaarden' (i.e. the Kessel/Lith complex). RMO Collection, e 1936/6.1. Bought via A.J. Sprik.

COMB

127. Bronze gilded comb with zoomorphic grip in the shape of a horse. Originally seven teeth, three of which are still present. Length 4.5 cm. Found in the 1970s by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. RMO Collection (previously Van Beuningen Collection). Bought via A.J. Sprik. Verhart/Roymans 1998, 80, Pl. 10.

MOUNT (HORSE-GEAR)

128. Triangular-shaped bronze mount (belonging to horse-gear) with a rectangular strap-holder at the back. Decorated with round knobs, an animal-shaped head and circular grooves. Found in the 1990s in the dredge-pit at Kessel by J. van Rijckevorsel. Van Rijckevorsel Collection.

KNIFE

129. Iron knife with a curved edge and back. The tip of the blade is missing. The handle is made from the tip of a red-deer antler-tine. Length 19.8 cm. Found in 1985 by A. Verhagen in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Verhagen Collection.

HORSE BIT

130. Fragment of an iron bit, consisting of two twisted bars with looped ends fastened to a ring. Found in the early 1990s in the dredge-pit at Kessel by L. Stolzenbach. Stolzenbach Collection.

BRACELETS

131. Ribbed, open bronze bracelet. The ribs are partly eroded. Maximum diameter 6.7 cm. Found in the 1970s by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. RMO Collection (previously Van Beuningen Collection). Bought via A.J. Sprik. Verhart/Roymans 1998, 78, Pl. 6.4.

132. Open bronze bracelet with oval knobbed ends. Maximum diameter 5.8 cm. Found in the 1970s by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. RMO Collection (previously Van Beuningen Collection). Bought via A.J. Sprik. Verhart/Roymans 1998, Pl. 6.3.

133. Open bronze bracelet with rounded knobbed ends. The outer side is decorated with grooved lines in a rope motif (partly eroded). Maximum diameter 6.2 cm. Found in the 1970s by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. RMO Col-

lection (previously Van Beuningen Collection). Bought via A.J. Sprik. Verhart/Roymans 1998, 78, Pl. 6.2.

134. Open bronze bracelet with anthropomorphic or zoomorphic heads at the ends. Maximum diameter 6.2 cm. Found in the 1970s by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. RMO Collection (previously Van Beuningen Collection). Bought via A.J. Sprik. Verhart/Roymans 1998, 78, Pl. 6.1.

135. Fragment of a ribbed, open bronze bracelet. Maximum diameter 5.9 cm. Found in 1971 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith. RMO Collection, k 1971/11.26. Roymans/Van der Sanden 1980, 193, fig. 8.6.

CELTIC COINS

136. Triquetrum coin, silver, variant b. Weight 6.58 gr. Found in 1972 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Haalebos Collection. Nijmegen. Bought via A.J. Sprik. Roymans/Van der Sanden 1980, nr. XVIa-2.

137. Triquetrum coin, silver, variant a. Weight 6.93 gr. Found in 1972 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Van Beuningen Collection. Bought via A.J. Sprik. Roymans/Van der Sanden 1980, nr. XVIa-3.

138. Triquetrum coin, silver, variant c. Weight 5.97 gr. Found in 1972 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Van Beuningen Collection. Bought via A.J. Sprik. Roymans/Van der Sanden 1980, nr. XVIa-4.

139. Triquetrum coin, silver, variant a. Weight 6.77 gr. Found in 1972 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Van Beuningen Collection. Bought via A.J. Sprik. Roymans/Van der Sanden 1980, nr. XVIa-5.

140. Triquetrum coin, silver, variant c. Weight 6.65 gr. Found in 1972 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Van der Bijl Collection. Bought via A.J. Sprik. Roymans/Van der Sanden 1980, nr. XVIa-6.

141. Triquetrum coin, silver, variant b. Weight 6.58 gr. Found in 1972 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Van der Bijl Collection. Bought via A.J. Sprik. Roymans/Van der Sanden 1980, nr. XVIa-7.

142. Triquetrum coin, silver, variant c. Weight 6.66 gr. Found in 1972 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Van der Bijl Collection. Bought via A.J. Sprik. Roymans/Van der Sanden 1980, nr. XVIa-8.

143. Triquetrum coin, silver, variant b. Weight 6.80 gr. Found in 1972 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Van Beuningen Collection. Bought via A.J. Sprik. Roymans/Van der Sanden 1980, nr. XVIa-9.

144. Triquetrum coin, silver. Found in 1972 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Formerly Van der Bijl Collection. Bought via A.J. Sprik. Sold to coin-dealer Jacques Schulman B.V. Present owner unknown. Roymans/Van der Sanden 1980, nr. XVIa-10.

145. Triquetrum coin, silver. Found in 1972 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Formerly Van der Bijl Collection. Bought via A.J. Sprik. Sold to coin-dealer Jacques Schulman B.V. Present owner unknown. Roymans/Van der Sanden 1980, nr. XVIa-11.

146. Triquetrum coin, silver, variant a. Found in 1972 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Formerly Van der Bijl Collection. Bought Via A.J. Sprik. Sold to coin-dealer Jacques Schulman B.V. Present owner unknown. Roymans/Van der Sanden 1980, nr. XVIa-12.

147. Triquetrum coin, silver, variant b. Weight 6.51 gr. Found in 1973 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith. KMP Collection. Bought via De Kok. Roymans/Van der Sanden 1980, nr. XVIa-13.

148. Triquetrum coin, silver, variant d. Weight 6.1 gr. Found in 1981 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith. Van Dinter Collection, Dreumel. Roymans/Van der Sanden 1980, nr. XVIa-18.

149. Triquetrum coin, silver. Found in about 1965 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith. Sold by finder to antique dealer; present owner unknown. Roymans/Van der Sanden 1980, nr. XVIa-14.

150. Triquetrum coin, silver. Found in about 1965 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith. Sold by finder to antique dealer; present owner unknown. Roymans/Van der Sanden 1980, nr. XVIa-15.

151. Triquetrum coin, silver. Found in about 1965 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith. Sold by finder to antique dealer; present owner unknown. Roymans/Van der Sanden 1980, nr. XVIa-16.

152. Triquetrum coin, silver. Found in about 1965 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith. Sold by finder to antique dealer; present owner unknown. Roymans/Van der Sanden 1980, nr. XVIa-17.

153. Triquetrum coin, silver, variant a. Weight 6.71 gr. Found in 1935 by dredging personnel 'in the Meuse opposite Maren' (i.e. the Kessel/Lith complex). NM Collection, 8464. Presumably bought via A.J. Sprik. Roymans/Van der Sanden 1980, nr. XVIa-19.

154. Triquetrum coin, silver, variant b. Weight 6.62 gr. Found in 1935 by dredging personnel 'in the Meuse opposite Maren' (i.e. the Kessel/Lith complex). NM Collection, 8464. Presumably bought via A.J. Sprik. Roymans/Van der Sanden 1980, nr. XVIa-20.

155. Triquetrum coin, silver, variant b. Weight 6.20 gr. Found in 1935 by dredging personnel 'in the Meuse opposite Maren' (i.e. the Kessel/Lith complex). NM Collection, 8464. Presumably bought via A.J. Sprik. Roymans/Van der Sanden 1980, nr. XVIa-21.

156. Triquetrum coin, copper, variant m. Weight 5.25 gr. Found in 1981 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith. NM Collection, 11283. Bought via N. Roymans.

157. Triquetrum coin, copper, variant f. Weight 5.98 gr. Found in 1981 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith. NM Collection, 11325. Bought via N. Roymans

158. Triquetrum coin, copper, variant m. Weight 5.59 gr. Found in 1981 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith. NM Collection, 11283. Bought via N. Roymans.

159. Triquetrum coin, copper, variant s. Found in the early 1990s by A. Verhagen in the dredge-pit at Lith. Verhagen Collection.

160. Triquetrum coin, copper, variant s. Found in the early 1990s by A. Verhagen in the dredge-pit at Lith. Verhagen Collection.

161. Triquetrum coin, silver. Found in about 1972 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Van Heel Collection, Kerkdriel.

162. Triquetrum coin, silver. Found in about 1972 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Van Heel Collection, Kerkdriel.

163. Triquetrum coin, silver. Found in about 1972 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Van Heel Collection, Kerkdriel.

164. Triquetrum coin, silver, variant a. Weight 6.30 gr. Found in 1987 by A. van den Brandt in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Van den Brandt Collection. KMP incorrectly mentions 'Lith' as findspot.

165. Potin coin Remi, type Scheers 191. Weight 4.43 gr. Found in 1936 by dredging personnel in the Meuse at Lith. NM Collection, 8595. Bought via A.J. Sprik. Roymans/Van der Sanden 1980, nr. XI-1.

166. Bronze coin Nervii, Scheers 190 type, class I. Weight 3.07 gr. Found in 1983 by A. Verhagen in a gravel heap in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Verhagen Collection.

167. AVAVCIA coin, bronze, Scheers 217 type, class I. Weight 3.13 gr. Found in 1979 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith. NM Collection, 11246. Roymans/Van der Sanden 1980, nr. XIV-17.

168. AVAVCIA coin, bronze, Scheers 217 type, class II. Weight 3.04 gr. Found in 1936 by dredging personnel in the Meuse at Lith. NM Collection, 8541. Bought via A.J. Sprik. Roymans/Van der Sanden 1980, nr. XIV-13.

169. AVAVCIA coin, bronze, Scheers 217 type, class II. Weight 3.12 gr. Found in 1936 by dredging personnel in the Meuse at Lith. NM Collection, 8556. Roymans/Van der Sanden 1980, nr. XIV-14.

170. AVAVCIA coin, bronze, Scheers 217 type. Reverse same type as obverse, although in mirror-image. Weight 3.48 gr. Found in 1981 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith. NM Collection, 11283. Roymans/Van der Sanden 1980, nr. XIV-15.

171. AVAVCIA coin, bronze, Scheers 217 type, class II. Weight 3.66 gr. Found in 1981 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith. NM Collection, 11283. Roymans/Van der Sanden 1980, nr. XIV-16.

172. AVAVCIA coin, bronze, Scheers 217 type, class II. Weight 3.06 gr. Found in 1981 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith. NM Collection, 11283. Roymans/Van der Sanden 1980, nr. XIV-18.

173. AVAVCIA coin, bronze, Scheers 217 type, class II. Weight 3.53 gr. Found in 1981 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith. NM Collection, 11325. Bought via N. Roymans.

174. AVAVCIA coin, bronze, Scheers 217 type, class II. Weight 3.13 gr. Found in 1981 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith. NM Collection, 11325. Bought via N. Roymans.

175. AVAVCIA coin, bronze, Scheers 217 type, class II. Weight 3.25 gr. Found in 1981 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith. NM Collection, 11283. Bought via N. Roymans.

176. AVAVCIA coin, bronze, Scheers 217 type. Weight 2.13 gr. Found in 1980 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith. Van Dinter Collection, Dreumel.

177. GERMANVS INDVTILLI L coin, bronze, Scheers 216 type. Found in 1936 by dredging personnel in the Meuse at Lith. NM Collection, 8536. Roymans/Van der Sanden 1980, nr. XIII-1.

178. As, Augustus, Lugdunum, 10-3 BC. RIC² 230. Found in 1981 by A. Verhagen in a gravel heap in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Verhagen Collection.

179. As, Augustus, Lugdunum, 10-3 BC. RIC² 230. Found in 1978 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. RMO Collection, k 1978/8.3. Bought via De Kok.

180. *Providentia* as, Tiberius, 22-37 AD. RIC² 81. Found in 1978 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. RMO Collection, k. 1978/8.5. Bought via De Kok.

181. As, Augustus, Lugdunum, 10-3 BC. RIC² 230. Found in 1978 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. RMO Collection, k 1978/8.6. Bought via De Kok.

182. Halved as (?). Completely worn. Probably Republican or Vienna/Copia. Before 27 BC. Found in 1978 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. RMO Collection, k 1978/8.17. Bought via De Kok.

183. As, Augustus. Completely worn, but with the countermark *CAESAR*. Found in 1978 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Kessel. RMO Collection, k 1978/8.15. Bought via De Kok.

184. As, Augustus. Lugdunum, 10-3 BC. RIC² 230. On the obverse the countermark *AVG*. Found in 1983 by A. Verhagen in a gravel heap in the dredge-pit at Kessel. Verhagen Collection.

185. Aureus, Tiberius. RIC² 29. Found in about 1965 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith. A. Romeijnders Collection (St. Maartensbrug).

186. As, Augustus, Lugdunum, 10-3 BC. RIC² 230. On the reverse a 'punch' in the shape of a small circle. Found in 1980 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith. NM Collection, 11246. Bought via N. Roymans.

187. Halved as, Augustus, Rome, 6 BC. RIC² 439/440. Found in 1980 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith. NM Collection, 11246. Bought via N. Roymans.

188. As, Augustus, Rome, 16-6 BC. Mintmaster not identifiable. Two countermarks on the obverse: *TIB IM* and *IMP AVG*, both Tiberian. Found in 1981 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith. Van Dinter Collection, Dreumel.

189. As, Augustus, Nemausus, series I or II, about 28 BC-AD 10. Found in 1981 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith. NM Collection, 11283. Bought via N. Roymans.

190. As, Augustus, Lugdunum, 10-3 BC. RIC² 230. On the reverse the countermark *TIB*. Found in 1981 by dredging personnel in the dredge pond at Lith. NM Collection, 11283. Bought via N. Roymans.

191. As, Augustus/Tiberius, Lugdunum, AD 12-14. RIC² 245. Found in 1981 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith. NM Collection, 11283. Bought via N. Roymans.

192. As, Augustus. Found in 1955 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith. Findspot incorrectly indicated as 'from the Meuse opposite Heerewaarden'. RMO Collection, e 1955/9.5 (but cannot be found). Bought via A.J. Sprik.

193. Sestertius, Caligula, Rome, AD 37-41. RIC² 55. Found in 1970 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith. Findspot incorrectly indicated as 'from the Meuse near Heerewaarden'. RMK Collection, 5.1970.2. Bought via De Kok.

194. As, Augustus, Rome, 6 BC. RIC² 439-440. Mintmaster S. Nonius Quinctilianus. On the reverse the countermark *CAESAR*. Found in the late 1950s by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith. G. Weerden Collection, Lith.

195. As, Augustus, Rome, 6 BC. RIC² 439-440. Mintmaster S. Nonius Quinctilianus. Found in 1981 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith. NM Collection, 11325. Bought via N. Roymans.

196. As, Augustus/Tiberius, Lugdunum, AD 9-14. RIC² 237, 238 or 245. On the obverse the countermarks *AVG* and *TIB*. Found in 1981 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith. NM Collection, 11325. Bought via N. Roymans.

197. As, Augustus, Lugdunum? Found in 1955 by dredging personnel in the dredge-pit at Lith. RMO Collection, e 1955/9.7. Bought via A.J. Sprik.

198. As, Augustus, Lugdunum, 10-3 BC. RIC² 230. On the obverse the countermark *RC* (cf. BMC 557). Found in 1936 by dredging personnel 'ín the Meuse opposite Heerewaarden' (i.e. the Kessel/Lith complex). RMO Collection, e 1936/7.4. Bought via A.J. Sprik.

199. As, Augustus, Rome, 7 BC. Mintmaster P. Lurius Agrippa. RIC² 427/428. On the obverse the countermark *CAESAR*. Found

in 1935 by dredging personnel 'in the Meuse opposite Heerewaarden' (i.e. the Kessel/Lith complex). RMO Collection, e 1935/9.27. Bought via A.J. Sprik.

200. *Providentia* as Tiberius, AD 22–37. RIC^2 181. Found in 1939 by dredging personnel 'in the Meuse opposite Heerewaarden' (i.e. the Kessel/Lith complex). RMO Collection, e 1939/4.1. Cf. Boersma 1963, 45.

201. Denarius, Republic, Rome. Not further identifiable. Found in 1936 by dredging personnel 'in the Meuse near Lith'. NM Collection, 8546. Cf. Boersma 1963, 50.

202. Denarius, Republic, Rome, 83-82 BC. Q. Antonius Balbus. Crawford 364. Found in 1936 by dredging personnel 'in the Meuse near Lith'. NM Collection, 8544. Cf. Boersma 1963, 50.

203. Denarius, Republic, Rome, 62 BC. L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus. Crawford 415. Found in 1936 by dredging personnel 'in the Meuse near Lith'. NM Collection, 8543. Cf. Boersma 1963, 50.

204. Denarius, Republic, mobile mint, 32–31 BC. Marcus Antonius. Crawford 544/8. Found in 1936 by dredging personnel 'in the Meuse near Lith'. NM Collection, 8545. Cf. Boersma 1963, 50.

205. Denarius, Tiberius, Lugdunum, RIC^2 28, AD 14–37. Found in 1936 by dredging personnel 'in the Meuse near Lith'. NM Collection, 8547. Cf. Boersma 1963, 50.

Plate 1. Late La Tène swords dredged at Kessel/Lith. Scale 1:5.

Plate 2. Bronze Late La Tène scabbard plates found at Kessel/Lith. Scale 1:5.
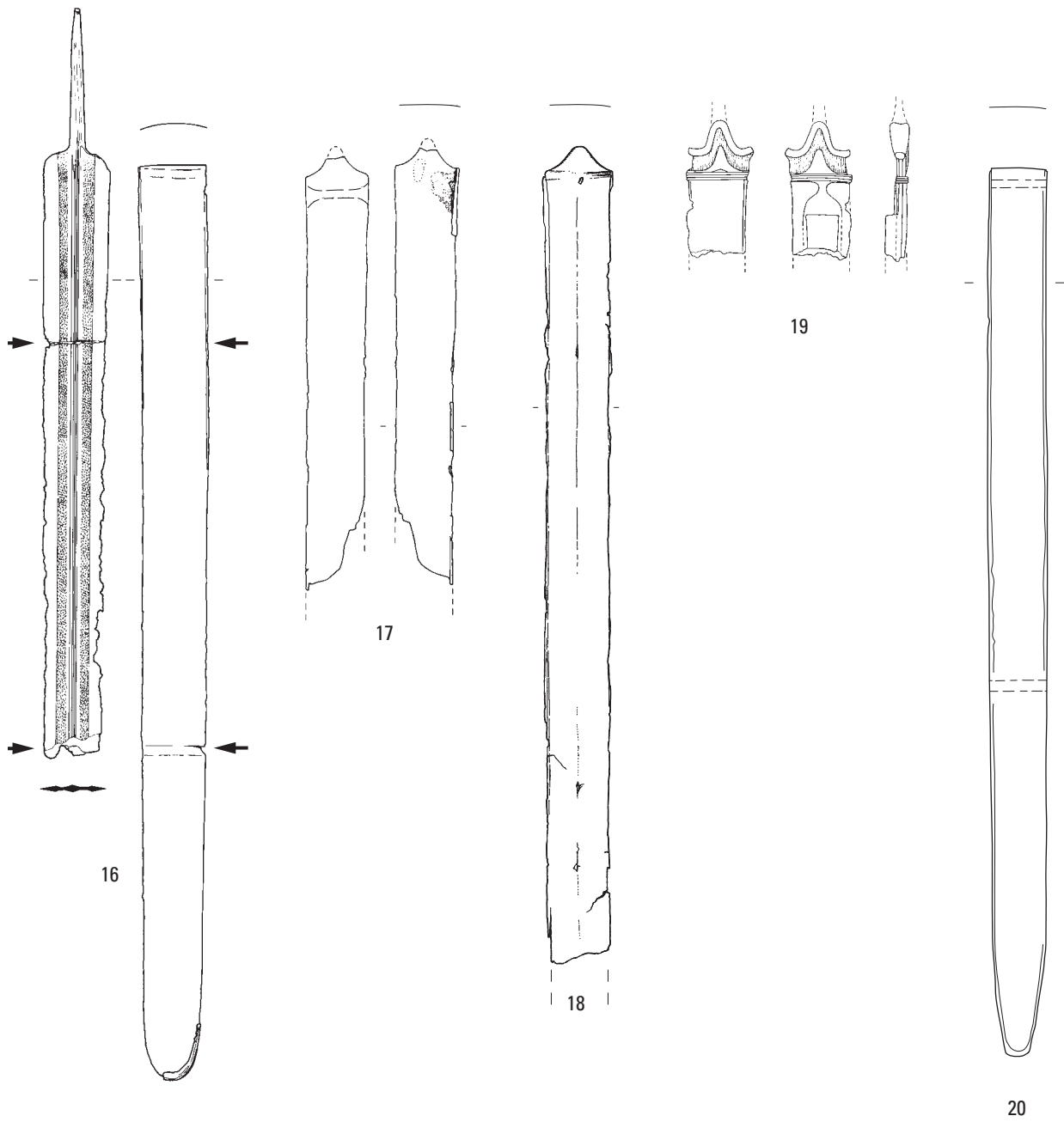
Plate 3. Late La Tène sword fragments and bronze scabbard plates dredged at Kessel/Lith. Scale 1:5.
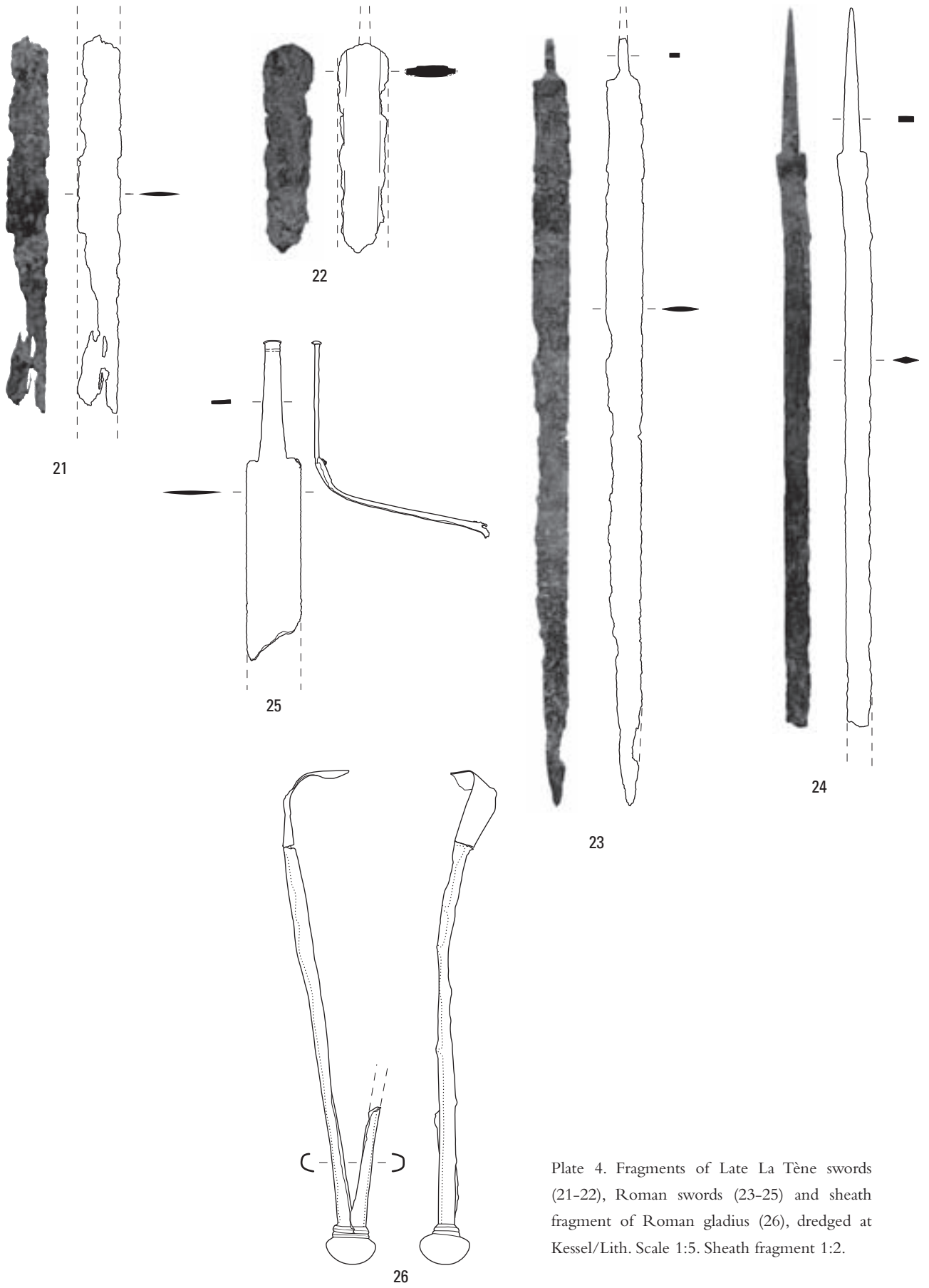
Plate 4. Fragments of Late La Tène swords (21-22), Roman swords (23-25) and sheath fragment of Roman gladius (26), dredged at Kessel/Lith. Scale 1:5. Sheath fragment 1:2.
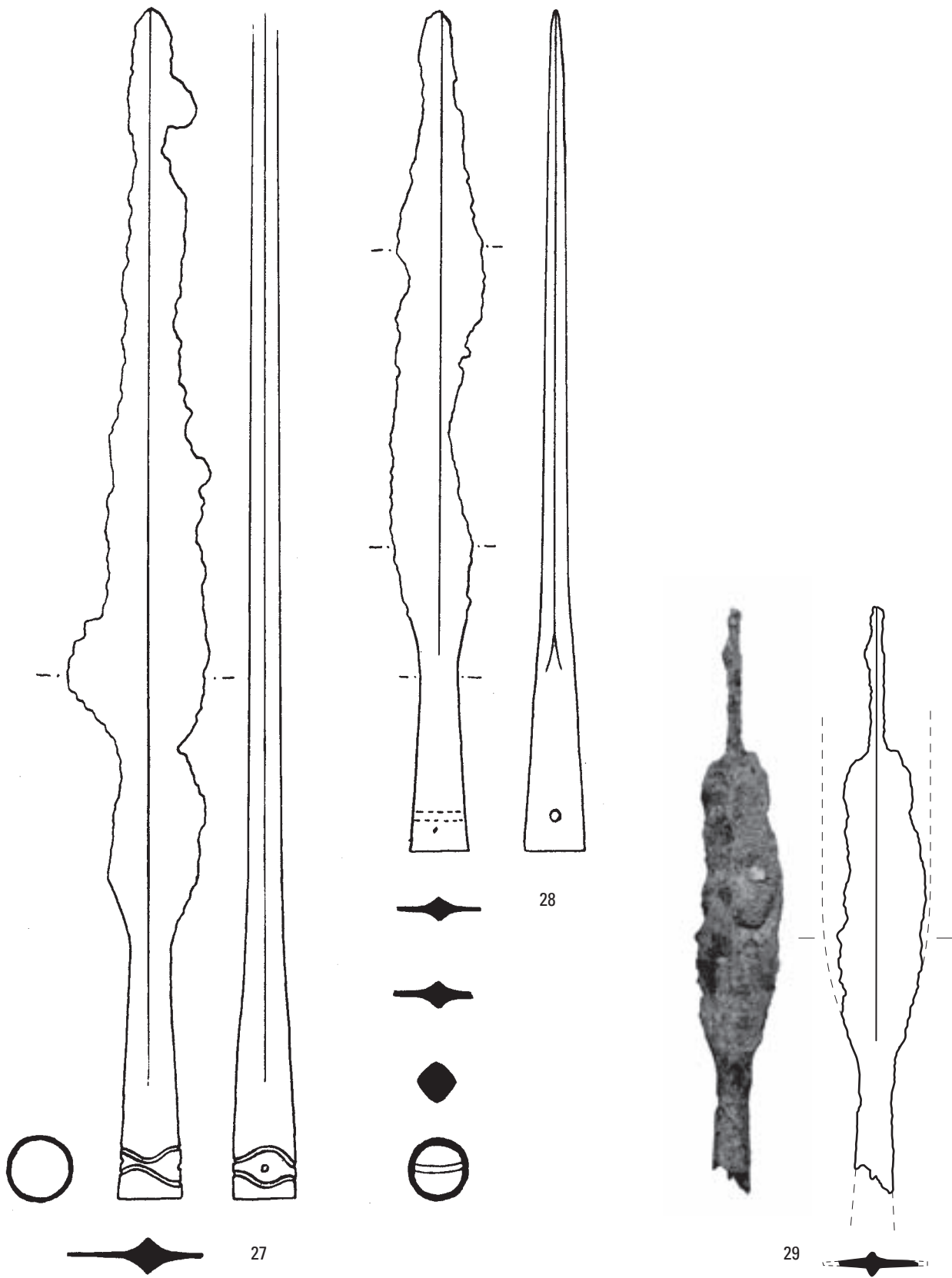
Plate 5. Iron spearheads found at Kessel/Lith, probably Late La Tène. Scale 1: 2.

31   32   33
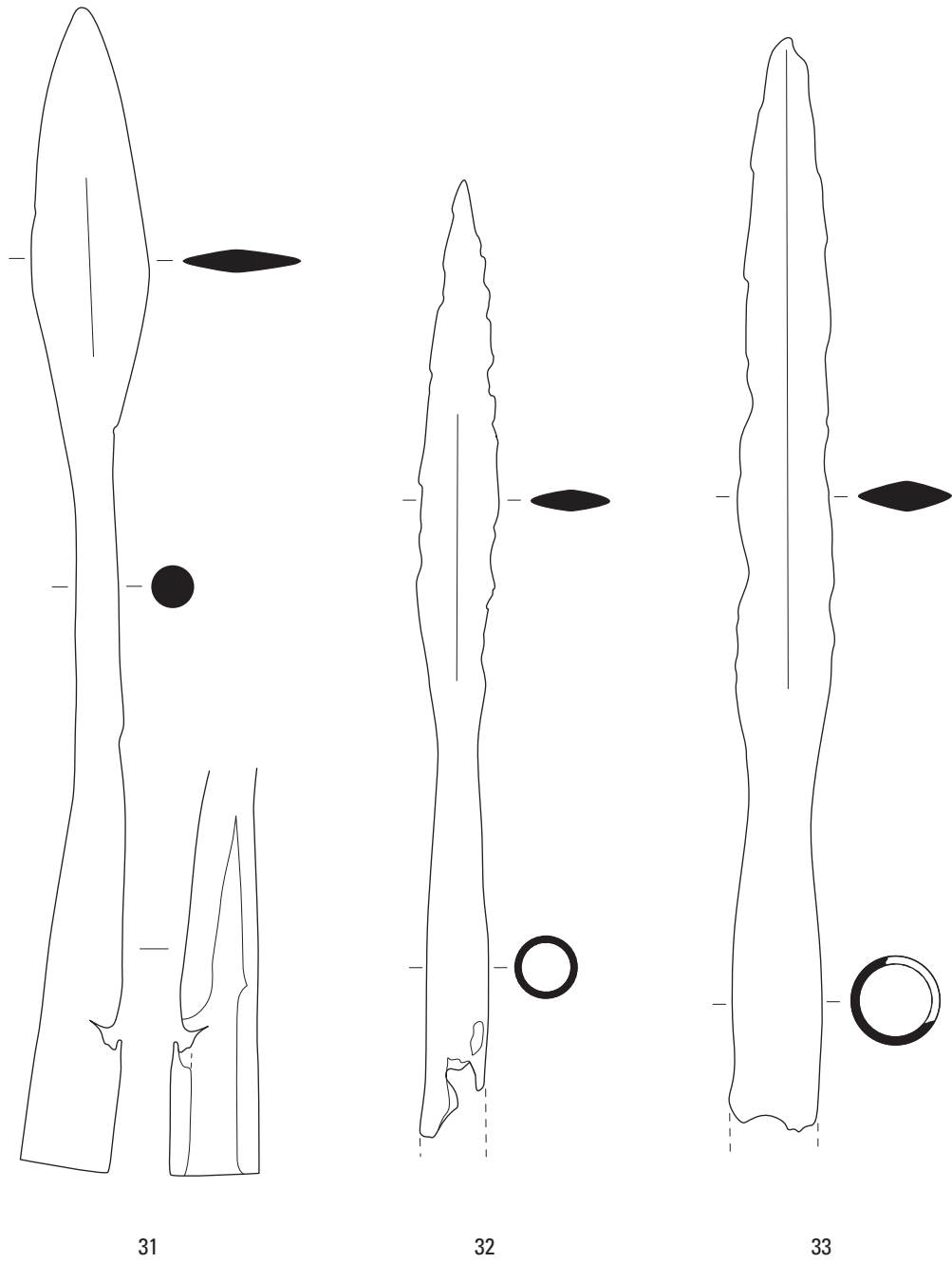
Plate 6. Roman spearheads found at Kessel. Scale 1:2.

36

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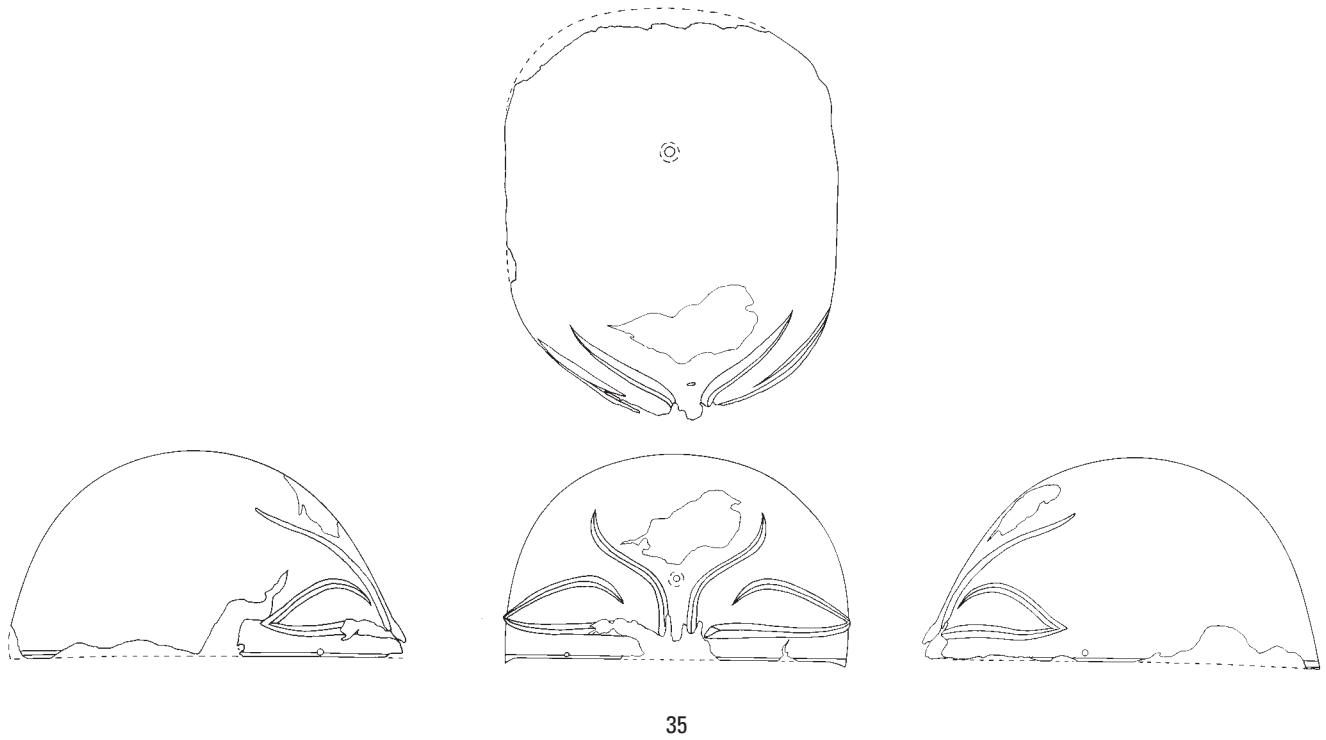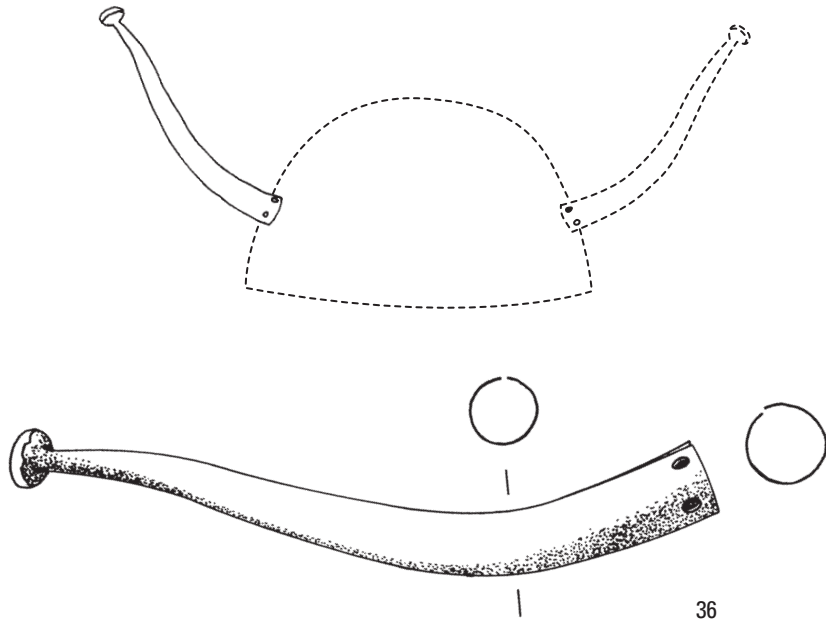
Plate 7. Iron helmet of the Port type (below) and bronze horn-shaped helmet fitting (above). Scale 1:4 (helmet) and 2:3 (fitting).
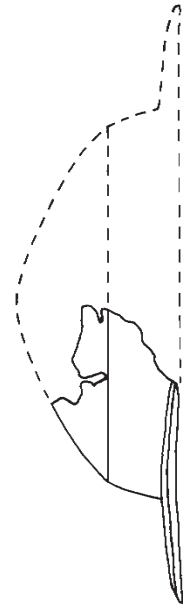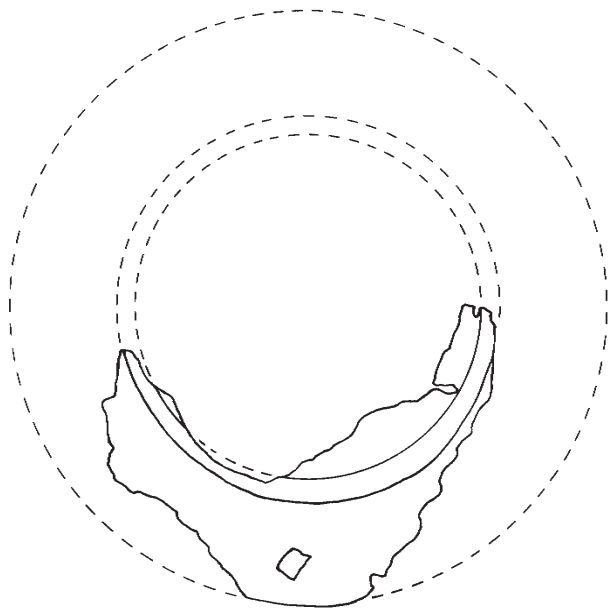
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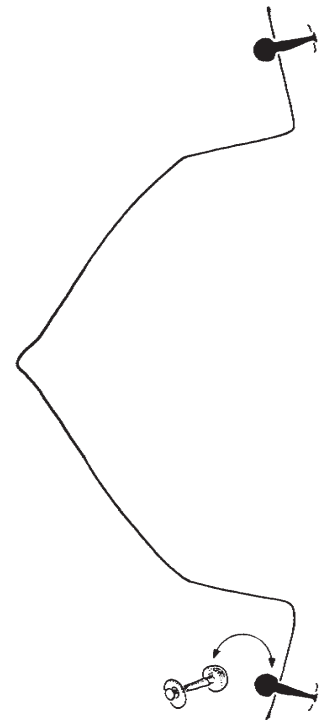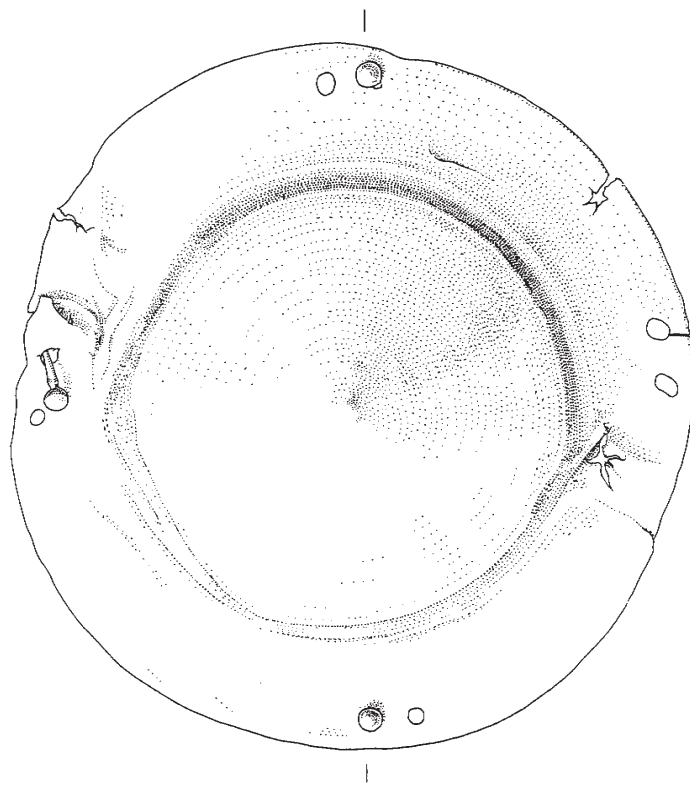
38

Plate 8. Iron (above) and bronze (below) shield boss found at Kessel. Scale 1:2.
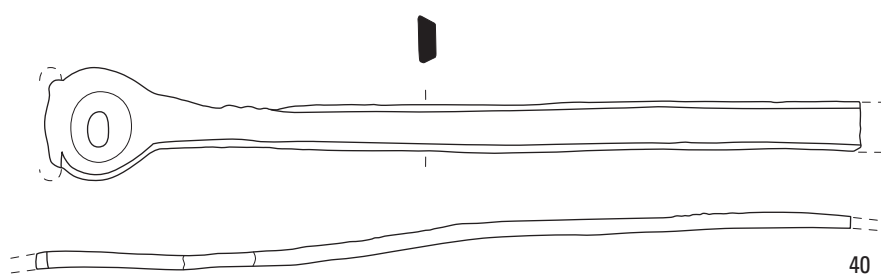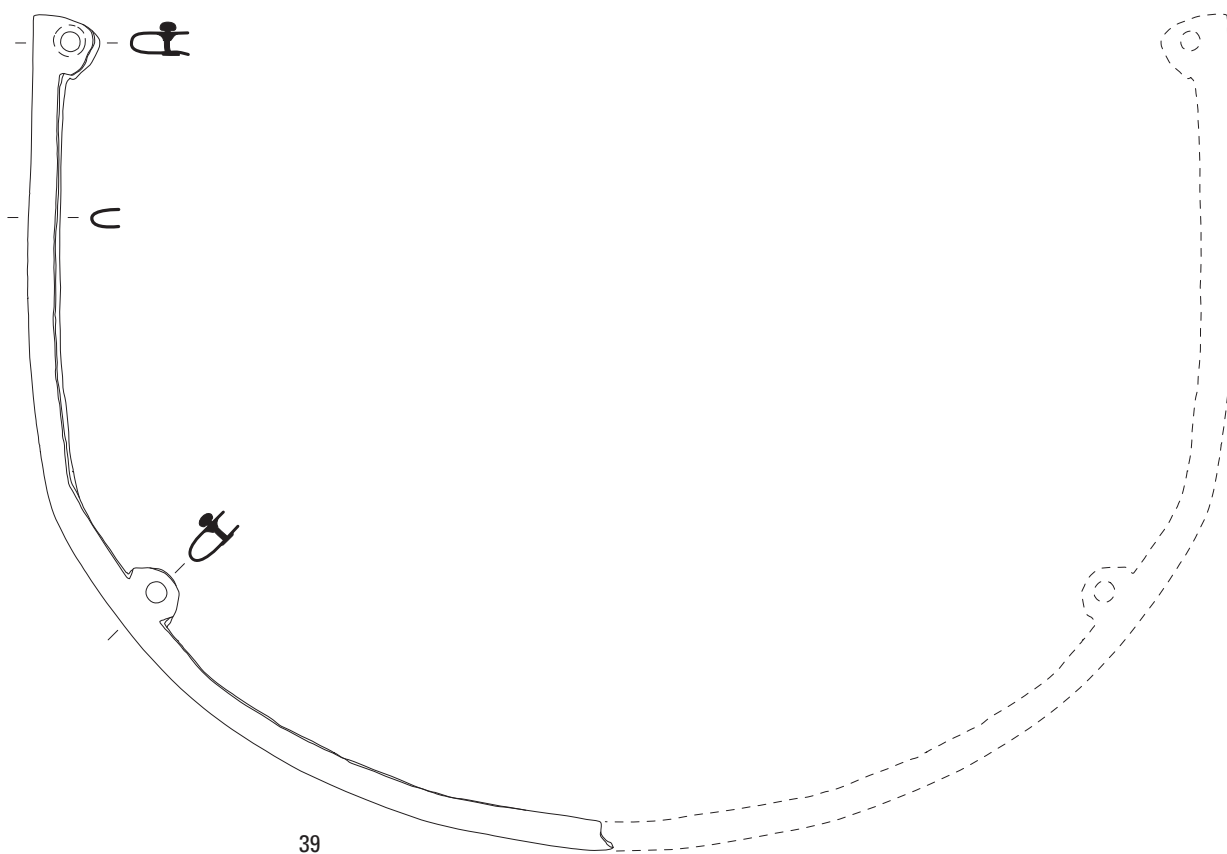
Plate 9. Bronze edging of shield (scale 1:2) and shield grip (scale 2:3).
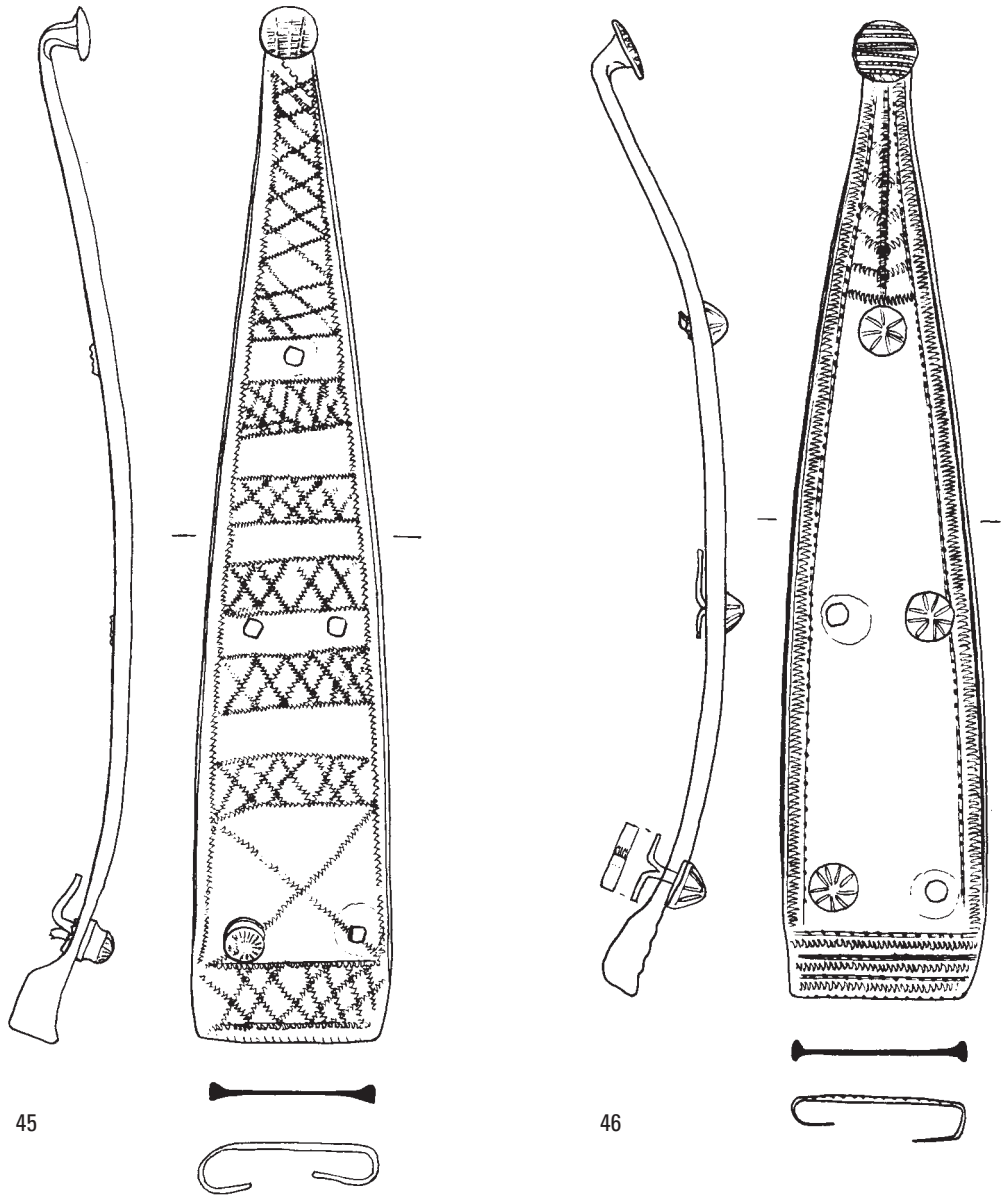
Plate 10. Bronze belt hooks, Kessel A type, found at Kessel/Lith. Scale 2:3.

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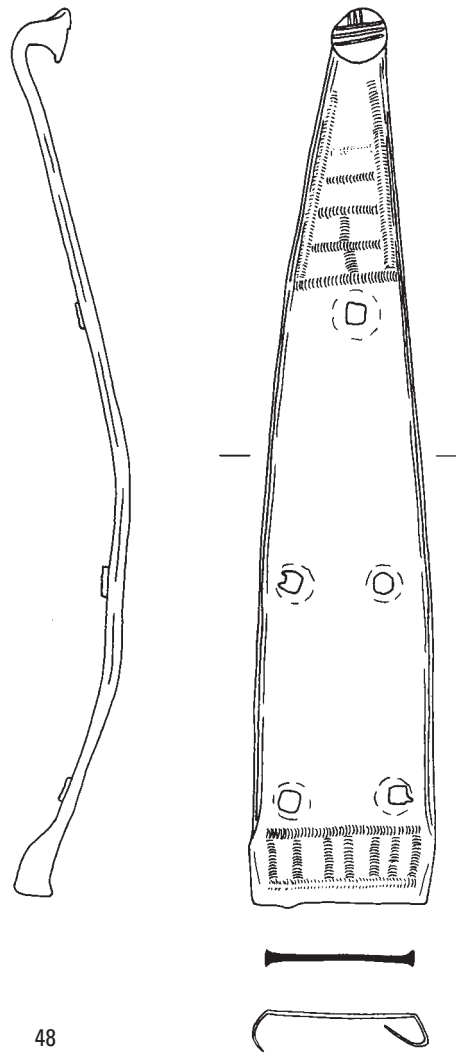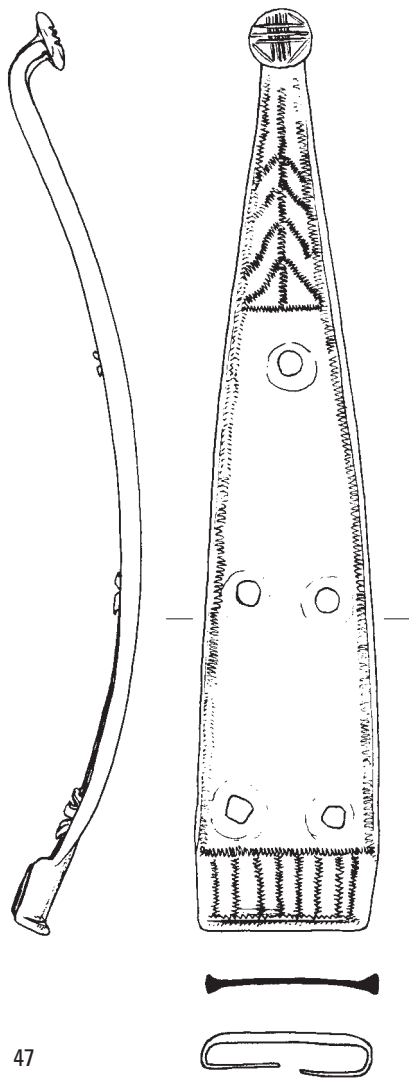
Plate 11. Bronze belt hooks, Kessel A type, found at Kessel/Lith. Scale 2:3.
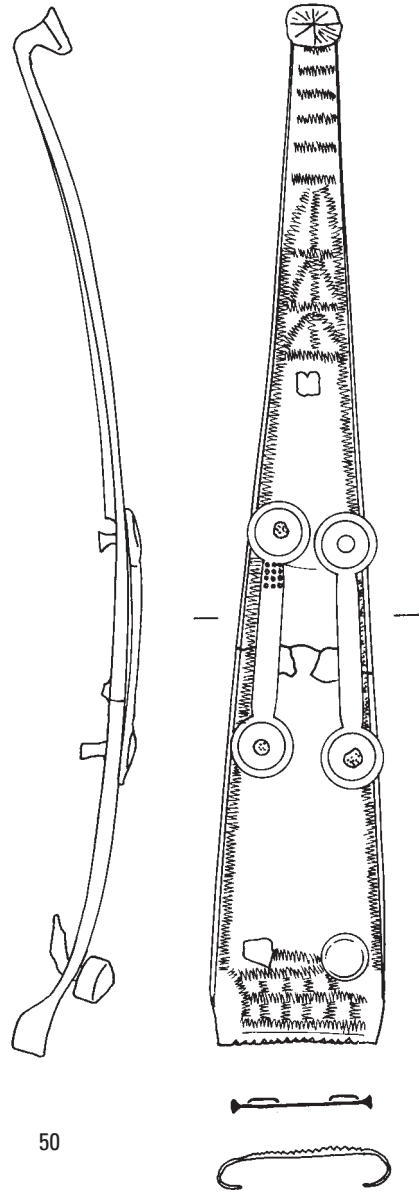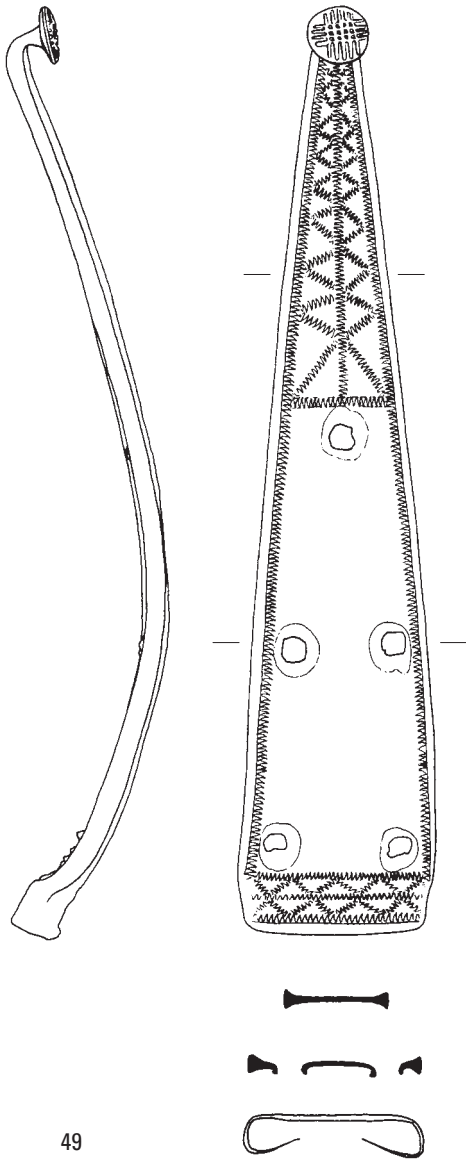
Plate 12. Bronze belt hooks, Kessel A type, found at Kessel/Lith. Scale 2:3.

51 52
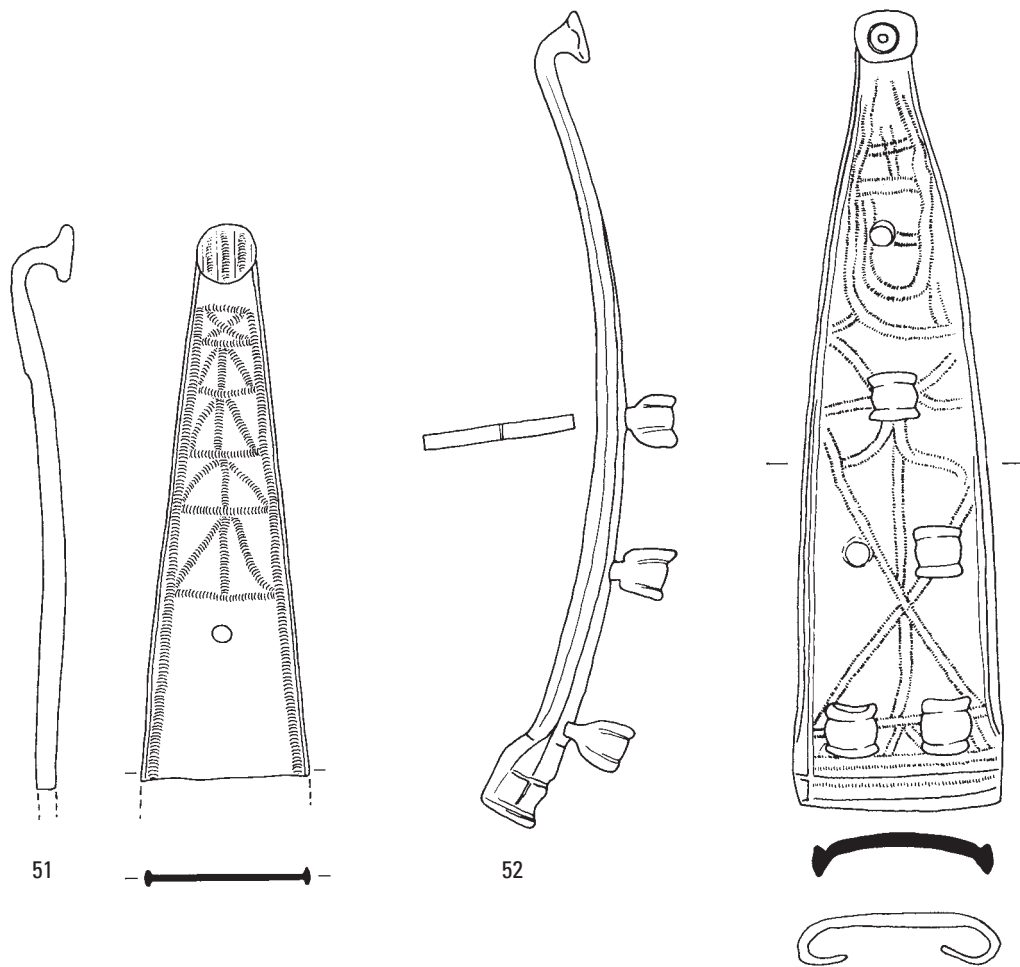
Plate 13. Bronze belt hooks, Kessel A type, found at Kessel/Lith. Scale 2:3.

53   54
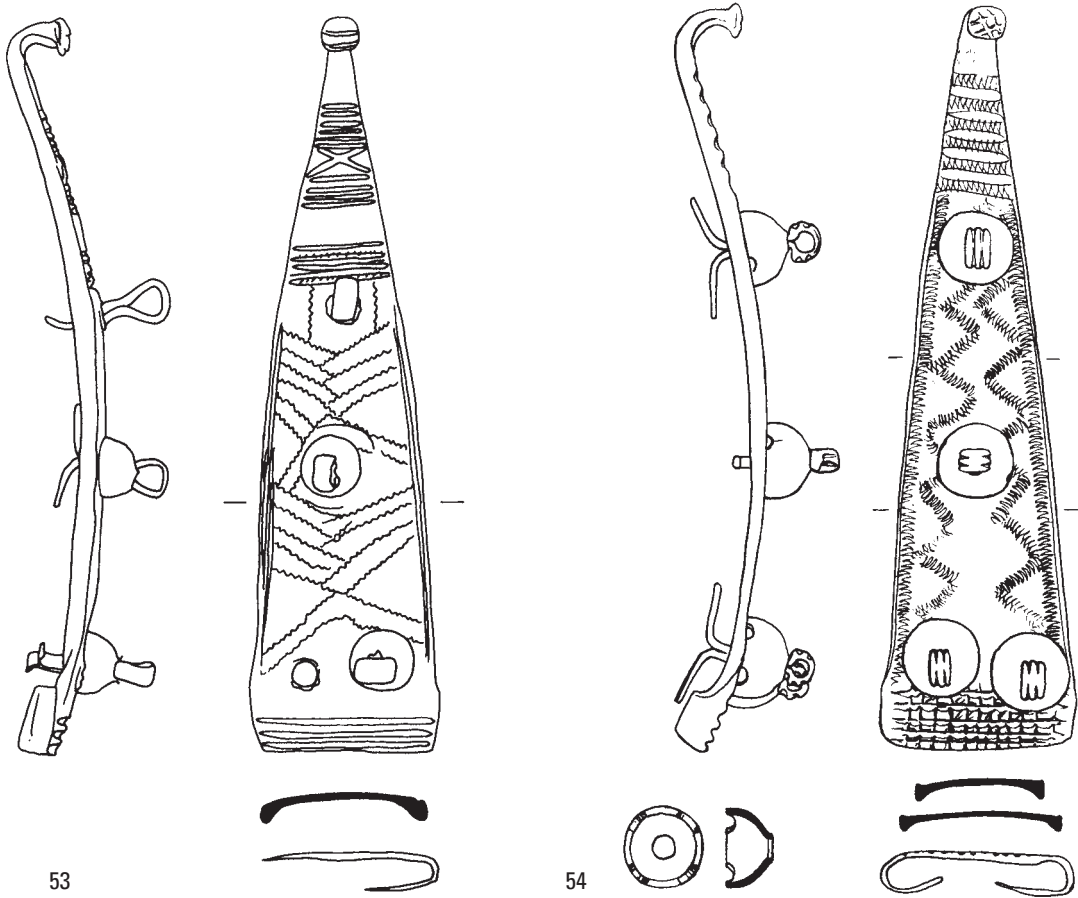
Plate 14. Bronze belt hooks, Kessel A type, found at Kessel/Lith. Scale 2:3.
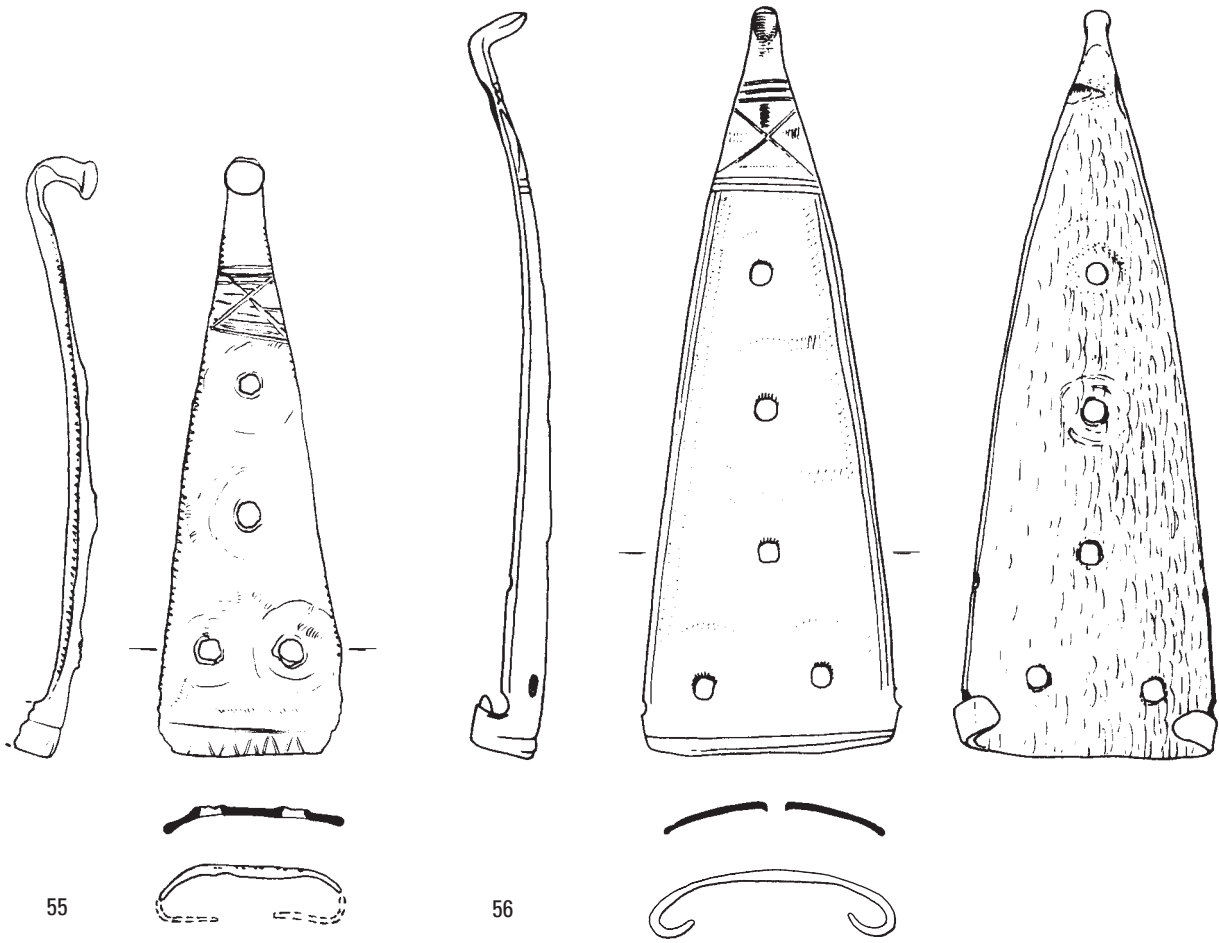
Plate 15. Bronze belt hooks, Kessel A type, found at Kessel/Lith. Scale 2:3.
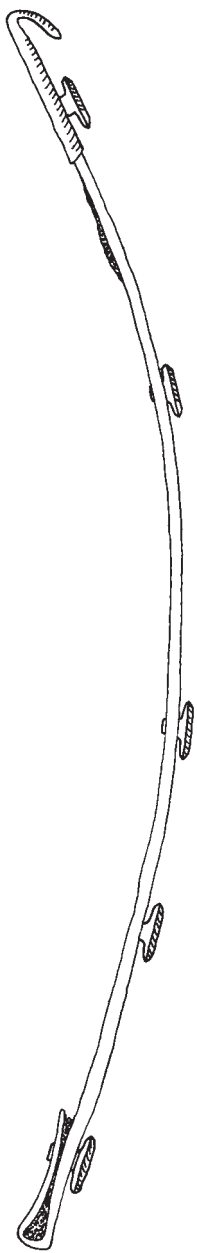
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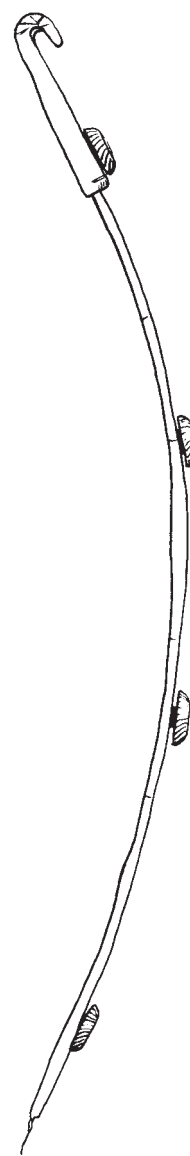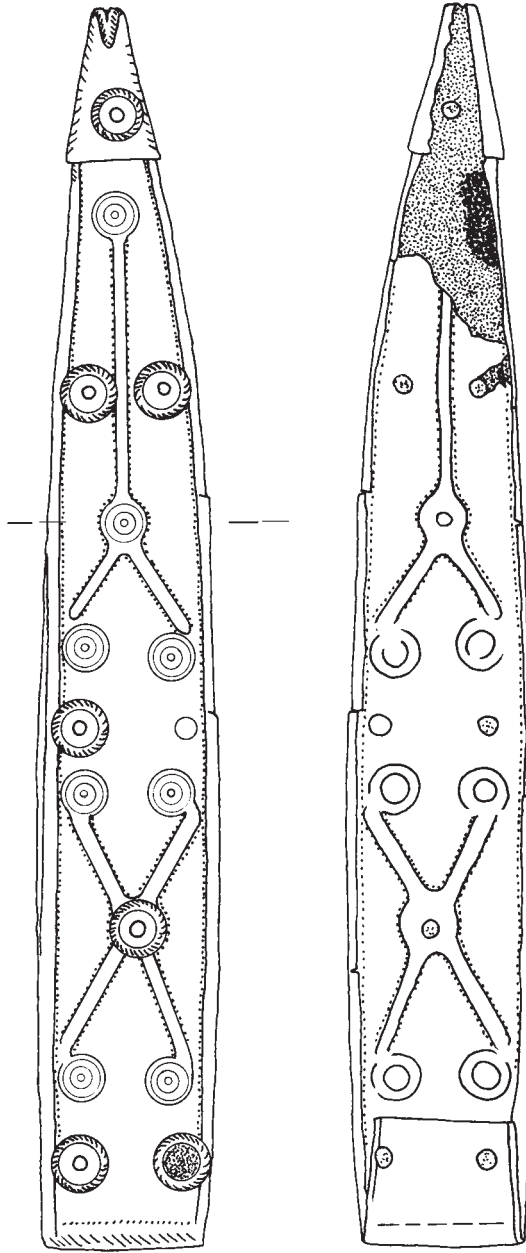
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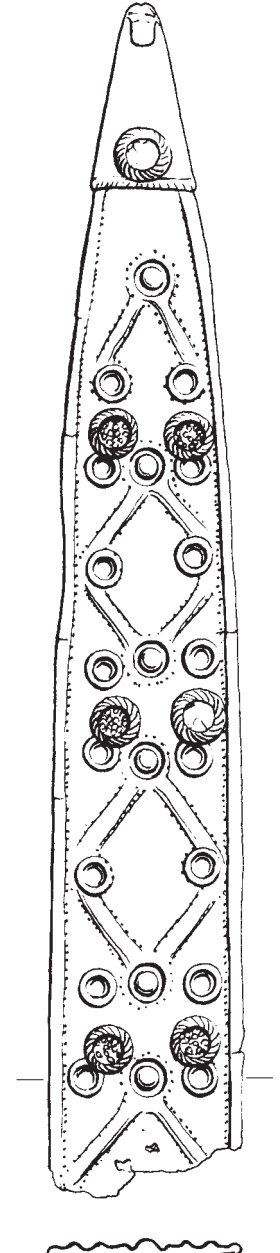
Plate 16. Bronze-plated iron belt hooks, Kessel B type, scale 2:3.
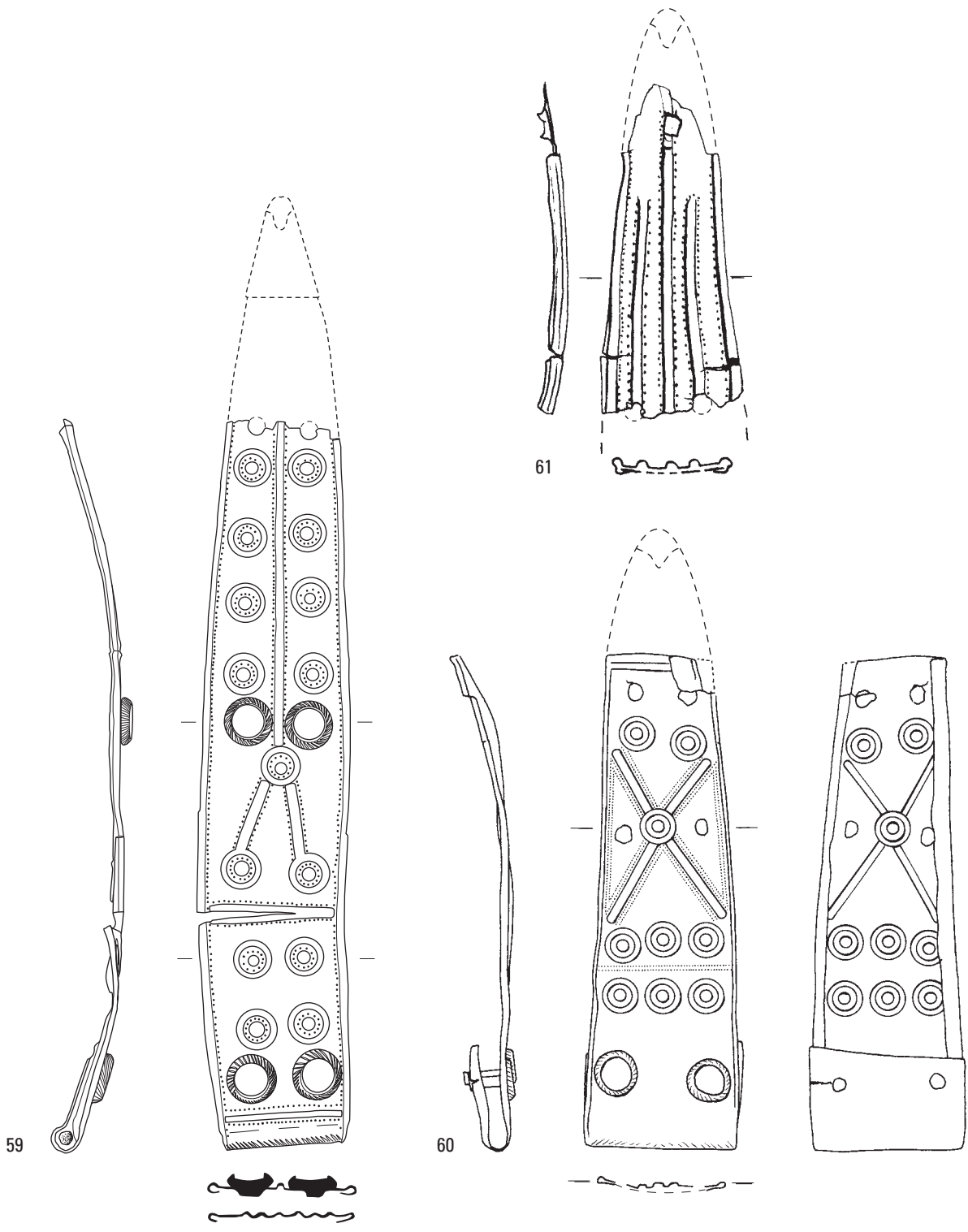
Plate 17. Bronze-plated iron belt hooks, Kessel B type, scale 2:3.

Plate 18. Bronze-plated iron belt hooks, Kessel B type, scale 1:1. Photo F. Gijbels.
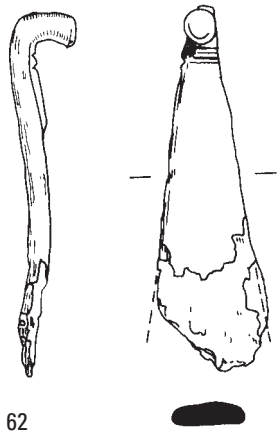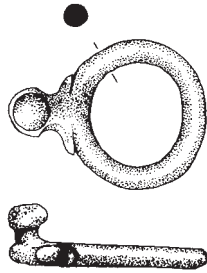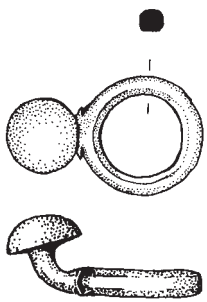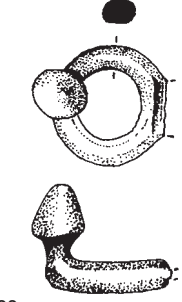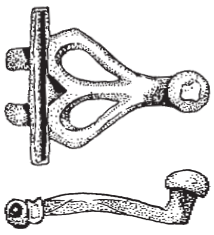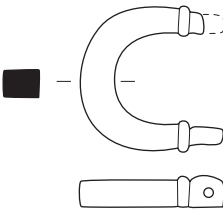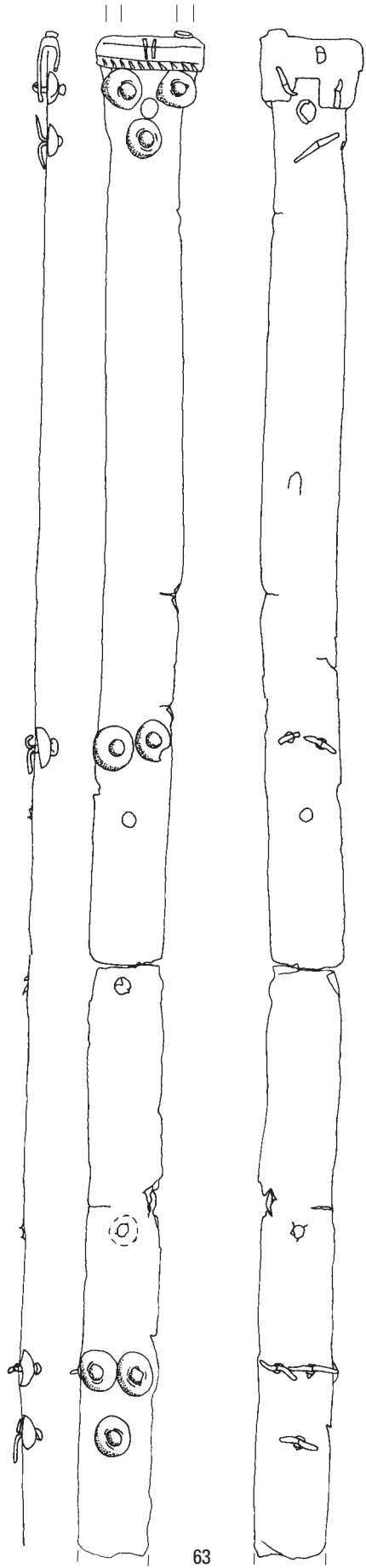
Plate 19. Iron belt hook of the Oitzmühle type (62), bronze *Lochgürtelhaken* with the attached bronze-plated covering of the associated leather belt (63), ring-shaped belt hooks (64-66) and Roman *cingulum* fittings (67-68), dredged at Kessel/Lith. Scale 2:3.
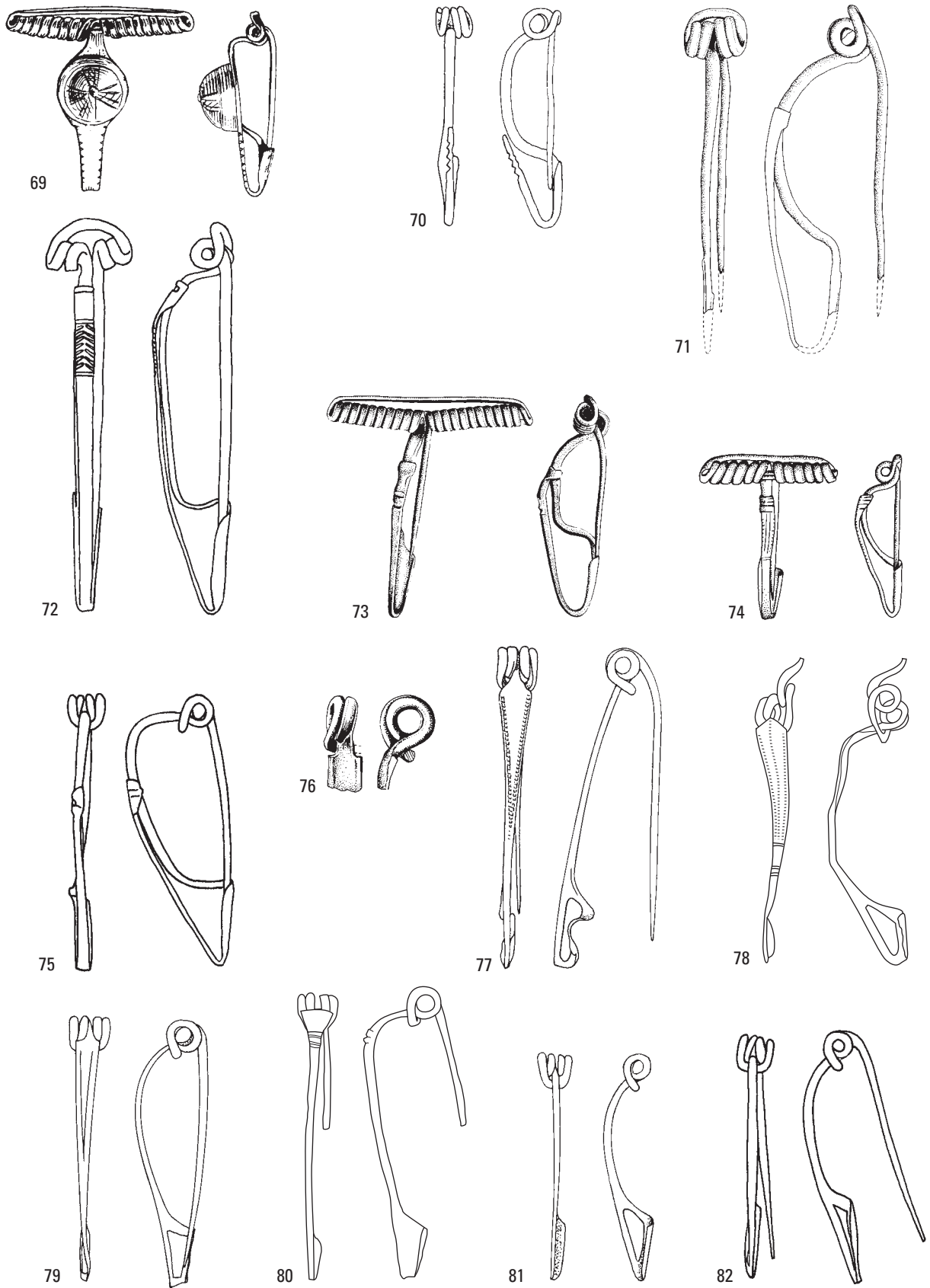
Plate 20. Pre-Roman brooches from Kessel/Lith. Scale 2:3.

69 *Pauken* fibula; 70 Early La Tène construction; 71-75 Middle La Tène construction; 76-80 Nauheim brooches; 81-82 wire brooches
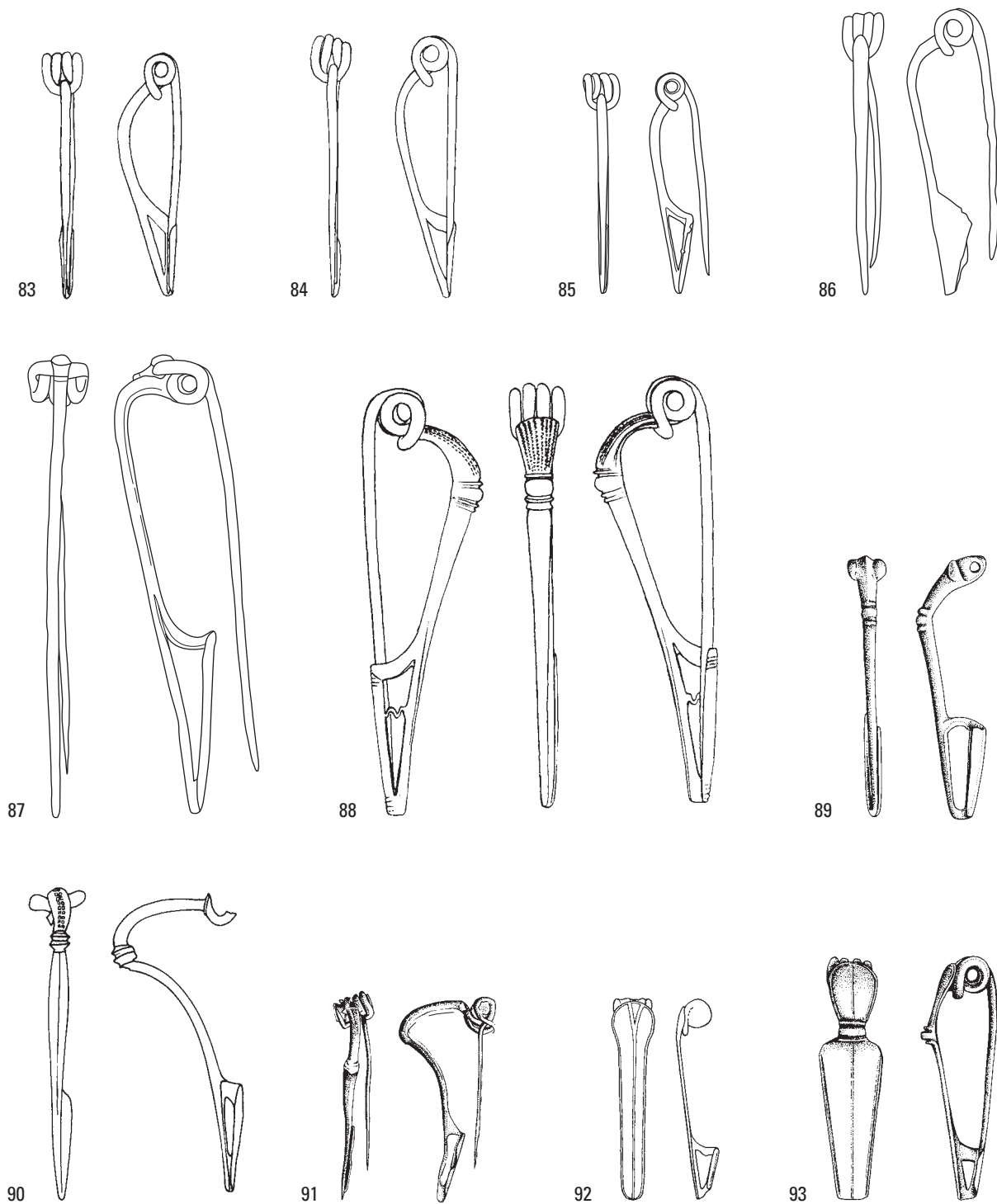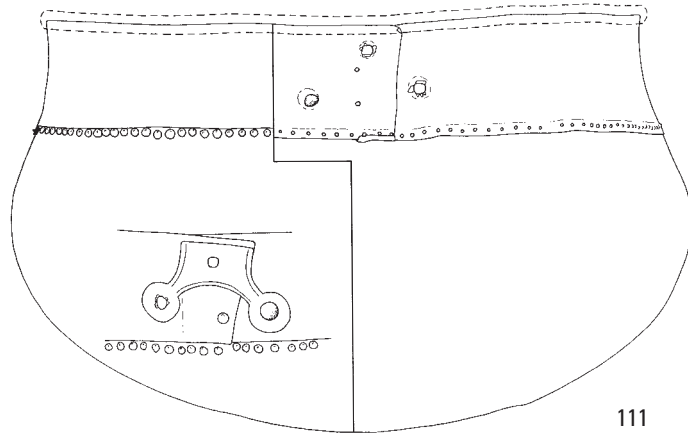
Plate 21. Late La Tène brooches from Kessel/Lith. Scale 2:3.
83-86 wire brooches; 87 Colchester brooch; 88 Câtillon type; 89 wire brooch with a knobbed bow; 90-91 Almgren 18 type; 92 spoon-bow brooch, Lith type; 93 other spoon-bow fibula
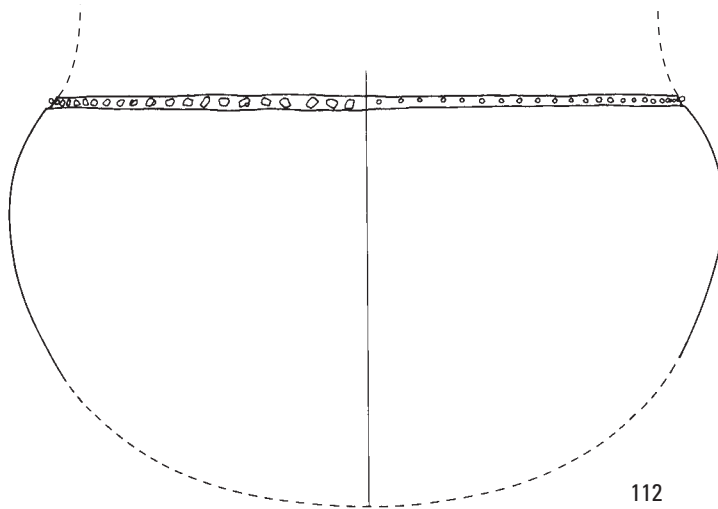
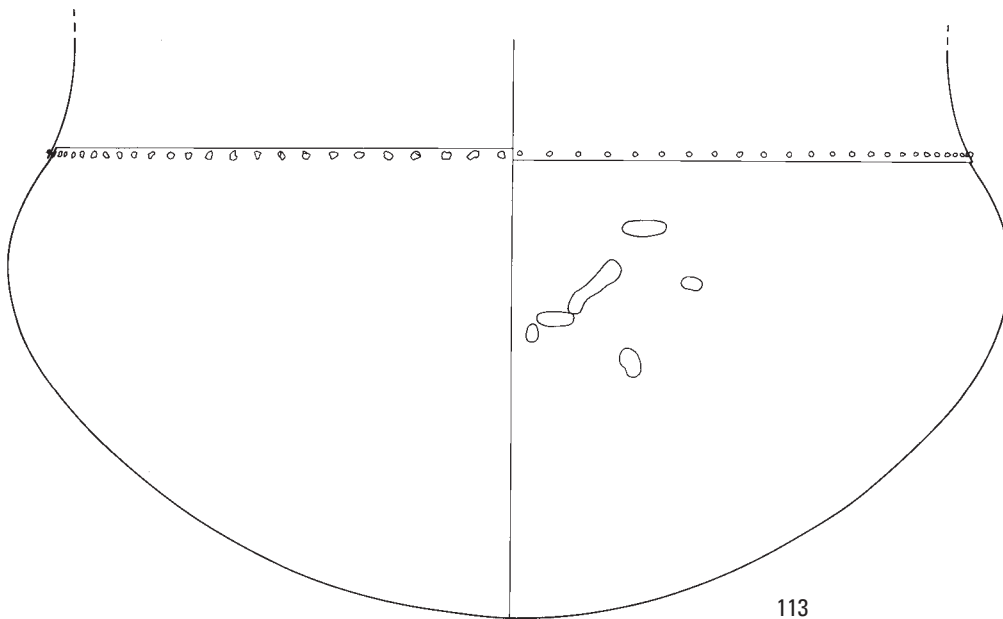Plate 22. Late La Tène and Early Roman brooches from Kessel/Lith. Scale 2:3.

94-96 Late La Tène spoon-bow fibulae; 97–103 idem, Kessel type; 104–108 spoon-bow fibulae, Haalebos type I; 109–110 hinge fibulae
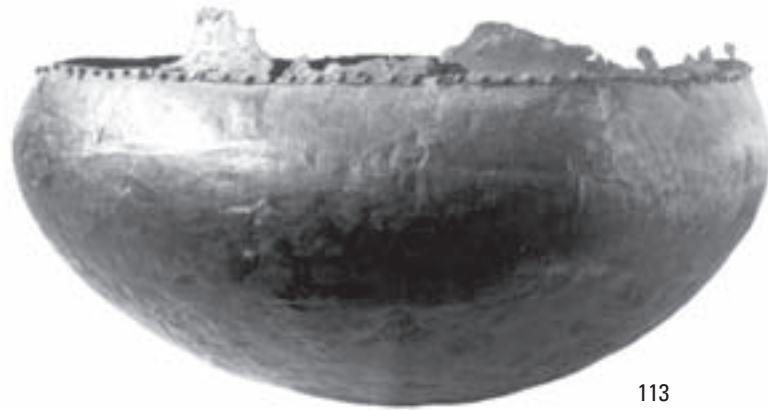
184

Plate 23. Bronze cauldrons of the Late La Tène or earliest Roman period from Kessel/Lith. Scale 1: 4.

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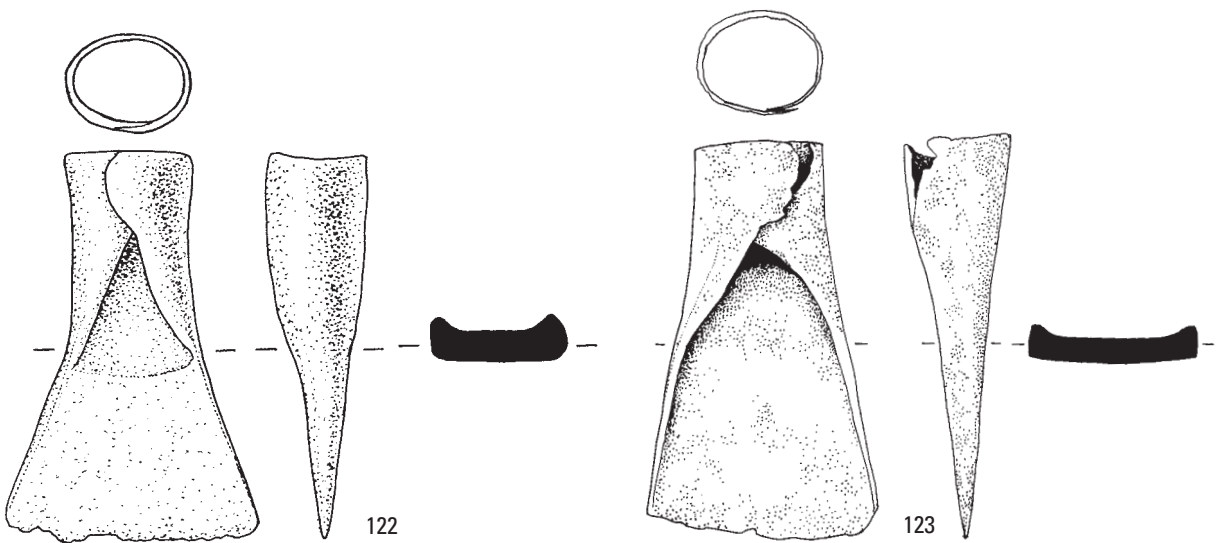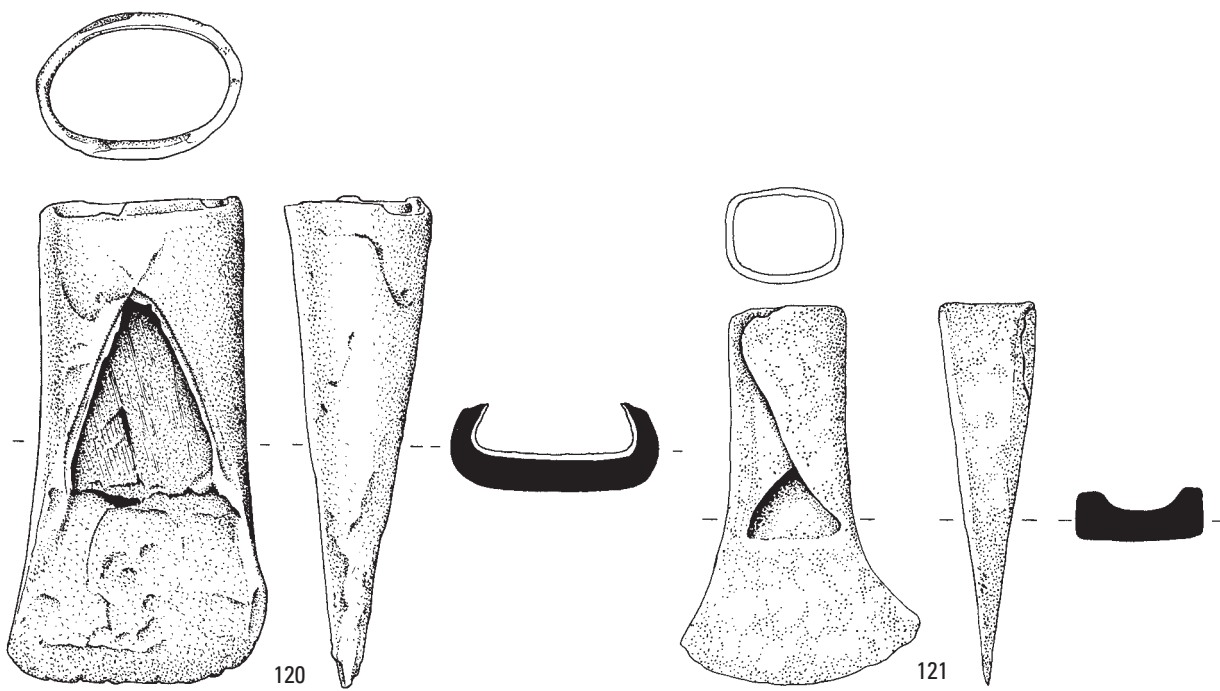

113

Plate 24. Bronze cauldrons of the Late La Tène or earliest Roman period from Kessel/Lith.

Plate 25. Iron socketed axes from Kessel/Lith. Scale 1:2. ➜

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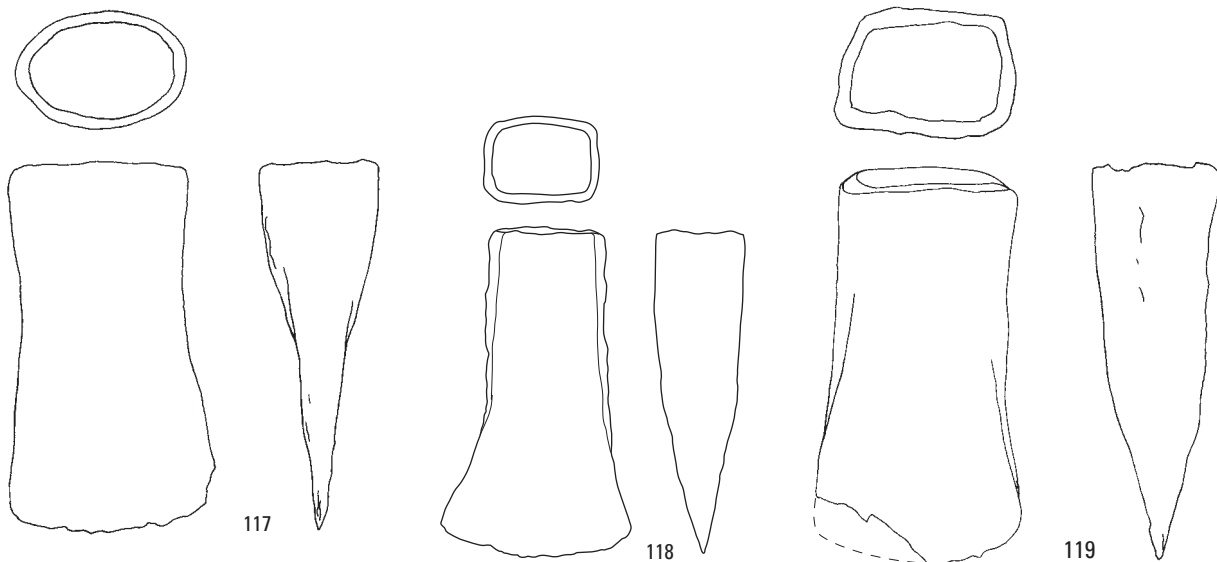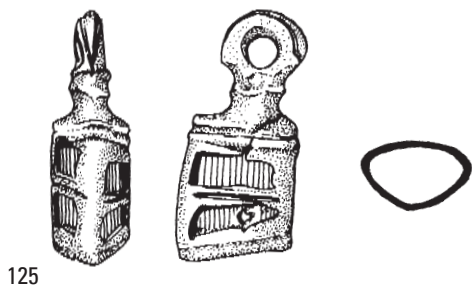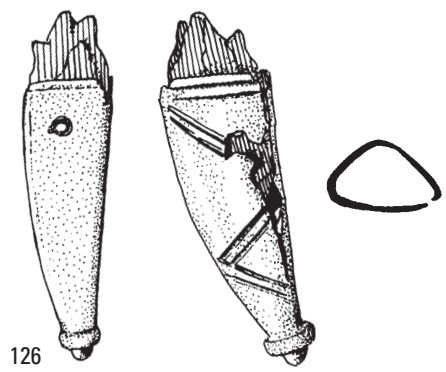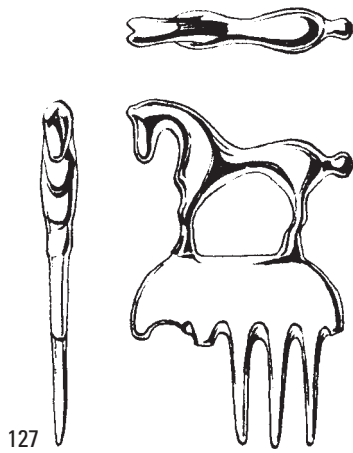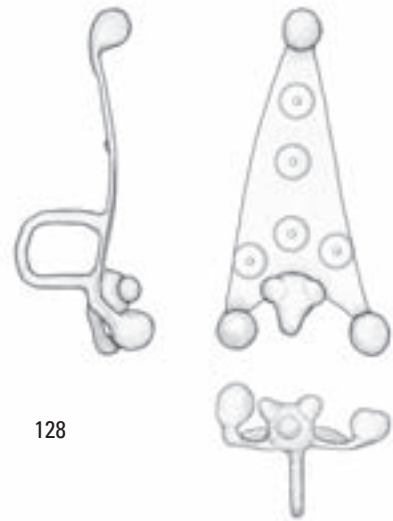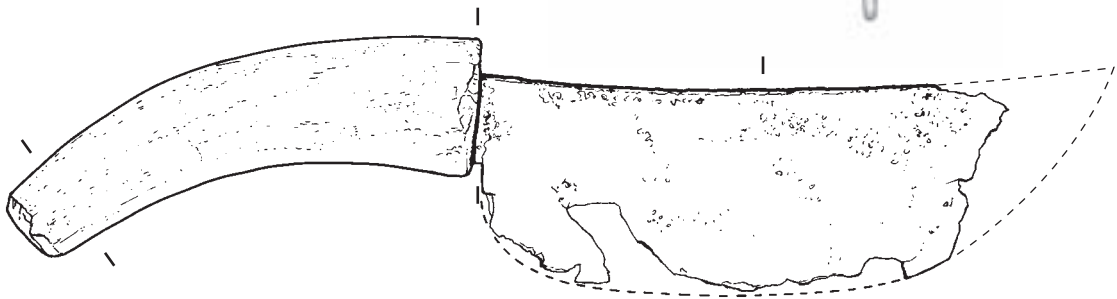
Plate 26. Boar-tooth pendants (125-126), gilded bronze comb (127), bronze mount (128) and iron knife (129) dredged at Kessel/Lith. Scale 2:3.
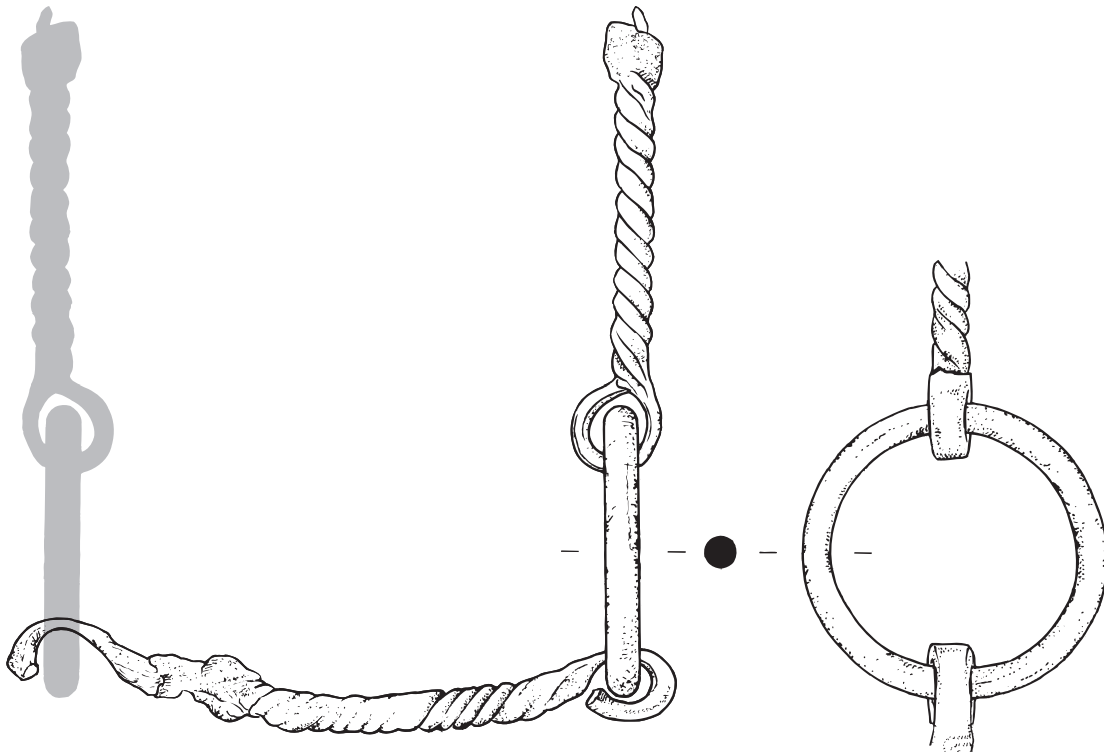
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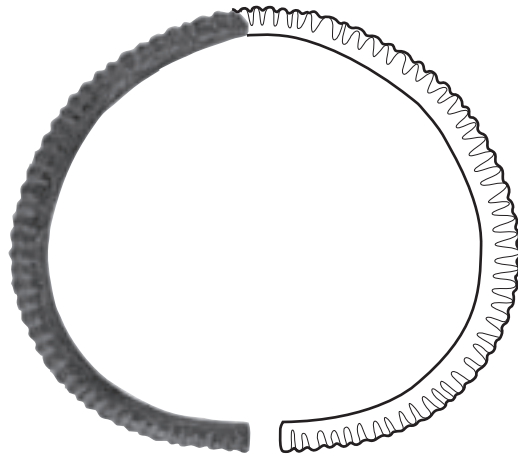
135

Plate 27. Late La Tène bronze bracelet (scale 1:1) and iron horse-bit (scale 1:2) from Kessel/Lith.
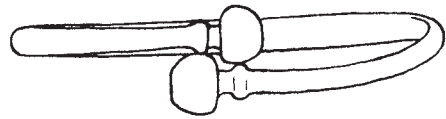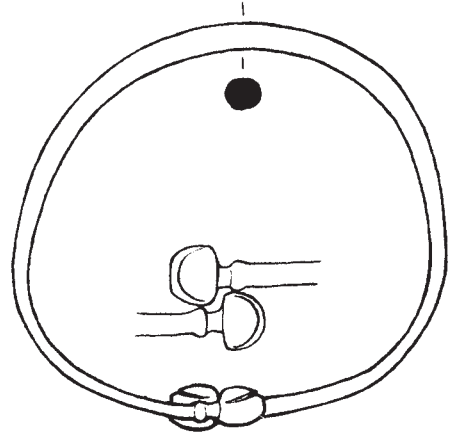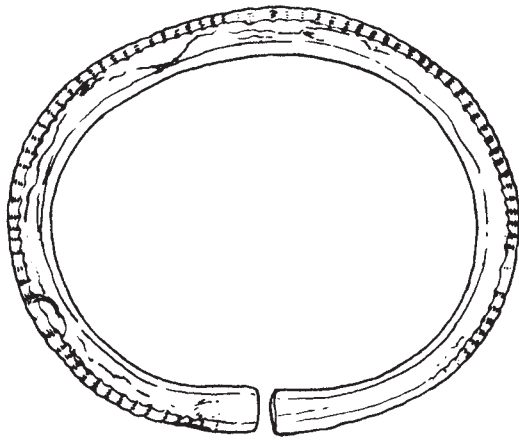
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132
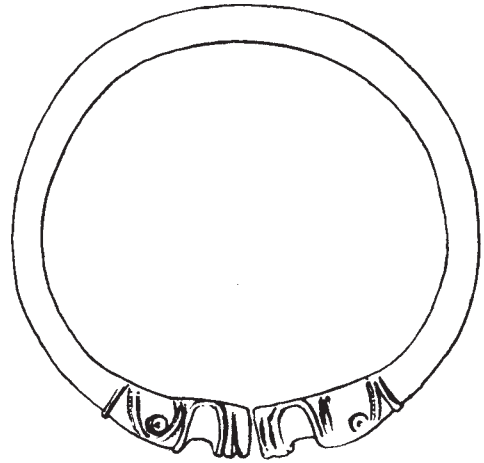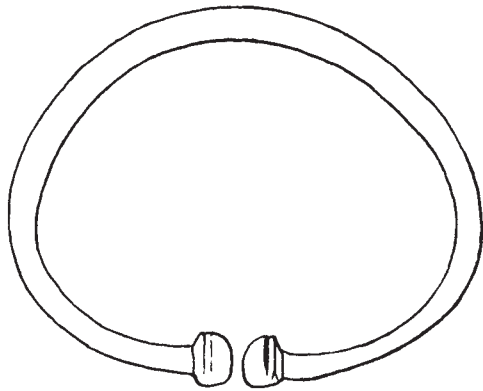
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Plate 28. Late La Tène bronze bracelets from Kessel/Lith. Scale 1:1.
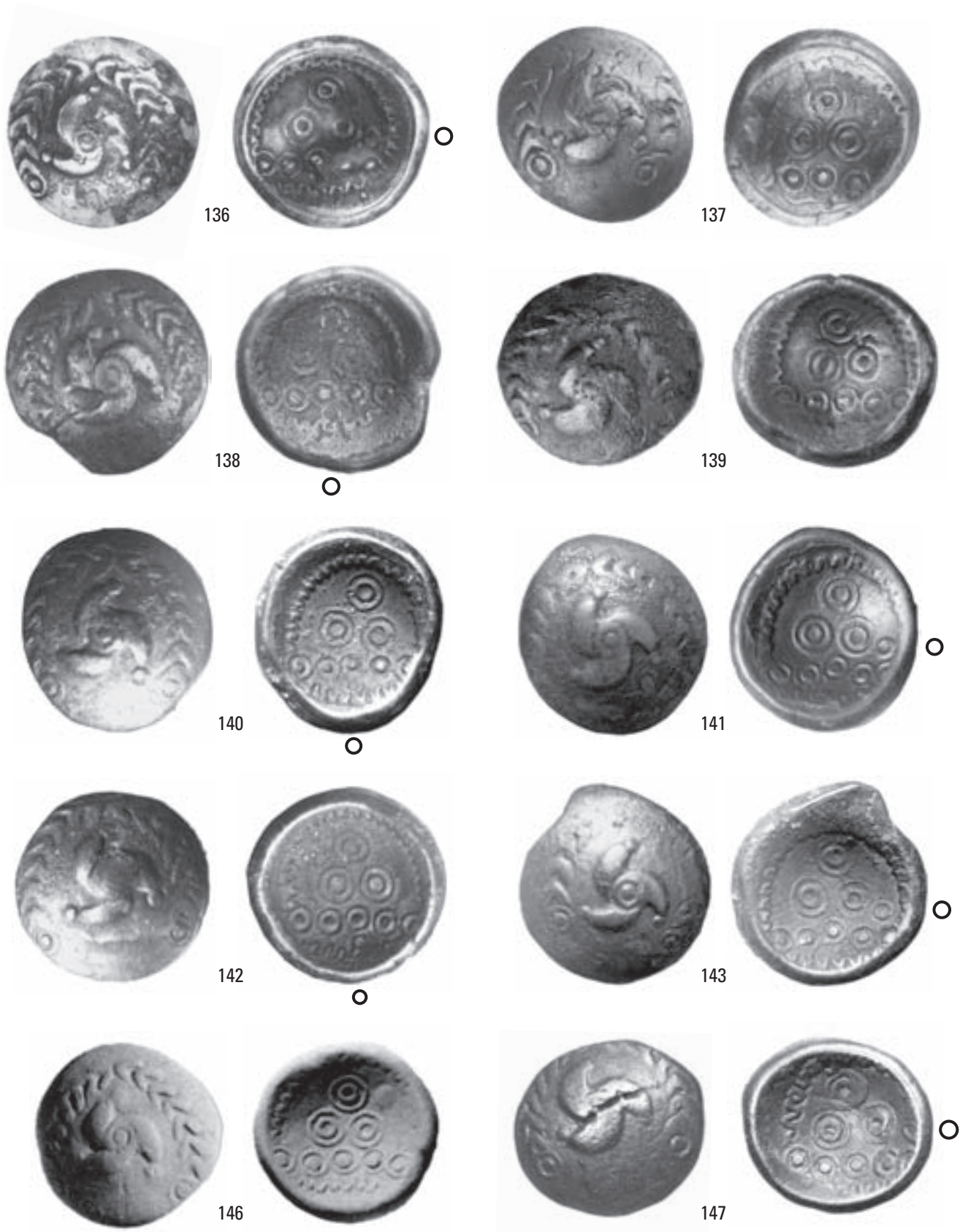
Plate 29. Silver *triquetrum* coins found at Kessel/Lith. Scale 2:1.

Plate 30. Celtic coins found at Kessel/Lith. Scale 2:1.

148–158 *triquetrum* coins; 165 potin coin Scheers 191; 166 bronze coin Scheers 190-I; 167 bronze AVAVCIA coin

Plate 31. Celtic coins found at Kessel/Lith. Scale 2:1.
168–174 bronze AVAVCIA coins; 177: bronze GERMANVS INDVTILLI coin

8 The political and institutional structure of the pre-Flavian *civitas Batavorum*

This chapter deals with the political, institutional and territorial structure of the pre-Flavian *civitas Batavorum* in its relation to the Roman empire. It is a subject worthy of attention because the development of a Batavian identity group cannot be understood without reference to the political context. It is by no means straightforward, however. Historians and archaeologists are deeply divided about how the Batavian *civitas*[396] was organised in a political and institutional sense and how it fitted within the Roman system of government. The discussion centres around three concepts: frontier, municipalisation and provincialisation. Provincialisation refers to the region's integration into a formal provincial structure in accordance with the Roman model. Municipalisation denotes the introduction of a Roman system of civic administration in line with the *civitas* model, with codified laws, elected magistrates and public priesthoods, which gave the empire a fairly uniform foundation. In terms of their legal status within the empire, the various entities could be a *municipium* or *colonia*, but also a community with a peregrine status. Frontier means the zone to which Rome had territorial claims, but which lay outside the provincialised core of the empire and which was subject to military authority. We can distinguish two main sides in the debate. The first assumes an early municipalisation of the Batavian *civitas* in the Augustan or Tiberian period and is best expressed by Raepsaet-Charlier.[397] The second – recently reformulated by Slofstra – assumes a late municipalisation in the Flavian era.[398] Slofstra suggests that up until the time of the Batavian revolt the Rhine delta should be viewed as a frontier zone, characterised by a specific political and institutional order. Of course, this difference of opinion is mainly the result of the incomplete and at times contradictory nature of the historical sources. However, it is also due in part to different ideas about how Roman imperial power was organised in the northern frontier zones. In this chapter I will compare and evaluate both sides of the debate (the frontier model versus the 'civic' or municipal model). I will then present my own view, based on new empirical data (such as the results of recent excavations at Waldgirmes in Germany) and comparisons with the situation in other frontier regions of the empire.

Several fundamental questions underpin this chapter: how should we envisage the civil administration in the Batavian *civitas*, when was a formal Roman *civitas* structure introduced, and what were the principal agents that accounted for it? The purpose of the chapter is five-fold: to outline and evaluate the views of Wolters and Slofstra regarding Roman control of native groups in the districts of Upper and Lower

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[396] *Civitas* is used here as a legally neutral term for communities belonging to the Roman empire, ranging from *coloniae* and *municipia* to groups with a peregrine status. Cf. Dondin-Payre 1999, 132 ff., who proceeds from the epigraphic evidence. It is important to understand that the historical sources, especially the writings of Caesar and Tacitus, also use the term to refer to tribal groups in Gaul and Germania.

[397] Raepsaet-Charlier 1999, 278-282. Willems (1984, 227-228) and Panhuysen (2002, 36, 44) also favour the early introduction of a formal *civitas* structure among the Batavians.

[398] Slofstra 2002. For earlier arguments supporting the late municipalisation of tribes in the Lower Rhineland, see Rüger 1968; Wightman 1985, 53-56, and Wolters 1990, 221, 248, 250 ff.

Germany (8.2), to discuss the municipalisation of the Batavian *civitas* (8.3), and the significance of Nijmegen and several rural sanctuaries as central places in the pre-Flavian municipal order (8.4), to investigate the existence of clientele relationships between Batavians and neighbouring groups in the coastal zone (8.5) and finally, to discuss the role of the *civitas* structure in shaping Batavian identity (8.6).

8.2 ROMAN IMPERIALISM AND THE CONTROL OF TRIBAL GROUPS IN THE GERMANIC FRONTIER

Completion of the Augustan reorganisation in 12 BC brought a formal administrative structure to Gaul. Three provinces were created, which were divided into *civitates* along Roman lines, each with an urban centre, thus putting an end to tribal organisation. However, the northern peripheral zone of Gaul, to which the Batavian region belonged, fell outside these provisions. Under Varus, it seems that the region was intended as part of the large province of Germania, which comprised the area between the rivers Rhine and Elbe, and which probably existed for a short time with Ara Ubiorum/Cologne as its capital.[399] In AD 6 a group of tribes on the western bank of the Lower Rhine were formally separated from the Gallic province of Belgica. Between 12 BC and AD 9, an altar for the imperial cult was erected in Cologne, the capital of the *civitas* of the Ubii, and a Cheruscan was appointed priest. Cologne was thus predestined to become the capital of Germania.[400] The creation of the province of Germania was in full swing when it was cut short by the defeat of Varus, the governor of Germania, in AD 9. This had immense consequences for the Rhine zone: it effectively brought the northern border of the empire back to the Rhine, laying the foundations for the later *limes* system. However, the emperors did not hand over this heavily militarised zone to civil administration, preferring to keep it under their direct military control. Although – strictly speaking – the militarised land west of the Rhine came under the jurisdiction of the governor of Gallia Belgica, in practice direct authority rested with the commanders of the Upper and Lower German army (referred to as *legatus Augusti*). We sense here an ambivalent attitude on the part of the Julio-Claudian emperors. Although the period of conquests was over and had given way to a defensive imperialism based on a de facto acceptance of the Rhine frontier, the emperors were unable to abandon once and for all the dream of restoring Augustus' 'Greater Germany'.[401] It was not until the time of the Flavian emperors, who were unhampered by Augustus' political legacy, that the decision was taken to remodel German districts on the west bank of the Rhine into independent provinces. The provinces of Germania Inferior and Superior were created between 83 and 90 (probably in 85).

How did Rome try to establish its dominion in the Germanic frontier zone? The views of the historian Wolters are relevant here. He believes that Rome under Drusus launched a systematic expansion of power in Germania, imposing its hegemony over tribal groups by means of the familiar strategy of diplomatic control, combined where necessary with military force. On the eve of the Varus disaster, this had resulted in various kinds of Roman government. Dependence on Rome varied, as did types of tribute payment; hostages were supplied, and Rome controlled part of the political order, as well as the administration of justice. [402] A key 'privilege' of the allies was to supply auxiliary troops. However, the Varus disaster was a turning point in all of this. Rome lost the political will to restore control over Germania. Although the old political contacts and alliances continued with some Germanic tribes, Rome was no longer interested in strengthening these relationships dating from the period of Augustan expansion. It was in this context that the so-called '*Klientel-Randstaaten*', or peripheral cli-

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[399] Drinkwater 1983, 23-24; Galsterer 1999, 259.

[400] By analogy with the inauguration of the altar dedicated to Rome and Augustus at Lyon, which functioned as the centre of the Roman imperial cult in the three Gallic provinces. Cf. Rüger 1968, 20; Galsterer 1999, 259; Galsterer 2001-b, 25.

[401] Drinkwater 1983, 55; Wolters 1990, 245.

[402] Wolters 1990, 282.

ent states, developed in the course of the 1st century AD. Wolters does not view them as a purposely created buffer zone against the Germanic military threat, but rather as an '*aus römischer Sicht relativer bedeutungsloser Überrest aus der Zeit der [augusteischen] Okkupation*'.[403] Rome left the native administration fundamentally intact in Germania and regarded its treaty partners as external groups. Wolters assumes that the district of Germania Inferior west of the Rhine was organised along the same lines; the groups located there were essentially treated as external client tribes, with the obvious exception of the Ubian territory, where a Roman *colonia* was established under Claudius.

Slofstra adds two new dimensions to Wolters' model, namely the concept of frontier, and the prefecture as the Roman institution responsible for administering tribal communities there. According to Slofstra, a specific kind of administrative order emerged in the Augustan era. Rome did not take the step of creating formal *civitates* (not even in Germania Inferior) or launching a programme of urbanisation.[404] Instead, it set up a *Militärverwaltung* along prefectural lines in accordance with a system established under Augustus and often surviving into the Julio-Claudian era. For small or low-status tribes, the office of prefect was filled by a former Roman officer of the rank of *primus pilus*. One example is Olennius, *praefectus* of the Frisians in AD 28. For tribes that had a friendship pact with Rome, the prefect could be a native leader. This is what Slofstra calls the 'Cottian model', named after Marcus Julius Cottius, whom Augustus appointed *praefectus civitatium* of several smaller tribes in the western Alpine area in 12 BC.[405] This latter example shows that the Roman imperial order in the frontier did not rely solely on coercion, but also successfully employed the instrument of 'seduction', specifically targeting native elites. Rome also tried to win over frontier elites to its cause by granting Roman citizenship and the military command of auxiliary units.[406]

There are question marks concerning the views of Wolters and Slofstra. Wolters regards the Germanic *civitates* on the west bank of the Rhine, together with a series of peoples on the east bank, as essentially external client tribes in the pre-Flavian period, despite clear indications that Rome regarded the former as a fixed part of the empire.[407] Slofstra's model prompts questions as to whether the picture he paints of frontier administration was in fact correct. Did the prefectural structure indeed prevail, or was the situation more heterogeneous? Was there room in the frontier zone for a municipal structure? Does the late organisation (under Domitianus) of Germania Inferior into a formal province imply that military prefectures survived there so long? Or was the significance of this system confined to the initial period under Augustus, only to be quickly superseded by a municipal structure? By emphasising the late provincialisation of Germania Inferior we run the risk of underestimating the impact of the earlier initiatives from the time of Augustus.

There are historical clues to show that the first steps toward municipalisation in Germania did indeed begin under Augustus. For example, the *tabula Siarensis*, the tablet mentioning the funeral honours for Germanicus, mentions Gallic and Germanic *civitates* west of the Rhine which made sacrificial offerings to Drusus' grave.[408] Because of this passage, Galsterer assumes that Drusus had established the Germanic

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[403] Wolters 1990, 282-283. In contrast to Will 1987, who sees the Germanic peripheral client states as the product of a defensive Roman strategy. On the history of the concept of these client states, starting with the work of Klose (1934), see Wolters 1990, 11 ff.

[404] Slofstra 2002, 26.

[405] Slofstra 2002, 27; Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.72.1; cf. Bogaers 1960/1961, 268 (Olennius); *CIL* V 7231 (Cottius).

[406] Slofstra 2002, 18.

[407] Plinius (*NH* 4.106) and Tacitus (*Germ.* 29; *Hist.* 4.12; 4.14 *et passim*) explicitly describe the Batavians as a group located within the Roman empire. Cf. the arguments of

Raepsaet-Charlier 1999, 278-279. It is significant that there were regular auxiliary units in the Claudian-Neronian period, in particular among the Batavians. Archaeological evidence also shows that Cologne was already a town of some importance in the Late Augustan-Tiberian period and was viewed by the Romans as a fixed part of the empire. Cf. Carroll 2001, 123 ff.

[408] *Tabula Siarensis,* Fragment a, 29-31 (Crawford 1996, 515, 528): *Gallis Germanisque qui citra Rhenum incolunt quorum civitates iussae sunt ab divo Augusto rem divinam ad tumulum Drusi facere.* Cf. also Galsterer 1999, 262.

Fig. 8.1. Plan of the Roman-style urban settlement from the age of Augustus, excavated at Waldgirmes (central Hessen). After Von Schnurbein 2003, Fig. 5.

civitates west of the Rhine prior to his death in 9 BC. More important is Cassius Dio's description of the situation in Germania shortly before the Varus disaster: '*cities* (poleis) *were being founded, the barbarians were beginning to adapt their lifestyle to that of the Romans and were setting up markets and peaceful assemblies.*'[409] This seems to imply that Varus was busy transforming Germania, which had been pacified by Drusus and Tiberius, into a Roman province, and was encouraging a municipal administration. This would not have occurred for political reasons alone (municipalisation lay at the heart of the Roman system of administrative control over Celto-Germanic groups); it may also have been done to promote Roman ideals of civilisation.[410] Of course, Varus' policy had the greatest chance of success amongst friendly tribes, which he will accordingly have targeted first.

[409] Dio 56.18.1.

[410] Woolf 1998, 71; Galsterer 1999, 258. In AD 47 we see governor Corbulo taking the initiative towards munici-palisation of the trans-Rhenish Frisii; he gave them '*a senate, magistrates and laws*' (Tacitus, *Ann.* 11.19.1f.). However, he was recalled by Claudius.

If we assume a close link between the municipalisation process and Roman-style urbanisation, then the archaeology of the earliest towns can make a substantial contribution to the debate. Towns were essential for the functioning of municipal institutions. Although a formal municipal structure implies the presence of a Roman-style urban centre, the reverse was not always the case. Roman-style urbanisation also occurred in association with client kingdoms, such as on the Magdalensberg in the Regnum Noricum, and at Silchester in Britannia.[411] It is important to be aware of differentiation in this regard in the frontier.

Given all this, what then is the impact of the finds at Waldgirmes in central Hessen? In recent years excavations have uncovered the remains of a small town under construction dating to the Augustan period (fig. 8.1).[412] It covers 7.7 hectares and, although enclosed in military fashion by a double ditch and an embankment, all the buildings discovered to date point to a civilian function. Porticus houses line the main street and the most spectacular discovery has been the floor plan of a *forum* building with a stone foundation. Although Waldgirmes was probably built by the military, its function was primarily civilian. The clear presence (approx. 20%) of native, handmade pottery suggests that a proportion of the inhabitants were native.

Waldgirmes is a key site for the discussion of the Augustan policy of urbanisation in Germania. For many researchers, the above passage from Dio about the founding of towns has been controversial, but the excavation findings at Waldgirmes lend it credibility.[413] They confirm that on the eve of the Varus disaster the Roman authorities were busy organising the province of Germania. At the same time, Waldgirmes provides archaeological clues to the municipalisation process.

It is difficult to say at present just how representative Waldgirmes is of the urbanisation process in Germania at the time of Augustus. The fact that urbanisation presumably occurred at varying rates would have given rise to considerable regional variation. Thus along the Lippe river in Westphalia we encounter a different situation from that in Waldgirmes in Hessen. The settlement excavated at Haltern can be viewed as a transitional type, part way between army camp and town;[414] on the one hand, it resembles an army camp with its soldiers' barracks, while on the other it shows clear signs of civilian activity, such as the conspicuous number of residential dwellings, some of which were no doubt intended for people with civilian duties. Haltern may have been an administrative centre of a *civitas* in the making. At present there is no indication of early urbanisation in the northern districts of Germania; perhaps it did not exist there and had yet to begin amongst these tribes. On the other hand, we do know of the early founding of urban centres on the Gallic bank of the Lower Rhine, namely Cologne, Nijmegen and possibly Xanten, in all cases in the vicinity of a Roman army camp.[415]

Recent years have seen mounting interest in the agency aspects of the earliest urbanisation and municipalisation in Gaul. Scholars have emphasised that the municipal system, with its implications for urbanisation, was not imposed unilaterally by Roman governors or princes of the imperial house, but relied in part on the support of pro-Roman native leaders.[416] We must not underestimate the role of initiatives by local leaders who were gripped by the ideals of Roman civilisation and the opportunities they saw to strengthen their positions locally. The concepts of *seduction* (on the part of Rome) and *appropriation* (on the part of the local population) are relevant here. In the context of the Germanic frontier, we

[411] Cf. Alföldy 1974, 78 ff. (Magdalensberg); Creighton, forthcoming (Silchester).

[412] Von Schnurbein 2003; Becker 2003.

[413] Cf. the discussion in Von Schnurbein 2003 and Becker 2003.

[414] Cf. Von Schnurbein 2003, 95-97.

[415] Cologne: Galsterer 1999, 257 ff.; Carroll 2001, 123-131.

Nijmegen: see 8.4 below. Xanten: Galsterer 1999, 262-263; idem 2001, 8. Lenz (2003) disputes the existence of a 1st-century AD central place of the Cugerni on the site of the later Colonia Ulpia Trajana.

[416] Cf. Bedon 1999, 211 ff.; Slofstra 2002; Woolf 1998, 124 ff.; idem, 2000.

should be particularly aware of the role played by members of the Julian aristocracy, who existed among the Ubii, the Batavians and the Cherusci. They were leaders who had probably been awarded Roman citizenship under Augustus and whom Rome readily appointed to command local auxiliary units. These Germanic *Iulii* in particular will have been involved in the earliest urbanisation of the Germanic frontier, although the way in which they did so may have varied. We should envisage here aristocrats who worked hard to bring about a Roman-style *civitas* with an urban centre. In the transitional phase in particular, client kings recruited from the local aristocracy may have played a part (as happened in Britannia), or military prefects in line with Slofstra's Cottian model. The Roman authorities appear to have adopted a rather flexible, pragmatic attitude in all of this.

We may conclude that early municipalisation remains a distinct possibility in the specific context of the military administration of the Germanic frontier. We observe clear – but not ubiquitous – initiatives to this end under Augustus, with the process coming to an abrupt end east of the Rhine following the Varus disaster. There was certainly no question – as in Gaul – of comprehensive municipalisation and urbanisation. In Germania it occurred only among groups where the situation was ripe and where local elites were willing to appropriate the Roman *civitas* model. We should assume a high degree of regional variation. Slofstra's model presupposes too rigid a division between a civic, municipal administration in the Gallic provinces on the one hand, and a military, prefectural administration in the Germanic frontier zone on the other. Both systems may have coexisted in Germania. For Germania Inferior specifically, we can assume early municipalisation under Augustus; in contrast to Germania east of the Rhine, this process may have been consolidated and strengthened following the Varus disaster. Revealingly, the *civitas Ubiorum* was already transformed into a *colonia* under Claudius.

8.3 THE MUNICIPALISATION OF THE CIVITAS BATAVORUM

Following the more general discussion of the earliest types of Roman administration in the Germanic frontier, we can now turn to specific developments in the *civitas Batavorum*. The above makes clear that there can be little doubt that municipalisation of the Batavian *civitas* began at an early, pre-Flavian stage. This view is supported, both directly and indirectly, by the following:[417]

a. the presence among the Batavians of a powerful Julian aristocracy.[418] Such an elite, which enjoyed Roman citizenship, would have advocated Roman-style civic government;

b. the emergence from the late Augustan period onward of a civilian central settlement at Nijmegen, which can be identified as Batavodurum, or Oppidum Batavorum, mentioned by Ptolomy and Tacitus (see 8.4);

c. the presence at Nijmegen of several early stone monuments (the Tiberius column and the marble statue of Caesar)[419] which probably came from Batavodurum and which can best be understood within a Roman-style civic context;

d. early evidence of a Batavian magistrature. The altar stone from Ruimel (fig. 8.2) names as dedicant Flavus, son of Vihirmas, supreme magistrate (*summus magistratus*) of the *civitas Batavorum*. The monocratic magistrature and the peregrine status of the dedicant point to the formal, peregrine status of the Batavian *civitas*;[420]

e. early evidence of a romanised public cult with Hercules Magusanus as principal deity (fig. 8.2), as well as the close involvement of the magistrature in the cult, pointing to the existence of a municipalised Roman *civitas*;[421]

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[417] Cf. the discussion in Raepsaet-Charlier 1999, 278 ff.

[418] See chapter 5.2.

[419] See chapters 9.1 and 9.2.

[420] *CIL* XIII 8771. Raepsaet-Charlier 1999, 279. See also chapter 5.3.

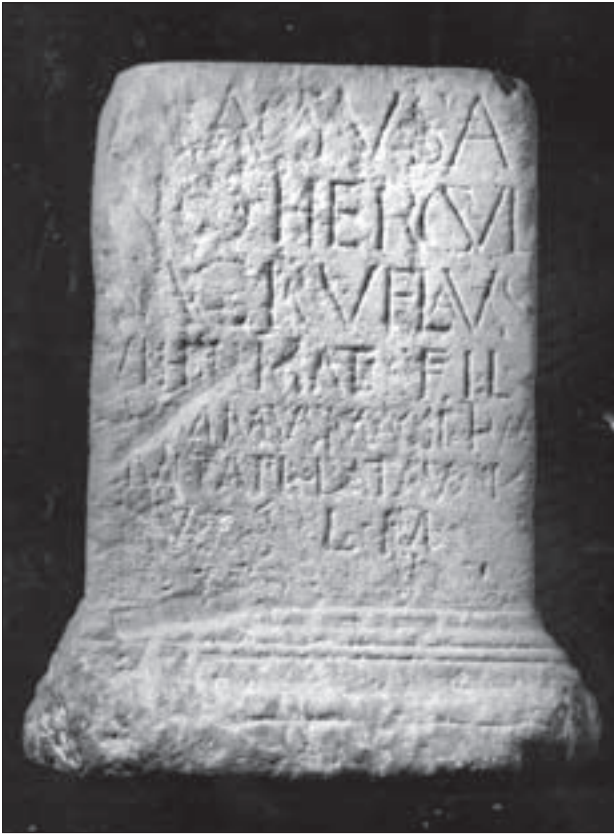[421] Cf. the discussion in chapter 11.4.

Fig. 8.2. Altar from St.-Michielsgestel-'Ruimel' dedicated to Magusanus Hercules by Flavus, son of Vihirmas, *summus magistratus* of the *civitas Batavorum*. First half of the 1st century AD. Photo: National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden.

f. the location of the *civitas Batavorum* in Germania Inferior, which the Roman authorities always regarded as a permanent part of the empire and where the Augustan moves towards municipalisation were consolidated and intensified following the Varus disaster.

I will now discuss in more detail arguments against an early municipal status of the *civitas Batavorum* put forward by other researchers.

Firstly, the altar stone from Ruimel (first half of the 1st century AD) names a monocratic magistrature, whereas a college of magistrates was the rule in the Roman *civitas* model. However, recent epigraphic research reveals that a monocratic magistrature is not necessarily inconsistent with a Roman-style *civitas* structure. At the beginning of the imperial period in Gaul, there were several examples of such magistratures in peregrine *civitates*, referred to as *vergobretus, praetor* or *magister*.[422] They were probably older native magistratures – often bearing Latin titles – to which the Roman authorities seemingly had no objection. The Batavian *summus magistratus* may be interpreted in the same way. This suggests that although Rome presented the Mediterranean *civitas* structure as the uniform, ideal model, they allowed ample scope – certainly in the peregrine civitates – for local interpretations and appropriations of that system.

Secondly, there is the problem of the special Batavian alliance with Rome. Wolters comments that Tacitus consistently refers to the Batavians as *socii* of the Roman people.[423] In principle, the term suggests a free, external ally, seemingly inconsistent with a formal municipal status of the Batavian *civitas*.[424] But once again, the problem is an illusory one. We know that the new Augustan *civitas* order in Gaul respected old allegiances (often going back to Caesar) that tribes had with Rome.[425] So when the Batavians were municipalised under Drusus, explicit account will have been taken of the earlier treaty with Chatto-Batavians in the Rhine delta. Thus the existence of a special treaty with the Batavians is not incompatible with municipal status.[426] The treaty contained terminology (*socii*) and provisions favourable to the Batavians, which dated from the period before Drusus' arrival. It seems Rome was happy to continue the old terms of the treaty, provided the Batavians met the exacting obligation to supply auxiliary troops.

[422] Cf. Chastagnol 1995, 187-188; Dondin-Payre 1999, 150ff.; Frei-Stolba 1999, 76-77.

[423] Wolters 1990, 144-145, 248-249. Cf. Tacitus, *Germ.* 29.1; *Hist.* 4.12.2f.; 4.17.2; 5.25.2.

[424] Wolters 1990, 248: "Diese Stellung der Bataver als *socii* des Römischen Reiches ermöglichte es auch schliesslich Tacitus,

den Aufstand 69 n.Chr. als *bellum externum* zu beschreiben."

[425] Wightman 1985, 55-56; Wolters 1990, 281. The distinction between *civitates liberae, foederatae* and *stipendiarii* in the Gallic provinces probably goes back to pre-Augustan treaty relations with Rome.

[426] See also Raepsaet-Charlier 1999, 278.

Thirdly, Slofstra's hypothesis of a pre-Flavian Roman prefecture seems to conflict with the existence of a municipalised Batavian *civitas* from Drusus' time. Slofstra assumes that the institution of the *praefectus civitatium* played a key role in the period from Augustus' reign to the Batavian revolt of 69. Under the Cottian model this office would have been in the hands of the leader of the Batavian Julian aristocracy.[427] However, there is no direct historical or archaeological evidence of a Batavian prefecture;[428] for the time being it remains purely hypothetical. In my opinion such a prefecture may well have existed in the Augustan period, but only for a brief time during a period of transition.

My conclusion is that a Batavian municipal order, albeit with 'tribal' characteristics, did exist in the pre-Flavian era – probably from Drusus onward. The tribal aspect will not have troubled the Romans, provided two basic conditions were met: loyalty to the emperor, and meeting obligations regarding the supply of auxiliary troops. The primary responsibility of the civil administration seems to have been the effective regulation of recruitment,[429] together with organising the public cult and maintaining public order. So how should we now envisage the municipalisation of the *civitas*? In part, it will have been imposed from above by the Roman authorities, who will have helped create the urban infrastructure in which municipal institutions operated. In part, however, it will have been prompted by initiatives of the Batavian elite.[430] Thanks to them, the already existing native magistrature became integrated into the new municipal order. For other municipal institutions too there may have been some degree of continuity with older traditions. For example, the *ordo* of a Roman-style *civitas* will have been linked to the tradition of a tribal senate,[431] and the public cult of Hercules Magusanus will have in part been built on the foundations of an older native cult. Thus the pre-Flavian *civitas* was not an entirely novel phenomenon; the new administrative system allowed considerable scope for incorporating elements from the past. In the Flavian period, and certainly after the elevation to the status of *municipium* under Trajanus(?),[432] we can expect continuing romanisation of the civil administration of the Batavians. The archaic monocratic magistrature will then have been superseded by a college of magistrates.[433]

8.4 NIJMEGEN AS A CENTRAL PLACE

The above hypothesis regarding early municipalisation of the Batavian polity has implications for how we perceive the Oppidum Batavorum, or Batavodurum, as a town.[434] It is important to understand the town within the context of a municipal order. However, this is at odds with the prevailing view of Batavodurum among Dutch archaeologists, who tend to play down the settlement's significance as a Batavian centre. They speak of a 'colonial town' or 'proto-urban' settlement, almost exclusively inhabited by Romans and Gallo-Romans, who settled there as traders, veterans and craftsmen and formed an isolated social

427 Slofstra 2002, 26-28.

428 Slofstra (2002, 28, 31) surmises that the Batavian prefecture was linked to the command over the *ala Batavorum*, which was stationed in the homeland (Nijmegen-'Kops Plateau'?) in pre-Flavian times.

429 Tacitus (*Hist*. 4.14) names Vitellius' direct intervention in the recruitment of local troops as one of the causes of the Batavian revolt. The *dilectus* ordered by Vitellius was refused by the Batavians.

430 The altar stone of St.-Michielsgestel-'Ruimel' demonstrates that the romanised administrative structure was actively promoted by native leaders in public inscriptions.

431 Cf. Roymans 1990, 32.

432 Haalebos 2000.

433 In the Municipium Batavorum, only a few members of the *ordo decurionum* are known from inscriptions. Cf. Raepsaet-Charlier 1999, 326.

434 Recently, Van Enckevort and Thijssen (Van Enckevort/ Thijssen 2001; Van Enckevort 2001, 373; Van Enckevort/ Thijssen 2003) have repeatedly argued that Batavodurum should not be equated with the Oppidum Batavorum, but should instead be located in Nijmegen-West on the site of the later town of Ulpia Noviomagus. However, there is hardly any empirical evidence to support this view.
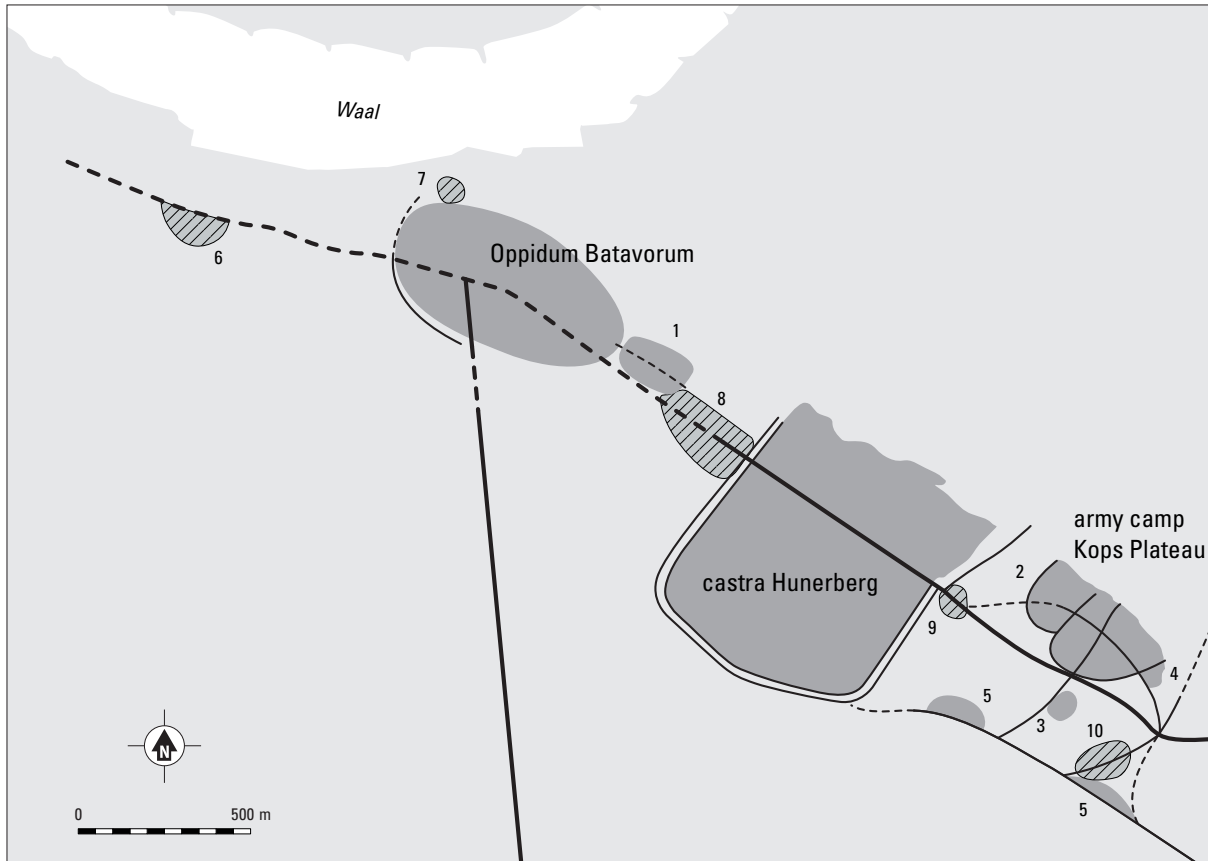
Fig. 8.3. Simplified topography of Early-Roman Nijmegen (c. 15 BC-70 AD). After Van Enckevort et al. 2000, 25, with some modifications.

1-4 small army camps; 5 ribbon building; 6-10 cemeteries

enclave.[435] They see it as a town located in Batavian territory, not as a Batavian town. Key elements of this interpretation are the extremely small proportion (approx. 10%) of native, handmade ceramics among the pottery found, and the lack of traces of native farmhouses in that section of the settlement excavated to date. On the other hand, remains have been discovered of Roman or Gallo-Roman buildings (includ-ing some with stone cellars in the most recent, Neronian phase), in combination with a predominantly Roman or Gallo-Roman material culture.

But how convincing are these findings? It must be said that remarkably little is known about the Batavian central settlement, which is surrounded by a ditch and occupies about 20 hectares (fig. 8.3). While excavations have been carried out in a few places, the area investigated comprises only 3% of the total. There are as yet no definitive publications, but it is already clear that we can say little about the settlement's internal structure and spatial development; although a structured, planned lay-out is assumed, the scale of the excavations is too limited to support more than tentative conclusions.

Given the current state of research, I believe there is no basis for assuming that the Batavian popula-tion avoided Batavodurum and that this constituted an extreme case of 'native resistance'. In any event,

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[435] Cf. Bloemers 1990, 72-86; Willems 1990, 31-40; Van Enckevort et al 2000, 38-40.

the small proportion of native, handmade pottery tells us little. We know that from the earliest habitation phase the percentage of these items was very small in other Roman towns too. In Waldgirmes it amounted to about 20%, and in Tongeren handmade ware seems to have been almost entirely absent in the Augustan-Tiberian period. Nor can we draw any conclusions from the fact that no native farmsteads have been found to date in the Oppidum Batavorum. The area investigated is much too small, and no house floor plans at all have been found from Augustan-Tiberian times.

The hypothesis that the Oppidum Batavorum was of marginal significance for the Batavians themselves rests on the assumption that any Batavians living there would have distinguished themselves from the Romans and Gallo-Romans by the use of handmade, native pottery and native byre-houses. However, this presumes much too static a view of the relationship between ethnic identity and material culture. It also underestimates the speed at which urban native elites in particular switched to using purely Roman or Gallo-Roman pottery and to Roman-style houses. For them the town was a centre where they could display a Roman identity. Illustrative here is the situation in Tongeren, capital of the nearby *civitas Tungrorum*. There we still encounter native byre-houses from the late Augustan-Tiberian period, which were probably inhabited by native elites. Traditional handmade pottery, on the other hand, is absent altogether and the farmhouses made way in the Claudian period for the Roman-style, timber-framed *domus*.[436]

Although the find material from the Oppidum Batavorum has not yet been systematically processed, there are some preliminary findings regarding the founding of the settlement. An initial study of Italic *terra sigillata* stamps reveals that construction of the settlement started in the late-Augustan period.[437] This date is confirmed by the coin spectrum, which includes 12 *triquetrum* staters of the Bochum type, coins which were minted in the period between c. 30-15 BC and which had virtually disappeared from circulation in the Tiberian period.[438] However, the newly founded central settlement at Nijmegen was not entirely without precedent in the Rhine delta. In the previous chapter (7.9), I have suggested − on the basis of archaeological and numismatic evidence − that we should regard the settlement at Nijmegen-Oppidum Batavorum as the successor to a pre-Augustan Batavian centre at Kessel/Lith. We should therefore consider the possibility that the centre moved from Kessel/Lith to the eastern periphery of the Batavian region − to Nijmegen, where the military headquarters was located. Similar shifts are known from other *civitas* capitals in the Gallic provinces.[439]

In the light of the above, we are able to arrive at an alternative view of the Oppidum Batavorum. It now becomes a newly founded Roman-style town (like Tongres and Waldgirmes), which was part of a municipalised political structure. No doubt many people of foreign origin will have lived there. However, the presence among the Batavians of a Julian aristocracy, a magistrature and a public cult would have been inconceivable without a positive commitment by the aristocracy in particular to the town. They will have lived there or will have had residences there, and the formal residence of the Batavian magistrature will have been located there too. Although little is known about the spatial structure of the settlement, remains have been discovered of several early public monuments (the Tiberius column and the marble statue of the deified Julius Caesar), which may imply the existence of a *forum*.[440]

The Oppidum Batavorum played a key role in the operation of the Batavian *civitas*, though this in no way implies that all municipal activities were concentrated in the town. This becomes apparent when we consider the pre-Flavian sacrificial landscape and in particular the locations of the major sanctuaries of the public cult. In keeping with the general pattern, we might expect a sanctuary linked to the Roman state cult on the *forum* of the Oppidum Batavorum. However, the major sanctuaries of Hercules,

[436] Vanderhoeven 1996.

[437] Van Enckevort et al. 2000, 39. Van Enckevort/Thijssen 2003, 64.

[438] See chapter 6.2 and the appendix.

[439] Cf. the overview in Bedon 1999, 122 ff.

[440] See chapter 9, and Panhuysen 2002, 28, 44.

the principal deity, are all located at rural sites outside Nijmegen.[441] These cult places appear to be of pre-Roman origin, and had a supralocal significance. Powerful memories were evidently associated with them, and their impressive monumentalisation in the course of the 1st century AD illustrates the power of tradition.

8.5 THE PRE-FLAVIAN CIVITAS BATAVORUM AND ITS RELATION TO COASTAL TRIBES IN THE RHINE/MEUSE DELTA

The focus of this section is the territorial aspect of the early *civitas Batavorum*. The apparently simple question as to its size is fraught with difficulty. It is a well-established fact that Rome often interfered in existing intertribal relationships when municipalising frontier groups, with the territory of friendly communities sometimes expanding to incorporate smaller tribes. For example, the Condrusi were subsumed in an administrative sense under the *civitas Tungrorum*, and the Baetasii evidently belonged as a semi-autonomous group to the Colonia Ulpia Trajana/Xanten and perhaps before that to the *civitas* of the Cugerni.[442] Something similar may have happened with the Batavians. I have suggested elsewhere that this phenomenon be referred to as intertribal client relations manipulated by Rome.[443] Certainly at this early stage, native groups might have perceived such relationships in patron-client terms. Others have shown, however, that the term *attributio* was a key concept for the Roman administration in comparable situations in Gaul and the African frontier.[444] By means of 'attribution', the Roman authorities could subsume smaller, more isolated tribes, often with no urban centre, into a *civitas*, thereby making them subject to indirect control. This aspect of the organisation of the Lower Rhine frontier has received little attention to date.

There is indirect evidence that small groups in the Rhine delta were formally attributed to the *civitas Batavorum* as client tribes in the pre-Flavian period. The most convincing case concerns the Cananefates.[445] Relevant is in particular Tacitus' *origo* passage about this tribe, who inhabited the western part of the Rhine delta and who were akin to the Batavians 'in origin, language and courage'.[446] This kinship is often taken literally, in the sense that the Cananefates are seen as a splinter group of the Chatti or the Batavians themselves. This would appear to contradict the archaeological evidence. It has recently been suggested – on the basis of regional pottery studies and linked to the impact of the Dunkirk I transgression – that only a very small population inhabited the coastal area between the Oude Rijn and the Meuse during the 1st century BC. Subsequently, around the beginning of the 1st century AD, there was a wave of colonisation in the region. Since this was accompanied by the introduction of a new 'Frisian-style' pottery, it has been suggested that the majority of the Cananefates came from the Frisian territory in North

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[441] Cf. the discussion in chapters 2.3 and 7.6. These were the cult places at Empel, Kessel/Lith and Elst. The location of a major pre-Roman sanctuary within the later town of Ulpia Noviomagus, suggested recently by Van Enckevort/ Thijssen 2001; idem 2003,64, is purely hypothetical.

[442] Cf. Nouwen 1997, 55 (Condrusi); Galsterer 1999, 254 (Baetasii).

[443] Roymans 1998-a, 17-25.

[444] On the significance of *attributio* in the context of the Roman frontier in Africa, see Whittaker 1995, 24. For Gaul, see Chastagnol 1995, 107 ff, 123, 125: 'L'*adtributio*

a donc servi en premier lieu à faciliter la romanisation progressive des peuples plus isolés ou moins développés.'

[445] There is uncertainty and confusion in the literature concerning the place of the Cananefates in the frontier structure of the pre-Flavian period. On the one hand Bogaers (1961, 274) and Raepsaet-Charlier (1999, 283) claim that the Cananefates belonged to the *civitas Batavorum* at this stage, while on the other Bloemers (1978, 80-84) emphasises their separate identity and independence.

[446] Tacitus, *Hist*. 4.15.

Fig. 8.4. Political geography of the Rhine/Meuse delta in the pre-Flavian period.
A. reconstructed territory of the *civitas Batavorum* in the broader sense
B. reconstructed border line between the province of Gallia Belgica and the military district of Germania Inferior

Holland.[447] However, if here too we assume a multi-ethnic ethnogenesis in the context of the Roman frontier, this eliminates the inconsistencies in the historical and archaeological evidence regarding the origin of the Cananefates.[448] Tacitus' *origo* passage seems to mean above all that the dominant, tradition-bearing core of the Cananefates claimed kinship with the Batavians. Political relationships generally lay behind or even at the very heart of such kinship bonds at the intertribal level.[449]

Tacitus' statement that the *insula Batavorum* encompassed the entire Rhine delta as far as the North Sea coast, in other words including the territory of the Cananefates, points to the existence of a hierarchical relationship between both groups that was recognised by Rome.[450] This is confirmed by Ptolemy's description of the administrative structure of the Lower Rhineland; for the region west of *Vetera*/Xanten he only mentions the Batavians. He also refers to *Lugdunum Batavorum* ('Lugdunum in the land of the Batavians'), which is the military fort near Katwijk in the territory of the Cananefates.[451] Of interest too is the relationship between the Batavians and the Cananefates, described by Tacitus, at the outbreak of the revolt in 69. Once the Batavians had decided on insurrection at their assembly, this was initiated by

[447] Van Heeringen 1989, especially 243 and viewpoint 5. Cf. also Bloemers 1978, who points to cultural differences between the Cananefatian and Batavian regions with regard to indigenous pottery and house type.

[448] De Jonge and Milot (1997) recently argued for a multi-ethnic origin of the Cananefates.

[449] Cf. the discussion in Roymans 1990, 26-27 on the use

of kinship terminology as a metaphor for relations in the political sphere in Celto-Germanic societies.

[450] Tacitus, *Hist*. 4.12.

[451] Ptolemy, *Geogr*. 2.9.1 (*Lugdunum Batavorum*); 2.9.8. Ptolemy is probably using an older (pre-Flavian) source here. Cf. the discussion in Bogaers 1960/61, 274.

the Cananefates under the leadership of Brinno. Civilis' strategy of using the Cananefates as a lightning rod is an argument for the existence of a client relationship with the latter group.[452]

It is remarkable in Tacitus' writings that we do not encounter a single instance of a Cananefatian commanding an auxiliary unit, and that the Cananefatian leaders appear to have missed out on Roman citizenship. We only know two Cananefatian warlords by name, Gannascus and Brinno, both of whom had peregrine status, although the latter came from a highly respected family.[453] It would appear that Cananefatian leaders, unlike those of the Batavians, did not have access to the ranks of officer in the Roman army, nor were they granted the privilege of commanding their own regular auxiliary troops.

It is very likely that the Cananefates were already supplying auxiliary troops in the pre-Flavian period. It is generally assumed that these would have amounted to an *ala* and at least one cohort. If the *ala Canninefas*, deployed against the Frisians in AD 28, was a regular unit, it will have been the immediate predecessor of the *Ala I Cannanefatium* from the period following the Batavian revolt.[454] The problem remains, however, that unlike most other units from Germania Inferior and neighbouring Belgica, the Cananefatian *ala* is not mentioned anywhere in Tacitus' detailed description of the military events of 69/70 in the Rhineland.[455] The *Batavorum et Canninefatium cohortes* referred to by Tacitus, which defected to Civilis in 69,[456] were jointly deployed units, referred to later in Tacitus' text simply as 'Batavian cohorts', of which there were eight in total.[457] The obvious conclusion is that the Cananefatian troops were not separate from, but were part of the eight Batavian cohorts.[458] The Batavian units seem to have been less ethnically homogeneous than their name implies, since they were also recruited from smaller tribes belonging to their client group. For this reason I believe it possible that a Cananefatian cohort could also have gone through life as a Batavian cohort, a label which the Roman authorities in particular will have employed.

Some slight clues suggest a further hypothetical reconstruction of the pre-Flavian *civitas Batavorum* (fig. 8.4). Apart from the Cananefates, who appear to have been the main client tribe, other potential candidates are the Sturii, the Marsaci, the Frisiavones and perhaps even the Texuandri.[459] Tacitus reports that the territory of the Cananefates and Marsaci was plundered during the Batavian revolt by a pro-Roman unit commanded by Claudius Labeo. This suggests that the Marsaci also formed part of the core of the Batavian network.[460] Although the other small groups are not mentioned at all in Tacitus' account of the revolt, we can assume that they also supplied auxiliary troops to the Roman army; their contingents will have been incorporated into the Batavian units. One indication that the Cananefates, Marsaci and Fris-

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[452] A direct parallel is the Eburonean revolt, described by Caesar (*BG* 4.6.4; 5.26.2), against the Romans in 54 BC. It was some time before the Romans realised that it was not the Eburones under Ambiorix who were the driving force behind the revolt, but the Treveri under the leadership of Indutiomarus. They apparently had asked the Eburones, one of their client tribes, to begin the revolt.

[453] Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.15 (Brinno); *Ann.* 11.18 (Gannascus).

[454] Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.73. See e.g. Alföldy 1968, 14; Spaul 1994, 77 ff.

[455] Since the Cananefates were at the heart of the Batavian revolt from the outset, we would expect a possible Cananefatian *ala* (which would then have been stationed in the Rhineland) to have somehow become involved in the conflict, as was the case with virtually all the Batavian units. This leaves open the possibility that there was no Cananefatian *ala* at the time of the revolt.

[456] Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.19. Alföldy 1968, 51-52.

[457] Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.20; 4.22 (Batavian cohorts); 1.59 (eight Batavian cohorts).

[458] In contrast to, for example, Alföldy 1968, 51.

[459] Lenz (2003, 386-387) states that the Cugerni were also part of the Batavian *civitas* in the pre-Flavian period and that there were only two formal *civitates* in Germania Inferior at that time, namely that of the Batavians and the Ubii. He bases this claim on the fact that the Cugerni joined the Batavian rebels in 69 AD (Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.26 and 5.16,18), as well as the lack of historical and archaeological evidence for a 1st-century AD *civitas* centre for the Cugerni. This last point, however, is a contentious one; cf. Galsterer 1999, 262-263; idem 2001-b, 27-28; Carroll 2001, 127.

[460] Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.56.7.

iavones originally belonged to the Batavian recruitment area is the fact that they provided horsemen for the 2nd-century *equites singulares Augusti*, the Germanic imperial horse guard of the Roman emperors (fig. 5.4). It is assumed that recruitment for this guard continued the recruitment tradition for the Germanic guard of the Julio-Claudian emperors;[461] as far as the Rhine delta is concerned, only Batavians served in the guard, but we should probably interpret this as Batavians in the broader sense.[462]

Finally, there is an important archaeological argument to support the hypothesis that the groups living in the coastal zone of the Rhine-Meuse delta formally belonged to the *civitas Batavorum*. Batavodurum appears to have been the only urban settlement in the delta during the pre-Flavian period.[463] This suggests that for the Roman administration the town was the civic centre for the entire delta. The absence of an Augustan-Tiberian phase in the later Cananefatian capital of Forum Hadriani confirms my view that this *civitas* was a more recent creation, and that the Cananefates were initially attributed to the Batavian *civitas*.

The reconstruction in figure 8.4 of the early Batavian *civitas* comprises the entire Rhine-Meuse delta and possibly the territory of the Texuandri.[464] As a direct consequence of incorporating several coastal groups into the *civitas Batavorum*, the special treaty between the Batavians and Rome will have applied to these groups as well. They too would have had to contribute to the Batavian supply of auxiliary soldiers to the Roman army, and would have been exempt from direct taxation.

The view that the pre-Flavian Batavian auxiliary troops had a wider ethnic recruitment base than has previously been assumed solves a tricky demographic problem. Willems and more recently Vossen have estimated the demographic consequences of the Batavians in the narrow sense being solely responsible for supplying all the Batavian auxiliary units from the Neronian period (a total of about 5,000 soldiers). Every family out of an estimated total population of about 35,000 people would *on average* have contributed one or two men to the army.[465] Such an extreme burden is hardly conceivable, and would have represented a serious threat to social and cultural reproduction.

8.6 CIVITAS ORGANISATION AND BATAVIAN IDENTITY

We should view the municipalisation of the Batavian *civitas* from the time of Augustus as a gradual process, one which relied heavily on tribal structures and institutions in the initial phase. Romanisation of the municipal order will have accelerated following the Batavian revolt, with further impetus in about 100 AD as a result of Nijmegen's elevation to *municipium* status. We find archaeological counterparts in the founding of Noviomagus at a new location at Nijmegen-West and the impressive monumentalisation of public cult places at Elst, Empel and Kessel in the late 1st/early 2nd century AD. This model of gradual municipalisation from the Augustan period onward places in perspective the current debate about the political and institutional structure of the early *civitas Batavorum*. The debate is dominated by a sharp dichotomy between a frontier model that assumes a late – Flavian – introduction, and a civic model

[461] Speidel 1994, 38 ff.

[462] It is significant that the name *Batavi* was sometimes used to refer to the Germanic imperial guard in Rome (Speidel 1994, 16, 22, 39), which shows that the Romans were familiar with the broad interpretation of this ethnic label.

[463] The earliest traces of habitation on the site of Voorburg/Forum Hadriani – the later *civitas* capital and *municipium* of the Cananefates – date to the mid-1st century AD, but little can be ascertained about the nature of the habitation. Cf. De Jonge/Marcillaud/Milot 1996, 255; Buijten-

dorp, in press, chapter 3.

[464] Raepsaet-Charlier (1999, 283) also believes that the Batavian *civitas* originally included smaller coastal groups in the Rhine-Meuse delta. According to her, the *civitates* of the Cananefates and Frisiavones were already separated off under Claudius. However, the evidence (the activities of the Roman legate Corbulo in the Rhine delta, and early, mid-1st century AD, finds from the later town of Forum Hadriani) is not very convincing.

[465] Willems 1984, 235 ff.; Vossen 2003.

based on the early introduction of a municipal order under Drusus. I have argued above that municipal structures could also occur in a frontier zone that had not yet been formally provincialised.

The above ideas on the municipalisation of the *civitas Batavorum* are also relevant to the discussion of ethnicity. They demonstrate that Batavian ethnicity is a dynamic construct that can only be understood in connection with the altered Roman administrative structure of the Rhine delta. Augustan municipalisation expanded the territorial basis of the Batavian identity group. In addition, several coastal tribes now belonged to the *civitas Batavorum*; Rome may have labelled them Batavians, but they might also have referred to themselves as such, especially in the context of the Roman army. Roman archaeologists generally employ too static a view of Batavian identity. For the pre-Flavian period it makes sense to distinguish between Batavians in the narrow sense and Batavians in the broader sense. The former applies to the traditional core inhabitants of the eastern half of the Dutch river area, while the latter includes the tribes in the western zone of the Rhine-Meuse delta who where attributed to the Batavians. When Tacitus and Ptolemy speak of Batavians in the pre-Flavian period, they often mean Batavians in the broader sense. The Batavian revolt brought about further fundamental change as a result of Roman political intervention: the *civitas Batavorum* lost its former client tribes from the coast. Had this not happened, then groups like the Cananefates, Frisiavones and Marsaci would probably have continued as Batavian *pagi* and would have all but disappeared from epigraphic and historical sources.[466] Now groups in the Rhine-Meuse delta, especially the Frisiavones and the Cananefates, were given an opportunity to express their own identity.

The municipal structure also contributed in a more creative, substantive way to the shaping of a collective Batavian identity. I wish to focus on the role of the *civitas* as a cult community responsible for the cultivation of myths, genealogies and rituals that underpin ethnogenetic processes.[467] In the context of the public cult, new powerful myths, which anchored the Batavian community in a broader cosmological sense in the Roman empire, were created and constantly updated. For the more recent past, this was probably the mythical link to Caesar, who was memorialised in Nijmegen, probably for his role in the Batavian ethnogenesis. For the more distant past, this probably involved Hercules' role in the Batavian origin myth.[468] The Augustan period can be considered the formative phase in the construction of these 'invented traditions' that promoted a new, Roman-inclusive identity for the Batavians. We should view the major public sanctuaries as central places in the cultivation of this identity. The central values of a community were formulated during important religious festivals linked to the ritual calendar. In Batavodurum we may think of political/religious gatherings on feast days connected with the imperial cult, with the *forum* as the central location. Public monuments like the Tiberius column and the statue of Caesar may have played a part in this. However, we should not view Nijmegen as the sole location. The large sanctuaries linked to the cult of Hercules Magusanus, the principal Batavian deity, are all situated in the countryside; here large groups gathered on the feast days of Hercules. The Hercules sanctuaries were important *lieux de mémoires* where Batavian foundation myths were given expression. They were public cult places where an important articulation occurred between a Batavian and a Roman identity, and where central values of the Batavian self-image acquired substance.[469]

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[466] This hypothesis of a substantial administrative restructuring of the former *civitas Batavorum* puts into perspective the widely held belief that there were no major changes in the Roman-Batavian relationship after the revolt of AD 69/70. According to this view, no punishment was meted out and the treaty continued on the old conditions. Cf. Bowman 1994, 26 and note 18; Strobel 1987.

[467] See chapter 1.1.

[468] I argue in chapter 11 that the development of a public cult surrounding Hercules was vital for the cosmological anchoring of the Batavian identity in the Roman empire.

[469] Of interest here is the location where – according to Tacitus (*Hist.* 4.14) – Julius Civilis proclaimed the Batavian revolt: in a sacred grove, undoubtedly a public cult place, during a nocturnal banquet involving the Batavian nobility.

9 *Foederis Romani monumenta*. Public memorials of the alliance with Rome

In chapter 5 I argued on the basis of historical sources that the Batavian ethnogenesis was closely bound up with Caesarian frontier politics, and I proposed the following historical reconstruction. At the time of the Gallic and subsequent Civil Wars, a treaty existed between Caesar and the leader of a Chatti-dominated group of east-bank Germans, who – probably in the 40s BC - were allocated land in the Rhine/Meuse delta. The new Batavian polity arose when the dominant core of migrants from across the Rhine merged with indigenous groups. From the outset, then, the Batavian community's existence was closely tied to an alliance with Rome. At the heart of this alliance lay the supply of auxiliary troops, including a cavalry detachment that operated as personal bodyguard to Caesar and the later Julian emperors. In return, the Batavians were exempt from paying tribute and were granted the right to command their own troops. Their leader was probably formally recognised as king by Caesar, rewarded with Roman citizenship and thus incorporated in the *clientela* of the Julian house. Under Emperor Augustus, the old treaty with the Batavians was transformed into a public alliance with the Roman state.[470] Although the kingship was abolished, the Batavian *stirps regia* retained its dominant political position. Until the death of Nero, the last of the Julio-Claudian line, there had been a solid alliance between Batavians and the emperor, which essentially built on the original treaty provisions.

Links with Rome from the Augustan period onward will have given rise to new types of self-representation among the Batavian community, and their elite in particular. In the Gallic provinces from that time we witness the adoption of new media like public writing and statuary to emphasise the links with the emperor and the imperial house.[471] These new cultural forms also gave voice to local identities in the new context of the Roman empire. I am thinking in particular of the appearance among the Batavians of public monuments that symbolised the allegiance with Rome and the close ties with the Julio-Claudian house. An analogy with the Lingones in Gaul is instructive here. Julius Sabinus, a representative of an aristocratic family that was granted Roman citizenship early on, claimed direct descent from the deified Caesar, who allegedly had had a love affair with his great grandmother during Caesar's stay in Gaul.[472] The Lingones erected public memorials, which Tacitus refers to as *foederis Romani monumenta*, to symbolise the pre-Flavian alliance with Rome.[473] What kind of memorials were they? While some will have been large bronze tablets that referred to the patronal relationship with the Julio-Claudian house, there would certainly have been other kinds of monuments as well, such as imperial statuary and columns.

In this chapter I intend to focus on three remarkable archaeological finds from the Batavian region, all from the pre-Flavian era, which may have played a role in the public expression of the historically documented alliance. As we shall see, there are unanswered questions associated with all three items, which make an unequivocal interpretation impossible: none have been preserved in their entirety and there is insufficient information about their original archaeological context. However, each find is a unique document for the Lower Rhine region. I will discuss the three memorials separately below, and will then explore their possible contribution to the construction of a Batavian identity.

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[470] See chapter 5.
[471] Woolf 2002, 12-13.

[472] Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.55.
[473] Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.67.

An exceptional find for the Lower Rhine region is a life-size (27 cm) head of Julius Caesar in grey marble (fig. 9.1). The piece was found in Nijmegen, probably in the late 19th century, and is now held at the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden. All articles on this find to date have focused on the art historical description and the identity of the portrait.[474] Scant attention has been paid to its archaeological context and historical significance – the aspects which will be my focus.

Braat has convincingly identified the head as a portrait of Caesar, of the so-called 'Campo Santo' type. He also points out the many, apparently deliberate, signs of damage inflicted long ago. For example, the nose and chin have been broken off, the neck is broken diagonally and grooves have been made on the forehead and nose with a sharp object, possibly a spade. Several brown marks seem to have been caused by fire. For stylistic reasons the portrait can be dated to the time of Emperor Augustus.[475] If Braat is correct in his assumption that the Nijmegen head was modelled directly on the original death mask,[476] then the piece was certainly made in Italy. Judging by the finish on the broken neck, the portrait head was probably originally part of a life-size statue of Caesar, wearing either a toga or military apparel.[477]

All we know about the find site is that the head was allegedly found 'at the Hunerberg' in Nijmegen.[478] The precise location and context are unclear. All scholars have until now placed the Nijmegen head in a Roman military context. On the assumption that the statue was originally located on the Hunerberg, Bracker links it to the Augustan legionary camp stationed there.[479] This means it would have stood in the *principia*. However, there are two problems associated with this hypothesis. Firstly, legions are unlikely to have carried stone statues with them and to have erected them in transient camps in the context of Drusus' *Germania* offensives. The statues of this early period would have been transportable ones made of wood. Secondly, one would expect the departing legion to have taken the statue with them. More plausible – particularly in view of the legion's special relationship with Caesar – is Braat's suggestion that the statue was erected in the camp of the Tenth Legion, which was stationed on the Hunerberg from 71 to about 102/104.[480] One could imagine a statue of Caesar standing in the *principia* among other statues of divinities and persons associated with the legion's past. This would mean that the Tenth Legion had brought the statue with them from Spain in the Flavian era. However, Braat's hypothesis again raises the fundamental question of why the legion chose to leave behind the statue when they withdrew from Nijmegen. Surely they would have taken a memorial of this type to their new post.

Thus the 'military' interpretations of the Nijmegen Caesar head are not without their problems. I would like to present an alternative, 'civilian' interpretation, which is at least as plausible. We know that at the end of the 19th century the name 'Hunerberg' referred to the entire Nijmegen ridge, from the eastern periphery of the pre-modern town to the zone of the Flavian *castra* and *canabae*.[481] If we assume that the

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[474] Braat 1939; Bracker 1967.

[475] Bracker 1967. Braat (1939) places the head in the period 44–30 BC.

[476] Braat 1939, 27. He does so on the basis of vague lines on the head that show the extent to which the death mask was followed.

[477] Braat 1939, 28.

[478] It is not clear when the head of Caesar was discovered. We only know that it belonged to the estate of a Mr Gildemeester, which was acquired by the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in 1931 (Braat 1939, 28). This collection appears to have been built up in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The head was probably found around the

turn of the century, in connection with expansion of the city of Nijmegen at that time, and purchased either via a dealer or directly from the finder. The Gildemeester collection contained a large quantity of Roman finds from Nijmegen, especially from 'the Waal river at Nijmegen' and 'Hees near Nijmegen', together with some other finds from the Hunerberg (see RMO, inv.nr. 1931.2). It is unlikely that the head was found in the early 20th century, as such a remarkable find would not have escaped the attention of G.M. Kam, the great Nijmegen collector.

[479] Bracker 1967.

[480] Braat 1939, 28.

[481] Van Buchem 1941, 19-20; Daniëls [1955], 62 ff, fig. 43.

head was discovered during groundwork undertaken in the course of late 19th-century expansions at Nijmegen, then the find site must have been located in the western part of the Hunerberg. The eastern zone, which incorporates the area of the Flavian *castra*, consisted of arable land at that time, making any connection with the Caesar head improbable. We must therefore look elsewhere for a context in which to place the Nijmegen head. A more westerly find spot in the vicinity of the current Trajanusplein seems much more likely. This then establishes a link, not with a military complex, but with the Oppidum Batavorum, which extended as far as this zone. The statue may have stood there on the *forum*.

This interpretation is attractive for two reasons. Firstly, it establishes a possible link with Caesar's special significance for the Batavians and the Batavian *Iulii* in particular. They saw Caesar as being closely connected with the origins of the alliance with Rome and hence the ethnogenesis of the Batavian community itself.[482] The statue may have been a reference to the Batavian foundation myth and the patronal relationship with the Julian house. From a Batavian perspective, it is highly conceivable that the deified Caesar was honoured with a statue on the *forum*; it may have been presented to the community in the context of Augustus' renewal of the Roman-Batavian allegiance. Secondly, the civil interpretation offers a plausible explanation for the statue's deliberate destruction. There is historical and archaeological evidence to suggest that the Oppidum Batavorum was set alight during the revolt of 69/70. The Batavians themselves may have broken the statue and dumped it on the fringes of the settlement.

9.2 THE TIBERIUS COLUMN FROM NIJMEGEN

In 1980, in the filling of a late-Roman or early-medieval ditch at the settlement on the Valkhof in Nijmegen, archaeologists discovered two sculpted blocks of stone that fitted together. These originally came from a column-shaped monument and were probably used later as spolia in the defence wall of the Valkhof's 4th-century fortifications.

In a recent publication, Panhuysen gives a comprehensive iconographic and cultural historical analysis of this monument.[483] Comprising at least three, probably four levels, the square column depicts a series of gods and personifications. The front (fig. 9.2) shows Victoria, the goddess of victory, placing a laurel wreath on the head of a man in toga. The *togatus* is bringing an offer on an altar next to him, probably as thanks for a victory. The inscription on the altar gives the name of the victor: TIB(e)R(ius) C(ae)SAR – Emperor Tiberius is being honoured for his army's successful military operations. Panhuysen assumes that the monument was originally four levels high, with a block-shaped plinth and a statue of the emperor on top. The estimated total height was about 7.5 metres.

The Nijmegen column must have been erected during the reign of Tiberius. The most plausible historical context would be Germanicus' official triumph in Rome in AD 17, following the completion of his Germanic campaigns. For the Roman authorities, the triumph signified the de facto end of the Germanic wars and the beginning of a period of relative peace for the Lower Rhine region, which for several decades had been the main base of operations for the Roman campaigns in Germania. Panhuysen goes a step further and links the placing of the stone monument to the introduction of a formal *civitas* structure in the Lower Rhine region in general and among the Batavians in particular.[484] According to Panhuysen, the column's imagery broadcast the message that the end of the Germanic wars heralded peace and prosperity for the Lower Rhineland. He sees the column as relating to the Tiberian programme of peace for the region following Germanicus' withdrawal, which also implied administrative reforms.

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[482] See chapter 5

[483] Panhuysen 2001; idem, 2002.

[484] Panhuysen 2002, 42 ff. In this he follows Raepsaet-Char-

lier 1999, 279, although the latter makes a case for the municipalisation of the Batavian *civitas* beginning under Drusus.

Fig. 9.1. Front and side view of the marble head of Julius Caesar from the Augustan era, found at Nijmegen. Photo National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden.

Fig. 9.2. Tiberius column from Nijmegen. Photo Museum Het Valkhof, Nijmegen.

The column was an official dedication with both a religious and political content. Taken together, the deliberately chosen series of images of gods and personifications expressed the emperor's all-encompassing power. Presumably, the column was even crowned with a statue of the deified Augustus in the guise of Jupiter. Panhuysen thus sees the column as a focal point for the emperor cult in the first civilian settlement of Nijmegen.[485] In political terms, it was above all a declaration of loyalty to the emperor and to the authority of Rome.

We do not know who dedicated the column: the votive inscription that will originally have been attached to the plinth or to a separate altar has not been preserved. Panhuysen sees the column as a public votive offering from the Batavian community,[486] in which case it must be viewed in the context of the specific alliance with Rome. In which sector of Batavian society should we seek those responsible for the dedication? The answer must surely be the upper elite who belonged to the *Iulii*; they may also have borne the cost of the monument.

We can only speculate about the monument's original location. Nevertheless, given that the Valkhof settlement of late-Roman times occupied the site of the pre-Flavian Oppidum Batavorum, the civil, urban context of the Oppidum Batavorum seems the most likely setting; the column may have stood in the public space of the *forum*. Panhuysen sees the column as a kind of foundation monument of the Oppidum Batavorum, the administrative centre of the Batavian *civitas*.[487] He assumes that the settlement emerged in the 2nd decade AD, but archaeological data suggest a somewhat earlier origin at around the beginning of the 1st century.[488] This means that the

[485] Panhuysen 2002, 40. However, it would be going too far to suggest, as he does, that the monument is 'the sacred centre' of the emperor cult at Nijmegen.

[486] There are other possibilities, however. The contemporary, and in many respects comparable, column in Paris appears to have been dedicated to Tiberius by powerful Parisian shipowners (*nautae*) (Lavagne 1984), and the large column of Jupiter from Mainz, erected in honour of Emperor Nero, was a votive offering by the inhabitants of the *canabae* (Bauchhenss 1984).

[487] Panhuysen 2002, 44.

[488] Particularly important is the relatively large number (12 items) of copper *triquetrum* staters from the Oppidum Batavorum (see chapter 6, appendix 1). These coins were struck between about 30 and 15 BC and were out of circulation in the Tiberian era (see the discussion in chapter 6). Van Enckevort/Haalebos/Thijssen 2000, 39, suggest a foundation around the beginning of the 1st century on the basis of the earliest Roman imported pottery, including Arretine ware. However, as yet there has been no systematic study of the Roman imported pottery from the Valkhof settlement.

column was erected at an already existing centre settlement, thus invalidating Panhuysen's argument linking it to the establishment of the Oppidum Batavorum and to the formal introduction under Tiberius of a *civitas* structure in the Lower Rhine region.

9.3 A FRAGMENT OF AN IMPERIAL TABULA PATRONATUS (?) FROM ESCHAREN

At Escharen on the southern bank of the Meuse in 1979, an amateur archaeologist discovered a fragment of a bronze tablet bearing part of a Latin inscription. It was unearthed at the bottom of the fill of a Roman well, which probably dated to the 2nd century and was part of a rural settlement.[489] The tablet was cast together with the inscription.

The bronze fragment, the top right-hand corner of a large bronze *tabula*, measures 32.4 by 18 cm and is 2.5 mm thick (fig. 9.3). Originally bordered on all sides by a moulding, only the right-hand side now remains. The top is broken off, directly under the moulding. Thirteen letters of the inscription are wholly or partly preserved, forming the ends of the first two lines of text, which Bogaers read and supplemented as follows (fig. 9.3):[490]

[TI(*berio*) CL]AVDIO
[DRVSI .GE]RMANICI .F(*ilio*)

The inscription can be dated to Emperor Claudius' time. Bogaers pointed out that the tablet belongs to a rare category of inscriptions, the so-called *tabulae patronatus*. He believed that the name of the emperor should be read in the ablative, in which case the text would begin with a consular date, with Emperor Claudius – one of the consuls in that year – the first named. Inscriptions on bronze *tabulae* beginning with the consular year are usually charters or official decrees by the emperor, a provincial governor, or a community. Bronze *tabulae patronatus* are known from *coloniae* and *civitates* in particular. These are official announcements of an alliance of guest friendship (*hospitium*) between a community and a powerful personage acting as *patronus* or protector.[491] The patron could at all times count on the hospitality of the community in question, while the community – as his *clientela* – benefited from his goodwill and influence. Nicols' study shows that the *patroni* named on patronal tablets were usually high-ranking imperial administrators of senatorial or equestrian rank; the community joining his *clientela* were often dependent on him in an administrative sense.

Bogaers believes there is every reason to regard the Escharen tablet as a *tabula patronatus*. As a rule, these were portable and rectangular in shape, and their height was greater than their width. Using the reconstructed lines of text, the original width of the Escharen tablet can be put at approx. 65 cm; the height can be estimated at a definite 80 cm.[492] Given its unusually large size, the Escharen tablet may originally have been set into a wall or affixed to the plinth of a statue of the emperor. Nicols' study reveals that bronze *tabulae patronatus* are primarily known from communities in the empire's Mediterranean provinces. To date we do not know of a single *tabula* from a community in the northwestern provinces.[493] This does not

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[489] The fill also generated several sherds of a Dressel 20 amphora and an exceptionally large complete Roman imbrex (54.5 cm long). Cf. Bogaers 1981, 6.

[490] Bogaers 1991.

[491] Cf. Nicols 1980; Nicols, forthcoming.

[492] This makes the Escharen tablet one of the largest of its

kind. Only the *tabula patronatus* from Sentinum in Italy (*CIL* XI 5749) has a comparable width (more than 60 cm). The most common dimensions are 35 x 28 cm. Cf. Nicols 1980, 536.

[493] Nicols 1980, 538–539. A possible exception is a recent find from Barsberg in the Trier area (Schwinden 1991).

Fig. 9.3. Fragment of a bronze *tabula patronatus* from Escharen with a reconstruction of the first two lines of text (below). Photo ROB, Amersfoort.

mean, however, that patronal relationships between communities and persons of influence did not exist here: other types of inscriptions point to the importance of this kind of relationship.[494] Moreover, Nicols argues convincingly that *tabulae patronatus* were usually made of wood, which means that the distribution of bronze *tabulae* is not necessarily representative of this category of inscriptions as a whole.[495]

[494] An example from the Lower Rhine region is a small bronze tablet with an inscription from the villa of Valkenburg–Houthem (NL), which names Titus Tertinius as patron of the *pagus Catualinus*, part of the *civitas Traian-* *ensis* with Xanten as its capital. Cf. *L'Année épigraphique* 1926, 129.

[495] Nicols 1980, 558-559.

It is frustrating that the fragment does not enable us to identify either the patron or the community belonging to his *clientela*. However, if it is in fact part of a *tabula patronatus*, it is hard to imagine that the community could be any other than the *civitas Batavorum*.[496] Inspired by Nicols' study, Bogaers believes the *patronus* may have been the governor of the military district of Germania Inferior. There is another possibility, however: namely, that the emperor himself was the patron. That he did in fact act as *patronus* of native communities is demonstrated by several stone inscriptions from the Wallis in Switzerland; here, Emperor Augustus is honoured as patron of several small *civitates*.[497]

There can be no doubt that the *tabula* of Escharen (about 15 km southwest of Nijmegen) originated from a secondary context. We can only guess at the original site. The location par excellence for the public display of documents of this type is once again the *forum* of the Oppidum Batavorum at Nijmegen.[498] Other possibilities are major public sanctuaries in the countryside, such as those at Empel and Kessel. Van Andringa has demonstrated that large sanctuaries dedicated to the principal deities of a community were also focal points of the emperor cult, and hence ideal locations for other types of public declaration of loyalty to the emperor.[499]

The tablet of Escharen is a unique document for the northwestern provinces of the empire. If my interpretation is correct, it provides direct evidence of a patronal relationship between the Batavian community and the Julio-Claudian house.[500] This was not a new association under Claudius, but rather confirmation of an already existing one that dated back to Caesar and was from the outset closely intertwined with the Roman-Batavian *societas*. We can also assume that, while the patronal relationship with the emperor applied to the Batavian community as a whole, it had an added personal dimension for the Batavian Julii of the *stirps regia*. One of their forefathers must at one time have entered into the *amicitia* with Caesar.

9.4 DISCUSSION

To varying degrees, the public memorials described here have been bequeathed to us by chance. It is important to realise that other such monuments will most certainly have stood in public contexts in the pre-Flavian *civitas Batavorum*. The favourite locations were public sanctuaries like Kessel/Lith, Elst and Empel in the countryside, and in particular the *forum* of the Oppidum Batavorum at Nijmegen. Significantly, small fragments of large bronze statues, all dating back to pre-Flavian times, were discovered during excavations at the site of the Oppidum Batavorum.[501] Although they cannot be identified more precisely, they were probably connected in some way with public memorials. What could the significance of such monuments have been for the local Batavian population? To answer this, we need to distinguish

[496] Nicols' study (1980) reveals that a significant portion of the *tabulae patronatus* related to peregrine *civitates* in the first half of the 1st century.

[497] Walser 1980, nrs 253 and 259 (= *CIL* XII 136, 145).

[498] Nicols (1980, 537) comments that although bronze *tabulae* were clearly intended to be portable, many have nail holes for mounting on a wall.

[499] Van Andringa 2002, 175-181.

[500] The texts of the *tabulae* reveal that the status of patron was automatically passed on to the next of kin, hence the regular reference to the patron's *domus*. Cf. Nicols 1980, 541.

[501] Unpublished finds from the Gemeentelijke Arche-ologische Dienst, Nijmegen, relating to excavations at the Kelfkensbos. Oral information kindly provided by J. Thijssen and H. van Enckevort, Nijmegen. A bronze finger belonging to a gilded statue of more than life-size was found on the Hunerberg at the end of the 19th century (Zadoks-Josephus Jitta/Gerhartl-Witteveen 1983, 9, nr. 202). At this time earthworks were carried out on the western fringe of the Hunerberg, which in pre-Flavian times was part of the built-up zone of the Oppidum Batavorum.

between the different social levels. Only the upper elite will have been able to decipher the rich political and religious symbolism of the images and accompanying inscriptions (including abbreviations). This would have been beyond the reach of most people in lower social groups. Nevertheless, it is helpful to distinguish between the large group of Batavian soldiers and ex-soldiers and that sector of the rural population (mainly women) who had remained outside military circles. In the course of their military service in the Roman army, the former will have acquired a basic knowledge of Latin and Latin writing[502] and some familiarity with monumental sculpture and architecture in army camps and towns, while the latter will have understood these monuments the least.

Despite the very disparate ways in which different groups in Batavian society perceived the monuments, there was nevertheless a degree of shared experience. Broad groupings in the pre-Flavian era will have recognised them as symbols of the allegiance with Rome, as *foederis Romani monumenta*, directly associated with loyalty to the emperor. The Batavian aristocracy also benefited from the fact that lower social groups had a basic understanding of the significance of public memorials, since they helped legitimise their own privileged position. Thus, the memorials not only illustrate the aristocratic striving for imperial favour, they were also intended to enlist the support of the broader population. In this sense, they may have helped create a collective Batavian identity in the context of the Roman empire, one that was linked to an inclusive Roman identity.

We should also remember that the meaning attached to the monuments was subject to change. It seems fairly certain that public memorials of this kind, which drew attention to the relationship with Rome and the emperor, will have been destroyed during the Batavian revolt. Once again, the parallel with the situation among the Lingones is relevant: Julius Sabinus gave the order to destroy *foederis Romani monumenta* during the anti-Roman rebellion of 69.[503] We can assume a similar scale of destruction among the Batavians, arising out of a temporary inversion of values in the crisis of the 69/70 revolt. Tacitus tells us that, at the initial stage of the revolt, everything that was associated with Rome on the Batavian island was swept away.[504] And on their withdrawal in 70, the Batavians themselves are reported to have set fire to Oppidum Batavorum, their capital. Recent archaeological investigations in the Valkhof settlement have indeed established traces of a fire.[505]

Finally, I would like to observe that, if my interpretation of the unique items discussed here is correct, they reinforce in two essential respects the historical model of the ethnogenesis of the Batavians and the Roman–Batavian relationship outlined in chapter 5: namely, the Caesarian origin of the Roman–Batavian alliance, and the existence of a patronage link between the Batavians and the Julio-Claudian house.

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[502] On the process of the Latinisation of Batavian society, see Derks/Roymans 2002.

[503] Tacitus, *Hist*. 4.67.

[504] Tacitus, *Hist*. 4.18.

[505] Van Enckevort/Haalebos/Thijssen 2000, 40.

10   Image and self-image of the Batavians

10.1 INTRODUCTION

In chapter one of this book I outlined the essentials of ethnicity, defining ethnic identity as the tempo-
rary resultant of a process of developing collective self-images, attitudes and conduct that takes place in
a context of interaction between those directly involved and outsiders. Ethnic identities are by defini-
tion subjective, dynamic and situational constructs, which makes their relationship to material culture
problematic. Unlike many other kinds of cultural identity, unless combined with textual data, they are
in principle archaeologically intangible. The purpose of this chapter is to elaborate on and apply these
general principles in the specific case of the Batavians.

In chapter 5 I outlined a model of an emerging Batavian polity in the Lower Rhine frontier zone of
the Roman empire and of the earliest beginnings of the Roman–Batavian relationship. It is against that
historical background that I intend to analyse in this chapter the creation of a Batavian self-image, one
which seems to have been shaped to a significant degree by interaction with the Roman world. It is clear
that the Batavian community as a political entity came first, and that it was then followed by the shaping
of an ethnic identity – a Batavian self-image.

By definition, a tension exists between ethnic identity as *image* or *representation* and as *reality*. As a rule,
ethnic identities are constructed around a body of clichés, stereotypes and invented histories. A process is
involved, whereby the collective formulates and applies rules of inclusion, role fulfilment and exclusion
in interaction with their self-image and the image that others construct of them.[506] But ethnic identity
covers actions as well as images. It would be correct to say that ethnic identities are moulded, channelled
and modified through constant interaction between the group image and the praxis of individual and
collective action.[507] In terms of the topic of my research, this means that Batavian identity was shaped in
the forcefield between internal and external perception – between self-image and the image formed by
outsiders – and was then named and appropriated as their own.

One obvious methodological problem is the almost total absence of primary sources about the self-
image of the Batavians. It is chiefly thanks to the indirect route of Roman literary sources that we are
able to say anything at all about this topic. I hope to be able to demonstrate that the Roman perception
of the Batavians was a key point of reference in the self-definition of the latter. I will use archaeological
and epigraphic data to throw more light on this last subject.

This chapter opens with a discussion of the Roman army's role as the social context par excellence
for cultivating and expressing Batavian ethnicity. It is followed by an analysis of the key components of
the Roman perspective on Batavian identity, which shows in particular how the Romans *wanted to see*
them. On the basis of the Roman perception and archaeological data, I then make claims about key ele-
ments of the Batavian self-image. In so doing we stumble across a theme that the Romans *failed to see* in
Batavian ethnicity: the historical self-image of the Batavians in relationship to Rome.

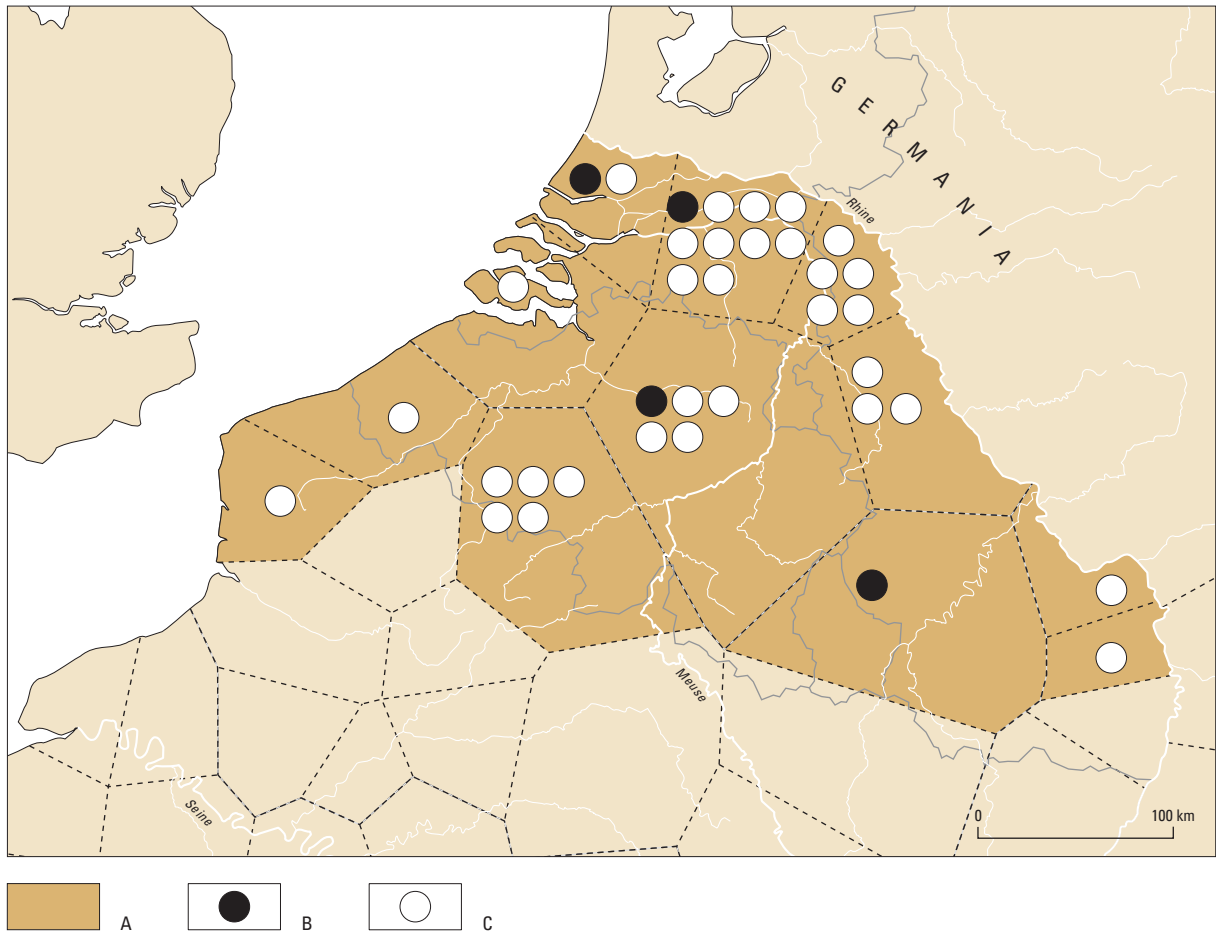[506] Frijhoff 1992, 624.   [507] Frijhoff 1992, 615.

Fig. 10.1. Overview of the pre–Flavian ethnic recruitment by Rome in Northern Gaul (after Roymans 1996a, fig. 4).
A *civitates* used for the conscription of auxiliary forces; B *ala*; C *cohors*

10.2. THE ROMAN ARMY AND THE CULTIVATION OF A BATAVIAN IDENTITY

In the first chapter I pointed to the relevance for this study of recent historico–anthropological research into communities exploited in the recent past for large-scale military recruitment by the state authorities of colonial empires. Particularly useful is Cynthia Enloe's concept of 'ethnic soldier,' based on her comparative study of systems of ethnic recruitment in modern state militaries, with the Gurkhas in the British empire as the prime example.[508] According to this model, the martial ethnic races that were recruited in large numbers because of their military qualities were largely the conscious creations of European state militaries. Marginal tribal groups were generally used for this purpose, with the military authorities cultivating a specific ethnic identity as a race of soldiers, together with related values such as bravery and loyalty to authority. The massive enlistment of professional soldiers made these communities heavily reliant on the recruitment policies of the colonial government for their social and economic reproduction and hence vulnerable to any changes to that policy. Carol van Driel–Murray has pointed out the relevance of

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[508] Enloe 1980.

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this model for the frontier zone of the Roman empire, where comparable communities were intensely exploited by Rome as a breeding ground for relatively cheap auxiliary soldiers.[509] The model seems to apply particularly to the Batavians: it suggests that the creation of a Batavian polity and military identity was to a significant degree the product of imperial strategy. According to Van Driel-Murray, Batavian ethnicity was consciously cultivated by Rome, especially in the context of the army.

With these ideas in mind and using historical evidence, I will first examine the Roman army's role as the chief social context in which Batavian ethnicity took shape. It appears that the reputation of the Batavians as 'ethnic soldiers' came about gradually. The initial foundation stone was probably laid under Caesar, who concluded a treaty with a Chatti-dominated group of east-bank Germans. However, in Caesar's report of the Gallic Wars and the Civil War, he still used the general ethnic label of *Germani* for this group.[510] The question is – when did the Roman authorities begin to see them as Batavians and to label them accordingly? Probably not until the years 40 BC when they were allocated land in the Rhine delta. The Romans would have done so more from strategic considerations than as a reward for earlier military services. They must already then have decided to structurally exploit this Germanic group as a supplier of high-quality auxiliary troops. Under Augustus, the Romans switched to a strategy of consciously promoting Batavian ethnicity. We find clear evidence for this in the reorganisation of the recruitment system in Gaul.[511] The old Caesarian system of ethnic recruitment – with irregular units under indigenous commanders – was abandoned in favour of regular auxiliary units of mixed ethnic composition led by non-local prefects. The only exception were groups in the frontier province of Gallia Belgica and the neighbouring military districts of Germania Inferior and Germania Superior, with the Batavians as the exception par excellence (fig. 10.1). They retained the right to supply auxiliary troops in homogenous ethnic units under their own commanders. The Batavian advance as a specifically identified ethnic group within the army began in the Augustan era. By the 2nd century, their military fame was so well-established that the label 'Batavians' was sometimes used in a general sense for units of a more heterogeneous composition.[512]

The system of ethnic recruitment and labelling created an ideal breeding ground for 'cultivating' Batavian ethnicity within the army. This was further reinforced by the fact that the Roman authorities kept the Batavian cohorts together physically and had them operate together. Just as important, however, was the system whereby the Roman army structurally discriminated against ethnic auxiliary soldiers in relation to legionaries. The peregrine status ascribed to auxiliaries rendered them second-class citizens, and this was reflected in lower social status, fewer rights and – not of least importance for professional soldiers – lower pay.[513] The unequal treatment will have constantly triggered rivalries and tensions between legionaries and auxiliary soldiers. In general, army discipline will have kept such tensions under control; however, we learn more about them in relation to the Batavian cohorts thanks to Tacitus' detailed description of the role of these units in the crisis of AD 68-69.

Under Claudius, the Batavian cohorts – eight in total – were shipped to England, where they took part in the conquest of Britannia as permanent auxiliary troops of the Fourteenth Legion. Nero recalled them to the continent in 68 in a vain attempt to maintain his position on the imperial throne. Learning of Nero's death, they were stranded en route. Thereafter they became part of Vitellius' army, but in the chaos of the Civil War they pursued their own political course, one which deviated from that of the legions, the Fourteenth in particular. This led to repeated skirmishes and even bloody fights between Batavians and legion soldiers, as the following passages from Tacitus' *Historiae* reveal:[514]

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[509] Van Driel-Murray 2003.

[510] See chapter 5.2.

[511] Alföldy 1968; Drinkwater 1978, 830 ff.

[512] Speidel 1991; idem, 1994, 46-47; Van Driel-Murray 2003,

204. Cf. Dio 55.24; 69.9.

[513] For the auxiliary soldiers' pay, see Speidel 1973.

[514] Translations of Kenneth Wellesley (1978).

*Besides, there were eight cohorts of Batavians stationed in the territory of the Lingones. These formed an auxiliary force normally attached to the Fourteenth Legion, but in this troubled period they had separated from their parent formation, and their friendship or hostility was likely to have a serious effect on the balance of power. (*Hist.* 1.59)*

The next community, that of the Lingones, was faithful to the Vitellian cause. The army received a cordial welcome, and tried to repay its hosts by behaving well. But the general rejoicing was cut short by the insubordination of those [Batavian] *cohorts, which (…) had cut adrift from the Fourteenth Legion, and which Fabius Valens had incorporated in his force. Initial exchanges of abuse developed into a free fight between the Batavians and the legionaries which practically assumed the proportions of a battle as the two sides were joined by their respective partisans among the troops at large. But Valens dealt with the trouble by punishing a few of the offenders in order to remind the Batavians of what they had forgotten – that they were under his command. (*Hist.* 1.64)*

*I have already described how, during the fighting in Nero's reign, the Batavian cohorts separated themselves from the Fourteenth Legion and were on their way to Britain when they heard of Vitellius' moves and joined Fabius Valens in the territory of the Lingones. These Batavians now started to behave arrogantly. They would go up to the lines of each of the legions in turn and boast that they had put the Fourteenth in its place, robbed Nero of Italy and now held the whole issue of the war in the hollow of their hand. This attitude was an affront to the legions bitterly resented by their commander. Discipline was prejudiced by disputes and brawls. In the end, their subordination led Valens to suspect treachery. (*Hist.* 2.27)*

In the meantime, they [the men of the Fourteenth Legion] *were to share camp with the Batavian cohorts, because the latter had long been on bad terms with them. Soon the bitter hostility between the groups of armed soldiers led to a breach of the peace. One day, a workman at Turin was being abused by a Batavian for cheating him, and defended by a legionary billeted on him. The two opponents were joined by their respective comrades, and from abuse the men passed to bloodshed. Indeed, desperate fighting would have broken out, had not two pretorian cohorts joined in on the side of the Fourteenth and thus encouraged them and intimidated the Batavians. (*Hist.* 2.66)*

*At about the same date, the cohorts of Batavians and Cannanefates were overtaken by Civilis' messenger as they were starting off on the way to Rome at the orders of Vitellius. They promptly assumed an intractable and high-handed attitude towards the Romans. As a bribe for making the march, they proceeded to ask for a bounty, double pay and an increase in the cavalry element of their units. No doubt these were privileges promised by Vitellius, but the men were less concerned to obtain them than to secure an excuse for mutiny. Moreover, by his many concessions Flaccus has merely encouraged them to clamour more noisily for what they knew he would refuse. Paying no attention to him, they made for Lower Germany to join Civilis. (*Hist.* 4.19)*

Although ethnic tensions assumed an extreme form during the Civil War, these passages nevertheless reveal an underlying, structural rivalry between Batavian cohorts on the one hand and Roman legions on the other. We can imagine Batavian irritation at the legionaries' feeling of superiority and the privileges and better pay that they enjoyed. Ordinarily these tensions would have been kept in check, with Batavian units able to vent their frustration on the battlefield by distinguishing themselves from the legions through their bravery. However, we see ethnic tensions escalate in the context of the Civil War, culminating in the defection of all eight cohorts to the rebel Civilis in AD 69.[515]

[515] Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.19. Several authors have suggested that Civilis had served under Claudius in Britannia as prefect of one of the Batavian cohorts, which may have contributed to his popularity among these units. Cf. Sprey 1954, 68; Hassall 1970; Bellen 181, 98 (note 105). Tacitus (*Hist.* 4.32) reports that Civilis had served 25 years in the Roman army.

The above observations show, and epigraphic evidence supports it,[516] that it was above all outside their homeland and in the context of the Roman army that Batavian ethnicity was moulded. It was not only propagated by the Batavians themselves, but consciously cultivated by the Roman authorities, in particular by assigning ethnic labels to the cohorts and having them operate in closed ethnic units. It was also in the context of the army that the Roman image of Batavians took shape.

10.3 DOMINANT ROMAN IMAGES OF THE BATAVIANS

This section will focus on the dominant images of Batavian ethnicity expressed in Roman literary sources. At the same time, we need to understand how those images arose. Two socio-psychological mechanisms were at work here: stereotyping and the projection of barbarian topoi. In chapter 5 I discussed the major underlying historical factors in the formation of the Roman image of Batavians, namely the Romano-Batavian alliance and the consequent massive supply of auxiliaries, including the lion's share of the Germanic imperial bodyguard.

In terms of the ethnic classification system of the Roman empire, Batavians were Germans and hence barbarians. They were regarded as culturally inferior and completely marginal in terms of Roman civilisation. We can discern a clear line of development in the portrayal of Germans in Roman literature, a subject that has enjoyed comprehensive scrutiny in recent decades.[517] Caesar's Germanic and Suebian ethnography was still largely shaped by general barbarian topoi and antique ethnographic development theories. His description of nomadic elements in the Germanic lifestyle and their diet of meat and milk appears to be influenced by the Scythian model.[518] Strabo follows Caesar's line when he describes the nomadic existence of the Germans; we can see the influence of theoretical concepts in his linking of Germanic wildness to the northern climate. As a result of the Germanic wars, knowledge about Germans increased enormously from the Augustan era onward. Not until the works of Tacitus, however, was there any substantial change in their image.[519] In his *Germania*, Tacitus no longer portrays them as nomads, but as sedentary farmers. Nevertheless, there is also a marked barbarian ideology underlying the *Germania*, which functions as the antithesis of civilised Roman culture.[520] Central to this is a series of masculine, martial clichés and stereotypes. In socio-psychological terms, Germans were characterised as impulsive, undisciplined, unstable, warlike and less intelligent. Their constant fondness for invading Gaul was prompted by a thirst for pleasure, greed and the desire to migrate; they wanted to flee the swamps and wilderness of their homeland.[521]

In few social contexts will Roman clichés about Germans have been as tellingly expressed as in the triumphs awarded to Roman emperors and princes for their victories at the Germanic frontier. A prime example is Suetonius' bizarre story about Caligula's preparations for the coming triumph over the Germans, in which he used Gauls to supplement his small group of Germanic prisoners of war: *'To supplement the few prisoners and the deserters who had come over from the barbarians, he picked the tallest Gauls of the province – 'those worthy of triumph' – and some of their chiefs as well. These had not only to grow their hair and dye it red, but also to learn German and adopt barbarian names'*.[522] A large physique, long red-dyed hair, their own specific language and names – these were the chief characteristics of Germanic warriors.

[516]   It is significant that almost all inscriptions of individuals who describe themselves as Batavians relate to Roman army soldiers living outside their homeland. Cf Derks 2004.

[517]   Von See 1981; Lund 1990; idem 1998.

[518]   Shaw 1982/83.

[519]   Wolters 2001, 151.

[520]   Bazelmans 1991.

[521]   Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.73 (Cerialis' speech). On the role of triumphs in creating and reproducing stereotypical images of Germans among the population of Rome, see Radnoti-Alföldy 1994, 166 ff.

[522]   Suetonius, Gaius 47.

In many respects we can establish a direct link between how Romans saw, or wanted to see, the Batavians and general clichés about Germans. Of interest here is Tacitus' detailed report of the Batavian revolt, which is characterised by a series of stereotypical binary oppositions between Romans and Batavians, with the latter being regularly associated with barbarians.[523] He mentions vain ostentation as an innate Batavian characteristic.[524] The Batavian leader Julius Civilis was unusually intelligent 'for a barbarian'.[525] When he and the Trevirian Julius Classicus were considering plundering Cologne, he was accused of rapaciousness and a desire for spoils, which is said to have sprung from his barbarian soul.[526] During the Batavian revolt, in keeping with Germanic custom, Civilis dyed his hair red and – as part of a solemn vow – allowed it to grow until victory was achieved.[527] Also in regard to physique, the Germanic stereotype applied to Batavians: Batavian youths were naturally slim and tall.[528] The poet Martial refers indirectly to the uncivilised nature of Batavians when he describes someone who remained deaf to his poems as a person with *auris Batava*, a 'Batavian ear'.[529] He also wrote an epigram about a mask – a caricature of a Batavian – which terrified children: '*I am a jest of the potter, mask of a red-haired Batavian. The face you mock, a boy fears.*'[530]

For Tacitus, the crisis of the Batavian revolt was an ideal historical context in which to give voice to all manner of Roman stereotypes about Germans and Batavians. Yet he brings to his account of the revolt qualifications in his portrayal. He points to the lengthy service of the Batavian troops, who – as regular Roman *auxilia* – had long ceased conforming to the stereotype of wild Germanic warrior bands. He also distinguishes between Civilis' core army, comprising disciplined Batavian veteran cohorts with their Roman standards, and the disorderly bands of Germanic warriors of his allies north of the Rhine, with their tribal emblems depicting wild beasts brought from forest and sacred grove.[531] The Batavians fought for glory, while the Germans – ever true to their barbaric nature – were only out for spoils.[532] The Germans east of the Rhine lacked discipline; they refused to follow orders, and could only be cajoled by money and gifts.[533] Such passages reveal that the Batavians occupied an intermediary position between the barbaric Germans on the one hand and the Gauls, who were receptive to Roman culture, on the other.

Roman sources give special attention to the specific military qualities of the Batavians, who are characterised as a 'warlike race'.[534] They were renowned for their horsemanship and there are frequent references to their special aptitude for amphibious operations. Batavian units were able to cross large rivers in formation, with or without their horses and in full equipment, and then to immediately take up battle again.[535] This attribute is expressed most clearly by Tacitus:[536]

'*In the home country, they* [the Batavians] *also had a picked cavalry force specially trained for amphibious operations. These men were capable of swimming the Rhine while keeping hold of their arms, and maintaining perfect formation*'.

[523] Cf. Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.23; 5.15.

[524] Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.23.

[525] Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.13.

[526] Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.63.

[527] Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.61. Cf. also Tacitus, *Germ.* 31, for a similar practice among the Chatti.

[528] Tacitus, *Hist* 4.14. On the *magna corpora* of the Germans, see Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.14; 5.18 and *Germ.* 4.

[529] Martialis 6.82. Cf. Mout 1993.

[530] Martialis 14.176. Cf. Radnoti–Alföldy 1994, 180.

[531] Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.22.

[532] Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.78.

[533] Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.76.

[534] Tacitus, *Hist.* 1.59.

[535] Dio 55.24; Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.8; 2.11; *Hist.* 2.17; 2.43; 4.12; 4.66; 5.14–15; Dio 69.9; *CIL* III 3676. Cf. Wolters 1990, 146 (note 62); Swinkels 1995, 32–34.

[536] Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.12.

We also encounter Roman stereotypes of Batavians in descriptions of the Germanic bodyguard of the Julio-Claudian emperors, which consisted primarily of Batavians.[537] The bodyguard's primary characteristic and *raison d'être* was loyalty to the emperor; they were seen as *cohors fidelissima*, a reputation acquired as a result of a series of operations in times of crisis.[538] Significantly, the *manus Germanorum* was not dissolved after the Varus defeat in AD 9, despite the prevailing *Germani* psychosis in Rome. This shows that Augustus regarded the bodyguard as an indispensable part of the principate's security system.[539] The combination of loyalty and courage was central to their reputation. Moreover, as barbarian outsiders, they stood outside the Roman political system and as such – it was felt – they were better placed than Roman civilians to guarantee the emperor's safety. We can readily assume that soldiers were recruited to the bodyguard on the basis on physical criteria that reinforced the Roman stereotype of Germans.[540] Colossal stature (*immensa corpora*) was particularly important. Bellen points out that in this respect the bodyguard also had a representational function for the emperor: with their huge physique, the barbarian bodyguards underscored the Roman empire's claim to superiority.[541]

This shows clearly that the image of the Batavians crystallised in the early imperial era, and can be summed up by the following catchwords: Germanic, barbarian, manly, large in stature, warlike, brave, specialised elite soldiers, and loyal to the emperor.

10.4 DOMINANT ELEMENTS IN THE SELF-IMAGE OF BATAVIANS

My attempts to say something about the Batavian self-image rest on the assumption that it was shaped primarily by how they saw themselves in relation to Rome and how the Romans saw them. Thanks to massive military recruitment, sizeable groups of Batavians were personally confronted with the image that existed of them in Roman circles (especially in the army). This in turn will have helped mould their ethnic self-image. The following themes will have played a prominent role in the way Batavians saw themselves.

Firstly, there was their identity as a race of soldiers who distinguished themselves through bravery, excellent horsemanship, and loyalty to the emperor. Although this image tied up with existing pre-Roman traditions relating to horsemanship and the *comitatus* system among Lower Rhine groups, it was strongly reinforced from the Augustan era onwards. The on-going large-scale recruitment of Batavians for the Roman army in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD suggests that they did their best to live up to their reputation as a soldiering people. It was also in their best interests to do so since a sizeable portion of the Batavian population – among both the elite and the lower social groups – relied directly for their livelihood on

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[537] On the ethnic composition of the Germanic guard, see Bellen 1981, chapter III. Significant here are Suetonius' (Gaius 43) description of the unit as *numerus Batavorum*, and Dio's (55.24) statement that the Germanic guard consisted of Batavian horsemen. Cf. also the discussion in chapter 5.2.

[538] Bellen 1981, 82-83. Cf. Suetonius, Galba 12.2. Here we can establish a relationship with the tribal *Gefolgschafts* ethos of Germanic warriors described by Tacitus (*Germ.* 13-14).

[537] On the ethnic composition of the Germanic guard, see Bellen 1981, chapter III. Significant here are Suetonius'

(Gaius 43) description of the unit as *numerus Batavorum*, and Dio's (55.24) statement that the Germanic guard consisted of Batavian horsemen. Cf. also the discussion in chapter 5.2.

[538] Bellen 1981, 82-83. Cf. Suetonius, Galba 12.2. Here we can establish a relationship with the tribal *Gefolgschafts* ethos of Germanic warriors described by Tacitus (*Germ.* 13-14).

[539] Bellen 1981, 13, 85. Cf. Suetonius, Aug. 49.1

[540] Bellen 1981, 42, 103.

[541] Bellen 1981, 91.

Fig. 10.2. Gravestone of the Batavian Imerix, cavalryman of the *ala Hispanorum*, found in Ivosevci (Croatia). Mid 1st century AD. After Swinkels 1995, 33, fig. 1.

their income as professional soldiers in the Roman army. Batavian cavalry skills suggest a social system in which young men were trained from an early age to manage horses and were given every opportunity to display their equestrian skills in tournaments.[542] The importance of martial values in the self-image of individual Lower Rhine auxiliary soldiers was reflected in 1st-century gravestones depicting cavalry scenes.[543] One of the earliest examples (mid-1st century AD) is the gravestone of the Batavian Imerix, found in Croatia (fig. 10.2). [544]

The prominence of the military aspect of Batavian identity is supported further by archaeological data. Roman recruitment introduced an entirely new social phenomenon into the Batavian region, one unprecedented in pre-Roman times: namely, full-time professional soldiers who were removed from civilian life for a protracted period (25 years). The massive influx into the army greatly strengthened the military element in Batavian society, and there is rich and varied archaeological evidence in the region to support this, in particular Roman military equipment. Inventarised recently by Nicolay, the data exists on a scale not found in any other frontier region (fig. 10.6).[545] Nicolay has used the data to present a model of the average life cycle of a Roman soldier and the corresponding patterns in the social use of weaponry in civilian contexts in the region (fig. 10.7). His starting point is the veteran hypothesis – that many Batavian auxiliary soldiers (certainly in the pre-Flavian period) returned home after completing their military service. This gave rise to new ways of dealing with weapons, which were taken home in vast quantities and kept as personal mementos in rural settlements, where they eventually ended up in graves or – more

[542] Tacitus, *Germ.* 32, makes explicit reference to such a system among the Lower Rhine Tencteri, which will have applied equally to the Batavians: *The Tencteri (…) particularly excel in the organisation of cavalry. (…) This supplies sport to their children, rivalry to their youths; even the aged keep it up.*

[543] Swinkels 1995, 33, 46-47.

[544] *CIL* III 3676. Speidel 1991; idem 1994, 45-47. There is also a unique elegy about a cavalryman belonging to the

Batavian unit (possibly the imperial horse guard) which crossed the Danube in AD 118 under the watchful eye of Emperor Hadrianus, and which was praised for its exceptional military skills. However this soldier does not appear to have been of Batavian origin, and Speidel believes that the emperor himself may have written the poem.

[545] Nicolay 2004; idem 2001 for a preliminary study.

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Fig. 10.3. Gravestone with cavalry scene, of the Baetasian Annauso, a cavalryman in the *ala II Flavia*, found at Mainz. End 1st century AD. Photo Landesmuseum Mainz.

frequently – among the debris of settlements. It was also a popular practice to offer weapons in rivers or deposit them in one of the sanctuaries of the Batavian god or demigod Hercules Magusanus. We can safely assume that these intensive dealings with Roman weaponry in civilian contexts helped create a Batavian identity as a community of soldiers.[546]

A second prominent theme in the Batavian self-image was no doubt their role as chief supplier of soldiers to the Germanic bodyguard of the Julio-Claudian emperors. It will have been considered an honour to supply these *corporis custodes*, and everyone in the Batavian community will have heard of this elite unit.[547] A possible indication here is the unusual popularity of Greek names among Batavians stationed at Vindolanda between AD 90/92 and 105. These names undoubtedly hark back to soldiers of the Germanic imperial bodyguard in Julio-Claudian Rome, who often had Greek names. It seems that the names remained fashionable among the Batavians even after the bodyguard had been dissolved.[548]

A third critical theme in the collective identity of the Batavians was their alliance with Rome. This alliance lay at the heart of the massive ethnic recruitment, guaranteeing that one or more sons from almost every Batavian family lived the life of a professional soldier; it also regulated exemption from direct taxation. Batavians appear to have accepted the allegiance as honourable; it gave them the illusion of a partnership based on mutual respect.[549] In chapter 9 I pointed out that large sectors of Batavian society may have interpreted some early monuments from Nijmegen – the statue of Julius Caesar and the column for Tiberius in particular – as public memorials of their alliance with Rome.

On the other hand, Batavians will not have been happy with the Roman portrayal of them as barbarians. Presumably they did their best to counter this image by emphasising a Roman-inclusive identity. There are various – albeit indirect – indications that suggest this. For example, the construction of a Romano-Batavian capital at Nijmegen demonstrates a certain receptiveness on the part of the Batavian

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[546] At the same time, there was a complex interplay with the construction of other types of group identity related to gender, age classes and cult communities.

[547] Speidel 1994, 39-40.

[548] Birley 2002, 99; Van Driel 2003, 210.

[549] In the fictitious speech he attributes to Civilis, Tacitus (*Hist.* 4.14) suggests that the violation of the old *societas* with Rome constituted for the Batavian elite the prime motivation for revolt.
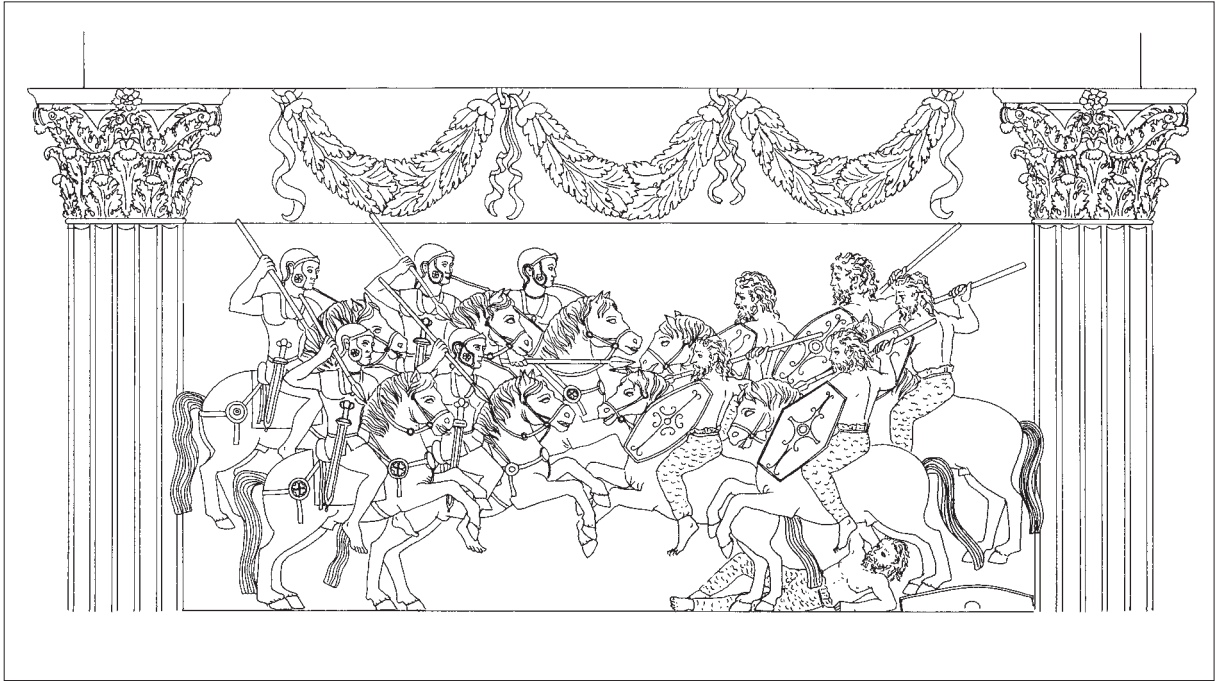
Fig. 10.4. Reconstruction of a carved frieze on the base of a large grave monument, depicting a fight between Roman and barbarian cavalry. Based on fragments from various find sites. After Gabelmann 1973, Abb. 39.

elite to Roman ideals of civilisation. In addition, Tacitus refers to Civilis' son staying in Cologne, which may be linked to the practice among the upper elite of giving their children a Roman upbringing.[550] However, ordinary Batavians will also have resisted the barbarian status ascribed to them. Significant is the way in which 1st-century auxiliary soldiers of Lower Rhine origin presented themselves on grave-stones depicting cavalry. A popular scene showed a Roman cavalryman overwhelming a barbarian enemy (fig. 10.3). The peregrine auxiliary soldier is presented here as a Roman, who clearly distances himself emphatically from a barbarian identity.[551] The same idea is expressed on a more monumental group of 1st-century grave reliefs showing a fight between Roman and barbarian cavalry (fig. 10.4). A fragment of one such relief, probably part of a gravestone of a Batavian cavalryman, was discovered at Nijmegen (fig. 10.5).[552]

But the self-image of the Batavians is more than just a response to key elements in the picture that Romans had of them. Other themes, whose existence we only know of from archaeological and epi-graphic evidence, were ignored completely in the Roman sources. One example is the historical self-image of the Batavian community in its relationship to the Romans. It is a general phenomenon that ethnic constructs are combined with and shaped by the history or tradition a given society holds of its own past, and which emphasises its common ancestry. This historical anchoring of ethnic groups is expressed in foundation myths and ancestral histories.[553] The creation of collective origin myths is always an essential component of ethnogenesis processes; they serve primarily to shape relationships in the present. The ethnogenesis and integration of the Batavians into the Roman empire went hand in hand with the construction of a new set of 'invented traditions' or 'intentional histories', which anchored the

[550] Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.63.

[551] Carroll 2000, 121.

[552] Swinkels 1995, 46.

[553] Hobsbawm/Ranger 1983; Gehrke 2000.

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Fig. 10.5. Frieze fragment showing a cavalry scene, part of a large grave monument. Found at Nijmegen. Photo Museum Het Valkhof, Nijmegen,

Batavian community in the Roman empire in a broader cosmological sense. Two themes seem to have played a vital role in the historical self-image of the Batavians. Firstly, the deified Caesar as the founder of the Roman-Batavian alliance. Caesar's apparent historical role in the Batavian ethnogenesis process will have given rise to myth creation.[554] The marble head of Caesar found in Nijmegen provides us with archaeological evidence for this (chapter 9.1). Secondly, the idea that the Batavian community had a mythical origin in Hercules. This theme will be elaborated in the following chapter.

The above discussion of identity might suggest that the Batavians were a homogenous group. However, we know that discrepancies always exist in ethnic groupings between the ideal image of the uniformity of the collective and the concrete actions of individuals, which are prompted by personal interests and motivations. Tacitus portrays this tension among Batavians in his description of the revolt of 69: he points to the atypical, pro-Roman attitude of the Batavian aristocrats Julius Briganticus and Claudius Labeo, both prefects of *alae*. Nevertheless, we observe that the vast majority of Batavians sided with Civilis during the revolt. This degree of ethnic solidarity can largely be explained by the Roman ethnic recruitment system, with indigenous prefects in command, and by the practice of keeping the Batavian cohorts together. Further, it is important to understand that ethnic identities are not sharply delineated entities. Following Wenskus, we can make a distinction amongst tribal groups between an aristocratic

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[554] Tacitus, *Hist*. 4.55, gives us a direct parallel in his story (in the context of the Batavian/Gallic revolt of 69) about the descent myth of the Lingonean leader Julius Sabinus. He claimed direct descent from the deified Julius Caesar, who was said to have had a relationship with his great-grandmother.
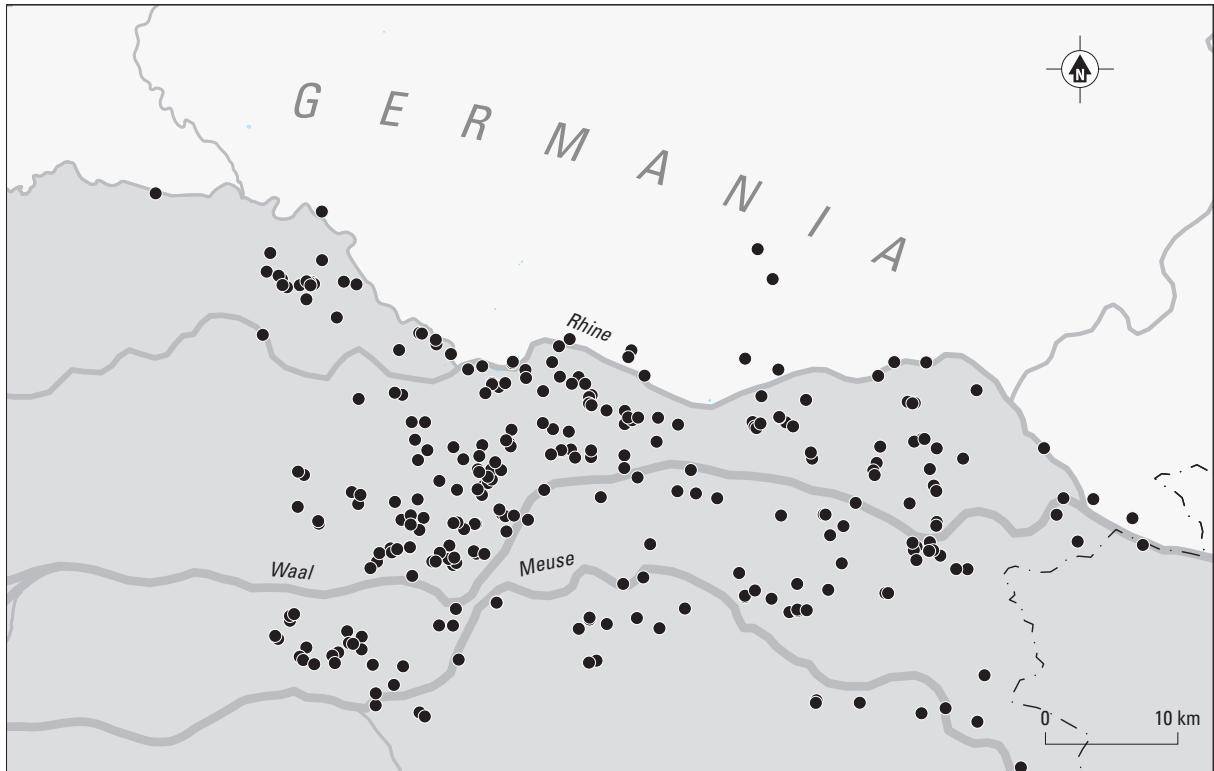
Fig. 10.6. Distribution of Roman military equipment and horse gear from non-military contexts within the *civitas Batavorum* (1st-4th century AD). After Nicolay 2004, fig. 3.8.

identity centre (a *Traditionskern*) and a periphery characterised by a diminishing sense of identity.[555] The *stirps regia*, to which Julius Civilis belonged, can be seen as the core of the Batavian identity group. Members of this aristocratic family not only played a prominent political role in the Batavian polity, they will also have played a key role in the process of publicly defining the collective self-image. The smaller tribes of the western Rhine delta, who in the pre-Flavian era seem to have belonged to the *civitas Batavorum*, can be placed on the extreme periphery of the Batavian identity group.[556] Only in the context of the Roman army will members of these groups have identified themselves as Batavians.

Epigraphic material, the subject of recent research by Derks, provides a vital key when studying the ethnicity of individual Batavians.[557] This evidence shows that Batavian ethnicity is not only a Roman literary creation. Derks collected a total of 62 inscriptions (1st – 3rd century AD) relating to individuals from the Batavian region. These were for the most part inscriptions from the gravestones and votive altars of military men who were outside their homeland, thus illustrating the general principle that an individual's ethnic origin is only reported if that person is in a foreign environment.[558] In the home region itself, a person's ethnicity was not considered worth mentioning in inscriptions. A second finding relates to the situational contexts in which individuals subscribe to their Batavian identity. In the vast majority of cases these are funeral inscriptions, pointing to the final moment in the life cycle of individuals. A third finding is that the majority of the individuals continued to give themselves the ethnic label of *natione Batavus* or *Batavus* in the course of the 2nd and early 3rd century, but there is also the rise of a

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[555] Wenskus 1961, 65 ff.; Brather 2000, 159.

[556] See chapter 5.5.

[557] Derks 2004.

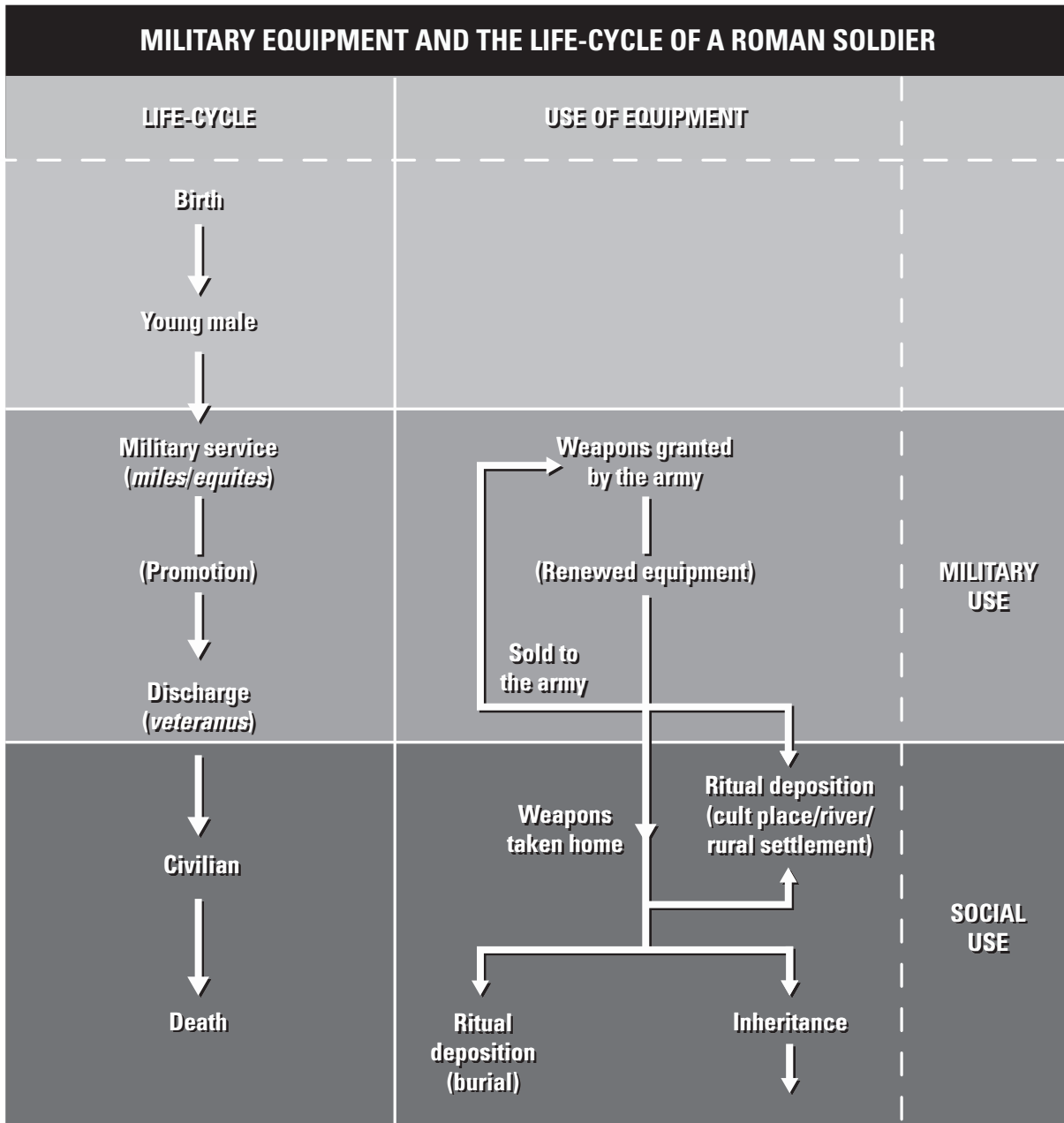[558] Cf. for the Treveri: Krier 1981. For the Tungri: Nouwen 1997.

MILITARY EQUIPMENT AND THE LIFE-CYCLE OF A ROMAN SOLDIER

LIFE-CYCLE	USE OF EQUIPMENT	
Birth		
↓		
Young male		
↓		
Military service (*miles/equites*)	Weapons granted by the army	MILITARY USE
↓ (Promotion)	(Renewed equipment)	
↓	Sold to the army	
Discharge (*veteranus*)		
↓	Weapons taken home / Ritual deposition (cult place/river/ rural settlement)	SOCIAL USE
Civilian		
↓		
Death	Ritual deposition (burial) / Inheritance	

Fig. 10.7. Model of the use of military equipment during the life cycle of a Roman soldier. After Nicolay 2001, fig. 6.

new collective identity derived from the *civitas* capital of Ulpia Noviomagus/Nijmegen (table 12.2). This new trend can be related to different developments: Nijmegen's promotion to *municipium* in around AD 100; the influx into the Batavian *civitas* and Nijmegen in particular of Roman citizens (veterans, traders) of foreign origin;[559] and the growing numbers of Batavians who in the course of the late 1st and 2nd centuries had been granted Roman citizenship on completion of military service. These social changes

[559] This will have occurred in the Batavian region too, despite the fact that veterans settled here on a much smaller scale than in the *coloniae* of Cologne and Xanten. One illustration is the Claudian-era gravestone of the veteran Tiberius Julius Probus, which has recently been discovered at a rural settlement at Houten (fig. 12.2). He came from Fréjus in southern France and probably married a Batavian woman. Cf. Derks 2003.

gave rise in the 2nd century to a small minority of citizens who did not wish – or no longer wished – to be identified as Batavian. Probably because of its Germanic and barbarian connotations in Roman eyes, Batavian ethnicity had lost its attraction as an emic ascriptive label for this group. Instead, they identified themselves as originating from the *civitas* capital of Ulpia Noviomagus/Nijmegen. We encounter similar developments elsewhere in the Lower Rhine frontier zone: following Cologne and Xanten's elevation to *colonia* status, the old ethnic names of the Ubii and the Cugerni quickly made way for the new collective names *Agrippinenses* and *Traianenses*, which referred to the *colonia* status of their community.[560]

Finally, we should consider the discussion of the 'multiple identity' of Batavians. To what extent did the Batavian elite feel Roman and identify themselves with Roman power and culture? Slofstra states correctly that the Batavian elite had a 'double identity' in the pre-Flavian period.[561] They will have frequently conducted themselves as Romans, but not at all times and in all situations. They derived their self-image in part from their status as a special treaty partner of Rome and as commanders of Batavian auxiliary units, which they may still have perceived as their own military *Gefolgschaft*. I wish to emphasise, however, that the notion of a 'double identity' does not mean that these were – by definition – opposed to and therefore in conflict with one another. With the exception of crises like the Batavian revolt, both the elite and lower social groups (the common soldiers) will have interpreted Batavian identity as an inclusive, Roman identity. This is illustrated by the dual identity expressed on grave steles of Lower Rhine auxiliary horsemen. Although Annauso is presented as a Roman soldier fighting a barbarian opponent (in fig. 10.3), he identifies himself as Baetasian in the epitaph.

In conclusion, we can say that it was precisely through interaction with the Roman empire that the Batavian self-image was forged. Batavian identity was partly defined by the Romans in terms of a set of clichés, to which the Batavians then responded. Their responses appear to have confirmed some stereotypes, while rejecting others (such as the barbarian image). In addition, some aspects that were emphasised in the Batavian self-image did not feature at all in the image the Romans had of them (e.g. the foundation myth relating to Hercules). Finally, we must be aware that the Batavian self-image – as a subjective construction – in no way presents a balanced picture of social 'reality'. For instance, it is conspicuous that no light is thrown on the role of women in the Batavian community and we scarcely know of any women who defined themselves as *Batavae*.[562] This may mean that the primary relevance of Batavian identity lay in the public male domain, and was a non-issue in the private family sphere. Our general impression is that Batavian ethnicity was the product of a process of continuous negotiation of identity, with the Roman empire – as the most powerful player – exerting a much greater influence than we had assumed until quite recently.

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[560] See the discussion in chapter 12.2. Tacitus, *Hist*. 4.28 and 65, refers explicitly to this process among the Ubii.

[561] Slofstra 2002, 29.

[562] Van Driel-Murray 2003, 206. On Batavian women in the epigraphic sources: Derks 2004, note 47.

11 Hercules and the construction of a Batavian identity in the context of the Roman empire

11.1 INTRODUCTION. MYTH, HISTORY AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF COLLECTIVE IDENTITIES

When studying romanisation processes, archaeologists have until recently focused their attention on socio-economic and political aspects of the integration of groups into the Roman empire. In the past decade, however, the scope has broadened to include ideological dimensions of the integration process. Several recent studies have pointed to the significance of foundation myths in the creation and perpetuation of collective identities within the context of the empire. Ethnic group identity is based to a significant extent on the notion of a common past. Almost every community in antiquity had its foundation myth. Although these stories often served to legitimise the power positions of leading elites, their significance went far beyond that. They played a key role in the self-definition of ethnic communities, marking their place in the cosmos.[563] Foundation myths appear to be flexible creations that changed in response to changing historical constellations.

In a recent study, the historian Gehrke analysed the relationship between myth, history and collective identity in ancient Greece.[564] He emphasises that foundation myths do not derive their power and vitality simply from references to the past, but from their significance for the present and the future. Foundation myths usually define friendship or kinship relations with outside groups which are relevant for the present. They thus become a frame of reference for dealing with the present and the future, which places the modern concepts of myth, history and contemporary history on a single continuum.[565] By means of creative adaptation, relationships and group identities from the present are projected back into the past to become part of the collective memory. Gehrke calls this 'intentional history' (*intentionale Geschichte*),[566] in the sense that the past derives its relevance from its capacity to help form relationships in the present.

In this chapter, I intend to focus on the significance of the cult of Hercules for Batavian integration into the Roman Empire. In so doing, I will build on recent discussions about the changing self-definition of Celto-Germanic groups following their incorporation into the empire. My central proposition is that 'becoming Roman' meant that groups had to redefine their identity and self-image – in short, to rewrite their history. Derks and Creighton have placed this topic on the research agenda of provincial Roman archaeology.[567] They have pointed to the need of communities conquered by Rome to forge a link to Graeco-Roman mythology in the context of their political relationship with Rome. I intend to take up this insight and develop it for Lower Rhine groups, with a particular focus on the Batavians. How did the Batavians find their way into Roman mythology and what were their motives for doing so?

I am fully aware that in broaching this topic – the role of origin myths in the construction of new identities by provincial Roman groups – I am entering a terrain of meagre archaeological evidence and

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[563] Hobsbawm/Ranger 1983.

[564] Gehrke 2000.

[565] Gehrke 2000, 9.

[566] Gehrke 2000, 10.

[567] Derks 1998; Creighton 2000.

few historical sources. In fact, we have no direct historical information at all about Batavian descent myths. What we do have, however, is important circumstantial evidence, both historical and archaeological. By combining this knowledge with analogies with other groups in the northern provinces of the Roman Empire, we can put forward a model for developments among the Batavians. Although I realise that much of what I propose here is hypothetical, my reason for broaching this subject is that it constitutes a vital aspect of the romanisation of Lower Rhine groups, and one which we simply cannot ignore, especially if we hope to understand the self-image of groups vis-à-vis the Roman Empire.

The springboard for my analysis has been Derks' recent study[568] of Gallo-Roman religion and, in particular, the cult of indigenous deities associated with Mars or Hercules. The monumental character of the sanctuaries where these gods were worshipped, the involvement of magistrates in their cult and, most notably, a number of inscriptions linking their cult to a *civitas* or *pagus*, all provide strong evidence to suggest that they were the principal deities of *civitates* or *pagi*. Derks maintains that the various associations of indigenous gods with the Roman Mars or Hercules are not isolated instances, but rather core elements in the mythical anchoring of Celto-Germanic groups in the Roman world, and hence in the creation of a new historical self-image. We can observe two strands in the available evidence:

a. a link to Trojan descent myths, frequently associated with Mars as the principal deity, discernible in various *civitates* in Gaul and possibly Britannia.
b. a link to Hercules, documented only on the Lower Germanic frontier.

Before discussing the significance of the cult of Hercules among the Batavians, I will elaborate on both these links.

11.2 EVIDENCE FOR TROJAN FOUNDATION MYTHS IN GAUL AND BRITAIN

Although foundation myths were an important element in the symbolic construction of ethnic identities in the pre-Roman Celto-Germanic world, the information we have about them is meagre. The best-known example is the Mannus genealogy of Germanic groups, described by Tacitus, in which tribes traced back their origins to deities or mythical ancestors.[569] Tacitus' observation that different versions of the genealogy were in circulation points to the myth's dynamic character. Collective descent myths continued to play a fundamental role in the self-definition of provincial Roman groups, who, above all else, did not wish to be associated with the barbarians whom Rome had defeated. By creatively adapting foundation myths and genealogies, they sought to negotiate for themselves a worthy place in the Roman world. The myths were a declaration of political loyalty to the new regime. The following examples from Gaul and Britain demonstrate the creative appropriation of a Trojan foundation myth:[570]

a. Arverni. The poet Lucan reported in the mid-1st century AD that the Arverni claimed Trojan descent and hence kinship ties with Rome.[571] His words – that the Arverni 'dared' to represent themselves in this way – suggest that Rome did not officially recognise their prestigious foundation myth. This descent tradition, probably created in the 2nd century BC as a result of an alliance with Rome, was still referred to in the 5th century AD by Bishop Sidonius Apollinaris.[572]

[568] Derks 1998, 91 ff.
[569] Tacitus, *Germ.* 2.
[570] Derks 1998, 108-111.
[571] Lucanus, *Phars.* I, 427–428. Cf. Braund 1980; Goudineau/ Peyre 1993, 171.
[572] Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carmina* 7.139; *Epistulae* 7.7.2.

b. Aedui. Caesar reported that the Aedui were allies of Rome, whom the senate officially honoured with the title 'brothers and kinsmen' (*fratres consanguineique*).[573] This would suggest that, like their neighbours the Arverni, the Aedui claimed Trojan descent.[574] The alliance with Rome, and probably the notion of a common Trojan origin, dates back to the 2nd century BC.[575] The kinship tie with Rome was still referred to in the 4th century AD. It appears that the Aedui worshipped Mars as their principal deity.

c. Remi. The Remi also seem to have claimed kinship ties with Rome. Mars Camulus, the principal deity of the Remi, may have been an important unifying element. A central clue is the interpretation of the sculptural programme on the monumental triple arch of the 'Porta Martis', at Reims.[576] This is believed to represent the foundation myths of both Rome and the Remi. Mars, the god who gave the arch its name, is the principal figure on the central arch. The other arches depict Romulus and Remus, and Leda and the swan, while the arch facades include statues of Venus and Aeneas, and Rhea Silvia and Mars, four leading figures in the foundation myth of Rome. An altar stone from Reims, dedicated to Mars Camulus, also hints at a direct link to Roman foundation myths. The dedicant, whose name is clearly a provincial one, was a member of the Laurentes Lavinates, an elite college of priests from Italy who had a specific responsibility for the cult surrounding the Trojan foundation myth of Rome.[577] The name of the Remi may have contributed to the interweaving of their foundation myth with that of Rome. It enabled them to trace their origin to an eponymous forefather, Remus, immediately evoking associations with Romulus' twin brother of the same name, the founder of Rome.[578]

d. Britannia. Various medieval texts provide evidence of a Trojan foundation myth for Britain. At their heart is the Brutus story. Aeneas' grandson, Silvius, had a secret love affair, out of which Brutus was born. Fate decreed that he should cause the death of both his mother and father. His relatives banished him from Italy and, after much wandering, he arrived in Britain, where successive generations of his descendants ruled until Julius Caesar reunited them with their noble origins.[579] Although the earliest version of this medieval tale dates to c. 800 AD, Creighton believes it may have been of Roman origin, partly in view of the overwhelming evidence for the appropriation of Graeco-Roman myth by British rulers in the era before the Claudian conquest.[580]

The above examples demonstrate how deeply rooted was the Trojan descent myth in the northwestern provinces. The earliest associations date from the 2nd century BC among peoples in Central/Eastern Gaul who already then maintained treaty relations with Rome. Later, Augustus may have provided a powerful impetus. At his instigation, literary circles made modifications to the foundation myth of Rome; the Julian family of his adoptive father Caesar was positioned at the heart of the myth by claiming descent from Venus and Aeneas.[581] As the father of Romulus and hence the founder of Rome, Mars had been a central figure in the Roman foundation myth from early times. Trojan foundation myths long retained their popularity in Gaul, enabling us to trace the tradition among the Aedui and the Arverni right up until the 4th/5th century. It is interesting to note that the Merovingian kings also laid claim to Trojan descent. By appropriating the foundation myth of Rome, they were able to present themselves as Rome's successors. Probably they were linking themselves to the then still widespread descent tradition of Rome and of many Gallic communities.[582]

[573] Caesar, *BG* 1,33.

[574] Goudineau/Peyre 1993, 172-173.

[575] Goudineau/Peyre 1993, 171-172.

[576] Derks 1998, 106 ff.

[577] Derks 1998, 109-110.

[578] Derks 1998, 108-109. Flodoard, the early medieval ecclesiastical historian, saw a connection between Remus and the foundation myth of the Remi.

[579] Creighton 2000, 140.

[580] Creighton 2000, 141 ff.

[581] Cf. in particular the sculptural design in the decoration of the Mars temple at the *Forum* of Augustus in Rome. See Derks 1998, 30 ff.
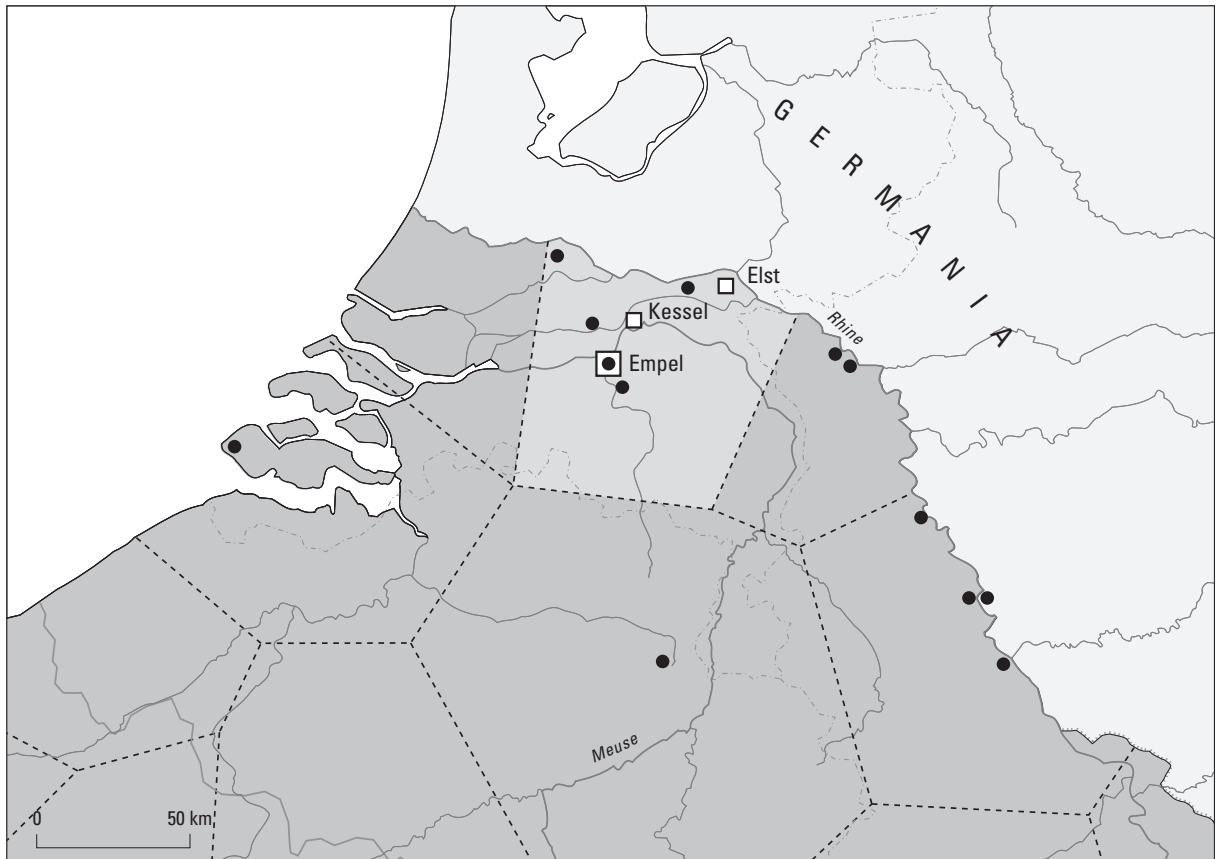
[582] Barlow 1995.

Fig. 11.1. Distribution of votive inscriptions to Hercules Magusanus (black dots), and of public sanctuaries (squares) certainly (Empel) or probably (Elst, Kessel) dedicated to him in the Lower Rhine region.

One feature of the Gallic examples is the connection with a local cult of Mars. This does not appear to have been coincidental; rather, it fitted within the ideological programme propagated by Augustus. The question we must ask is how close was this association? Should we assume a link with the Roman descent myth in all *civitates* where Mars was the principal deity? Derks believes that we should. He suggests that the choice of Mars went hand in hand with the incorporation of Rome's legendary past into that of the local community.[583] The choice of Mars can be seen as a declaration of loyalty to the Augustan political order. It is important to emphasise that the Gallic Mars deities are all syncretisms, in which a local – probably pre-Roman – god is equated with the Roman Mars. Such syncretisms enabled communities to create a new kinship bond with Rome, while at the same time preserving their local identity.

11.3 HERCULES AS THE FIRST CIVILISER OF THE GERMANIC FRONTIER

Alongside the Trojan origin myth there is a second, much less widespread myth, which is based on descent from Hercules. This tradition is directly linked to Roman myths about Hercules' exploits in the barbarian north. In Graeco–Roman mythology, Hercules is the prime example of an adventurer who

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[583] Derks 1998, 101.

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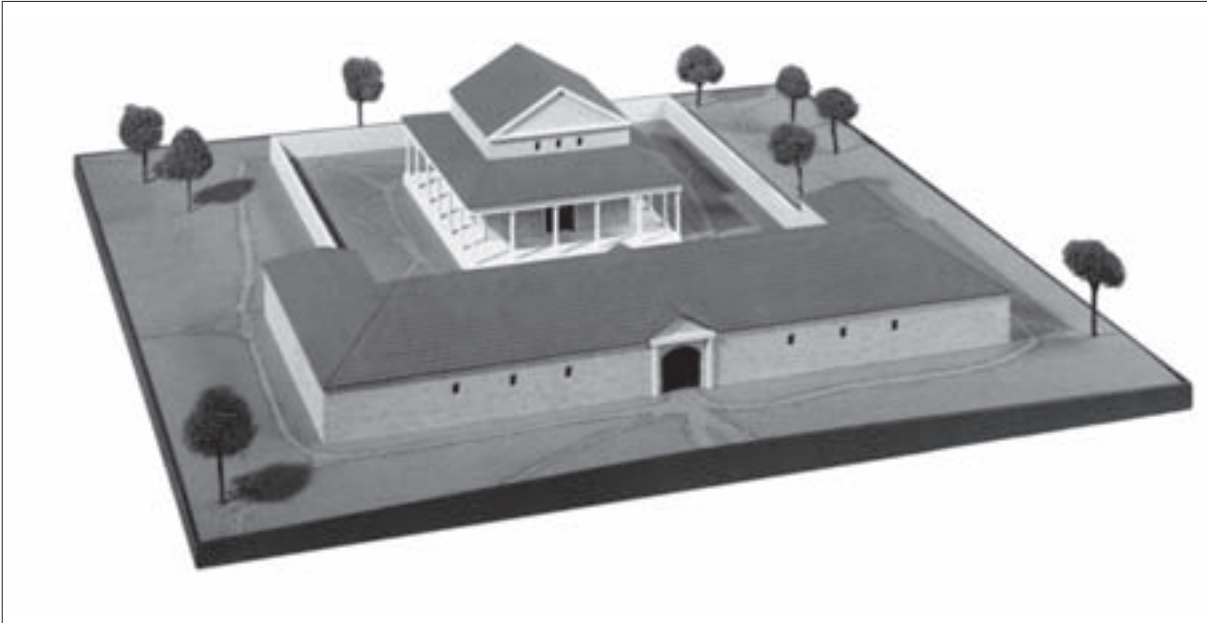
Fig. 11.2. Reconstruction of the Gallo-Roman temple complex at Empel. Photo Noordbrabants Museum, 's-Hertogenbosch.

constantly traverses the frontiers of the civilised world. In his adventurous exploits in the world beyond the frontier, he comes face to face with barbaric hostile forces in a wild and inhospitable natural environment. He is credited with being the first explorer and civiliser of the barbarian frontier regions, initially in Spain and Africa, and later in Gaul and Germania.[584] The earliest diffusion of Herculean myth accompanied the wave of colonisation by Greek states that swept across the western Mediterranean.[585] Later, Hercules' advance went hand in hand with Roman expansion in Gaul. As the boundaries of the Roman frontier shifted, so too did Hercules. Diodorus' account of Hercules' exploits in Gaul is an illustration of this. Hercules pacified and offered protection from perils in regions where nature was as yet untamed and where barbaric customs still prevailed, clearing a safe passage into wild areas and protecting those who took possession of these regions in his wake.[586] Thus Diodorus links Hercules to Roman expansion, with Hercules paving the way for Caesar's legions. Hercules became the perfect embodiment of the war against the Barbarians, waged in the name of civilisation; he provided a justification for the Greek wave of colonisation and, later, for Roman military expansion.[587]

We should therefore not be surprised at Hercules' appearance, with similar associations, at the Germanic frontier several generations later. According to Tacitus, Hercules' travels also took him to Germania, where people praised him as their supreme hero.[588] Elsewhere Tacitus reports on the Pillars of Hercules in the Frisian area on the North Sea coast.[589] Such references to Herculean myths primarily reflect a Roman perspective, and can probably be traced back to creations by Roman soldiers who were active in

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[584] For geographical shifts in Hercules myths over time, see Jourdain-Annequin 1992; Plácido 1993.

[585] For a brief chronological survey of passages on Hercules' actions in Gaul in the Graeco-Roman literature, see Moitrieux 2002, 69-72.

[586] Diodorus, *Bibliotheke* 4,19,1 and 4. Cf. Jourdain-Annequin 1992, 278.

[587] Jourdain-Annequin 1992, 278; Webster 1994.

[588] Tacitus, *Germ*. 3.

[589] Tacitus, *Germ*. 34. Tacitus reveals that he was aware of the dynamic nature of this myth; the location of the Pillars of Hercules moved from the Straits of Gibraltar to the North Sea coast.
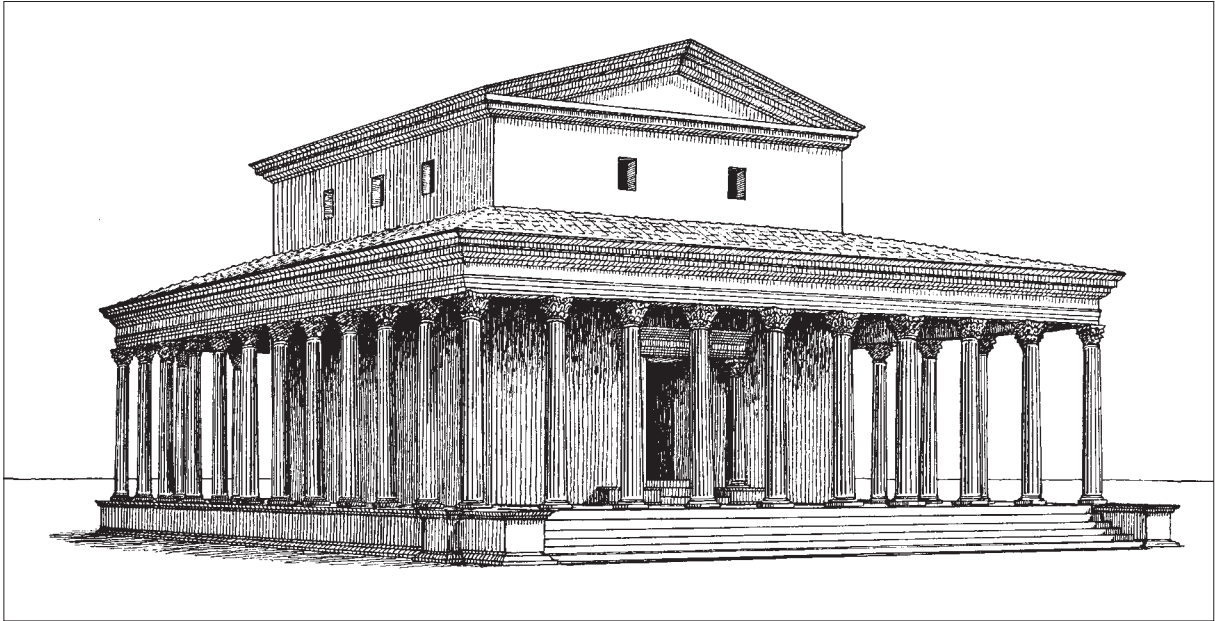
Fig. 11.3. Reconstruction of the Gallo-Roman temple of Elst-'Maartensstraat'. After Bogaers 1955, pl. 45.

Germania. The central theme is that Hercules had preceded the Roman armies in exploring and socialising the Germanic frontier.[590]

In the Graeco-Roman world, Hercules played a prominent role in the origin myths of local royal lineages. According to the standard pattern, Hercules would sire a son by the daughter of a local king, and the son would subsequently become eponymous for a city or primogenitor of a people.[591] It is precisely this theme that allowed groups at the barbarian frontier to creatively appropriate Herculean myths, thus taking up the Graeco-Roman myths about Hercules' exploits among barbarian peoples. One early example dating back to the 5th-century BC is a Scythian origin myth, recounted by Herodotus. During his travels through the land of the Scythians with Geryones' cattle, Hercules encountered a maiden - half woman, half snake - by whom he sired three sons. Scythes, the youngest, became the forefather of the Scythian kings.[592] Later, similar myths appear to have been created by Gallic groups. Diodorus reports (probably

[590] Cf. also the place name *Castra Herculis*, situated along the Lower Rhine and mentioned on the Peutinger Map. The name of this Roman fort may well refer to a foundation myth by Hercules, generated by the Roman soldiers who first built the camp. Castra Herculis has been identified with the fort at Arnhem-Meinerswijk, the foundation of which is related to the campaings of Germanicus between AD 14 and 16 (Willems 1986). Cf. Tacitus' story (*Germ.* 3) about the Greek hero Odysseus, who is said to have stopped in Germania on his northern travels. There he founded Asciburgium, and there is even a report of an altar dedicated to him. This myth, too, seems to be a product of Roman soldiers stationed in the army camp at Asciburgium.

[591] Cf. *DNP* 5, 387-392 s.v. Herakles; 403-404 s.v. Hercules (with further references); Huttner 1977, esp. 225-229. Hercules may also have played a role in the earliest foundation myth of Rome. In his recent book, *Ercole e Roma*, Mario Levi emphasises the significance of the Hercules cult at the Forum Boarium for early (pre-Hellenistic) Rome, and sees in him the true founder (*vero ecista*) of Rome (Levi 1997, 9). According to him, the classical foundation myth of Rome (including the link with the Trojan cycle) represents a more recent version, which did not emerge until the Hellenistic period (idem, 25).

[592] Herodotus, *Histories* 4, 8-10. This myth was allegedly told in Greek cities on the Black Sea coast. It was probably created by Scythian leaders who had entered into alliances with Greek colonies and who may even have had residences there. Cf. in this regard Herodotus' fascinating story of the Scythian king, Scylas, who lived in two separate worlds, a Greek and a Scythian one (*Histories* 4, 78 ff).

Fig. 11.4. Bronze Hercules figurine from Empel (1st century AD). After Roymans/Derks 1994.

following Posidonius) on the reputed descent of the Celts from Hercules, who was said to have visited Celtica during his campaigns against Geryones and to have sired a son, named Galates, by the daughter of a local king.[593] It is this Galates to whom the Gauls owe their name. Diodorus also tells of Hercules founding the city of Alesia.[594] Like the Trojan descent traditions of Gallic groups, these Herculean descent myths of 'barbaric' peoples will not have been externally imposed by the Greeks or by Rome. Rather, they express the viewpoint of local aristocrats, who used the creative appropriations of Mediterranean Hercules myths to demonstrate their close political and cultural ties with Greek states, and later, with Rome.[595]

It is important to note that the Hercules descent myths of the Gauls, reported by Diodorus and others, date from the period between Caesar's Gallic Wars and the death of Augustus. There is no evidence to show that this myth retained its vitality in the imperial period, by which time Mars had become the principal deity of almost all *civitates*. This stresses the particular status of Hercules as a 'frontier deity'. After the provincialisation of Gaul and the introduction of a formal Roman *civitas* system under Augustus, Hercules seems to have lost his special appeal for the Gauls. He owed his initial popularity to his ambivalent nature: on the one hand a Roman god, on the other hand a deity with barbaric traits because of his martial and pastoral associations, his drinking habits and his nomadic life-style.

11.4 THE CULT OF HERCULES AMONG THE BATAVIANS

Derks and the present author have recently drawn attention to the special significance of the cult of Hercules among Lower Germanic groups along the Rhine and, in particular, the Batavians.[596] This is an

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[593] Diodorus, *Bibliotheke* 5.24. For related myths, cf. also Parthenius, *Narrationes Amatoriae* 30; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Antiquitates Romanae* 14, 1, 3.

[594] Diodorus, *Bibliotheke* 4.19.2.

[595] Cf. Lund 1998, 99 ff. In contrast with Webster (1994, 5-6), who views such origin myths too one-sidedly as a Roman form of cultural imperialism, as part of a Roman colonial discourse imposed by Rome on Gallic groups. Relevant here is the rich numismatic evidence from Britannia, analysed by Creighton (2000). The coin series struck by

British 'client kings' of Rome in the period before the Claudian conquest bears witness to an astonishingly rich knowledge of Graeco-Roman myth. Scheid (1999, 385) points out that in polytheistic religious systems (like the Graeco-Roman and Germano-Celtic religions) the adoption and worship of deities of other groups poses fewer problems than in monotheistic religions; we are dealing here additive extensions of open systems.

[596] Roymans 1996, 88-94; Derks 1998, 98, 111 ff.

Fig. 11.5. Altar stone for Hercules Magusanus from Bonn, dated AD 226. After Horn 1970, Abb. 1.

instance of the appropriation by indigenous groups of the Roman Hercules cult, probably tying in with Roman myths about the role of Hercules as the first explorer of the Celto-Germanic frontier.

Significant here is the epigraphic evidence for the cult of Hercules Magusanus. Hercules Magusanus is a god with a double name, a Roman and an indigenous one respectively, and we should regard him as a syncretism of the Roman Hercules with Magusanus, a local deity or hero.[597] The cult was based in Germania Inferior, particularly the Batavian region, as attested to by the distribution of votive inscriptions and the presence of some monumental sanctuaries that can be ascribed to this deity (fig. 11.1). Hercules Magusanus may well have been the principal deity of the *civitas* of the Batavians.[598]

From the Batavian area we now know of three cult places which have produced evidence for an association with Hercules. Firstly, the Gallo-Roman sanctuary at Empel (fig. 11.2); among the find material there are many pieces of military equipment, a bronze figurine of Hercules and a votive inscription to Hercules Magusanus.[599] Secondly, the Gallo-Roman temple at Elst (fig. 11.3). Bogaers' hypothetical association of this sanctuary with Hercules Magusanus seems to be confirmed by the recent find of a fragment of a bronze figurine of Hercules, and a fragment of a votive altar dedicated to Hercules, found on an adjacent rural settlement.[600] Thirdly, a cult place discovered during large-scale dredging operations at Kessel/Lith on the south bank of the Meuse. Here, a large ritual find complex was encountered with Late La Tène and early-Roman military equipment, human and animal bones and pottery. The same site also produced rich decorative building remains of a monumental Gallo-Roman temple (fig. 7.23) used as spolia in a Late Roman fortification. The strong military association of the cult place points to Hercules as the central deity worshipped here.[601]

Recent investigations of monumental cult places dedicated to Hercules Magusanus in the Batavian area have added substantially to our knowledge of the cult of this deity. Most striking are the strong

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[597] The sequence is reversed – Magusanus Hercules – in the oldest inscription from Ruimel (*CIL* XIII 8771; first half 1st century AD; see fig. 8.2). Hercules Magusanus is the only example of an 'indigenous' Hercules north of the Alps. Cf. Moitrieux 2002, 181 ff.

[598] This is evident from the relatively large numbers of votive inscriptions from the Batavian area (fig. 11.1), the association of the cult with the monumental temple

complex at Empel and probably also Elst and Kessel, and the presence among the dedicants of a *summus magistratus* of the *civitas Batavorum* (*CIL* XIII 8771; see fig. 8.2).

[599] Roymans/Derks 1994.

[600] Bogaers 1955, 173, 240. Both recent finds are still unpublished.

[601] See chapter 7.6.

Fig. 11.6. Augustan denarius (*RIC* I 201a). The reverse shows a barbarian in Germanic dress who, as a sign of subjection, hands over a child as hostage to emperor Augustus. After Wolters 2000, 37.

masculine and military associations of the cult, as evidenced in the ritual deposition of many kinds of weaponry. Another notable feature is the pre-Roman origin of the sanctuaries.

Although no historical evidence has been passed down to us about the myths involving Hercules Magusanus, we note that the iconography relating to him is fully in keeping with that of the Roman Hercules, including references to the mythical repertoires associated with him. A bronze figurine from Empel (1st century AD; fig. 11.4) shows him wearing a lion's skin over his shoulders, holding a club (now lost) in his left hand and a drinking cup in his right. On an altar stone from Bonn (AD 226; fig. 11.5), he once again bears a club and lion's skin, and is flanked by Cerberus, the hellhound. And an altar stone from Xanten (2nd/3rd century AD) shows him in classical pose holding a club and, in his left hand, the apples of the Hesperides. All this would suggest that, although Hercules Magusanus may have expressed a local individuality and identity in terms of his name, he was quickly perceived - certainly by outsiders - as a truly Roman Hercules.[602]

For the Batavians, we have no specific information about just how the Roman Hercules was integrated into local foundation myths. Analogies, however, allow us to proffer some suggestions. The same leitmotif that we encounter elsewhere in Herculean myths may have applied to Hercules Magusanus as well. During his travels with the cattle of Geryones, Hercules passed through the Batavian region, where he is said to have sired a child by a local progenitress, thus entering into existing descent myths. However, as with the local Mars gods in Gaul, the situation with regard to Hercules Magusanus is more complex in that it involves a syncretism. Here we must take account of an existing deity or hero who already occupied a place in the pantheon, who shared several structural similarities with Hercules and who was identified with him.

Who among the Batavians could have been responsible for appropriating the myth of Hercules and fusing it with the already existing Magusanus myth? The originators must be sought first and foremost among those with access to political power: the pro-Roman Batavian elite, and the group of the *Iulii* in particular. In their youth, members of the *stirps regia* may have enjoyed a Roman education as 'hostages' in centres in Italy or in the province (fig. 11.6), and may have used the knowledge gained there to create

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[602] Derks 1998, 113-115. This may explain why the dedicants of votive altars to Hercules Magusanus include several persons who did not come from the Lower Rhine area.

new interpretations and appropriations of Graeco-Roman myth.[603] Relevant here is the analogy with events in Britannia where, until the time of the Claudian conquest, British rulers enjoyed considerable autonomy as client kings of Rome. We know of coins from British rulers that either depicted Hercules or presented the rulers themselves as Hercules.[604] These representations demonstrate the personal preferences of British kings, probably arising from knowledge acquired during their education in Italy. However, the elite cannot have been solely responsible for the success of the Lower Rhine Hercules cult. Although they probably made the initial association, this does not account for its general popularity. To become a common good, a new idea has to be accepted across all levels of society; it must be positively received or 'believed' by the broad masses. It would appear that the association of Magusanus with Hercules rapidly gained wide acceptance. Heroic Herculean legends probably merged with those of Magusanus and soon became an integral part of the collective memory of the Batavian community. This will have happened in one or two generations, probably in the Augustan era.[605]

The gradual introduction of the Roman *civitas* system from Drusus onwards and the later legal elevation of Noviomagus to the status of *municipium* around 100 under Trajan[606] undoubtedly led to changes in the nature and organisation of the public cult. However, since there was no question here of large-scale settlement by foreign Roman veterans, we should assume a considerable degree of continuity in broad terms. Against this background, we can understand that the *civitas Batavorum* continued to adhere to the mythically-based Hercules tradition, as is evidenced by the impressive monumentalisation of the sanctuaries of Elst, Empel and Kessel around AD 100.

11.5 THE APPEAL OF THE ROMAN HERCULES AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF A BATAVIAN IDENTITY

The Batavian Hercules cult should be seen in the context of a special alliance with Rome during the early imperial period. Tacitus speaks of an *antiqua societas*, which may have had its roots in the Caesarian organisation of the Rhine frontier.[607] As a consequence, the Batavians still enjoyed special privileges in the Neronian period, in particular exemption from paying tribute and the right to supply auxiliary

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[603] Cf. Creighton 2000, 137. Taking and 'raising' children of the leading indigenous aristocracy as hostages or prisoners was a known Roman strategy for controlling groups in the Gallic and Germanic frontier (Wolters 1990, 87, 216). As an illustration, we should examine the situation among the *stirps regia* of the Cherusci tribe who, on the eve of the revolt under Arminius, were the main ally of Rome in the area between the Lower Rhine and the Elbe (Wolters 1990, 211-212). Arminius' son was a prisoner/hostage in Roman hands (Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.10), and his brother's son (Flavus and Italicus respectively) was born in Rome. After being raised in Italy, Italicus was sent back under Claudius to his homeland, where he was appointed king (Tacitus, *Ann.* 11.16). The Augustan denarius RIC I 201a (fig. 11.6) makes a direct reference to the practice of taking hostages. The reverse side shows a barbarian in Germanic dress who, as a sign of subjection, hands over a child as hostage to emperor Augustus (Wolters 2000, 37).

[604] Creighton 2000, 179, 182.

[605] A terminus ante quem is provided by the above-mentioned altar stone from Ruimel, which is dedicated to Magusanus Hercules and which can be dated to the early 1st century AD. The fact that the dedication was carried out by a *summus magistratus* of the Batavian *civitas* means that the Hercules cult had already developed into a public cult at that time. It had probably begun as the private creation of members of the Batavian elite.

[606] Cf. Haalebos 20002, 38. An additional argument is provided by the new dendrochronological dating of the construction of the Gallo-Roman temple at Elst-Maartenstraat around AD 100 (unpublished excavation Archeologisch Centrum Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam).

[607] See chapter 5.

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Fig. 11.7. Altar stone for Hercules Magusanus and Haeva from Over-Betuwe, dedicated by a Batavian couple for their children. The original is lost. Drawing in J.G. Keysler, *Antiquitates selectae septentrionales et Celticae*, Hannover 1720, 201, fig. XI.

troops in closed ethnic units, led by their own commanders. The size of the auxiliary units supplied to Rome was quite exceptional: in the pre-Flavian era, about 5000 soldiers spread across ten units.[608] The alliance with Rome was closely tied up with the power position of the Batavian aristocracy, who had acquired Roman citizenship; the most prominent of them belonged to the *stirps regia*, of which Julius Civilis was a member.

So what was the attraction of the Roman cult of Hercules for Germanic groups in the Lower Rhine, and for Batavians in particular? It has been argued that the Roman Hercules represented ideas and values which had particular appeal for Lower Rhine groups and which matched those associated with their local deity or hero, Magusanus.[609]

These were first and foremost martial values. In the Graeco-Roman world, Hercules stood for masculine power and courage, as epithets such as Hercules Victor and Hercules Invictus demonstrate. These martial qualities had particular appeal for Germanic groups. Tacitus reports that Hercules' heroic deeds made him a shining example to Germanic warriors.[610] In addition, a large proportion of the votive inscriptions to Hercules Magusanus were from soldiers or veterans. Further evidence of martial associations is the practice of depositing weapons in the sanctuary of Hercules Magusanus at Empel.

Secondly, Hercules' popularity will have been influenced by the pastoral values associated with him. Unlike Mars, Hercules had a reputation as a keeper and protector of cattle, thus providing a link to the livelihood of indigenous groups in the Lower Rhine area. The Rhine delta – probably the centre of the Hercules Magusanus cult – was essentially a non-villa landscape in which the agrarian economy relied heavily on cattle and horse raising. Also interesting is the association of the Mediterranean Hercules with the theme of cattle raiding. Traditionally, cattle raids may have been the social context par excellence in which Lower Rhine groups could display both martial and pastoral values.[611]

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[608] Roymans 1996, 23-24, fig. 4, with further references.

[609] Cf. Roymans 1996, 88 ff., and Derks 1998, 102 ff., for the pastoral and martial associations of the Lower Rhine Hercules.

[610] Tacitus, *Germ.* 3.

[611] Roymans 1996, 88 ff.

A third factor accounting for Hercules' appeal was his role as mediator, as an intermediary deity who bridged the gap between Germanic groups and Roman civilisation, thus securing for the former a respectable place in the Roman world. This theme builds on Hercules' role as the first explorer of the Germanic frontier and, by virtue of his sexual escapades, as the mythical forebear of barbarian peoples. This bridging function was particularly relevant for Germanic groups, who continued to be stigmatised as barbarians by the Romans, particularly after the failure of the Augustan *Germania* policy.

This last point brings us to the ethnic self-definition, or self-image, of Lower Rhine groups vis-à-vis Rome and to the role of the Hercules myth. Two attributes, to some degree at odds with one another, may have dominated the collective self-image of the Batavians in relation to the Romans. On the one hand, there was their status as a worthy treaty partner of Rome. Certainly, their prestigious role as the supplier of elite troops and the bodyguard of the Julian-Claudian emperors will have added to their self-respect. On the other hand, there was the problem of their barbarian status. In Roman eyes, the Batavians were Germanic, and hence barbarians.[612] Tacitus' account of the Batavian revolt illustrates how easily the old barbarian clichés were reactivated in a time of crisis.[613] Challenging their barbarian stigma must therefore have been a point of emphasis in the Batavian self-image. In the 1st century AD, the Batavians laid claim to a position within the Roman Empire, as shown by the votive stone from Ruimel, the triumphal pillar for Tiberius from Nijmegen, the construction of monumental temples and the fact that the upper-most Batavian elite enjoyed Roman citizenship. These were means by which they emphasised an inclusive Roman identity. The Batavian Hercules myth, too, cannot be viewed separately from the political relationship with Rome at the time: it was probably an essential component of Batavian 'intentional history', a mythical variant of the alliance with Rome.

11.6 THE HERCULES SANCTUARIES AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF A BATAVIAN IDENTITY

Generally speaking, public cult places played a vital role in the symbolic construction of ethnic communities and the creation of boundaries with outside groups.[614] They often functioned as *lieux de mémoire* where foundation myths were reproduced through rituals, cult celebrations, imagery, etc. At appointed times people would gather in large numbers to affirm themselves as a cult community. The role of public sanctuaries as key locations for creating a collective identity is graphically illustrated in Tacitus' account of the central cult place of the Germanic Suebi, where the tribe gathered each year to commemorate its origins (*initia gentis*):

They describe the Semnones as the most ancient and best-born of the Suebi. This credibility of their antiquity is confirmed by religion. At fixed seasons all tribes of the same name and blood gather through their delegations at a certain forest, (…). And after publicly offering up a human life, they celebrate the grim initiation of their barbarous worship (…). The whole superstition came to this, that it was here where the race arose, here where dwells the god who is lord of all things.[615]

As argued above, Hercules will have played a prominent role in the *initia gentis* of the Batavians, and it therefore seems likely that the Hercules sanctuaries at Empel, Elst and Kessel were focal points where the Batavian origin myth was commemorated and where a collective identity was forged. These cult places

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[612] Cf. the discussion in chapter 10.3.

[613] In the chaos of the revolt, the Roman authorities constantly sought to reduce the conflict to a struggle between Romans and barbarians, and the Romans strongly suspected Civilis of striving for an independent *regnum Germanorum*, which would pose a serious threat to the Gallic provinces. Cf. Tacitus, *Hist*. 4.18; 4.73.

[614] On the interpretation of communities as symbolic constructs, see Cohen 1993.

[615] Tacitus, *Germ*. 39. Cf. Derks 1998, 75.

may have had links to the mythical biography of Hercules Magusanus, perhaps as a place where he had once come to make a sacrifice.[616]

Recent archaeological investigations in the sanctuaries of Empel and Elst have produced extensive evidence for the practice of ritual feasting. The pottery spectrum at Empel is dominated by drinking ware and kitchen pottery, which are related to the preparation and consumption of food and drink during religious festivities. The bone material is heavily dominated by cattle, which were slaughtered and consumed at the cult sites on a massive scale.[617] This ritual feasting in public cult places was an important means of social interaction in early Batavian society. Powerful networks were sustained by collective food and drink rituals, and they probably constituted a major means of defining membership of the Batavian community.

The significance of the Batavian Hercules sanctuaries was certainly not confined solely to the creation of an ethnic identity, but also extended to the construction of gender and age-class identities. The excavations at Empel have furnished us with archaeological evidence of this. Inasmuch as we are able to make sex specifications, the ritual find complex discovered here is strikingly male in character. This is particularly evident in the many remains of weapons and horse gear. Find categories that point clearly to the female domain (certain fibula types, and especially terra cottas and glass bracelets) are almost entirely absent. The militaria found in Empel can be interpreted as personal equipment deposited by individual soldiers who had completed their military service.[618]

There are good reasons to assume that Hercules played a special role as the patron of the Batavian *iuventus.* In Roman Italy as well as in the provinces, local communities had their *collegia* of *iuvenes*, who organised competitive sporting events – equestrian sports in particular – at special festivals.[619] In Celto-Germanic tribal societies, there were probably similar organisations of young men, which were predominantly military in nature and which consequently represented a politically significant force.[620] Tacitus tells us of the existence of a *iuventus* among the Batavians. He claims that mishaps that occurred when Vitellius ordered the recruitment of new troops from the *Batavorum iuventus* were the immediate cause of the revolt of 69/70.[621] The prime importance of the Batavians as a supplier of auxiliary troops suggests that the *iuventus* here was a paramilitary-like organisation, which prepared young men for a soldier's life. We observe a general pattern in the Roman empire, in which the *collegia iuvenum* manifested themselves as cult communities, with a specific deity as patron.[622] Hercules emerges clearly as the most popular god, no doubt due to his military and sporting attributes. Given Hercules' position among the Batavians as principal deity in the public cult, it is probable that he functioned there too as protector of the *iuventus.* A possible epigraphic clue is the inscription on the altar stone from Over-Betuwe (fig. 11.7), dedicated to Hercules Magusanus and Haeva by a Batavian couple 'for their children'.[623]

[616] Cf. the Hercules cult at the Forum Boarium in Rome, which is said to have originated from a sacrifice that Hercules himself once made there after having killed the monster Cacus (*KP, s.v.* Cacus). Cf. also Tacitus' account (*Germ.* 3) of Odysseus erecting an altar at Asciburgium.

[617] Klomp 1994 (pottery, Empel); Seijnen 1994 (animal bones, Empel and Elst).

[618] Cf. Roymans 1996, 31-32; Nicolay 2004. For the social interpretation of the practice of coin deposition at Empel, see Roymans/Aarts 2004. Significant too is the find at Empel of 26 bronze seal-boxes, used for sealing private letters on wooden writing tablets. These letters were probably used in a votive ritual and will for the most part have been written by soldiers (Derks 1998, 229-230).

[619] Jaczynowska 1978, 34–35, 48 ff.

[620] Cf. Roymans 1990, 28-29, with further references.

[621] Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.14. For other examples of the military role of the *iuventus* in the northern provinces, cf. Tacitus *Ann.* 3.43; *Hist.* 1.68; ibid. 3.5 and 2.12.

[622] Jaczynowska 1978, 55 ff.; Moitrieux 2002, 233 ff.

[623] *CIL* XIII 8705.

The Batavian cult places of Hercules may have been the concrete setting for the public initiation ritual of young male adults. Tacitus recounts the initiation of young men during a public *rite de passage* among Germanic groups:

(…) the custom is that no one takes arms until the tribe has endorsed his future competence; then in the assembly itself one of the chiefs, or his father, or his relatives equip the young man with shield and spear; this (…) is youth's first public distinction.[624]

If we accept the idea that Hercules Magusanus acted as the patron of the Batavian *iuventus*, it seems obvious that such public initiation rituals would have been performed at the cult places of Hercules. In the Graeco-Roman world, too, the Hercules cult was strongly male-oriented and often associated with initiation rites of juveniles.[625]

11.7 ON THE HERCULES CULT IN THE OTHER CIVITATES OF LOWER GERMANY

What can be said about the Hercules cult in other *civitates* of Lower Germany? I can only offer some hypotheses here, as the archaeological evidence does not allow firm conclusions. The occurrence of altar stones in Bonn (2), Cologne (1), Xanten (2), and bronze arm rings with votive inscriptions from Bonn, Cologne and Grimmlinghausen, proves that Hercules Magusanus was also worshipped in the adjacent parts of *Germania Inferior* (cf. fig. 11.1).[626] Given the presence of several altar stones at Bonn and Xanten, we could even expect sanctuaries dedicated to this deity. However, it is not clear whether Hercules played a role in the public cult there; there is an absence of clues (e.g. associations with large monumental sanctuaries, or the involvement of *civitas* magistrates in the cult) to suggest this. Furthermore, it is significant that the votive inscriptions from the German Rhineland all date to the 2nd or 3rd century, while the earliest ones originate from the Batavian territory.[627] This may point to a relatively late diffusion of the cult from the Batavian region to neighbouring *civitates* in the east. However, the number of inscriptions is too small to be conclusive. The Hercules Magusanus cult may have had early roots there too, given the close cultural ties between the Ubii and the Batavians since the late 1st century BC.[628]

Nevertheless, we must assume a considerable dynamic within the domain of the public cult of Lower Rhine groups, which is linked to their specific political and administrative integration into the Roman empire. One development that fundamentally affected the *civitates* of the Ubii and the Cugerni was the foundation of Roman colonies under Claudius and Trajan respectively. The massive settlement of veterans went hand in hand with the introduction of a new judicial framework, changing power relations, and a redefinition of collective identities. As a result of this large-scale settlement, the old, tradition-bearing core of the Ubii and Cugerni lost its political might or had to share it with the newcomers.[629] This undoubtedly led to a comprehensive reorganisation of the public cult and a reconsideration of the tribal descent myths of these communities.[630] The origin myth of the Ubii - possibly also via Hercules - was

[624] Tacitus, *Germ.* 13.

[625] Cf. *DNP* 391, s.v. Herakles. At several places (e.g. at Thassos), the Herakles cult was linked to a practice of ritual feasting and the transference of the first weapons to young men.

[626] For a list of votive inscriptions for Hercules Magusanus, see Derks 1998, appendix 3.1.

[627] Inscriptions from St.-Michielsgestel-'Ruimel' (first half 1st century AD) and Empel (96-beginning 2nd century).

[628] Cf. the recent study of the Late Iron Age *triquetrum* coin-

ages in the Lower Rhine region (chapter 6), and the role of both groups in providing soldiers for the Germanic bodyguard of the Julio-Claudian emperors (Speidel 1994, 12 ff.).

[629] The latter may have occurred voluntarily. Tacitus (*Hist*. 4.65) suggests that there was large-scale intermarriage between veterans and the Ubian elite.

[630] Cf. the broader discussion in Scheid 1999, esp. 398 ff. For comparable developments in the Roman province of Judaea, see Belayche, in press.

meaningless to the newly introduced community of veterans. The colony's new name, *Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium*, referred to its founding by a member of the imperial house; no attempt at all was made to incorporate the Germanic-Ubian identity. In one of Tacitus' fictitious orations, it is precisely the abandonment of their ethnic identity with which the trans-Rhenish Tencteri reproached the Ubii in the context of the AD 69 revolt.[631] We should therefore assume a marginalisation of Hercules' position as principal deity in the public cult among the Ubii and the Cugerni following the foundation of the *colonia*. It is likely that this role was taken over by the Roman Mars.[632] In any case, there was a Mars temple in Cologne in the Neronian period, where a sword ascribed to Julius Caesar was kept.[633] It is tempting to link the building of this temple to the founding of the *colonia* under Claudius.

11.8 DISCUSSION

In this chapter, I have discussed the role of Hercules in the creation of a Batavian identity in the context of the Roman Empire. My point of departure has been the assumption that the Batavians had to rewrite their history after their integration into the Roman world. The Hercules myth was a vital component in this process. Hercules probably played a prominent role in the origin myth of the Batavians and hence in their collective memory; they presumably saw themselves as his descendants. The appropriation of the Mediterranean Hercules myth reflected the friendly alliance they had with Rome at that time. Hercules Magusanus was thus a key element in the 'intentional history' created by the Batavians in order to forge for themselves a proper place in the Roman world.

We could also argue that the Hercules cult played a role in the ethnogenesis of the Batavians. This group was a relatively young creation from the period between c. 50 and 1 BC, the same period in which the foundations were laid for the cult of Hercules. The Batavians emerged following an amalgamation – probably orchestrated by Rome – of a small, but dominant *Traditionskern* of Chattian origin from the east of the Rhine, and an older indigenous population, who were probably remnants of the Eburones whom Caesar had destroyed.[634] Participation in the cult of Hercules, with its strong political and military associations, was undoubtedly a powerful integrating force among warriors who came from different subgroups of the emerging Batavian community. The social function of genesis stories was to symbolically express the identity and social cohesion of the new group. Furthermore, it is perhaps no coincidence that the Hercules sanctuaries of Empel, Elst and Kessel are of pre-Roman origin. Here, the connection with a ritual past may have strengthened the legitimacy of the newly formed Batavian community.

I would like to return here to the motives of Lower Rhine groups for appropriating the cult of Hercules. I have argued above that the Batavian choice of Hercules was partly determined by the fact that the Romans perceived them as Germanic and hence as barbarians. This points to the existence of some form of hierarchy in the descent traditions of provincial Roman groups. Foundation myths that forged a link with the Graeco-Roman world were a source of prestige within Roman Gaul. They needed to be negotiated and, certainly for Germanic groups, there were limits to what was feasible. The political relationship with Rome was the chief factor governing the success or failure of a claim to a prestigious descent tradition. Rome could reward certain *civitates* by formally recognising their foundation myths, as happened with the Aedui and the Remi. Other *civitates* might well claim such descent, but Rome could

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[631] Tacitus, *Hist*. 4.64. Cf. also Tacitus, *Germ*. 28.

[632] After the 1st century, it seems that the Hercules Magusanus cult at Bonn, Cologne and Xanten was largely carried on by soldiers, who viewed him as a Roman Hercules.

[633] Suetonius, Vitellius 8, 10.

[634] Cf. chapter 5. We should probably view this *Traditionskern* as a band of warriors led by a pro-Roman aristocratic leader.

reject the claim, as appears to have been the case with the Arverni. At the time of Augustus, claims of blood ties with Rome by virtue of Trojan descent were a bridge too far for Germanic groups, including the Batavians. Other parties – Romans and Gauls – would have dismissed their claim as arrogant. They would have regarded descent from Hercules as more appropriate to the Germanic identity of the Batavians, but this claim was undoubtedly less prestigious than the foundation myth of the Aedui and the Remi.

Finally, what are the prospects for further research in this field? Clearly, we will never come to know the myths associated with the Lower Rhine Hercules cult. What archaeologists can do, however, is uncover new evidence on the material culture relating to the cult of Hercules Magusanus. I see particular potential for research into the public Hercules sanctuaries. Over the past two years we have been able to carry out small-scale excavations at the temple of Elst, and there are opportunities for new excavations at Empel in the near future. This research may yield new information about the origin, development and social significance of the Hercules cult in Batavian society.

12　Conclusion and epilogue

12.1 THE ETHNOGENESIS OF THE BATAVIANS: A SUMMARY

In this study I have attempted to sketch a picture of Batavian ethnogenesis in the context of the Roman frontier. My starting point was the current view in the social and historical sciences of ethnicity as a culturally determined, subjective construct that is shaped through interaction with an ethnic 'other'. This study sought to analyse literary, epigraphic and archaeological sources relating to the Batavian image and self-image against the background of the specific integration of the Batavian community into the Roman empire. The study's main conclusion is that we can demonstrate that Rome exerted a profound influence on the formation of the Batavians both as a political entity and as an ethnic group with its own histori-cally anchored self-image. This impact goes far beyond what has been assumed to date and shows that we should regard the Batavians to a large extent as a creation of the Roman frontier.

The Batavians emerged as a political entity when a group from east of the Rhine was granted per-mission – possibly by Caesar himself during the Civil War period – to settle in the Rhine/Meuse delta on Gaul's northern periphery. This was a reward for past – and above all future – military support, laid down in a treaty by Rome. A new polity subsequently formed in the delta when the immigrant group amalgamated with the indigenous, former Eburonean population. At the political heart of this polity lay the Batavian *stirps regia*, the ancestors of Julius Civilis mentioned later by Tacitus. We could perhaps think here in terms of a client kingship, familiar to us from other frontier polities. The new royal dynasty will have been recognised and supported by Rome, as attested to by the early bestowal of Roman citizenship on this family, making them part of the clientele of the Julian house.

Archaeology, and more particularly the study of local coin emissions, is able to shed some light on the socio-political networks behind the emergence of a Batavian polity. In addition, there is evidence to sug-gest that the political and religious heart of the earliest Batavian polity was the already established central place of Kessel/Lith. Rainbow staters of the *triquetrum* type, which seem to have played a key role in the political integration of the various groups into a new tribal association, were possibly minted there.

Municipalisation of the Batavian polity began under Drusus. Clear clues to this process are the institu-tion of a magistrature, a romanised public cult and the construction of a new Roman town with public monuments at Nijmegen/Batavodurum. Although the municipal order signalled the end of the institu-tion of kingship, the Batavian *stirps regia* retained a firm grip on power, especially as its leaders enjoyed the external support of the Roman authorities. Tacitus is explicit about the great influence wielded by Civilis and his brother Paulus during the Neronian era; they probably controlled the magistrature by means of clientele relationships.[635] This may explain the peregrine status of Flavus, the *summus magistratus* named on the altar stone from Ruimel.

Running parallel to – or directly following – the emergence of the Batavians as a political commu-nity was their genesis as an ethnic group. The period between the late 1st century BC and the early 1st

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[635]　The installation of a monocratic magistrature among the Batavians may have been prompted by the *stirps regia*'s

strategy of consolidating its power by appointing this official.

Fig. 12.1. Gravestone of the Batavian Indus, a member of Nero's Germanic bodyguard. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano. Photo Stephan Mols.

century AD appears to have been critical. The first epigraphic evidence – a series of funerary inscriptions in which ordinary peregrine soldiers and imperial guards refer to themselves as *natione Batavus* or *Batavus* (fig. 12.1 and 10.2) – does not appear till the Tiberian and Claudio-Neronian period. The gravestones imply the existence of a Batavian identity group with a collective self-image, real or imagined, that was moulded in interaction with an ethnic 'other', in particular the Romans. We are able to demonstrate that the Batavian self-image was partly shaped by the way in which they were perceived by the Romans. This perception was dominated by a series of stereotypes of barbarians and related martial clichés: a soldiering people, none too bright, but loyal to the emperor. As the iconographic and archaeological data reveals, the Batavians responded both positively (thereby affirming it) and negatively to the Roman stereotyping, particularly with regard to the barbarian stigma. The elite initially showed themselves receptive to the Roman ideal of civilisation, as attested to by the establishment of a Roman town, the erection of public monuments and the adoption of Latin names. Batavian ethnicity appears to have been strongly promoted by Rome, especially in the context of the army.

The past was vital to the Batavian sense of identity during this period of ethnogenesis and intense social change. However, this was a newly constructed past, which derived its meaning and significance from the present. Wenskus speaks of 'the creation of tradition'. There are archaeological and epigraphic clues for the creation of a new set of powerful stories surrounding Hercules and the deified Caesar. Caesar was probably given a prominent position in the more recent past; he seems to have been memorialised in the Batavian capital at Nijmegen. This may have helped legitimise the power of the Batavian elite, in particular the *Iulii* of the *stirps regia*. In addition, a new descent myth was invented, based on the creative appropriation of Graeco-Roman stories about the wanderings of Hercules. The tales about Caesar and Hercules represented an 'intentional past'. They were used by the Batavians, and above all by their elite, to secure a respectable place for their community in the Roman world.

Remarkably, in creating this new past, the Batavians retained core elements of the pre-Roman sacrificial landscape. Although a new Batavo-Roman capital was established, the old cult places of Kessel, Empel and Elst were not forgotten. On the contrary, they developed into monumental sanctuaries, closely tied to central values of Batavian society. The Batavians sought to forge links with the past at their public

cult places and in the nomenclature of Hercules Magusanus, their principal deity. Batavian identity was conveyed by a collective historical awareness, even though this comes across to us as a new construct. In other parts of society too we sometimes discern a remarkable continuity of older traditions. Especially in the countryside, much remained the same. Although ordinary rural settlements provide material evidence of a process of militarisation, monetisation and even Latinisation, house-building traditions and burial rituals retained their strong 'prehistoric' character.[636]

Nevertheless, I do not wish to place too one-sided an emphasis in the study of Batavian ethnogenesis on the role played by memory in creating a new identity. Forgetting must have been just as relevant, and perhaps even a conscious strategy. I prefer to speak of a synergy of remembering and forgetting.[637] One example is the Batavian tale of origin, according to which the entire Batavian people came from the region east of the Rhine and settled in an empty area. Rival stories of origin from other Batavian subgroups were thus eliminated. This draws our attention to the political dimension of the process of remembering and forgetting; manipulation of this process was one important way in which elites wielded power. The 'new' past was therefore not simply a faithful continuation of the pre-conquest past; many elements of the past were no doubt forgotten or marginalised in the newly constructed historical self-image.

The picture of Batavian ethnogenesis sketched here shows that ethnic labels were not unambiguous, objective categories but rather situational constructs, sometimes with an apparently contradictory character. In certain situations members of the Cananefates or other tribes in the Rhine/Meuse delta were labelled Batavians, while Batavians were sometimes referred to as *Germani* (usually by the Romans). At the same time, thanks to Roman citizenship, a small Batavian core could be characterised as Romans. We should realise that these ethnic labels played only a marginal role in the everyday life of the inhabitants of the Batavian territory; in general other identities relating to age, gender, family, or cult community will have been more important. Ethnicity only becomes relevant where self-definition in relation to outsiders is concerned. It is therefore no coincidence that Batavian identity was expressed and cultivated most forcefully in the context of the Roman army.

12.2 FROM A BATAVIAN PEOPLE TO A ROMAN CIVITAS?

There was considerable variation in the extent to which tribal identities survived in the Germanic frontier provinces of the Roman empire. Epigraphic sources reveal on the one hand instances of a rapidly declining popularity – or even complete disappearance – of tribal affiliations, and on the other hand examples of their continuing vitality. Where affiliations disappeared, they were replaced by new collective identities of a non-ethnic nature, especially those of citizens of Roman *civitates* who named themselves after their capitals. This process occurred everywhere, but with significant regional and temporal variation. Two different factors came into play, on which the Roman authorities – either directly or indirectly – had a major impact:

1. the legal status of the *civitas,* and the extent to which it included Roman citizens of foreign origin. In communities with a peregrine status, tribal identities retained their vitality. Positions of power were often held by descendants of the tribal, tradition-bearing political core (the *Traditionskern* in Wenskus' terms). In contrast to new elites, this group will have tended to preserve its tribal ethnicity, albeit in association with a Roman identity. The status of *colonia*,[638] on the other hand, gave a community (or

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[636] Militarisation: Roymans 1996, ch. 2; Nicolay 2004. Monetisation: Aarts 2002. Latinisation: Derks/Roymans 2002. House-building tradition: Roymans 1996, 72 ff. Mortuary ritual: Hiddink 2003.

[637] Cf. Kolen 2004, chapter 1, section 'De temporele struc-

tuur van landschappen en de *longue durée*'.

[638] A *colonia* was formally 'a piece of Rome in the province', and its citizens (certainly in the western provinces) adopted a Roman identity. Cf. Jacques/Scheid 1998, 252, 259 ff..

rather, its dominant groups) an opportunity to redefine itself as a community of Roman citizens, whereby old tribal identities were relegated to the background or consciously 'forgotten'. In *municipia,* where the influx of immigrant citizens was relatively small in comparison with *coloniae*, references to tribal identities were often retained, such as in the formal name of the *civitas*.

2. the scale of ethnic recruitment of auxiliary troops within a *civitas* by the Roman authorities. Large-scale recruitment strengthened the communal cohesiveness of ethnic groups. It gave rise to collective practices, comprising not only the elite but lower social groups as well. The Roman army constituted a key context in which both ethnic stereotyping by others and ethnic self-consciousness were continuously activated.

I would like to briefly illustrate the impact of these variables and how they related to one another, using the example of the Ubii – a long-standing loyal ally of Rome in the Lower Rhineland.[639] In the pre-Flavian era, the Ubii supplied auxiliary troops on a modest scale, together with soldiers for the emperor's Germanic bodyguard. From the late Augustan period, their capital – Oppidum Ubiorum/Cologne – functioned as a key base for the Roman authorities, with prominent members of the Julian house staying there regularly. Cologne was elevated to the status of *colonia* in AD 50 by Agrippina, the wife of Emperor Claudius, whereupon the name was changed to *Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium*. The new name no longer contained any reference to the Ubian identity. The establishment of the *colonia* went hand in hand with the settlement there of large numbers of Roman veterans from the Mediterranean,[640] who will immediately have moved into a dominant position of power in the new community, at the expense of the old Ubian elite. Tacitus suggests that the Ubii (and especially no doubt the elite with Roman citizenship) intermingled through marriage with the colonists to become *Agrippinenses*.[641] In this way Ubian identity quickly became marginalised in the new socio-political context. This identity will for some time only have been significant for the peregrine component of the population; it is relevant, however, that the name Ubii and the tribal affiliation *natione Ubius* were no longer in use after the end of the 1st century.[642] The associated tensions are tellingly expressed by Tacitus in his account of the Batavian revolt. He reports that in AD 69 Civilis' troops plundered the Ubian region above all, '*because this was a people of Germanic origin which had renounced its nationality and preferred to be known by the Roman name of 'Agrippinenses'*.[643]

Using these variables, I now wish to examine how Batavian ethnicity evolved during the Roman period. My point of departure is the references made to their origin by Batavian individuals in inscriptions now available to us (table 12.1).[644] These show that epigraphic assertions of Batavian ethnicity increased markedly in the second half of the 1st century. The 2nd century saw no decline in the use by individuals of the name 'Batavian' as a self-ascribed label; it retained its vitality. However, a new trend arose in which reference was made to the town of Ulpia Noviomagus rather than to an ethnic affiliation. Also significant is that epigraphic reference to a Batavian origin almost ceased altogether in the mid-3rd century. We cannot arrive at any specific conclusions given the sharp decline in the epigraphic tradition throughout the northern provinces at this time. But there are other clues to suggest that the *civitas Batavorum*, and the Batavian identity group along with it, did not survive the 3rd-century crisis (see below). The above observations raise the following questions: what factors led to the 1st-century 'boom' in Batavian ethnic consciousness, what factors guaranteed its continuity in the 2nd/early 3rd century, and what factors were responsible for its disappearance in the 3rd century?

[639] Cf. Carroll 2001, 123-131.

[640] Tacitus, *Ann*. 12.24.

[641] Idem, *Hist*. 4.65.

[642] Carroll 2001, 128.

[643] Tacitus, *Hist*. 4.28; idem, *Germ*. 28.

[644] Derks 2004.

date	IA	IB	II	III	total
natione Batavus	1 (0)	11 (1)	8 (7)	9 (9)	29
domo Batavus	-	3 (0)	-	-	3
Batavus	-	3 (0)	10 (5)	-	13
civis Batavus	-	-	-	2 (2?)	2
natione Batavus Ulpia Noviomago	-	-	3 (3)	-	3
Ulpia Noviomagi Batavus	-	-	1 (1)	-	1
Ulpia Noviomagi Batavorum	-	-	1 (1)	-	1
Ulpia Noviomago	-	-	6 (6)	1 (1)	7
Noviomago	-	-	-	3 (3)	3
total	**1 (0)**	**17 (1)**	**29 (23)**	**15 (15)**	**62**

Table 12.1. Specification of origin in inscriptions by Batavian individuals. After Derks 2004. The number of people who possessed Roman citizenship (judging by their name) is given in brackets.

IA = first half 1st century; IB = second half 1st century; II = 2nd century; III = 3rd century

The first factor that boosted the importance of Batavian ethnicity in the 1st century was the peregrine status of the Batavian *civitas*. We can assume that the number of people who possessed Roman citizenship was extremely low. The altar stone of Ruimel demonstrates that even the highest public office of *summus magistratus* was open to persons of peregrine status. Closely related to the peregrine status of the *civitas* was the continuing power of the old Batavian *Traditionskern* in the form of the *stirps regia*. It probably played a key role during the pre-Flavian era in creating and diffusing a Batavian identity; after all, the notion of a royal family is closely linked to a people's collective values and self-image. There were also close ties between Batavian leaders and the lower echelons of society, since members of the *stirps regia* operated as commanders of their own ethnic units. This helps explain the popularity among the Batavians of the brothers Civilis and Paulus.[645]

The second factor which encouraged Batavian identity to flourish was the large-scale recruitment of closed ethnic units into the Roman army. I argue in chapter 10 that it was precisely in the context of the army that Batavian ethnicity acquired substance and was constantly fostered. Another powerful collective practice that cultivated ethnic awareness and related directly to the military domain of Batavian society was participation in the public cult surrounding Hercules. The sanctuaries of this principal deity probably functioned as 'central places' in the mythical construction of a Batavian self-image in relation to the Roman 'other'.[646]

The massive supply of auxiliaries to the Roman army may have contributed in another way to Batavian self awareness in the 1st century. We know that ethnicity can acquire special significance in periods of dramatic social change, in that it can help to overcome tensions or crises experienced by the community as a whole. First-century society must have been subjected to immense social pressures as a result of the huge drain of manpower into the Roman army. This will have had a far-reaching impact on all sectors of society.[647] The tribal military tradition, based on the part-time, seasonally-linked deployment of adult males in bands of warriors, was radically transformed by the Roman army, where they served as professional soldiers for a period of 25 years. Thanks to the sheer scale of recruitment, almost every family was

[645] Tacitus, *Hist*. 4.13.

[646] See chapter 11.6.

[647] Cf. Slofstra 2002, 30; Roymans/Aarts 2004; Nicolay 2004, chapter 7. See also the discussion in Haynes 2001.
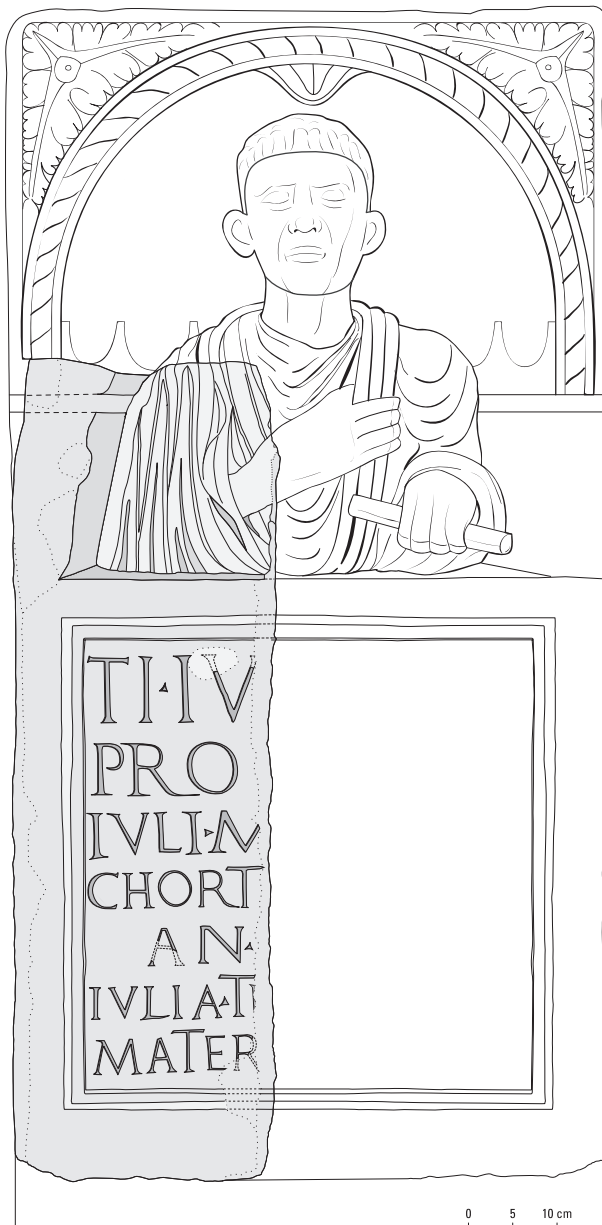
Fig. 12.2. Gravestone of the veteran Julius Probus, born at Fréjus (France). Found in the rural settlement of Houten in the Batavian river area. After Derks 2003, fig. 9.

TI·IV
PRO
IVLI·M
CHORT
A N·
IVLI·A·T
MATER

0   5   10 cm

involved, from both the elite and the lower social groups.[648] Individual Batavians must have been keenly aware of the stresses and strains that this entailed.[649] The lengthy period of army service radically altered the traditional male life cycle of free farmers. It no doubt had an impact on female marriage patterns as well,[650] and on inheritance patterns for land and other family property. The regular drain of manpower may also have led to problems of demographic reproduction. Cultivating their Batavian ethnicity may have helped them meet the acute challenges confronting society, thus strengthening social cohesion.

The fact of peregrine status does not mean that we should imagine an ethnically homogeneous *civitas Batavorum* in pre-Flavian times. In Nijmegen/Oppidum Batavorum there seems to have been a sizeable group of outsiders in the form of traders and artisans in particular, some of whom may have had Roman citizenship. The recently discovered Claudian-era gravestone in Houten of a veteran from Forum Iulii (France) who was probably married to a local, Batavian woman with Roman citizenship (fig. 12.2) shows that – even in the countryside – we need to be wary of the romantic picture of an ethnically homogeneous population.[651] Nevertheless, it is safe to assume from settlement and cemetery studies

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[648] It is probably no coincidence that it is precisely among the Batavians that we learn – from both literary and epigraphic sources – of seven instances of two brothers serving in the army. Cf. Roymans 1996, 24, note 44; Derks 2004, table A 2-3; table B 11-12, 13-14, 51-52, 58-59, 61-62, 65-66.

[649] See Tacitus (*Hist*. 4.14) on the problems and emotions associated with the *dilectus* or recruitment of a new batch of soldiers from among the Batavians. He links the *dilectus* to the disruption of family ties.

[650] Two new patterns can be expected. Firstly, marriages

between Batavian women and foreign Roman soldiers stationed in the Rhine delta. We know of one example of a gravestone of the veteran Julius Probus from Houten (fig. 12.2), who was probably married to a local Batavian woman (Derks 2003). Secondly, Batavian women may have married Batavian soldiers and followed them in the army. Examples are known from the military diplomas of Elst (AD 98) and Upper Pannonia (AD 113). Cf. Haynes 2001, 69; Derks 2004, table B 20 and 29.

[651] Derks 2003.

that it was highly unusual – certainly at this early stage – for foreign veterans with Roman citizenship to settle in the Batavian countryside.

The epigraphic evidence reveals that although references by individuals to a Batavian identity did continue into the 2nd and early 3rd centuries, there was a parallel trend for Batavians to identify themselves as originating from *Noviomagus* or *Ulpia Noviomagus* – a reference to the community of citizens of the *civitas* capital at Nijmegen. What factors were responsible for this?

The first relevant factor was the granting of *municipium* status to Nijmegen. Precisely when this occurred is uncertain, but there are good grounds for assuming that it was granted by Emperor Trajan around AD 100.[652]

A second factor relates to the substantial increase in the number of people with Roman citizenship, especially between c. AD 95 and 100. The military diploma from Elst shows that Emperor Trajan granted citizenship on a large scale in AD 98 to soldiers of auxiliary units stationed in Lower Germany.[653] In addition, many of the Batavian soldiers stationed in Britannia and Pannonia who had been recruited shortly after the 69/70 revolt will have been discharged in those years and granted citizenship. Haalebos sees a direct link between the granting of *municipium* status and the settling of large numbers of veterans around AD 100.[654] The fact that the name *Municipium Batavorum* retained a direct reference to the tribal name suggests that most veterans were of Batavian origin and that the ethnic composition of Ulpia Noviomagus was much less diverse than that of the colonies of Cologne and Xanten. A further pointer in this direction is the continuing prominence of the Hercules tradition in the public cult of the *Municipium Batavorum*, which is evident in the impressive monumentalisation of the Hercules sanctuaries of Empel, Elst and Kessel around AD 100.[655]

A third factor concerns the loss of power of the Batavian *stirps regia* as the old *Traditionskern* of the Batavians. Following the Batavian revolt, and especially in the 2nd century, we witness the rise of new elites. Flavius Cerialis, commander of the Batavian cohort stationed at Vindolanda, may be a typical example of the new generation of leaders whose fathers had acquired citizenship after military service, thus opening up new career prospects for their sons.[656] The *Traditionskern* of the 2nd and early 3rd-century Batavian community was probably made up of rather diffuse networks of 'military families' who continued the old martial traditions and who may have dominated the administration of the *civitas*.

As a consequence of all this, the peregrine sector of the Batavian community – from which the auxiliary troop soldiers were usually recruited – will have shrunk enormously during the 2nd century (see table 12.1). Recruits born as Roman citizens had access to *alae* or cohorts, but for reasons of money and prestige they may have preferred to serve in legions or in the imperial guard of the *equites singulares augusti*.[657] However, the distinction between citizens and peregrine subjects disappeared in AD 212, when Emperor Caracalla granted citizenship to all free inhabitants of the Roman empire.

Given these developments, we might expect during the 2nd century a similar trend in the *civitas Batavorum* to that which occurred among the Ubii when their capital was promoted to *colonia*: namely, the marginalisation of tribal identity and its rapid replacement by a new identity as a member of a community of

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652   Cf. Haalebos 2000. A further argument is that the revised construction date of the large Gallo-Roman temple at Elst is also approx. AD 100. See above note, 369.

653   Haalebos 2000; Derks 2004, 46.

654   Haalebos 2000, 38. A bronze contract found at Nijmegen/Ulpia Noviomagus and dating from AD 102 shows that many *Ulpii* lived there then, no doubt veterans who had been granted Roman citizenship by Trajan. Cf. Van

Enckevort/Haalebos/Thijssen 2000, 92.

655   See chapter 11.6.

656   Derks 2004, 56.

657   Cf. Derks 2004, table B 22, 65, 67 and table D 8 (Empel) for instances of Batavians serving in legions. His table B also presents an overview of Batavians who served in the 2nd-century imperial horse guard.

Roman citizens. Significant in this context are the individuals who identified themselves as originating from *Noviomagus* or *Ulpia Noviomagus* (table 12.1). Did they wish to deny their Batavian identity? The fact that they were all Roman citizens might indeed suggest so. However, we should be aware that this new trend did not really take hold among the Batavians. Unlike the Ubii, the majority – most of whom had Roman citizenship! – continued throughout the 2nd and 3rd centuries to claim a Batavian affiliation, especially by means of the term *natione Batavus*. They were apparently content to tolerate the fact that the tribal name Batavian – from the Roman point of view – was rather at odds with notions of civilisation and Roman citizenship. The most plausible explanation seems to me that the Batavian *civitas* had evolved during the 1st and 2nd centuries into a community of military families who – from father to son – served in the Roman army and who set great store by continuing their military reputation. This reputation was expressed first and foremost in the name 'Batavian', which in the Roman world was synonymous with high-quality ethnic soldiers.

When seen against this background, the disappearance of Batavian ethnicity seems to have been largely due to Germanic raids and the subsequent Germanisation or Francisation of the river region in the course of the 3rd century.[658] Only to a limited extent was it caused by internal social dynamics in the *civitas Batavorum* in the 2nd century. In any event, we encounter a fundamentally different socio-political situation after the mid-3rd century. Ulpia Noviomagus had by and large become deserted, and was replaced in the early 4th century by a fortified centre settlement around the Valkhof at Nijmegen. The population in the countryside seems to have declined, and new groups from across the Rhine settled there. The Hercules temples at Empel, Elst and probably Kessel, which had earlier played a key role in expressing a Batavian ethnic awareness, were destroyed in the first half of the 3rd century and then abandoned for good.[659]

12.3 THE CASE OF THE BATAVIANS AND ETHNOGENETIC THEORY

Research into the Batavians can also contribute to the wider theoretical debate on ethnogenesis, identity formation and ethnicity. The Batavians represent a well-defined case of a small people whose formation as a political group and an ethnic community can be traced from its beginnings. The Batavian case illustrates a basic insight of modern ethnogenetic theory: namely, that ethnic groups are subjective, dynamic and culturally determined constructs that are shaped through interaction with a cultural 'other'. In addition, in some fundamental respects the Batavian case fits well with Wenskus' ethnogenetic model. This is a strongly politicised ethnogenesis with a clearly demonstrable 'core of tradition' (*Traditionskern*), namely the *stirps regia*. Given the probable role of the king in Batavian ethnogenesis, this appears to be a case in which 'a leader makes a people'. Members of the *stirps regia* may have played a vital role in the ethnogenetic process by taking the lead in the creative appropriation and promotion of Roman ideas, myths and symbols, and linking them to ethnic discourse and practices. A possible example is the Batavian Hercules cult, created by members of the elite and linked to a crucial set of shared values and memories that bound members together and distinguished them from others.[660]

However, the *Traditionskern* model does not fully explain Batavian ethnogenesis. Various critical questions can be raised about the model, and some essential dimensions are missing.[661] Firstly, the model underestimates the impact of lower social groups on the creation of the Batavian self-image. Formulating

[658] For an overview, see Willems 1984, ch. 12; Van Enck-evort/Thijssen 2003.

[659] Cf. chapter 11.8.

[660] See chapter 11.

[661] For criticism of Wenskus' *Traditionskern* model, see Pohl 2002, 224–225, 231; Gillett 2002.

and disseminating ethnic traditions was not the exclusive preserve of a solid aristocratic *Traditionskern*. The broad mass of soldiers were also active social agents when it came to constructing a Batavian identity. They developed their own ambitions and values and had their own experiences with the Roman 'other', thereby playing an active role in the ethnogenetic process. Thus although the Batavian Hercules myth may in the first instance have been the creation of the Batavian elite, the cult would never have developed its collective character without the broad support of lower social groups for whom the myth was meaningful.

Secondly, the *Traditionskern* model overlooks the huge impact of Roman imperial power on the formation of the Batavians as a political entity and indirectly on their ethnic self-image. Batavian ethnicity was not simply imported from the woods of Germania, but represented a new construct in the complex context of the Roman empire. Rome seems to have promoted Batavian ethnicity for strategic reasons, especially in order to maximise military recruitment.

Thirdly, the *Traditionskern* model draws insufficient attention to the continuous character of ethnogenetic processes and their associated ambiguities and tensions. Ethnogenesis is not the product of an initial stage which subsequently proceeds unchanged, but is rather a process of the continuous negotiation and renegotiation of identity. This holds true of the community as a collective (e.g. in matters such as the nature of the public cult or the formal naming of the group), as well as of separate individuals (e.g. how individuals define their origin in inscriptions).

Fourthly, Wenskus and his successors of the Vienna school have focused too narrowly on the role of memory and the 'creation of tradition' in ethnogenetic processes, thereby neglecting the role of oblivion. I prefer an ethnogenetic model that examines the part played by strategies of both remembering and forgetting when constructing new collective identities.

But what contribution can archaeologists actually make to the study of ethnogenesis? It is historians or social scientists who have created modern ethnogenetic models. Following the deconstruction of the ill-founded 'ethnic ascription theory' in the past decade, archaeologists have failed to make a fresh, creative contribution to the discussion on ethnogenesis.[662] We archaeologists have to re-exploit the potential of material culture and – more generally – of archaeological research for the study of ethnicity. There is no need to lapse into the extreme scepticism recently expressed by Brather.[663] For historic periods in particular, I see considerable potential for archaeologists to make a positive contribution. This is what I have tried to do in the case of the Batavians, through the study of public sanctuaries and their associated cult, and by using iconographic and epigraphic data. I have argued that the Hercules cult places played a key role in the construction of Batavian identity and its related ideas and values. In addition, archaeology can make a fundamental contribution to a contextual approach to ethnicity by providing insights into the broader political, social and economic contexts that form the backdrop against which ethnic dynamics can be understood. Thus, for example, the study of Late Iron Age coinages provides unique information about changing socio-political networks relating to the creation of a Batavian polity. And the study of the distribution of Roman militaria and their archaeological contexts enables us to establish a link with changing life-cycle patterns among the male population and with collective values of the Batavian self-image.

Just how exceptional was the Batavian case? All indicators suggest that it was rather unique in several respects. Batavians were first and foremost a 'product' of the Roman frontier: their ethnogenesis seems inextricably bound up with the political and ethnic dynamics typical of Roman frontiers in general and the Germanic frontier in particular. Secondly, their special character was the result of the extremely high level of ethnic recruitment, without parallel in the Roman empire, which produced a highly militarised society.[664] Thirdly, unlike many other tribal ethnicities in Gaul and Britain, Batavian ethnicity was to a

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[662] Jones 1997; Brather 2000. See also chapter 1.1.

[663] Brather 2000.

[664] On regional variation in the intensity of auxiliary recruitment in the Roman empire, see Haynes 2001.

large extent cultivated by Rome itself. And fourthly, there was the special location of the Batavian region – in a holocene delta landscape populated from the Bronze Age by groups whose subsistence economies and cultures were strongly dominated by cattle breeding.[665] The Batavian case teaches us that we should assume considerable regional diversity in the ethnic dynamic of frontier zones because of the constant and complex interplay of various factors. There is a need for more regional and comparative studies into ethnic identities in Roman frontiers in order to better understand this diversity.[666]

As I have said, the genesis and dynamics of tribal ethnicities are clearly linked with power relations. We can exaggerate somewhat and claim that the Batavian people owed their existence to Rome's decision to fully exploit the population of the Rhine delta for recruitment purposes. Rome's relationship to the Batavians was continuously determined by this key consideration. However, we should not understand Batavian ethnicity solely as a product of Roman imperial power. The Batavians were a specific people with a collective system of values and a corresponding self-image which they used to secure a place for themselves in the wider world. Having arrived at this point, I would urge that attention be paid to the genesis and dynamics of tribal ethnicities in the Roman empire. In contrast to ethnic macro-categories like the Gauls and Germans, these were small, politicised ethnicities (or tribes) that were meaningful to individuals. Both the theory and methodology of this specific field of research are still at a fledgling stage, and we lack the case studies to illustrate the variation in ethnic dynamics and the role of Roman imperial power. Herein lies the task of future research.

[665] Roymans 1996. [666] Cf. James 2002, 43-44.

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Ann.	*Annales*
B.Alex.	*De bello Alexandrino*
BC	*De bello Civile*
BG	*De bello Gallico*
Geogr.	*Geographia*
Germ.	*Germania*
Hist.	*Historiae*
NH	*Naturalis Historia*
Phars.	*Pharsalus*

Journals, series and reference books

BJ	*Bonner Jahrbücher*
BRGK	*Berichte der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission*
BROB	*Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
KP	Der Kleine Pauly
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
OMROL	*Oudheidkundige Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*

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General index

Place names mentioned in the tables and appendices are not included in the index.