

Women and Families in the Auxiliary Military Communities of the Roman West
in the First and Second Centuries AD

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ABSTRACT

ELIZABETH M. GREENE: Women and Families in the Auxiliary Military Communities of the Roman West in the First and second centuries AD

The following research contributes to a broad agenda in the archaeology and history of the Roman military to view the army as a social group of individuals rather than a cog in the machine of imperial expansion. Specifically, this work incorporates the evidence for women and children associated with the Roman army in order to illuminate the social structure of military communities. The primary case study is the auxiliary units stationed on the frontiers of the western provinces in the first and second centuries AD before soldiers were legally allowed to cohabit with women during their period of service. This research identifies the families of soldiers as a significant element of Roman military communities and as an important aspect of life in the army. My primary evidence is the archaeological assemblage of leather footwear from Vindolanda, an important military fort on the Roman frontier in Britain. This unique site is contextualized into the broader military landscape by comparison to material from other forts in Britain and Germany, which provides unambiguous evidence for the presence of women and children within military spaces during the earliest periods of military conquest and consolidation in the first century AD.

To Alex,
because none of this is possible without you. From the bottom of my heart, I thank you for all
the ins, all the outs, and especially all the what-have-yous.

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CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION, PROJECT FRAMEWORK AND PARAMETERS

1.1. *Introduction*

The Roman army has been at the center of scholarly investigation for centuries and has historically been the focus of Roman frontier studies (*Limesforschung*) in the west, particularly in the research agendas of British and German university departments.¹ For a long period of time, the primary concerns of archaeologists and historians of the Roman army were officer hierarchies, recruitment, supply, battle tactics and strategy, and other official clinical concerns.² This research arose at a time when modern imperial expansion followed by the two World Wars dominated current events in Western Europe, and several classical scholars were interested in the political machinations of their own countries.³ Simon James argues that the focus on practical military concerns in Roman army studies and near obsession with organization in the scholarship of this period is the natural result of a class of men who were themselves officers and who may have had similar concerns as their Roman

¹ The *Limes* Congress has been held every three to four years in a city once part of the Roman frontier since it was begun in 1949. Conference proceedings have been published after almost every conference and papers predominantly focus on Roman army studies, particularly in the early years.

² E.g. Domaszewski 1908 (revised by Dobson 1967); Kraft 1951; Birley 1965; Alföldy 1967; Le Bohec 1995; Alföldy, Dobson and Eck 2000, to name only a few examples. For further references, see James 2002, 4.

³ E.g. the influence of the political circumstances surrounding German unification and the role of Prussia on Mommsen's scholarly work (Freeman 1997, esp. 29-35). This dissertation will only peripherally deal with the problem inherent when events in the Roman world are viewed through the lens of modern political agendas. See below, for its direct repercussions on our understanding of women and the Roman army. For full treatment of modern biases in our understanding of Roman imperialism see Freeman 1997, 27-50; Freeman 1996, 19-34; Hingley (2005 and 2000) provides a thorough overview of the history of scholarship on Roman imperialism and the post-colonial backlash. Cf. Mattingly 1997; cf. Webster 1996.

counterparts.⁴ Within this male- and class-biased background, much research on the Roman army was very clinical and restricted primarily to state-level, political concerns.

Organizational and strategic matters of the Roman army are essential, but the focus on these topics was to the exclusion of investigation of social aspects of military life. It is accepted that a broad community of non-combatants were inextricably linked to the unit in residence and that some soldiers had families with them during service;⁵ however, the social structure of this population supporting the Roman army has not been investigated in great depth.⁶ For the most part non-combatant individuals, particularly women and children, are left out of Roman military publications, despite the now substantial evidence that this population was prominent and likely an important part of life at military camps.⁷ There is

⁴ James 2002, 10-11. Also a major problem in military studies discussed in depth by James (2002) and relevant to this work is the anachronistic assumption that personal experience of modern military concerns could be projected onto Roman military organization. Cf. Allison 2006, 1.

⁵ E.g. as early as Salway's 1965 work on *Frontier People of Roman Britain*, esp. 31, one was able to say that families lived in the *vicus* but with only slight nuance to their social background or structure.

⁶ Sommer 1984, 30-2 provides a brief overview of the likely characters to be found in the *vicus*. Sommer mostly follows the work of Salway (1965) and A.R. Birley (1980). Salway approaches the evidence very much with the clear dichotomy between military and civilian, e.g. "Women, *ipso facto* civilian..." (1965, 22). His point is taken rightly that women were clearly not part of the official ranks of the military. He briefly considers the families beyond just their existence and for the most part only of the officers (22). Birley's is an indispensable prosopographical study from the rich body of inscriptions in Britain.

⁷ E.g. Webster (1985; most recent printing 1998) now in its third edition and the definitive English language work on the military has no section on the supporting population, despite a chapter on peaceful activities (1985, 269-85). Le Bohec (1989 original French; 1995 English translation) provides one paragraph on "Nuptialité, fécondité, et mortalité" (1989, 244-5). Southern (2006) offers a social history of the military but has only a few pages on a soldier's life beyond military duty. A section on "Women" (2006, 144-5) states that "The Roman army was an all-male institution" in regards to the official ranks, but that soldiers "formed unofficial liaisons with local women" (2006, 144). Wesch-Klein (1998) focuses on the social aspects of Roman military life and treats the women and children associated with the soldiers in ten pages (99-110). He also devotes a few pages to homosexual relationships (110-11). This dissertation will not engage with the homosexual aspects of military life. The new Blackwell Companion to the Roman Army includes a chapter entitled "Marriage, Families, and Survival" in which only two out of fifteen pages discusses women living in the military community (Scheidel 2007, 417-34, esp. 423-5). The recent volume *A Companion to Roman Britain* (Todd 2003) has no consideration of military community within its treatments of the Roman army in Britain. Mattingly (2005, 669-74) heavily criticizes the volume for generally taking a traditional and antiquated approach to the study of Roman Britain. See the literature review in Chapter Two for further discussion of important research.

now clear confirmation that women and children inhabited military spaces, but some of the earliest serious suggestions that these individuals lived within the fort walls were rejected outright.⁸ We are now in a better position to evaluate the marriage patterns of soldiers and the role of family in the military sphere both because of the amount of material currently available and the shifting attitudes towards this material.

One facet of an early denial of the significant presence of women in the military sphere was simply historical circumstance. When the Roman army became a common focus of research in the Victorian period, Rome was often construed as a model for the British Empire. The anachronistic ascription to Rome of a Victorian value system in which the empire was supported by a disciplined, moral, and masculine army without the weak, feminizing presence of women and children was common.⁹ Therefore, the absence of any female presence from the nineteenth century British military made it difficult for scholars to consider the role of non-combatant individuals associated with the Roman army.¹⁰

More at the core of this dichotomy, however, is our understanding of the relationship between legal mandate and social reality in antiquity. It is well understood that soldiers were not legally allowed to marry during their period of service;¹¹ however, formal law does not

⁸ Driel-Murray 1997, 55, 60, discusses her own attempt in the 1980s to explain away the footwear evidence that suggested the presence of women and children within military forts; cf. James 2002, 11.

⁹ Hingley 2002, 15, 47-8, 65-9; Freeman 1996, 19-34; Reece 1988, *passim*. See below for discussion of the historical circumstances of this problem. Cf. James 2002, 8.

¹⁰ The important role played by women in many armies between the 14th and 19th centuries has been cogently argued by Hacker (1981, *passim*, esp. 645), in which he points out that it was only a few decades before the mid-19th century that women disappeared from the normal arrangement of military life. Driel-Murray (1997, 57-9) has used the Dutch army and its interactions with local women in Indonesia as an analogy for the Roman military situation on the frontiers.

¹¹ This issue was debated for some time. As early as Justus Lipsius at the end of the 16th century through Mommsen in the 19th century the ancient literary sources were cited as evidence for some limitations on the social life of soldiers. See Castello 1940, 27-29 for a review of early investigations. Phang 2001 and Jung 1982 are now the best works for a complete treatment of the marriage ban, evidence for its existence and parameters

reflect social reality and practice can be diametrically different from legal mandate.¹² In the case of soldiers' "marriages" we know beyond doubt that at least in practice this law was not always observed. Soldiers took *de facto* wives during active service and started families, regardless of the illegality.¹³

The ban on legal marriage for soldiers was most likely part of the sweeping reforms to military structure and protocol that were instituted by Augustus around 13 BC.¹⁴ Suetonius records that the *princeps* was reluctant even to allow his officers to visit their wives, considering this a potential breakdown of military discipline.¹⁵ These extreme changes instituted by Augustus are not surprising and fit well with his overarching goal of sole rule with an army behind him. This was an army that by necessity needed to be far from the capital but still under tight management. The military was the key to controlling the vast territory under the power of Rome, so the institution itself required heavy regulation. The marriage ban is one among many results of Augustus' strict attempt to restrain the Roman

of the ban. Phang also deals with the *de facto* relationships of the soldiers primarily from a legal perspective and considers issues such as pay and the ability to support a household. These works should be consulted for all issues of the legality of marriage, our sources for the ban and further reading. Cf. Garnsey 1970; Campbell 1978.

¹² A classic essay by Momigliano (1964, 133-49) calls for an end to the separation of legal history from its social surroundings; cf. Cherry 1985, esp. 102-26; with respect to the marriage ban on soldiers specifically, see Watson 1969, 137.

¹³ Throughout this dissertation I will use the terms 'marriage' and 'wife' to discuss the long-term *de facto* relationships taken up by auxiliary soldiers during service. The term 'legal marriage' will be used when necessary to differentiate meaning.

¹⁴ Phang 2001, 16-17. Cf. Campbell 1978, *passim*; Wells 1989, 180-90; Frank 1975, 41-52 for Augustus' legislation on marriage generally; cf. Raditsa 1980; For Augustus' military reforms, Raaflaub 1987 and 1980.

¹⁵ Suet. *Div. Aug.* 24.1: *disciplinam severissime rexit. ne legatorum quidem cuiquam, nisi gravate hibernisque demum mensibus, permisit uxorem intervisere* (He instituted the strictest discipline. He reluctantly permitted his legates to visit their wives, but only in the winter months).

militaries, which were by this time spread across the empire in legionary and auxiliary units, incorporating soldiers with varying ethnic backgrounds and homelands.¹⁶

Septimius Severus is credited with changing this social policy, at the very least allowing cohabitation of soldiers with women in AD 197.¹⁷ By this time, the *canabae* and *vici* outside the forts were large, and it is generally accepted that women and children made up a significant part of the population of these settlements. In this dissertation, it is presumed that these settlements and the non-military population that supported the unit in residence did not suddenly appear at this point of military reform, but rather evolved out of the *de facto* relationships that were formed in the first and second centuries that created the unique social structure of the military community.¹⁸ Moreover, it is less important when the legal change took place, as it is likely that this mandate did not affect the social reality of soldiers' "marriages". It is unlikely that social practice radically changed with the abandonment of this official law, but rather that Severus legalized what was already common social custom.¹⁹

¹⁶ For Augustus and the role of family in military policy, see Severy 2003, esp. 79-95.

¹⁷ Herodian, History 3.8.4-5: Τοῖς τε στρατιώταις ἐπέδωκε χρήματα πλεῖστα, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ συνεχώρησεν ἃ μὴ πρότερον εἶχον. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ σιτηρέσιον πρῶτος ἠύξησεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ δακτυλίοις χρυσοῖς χρήσασθαι ἐπέτρεψε γυναιξὶ τε συνοικεῖν, ἅπερ ἅπαντα σωφροσύνης στρατιωτικῆς καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐτοίμου τε καὶ εὐσταλοῦς ἀλλότρια ἐνομιζέτο (The soldiers too were given a very substantial sum of money and with this many other privileges that they had not had before, such as an increase in pay (which Severus was the first to give), permission to wear a gold ring and the right to live at home with their wives. All these things are usually considered to be inimical to military discipline and to a state of prompt readiness for action. Trans. Whittaker 1969). The precise meaning of this passage has been somewhat debated (see Phang 2001, 17, esp. note 4 for further references). The Greek states plainly that the allowance was that soldiers could live with their women, not that it allowed legal marriage. A diploma not yet published but discussed by Eck (ZPE 2011, forthcoming, draft seen by author) dating to AD 206 still suggests in its wording that soldiers were not legally allowed to marry. Eck concludes that the reform of AD 197 only mandated cohabitation, not legal marriage. He prefers to see cohabitation not occurring inside the garrison, but only that they could cohabit outside in the *vici*. It is interesting to note that a recent German translation of Herodian adds that they were indeed placed in the barracks (Müller 1996, 143: "statt in der Kaserne"). Further reading: Phang 2001, esp. 13-114 for the evidence of the ban; Cf. Garnsey 1970, 45-54; cf. Smith 1972, *passim*; Cherry 1997, for the marriage of officers after the legal change.

¹⁸ Cf. Salway 1965, 31, also concludes that it must have been an evolution of practice.

¹⁹ For particular discussion of this point, see Smith 1972, 494; cf. Southern 2006, 145.

Therefore we must look for the presence and role of women and children in military forts and settlements well before the late second century and realistically from the early empire onward.²⁰ The Roman government surely knew that *de facto* wives were common in the military sphere since they legitimized the offspring produced from these relationships at or near the end of a soldier's career.²¹ Archaeological evidence further suggests that in the first and second centuries AD women were present in military populations,²² and it is probable that these individuals affiliated with soldiers were always present and living within the military community.

The existence of the legal ban on marriage was convenient to support the modern idea that war and the army were primarily masculine endeavors, resulting in little consideration of women in this sphere. With the emergence of a greater appreciation for the social history of the ancient world in general, along with an understanding of the lives of non-elites, slaves, and other marginalized members of society such as women and children, modern research has shifted towards a better understanding of the entire military community, including non-military individuals associated with this group. In an article now seminal for military studies, James perfectly summed up the change needed in scholarship: "The shift in focus from army-as-institution to soldiers-as-people is, I think, fundamental for understanding all aspects of the Roman military."²³

²⁰ In fact, the problem of camp children was discussed even by Livy in reference to events of 171 BC. Livy *Ab.Urb.Cond.* 43.3.1. Cf. Smith 1972, 494.

²¹ Citizenship grants to offspring ceased in AD 140 when policy change under Antoninus Pius ceased to offer this privilege. See chapter five for in depth treatment of the military diplomas. Cf. Roxan 1986, 265-92.

²² Driel-Murray 1995, 1997, 1998 ; Allison 2006, 2007, 2008. Selections of this material will be the core of the discussion in Chapters Three and Four.

²³ James 2002, 42.

In the past two decades, therefore, the investigation of women and children within the military community has grown considerably. The primary contribution has focused on the spaces of potential female activity by means of analysis of artifact distributions within military spaces.²⁴ These studies have led to a more nuanced appreciation of the presence of non-combatants in the military sphere; however, this research has not yet been used as part of an updated overarching assessment of the nature of the entire military community and its population. The most striking conclusion from recent archaeological data is that some women and children lived within the fort itself. At the very least the family of the prefect lived in the *praetorium* (commanding officer's residence), located at the center of most forts beside the *principia* (headquarters building).²⁵

The presence of the wives of high-ranking officers was accepted only on legal grounds, and their actual presence within the fort itself was not hypothesized until recently.²⁶ Even with the legal and social evidence for the presence of these non-combatants, there has been little attempt to understand how a family living within one of the most important structures within the fort would impact the daily military routine. The fact that the prefect's wife and children lived within such a public sector of a military installation makes it impossible to consider this space exclusively male. Therefore, the notion that the occupancy of women and children within the fort itself somehow detracted from the military nature of this space should be discarded. It is even more striking that evidence suggests there was some

²⁴ E.g. works already cited by Driel-Murray and Allison; Also see Brandl 2008a. See Chapters Three and Four for full discussion of the archaeological evidence for women and children in military installations in Britain and Germany.

²⁵ Evidence for wives is clear at Vindolanda (Driel-Murray 1993, 1-75; see below Chapter Three for full discussion), and the Vindolanda tablets suggest the presence of wives elsewhere on the northern British frontier (see Chapter Six).

²⁶ First discussed with reference to actual archaeological evidence by Driel-Murray 1993.

cohabitation of men and women in the barracks of the regular foot soldiers, blurring the lines of social organization even further. Occupation within the fort should not be seen as being drawn on lines of class status alone.²⁷

The material indicating the occupation of women inside the fort walls brings into sharp focus the varying degrees of social organization that existed on a military site. It is clear that some non-combatants lived within the fort itself, while others lived in the extramural settlement. At the same time a significant amount of important military activity took place outside the fort walls, not merely within the fort itself.²⁸ These two spaces together create the military community, which can be understood only in a comprehensive and inclusive way. Roman forts should be considered more of an open and fluid space with movement between the fort and extramural areas as a characteristic feature of the settlement.

The fort itself has for a long time been classified strictly as a military domain, while the *vici* just outside the walls have been categorized as a purely civilian component. It has been too common to expect a manifest separation between ‘military’ and ‘civilian,’ when this division was probably not such a reality for those that lived there. We have remained somewhat confined by these monolithic terms, binary opposites that have proven inadequate in defining the military community and its population. Based on current archaeological evidence, the dichotomy is no longer tenable. The perceived divide between military and

²⁷ At Vindolanda, shoes belonging to women and children were found in a barrack block of the common *pedites* in period 4 (ca. AD 105-120) and the shoes certainly reveal the presence of the prefect’s family in period 3 (ca. AD 97-105). Driel-Murray 1993, 31-47. See Chapter Three for further analysis of this evidence.

²⁸ Cf. Sommer 1984, 15.

civilian has prohibited comparison of the two spheres and the identification of these two spaces as part of a single military community.²⁹

An indication that the extramural settlements should be manifestly associated with the military presence is their proximity to the defenses. Most extramural settlements began within mere meters of the fort gate, and in some cases they formed a ring around the entire fort if the topography allowed.³⁰ The proximity of these settlements and their layout around the fort itself would be unthinkable if the population was not primarily associated with the garrison. In other words, the extramural population must have been trusted by the unit in residence. For most *vici* in the west, Sommer argues that there was an absolute interdependence between the fort and the *vicus* and that each could not survive without the other.³¹

The absolute connection between the two spaces is also manifest in several buildings located in the *vicus* that were used regularly by soldiers and non-combatants alike, but were still crucial to the daily military routine. The bathhouse was certainly a mainstay of daily activity by soldiers and the structure itself was built by the garrison in residence.³² At the same time it is located outside of the fort walls and it is clear that it was used by a mixed population.³³ Temples were also located outside of the fort walls but were clearly part of the

²⁹ A. Birley 2010 (unpublished PhD thesis) looks at this theme closely in the third and fourth century fort and extramural settlement at Vindolanda.

³⁰ Sommer (1984, 45-6) designates this as the “ribbon-development” style of *vicus* organization. This type was less common than the *vicus* with a street-network and is most well-known at Brougham and Maryport.

³¹ Sommer 1988, 627-37.

³² Tab. Vindol.II 155 (Bowman and Thomas 1994, 98-100), records a duty roster that lists twelve soldiers working on the construction of the bathhouse on that day (*xii s[tr]uctores ad balneum*).

³³ In some rare cases, such as Bar Hill on the Antonine Wall, the bathhouse is located within the fort itself. This is also an interesting scenario, considering the evidence for the presence of women and children and no known bathhouse outside of the fort walls.

daily religious routine for soldiers. At Brocolitia on Hadrian's Wall, the Mithraeum is located about twenty meters from the fort on the southwest corner, but its primary function as a cult for the soldiers is manifest and it cannot be argued that this was not an important military space even though it is outside the fort. Moreover, finds of military equipment and armor are quite frequent in the towns of Roman Britain, suggesting that military life was most certainly not confined to forts alone.³⁴

Therefore, a great deal of a soldier's life may have been spent in the extramural settlement suggesting that it was as much a part of military life as the fort itself. The location of buildings in the *vicus* with such importance for the daily activity of soldiers strengthens the bond between these two spaces and suggests a single community of people were present. Soldiers might even themselves have lived in the extramural settlement, as is suggested by the reforms of Severus that allowed soldiers to cohabit with women. The *vicus* surely had more capacity to grow and house cohabiting couples, rather than the internal space of the fort determined by the extent of the fort walls. In the eastern provinces soldiers were billeted within cities themselves, such as at Dura-Europos, Jerusalem, and Paylmyra.³⁵ We know little beyond the existence of the legionary base in Jerusalem, but at Dura the separation between the military and civilian sphere was in the form of a wall through the urban space. This demarcation indicates that though there was certainly a physical separation between the two spheres, the proximity suggests that in many cases the border between military and civilian must have been severely blurred. Local billeting within towns may even have been

³⁴ Bishop 1991, 21-7; cf. A. Birley 2010 for similar conclusions within the military sphere.

³⁵ For the interaction of soldier and civilian using Dura-Europos as a case study, see Pollard 1996.

the case with certain units in Britain.³⁶ The appropriation of civilian space for a military purpose and billeting of soldiers within an existing civilian space must surely have resulted in less clear distinction between the two social spheres.

In reality, the extramural settlement was a natural extension of the fort. It was often built simultaneously, a clear indication that its function was more in line with the occupation of the army than any native or non-military related phenomenon. Though the space of a year cannot be detected archaeologically, it is rare to find an apparent interval of a decade between construction of the two spaces, and more often excavations reveal material that suggests simultaneous construction.³⁷ Thriving *vici* are also identified in places that have very short occupations in their entirety, such as the twenty-year life span of the Antonine Wall in mid-2nd century Britain. The fort at Carriden on the Antonine Wall produced an altar to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, dedicated on behalf of the corporate body of the *vicani*, indicating a high degree of organization within this short span of occupation.³⁸

Though the existence of military *vici* has long been noted by archaeologists and historians there has been little attempt to investigate the population that lived here, particularly as a part of an integrated military community.³⁹ The lack of interest in the non-

³⁶ Bishop 1991, 21-7, shows that military equipment is found in great numbers in the towns of Roman Britain in 2nd and 3rd century levels. If the ideological problem of mixing the military and civilian population in a town is discarded, it removes the problem for the fort and *vicus* to have a mixed use. The site at Corbridge in the Hadrian's Wall corridor in northern Britain had become primarily a civic town rather than military site, but where the military was still present there was a simple separation within the town by a wall. Bishop and Dore 1988, fig. 4 for plan.

³⁷ Birley 1981, 50; Sommer 1984, 9 and 11.

³⁸ Richmond and Steer 1956, 1-6; cf. Breeze and Dobson 1987, 198.

³⁹ The best investigations of the population were not within military studies but rather in overarching syntheses of the people of the British province by Birley (1980) and Salway (1965). Goldsworthy and Haynes' volume *The Roman Army as a Community* (1999) is dedicated to the aspect of community with several contributions on varying topics. An interesting result of this volume is the clear discrepancy in each scholar's definition of the military community. It is stated in the introduction, however, that the editors left the definition to the

combatants may be in part because of the negative image that extramural settlements have gained in scholarship. Military *vici* are often thought of as somewhat ramshackle with quasi-dependent “camp followers” living in poor conditions outside the fort.⁴⁰ The merchants do not have the best reputation and the women associated with such a settlement are often painted as natives or prostitutes scraping by a living.⁴¹ Rather than a rundown shanty town housing the undesirable elements of the population, the military *vici* should be seen at least in part as an extension of the fort and the home of wives and families of some soldiers.⁴² This investigation presumes that the fort and extramural settlement together form the military community, that the area’s primary purpose was as a military base, and that the civilians present were inseparable from the military function of the site.⁴³

The application of strict labels applied to military spaces has been persistent in Roman army studies. In a similar way there has been a desire to define and categorize aspects of the Roman army in monolithic terms that are applied to the entire institution. This approach has resulted in an oversimplification of certain aspects of military life and an inability to see the nuances that clearly existed in military organization throughout the

contributors to interpret freely. The engagement with the community aspect of the military sphere varies accordingly.

⁴⁰ Breeze and Dobson (1987, 183) suggest that women and children would have lived “perhaps in some squalor.” The *vicus* here is described as a ‘shanty town.’ Snape (1991, 468) responds that in 197, after marriage became legal for soldiers, perhaps these places of squalor became “a desirable suburb.”

⁴¹ A classic quote by Calvin Wells (1982, 135) demonstrates this thinking in Roman towns in Britain: “Cirencester, like York, was largely given over to retired legionaries and to various Roman officials, many of whom lacked regular wives and whose sexual partners, if any, were probably drawn from the professional prostitutes who were no doubt an abundant and pleasant amenity of the town.” Cf. Driel-Murray 1998, 345.

⁴² Driel-Murray (1997, 60) calls for the same ‘rehabilitation’ suggesting that the *vicus* was likely an active source for young soldiers to meet a partner; cf. Buxton and Howard-Davis 2000, 414, in the excavation report of Ribchester in Lancashire also intimate that this old view of the fort and *vicus* is no longer viable.

⁴³ This point is becoming far clearer to many scholars, e.g. most recently Birley 2010 (University of Leicester dissertation) argues this point for the 3rd and 4th century periods at Vindolanda.

empire. All Roman forts are often anecdotally said to have shared the same layout; in reality no two forts are exactly the same.⁴⁴ Scholars have sought a single static function and pattern for the use of certain building types and areas of a fort, when differences were probably dependent upon the individual needs of a unit and its officers.⁴⁵ Spatial usage may even have changed on a daily or seasonal basis. Only recently have scholars begun to suggest that the military was more likely to have varied regionally and that more flexibility is necessary when interpreting its remains in different parts of the empire.⁴⁶ A similar flexibility should also be sought for individual buildings within the fort. Military spaces such as centurions' quarters should be compared to find differences between sites and periods in order to hypothesize different social organization in these spaces. While evidence is found for the habitation of some barracks by women, such use should by no means be applied to all such living quarters.⁴⁷ One need not expect to find every soldier having formed a *de facto* relationship while he served in the military. This is an unrealistic view and would certainly not be the expectation in civilian communities.

That military settlements were different in character from the truly civilian centers of the Roman world can also be seen in the geographical relationship between the types of settlement. In all parts of the empire there were a number of purely civilian towns, from smaller settlements to *coloniae* and *municipia* in which civilians lived. These towns and

⁴⁴ Breeze 2002, 7.

⁴⁵ At the most recent Frontiers Congress Allison (forthcoming, 2012) challenged the dogma of building identifications laid down by Petrikovits (1975). She sought alternative identifications or at the least more fluidity in our assumptions of activities having taken place within.

⁴⁶ Wells (forthcoming), *Proceedings of the Frontier Congress 2009*, Introduction to session on Families and the Roman Army.

⁴⁷ See Chapter Three for analysis of military architecture, especially officer's barracks, as potential spaces to house families of soldiers.

cities are located in many cases within a few miles of a military fort, which in turn had its own extramural settlement. It is clear that these two populations were distinct from one another and had different characters, the one with its connections to the military and the other more readily associated with the purely civilian population. A good example exists at Carnuntum, the capital of Upper Pannonia, which was home at various times to legions, auxiliary units, and any number of civilians. Each of the military spaces had a distinct settlement outside of their walls that remained separate from the primary civilian town. Clearly the populations within these spaces had a reason to reside next to the military garrison rather than in the civilian town itself. The situation is the same at Xanten in Germania Inferior, where the legionary fort at Vetera had a distinct *canabae legionis*, though the Colonia Ulpia Traiana thrived only a few kilometers away.⁴⁸ The settlements located directly outside of the fort walls in legionary and auxiliary contexts should be considered distinct from other civilian settlements and closely associated with the unit in residence as part of the military community.

The presence of women and children within the military sphere has been investigated for the most part by means of gendered artifacts found within military spaces, which will be discussed in detail in the following chapters. However, this material presents only a partial picture of their role within the military community. Historical documents, on the other hand, provide a social context within which the archaeological material may be better interpreted. Epigraphy and personal letters show that a significant number of soldiers already had a family before retirement. In many cases, therefore, we can interpret the archaeological evidence of women in the forts and settlements within a social context that included wives,

⁴⁸ Hanel 1995, reports the excavations from earlier in the century at *Vetera*.

sisters and daughters, rather than one with a female component consisting only of slaves or prostitutes. No attempt has been made to combine archaeological and documentary evidence in order to understand the social structure of this community with all its constituent parts.

The socio-cultural status of individuals may also be better understood by inclusion of documentary evidence. A common presumption is that the *vicus* population would have comprised local natives who had taken the opportunity to utilize the ready market of soldiers in the fort. Moreover, it is often anecdotally repeated that a soldier took a local native women as a partner who was then housed in the *vicus*. The idea that a soldier's family might have traveled with him from their provincial home, however, whether at the start of his service or perhaps at some point during service, is rarely explored. As the *vicus* was often constructed simultaneously with the fort, it is logical to interpret the inhabitants of the extramural spaces as directly related to the military effort. It seems far less likely that at the point of conquest and consolidation by the Roman army natives would immediately move into a settlement located mere meters from the conquering force. The thought of families comprising at least part of the extramural population in the earliest phases of occupation has not been seriously considered, probably because the notion of families being hauled along in the long caravans that followed the Roman army seems anathema to the image of proper military discipline. However, this very situation is presented by Dio Cassius with respect to the legions when relating the destruction of Varus' troops in Germany in the beginning of the first century AD.⁴⁹

This final point introduces the important issue of chronology. It is often thought that such members of the community would have become more common toward the middle of the

⁴⁹ Dio Cassius 56.20.2.

second century when the army was generally more settled and especially in the third century after the Severan reforms;⁵⁰ however, women and children were present on potentially hostile frontiers from very early periods of their consolidation, a fact that is as striking as whether they were living within the fort itself or just outside of the walls. Evidence from the early Augustan forts in Germany suggests there was a significant extramural settlement even at this early point in the military occupation of the region.⁵¹ The earliest occupation levels known at Vindolanda from ca. AD 85-90 also show the presence of women and children at this time when the frontier was newly created, not yet fully consolidated, and potentially hostile. If one considers an entire site to have a military purpose, particularly in periods just after conquest or in the earliest phases of consolidation of a military landscape, the presence of women and children anywhere on the site is manifestly interesting. It is in these early periods of occupation and times of hostility and transition that the presence of women and children is most striking and can inform the overall nature of non-combatant movement and settlement within the military sphere through time.

Individual military sites were their own microcosm of society with far more than just soldiers and military specialists making up the population. Each community had an internal social structure, and in order to fully understand it, we must take into greater consideration the non-combatant individuals who were clearly present.⁵² Through an investigation of the material culture of forts and their extramural settlements, combined with documentary evidence illuminating the women and children associated with Roman soldiers, I seek to

⁵⁰ E.g. Phang 2002a, *passim*.

⁵¹ For example the cemeteries at Haltern, an Augustan period legionary fort, hold quite a few burials of women and children though no extramural settlement is known on the site. See Chapter Four for further analysis of this material.

⁵² James 2002, 42-4, esp. 43.

present a more nuanced understanding of the population surrounding the Roman army. I dismiss the notion that non-combatants were simply “camp followers” who trailed the military hoping to profit from the ready market provided by the garrison. Rather, I will bring the dialogue in line with the notion that some soldiers had secure familial relationships while they served in the Roman army, despite the legal ban on marriage for enlisted men. Even in the first century, the military community comprised wives, children and other extended family of active Roman soldiers in addition to merchants, prostitutes and other individuals.

Almost a century ago one of the most prominent military archaeologists on Hadrian’s Wall asked what the real character was of the military *vici*.⁵³ Their physical layout and construction has been determined,⁵⁴ but the character of the population living within these spaces has never been satisfactorily presented. This work defines the nature of occupation by these non-combatants in the military sphere in Britain and Germany by building on the individual studies of single sites and bringing together various categories of evidence that illuminate this social aspect of military life. I take a diachronic view of military settlement from the first into the second centuries, in order to determine the growth of extramural occupation, particularly important in this period before cohabitation was allowed for soldiers. Military communities are approached as comprehensive units of fort and *vicus*, units which will be investigated from the perspective of varying social organization when possible.

This dissertation broadly contributes to the current discourse in Roman archaeology that views the army as groups of individuals with distinct social identities rather than as a monolithic cog in the machine of imperial expansion. I redress the inequality in research on

⁵³ Birley and Charlton, 1932, 223.

⁵⁴ Most work has been done by Sommer, see especially Sommer 1984 for *vici* in Britain.

the social aspects of the Roman army by providing an in-depth exploration of some evidence for the presence of women and children on military sites and the social organization of these individuals in military communities. My primary aim is to provide greater understanding of the non-combatant population in the military sphere and to explore their locus of activities within the fort and extramural settlement. I combine varied historical evidence—archaeological, epigraphic and literary—in order to discuss how women and children were an integral part of serving soldiers’ social lives. Archaeological remains, inscriptions, military diplomas, personal letters and Greek and Latin texts each expose a different facet of the presence of non-combatants.

This study is the first in which these diverse lines of evidence are brought together to provide a more complete image of the Roman military community. The presentation of families commonly part of Roman military settlements in all periods is far more consistent with our understanding of military behavior throughout history. In fact, in many periods except for the nineteenth century, several Western European armies and soldiers were supported by families that played a vital economic and domestic role in their provision of subsistence needs during campaign and occupation.⁵⁵ This work is only able to take into account a sample of the evidence from two geographical areas of the empire, and therefore, is by nature only a part of the discourse. It is hoped that it will become an important piece of the already active dialogue and ongoing reevaluation of the Roman military community.

⁵⁵ Hacker 1981, *passim*. Armies of the early modern period in Europe were often accompanied by women and children associated with soldiers. They performed any number of tasks to augment the household income and the soldier’s readiness for successful battle.

1.2. *Project Framework and Organization*

I will address the problems posed above with two approaches. A better understanding of spatial correlations of female activity in the military community will be explored by using archaeological evidence, both architectural remains and artifactual patterns. The phasing of sites and the dating of material associated with a female presence also presents a clear understanding of the diachronic changes of non-combatant settlement in the first and second centuries. I will then turn to documentary material to give a deeper social dimension to the lives of those women and children living within this community. The size of the Roman army in the principate and the enormous amount of available evidence only allow me to use case studies and to explore this question by way of sampling from specific frontier military landscapes. I begin with the archaeological evidence from the fort at Vindolanda, an auxiliary garrison on the northern British frontier occupied from ca. AD 85 until well into the sub-Roman period. Because of the rich remains on this site, particularly those revealing the presence of families at this auxiliary fort, it is an ideal case study from which to create a comprehensive picture of the population present in this military community. The soil condition in many parts of the site is anaerobic, thereby preserving a large amount of organic material such as leather and wood, often within its original context of use. Therefore, Vindolanda offers an unusually complete assemblage of the material left behind by the site occupants in the late first and early second centuries.

Chapter three presents the primary data set used in this dissertation, a sample of the assemblage of over four-thousand leather shoes from Vindolanda. I concentrate on the patterns of deposition of shoes that belonged to women and children associated with the fort in the earliest periods of occupation between ca. AD 85-130, just after the initial occupation

of northern Britain. Footwear is ideal evidence to investigate demographic questions because of its indication of age and sexual dimorphism in a population.⁵⁶ In this chapter I conclude that the presence of women and children on site is clear from the very earliest occupation in period 1, which strongly suggests that a non-combatant population may have traveled with the military and occupied the site simultaneous with the military itself. This chapter also considers the spatial layout of buildings within the fort, such as the *praetorium* and other officer's quarters, in their dual role as important military structures and at the same time households.

Chapter four contextualizes the in-depth view provided by archaeological material at Vindolanda by considering it within its broader military landscape. I first look at other sites in the north of Britain for further evidence of women and children, concluding that Vindolanda does not stand alone as a settlement which housed a significant non-combatant population. The site should be seen as typical of the military community in the north of Britain in the late first century AD. Though no other site has such a comprehensive assemblage of material as Vindolanda, material evidence elsewhere also indicates that women and children were present in these early frontier military settlements. Moreover, extramural settlements were necessary from the earliest stages of military occupation in the north of Britain, even before the frontier could be considered fully defended and consolidated by Roman forces.

In order to gain a more nuanced understanding of the chronological details of the presence of non-combatant populations associated with the Roman army, I turn to the military landscapes of Germany and Raetia in the early- to mid-first century. It is clear in

⁵⁶ See Chapter Three for the limits of the footwear evidence, in particular the problem distinguishing sizes of women's and adolescent male shoes.

most of these forts that an extramural settlement was a necessity even during the initial period of conquest in the Augustan-Tiberian period. On both the Raetian and the Lower Rhine frontiers women and children were a significant part of the population of military settlements by the 40s AD. From an investigation of the earliest periods of frontier occupation, as well as forts that were always in volatile frontier areas, this chapter concludes that women and children were present from the very beginning of military settlement and also during periods of volatility. This material is important since it suggests there was significant non-combatant presence earlier than is currently thought. Not only were women and children present in the later second and third centuries with a settled Roman army as is the viewpoint often anecdotally repeated, but probably in all periods of military activity from the early principate onward.⁵⁷

In order to add social dimension to the archaeological material and to more fully explore the presence and role of families and the Roman army, I will use historical documents to inform our understanding of the individual family members associated with soldiers. The military diplomas discussed in Chapter Five, record the names of the *de facto* wives and children that were attached to soldiers during their service and who were legitimized upon retirement by a grant of *conubium* (legal marriage between a citizen and non-citizen). Moreover, until AD 140 citizenship was granted to offspring born illegitimately when soldiers could not contract *iustum matrimonium* (legal Roman marriage), providing a record of the children born to serving soldiers.

The research presented here on these documents reveals interesting patterns of the nature of these relationships, concluding that more often the wife originated from the same

⁵⁷ Phang 2002a, *passim*.

tribe as the soldier himself. This conclusion supports the notion that ethnic identity was possibly maintained by a soldier throughout his service by way of marriage and children. A second pattern shows that wives originated from within the military community itself. This pattern strongly indicates that the presence of families was common within the military sphere in order to provide a viable group from which soldiers could find a partner.⁵⁸ These two patterns directly contradict the common assumption that soldiers formed unions with women from the local, native community around the garrison. Though this also occurred, it is more likely that either they brought wives into service with them from home, or that they maintained ethnic ties to their home tribe and actively sought to sustain these relationships within the military community, possibly through arranged marriage. Furthermore, I conclude from the diplomas that families traveled with soldiers more often than has been previously considered. This is particularly true in cases where several children are named and the entire family seems to have retired far from the home territory of either the soldier or wife, often in the last place the garrison served during the soldier's service. The diplomas provide a picture of families of both officers and common soldiers established within the military community. This conclusion indicates that archaeological evidence revealing the presence of women and children should be seen at least partially as that of family occupation in the communities of the Roman army.

Chapter six returns to Vindolanda offering an in-depth look at the corpus of writing tablets that give a more nuanced picture of the lives of women and families living in the military community. The overarching conclusion from the tablets is that family members are

⁵⁸ Cf. Wells 1997, 574.

well represented in correspondence between men, even in cases of non-elite foot soldiers.⁵⁹ The greetings that are passed between military communities involve daughters, sisters and probably close family friends. They give the clear impression that women were a part of the social fabric of these communities, not simply the product of casual relationships and certainly not only prostitutes or slaves. The letters between elite females, particularly those between prefects' wives, also suggest that close family ties and events that strengthened such bonds were an important part of the social life of this military community. I conclude in this chapter that there was a distinct female social world within the otherwise masculine environment of the Roman army.

This dissertation considers documentary evidence from the Roman military sphere alongside the archaeological material. When epigraphy and textual evidence are investigated in combination with artifact patterns and architectural remains a more certain picture emerges and lends greater credence to the historical likelihood that families were an important aspect of the military social structure. The documentary evidence also allows greater confidence in the social identity of the women that have been recognized from archaeological material. When the evidence of diplomas and letters is brought to bear, it is impossible to deny that families were a clear and important part of military communities.

1.3. *Parameters of the Project*

Chronology

An investigation of female presence within military spaces is most relevant during the first two centuries of the principate in which period the ban on military marriages was active.

⁵⁹ *Tab. Vindol.* II, no. 310 (Bowman and Thomas 1994) addresses a *contubernalis* suggesting the writer and recipient were ordinary foot soldiers. The letter greets two women, one of whom is designated as *soror*.

The provocative material from Vindolanda is most intriguing because of its late-first and early-second century date; this is directly between the two legal mandates, a century after Augustus, but still a century before Severus allowed cohabitation during service. This position directly in the middle of the two-century period indicates that social practice probably always veered from legal mandate, and that the reforms in the late second century probably only legalized social reality.

These dates coincide well with the available documentary evidence. The corpus of military diplomas of auxiliary soldiers discussed in chapter five dates from AD 54 to the early-third century.⁶⁰ These documents illuminate the individuals that were attached to soldiers upon retirement; therefore they should be seen as having been present in some capacity in the military sphere while the soldier served. That they cease to be issued just prior to the *constitutio Antoniniana* of AD 212, which granted citizenship to all free-born inhabitants of the Roman Empire thereby rendering the right of *conubium* unnecessary for soldiers, is curious and should perhaps be interpreted at least in part as a reason for the termination of these grants.

Geography

This investigation is restricted to a specific geographical area because of the impossibility to deal with every area of the empire in which the Roman army acted in a single dissertation. Since it has become clear recently that the Roman army should be dealt with by regions and thought of more readily as ‘armies’ rather than a single institution with

⁶⁰ Members of the fleet continue receiving diplomas through the third century and even some in the fourth, but this is likely more as a matter of form and custom. For examples of fleet diplomas refer to Appendix I, 101-128. It is argued that the auxiliary diplomas cease because they became less necessary as more provincials gained citizenship. By AD 212 the *constitutio Antoniniana* would make the need for a diploma entirely unnecessary.

the same characteristics throughout,⁶¹ this investigation will focus on the frontier regions of the provinces in Britain, Germany and Raetia, using comparisons to other regions when they are highly illuminating and contextually relevant.⁶² Simply from a standpoint of access to the necessary data, the volume of evidence from scientifically recorded excavations in Britain, Germany and the Netherlands and the high quality of publications from these areas allows a comprehensive approach to the question. Moreover, frontier studies or *Limesforschung* have for a long time been a focus of British, German and Dutch academics interested in the Roman presence in their own countries. This has resulted in a large body of data and secondary literature about individual sites and the military landscape generally in these provinces.

The British and German frontiers are comparable in this investigation in several ways. They were both regions populated primarily by several auxiliary units garrisoning the edge of the empire. The frontiers of Germania also had a series of legionary forts interspersed, whereas the British frontier was garrisoned entirely by auxiliary units with the nearest legion stationed in York, to the south. Raetia, particularly in the mid-first century was in the same situation with a series of auxiliary forts on the frontier line and legions stationed to the south. These areas were on the very edge of empire in the northwest and had tribes over their borders that were considered hostile to the Roman cause. To be sure, the frontiers were settled by Roman troops and settlements were in the Roman style complete with

⁶¹ James 2002, 42.

⁶² For example, I will refer to evidence from the Egyptian papyri when it is relevant, but only to illuminate findings from the primary case studies. The documents from Egypt, especially those of the Roman army (see Fink 1970), are sometimes disregarded in a broad investigation because it is suggested that Egypt should be dealt with in its own category. This material does have the ability to illuminate general military practice, but in the interest of space cannot be dealt with in its entirety here in this dissertation. Similarly, the military diplomas discussed in chapter five offer evidence for the practice of auxiliary soldiers from all over the empire, not just those stationed or originating in the northwest provinces.

bathhouses, temples and rectilinear stone architecture, but they always held their provincial and peripheral nature. Particularly because of the presence of so many auxiliary units that would have recruited soldiers from various provinces as well as the local tribes, the frontiers had a truly multicultural population with a distinct social milieu.

For a diachronic view these two areas work well for this investigation because the German evidence reveals the presence of women and children much earlier in the first century than material from Britain. The Roman occupation of Germany began as early as 20-15 BC under Augustus, with a permanent Roman presence along the Rhine from the early first century AD onward. Evidence for women and children is present in forts almost immediately in the first half of the first century AD, especially along the Raetian frontier consolidated under Claudius between AD 40 and 50.⁶³ The Lower Rhine frontier in the Netherlands offers a good comparison to the mid-first century Raetian frontier, and provides clear evidence for the non-combatant population in this early phase of occupation.

The British frontier along the Tyne-Solway line (now dominated by Hadrian's Wall) was occupied in the AD 70s and 80s and offers a rich body of evidence for a newly created province and frontier in the mid- to late-first century.⁶⁴ The material from the Antonine Wall in Scotland reveals interesting confirmation of the presence of women and children on this short-lived frontier in the mid-second century and in an area that was always considered somewhat hostile. A similar view is gained from the German forts located on the Raetian frontier as it was extended northward in the first quarter of the second century.

⁶³ Allison 2007, *passim*.

⁶⁴ This is the line of the frontier first called the 'Stanegate,' with movements by Petilius Cerialis in the early- to mid-70s and consolidated by Agricola in the late 70s and early 80s. Hadrian's Wall was later built in the 120s ca. 1-2 miles to north and remained the frontier line, except during the short twenty-year occupation further north on the Antonine Wall from ca. AD 140-160.

Auxiliary and Legionary Soldiers

Though the marriage ban applied to both legionary and auxiliary soldiers, this investigation will only treat the evidence for families within the community of auxiliary units. For purely practical reasons a division between the two groups is a logical way to deal with the constraints of time and space. However, the legionary material is in similar ways provocative and given the time to deal with it properly, would further elucidate the presence and role of families in the military sphere. In Britain the fort at Caerleon is well-known for its *canabae legionis* located outside the fort walls containing one of the best preserved amphitheaters in the northern provinces. Inscriptions reveal the presence of families associated with the active soldiers serving in the legionary base and the large extramural settlement reflects the presence of a large supporting population.⁶⁵ Similarly, the epigraphic record of Lambaesis in North Africa reveals an extraordinarily high percentage of married soldiers, with eighty percent of epitaphs naming some form of nuclear family relationship.⁶⁶ Therefore, the legionary evidence will make a fruitful future case study in this investigation that will no doubt greatly illuminate the patterns of family presence in military communities.⁶⁷

From a methodological standpoint it is quite important to make a social distinction between these two very different groups of soldiers, if for no other reason than that they are too often discussed with the same parameters and expectations. While legionary soldiers

⁶⁵ This material is best dealt with by Maxfield 1995, *passim*.

⁶⁶ Saller and Shaw 1984, 139-41.

⁶⁷ Though it is also true that the large settlements outside of centrally located legionary bases could have attracted individuals settling there for reasons other than the local military unit, more regularly than would occur outside of the smaller rural settlements near auxiliary forts. For this reason in many cases the largest cities in the provinces began life as a legionary bases and *canabae*.

were Roman citizens and usually came from Italy or heavily Romanized provinces such as parts of Hispania and Gaul,⁶⁸ auxiliary soldiers were for the most part non-citizens, particularly in the first century, and they often originated from newly conquered areas.⁶⁹ Therefore, their incorporation into the Roman world was by way of military service, and citizenship would normally only be gained after their *stipendium* was complete. Their approach to the Roman army and their role within the Roman empire was likely to have differed greatly from that of a long-time citizen in the legions. Service in the auxiliary and legionary units would have differed greatly and a much greater separation needs to be made between the two groups, particularly in the first and early-second centuries. Far too often Roman soldiers are bundled into one group without consideration of their different types of service and social background.⁷⁰

This dissertation deals with auxiliary soldiers because of the rich case study that they represent in a discussion of the family relationships that soldiers created while serving. But also important are the misconceptions that are often applied to the reality of an auxiliary soldier. For instance, it is commonly reiterated in arguments about the military as a vehicle of Romanization, that auxiliary soldiers met and married women from the local community around the forts. This is an anecdotal impression that entered dogma and has been repeated without any confirmation that this was the dominant paradigm. The practice of auxiliary soldiers marrying local women occurred, but the military diplomas suggest that they more

⁶⁸ In particular Baetica and Narbonensis.

⁶⁹ Certain units were designated as c.R., *civium Romanorum*, indicating that they were all citizens. E.g. the *cohortis I Batavorum milliariae civium Romanorum piae fidelis* discussed in chapter five with the military diploma, *RMD* 86.

⁷⁰ E.g. Phang 2002 discusses the marriage of soldiers making no distinction between legionary and auxiliary evidence for the women associated with these two communities.

commonly married women from their home tribe or from within the military community itself.⁷¹ Both of these scenarios suggest that some soldiers may have sought to maintain their ethnic ties to their home tribe or to continue their social bonds within the military community rather than seeking wives from the local native population near the garrison.

The importance of the grant of *conubium*, the right to have a legal marriage with a non-Roman and to bring up children as though they were born from two Roman citizens, can be interpreted in a few ways. It is often repeated that *conubium* was a necessary right precisely because soldiers were stationed in the provinces, formed relationships with non-citizen women there, and therefore needed *conubium* in order to have a legitimate family. This argument would be more valid for citizen legionaries, but they are the only military group who indeed did not receive the diploma listing these particular rights.⁷² It is not always a case of a Roman citizen “going native” while in the army and therefore needing *conubium* in order to legitimize that relationship. Rather these are auxiliary soldiers with provincial origins spent most of their adult lives as non-citizens, particularly in the first century AD when the *auxilia* were almost always non-citizen and served far from home. They worked within the system of the Roman empire as best as possible, but native social custom and the realities of life in the Roman army must have prevailed, in which social reality will have had little to do with the Roman legal system.

The need for *conubium* is not because a Roman soldier met a local while serving. Rather the soldier himself was also legally a peregrine until the end of twenty-five years of

⁷¹ Based on the evidence found in the discharge diplomas. See chapter five for full discussion.

⁷² There is some indication from imperial rescripts that legionary soldiers received these rights in block grants. See below, chapter five for further discussion. For the Octavian edict of 33/2 BC on veteran privileges: *BGU* 628=W. *Chr.* 462=*FIRA* I² 56; For the edict of 88/9 by Domitian: W. *Chr.* 463=*ILS* 9059=*CIL* XVI App. No. 12=*FIRA* I² 76. Both edicts give citizenship to the veteran, his parents, children and wives. Cf. Campbell 1984, 443-4.

service and his “wife” never gained Roman citizenship. In order for their relationship to be legal and for their children to be citizens, *conubium* was necessary. The reality of an auxiliary soldier, no matter how much one acculturated to a Roman or military identity, was based entirely upon his status as a non-citizen until the point of retirement. He may have even lived more in line with the native custom of his home tribe or by the unique social circumstances that certainly arose in these military communities on the frontiers. Auxiliary soldiers had to work around the official laws of the Roman empire of which they were a part, but perhaps a more palpable reality was his social standing as a non-citizen foreigner. Therefore, social reality of an auxiliary soldier probably differed greatly from a legionary. For this reason the auxiliary community should be considered as a distinct social group, probably quite different from their legionary counterparts. In some cases the social customs of the auxiliary units, particularly in the first century when the ethnic character of these groups was still somewhat undiluted, may inform us more about the social customs of provincial groups than anything “Roman”.

Because of the common tendency to discuss legionary and auxiliary soldiers in a single breath, much of the experience unique only to the auxiliary soldier goes unappreciated. This dissertation makes a very clear distinction between the two groups of soldiers, and only discusses legionary evidence on a comparative level when pertinent. A goal of this research is to investigate the auxiliary soldiers and their families, without being overshadowed by the widespread evidence for the legions. This is achieved particularly through a discussion of the evidence available for the families that were associated explicitly with these soldiers, such as the diplomas, which make very clear their association with an auxiliary unit. Through an

investigation of soldiers' social relationships and the role these individuals played within the military community a more nuanced understanding of life in the Roman army is attained.

CHAPTER 2:

LITERATURE REVIEW AND METHODOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

2.1. *The problem of women and the Roman army: History and literature review*

In the fourth century AD the Vergilian commentator Servius expounded upon the discipline and glory of the Roman army in days gone by. He wrote: *Castra, quasi casta, vel quod illic castraretur libido, nam numquam his intererat mulier.*¹ Likening the Roman military camp to a castrated space, one that flowed only with masculine *virtus* unsullied by the presence of women, Servius takes part in a cultural trope that the army was a masculine space that was or should be devoid of women. Servius was clearly mistaken and we do not take seriously this opinion, as evidenced both by the archaeology of military camps as well as by other textual sources from antiquity. However, this statement from a male Roman author is not unexpected and is representative of a premise that the army is part of a masculine cultural milieu and any feminizing factor would endanger this space. Servius' statement is also indicative of a greater problem in the perception and research of militaries throughout history as venues of masculine ideals and activity.

In the fourth century AD there was little possibility that Servius thought that military communities were completely devoid of women. Soldiers had been allowed to live with their wives for over a century, and in reality, they had likely always cohabited with women. Though this has little to do with reality, the narrative of a masculine army—one that works

¹ Servius, *ad Aeneid* 3.519. Surely there is also some play on words present here. cf. Phang 2001, 230.

particularly well for literary flare—insinuates that the presence of women brings undesired consequences to a male world.² Many ancient sources uphold the trope that women distract men from their official duties and instigate disastrous behavior, an outcome that is particularly relevant for the Roman military. At the same time, however, evidence for the positive role of women in the provinces is found in the literary record.³ Even clear acknowledgement of the presence of women and children traveling with the military exists,⁴ but these instances are often overshadowed by passages that uphold the idea that women were unwelcome in male spheres such as military and political endeavors.

An emblematic and often cited example of this literary trope can be found in the speech of Severus Caecina delivered in the senate in AD 21 and recorded by Tacitus.⁵ Caecina rails against the practice of women accompanying their husbands into the provinces, with particular focus on the disruption of military tactic and planning, as well as with camp organization itself. The speech is often conjured as evidence that women were not allowed into these male contexts. It is also cited as evidence of the androcentric social structure of the Roman world and of the active misogyny of upper-class males. Caecina's speech, however, is followed by an argument for the positive effects of women on the men who serve far from

² Cf. Phang 2002b, page 359-60 on the general lack of discipline associated with a female presence; for discipline generally in the Roman army see, Phang 2008, esp. 92-3.

³ Raepsaet-Charlier 1982, considers the women who accompanied men into civil posts in the provinces; Marshall 1975a, 109-27, discusses women in the provinces particularly governor's wives; Marshall (1975b, 12-13) points out that it was Augustus that attempted to curb his *legati* from having wives accompany them into the provinces (*contra* Balsdon 1962, 59-60, who interestingly calls Severus Caecina's outlook "Victorian," – more likely the other way around). Such measures coincide with the marriage ban on soldiers, also presumed to have been instituted by Augustus.

⁴ E.g. Dio Cassius' description of the destruction of Varus' legions in Germania Inferior, see below for further discussion.

⁵ Tacitus, *Ann.* 3.33-4.

home.⁶ This rebuttal, given by Valerius Messalinus, is often overlooked, particularly in discussions of women and the Roman army. Messalinus suggests a very positive role for women who accompany their husbands to provincial outposts.⁷ He welcomed the allowance of female accompaniment and asked why a soldier should have to reject the comfort of his wife upon returning from the rigors of war.⁸ Caecina's argument was turned down, demonstrating that a blanket motion against women residing in provincial and military contexts was neither realistic nor desirable.

An important episode from Tacitus' *Annales* is linked thematically to this speech of Severus Caecina and directly attests to the presence of women in the military sphere. Tacitus writes about Agrippina's actions in Germany in AD 15.⁹ Upon hearing a rumor that the German tribes were on the attack, the retreating Roman soldiers contemplated destroying the bridge at Vetera¹⁰ but Agrippina, "acting as commander," steered them away from destruction and ushered them to safety. The classic vision of the *dux femina* overstepping her bounds into a male world is palpable in this episode, and it has been argued that Caecina's speech, reported by Tacitus shortly after the episode with Agrippina's heroic efforts, is in fact

⁶ Cf. Marshall 1975b, 13-4, gives a brief overview of various scholars who have used this speech in such a way.

⁷ There had apparently been no motion in the senate on this particular issue and Caecina used his right as a senator to speak in order to push a personal agenda. Tac. *Ann.* 3.34.1: *neque relatum de negotio* (saying that there had been no motion on the issue. Trans. Woodman 2004). Cf. Barrett 2005.

⁸ Tac. *Ann.* 3.34.2: *respondit multa duritiae veterum <in> melius et laetius mutata...sed revertentibus post laborem quod honesties quam uxorum leuamentum?* (he replied, that in many respects the harshness of the ancients had undergone a welcome exchange for the better. Trans. Woodman 2004).

⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 1.69.1-3. For a short discussion of "masculine" actions by women, with particular reference to Agrippina, see Geyer 2006, esp. 46-7; Agrippina as *dux femina*, see Ginsburg 2006, 112-16.

¹⁰ Vetera is located at modern day Xanten, the location of a legionary fortress on the Rhine just south of Neuss.

a veiled chastisement of her masculine behavior.¹¹ Putting aside Agrippina's actions and the imperial and senatorial reactions to her commanding performance, it is clear from this episode that it was normal for her to be present with her husband, Germanicus, in the military sphere and that women were present in periods of military entrenchment and in potentially hostile circumstances.

An even more palpable example, not only of the wives of officers, is found early in book one of the *Annales*. Tacitus reports the rebellion of the German legions in AD 14, which resulted in the removal of all women and children from the military community into safety among the Treveri. Tacitus uses military phrases to describe the exodus, with the group of women and children being called a *miserabile agmen*.¹² This phrasing gives the impression of a 'column' of women, a term more often used to describe a marching army or a very large group of individuals.¹³ The passages from Tacitus describing the historical circumstances of the early first century also put into better context the oft-quoted line in Dio Cassius relating the disaster of Varus and his legions in AD 9.¹⁴ Tacitus reports that one reason for their having been overcome was that several women, children and servants were trailing the baggage train, slowing their progress and their ability to react. This passage is one indication that even as early as the Augustan period family and household servants may have

¹¹ Barrett 2005, 304; cf. Ginsburg 2006, 113-14. The speech has also been suggested to have been motivated by the recent episode of egregious female behavior by Plancina, wife of Piso who had just been governor of Syria (Barrett 2005, 303, with references to similar scholarly arguments.).

¹² Tac., *Ann.*, 1.40.4.

¹³ The term also denotes a herd or flock, generally a crowd, which gives the idea of a large number of individuals.

¹⁴ Dio Cassius 56.20.2: ἤγον δὲ καὶ ἀμάξας πολλὰς καὶ νωτοφόρα πολλὰ ὡς ἐν εἰρήνῃ. Παῖδες τε οὐκ ὀλίγοι καὶ γυναῖκες ἢ τε ἄλλη θεράπεια συχνὴ αὐτοῖς συνείπετο, ὥστε καὶ κατὰ τοῦτ' ἐσκεδασμένη τῇ ὁδοιπορίᾳ χρῆσθαι. (They had with them many wagons and many beasts of burden as in time of peace; moreover, not a few women and children and a large retinue of servants were following them – one more reason for their advancing in scattered groups. Trans. Cary 1961).

traveled with the army on the march and into hostile territory. Of course, the passage also may fit neatly into the literary trope that women dilute the efficacy of the army, and therefore their presence could be used to explain the destruction of the legions. For these episodes to resonate with Tacitus' audience, the presence of a large number of women within this military context must have been in some way believable.¹⁵

The exodus passage cited above suggests that there was a well-established protocol when the wife of a high-ranking military commander was present. The use of *incedo* suggests an exit on foot rather than a more typical form of conveyance for *feminas inlustres*,¹⁶ and the lack of soldiers to look after them suggests that a retinue of guards would usually accompany an officer's wife when traveling in a provincial setting.¹⁷ Moreover, Agrippina is accompanied by the wives of other men from the unit, presumably other officers within the legions, suggesting that the presence of the general's family is not an exceptional situation, but rather the norm for Roman officers and perhaps even for regular soldiers.

Regardless of how varied the picture handed down by ancient authors may be, the trope that the Roman army was or at least theoretically should be devoid of women resulted until recently in a general lack of consideration by modern scholars for the social aspects of military life. In the last five centuries, European statesmen used Roman treatises, especially

¹⁵ The rhetorical nature of this passage has not gone unnoticed by scholars. In 1.40.4 alone, Koestermann (1963, 165) has noted myriad devices used to heighten the sense of wrongdoing by the revolting soldiers, citing all of the usual devices including chiasmus, rhythm, alliteration, and metaphor. "Die ganze Szene ist pathetisch aufgezogen, stilistisch mit allen rhetorischen Steigerungsmöglichkeiten versehen, auch durch den Rhythmus herausgehoben..."

¹⁶ Tac., *Ann.*, 1.40.4; cf. Furneaux 1968, 233.

¹⁷ For more on the traveling capabilities of officers wives, see below, chapter six on the Vindolanda tablets.

those dealing with military discipline and political philosophy,¹⁸ as a guide in their own political endeavors, and one can understand the perpetuation of an image of the overtly masculine Roman military.

Recent Scholarship: 1990-Present

In the past two decades, it has become increasingly clear that Roman military settlements were communities with a varied population of officers and soldiers of various ranks, their families, merchants, slaves, prostitutes and other members of the populace who had business with the local garrison.¹⁹ It is also clear that women and children did not live only outside of the fort walls in the so-called *vicus* or extramural settlement, but in certain cases inhabited spaces within the fort itself.²⁰ For almost a half-century, and especially since Salway's work on the people of the frontier in Britain, it has been stated that families of soldiers were a part of the military population;²¹ however, this historical probability has not been satisfactorily deconstructed and investigated in order to provide any nuance to this statement or the population to which it regards.

¹⁸ E.g. Justus Lipsius' *Politica*; Francis Bacon's *True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates*, particularly the essay *De Augmentis*; Machiavelli's *The Art of War* commends the celibacy of Roman soldiers (Book 6, Trans. Rev.ed. Farnsworth 1965, 165); As late as the 1880s James Bryce's *The Ancient Roman Empire and the British Empire in India* performs a blatant justification of modern empire by way of the Roman right to rule through civilizing forces: "This essay is intended to compare [Rome and Britain] as conquering and ruling powers, acquiring and administering dominions outside the original dwelling-place of their peoples, and impressing upon these dominions their own type of civilization."

¹⁹ Stoll 2008, 29-30.

²⁰ Driel-Murray (1998, 1997, 1995) has shown that shoes belonging to women and children were found in the barracks of the *pedites* at Vindolanda on the northern frontier, as well as within the *praetorium*. The Vindolanda evidence will be discussed in depth in chapter three. Allison has looked at artifact distribution of forts on the German frontier and concluded activity associated with female occupation in several auxiliary forts. See below, chapter four for full discussion.

²¹ Salway 1965, 22-32.

A distinct feminist approach was formulated in archaeology only in the 1980s,²² and the earliest investigations of the archaeological presence of women in the Roman military sphere began in the early 1990s. Much of the earliest archaeological work on women and the Roman army was done by Driel-Murray, who has discussed her attempts to explain away the evidence discovered in the 1980s that clearly pointed toward the presence of women and children at the legionary fort at the Bonner Berg.²³ The notion of an all-male military environment particularly within the fort walls was so engrained she resorted to what she now calls “ridiculous attempts” to explain the presence of the small shoe sizes.²⁴ In 1993, Driel-Murray published the preliminary report on the footwear from the internal areas of the periods 2, 3, and 4 forts at Vindolanda. She suggested based on this evidence that, at the very least, the family of the prefect was in residence within the fort itself. Driel-Murray followed this initial publication with three short articles that expanded on this evidence and discussed the presence of women in the military.²⁵ Most provocatively, she presented footwear evidence that suggested women and children lived within a barrack block of the period 4 fort, something that was quite unexpected and not well accepted at the time. Driel-Murray’s work showed definitively that at least at Vindolanda women lived within the fort itself and that this occurred not only in the *praetorium*, but also within the barracks of the *pedites*.

²² Conkey and Gero 1991. See esp. introductory article by Gero and Conkey 1991, 3-30. More in depth consideration of methodological factors below in Chapter Two.

²³ Driel-Murray and Gechter 1983, 23; cf. Driel-Murray 1997, 60.

²⁴ Driel-Murray 1997, 60.

²⁵ Driel-Murray (1998, 1997, 1995) are all essentially the same, focusing on the footwear evidence from Vindolanda.

The evidence from Vindolanda and the presence of women within the camp has been accepted, but to some extent has been swept under the carpet. This material has not been incorporated into general studies of the Roman army, nor have the broader implications been implemented into issues of supply, defense and topics such as these at the core of military studies. The most recent general publications on the Roman army do not address the non-combatant population in a substantial way, while some state without further discussion that the *vicus* probably housed families of soldiers.²⁶ The latter instances are interesting and reminiscent still of Salway's work decades earlier; while it was the norm to assume that most soldiers did not form families, at the same time one could state without further clarification that families probably lived in the *vicus*. The evidence for the presence of families even in the extramural spaces has not been pressed to gain a deeper understanding of the social structure of the whole community, of the role of these non-combatants in the lives of soldiers, and of how the non-combatants living in the fort may have differed from those housed in the *vicus*.

In a similar way, the evidence from the *praetorium* was easily glossed over. Because the prefect was allowed *iustum matrimonium*, the Vindolanda material did not pose a particular threat to the current understanding of military life. However, still the presence of a family in the most public and important sector of the fort has not been incorporated into our vision of life in a Roman military camp. The internal spaces of the fort have not been examined as domestic space, nor has the presence of families living within the fort been assessed for its impact on the military function of the space. Driel-Murray's work opened the

²⁶ E.g. Southern 2006, 144-5;

door for later studies as she initiated the important discussion of the presence of women within the Roman military environment, but this realization now needs to be taken further.

The theme of the Roman army as a community is represented now by a handful of articles and an edited volume that addresses the communal aspect of military life. MacMullen and Pollard²⁷ independently explored the idea that a legion was a closed society of a ‘total institution’, but neither addressed in any great depth the role of marriage and family in soldiers’ lives or the purpose of the population living next to the fort.²⁸ Goldsworthy and Haynes allowed contributors to their volume to interpret community in several different ways.²⁹ The resulting book focuses more on the soldierly community as a population distinct from the surrounding civilian communities, in a similar vein as the earlier articles by MacMullen and Pollard. Papers by Hassall and Allason-Jones deal directly with the presence of women and the role of marriage in the lives of soldiers and do much to elucidate possible family space within the garrison and the material evidence for women in the military sphere.³⁰ Contributions to this volume, however, do not address the effect of soldiers’ families on Roman military life, nor do they address the social background of these individuals such as their ethnic origins or their position within a social structure.

²⁷ MacMullen 1984; Pollard 1996.

²⁸ Though MacMullen’s article (1984) is often referenced as an early treatment of the non-combatants in a military setting, there is actually only a single paragraph about the extramural settlement that includes nothing specific about this community except that it probably existed. The article is very useful in other ways, particularly the group identity of a military unit.

²⁹ Goldsworthy and Haynes 1999. The editors state that they intentionally allowed contributors to define the term community in whatever way they chose (see especially Haynes 1999, 9).

³⁰ Hassall 1999, 35-40; Allason-Jones 1999, 41-51, will both be discussed in greater detail below.

Recently Allison investigated the patterns of artifacts that may reveal a female presence in three forts in Germany.³¹ She used GIS analysis to evaluate the patterns of artifact scatters within two auxiliary forts on the Raetian frontier and a legionary base on the Rhine. These studies are a bit difficult to contextualize into a cohesive picture of non-combatant settlement in military environments because the two auxiliary forts differ chronologically by almost a century. The third case study uses legionary evidence, which I argue should be considered in a different social environment. However, the legionary material used from Vetera on the German frontier also supports the conclusion that women acted within fort spaces. Allison's work represents a new approach to gendering the landscape of the Roman military, and will be critically assessed further in Chapter Four. Her work shows that broader investigation in which single sites are contextualized within whole landscapes would benefit our understanding of the nature of non-combatant settlement across military landscapes and regions.

From the material at the German forts, Allison has argued for a significant presence of women at Oberstimm and Ellingen in different periods on the Raetian frontier and has suggested a possible economic role for women in these spaces. The legionary fort at Vetera also produced artifacts that demonstrate a significant presence of women within the fort. Allison's studies are concerned with the presence of women within the forts themselves rather than with non-combatants in the military environment, and peripherally with the role

³¹ Allison 2008, 2007, 2006. These arguments are dealt with in depth in chapter four and the methodological considerations inherent are discussed in chapter two. These articles all deal with the same data and present the same conclusions. The 2006 article presents the initial material gathered from Oberstimm, Ellingen and Vetera. It is a response article and is very useful to gauge the reactions of scholars at this time. The 2007 article focuses on the material from Ellingen alone and is a very in depth study of this one site, but still lacks, for the most part, analysis of the presence of non-combatants throughout the military landscape in order to have a more complete picture. The 2008 article, stemming from a round table conference in 2005 is simply a review of the same material.

of family in the lives of soldiers. Moreover, in a response to her initial article on women at forts, more than one scholar called for better integration of the historical material that illuminates this inquiry, particularly because it is so abundant for the Roman period and the imperial army.³²

In a similar but less in-depth treatment, Hänggi provides a brief consideration of the material evidence at the legionary fort at Vindonissa. Data are drawn partially from work done by M.A. Speidel on the wax tablets from Vindonissa that suggest there was a female presence within the fort itself.³³ The authors look systematically at material evidence to discern a connection between female usage of artifacts and the presence of women in this legionary fort, but they rely heavily on literary references to the sexuality of soldiers and do not produce any solid conclusions about the evidence available.

These material culture investigations have pushed our understanding of the Roman army towards a picture of social reality that is more nuanced than that gleaned solely from potentially biased and anecdotal textual sources of Roman military might and discipline. Artifact studies have not, however, been free from controversy and criticism. Interpretations of distribution patterns of so-called ‘female artifacts’ have been questioned on the basis of anachronism, that is, interpretation using our modern socio-cultural underpinnings that connect sex and gender with usage of a particular object or category of artifact. Allason-Jones lucidly warned of the dangers of “sexing small finds,” that is to say attaching gendered association to artifacts using current socio-cultural biases.³⁴ This problem has been tackled as

³² Tomášková 2006, 20-1.

³³ Hänggi et.al. 1992; The Vindonissa tablets were not yet published but were known to the authors, see M.A. Speidel 1996; cf. M.A. Speidel 1997, 53-4.

³⁴ Allason-Jones 1995, 22-32.

well by Reuter in a recent volume devoted to the issue of women and the army, reaching similar conclusions as others.³⁵ We cannot know with certainty that an object category was used solely by women;³⁶ however, the probable relationship between ownership and use of artifacts and an individual in the Roman world can at least be explored with some degree of confidence.³⁷ Because of the potential shortcomings, additional lines of evidence supporting women's presence can be used, particularly skeletal remains where possible and, in the case of Vindolanda and a few other forts in the northwest, the footwear. From this material more solid associations between spaces, artifacts and the activities of women and children may be assessed and the entire argument of female presence within forts can be placed on more stable underpinnings.

Further critical assessment of the relationship between artifacts and the assignment of a gendered user has been lodged within the specific context of the Roman army. Allason-Jones and James both point out that social custom in the military sphere may not follow that of mainstream civilian Roman society. As an analogy they use the modern parallel of the British army's use of a tool kit called a 'Housewife'.³⁸ Soldiers received a kit carrying items of daily need such as sewing equipment that in early- to mid-20th century British society would have been ordinarily used by women. In the male world of the British army the soldier would have needed to execute domestic duties usually performed by his wife. The case could

³⁵ Reuter (2008, 92-101) is somewhat unnecessarily forceful that the current state of evidence cannot be used to trace the presence of women, particularly locations of residence. The material should be used to the best of its ability, while the limits of the evidence are kept in mind.

³⁶ For problems surrounding the link between artifact and gender in archaeological inquiry generally, see Sørensen 2007, 75-105; cf. Brumfiel 2007, 12-4; Arnold 2007, 107-140, with particular respect to mortuary analysis.

³⁷ See below in methodological considerations for more rigorous debate on these problems.

³⁸ James 2006, 34; cf. Allason-Jones 1995, 28, for soldiers doing their own needlework in a military context.

have been similar in the Roman army, with soldiers taking on daily tasks that were ordinarily performed by women. If the performance of this task left only an object in the archaeological record, our assumptions about gendered tasks could color our perception of women at forts. Although it is important to keep these potential biases in mind, an alternate explanation for gender-identified artifacts is paramount only when a social group is certainly absent. Such a scenario is historically quite unlikely except possibly in monastic-like social circumstances. Evidence for women within military forts is now accepted; therefore, though an alternative explanation is still a possibility, it is not a necessity to posit unconventional accounts for the presence of artifacts typically associated with women at Roman forts.

Another focus of past research has been the legal status of soldiers' marriages. Scholars focus primarily on the legal rights of soldiers, which extends to the ban on marriage and the rights of soldiers' families. Most early articles considered the evidence for families of soldiers as exceptional circumstances, for example van Buren's use of epitaphs to explore the idea that some soldiers were "married" during their service. In a similar vein, an early article by Kraft uses diplomas to discuss the rights of the children of a small group of soldiers.³⁹ Both authors presume that the presence of wives and children was an extraordinary circumstance and both seek explanations to set the examples apart from the norm.⁴⁰ It is noteworthy that both Kraft and van Buren began investigating the presence of women in the military environment in the early 1960s. In spite of this early attempt to reconcile the evidence of female presence in Roman military life, it is still necessary today to establish

³⁹ Kraft 1961, 120-6, also takes on the problem of the policy change in AD 140 that ceases to give citizenship to soldiers' children. See chapter five on the military diplomas for full discussion.

⁴⁰ van Buren 1962, 1564-70; also of note is Sander 1958, about the rights of soldiers generally.

anew the presence of women and children in order to elucidate their role within these frontier communities.

In two monumental articles in 1982, Jung dealt almost entirely with the legal disposition of soldiers, particularly marriage during service, and concluded that from the time of Augustus to that of Severus soldiers of the ordinary ranks were not allowed to marry.⁴¹ Phang's book on the marriage rights of soldiers echoes earlier work but includes a more in-depth consideration of the social reality of soldiers' lives.⁴² Jung provides a complete review of the literary sources for the ban, particularly the legal works, and is of enormous use for any study of the rights of soldiers in the empire. Neither Jung nor Phang, however, fully contend with the difference between official legal stance and social reality. For the most part, these works approach from the socio-political position of Rome and imperial politics, and do not claim to deal in depth with social reality in the auxiliary military camps on the periphery of the empire. Debrunner Hall, however, begins with the marriage ban, but moves toward a more realistic vision of the social lives of soldiers living far from the empire's capital.⁴³ She concludes that the Roman military world was not specifically a masculine domain and that we should seek women's presence in military spaces.

The most recent work on the presence of women at Roman forts, a roundtable conference held in Xanten in 2005, is primarily concerned with whether female occupation was concentrated inside or outside of the fort. As I discussed above, the strict, dichotomous identification of those living in the fort as military and those in the extramural settlement as

⁴¹ Jung 1982a; Jung 1982b is far more general and treats several categories of legal rights of soldiers.

⁴² Phang 2001, *passim*.

⁴³ Debrunner Hall 1994, 207-28.

civilian is no longer tenable and should be nuanced in our research approaches. Almost all of the resulting papers questioned whether women were present within the fort itself, still an important issue, but papers do not set this alongside the broader question of varying occupancy by women throughout the military sphere.⁴⁴ The introductory article sets out the needs for a future research agenda for determining the role of women in Roman military communities, to which this dissertation partially responds. Rudán and Brandl stress the need to incorporate more historical data against which the archaeological material may be read. Patterns in the use of gendered space and the function of women and children in the social sphere of the Roman army can be understood only through a synthetic treatment of the evidence. This dissertation is a first step toward addressing some of these important questions of the growth through the first and second centuries of the presence of non-combatant populations, the social role of wives, and issues surrounding the use of space and daily life in the military sphere.

Stoll has done some of the most comprehensive work as part of a large study primarily dealing with women and the legionary army, part of which is presented in the volume from the Xanten conference.⁴⁵ Families were an active part of the life of military forts, which Stoll believes led to soldiers marrying the sisters and daughters of comrades, supporting the notion that stable families were more common than is typically believed. Stoll concludes that the image of casual connections between serving soldiers and partners needs revision; nevertheless, prostitution was an important component of the social reality of a

⁴⁴ Made particularly clear in the introductory article by Rudán and Brandl (2008) “‘...*intrare castra feminis non licet*.’ – Tatsache oder literarische Fiktion?” See below for the need to expand this dichotomy to a more inclusive understanding of the military community encompassing both facets of military settlements.

⁴⁵ Stoll 2008, esp. 41-9 for this discussion; Stoll 2006 will not be dealt with in depth here as it focuses on the legionary soldiers primarily, but this is a comprehensive and important study. Also for legions, see Palao Vicente 2000.

military settlement.⁴⁶ The existence of prostitution, however, does not preclude a parallel presence of legitimate families, *de facto* or otherwise.

Finally, a small but important group of papers appeared in a *Festschrift* in 2006, which dealt with the topic of children in the Roman world, a rarely treated subject that has direct relevance to this study. Hölschen and Becker discuss children living on the frontiers, most importantly pointing to the general lack of consideration that this group receives in current research agendas.⁴⁷ At the same time, the evidence is often statistically too small to make significant conclusions about the life of children on the frontiers.⁴⁸ In this research, published only a few years ago, the authors spent a significant portion of their paper arguing for the existence of children in frontier and military landscapes, using gravestones, bioarchaeological evidence, and artifacts. The conclusive establishment of the presence of children on the Roman frontier has paved the way for more in-depth research into children as part of frontier life.⁴⁹

The literature discussed above is essential to my study, but the limiting factor in many of these investigations is the lack of synthetic use of evidence to illuminate the presence and role of women and children in the military world. Using just one line of evidence yields a study that illuminates only state-level concerns, such as in the case of the Roman legal stance on soldiers' marriages, or yields studies that are vulnerable to methodological criticism, such

⁴⁶ Stoll 2008, 47-8.

⁴⁷ Hölschen and Becker 2006, 35.

⁴⁸ Hölschen and Becker 2006, 36. For instance, out of 26 gravestones from a selection on the Upper German-Raetian frontier, only 2 were of non-adult individuals.

⁴⁹ Hölschen and Becker 2006, 40. Though it is almost a biological impossibility that children would not have been present in frontier landscapes. In the same volume Schallmeyer (2006, 55-69) considers the formulae on children's and young people's gravestones, focusing on the intensity of language for the loss of youth, as well as the manner of typical burials for infants and small children.

as in the case of Allison's work using material evidence. A complete picture of Roman military life cannot be attained or substantiated without the combination of archaeological, epigraphic and textual evidence. For instance, the presence of a gendered artifact, even one that explicitly reveals sexual dimorphism such as footwear, cannot reveal the social status or position of that owner in most cases.

2.2. *Methodological Background*

The methodological underpinnings of this work have a long history which this dissertation cannot claim to cover in its entirety. In the following I attempt to lay out the most important theoretical foundations and their associated scholarship that came to bear on this research. Most importantly is the placement of this work primarily in the framework of third wave feminist approaches; however, because of the long-entrenched paradigms of Roman military studies, there is a necessity to include material that fits more securely in earlier feminist methods. Many of the socio-cultural issues considered here have their background in social theory and anthropological archaeology. This is primarily because the majority of feminist scholarship in the classics has used literature as its testing ground.⁵⁰ The underpinnings of the framework for a feminist archaeology and the insertion of social theory into archaeological inquiry began, and have been most thoroughly developed, within anthropological scholarship.

Secondly, the use of archaeological and historical methods together used in this work requires some comment on methodological considerations inherent in this approach. Though it seems obvious that these two bodies of evidence belong together in the study of the ancient

⁵⁰ Though there are certainly exceptions: E.g. Koloski-Ostrow and Lyons 1997; Kleiner and Matheson 1996; Kleiner and Matheson 2000.

world, this belief has not always been true and has not been without its own methodological issues. I approach this study with the understanding that the limits and potential for both archaeological and textual evidence must be understood, but that the two can very successfully, and in fact must, be used together in order to illuminate past cultures to their greatest extent.

Feminist and Gender Archaeology

A primary limitation in past studies was the restricted scope of evidence used in order to elucidate the presence of women and children in the military sphere, which exposed these investigations to criticism. For example, the arguments put forth recently by Allison, which uses only artifact scatters to demonstrate a female presence, have been criticized for the potentially anachronistic assignment of artifacts to gendered activities.⁵¹ As was discussed already, imposing our modern notion of gendered use of a particular object may not correspond with social practice in the past,⁵² particularly in the military sphere where social roles may have been inverted from what were considered normal civilian activities.⁵³ By using only small finds to trace the presence of women in military forts, especially finds that can only exhibit social relevance through a presumption of a gendered association with the

⁵¹ See chapter four for full treatment. Allison's article (2006) is in a discussion format, with the paper followed by a series of response articles by archaeologists, anthropologists and historians. With particular reference to the problematic relationship between assigning gender to artifacts and activities, see Sørensen 2006, 27-31.

⁵² Conkey and Gero 1991, 11-14; Allason-Jones (1995, 22-32) takes on the notion of "sexing small finds" in the Roman period to show the problem of our modern categories being imposed on ancient artifacts.

⁵³ The "housewife" kit discussed above, Allason-Jones 1995, 28; cf. James 2006, 34, in a response to Allison 2006, also discusses the potential inversion of social roles in a military context.

activity they represent, Allison's conclusions were criticized, which allowed dismissal of the question of non-combatant presence generally.⁵⁴

The role of artifacts and material culture in the formation and maintenance of gendered roles is understood now as culturally constructed and was subject to change in various social situations.⁵⁵ Particularly important is the shift away from viewing artifacts as only the remnant in the archaeological record of a completed gendered activity. We now give a more active agency to material culture in the creation and maintenance of gendered roles.⁵⁶ In historical archaeology an investigation of gendered social roles can be placed on more solid ground by the additional information offered by texts, letters, epitaphs, artistic representations and other documents illustrating the life of individuals. A salient example from the Greco-Roman world is the accepted assignment of spinning and weaving activities to a context of predominantly female activity.⁵⁷ Literary and iconographic sources support this gendered association and this relationship can then be explored in the archaeological record, while respecting the active role of weaving in maintaining gendered roles in this society.

At the same time, the complex societies that existed in the Roman Empire also make it certain that gender was not the only axis of social identity at play in creating the structure

⁵⁴ For general problems inherent in gender attribution and artifacts, see Conkey and Gero 1991, 3-30; cf. Gilchrist 1994, 4.

⁵⁵ Gilchrist 1994, 2-3; Gilchrist 1999, 54-78, argues that sex, as well as gender, can be socially constructed.

⁵⁶ Gilchrist 1994, 15-16; Sørensen 2007, esp. 76-82 for a cogent review of the evolution of gender and archaeology theory over the past three decades.

⁵⁷ I use an expanded definition of historical archaeology to mean the archaeology of any society with written records; for gender in historical archaeology, see Spencer-Wood 2007a for an overview of recent debate; See Barber 1994 for a cogent treatment of the relationship between women and weaving in antiquity.

and hierarchy of a settlement.⁵⁸ Particularly in the context of auxiliary military units where the role of ethnic origin, economic class, power structures and differing religious beliefs probably all played a part in situating one's social position and in the construction of personal identity. In this case, gender will have been experienced differently within a single settlement, dependent upon these other social factors.⁵⁹ This point is particularly salient in a military setting, a social group that was bound to a hierarchical structure by its very nature. The social role and daily experience of the legal wife of the unit commander would have differed greatly from the lived reality of the *de facto* partner of a foot soldier. The archaeology associated with many Roman forts shows that women lived within the fort as well as outside in the extramural settlement. It is in this differing social organization that the structure of military communities can be further explored.

This dissertation does not attempt to provide a critique of the androcentric gender systems used in the approaches of classical archaeology, but rather it takes part in redressing the inequality in the investigation of sex and gender in Roman military studies. In that sense this research can be self-defined as working mostly within Wylie's second stage of feminist scholarship, which attempts to recover the lives of women in a context that has been overlooked up to this point.⁶⁰ However, because of the recognition that other social factors affected the gendered experience of women in this environment, this study is also placed within the broader framework of third wave feminist approaches.⁶¹ The use of earlier

⁵⁸ Gilchrist 1994, 8; Spencer-Wood 1995, 118-36; cf. Spencer-Wood 2007b, 281-4.

⁵⁹ Cf. Meskell 1999, with examples of complex identity factors in Ancient Egypt.

⁶⁰ Wylie 1991, 31-2, lays out three stages of feminism in archaeological research; cf. Spencer-Wood 2007b, 266-7.

⁶¹ This dissertation uses some second wave feminist approaches, but still stands within the broader category of third wave postmodern feminist theory. This approach understands gender as a part of a fluid process of self-

feminist methods is primarily due to necessity. As discussed above, the need to find women in the record of the Roman army still remains strong, particularly in light of certain schools of thought that have been resistant to the notion that women were a significant part of this overtly masculine world.⁶² Inserting women into the social structure of the Roman army changes how we view the military, in as much as we now consider the social life of individual soldiers alongside their very public role as Roman soldier and all that it entails. The fluid nature of a military identity and the identification of the use of military spaces is one result of this work.⁶³ Therefore, agency is being given not only to women but also to Roman soldiers.

This line of inquiry does not devalue the importance of the soldier's role in defense and protection of the Roman frontiers, but adds a new dimension to our understanding of military life. This research also highlights the potentially important role that women played within the wider realm of the military community, bringing the Roman army more in line with other historical militaries, particularly of medieval and early modern Europe. In many large armies of the more recent past, women—including wives, prostitutes and commercial workers—played a crucial role within the socio-economic structure of the group.⁶⁴ The fact that historical records suggest women played a predominantly domestic role resonates with

identification that is dependent upon other factors such as race, religion, ethnicity and class. See Spencer-Wood 2007b, 273-84, for analysis of these steps of feminist research specifically within the context of classical archaeology, though she gives a somewhat negative outlook and is not a classical scholar herself.

⁶² E.g. Hölschen and Becker 2006 discussed above, which needs to first prove the existence of children on the German frontier before any discussion of social role can take place.

⁶³ For the identity of Roman soldiers, see Haynes 1999; James 1999; James 2001. With particular reference to religious identification, see Haynes 1993.

⁶⁴ Hacker 1981 demonstrates the role of women throughout armies in early modern Europe, including the function of wives as domestic caretakers for soldiers, and working women who performed critical tasks such as cooking, cleaning, and mending, all of which kept militaries in good condition for the task of warfare.

the potential social role for women in Roman military contexts based on our knowledge of Roman society. This domestic role in no way belittles their importance within the social structure, and this valuation should be seen as an attempt to assign a higher worth to women's roles within the needs of the Roman military community.⁶⁵

Moreover, the function of spaces within military quarters is revised, and placed within a postmodern approach which denies that only one use of a space need be defined for buildings and rooms. Roman military studies have been beset by the desire to lay down definite and unchanging functions for structures and rooms within forts, when in truth the likelihood of that reality is slim for the use of most buildings in the past. The *praetorium* is the best example from the world of the Roman army; this structure has historically been seen as one of the most important spaces for military activity, located in the central sector of the fort next to the *principia* and the granaries. This definition leads one to think primarily of masculine military activities. In reality, the space was very often shared by the family of the prefect and should at the same time be considered within the realm of household archaeology. In many cases there seems to be a secondary use for light industrial activities in parts of the *praetorium*.⁶⁶ The dual nature of these structures does not negate the efficacy of their military function, but only adds a layer of interpretation and removes the fixed identification as only a masculine space with no more than a military function.

⁶⁵ Changing the devaluation of women's domestic role is part of the first wave of feminist scholarship (Spencer-Wood 2007b, 277-8) but still needs to be addressed in Roman military studies because of the resilience of the paradigm that privileges male hierarchies in this social group.

⁶⁶ E.g. the Valkenburg praetorium has long been debated also as a *fabrica*, Groenman-van Waateringe 1991; the Vindolanda period 3 praetorium also displays evidence of production, R. Birley 1994, 87.

A related methodological problem is the process of site formation and the potential that false patterns can be created by artifact deposition.⁶⁷ Reading social significance into depositional patterns presumes an uncomplicated process of site formation and movement of artifacts around a settlement. In other words, in order for social significance to be assigned to a space an unbroken chain from an artifact such as a small bead leaving the individual and remaining in the location in which the individual acted must be presumed.⁶⁸ Conkey discusses ‘contexts of action’ and the relationship one can presume between artifacts and the activity that took place within that space.⁶⁹ In many cases the archaeological context reveals and defines the use of a specific area, but the changing function discussed above, must be kept in mind and therefore also the fluid identification of activities and individuals who acted there.

In light of the problems inherent in tracing the connection between artifact, gender and space in antiquity, even within a well documented culture such as the Roman army, this research works primarily with evidence that unarguably represents female presence in Roman military communities. The primary data used in this investigation is the footwear left behind by the inhabitants of Roman forts. The indication of sexual dimorphism is often very clear in footwear, as well as the age indicators inherent in the size of the foot. For this reason shoes stand proxy for individuals who lived in these settlements, and allow conclusions to be made about the overall presence of women and children within the military community.

⁶⁷ Most criticisms about the validity of Allison’s artifact analysis have come from German researchers familiar with the excavation material she uses to substantiate her arguments. These are not in print yet, but have been argued for the most part at conferences. Allason-Jones has recently argued about beads at Housesteads that may suggest female presence, that they could be carried in from the *vicus* on the bottom of a soldiers shoes. Allason-Jones 2009, 430. This seems like a plausible argument only when very low numbers of examples are present.

⁶⁸ Cf. Kopytoff 2001, 9-33, for the concept of object biography; cf. Appadurai 1986.

⁶⁹ The term ‘context of action’ was first coined in this type of investigation by Conkey 1991, esp. 57-8.

Where possible, bioarchaeological evidence is considered for its clear indication of female and children's presence on a site.

Archaeology and History: Combining material culture and textual evidence

Although material culture and texts are patently interrelated, this connection has not always been accepted or utilized to its full potential.⁷⁰ Archaeology was for a long time considered the “handmaiden” of history, meaning that textual evidence took precedence and was the privileged source used to inform archaeological inquiry and interpretation.⁷¹ The validity of this outlook has been most strongly challenged by classical archaeologists in the realm of household archaeology. Texts such as Lysias and Vitruvius were for a long time used without criticism to provide names and identify spatial use for specific rooms without consulting the archaeological remains.⁷² This simplistic relationship is now understood to be naïve and ultimately useless, leading to a separation of the two lines of evidence. In medieval studies the roles played by archaeology and history were aggressively separated and considered to be absolutely distinct from each other.⁷³ Such a sharp division and dislike between the two led to an equally unproductive ignorance of evidence that would ultimately provide far greater understanding of the past when used together and with appreciation of the

⁷⁰ Leventhal (2003, 75) discusses the violent reaction and denial by Mayan archaeologists when the hieroglyphic script was first translated.

⁷¹ Cf. Papadopoulos 1999.

⁷² E.g. I. Morris 1999; Goldberg 1999, esp. 142-3; Laurence 1997b; Allison 2001; for a negative critique of Allison's separation of disciplines, see Laurence 2004, 104-5.

⁷³ See Gilchrist 1994, 8-15 for a review of the problem in Medieval studies termed here the “handmaiden of History” (8) and with reference to its relationship to social theory; for another complete dialogue in Medieval studies see the series of articles and responses in *Scottish Archaeological Review* 3/2, with reference to previous dialogues (Driscoll 1984; Rahtz 1984; Reece 1984 on Roman Britain).

biases of each. This sharp distinction has, I believe, for the most part been discarded and the symbiotic relationship as well as the strengths and weaknesses of both are clear.⁷⁴

An integrated approach to archaeology and text has been described by Andren as using “contemporary analogies,” a term that captures the usefulness of the method well.⁷⁵ There could be no more directly relevant analogy to provide more meaningful depth to a social group than by incorporating all material produced by and for that group. Using different categories of material produced by the same social group, in this case Roman auxiliary soldiers, also highlights the necessity to see significance in the similarities and the differences presented by each category of material.⁷⁶ This brings into sharper focus the varying layers of social organization in a community. Allison places an important limit on both types of evidence—that the questions asked of the data need to be appropriate to that category of material—a problem she argues has persisted in recent attempts to combine texts and archaeology.⁷⁷

As already discussed with regard to previous work, investigations that use only a single line of evidence when other material exists were criticized for not utilizing the material available to inform a deeper understanding of society.⁷⁸ The combined use of historical and

⁷⁴ E.g. Carver 2002 sums up the valuable relationship; at the same time only six years ago a complete volume needed to argue strongly for a combined approach for the ancient world (Sauer 2004); Cf. Small 1995, 1-25, points out the lack of joint efforts in the Mediterranean.

⁷⁵ Andren 1998, 156-7.

⁷⁶ Cf. Allison 2001, 199.

⁷⁷ Allison 2001, 200-3, with reference to spatial analysis of Pompeian houses. She argues too strongly in my opinion for the separation of the two, though some of the caveats are useful.

⁷⁸ Discussed above, Tomášková's (2006, 20-1) criticism is not surprising in light of Allison's 2001 article arguing that a better methodology for using the two sources needed to be acknowledged for investigating domestic space in Pompeii, but essentially suggesting archaeologists should move away from using texts in their investigations of households in the Roman world. For critique, see Laurence 2004, 104-5.

archaeological data has been proposed by other classical archaeologists recently, but still has not been without its own methodological challenges.⁷⁹ In a study of space and gender in Archaic Greek houses Morris argues for the primacy of the archaeological record, but notes that it should be used to contextualize the associated literary evidence.⁸⁰ Hitchner calls for the differences between text and archaeology in Provence to be integrated to form a new understanding of its past.⁸¹ S. Morris draws a contrast between the avenues that were opened for Bronze Age archaeology after the decipherment of Linear B and the violent reaction by Mayan archaeologists to the insertion of texts after that script was first read. She points out that in Mediterranean research at least, the institutional location of practitioners tends to be together in departments of classics, allowing dialogue to flow more openly between the two.⁸²

Most recently an important volume edited by Sauer includes several papers that highlight the argument for a much deeper association between archaeology and ancient history.⁸³ Sauer points out, quite rightly in my opinion, that the fundamental questions we ask about the past are the same, we just use or ignore different sources to answer those questions.⁸⁴ The overlap between the two fields and the benefit that each approach offers to

⁷⁹ With particular reference to the study of the western Roman provinces, see Jones 1984, 245-6; for a similar plea outside of classical archaeology, see Lightfoot 1995.

⁸⁰ I. Morris 1999, 305-17, esp. 306, 311; the tyranny of Greek and Latin texts in interpreting domestic space in the classical world is palpable as demonstrated by Allison 2001 and Goldberg 1999, but both still make a case for negotiation of evidence (Goldberg 1999, 142).

⁸¹ Hitchner 1999, 375.

⁸² S. Morris 2003, 83.

⁸³ Sauer 2004a.

⁸⁴ Sauer 2004b, 17. Sauer also points out that the self-evident nature of this may seem clear and that plenty of scholars use all sources available, but that the rift is still alive and well in many camps, and that the disciplinary boundary is still present. See Laurence 2004, 99-101, for the impact in university education; cf. Sauer 2004c.

inform the other is manifest, particularly when the questions being asked are entirely about, for instance, the Roman world. Arguments to the contrary will not be seriously dealt with here.⁸⁵ I agree entirely with Sauer, who contends that the overlap between history and archaeology is total,⁸⁶ and that it is unjustifiable to ignore a significant part of the available evidence when asking critical questions.⁸⁷ Archaeological material and documentary evidence each have their relevancy and are used in conjunction to fill in different gaps in our understanding of the past.

In this dissertation the benefits and limits of archaeology and text are different and useful in various ways. Literary sources are used in a restricted way in this discussion since the major military authors did not typically discuss any social matters about military life. When authors bring the Roman army into discussion, such as in Tacitus' historical accounts, details are helpful in discerning the role of women in a military context, but may conform more to idealized or impressionistic notions. Still this perception expresses something of the ancient attitude regarding the presence of women in military contexts and can inform the cultural notions that play an important part in understanding the evidence. Documentary sources come to bear heavily in this discussion and go a very long way toward providing a social dimension that is not obtainable from archaeology alone. Though diplomas and inscriptions are not able to provide insight into the question of intra- or extra-mural occupation of women and children, they do suggest that the social identification of a large

⁸⁵ To some extent, the argument was born from a desire to give archaeology an independent identity and this was particularly in response and defense of the processual movement in anthropological archaeology.

⁸⁶ Sauer 2004b, 25.

⁸⁷ Sauer 2004b, 26. Sauer (2004b, 24) also relates the analogy of the material used in the two fields being part of the same puzzle (Christie and Young 1996, 181); to put that puzzle back together by separating out two piles is impossible.

proportion of non-combatants within a military context should be understood as *de facto* wives of soldiers and their children. Without the archaeological evidence it would be difficult to prove the presence of women residing specifically in the military fort, but without the documentary sources their social status or any knowledge of their identification would in most cases be lost.

The material remains such as footwear confirm the presence of women and children beyond doubt in these contexts and move the discussion from their probable presence, to their definite occupancy inside some military complexes. Material remains also elucidate notions of spatial use when they are part of assemblages within specific structures and rooms. However, social identification beyond age and sex is difficult to ascertain in many cases. An ordinary shoe belonging to a child with no markers of economic or social status, such as elaborate leather working or a high-end makers stamp, could belong to the child of a slave, a soldier, or even still an officer. However, in conjunction with documentary material, it is clear that a significant portion of military populations were indeed the wives and children of soldiers. We must, therefore, make room for these individuals in our interpretation of the material. Though a child's shoe can never be directly linked to a specific inscription or individual, each piece of evidence in its own way provides unique information about the individuals living in military contexts and therefore about the social group as a whole. In combination with documentary evidence, the material remains can be interpreted within a deeper understanding of an organizational system, in the case of Roman military communities one that included wives and children rather than just the male military unit.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ Cf. I. Morris 1999, 311, in reference to the solidification of archaic Greek gender norms.

Methodological Conclusion

Within Roman army studies an investigation of women and children still must begin by finding their presence in this environment, and secondarily one looks for social roles within the settlement structure. The presence of women within the Roman military sphere is still only discussed by a small group of specialists and has not been incorporated into Roman military studies generally. Even where their presence has been accepted, as in the case of the family of the prefect living within the *praetorium*, the daily impact on the fort's military function of women and children living in the most important sector of a military camp has not yet been elucidated.⁸⁹

This study begins with an investigation of the presence of women and children within this important community, and moves to the exploration of social identification. The presence of families living within Roman military communities does not deny the presence of prostitutes from such a settlement; surely a trade in sex existed here, as it would have in almost every human community in history. After the regular presence of “wives” is incorporated into our investigations of the Roman army, identification of gendered roles can emerge. Details of these roles may be sought in the rich body of documentary evidence left behind by Roman soldiers. The problematic nature of identifying gendered activities and the material correlates that these activities produce must be kept in mind, especially given the dynamic and changeable nature of culturally and situationally constructed gendered roles. The Roman army created its own culturally specific atmosphere in several ways,⁹⁰ which

⁸⁹ For Roman Britain particularly, only Allason-Jones (1997, 1999, 2004) has sought to incorporate women as an explicit category into treatment of the Roman army.

⁹⁰ For the soldierly community as a separate social entity, see Haynes 1999; cf. James 1999.

may have included social roles that were inconsistent with the rest of Roman society.⁹¹ In this case it may be impossible to identify female activity from artifacts alone and other lines of evidence may be called in to provide further nuance.

The focus in this dissertation on concrete evidence that represents the female body as an indication of their presence in military communities by no means dismisses Allison's work on the German forts. Her conclusions are very likely correct in that she shows evidence of female activities within the forts themselves, indicating the probable and most logical probability that women indeed lived in these spaces. However, the narrow scope and potentially ambiguous nature of the evidence has allowed skepticism, especially when a great deal of supplementary information exists for the population of Roman military communities.⁹² It is only with the use of all material that the presence of women and children in the military community will become clear, and perhaps something of their identity and social role may be illuminated.

⁹¹ Allason-Jones 1995, 28; James 2006, 34.

⁹² In her response to Allison, Tomášková (2006, 20-5) calls for integration of artifact and textual evidence in cultures where this is a possibility.

CHAPTER 3:
VINDOLANDA AS A CASE STUDY
FOR THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN
IN A ROMAN MILITARY FORT

3.1. *Introduction*

Archaeological evidence betraying the presence of women and children within the fort walls of Roman military establishments has become increasingly more common in the past few decades. At the same time traditional historical evidence such as inscriptions and military diplomas has been examined from new angles to illuminate the military community in general.¹ From these sources, an unambiguous picture of military communities has emerged with women, children, and other family members as a substantial part of these settlements, living both inside the fort walls and in extramural settlements. A reappraisal of the social structure of military communities has become imperative. This chapter reviews in detail previous work that has been done at Vindolanda and includes new material that will further add to spatial and chronological analysis of non-combatant activity at Vindolanda.

It has been almost two decades since Driel-Murray first presented her analysis of some of the footwear from the site showing clearly that women and children lived inside the fort walls in the late-first and early-second centuries. Since then further work has confirmed her conclusions but this material remains in disparate journals and has not been used to propose a new assessment of the military camp. The material is nearing a critical mass now,

¹ E.g. Roxan 1991. See below, Chapters 5 and 6 for discussion of documentary sources.

at which point the important consideration of the social use of space within the fort and the social identification of these individuals should follow.

In reality, the average soldier was regularly involved in everyday activities in the fort, a fact that makes the social community an important part of understanding life in the Roman army. With the inclusion of women and children into the military space and the settlement structure as a whole, forts such as Vindolanda need to be understood as something other than strictly military. Therefore, a consideration of their non-military function must be a part of overall interpretations of space and its use. The focus of this chapter is to explore these topics by means of the evidence from two centuries of occupation at Vindolanda, an auxiliary fort on the northern frontier in England, one mile south of Hadrian's Wall (See map, Figure 1). Vindolanda is an illustrative case study and comparative model for the evolution of non-combatants living within military communities because of its continuous occupation and varying historical circumstances.

Archaeological approaches to women and children in the military sphere in Britain have largely centered on evidence from the unique assemblage of artifacts from Vindolanda. The uncommon state of anaerobic preservation in the early periods of settlement at the fort (Periods 1-4, ca. AD 85-120/30) has preserved finds of leather, wood, and textile artifacts that are not typically found in the archaeological record. The most often discussed of these are the wooden writing tablets that record the daily routine of the military, as well as records of a personal nature regarding non-combatants such as wives and merchants.² Many contexts that have produced writing tablets also preserve leather shoes left behind by the inhabitants of the buildings, allowing a connection to be made between these pieces of material culture.

² Bowman and Thomas 1983, 1994, 2003. The writing tablets will be dealt with separately in Chapter 6 below.

Together these artifacts provide detailed information about the inhabitants of the fort in the late first and early second centuries.

It can be difficult to incorporate the evidence into a cohesive and overarching understanding of military landscapes in the western provinces because of the comprehensive nature of the assemblage at Vindolanda. Chapter 4 of this dissertation contextualizes the Vindolanda evidence into the broader framework of military sites in the north of Britain and more broadly on the western frontiers in general. First, this chapter investigates the evidence from Vindolanda and the provocative nature of past conclusions about the finds. The evidence published in the 1990s, primarily the footwear from within the fort itself, will be augmented by new material evidence for the presence of women and children and their spatial associations within the fort and extramural settlement. Broad implications of this material are considered within the context of specific periods of occupation in the frontier zone, especially against the background of historical circumstances.

Descriptions of some of the shoes from Vindolanda were published in a preliminary report in 1993 by Driel-Murray, covering a selective group of the leather artifacts found in the excavation seasons from 1985-88.³ The provocative argument set out there—footwear that clearly belonged to women and children was left within internal fort structures in different periods at Vindolanda—was the first archaeological evidence to seriously challenge the view that Roman military camps, particularly within the fort walls, were not strictly male spaces.⁴ Evidence from the fort ditches of later periods (ca. AD 130-213) builds a strong

³ Driel-Murray 1993, 1-75.

⁴ Driel-Murray 1993, 1-75, esp. 31-47, followed by three articles, Driel-Murray 1998, 1997, 1995, which are essentially the same argument and use the same Vindolanda evidence that was first presented in the 1993 preliminary report.

chronological picture of the growing presence of women and children at Vindolanda through time. This picture culminates in the third century, with the numerous shoes of women and children found in the fort ditch of that period and the large size of the associated *vicus*.⁵

A pattern is recognizable of an increasing number of women and children present on the site from the late first into the third century. At the same time, the presence of non-combatants was significant from the beginning of Roman occupation in the region in the late first century, when the frontier was first occupied by the Roman army. This is notable given its setting in the middle of the two centuries that the marriage ban for soldiers was active, over a century before Severus' policy change. By the third century, the extramural *vicus* was a thriving community with workshops, store fronts, *tabernae*, and other elements typical of a small settlement in the provinces.

3.2. *Chronology and history of Roman military occupation of Vindolanda and its region*

The fort at Vindolanda was established initially towards the end of the first century AD, in ca. 85, after Agricola pushed far into the north of the island in the late 70s and early 80s.⁶ After conquests in the far north of Scotland were abandoned,⁷ outpost forts remained occupied in the Lowlands of southern Scotland, while the major route of communication was established along the line of the Stanegate Road, a medieval name for the Roman road that

⁵ Because of its late date, this material will not be dealt with in this dissertation.

⁶ There is some indication from geophysical survey in the field just to the north of the fort and *vicus* that an earlier fort may have straddled the Stanegate itself. It would not be a great surprise if a fort from the 70s, founded either under Agricola or earlier under Petilius Cerialis, was found at the site. A potential ditch system is located running roughly north-west to south-east. R. Birley 2009, 42-3. Results of the geophysical survey by A. Biggins are unpublished. Excavations in this area are planned for the field seasons 2010-12.

⁷ The most salient evidence for the abandonment of the far north is the legionary fort at Inchtuthil in northern Scotland. The fort was constructed for 3 years from AD 83-86, then left unfinished and abandoned for the southern frontier location. Pitts and St. Joseph 1985, 31.

ran east-west across the country (See map, figure 2). By ca. AD 105 the forts in the Scottish Lowlands were abandoned and a firm northern limit was established on the Tyne-Solway line, between modern Carlisle and Corbridge in northern England.⁸ Vindolanda lies almost directly in the middle of this linear system, within the line of forts on the Stanegate frontier.⁹ In the early Roman period this corridor would have consisted only of the road, with a series of forts such as those found at Carlisle, Brampton, Nether Denton, Carvoran, Vindolanda and Corbridge, with a basic system of communication between installations.¹⁰ Vindolanda stood in the center of this occupied region, a convenient stopping point in the middle of the east-west route across the north of the province.

The fort at Vindolanda was first built for a *cohors quingenaria*, a unit of 480 auxiliary soldiers, and was less than four acres in area. It was built of timber with earthen ramparts and was constructed by the *cohors I Tungrorum*, which occupied the site for roughly five to seven years. Currently nothing is known of the internal layout of the Period 1 fort and its existence is only understood by its western defensive ditch system, which runs roughly north-south underneath parts of the third century stone *vicus* (see Figure 3 for orientation). Roman fort ditches always ran parallel to the fort walls and, therefore, it can be surmised that the timber fort lay to the east of the ditch system, almost directly under the stone remains of

⁸ Recent evidence has suggested that this early line also ran coast to coast, but there is little consensus here. In some places to the east and west of the Carlisle-Corbridge line the road, as well as watch towers and early forts, have been identified. Wooliscroft 2001, 53.

⁹ Several aspects of the Stanegate road and frontier have been called into question recently from its identification as a proper frontier (Daniels 1970; Dobson 1986, 2-5), to the date of the construction of the road (Poulter 1998). Hodgson (2000, 11-22) reviews arguments and reestablishes the identification of the system as a "frontier" one that could control movement and communication to some degree even without a definite cordon of watchtowers and a palisade or wall.

¹⁰ The watch towers, however, were not in a linear system of defense such as is found in the Taunus ridge in Germany (Hodgson 2000, 13-16). For the system of signaling in Roman Britain see, Woolliscroft 2001, esp. 53-8 with reference to the Stanegate.

Periods 6-7, but on a slightly different alignment.¹¹ The ditch material gives the fort a clear date in the late first century, and the absence of the *terra sigillata* form Dragendorff 29, found abundantly in all forts of earlier Flavian date, suggests that this initial phase of occupation is slightly later than the Agricolan period, into the mid-80s.¹² The end of the period is considered to be around AD 90-92, based on the ditch material, especially tablets that name governors with already known historical dates. This earliest period of occupation offers the first evidence of women and children comprising part of the population living at the fort, and will be used extensively in the analysis that follows. Though shoes are only found in the fort ditch system it is provocative to consider any presence of non-combatants in the settlement at such an early date and at a time when there could have been a potentially volatile situation on a newly formed frontier.

The subsequent timber forts were all far larger than this first phase of construction, most likely because the later forts held a series of *cohortes milliaria*, units of 1000 men, or partly mounted units, meaning their strength and spatial needs would be greater with more men and horses. The forts in Periods 2 and 3 were roughly twice the size of the original phase (Figure 4), and Period 4 roughly three times larger (Figure 5). These later forts all stretched further to the west up the plateau on which the forts were situated. *Cohors VIII Batavorum* was garrisoned in Periods 2 and 3 (ca. AD 92-97 and 97-105),¹³ Phase 3 being a

¹¹ The fort was once thought to lie to the west of this ditch system, but it was then shown in excavations in 1986 to be on the east, at the terminal end of the sloping plateau, just before the ground drops drastically towards the streams on the east and south sides. R. Birley 1994, 15.

¹² Agricola left Britain in AD 84. For Vindolanda evidence see, R. Birley 2009, 45; cf. R. Birley 1994, 20. A crate of *terra sigillata* turned upside down in the bottom of the Period 1 ditch had potter's decorative schemes that are identical to some found in Pompeii, suggesting a date slightly later than 79, leaving a few years for material to travel to the northern frontier. R. Birley 1994, 20-21.

¹³ There is some conjecture that *coh. I Tungrorum* was still in residence in the beginning of Period 2 (Bowman and Thomas 1994, 22-3; cf. R. Birley 1994, 53). They are identified in a strength report as having 752 men total

solid and more robust reconstruction of the fort with sturdy oak timbers, replacing the more ephemeral fort of Period 2. The increase in unit strength and the reconstruction of much of the fort as a far more permanent base with sturdier timber construction, suggests that the Stanegate frontier was becoming more consolidated and settled at this time. Outpost forts to the north of this linear system, such as those at Newstead, Risingham, and Elginhaugh (see map, Figure 1), were active until ca. AD 105, suggesting that the frontier itself was somewhat protected by an outlying territory to the north.¹⁴

The fourth phase (ca. AD 105-120) saw the return of the *cohors I Tungrorum* for a longer period than before (Figure 5). The beginning of occupation of Period 4 fort in AD 105 is indicated by a dendrochronological date of late 104 for the felling of the large oak timbers used in construction.¹⁵ Realistically much of the material found on the floor surfaces of the structures within the fort probably date to the last years of occupation, closer to AD 115-120. Particularly in consideration of artifacts as large as shoes, the likelihood for these items to fall away unnoticed for upwards of a decade is less likely. The material is suggestive of a domestic assemblage rather than a collection post, but should be understood as representing the latest phases of occupation in the structures. The buildings known in this phase are all intramural structures with a primary military function. If there was an extramural settlement

in the regiment (Tab. Vind. II 154; Bowman and Thomas 1994, 90-8). This is far closer in strength to a *milliary* cohort at this point, but the Period 1 fort is far too small to house this number of men. It has been suggested then, that they were the initial builders of the larger Period 2 fort and then the *coh. VIII Batavorum* moved in shortly after construction. Cf. A.R. Birley 2002, 61.

¹⁴ For Newstead see, Curle 1911; cf. Richmond 1952; Clarke 2000. Elginhaugh had only a single phase, established ca. 80 and abandoned before AD 105, see Hanson 2007.

¹⁵ Hillam 1993, 120-33. Written evidence from the archives of Flavius Cerialis, the prefect of *coh. VIII Batavorum*, pushes the occupation of that cohort into 105. R. Birley 2009, 91.

it has either not been located or, more likely, was destroyed by the construction of later stone buildings to the west of the fort.

The occupation of this period clearly has a new intensity; *cohors I Tungrorum* was by now upgraded to a *milliary* unit of one thousand men and there is further evidence for a unit of Vardulli cavalry. There is a small amount of evidence that legionaries were also present in some fashion at Vindolanda in this period.¹⁶ The beginning of Period 4 coincided with the abandonment of the outlying forts in the Lowlands of Scotland, which could be the reason for the increased activity in the Tyne-Solway region. By the end of Period 4 in ca. AD 120, intense activity probably had a great deal to do with the upcoming construction of Hadrian's Wall, which surely would have required a long planning phase before construction began in the 120s. Moreover, a significant rebellion was recorded in northern Britain in 117 upon the succession of Hadrian.¹⁷ A casualty of this rebellion might be recorded at Vindolanda in the form of a tombstone testifying the death of T. Annius, a centurion of *cohors I Tungrorum*, “*in bello*”.¹⁸ In this period, Vindolanda seems to have played a major role in the region with a large contingent of auxiliary soldiers and cavalry, as well as possible legionaries.

The end of Period 4 and into Period 5 coincided with the preparation for and construction of Hadrian's Wall and it is probable that in this period Vindolanda played a

¹⁶ Tab. Vind. II 180, lines 22-3 (Bowman and Thomas 1994, 121) records grain supplies going to “the legionary soldiers on the orders of Firmus.” A silver *dona militaria* belonging to one Quintus Sollonius of the century of Cupitus, otherwise attested in the *Leg. II Augusta* stationed at Caerleon, was found in the western part of the site (Small Find 9885). A. Birley and Blake 2007, 102-4, 142-3. The presence of the medallion does not necessarily place the legionary living at the site, but strengthens the picture of at least a small legionary presence.

¹⁷ Fronto A236 (van Den Hout 1954, 206, line 20) compares the deaths that occurred in the rebellion at the succession of Hadrian equal to that of the war with the Jews during his reign. Cf. *SHA* Hadrian 4.5.2.

¹⁸ *RIB* III 3364: D(is) [M(anibus) | T(itus) Ann[ius ...] | centur[io cohortis I] | Tungr[orum stipen]diorum [... annorum ...] | T in bell[o ... inter]]fectus [...] | fil(ius) et ARC[...] | h(eredes) e[x test(amento) f(aciundum) [c(uraverunt) ...]]. For further discussion, see A.R. Birley 1998, 54-6; cf. R. Birley 2009, 104-5.

central role in the planning and preparation for the large building project.¹⁹ There would certainly have been vexillations of legionary units in the area for engineering expertise, evidence for whom may be found at Vindolanda as discussed above. Moreover, the forts built into the line of Hadrian's Wall were not a part of the original construction. The decision to add forts directly to the wall itself was made around five to ten years after construction began. This suggests that originally it must have seemed feasible to direct operations and store necessary materials within the forts such as Vindolanda that already existed on the frontier line. A very large building was found recently at Vindolanda in the western field with large squared timber construction that yielded dendrochronological dates of ca. 101-112.²⁰ The use of this building is not yet clear but its large size and strong construction indicate it may have been built as a storage depot for supplies to the wall.

Period 5 (ca. AD 120-128) was the last timber construction phase, during which some structures within the Period 4 fort were rebuilt. This phase is not consistent across the site, but is found only in certain pockets, primarily to the north of the major access road through this fort. The buildings to the south of the road fell into disrepair, probably from disuse, perhaps associated with a reduction in size of the garrison at this time, probably from a 1000 strong milliary unit to a quingenary unit of nominally 500 men.²¹ Through the 120s as Hadrian's Wall was constructed and the decision to include forts directly on the line of the wall shifted troops to the north, the importance of Vindolanda may have decreased which instigated the scattered rebuilding of Phase 5. *Cohors I Tungrorum* is presumed to have been

¹⁹ R. Birley 2009, 112.

²⁰ The structure could have been built as late as ca. 114. For dendrochronology analysis see, A. Birley and Blake 2007, 130-7. For analysis of the large building see A. Birley and Blake 2007, 64-6.

²¹ A. Birley and Blake 2005, 26.

present at the beginning of Phase 5, but it is certain that they moved into the new fort at Housesteads on Hadrian's Wall by the end of the decade. Perhaps as this unit shifted a few miles to the east, the garrison at Vindolanda also changed to a smaller unit, and the importance of the site waned somewhat. Regardless, between ca. 110 and into the early years of the 120s the site seems to have had an important military function with a very large fort and corresponding units of troops.

These five early occupation phases were built entirely of timber and are now preserved in anaerobic conditions, which maintained *in situ* organic artifacts from the latest phases of each occupation period. These periods of settlement are of greatest interest for this investigation.²² These levels are the most important for a discussion of female space within specific areas of the fort itself because the artifacts that can be associated with women and children remain within the original contexts of use in stratigraphic levels of localized domestic refuse. The most prominent artifacts that betray the presence of females and children living within these spaces are the leather shoes that clearly did not belong to adult males. These, in turn, allow us to identify spaces that may have been locations of non-combatant activity. The fort ditches were also the resting place of thousands of shoes, which allows analysis of the population as a whole on the site at a given time, but cannot be used to postulate spatial use or contexts of non-combatant activity.²³ The time period is certainly provocative in the middle of the two centuries with an active marriage ban, and the material indicates that social practice may have contradicted official Roman law at this time.

²² Because of the sporadic presence of Period 5, the latest levels preserved in anaerobic conditions on much of the site belong to Period 4, and within that to the latest phases of occupation, ca. 115-120. Dates of stratigraphic levels within specific buildings will be discussed when necessary.

²³ The most thoroughly explored ditches on site belong to Periods 1, 6, 6b, 7 and 8. The ditches from Periods 2-4 have not yet been explored in any detail.

Timber construction ceased at Vindolanda by ca. 130 and a stone fort replaced the wooden ones sometime in the middle of the second century. The decision to build in stone created the exceptional anaerobic preservation of the underlying levels. The unknown garrison in residence at this time understood the problems of subsidence that was inevitable on a site that had five forts already built directly on top of one another. Therefore, the builders spread a thick layer of local grey clay across the site, creating a solid foundation for later stone construction and effectively sealed the earlier layers in an anaerobic state. Since oxygen could not reach these environments, bacteria could not live in order to break down archaeological material. In particular organic remains not usually visible in the archaeological record were left intact until they were recovered in modern excavations.

Subsequent to the timber phases, three stone forts were built on the site. The first, Period 6 in the site's phasing, was built at the east end of the fort plateau by an unknown quingenary unit (Figure 6).²⁴ The primary access to the fort was from the west on a minor road that forked off the Stanegate road somewhere further west of the site, and continued to the south end of the fort as the primary gate for formal entrance by way of the *via Praetoria*. Unlike the third century *principia*, the headquarters building of the first stone fort faced south, which made the southern end of the fort the *praetentura* (see Figure 6).²⁵ Most knowledge of the inhabitants of this phase comes from the series of fort ditches to the west of

²⁴ Recent field seasons have revealed some evidence that there was at least one phase of turf and timber defenses directly below the Period 6 stone fort (not yet published, brief mention in R. Birley 2009, 122), suggesting that it was an earlier phase of Period 6, stone fort 1. There is only the slightest evidence that an earlier timber *principia* preceded the later stone structure of Period 6 (R. Birley 2009, 126), but the internal buildings could always have been stone even while the defenses were turf and timber, especially the *principia*, arguably the most important building in the camp (Bidwell 1985, 8). The one gate associated with the turf rampart phase of Period 6 is also stone, and corresponds to the alignment and direction of the stone *principia*. The cohort occupying the early phases of Period 6 or the stone phase may have been *coh. II Nerviorum*, but the epigraphic finds connected with this unit have been disassociated from their original contexts.

²⁵ This focus will shift with the second stone fort, whose *principia* faces north and therefore, the north end of the fort became the *praetentura*. R. Birley 2009, 117-22.

the site, now preserved on either side of the access road leading to the western fort gate. The ditch system is extensive, at least three north-south parallel cuts with linking ditches running east to west. These ditches most certainly became a rubbish dump towards the end of the fort's life when the soldiers stopped maintaining these defenses and let them silt up with all manner of material both natural and man-made. Hundreds of leather shoes have emerged from this ditch system and provide an interesting picture of the overall demography of the site in the mid- to late-second century.

The date of Period 6 and the general chronology of the mid- to late-second century has been a contentious point all along Hadrian's Wall. Historically it is expected that there was a gap in occupation in the mid-second century at a site such as Vindolanda because of the abandonment of Hadrian's Wall as the linear barrier of the northern frontier, and the construction of the Antonine Wall ca. 70 miles further north on the Forth-Clyde isthmus around AD 140.²⁶ There is not, however, an 'Antonine Gap' at Vindolanda. The *terra sigillata* forms and potter's stamps that were found predominantly on the Antonine Wall, but were usually missing from the Hadrian's Wall corridor were found in some numbers at Vindolanda, together with Severn Ware also typical of Antonine Wall forts.²⁷ Bidwell argued in 1985 for a date in the 120s for the construction of stone fort 1.²⁸ This early date may now

²⁶ For dating and details of the Antonine policy and movement of the frontier see, Hanson and Maxwell 1983, 59-74.

²⁷ Pengelly 1985, 166; Bidwell 1985, 10; cf. R. Birley 2009, 124, note 14. The complete assemblage of *terra sigillata* stamps is currently being researched for full report.

²⁸ Bidwell 1985, 6-10, based on a small sample of stratified pottery in a sleeper trench of a timber building outside the north corner of the stone fort which had the same alignment at the stone fort 1 *principia*. An inscription (*RIB* 1702) reportedly found at Vindolanda dating to the governorship of Platorius Nepos in AD 122-4 is also used; however, the antiquarian report should be considered potentially dubious. Moreover, inscribed stones are continuously found re-used in later buildings and the inscription could easily have been associated with the timber fort now well-understood to be certainly of the Hadrianic period. Cf. R. Birley 2009, 123-4.

be more readily associated with the transitional phase of turf and timber defenses with a mixture of timber and stone internal structures. A late-Hadrianic or early-Antonine date is more likely for this initial phase of the mid-second century. The construction of the stone wall on the same alignment as the turf defenses could have occurred sometime in the 160s after the abandonment of the Antonine Wall.²⁹ The three large ditches to the west of the fort wall all yield ceramic evidence suggesting that they were in use through the late 170s, at which point they were filled and built over by a series of timber buildings. These buildings are referred to as the sub-Period 6a, and must be contemporary with the fort's occupation in the 180s and beyond. Most of these timber buildings were equipped with hearths and perhaps constituted a temporary extramural settlement or annex associated with the fort; whether this was for soldiers or primarily to house non-combatants is unclear. These changes may have been contemporaneous with activity elsewhere on the northern frontier in the 180s under Ulpius Marcellus, during a time of serious revolts and barbarian incursions.³⁰

For reasons unclear except for possible subsidence on the site at this point, the next unit in residence, also unknown, shifted the long axis of the fort to an east-west orientation in Period 6b (Figure 7).³¹ This fort, dating to the early third century, was short lived and occupation terminated by the time the third century *vicus* buildings were built over its

²⁹ The extensive redevelopment of the site suggests a return to the Tyne-Solway frontier in the 160s. *RIB* 1703 names Calpurnius Agricola and should be dated to this decade. Cf. R. Birley 2009, 130-1.

³⁰ R. Birley 2009, 127. The exact date of the end of this period of occupation is unclear, but was certainly by the early third century, ca. AD 208. A historic consideration is the removal of British troops by Clodius Albinus in the end of the second century during his bid to be emperor.

³¹ In early publications, particularly R. Birley 1977, 70-2, this military space was thought to be an earlier phase of the extramural civilian *vicus*, called *vicus* I, with its most important building being the *mansio* on the western edge of the settlement. It has subsequently been shown that this is, in fact, another military phase and the so-called *mansio* is more likely to be a *praetorium*. The primary evidence is the vast defenses surrounding the structures of this period, a ditch and rampart of monumental scale, nearly 15 meters across in its entirety. R. Birley 2009, 135-40.

structures, a phase contemporary with the construction of the last stone fort in AD 213. The Severan fort has a rather unusual internal layout with only a *praetorium*, workshops and barrack blocks.³² Both the short occupation and the unusual layout may be explained by historical events of the period. A more precise date for this heavily defended fort with an unusual garrison of troops might be AD 208-211, when Septimius Severus was actively pursuing conquest and subjugation of tribes in the north.³³ Therefore, perhaps we have an unusual unit, something like a *numerus* or a *vexillatio* of troops that were needed for Severus' northern campaign. This would explain why a *principia* was not considered a necessity here, since the fort housed only a small group of soldiers with a commander. The only other buildings present within this fort were a series of workshops, perhaps employed to strengthen the fighting capability of the unit by manufacturing weapons.

Even in such an atypical fort that seemed to have a wartime function with its uncommonly robust defenses, several shoes belonging to women and children were found within the ditches, bringing into sharp focus a contrast with what we might expect to find during periods of conflict. Like the Period 1 evidence, because of the preservation environment shoes are only found in the ditches and not within known structures and spaces within the fort. It is provocative, however, when phase 6b as a whole is given further consideration. This period was marked by hostility in the north, which led Severus to gather

³² It is also possible that the bathhouse, known to be active in Period 7 later in the third century, also belongs with this early third century phase. Excavation has not been possible underneath the substantial bathhouse remains and therefore, the foundation levels cannot be determined, or if there are instead more barracks or workshops belonging to Period 6b. If the bathhouse does indeed belong with the Period 6B fort, it is noteworthy that it was located within the fort walls, not outside as is more typical. This situation would be consistent with interpretation that this phase was volatile, which is also indicated by other finds from this period.

³³ Dio (75.5.4) names the rebelling tribes as the Maeatae with the Caledonians joining in. cf. A.R. Birley 1988, 170-87. The province was divided under Caracalla with Hadrian's Wall and the north falling under the jurisdiction of *Britannia Inferior*. A.R. Birley 1988, 191.

an army and march into Scotland to subdue tribal uprisings. There is no known extramural settlement contemporary with this fort that could have housed the non-combatant element of the community, nor is there likely to have been one within a half mile of the fort.³⁴ The presence of women and children in this environment is striking and does not coincide with our typical presentation of the Roman military, especially considering the very short life span of this fort. The nature of the evidence from this period, even though just shortly after Severus allowed cohabitation, is somewhat contrary to our expectations of a hostile military environment. At the very least, consideration to the position of civilians in a military zone during periods of unrest is overdue.

The last stone fort built at Vindolanda in Period 7 was built over and took its alignment from the earlier stone fort of Period 6 (Figure 8). The long axis was again north-south and the east and west walls were built directly over the period 6 stone walls. The entire fort was shifted ca. 6 meters north; therefore the south and north stone walls were newly constructed. Period 7, built in AD 213,³⁵ also had a thriving extramural settlement with several strip houses, shops, a bathhouse, workshops and sacred areas built around an extensive network of roads. Between the fort and the extramural occupation a large ditch was open for much of the third century and is the source of a number of shoes, material that could have been discarded either by those living within the fort or outside. With a date in the third century, well after the legal restriction on cohabitation was lifted, and because of the obviously mixed population present on site, this examination will not consider the Period 7 evidence in detail.

³⁴ Based on past excavation and the unpublished geophysical survey of the north field by A. Biggins.

³⁵ Dated by a *tribunicia potestas* of Caracalla on an associated inscription, *RIB* 1704.

Vindolanda serves as a perfect case study to explore the presence of women and children in the Roman military community in the late-first and second centuries because of its continued occupation, its shifting historical situation, garrison in residence, and fort layout. The historical circumstances at the site vary from the initial consolidation of the frontier system, through periods of general peace as well as times of volatility and unrest. These changes offer a diachronic view of non-combatant settlement in the military zone under varying historical conditions. The different periods of occupation at Vindolanda allow comparison to several sites on the British and German frontiers and provide evidence for the consideration of varying practices of individual auxiliary units.

3.3. *The assemblage of footwear at Vindolanda: Methodological considerations*

Archaeological footwear offers an excellent view of the individuals that lived within a given community in a specific time, because shoes provide information about the age and sexual dimorphism of their wearer. A shoe can in many ways stand proxy for an individual. The fact that shoes would have had a relatively short life span, and because we cannot always readily identify shoe pairs in the archaeological remains, means that a single individual may be represented more than once in the sample. Therefore, the footwear should not be used to obtain exact population counts, especially because the assemblage is by nature only a representative sample and should not be seen as corresponding to an entire population. The footwear from each period will be discussed in percentages in order to obtain an approximate idea of how much of the population represented in the sample comprised non-adult male individuals and, where possible, where the activity of these individuals may have predominated.

A few points should be made about archaeological leather and its conservation. For a long time shoes that are now clearly understood as having belonged to children, were thought to have shrunk either during taphonomic processes after deposition or during the conservation process. It is clear now that this is not the case and the latter phenomenon is easily testable. There is a small amount of shrinkage in leather goods, calculated with current conservation processes at about 3-5%. This would result in an overall difference in shoe size of less than one centimeter overall. For shoes of about 18-21cm, the shrinkage would amount to just over one-half centimeter.³⁶ This is an important figure to keep in mind when calculating the original size of a shoe. Although the argument could also be made that the leather swelled from water intake during deposition, in which case the conservation process only returns it to its original size.³⁷ This last point is, of course, impossible to prove except with experimental archaeology, which has not yet been performed, as far as I know. Therefore, in this investigation conserved shoes are understood as having lost about 0.5-2cm of their original size.

The age and sex of an individual is estimated based on the size and style of the insole.³⁸ The treadsole of a shoe is in most cases at least 1cm larger than the insole, sometimes 2-3cm larger depending on the style of shoe (Figure 9). Just as in shoes worn today the insole most effectively reflects the actual size of the wearer. In cases where only the treadsole is preserved a rough size of the wearers foot can be ascertained, but should be

³⁶ Rhodes 1980, 101-2 for overview of leather shrinkage; Rector 1975, 36, reported a loss of between 3% and 6% from Medieval shoes (this publication was not possible to attain, as reported in Rhodes 1980, 101); Thornton (1977) performed an experiment in 1959 that showed shrinkage of $4^{1/3}$ to $5^{1/2}\%$ (unpublished lecture, results reported in Rhodes 1980, 101); Busch 1965, 160-1 reports a loss of up to 2 cm but on shoes that were excavated around 1900, which suggests that leather continues to shrink over time.

³⁷ Pers.comm. with Patricia Birley, primary conservator at the Chesterholm Museum at Vindolanda.

³⁸ Cf. Driel-Murray 1993, 42; Driel-Murray 2007, 360.

used with caution. The width of the waist of the shoe, which corresponds to the arch of the foot, can also potentially indicate its original wearer (see Figure 10 for the parts of a shoe). Females tend to have a much narrower foot than men, and this difference seems to be reflected in the footwear assemblage (Figure 11). There is a large group of shoes that are in the size bracket that corresponds to the upper end of the adult female spectrum, ca. 21-22cm in length, in which the waist is a very narrow 4cm wide. Accordingly, another group of shoes of around 22cm and above in length have a waist width of over 5cm, a significant difference for such a small area of the shoe. Thus these narrow shoes of roughly 20-22cm in length are considered to have belonged to a female individual, and sometimes the width may be used to differentiate a shoe on the 22cm cusp. There will always be some shoes that are misidentified, but should not make an impact in the overall assessment.

Two distinct peaks are detectable in most size distributions of both large assemblages of footwear from ancient and medieval contexts, as well as in comparable data from a modern shoemaker, as has been shown by Groenman-van Waateringe and Driel-Murray (see tables, Figure 12).³⁹ These data can be used to determine the probable owner of an individual shoe. When dealing with the Vindolanda assemblage all dimensions are given in centimeter lengths and are post-conservation measurements. To take into account the shrinkage from the conservation process, this investigation assigns a shoe smaller than 19cm to the ownership by a child; those between 19-22cm were worn either by an adult female or an adolescent male probably under the age of fourteen. Shoes over 22cm represent adult males. In the assemblage from a major excavation at Billingsgate in London the shoe size considerations are more generous, using pre-conservation measurements. In that assemblage a shoe up to

³⁹ Groenman-van Waateringe 1978, 184-9, uses data from the Swift shoe factory in the Netherlands as comparison; Driel-Murray 2007, 360-1, for discussion of shoe size distributions.

20cm is considered as having belonged to a child; female adult shoes are considered to have been between 20 and 24cm, while anything larger is presumed to have belonged to an adult male.⁴⁰ The footwear analysis from the Rhine fort at Valkenburg also considers the female spectrum to continue up to ca. 24cm, and anything above is male.⁴¹

Driel-Murray has done the most work on leather and footwear from the northwest Roman provinces and her size calculations are presented as a guideline. She assigns continental European shoe sizes to her discussion, suggesting that men fell within a range from size 37-40 and over, with an average of size 38 (25-25.5cm). The overlap for female and male shoes is around size 35 (23-23.5cm, pre-conservation). Therefore, the female range is between size 32 and 35 and children's shoes are smaller than size 32.⁴² This current investigation of the Vindolanda footwear has remained on the conservative side and presumes that anything above 22cm could represent an adult male, also accounting for shrinkage. This caution allows for 2cm of shrinkage of the shoe and by keeping a conservative standpoint, does not stretch the evidence beyond its use. Even with this cautious approach the number of shoes that can be categorized as non-adult male is significant.

There is an obvious issue with the overlap between the shoe sizes of fully grown females and still growing adolescent males. For this reason in many cases a shoe is classified as female/adolescent, except when the style suggests a feminine owner or the waist of the insole is very narrow. There is not a great problem with such ambiguity for this study, particularly because the largest female shoe, except in rare cases that simply remain

⁴⁰ Rhodes 1980, 102.

⁴¹ Hoevenberg 1993, *passim*.

⁴² Driel-Murray 2007, 360; cf. Driel-Murray 1993, 43.

undetectable, seems to coincide with the foot size of a male under the age of 12, at most age 14.⁴³ As the population of children in the military context should also stand proxy for the presence of adult females, there is no great methodological issue. In spite of the fact that 12- to 14-year-olds would likely have taken care of themselves, at the same time a significant population of pre-adult boys or girls living in military contexts is not a part of our current image of Roman military settlements and needs to be kept in mind for future inquiry.⁴⁴

Style does in some cases indicate either the sex or age of the wearer. The single piece *carbatina*, a shoe which utilizes one thick piece of cowhide leather without iron studs and is secured with a single lace, was favored for children (Figures 30 and 31).⁴⁵ The simplicity in securing the shoe and the ability to change the size as an individual grew is the obvious reason for their popularity amongst children. For this reason it can be difficult to obtain an exact size measurement, but it is very clear when the shoe had belonged to a child rather than adult, and quite often the impression of the walking surface can be seen on the leather itself. Similarly, in the early Vindolanda periods, sandals were reserved for girls and women, only becoming popular in a slightly different style for men later in time.⁴⁶ The best example of this shoe type is the sandal from the Period 3 *praetorium* (Figure 13), labeled the “Lepidina

⁴³ Boys reach a full adult size by about age 15-16, Driel-Murray 1998, 343. I am currently collecting data on the differences in foot shape and size on a modern population in order to make some comparisons between male, female, and teenage feet (with Trudi Buck of Durham University, UK. preliminary study reported at the Annual meeting of the AIA in 2010). This is not to discern overall sizes because this may be different, though stature studies show that there was not a great deal of difference between the Roman period and today.

⁴⁴ Driel-Murray (1998, 360) also suggested, somewhat facetiously and since retracted verbally in conference settings, that the small shoes could have belonged essentially to male boy lovers of the soldiers. Though this cannot be ruled out it is not now a serious consideration for the evidence of families in military forts.

⁴⁵ Though large adult male examples can be found. Driel-Murray 2007, 353-4, 360.

⁴⁶ Driel-Murray 1993, 32.

slipper” because of the identification from the writing tablets that this was the residence of Sulpicia Lepidina, wife of the prefect Flavius Cerialis.⁴⁷

3.4. *Evidence of women and children in the earliest occupation period at Vindolanda: Period I, ca. AD 85-90/92*

From the earliest consolidation of the British frontier, the prefect of a cohort at least was accompanied by his family. A writing tablet sent to the prefect of Vindolanda in the late 80s, offers greetings from the writer and his wife to Verecundus the commander of *cohors I Tungrorum*, indicating that the accompaniment of wives was in practice virtually from the beginning, at least for the officer class.⁴⁸ Archaeological evidence from the internal structures of the first fort at Vindolanda is not available for investigation because of its location directly beneath the substantial stone remains of the third century buildings. The ditch system to the west of the fort, however, has been extensively excavated, and provides important information about the period as a whole and the occupants of the site at this time (see Figure 3 for ditch alignment).

A series of four defensive ditches were laid out parallel to the fort, all of which were immediately sealed by the fort structures of the larger Period 2 fort that was subsequently built. The ditches did not remain open for casual dumping, but represent a sealed stratigraphic context, beneath timber military structures of the early AD 90s. The deposit represents a single action with one soil level filling in the somewhat shallow ditch, probably representing the infill of the ditch towards the very end of the unit’s occupation at Vindolanda (see section drawing, Figure 14). During occupation of a fort the defensive

⁴⁷ Driel-Murray 1993, 44-6; for discussion here of the Period 3 *praetorium* see below.

⁴⁸ *Tab. Vindol.* II 210 (Bowman and Thomas 1994, 183-4). cf. A.R. Birley 2002, 122.

ditches should, in theory, have been cleaned and maintained for proper function, and therefore, only becoming filled when the utility of the ditch is no longer necessary. The footwear that can be securely dated to the Period 1 ditches reveal the presence of some women and children in this phase, probably beyond those individuals associated with the prefect, but suggesting that a number of non-combatants were associated in some way with this earliest occupation on the site. The number of women's and children's shoes is not large, but neither is the entire assemblage from Period 1, and the examples presently known most likely represent more than a single household, probably beyond that of the prefect.

The nature of the ditch deposits in the shallow period 1 system is in a homogenous soil layer, without any discrete soil levels. This indicates the filling of the ditch having occurred in a brief period of time; therefore, the material is more likely evaluated as representing the variety of individuals on site at the end of occupation. The shoes evaluated here did not come from the same ditch deposit in all cases (see Appendix 1A for context information), but rather from different areas of the ditch system known to have been a part of period 1. In all cases these ditches were sealed by the construction of the period 2 fort (as in the section of Figure 14).

In total fifty six shoes of measurable length can be securely assigned to contexts of the four ditches located to the west of the Period 1 fort. Shoes of men, women and children were found in all four ditches in different deposits, so they probably represent the depositional habits of a few households. Of these fifty six shoes, 63% belonged to adult males (see Appendix 1A for detailed footwear data). Thirty five shoes can be understood as representing adult males in this period (63%), while thirteen shoes belonged to either a female or an adolescent (23%). A further eight shoes were worn by children (14%). None of

these examples were obviously part of a pair with both shoes of a single individual represented. It is possible that children's shoes represent the growth cycle of a single individual, but since the period of occupation is so short this would require all shoes from that individual to have been saved through the roughly five years of occupation and dumped in the ditch upon departure. Some concession needs to be given in the variation of size based on the style of the shoe.⁴⁹ For instance the *carbatina* shoe, which was constructed with only a single piece of thick cowhide that wrapped around the foot, could have been tightened or loosened with laces to adjust the size (see figure 30). A closed shoe with insole layers needed a bit more room than a sandal, while some shoes stylistically came to an extreme point, in which case ca. 2-3cm at the end of the insole should not be considered part of the foot size.

The ages of the children represented in this sample vary, but it is certain that there were no shoes of small infants or toddlers in the group. Every insole size is represented in a continuum from 14.5cm to 19cm, at which point the spectrum runs into the female or possibly adolescent sizes. The age range for the owners of these shoes could be anywhere between 5 and 12-years-old, depending on nutrition and varying growth of individuals. An insole of 14-15cm in length (see Figure 15), however, is representative of quite a small child, certainly not yet of an independent age. The same variation in sizes is present for the female/adolescent shoes, ranging from 18cm in length to 20-21cm with waist widths varying between 3.1cm and 5cm. The differences in these shoe sizes, taking into account the width of the shoe as well, seem to indicate that they are representative of different individuals on site at this time. The varying spots of deposition, not all for instance in a single location in one section of ditch, also supports that these shoes were discarded by several individuals and not in a single event by an individual household. Rather they are more likely to represent a few

⁴⁹ Driel-Murray 2007, 360.

households depositing material into the ditch, albeit the nature of the ditch fill indicates that discard occurred quickly and in a short period of time.

Since a fort ditch can only represent a population as a whole in any given period, this evidence should be understood as a representative sample of the population. The number of women's and children's shoes is not large, but in a total of 56 shoes, the percentage (36%) is significant particularly at this point in time. This material should be evaluated as representing a small number of individuals that inhabited the fort, probably near to the end of its occupation in the late 80s or early 90s before the ditch was sealed by Period 2 structures in ca. AD 90-92. At the very least, the evidence indicates the presence of women and children in this community in the earliest stages of the fort's settlement. Moreover, since it is known that there were more significant numbers of women and children living at the fort in the following periods of occupation, this small amount of evidence in period 1 can perhaps be seen as the beginning of significant habitation by women and children in the military community, which will increase in the subsequent occupation periods.

Site formation processes must also be considered here. Evidence from common areas such as ditches and wells is often disregarded because of its secondary deposition rather than a primary occupational context. This material can still inform the overall population of the period to which it belongs, especially when dealing with such short phases of early occupation and a fairly isolated military community. If the evidence is considered from Period 1 as a whole, within its historical framework and against the background of our current expectations of the military community at this point, a picture emerges that challenges the current paradigm. It is generally thought that the practice of families accompanying soldiers into service was an evolution of the settled Roman army of the later

second and especially third centuries. The presence of families, whether those of officers or common soldiers, is not readily associated with a force that had just conquered a region and settled in a newly consolidated frontier area. However, this is precisely how the Period 1 evidence is best understood. The most plausible interpretation of the shoes of non-combatants found here is that they were refuse of the Period 1 occupants, which clearly included women and children.

Alternative interpretations are less readily acceptable or plausible. Since the Period 1 ditches were sealed almost immediately by Period 2 structures, the evidence in the ditches has three possible interpretations. The material could have been deposited in the ditch when a demolition crew was on site, sometime after the abandonment of the fort by the garrison.⁵⁰ However, it is even further from our current expectations of military groups that women and children would have traveled with a military demolition crew. Furthermore, with respect to the nature of the deposit, the ditch material includes only a small amount of building debris, and is more readily identifiable with unnecessary domestic material generated and discarded by a departing unit.⁵¹ Another scenario is that the shoes were quickly deposited in the ditch by the new occupying force, *cohors VIII Batavorum* of Period 2, before the structures of the fort were built. For this to be plausible we need to imagine women and children traveling directly with the units while they changed installations and lived in temporary camps during the time of construction of a new fort. This is entirely possible but even more provocative than if the footwear had belonged to the more settled community of Period 1. Therefore,

⁵⁰ Whether demolition occurred almost immediately after abandonment or after a short period of time is not clear in the archaeology, but there is not a level of debris build-up from long term abandonment.

⁵¹ A crate of *terra sigillata* was turned upside down in the ditch, all vessels with cracks near the rim, and a consignment of oysters was also dumped nearby, clearly a shipment having gone bad. R. Birley 1994, 19-22.

interpreting the footwear evidence as belonging to the inhabitants of Period 1 indeed becomes the most readily acceptable interpretation, and it may be assumed that women and children were a part of the military community already in the first period of occupation directly after the frontier was occupied in the AD 80s.

3.5. *The second phase of occupation: Period 2, ca. AD 90/92-97*

Period 2 offers the first evidence for the spatial locations of women and children within the structures of the fort. The building that was probably the *praetorium* yielded shoes from within the western wing of what had been a much larger building (Figure 16), material which was first published by Driel-Murray in her preliminary report on the footwear.⁵² Shoes were found in ten of the thirteen rooms investigated. Several shoes deposited within the water tank (see plan, Figure 16), perhaps upon the departure of the inhabitants, will not be considered in this analysis as the stratigraphy also suggests later deposition, though still before the reconstruction of the building in period 3. The breakdown of size distributions indicates the presence of one woman, an adolescent, and probably two small children living within the building (see Appendix 1B for footwear data).⁵³ This is an expected pattern for the household of the prefect, and likely suggests that a wife and two children accompanied him to the frontier.⁵⁴ It is probable that slaves of the household are also represented in this

⁵² R. Birley 1994, 39-53. There is some evidence that the building had activities associated with a *fabrica*, but the identification as a *praetorium* is stronger.

⁵³ Driel-Murray 1993, 43; R. Birley 1994, 52; Birley 1994, 39-53.

⁵⁴ Cf. Driel-Murray 1993, 43.

assemblage, either in the adolescent shoes or those of adult males.⁵⁵ Writing tablets fill out the picture of life for high ranking officials elsewhere on the frontier in this early period. A letter to Flavius Genialis, an early prefect at Vindolanda in Period 2, sends regrets from the writer and his wife for rejecting a social invitation. The tablet does not mention children of either family, but reveals the presence of wives on the frontier at this time wherever the correspondence originated.⁵⁶

The material from the praetorium is not surprising, but still should be taken into account within the context of the mounting evidence for the family of the prefect living within the fort. Even though this situation was legal we must start giving deeper consideration to the role and function of this family within this supposedly masculine space. Moreover, it was not only this single family residing within the fort. Further evidence indicates other households existing in intramural contexts. A building across the road to the north of the *praetorium* further betrays the presence of women and children in the fort in Period 2. The identification of the building is uncertain with little suggestion of its internal layout or indication of use from the finds assemblage, but the tentative interpretation of the structure is a living quarter, either barrack or centurion's quarters.⁵⁷ With so little of the floor plan obtained it is difficult to identify, but its location at the end of a structure facing an internal fort road suggests this identification.

⁵⁵ Some of the slaves of Flavius Genialis' household are witnessed in the tablets, but not a wife or other family, Tab.Vind. II 301 (Bowman and Thomas 1994, 276-8), III 614, III 654 (Bowman and Thomas 2003, 77, 112). cf. A.R. Birley 2002, 123-4.

⁵⁶ The writer likely lived at another fort. *Tab.Vindol.* III 613 (Bowman and Thomas 2003, 76-7). cf. A.R. Birley 2002, 123-4.

⁵⁷ R. Birley 2009, 59.

There were several shoes deposited here amongst other domestic debris (see Appendix 1B, Nos. 68-93). In total twenty six shoes of measurable size were found in this structure, of which thirteen belonged to adult males (50%). There were five shoes worn by female or adolescent individuals (19%) and eight shoes belonged to children including an infant (31%). None of these seemed to be matching pairs and should be seen as representative of individuals. The children's shoes suggest at least two children were present here, possibly three. There are five shoes between 16 and 18cm that may have been worn by one or two children. A second set of three shoes between 12-13.5cm was worn by a very small child, an infant or toddler. The shoes representing a female or adolescent inhabitant range between 19-22cm and represent one or two individuals. Since these were found in the domestic refuse of a specific structure, at the very least the footwear evidence in this building suggests that there was another household including women and children inhabiting the fort, in addition to the family of the prefect. Perhaps this evidence shows an escalation in family accompaniment in the Period 2 structures in the early AD 90s.

In whatever way this structure is interpreted, the existence of women's and children's shoes in a space other than the *praetorium* is provocative because it may foreshadow what will be seen in Period 4—non-combatants in the barracks themselves and in all excavated structures of this occupation phase. The image of a varying population within the fort walls is strengthened by the evidence for families in two buildings in the early 90s, and overall, it augments the image of families present in the military community in early periods of frontier occupation. Shoes of women and children found outside of the *praetorium* may represent family members brought by other officers to the fort at this time. Historical sources show that officers were legally allowed to marry, and therefore, the presence of their family should be

expected.⁵⁸ If a military fort on the northern frontier was a suitable home for the wife of the prefect, it should certainly also have been suitable for lower officer's wives and families. The consideration of the internal space of the *praetorium* and the residences of officers will be considered in further detail below in relation to the evidence from Period 3 at Vindolanda.

3.6. *The Praetorium of Flavius Cerialis: Period 3, ca. AD 97-105*

The Period 3 *praetorium* (ca. AD 97-105), built directly over that of Period 2, yielded more evidence than its predecessor (for location see Figure 4; detailed plan see Figure 17; section of timber construction phases see Figure 18). A group of female and children's shoes were found inside the southern block of rooms of this structure as well as collected together in an open courtyard to the southeast. This assemblage was determined to be part of the domestic refuse of the last occupation of the building. The Period 3 *praetorium* is stratigraphically associated with the bonfire site located just outside the southern end of the building on the *via Sagularis* (intervallum road), which yielded a large group of written documents from the prefect's records. The letters show that the inhabitants of the building prior to the departure of the unit were the prefect Flavius Cerialis, his wife Sulpicia Lepidina and their children. In this structure a series of shoe sizes belonging to small children were

⁵⁸ It is still somewhat unclear whether auxiliary centurions and decurions were legally allowed to marry because there is no clear evidence (Jung 1982a, 340). It seems that legionary centurions were allowed this privilege. *Digest* 23.2.63 reports that senior officers could marry, but not a woman from the province in which they served (*praefectus cohortis vel equitum aut tribunus contra interdictum eius provinciae duxit uxorem, in qua officium gerebat: matrimonium non erit...*). They were legally allowed a concubine from the provinces, *Digest* 25.7.5 (*Concubinam ex ea provincia, in qua quis aliquid administrat, habere potest.*). Many scholars assume that officers, centurions and higher, were allowed marriage. Phang 2001, 129-32; cf. Hassal 1999, 36; Allason-Jones 1999, 42-3; Allason-Jones 2004, 274; Cherry 1989, 128; Cherry 1997, 113. For the quarters of legionary centurions being larger to accommodate family, see Hoffmann 1995, 107-51, esp. 110. Cf. Hassall 1999, 35-6.

found together with several shoes of very feminine style and size, further evidence for the habitation by the prefect's wife and children.⁵⁹

The *praetorium* was located inside the southern gate of the Period 3 fort, on the east side of the *via Praetoria* and north of the *via Sagularis* (See figure 4). The shoes belonging to women and children were found amongst general debris left behind by the inhabitants of the building after a hasty departure by *cohors VIII Batavorum*.⁶⁰ Several shoes indicating children's and female occupancy were collected together in a closed courtyard on the southwestern end of the building.⁶¹ The deposit has been identified as the domestic refuse left behind by the inhabitants of the structure, while the courtyard also seems to have operated in the latter stages of its life as a collection and sorting point in preparation for departure.⁶² This material was all sealed by a layer of intentional demolition, a standard practice of the Roman army after a site was abandoned, especially in a potentially volatile frontier region.⁶³

Driel-Murray first reported the preliminary results from the *praetorium* excavation suggesting that the shoes reflected the family of the prefect including his wife, and two or three children.⁶⁴ The children were roughly two, four or five and between seven to ten years

⁵⁹ The children's ages have been identified as 2, 4-5 and 7 years old. Driel-Murray 1993, 44-6; cf. R. Birley 1994, 88.

⁶⁰ For detailed report of the Period 3 *praetorium* excavation, see R. Birley 1994, 56-91.

⁶¹ These finds are well published and discussed and will not appear in an index here: for artifacts from each room of the building including footwear, see R. Birley 1994, 56-91; for further analysis and discussion, see Driel-Murray 1993, 44-7, and subsequent articles (1995, 1997, 1998).

⁶² The material has been shown to be typical of domestic refuse and not of debris brought in from elsewhere to build up the area for subsequent construction. R. Birley 1994, 58, 60; cf. van Driel-Murray 1998, 347.

⁶³ The material was not infill collected from other parts of the site, but identified as a typical assemblage of domestic refuse, perhaps collected together upon departure from the site. Birley 1994, 58-60.

⁶⁴ Driel-Murray 1993, 45, calls them "sons" but the sexual dimorphism of children's shoes is nearly impossible to determine, therefore, the statement must be qualified. Also, the potential that slaves were present is high. That the children were not merely slave children or similar is clear from the highest quality of some of the smallest shoes.

old.⁶⁵ The complex as a whole represents the household of the prefect, which clearly included a wife and a few children. The exact number of children is a bit difficult to ascertain, but for this discussion their number matters less than simply the actual presence of a family in this military context within the fort. Though the habitation of the prefect's family has been theoretically accepted, the fort itself continues to be referenced as an all-male space, with no actual consideration of even this one family.

The most distinct shoes were those of a female, conjecturally having belonged to Lepidina, with a slim foot of 21-22cm in length (shoe size 32/33) (Figure 13). The style is characteristic of a female style sandal with a thong at the toe, a decorative strap of leather over the instep and a slightly raised heel. The shoe is decorated with the makers stamp and rosette stamped patterns, suggesting it was a high end expensive shoe worn by an elite member of the community. Driel-Murray recognized that to some extent we cannot be certain about reconstructing the exact formation of the family, and that the probable presence of slaves will always cloud the matter;⁶⁶ however, the epigraphic evidence available for wives of prefects generally present, puts the identification of such families on a far stronger footing. Moreover, the Vindolanda community and particularly the family of the prefect is further illuminated by the writing tablets found in the same contexts and related stratigraphy outside the building. These connections make the identification of this structure as the praetorium and the home of the family of Flavius Cerialis almost certain.

The evidence from the Vindolanda Period 3 *praetorium* is sometimes accepted by those that would otherwise not tolerate the idea that women lived within the fort walls of a

⁶⁵ Driel-Murray 1993, 45, suggests that the shoes could represent growth of the same children, therefore, representing only one or two children.

⁶⁶ Driel-Murray 1993, 46.

military installation. The prefect of an auxiliary garrison was a Roman citizen, usually an *eques*, and had the legal right to marry and have his wife accompany him on military duty, unlike the regular foot soldiers that he commanded.⁶⁷ Even with an acceptance on legal grounds that the prefect's family might be present inside the fort itself, and probably the other officer's as well, this evidence is not incorporated into the image of Roman military establishments. The camp is never considered as a locus of female or children's activity in standard presentations of the Roman military, nor has the *praetorium* been considered as a household. The role of the wife of the prefect within the social structure, even theoretically, has not been discussed, nor has the social place of the children of the highest ranking male living permanently on the site. Documentary evidence will fill out this picture, but the archaeology can also be evaluated further. A consideration of the location of buildings within the fort, movement around these spaces, and the impact families would have had in some of these very public areas can be considered.

An evaluation of the structural layout of the *praetorium* offers possible hypotheses on the use of space by women and children within the fort, at least with respect to this highly important military building. The incomplete plan of the Vindolanda *praetorium* in the early periods makes a full discussion somewhat hypothetical, but it is worth considering the space that has been investigated. The *praetorium* was located within the central range of buildings within a Roman fort, arguably the most important military space on any site.⁶⁸ This central area of a fort is sometimes thought of as reflecting the spatial layout of Roman towns with the major roads, *cardo* and *decumana*, meeting at the center and setting a grid for all other

⁶⁷ See Phang 2001.

⁶⁸ Cf. Hanson 2005, 304.

buildings and areas (Figure 19 for a standard Roman auxiliary fort plan). In a typical military fort plan, the *via Praetoria* runs through the primary gate of the fort and terminates in front of the main entrance of the *principia*. It intersects here with the *via Principalis* which runs parallel to the front axis of the *principia*. The latter street runs along the front of the central range of buildings usually giving access to the *horrea*, the *principia*, and the *praetorium*. These three buildings are of vast importance to the functioning of the fort and would have been the primary focus of daily business and military activity. The granaries and storage buildings need no comment; their function and importance is obvious for the success of a military establishment.⁶⁹ The *principia* was the central locus of daily administrative activities, but was also a religiously charged space. The chapel of the standards was located within this structure. The *principia* was also a central location for official military worship, as evidenced by the many altars to *Iupiter Optimus Maximus* found in these buildings, usually dedicated by the cohort and its prefect. A sunken strong-room is found at the back of the *principia* which held the treasury from which soldiers were paid. Therefore, the *principia* would have had a primarily public function, with several highly important spaces that we can expect would have had somewhat limited access.⁷⁰

The *praetorium* had a certain public function in much the same way that the atrium house in Italy and throughout the empire acted as the locus of political activity for the Roman

⁶⁹ Rickman 1971, for granaries in the Roman world. For timber military granaries, see Manning 1975. There are often two buildings next to one another, either standing independently or sometimes with a single roof creating the appearance of a single structure. These are not always granaries in the strict sense, however, often lacking the sub-basement channels needed to keep the grain dry with air circulation. At Vindolanda the recent granary excavations revealed one structure with the classic low walls with flues for ventilation and a second building with a solid clay floor and buttresses, clearly meant for storage of heavy goods. A. Birley, forthcoming report on the Vindolanda excavations of 2008.

⁷⁰ Breeze 1983, 53; Davies 1974, 320. Daily duty rosters report men with an officer in command guarded the chapel of the standards. Fink 1971, 134, no. 17, frag a, line 12; From Aquincum an inscription with reference to guarding the *signa*, *CIL* III, 3526=*ILS* 2355.

nobility. The layout of the *praetorium* was similar to Mediterranean style homes but with expected changes made to accommodate its location within a fort. A central atrium-like space was surrounded by small rooms on three sides and it often had private toilet areas and heated dining spaces (Figure 20).⁷¹ The front courtyard would have been used to greet visitors and certain spaces would have been used for official military business. At the same time areas within the structure would have been reserved for private family accommodation, dining and other personal business. The combination of private and public activity within an otherwise very functional military space would need some negotiation, especially considering the overall size of the *praetorium*. Though one of the larger buildings in the fort, it is still not sizeable enough, especially in an auxiliary fort, to fully separate the two activities.⁷² The family of the prefect must have been visible regularly as official duties were carried out in the building.

The third century *praetorium* at Vindolanda may be used in order to investigate a well preserved example of this type of structure (Figure 21). It had several rooms that lend themselves to a private function and it may be useful to use this complete plan to hypothesize use of the Period 3 *praetorium*.⁷³ The third century building measures approximately 22 x 35m, quite a bit smaller than its earlier predecessor of Period 3, but this is probably because of the smaller overall size of the later fort. The Period 3 fort housed a milliary cohort of 1000 men, while the third century fort was for a quingenary garrison half that size. However, the two structures seem generally to follow a similar plan with a series of small rooms

⁷¹ Cf. Bidwell 1997, 56.

⁷² The excavated length of the structure is ca. 50m x 15m. The length is probably nearly complete but the possible width of excavation was constrained by stone remains on the third c. fort and was likely far larger. For full report on structure, R. Birley 1994, 56-91, esp. fig. 23.

⁷³ For full report of the praetorium excavation see R. Birley, A. Birley and Blake 1998.

surrounding a larger courtyard, probably open, similar to an atrium house elsewhere in the Roman world. The well preserved plan of the third century building and its later phase of ca. AD 300, most certainly would have allowed space for private areas, perhaps for the residence of a family. This would be particularly feasible if the structure held a second floor, which is suggested by the large buttresses that supported the eastern wall of the building.⁷⁴ Some rooms have limited access and cannot be reached directly from the courtyard, suggesting that they were at least semi-private, while a second floor could have been entirely private and used for domestic purposes.

The location of the footwear recovered in the Period 3 *praetorium* suggests that activity associated with women and children could have been focused around the south and west wings of the building. However, the deposition of some of the material in a collection area is also probable, particularly in the water tank, which has not been discussed here for that reason. This material should still be seen as having belonged to the household of the *praetorium*, since it is unlikely that the prefect's courtyard would have been a collection area for the wider population of the fort. Footwear was found in discreet spaces in a line of rooms with a continuous corridor running along the front of all the rooms. The complete plan of the structure was not obtained, but the beginning of a row of rooms on the east side of the corridor was found. These may have had a private function with the corridor acting as a barrier between family rooms and areas with more of a public purpose. There is also some indication that the quarters of the household slaves may have been on the west wing of the structure represented by the light industrial activities of the household. The shoes associated

⁷⁴ The third century plan is only partially understood because of the major reconstruction that took place around AD 300 (R. Birley et.al. 1998, 24), but the later structure reused the earlier walls in many places. See plans in R. Birley et.al. 1998, figs. 17 and 18. There is no evidence of an upper level on the early timber structures, though this possibility cannot be discounted, particularly in mind of the substantial construction used in period 3.

with this area, however, most certainly belonged to high status individuals more in keeping with the family of the unit commander. The high quality female slipper stamped by its maker, Aebutius Thales, and a small boot with intricate fishnet uppers and studded treadsole for an individual that could probably not yet walk are undoubtedly of the most expensive type to be found at this point. The infant was fitted with a high status shoe that replicated adult fashions without regard for use or need (Figure 22).⁷⁵

There was a necessity that the rooms within a *praetorium* with a public and private purpose would have been within close proximity and sometimes would have a dual function. This reality indicates that the wife of the prefect and perhaps their children may have played some public role within the life of the military camp, a conclusion that is indicated in the writing tablets and will be explored later. In relatively close quarters such as these, and given the very central location of the *praetorium* within the central section of the fort, it would be almost impossible for the family of the prefect to remain unseen. At the very least, the presence of the wife and children of the prefect in a space that most certainly had an important military function as well as a private one, almost ensures that the presence of non-combatants within the fort itself was not anathema to its military function. Indeed, it may have fostered a situation in which the presence of women and children within military spaces was expected and hardly something of note. The presence of female slaves in the fort is also highly likely. All of this would render the regular presence of women within the fort walls, even if only for daily activities, a regular occurrence and would certainly not endanger the efficacy of the Roman army.

Footwear may also betray the evidence for other families cohabiting within the fort itself. It has not been possible to examine other period 3 structures as thoroughly as the west

⁷⁵ Driel-Murray 1993, 45.

wing of the *praetorium*, but partial buildings of the period 3 fort have been investigated with interesting results. Shoes having belonged to women and children are found sporadically throughout other structures (see Appendix 1C for footwear data). It is not possible to propose functions for these partial structures, but just as was found in period 2, the evidence indicates at least that households beyond just that of the prefect existed within the fort walls. Because of the sporadic nature of the evidence it is also more difficult to assess the site formation process of much of the material, but in many cases the slow build up of refuse is suggested by its deposition between layers of ‘lamine’, the material used for carpeting within timber structures on the site. In cases when material is brought in from outside the fort during complete reconstruction phases to create a level and strong support for new building, the stratigraphic analysis makes this clear. Other than in this unstratified situation, movement of personal items from *vicus* into the fort is less likely, and the material should more readily be associated with the fort structures, possibly from barracks or officer’s quarters.

It is only the unique artifacts associated with the *praetorium* of Period 3, visible in the archaeological record because of the anaerobic state of preservation, which certainly betray the presence of the prefect’s family. Since we can investigate the relationship between artifacts, space and family presence in the example of the Period 3 *praetorium*, it is also useful to investigate the layout of other buildings for a similar division of public and private space, potentially officer’s quarters. It is assumed that the officers of a unit, like the prefect, were legally allowed to have wives and family accompany them on duty.⁷⁶ A brief look at the officer’s quarters which were also a space conjectured to be one of potential family

⁷⁶ See above, this chapter, note 58. For further discussion of legal bans, cf. Cherry 1997, 113-16.

accommodation within the fort,⁷⁷ shows similar spatial division for public and private functions. Though not nearly as sophisticated as the *praetorium*, the division of internal space, especially in some of the larger centurial quarters, could certainly have housed family as well.

A partial plan of an auxiliary centurion's quarter located at the end of a barrack block was recovered from Period 4 at Vindolanda (ca. 105-120; Figure 23). The structure has two large, square rooms at the back with doorways opening out onto a long hallway. Parallel to the hallway is an open space, with access out of the structure. The area is not large enough to have any great deal of separation of private and public space. However, the hallway that divides the front courtyard area from the two back rooms has little function except to act as a barrier between the two spaces and to block access directly into the doorways of the two back rooms. This arrangement was seemingly a deliberate plan adopted in order to restrict access to some rooms. If the wife and children of officers were present in this space, they would have had some privacy but would have also been visible members of the community within the fort. The fort at Chesters on Hadrian's Wall is slightly later (ca. 130s) and built in stone, but the centurion's quarters also suggest a semi-private ground plan (Figure 24).⁷⁸ The main access to the building leads into a paved courtyard with direct access into another large room, perhaps with a public function. Three back rooms are less easily accessible from the front area and may represent the private area of the building. A single small room is quite concealed, with only a narrow entrance facing out onto one of the corner rooms. There is clear potential for semi-private family accommodation in the ground plan at Chesters Fort.

⁷⁷ Bidwell 1997, 55-8.

⁷⁸ Cf. Bidwell 1997, 59, for plan.

Centurion's quarters were located at the end of barrack blocks, typically facing toward the center of the fort, either onto the *via Principalis* or the *via Quintana*, between the central range of buildings and the *retentura* (back quadrant of a fort, see general fort plan, figure 19). They can also be found facing the *via Sagularis* (intervallum ring road) on the outer edge of the fort.⁷⁹ It has been shown both in auxiliary and legionary forts that there was no specific layout for officers' houses or barracks, and that different plans existed. For instance, in the legionary setting at Inchtuthil, though all tribune's and centurion's houses had a central courtyard, the arrangement and number of rooms varied.⁸⁰ That the size difference is due to rank is probable, but only in relation to overall area. For instance a greater amount of space was allotted to a tribune than a centurion, but rank did not dictate the general plan and the number of rooms within each.⁸¹ Since forts were newly built based on the requirements of an incoming garrison, it can be hypothesized that the difference in the layout of officer's quarters was a result primarily of varying needs, and perhaps social circumstances.

In any position within a fort, the centurion's quarters would have been fairly high profile, visible from access routes throughout the fort. Particularly those facing onto the *via Principalis* would have held a very central and public location. If even a few officers had their wives or children accompany them and cohabited within the fort, which is suggested by

⁷⁹ They are found at the extreme ends of the fort more often in later periods, such as the fourth century barracks at Vindolanda (Bidwell 1985, 58-72). The 2009 excavations at Vindolanda uncovered large officer's quarters at the north end of the barracks, not yet published.

⁸⁰ An unfinished legionary base in northern Scotland, dating to the AD 80s. Pitts and St. Joseph 1985, 136-41 for tribune's houses, 147-50 for centurion's. They further note in a comparison to other forts that there is no specific layout for these spaces from fortress to fortress, both legionary and auxiliary.

⁸¹ Pitts and St. Joseph 1985, 139, point out that there is often no rank differentiation in literary and epigraphic evidence of certain officers.

historical documents and quite possible based on recovered ground plans, the presence of women and children within the fort would be a regular occurrence, not something to disrupt military activity. Moreover, there is no reason to find the presence of family in every officer's accommodation, nor should we expect the domestic situation to be the same everywhere. The tendency for modern scholarship to organize building types into categories often obscures the nuances of social reality, and indeed overlooks the flexibility which must have existed in the military sphere. It is quite likely that one officer's residence may have housed a centurion his wife and their children, while another housed a single centurion without dependents. It is probable that a variety of situations was accommodated for, especially given the range of different layouts of the centurion's quarters even within the same fort.

3.7. *Women and children in the barracks of the pedites: Period 4 and beyond, ca. AD 105-120*

The evidence from the Vindolanda footwear assemblage that most challenges current paradigms of military organization is the material from the Period 4 barrack block.⁸² A timber building within the Period 4 fort has been identified as a barrack block of the regular *pedites* with a centurion's quarter at the southern end of a row of *contubernia* (Figure 25). Within the individual *contubernia* a group of shoes belonging to women and children were found clustered in specific rooms. With much of the centurion's quarter at the northern end also explored, one would have expected to find evidence for women and children in this space, given that officers were allowed to have family accompany them on duty. Only one

⁸² Prominently discussed in three articles mentioned already, van Driel-Murray 1998, 1997, 1995. These all discuss the evidence from Periods 3 and 4 at Vindolanda.

shoe, however, not certainly belonging to an adult male was found in the officer's residence. Contrary to expectation, shoes of women and children were clustered in the barrack rooms, especially 3, 4, and 6 of the western row of those investigated. There were also non-combatant shoes found in room 15, one of only two rooms excavated on the eastern side of this building.⁸³

The material assemblage from these spaces was determined to be domestic debris from those that these spaces in the latest phases of occupation from this period, dating closer to the departure of the unit in ca. 120. The fact that some shoes found represent pairs is an indication that the material was not part of fill brought in to level the area for later construction. It can be suggested that shoes within active domestic contexts more likely represent the very end of occupation, perhaps only just before the departure of the garrison. It seems unlikely that something as large as a shoe could represent casual loss that remained in a space for upwards of ten to fifteen years. Regardless, the material, just like in the Period 3 *praetorium*, is not indicative of infill from other parts of the site in order to build-up the area for subsequent building, but rather represents the final stages of domestic occupation.⁸⁴ In Room 3, three shoes of women and five belonging to either women or adolescents were found, while just outside of the room in the corridor were the shoes of a child and a female. Next door in Room 4, four female shoes were found inside the room and two outside in the corridor. In Room 6, two children's and one woman's shoe were found, while in one of only two rooms investigated on the eastern side four female, three female/adolescent and one

⁸³ The lack of shoes in the centurion's quarters does not necessarily indicate the lack of family presence.

⁸⁴ Driel-Murray 1998, 347.

child's shoe remained. Rooms 1, 2, and 7 had no shoes belonging to women or children, while room 5 had only one of a female or adolescent.

All together of the nine rooms excavated, each of which is traditionally seen as having housed eight men, fifteen shoes belonged to women, nine belonged to either women or adolescents, and four were children's shoes. Driel-Murray suggested that there were pairs in this group; therefore in four cases the same individual is represented by two shoes.⁸⁵ Thus, there is evidence for roughly twenty individuals that were female, adolescent or child, clustered for the most part in and directly outside of four rooms of the barrack block. The rooms in the barracks are traditionally assumed to have housed eight soldiers. To suggest that some of these spaces were reserved for cohabiting families is still within the range of acceptable space available, but requires a shift in our thinking about military spaces. The clusters of shoes in a few rooms is very suggestive of spaces being set aside specifically for cohabitation of soldiers and their family members.⁸⁶

The implications of this evidence is that the traditional image that we have of the brotherly group of eight soldiers living and cooking together in a *contubernium* cannot stand, at least in all cases. That being said, even if these shoes only represented slaves,⁸⁷ we still need to accommodate and understand these individuals, and if space needs to be found within the barracks there is still an issue with the traditional eight-man blocks for soldiers. Given the evidence discussed above placing the family of the prefect most certainly within the fort in

⁸⁵ Driel-Murray 1998, 356. This conclusion applies also to male shoes from the structure, and was only found for a few non-adult male examples.

⁸⁶ Cf. Hassall 1999, 36, and *passim* for a brief overview of married quarters generally in the military sphere.

⁸⁷ We can assume that the soldiers' slaves would have been male and female. See Speidel 1989, and below for further discussion of slaves in the military community; however, as argued below in following chapters, documentary evidence supports the identification of many women in the military sphere as *de facto* wives and children of soldiers.

the *praetorium* in period 3, and possibly also within some officer's quarters, why could there not also have been women and children living within at least some barracks? This conclusion would also throw off calculations of unit type and size based on the space available within a fort. However, to suggest that at least some spaces within a fort could house families would solve one problem in certain forts in which there seems to be too many barracks based on the unit present. Perhaps in these cases something like married quarters were provided.

This is not to say that space needs to be found for families within every barrack block at every fort, or even at Vindolanda for that matter. Certain areas may have been reserved for this practice, such as married quarters, as have been proposed for other times and places.⁸⁸ The clustering of shoes belonging to women and children in specific rooms of the Vindolanda Period 4 barrack, while other rooms had only male shoes if any, could be interpreted as specific spaces set aside for family occupation.⁸⁹ Given the probable presence of other females and children within the fort, such as officers' wives and families, it can hardly have been anathema to the daily function of the camp as a military installation in its primary role. The families living within this space would surely have been accustomed to a military life. In several cases it is probable that individuals were born and raised in and around the camp and then remained in this setting either by joining the ranks themselves or, for women, by marrying another soldier, perhaps a comrade of her father or brother.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ The possibility that married quarters existed has been widely debated. Hassall (1999, 35-40) suggests logically that perhaps if we can see even some of the fourth century *chalet* type barracks for families, that this practice could have occurred far earlier (Newstead barracks seem to have this style barrack in the second century, Hassall 1999, 37; cf. Curle 1911, 38). He also points out that barracks were used to house veterans when decommissioned forts were turned into veteran settlements, suggesting that the size of the space was suitable for a family (Hassall 1999, 37-9).

⁸⁹ Also briefly suggested by Driel-Murray 1997, 60; cf. Driel-Murray 1998, 357.

⁹⁰ Military diplomas clearly suggest this scenario and others indicating institutional endogamy. Several indicate this practice within the military, and a provocative case of two diplomas found in the same house in Lussonium

The evidence from the barrack block brought to light by Driel-Murray almost two decades ago can now be augmented by the distribution of footwear in other Period 4 timber buildings (Figure 26 for plan of all period 4 structures excavated). A building interpreted by the excavators potentially as a *schola*,⁹¹ or officer's mess hall, also yielded shoes of women and children (for individual footwear data, see Appendix 1D). The building is long and narrow with a corridor running along much of the eastern side of the structure, except at the northern end of the building where two rooms extend the full width (Figure 27). There is a slight terrace wall with room 8 located to the west, but still part of the same structure. One shoe of a female or adolescent was found in rooms 2 and 3, together with male shoes (see Figure 27 for plotted footwear finds). Room 7 had a female shoe and one of female or adolescent identification. In the corridor a child's shoe was found with several male shoes. Room 8 had the greatest concentration of footwear with four shoes having belonged to a female or adolescent and four shoes worn by men. The space between rooms 1, 2, 3, 4 and room 8 also had several shoes of women and children associated with these spaces, though their placement was a bit more difficult to understand. In total only thirteen shoes, 46% of the total, could be identified with adult male individuals. Female or adolescent shoes were 39% and children 14% of the total shoes found (see chart, Appendix 1D).

This structure was destroyed by a localized fire that did not spread to adjacent buildings, and the material within was interpreted as the remains of daily activity in the structure at the point of destruction. The presence of footwear belonging to women and

suggest that one soldier married the sister of his comrade. See below Chapter five for full discussion,. Cf. Phang 2001, 224-8, with greater focus on actual brothers and sisters marrying; cf. Pollard 1996, 219-20.

⁹¹ The building had several food preparation and storage areas and a lack of personal domestic items. A. Birley and Blake 2003, 20-35, for full report.

children is a bit more difficult to evaluate in this space, as it cannot be readily associated with a known domestic area, and ownership of these shoes can only be hypothesized. The structure's identification as a *schola* is a possibility, based on the room configuration and abundance of cooking fires and drinking vessels, but cannot be shown with certainty. If the structure is in fact a *schola* it is tempting to assign these shoes to individuals working within this structure, either slaves or servants. It is well-known that slaves were maintained by serving soldiers, even the lowest ranking auxiliary *pedites* and especially the horsemen of the auxiliary *alae*.⁹² Slaves and servants were an active part of the military environment, in stationary garrisons and also while armies were on the march.⁹³ It is unclear whether such individuals would have lived permanently within this Period 4 building, but the casual loss of footwear suggests a domestic space, rather than one that was visited for the purpose of daily

⁹² P. Dura 100=Fink 1971, No. 1, the rations for horsemen are doubled, presumably for the servants, while there is no allowance for the footsoldiers, suggesting they paid their servants out of their own pocket. Cf. Speidel 1989, 241-2. Marichal 1979, No. 495 (cf. Jahn, 1983, 221) has the soldier's pay withheld 60 *denarii* for his slave's food (*solvit tess(eras) baronum LX*). Also note, Sall. *Iug.* 44.5, when discussing the *lixae* as soldiers' servants: ...*praeterea frumentum publice datum vendere, panem in dies mercari*. For slaves accompanying *pedites*, see Rouland 1975, 32, but for argument that imperial army discouraged the practice, see Roth 1999, 103-4.

⁹³ Tac. *Hist.* 2.87.1, discusses the army with Vitellius marching on Rome: *sexaginta milia armatorum sequebantur, licentia corrupta; calorum numerus amplior, procacissimis inter servos lixarum ingeniis*; Tac. *Hist.* 3.33.1 discusses the Flavian army at Cremona: *Quadraginta armatorum milia inrupere, calorum lixarumque amplior numerus*; Veg. *Epit.* 3.6.13 describes the best marching order: *impedimenta sagmarum calones vehiculae in medio collocantur*; Hyginus *De munitionibus castrorum* (5 and 30) suggest a legion would have 533 *vexillarii* with them. Speidel (1989, 239-47) calculates that would be one slave per 10 legionary soldiers (for Hyginus' *vexillarii* as servants in the train also see: Welwei 1988, 83; Rouland 1975, 37. For alternative reading that he means the more common term of vexillation of legionary soldiers, see Roth 1999, 114-5, esp. note 329). Jos. *BJ* 3.125, suggests that the legion was followed by its own servants with baggage: τὸ δ' οἰκετικὸν ἐκάστου τάγματος ἅπαν τοῖς πεζοῖς εἶπετο, τὰς ἀποσκευὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀρεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἄγοντες (Behind the infantry the servants attached to each legion followed in a body, conducting the mules and other beasts of burden which carried the soldiers' kit). At 5.49, he states that they were first followed by baggage and then servants: τὸ δ' οἰκετικὸν ἐκάστου τάγματος ὀπίσω καὶ πρὸ τούτων τὰ σκευφόρα (The servants attached to each legion followed in a body, preceded by the baggage-train). Text and trans. from Thackeray 1967. As early as Polybius we hear of grooms accompanying cavalry (6.40.7: οἱ δ' ἵππεῖς ποτὲ μὲν ἀπουραγοῦσι τοῖς αὐτῶν ἑκάστοι μέρεσι...). Cf. Welwei 1988, 81; Roth 1999, 91-110. For further discussion and extensive ancient sources, see MacMullen 1984, 444-5, note 27.

work.⁹⁴ It is possible that these individuals represent the servants that would surely have been a necessary part of the function of the *schola* as an individual space for officers to socialize. Other possible structures within would also have required slaves to be present within the fort, such as the households of officers. The presence of children's shoes suggests larger groups or even families working or living within this structure.⁹⁵

Slaves and servants, though very likely a large part of the population of any military fort, need not have been the owner of every shoe or artifact that belonged to a female or child within the fort. There is as much literary evidence suggesting the habitation of women and children in the military environment as there is for the presence of slaves; however, we do not question the presence of slaves. Also provocative is that slaves were often brought from the household of the soldier.⁹⁶ In conjunction with the wives that often originated from the same tribe as the soldier as seen on diplomas and with further consideration of epigraphic sources that name mothers, mothers-in-law, and sisters, a salient picture emerges of at least some soldiers bringing much of their household into the military community. These

⁹⁴ The domestic arrangements for servants within a fort has been debated. Welwei 1988, 111-2, discusses the cavalry servants dwelling in the stables themselves, but does not discuss domestic arrangements for the servants of the foot soldiers. For the legionary fort and the rider sleeping with the horse in the *tabernae* of the *retentura* of the fort, cf. Petrikovits 1975, 50-4, 58 (Wells 1977, 659-60 contradicts this idea since there are several forts that do not have such *tabernae*). The archaeological evidence for stables is now clear enough to look at the possible arrangement of cavalry barracks (Hodgson and Bidwell 2004, 122-3) (*contra* Wells 1977, 659-65, should now be understood as outdated with regards to more recent evidence). A duty roster of the *legio* III *Cyrenaica* of AD 90-96 (*P.Gen.Lat.* I, verso, part V=Fink 1971, No. 9) has a soldier performing duty at the *g«alea»riato*, which Vegetius associates with *lixq* (1.10.4: *vel lixas, quos galliarios vocant*) or *calo* (3.6.19: *ex ipsis calonibus, quos galiarios vocant*) (cf. Fink 1971, 112, note 4k). Speidel (1989, 245, note 30) suggests the reference to a *galeariato* might mean an official organization having to do with housing or training of the legions' servants. On *galearius* as a military servant also see, Roth 1999, 108; cf. MacMullen 1984, 444 (*contra* Petrikovits 1975, 58, who suggests the *galiarii* are helmeted drovers.)

⁹⁵ Nothing in the sources suggests to what extent personal slaves of the soldiers would have been used in the collective military setting. Cf. Walwei 1988, 179 for discussion.

⁹⁶ *Digest* 49.17.6. cf. Speidel 1989, 245-6; Welwei 1988, 104.

accompanying members of a soldier's family unit were surely living in the military community, and in many cases they may have lived within the fort walls.

A definite identification of the ownership of the Period 4 shoes in the *schola* is not possible, but this evidence confirms the presence of women and children in yet another internal fort space at this time. This material strengthens the overarching consensus that the fort itself was not an exclusively male domain. The presence of non-combatants within the fort walls, whether wives and children or the slaves of soldiers, is not likely to have disrupted daily military activity. The probable presence of slaves, who would likely have been both males and females of various ages, only strengthens the image of a mixed population within the fort walls.⁹⁷

The last two buildings of Period 4 brought to bear in this investigation are located to the west of the *schola* and the barracks, along the *via Principalis* of the Period 4 fort.⁹⁸ Building 1 had several small rooms organized around a central courtyard area with two corridors giving access to side rooms (Figure 28) (for individual footwear data, see Appendix 1D, Nos. 29-42).⁹⁹ The function of Building 1 has not been determined, but preliminary work identified it as a hospital, based on comparisons of its layout to other known *valetudinaria* in military contexts.¹⁰⁰ The lack of artifacts, other than leather scraps and shoes, found on the floor surfaces and the general cleanliness of the entire structure was suggestive of a non-

⁹⁷ The Byzantine author Mauricius (Pseudo-Maurice) (5.1) (see Dennis 1984) writing ca. AD 600 suggests that servants in the baggage train were sometimes related to the soldiers. Cf. Speidel 1989, 246, note 35.

⁹⁸ For full report see A. Birley and Blake 2005. In these two structures Period 5 is considered with Period 4, identified as slight modifications of some Period 4 structures. In this area, the two were nearly impossible to differentiate between them because of the later demolition and subsequent construction. The material in the structures was on the latest floor phases and represents either the latest phases of Period 4, as is also most likely for the other Period 4 structures such as the barrack block, and should be dated to around the period of AD 120.

⁹⁹ For plan, see A. Birley and Blake 2005, 29.

¹⁰⁰ A. Birley and Blake 2005, 28-30.

domestic space. However, the layout with a central courtyard and rooms surrounding is also reminiscent of an officer's quarters, perhaps a centurion. A definite identification will have to await further excavation of surrounding spaces.

Out of the fourteen shoes found in this building of measurable size only five belonged to men (36%), seven to a female or adolescent (50%) and two were for a child (14%) (see chart, Appendix 1D). All of those worn by male individuals were found in the central courtyard area (Room 11, see plan figure 28), together with five shoes categorized as female or adolescent and one child's shoe. Room 6 had a single child's shoe, while room 13 had a female and one female/adolescent shoe. The fact that so many shoes clustered in the central courtyard area may indicate that this space was used for collection and organization of the household. The footwear was found mostly in clean laminate layers lying directly on top of the floor surfaces, which indicates that they were not part of general fill brought in for subsequent construction after occupation ceased. If this does represent another household within the fort, the range of shoe sizes indicates probably one small child and one female individual. There would probably have been at least one, possibly two others in the female or adolescent range, in addition to one or two fully grown males. This distribution indicates a single household or the equivalent of slaves or staff working in the structure.

The distribution pattern of female and children's shoes in Building 2 is illuminating for a consideration of *loci* of non-male activity within specific structures (for individual footwear data, see Appendix 1D, Nos. 43-66). The building was only partially excavated and five rooms were explored: A complete corridor (Room 5), large areas of another corridor perpendicular to it (Room 2), and extensive parts of three large open rooms within the

structure (Rooms 1, 3, and 4) (Figure 29).¹⁰¹ The tentative identification of the building based on its location within the fort is that of barracks. Given the size and configuration of the rooms excavated it may have been the centurion's quarters located at the end of the barrack facing onto the main road. There were twenty-three shoes found in this structure from which a size determination could be reached, of which fifteen are suggestive of adult male occupancy. The shoes of women and children cluster for the most part in Room 4, with two shoes of a female, one child and two of either a female or adolescent, together with five male shoes. Shoes belonging to males predominated in room 3 (9 total) with a single shoe each of a female and child, and room 2 had a single female or adolescent and one male shoe.

The distribution of footwear in this building is associated with domestic debris, found mostly within layers of flooring and laminate. The even dispersal of footwear throughout three rooms also indicates that this was not a collection area, and points more toward standard domestic build-up through occupation. The shoes of male individuals certainly dominate here, with a total of fifteen out of twenty-three. The six shoes from this structure belonging to women or adolescents are between 19 and 22cm, and probably represent two individuals at the least. There are no very small children represented in this sample, with the smallest shoe 18cm in length. Whether this represents the family of an officer or household slaves is unclear and cannot be determined with certainty. At the least this material indicates another discreet space within the fort that likely had women and children associated with it. This evidence might signify another household of an officer, or even possibly further evidence of habitation of women and children within barracks. If more of the structure were excavated the evaluation could be more certain.

¹⁰¹ A. Birley and Blake 2005, 33, for plan, 33-4 for discussion.

Independently Buildings 1 and 2 do not present overwhelming evidence. However, in conjunction with the significant number of non-adult male shoes from Period 4 that were found throughout excavated areas a stronger case presents itself. The evidence supports the conclusion that the first quarter of the second century is an important period in the investigation of women and children in the military sphere. The overwhelming evidence of non-combatants in the Period 4 fort—footwear belonging to women and children found in every building so far excavated—deserves further comment. This period of occupation begins in ca. AD 105 with the return of *cohors I Tungrorum* to Vindolanda, and by the end of their occupation the region was the staging ground for native rebellions and the upcoming construction of Hadrian's Wall. The finds assemblage from the floors, and especially the bulky footwear, dates to the last years of occupation, closer to ca. AD 120. The length of occupation, almost double that of the previous three garrisons at the site, suggests a more settled situation for the soldiers at this time and may explain the greater amount of evidence for non-combatants. This evidence coincides well with the pattern of military diplomas, which show a distinct rise in soldiers seeking grants for specific family members starting in ca. AD 105.¹⁰² The early second century appears to be an important time for the rigorous investigation of the roles of family in the military community and in the lives of soldiers.

At the same time, archaeological evidence for settlement in the military community from the very earliest periods of frontier consolidation is strong and rather provocative. The material found in the short-lived ditches of the first fort suggests that at the very least the family of the prefect and perhaps other officers accompanied soldiers into the military community at times when the political situation was not entirely settled. A frontier region at

¹⁰² See below, Chapter 5. From AD 54 to 203, 43% of the total corpus name some form of family in the document. From 105-140 this number rises to 70%.

the best of times will have been somewhat volatile with the potential of violence always present. This frontier would probably have been somewhat unstable only a decade after consolidation of the northwestern corner of the empire. This evidence is all the more provocative because it is contrary to our current understanding of the settlement of the Roman army on the frontiers. We continue to work with the idea that only later in the second century when the Roman military was more of an occupying power rather than a conquering force, did soldiers settle down and tend to marry and start families. The military diplomas record this tendency, but they show high numbers of married soldiers quite a bit earlier in the second century than is typically thought, as well as already in the first century. Inscriptions on stone suggest that soldiers rarely married in the first century, and only in the second and third centuries did they begin to settle and have a family.¹⁰³

The late second and early third centuries are also interesting at Vindolanda from this perspective of volatile frontiers and the lack of consideration of non-combatant occupation during periods of hostility. Period 6b at Vindolanda dates to the early third century during Severus' campaigns in northern Britain from AD 208-211. It is a small fort with an atypical layout and had a very short period of occupation. The ditches and structural foundations were completely sealed by the construction of the third century fort and *vicus* in AD 213.¹⁰⁴ The primary feature of this fort is its massive rampart and fort ditch, suggesting that defense was a priority, which might be expected in this volatile period on the northern frontier. The interior of the fort is also atypical, consisting of only a *praetorium*, barrack blocks, and

¹⁰³ Phang 2002a, 873.

¹⁰⁴ The construction of this fort is dated to AD 213 by a building inscription with the *tribunicia potestas* of Caracalla. *RIB* 1704.

workshops that were used for heavy ironwork (Figure 7). There were no granaries nor a *principia* associated with this building phase.

All of these features support the interpretation that the fort was built for a small fighting unit that resided in a hostile landscape, which is in turn in keeping with what we know historically of the campaigns of Severus in the early third century.¹⁰⁵ At the same time the ditch associated with this period has produced countless shoes, a large proportion of which belonged to women or children.¹⁰⁶ The early third century is after the point at which soldiers were legally allowed to cohabit with women, which makes these data somewhat less provocative. It is still interesting to see such a large amount of evidence for women and children in this settlement period so shortly after the policy change. It can surely be seen as a reflection of the growth of the non-combatant population throughout the previous century-and-a-half, rather than a direct result of the policy change by Severus in AD 197. The most provocative element of this material is that the period of occupation seems by all other evidence to be unusual and short, and possibly volatile, a context which we do not readily associate with the presence of a significant non-combatant population.

3.8 Conclusion

It has been shown in this chapter that evidence for at least some families, and perhaps also household slaves, predominates in most areas of the early forts so far explored at

¹⁰⁵ This is also the only phase on site in which human remains have been found within the settlement area. A skull was found that showed signs consistent with having met a violent death (Loe 2003, 233). The skull also shows signs of having been mounted on a pole from the outside into the inner skull (Loe 2003, 230). The lower mandible was missing also indicating display when the lower portion rotted away. The analysis was that this skull represents the head of an enemy that became a trophy displayed on the top of the rampart and eventually rotted and fell away into the ditch. For full report, see Loe 2003, 213-49.

¹⁰⁶ Total numbers cannot be determined at this time because many are still being processed from the recent excavation of large areas of this ditch.

Vindolanda. The presence of the family of the prefect and possibly other high ranking officers is very clear in the archaeological record. The material presented from the barracks and elsewhere within the period 2-4 forts other than the *praetorium*, however, offers the conclusion that others cohabited with women and children within the fort, even the lowest ranking foot soldiers. Other buildings investigated more recently at Vindolanda also support that women and children were present within the fort walls, and surely these families were a visible part of daily life.¹⁰⁷

The presence of some families within the defenses, however, does not deny the fort its primary function as a military domain. There was certainly a compromise; one that drifted between fort and extramural settlement, between military and civilian activity, and we should see all spaces of the community of the Roman army in a negotiation between military and civilian activity, but with both possibilities in all spaces. We should see the space outside the fort walls, such as temples, bathhouses and parade grounds, as equally important to a military function of the site, and we cannot see the distinction between the two areas as absolute.¹⁰⁸ Viewed in this way, the fort and extramural settlement become two parts of a single community neither of which can be understood in isolation.

The archaeological assemblage from Vindolanda is the most diagnostic evidence for the presence of women and children within the military environment. Vindolanda also offers

¹⁰⁷ The tablets will be discussed in detail below in Chapter 6. It is clear from *Tab. Vindol.* II 292 (Bowman and Thomas 1994, 259-62) that the wives of prefects were visible and had at least some freedom. The translation of the letter reads: "... greetings. Just as I had spoken with you, sister, and promised that I would ask Brocchus and would come to you, I asked him and he gave me the following reply, that it was always readily (?) permitted to me, together with ... to come to you in whatever way I can. . ."

¹⁰⁸ Unfortunately, the extramural settlements of these early periods, if they did indeed exist, are not present in the archaeological record. They have either been obliterated by subsequent building on the site, a likelihood at Vindolanda because of the palimpsest of archaeological layers, or they never existed at all, suggesting that all non-combatant activity on site was located inside the fort walls.

the possibility to analyze social function of specific spaces and therefore, the impact that non-combatant individuals may have had on the social structure of the settlement. The most salient conclusions from this evidence are that the family of the prefect most certainly resided within the fort walls at Vindolanda and most likely at other forts. This conclusion may also be true for the families of lower rank soldiers as well. This investigation of women and children living at Vindolanda leaves us with a very strong image of a significant number of these individuals living within this military settlement.

At the same time the archaeological evidence from Vindolanda still leaves two considerable issues to tackle. For the most part the artifacts that reveal the presence of women and children have little ability to reveal more specifically the identity of their owner. An individual shoe cannot reveal whether it was owned by a wife, a slave, or otherwise, except in cases such as the clearly expensive shoe with the craftsman's mark of Aebutius Thales. Having been found in the *praetorium* of Period 3, this is a lucid indication of upper class status and that it most likely belonged to a family member of the prefect. Therefore, for an indication of the identity of the women and children that lived within military communities other data such as the epigraphic record and writing tablets must be considered. From the documentary evidence, examined in depth in Chapters 5 and 6, an image of stable family life within the military sphere is found in contrast to the more common picture of a straggling bunch of camp followers attached to a military garrison. In light of this knowledge of communities with sophisticated social structures we can interpret much of the footwear evidence as likely representatives of families such as those found in the documentary evidence.

Another issue is that currently the evidence from Vindolanda stands alone as the only assemblage of its comprehensive size and nature in the Roman empire. The huge number of leather shoes and other organic artifacts, in conjunction with the large corpus of writing tablets that give serious insight into the community's social structure, leaves the site in a category of its own. It may be possible, however, to investigate other sites in the area in order to contextualize Vindolanda within its military landscape of northern Britain and more generally in the northwestern empire. Small pieces of information from other sites come together to inform a broader picture. From Vindolanda alone our understanding of the population of a military fort has shifted from one that included only a few women and children, sometimes interpreted as prostitutes and slaves, to an understanding that a significant number of women and children comprised the military community. The need to use a combination of sources is very clear from Vindolanda, where the archaeological evidence provides an earlier date for family presence than can be discovered from the epigraphic record. Considering all sources, it seems that the beginning of the second century was a significant time for shifting practices in the military, but that this was probably part of an evolution of the military community that was continuously taking place.

CHAPTER 4:

WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN MILITARY COMMUNITIES AND THE NATURE OF EXTRAMURAL OCCUPATION IN BRITAIN AND GERMANY

4.1. *Introduction*

The site of Vindolanda provides us with one of the most comprehensive assemblages of material from any military site in the empire. The extensive levels of occupational material and anaerobic preservation in the early settlement layers, provide an inclusive dataset relevant to the daily lives of the inhabitants of the fort. It has, however, been difficult to compare the finds assemblages from Vindolanda to other sites and some scholars have asked whether Vindolanda was an unusual site in antiquity, or if it can be considered representative of the norm for military sites, at least in the northwest empire. No other site has a large enough assemblage of footwear to allow a similar demographic analysis, nor is there such an extensive record of daily correspondence of military affairs and personal lives of non-combatants in a military setting.¹

In order to answer the question of the distinctiveness of Vindolanda, the site must be investigated within the context of the military landscape on the northern frontier of Britain and against the backdrop of the frontiers of northwest Europe generally. It is the purpose of this chapter to present some comparable material from other military landscapes on the

¹ The Vindolanda tablets are discussed in greater detail below in Chapter 6. Egyptian papyri can be used to some extent for comparison to the tablets and will be cited where appropriate. For women's letters in Egypt, see Bagnall and Cribiore 2006; Kutzner 1989.

frontiers of Britain and Germany and to look at the nature of non-combatant occupation in these areas. The British evidence will help to contextualize the extraordinary assemblage at Vindolanda, and give a broader picture of families on the frontier and in the military zones of the province as a whole from the last quarter of the first century into the second.

When looking for comparable military landscapes outside of Britain, it is best to turn to the frontiers of the two Germanies and Raetia, much of which are now in modern Germany and the Netherlands. These frontiers were guarded primarily by auxiliaries as was Britain's northern frontier,² and faced directly onto non-Roman territories, keeping watch on the very edge of the empire (See map, Figure 34). Many of the forts in the Germanies and Raetia were established far earlier than the British frontier and provide evidence for families living in the military setting early in the first century AD, soon after Augustus initially issued the marriage ban for soldiers.

This chapter first presents the evidence from military sites in Britain, specifically from the forts along the Stanegate frontier and its hinterland, as well as from the mid-second century Antonine frontier further north. It will review previous work in this area, primarily the publications of Allason-Jones and Driel-Murray, in order to gain broader perspective on the state of research about women and children in this region, and highlight the needs for further research. Vindolanda is contextualized into its extensive military landscape during the late-first and early-second centuries through comparisons at contemporary Stanegate forts at Carlisle and Corbridge, and the Flavian fort north of Hadrian's Wall at Newstead. The Antonine Wall fort at Bar Hill is considered because of its placement on a short-lived frontier

² The nearest legionary fort was located at Nijmegen, to the south and further inland near the confluence of the Rhine and the Waal River. Xanten (*Vetera* I), Neuss and Cologne are located further inland on the West bank of the Rhine.

of the mid-second century. Close examination of these sites will be contextualized with a broad examination of the military landscape generally in northern Britain.

It is shown that female occupation at Vindolanda should not be considered unusual within the context of the British frontier and that this image of life here can be compared to the less complete assemblages of material elsewhere. There is nothing about the fort of Vindolanda in the Roman period that suggests it had a unique type of occupation that allowed the presence of women and children only in this single military installation. Rather, in light of evidence from elsewhere in northern Britain, it should be viewed as a representative example of the population of an auxiliary fort in the first two centuries of the principate. This section concludes that women and families were present from the earliest periods of frontier garrisoning and at times when unstable conditions prevailed.

Evidence from the German frontier will be considered, which makes it clear that a significant non-combatant population was present at many forts in the western empire from the earliest stages of military occupation. From a review of the work done in the last decade on the evidence for women and children in the archaeological assemblages of forts in Germany, it is clear that a reassessment of the presence of family life is in order. The work done by Allison on three forts in Germany will be critically assessed and contextualized with investigations at other sites on these same frontiers.³ Allison's artifact analysis will be critically assessed in association with the problems inherent in linking artifact with a particular gendered user. Some caveats will be put forward for the interpretation of artifacts in an auxiliary context and their association with individual identification. The German evidence brings into sharp focus the need to understand the context of forts individually as well as within their broader military landscape. A holistic view of an entire landscape allows

³ The legionary fort at *Vetera* I and auxiliary forts at Oberstimm and Ellingen. Allison 2006, 2007, 2008.

a comprehensive understanding of the non-combatant population. Close investigations elsewhere support the conclusion that there was a need for settlements outside forts to support a significant non-soldierly population from the early-to-mid-first century onward. It is clear that women and children were a part of these settlements from the Claudian period onward.

The Upper Danubian Raetian *Limes* is used to show the diachronic development of the accommodation of a non-combatant population in this expanding frontier region in the first century. This area is of particular interest for its ability to illuminate a diachronic picture of non-combatant settlement. Shifting patterns are seen through the continual movement north from the Augustan-Tiberian advance into the *Voralpenland*, to the Claudian fortification of the Upper-Danubian frontier in Raetia in the 40-50s AD, and finally north of the Danube in the first half of the second century. These regions are used to form an overarching picture of non-combatant settlement in a broad military landscape and are supported by close analysis of specific forts.

For a comparison with an early frontier fortification the Lower Rhine frontier in Germania Inferior will also be investigated. The forts along the northernmost frontier of the German province provide excellent evidence, particularly footwear, with which to investigate the non-combatant presence. Valkenburg, the fort furthest west on the Rhine, provides the most comprehensive evidence for women and children in the early phases of consolidation. As in Britain, the extensive settlement of non-combatant individuals in military communities should be considered an important characteristic of these settlements, particularly from the beginning of military occupation in these regions, when the presence of families is not currently expected. It appears that the presence of families grew in this area throughout the

first century. This chapter concludes that the most provocative evidence for the presence of women and children in the military environment emerges from forts during periods which scholars have in the past considered unsettled. Because of the volatile nature of early military occupation forts were considered less likely to have any non-combatants present. This paradigm, however, is becoming less viable and a non-combatant population needs to be considered in all periods of military movement during the principate.

4.2. *Methodological considerations*

Since the intense focus on whether women and children were housed inside or outside the fort has obscured the more fundamental examination of the nature of military communities, this chapter will examine the nature of intra- and extra-mural occupation at sites on the British and German frontiers. The military community extends from inside the fort itself to the community living outside, and the fort walls should not be seen as a major divide between these two groups.⁴ A comprehensive picture is achieved only by looking at whole frontier regions and specific forts within that broader context. To that end, the aim will be at a broader analysis of the military landscapes on the British and German frontiers in order to gain a better understanding of non-combatant settlement in the military environment through the first and second centuries.

This approach will also allow inclusion of material from certain sites that have been discarded as useless in previous discussions about families and the Roman army because of their difficulty of placing women and children definitively inside or outside the fort walls. This allows inclusion of forts that were excavated before standard modern archaeological techniques recorded the exact findspots of individual artifacts, as well as sites in which most

⁴ See Birley 2010, PhD thesis, Leicester University. Cf. James 2001, 77-89.

of the finds were deposited in communal spaces such as fort ditches or pits that may have been accessed in antiquity by individuals from any area of the site. In some cases, however, exclusion of these sites misses the forest for the trees. An example is the Period 1 ditch material from Vindolanda discussed in Chapter 3. When considered against the historical background of frontier occupation any shoes of women and children associated with this early period is provocative. It is still possible to use these sites in a useful and meaningful way when the overall nature of occupation is otherwise interesting, such as the short period of settlement on the Antonine Wall. Such places can sometimes be even more enlightening than settlements that have a long period of occupation with several different phases.

A methodological issue at play here is what has been termed recently, the biography of artifacts.⁵ The complete life cycle of an artifact cannot always be assessed with absolute certainty. An attempt is made to understand the general character of archaeological deposits, such as domestic debris in its original sphere of use or a collected rubbish midden. However, the possibility of an alternative explanation often lies behind the presumed understanding of the formation of the archaeological record. This is not to say that one should throw out the baby with the bathwater. An assemblage must be interrogated to its greatest potential in order to reveal the use of space and when possible its social function. Using a more inclusive definition of the military community, one which is logical given the extremely close proximity of most extramural settlements to military forts, mitigates many of these methodological problems. If the military community is defined holistically as a settlement that had freedom of movement between the fort and vicus, then a material assemblage as a whole may be assessed and used to define the inhabitants of an occupation period. In many

⁵ See Kopytoff 2001, 9-33.

cases material remains are interpreted confidently as the debris left behind from the final stages of occupation in a building, as in the Period 4 barracks at Vindolanda. If such certainty cannot be attained, the assemblage should be approached from a different angle in order to extract relevance from an entire assemblage where possible.

For example, the site of Bar Hill will be investigated here with an eye towards the overarching evidence for the presence of women and children in the context of the short occupation at this fort and on the Antonine Wall in general. The Bar Hill evidence can be difficult because it was excavated in the late nineteenth century.⁶ The lack of modern recording disallows a detailed contextual analysis of depositional patterns, but when the assemblage as a whole is placed against the backdrop of the overall nature of the site's occupation, the evidence is intriguing. The brief occupation of the Antonine Wall in the mid-second century was an unsettled period when the frontier of the Roman Empire was pushed north beyond the line of Hadrian's Wall. The occupation of this mural frontier only lasted around twenty years before the frontier returned to the line of Hadrian's Wall, suggesting that complete control was not attained and occupation may never have been entirely settled. This was a short period of occupation that some would traditionally suggest was not sufficient to establish a settled existence, especially during the initial period of entrenchment in a volatile landscape. However, even here there is significant evidence for the presence of women and children in extensively excavated sites such as Bar Hill. Though precise depositional patterns within the fort and extramural settlement cannot be analyzed, it is intriguing that a sizeable community which included substantial numbers of women and children was established.

⁶ Macdonald, et al. 1906; now see Robertson et.al. 1975.

Another major methodological issue at hand is the gender attributions of artifacts, which was discussed generally in the introduction of this dissertation. This chapter provides a critical assessment of Allison's work that interrogates artifact patterns within military forts on the German frontier in order to elucidate the role women played in the camp. Allison's investigation is primarily a study of depositional patterns of artifacts within the fort walls. She places each type of artifact on a scale of the potential owner in antiquity, from certainly female to certainly male, with various categories in between to account for probable ownership by women, men and children. Two major methodological objections have been lodged to this approach, which have been brought to bear in several conferences, but not satisfactorily published.

The first relates to site formation processes and the excavation strategies used when the material was collected. It has been suggested that some material related to the presence of women and children may have been collected and dumped within certain spaces in the fort when the garrison departed.⁷ This practice would remove artifacts from their original context of use and render them useless for a study of social space and behavior. Certainly the procedure of gathering belongings together before a unit departs a fort is not difficult to imagine. Nevertheless, the archaeological context should make this clear. Moreover, it is not logical to suppose that artifacts were moved into the fort if the population of the fort and settlement were not intimately related. This conclusion is especially circular when it is used to promulgate the idea that women and children were not to be found within the fort walls or in the military environment generally. Why would women, or perhaps only their belongings, move into the so-called strictly military space in order to be organized and gathered before a

⁷ Allison 2007, 390-1; in the context of Vindolanda material, see Driel-Murray 1995, 8; Driel-Murray 1997, 57.

move, especially if these individuals supposedly had little to do with the military on the site? This line of reasoning is illogical and circular, and cannot be sustained.

The collection and recording strategy used on some sites has also been questioned in relation to Allison's study.⁸ Arguments have suggested that pre-modern excavation divorced artifacts from their original depositional location. It is clear in many cases, especially excavations before the 1980s that finds within the fort walls that would indicate the presence of women within the fort were instead recorded as 'intrusive' material. That is to say that these artifacts found their way into the fort by some other means than actual female occupation. To some extent the interpretation of artifacts betraying the presence of women and children in the fort as stray finds is self-fulfilling.⁹ Because of the long-held belief that women were simply not to be found within the fort, interpretations that promulgated this belief were favored. In an article in 1997 Driel-Murray discusses what she calls "ridiculous attempts" to explain away small shoes in a report from the Bonner Berg in the early 1980s because of the refusal to believe that women and children could be found in military spaces.¹⁰ Even now the methodological problem inherent in ascribing gendered associations to artifacts has made it too easy for excavators and researchers to ignore evidence that could indicate female presence within a military context.¹¹ In much the same way inscriptions that mention the wives of active soldiers were, as a rule, dated to the third century, after cohabitation was allowed by Septimius Severus. It is no surprise, therefore, that explanations

⁸ The most serious objection leveled at Allison's study concerns the lack of specific find context of artifacts at *Vetera* I. Since I will not be dealing with the legionary material these issues are not discussed in detail here.

⁹ Allison (2008, 127) has noted that at Ellingen the context with the highest reported female related artifacts was in the stray finds category.

¹⁰ Driel-Murray 1997, 60. For the Bonner Berg report, see Driel-Murray and Gechter 1983.

¹¹ Cf. Allison 2006, 6.

were sought to dismiss the presence of women and children within a military installation. The easiest justification for dismissing this material is that it lay there as a result of some action other than female occupation.

This dissertation seeks to rectify these problems by considering whole assemblages that represent distinct periods of occupation, and understanding this material within a broader context of non-combatant presence in the military landscape. As was argued above, cases that suggest the material has been moved from its original context of use can still be used in a worthwhile way, particularly if it has remained in a chronological sequence. Any stratified assemblage can broaden our understanding of an overall period and the general presence of women and children in the military community at that time. If the belongings of women and children made it into the fort before a unit departed the site, they still speak strongly for the close association of women and children with the military garrison.

A further methodological criticism directed at Allison's study is the problematic relationship between artifact and its gendered association.¹² Allason-Jones has provided a cogent assessment of the relationship between artifact and gender in Roman archaeology and that modern assumptions and culturally specific biases often lead to false associations between the two.¹³ Allison is certainly aware of this concern, and approaches the issue with some caution in her study.¹⁴ The gendered value given to specific artifacts ranges from certainly representing female presence, possibly female related, to possibly associated with a

¹² See Introduction for more detailed general discussion of this methodological pitfall.

¹³ Allason-Jones 1995, *passim*. For culturally constituted beliefs about consumption and activities, see Kopytoff 2001, 12-13.

¹⁴ Allison 2006, 8, states that her primary aim is to explore the spatial distribution of her ascriptions of female and child related artifacts, not to substantiate the gendered roles she has applied. Cf. Allison 2008, 120-2.

female or child.¹⁵ Though this ambiguity is necessary, it lessens the impact of the study somewhat. Allison has shown, however, that there is a definite relationship between deposition of artifacts with a definite female association and those possibly related to female or female/child occupancy.¹⁶ Clusters of these types of artifacts give greater validity to the gender ascriptions under investigation in her study.

Sexing small finds remains highly debated in archaeology and there is no clear or definitive answer on the horizon.¹⁷ Below a further discussion of the relationship and current debates about specific artifacts pertinent to this study is presented and how they relate to Allison's work. In particular, the question of whether specific brooch types may be definitively associated with males and females is rigorously debated with the evidence from Germania and Raetia. This discussion focuses on the difference between artifacts that were associated with female activities and those considered female dress items. These are two distinct categories of archaeological material and represent different aspects of cultural expression. Moreover, these traits may be inverted or distorted in the atypical context of the military or in a provincial context of an auxiliary fort. For instance, it has been suggested that an activity considered typically female in a Roman civilian cultural context, such as weaving or sewing, may have been performed by soldiers themselves in a military context.¹⁸ These inversions make the association of activities with a specific gender more problematic, particularly in an atypical environment such as a Roman army camp. It is still possible to

¹⁵ Small children are used by proxy to represent female presence, presuming that children were not living without a mother in most cases in this context.

¹⁶ Allison 2006, 10-11 in relation to Vetera I, 13 for Oberstimm; cf. Allison 2008, 123.

¹⁷ See methodological framework in Chapter 2 for the theoretical background to this problem in anthropological archaeology.

¹⁸ Allason-Jones 1995, 28; cf. James 2006, 34.

explore these artifact patterns, especially when it is clear from other types of evidence such as inscriptions and diplomas that women were present in the military environment. One must only look for soldiers performing typically female activities when the dominant paradigm presumes that this social group was absent from the context of activity.

There is an important difference between artifacts generated by female activities and those related to female dress. Artifacts worn on the body such as brooches and hairpins are not free from methodological problems, but they can be explored with much greater certainty by means of mortuary evidence that creates stronger links between artifacts and their gendered wearer. For instance, when the biological sex of a deceased individual is known, the association of certain brooch types included in the grave assemblage can be understood with some certainty. For example Riha has argued explicitly for the association of Distel Brooches found throughout Germany and Raetia with females in these contexts, citing grave finds as evidence.¹⁹ These associations are not infallible but come far closer to presenting realistic data of female artifact use because the social customs of personal dress choices in the Roman world and the provinces is well understood.

These issues will be dealt with in greater detail below as they arise in the particular contexts of fort assemblages and how they have come to bear on the question of women's presence in military spaces. Because of certain criticisms of recent research these problems have become particularly relevant to Allison's findings and the evidence from the military landscape in Germany. This investigation will be confined as much as possible to evidence that is free from possible doubt, such as footwear and skeletal remains that can be used as proxy for the body.

¹⁹ Riha 1979, 101-5, esp. 103. The problem with identifying certain brooches with females is discussed in depth below with the German material.

4.3. *The evidence from the British frontiers*

The material from Vindolanda suggesting the presence of women and children in some capacity in the early phases of military occupation is complemented by smaller assemblages from elsewhere in the military landscape of northern Britain. The situation at Vindolanda should first be contextualized within the late-first century northern frontier in Britain, settled in the 70s and 80s AD. The best known forts and the only ones with robust archaeological data in this early military occupation are Carlisle, Vindolanda and Corbridge. Therefore the impression gained is helpful but still a fairly narrow one.²⁰ The frontier known as the ‘Stanegate’ in northern Britain runs between the Tyne and Solway coasts (See map, Figure 2). It has been argued variously to be a Trajanic or early-Hadrianic creation,²¹ but the actual realization of the road itself most likely dated to somewhere around AD 105. A system of communication probably connected the earliest forts in the area in some way as early as the mid-70s, though there is no indication that this was a cohesive frontier system until the beginning of the second century. This section will investigate the earliest material in this military landscape in the last quarter of the first century, particularly in light of the robust footwear evidence that was found in the Period 1 ditch at Vindolanda, dating to ca. AD 85-90/92, that was discussed fully in Chapter 3.

It is of particular significance that there was not an organized and consolidated frontier system established in this northern region in this early phase before AD 105.²² Rather, the Stanegate was a newly subjugated area that must have had some means of communication between installations, but it was not a securely defended frontier such as

²⁰ For review of the known artifact assemblages on the Stanegate, Allason-Jones 2009b; Snape 2009.

²¹ For the best and most recent review of the Stanegate Frontier debate, see Symonds and Mason 2009, 13-33.

²² Hodgson 2009, 10.

would exist a half-century later with the settled occupying army and the construction of Hadrian's Wall. As a point of comparison for this early period, the Flavian forts to the north in Scotland will be assessed for the presence of non-combatant individuals in this stage of subjugation. They are particularly useful because some have only a single settlement period dating to the end of the first century. In this regard the earliest phases of the Flavian fort at Newstead will be looked at closely. These forts offer an interesting picture of the accommodation of non-combatant individuals in a period of conquest and unsettled occupation without a clear system of defense. The potential presence of non-combatants in such a time would be a salient indication that they traveled with the military even in volatile areas.

*Carlisle (Roman *Luguvalium*)*

The fort at Carlisle has the most published archaeological data to compare to the Vindolanda material. Its earliest occupation is dated to AD 72/3 and is historically associated with the activities of Petilius Cerialis in the north of Britain (See map, Figures 1 and 2).²³ Therefore Carlisle can offer information about the military occupation of northern Britain about a decade before the occupation of Vindolanda. Carlisle also has phases contemporary to Period 1 at Vindolanda, which facilitate further comparison.²⁴ Moreover, Carlisle had

²³ See Zant 2009 and Howard-Davis 2009 for most recent excavation results and chronology of the site. McCarthy 1991b, 9-37, for the military phasing as laid out after the excavations of 1981-2. This work concentrated in the annex to the south of the fort on Castle Street and has its own chronology and phasing, but with similar names for each phase. For clarity, when referencing this material from the Castle Street excavations absolute date periods will be used for the phases of this period as well as only phase names such as 3A and 4 for the phases within the fort itself as indicated in Zant 2009. For a useful concordance of phases between fort and the Castle Street annex excavations, see McCarthy 1991b, 53.

²⁴ Current excavations at Vindolanda to the north of the site, so far only in two field seasons of test trenches, have been revealing ditch systems that may date as early as the 72/3 layers at Carlisle. The ceramic evidence is certainly pre-Hadrianic, but the small quantity of material from the earliest ditches in the field so far obtained

significant anaerobic levels that preserved organic remains, which may be compared with the assemblage from Vindolanda. Though not nearly as much information has come out of the fort and extramural settlement at Carlisle, it has produced a small corpus of writing tablets that can be used to flesh out some social aspects of life in the forts. There is also a somewhat substantial assemblage of shoes from Carlisle that can be used to examine the population of the fort in the area of the *praetentura* and in the extramural settlements to the south of the fort.²⁵

The first settlement phase at Carlisle (Period 3A, ca. 72-83/4; see Figure 32 for plan) with structural and occupational material is confined to the fort itself and has characteristics of a temporary construction style.²⁶ The timber buildings themselves contained local materials such as ash and alder, because of the absence of long-distance supply networks for timber material at this time and of the temporary nature of the fort.²⁷ Construction built of ash and alder would have lasted only about five to ten years before needing a complete replacement. This prompted the excavators to suggest that the earliest phases at Carlisle were temporary, and even that there may not have been a long-term plan in place for the military occupation of the area.²⁸ Period 3B and 3C followed in the AD 80s and 90s with a much more permanent construction, primarily in oak. The timbers had the same growth patterns as

cannot yet be definitively dated to the AD 70s. This dissertation will only deal with the already well understood occupation Periods 1-5, dating from AD 85 onwards.

²⁵ The area available for excavation within the modern city is found only in small pockets. The largest area is underneath the medieval castle, where part of the *praetentura* was explored including barracks, potential principia and *praetorium* and the two major roads. Zant 2009; Howard-Davis 2009. Smaller windows have been explored throughout the last thirty years which will also be referenced here.

²⁶ For the phasing summary, see Howard-Davis 2009, xix. The most recent work and publications has changed the phasing slightly with sub-phases added since the work in the 1980s.

²⁷ Howard-Davis 2009, 484-5 for discussion of structural materials and the temporary nature of this phase.

²⁸ Howard-Davis 2009, 484; cf. Hanson 1978, 296.

contemporary wood used at Vindolanda, suggesting a similar local source or supplier for both forts.²⁹ It should be noted however, that oak was not used in the majority of fort structures at Vindolanda until Period 3 (ca. AD 97) and the Period 4 fort (AD 105-120) was the first to use mostly large oak sources from outside the local environment.³⁰ Before oak was used in a significant way ash and alder predominated as was found in the earliest period at Carlisle. Therefore, it is possible that the timetable for more permanent construction, and the general pattern of settlement at Vindolanda, lags about a decade behind Carlisle.

The material from Carlisle, particularly from Period 3 dating from 72/3 to 103/5 (Phases 3A 72/3-83/4; Phase 3B 83/4-93/4; Phase 3C 93/4-103/5), reflects a predominantly male population living within the fort, with a few indications of non-adult male occupation. Because the site lies beneath a modern city, excavations have taken place only in small areas. The largest of these trenches exposed the *praetentura* of the fort beneath the town's Norman and Medieval castle. The presence of an extramural settlement has only been explored in three small areas south of the fort. Both areas have been associated with the Flavian period, with construction dates about five years after the inception of the fort. Excavations have identified three buildings and a ditch as part of an annex. The ditch is argued to have been contemporary with the earliest Flavian military occupation, while the excavated buildings were constructed in the late 70s or early 80s.³¹ A difference in the character of the finds

²⁹ Howard-Davis 2009, 486.

³⁰ For the military timber supply generally, see Hanson 1978, 293-305.

³¹ Caruana 1992, 101-4, for conclusive evidence that the annex was definitively protected by a surrounding ditch and attached to the earliest Flavian fort. This material is dated by dendrochronology which rendered a felling date of AD 73-91 (Groves 1991, 50-3). *Terra sigillata* dates confirm a late 70s-early 80s sequence (McCarthy 1991a, 5-8).

assemblages between the fort and the annex has been noted, suggesting diverse activities took place in the two areas.³²

A further area of extramural occupation is located to the southeast of the annex, located today on Blackfriars Street near St. Cuthbert's Church (see map, figure 32), dating again to the earliest phases of occupation in the Flavian period, ca. mid-to-late-70s.³³ This area also has a different character in finds and architecture between the annex and the fort, leading the excavators to posit different types of occupation in areas of the extramural settlement.³⁴ Moreover, though a few bits of militaria were found, the assemblage of finds tends toward domestic material.³⁵ The two earliest buildings were timber and were subdivided into several rooms by wattle and daub walls of non-loadbearing strength.³⁶ There were at least two building phases in these structures, and an entirely new set of buildings was constructed on the same plan at the end of the first century.

Found in excavations to the east of the annex and Blackfriars Street was another area of extramural occupation in Carlisle. This is the area encompassed now by the modern city quarter called 'The Lanes' (see map, figure 32), in which rescue excavation was possible

³² Padley and Winterbottom 1991, 188. There was a noted lack of sculpted stone in the annex and a greater amount of leather waste in the annex than in the fort. The architecture between the two extramural areas also differs markedly, with strip houses predominating in the area to the east outside of the so-called annex. Although, see Caruana 1992, 105-6, for the similarities and identification of fort and annex as primarily military in nature.

³³ McCarthy 1990, 8, for phasing of the site occupation. Dates are based on dendrochronology, a single coin, and *terra sigillata* finds.

³⁴ Padley and Winterbottom 1991, 188. "It would seem that the Castle Street and Blackfriars Street sites have different types of buildings and finds spectra, and that these reflect different types of occupation or functional zones within the extramural settlement."

³⁵ Padley and Winterbottom 1991, 188.

³⁶ McCarthy 1990, 17.

during development in the 1970s.³⁷ Here again in the southern area there seems to be a different character of activity than took place in the northern area closer to the fort. The former had a greater concentration of domestic and farming activity.³⁸ It is suggested that the northern end of this area was reserved for official activity, and is linked to the fort by the character of the structures and the artifacts found here.³⁹ The excavations in the southern Lanes suggest that settlement in this area was similar to that discovered at Blackfriars Street, both having a very domestic character in the architecture, finds assemblages, and spatial use. At the same time, the planning differences in these two areas are striking. Strip houses dominated Blackfriars Street while a much more spacious layout is visible in the southern Lanes. Possibly two different zones of activity outside of the official area of the fort and annex can be seen, giving the character of early Carlisle even more depth. The structure of the southern Lanes area seems to reflect a certain level of planning, rather than a haphazard layout of land allotment and use. The latter point suggests a certain level of overarching control of land use, in this case most logically assigned by the military.⁴⁰

Unfortunately these extramural structures have only been briefly glimpsed during rescue excavation preceding building activity; nevertheless, the evidence suggests there was a structured organization of space as early as the AD 70s and certainly in the 80s and 90s. This, in turn, indicates that there was a need to accommodate different facets of a larger

³⁷ Full report of excavations can be found in McCarthy 2000, for the southern Lanes excavation. The northern Lanes, unfortunately, remains unpublished (Zant forthcoming). At times the analysis of material from the southern Lanes excavation makes reference to the northern area to put the material in a wider picture.

³⁸ The distinction in land use is clear until the mid-second century. McCarthy 2000, 15.

³⁹ McCarthy 2000, 15, 54-5. There is no further explanation of what the excavators meant by “official,” but one presumes this is meant to indicate primarily military activity. There is no evidence of farming or a structured land allotment in the area closer to the fort.

⁴⁰ Though McCarthy (2000, 55) does admit that spontaneous development can still result in the appearance of a planned layout.

population, such as non-combatants outside of the fort at an early stage. The existence of an annex, typically presumed to be of military character, as well as secondary extramural areas at Blackfriars Street and in The Lanes, suggests that there was a need to accommodate individuals with different social identification, particularly those that were not directly involved with daily military activity, but were most likely still associated with the occupation of the area by the Roman army.

The character of the entire region changed in AD 105 when the frontier is believed to have really been consolidated and the Stanegate Road came into existence. At most sites in this landscape, including Carlisle, a new fort was built and the character of the settlement changed. It is noteworthy, therefore, that such extensive extramural occupation took place in this earliest phases (70s-90s) before the frontier was considered a settled and defended landscape. McCarthy notes the striking complexity of the settlement at this very early date, in which there were in effect five zones of activity in the fort, annex, Blackfriars Street and the two areas of the southern and northern Lanes.⁴¹ This complexity suggests extensive occupation and various activities taking place at this time.

In part this may be due to Carlisle's possible status as a *civitas* capital at this time. This status is not at all certain and there is no direct evidence for this identification, though it has been proposed.⁴² This status would provoke a varied military and civilian population, and may have attracted more than just those individuals who had a direct association with the Roman army. This possibility may ultimately hinder our ability to interpret the military community here, but it may also provide an answer to the extensive variety of extramural

⁴¹ McCarthy 2000, 56-8.

⁴² Charlesworth 1978; cf. McCarthy 2002, 68-71, primarily discusses the possibility because of its size in comparison to known *civitas* capitals.

occupation found at such an early phase. At sites such as Carnuntum in Pannonia and Xanten on the Rhine, the extramural occupation of the legionary and auxiliary forts is quite distinct from that of the truly civilian *colonia* nearby. It is possible that the distinct settlements at Carlisle show this phenomenon on a much smaller scale, where there are at least three separate areas of occupation outside of the fort itself.⁴³ The proximity of the extramural occupation to the fort is too close to have been unrelated to the army and it should be understood as different facets of the early military occupation.

Important evidence associated with the individuals that were present inside this early fort, and which shows a comparable picture to that of Vindolanda in the AD 80s and 90s, comes from the writing tablets found in the anaerobic levels at Carlisle. As at Vindolanda they date to the earliest occupation layers, in this case from the AD 70s to ca. AD 125. Their context is less well contextualized. For instance they cannot be so clearly associated with a specific structure such as the group of letters that came from the Vindolanda Period 3 *praetorium* which are manifestly associated with the household of Flavius Cerialis. The Carlisle writing tablets were discarded in public areas that were most likely used for dumping. Those that belong to the earliest phase, Period 3A, were found in a drain, while the subsequent periods had tablets in toilets and a pit.⁴⁴

The content of the tablets offers the first clue to the individuals living at the fort in the last quarter of the first century AD. The small corpus includes fifty-one tablets with readable content, and none are complete. In this regard, the Carlisle tablets offer nowhere as much information as those from Vindolanda, either in terms of the number of letters preserved or

⁴³ For further discussion of Carlisle as a *civitas* capital, see McCarthy 2003, 145-55.

⁴⁴ Tomlin 1998, 32-4.

content. It is notable, however, that almost all fragments that have survived are of a military nature and when they mention individuals they seem to be male. There is one striking example in a report from a decurion to his prefect in which the officer sends an official report about lancers who have lost their spears. The military nature is clear in this letter, as well as the official nature of the report. There is nothing personal about this letter, yet the farewell sends greetings to the family of the prefect.⁴⁵ The context from which the letter comes has a *terminus ante quem* of AD 105, but it is unclear to what period between 72/3 and 105 the letter should be attributed.

This letter is reminiscent of the situation seen more clearly in the Vindolanda letters, particularly those between prefects that invariably greet wives and families, even within official military correspondence. The presence of wives is clear, particularly Sulpicia Lepidina and Claudia Severa, the two best known wives in this early military landscape that are so prominent in the Vindolanda corpus.⁴⁶ Again, at Carlisle we see that the prefect had his family along with him, even in this newly conquered area. It is striking to find the farewell and greetings to his family in this letter that otherwise sounds like an official report on military supply. It suggests that the presence of the prefect's family was routine in this unsettled military environment and that they were such a part of the social fabric that a lower officer would include a greeting to them as part of a military correspondence.⁴⁷ Otherwise,

⁴⁵ Tomlin 1998, 55-63. *Tab. Luguval.* No. 16: *bene valeas[Augu]r[i]ne | cum [tu]is d[o]mine* (May you farewell, Augurinus, with your family, (my) Lord). The reading of *cum tuis* as family is standard in Latin letter writing. For further discussion of this tablet, see Tomlin 2003, 178-80.

⁴⁶ Bowman and Thomas 1994. *Tab. Vindol.* 291-294. For full discussion of the Vindolanda tablets, see Chapter 6 and with respect to the archaeological contexts, see Chapter 3.

⁴⁷ This letter is also a telling example of the tendency for modern scholarship to concentrate only on state-level concerns, in this case the exhaustive treatment of the weapons mentioned and the indications of protocol in such a report. Completely overlooked is the greeting to the prefect's family as though this were standard fare, when

the few tablets that name individuals seem to reflect soldiers with no family present, although the fragmentary nature of the corpus makes this a very incomplete picture.⁴⁸ The letter discussed above is the most complete in the corpus, which may be an indication of how much is missing from this small and fragmentary group.

The footwear from the early periods at Carlisle offers a similar picture. With a few notable exceptions the assemblage from within the fort itself predominantly reflects a male population in the earliest phases of the late-first and early-second centuries. The data is particularly difficult to access since the specialist report on the Roman footwear discusses only those shoes that were illustrated.⁴⁹ A general discussion of shoe sizes observes that examples of complete insoles reflected the presence of women or adolescents within the fort in the late first and early second centuries.⁵⁰ A single shoe also indicated the presence of a high status female based on the size and the style of the item. This one shoe cannot be used to create a complete argument, but the scenario may be similar to that at Vindolanda, where the footwear of the wife of prefect is most likely found in the assemblage from the *praetorium*. Considering the writing tablet greeting the family of the prefect and since we know that the family of a prefect could and did reside within the fort, we can probably interpret the Carlisle material in this way. No further details are given about the footwear assemblage within the fort in recent reports from Carlisle and the earlier excavations within the southern end of the

in reality in 1998 when the report on the Carlisle tablets was published, Driel-Murray was just producing and defending her thesis that the shoes from Vindolanda suggested intramural occupation by women and children.

⁴⁸ There are only fifty one letters in the corpus from Carlisle that are at all readable and there are no complete letters. A further twenty five tablets have traces of writing or a few letters only preserved. The tablet discussed above (*Tab.Luguval.* 16) which greets the family of the prefect is the most complete and with the most substantial content.

⁴⁹ Mould 2009, 831-41 and Appendix 10.

⁵⁰ Mould 2009, 840.

fort were never published.⁵¹ In her report of the footwear from the recent excavations, Howard-Davis discusses the material found in the 1970s offering some details of the finds. Since the limits of the excavations in the fort have always been confined to the barrack and defenses of the southern end, it seems that the presence of non-adult male footwear within this area is a valid observation. It is not possible to assess any ratios, nor to discuss specific contexts, and it should be concluded that the assemblage reflects a predominantly male population within the fort, with the exception perhaps of the family of the prefect and a few other non-adult male individuals.⁵²

The annex to the south of the fort was protected by a ditch that may have been contemporary with the first phase of the fort itself.⁵³ The buildings inside this area were constructed perhaps five to ten years later with a series of buildings facing onto the main road that led to the south gate of the fort. The area has been interpreted as a primarily military space because of the associated artifacts related to armor and equipment.⁵⁴ There is some indication that part of this area was used for non-military activities because the nature of the assemblage was without a decisively military character and primarily related to domestic activity.⁵⁵ The footwear from this area is intriguing and suggests that there may have been non-adult male individuals living or at least associated with this space. The assemblage as a whole is not ideal, with many incomplete examples that do not allow a full understanding of

⁵¹ These excavations took place from 1973-84 and are listed as “in prep” in reports from the 1990s, as well as the most recent 2009 publication from the site.

⁵² Keeping in mind that only the southern end of the fort in the *praetentura* has been available for investigation up to this point.

⁵³ Caruana 1992, 101-4.

⁵⁴ McCarthy 1991a, 19-21.

⁵⁵ McCarthy 1991a, 32.

the shoe size or style. Regardless, of the complete shoes from this area, those having belonged to children or non-adults predominate in the late first and early second centuries.⁵⁶ Of the shoes dating to the period from AD 92-105, four belonged to children and another was worn by either an adult female or adolescent.⁵⁷ This number is certainly not overwhelming, but given the small area of the annex that was open for investigation and the nature of the assemblage as intentional rubbish, it may indicate the presence of non-adult occupants in this direct area at this time.

It is interesting to find any evidence of children in this space because of the conclusion that the annex was used for light industrial work.⁵⁸ Leather and metal scraps were in abundance, as well as tools and other paraphernalia needed for repairing leather, shoes, armor and other equipment. There was also an indication that animals may have been penned here and that the whole complex was given over to storage and workshops. It is difficult not to question whether the young individuals represented in the shoes were in some way involved in such activity. They may have been child slaves or servants, or the children of workers in gainful employment with the military, but not necessarily of soldiers. In either case, these are members of the military community who are almost always overlooked in our presentation of the Roman army.

Although the picture of the early military settlement at *Luguvalium* predominantly reflects a soldierly population, especially in the first phase beginning in AD 72/3, there are a

⁵⁶ Padley and Winterbottom 1991, 228-43. It is difficult to assess the validity of the excavator's claims here. The length is given on the preserved section of the shoe, which is not always the insole, without clarification if this is the overall length of the entire shoe on its treadsole or of the insole when preserved. For an accurate size to be assessed, the insole must be present, even if partial, to give a true indication of the wearer's foot dimensions. In many cases even a partial insole can indicate an overall size, but so few examples are illustrated here that this cannot be assessed from the information provided in publication.

⁵⁷ Padley and Winterbottom 1991, 230-4. Catalogue Nos. 941, 949, 982, 1014.

⁵⁸ McCarthy 1991a, 56; cf. Padley 1991, 104.

few exceptions. The fort itself seems to have been a locus of male activity, based on the footwear that emerged from the barracks and other areas of the southern end of the *praetentura*. However, a fine female shoe of an elite individual is conspicuous, which is reminiscent of finds from the Vindolanda Period 3 *praetorium*. One is reminded of the families of Flavius Cerialis and Aelius Brocchus in the Vindolanda correspondence by the mention of a prefect's family in a writing tablet from Carlisle. The few glimpses of the presence of adolescents or women in the fort itself are intriguing, as are the few shoes reflecting children concentrated in the annex to the south of the fort. This is noteworthy since the excavators interpret the annex as a direct extension of the fort itself and, at least in the period from its inception in the 70s until ca. AD 125, containing primarily military related activities. Children's shoes and those that belonged to either women or adolescents were present in the footwear assemblages.⁵⁹ It is not possible to date this occupancy by non-adult males specifically from the published material, except that it predominated in the late-first and first half of the second century.⁶⁰

These dates correspond well with the Vindolanda material. Carlisle provided a small window on the earliest phase of military settlement in this area, which showed that the fort in its original inception was populated by males and possibly a few women and children. By the AD 80s when the annex was active there is greater evidence for the presence of children and possibly women. The Vindolanda material from Period 1, beginning in AD 85, suggested a clear presence of women and children, even in this original occupation phase. The shoes were found in communal spaces within the ditches to the west of the fort, that were active

⁵⁹ Children's shoes were not found amongst the fort assemblage, but those of female or adolescent sizes were present, Mould 2009, 840.

⁶⁰ Mould 2009, 840.

only during a short period in the second half of the AD 80s, after which they were completely sealed by the construction of the Period 2 fort. The presence of the footwear in the ditch system is most logically interpreted as having belonged to those individuals connected with the departing unit, the first cohort of Tungrians.

We might see in the Carlisle material a general reflection of a growing non-combatant population in the 70s and 80s throughout this new military landscape. The need to construct the annex and provide further occupation spaces outside of the fort itself only five to ten years after initial settlement indicates that the population was growing, but that it did not strictly comprise military individuals that would be housed within the fort. Moreover, extramural settlement was needed even outside of the annex in these early phases, found in the small excavations on Blackfriars Street, The Lanes, and in other small windows around the city where excavation has become possible.⁶¹ The need to provide fairly extensive extramural living space is suggestive of a significant non-soldierly population. This is unexpected in the last quarter of the first century AD, in a period when no consolidated frontier or defense system existed, is contrary to our current expectations for military occupation.

The very pronounced presence of women and children within many buildings within the fort itself at Vindolanda in Period 4 dating to ca. 105-120, is not paralleled in the material from Carlisle. As is the case in many areas across this frontier region, both Carlisle and Vindolanda had a new fort built in AD 105, presumably in conjunction with the inception of the Stanegate Road, part of a general and more decisive consolidation and defense of this

⁶¹ For the brief report on the excavation in The Lanes, see McCarthy 1990. A full report of these excavations was produced for the Southern Lanes excavations only (McCarthy 2000).

frontier.⁶² It may be expected that in such a period of growing stability, over twenty years after the initial conquest and occupation of this area, a more settled community began to take shape; though it is clear at Vindolanda that women and children were part of the population from the earliest settled phases on site. It is striking that it seems probable that these settled communities grew out of a non-combatant population that existed in the military landscape from the beginning, evidenced at Carlisle and Vindolanda by the presence of non-adult male shoes in the early occupation periods.

Corbridge (Roman Coria or Corstopitum)

The military occupation around the area of Corbridge is as early as that at Carlisle and has fairly robust archaeological data to investigate, but the information for the earliest phase in the 70s and 80s is somewhat disappointing (See map, Figure 2). The first phase of occupation at Corbridge is over one kilometer west of the later fort and settlement, at a site called Red House. Military baths were investigated there half a century ago, but were originally thought to be associated with the fort known at Corbridge.⁶³ The existence of the early fort itself at Red House was confirmed by a rescue excavation undertaken in the 1970s preceding a planned road construction project that would run directly through the site of the earliest Roman fort in this area.⁶⁴ A narrow area was excavated revealing a line of timber buildings dating to the 70s and 80s, most certainly abandoned by AD 90. There is no

⁶² Both sites have secure dendrochronological dates of 103-5 for the felling of timbers for new fort construction. Writing tablet evidence at Vindolanda further supports a date of AD 105.

⁶³ Daniels 1959, *passim*.

⁶⁴ Hanson et al., 1979, *passim*.

evidence in this material that women and children occupied this site at all, but the limitations of the excavation undertaken should be kept in mind.

The structures found here were interpreted as a series of storage buildings, since many of them were only three sided and lacked a south wall or anything resembling partitions or jams for barn doors.⁶⁵ They yielded very little in the way of artifactual or environmental evidence and excavators concluded that they were used for storage of non-perishable goods such as weaponry and armor, probably associated with the Agricola conquest of the north. The strategic position of Corbridge, situated at the intersection of the Tyne River with Dere Street, the primary north-south Roman road on the eastern side of the country, also supported the identification of the site as a supply base.⁶⁶ The largest structure within the excavated area was certainly a *fabrica*,⁶⁷ lending further credence to the identification of at least this part of the site as an area with practical importance for the supply of armor and other necessary materials to an army. Within this context the lack of finds associated with any particular individual is not surprising. Artifact recovery in these spaces was scarce and mostly consisted of pot sherds and some small personal items. Unfortunately, the only structure identified as a barrack block could only be investigated in a cursory way, via trial trenches determining the dimensions of the building but no recovery of

⁶⁵ Buildings 7-9 and 11-15. Hanson et al. 1979, 77-80, notes the ubiquitous use of identifying structures with no other known use in military contexts as storage buildings, but makes a convincing case for this identification with parallels in Britain and Germany.

⁶⁶ Hanson et al. 1979, 80.

⁶⁷ Building 10 has a layout very similar to structures elsewhere suggested to be a military hospital. Hanson et al. 1979, 80-1, gives evidence for its definite identification as a workshop, including furnaces, one of which held a crucible.

material was possible.⁶⁸ If more of the fort site were available for excavation, it might reveal different zones within the settlement, though if the early site was purely one of supply and storage, a temporary character would be expected.⁶⁹

Finds from the bathhouse excavation were also scarce and offer no clues of the individuals using this structure. The few brooches recovered are of indeterminate gender association and realistically, they were probably items lost by soldiers using the bathhouse. The presence of the bathhouse outside of the walls calls for consideration of the presence of extramural structures on the site. The rescue excavators found evidence for extramural occupation to the west of the defenses of the fort, but only one corner of a single building could be investigated. The only conclusion that can be drawn is that there were indeed extramural occupants in this early period before AD 90, but the nature of that occupancy cannot be determined, and could very well have been associated with the supply role of the base. The existence of the bathhouse and its large size points toward at least a semi-permanent garrison that would require such a structure.⁷⁰

The site at Corbridge became the primary fort location and later a thriving settlement, first occupied ca. AD 90, during the earliest stages in the consolidation of the north by the Roman military. Unfortunately, the earliest phases on this site are obscured greatly by the remains of the later thriving civilian settlement and military occupation. Geophysical survey

⁶⁸ Hanson et al. 1979, 81-2. This structure was reached only at the very end of the season and the modern road construction had already begun in the area.

⁶⁹ Hanson et al. 1979, 84-5, concludes that the site could not have housed an auxiliary unit, though the *ala Petriana* has always been associated with the fort at Corbridge. He postulates that the fort at Red House was home to a vexillation of legionary soldiers, most noted by the large bathhouse with parallels only in legionary forts and the large size of the barrack (Building 16).

⁷⁰ Comparisons have been made to the fort at Longthorpe which was identified as a temporary winter camp (Frere and St. Joseph 1974, 6), but Hanson et al. (1979, 85) argues that the bathhouse and the clear manufacture and storage function points toward a more permanent supply station.

has shown that there was an extensive extramural settlement on the sides of the fort, but this settlement has never been extensively excavated and therefore its earliest occupation date is unknown. The likelihood that there was an early extramural settlement can only be presumed by comparison with other forts on the northern frontiers. The fact that the site became a thriving settlement suggests that there was a growth of population out of an original nucleus of settlement. Who exactly these individuals were needs to remain a mystery for now.

Newstead (Roman Trimontium)

The fort at Newstead provides a comparable data set for a Flavian period settlement in northern Britain. The fort, established in ca. AD 80, was part of the Agricolan activity in the north (See map, Figures 1 and 2). Located north of the Tyne-Solway line which would become the frontier region in the 70s and 80s after the abandonment of Scotland, the fort was an outpost installation monitoring activity on the very edge of the empire. Since this was a precarious outpost position the evidence for a non-combatant community here is provocative. The first phase, a relatively large timber fort of just over four hectares (10.25 acres), lasted less than ten years. The second fort dating to the early 90s was much larger (5.7 hectares or 14 acres) and is argued to have been the largest fort in Scotland and a cornerstone of the defense of this area.⁷¹ At this time legionary soldiers were likely on site together with an *ala* of cavalry, the *ala Vocontiorum* from Gallia Narbonensis, therefore the material may represent a mixed population of legionary and auxiliary activity. It is certain the *Legio Vicesimae Valeria Victrix* was responsible for the construction of the fort. The lack of Trajanic period *terra sigillata* marks the end of these early phases and indicates that the site

⁷¹ Manning 2006, 73-94, for most recent assessment of dateable levels.

was abandoned by ca. AD 100,⁷² and was not inhabited again until the mid-second century Antonine occupation (AD 140-160).

The well-defined early levels of the period before AD 100 provide a tight sequence of evidence for this early phase.⁷³ The site in the Flavian period consisted of the fort proper with three separate areas of extramural settlement on the east, west and south sides of the fort. The annexes are not connected to each other in any way and they have been noted for their very different finds and general layout. Clarke noted in a quantitative analysis of finds from the site that even between the different sides of the main street in the south annex, the density and nature of finds was vastly different.⁷⁴ Each annex shared one wall with the fort itself, and consists of a curved boundary and its own set of defenses on the other perimeters.⁷⁵ The protection of these annexes with ditches and ramparts is the most salient evidence that they were associated with the fort occupation and were under direct military control. The western annex was at its largest capacity, about seven acres, in the Agricolan period. It was heavily defended with a series of at least two or three ditches and its most prominent features were the military bathhouse and *mansio*.⁷⁶ The south annex was twice this size at fourteen acres, and was only defended by a single ditch. There were almost no structures in this annex, due to the consequences of later activities. The south annex was dominated by a series of pits that

⁷² E. Birley's ceramics report in Richmond 1952.

⁷³ In the original excavation report by Curle 1911, 104, who suggests that there was some sense of isolation in which even supplies would be foraged by the unit.

⁷⁴ Clarke 1994, 72-82.

⁷⁵ Curle 1911, 86.

⁷⁶ Black 1991, 215-22; cf. Curle 1911, 86. The outermost ditch and possibly the third were of a later date. The inner two certainly dated to this early Agricolan period.

have been variously interpreted. The east annex was the largest at roughly twenty acres and was defended by a single ditch with three gates.

Newstead has been discounted in the investigation of the inhabitants of a military settlement, because much of the material was found in communal pits from the fort and annex areas, or in fort ditches. Most of the well preserved artifacts from the site were found in a series of 107 pits excavated in the first quarter of the 20th century, many of which date to the earliest occupation in the Flavian period. The chronology and excavation technique used by Curle in these early excavations has been tested and its validity confirmed by later excavators.⁷⁷ The entire occupation of this fort is very interesting, and the presence of material found anywhere in the finds assemblage that betrays the presence of women and children is provocative. Since the Flavian occupation has a clear point of abandonment by about AD 100, this phase lies entirely within the period before the Stanegate frontier could be considered a consolidated landscape.

In 1911 when the report was produced for the excavation of the fort and annexes, Curle argued that the extramural spaces had been occupied by veterans and merchants attracted to the nearby protection and services of the military.⁷⁸ It is more likely to suggest now that they were occupied by the population that surrounded military units including families as well as merchants, slaves, servants, and trades people. The pits and ditches associated with the fort and annexes produced a large amount of material, and because of the anaerobic preservation in many of them, leather was removed in large quantities. Unfortunately the published excavation report does not provide any detail of the shoes found

⁷⁷ Clarke and Jones 1996, 109.

⁷⁸ Curle 1911, 87.

within the pits, and the assemblage is still unpublished. Personal communication with Driel-Murray, who has been investigating this material in preparation for publication, suggests that a significant portion of these shoes belonged to women and children. Since many of the pits date to the earliest Flavian occupation, it is probable that the leather contained in them betrays the presence of women and children on the site at this time. In addition to footwear, the earliest fort ditches produced evidence for the presence of children. Three separate human skulls belonging to children, one a very small infant, were found in the earliest fort levels.⁷⁹

The lack of publication of this material up to this point is regrettable and makes any detailed investigation somewhat problematic, but it is clear that at least some of the material suggests occupation by non-combatant individuals in this early period. The differing character of the various zones of the settlement and the analysis of the finds from the pits is also intriguing. Many of the pits that were found in the south annex, as well as some from other areas of the site have been interpreted as ritual deposits.⁸⁰ The original analysis of the pits as the intentional burial of items just before or during enemy destruction of the site is no longer tenable and should be discarded, primarily because there are no destruction horizons across the entire site and the human remains are not characteristic of quick burial during a period of violence.⁸¹ The human remains are only partial, mostly fragmentary skulls, which indicate ritual activity. Some of the weapons including swords and several pieces of helmets, including one of the best preserved cavalry face masks in Roman Britain, are ritually “killed”. The helmet fragments might stand proxy for the head in the context of a ritual

⁷⁹ Curle 1911, 111.

⁸⁰ First suggested by Ross and Feachem 1976; cf. Clarke and Jones 1996; Clarke 2000.

⁸¹ Clarke and Jones 1996, 117-8.

offering, and the deposition of shoes could also be interpreted as another ritual offering that represents the body.

Clarke and Jones noted that there is nothing from the finds assemblage at Newstead that suggests interaction with a native population, but that there was a marked similarity between the Newstead pit assemblages and excavated finds from wells at civilian sites in the south.⁸² Thus, their conclusion is that the non-combatant population at Newstead may have moved from the south and inhabited the extramural areas of the fort. This conclusion makes little sense, however, in light of our better understanding of the military community. It is far more likely that the similarity of the finds in some areas of the site is indicative of the non-combatant population occupying parts of the annexes. These individuals should more readily be associated with the garrison in residence, particularly because of the fact that the annexes are connected directly to the fort and are part of the defense system of the site. There is no reason to suggest they are an independent civilian group that chose to move from the south.

The interconnectivity of the population can also be seen in the nature of the finds in the pit deposits. The absence of material indicating a native presence implies a greater likelihood that the non-combatant population present was connected to the garrison, even in this early phase in the 80s. Clarke and Jones interpret the ritual nature of the deposits as representing a deliberate act by the group present at Newstead. Whether this is related to religious belief or just a secular group action cannot be known for certain. The presence, however, of shoes that belonged to women and children together with clearly military goods, implies a close connection between individuals in the group. If the creation and filling of pits

⁸² Clarke and Jones 1996, 122.

can be interpreted as a religious action, then it would seem that the population as a whole partook in this activity together as a cohesive community.⁸³

The material from Newstead does have its problems, but it still offers another intriguing picture of life in the military community, particularly in the earliest phases of military consolidation in northern Britain. The varying character of extramural occupation at Newstead is reminiscent of settlement at Carlisle, and suggests that there were different groups present in the population there. The finds that betray the presence of women and children, though the percentage of such finds is somewhat unclear at this point, suggest that there was a non-combatant population on site. The defenses surrounding the annexes at Newstead make a clear argument for the military control of these extramural areas, and therefore also for the certain relationship between the military and the non-combatant population. This impression is strengthened by the communal nature of the supposed ritual deposits in the pits associated with the earliest phases on site. The deliberate action inherent in these deposits suggests cohesion within the population at this time. Newstead is most intriguing for its location in the totally unprotected area north of the actual frontier line, in a position and at a time when the presence or role of a non-military population was not considered.

Evidence from the Antonine Wall: Bar Hill

The Antonine Wall in Scotland marked the established frontier line of the British province for roughly twenty years in the middle of the second century (see map, Figure 33). Hadrian's Wall was for the most part abandoned and Antoninus Pius directed that a

⁸³ One scholar interprets the pits as rubbish disposal typical of any Roman site. See Manning 1972, 224-50.

predominantly turf wall be built across the Forth-Clyde line in central Scotland.⁸⁴ In this period a greater presence of non-combatant activity in the military sphere has been more readily accepted, but the evidence from this frontier still poses a provocative picture because of its short life and relatively unsettled nature. Breeze argues that the tribes to the north of the Forth-Clyde line were often in a state of unrest and it seems that the area was always somewhat volatile.⁸⁵ Because of this the forts of the Antonine Wall would in our traditional view on the Roman army be less likely to have a significant non-combatant population. With only a roughly twenty-year occupation period of the wall before the area was abandoned and Hadrian's Wall once again became the northern limit of the empire, there could not have been much in the way of development. This leaves any evidence of women or children assigned essentially to either an initial period of settlement, possible hostility, or abandonment. The short life span of the fort and the probable hostility of the time period is reminiscent of the Vindolanda material from Period 6b discussed in Chapter 3.

Shoes belonging to women and children have betrayed the presence of non-combatants at Bar Hill. The excavations were completed over a century ago and published in 1906 but archaeologists did not record any more specific finds spots, except that several shoes belonging to women and children were found in refuse pits located inside the fort and in the ditches outside the fort.⁸⁶ The fact that the vagaries of early excavation do not give us a

⁸⁴ Between the modern Firth of Forth and Firth of Clyde.

⁸⁵ Breeze 1993, 358.

⁸⁶ MacDonald 1906, 101-6 for footwear report. It was impossible for MacDonald to conceive of women living inside the fort at the time of his research. A good example of the a priori fact that women were simply not to be found in military forts can be found here: "One realises that the whole site was not merely a fort, in the modern sense of the word. It was also a permanent military settlement. Nothing brings this home so vividly, or with so distinctively human a touch, as the heaps of shoes that have been worn by women and by children. These followers cannot, of course, have dwelt within the gates; that would have been a grave breach of military law." (MacDonald 1906, 131).

more specific location for these finds has often led scholars to discount this evidence. Although at least some of these shoes were found in refuse pits associated with the barrack blocks inside the fort,⁸⁷ we should take a step back and consider this evidence within the context of the overall nature of occupation at Bar Hill. The presence of a rather high number of female and child related items in this space tells us something of significance about the presence of women and children in the military community. In a fort on a newly created frontier that was still probably somewhat volatile and in a settlement that had a lifespan of only roughly twenty years, there was a significant sized population of women and children present. This type of evidence directly challenges common assumptions and needs to be brought to the forefront of research on the Roman army and frontier communities. Given the short nature of the occupation of the Antonine Wall and the general instability of the area throughout its existence,⁸⁸ it is interesting to find any non-combatant evidence at all at Bar Hill. The careful attention to whether evidence shows non-combatants inside the fort or in the extramural settlement overlooks the fact that the very presence of women and children on this site is entirely contrary to current beliefs about the nature of non-combatant occupation in the military sphere,

The fort at Bar Hill occupies the highest altitude on the Antonine Wall, located in a central location of the frontier, sixteen miles from the west end, and twenty miles from the east end of the wall.⁸⁹ A small fortlet was built in the Flavian period that has little to do with

⁸⁷ Robertson et.al. 1975, 22-3. Robertson states that the wording of the original report suggests that men's, women's and children's shoes came from all of the pits mentioned as yielding footwear; therefore, we may assume that at least some women's and children's shoes came from the pits associated with the barrack blocks, but this cannot be certain (Robertson 1975, 82).

⁸⁸ Breeze 1993, 358.

⁸⁹ The publication of the excavations from 1902-5 is originally in MacDonald et al. 1906, and has subsequently been updated and reinterpreted in Robertson et al. 1975. Keppie (2002) provides some new insight into the early

the Antonine wall phases and leaves little to be discussed here.⁹⁰ There were two quingenary cohorts associated with the Antonine Wall phase. Two inscriptions from the well of the *principia* record *cohors I Baetasiorum* here, a unit formed from a tribe located in the territory between the Rhine and Meuse along the border of Netherlands and Germany. *Cohors I Hamiorum* were Syrian archers and are known from elsewhere in the north of Britain. It is unclear which garrison came first, but the latter unit was certainly at Carvoran on Hadrian's Wall by AD 163. At Bar Hill extramural occupation was located to the east of the fort along the military way, as well as possibly to the south of the fort.⁹¹

The footwear evidence from Bar Hill clearly shows the presence of women and children in the vicinity of the fort.⁹² The original excavation report did not record anything more specific than that several shoes belonging to women and children were found in the refuse pits inside the fort, as well as in the ditches outside the fort.⁹³ At least some of these shoes may have come from refuse pits associated with the barrack blocks inside the fort, suggesting intramural female occupancy similar to that at Vindolanda.⁹⁴ Robertson has suggested that the wording of the original report suggests that shoes of men, women and children came from all of the contexts mentioned as yielding footwear, so it could be

excavations by incorporating other contemporary accounts into our understanding of the site and early excavations.

⁹⁰ Robertson et al. 1975, pages; this dating is followed by all except Steer 1960, 6-7, who thinks it was a small fortlet just pre-Antonine Wall in association with the construction of the wall. Robertson et al. do not believe this date attribution because the orientation has no deference to the orientation of the wall, and there is a Flavian fortlet at Croy Hill nearby.

⁹¹ Robertson et al. 1975, 23.

⁹² Robertson et al. 1975, 59-91, for discussion of the leather finds from the site.

⁹³ MacDonald 1906, 101.

⁹⁴ Robertson et al. 1975, 22-3.

assumed that some shoes that betray the presence of non-combatants came from the pits associated with the barrack blocks.⁹⁵ Out of 322 shoes with a possible size determination, 100 definitely belonged to a female or child. A further 31 shoes were worn by either a female or adolescent male. A total of almost 32% of the recovered footwear, therefore, belonged to individuals that were either female, adolescent or children.

It is possible that most of these came from the ditch and therefore represent those that were living in the extramural settlement; however, it is likely that at least a small number came from the pits associated with the barracks, placing at least a small number of women and children inside of the fort. Moreover, it is interesting too to find even a few examples, let alone 32%, given the short duration of the occupation of the Antonine Wall and the general instability of the area at this time. The association of so many women and children with the military in this area can be taken in two ways. Considering the general instability of local tribes in this area, it is less likely that these non-combatants were natives taking advantage of the local garrison for financial gain. It seems more likely that these would have been individuals associated directly with the garrison, and that they were there despite the general volatility of the northern frontier at this time.

The unique position of the bath house within the fort walls at Bar Hill is also interesting. Auxiliary forts more typically have only one bathhouse in use at a given time and they were usually outside the fort near one of the gates. Here the bathhouse is inside the fort, taking up space that would usually be needed for barracks, workshops and other official structures. It is expected that everyone on site, including non-combatants, would have access to the bathhouse, but here its location inside the fort blurs the lines between so-called civilian and military activity. As was argued for the obvious presence of women and children inside

⁹⁵ Robertson et al. 1975, 82.

the late-first century Vindolanda forts, the presence of these non-combatants within the fort wall simply could not have interrupted the primary military routine of the fort or its function as a military space.

It is tempting to see the population surrounding the military units on the Antonine Wall as groups that moved from the area of Hadrian's Wall to the more northern line when Antoninus Pius ordered its creation. This seems to be the case on the Upper German *limes* south of the Taunus ridge with the eastern shift of the frontier also under Antoninus Pius. In many cases the units picked up in one location and moved to the new frontier posts further east. If this were the case on the British frontier then it would be expected that the non-combatant population would do the same. Therefore the evidence for the non-combatant population would reflect the group that had been naturally growing around these units for the past few decades. However, it is still noteworthy to find these groups in large numbers on a newly created frontier that seems to have been less than entirely subdued. The short length of time that the Antonine Wall was kept as the frontier line suggests that full entrenchment never took place. Thus there were no expectations about finding habitation by families here.

4.4. *The evidence from the German Limes*

The situation on the British frontier can be compared quite usefully to the German *Limes* in several key locations. For a few reasons the areas that were in the provinces of the two Germanies and Raetia, provide very good comparative material to the British frontier. Most importantly, they both have been extensively excavated with modern standards of recording and publication of small finds and stratigraphic analysis, unlike some other European countries through which Roman frontiers now cross. In the Roman period, the

German *Limes* had a series of auxiliary forts much like the North of Britain, which were garrisoned by the non-citizen auxiliary cohorts that originally hailed from the provinces. This is an important distinction since the social customs of citizen legionaries and non-citizen auxiliary soldiers were likely to have differed, particularly in the first century AD. The German *Limes* had a greater presence of legionary soldiers than did Hadrian's Wall, but I will not deal in any detail with legionaries here. Finally, in the same way that the British frontier faced onto non-Roman territory, so did the German *Limes* with its shadow being cast over what has been termed free Germany or *Barbaricum* (See map, Figure 34).

Few investigations of the German forts have attempted to further our understanding of the presence of women and children in military communities. The most extensive treatments have been those put forward by Allison, but with forts of differing dates and character.⁹⁶ Her findings at *Vetera*, will only be briefly related since it was a legionary fort and the concern here is primarily with the auxiliary community. The results from Oberstimm and Ellingen are more provocative and relevant to this study. Oberstimm provides evidence for the early first century, before the conquest and consolidation of Britain. Ellingen will be discussed only briefly as a second century fort that provides a good chronological comparison to the later material from Vindolanda. This diachronic view of military occupation shows how the presence of non-combatants in the second century compares to the material from the earliest phases of military occupation.

⁹⁶ Allison 2006, 2007, 2008.

The Augustan-Tiberian Military landscape in Germany and Raetia

The evidence from the German frontier provides a much longer trajectory of military occupation beginning in the late first century BC. The presence of a non-combatant population as early as the Augustan period can be explored in the earliest conquest of the region and the presence of women and children in these military communities is clear already in the first half of the first century AD. The area to the south of the Upper Danube frontier (the *Voralpenland*) was occupied by the Romans through the late-first century BC and early-first century AD (See map, Figures 34 and 35). It is somewhat more difficult to get a clear picture of the earliest military periods in the forts of the *Voralpenland*, because for the most part, they became thriving civil settlements after the military pushed north to the Raetian frontier. These early military complexes were obscured by numerous civic and religious structures typical of large towns in the provinces, making the recovery of the earliest phases very difficult. After a brief review of the material in this area, attention will be turned to the forts further north that had only a single short occupation in the early first century AD.

The Tiberian site at Kempten (Roman *Cambodunum*) has been the center of debate regarding the military nature of the site and its relationship to the early town that is known to have existed by the AD 20s. The site has always been presumed to have been a military garrison because of its strategic location within the early occupation of the *Voralpenland* and because of numerous finds of military equipment within the domestic spaces of the settlement.⁹⁷ However, the fort itself has never been positively located and the known timber structures are domestic spaces typical of a civil town.⁹⁸ This early material is presumed to

⁹⁷ Kramer 1957, 119-20, for the initial report on excavations at the site and the presumption of a military fort based on the finds from the early timber periods.

⁹⁸ Weber 2001, *passim*.

have been part of the extramural settlement, but the military equipment has created serious debate about the nature of the military presence on the site. Mackensen argues that the earliest military equipment in the town dates to the Tiberian period, but that it may only represent a few soldiers billeted here, or even veterans settled here after their military service.⁹⁹ The former suggestion is provocative and suggests a very close association between the soldiers and the town, even if the finds represent veterans. Wells could not imagine, under any circumstances, that soldiers would have been billeted together with non-combatants in an otherwise predominantly civil site.¹⁰⁰ However, he offered no other explanation for military equipment and armor discovered within the supposedly civilian spaces. This suggestion is not as unacceptable today, especially considering that it was customary to billet soldiers within existing cities in the east, and may have occurred in the west as well.¹⁰¹

Faber more recently contended that the population of soldiers and civilians were billeted together at Kempton. She saw a strong persistence of native forms in the first century material culture from the site,¹⁰² noting several female burials at Kempton that included evidence of native dress choices. From this she hypothesizes that there was an auxiliary presence here and that at least some women accompanied soldiers and retained native

⁹⁹ Mackensen 1987, 167. Cf. Faber 1995, 21. Some debate existed prior to Mackensen's report whether any of the military equipment dated earlier than the Claudian period (Krämer 1957, 119-20; cf. Weber 2001, 200; Weber 2000, 25-48, esp. 33). Military associated finds can be dated into the 3rd century, but a certain amount date to the early Tiberian period.

¹⁰⁰ Wells 1972, 81-3.

¹⁰¹ Bishop 1991, 21-7, for the presence of soldiers in small towns in Britain. At Corbridge on Hadrian's Wall the site began as a strictly military settlement and grew into a larger town later in the 2nd c. The southern end of the town was reserved for military billeting, demarcated only by a meandering wall running through parts of the site. Bishop and Dore 1988, Figs. 3 and 4 for plan.

¹⁰² Schleirmacher 1993; cf. Faber 1995, 21-2.

elements of personal adornment.¹⁰³ Many burials at Kempten also suggest a close association between the military presence and the civilian population, particularly children's graves that contain military graffiti.¹⁰⁴ The intermingling of military and non-combatant material found at Kempten blurs the lines between designated spaces and serves as a reminder that distinct categorization of each is often unrealistic.¹⁰⁵

No clear conclusion can be made about whether the military evidence at Kempten represents a full unit stationed here in the early-first century, a small vexillation of auxiliary soldiers, or simply veterans. However, Faber's hypothesis is that the retention of native forms in material culture such as brooches came to the site via women with the soldiers stationed at or nearby the fort.¹⁰⁶ That the women associated with the settlement in the earliest phases seem to have also originated from a northern European, probably a West Raetian and perhaps the Norican-Pannonian area, suggests household members accompanied soldiers. It would appear that tribal affiliations remained throughout service and that family joined soldiers during their service, particularly if this evidence in fact represents veterans having settled in Kempten. It seems clear that some soldiers here did not "marry" local women, but rather women accompanied them from their place of origin,¹⁰⁷ as will also be concluded from the

¹⁰³ Schleirmacher (1993) noticed a Norican-Pannonian influence in brooch types.

¹⁰⁴ E.g. Mackensen 1978, No. 248 and 208; cf. Faber 1995, 16.

¹⁰⁵ This is also the case in the contemporary legionary fort at Strasbourg, an early camp on the Rhine in Germania Superior. A similar scenario is found here although the early fort itself has not yet been found, but the military nature of the site is clear from the finds assemblage. Military graves with clear Germanic elements were also found at Strasbourg, which has led scholars to propose an auxiliary presence (Badoux et.al. 2002, 339-40). Located among these graves were those of women and children suggesting the possibility that some household members accompanied soldiers into service (Forrer 1927, 267). More recent interpretations have also concluded an auxiliary nature for these burials (Zehner 2001, 27; cf. Badoux et.al. 2002, 340).

¹⁰⁶ Faber 1995, 22. After about the mid-1st century the assemblage becomes less native in character and turns into a typical provincial Roman assemblage with a mixture of elements (Faber 1995, 23).

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Faber 1995, 22-3.

military diplomas. Until the early fort is located and explored the relationship between fort and extramural occupation cannot be ascertained. Kempten and other sites such as Strasbourg, provide some provocative possibilities for the earliest phases of military occupation in northern Europe.

Similar difficulty is found at Auerberg and Lorenzberg, to the west of Kempten also in the *Voralpenland*, when ascertaining the relationship between military and non-soldierly settlement in the earliest periods.¹⁰⁸ At both sites the exact location of the military fort is unknown, but the excavators report that the military nature of the site is clear based on the finds of equipment and weaponry from the known areas of the settlement.¹⁰⁹ It is intriguing that this seems to be a persistent problem on so many early Augustan-Tiberian sites. In many locations the presence of a fort is presumed by a strategic location and an early first century assemblage of finds with a military character. Perhaps there was much more of a blend of the military and non-combatant populations in this initial phase of military occupation, and in looking for clearly defined spaces we are trying to replicate a later norm of a defined military fort with an extramural settlement outside. There is still too little evidence to work with in the *Voralpenland*. Nevertheless, it is intriguing that the early-first century material suggests a mix of populations, while the cemeteries reveal individuals, including women and children, who have retained ethnic dress choices, such as at Kempten.

A clearer picture of the earliest military landscape in the northern provinces may be gleaned from the Augustan forts further to the north on the Rhine and its tributaries. Many of these sites have only a single phase dating to the Augustan period and were abandoned shortly after the disaster of AD 9 in which three legions under Varus were destroyed in

¹⁰⁸ For Auerberg, see Ulbert 1994; Ulbert and Zanier 1997. For Lorenzberg, see Ulbert 1965.

¹⁰⁹ Ulbert 1965, 84.

Kalkriese. Because of the single phase a clearer view of the early Augustan-Tiberian period can be attained and the presence of a significant non-combatant population in this initial phase of conquest can be better understood. However, it is difficult to separate legionary and auxiliary evidence in this early phase of conquest. Often in an initial period of occupation and entrenchment the legions were the main fighting force with auxiliary units attached. Due to this close association it is almost impossible to separate the auxiliary evidence from the legions at sites such as Haltern, Marktbreit and Anreppen.

Nevertheless, it is still worth noting that the fort at Haltern has significant evidence for the presence of women and children in the short period of occupation from the late-first century BC to the early-first century AD. It is these forts on the Lippe that may contextualize the statement by Dio Cassius that describes large numbers of women, children and servants in the wagon train of the three legions of Varus that were slaughtered in Northern Germany in AD 9.¹¹⁰ In Haltern especially, as was found at Kempten, there are significant burial remains associated with the military fort that indicate the presence of women and children even in this very early and short-lived occupation just after a period of conquest on the far northern frontier.¹¹¹ Moreover, at Haltern there has been no extramural occupation detected near the fort, though several test excavations and ground prospection have been undertaken

¹¹⁰ Dio Cassius 56.20.2: ἤγον δὲ καὶ ἀμάξας πολλὰς καὶ νωτοφόρα πολλὰ ὡς ἐν εἰρήνῃ. Παιδὲς τε οὐκ ὀλίγοι καὶ γυναῖκες ἣ τε ἄλλη θεραπεία συχνὴ αὐτοῖς συνείπετο, ὥστε καὶ κατὰ τοῦτ' ἐσκεδασμένη τῇ ὁδοιπορίᾳ χρῆσθαι. (They had with them many wagons and many beasts of burden as in time of peace; moreover, not a few women and children and a large retinue of servants were following them – one more reason for their advancing in scattered groups. Trans. Cary 1961).

¹¹¹ All remains are cremation burials that have undergone DNA testing to prove the sex of the deceased, Kühlborn 1995, 96; cf. von Schnurbein 1974, 75; Berke 1991, 149-57; Asskamp 1990, 187-94.

around this area.¹¹² Just as was found in the forts in the south there is more indication that the populations are mixed, perhaps even inside the fort at Haltern.

Also when discussing the early garrisons with a mix of legionary and auxiliary presence, the material from Vetera Period I investigated by Allison should be mentioned. Her examination of female artifacts within this fort resulted in the conclusion that items definitely and possibly associated with women clustered in the gateways and open market areas and in the residences of officers, particularly the *praetorium*.¹¹³ This pattern led her to conclude that women played an economic role in this fort, and that, not unexpectedly, these individuals were clearly associated with the men in the legion. As has been discussed above, there are some methodological considerations to keep in mind with these associations between artifact and gender, but Allison's work adds to the growing body of evidence that suggests a female presence within the first century military landscape.¹¹⁴ Also of interest here is the writing tablet evidence from the legionary fort of Vindonissa, which Speidel used to reconstruct the lives of non-combatants living in and near the fort. The presence of a female inn-keeper working within the fort dates slightly later in the first century,¹¹⁵ but the evidence for various female slaves, freedwomen and wives among other non-combatants living at the site during

¹¹² Kühlborn 1995, 83. In personal communication with the excavator (Fall 2009), Professor von Schnurbein, he argued that based on what we know of the area, the women and children must have been living in the fort itself, since there is no indication of an extramural settlement. The full publication of the burials at Haltern is in progress currently and will not be published until 2012 at the earliest.

¹¹³ Allison 2006, 10-11. For the recent work on the finds from the site, see Hanel 1995.

¹¹⁴ The main phase at Vetera investigated by Allison has a beginning date in AD 40; however, the early excavation of this fort makes it very difficult to discern material from the early first century material. These results should be used with caution, and can only support an overall picture of non-combatant settlement in the first half of the 1st century AD.

¹¹⁵ Speidel 1996, No. 44, 186-7.

the Tiberian period is also fairly robust.¹¹⁶ This evidence dates closer to the end of the reign of Tiberius, ca. AD 30 at the earliest.

The small pieces of evidence from various forts form a picture of a military landscape that included a significant population of non-combatants associated with military garrisons in the early imperial period and throughout the first century AD. Though the evidence from the Augustan-Tiberian period is less distinct in its association with auxiliary or legionary soldiers, it gives a general picture of the military community during a period of conquest and settlement in a new provincial setting. There can be no doubt that there was significant accommodation outside of the fort walls for a non-combatant population, and at certain sites, such as Kempten and Haltern, mortuary evidence confirms the presence of women and children within the population. The legionary fort at Haltern has quite a few female and child burials, although no extramural settlement has been found, leading von Schnurbein to conclude that these individuals were housed within the fort itself. At Kempten and Strasbourg there are indications of auxiliary presence through native Germanic military burials, with associated graves belonging to women that retained ethnic dress and adornment. This evidence indicates that women had followed soldiers into the military community sometime during their service. The same conclusion will be reached in Chapter 5 for many cases of *de facto* marriages found in the military diplomas. This is highly important in order to seek the social identification of these individuals, because the diplomas suggest that very often we should interpret these women as wives and perhaps daughters of soldiers. The evidence is mounting that suggests there were families living within the military community from the very beginning of Roman military occupation north of the Alps when we do not typically imagine such a non-combatant presence.

¹¹⁶ Dating to ca. AD 30. Speidel 1996, 53-4.

The Upper Danube frontier in Raetia in the mid-first century AD

The progression of Roman conquest in Germany moved out of the *Voralpenland* north to the banks of the River Danube. The early Raetian frontier was established at the Danube probably under Claudius in the early 40s AD (see map, Figure 35). The most well-excavated and studied fort is that at Oberstimm, the furthest fort west before entering into the province of Pannonia. Allison used this auxiliary fort to investigate the presence of women and children in a mid-first century auxiliary context (See map, Figure 35). The site was settled in ca. AD 40 and had an initial occupation phase that lasted until ca. AD 69/70. This was broken into four discreet sub-phases, the last of which (Phase 1d) has been interpreted as a period when those in residence were rebuilding the fort.¹¹⁷ This period is followed by a second phase with continual occupation from ca. AD 80-120.¹¹⁸ The excavators suggested that the installation was a supply base in both of these periods, used to furnish provisions for troops further to the east.¹¹⁹ A third later phase dating to the AD 120s was identified in more recent excavations carried out in the *praetentura* of the fort and in the extramural areas beyond the fort walls.¹²⁰ Although the precise unit in residence is not known the size and location of the fort indicate that it was manned by an auxiliary unit. Its identification as a supply station, however, suggests that the nature of occupancy may have been slightly different than a standard auxiliary fort.

¹¹⁷ Schönberger 1978, 73-6 and 143-4.

¹¹⁸ Schönberger 1978, 16; Schönberger 1990, 248. For Allison's treatment of Oberstimm see, Allison 2006, 11-14.

¹¹⁹ Schönberger 1978, 148-50.

¹²⁰ Schönberger 1990, *passim*.

Allison concluded that women and probably families had a significant presence in most contexts within the fort, as well as in all periods of occupation.¹²¹ She sees a concentration of female and children's items associated with Building 3, an accommodation block for craftsmen especially in Phase 1b, which together with Phase 1c is considered the primary first century occupation period.¹²² Significant amounts of material also betrayed the presence of women and children in Period 1 in buildings 12 and 14, a tavern and a barrack block respectively.¹²³ The *praetorium* only shows significant signs of family presence in Phase 1d, a rebuilding stage before Period 2.¹²⁴ Allison also detected a female presence in Period 2 near Building 1, which has been identified as open space with a probable commercial function at this time.¹²⁵

The most prominent category of artifacts associated with women at Oberstimm were melon beads, a smaller version of a type that can also be associated with decoration on horse harnesses.¹²⁶ These finds were determined by their researcher to be too small to have belonged to such horse gear.¹²⁷ They can be associated with these demographic groups because of their presence in the western provinces in civilian contexts such as female and children's graves.¹²⁸ The beads are associated with female dress, which has a more concrete

¹²¹ Allison 2006, 14.

¹²² Schönberger 1978, 67-73.

¹²³ Allison 2006, 13; Schönberger 1978, 116-28.

¹²⁴ Schönberger 1978, 87-90.

¹²⁵ Schönberger 1978, 50-7, 143.

¹²⁶ 28 small melon beads were found and used in this argument. Allison 2008, 122. For the relationship between melon beads and female dress, see Hoffmann 2006.

¹²⁷ Böhme 1978, 288-9; cf. Allison 2006, 13-14.

¹²⁸ Hoffmann 2006, 228-9; Böhme 1978, 288; cf. Allison 2008, 122.

association with the habits of an individual sex. Beads are an outward manifestation of identification that is well understood in the Roman world and can often be confirmed by its association with burial assemblages and imagery. While there are still some problems with these categories, as will be discussed below, the demographic associations can be made with more certainty than those dependent upon association with gendered activities that may have been inverted in the military setting. Female dress items found in a military context are on more solid ground, than for instance, spindle whorls. The location of these beads throughout the early periods at Oberstimm may be a positive sign of a significant female presence.

Two brooches and several bronze and bone hairpins found at Oberstimm are also associated with female dress.¹²⁹ The attribution of brooches exclusively with male or female ownership is problematic, but much work has been done on this debate in German scholarship. Böhme has investigated jewelry, and especially brooch types, that are associated with female dress based on mortuary evidence from several sites.¹³⁰ At Oberstimm, the most common female brooch type is the Distel brooch, dating to the first half of the first century AD. Böhme argues strongly that these should be associated with women in a Roman imperial context.¹³¹ She found that in the late-La Tène period in northern Europe Distel brooches were used in male and female graves. By the beginning of the first century AD, however, and specifically in a Roman imperial context, the Distel brooch is associated overwhelmingly with female grave assemblages, as well as with images of women wearing this dress

¹²⁹ For the brooches, Böhme 1978, nos. 374 and 375, 182, 215. The problematic category of hairpins will not be dealt with as their association with women in a non-Italian context is unclear.

¹³⁰ Böhme 1974, esp. 19-21. A good example comes from an image of a family from a gravestone in Mainz (Böhme 1974, 20, Abb. 34).

¹³¹ Böhme-Schönberger 2002, 217-19.

accessory.¹³² There are only two first century examples of the Distel brooch found with military weaponry and assemblages that are more consistent with a male burial.¹³³ Though these examples date to the Roman period, their cultural affiliation is more Germanic in nature, and should not be used to contradict the far more abundant evidence linking these brooches with female graves in the Roman period and in a Roman context. Interestingly this brooch type was once thought to have distinct military associations, even though they were not apparently found frequently within forts.¹³⁴ Now they are called upon to indicate a female presence in a military setting.¹³⁵

Overall, the material at Oberstimm suggests a significant female presence from the earliest phases of occupation at this site throughout the mid-to-late-first century and into the early-second century. The specific locations of female and children's artifacts suggest that women at Oberstimm were associated in some way with the commercial activity of the fort, a conclusion that was also reached for the fort at Ellingen. Therefore, Oberstimm, located in the newly formed province of Raetia and on a recently consolidated frontier, was probably already home to women and children in the earliest phases of its settlement. The Danube frontier was garrisoned with a line of forts under Claudius, decades after the initial conquest

¹³² Böhme-Schönberger 2002, 217.

¹³³ Exceptions are in an early Roman grave at Miesau (Roller 1958); a Germanic grave at Diersheim (Nierhaus 1966). Cf. Böhme-Schönberger 2002, 218; also see Liefert 2007, 188, for other examples in male graves, but these are all variants of the typically female type of distel brooch.

¹³⁴ Böhme-Schönberger 2002, 217-18; cf. Ettlinger 1973, 82.

¹³⁵ Most recently see Böhme-Schönberger 2008, esp. 142-5; Gechter 2003, 208-9; Roest 1988, 164; Böhme 1972, 47-8; Gechter 1979, 77, reports 5% of brooches in early imperial forts on the Rhine were worn by women. For Distel Brooches and their connection to women generally, see Riha 1994, 19; Oesterwind 1989, 146; Leifeld 2007, 187-8. For relationship with the related Kragen type brooches and female dress, see Böhme-Schönberger 1994, 126.

of the area to the south in the *Voralpenland*.¹³⁶ The province of Germania Superior was not yet formed at this time. The creation of Raetia as a province happened only under Tiberius,¹³⁷ and the reinforced defense on the Danube was a part of Claudius' attempt to solidify the western frontiers.¹³⁸ The Upper Danube frontier at this time was certainly not an active war zone, but neither was it a settled area confidently in Roman control. The material from Oberstimm once again contradicts the often conjured image that families slowly became a part of the military community only later in the second century when the military was supposedly more settled, and especially after cohabitation was made legal by Severus.

If one looks more broadly to the area of the Upper-Danube frontier in Raetia to contextualize the material patterns that Allison found at Oberstimm, a few pieces of evidence suggesting occupation by non-combatants was simultaneous with that of the military are found. The fort at Aislingen was also part of the Claudian reinforcement of the Raetian frontier, located about 75km to the west of Oberstimm, with a fort at Burghöfe in between the two (See map, Figure 35). Early excavations were carried out at Aislingen and Burghöfe, but in neither case was the entire assemblage of material from the fort reported.¹³⁹ Such early excavations often did not collect or report on several artifact categories that would perhaps suggest patterns similar to what Allison found at Oberstimm. For example, small melon beads or fragmentary spindle whorls were often neglected in publication. It is impossible to say anything of such finds simply because the research agendas of this period did not support

¹³⁶ Schönberger 1969, 154.

¹³⁷ The exact date of the creation of the province is debatable; see Dietz 1995, 69-73.

¹³⁸ Dietz 1995, 74-8.

¹³⁹ Primarily in the late 19th and first half of the 20th century, with long campaigns in 1905 and 1907-9. This work was synthesized into a single report (Ulbert 1959); cf. Zenetti 1909; Zenetti 1936/8;

such exact recording of artifacts and their locations, and their apparent absence from a fort should not be taken as fact.

Burghöfe and Aislingen both yielded four Distel brooches that Böhme associated with female dress. They date to the earliest periods of occupation on the site.¹⁴⁰ The early excavation report from Aislingen seems to indicate that the four brooches there were found within the fort itself. The early excavations were contained to the fort itself, providing good context for their association within the fort walls. The exact find location of the Burghöfe examples is unclear, but only a small portion of the extramural settlement was explored on this site, perhaps indicating an intramural deposition. Further analysis of the small finds at Burghöfe is not possible, since much of the stratigraphic information is missing from the early excavations.¹⁴¹

It is possible to say something of the size and organization of extramural occupation on these sites. A substantial extramural settlement which extended at least 200m beyond the fort walls was excavated at Aislingen in the 1980s.¹⁴² The excavators stressed that the settlement grew simultaneously with the fort and existed from the very beginning of military occupation.¹⁴³ Evidence from the site is primarily from the Claudian period, with some residual material from the late-Tiberian period. Such extensive extramural settlement

¹⁴⁰ For Aislingen, see Ulbert 1959, 66-7, Taf. 16, nos. 4-7. For Burghöfe, see Ortisi 2002, nos. 159-160 (Distelfibeln, 28, tafel 12) are first found in the Augustan period but most common in the Claudian period; nos. 161-2 (Hülsenspiralfibeln, 28, Tafel 12) date to the late-Tiberian-Claudian period. See above, for discussion of linking this brooch type to an individual sex.

¹⁴¹ Schmidt 2000, 56.

¹⁴² Published recently by Kainrath 2008. The settlement was probably much larger but excavations were limited to the southern area of the settlement. It is clear that the settlement began just outside the fort walls to the north of the excavated area, probably the oldest part of the extramural occupation. Cf. Czysz 1989, 114-18, for initial report on the rescue excavations on the site.

¹⁴³ Kainrath 2008, 12, esp. 126-8.

constructed contemporaneously with the fort, suggests that a significant population of people was connected with the garrison at this time. They did not have direct access to the fort, however, indicating their role as non-combatant members of the military community.

Burghöfe also had a significant extramural settlement, located very close to the fortifications of the military garrison in this period.¹⁴⁴ The extramural settlement was contemporary with the fort and, like Aislingen, had its beginnings in the late-Tiberian period and its largest occupation in the Claudian-Neronian period.¹⁴⁵ A need to house individuals without direct access to the fort is clear. It should also be noted that Ortisi recorded brooch forms at Aislingen and Burghöfe that dated earlier than the other Claudian period forts on the Raetian *Limes*, indicating a slightly earlier date for these two forts.¹⁴⁶

Günzburg (Roman *Gontia*) is ca. 10km further west from Aislingen and Burghöfe along the Danube on the first century Raetian frontier (See map, Figure 35). There is not much that can be said of the nature of the fort or settlement of a non-combatant population because of the sporadic excavations done only in small trenches around the site.¹⁴⁷ Czysz argues that there was at least some settlement directly outside of the fort gates by the end of the first century AD, although its extent and nature is unknown.¹⁴⁸ He presumes this settlement would have housed the families of soldiers, and argues that they would have

¹⁴⁴ Some exploration occurred in the 19th century with major excavations being carried out in the first half of the 20th century. Ulbert 1959, 15-21. For modern investigations, see Schmidt 2000; Ortisi 2002; Faßbinder and Ortisi 2003.

¹⁴⁵ Ortisi 2002, 48-50, esp. 49. Like other forts on this frontier, Burghöfe has a burnt horizon for the years 69/70 (Ortisi 2002, 49).

¹⁴⁶ Ortisi 2002, 46.

¹⁴⁷ Primarily dated by sigillata stamps, the fort was established in the early-Flavian period (Schmid 2000, 43-5; Czysz 2002, 45).

¹⁴⁸ Czysz 2002, 80-1.

followed the troops when the garrison moved to nearby Heidenheim.¹⁴⁹ It is also interesting that the extramural settlement at Günzburg remained occupied after the frontier moved north and the military presence at the fort ceased.¹⁵⁰ Further to the west two small fortlets show no presence of non-combatant activity, though these have been excavated only in exploratory trenches in the area inside of the defenses.¹⁵¹ Moreover, the internal structure consists of a single barrack block and a second building, which was probably only occupied by a temporary vexillation from a nearby unit with a single centurion, and would never have sustained a large population.¹⁵²

The same difficulty exists with the full-size auxiliary fort at Rißtissen, which was further west from the two fortlets, where excavation only explored the intramural areas of the settlement (See map, Figure 35).¹⁵³ Limited excavation in the *vicus* at Rißtissen has discovered an extramural settlement to the southwest, with the same chronological sequence as the fort itself. That is to say, the extramural settlement was part of the military occupation from the early Claudian period onward.¹⁵⁴ Emerkingen, the next fort in the frontier line, is

¹⁴⁹ Czysz 2002, 81.

¹⁵⁰ Schmid 2000, 55-6.

¹⁵¹ The fortlets at Nersingen and Burlafingen, see Mackensen 1987.

¹⁵² Kemkes 1996, 12.

¹⁵³ Ulbert 1970 ; Cf. Mildenerberger 1962, 106-19. It is not possible to say anything about the fort at Unterkirchberg, between Burlafingen and Rißtissen. The fort is mostly understood only from aerial photographs (Filtzinger 1981, 52-3; Planck 1994, 150-1). A large excavation undertaken in 1973-4 revealed the southern corner of the fort and its defenses (Shieck 1974, 26-30) with some of the barracks in this corner revealing the earliest period of a few *contubernia* and the centurion's quarters at the end of the barrack block (Klee 1996, 31-41; Klee 1986, 187-91), but it seems that stratified finds were rare in this excavation. The *vicus* is known to have been located to the south-southwest of the fort, but only a small exploration of the area in the 1920s (Veeck 1929, 1-7) has shown that there was an early timber phase of the settlement (Meyer 2005, 134-5), but no clear date was obtained.

¹⁵⁴ Mostly sondage trenches were cut to ascertain a stratigraphic sequence for the *vicus*, Klein 1999, 97.

only known from a few small excavations;¹⁵⁵ but there is one interesting find here that is useful for understanding the relationship between fort and *vicus*. The extramural settlement had an early timber phase, presumed by the excavators to be contemporary with the first fort, and a later stone phase.¹⁵⁶ A granary dating to the earliest timber phase, ca. AD 40, was placed within the extramural settlement, rather than at the more typical location within the fort which was very often directly next to the *principia*, suggesting its importance for the army.¹⁵⁷ The extramural settlements always held buildings of military use such as bathhouses and temples, but it is rare to find the granary outside of the fort because of its importance and the need for security.¹⁵⁸ Its location in the *vicus* suggests a close and trusted relationship between the two spaces. It is possible, especially in the case of Emerkingen because of its general lack of excavation, that another granary stood within the fort and the one in the *vicus* was only secondary. Unfortunately, nothing more can be said about the overall settlement phases or the population present in the *vicus* in this early period since no further excavation has taken place outside of the fort. Nevertheless, this close association during the early phases of occupation is noteworthy.

A bit more may be said about the presence of women and children in the forts furthest west on the Danube frontier. Mengen-Ennetach was part of the earliest line of forts on this frontier, located ca. 40 km. west of Rißtissen, constructed in ca. AD 35/40 (See map, Figure

¹⁵⁵ Filtzinger 1962, 83-105; Wieland 1996, 23-9, for general discussion of the site.

¹⁵⁶ Heiligmann 1983, 104-6; Heiligmann 1982, 100-2.

¹⁵⁷ Wieland 1996, 25-9; Wieland 1995, 175-9. For timber granaries in military contexts generally, see Manning 1975, 105-29.

¹⁵⁸ For other examples of external granaries in Germany, see Wieland 1996, 23. He cites the granary in the *Canabae Legionis* at Neuss particularly.

35).¹⁵⁹ Only about twenty percent of the 1.4ha fort and very little of the extramural settlement has been excavated. However, more of the site is understood from an extensive geophysical survey.¹⁶⁰ A small amount of material from the fort indicates the presence of at least one or a few females within the fort itself.¹⁶¹ A piece of a hand mirror, ivory hairpins and two spindle whorls betray the presence of women in an intramural context.¹⁶² It is tempting to accept this evidence outright, but it is less than overwhelming. There are problems with unconditionally associating spindle whorls with female activity to conclude the presence of females here. Ivory hairpins and the hand mirror are in many cases associated with females in mortuary assemblages.¹⁶³ However, the small amount of material from Mengen-Ennetach, though thought provoking, does not make a strong case for a significant female presence. Perhaps with further excavation and more substantial material for analysis, the presence of women within the fort could be on more solid ground. At present, this material is intriguing but not definitive to suggest intramural female occupancy here.

The extramural occupation at Mengen-Ennetach is also interesting for the overall nature of non-combatant settlement on the Upper Danube (See map, Figure 35). Part of the *vicus* to the southwest of the fort has been explored, in a settlement area that stretches from

¹⁵⁹ Evidence in certain areas points toward the early Claudian period, closer to ca. AD 50, but a small number of coins and *terra sigillata* suggest there was a fort here in the late-Tiberian period, which is also assumed within the strategic position of forts along the frontier. Reim 1999, 89; Kemkes 1999, 80-5; Kemkes 2002, 26-8.

¹⁶⁰ Osten-Woldenburg 1999, 12-15.

¹⁶¹ Unfortunately, the exact location of these finds has not been published, but the major thrust of excavation has been in the northwest corner of the fort. Meyr 2005, 624.

¹⁶² Kemkes 2002, 28; Meyr 2005, 626.

¹⁶³ E.g. the female burial at Hüfingen from the early Flavian period, Fingerlin 2006, 60-1. Kemkes (2002, 28) cites Driel-Murray 1997 when assigning these items as female owned.

the southwest of the fort to the northeast.¹⁶⁴ The material here dates to the early-Flavian period, which would lead to a conclusion that the *vicus* was not in existence until well after the initial military occupation of the site. However, the area excavated is not the earliest part of the extramural settlement, suggesting this area was much later in the growth of the *vicus*.¹⁶⁵ This means that by the early-Flavian period there was an extensive and well-developed extramural occupation, one that had likely been growing for several decades.

The fort at Hüfingen is a bit more difficult to assess in this debate, but offers some very interesting material.¹⁶⁶ This site is located at the far western end of the Upper-Danubian frontier at the confluence of several major traffic routes (See map, Figure 35). In addition to being part of the important southern Danube road that links the forts along this line, it is located directly north of the legionary fort at Vindonissa on the direct route between the major Rhine forts to the north and this legionary base to the south. Later it would be located on the major road up to *Arae Flaviae* (Rottweil) to the north, a major center in the second century.¹⁶⁷ Thus, because of this location, the settlement outside of the fort was a strategic spot for any number of non-military activities including commercial business ventures. The main street was lined with typical “strip-houses” that have a commercial area facing the road and domestic or workshop space behind.¹⁶⁸ Steady traffic through the extramural settlement

¹⁶⁴ Kemkes 1999, 85.

¹⁶⁵ Kemkes 1999, 86. The area has not yet been explored archaeologically, but the excavators deduce that this is the earliest area of extramural occupation, and would have developed parallel to the fort.

¹⁶⁶ Fingerlin 1983, 27-32. The fort at Tuttlingen, in between Mengen-Ennetach and Hüfingen, cannot be discussed. The small excavations underneath the modern city have revealed only small pockets of information and none with any definite stratigraphic information (Jenisch and Waha 2001). The only data is that an early Claudian fort was located on this spot (Filtzinger 1974, 417-36).

¹⁶⁷ Mayer-Reppert 1995, 35.

¹⁶⁸ Mayer-Reppert 1995, 37.

of Hüfingen would also attract inn-keepers and other businesses that cater to the needs of travelers. With this in mind it is difficult to assess the site as a typical fort and *vicus*, since there can be no assurance that the relationship between the two was always a close one.

The fort and extramural settlement at Hüfingen were constructed almost simultaneously in the late-Tiberian period.¹⁶⁹ The need to accommodate non-combatants was present early, but the independent character of the *vicus* is evident in its location that is a bit further away from the fort than is typical. It is located to the north of the fort with a burial ground between. The location of the settlement set back from the fort and the central position of the site generally on major roadways, indicate activities in the extramural settlement that could be associated with individuals who had little to do with the nearby fort. It is interesting to note, however, that the cemeteries to north and south of the *vicus* contained burials of soldiers and civilians with no indication of separation or clustering.¹⁷⁰ Moreover, a large amount of equipment found within the *vicus* has been positively associated with soldiers, suggesting that there was a mixed population in the extramural settlement or at the very least the presence of veterans.¹⁷¹

Hüfingen also offers an interesting view of the population of a fort at this time. A Distel brooch of the same type that is typically associated with female dress accessories was

¹⁶⁹ Mayer-Reppert 2005, 337. Mayer-Reppert 1995 (57) dates the main phase of the fort to ca. AD 40, as are other forts on this frontier, and the civilian settlement to sometime in the AD 40s and definitely well developed by AD 50. The earlier first century date is in keeping with the fact that there is evidence for very early military activity here in the Augustan-Tiberian period. A single timber granary lies near to the site of the mid-first century fort site (Mayer-Reppert 2005, 337, 342).

¹⁷⁰ Mayer-Reppert 1995, 40.

¹⁷¹ Mayer-Reppert 1995, 54.

found underneath the early granary.¹⁷² Böhme argued that in a Celtic-Germanic tradition this brooch type was associated with both men and women in the first century BC. However, by the first century AD, and in a Roman imperial context, this brooch was almost exclusively a female dress accessory.¹⁷³ One brooch can certainly not support a claim for a significant female presence in the fort at Hüfingen, but some would argue that there may be a possibility. The history of this brooch type, however, and in the context of an auxiliary fort, leads to problems of interpretation. Particularly in the mid-first century the ethnic character of these units was likely still to have been rather intact. Many of the auxiliary units originated in northern Europe; therefore, their auxiliary forts may in many cases be interpreted more as a Celtic-Germanic environment than a Roman one.¹⁷⁴

At Hüfingen, Mayer-Reppert interpreted that the finds were a Celtic-Germanic character in the first half of the first century, particularly with dress related items in the extramural settlement. She also noted a gradual shift away from a native influenced assemblage starting in the second half of the first century.¹⁷⁵ An auxiliary fort, especially in the first century, may be associated far more with a native tradition rather than a Roman one. In contrast, James argues that the soldiery of Rome, especially the provincial *auxilia*, did in fact take on a distinct identity of a Roman soldier, rather than keeping a previous ethnic identity, and that this was advertised with dress and daily habits.¹⁷⁶ However, there are also

¹⁷² Revellio 1937, 38, Plate X, No. 9. Rieckhoff 1975, 60-2. See above for discussion of the gendered association of this brooch type and female dress generally.

¹⁷³ Böhme-Schönberger 2002, 217-19; cf. above note 112 and 114.

¹⁷⁴ The exact unit in residence at Hüfingen is unknown, like most forts along the early Upper-Danube Raetian frontier, but it is likely to have been a unit with a northern European background.

¹⁷⁵ Mayer-Reppert 1995, 62; cf. Fingerlin 1983, 29.

¹⁷⁶ James 1999, *passim*.

clear indications that soldiers retained some ethnic identity through physical characteristics and habits.¹⁷⁷ The continued use of a single brooch by a soldier can certainly be imagined as a realistic possibility.

Moreover, traditional habits may have been maintained by the non-combatant population living in the extramural settlement. This may be particularly true with the tasks that were not associated with the soldiers of the Roman army, but rather with the women that accompanied them.¹⁷⁸ This brings into sharp focus again the problematic nature of using potentially ambiguous artifacts to argue the presence of women in the military environment. This recalls the association of women and brooches or beads at other auxiliary forts on the Raetian frontier, such as at Oberstimm.¹⁷⁹ A warning may also be extended in regards to other types of material culture, such as hairpins, which when found in an auxiliary context may not always retain its expected 'Roman' connotation of use and ownership. At the same time, when a finds assemblage from an auxiliary fort suggests a native or Celtic population, this does not mean that a local population was present. Particularly in the first century, ethnic units were being raised and filled from the provincial populations of newly conquered areas. The finds therefore often reflect the auxiliary status of the unit, and do not suggest that a local native group lived adjacent to the fort. Artifacts associated with a female presence that have a non-Roman character strongly suggest that women associated with the army traveled and joined the soldier in the military setting.

¹⁷⁷ Driel-Murray 2009, discusses the continued use of native pottery forms by women in the military context. Inscriptions also suggest a group affiliation with members of a unit of the same ethnic background.

¹⁷⁸ Driel-Murray 1997, 55; for a similar argument that Gallo-Germanic jewelry forms come to Kempten (*Cambodunum*) through the wives of soldiers and veterans, see Faber 1995, 22.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. Rieckhoff 1975, 60-2.

If we look at the whole landscape of the Upper-Danube frontier it is clear that accommodation of a non-combatant population was characteristic from the very earliest stages of military occupation. In all full-size auxiliary forts from Oberstimm to the end of this frontier at Hüfingen, there was an extramural settlement associated with the fort, usually constructed simultaneously with military occupation, or only a few years later. Of course, the *vicus* housed people not associated with the soldiers of the garrison, such as merchants and shopkeepers, but was also an area for the location of important military structures such as bathhouses, temples and sometimes granaries. However, the substantial growth of these settlements and extensive size by the mid-first century suggests more than just a few 'camp followers' lived here. The extramural settlements were predominantly filled with domestic residences, often with a commercial space at the front of the house facing onto the street, indicating a possible commercial role for the inhabitants of the house. Precisely who lived in the settlement is more difficult to say, but there is substantial evidence for women and children present in associated cemetery assemblages. Moreover, the presumption has been that by the third century a significant portion of the population of the extramural settlements included the families of soldiers. After looking at the epigraphic record of auxiliary soldiers, the presence of family in the military environment is assured much earlier than the third century. Most people assume that extramural settlements grew large in the third century, only after Septimius Severus abolished the marriage ban. This assumption should be revised after consideration of the evidence for extramural settlement from the mid-first century on the Upper-Danube frontier. Here extramural settlements were important from the very beginning of military occupation, and by AD 70 held quite a significant population.

The artifacts from the fort sites along the Upper-Danube frontier are not exceptionally illuminating on their own, and in fact, they bring into sharp focus the danger of using only artifact evidence to indicate the presence of certain individuals. Allison's charts plotting artifact deposition show some interesting patterns of the presence of women within a fort, but without a broad contextualization of this material it is dangerous to assume the presence of women outright. The distribution of melon beads within Oberstimm was the primary indicator of a sustained presence of women throughout most areas of the fort. Though small melon beads are often found associated with female burial assemblages, when divorced from an assured female burial it is difficult to sustain this association with certainty, since the slightly larger examples are associated with horse accoutrements. Similarly Distel brooches are indeed a very female dress item in a Roman imperial context. However, the native elements that were still very strongly exhibited in personal dress choices in auxiliary contexts in the first century AD should give pause. In the context of this argument, these choices seem to plausibly reflect the accompaniment of women associated with auxiliary soldiers, who retained some aspects of their native identity and expressed this physically.

Each site explored here offers a small window onto the presence of non-combatants within the military, and only when viewed all together can a strong case be made that non-combatants made up a significant and important percentage of the population of early military settlements. The likelihood that a large proportion of these individuals should be interpreted as the wives and family members of soldiers will be made clearer after looking at the epigraphy associated with the Roman army.

The Lower Rhine frontier in the Netherlands

The outpost forts on the lower-Rhine in Germania Inferior, located today in the Netherlands can be used to compare to another frontier occupied by the Roman army in the mid-first century, the same time as the upper-Danube-Raetian *Limes*. The frontier on the north Rhine, including the early fort at Vechten (probably early),¹⁸⁰ Velsen in an outpost to the north of Rhine Delta, and the mid-first century forts at Zwammerdam, Utrecht and Valkenburg, were the first defenses against the tribes to the north outside the empire proper (See map, Figure 36).¹⁸¹ This frontier, established in the early first century after Varus' legions were destroyed in Germania Inferior in AD 9, was part of the Augustan-Tiberian German policy intended to control the northwestern edge of the empire.

This frontier was consolidated along the Rhine in the 40s, after Corbulo ceased operations advancing further into free Germany. Located just north of the legionary forts at Nijmegen and Vetera, and not far from the *Colonia Ulpia Traiana* located now at Xanten, it was connected by road to the *Limes* communication system in Germania Inferior to the south. It was, however, on the very edge of the empire and was considered an outpost area. The focus will be on the fort at Valkenburg, built in ca. AD 40 on the far western edge of this frontier region, which is described as an advanced station in a remote region that was still not entirely under Roman control in the mid-first century.¹⁸² This area offers some very interesting evidence for the military community because of its preservation similar to that of Vindolanda. Many sites in the Netherlands are waterlogged resulting in the preservation of

¹⁸⁰ Wells 1972, 101-16, considered with the *fossa Drusianana*, the canal cut for passage through this area.

¹⁸¹ The Frisii and the Chauci were located directly to the north, De Weerd 1977, 282.

¹⁸² De Weerd 1977, 277.

large amounts of leather, although no site has as large an assemblage as Vindolanda. The fort at Valkenburg will be the primary case study here because of its Claudian date, contemporary with the forts on the Raetian frontier, and earlier than the forts on the British frontier.

The fort was established between the years AD 39-42 and was the last station on the west end of the Lower Rhine. A civil settlement grew up nearby around AD 50 at the Woerd site to the south. However, as has been observed elsewhere in military landscapes, there seems to have been two areas of extramural occupation, indicating that two distinct civil populations were present. The one on the Woerd was a bit further away and may have had a native character.¹⁸³ The settlement directly to the south of the early fort walls was associated directly with the garrison. There is provocative evidence for the presence of women and children in the earliest phases associated with Valkenburg 1, well before the civil settlement on the Woerd was in existence in ca. 50. Jetties on the site imply the settlement served as a mooring station for ships, probably traveling from the Rhine into the North Sea.

Its coastal location provoked the argument that Valkenburg acted first as a staging area for the British invasion of AD 43.¹⁸⁴ This suggestion has since been put to rest and it is now understood to have been a part of the broader policy for the defense of Germania Inferior, intended to control the tribes to the north.¹⁸⁵ The exact date of the foundation of the

¹⁸³ Termed 'rural center' by Hiddink (1991, 201-33) to define it better, which distinguishes it from the settlement directly next to the fort walls.

¹⁸⁴ Even though the undisputed embarkation spot was further south at Boulogne-sur-mer, and the movement of legionary troops from the Rhine to Britain would then pass through Gaul, more pacified than the north Rhine. The layout of Phase 1 Valkenburg interior of the fort shows no preponderance of storage facilities (Glasbergen and Groenman-van Waateringe 1974, 7, 9, figs. 2 and 3). The extramural buildings excavated in the 'Marktveld' area outside of the Period I fort do indicate a strong storage component at this time (Van Dierendonck 1997, 548-50; Hallewas and Van Dierendonck 1993, 42-3). For storage on site generally, see Groenman-van Waateringe 1977.

¹⁸⁵ De Weerd 1977, 255-89, esp. 256-9 for overview of arguments with references. Early excavations of Van Giffen in the first quarter of the 20th century provided a date of the Flavian period, but this has been discarded. More recently, Van Es (1972, 80-2, 223) suggested a date as late as AD 47 (as reported by De Weerd 1977,

fort is of little consequence to this argument and it will suffice to say that it dates to sometime in the reign of Caligula or to the very early years of Claudius' reign, ca. AD 40. It is slightly earlier than Zwammerdam and Utrecht, which were further east on the north Rhine frontier and were part of the final consolidation occurring by AD 47. Phase 1 at Valkenburg lasted from ca. 40 to 45/47 at the latest, with a possible later period 1a which was a brief phase of elevation or adaption of the site for the next construction of Period 2/3.¹⁸⁶ De Weerd considers this earliest phase to have been a self-supporting camp, based on its arrangement and small finds recovered from the site.¹⁸⁷ The second Phase, 2/3, lasted until the Batavian revolt in AD 69, at which point there are corresponding burnt levels at Valkenburg. Period 4 dates from ca. AD 70-100. After this point the fort was continuously occupied until the middle of the third century, with a break between Period 5 and 6 in about AD 178.

This investigation will be primarily concerned with the periods between AD 40 and 70, since during this time we do not readily anticipate the presence of non-combatants in large numbers with the military. The fort was first built for a vexillation of four centuries and two *turmae* of cavalry from *cohors III Gallorum equitata*.¹⁸⁸ The housing in this fort is unusual, with a noteworthy lack of officers' quarters. The *praetorium* is located in the *praetentura* of the fort, but even this building has some strange features inconsistent with

256), but this date is not followed and current thinking is around AD 40. The finds assemblage from Valkenburg is almost identical to the early Claudian fort at Hofheim, which is often used to suggest contemporaneity (E.g. De Weerd 1977, 259-65 with review of Ritterling's Hofheim arguments; cf. Glasbergen 1948, 219).

¹⁸⁶ Glasbergen and Groenman-van Waateringe 1974, 17-19; cf. De Weerd 1977, 271.

¹⁸⁷ De Weerd 1977, 277.

¹⁸⁸ Glasbergen and Groenman-van Waateringe 1974, 8-13.

other similar structures.¹⁸⁹ The centurion's quarters at the end of the barrack blocks are the only housing potential for those above the rank and file. Period 2/3 was built entirely for an *ala* and its primary features were for horse stabling and cavalry equipment.¹⁹⁰

In the middle of the first century Valkenburg was garrisoned by an unusual group of foot soldiers and cavalry, and subsequently cavalry alone. The area was an outpost fort and has been argued to have been a self-sufficient settlement without much support from the legions to the south. In this way, the frontier is reminiscent of Hadrian's Wall and the later British frontier because it was garrisoned exclusively by auxiliary soldiers, with the nearest legionary fort fairly far to the south. In the Lower Rhine, the fort at Nijmegen would have served as the nearest legionary base. The civilian settlement on the Woerd was secondary to the extramural occupation directly to the south of the fort, suggesting there were two non-combatant areas of habitation, possibly with different identification and roles within the military landscape.

The site in its first phase (ca. AD 40-70) is considered to have been entirely for a military purpose.¹⁹¹ However, the shoes that were found, particularly in the military fort complex, suggest that 26% of the population at this time comprised women or children.¹⁹² When the material from the Marktveld gully, an area of refuse build up active in the first century AD, is considered with the fort, the population of men to women/children is in the

¹⁸⁹ It has also been argued to have been a *fabrica*. This identification seems far less likely, but it is intriguing that there are other possibilities for its use. Groenman-van Waateringe 1991.

¹⁹⁰ Glasbergen and Groenman-van Waateringe 1974, 13-15, fig. 4.

¹⁹¹ Dierendonck 1997, 553.

¹⁹² Hoevenberg 1993, 257. The shoes from the fort excavations were first published by Groenman-van Waateringe (1967) in Dutch. Hoevenberg's (1993) analysis of shoes from Valkenburg will be used for this discussion and the comparison between the fort finds and the later excavations outside of the fort.

range of 4:1.¹⁹³ There were slightly more men present than one expects in a typical civilian population, but this is expected for a military site on the very edge of the empire in the first century. The fact that perhaps even 26% of the population were women, children or adolescent boys in this early military phase is remarkable based on our current understanding of military contexts in the first century. Hoevenberg concludes that there is a strong possibility that women and children were living within the fort, and she postulates that these may have been the families of officers, based not on artifact patterns but because of their equestrian rank and the legal privileges they held.¹⁹⁴ However, at the time of publication, Hoevenberg would not have had the benefit of Driel-Murray's report from Vindolanda in order to compare the footwear from internal fort contexts.

Burial evidence at Valkenburg is also significant in this discussion.¹⁹⁵ Inhumations of infants and neonatal individuals appear in the cemetery from the earliest stages of its use in the mid-first century.¹⁹⁶ This material speaks clearly to the presence of women and the children that lived out of infancy and became a part of the social group on the site. The preliminary report does not make clear exact numbers of individuals from each period, but confirms the presence of infants and neonates from the mid-first century onward. From the entire group of inhumations that were examined, a total of 145 graves from the mid-first to the mid-third century, 90 included skeletons of infants and neonates and a further 13 of

¹⁹³ Hoevenberg 1993, 257.

¹⁹⁴ Hoevenberg 1993, 264.

¹⁹⁵ Waugh 1993. The emphasis here will be on the summary given in the 1993 excavation report by Waugh for overall analysis and referral to the earliest Dutch reports on the cemeteries.

¹⁹⁶ Waugh 1993, 31-2.

children under 18 years old.¹⁹⁷ This is a highly significant number for the life of the cemetery and its indication of the population in the mid-first century.

The footwear from Valkenburg is comparable to that of military installations nearby, particularly Zwammerdam, an auxiliary fort further to the east on the Lower Rhine frontier. Here the ratio of men to women is around 3:1.¹⁹⁸ In the initial publication of the Zwammerdam material in 1977, Driel-Murray suggested that many of the smaller shoes represented in the assemblage must have been the result of severe shrinkage in the leather. Though there certainly is some shrinkage in archaeological leather after conservation, I believe she would amend this statement now and conclude that the population in the fort comprised a significant number of women and children,¹⁹⁹ as Hoevenberg has done in her comparisons to the Valkenburg material. The footwear assemblage from the fort at Vechten also shows similar statistics for men, women and children, indicating a comparable pattern for the make-up of the population.²⁰⁰ It appears then that the frontier populations, even in the middle of the first century, had a significant non-combatant component that included women and children. Evidence at Valkenburg indicates that some of these individuals may have lived inside the fort itself.

¹⁹⁷ Waugh 1993, 30.

¹⁹⁸ Depending on whether this is calculated by shoe size or the corresponding nailing patterns which seem to take into account a gendered wearer. Hoevenberg 1993, 261, Table 8.

¹⁹⁹ Driel-Murray 1977, 272-3; Driel-Murray (1997, 60) has called her own early statements to explain small shoes at the Bonner Berg as “ridiculous attempts” to explain away the evidence.

²⁰⁰ The Vechten material has never been fully published. Hoevenberg did an unpublished dissertation on the material (*De schoeiselvondst uit Vechten 1892-1894* Utrecht). For the Vechten material, now see Hoevenberg 1993, 254-6, for comparable graphs of shoe sizes in nearby forts. There is also a similarity to the shoes from the Saalburg on the Taunus *limes*, but these come from the fort and *vicus* and are from slightly later, Busch 1965. It was noted, however, that some of the female and children’s shoes were found in the wells located within the fort.

4.5. *Conclusion*

The Vindolanda material is the most complete assemblage of material from any early fort site in Britain or Germany, and remains the fort that best exemplifies the presence of women and children in the military sphere. Contemporary occupation phases from elsewhere on the Stanegate frontier betray pieces of evidence of women and children in early military phases. It seems that the earliest military settlement on the Tyne-Solway line at Carlisle was most likely predominantly male in its population, but probably within five years after this initial phase begins to show evidence of non-combatant individuals in the material assemblages. Carlisle presents a slightly problematic picture because much of the organic material cannot be dated more precisely than between 72/3 and 105. Nevertheless, this is an early date and one that is not typically considered to have had a significant presence of non-combatant populations. Moreover, a date before 105 suggests the accommodation of women and children before the codification of the Stanegate as a well defended and consolidated frontier. The varied nature of the extramural occupation implies that there were different groups to be found within the population and that the social organization of these groups varied. The areas to the south of the fort at Blackfriars Street and at the Southern Lanes excavations were very clearly domestic in nature with little evidence for the presence of soldiers.

The fort at Newstead also offers an interesting picture of non-combatant settlement in this early phase, particularly because of its role as an outpost fort in its initial phase of occupation. Its location north of what was considered the frontier at the time, suggests that it was self-sufficient and in an area that was not entirely pacified. If there was a significant

population of non-combatants even in these early stages and in areas that are not well defended, we may expect to find women and children in and around any fort installation.

The German frontiers provide an even earlier idea of the first century accommodation of non-combatants during military conquest and entrenchment. It is possible to detect the growing importance of a population outside of the fort walls at forts in the Rhine and Danube regions. If we consider the traditional image of a military settlement with soldiers living in the fort itself and civilians living in settlements outside, the presence of extramural structures should indicate that such a population was present. The traditional image of an unsettled and constantly moving military of the first century, which because of this transitory nature would not have any form of non-combatant component, is challenged.²⁰¹ There were significant extramural communities in the *Voralpenland* as early as the Augustan-Tiberian period and women and children were a strong component of military sites on the *Limes* by the mid-first century.

Though the presence of non-combatants cannot be explored everywhere, there is reason to suggest that populations grew throughout the first century and by the second there were large communities associated with military forts. This appears to be the case at Ellingen on the second century Raetian frontier, north of Oberstimm, which Allison showed had substantial artifact patterns for female activity within the fort. Even more provocative is the presence of several skeletons of infants and neonates under the floors of the barracks at

²⁰¹ Webster 1994, 203-4, discusses civil settlements as being present from the 2nd century onward. His vision of the population is primarily merchants and “women and entertainments” (203), but the auxiliary *vicus* is discussed as having a strong relationship with the fort (220).

Ellingen. This is a clear indication that women were in residence in some capacity within the barrack buildings at this time.²⁰²

Coupled with the intriguing yet less certain material that betrays the presence of women living or performing daily activities within the forts themselves, the evidence of an important non-combatant population throughout first-century auxiliary forts is building.²⁰³ In many cases the archaeology provides a close dateable sequence, and these settlements appear to have been built simultaneously with the fort. This was the case at Aislingen on the Raetian frontier where the excavators made a strong case for the simultaneous construction of the fort and settlement together. Aislingen and Burghöfe revealed some possible evidence of intramural occupation by women, both with brooch finds that are typically associated with female dress. The extramural settlement at Burghöfe was located directly next to the fort and may have had its origins as early as the late-Tiberian period. It was at its largest size in the Claudian period, which would indicate that its origins ought to have been well earlier. Similarly, at Mengen-Ennetach the extramural structures explored showed that the settlement was very large in the Flavian period, suggesting growth over at least several decades to reach such proportions by ca. AD 70. The material from the Lower Rhine frontier, especially Valkenburg, supports the conclusion that women and children made up a significant portion of the population of early forts. The Valkenburg footwear assemblage suggests that women and children comprised one quarter of the population of the early fort, and the location of the material suggests habitation within the fort itself.

²⁰² Zanier 1992, 304-5 (with P. Schröter) reports on the neonatal skeletons. Zanier (1992, 70) argues that the infant bones were brought into the fort with redeposited material, but the state of the burials in individual pits and their intact state is far more suggestive of their status *in situ*; cf. Allison 2007, *passim*; Allison 2006, 14-7.

²⁰³ The picture is likely to be similar for legionary forts as well, such as is seen in Allison's investigations at Vetera I (Allison 2006); cf. Maxfield 1995, for evidence at the legionary fort at Caerleon in Southern Wales.

This chronology has several important repercussions. First it suggests that the group of non-combatants associated with the soldiers may have traveled with the unit, making the immediate erection of an extramural settlement a necessity from the point of initial settlement. This is the best possible interpretation of the Period 1 material from Vindolanda as well. The close relationship between the military and the population in the extramural spaces is suggested by forts such as Emerkingen where a granary was located outside of the fort walls. The importance of the grain supply for ongoing military operations cannot be underestimated and it would be impractical to have such a building in a space that was not under direct military control. Furthermore, the connection and trust between fort and *vicus* can be argued at almost all military settlements because of the close proximity physically of the two spaces.

Even earlier in the Augustan-Tiberian periods the forts at Kempten and Strasbourg have mortuary evidence that suggest women accompanied auxiliary units. Female graves indicate that women choosing native dress options were associated with the unit and children's graves have been found with military graffiti found within the burial. At Haltern a large number of burials of women and children, without any known extramural settlement nearby, lead to the conclusion that these individuals must have been housed within the fort itself. The Augustan-Tiberian forts give us an early glimpse of the movement of non-combatant individuals with military units. When entire military landscapes are viewed a coherent picture emerges to suggest that there was a non-combatant population from the earliest stages of military settlement at most forts. This population was of a significant size by the Flavian period in many forts, which must represent the result of growth over time. We should imagine, therefore, that groups consisting of all manner of people, including families

and others providing services to the military, were a typical and accepted aspect of the military community at almost all times. Moreover, these groups should not be thought of as strictly 'civilian' but were an integral part of the military community.

The evidence is building, at least in the Roman west, to suggest that social reality in fact never followed the legal position of the Roman state, and that soldiers took *de facto* wives in all periods of the principate even before the second century AD, and certainly not only after the policy change of Severus in AD 197. This material points to a great need for a reassessment of the military community, its population and the practical matters of movement, settlement and supply. This reassessment should include not only the growing body of evidence for women living within the fort itself, but also a better evaluation of the population in the extramural settlement, and how these two groups functioned together in the social structure of a single community. A diachronic perspective needs to be taken because the idea that soldiers settled down and the extramural settlements were thriving later in the second and especially in the third centuries needs to be revised.²⁰⁴ Our understanding of the evolution of the non-combatant population needs to start in the first century to track its evolution through the third century, when the nature of the frontiers and the Roman army itself began to change dramatically.

The archaeological evidence can betray the presence of non-combatants with specific artifact scatters in forts or by the presence of an extramural settlement that indicates the occupation of a non-soldierly population. This material cannot, in many cases, illuminate the social background of these individuals. Only specific artifacts, such as the shoes from the

²⁰⁴ Phang 2002a, uses epigraphy to suggest soldiers married more often in the later second and third century. It is accepted in many quarters that extramural settlements were common throughout the second century AD, but consensus is not had and an anecdotal image remains of a transient Roman army until the mid-second century.

Vindolanda Period 3 *praetorium* which were clearly owned by a high status individual, can illuminate social status. Several shoes in spaces at Vindolanda could realistically be interpreted as having belonged to slaves or household staff, without any evidence existing to the contrary. The same problem exists with brooches from the German frontiers. Distel brooches have been shown in most imperial contexts to have been worn by women, but there are always a few exceptions, and it is these exceptions which so often gain support. The problem of associating individual artifacts with personal identity is the major methodological challenge of artifact studies.

Allason-Jones has made important observations about the lack of coherence in the definition of a “military finds assemblage,” which is essential for any future interpretation of buildings and sites based on artifacts alone.²⁰⁵ At the same time, it has been pointed out that the rigorous cross examination given to material assemblages that seem to betray the presence of women in military spaces has never been applied to a ‘male’ set of artifacts.²⁰⁶ Even very recently a finds assemblage from a military fort represented a military assemblage and therefore also an assemblage representative of male occupancy. The association of artifacts and identity is a major problem and one that has no clear solution, except that we must understand that objects can have several uses and owners, all of which may vary depending on changing context.²⁰⁷ This does not mean that the material should be dismissed, but that we should always be aware of the greater or lesser likelihood of hypotheses and of the possible alternative interpretations.

²⁰⁵ Allason-Jones 1999b, 1-4.

²⁰⁶ Driel-Murray, *pers.comm.*; cf. Allason-Jones 1999b.

²⁰⁷ Allason-Jones (1999b, 1) uses the example of a military belt or harness mount that was reused in a Meroitic religious context as a decoration on a cow’s skeleton in a pyramid tomb in the Sudan (now located in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).

In the context of historical archaeology, particularly that of the Roman empire and the imperial army, artifacts should not be interpreted in a vacuum. The Roman military left behind a rich body of documentary and literary evidence, from which it is possible to add flesh to interpretations made from artifactual material alone. The documentary sources are also the main body of material that can lend social significance to much of the material evidence from military contexts. The next two chapters will deal with documentary materials that elucidate the Roman military, and particularly the *auxilia*, in a way that the archaeological remains cannot. Military diplomas and the Vindolanda writing tablets all offer a different perspective on the Roman army and the women and children that were associated with its soldiers. The questions surrounding the presence of women and children in Roman military contexts can only be answered satisfactorily by using both archaeological and documentary sources.

The archaeological remains have clearly shown the presence and spatial locations of non-combatant activity at specific forts. Without this material the nuance of intramural and extramural occupation would be lost entirely. The documentary evidence has no ability to speak to this question.²⁰⁸ However, the written sources give social significance to this material and offer a clear identification of a large proportion of women and children associated with the Roman army as the family members of serving soldiers. Even in a *de facto* sense, this is an unavoidable conclusion.

²⁰⁸ For discussion, see Lafer 2008. Full discussion of the Vindolanda tablets below in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 5:

THE EVIDENCE OF SOLDIERS' FAMILIES IN THE MILITARY DIPLOMAS AND LATIN EPIGRAPHY

5.1. *Introduction*

The analysis of female and children's presence within military communities is illuminated greatly by the archaeological evidence discussed in the previous two chapters, but it does not provide the fullest possible picture of the family life created by soldiers while they served in the Roman army. In order to contextualize the archaeological evidence discussed in previous chapters, and to interpret the social meaning of this material, further evidence must be considered in light of artifact patterns and architectural remains. Military diplomas and stone inscriptions provide information about the individuals that lived within the military community. Considered in conjunction with archaeological evidence they allow a more in depth comprehension of the social make-up of military communities.

It has been noted recently that the investigation of the female presence in military environments has so far lacked a complete appraisal of all available evidence together.¹ While Phang relied on textual and epigraphic sources primarily to investigate the legal prohibition of marriage for soldiers, she calls for greater analysis to be given to the

¹ Tomášková 2006, 20-21. As a prehistorian Tomášková points out the unique position that scholars of the Roman world find themselves with the ability to combine written sources with archaeological data.

archaeological evidence that reveals female presence within military installations.² At the same time, Allison's study of artifact patterns in three German garrisons reveals spaces within the fort itself that were potential locations of female activity, but she is only able to offer one page considering the lives and social background of these non-combatants within the structure of the military.³ It is only with a combination of archaeological, epigraphic and literary sources that a more complete picture is attained, particularly as each body of evidence sheds light on a different aspect of this community, strengthening our holistic understanding of the lives of auxiliary soldiers. The military diplomas are a body of material that sheds a great deal of light onto the relationships formed by soldiers and the families that were clearly present in the military community before the soldier's retirement. The diplomas clearly suggest that soldiers created *de facto* relationships with women during their service and that they began families well before retirement, not only as veterans in their late 40s or 50s at the end of service.

This chapter also challenges the belief that soldiers formed unions with local women from around the garrison.⁴ I conclude that the available evidence suggests that soldiers more often married women from their home tribe or from within the military community itself, rather than from the local area around the fort. Moreover, even when a relationship was created with a woman from a local tribe, the number of children named and often the find location of a diploma suggests that these women were likely to travel with the soldier,

² Phang 2001, 128.

³ Allison 2006, 17-18. Cf. James 2006, 32 for the general call that a combination of evidence would illuminate this picture greatly.

⁴ E.g. Watson 1969, 135: "The local women with whom the soldiers formed more or less permanent associations were usually of peregrine status, at least in the frontier areas where most of the soldiers were stationed."

therefore by definition they must have cohabited in the military community. A consideration of the diplomas from a social perspective forces the conclusion that a significant number of soldiers had active family lives before retirement and that women and children were not only a considerable component of settled military communities, but could have also been part of an army on the march.

5.2. *Methodological considerations*

Despite the marriage ban it is quite clear that the law forbidding *iustum matrimonium* did not in any way deter some soldiers from forming *de facto* relationships and creating a full family life while in the service of the Roman army.⁵ These were long term probably stable relationships with women who in certain cases came from the same tribes as the soldiers and probably traveled with them throughout service. The following analysis examines the documents that reveal details of these relationships, both their origins and history throughout the course of service, as well as to infer how these relationships may have operated in the daily existence of the Roman military in different periods. The concern here will not be with the legal definition of marriage or legitimacy of the women named on the diplomas; they were inherently not legal relationships in the eyes of Rome. Rather this chapter explores the identity of women and children associated with auxiliary soldiers and how they may have functioned within the social structure of the military community. The documents are investigated with an eye towards the relationship between soldiers and their partners, an aspect which has been largely overlooked in past research.

⁵ Phang 2002, 873-8; Roxan 1991, 462-7.

The question of the predominance of families in military communities was begun in a controversial article in 1984 by Saller and Shaw.⁶ From inscriptions found throughout the Roman empire they calculated the type of relationships represented, mostly in epitaphs, to deduce social patterns within groups of civilians and military individuals. They argued that the epigraphic record for provincial armies reflects a pattern of far more commemorations being made by members of a soldier's nuclear family in certain provinces, specifically North Africa, the Pannonias, Noricum, and Spain.⁷ Britain and the Germanies produced less than half the amount of familial dedications for military personnel, leading Saller and Shaw to conclude that in the northwestern provinces soldiers were not creating and maintaining familial relationships as frequently as is demonstrated in the other provincial areas.⁸ In these areas soldiers were commemorated more often by a fellow soldier than someone from his immediate family. When viewed next to the archaeological record, however, it is clear that the evidence for family and even co-habitation within the walls of the fort itself is strong in these epigraphically poor areas, suggesting that this thesis needs to be reevaluated.

The end goal for Saller and Shaw was to argue that the nuclear family was the predominant type of familial grouping as a social institution in the Roman Empire, and military evidence was investigated alongside evidence for civilian family organization as well. Their argument, however, was criticized from the military perspective for several reasons. Mann pointed out the simple fact that in Britain there is less soft stone available on

⁶ Saller and Shaw 1984.

⁷ From the inscriptions that name the commemorator 81% reveal a relationship in the nuclear family, Saller and Shaw 1984, 139-41.

⁸ In Britain 40% of the stones are dedicated by members of the nuclear family and in the Germanies only 34%, Saller and Shaw 1984, 142-4; For rebuttals see Mann 1985, 204-6; Alföldy 1987, 33 note 27; Cherry 1989, 128-30; Roxan 1991, 462-3; Martin 1996, 40-60. For chronological criticisms of the study see Alföldy 1987, 33 note 27.

which to carve inscriptions and therefore, the epigraphic habit was not adopted quite as readily as in other provinces.⁹ Mann's point brings into sharp focus the need to look beyond false patterns. That is to say, if there are simply not as many inscriptions preserved in Britain, one should expect fewer examples from the military and even fewer that in turn name family members associated with soldiers.

Roxan also pointed out the lack of "epigraphic consciousness" in many areas of Britain.¹⁰ She blames the lack of inscriptions more on the fact that the population simply did not express themselves as often by means of carving stone, for whatever reason.¹¹ Therefore we cannot expect to discover information from this medium, and especially not *ex silentio*. Cherry takes a different angle by accepting the evidence as it is presented, but he seeks a reason for the lack of familial formation by soldiers in the nature of service in the northern provinces.¹² The troops, he argues, were in a more unsettled and dangerous position in Germany and therefore always on the ready. This situation prohibited the circumstances that would allow one to seek out a wife and start a family. Cherry, therefore, accepted the conclusion that families were formed less often by soldiers in the northwest but sought an alternative reason for this habit. The basic problem is a methodologically flawed approach that cannot reconcile the archaeological evidence with the epigraphic.

These are all valid criticisms to Saller and Shaw's argument, but overarching methodological problems need to be dealt with. In the arguments about *de facto* wives and relationship formation by both legionary and auxiliary soldiers, Saller and Shaw take the

⁹ Mann 1985, 204-6.

¹⁰ Roxan 1991, 462-3.

¹¹ This could have been due to several factors such as a less urbanized or 'romanized' population. As mentioned above, Mann blames it on a simple point of accessibility to proper stone.

¹² Cherry 1989, 128-30.

stone at face value and presume that social reality lay behind the epitaph. That is to say, if a soldier was commemorated by someone other than a wife, this is taken as evidence of bachelorhood at the time of death. The funerary stone, however, in the case of a serving soldier will not tell us his “married” status, simply because of the legal complications. While in the Roman army a soldier’s *de facto* wife, whether present in the military community or living elsewhere, could not normally stand as the soldier’s heir. Gaius records that soldiers could circumvent the law of heirship and appoint a peregrine,¹³ but in a Roman context appointing a non-citizen woman to handle one’s affairs after death would have been somewhat impractical if not impossible. It is the primary job of the heir, stated often on soldiers’ epitaphs and very often in quite a clinical fashion, to pay for and erect the stone that will commemorate his lasting memory. The heir was responsible for tasks that would have been difficult at best for a peregrine woman to accomplish. Moreover, upon his death presumably the heir of a soldier would have needed to deal with military officials. In such a professional world that explicitly denied the existence of “wives” of soldiers it may have been particularly impractical for a peregrine woman to obtain what she deserves. In this case, naming a fellow soldier as heir would have been far more sensible. Therefore, even if an auxiliary soldier had a *de facto* wife and six children living in the *vicus* directly next to the fort we are not likely to see record of this status in his funerary commemoration. Concessions were made for soldiers to allow children to stand in as heirs, but only if this was indicated in a will, and this would only be practical if the child was old enough to execute the necessary tasks as heir. The *de facto* wives would often have been left in a troublesome situation if their partner died.

¹³ Gaius, *Institutiones* 2.110.

Saller and Shaw showed that 83.9% of the military population in the Western Roman Empire represented in surviving funerary epitaphs record the name of the commemorator directly on the stone.¹⁴ The military population showed the highest percentage of named commemorators in comparison to civilian populations, but also that this statistic varies according to regional differences within military populations. Therefore, in the Roman social system the commemorator is the primary executor of the ceremonial obligations for the deceased and became an important component of the Latin epitaph. Meyer argues lucidly that the important addition of the commemorator in Roman epitaphs is directly linked to the need for a physical expression of the relationship between deceased and heir.¹⁵ The heir had a legal and moral obligation to provide proper burial and remembrances of the deceased, which in many cases would have included a physical monument if this could be afforded. Therefore, the tombstone does not represent a legal document, but rather does express a legal reality and is a profound physical and public expression of one's status as heir. The physical record may have been most important for the cohesion of that relationship within a social group. As a result, those that had enough of an estate to leave behind after death received a funerary monument of some sort. The epitaph records the fulfillment of this legal and social obligation by the heir in a clear and unmistakably public format,¹⁶ but the nature of the source hides social reality behind a thick veil.

It is quite possible, however, that informal agreements were set up to ensure the heir's proper care of a soldier's family. Back door financial transactions that sought to circumvent

¹⁴ This stands in contrast to the Greek model, which rarely names a commemorator. Saller and Shaw 1984, 152-5 for tables; cf. Meyer 1990, 75.

¹⁵ Meyer 1990, 76. This argument is countered by Cherry (1995). He particularly disagrees with Meyer in her conclusion that the erection of a tombstone sought to advertise the new found status of citizenship.

¹⁶ Meyer 1990, 77-8.

legal authority could also have allowed for the informal transference of money between two parties.¹⁷ Such was the case with dowries between a soldier and a *de facto* wife. Since the dowry was not valid if the marriage did not legally exist, soldiers and wives enacted a type of deposit or loan in place of the traditional dowry.¹⁸ Three cases found in the Cattaoui Papyrus from Egypt describe women attempting to have their “deposit” returned after the *de facto* marriage ended.¹⁹ In *P. Catt.* I.5-13, the magistrate does not return the money claiming that “we know that deposits are dowries,” thereby claiming it an illegal action and one that attempted to circumvent the Roman legal system.²⁰ It is clear that the soldier and wife attempted to act outside of official legal jurisdiction and that the authorities understood this practice occurred. These examples show that there were avenues taken to elude Roman legal authority, especially when money was changing hands. It is quite possible to imagine a similar type of circumvention taking place for inheritance of money after the death of the soldier. Such an agreement would be particularly important in order to take care of what was considered socially the rightful family of the soldier, regardless of formal legal status.²¹

Unfortunately, unlike the known cases of deposits being made in place of dowries, no detailed evidence for such accommodations is available to suggest how the relationship between the heir and surviving family of a soldier may have functioned. If we consider the

¹⁷ Cf. Driel-Murray 1997, 60.

¹⁸ Phang 2002b, 355-6.

¹⁹ Whether by intestate death of the husband or in a case of divorce: *Papyrus Cattaoui* I.5-13, dating to 5 January 117 seeks the return of a dowry after the death of the soldier; *P. Catt.* I.14-III.10, seeks a deposit after a marriage ended; *P. Catt.* VI.1-23, also deals with return of a dowry after intestate death.

²⁰ *Fraus legis*, an illegal action in its own right. Katzoff 1970, 241-52. cf. Phang 2002b, 355.

²¹ The *Papyrus Cattaoui* also makes it quite clear that soldiers considered themselves legitimately married. *P. Catt.* IV.16-V.26 describes the case of a soldier attempting to legitimize his son as an Alexandrian citizen and, while the magistrate overseeing the case disagrees because the birth occurred during the military service of the father, the soldier clearly sees the children as legitimate Alexandrians.

information gleaned from the military diplomas discussed below, that families were formed by auxiliary soldiers before retirement, one can begin to appreciate the depth of familial organization in military communities, especially by the early 2nd century AD. If soldiers married sisters and daughters of comrades, as the material below argues, it is very likely that this was a close knit community in which we might imagine such unofficial transactions taking place. In such cases a soldier's family would be completely invisible to us in the epigraphic record.

Epitaphs have also been used to illuminate patterns of marriage and family formation in military communities by Phang.²² Her primary conclusions are that soldiers did not marry until their late 30s and that marriage did not become common for soldiers until the second and into the third centuries. The inquiry into soldiers' marriages becomes less important after Severus allowed cohabitation. Moreover, it is precisely because of this policy shift that for a long time it was standard for scholars to date military inscriptions that named a wife to the third century on historical grounds. This practice confuses any chronological conclusions about soldiers' marriages based on these epitaphs.

The former point about the age at which a soldier married requires further discussion. In the same way that Saller and Shaw's argument falls short because the epigraphic record simply does not preserve all relationships carried out by a soldier during service, Phang's argument is also subject to this methodological problem. When a comrade or someone other than an immediate family member commemorated the deceased soldier, Phang took this to mean the soldier was a bachelor at the time of death. As she began to see an increase in those epitaphs that named a wife as soldiers aged into their late 30s, this was understood as

²² Phang 2002a, *passim*.

indicating marriage at this point in one's life rather than earlier. As above, however, we cannot use this evidence to suggest definitively that a soldier was not in a *de facto* relationship and that he certainly did not have dependents living in the extramural settlement or within the fort itself. The evidence simply reflects the relationship between the deceased and his heir, the epitaph being the physical representation of this legal bond.

Calculations of age at marriage are based on funerary evidence, taking the age at which we find soldiers commemorated by a wife as the point of marriage in a soldier's life. Phang's conclusion that soldiers married in their 30s is a logical assessment given that we understand age of marriage for a Roman civilian male to be around the late 20s or early 30s. It also seems that legionary soldiers married slightly later than civilians.²³ But we do not know if this social custom held true for non-citizen *auxilia*. Other evidence from the *auxilia* suggests that soldiers did marry earlier. As will be discussed below, several diplomas seem to reflect a long-term relationship with a woman, perhaps even one that originated in the home tribe and pre-dated military service. Several diplomas name between three and six children having been born before the point of retirement. This fact by its very nature suggests some longevity in a relationship. Moreover, we do not know the length of the relationship before death and commemoration by a wife of those that are recorded as "married", and this detail is not likely to be found in any of our available evidence. More importantly, since the *de facto* partner for an auxiliary soldier was not likely to have been his legal heir, we should not expect the epitaph of a young auxiliary soldier to provide information about a *de facto* relationship. Since a wife and family in this scenario are invisible to us in the epigraphic record, extant evidence may only expose the bare minimum of soldiers that had a wife and

²³ Phang 2002a, 873.

family with them in the military setting and were willing or able to express this relationship in a manner that can now be detected.

Roman law may also be called upon in the debate of age at marriage. It became necessary to set a legal precedent that any marriage contracted before enlistment was rendered null and void when a man entered service.²⁴ This fact strongly suggests that at least some soldiers were married before ca. 20 years old at the point of retirement.²⁵ Given what we know of Roman social custom and the typical marriage age for men in their late 20s or early 30s, it seems more probable that this law applied more often to *auxilia*. These individuals functioned alternatively within their own sphere of social custom rather than a Roman one.²⁶ Since we know very little about the native customs of many provincial populations that made up the *auxilia* it would be dangerous to speculate. It should be kept in mind, however, that it was necessary to regulate the marriage status of recruits.²⁷ Nevertheless, while not discounting the possibility of a soldier's relationship predating his recruitment, arranged marriage is also a valid possibility for a soldier who sought a wife from his own ethnic background. Certainly at least a portion of auxiliary soldiers held off marriage until their mid-thirties, and in these cases calling home for a younger woman of child bearing

²⁴ *Digest XXIV I 60-2: saepe enim evenit, uti propter sacerdotium vel etiam sterilitatem vel senectutem aut valetudinem aut militiam satis commode retineri matrimonium non possit: et ideo bona gratia matrimonium dissolvitur* (indeed often it happens that marriage is not able to be allowed on account of priesthood, sterility, old age, health, or military service: and for that reason the marriage is dissolved).

²⁵ Enlistment usually occurred between 18-22 years old, Scheidel 1996, 97-116. Garnsey (1970, *passim*) argues that marriages were not dissolved at the time of enlistment. General consensus now assumes that a preexisting marriage would have been dissolved upon entrance into the military (Campbell 1978, 155-6; Mitteis-Wilcken 1912, 282). For the present argument either scenario demonstrates that soldiers were sometimes married before enlistment.

²⁶ For age and custom of Roman marriages amongst men, see Saller 1987, *passim*.

²⁷ Wells 1997; Campbell 1978. For the relationship between the forced 'divorce' at enlistment and the lack of women named in epigraphy, see Driel-Murray 1997, 60.

age would be appropriate and practical. At the same time, it is also quite likely that soldiers married from within the military community itself, as some of the diplomas seem to suggest.²⁸

Past arguments have focused almost solely on the overall numbers of inscriptions that represent a soldier married during service. Inevitably when the numbers are tallied, far more veterans are commemorated by wives than active soldiers, a conclusion that is fully expected from both a social and legal perspective. To be sure, the retired soldier would naturally seek to have a family when he is more settled after completion of military service; however, from a legal standpoint we can also expect a soldier's wife to become evident to us in epigraphy only at this point when the relationship becomes legally valid after retirement. She may have been present in the military community for years, but only now will her name appear as his legal heir after *conubium* was received.

Nevertheless, the most prominent fact to emerge from previous scholarship on women in military inscriptions is that there were indeed women associated with serving soldiers, both legionary and auxiliary. The trends perceived are that more military wives were associated with serving soldiers in the second century than the first, with a peak in the third century AD, a not surprising conclusion given that after AD 197 marriage is legal for soldiers during service.²⁹ Phang has provided an in depth report on the numbers of inscriptions that name wives, organized by types of military units and status levels within the military from the ordinary *pedites* to officers and veterans. These tallies are useful and show us that we must consider regional differences within military populations and that a standard

²⁸ See below; cf. Wells 1997 for short discussion of daughters and sisters in the regiments.

²⁹ Phang 2001, 142-96, covers in depth the numbers of inscriptions from individual military units.

rule will not apply to all units across the empire. There are problems with dating epitaphs, especially those naming wives, and with applying a perceived chronological trend to a single phenomenon such as numbers of wives present when it in fact is a characteristic of the epigraphic corpus as a whole. Nevertheless, there may be some validity in the greater number of wives named in inscriptions of the second and third centuries, than in the first.

5.3. *The corpus of military diplomas*

The military diplomas offer a wealth of information concerning the origin of a relationship between a soldier and his wife, derived from the ethnic affiliation of both named on the document. Moreover, whenever possible the archaeological context of the document can be used to investigate the movement of the family after the soldier's retirement.³⁰ It will become clear that even in light of a legal marriage ban the military environment did not consist of only male soldiers. The social structure of the military community must have been complex, with a composite population of soldiers, women, and children of different origins and ethnicities.³¹ Moreover, in several cases the most logical conclusion is that women, children, and perhaps other family members traveled with soldiers, possibly from the very start of service, and lived within the military community in some fashion.

The rewards offered at the end of service in the Roman imperial army should be considered one of the primary reasons that provincials and Romans alike enlisted in the

³⁰ This approach should be used with caution. Some examples are found in contexts dating to decades after the issue of the diploma. Archaeological context must be considered; for example if the bronze is found in a *fabrica* most likely to be melted for secondary use and not in a space originally associated with the soldier. Cf. Roxan 1997c, 483-91, for discussion and general acceptance of most diplomas indicating place of loss by the soldier.

³¹ This same conclusion about the complexity of social structure in military communities has been reached using other evidence as well. Driel-Murray (2009) has discussed that women were present in the community through the investigation of hand-made pottery forms. Cf. Driel-Murray 1997; Allison 2006.

military for most of their adult life. It has been argued that regular pay and a permanent home under relatively peaceful conditions for most of his time in service would be enough to entice a young recruit into the military life,³² but the rewards upon discharge must be seen as the ultimate worth of a lifetime of service to the Roman state. Soldiers in the *auxilia*, the Italian and provincial fleets, the Praetorian and urban cohorts, and the *equites singulares Augusti* were eligible for a military diploma at the end of service.³³ This portable bronze document was a personal copy of the original *constitutio* set up in a prominent location in Rome and recorded the rights awarded to the veteran:³⁴ the *civitas Romana* for himself, the right of *conubium* with one peregrine wife with whom he had cohabited during service or whomever he chose in the future, and the right of Roman citizenship for all existing children who were the product of a *de facto* marriage during his service in the military.³⁵ These rights were due to all auxiliary soldiers who had fulfilled a *stipendium* of 25 years, often after an honorable

³² Several units would have seen very little active service, Davies 1974, 301-2; Watson 1969, 143-5.

³³ The legions were not given this document except in the rare cases of AD 68 (*CIL* XVI 7, 8, 9) and 70 (*CIL* XVI 10, 11) in which veterans of *Adiutrix* I and II were issued diplomas first by Galba and then by Vespasian. These are argued to have been exceptional cases after the civil war during which time the number of soldiers who were serving in the city as personal guards to various emperors rose greatly. Roxan 1981, 268; Four diplomas belong to the *equites singulares Augusti* but are quite late (*CIL* XVI 144, AD 230; *CIL* 146, AD 237; *RMD* 134, AD 223/235; *AE* 1987, 855, AD 230). Cf. Roxan 1981, 266. There were, quite likely, earlier examples, see Stylow 1994, 83-94.

³⁴ The earliest diplomas record that the *constitutio* was fixed in various important locations in the capitol, when after ca. AD 90 the formula is fixed as *in muro post templum Divi Augusti ad Minervam*. For discussion of propagandistic meaning behind the locations, see Dušanić 2007, 60-9; Diplomas were issued to serving soldiers in the early period who had fulfilled their *stipendium*, but after ca. AD 110 they were only awarded to veterans who had the honorable discharge. Alföldy 1968 and Mann 1972 set out the three types of diplomas awarded: Type I for serving soldiers, Type II for serving and veterans, and Type III to veterans only.

³⁵ These are the regular stipulations in the documents of the auxiliary veterans. The formula changes for the various branches of the military and shifts in language can be seen over time. For the evolution of the diploma see Alföldy 1968, 215-27 and Mann 1972, 233-41. The right of citizenship for existing children was offered up to the year AD 140, at which point this right is no longer set out in the diplomas of the auxiliaries. Members of the fleet do still enjoy this privilege. The reasons for this change have been greatly discussed, for review see Roxan 1986, 265-92.

discharge, but release from service was not always a prerequisite for gaining privileges.³⁶ Legionary soldiers did not receive diplomas in most cases, but evidence of imperial edicts and papyri suggest that they were entitled to certain similar privileges upon retirement.³⁷ The earliest known diplomas, which give credit to Claudius for the institution of the practice,³⁸ date to AD 52 for the fleet and AD 54 for auxiliaries, while the latest diplomas are known from the fourth century.³⁹ The diplomas of the auxiliaries, however, stopped being issued in the early third century; therefore the examples prior to this date will be most important for this discussion.⁴⁰

From their beginning diplomas were a record that the soldier had completed his *stipendium* which in turn granted him Roman citizenship. The right of *conubium* with a peregrine wife was equally as important because it conferred upon the couple the legal status of *iustum matrimonium*, which allowed the full rights of marriage as if they were both Roman citizens, and gave their children the same rights as those from two citizen parents.

³⁶ Most scholars today agree that the diploma was available for all qualified soldiers. Domaszewski (1908) first proposed that diplomas were only awarded *ob virtutem*. This thesis was rejected by Cheesman (1914) in his comprehensive study of the *auxilia* and by Nesselhauf (1936) in the commentary of the *CIL* XVI volume on the military diplomas. It is generally agreed by scholars today that these rights were available to all auxiliary veterans: Alföldy 1968; Mann 1972; Roxan 1981; Maxfield 1986. The suggestion that they were given as honors has been recently resurrected and argued in a series of articles by S. Dušanić, in which he further associates the dates of issue with specific events for which the soldier would have had opportunity to distinguish himself: Dušanić 1980; 1982; 1983; 1985; 1986a; 1986b; 2007. Scholars have not followed him on this point, except for perhaps a sympathetic yet unconvinced voice from Pferdehirt (2007).

³⁷ See below for further discussion of the edict of Octavian in 33/2 BC on veteran privileges: *BGU* 628=W. *Chr.* 462=*FIRA* I² 56; For the edict of 88/9 by Domitian: W. *Chr.* 463=*ILS* 9059=*CIL* XVI App. No. 12=*FIRA* I² 76. Both edicts give citizenship to the veteran, his parents, children and wives. Cf. Campbell 1984, 443-4.

³⁸ Beutler 2007; Dušanić 1982. However, a soldier discharged in 52 would have been recruited under Tiberius, but there is no indication whether or not the rights laid out in the diploma were promised at the time of recruitment.

³⁹ *RMD* 157 dates to AD 304 and *CIL* 78 to AD 306. It is presumed that diplomas continue to be issued for some time after there is legal need simply as a formal custom and expectation.

⁴⁰ *RMD* 187 was the latest securely dated auxiliary diploma of the year AD 203. A new find dates to AD 205 but is not yet published, Eck, forthcoming.

Most importantly, the diploma conferred citizenship on existing children, the offspring who were the outcome of *de facto* marriages undertaken while the man was still in service. The soldier would be allowed to marry the wife with whom he had cohabited, and the children, who up to that point would have been illegitimate, became citizens. These individuals are named specifically on the diploma, which served as the official record of this new status.

What is most striking here is the government's acceptance of the *de facto* marriages that took place in the military setting. The marriage ban stood as the official line of the state, possibly to absolve the government from any liability or claims to financially support family during a soldier's service and to keep military discipline in check. In reality, however, cohabitation by soldiers during service and even producing offspring must have been fully sanctioned by the state and was therefore accommodated by legitimizing these children upon discharge. Other evidence also points toward the acceptance of such *de facto* marriages and the willingness of the government to render compensation for the problems caused by the legal ban on marriage. In his *Institutiones*, Gaius reports that soldiers could make wills that appointed peregrines as heirs, a situation that was otherwise illegal in Roman law.⁴¹ Though as argued above, it may have posed certain difficulty to name a peregrine female as heri, such compensation would allow for the families of soldiers to better their own social position financially, whether or not they had already received citizenship. In a similar way but in a more generic grant, Dio reports that Claudius gave the rights of married men to soldiers

⁴¹ Gaius, *Institutes* 2.110: *Praeterea permissum est iis et peregrinos et Latinos instituere heredes vel iis legare; cum alioquin peregrini quidem ratione civili prohibeantur capere hereditatem legataque, Latini vero per legem Iuniam*. (Moreover, [the soldiers] are allowed to appoint foreigners and Latins as heirs or to leave them legacies, although otherwise foreigners are prevented from taking inheritances and legacies by the principles of state law, and Latins by the Junian Act). For text and translation, see Gordon and Robinson 1988.

allowing them to avoid the penalties set out by Augustus' marriage laws.⁴² Dio highlights their inability to contract a marriage that carried the full weight of Roman law behind it, which also suggests that *de facto* marriages were considered something different and were at least tolerated.

The state changed its policy on the point of soldiers' offspring, exemplified by diplomas issued after ca. AD 140, when under Antoninus Pius the documents ceased to include the clause conferring Roman citizenship on existing children. There is some debate about whether the absence of this clause necessarily suggests that the privilege was abolished. Some scholars propose that by AD 140 there was a greater number of citizens living in the provinces and serving in the auxiliary cohorts, and that perhaps the clause was no longer necessary.⁴³ It should be noted that legionary soldiers never needed their discharge rights set out in an individual contract, but it seems they had privileges that were given to them *en masse* in other types of documents.⁴⁴ Perhaps the situation was similar for auxiliaries after 140, or at all times in certain provinces from which there are few or no known diplomas.⁴⁵ It is also possible that the privilege had by then become doctrine and did not need to be stated,⁴⁶ just as diplomas themselves would cease to be issued just over sixty years

⁴² Dio 60.24.3: Τοῖς τε στρατευομένοις, ἐπειδὴ γυναικας οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἔκ γε τῶν νόμων ἔχειν, τὰ τῶν γεγαμηκότων δικαιώματα ἔδωκε. (The men serving in the army, since they could not legally have wives, were granted the privileges of married men [by Claudius]).

⁴³ See Roxan 1986, 271-2 for review of arguments; Cf. Alföldy 1968, 215-27(=1987, 51-65); Kraft 1961, 120-6. The most common assumption is that the policy change would encourage the sons into military service thereby creating a larger pool of recruits, Smith 1972, 490-1; Cf. Salmon 1958, 54; Sander 1958, 152, 192; Watson 1969, 134-5. Kraft (1951, 117-21) argues for the desire to diminish the barbarized character of the army. Arnaud-Lindet (1977) attributes it to an attempt to rectify the inequality of privileges to different military groups at this point.

⁴⁴ See above note 16; cf. Campbell 1984, 443-4.

⁴⁵ Cf. Eck and Pangerl 2004, 233, in the case of Cappadocia.

⁴⁶ Cf. Wells 1997, 573.

later, a decade before the *constitutio Antoniniana* of AD 212. Nevertheless the discontinuation of citizen rights for existing children has been considered an attempt by the government to curtail the number of children allowed citizenship after a sharp rise in the claimants of families in the first half of the second century.⁴⁷ For whatever reason, after AD 140 the diplomas do not offer any evidence of children in the military community,⁴⁸ but wives with whom soldiers sought the right of *conubium* continue to be named.⁴⁹

That the right of marriage to a non-Roman woman and the legitimization of existing children were important results of soldiers' service is clear from the contents of the diplomas. Roman citizenship for the soldier himself was certainly the most prized possession after discharge from the military, giving him certain status in a community and a host of rights that would allow him a legally comfortable life after retirement. We must see the other rights extended to the soldier named in the diploma almost as important as, if not equal to, the award of citizenship. Marriage and family must have been an important prospect in the life of a soldier. This prominence should not be seen only as a primary goal for men after their discharge, but because of accommodations made for the children that were born during military service, also as a part of their lives as soldiers. If legitimacy for marriage and children was one of the primary offerings of the Roman state in exchange for 25 years of service, it is difficult to imagine that family was ever thought to be non-existent or

⁴⁷ Wolff 1974, 492-6. See below for further discussion of shifts and trends in the corpus of diplomas.

⁴⁸ For full considerations of the changes in 140 see, Roxan 1986, *passim*; Woolf 1974, esp. 481.

⁴⁹ After AD 140 the number of diplomas that render compensation for family drops dramatically. Of the auxiliary diplomas from 140-192, 13% name a specific wife, though the right of *conubium* is still included in the text of the grant and the woman would not necessarily need to be named specifically in the document: *RMD* 40, 266(=*RGZM* 30), 402, 415, 102, 103, 278; *RGZM* 31, 38, 40; *CIL XVI* 101. Members of the fleet retain the privilege of citizenship for existing children throughout the issuing of diplomas, strengthening the argument that this privilege was specifically eliminated for the auxiliaries: *RMD* 106, 267, 44, 401, 171, 105, 427, 304, 189, 73, 307, 133; *RGZM* 39; *CIL XVI* 152, 154a. Moreover, after 140 there are special grants made to individual auxiliaries to include children: e.g. from AD 192, *CIL XVI* 132 and *RMD* 446, are both issues to officers (either decurion or centurion), a position which might expect such a privilege.

unimportant in a military setting. The best way to reconcile the legal and social realities at play here is to suppose that the State wanted to fall back on legal recourse if a settled soldier balked at his official duties because of family concerns. When this is no longer a concern at retirement they are content to recognize these individuals.

The importance of the privilege of *conubium* and citizenship for existing children, however, is still minimized by a few scholars. S. Dušanić suggests that we must look elsewhere than the rights for wives and children to understand why diplomas continued to be issued to soldiers who were already Roman citizens upon discharge.⁵⁰ He cites the lack of interest that soldiers had in marriage and family based on epigraphic evidence,⁵¹ as well as the suggestion that it was only in the period from Trajan to Antoninus Pius that children were ever named on diplomas. Moreover, since soldiers who already held citizen status still received diplomas without the inclusion of rights for children and wives before ca. AD 100 and after 140, Dušanić downplays the importance of these rights, and argues that diplomas were issued primarily to record extraordinary merit by a unit in military service.

Dušanić would prefer to find the need for a diploma awarded to a soldier who already held citizenship in privileges that must have been recorded on perishable material rather than on the bronze document itself, downplaying the importance of what is actually inscribed on the primary document.⁵² The presumption that the most important dispensations were recorded on perishable material, while lesser important privileges followed the grant of

⁵⁰ Dušanić 1996, 40-1.

⁵¹ Also see Dušanić 1986, esp. 223.

⁵² Dušanić 1996, 41. It should be noted that this argument leads to the conclusion that the perishable document would likely have recorded the special grants for bravery and extraordinary merits, an argument that is only supported by Dušanić himself and is the subject of most of his articles concerning diplomas. The issue of families within the military is only a side line in his research.

citizenship on the permanent bronze document, is simply not logical and ignores the obvious conclusions that having a family during service was a part of the lives of at least some soldiers. The diplomas represent individual soldiers at the end of their service and the families that they had at the time of retirement. To stretch this evidence to suggest that the rights given to family were not an important part of the discharge agreement is essentially to deny the face value of these documents.⁵³

Moreover, the statistics that arise from the corpus of diplomas need to be considered within a broader understanding of the genre as a whole.⁵⁴ Despite the drastic increase between ca. 105 and 140 in the number of recipients who name either a wife or children,⁵⁵ family dispensation is not entirely absent in early or later diplomas as has been suggested (see tables 6 and 7, page 299 for number of diplomas by decades).⁵⁶ For the most part the trend follows the general development of the corpus of diplomas. There is a gradual incline in the number of auxiliary diplomas from the earliest in ca. 54 until a drastic decline in the early third century. From 54 to 70 there are only three that name family,⁵⁷ but we have only six auxiliary diplomas in total from this period that preserve the appropriate section with personal information. Therefore, the lack of family at this time cannot be argued upon such an insignificant sample size. Moreover, all three early examples include a woman and at least

⁵³ For inscriptions on wood generally, see Eck 1998, *passim*.

⁵⁴ Since the publication of Dušanić's article in 1996, the corpus of diplomas has grown sizably; however, the general trends of the genre noted over the last century have not changed drastically with additional material.

⁵⁵ For the following discussion I use my own calculations from the corpus of diplomas published before 2006; they are included in the updated chronological list of all diplomas in Holder 2006, 681-98, with a few additions that were not included. The whole corpus includes 705 diplomas; I have used a sample of 395 auxiliary and fleet diplomas that have the appropriate sections recording the names of family members preserved. All percentages are based on this sample. Much of the discussion will only concern auxiliary diplomas.

⁵⁶ Dušanić 1996, 41.

⁵⁷ *CIL* XVI 2 and 5; *RMD* 202.

two children and are issued to both officers and an ordinary soldier. This fact indicates that the inclusion of women and children on the document was, at the least, in practice from the beginning. Admittedly, from AD 71-90 there is a noticeable lack of inclusion of family members, at which point there are no diplomas that include family from a sample of 26. This absence stands in considerable contrast to the spike that begins in ca. 105 and continues until 140, during which period nearly 70% of known diplomas include privileges for family members.

After AD 140 the Roman government stopped conferring citizenship upon children who were born from *de facto* marriages taken up during service. The formula within the main body of text included up to this point, *ipsis liberis posterisque eorum civitatem dedit*, gave citizenship to themselves, to their children and their posterity, with the right of *conubium* to follow. After 140 the clause is stated as *civitatem Romanam qui eorum non haberent dedit*, leaving out the extension of citizenship to children and posterity, but what also follows is the likelihood that many more soldiers at this point had the citizenship as it was then offered “to those who do not already hold it.” After 140 the clause allowing the right of marriage remains intact: *conubium cum uxoribus quas tunc habuissent, cum est civitas is data, aut cum is quas postea duxissent dumtaxat singulis*. The soldier is still allowed the right of legal marriage to the woman with whom he cohabited at the time his citizenship was conferred or whom he chose after retirement. There is no need to name the specific woman in the diploma in order to gain the right of legal marriage, though still after 140 there are small numbers of known diplomas that do cite the woman by name.⁵⁸ It can be assumed then that the citizenship for specific children named on the diploma was more important than citing the

⁵⁸ *RMD* 266(=*RGZM* 30), 402, 415, 102, 102; *RGZM* 31, 38, 40; *CIL* XVI 101. For special grants giving privileges to children after AD 140 see, *RMD* 53, 446; *CIL* XVI 132.

female specifically, especially considering the diplomas that name several children but not a wife.⁵⁹

Furthermore, the lack of inclusion of children on diplomas after 140 does not indicate that soldiers no longer produced offspring during service. The drastic rise in the inclusion of children between ca. 105 and 140 is highly interesting and suggests that this is a very significant period in the investigation of family life within the military environment. During these four decades nearly 70% of known diplomas render compensation for family members,⁶⁰ rarely a wife alone, and often anywhere from one to six children. Large families are quite common, with four to six children named, both sons and daughters.⁶¹ These statistics certainly suggest that the presence of family in the military environment in this period was strong. It is not logical to assume that after legal dispensation for these children ceased, that soldiers broke marriage ties and stopped having children. It should be assumed that soldiers for the most part continued life as it was, including having family in their years in service if they wished. This evidence is simply not available to us in the form of diplomas after 140.

The period of the first half of the second century must be considered not as the only time when family was important to a soldier, but rather as one of the most important periods for our understanding of family life in the Roman military. It can be assumed that if a

⁵⁹ Thirty diplomas up to AD 140 (20%) name children without a wife. In some cases it can be presumed that the wife has died: *RMD* 202, 6, 148, 225, 227, 351, 32, 361, 368, 374, 382, 255, 160, 385(=*RGZM* 28), 388, 389; *CIL* XVI 44, 57, 163, 166, 75, 173, 76, 78, 83, 84; *RGZM* 19, 20, 23, 71.

⁶⁰ From those within the sample that have the appropriate section that records family preserved.

⁶¹ It has been noted that more sons than daughters are named on diplomas: Roxan 1991, 465-6, cites personal communication with D. Kennedy as suggesting female infant exposure as a possible explanation. W. Eck is also currently working on this disparity between sons and daughters (personal communication March 2008). Martin (1996, 53-4) has noticed the same phenomenon in familial inscriptions from Olympus and Termessos in Lycia, attributing the discrepancy to patrilineal gravitation and to the possibility of exposure or sale into slavery.

diploma does not name dependants before 140, the soldier did not form a family while in service. However, after 140, the absence on the diploma cannot be taken as a reflection of practice. In conjunction with the strong archaeological evidence for families living within the forts themselves during this period, a rise in family structure within the military can be detected towards the end of the first century and especially into the second century. It can be presumed that this trend grew through the late second and third centuries, and evolved as the military itself changed throughout the third and fourth centuries, possibly becoming standard to have families inside the forts in the second half of the fourth century.⁶²

In response to the considerable rise of claims of citizenship for family members, Roxan notes an interesting trend following the cessation of grants of citizenship to existing children: within roughly 25 years—in other words one recruitment cycle—the number of known diplomas takes a very sharp drop, with no examples at all dating from 169-177 and only a few after that through the 190s until cessation of issues in the first decade of the third century.⁶³ Roxan suggested that a connection might be drawn between the importance of

⁶² The question of the presence of families in the military forts of the fourth century has been debated. The movement of families out of the *vicus* and into the fort in the fourth century was first proposed after excavations at Housesteads by Bosanquet (1904, 193-200), and picked up again by Daniels (1980, 173-93) regarding forts on Hadrian's Wall. This was necessary in order to explain the abandonment of many *vici* in the late 3rd century and the installment of a new type of barrack block within the forts in the fourth century, termed 'chalets' because they were detached structures. Families were presumed to have lived here based on the size and layout of the blocks, their private nature and the artifacts that belonged to women found in abundance inside. Bidwell (1991, 9-15) has since challenged the dating of the barracks, and now sees 'chalets' coming into existence in the first half of the third century at Vindolanda (Bidwell 1985), though recent excavation of the barracks at Vindolanda challenge this dating (not yet published 2009 field season results). Breeze and Dobson suggested that there is no reason the structures necessarily provided family accommodation (1987, 215), and it has been suggested that the evidence is not present to suggest whether or not families were present in the fort (Hodgson and Bidwell 2004, 153-4). But if the *vici* were for the most part abandoned at this point, it seems only logical to suggest at least hypothetically that families were housed indeed within the fort. Infant burials and artifacts potentially associated with females found in the barracks of the later fourth century argue for a more drastic change after ca. AD 370 (Hodgson and Bidwell 2004, 154). For a comprehensive view of the problem now see, Hodgson and Bidwell 2004, 147-155.

⁶³ Roxan 1981, 278. The last securely dated auxiliary diploma was issued in AD 203 (*RMD* 187). A few may also date to as late as 203 (*CIL* 131; *RMD* 70, 71, 126, 127, 130, 186, 299, 300, 301, 450, 451; *RGZM* 72) but these examples have dubious dates and carry the possibility of a much earlier issue based on dateable criteria

familial rights and the very need for a diploma, arguing that the clause extending citizenship to existing children was one of the most important factors in issuing and carrying the document. It has also been suggested that the cessation of grants of citizen rights to children stemmed from the desire on the part of the government to find new recruits internally from soldiers' families.⁶⁴ Sons would receive citizenship upon entering the ranks themselves, not by way of their fathers. It seems unlikely, however, that the soldiers would have accepted such a deterioration of privileges without somewhat of a clamor if the policy change had drastically effected their rights. Moreover, Roxan rightfully notes that if this were the case we would expect to see a steady continuation of diploma issues, at least until AD 212, not the decline that is apparent after the 160s.⁶⁵

5.4. *Wives and children in the corpus of diplomas*

The thought of women and children living within the fort walls has been anathema to the understanding of military discipline and service in the Roman army, as has the thought of the families of soldiers traveling with military units. The diploma evidence suggests, however, that in many cases we must find accommodation for these members of the community somewhere in the military zone. A close consideration of the diplomas reveals a regional pattern, offering particularly strong evidence for families in the northwestern provinces, while further indicating overall military practice given the regular nature of

within the document. The lack of diplomas from 169-177 is for the entire corpus of nearly 800 examples, not just from the group used here that preserves the area for naming family. It is also quite possible that this data may change since documents are continuously being found. There are at present at least 30 diplomas waiting to be published by W. Eck (personal communication 2008).

⁶⁴ First stated by Parker 1928, 245; cf. Watson 1969, 134-5; Campbell 1978, 164-5 argues against this, as does Brunt 1990, 208.

⁶⁵ Roxan 1981, 278.

military protocol in official matters such as discharge and documentation. It is only because of recent patterns of excavation and the popularity of metal detecting in specific areas that the majority of the corpus of diplomas provides detailed information for veterans most often from Germania, Raetia, Pannonia, Moesia, Noricum and Dacia. There is also interesting evidence from Mauretania Tingitana, but there are far fewer diplomas currently known from North Africa and the East than from the northern European provinces.

The corpus of diplomas is over eight hundred strong at present and continues to grow each year. Out of these, the following investigation uses 395 documents, those that preserve the area that recorded the personal information of the soldier.⁶⁶ This information is preserved at the end of the document, directly above the named location where the original *constitutio* was displayed in Rome. Any diplomas that do not preserve this section, even sometimes only a few letters, have not been used in the following investigation because it is entirely unknown if they did once name a wife or children. Therefore, all calculations and percentages are made from the 395 examples that can be used to determine even the smallest amount of personal information.⁶⁷

The diplomas provide personal information about the soldier and, when further privileges were sought, details about his wife and children. The group of diplomas that preserve the area for naming family members reflects that 43% of auxiliaries took advantage of the privilege to claim *conubium* with a specific woman or to seek Roman citizenship for

⁶⁶ This chapter was written and the calculations were rendered in the beginning of 2008, which will serve as the cut off point for new material entering this chapter. For similar work done on the diplomas, see the 2010 Dissertation by Cuff (University of Toronto, 2010) who comes to similar conclusions. The approach is slightly different, most importantly in that Cuff did not focus only on the diplomas that preserve the personal information. Without reducing the sample to only those that preserve this necessary section of the document percentages are calculated differently for how many name wives and children.

⁶⁷ See Appendix 2 for a table of all diplomas considered in this argument.

existing children.⁶⁸ The rest did not have the need to claim these rights, for whatever reason; however, the inclusion on every diploma of the right for the soldier to make accommodation for an existing family is significant and cannot be underestimated. Even if the soldier did not name the wife specifically on the discharge document he still held the right of *conubium* with whomever he chose after he left military service.

When considering how such a situation would appear in reality if we project it onto an actual camp scenario, 43% is a rather large number. Since the diplomas cannot inform us about the age at which a soldier married, we can only say that those naming a wife or children had begun their family at some point during active military service. Considering this number on a purely hypothetical level, a quingenary cohort at full strength would need to accommodate roughly 206 families. The definition of family would certainly differ in each case, ranging from the presence of a wife, to a full family of perhaps a wife and six children.⁶⁹ It is not uncommon that upwards of four to six children are named,⁷⁰ but up to AD 140 when the dispensation for existing children was abolished, the average number of children named is 2.2. The wife is very often but not always named, and it is also rare to have only the wife named without the specification of children. Therefore, taking the average family to include a wife and two children and considering that 43% of those auxiliary soldiers who reached retirement age included specific family members, space would need to be found for 206 wives and 453 children in the fort and extramural settlement at any given

⁶⁸ Members of the fleet also very often claim this right, naming a wife and/or children 48% of the time when this area of the document is preserved. The living situation is quite different for these individuals and will be dealt with separately.

⁶⁹ The largest families recorded on diplomas name up to six children: e.g. *CIL* XVI 78.

⁷⁰ Out of 86 diplomas from the beginning of auxiliary issues up to AD 140, 18 diplomas name four or more children.

time. Moreover, the period from ca. 105-140 shows a sharp rise in familial claims, with about 70% of diplomas naming family and children. The average number of children remains basically the same at 2.3 per family during this time, but during this period the same full strength quingenary cohort would need to find space for 336 families, or 772 children plus wives.

These numbers cannot be translated directly into people living in and around the average auxiliary fort without further demographic information,⁷¹ but the number of unions made while the soldiers were in service as well as the high number of existing children named upon retirement is highly significant, and deserves further investigation. The questions of chief importance concerns where we imagine these families were living. Are they primarily in the extramural settlements that grew up almost immediately outside of auxiliary forts, or do we imagine a soldier's family living somewhere outside of the military community entirely? For instance, could a family live in the hometown of either the wife or the soldier, while the husband serves his military time? As will be shown below, in many cases this scenario is somewhat implausible.⁷² Given the archaeological evidence reviewed in Chapters 3 and 4, it is clear that the accommodation of non-combatants in extramural settlements was a concern as early as the beginning of the first century AD in Germany and from the earliest phases of frontier consolidation in Britain. Artifacts and skeletal remains all suggest that women and children were a significant part of the military communities in all periods, and in many cases that they may have resided within the fort itself. It is the documentary evidence that will illuminate a social dimension of the archaeological material.

⁷¹ Scheidel 1996, for demographic statistics on average survival rate for *auxilia* and other demographic issues relating to the military population.

⁷² Driel-Murray 2003, gives consideration to the effect of recruitment on those who stayed in the home region, particularly in this case of the Batavian tribe.

An investigation of the relationship between the soldier and wife named on each diploma reveals some interesting information about unions made during military service. The *origo* of the soldier is very often given either by city, tribe, or province. It is generally understood that a broad provincial indication of origin was given as the soldier's home when he served abroad outside of his home province and that the tribe or town was indicated when the recruit served in his home province.⁷³ Speidel has shown that this is not a rigid practice, but that exceptions are certainly present, especially in the naming of a tribe or town even when a soldier served in his home province.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, very often the home of the soldier is known to us as precisely as a tribal area or even an exact town or city. The wife is also provided with an *origo* along the same lines; rarely the province is named and more often her tribe or town of origin is accompanied also by the name of her father. It has also been noticed that the home of the wife is given in the same format as that of the soldier on auxiliary and fleet diplomas.⁷⁵

A close examination of these personal details allows insight into the possible scenarios for a soldier's forming and maintaining a relationship during military service. In many cases it is possible to infer the most likely origin of the relationship, as well as its progression through troop movements, family growth, and place of retirement. It is clear that a variety of circumstances existed and must have been acceptable within the military community. There are currently 59 diplomas that reveal information about the origins and

⁷³ Speidel 1986, 467. There are certainly exceptions to this rule, e.g. Germanus and Gallus, neither of whom would clarify origins well enough; therefore a town or tribe is indicated even if serving abroad (Speidel 1986, 468, 472).

⁷⁴ Speidel 1986, 468-71 provides tables with information from soldiers' diplomas. Cf. Mirković 2007 for general consideration of origins and the benefits gained or lost based on place of retirement.

⁷⁵ Speidel 1986, 479-81.

movement of a soldier and his family, of which 36 can be safely used to suggest a meeting point for the relationship.⁷⁶ Even though various examples can differ in their individual circumstances, the sample has been initially divided into broad categories of the most likely place that the husband and wife met and whether cohabitation is indicated by movement, place of origin and children named on the diploma. Placement of each diploma in a category has been made conservatively, counting any dubious cases as either unknown or that cohabitation was not a necessity even if still probable.

Soldiers met their wives either before joining the army, as indicated by their coming from the same tribe, or alternatively, during military service.⁷⁷ There are 36 diplomas that indicate the origin of the relationship, almost equally distributed between the two categories: 16 diplomas suggest marriage before service, 15 suggest that they met during service, and five indicate that the soldier married the daughter of a fellow soldier. The evidence for soldiers forming relationships with women from their home tribes is quite important given the general understanding that any existing marriage was nullified upon enlistment and this evidence may suggest that a relationship persisted through enlistment in the Roman military.⁷⁸ It is possible that a woman from a soldier's home tribe could follow the recruit sometime after his initial departure into military service, either having had a previous relationship with the soldier or being sent out to maintain ethnic ties through marriage.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ See Appendix 2 for specific information about each diploma used in this argument. I will refer to a number within the appendix for each diploma discussed.

⁷⁷ There is a highly interesting but small group that seems most likely to be composed of daughters of fellow soldiers. This category will be discussed below in its own right.

⁷⁸ Campbell 1978, 155; Wells 1995, 572.

⁷⁹ The complete list of diplomas that suggest the soldier and wife met before service is as follows: *CIL* 5, 38, 105, 132; *RMD* 216, 223(=RGZM 15), 86, 345(=RGZM 17/18), 348, 18, 235, 241, 402, 103; *RGZM* 38; *Acta Musei* 39-40/1, 2004, 1.

Even if the marriage was not initially legal and any children resulting from the union were not legitimate and could not inherit from the father, the relationship seems to have been preserved. Presumably the rewards of *conubium* and citizenship for their future children if the soldier reached retirement, as well as the practical considerations of two parents being present during a child's upbringing, were enough incentive to keep a relationship active.

The best indication of a soldier's having formed a relationship before entering service is when the soldier and his wife originate from the same tribe or town, especially if service was then carried out away from their home area, often also followed by retirement in the last place of service.⁸⁰ In other words, the couple leaves the home tribal area and never returns, creating the strongest case for the interpretation that the wife traveled with the soldier during service and cohabited with him in some fashion within the military community. A case from AD 113 shows this pattern most clearly (App. 2, No. 25):⁸¹ the soldier and his wife were both Batavian; he was recruited into the *cohors I Batavorum* *c.R. p.f.* which served mostly in Pannonia. They had three children and retired neither in the place of service nor back at home, in this case in a civil settlement next to the fort at Kumpfmühl, near Castra Regina, modern Regensburg. With the distances involved between Batavian territory and Pannonia, it can be assumed that the couple never returned to their home area, and certainly that the soldier was not taking leave back home in order to have three children.⁸² There is no more

⁸⁰ Cf. Roxan 1981, 280.

⁸¹ *RMD* 86. Roxan 1985, 149, n. 12 also states that this example most likely suggests that the wife followed the soldier into service.

⁸² The Vindolanda writing tablets provide us with information about soldiers' time on leave. Two soldiers at Vindolanda ask to go to *Coria*, identifiable with Corbridge, about 20 miles to the east of the fort: Tab. Vind. II 175 (*Coris*), 176 (as re-read in Tab. Vind. III, p. 156); cf. 174, a request to spend leave at another place, *Ulucio* in the locative (this site is otherwise unknown). Also see: Vegetius 2.19 and 3.4; Digest 49.16 and 12.1; Dura papyri, Fink 1959, 47, ii, 18-19 and 62.5. Davies 1974, 333, n. 74.

plausible way to interpret this situation except that his wife accompanied him into service or joined him during his *stipendium*. The diploma does not have the capacity to indicate further the nature of cohabitation, but this information may be deduced in conjunction with archaeological evidence from military sites, and inferences can be made from other examples discussed below.

This case of *RMD* 86 (App. 2, No. 25) also begs for consideration of varying practices during war and peace. The *cohors* I *Batavorum* ∞ *c.R. p.f.* is suggested to have taken part in the Dacian campaigns of Trajan,⁸³ calling into question where soldiers' families may have resided during this time. The date of retirement in 113, at which point the soldier of *RMD* 86 named three children, suggests that during the Dacian campaigns, depending on how much of and in what portion of the war his unit fought, he probably had at least one child already. This is not to say that wives and children forged into wars of territorial expansion, but rather, and more importantly, that some method of accommodating these parts of the military community must have existed.

A diploma of a soldier recruited from Thrace also suggests that he and his wife met before enlistment and that she followed him into service with the *ala* I *Flavia Gaetulorum* (App. 2, No. 49).⁸⁴ This unit is also believed to have fought in the Dacian campaigns, and the soldier serving from 100-125 would have been enlisted by this point.⁸⁵ He names five children on the diploma, indicating that they cohabited during service. As his *stipendium* began in 100 it is possible that he did not already have children during the campaigns in Dacia, but more likely that his wife at least traveled with him from their home in Thrace, and

⁸³ Lőrincz 1990; Cf. Spaul 2000, 211.

⁸⁴ *RMD* 235.

⁸⁵ Cichorius 1893, 1, 1243; cf. Spaul 1994, 124; Lőrincz 1990.

joined him in the military community at some point in order to have five children before his retirement in 125.

A possible scenario can be suggested from further documentary evidence. A diploma that presents a very similar situation found in *RMD* 235 above shows a soldier also in the *ala* I *Flavia Gaetulorum*, whose wife is from the same tribe, with five children named on the diploma (App. 2, No. 53).⁸⁶ This couple, however, originated in Eraviscan territory in Pannonia near Aquincum, very near to the garrison's position before the Dacian wars, possibly in Albertfalva or Campona, both along the Danube in Eraviscan territory.⁸⁷ Two scenarios are possible for this family while the husband was in active war service: they could either have remained with the wife's family, or could have remained in a settlement within the military community in Pannonia.⁸⁸ The latter is certainly a possibility when considering the movements of some units during the second century. The unit *ala* I *Ulpia contariorum milliaria*, which took part in the Mauretanian war of Antoninus Pius and the Parthian campaign of Lucius Verus, may present a possible scenario for families during war.⁸⁹ Both times the unit returned to the fort at Arrabona, east of Aquincum, where they are believed to have been stationed for most of the second century, suggesting that at the least, later in the second century families could remain in an extramural settlement, expecting the unit to return after campaign. If this is the case, it might be possible to have the extramural settlement occupied while the garrison is absent or is partially present. However, only archaeological

⁸⁶ *RMD* 241.

⁸⁷ Lőrincz 1990, 74-5.

⁸⁸ The unit later moved to Moesia Inferior, which is the province named on the diploma, suggesting that they did leave their home area, and given that five children are named, that they most certainly cohabited in the military community during this time.

⁸⁹ The diploma *RMD* 250(=*RGZM* 26) is of this unit but a few years earlier.

evidence can further suggest closely dated patterns of occupation and abandonment within the fort and settlement. The wife of *RMD* 466 (App. 2, No. 100), one of the latest auxiliary diplomas known, dating to AD 192 and issued to a decurion, names her *origo* as Arrabona, suggesting that there was at least some civilian component at the site.⁹⁰ This is all the more striking given that excavations so far on site have revealed a large auxiliary fort and a few temporary camps, but not an extramural settlement of any obvious size or position.⁹¹ This evidence indicates either that she was brought up inside the fort itself or that extramural settlements were far more common and extensive than we now see, and less archaeologically visible.

There are a number of other cases in which the soldier and wife most likely met before service and then traveled together to a new region in which the soldier was stationed. Diploma *RMD* 348 from a *constitutio* for units in Germania Inferior reveals a Bessan couple from Thrace, who name one child on the document (App. 2, No. 32).⁹² The place of retirement is unknown, but the location of the unit in Germania Inferior at the end of the soldier's service makes it most likely that this couple must have traveled together and had a small family that existed within the military community throughout their lives. Similarly, another diploma reports a Bessan couple who left Thrace and moved with the unit *Ala Siliana torquata c.R.*, located at this time in Pannonia and Dacia (App. 2, No. 33).⁹³ They name one child on the diploma and there is no evidence that they returned to Thrace. A

⁹⁰ The diploma reads *Arabiona*, but this is argued by Holder to be a scribal error for *Arrabona* (*RMD* V, 874, n. 19). For description of the site at *Arrabona* and its location on the *limes* in Pannonia, see Visy 2003, 21-5.

⁹¹ The excavations are not complete but geophysical survey has been carried out. Visy 2003, 21.

⁹² Holder 2006, *RMD* V.

⁹³ Eck, MacDonald, Pangerl 2004, *Acta Musei* 39-40/1.

couple from Frisian and Batavian territory, neighboring tribes near the mouth of the Rhine, might also have met before service (App. 2, No. 66).⁹⁴ Though they are not from the same tribe, the soldier was then stationed in Raetia probably for most if not all of his service, and the diploma was found in Pappenheim, to the west of Castra Regina in Raetia. Therefore the couple must have left the home area together. They had one child by the end of his service and retired near the place they had lived for the 25 years the soldier served in the Roman army. Many of these examples have no more likely interpretation but that the wife was in some capacity living within the military community while the husband served in the army. The strongest voice comes from those examples that name children, sometimes as many as five, and where it is not feasible that the soldier returned home at various points during his service.

There are a few diplomas suggesting that the soldier met his wife before service, but was then stationed close to home in the same province, providing an alternative to cohabitation in or near a military fort. The document *RMD* 216 shows a soldier recruited from Batavian territory who then served in Germania Inferior (App. 2, No. 7). There are a number of similar situations with recruits from Pannonia who very often serve in Pannonia itself.⁹⁵ In all of these cases cohabitation in the military environment is not a necessity. There are, however, a few considerations even within these examples that might present a case in which the wife and family could have lived in the military zone even if they had family in the same province. The distances involved and the burden of long distance travel in antiquity makes the feasibility of visits somewhat unlikely, especially if a family of two or more

⁹⁴ *CIL* 105.

⁹⁵ App. 2, No. 24=*RMD* 223(=*RGZM* 15); App. 2, No. 28=*RMD* 345(=*RGZM* 17/18); App. 2, No. 48=*RMD* 234; App. 2, No. 53=*RMD* 241; App. 2, No. 64=*RMD* 250(=*RGZM* 26); App. 2, No. 88=*RMD* 266; App. 2, No. 93=*RMD* 102; App. 2, No. 100=*RMD* 446; App. 2, No. 29=*CIL* XVI 61.

children is named. It is a far more logical scenario to find accommodation within the military environment for these members of the community. In examples where it is clear that the wife moved with the soldier, the family must be accepted as part of the military community, and this could be true even for the families of soldiers serving in their home province.

The second possible scenario is that the soldier met his wife during service, perhaps in a settlement near the area where his unit was stationed, or perhaps from within the extramural settlement of the fort.⁹⁶ Diploma *RMD* 266 (App. 2, No. 88) names the wife's home as *Vetus Salina*, on the Danube south of *Aquincum* in *Pannonia Inferior*, within *Eraviscan* territory.⁹⁷ The soldier is also named as *Eraviscan*, but his unit, *cohors I Alpinorum equitata* is known to have been stationed at *Vetus Salina* before moving to *Matrica*, where it remained for the rest of his service.⁹⁸ The site has a stone fort and a *vicus* located outside the walls.⁹⁹ This situation presents a good case for the soldier having met his wife while he served at the garrison, with her perhaps moving with him to *Matrica*. There are no children named, but as the date is after the policy change by *Antoninus Pius*, we cannot infer that they did not have a family, just that citizenship was no longer conferred upon existing children. In some cases the possibility remains that the wife and children may have stayed in the hometown of the wife while the soldier was in garrison. When the soldier met a woman during service, it is often true that he was stationed very near to her original home, as stated

⁹⁶ The complete list of diplomas that suggest the soldier met his wife during service is as follows: *CIL* XVI 49,61, 67, 132; *RMD* 21, 26, 245, 250(=*RGZM* 26), 161, 386, 102, 278, 446; *RGZM* 22, 31.

⁹⁷ *RMD* 266=*RGZM* 30. The diploma actually reads *Veius Aliens*, which *Roxan* has convincingly argued is a scribal error for *Vetus Salina*. *Roxan* 1999, 266. She also suggests here that the wife may have been of a military family originally.

⁹⁸ *Zs. Visy* 1986, 507-10; cf. *Roxan* 1999, 260.

⁹⁹ *Tabula Imperii Romani* L 34 Budapest, 118.

on the diploma, and cohabitation in the military community is not certain. Although, even in these situations when the relationship seems to have originated during service, movement of the unit away from the home tribe of the woman often suggests that family members would still travel with the unit and cohabit with soldiers in the military sphere. Diploma *CIL XVI 49* (App. 2, No. 10) records a Dobunnus from *Britannia* with an Azalian wife, from a Pannonian tribe near Aquincum. His unit moved from Pannonia into Moesia Superior, where he was located upon retirement; after the completion of his service, the family moved back to the home area of the wife, to Brigetio in Azalian territory. With three children named on the document, it is more likely that the wife traveled with the soldier from Pannonia to Moesia and then they returned to her home after completion of service.

RMD 84 (App. 2, No. 19) presents a scenario in which the soldier was recruited from Thrace and went with *ala I Augusta c.R.* to Mauretania Tingitana. There he met his wife, who most likely had her origins in Tingitana,¹⁰⁰ and they had one child. Her movement with him and assumed cohabitation is suggested by their retirement back in his home region. The diploma naming the family specifically was found in Kraka, Bulgaria (Thrace), suggesting that they made the long trip from North Africa to Thrace to live after retirement, making it more likely that they cohabited before this point as well. A very telling case is made by diploma *RGZM 22* (App. 2, No. 44), in which a soldier from Syria recruited into *cohors II Flavia Commagenorum*, served from ca. 98-123 and was stationed in Moesia Superior.¹⁰¹ He met his Thracian wife at some point after leaving Syria, perhaps while in service in Moesia.

¹⁰⁰ Roxan 1985, 145.

¹⁰¹ Diploma evidence puts the unit in this province in 96, 100 and 103/7: *RMD 6*; *CIL XVI 146*, 54.

The unit was then relocated to Dacia by 110,¹⁰² garrisoning the fort at Micia north of Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa. The couple had six children and they then retired back to the home region of the soldier, with the diploma being found at Edessa in Turkey. The accommodation of six children makes it almost impossible that the couple was not cohabiting during his military service, and their move back to Syria after retirement also suggests that the family traveled with the soldier.

Diploma *CIL XVI* 161 (App. 2, No. 20) records a soldier recruited from Syria and serving in Mauretania Tingitana with the *ala I Hamiorum sagittariorum*. His wife is also from Syria and it could be suggested that they left the province together, as she appears to have followed him into service and never returned to Syria. Cohabitation in some form is suggested by the fact that they had two children and because they never returned to the home of either the wife or the soldier, retiring instead near Banasa in Mauretania. Present in this diploma, however, is the possibility of another relationship particularly interesting for the definition of the military community and its social structure: it has been suggested that this soldier met his wife during service, but that she was the daughter of a fellow soldier.¹⁰³ Occurrences of institutional endogamy are clearly present in a few diplomas that show soldiers marrying the daughters of their comrades.¹⁰⁴ Pferdehirt suggested in *RGZM* 11 (App. 2, No. 11) that the wife was probably the daughter of a fellow soldier,¹⁰⁵ because there would

¹⁰² *CIL XVI* 163.

¹⁰³ Spaul 1994, 141.

¹⁰⁴ The most certain examples of this practice are: *CIL XVI* 55, 169; *RMD* 266(=*RGZM* 30); *RGZM* 11. It is possibly the case in: *RMD* 386; *RGZM* 31; here with *CIL XVI* 161. Cf. Shaw 1983, 148, with reference to the legionary evidence at Lambaesis; for further treatment of the army as a ‘total institution’ with characteristics such as marriage preference from within the closed group of the military, see Pollard 1996, *passim*; MacMullen 1984, *passim*.

¹⁰⁵ Pferdehirt 2004, 34.

have been no obvious point of contact between the Treveran recruit and a Thracian wife, but there were Thracian recruits in the same unit.¹⁰⁶ The unit was stationed in Moesia Inferior probably for most of this soldier's period of service and the diploma names four children, suggesting that this family cohabited.

Marriage to the daughter of a fellow soldier is the most likely scenario also for *CIL* XVI suppl. 169 (App. 2, No. 41).¹⁰⁷ This soldier, of Syrian origin, joined the unit *ala Gallorum Tauriana c.R. torquata victrix* in ca. 97 at which point the unit was stationed in Mauretania Tingitana.¹⁰⁸ The *origo* of the wife is listed as *Transducta* in Baetica, probably *colonia Iulia Traducta*.¹⁰⁹ The unit served under the Flavians in Hispania after serving in the revolt of Civilis in 69, and by 88 they were in Mauretania Tingitana.¹¹⁰ The soldier certainly could not have been in the unit during its time in Hispania in order for him to have met his wife there; however, there were Spanish recruits in the unit, which makes it possible that his wife may have been the daughter of one of these soldiers. In a similar pattern, it is difficult to work out the meeting spot of soldier and wife in *CIL* XVI 55 (App. 2, No. 14): the soldier was recruited in Pannonia and served in Raetia, but his wife is Sequanian. The most logical suggestion is that she was the daughter of a fellow soldier, as there were Gauls in the unit *ala I Hispanorum Auriana*.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶ *CIL* XVI 45. The unit was originally raised in Hispaniae.

¹⁰⁷ This diploma was originally published as *CIL* XVI 73, and was then joined to another fragment in *CIL* XVI suppl. 169.

¹⁰⁸ Christol and Le Roux 1985, 17.

¹⁰⁹ Nesselhauf 1955, *CIL* XVI suppl., 227.

¹¹⁰ Holder 1980, 35-6; Christol and Le Roux 1985, 17, 25.

¹¹¹ Roldán Hervás 1974, 93-4; cf. Spaul 1994, 59.

It is not only the daughters of soldiers who were potential partners for their comrades, but also the sisters of soldiers. Two diplomas found in the same building in Lussonium in Pannonia Inferior record this type of partnership. The Eraviscan soldier of *RMD* 102 (App. 2, No. 93) was recruited into the *cohors I Thracum Germanica* and served from ca. 132-157. His unit was stationed at Lussonium through the 150s and the soldier retired with his wife in 157 and they remained at Lussonium, in an extramural settlement that was not extensive but located near the walls of the fort.¹¹² *RMD* 103 (App. 2, No. 94) records another Eraviscan soldier with the same period of service who also served in *cohors I Thracum Germanica*. This soldier's wife was also Eraviscan and was the sister of the recipient of *RMD* 102. The fact that both documents record their father as Tessimarus and that both of these diplomas were found in the same building, strengthens the case for a strong family connection during service and after retirement.¹¹³ The soldiers' service in the same unit provides a clear point of introduction for the couple, as well as does the tribal connections that existed. The archaeological context of the documents indicates that the two couples cohabited after retirement, suggesting that extended families might live under one roof. In the initial publication of these two documents, Visy suggests that they were all living in the household of the father, Tessimarus.¹¹⁴ It is even more provocative that the last place of service for the soldiers seems to have been Lussonium, making it most likely that this family remained in the same location both during service and after retirement. The evidence of *RMD* 102 and 103 indicates that the extramural settlements located next to forts housed families of active

¹¹² Visy 1982, 60-5, describes the archaeological context of the diplomas' location as a building on the northwest corner of the fort with the extensive burning in the structure ascribed to the Marcomannic wars. Cf. Visy 1987, 96-8.

¹¹³ Roxan 1985, 173, n. 13.

¹¹⁴ Visy 1982, 64-5.

soldiers as well as retired military personnel. Moreover, the military community at Lussonium, as both the home of this extended family: the father of one soldier, the father-in-law of another, and their wives—and the retirement place of veterans, the military community here becomes inextricably linked with the fort and takes on a rather complex social structure.

5.5. *Conclusion*

The prerequisite for soldiers' marriage to the daughters and sisters of comrades is that the families traveled with and lived within the military community. This conclusion is strengthened by examples such as in *RMD* 102 and 103, in which habitation might not have changed from the period of service into retirement. A fellow soldier could not logically have met and formed a relationship with the daughter or sister of a comrade if they had remained in the hometown or region of either the soldier or the wife. This is the same prerequisite that is necessary for the diplomas and funerary inscriptions that record origins of soldiers as *in castris*. There are six diplomas currently known¹¹⁵ and several inscriptions on stone that denote the camp as the origin for the soldier, forming a highly interesting group in their own right. Whether they were sons or daughters, the children of soldiers must have lived their entire lives within a military community, functioning around the daily routine of the camp. It is no surprise that one growing up in this way might seek out a husband or wife who already understood the life of a soldier, whether that entailed moving often with the reassignment of units or coping during the absence of soldiers during campaign or other military duties.

¹¹⁵ *CIL* XVI 91, 128; *RMD* 157, 64, 180, 459. Though it is not entirely clear what *in castris* denotes, it may have meanings other than strictly associated with those born in the camp to soldiers.

The two cases from Lussonium as well as the origin of the wife named in *RMD* 266 may suggest something about the lives of families living in the military community. The latter example names Vetus Salina on the Danube as the woman's *origo*, which suggests that she was possibly born and raised in this military settlement. Only an investigation of the archaeological remains can identify the potential living quarters of families at this site, but it is certain that the primary function of this settlement, as well as at Lussonium, was a military one. Whether the family was located within the fort itself on any occasion or solely in the extramural settlement, the life led here would be one centered on military activities. The retirement of the two couples at Lussonium who had both tribal and familial ties suggests that there could be cohabitation with extended family, perhaps offering a possible case for female family members to cohabit while soldiers were on campaign or away from the fort. Moreover, like Vetus Salina, Lussonium is a site with its military fort at the center of activity; it does not have a well-known, important, or extensive civilian component. Any area for non-military members of the community was probably secondary in purpose. In this case, the presence of families is confirmed by the documentary evidence.

Cohabitation while in service is, in fact, the most probable scenario in more diplomas than those that suggest otherwise, such as the wife remaining at home while the soldier served somewhere nearby. Twenty-seven diplomas should be understood as indicating that the family was present in the military community in some fashion, whereas only 21 can make a case for the opposite. The evidence found in the diplomas cannot be underestimated and in many cases cannot be read in any other way but to suggest that the wife followed the soldier into the military environment and plausibly traveled with his unit as the garrison moved throughout the period of service. It is becoming more obvious with further archaeological

investigation and reassessment of documents such as the military diplomas that there was a distinct military community that existed around the Roman army, and one that cannot be classified simply as a civilian *vicus* or *canabae* that housed “camp followers.” The situation is far more nuanced and cannot be discussed in terms of simple binary opposites such as military versus civilian space. Moreover, the community had a social structure and way of life distinct from that of purely civilian towns. That said, a comparison to the structure of other purely civilian settlements would be fruitful in order to assess the social role of non-combatant members of the military community, as well as to assess how military settlements differ spatially and socially from purely civilian settlements outside the military zone.

The diplomas are one line of evidence that may shift our identification of non-military members of the community from “camp followers” living in a haphazard settlement outside the fort walls, to that of an organized community with a distinct social structure. The diplomas show that in many cases a family may have traveled with a soldier while he was in service, and that cohabitation was likely in some form in the military community. The importance of *conubium* and citizenship for existing children points towards the value that may have been placed on family at least by some soldiers during service, especially by the early second century. The presence of family within the military structure is a necessity in certain cases in which institutional endogamy took place, and it is far less likely that a soldier was caring for small children without a partner present in the community. Therefore, space within the fort and extramural settlement must be found for families. This evidence must be addressed and incorporated into our image of the military communities, so prominent on the frontiers of the Roman empire, in order to understand fully this distinct and individual community.

CHAPTER 6:

THE ROMAN MILITARY COMMUNITY IN THE VINDOLANDA WRITING TABLETS

6.1. *Introduction*

Military diplomas give an excellent view beyond just the presence of women and children found in artifact scatters, and begin to suggest some role for these individuals within the social structure of military communities. The diplomas indicate that in many cases this part of the population represents the wives and children of soldiers that were considered a family in all but the eyes of Roman law. This is important evidence to draw scholarship away from the idea that such women present in the community were a less organized social group of “camp followers.” Secondly, the diplomas show that in many cases the *de facto* wives were of the same ethnic background as the soldier himself, suggesting that in some cases soldiers may have sought to maintain ethnic ties through marriage. The general feeling one is left with from these sources is that the presence of soldiers’ families is neither unusual nor rare.

This is the same image that is gained in a much more personal and direct way from the corpus of letters preserved at Vindolanda. This chapter looks to this group of historical documents, unique in the western empire,¹ for a close look at a single community and the women and children clearly present there with the Roman army. The Vindolanda writing

¹ A small corpus of letters have come from the nearby site at Carlisle (Tomlin 1998) but are far more fragmentary than the Vindolanda corpus. Only two letters have enough substance to discern context, one of which sends greetings to the family of the prefect.

tablets are a unique assemblage of documents that preserve the daily records of the military community at Vindolanda and elsewhere in the late-first and early-second centuries AD. The letters were preserved in anaerobic archaeological conditions in the early periods of occupation at Vindolanda, and represent both the upper classes living on the site, as well as ordinary citizens and soldiers probably of ranks lower than the officer class.² For this reason they are important to illuminate the lives of the lower social classes, so rarely available in our sources from antiquity. At the same time, a large percentage of the letters came from the records of the Period 3 *praetorium* (AD 97-105) and therefore originated with the prefect and his family. Many tablets, therefore, do tell us quite a lot about the "first family" of the garrison at Vindolanda and the activity of the highest social class in this auxiliary fort. Nonetheless, the letters are an unprecedented window into the lives of this family living within the fort itself, in addition to offering small yet provocative pieces of information about other women associated with the community.

Through the first person voices of the tablets we acquire a general understanding of what a women's lived reality may have been living within the Roman military community. Like many other finds from Vindolanda, the tablets offer a unique glimpse of life in this environment, but without a comparable assemblage are also difficult to contextualize and compare to life on other military sites. The fort at Carlisle, further to the west on Hadrian's Wall, also produced a few tablets, but nowhere as many as from Vindolanda.³ When possible these will be used to suggest at least that the corpus is a representative body of material and if more had been found at Carlisle, may have revealed similar information to what was found at

² Particularly clear when the author addresses a letter to a *contubernalis*, a messmate, e.g. *Tab.Vindol.* 310 (App. 3, No.2).

³ Tomlin 1998, *passim*.

Vindolanda. For comparable information one must turn to the papyri of Egypt and Dura-Europos, but none contain such a clear record of women living in a specific military community.⁴ The context of the Vindolanda letters makes it quite clear that the prefect's wife and family were living within the fort itself in the most important central section of the garrison directly next to the *principia*. Because of this we are able to explore the social dynamic created by a woman and small children living within this area that had vast importance for military function and public display.

The tablets record a tantalizing glimpse of the real women associated with the Roman army stationed on the northern frontier of Britain, and present a picture that contradicts the presumed dominance of masculinity of Roman military communities found both in Roman literature and modern scholarship. In the latest volume of the Vindolanda Writing tablets published in 2003, Bowman and Thomas remark that it is noteworthy to see the mention of someone's daughter in a military setting.⁵ The presence of these women, however, is clearly not exceptional and it is quite clear from the material evidence discussed above, that soldiers created *de facto* relationships during their military career, which naturally resulted in wives, daughters and sisters growing up and living in military communities.

It seems clear from the tablets that women played an important role in preserving some continuity and normality for families that, by necessity, joined soldiers far from home for military service. A few tablets show the domestic role that it seems women held in this environment, perhaps the only element that kept some domestic structure in the lives of these families that lived in the military community. Moreover, I will argue that one specific tablet

⁴ See Fink 1971. This dissertation will not provide any comprehensive study of papyrus documents for the sake of space and time. This would be a fruitful line of enquiry for the future, however.

⁵ Bowman and Thomas 2003, 120, note to line 9.

suggests that the wife of the unit commander was a leading figure for the women living within military communities. I contend that she acted as an advocate for female concerns within a network of women living at the camp. Through the female voices preserved in the Vindolanda tablets, it is clear that there was a distinct and well-defined female world within the community that surrounded the Roman army.

6.2. *The corpus of tablets: Their preservation and format*

The Vindolanda writing tablets are a corpus of over 1000 letters, with all manner of information recorded from daily strength reports, to store house inventories and personal correspondences.⁶ The tablets are wood, usually silver birch, about the size of a modern postcard, and inscribed with ink. They are preserved in the same anaerobic conditions at Vindolanda in which the leather shoes are found in large numbers. A single large cache of letters was found in a bonfire site on the *via Sagularis* (ring road around the interior of the fort at the bottom of the rampart) to the south of the Period 3 *praetorium*. Many of these letters proved to have come directly from the records of the *praetorium* itself during the period in which the *cohors* VIII *Batavorum* was in garrison and commanded by Flavius Cerialis. His wife, Sulpicia Lepidina, and probably two small children were also in residence at this time, evidenced by their shoes and from the correspondence of Lepidina.

Several other tablets have been found and continue to emerge from domestic spaces within the first five periods of occupation, mostly dating from ca. AD 85 to 120. These

⁶ Bowman and Thomas 2003, 1994, 1983. There are also several interim articles that discuss recent finds, but all letters so far found are encompassed and fully published in these three volumes. Much of Volume 1 is treated again in Volume 2 with further thoughts, new transcriptions or translations. In these instances I will refer to both catalogue numbers, using *Tab.Vindol.* II numbers first as they are the more accepted and recent treatment. For further discussion of some of the Vindolanda tablets and Latin letters generally, see Cugusi 1992 and 2002; cf. Adams 1995; cf. Bowman 1994.

tablets are generally found within structures between strata that have been called ‘lamine’, essentially the layers of natural carpeting consisting of local heather and bracken used in the north of Britain to soften the hard-packed clay floors of houses. Like modern postcards and small bits of paper, the writing tablets easily got lost between and underneath layers of lamine, which then became anaerobic environments after subsequent construction took place. The earliest occupation phases on site, Periods 1 through 5, were demolished and built over by subsequent occupation, but the remains of the timber foundations and the floor levels are intact. When the decision was taken to build in stone in the mid-second century a foundation of grey clay, available in abundance in the local ground soil, was laid across the site in order to provide a solid foundation for an already subsiding ground level. This action created the anaerobic environment that preserves wooden documents merely 1mm thick.

The wooden tablets are found rarely in later periods of the second and third centuries, but a few do exist dating to the Severan period.⁷ The ditches from the mid-to-late-second century forts are semi-anaerobic and preserve robust organic material such as leather and other wooden objects. The tablets, however, are quite fragile and had a difficult time standing up to the open environment of a fort ditch in antiquity. The ditches were left open and routinely cleaned out and it seems that the thin writing tablets only survived here in exceptional circumstances. A few have been recovered from later second century contexts, which will be mentioned briefly, since one is a significant report of family life on the frontier. Otherwise, the discussion will predominantly focus on the majority of letters dating

⁷ E.g. *Tab. Vindol.* III, 690, from the Period 6 ditch dating to the last quarter of the second century. Like many others discussed here from the late-1st and early-2nd centuries, this tablet also greets the recipient’s daughter and the family of Proculus.

from ca. 85-120 AD, the periods when the first cohort of Tungrians and the ninth cohort of Batavians were in residence.

The letters are intriguing also because of the geographical scope they represent. The letters were not all found at Vindolanda because they were sent to someone stationed at the fort. In some cases letters are argued to have been drafts, therefore, the content of the letter, and probably its final form, was meant for someone outside of the Vindolanda community. Often letters clearly pertain to the military community because the content or address of the letter is of a military nature, for instance someone addressing a *contubernalis* (messmate), or a place name that is a known military settlement. It is also possible that an individual dropped a letter while at Vindolanda, such as was proposed for Tablet 310. The address is not always preserved and only rarely includes a place name, but when preserved it is found in the locative case on the back of the letter on the right hand side of the leaf.⁸ The addresses can offer us a good idea of the geographical scope of those living in the Vindolanda community and to where their communications extended. Known places listed are *Londinium* and *Coria* (modern Corbridge ca. 20 km east of Vindolanda).

Some of the more famous letters in the corpus are between Sulpicia Lepidina, the wife of the prefect Flavius Cerialis at Vindolanda in Period 3, and Claudia Severa, the wife of Aelius Brocchus the prefect of Briga, a nearby fort probably in the Hadrian's Wall corridor, but as yet unidentified. The private letters between Lepidina and Severa give us several details of the lives of upper class women on the northern frontier. Perhaps more importantly, the corpus also preserves the very real world of women not associated with the highest ranks on site. In addition to the several tablets that preserve the voices and lives of

⁸ For full treatment of addresses on the Vindolanda letters, see Bowman and Thomas 1994, 42-5.

women living within the military community, they also offer excellent evidence for official military matters. A strength report of the First Cohort of Tungrians in residence in Period 1, suggests that out of the supposed 752 soldiers in the unit, only 265 were present and fit for active service.⁹ The others were either absent because of official duty, on leave, or unfit because of illness. A remarkable number of soldiers suffered from inflammation of the eyes. Storehouse inventory lists give an interesting glimpse into the rations and diet of soldiers, and they also often keep a record of those buying and paying for goods. In more than one instance a female is listed, suggesting either a female slave or a family relation was a part of the official record of military stores. Tablets such as these give us an unprecedented view into the life led on this northern frontier and can be mined for other such personal and organizational details.

6.3. *The Content of the Tablets*

One of the most productive results from a study of the Vindolanda tablets is the overarching sentiment that close family ties were common within the military community and that women had an active social voice within this masculine domain. When read as a group it becomes clear that family members were a part of the fabric of military communities, part of the social life and daily activity. This reality is reflected quite plainly in the Vindolanda letters, which are invaluable even just for the confirmation that the presence of women and children in the military environment was a normal state of affairs, and not an exceptional circumstance. Though Vindolanda is the only military site in the west to have produced such a corpus of documents, the scope of the letters encompasses individuals

⁹ Bowman and Thomas 1994, 90-8, *Tab. Vindol.* no. 154.

outside of the Vindolanda community, allowing one to extrapolate information about the military population as a whole, at least in Britain. Even though all the letters were found at Vindolanda, the nature of letter writing inherently includes people from other communities corresponding with and sending greetings between various communities throughout Britain.

For the intricacies of family connections—and indeed the normalcy of such an occurrence—we need only look to several of the tablets which record routine greetings among wives, children, sisters, parents and daughters. Tablet number 643 (App. 3, No. 1)¹⁰ records a letter from a man named Florus, and finishes with: “Ingenua, your daughter, sends greetings to you both.” Ingenua here could have been the wife of Florus, but because he specified *vestra filia*, it seems more likely that she is the wife of an associate of Florus and that he is only passing along greetings from within his community. If he were the husband, it seems unlikely that he would need to clarify which “Ingenua” was meant in a letter to his parents-in-law. Again, we have the feeling of a close-knit community here, one that shares around greetings and keeps people informed of those that have moved into other military communities. The plural of *uos* also suggests that greetings went out to both of the parents, the father Caelovirus, as well as the mother. Bowman and Thomas suggest that because Caelovirus is married he is likely to have been a civilian, but this is not necessarily the only interpretation. In addition to its presence found within a purely military context at Vindolanda, the letter also mentions a *beneficiarius*, setting it well within a military milieu.

¹⁰ Bowman and Thomas 2003, 96-9, *Tab. Vindol.* 643: “Florus to his Calavir(us), greetings. The closed small box and whatever things have been locked in it(?) give to ... the *beneficiarius* which(?) he will seal with his ring. (2nd greeting in same tablet) “Florus to his Titus, greetings. Brother, if you happen to have(?) an axe in your hut, give it to Gam..., the man who will deliver you this tablet(?), and in order that he gives it back ... (Back) and do not give it to him except on condition that he straightway places it in the cart. Ingenua, your daughter, sends greetings to you both (*Ingenua vos salutat v[e]stra filia*). Deliver to Caelovir(us). (Margin) I pray that you are in good health.”

The most salient interpretation is that these couples were to be found in the military community and that the daughters of such unions, such as Ingenua, might remain within a military setting by marrying another soldier, as is possibly represented here.

A similar situation is found in Tablet 310 (App. 3, No. 2)¹¹ in which Chrauttius writes: “And I ask you, brother Virilis, to greet from me sister Thuttena. Write back to us how Velbutena is.” The terms *frater* and *soror* are commonly used in the Vindolanda tablets and elsewhere in Latin epigraphy simply as terms of endearment between close friends and military buddies. They do not always denote a blood relationship, though they sometimes do, rendering a certain identification difficult. It seems possible in this tablet that in some way, this is dealing with a real family formation. The use of *soror* to describe a woman in a male-authored letter is somewhat unusual, and in this case it is only used as a descriptor for the first woman mentioned, Thuttena, not the second woman, Velbutena. The argument is strengthened by the use of the word *parens*, which Bowman and Thomas take to mean “elders” within their military cohort.¹² It could be argued with the strength of the opening line to his brother and messmate (*fratri contubernali antiquo*) coupled with the reference to *parens*, that it is possible we see here a true family relationship. This letter is also confusing in that it switches into a direct request of Virilis rather than of Veldeius, to greet the *soror* Thuttena, suggesting that she is now related socially somehow to the veterinarian Virilis. The intricate

¹¹ Bowman and Thomas 1994, 289-94. *Tab. Vindol.* 310: “Chrauttius to Veldeius his brother and old messmate (*fratri contubernali antiquo*), very many greetings. And I ask you, brother Veldeius – I am surprised that you have written nothing back to me for such a long time – whether you have heard anything from our elders (*a parentibus nostris si quid audieris*), or about ... in which unit he is; and greet him from me in my words and Virilis the veterinary doctor. Ask him whether you may send through one of our friends the pair of shears which he promised me in exchange for money. And I ask, brother Virilis, to greet from me sister Thuttena. Write back to us how Velbutena is (*rogo te frater Virilis salutes a me Thuttenam sororem Velbutenam rescribas nobis*). (2nd hand?) It is my wish that you enjoy the best of fortune. Farewell. (Back, 1st hand) (Deliver) at London. To Veldedeius, groom of the governor, from his brother Chrauttius.”

¹² Bowman and Thomas 1994, 289-94, esp. 291.

relations are clear, if not difficult to extract precisely, but the overarching feeling is one of a tight community that remains close to one another even if one has moved into another military settlement.

Tablet 650 (App. 3, No. 3)¹³ is interesting from a few perspectives, both for showing the presence of a woman and that greetings go out to the soldiers countrymen as well. “Greet Verecunda and Sanctus, ..., Capito and all my fellow-countrymen and friends.” The military context is assured by the mention in line four of the *praefectus*, but the sender is Ascanius, a *comes Augusti* indicating he was in a slightly higher social class bracket. Verecunda is mentioned by name, presumably in residence somewhere at Vindolanda. Even more provocative here is the inclusion of Verecunda, Sanctus, Capito and all of my countrymen (*omnes cives et amecos*) suggesting that he is not of Italian origin, but of some other ethnic group. They most logically should be identified as ethnic auxiliary soldiers or perhaps veterans that have remained at Vindolanda. The tablet is from period two, sometime in the AD 90s, and presumably there was a group of soldiers, as well as the woman Verecunda, that were of his same ethnic background. The fact that Verecunda is named personally suggests a close relationship, perhaps familial or possibly a close tie existed because of their similar ethnic background. The latter scenario is reminiscent of the conclusions drawn from the military diplomas that many of the *de facto* wives present in the military community held the same tribal affiliation as the soldier himself. The identification of the sender as a *comes Augusti* is interesting, considering that the rest of the tablet suggests a lower rank for the

¹³ Bowman and Thomas 2003, 109-11. *Tab. Vindol.* 650: “... so that he might send my money ... without the knowledge of his prefect. Greet Verecunda and Sanctus, ..., Capito and all my fellow-countrymen and friends, with whom I pray that you are in good health. ... (Back) ..., surveyor(?), from Ascanius, *comes Augusti*.”

recipient of the letter and for the greetings that were sent.¹⁴ The salutation to one's countrymen sounds very much like the rank and file in an ethnic unit, rather than for instance, the highest ranking officials in a cohort. Verecunda is clearly a part of this social community turning up first in a list otherwise listing messmates and old friends.

Tablet 670 (App. 3, No. 4)¹⁵ is also quite interesting but dates to later in the second century, having been found in the Period 6 ditch system. A greeting goes out to, "Proculus and his family, and to your daughter." As above the military context is clear in the address, "to Victor, cavalryman, armourer," as well as the inclusion of greetings to a *vexillarius*. The writer sends greetings to Victor's daughter, suggesting that she is living in the military community at Vindolanda. Moreover, greetings are sent to Proculus and his family, again confirming the presence of family in the community. What we gain from all of these letters is an image most certainly not of casual connections to local women or prostitutes, or fleeting relationships. These are meaningful social bonds with a cohesive community within the military, in which women are a part of the daily fabric. Family life is strong and the connection between relatives is also a prominent feature of the tablets, seen in specific greetings to children, wives and others that are a part of a close knit community. It also seems that it was ordinary for daughters of soldiers such as Ingenua, and possibly sisters such as Thuttena, to remain a part of the social group of military communities. The number of

¹⁴ Bowman and Thomas (2003, 111) see no need to presume this represents a man in the entourage of the emperor, but that it could also be related to senators or *equites*, and that in fact Ascanius need not have been in a very high prominent position to make this claim. For the breakdown of the title *comes*, see Millar 1977, 117-8, but focusing predominantly on evidence from the 3rd century onwards.

¹⁵ Bowman and Thomas 2003, 126-30. *Tab. Vindol.* 670: "Martius to Victor, his most dear brother, greetings. Know that all is well with me and I wish that the same may be true for you. I am making you agent, brother, ... the relatives(?) of my(?) father ... carefully nor ... they sell(?) anything(?) for them ... and write to me, I ask, what is being done about those matters when you have the chance. If you do not have the chance (to write) from Bremesio(?), give (your letter_ at Cataractonium to Durmius(?) the veteran or(?) to Harius ... we had been. [Greet?] Proculus and (his?) family and .. your (?) daughter and Valentinus the *uexillarius* and -anus ... (Address) [Deliver] at Coria(?) to Victor, cavalryman, armourer, from Martius, clerk (?)."

greetings in the corpus of letters at Vindolanda suggests that people, including women, moved around the military community quite often and that these social ties were maintained through letter writing.

Some very practical information about the freedom allowed to women on the frontier can be gained from the tablets as well. The correspondence between Severa and Lepidina includes invitations for the family to travel between forts, presumably in the area of the frontier, while Tablet 292 allows Claudia Severa to visit Vindolanda whenever she wishes. These tablets offer details of the practical considerations about freedom of women in the military environment. Firstly, it is clear that travel around the frontier was not a terribly difficult prospect, particularly if one would take on such a trip simply for a birthday party as is found in tablet 291. More provocative are the parameters of Claudia Severa's movement around the frontier (App. 3, No. 5):

" ... greetings. Just as I had spoken with you, sister, and promised that I would ask Brocchus and would come to you, I asked him and he gave me the following reply, that it was always (?) permitted to me, together with to come to you in whatever way I can. For there are certain essential things which you will receive my letters by which you will know what I am going to do I was ... and will remain at Briga. Greet your Cerialis from me. (Back, 2nd hand) Farewell my sister, my dearest and most longed-for soul. (1st hand) To Sulpicia Lepidina, wife of Cerialis, from Severa, wife of Brocchus (?)." ¹⁶

This letter suggests a high degree of freedom for women living on the frontier, possibly even more than their civilian counterparts in the capital. Presumably such a trip would have been

¹⁶ Bowman and Thomas 1994, 259-62. *Tab. Vindol.* 292: ...salutem. ego soror sicut tecum locuta fueram et promiseram ut peterem a Broccho et venirem at te peti et res[po]ndit mihi <i>ta cor.. semp[er] li]citum una quomodocumque possim at te pervenire. sunt enim necessaria quaedam qua[e]... rem meum epistulas meas accipies quibus scies quid sim actura haec nobis ... ra eram et Brigae mansura. Cerialem tuum a me saluta (Back, 2nd hand) [val]e mi soror karissima et anima ma desideratissima. (1st hand) Sulpiciae Lepidinae Cerial[is] a Severa B[rocchi].

undertaken with an escort, and for further evidence of this practice we may turn to the passage from Tacitus' *Annales* when Agrippina fled the fort of the rebelling German legions: "Illustrious women, without either a centurion or soldier for protection, nothing was present of her status as the wife of the commander or of her customary retinue."¹⁷ This passage suggests that as the wife of the commanding officer, albeit in this case the general of all German armies, they were accustomed to travel with attendants, partially as a reflection of status, but no doubt as well for protection and safety. The Vindolanda tablets show us unambiguously and without the possibility of literary flair, that women associated with the army were allowed to move around the military landscape, and that they had the freedom to create a life that kept some semblance of normality with strong social bonds, birthday parties, and family gatherings.

We can move beyond simply confirming the presence of women within the military community and begin to define a distinctive female social world as well. One of the most famous letters is an invitation to Sulpicia Lepidina, the wife of the prefect Flavius Cerialis of the ninth cohort of Batavians at Vindolanda (App. 3, No. 6). Claudia Severa, the wife of the prefect Aelius Brocchus at a nearby but unknown fort called Briga, invites Lepidina and her family to her birthday celebration.¹⁸ The letter includes the opening lines explaining the details and the date of the event, written by a scribe, as was customary with most of the letters. In a second hand, what has been interpreted as the writing of Severa herself, is a personal greeting to Lepidina. The whole tablet reads as follows:

¹⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 1.41.1: *feminas inlustres, non centurionem ad tutelam, non militem, nihil imperatoriae uxoris aut comitatus soliti.*

¹⁸ Add in here debate between Bowman and A.R. Birley about where Brocchus and Severa lived.

“Claudia Severa to her Lepidina greetings. On 11 September, sister, for the day of the celebration of my birthday, I give you a warm invitation to make sure that you come to us, to make the day more enjoyable for me by your arrival, if you are present (?). Give my greetings to your Cerialis. My Aelius and my little son send him (?) their greetings. (2nd hand) I shall expect you, sister. Farewell, sister, my dearest soul, as I hope to prosper, and hail. (Back, 1st hand) To Sulpicia Lepidina, wife of Cerialis, from Severa.”¹⁹

The intimate tone of this letter is palpable and suggests a very close relationship between these two women. It is unknown if they had been stationed on the same frontier previously, or if there was any existing relationship before both women found themselves in the military community on Hadrian’s Wall, but it is almost certain that they are not blood relatives. Unfortunately, nothing more is known of Briga or of the unit that Aelius Brocchus commanded, so no further details can be gleaned about possible ethnic ties either. It is clear, however, that these women shared a very close relationship and that this relationship extended from their husbands, who also send warm greetings between one another calling each other *frater*, a term of endearment between military comrades (see App. 3, No. 7).

The letters between the two women seem to reflect a domestic role for the highest ranking women on site. This is not in the sense that they tended to the home since the prefect’s household certainly employed servants and slaves, but one that was predominantly as wife of the highest ranking official on site and as the mother of his children. From tablets such as the birthday invitation it seems that a normal social existence continued while living on this northern frontier, as well as perhaps a level of sophistication that would have fitted their rank in civilian society. It is clear in letters of all ranks that greetings to family members

¹⁹ Bowman and Thomas 1994, 256-9. *Tab.Vindol.* 291: *Cl. Severa Lepidinae suae salutem. iiii Idus Septembres, soror, ad diem sollemnem natalem meum rogo libenter facias ut venias ad nos, iucundiorem mihi [diem] interventu tuo factura, si venias. Ceriale tuum saluta. Aelius et filiulus salutant. (2nd hand) sperabo te soror. vale soror anima mea ita valeam karissima et have. (Back) Sulpicia Lepidinae Cerialis a S[e]vera.*

were customary, suggesting that there was a network of social connections throughout the military community. A tablet to Lepidina from a woman, Paterna, evokes this idea of a female network (App. 3, No. 8). The woman promises she will bring remedies to Lepidina, who was presumably ailing.²⁰ The use of the word *domina* possibly suggests a servile member of the household, but it seems unlikely that a slave would even be able to address the *domina* of the household in a letter or that this would need to be done within a single household. The language certainly suggests that Paterna is in a much lower social position than Lepidina, as would be expected in a letter to the wife of the prefect, most likely the highest ranking woman on site. Regardless, this letter may be evidence of a female network, one which in this case concerns remedies for an ailing friend.

The extent to which a female world existed within this otherwise masculine sphere can be explored with the evidence from a few other tablets. A telling example is an otherwise innocuous list of supplies in a tablet found in the records of the Period 3 *praetorium*. Tablet 581 (App. 3, No. 9)²¹ records a fragmentary reference to supplies being used for the celebration of the *matronalia* on the *kalends* of March. The tablet is partial but the date is clearly *K(alendis) Martis*, the known date of the festival, and followed by *matronar[]*. The last letter is difficult to read, but also might be a misspelling, as is quite common in the tablets, particularly with names, sometimes spelled differently in the same document. It is known from the Dura-Europos papyri that the military calendar held several festivals

²⁰ Bowman and Thomas 1994, 263-5. *Tab.Vindol.* 294: "... Paterna (?) to her Lepidina, greetings. So help me god, my lady [and sister?], I shall bring (?) you two remedies (?), the one for ..., the other for fever (?) and therefore ... myself to you ... but insofar as ..."

²¹ Bowman and Thomas 2003, 23-34. *Tab.Vindol.* 581: *K(alendis) Martis dom[] . matron . []* . "1 March, for the lord(s) (?) ...of the Matronalia (?) ..."

throughout the year, including those in honor of female deities;²² however, the celebration of the *matronalia* differs quite dramatically from the rituals related to female deities such as Minerva, who was quite important to soldiers not because of her feminine qualities but rather for her associations with military power. In contrast, the *matronalia* celebrated Juno Lucina and women generally in their social role as mothers and wives. The rituals were enacted by women themselves and there is some indication that men also took part by honoring their own wives, while women paid tribute to their husbands.²³ That is to say that a prerequisite of the *matronalia* is the presence of married couples and the presumed fecundity of the wives.

The very existence of the *matronalia* celebration in this military context is striking because it presumes a significant population of women, and since this letter was found in the official military archives, that the celebration of the festival was sanctioned by military officials. Therefore the army was aligned with this aspect of a female world in the military context. The celebration of the *matronalia* has been argued to be in direct contrast to the worship of Mars which perpetuated the dominant masculine social role of ‘soldier’ in the Roman world.²⁴ It is interesting to see both themes here together in the religious life at Vindolanda, suggesting that the presence of women does not negate the efficacy of the Roman army, as is so often the image presented in literature.

The celebration of the *matronalia* also reinforces the role of women in the military community as predominantly domestic. However, in the military camp the domesticity of women, particularly the wife of the prefect and probably other officers in the camp, takes on

²² For the *Feriale Duranum* papyrus, Fink 1971, 422-29, No. 117. It should be noted that the *Matronalia* is not listed as a celebrated festival in this document, dating much later to AD 223-27. For general discussions of the military religious calendar, see Nock 1952, *passim*; cf. Gilliam 1954, 183-96.

²³ Gagé 1963, esp. 104-11; cf. Prescendi 2000, 126-7.

²⁴ López 2007, 357-72.

a public role as well, thereby dispersing the binary opposition of the private domestic world of women and the public masculine world of the army. Such a public role of the prefect's wife should be expected by nature of the physical space. The *praetorium* was located in the most public central sector of most military forts, making it very difficult to separate the prefect's family in a semi-private environment. As was argued for Vindolanda in Chapter 3, the *praetorium* should be considered at one and the same time a primary space of importance for military business and a domestic space for the family of the prefect. The two roles cannot be separated and do not need to contradict one another and integration of a prefect's wife and perhaps children into the social structure of the community should be expected.

Since the *matronalia* tablet originates from the records of the *praetorium*, it probably reflects the activities of the wife of the prefect and other upper class women living at the fort. I contend that, in this central position both physically and socially, the prefect's wife would in fact have taken on a leading social role for women in this community. Therefore, one can imagine she would be at the head of an event such as the *matronalia*. The prominent role of Lepidina in the social fabric of the fort can also be argued from Tablet 629 (App. 3, No. 10),²⁵ in which a colleague of Cerialis confirms his attendance at the birthday celebration for Lepidina. An occasion in honor of the wife of the prefect appears to have been an important social event not only for women in the community, but also for male colleagues of the prefect. This indicates that at least high-ranking women in the military setting were a valued and important part of the social structure of the community.

²⁵ Bowman and Thomas 2003, 86-7. *Tab. Vindol.* 629: "Clodius Super to his Cerialis greetings. Most willingly, brother, just as you had wanted, I would have been present for your Lepidina's birthday (?). At any rate ... For you surely know that it please me most whenever we are together. If(?) ... I did not think ... lest before ... (Back, 3rd hand?) To Flavius Cerialis ..."

This role as ‘first lady’ of the camp is reflected particularly well in Tablet 257 (App. 3, No. 11). The letter was written to Cerialis from a woman Valatta and seems to have an official character. In the lines preserved Valatta appeals to the prefect for a grant of something unknown, unfortunately cut off: “Valatta to her Cerialis, greetings. I ask my lord, by your posterity, and through Lepidina that you grant me what I ask (?) ...”²⁶ Valatta makes her appeal *per Lepidinam*, which could be understood in a few different ways. At first glance it might be taken as a letter written by a member of the household staff, and Lepidina’s role is one of manager of the household therefore the request goes through the *domina*. But it seems to me a less likely scenario, that an internal appeal would be written down through a scribe and delivered to Cerialis, from within the household. Rather, I would like to see this as a female member of the community appealing to the highest ranking official on site, the prefect, but as a woman, she petitions through the advocacy of his wife Lepidina, aligning herself with a female network.

There is no way to confirm this reading, but there is a precedence of prominent Roman women acting within a female network of power, albeit usually on a much higher social level.²⁷ Particularly in the context of the Roman army, female social networks would have been important, if not crucial in an otherwise overtly masculine environment. This role for a leading female figure of the camp begs for consideration of the title given to empresses in the second century, the *mater castrorum*. This title was conferred upon Faustina the Younger, wife of Marcus Aurelius, and most famously held by Julia Domna in the early third

²⁶ Bowman and Thomas 1994, 230-1. *Tab. Vindol. 257: Valatta [Ceriali suo] s[alutem]. rogo domine pe[r pos]teritat[e]m tuam et per Lepidinam quod mihi concedas.*

²⁷ Laurence 1997a, 129-39, esp. 133.

century.²⁸ There is no indication that the title actually had an on-the-ground function and was anything more than honorary, but the idea that a female figure could be named ‘mother’ of a military camp, perhaps envisioned as a mother-figure to the Roman armies, suggests that there was room for a female component in military ideology.

6.4. *Conclusion*

The correspondence between Claudia Severa and Sulpicia Lepidina shows the maintenance of close links between family and friends through celebrations and visits, and that general greetings to wives and children are the norm in letter writing. This practice is seen clearly in letters between elite females, but is also found in the majority of personal correspondences, many of which send greetings to women, even when the author and recipient are both male. The women in this environment seem to have a role of maintaining social bonds on a domestic level, whether actively through examples such as we found in the birthday party invitation, or passively as when they were the recipient of greetings from males, even within letters otherwise discussing official military matters.

When it is clear from material like the diplomas that it was not at all uncommon for soldiers to take *de facto* wives during their service, it is all the more palpable when we find in the corpus of letters a feeling of community and close ties of family and friendship. The diplomas reveal relationships that are best interpreted as soldiers marrying either sisters or daughters of comrades, the most conspicuous example coming from Lussonium in Pannonia. In the tablets we have greetings sent out to females that are referred to as *soror*. Whether a true family relationship existed in these cases is unclear, but there are certain cases of a soldier’s daughter having moved into another military community. It is impossible from this

²⁸ Boatwright 2003, *passim*, for Faustina the Younger.

material not to conclude that a strong community existed around the Roman army, one that was filled with wives, children, siblings, parents-in-law, and probably several other relationships masked in our evidence. All the more striking is the presence of such a strong and stable community in the Vindolanda material at such an early date in the last quarter of the first century.

The Vindolanda writing tablets offer unusual insight into the lives of women living at a single fort on the northern frontier of Britain. However, women elsewhere in the military landscape such as Claudia Severa at Briga, as well as the daughters and sisters that were dispersed throughout the military landscape, give the impression that families were a customary part of the social structure of the Roman auxiliary army. One of the only letters from Carlisle that has enough substance to discern its context greets the family of the prefect in the last quarter of the first century. Without a comparable assemblage of letters from the Roman west, the evidence from Vindolanda must be pressed to give as broad a picture as possible, but their limitation should also be kept in mind. Another avenue of inquiry is to give consideration to how gender in this auxiliary context is tied to other axes of identity such as ethnicity and the tension between Roman and non-Roman.²⁹ Within the world of non-citizen auxiliary soldiers, social custom may be constructed far more with respect to native institutions than any social norm that we identify from classical literature or historical sources. However, such identities may be severely blurred and ultimately unattainable for modern scholars, when non-Romans were placed within such an entirely Roman institution such as the imperial army. The very location of these letters within the social framework of the military sets the discourse within its own internal context. However, for the study of women and the Roman army, the letters plainly support the substantial presence of women in

²⁹ Konstan 2002, 11-23.

the military sphere and argue for a prominent social role of at least upper-class women living with the Roman army.

CONCLUSION:

THE ROLE OF WOMEN, CHILDREN AND FAMILY IN THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF ROMAN MILITARY COMMUNITIES

All of the material discussed above points toward a similar conclusion—that women, children and other non-combatants were a thriving and integral part of the Roman military community. This was not only the case in the later second and third centuries, but was also true for the first century, in many cases from the initial phases of military occupation in the frontier regions of Britain, Germany and the Netherlands. Documentary evidence pertaining to the Roman army dispels the myth that this social group was a disorganized collection of “camp followers.” These individuals did not locate themselves near the fort walls for economic reasons alone. In many cases the individuals in the extramural settlement, as well as the non-combatants housed within the fort, were the wives and families of the soldiers living in the garrison. Surely there were also merchants, prostitutes, thieves and others to be found in this community, as likely existed anywhere in the ancient world. We should not see the extramural settlement as the hodge-podge of individuals that is typically conjured, but rather as a distinct social group with a structure and organization. The controlled plan of the extramural settlements and the location of several important military structures there indicate that the military itself had control over its creation and development. It follows logically that much of the population was also intimately tied to the garrison in residence.

The military community occupied the whole space in and around a fort, including the extramural settlement, and incorporated the entire population of these areas. As readily as

one can imagine the wife and children of the prefect living their daily lives within the fort walls, one ought to consider the barrack blocks as possible homes for non-combatant residents. This does not mean, however, that families living in the extramural *vicus* were somehow less involved in the military community. Movement between the two was surely fluid, as were activities, services and duties. The Vindolanda writing tablets clearly show that the wife of the prefect acted as an advocate for other women within the community and this relationship is unlikely to have stopped at the fort wall. An ease of movement must have existed between the two spheres that were, after all, only meters apart physically.

Surely there were spaces within the fort that were primarily for military matters alone. The *principia* served this purpose well and I do not believe that we need to turn these spaces, or the entire fort for that matter, into a context of female activity. There are limits to the flexibility of mixed use and the Roman Army surely required restricted space within the fort for various reasons. Nevertheless, we do not need to envision spaces as having a single purpose. The *praetorium* has proven to have been both an official military space and a common household at one and the same time. The evidence clearly indicates that the family of the prefect of *cohors VIII Batavorum* at Vindolanda was present and living within the walls of the late-first century fort. However, this does not diminish the importance of the *praetorium* as a primarily military structure, in which official matters were conducted.

The lower class women and families that made up the largest part of the population need to be considered. The fact that many of these individuals were wives and children of soldiers is clear from the military diplomas. Documents dating to the first half of the second century suggest that as many as 70% of soldiers took the opportunity to declare a wife officially or to obtain citizenship for existing children upon their *missio*. This evidence is not

limited only to the documents pertaining to decurions and centurions. Many more diplomas of the rank and file claim these privileges. Moreover, in many cases the tribal affiliation recorded in the documents suggests that wives were being sought from the same tribe as the soldier himself or that a wife was found from within the military community itself. An important result of these unions is that a soldier could maintain a piece of his original ethnic identity while serving in the military and pass it onto his children. In this practice we might suggest a multi-layered identity at play with auxiliary soldiers—one that embraces the role of Roman soldier while maintaining ethnic characteristics. The military world was socially complex and had a unique structure in which individuals would have negotiated their role as a non-citizen existing within a thoroughly Roman institution. This identification would be true for the families that accompanied soldiers as well, for whom it would have been necessary to work within the boundaries of native social custom as well as the Roman legal system. From these adaptations a hybrid culture emerged that became the world of the auxiliary military communities, possibly unique from any other community in the empire.

There is a dichotomy here. It is known that the soldiers had very intense on-duty demands,¹ but we also see in the archaeological and documentary evidence that families of several kinds were present, probably even from the very early stages of permanent military occupation in different areas of the empire. How do we reconcile these two pictures? I stated earlier that the lived reality of women within the military community must have varied greatly based on different axes of identity such as social status. Surely the wives of prefects had important social and domestic duties, as is clearly detected in the Vindolanda writing tablets. A letter to Flavius Cerialis that sends affirmation that his military colleague will attend Lepidina's birthday celebration, suggests strongly that she was a public figure. In

¹ Davies 1974, 332.

other words, she was not hidden behind closed doors in this masculine environment and was perhaps even an important part of the military social structure. Claudia Severa had social duties and the freedom to move around the frontier to fulfill this role, as is clear from her letter to Lepidina stating that she was free to visit her whenever she wished.

The wife of a foot soldier, however, must have had a very different daily reality. An indication of the social function of these individuals in military families can be found in the artifact patterns as well as by comparison to mainstream Roman society. The lower status *de facto* wives and the children of these military households could very easily have taken part in the economic needs of the family. It has been stated often that the average pay of a soldier, particularly an auxiliary, would not have been enough to support a household, and this is often called upon to support the notion that soldiers could not have had families during service, particularly before the pay raises of the second century.² There was a significant pay raise for soldiers under Domitian of about 33%, making it quite possible that at the end of the first century the average living standard for a soldier would have increased significantly, perhaps making them solid marriage prospects.³ Moreover, these calculations are always based on the notion that only the soldier would have financial input into the household. From what we know of the world of non-elite females outside of the military context, it is certain that women had jobs as market sellers, priestesses, and shop owners. It seems even more likely that in the somewhat closed community of the Roman army the dependents of soldiers took on such socio-economic roles within the settlement. This would be particularly important if, in fact, the auxiliary soldiers pay would not support a family.

² E.g. Phang 2001, 181-90.

³ For military pay, see Alston 1994; M.A. Speidel 1992.

The evidence suggests that women were present at auxiliary forts and, whether living inside the fort or in the extramural settlement, they must have done something with their day and there was surely plenty of work to be done. The evidence from the German frontiers, where Allison suggested that female artifacts clustered around open and public spaces within the fort perhaps where market stalls were set up, corroborates this economic activity. A market function along parts of the *via Principalis* has been suggested for several sites in the Hadrian's Wall corridor, and written evidence from the legionary base at Vindonissa indicates that a female inn keeper worked inside the fort. Storehouse inventories in the Vindolanda tablets list females among the recipients of goods. The latter may well represent household slaves, but suggest that the regular presence of females within the military context and in the fort itself would not have posed any serious threat to the efficacy of the Roman army.

The material discussed here only represents a fraction of the whole picture. Moreover, the vagaries of preservation, excavation, and collection should always be kept in mind. The presence of women, children and other non-combatants in a military context can only be detected when the right questions are asked at the right site and at the right time. It is only possible to find individuals other than soldiers in the Roman military context in scholarship of the 1980s and later, at which point archaeological finds assemblages were at least theoretically considered within a framework of feminist archaeological inquiry. Even after a decisively feminist archaeology was incorporated into our research agendas, we rely on the vagaries of site formation and hope that excavation reveals unambiguous material. For instance, the female inhabitants of a space that was kept particularly clean in antiquity will often not be visible to us. Many of the individuals that have been discussed here, particularly

the *de facto* wives of auxiliary soldiers, would not have owned a large number of portable goods, and what they did own they probably looked after carefully and carried with them when on the move. In these cases it would only be by casual losses that this individual would become known to us. For this reason the combination of artifacts and documentary sources makes a particularly rich combination and together are able to shed light on various aspects of the non-combatant population of military communities.

Even with the limited material record and the ambiguous nature of some of our material, there are large enough windows, or enough small windows put together, that suggest spaces for non-combatant occupation were necessary from the earliest periods of military occupation in the Roman west. The unambiguous nature of footwear and mortuary evidence shows that these populations included women and children in fair numbers by the mid-first century AD. Finally, the documentary sources suggest that these individuals were in many cases the wives and children of soldiers on active duty, who created partnerships and had children well before their retirement.

Therefore, the perceived image of the masculine military that lacked any feminizing weak elements is part of a literary trope. This was adopted and promulgated by medieval and early modern political leaders such as Machiavelli, who in his *Art of War* applauded the ‘celibacy’ of Roman soldiers. The trope worked particularly well for a highly class structured Victorian society that simply could not admit a female presence in military affairs, and from there the misconception of an all-male Roman military world entered scholarship. Indeed, it was only in the Victorian period that women were not, in fact, an important part of military life for soldiers which allowed a projection of their world onto the Romans. In many European armies of the medieval and renaissance period soldiers had wives and family with

them during service to provide services and income for subsistence living.⁴ In this regard, this study simply brings the Roman military into line with military practices throughout history.

⁴ Hacker 1981, *passim*.

APPENDIX 1: FOOTWEAR DATA FROM VINDOLANDA

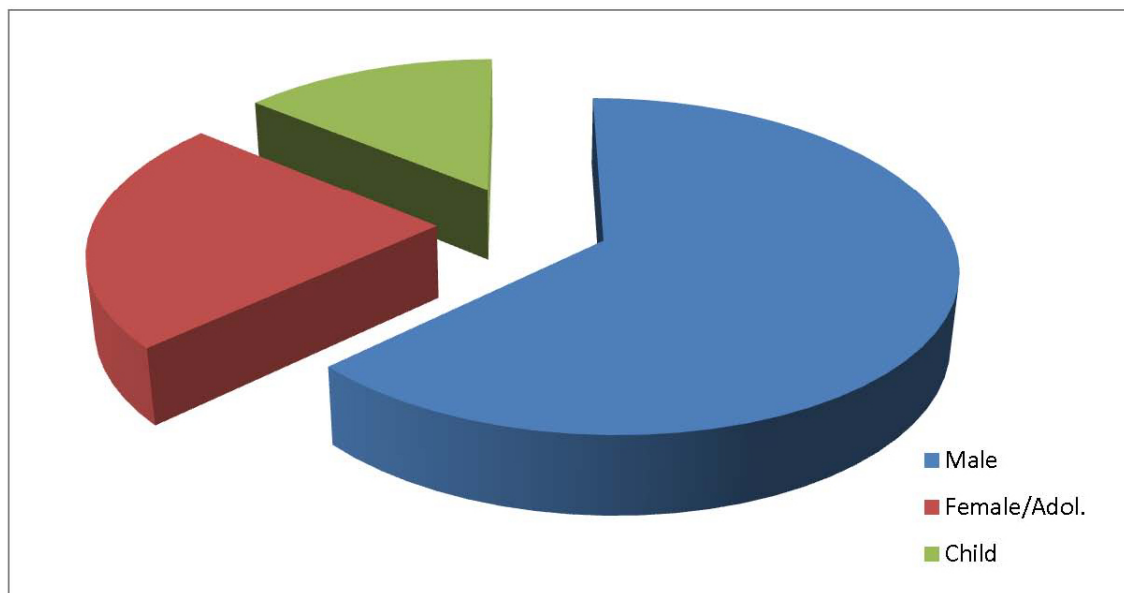
APPENDIX 1A: Footwear from Period 1 western ditch system

Shoe Cat. No.	Vindolanda Accession No.	Context Information	Shoe type	Probable Owner	Insole length	waist width
1	L-1989-2538	XX I ditch	nailed	male	25.9cm	5.6cm
2	L-1989-2589a	XXI I ditch below W side wooden causeway	nailed	male	n/a	n/a
3	L-1987-1469	LXXIV I bottom ditch	shoe	male	25cm	n/a
4	L-1987-1589	LXXIII I ditch	nailed boot	male	24.5cm	5.5cm
5	L-1987-1590	LXXIII I ditch	shoe	male	ca. 27cm (treadsole only)	n/a
6	L-1987-1666	LXXIV I ditch	nailed shoe	male	n/a (9.5cm tread remains)	n/a
7	L-1988-1809	LXXIII E XIV I ditch	shoe	male	23.5cm	n/a
8	L-1988-2157	LXXIII E XVI I ditch	shoe	male	partial 10cm wide tread remains	n/a
9	L-1988-2235	LXXIII E XV I ditch	shoe	male	25cm	n/a
10	L-1988-2266	LXXIII E XVIII I ditch	Boot	male	23.4cm	7cm
11	L-1988-2323	LXXIII E XVIII I ditch	shoe	female/adol.	20.4cm	5cm
12	L-1988-2342	LXXIII E XVIII I ditch	shoe	child	18cm	n/a
13	L-1988-2363	LXXIII E XVIII ditch bottom	shoe	male	ca. 27cm (treadsole only)	n/a
14	L-1989-2538	XX I ditch	shoe	male	25.9cm	5.6cm
15	L-1989-2589a	XXI I ditch below W side wooden causeway	shoe	male	n/a	n/a

16	L-1991-3160	C I Ditch	shoe	female/adol.	ca. 20cm	n/a
17	L-1991-3161	C I Ditch	shoe	child	orig. ca. 16cm	ca. 3.5cm
18	L-1991-3162	C I Ditch	shoe	female	19cm	3.9cm
19	L-1991-3163	C I Ditch	shoe	male	24.2cm	5.2cm
20	L-1991-3166	C I Ditch	shoe	child	19.9cm to point: walking surface, ca. 18.5-19cm	4.3cm
21	L-1991-3289	C I Ditch	shoe	child	ca. 16cm	3.4cm
22	L-1991-3346	D I Ditch	shoe	male	23.2cm	5.5cm
23	L-1991-3365	D I Ditch	carbatina	male	Large	n/a
24	L-1992-3572	E (S) I Ditch	shoe	male	orig. 22-23cm	n/a
25	L-1992-3574	E (S) I Ditch	shoe	male	n/a	5.5cm
26	L-1992-3575	E (S) I Ditch	shoe	male	ca. 26cm	6.6cm
27	L-1992-3576	E (S) I Ditch	shoe	male	24cm (to tip , not accounting for curve)	n/a
28	L-1992-3578	E (S) I Ditch	shoe	male	26cm	7cm
29	L-1992-3591	E I Ditch	shoe	female/adol.	ca. 20cm	4.4cm
30	L-1992-3593	E I Ditch	shoe	female/adol.	ca. 21cm	4.7cm
31	L-1992-3698	F(S) I Ditch	shoe	male	21.6cm	4.3cm
32	L-1992-3699	F(S) I Ditch (bottom!)	shoe	male	23.5cm	5.4cm
33	L-1992-3700	F(SW) I Ditch	shoe	male	21.6cm	4.5cm
34	L-1992-3703	F(S) I Ditch	shoe	male	23.7cm	6cm
35	L-1992-3705	F(N) I Ditch	shoe	male	23.8cm	5.2cm
36	L-1992-3714	F (NW) I Ditch	shoe	male	ca. 24.5cm	5.5cm
37	L-1992-3716	F (N) I Ditch	carbatina	male	Large	n/a
38	L-1993-4068	LXXE I?	shoe	male	22cm max.pres. orig. ca. 24cm	4.9cm
39	L-1993-4112	S Gate I ditch	shoe	female/adol.	20.3cm	4.2cm
40	L-2001-44	V01-18A: period 1 western ditch.	carbatina	child	Small	n/a

41	L-2001-46	V01-18A: period 1 western ditch.	shoe	child	17.5cm	4.5cm
42	L-2001-48	V01-18A	shoe	male	ca. 23-24cm	4.2cm
43	L-2001-49	V01-18A	shoe	male	23.8cm	4.9cm
44	L-2001-50	V01-18A	shoe	male	23.5cm	4.6cm
45	L-2001-51	V01-18A	shoe	male	25cm	5.1cm
46	L-2001-52	V01-18A: period 1 western ditch.	shoe	child	20cm to tip; ca. 18.5-19 worn walking surface.	3.1cm
47	L-2001-144	V01-33A: top of period I fort ditch.	sandal	female	21.0cm	3.8cm
48	L-2001-249	V01-33A	shoe	male	24.4cm	5.8cm
49	L-2001-279	V01-45A	shoe	male	25.4cm	5.9cm
50	L-2001-280	V01-45A	shoe	female	22cm	4.4cm
51	L-2001-283a	V01-45A: Period 1 fort ditch.	shoe	female	ca. 20cm	n/a
52	L-2001-283b	V01-45A: Period 1 fort ditch.	shoe	female	20.7cm	3.3cm
53	L-2001-284	V01-45A: Period 1 fort ditch.	shoe	female/adol.	orig. ca. 20- 21cm	5.3cm
54	L-2001-286	V01-45A: Period 1 fort ditch.	sandal	child	14.5cm	3.2cm
55	L-2001-287	V01-45A: Period 1 fort ditch.	sandal	female	18.8cm	3.6cm
56	L-2001-290	V01-50A; period 1 fort ditch	nailed shoe	female	21.9cm	4.1cm

**Period 1 Footwear Distribution from the Western Fort Ditch System
ca. AD 85-90/92**



Total Shoes = 56

Male = 35 (63%) Female/Adol. = 13 (23%) Child = 8 (14%)

TABLE 1. Distribution of footwear in the Period 1 fort ditch system to the west of the fort.

APPENDIX 1B: Footwear from Period 2 Buildings						
Shoe Cat. No.	Vindolanda Accession No.	Context information	Shoe Type	Probable Owner	Insole Length	Waist width
1	L-1985-53	level 12, period II pit 6' west of Lepidina. Praetorium Room C	nailed shoe	male	large sole	n/a
2	L-1985-84	II85E level 11 below road. Roadway opposite rooms C and D	nailed shoe	male	25.6cm	5.8cm
3	L-1985-85	LXXVI level 12, Praetorium Room C	nailed shoe	female/adol.	22cm	5.5cm
4	L-1985-86	LXXVI level 12, Praetorium Room C	nailed shoe	female/adol.	21cm	5cm
5	L-1985-125	II85/E 12 ditch, Praetorium Room C	nailed shoe	female/adol.	21cm	5cm
6	L-1986-480	LXXVIII C2 11/12, Praetorium Room C	Uppers	n/a	n/a	n/a
7	L-1986-484	LXXVIII C2 11, Praetorium Room C	carbatina	infant	7.5cm max. pres. (it couldn't have been more than 9cm originally)	ca. 3cm
8	L-1986-506	LXXVIII C2 level 12 to E of IV wall - lowest, Praetorium Room C	shoe	male	23.5cm	5.4cm
9	L-1986-588	LXXVIII E west - below roadways, Praetorium Room D	nailed shoe	male	23cm max.pres. (missing ca. 1cm)	5.3cm

10	L-1986-625	LXXVIII E A1 level 10/12 west of building, Praetorium Room C	nailed shoe	male	24.8cm	5.9cm
11	L-1986-626	LXXVIII E A1 level 10/12 west of building, Praetorium Room C	nailed shoe	male	23cm	5.7cm
12	L-1987-719	LXXVIII E C2 below cobbles of courtyard, Praetorium room E	Upper only	n/a	n/a	n/a
13	L-1987-728	LXXVIII E C2 going into courtyard cobbles 10/11, Praetorium room E	Boot	Male	n/a	n/a
14	L-1987-1030	LXXVA E II, Praetorium rooms F and G	shoe	female/adol.	20cm	n/a
15	L-1987-1034	LXXVA E II, Praetorium rooms F and G	shoe	female/adol.	19.5cm	5cm
16	L-1987-1117	LXXVB II, Praetorium rooms F and G	shoe	male	ca. 23cm (24.5 treadsole only)	n/a
17	L-1987-1127	LXXVB II, 1.2m below III rafters, Praetorium rooms F and G	shoe	male	ca. 24cm (26cm treadsole only)	n/a
18	L-1987-1129	LXXVB outer, Praetorium rooms F and G	Uppers only	male	Uppers are from large adult male shoe, not counted separately	n/a
19	L-1987-1130	LXXVB ditch, Praetorium rooms F and G	shoe	male	orig. ca. 24- 26cm (22cm preserved)	n/a

20	L-1987-1189	LXXVA II, Praetorium rooms F and G	shoe	male	23.5cm	n/a
21	L-1987-1198	LXXVA II, Praetorium rooms F and G	sandal uppers	n/a	uppers only, not counted separately	n/a
22	L-1987-1202	LXXVA II, Praetorium rooms F and G	shoe	male	23.5cm	n/a
23	L-1987-1352	LXXIV II, Praetorium rooms F and G	uppers only	male	Uppers suggest 22-23cm shoe, not counted separately	n/a
24	L-1987-1361	LXXIV II pit, Praetorium rooms F and G	shoe fragments	n/a	too fragmentary for measurement	n/a
25	L-1987-1366	LXXIV II pit, Praetorium rooms F and G	shoe	male	ca. 23-24cm (25cm treadsole only)	n/a
26	L-1987-1371	LXXIV II pit, Praetorium rooms F and G	shoe	male	ca. 25-26cm (27cm treadsole only)	n/a
27	L-1987-1385	LXXIV II, Praetorium rooms H and I	shoe	male	no length, 6.2cm waist, large shoe	n/a
28	L-1987-1386	LXXIV II pit, Praetorium rooms H and I	Uppers only	n/a	uppers only, not counted separately	n/a
29	L-1987-1387	LXXIV II pit bottom, Praetorium rooms H and I	shoe	female/adol.	22cm	n/a
30	L-1987-1393	LXXIV II pit, Praetorium rooms H and I	Uppers only	n/a	uppers only, not counted separately	n/a
31	L-1987-1396	LXXIV II pit, Praetorium rooms H and I	shoe	male	25.6cm	n/a
32	L-1987-1398	LXXIV II pit, Praetorium rooms H and I	carbatina	n/a	fragments only, not counted separately	n/a

33	L-1987-1403a	LXXIV II pit, Praetorium rooms H and I	Uppers only	n/a	uppers only, not counted separately	n/a
34	L-1987-1406	LXXIV II pit, Praetorium rooms H and I	shoe	male	24cm	n/a
35	L-1987-1412	LXXIV II pit, Praetorium rooms H and I	shoe	male	22.5cm	n/a
36	L-1987-1414	LXXIV II higher level pit, Praetorium rooms H and I	shoe	male	ca. 24cm (25cm treadsole only)	n/a
37	L-1987-1425	LXXIV floor of II, Praetorium rooms H and I	shoe	male	ca. 23cm (24.5cm treadsole only)	n/a
38	L-1987-1429	LXXIV floor of II, Praetorium rooms H and I	shoe	male	23cm	n/a
39	L-1987-1432	LXXIV floor of II, Praetorium rooms H and I	shoe	male	23.2cm	n/a
40	L-1985-1506	LXXV, Praetorium rooms H and I	shoe	male	23.2cm	4.9cm
41	L-1987-1510	LXXV, Praetorium rooms H and I	carbatina	child	ca. 15cm walking area	n/a
42	L-1987-1511	LXXV, Praetorium rooms H and I	shoe	child	15cm	3.5cm
43	L-1987-1514	Praetorium rooms H and I	shoe	male	7.2cm tread only	n/a
44	L-1987-1485b	Praetorium room K	shoe	n/a	fragments only, not counted separately	n/a
45	L-1987-1488	Praetorium room K	shoe	male	24cm	n/a
46	L-1987-1494	Praetorium room K	shoe	male	partial midsole layers, large	n/a

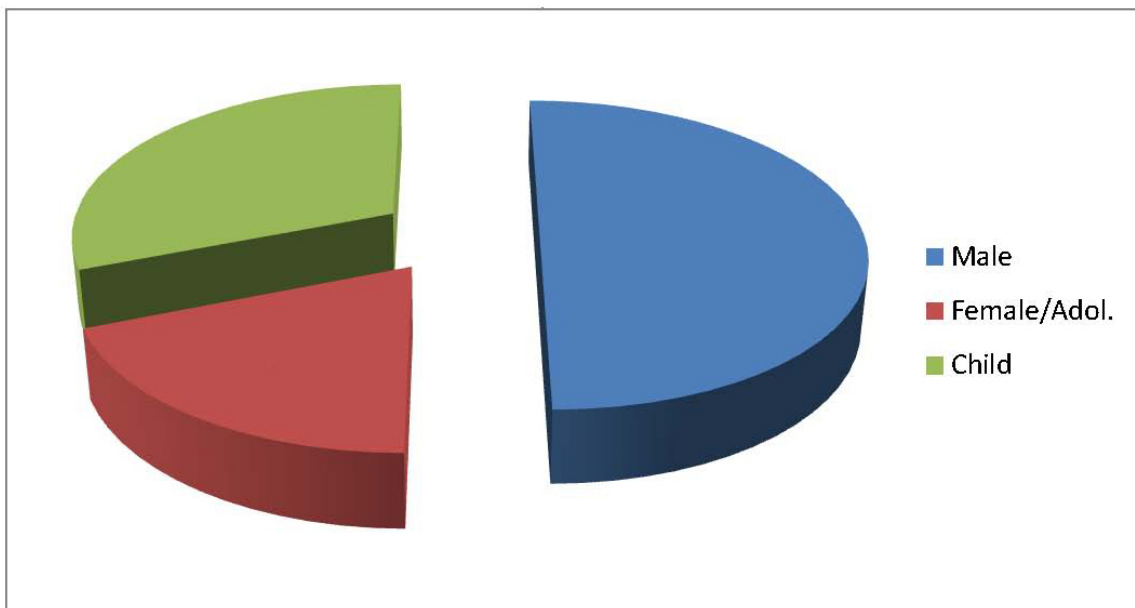
47	L-1987-1500	LXXV II packing, Praetorium room K	shoe	male	edging and uppers only, very large	
48	L-1987-1504	LXXV I ditch edge	nailed shoe	male	23-24cm	7.5cm
49	L-1988-1988	LXXIII E XVII, II, Praetorium Corridor M	nailed shoe	male	ca. 24cm (25cm treadsole only)	n/a
50	L-1988-1992	LXXIII E XVII, II, Praetorium Corridor M	shoe	child	ca. 15-16cm (17cm treadsole only)	n/a
51	L-1988-2006	LXXIII E XVII, II, Praetorium Corridor M	shoe	male	23.5cm	n/a
52	L-1988-2223	LXXIII E XVII, II, Praetorium Corridor M	shoe	male	26cm	n/a
53	L-1988-2227	LXXIII E XVII, II, Praetorium Corridor M	shoe	male	ca. 24cm	n/a
54	L-1988-2230	LXXIII E XVII, II, Praetorium Corridor M	shoe	female/adol.	21cm	4.3cm
55	L-1987-1549	LXXIV, II, Praetorium Rooms N-J	boot	male	23cm	n/a
56	L-1987-1562	LXXIV, II, Praetorium Rooms N-J	shoe	n/a	toe only, too fragmentary	n/a
57	L-1987-1597	LXXIII, II, Praetorium Rooms N-J	shoe	female/adol.	22cm	n/a
58	L-1987-1600	LXXIII, II, Praetorium Rooms N-J	Uppers only	n/a	n/a	n/a
59	L-1987-1615	LXXIII, II, Praetorium Rooms N-J	shoe	male	24.5cm	n/a

60	L-1987-1616	LXXIII, II, Praetorium Rooms N-J	shoe	male	26cm	n/a
61	L-1987-1617	LXXIII, II, Praetorium Rooms N-J	shoe	male	25.5cm	n/a
62	L-1988-1777	LXXIV E XV, II, Praetorium Rooms N-J	shoe	male	large sole	n/a
63	L-1988-1780	LXXVI E XV, II, Praetorium Rooms N-J	boot	male	ca. 25-26cm (27cm treadsole only)	n/a
64	L-1988-1783	LXXVI E XV, II, Praetorium Rooms N-J	shoe	child	17cm	n/a
65	L-1988-1786	LXXVI E XV, II, Praetorium Rooms N-J	shoe	male	ca. 24cm (25.5cm treadsole only)	n/a
66	L-1988-1822	LXXIVE XIV, II, Praetorium Rooms N-J	shoe	n/a	too fragmentary for measurement	n/a
67	L-1988-1827	LXXIVE XV, II, Praetorium Rooms N-J	shoe	male	8.2cm tread on insole only	n/a
68	L-1991-2681	A1 S II - wall trench (II), timber building north of praetorium	shoe	female/adol.	19cm	4.8cm
69	L-1991-2797	B1 above II pit, timber building north of praetorium	shoe	male	25cm	5.6cm
70	L-1991-2798	B1 above II pit, timber building north of praetorium	shoe	male	24cm	6.3cm
71	L-1991-2851	A II, timber building north of praetorium	shoe	child	18.5cm	4.3cm
72	L-1991-3028	C1 II, timber building north of praetorium	nailed	male	24.9cm	5.5cm

73	L-1991-3043	B (W) II, timber building north of praetorium	carbatina	child	Small: 16-17cm walking surface	n/a
74	L-1991-3096	C1 II, timber building north of praetorium	shoe	male	24.9cm	5.4cm
75	L-1991-3129	C II, timber buildings across road from praetorium	shoe	female/adol.	20cm	5.1cm
76	L-1991-3196	C II below op.sig., timber building north of praetorium	shoe	child	14.5cm max.pres. missing ca. 3-4cm. orig. 17-18cm)	4.2cm
77	L-1991-3197	CII, timber building north of praetorium	shoe	child	16cm max.pres. missing ca. 2 cm. orig. ca. 18cm	4.2cm
78	L-1991-3238	C II below op.sig., timber building north of praetorium	carbatina	child	worn area, ca. 17cm	n/a
79	L-1991-3247	C1 II, timber building north of praetorium	shoe scrap	male	over 24.5cm	n/a
80	L-1991-3251	C1 II, timber building north of praetorium	shoe	male	24.5cm	na
81	L-1991-3252	C1 II, timber building north of praetorium	shoe	male	22.9cm	4.6cm
82	L-1991-3260	C II (below op.sig.), timber building north of praetorium	shoe	male	na	5.3cm
83	L-1991-3270	C II, timber building north of praetorium	shoe	male	na	na
84	L-1991-3287	C II, timber building north of praetorium	shoe	female/adol.	ca. 18.5-19cm	4cm

85	L-1991-3366a	D II, timber building north of praetorium	shoe	infant	12.5cm	2.8cm
86	L-1991-3366b	D II, timber building north of praetorium	shoe	child	12.3cm max. pres. missing ca. .5cm. 12.5-13cm originally.	3.5cm
87	L-1991-3366c	D II, timber building north of praetorium	shoe	child	12.5cm max.pres. orig. ca. 13-13.5cm	3.5cm
88	L-1991-3366d	D II, timber building north of praetorium	sandal	female/adol.	20.2cm	na
89	L-1991-3366e	D II, timber building north of praetorium	shoe	male	23cm	5.6cm
90	L-1992-3441	D II (E), timber building north of praetorium	sandal	male	23cm	5.2cm
91	L-1992-3443	D II (W), timber building north of praetorium	shoe	male	25cm	5.6cm
92	L-1992-3713	F (NW) II, timber building north of praetorium	shoe	female/adol.	ca. 21-22cm (23cm treadsole only)	n/a
93	L-1992-3720	F (N) II, timber building north of praetorium	shoe	male	24.8cm	5.7cm

**Period 2 Footwear Distribution from Building North of *Praetorium*
ca. AD 90-92-97**



Total = 26 Shoes

Male = 13 (50%) Female/Adol. = 5 (19%) Child = 8 (31%)

TABLE 2. Distribution of male, female and child related footwear from the building north of the *praetorium* in Period 2.

APPENDIX 1C: Female and children's shoes, Period 3 (excluding <i>praetorium</i>)						
Shoe Cat. No.	Vindolanda Accession No.	Context Information	Shoe type	Probable Owner	Insole length	Waist width
1	L-1991-2904	B(NW) III	carbatina	child	Small (ca. 17cm)	n/a
2	L-1991-3094	C1 III laminate	carbatina	child	Small (orig. ca. 17cm)	n/a
3	L-1991-3208	C III above op.sig.	nailed shoe	child	Small	n/a
4	L-1991-3326	D1 III	carbatina	child	Small (ca. 14-15cm)	n/a
5	L-1992-3409	D Floor of III (in mush below laminate)	carbatina	child	Small (ca. 14.5-15cm)	n/a
6	L-1992-3428	D III	nailed shoe	female/adol.	20cm	4.4cm
7	L-1992-3549	E (S) III	nailed shoe	female/adol.	20cm	3.6cm
8	L-1993-4011	V III	nailed	female/adol.	max.pres. 17.2cm orig. 20-21cm	4cm
9	L-1993-4125	South gate III	shoe	female/adol.	ca. 21-21.5cm (to point, walk on ca. 20cm)	3.7cm
10	L-1994-4208	LXXIV III	nailed shoe	child	16cm	3.7cm
11	L-1994-4237	LXXIV III?	nailed shoe	female/adol.	19cm	3.6cm
12	L-1994-4252	LXXIV (E) IN III DRAIN	nailed shoe	female/adol.	19.4cm	4.3cm
13	L-2001-32	V01-14A: Laminate flooring of a period 2/3 building.	nailed shoe	female/adol.	ca. 20cm	n/a
14	L-2001-66	V01-19A: laminate floor surface of period 3 building.	nailed shoe	child	n/a	3.3cm

15	L-2001-75	V01-19A: laminate floor surface of period 3 building.	nailed shoe	female	19-20cm	3.5cm
16	L-2001-99	V01-26A: demolition from period 2/3 structures	nailed shoe	child	16.5cm	4cm
17	L-2002-120A	V02-19A: Period 2/3 demolition.	nailed shoe	female/adol.	19.5cm	4.3cm
18	L-2002-187A	V02-30A: period 2/3 structures.	shoe	female	na (orig. ca. 18-20cm)	3.9cm
19	L-2003-309A	V03-12A: Laminate material in period 3 structure. Possible barrack block.	carbatina	child	Small (ca. 18-19cm)	n/a
20	L-2003-312A	V03-12A: Laminate material in period 3 structure. Possible barrack block.	nailed shoe	female/adol.	19cm	4.2cm
21	L-2003-313A	V03-12A: Laminate material in period 3 structure. Possible barrack block.	nailed shoe	female/adol.	ca. 20- 20.5cm	4cm
22	L-2003-476A	V03-45A: period 3 laminate below roadway of period 4	nailed shoe	child	18cm	n/a

APPENDIX 1D: Period 4 footwear (excluding barrack site)						
Possible 'Schola' structure, Rooms 1-8						
Shoe Cat. No.	Vindolanda Accession No.	Context Information	Shoe type	Probable owner	Insole length	Waist width
1	L-2001-14	V01-04A, Period 4, 'Schola', Room 7	nailed	female/adol.	21.5cm to point (ca. 20cm foot)	4.2cm
2	L-2001-15	V01-04A, Period 4, 'Schola', Room 7	sandal	female	ca. 21cm	5cm
3	L-2001-26	V01-12A, Period 4, 'Schola', Room 2, northeast side of room. Laminate on floor boards	nailed	male	partial. 9.6cm tread on treadsole	n/a
4	L-2001-29	V01-12A, Period 4, 'Schola', Room 2, northeast side of room. Laminate on floor boards	nailed	male	ca. 24cm	ca. 6.2cm
5	L-2001-38	V01-16A, Period IV, 'Schola' room 2, on top of flagged floor	nailed	female/adol.	ca. 19cm	4.3cm
6	L-2001-39	V01-16A, Period IV, 'Schola' room 2, on top of flagged floor	nailed	male	22.3cm	4.7cm
7	L-2001-40	V01-16A, Period IV, 'Schola' room 2, on top of flagged floor	nailed	male	24cm	5cm
8	L-2001-158	V01-35A, Period IV, 'Schola' room 3, beside large oven	nailed	female/adol.	21cm	3.9cm
9	L-2001-167	V01-37A, Period IV, 'schola' main corridor, flagged surface with burnt laminate flooring	nailed	male	26.2cm	5.9cm

10	L-2001-186	V01-39A, Period IV, 'schola' corridor, northern end	nailed	male	24.3cm	5.8cm
11	L-2001-199	V01-39A, Period IV, 'schola' corridor, northern end	carbatina	child	ca. 15cm	n/a
12	L-2001-271	V01-48A, Period IV, 'schola' wall dividing terrace, west of room 4	carbatina	child	small	n/a
13	L-2001-288	V01-37A, Period IV, 'schola' main corridor, flagged surface with burnt laminate flooring	nailed	male	9.2cm tread	5.4cm
14	L-2001-289	V01-48A, Period IV, 'schola' wall dividing terrace, west of room 4	carbatina	child	small (11.5-12cm)	n/a
15	L-2002-07A	V02-04A, period IV 'schola' next to rooms 1-2-3	nailed shoe	female	21.5cm	4.2cm
16	L-2002-11A	V02-04A, period IV 'schola' next to rooms 1-2-3	sandal	female	ca. 19-20cm	3.9cm
17	L-2002-15A	V02-04A, period IV 'schola' next to rooms 1-2-3	nailed shoe	child	17.9cm to point (17cm worn area)	4cm
18	L-2002-18A	V02-05A, period IV 'schola' next to rooms 1-2-3	nailed shoe	male	25cm	5.7cm
19	L-2002-20A	V02-05A, period IV 'schola' next to rooms 1-2-3-4	nailed shoe	male	23cm to point	4.2cm
20	L-2002-35A	V02-03A, period IV 'schola' false wall dividing terrace next to rooms 1-2-3	nailed shoe	male	ca. 26cm	6.4cm

21	L-2002-37A	V02-03A, period IV 'schola' false wall dividing terrace next to rooms 1-2-3	nailed shoe	female/adol.	22cm	4.4cm
22	L-2002-217A	V02-36A period IV 'schola' room 8, south end	sandal	male	24.5cm	5.1cm
23	L-2002-219A	V02-34A, period IV 'schola' room 8. Laminated carpet.	nailed shoe	female/adol.	20.5cm	4.3cm
24	L-2002-221A	V02-34A, period IV 'schola' room 8. Laminated carpet.	nailed shoe	female/adol.	20.7cm	4.4cm
25	L-2002-232A	V02-34A, period IV 'schola' room 8. Laminated carpet.	nailed shoe	female/adol.	21.5cm	4.6cm
26	L-2002-290A	V02-41A, period IV 'schola', room 8 survived Antonine ditch cut	nailed shoe	male	ca. 25-26cm	5.3cm
27	L-2002-297A	V02-36A period IV 'schola' room 8, south end	nailed shoe	female/adol.	22cm	4.6cm
28	L-2002-298A	V02-36A period IV 'schola' room 8, south end	nailed shoe	male	ca. 24.5cm	6.2cm
Building 1 Footwear						
29	L-2003-359A	V03-22A, Period 4, Building 1, Room 6. Northern edge of building.	shoe	child	19cm to point; 17-18cm walk	3.5cm
30	L-2003-361A	V03-25A, Period 4, Building 1, Room 13. Floor boards survived.	nailed shoe	female	19cm	3.7cm
31	L-2003-362A	V03-25A, Period 4, Building 1, Room 13. Floor boards survived.	nailed shoe	female/adol.	21.3cm	4.3cm

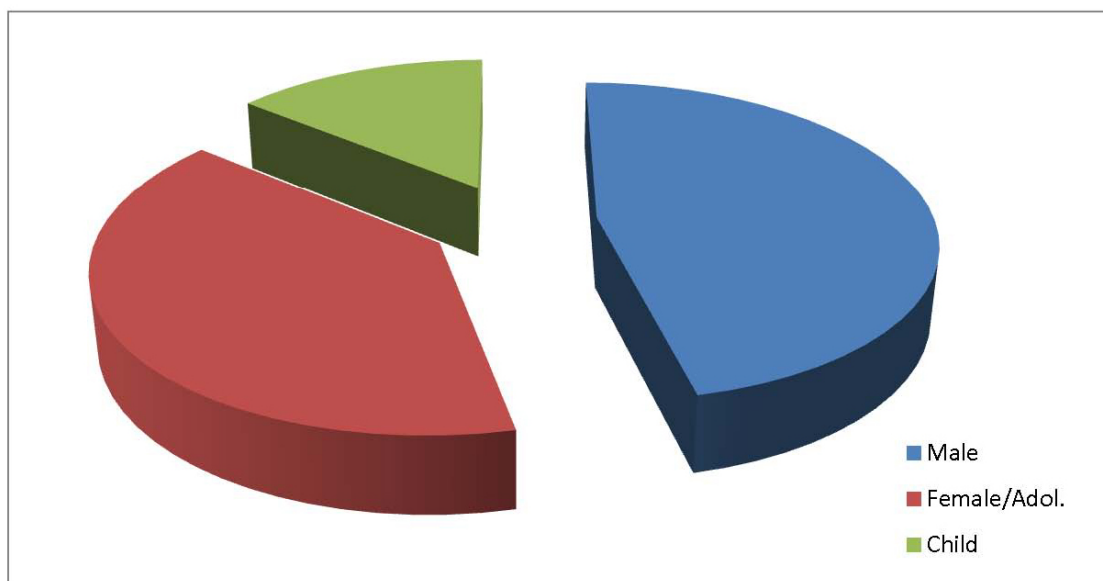
32	L-2003-363A	V03-24A, Period 4, Building 1, Room 11. Organic carpet degraded. Central room in building.	nailed shoe	female/adol.	ca. 19-20cm (21cm treadsole)	4.9cm treadsole
33	L-2003-368A/a	V03-24A, Period 4, Building 1, Room 11. Organic carpet degraded. Central room in building.	nailed shoe	male	large	n/a
34	L-2003-369A	V03-24A, Period 4, Building 1, Room 11. Organic carpet degraded. Central room in building.	nailed shoe	child	ca. 15-17cm orig.	4.2cm
35	L-2003-380A	V03-24A, Period 4, Building 1, Room 11. Organic carpet degraded. Central room in building.	nailed shoe	male	ca. 25-26cm	5.7cm
36	L-2003-381A	V03-24A, Period 4, Building 1, Room 11. Organic carpet degraded. Central room in building.	nailed shoe	female/adol.	21.4cm	4cm
37	L-2003-382A	V03-24A, Period 4, Building 1, Room 11. Organic carpet degraded. Central room in building.	nailed shoe	female/adol.	20.8cm	6.3cm
38	L-2003-383A	V03-24A, Period 4, Building 1, Room 11. Organic carpet degraded. Central room in building.	nailed shoe	male	25.5cm	5.8cm
39	L-2003-387A	V03-24A, Period 4, Building 1, Room 11. Organic carpet degraded. Central room in building.	nailed shoe	male	25.8cm	4.8cm

40	L-2003-410A	V03-36A, Period 4, Building 1, Room 11. Southern end of central room. Degraded laminate.	sewn shoe	male	ca. 22-24cm orig.	n/a
41	L-2003-435A	V03-24A, Period 4, Building 1, Room 11. Organic carpet degraded. Central room in building.	nailed shoe	female/adol.	21cm	4.4cm
42	L-2003-484A	V03-36A, Period 4, Building 1, Room 11. Southern end of central room. Degraded laminate.	nailed shoe	female/adol.	19.9cm	4.6cm
Building 2 Footwear						
43	L-2003-305A	V03-11A, Period 4, Building 2, room 2. Degraded organic laminate with partial wattle and daub walls	nailed shoe	female/adol.	22cm	4.8cm
44	L-2003-336A	V03-11A, Period 4, Building 2, room 2. Degraded organic laminate with partial wattle and daub walls	nailed shoe	male	23cm	5.4cm
45	L-2003-392A	V03-38A, Period 4, Building 2, Room 4. Drain running through southern end of room.	sandal	female	20.5cm	3.4cm
46	L-2003-393A	V03-38A, Period 4, Building 2, Room 4. Drain running through southern end of room.	nailed shoe	male	ca. 22-23cm orig.	5.6cm

47	L-2003-395A	V03-38A, Period 4, Building 2, Room 4. Drain running through southern end of room.	sewn shoe	female	19.5cm	3.1cm
48	L-2003-396A	V03-39A, Period 4, Building 2, Room 4. Southern end.	nailed shoe	male	24cm	5.5cm
49	L-2003-397A	V03-39A, Period 4, Building 2, Room 4. Southern end.	nailed shoe	male	24.4cm	5.1cm
50	L-2003-402A	V03-39A, Period 4, Building 2, Room 4. Southern end.	nailed shoe	female/adol.	21cm	4.2cm
51	L-2003-422A	V03-43A, Period 4, Building 2, Room 3.	nailed shoe	male	23-24cm	ca. 4.5cm
52	L-2003-425A	V03-43A, Period 4, Building 2, Room 3.	nailed shoe	child	ca. 19cm orig.	n/a
53	L-2003-429A	V03-41A, Period 4, Building 2, Room 3. Flooring in southern end.	nailed shoe	male	26cm	6.1cm
54	L-2003-436A	V03-41A, Period 4, Building 2, Room 3. Flooring in southern end.	nailed shoe	male	26cm	5.9cm
55	L-2003-437A	V03-41A, Period 4, Building 2, Room 3. Flooring in southern end.	nailed shoe	male	23.5cm	5.2cm
56	L-2003-438A/a	V03-41A, Period 4, Building 2, Room 3. Flooring in southern end.	nailed shoe	male	ca. 23cm	4.6cm
57	L-2003-439A	V03-41A, Period 4, Building 2, Room 3. Flooring in southern end.	nailed shoe	male	ca. 23cm orig.	5.5cm
58	L-2003-442A	V03-43A, Period 4, Building 2,	nailed shoe	female/adol.	21.6cm	4.3cm

		Room 3.				
59	L-2003-445A	V03-43A, Period 4, Building 2, Room 3.	nailed shoe	male	ca. 24cm	6cm
60	L-2003-446A	V03-43A, Period 4, Building 2, Room 3.	sewn shoe	male	large	n/a
61	L-2003-458A	V03-41A, Period 4, Building 2, Room 3. Flooring in southern end.	nailed shoe	male	25.5cm	5.7cm
62	L-2003-467A	V03-43A, Period 4, Building 2, Room 3.	nailed shoe	male	24.6cm	4.9cm
63	L-2003-476A	V03-45A, Period 4, Building 2, Room 4. South-east room.	nailed shoe	child	18cm	n/a
64	L-2003-477A	V03-45A, Period 4, Building 2, Room 4. South-east room.	nailed shoe	male	25.5cm	5.5cm
65	L-2003-483A	V03-45A, Period 4, Building 2, Room 4. South-east room.	nailed shoe	male	25.5cm	5.5cm
66	L-2003-497A	V03-39A, Period 4, Building 2, Room 4. Southern end.	nailed shoe	female/adol.	19cm	4.1cm

**'Schola' Footwear Distribution, Rooms 1-8
ca. AD 105-120**



Total = 28 Shoes

Male = 13 (46%) Female/Adol. = 11 (39%) Child = 4 (14%)

TABLE 3. Distribution of male, female and child related footwear in the 'Schola' in the Period 4 fort.

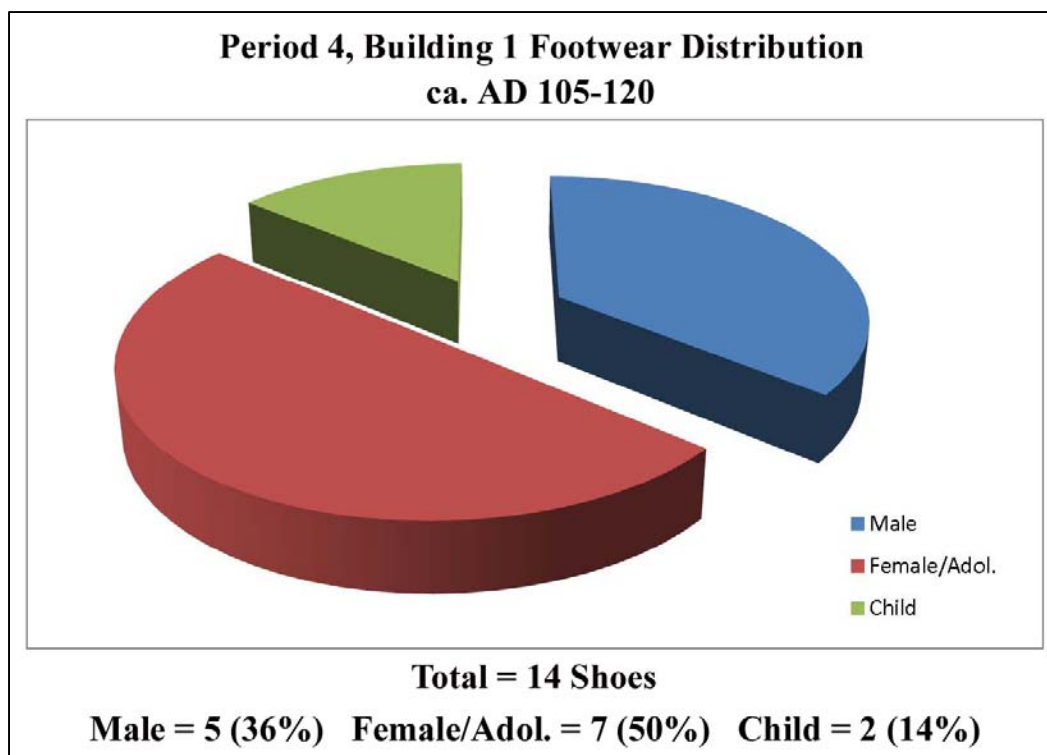


TABLE 4. Distribution of male, female and child related footwear in Building 1 of the Period 4 fort.

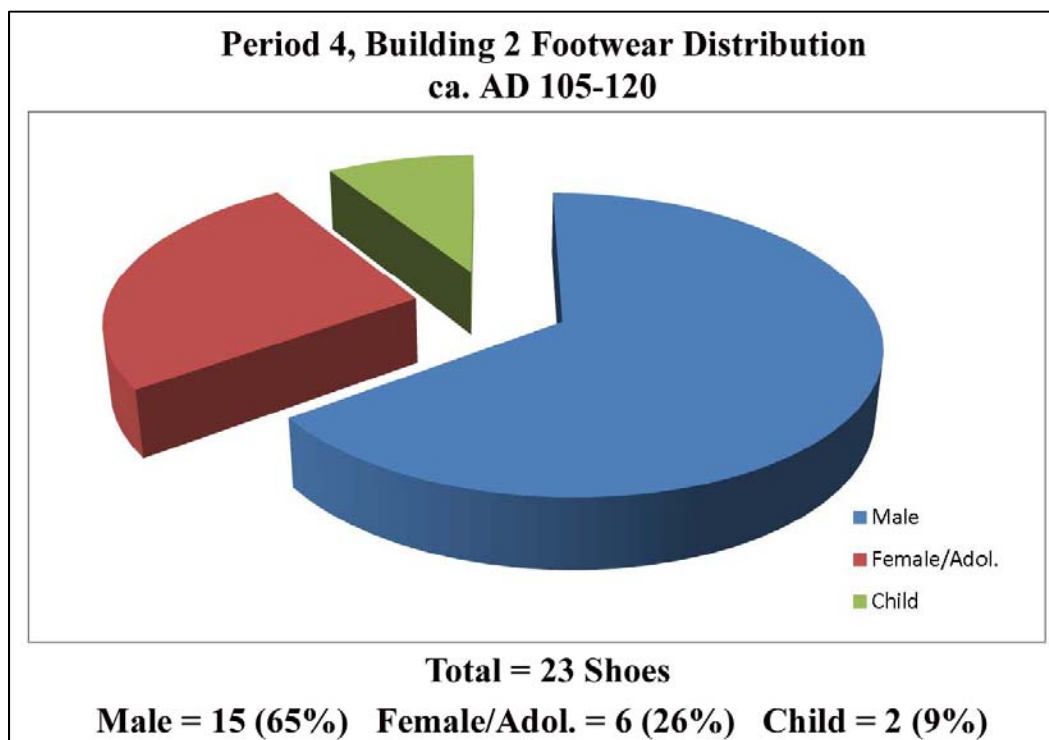


TABLE 5. Distribution of male, female and child related footwear in Building 2 of the Period 4 fort.

APPENDIX 2: Military Diplomas used in Chapter 5

No.	Diploma Ref.	DATE	RANK	ORIGIN	Wife	Child	TEXT (wife and children)
AUXILIA							
1	CIL XVI 2	ante 54, Feb 13	equiti	Cornac(ati)	yes	3	<i>et Iorae Prososii filiae uxori eius et Emerito f. eius et Turunae filiae et Emeritae filiae eius</i>
2	RMD IV: 202	61, Iul. 2	decurioni	Breuco	no	4	<i>et Proculo f. eius et Priscillae f. eius et Proculae f. eius et Procellae f. eius.</i>
3	CIL XVI 5	64, Iun. 16	gregalibus	Helvetio, Helvetiae wife	yes	2	<i>et Sabinae Gammi filiae uxori eius, Helvetiae, et Vindelico f. eius et Materionae filiae eius</i>
4	CIL XVI 38	94, Iul. 13	pediti	Davers(o), Deramist(ae) wife	yes	1	<i>et Madenae plarentis filiae uxori eius, Deramist(ae), et Gaio f. eius</i>
5	RMD I: 6	96, Iul. 12	pedes	Bess(us)	no	1	<i>et Valenti f. eius</i>
6	RMD V: 337	97, [Sept. 9]	gregal[i]	n/a	no	1+	<i>et Mucasei f. [eius - --].</i>
7	RMD IV: 216	98, Febr. 20	ex gregale	Batav(o), Batav(ae) wife	yes	2	<i>[et ... Pere]grini fil., uxori eius Bat(avae) [et ... a]e fil. eius [et ... ae] fil. [eius.]</i>
8	RMD II: 80	98, [Feb. 20?]	n/a	n/a	?	1+	<i>et ///[..... ...]</i>
9	CIL XVI 44	99, Aug. 14	pediti	Abretten(o)	no	1	<i>et Marco f. eius</i>
10	CIL XVI 49	105, Ian. 12	pediti	Dobunn(o), Azal(ae) wife	yes	3	<i>et Tutulae Breuci filiae uxori eius, Azal(ae), et Simili f. eius et Luccae filiae eius et Pacatae filiae eius</i>
11	RGZM 11	105, Mai. 13	gregalis	Trevir(o); wife is daughter of Thracian	yes	4	<i>et Crispinae Eptacenti fil. uxori eius et Attoni f. eius et Iulio f. eius et Crispino f. eius et Pretiosae fil. eius.</i>

12	RMD I: 8	105, Mai. 1- Iul. 15	n/a	n/a (both names are Latin cognomina)	yes	0	[et A]mabili Firmi filiae)
13	CIL XVI 52	106	ex ---	n/a, (wife's father is Celtic origin)	yes	1+	et Secciae Sabini - - - [f. uxori eius, - - - .] et Saturnino f. ei[us et - - -].
14	CIL XVI 55	107, Iun. 30	ex gregale	Boio, Sequan(ae) wife	yes	1	et Verecundae Casati filiae uxori eius, Sequan(ae), et Matrullae filiae eius
15	RGZM 14	107, Sept.- Dec.	grega[liis]	n/a	?	3	et Saturnin[- - -] et Astico [f. eius] et Norbano [f. eius].
16	RMD I: 11	100/107	n/a	Tin[gi?]	yes	0	et . . . Jiae Iaphn(a)e ux[ori eius.
17	RMD III: 147	99-108	n/a	n/a	yes?	1+	et Iusti[..... eius] et [..... f. eius].
18	RMD III: 148	109, Oct. 14	ex pedite	Berens	no	3	et Ianuario f. eius, et Marcello f. eius, et Lucanae fil. eius.
19	RMD II: 84	109, Oct. 14	ex gregal[e]	Thracian, Tingitana wife (Father from Spain)	yes	1	et Iunia Gadatini fil. M[.....] et Martiali f. e[ius].
20	CIL XVI 161	109, Oct. 14	ex gregale	Hamio, Surae wife	yes	2	et Iuliae Iuli fil. Deisatae ux(ori) eius, Surae, et Zenae f. eius et Saturnino f. eius
21	CIL XVI 57	110, Feb. 17	ex gregale	Ituraeo	no	3	et Nal f. eius et Marco f. eius et Antonio f. eius
22	CIL XVI 163	110, Iul. 2	ex pedite	Be[lgo]	no	1	et Vitali f. eius
23	RMD IV: 221	99/110	[greg]ali	n/a; wife's father is Dasiae. (Danubian)	yes	0	[... et ...] Dasiae fi[l. uxori eius ...]
24	RMD IV: 223 (=RGZM 15)	112, Mai. 3	ex gregale	Pannon(io); Azal(ae) wife	yes	4	et Matenae Etdeidatis fil. uxori eius, Azal(ae), et Attoni f. eius, et Rumae fil. eius, et Sibullae fil. eius, et Ianuariarum fil. eius.
25	RMD II: 86	113, Dec. 16	ex pedite	Batavian; Batavian wife	yes	3	et Mattuae Silvani fil(iae) uxori eius, Batav(ae), et Vagatrae fil(iae)

							<i>eius et Sureiae fil(iae) eius et Satae fil(iae) eius.</i>
26	RMD IV: 225	113 Dec. 17/114 Mai 2/3	n/a	n/a	no	5	<i>et Torquato [f. eius] et Dizalae f. ei[us] et Torco f. eius et Tertullae fil. eius et Quintae fil. eius.</i>
27	RMD IV: 227 (=RMD I: 14)	114, Iul. 19	ex equite	Tralli	no	3	<i>et Iulio f. eius et Valentinae fil. eius et Gaiae fil. eius</i>
28	RMD V: 345 (=RMD III: 152 + RMD IV: 228 (=RGZM 17/18))	114, Sep. 1	ex gregale	Erav(isco); Erav(iscae) wife	yes	0	<i>et Suttae Touconis fil(iae) uxori eius, Erav(iscae).</i>
29	CIL XVI 61	114, Sep. 1	ex gregale	Boio (Pann.Sup. or Rhine); Aquin(co) wife	yes	3	<i>et Custae Magni fil. Uxori eius, Aquin(co), et Victori f. eius et Propinquo f. eius et Bellae fil. eius.</i>
30	CIL XVI 62	117, Sep. 8	n/a	n/a	yes?	1?	<i>et pra - - -</i>
31	CIL XVI 166	118, Mar. 28	[e]x gregale	Virovesc(a)	no	1	<i>[et - - -]liae fil(iae) eius.</i>
32	RMD V: 348	118, (Mart. 6/Mai 15)	[ex ---]urione	Besso (Thracian); Bess(ae) wife.	yes	1	<i>[et --- --- f]il. Valentinae uxor(i) eius, Bess(ae) [et -- -] fil. eius.</i>
33	Acta Musei 2004, 39-40/1	119, March/April	[e]x gr[egale]	B]esso; wife B]ess(ae)	yes	1	<i>et Su[---]ae [fil(iae) uxori eius B]ess(ae) [et --- f]ilio)/fil(iae) eius.</i>
34	RMD V: 351	119, Nov. 12	ex ped[ite]	[Er]avisc(o)	no	5	<i>et Primo f. eius et Su[--- f. e]ius et Potenti f. ei[u]s et -- - f./fil.] eius et Comatum[arae(?) fil. eius].</i>
35	CIL XVI 67	120, Iun. 29	ex pedite	Hierapol(i) (Syria); Tricorn(io) wife	yes	2	<i>et Doroturmae Dotochae fil. Uxori eius, Tricorn(io), et Secundo f. eius et Marcellinae fil. eius.</i>

36	RMD I: 18	114/120	ex gregale	n/a	yes	1	[.]ae Rufi fil(iae) Rufinae [ux(ori) eius] et Fuscinae fil(iae) [eius.
37	RGZM 19	121, Aug. 19	ex pedite	Anti.	no	4	et Maximo f. eius et Iambae f. eius et Heraclide f. eius et Alexandrae fil. eius.
38	RMD I: 32	118/121	n/a	n/a	no	2	et Flacco f. eiu[s] et Nic[. . . f. eius] et Syrrill[ae fil(iae) eius].
39	RGZM 20	122, Iul. 17	ex gregale	Britt.	no	4	et Aprili f. eius et Iulio f. eius et Aproniae fil. eius et Victoriae fil. eius.
40	RMD V:361	122, Iul. 17	[ex greg]ale	Besso	no	1	[et ---] fil. eius.
41	CIL XVI suppl. 169 =(CIL XVI 73)	122, Nov. 18	ex gregale	Syro; Transducta wife (colonia Iulia Traducta)	yes	2	et Valeriae Messi fil. Messiae uxori eius, Transduc(ta), et Maximo f. eius et Maximae fil. eius.
42	RMD I: 20	118/122	n/a	n/a	yes	5	f.] Acherae AN MA[.]aro f(ilio) eius et Sur[. et] Solorigi f(ilio) eius et Cr[. . . .] f. eius [. . . .] et Suruccae fil(iae) eius.
43	RMD V: 362	118/122	n/a	n/a; [.JESSAI wife (Bessai?)	yes	5	et --- --- fil. uxori eius, -] ESSAI, [et - -- f. eius et ---]o f. eius [et --- et ---]ae fil. eius [et --- fil.] eius.
44	RGZM 22	123, Apr. 14	ex equite	Syrus, Bess(ae) wife	yes	6	et Iuliae Bithi fil. Fiorentinae uxor(i) eius, Bess(ae), et Arsamae f. eius et Abisalmæ f. eius et SAbino f. eius et Zabaeo f. eius et Achilleo f. eius et Sabinae fil. eius.
45	RMD I: 21	123, Aug. 10	ex gregale	Sirm(ium), Eravis(cae) wife	yes	0	et Iubena Bellagenti fil(iae) uxori eius, Eravis(cae).
46	CIL XVI 171	124	ex de[curione]	Daci	yes	1	et - - -]e Luci fil. Sat - - -, [uxori] eius et Dacio [f. eius - - -].

47	RMD I: 26	123/124	n/a	Ha]drumetum (Tunisia); Pannonian wife	yes	2	[et f(iliae) uxori eius] Pann(oniae) [et f.] eius [et f.] eius.
48	RMD IV: 234	118/124?	[ex g]regale	S]cordisc(o); Scord(iscae) wife.	yes	1	[et ... uxori ei]us Scord(iscae) [et ...] f. eius.
49	RMD IV: 235	125, Iun. 1	ex gregale	Besso, Bessae wife (Thracian)	yes	5	[et ...]iu Lucosis fil. uxori eius, Bessae, [et ...] f. eius et Gaio f. eius [et ...f. eiu]s et [./VN// (?)] fil. eius [et ...]ru fil. eius.
50	RMD IV: 236	126, Iul. 1	ex gregale	Besso	no	1	et [...] f. eius.
51	RMD V: 366	126, Iul. 1	[ex ---]jite	n/a (latin name, perhaps Firmus)	yes	2	et ---]ris fil. ux[ori eius ---, et] Crescen[t--- f./fil. eius et --- f]il. e[e]ius].
52	RGZM 23	127, Aug. 20	ex pedite	Cyrrus	no	6	et Mocimo f. eius et Frontoni f. eius et Rumae f. eius et Rufo f. eius et Carsiae fil. eius et Rufinae fil. eius.
53	RMD IV: 241	127, Aug. 20	ex gregale	Eravisc(o), Eravisc(ae) wife	yes	5	et Iuliae Titi fil. uxori eius Eravisc(ae), et Fortunato f. eius et Atrecto f. eius et Ianuario f. eius et Magno f. eius et Ianuariae fil. eius.
54	RMD V: 368	127, [Oct./Dec.]	e[x ---]	[Daco]	no	3	et Nattopori f. [eius et --- f./fil. eius] et Duccidava[e fil. eius].
55	RMD V: 370	118/120 OR 126/128	n/a	wife=Be[---].	yes	4	et Sangon[--- fil. uxori eius,] Be[---,] et Frontoni [f. eius et ---] et Frontinae [fil. eius et --- fil. eius.]
56	CIL XVI 75	129, Mar. 22	ex gregale	Sebastopol(i)	no	5	et Eupatori f. eius et Eupateri f. eius et Eumeno fil. eius et Thrasoni fil. eius et Philopatreae fil. eius.
57	RMD I: 24	90/129	n/a	Cappadoc(ia)	no	1	[et fil.] eius.

58	RMD II: 89	110/129 (?)	n/a	n/a	not pres.	2	<i>fil(iae) eius</i> [..... <i>fil(iae)</i>] <i>eius.</i>
59	RMD IV: 245	114/129	n/a	P[annon(io)?]; N[oric(ae)?] wife.	yes	2?	<i>et ...]gulati fil.</i> <i>ux(ori) eius</i> <i>N[oric(ae)? et ... ?</i> <i>et Ate]cinae fil.</i> <i>eius.</i>
60	RMD V: 374	119/129	ex pedite	n/a	no	2	<i>et ---]sio f. [eius, et</i> <i>---]riae fil. e[ius.]</i>
61	CIL XVI 173	129/132	ex gregale	Tingit(ano)	no	2	<i>et Saturnino f. eius</i> <i>et Prisciano f. eius</i>
62	CIL XVI 76	133, Iul. 2	ex gregale	Helvet(io)	no	1	<i>et Secundo f. eius.</i>
63	CIL XVI 78	134, Apr. 2	ex pedite	Stobis	no	6	<i>et Lucio f. et</i> <i>Valerio f. et</i> <i>Petronio f. et</i> <i>Valenti f. et Luciae</i> <i>fil. Et Anniae fil.</i>
64	RMD IV: 250 (=RGZM 26)	134, Oct. 16/Nov. 13	ex gregal[e]	Colap[ia]n(o) (Pannonia); Aza[l]ae wife	yes	0	<i>[et ...]nsi fil., Iuliae</i> <i>uxori eius Aza[l]ae.</i>
65	CIL XVI 129	114/134	n/a	n/a	yes	0	<i>et - - -]uxo]ri eius,</i> <i>I - - - (vel T - - -).</i> <i>Missing the patria</i> <i>of the wife.</i>
66	CIL XVI 105	122/134	[ex gr]egale	Frisio, Bat(avae) wife	yes	1	<i>[et - - -]ini fil.</i> <i>uxor(i) eius,</i> <i>Bat(avae), [et - - -</i> <i>et - - -]ellinae fil.</i> <i>eius.</i>
67	RMD IV: 248	135, Nov. 14/Dec. 1	[ex equ/ped]ite	D[...]	no	2?	<i>et ...]o f. e[ius, et</i> <i>...]o f. [eius.]</i>
68	RMD V: 382	135, Dec. 31	ex gregale	Tingit(ano)	no	2	<i>et Fortunato f. eius</i> <i>et Gemelliano f.</i> <i>eius.</i>
69	RMD IV: 255	117/137	n/a	n/a	no	5	<i>et ...] f. eius [et ...</i> <i>f. eius et ...]ni f.</i> <i>eius e[t ... et]</i> <i>Dourpinae (?) [fil.</i> <i>eius.]</i>
70	RMD III: 160	136-137?	ex pedite	n/a	no	4	<i>et Gellio f. eius [et</i> <i>..... f.eius] et</i> <i>Paulo f. eius</i> <i>[et.....?].</i>
71	CIL XVI 83	138, Feb. 28	ex pedite	Besso	no	5	<i>et Spor f. et</i> <i>Derzizeno f. et</i> <i>Eptacento f. et</i> <i>Zinae fil. et</i> <i>Eptaperi fil. eius.</i>

72	RMD III: 161	138, Mart. 1-Jul. 10)	[ex] pediti	Cyrrho (filiation by cognomen); Pamphylian wife	yes	2	[et -----]pitis fil(iae), uxori <eius>, Pamph(ylae) [et ----- f. eiu]s et Valenti f. eius.
73	CIL XVI 84	138, Jun. 16	ex equite	Trevir(o)	no	1	et Secundo f. eius.
74	RMD V: 385 (=RMD IV: 260=RGZM 28)	138, Oct. 10	ex equite	Perin(tho)	no	3	et Senecae f. eius et Marciano f. et Bruttiano f. eius.
75	RMD IV: 254	98/138	[ex g]regale	n/a	yes	1+	[...]ae f. [...]s fil. ux[ori eius, ...] et [...]
76	RMD V: 386	139, Oct. 30	ex gr[eg]ale	[Hel]vet(io); Caluc(oni) wife (Raetia)	yes	0	e[t ---]nuae Ingoni fil. uxor(i) [eiu]s, Caluc(oni).
77	CIL XVI 175	139	ex grega[le]	n/a, wife's name is Illyrican	yes	2	et Mariccae Curin - - [fil. ux(ori) eius, - -] et Octaviano [f.] eius et Octav - - .
78	RMD II: 95(=I: 58)	140	[ex pedite?/ex equite?]	n/a	?	?	et] . . MAT. . . .
79	RMD IV: 262	90/140	ex [gregale/ equ/ped?]	n/a	yes	2?	o [...]naeo(?) [...]ori [...]ral[...]si/[...]
80	RMD V: 388	114/140	ex pedite	PIT?	no	2	[et ---]ri f. eius et DI[--- f./fil. eius.]
81	RMD V: 389	120/140	ex pedi[te]	n/a	no	4	et ---[ttarae f. ei]us et --- et --- a]e fil. eius e[t ---fil. eius.]
82	RGZM 71	120-140?	n/a	n/a	no	1	[et - - -] f. eius.
83	Acta Musei 2004, 6	133-140	ex pe[dite]	soldier Didaecuttio, wife is Diurpae	yes	3	et Diurpae Dotu[--- f(iliae) uxori eius] et Iulio f(ilio) [eius et --- f(ilio) eius] et Dimidusi fil(iae) [eius ----.]
84	RMD I: 43	138/140	n/a	n/a	no	1	et . . . fi]l. eius.
85	RMD IV: 263	140/141	n/a	n/a	yes	1+?	et [...]tin[i fil. uxori eius, ...]
86	RMD I: 40	138/142	ex pedite	n/a	yes	0	et Seneciae Rellictei [fil. uxori eius. . .]
87	RMD I: 41	133/143	n/a	n/a	?	2	et Co[cceio ? F(ilio) eius]

							<i>et Sa[. . . . f(ilio) eius].</i>
88	RMD IV: 266 (=RGZM 30)	143, Aug. 7	ex pedite	Eravis(co) ; Vetus Salina wife (Pannonia)	yes	0	<i>et Victorinae Nigri fil. uxori Vetus <S?aliens(is) (Roxan: ... Aliens (?))</i>
89	RMD V: 402	144/146	[ex gregale]	n/a	yes	0	<i>et Mammae Poss[-- - fil., uxori eius, ---].</i>
90	RGZM 31	151, Ian. 20	ex pedite	Caecom. ex Moes., Lard. wife	yes	0	<i>et Prisciae Dasmeni fil. uxor(i) eius, Lard.</i>
91	CIL XVI 101	153	ex gregale	n/a (father's name is Thracian); wife Mamma is Celtic and Thracian	yes	0	<i>et Secundae Bori fil. u[xor(i) ei(us), - -].</i>
92	RMD V: 415	154/156	n/a	n/a (wife's name and her father are Latin names)	yes	0	<i>[--- et Ca]ndidae Ponti[--- fil. ux(ori) eius ---]</i>
93	RMD II: 102	157, Febr. 8	ex pedite	Erav(isco); Wife Canac--- (unattested)	yes	0	<i>et Niciae Tricani fil(iae) uxo(ri) eiu(s) Canac(...).</i>
94	RMD II: 103	157, Febr. 8	ex pedite	Eravisco; Era(viscae) wife	yes	0	<i>et Vervedae Tessimari fil(iae) ux(ori) eiu(s) Era(viscae).</i>
95	RGZM 38	157, Sept. 28	ex gregale	Thrac., Thrac. wife	yes	0	<i>et Andrae Eptece<n>ti fil. uxor(i) eius Thrac(ae).</i>
96	RMD I: 53	159	ex dec[urione]	n/a	no	1	<i>et Senecae f. eius [.].</i>
97	RGZM 40	160, [Ian./Febr.	ex [---]	n/a	yes	0	<i>et Accae D[- - - fil. ux(ori) eius - - -].</i>
98	RMD IV: 278	160, Dec 18	ex pedite	Runic(ati) (Vindelicia); Caten(ati) wife	yes	0	<i>et Primae Masi fil. ux(ori) eius Caten(ati).</i>
99	CIL XVI 132	192	[ex dec]urione or cent[urione]	Porol(isso), Bass(iana?) wife	yes	2	<i>[et - - -] Secundinae ux(ori) ei(us), Bass(iana?), [et - - - f. ei(us) et - - -]ano f. ei(us) et Lucidae f. ei(us).</i>

100	RMD V: 446	192, Aug. 11	ex decurione	Pann(onio); wife Arabio(na) (Arrabona, Pannonia)	yes	3	<i>et Fla(viae) Viri f. Ianuariae ux(ori) eius, Arabio(nae), et Victorino f. eius et Iusto f. eius et Antoninae f. eius.</i>
FLEET							
101	CIL XVI 12	71, Feb. 9	cent(urio)	Sappa(eus)	no	1	<i>et Doles f. eius.</i>
102	CIL XVI 24	79, Sep. 8	ex remigibus	Arsen(oitae)	yes	1	<i>et Tapaiae Tryphonis filiae uxori eius et Carpinio f. eius.</i>
103	RMD III: 142	100, Jun. 12	gregali	Delmat(ae)	yes	0	<i>et Mocae Liccai filiae, uxori eius, Delmat(ae).</i>
104	RMD V: 344	112? [Ian. 29/Mart. 29]	classic[orum] ex greg[ale]	n/a	no	3	<i>et Longo [f. eius] et Iuliae [fil. eius] et Secun[dae(?) fil. eiu]s.</i>
105	RMD V: 354	119, Dec. 14/31	[ex g]regale	Nicaens(i)	no	1	<i>[et ---] f. eius.</i>
106	CIL XVI 79	134, Sep. 15	ex gregale	Fifens(i) ex Sard(inia)	no	1	<i>et Tarpalari f. eius.</i>
107	RMD V: 383	117/138	n/a	n/a	yes	0	<i>et Au[---a]e Pauli fil. ux[ori eius ---].</i>
108	RMD II: 106	142 [Oct. 6]	ex gregale	n/a	yes	0	<i>et fil. uxor[i eius].</i>
109	RMD IV: 267	128 Apr./144, Dec.	ex gre[gale]	n/a	yes?	1?	<i>et ...]liae fil. [...].</i>
110	RMD I:44	145, Oct. 26	ex gregale	Selinunt(us) (Cilicia); wife Suedrae (west of Selinos)	yes	1	<i>et Domitiae Neius fil. Caesare ux(ore) ei(us), Suedrae, et Valenti f. eius.</i>
111	RMD V: 401	146, Aug. 11	ex gubernatore	Scord(isco), Scord(iscae) wife	yes	2	<i>[et ---]ace/ale/me Secundi fil. uxor(i) eius, Scord(iscae), [et] Valeriano f. eius [et] Valentinae fil. eius.</i>
112	RMD III: 171	158, Feb. 6	ex gregale	Selinunt(o) ex Cilicia	yes	2	<i>et Antoniae Talli filiae Nani uxor(i) eius, Selinu(n)t(o) et Sturnino f. ius et Capitoni f. eius.</i>
113	RMD II: 105	160, Feb. 7	ex gregale	Philippop. ex Thr(acia)	yes	4	<i>et Marciae Acti <f.> Secundae ux(ori) eius, Italic(ae), et Londino f(ilio), eius</i>

							<i>et Bitho f(ilio) eius et Iuliae fil(iae) eius et Bendi fil(iae) eius.</i>
114	RMD V: 427	160, Feb. 7	[ex gre]gale	Aug(usta) Tr(aiana) ex Thrac(ia), Thraiss(ae) wife	yes	3	<i>[et ---]e fil. uxori eius, Thraiss(ae), [et ---]f. eius [et M]ucatrali f. eius [et ---]ae fil. eius.</i>
115	RGZM 39	160, Feb. 7	ex gregale	n/a	yes	1+?	<i>et Scuri Dolentis fil. ux(ori) e[us, - -].</i>
116	RMD V: 445	154/178	n/a	n/a	yes	0	<i>et Flavi[--].</i>
117	RMD IV: 304	192/202 or 204/206, Sept. 6	n/a	ex Pan(nonia infer(iore) latumentianis	no	2	<i>et Prisco f. eius et Aprili f. eius.</i>
118	RMD III: 189	206, Nov. 22	ex gregale	Antiochia ex Syria Coele	no	1	<i>et Proculo f. eius.</i>
119	RMD I: 73	209, Iul. 10- 13 (?)	n/a	n/a	?	? (3 lines)	
120	RMD I: 74	212, Aug. 30	ex centurione	Pompeiopol(is), Cilicia	yes	0	<i>et Didiae Tryphene ux(ori) eius, Nicensi ex Bithyn(ia).</i>
121	RMD II: 131	214, Nov. 27	ex principale	n(atione) Isaurus; vico Calloso wife	yes	0	<i>et Herreniae Nestoris fil(iae) Immae uxor(i) eius civit(ate) Isaur(a) vico s(upra) s(cripto).</i>
122	RMD IV: 307	221, Nov. 29	ex gregale	Dolich ex Syria vico Araba civitata s.s.	yes	5	<i>et Aureliae Bassae uxori eius ex civitat<e> s(upra) s(crupta) et Aurelio Barsaddae et Iulio Zabdaeo et Aurelio Barathe et Aurelia(e) Rummeae et Aureliae Salameae filis eius.</i>
123	RMD V: 463	224, Nov. 14/Dec. 11	ex gregale	Nicopoli ex Moesia vico Dizerpera	no	1	<i>et M. Aurelio Valerio filio eius.</i>
124	RGZM 56	225, Nov. 17	ex centurione	Isaurus vicus Catesdus, Graeca wife	yes	0	<i>et Iuliae Iunia uxori eius, Graecae.</i>
125	RMD II: 133	229, Nov. 27	ex gregale	Claudiopoli ex Cilicia vico Vindemi	yes	3	<i>et Aureliae Mai uxori eius Afrae et C. Domitio Diodoto</i>

							<i>et C. Domitio Carico et C. Domitio Putiolano filis eius.</i>
126	RMD III: 201	218-235	[ex sesqui]plic(ario)	[Ulpia Ni]copoli ex Moesia inf.	yes	0	<i>[et uxor(i) eius ...]tsitsi.</i>
127	CIL XVI 152	247, Dec. 28	ex optione	n(atione) Ital(ico) d(omo) Misen(o)	yes	4	<i>et Marc(iae) Proculae ux(ori) ei(us) et Marc(io) Alexandro et Fl(avio) Marco et Ulp(io) Sabino <et> Aurel(iae) Faustae fil. eius.</i>
128	CIL XVI 154A	249, Dec. 28	ex librar(io) sesq(ui)plicario)	dom(o) Ateste	no	1	<i>[et L. Ameri(?)]no Sempronia[no fil]io eius.</i>
SPECIAL GRANTS							
129	RMD I: 19	121	[ex gre]gale	Bess(us)	yes	3(?)	<i>[et uxor]i eius [et fil.] eius [et fil.] eius [et fil.] eius.</i>
130	RMD V: 357	121, Apr. 5	n/a	Daco	Mother	*	<i>[---] matri eius, [- --] fratri eius, [---] fratri eius, [---] fratri eius, [---] sorori eius.</i>

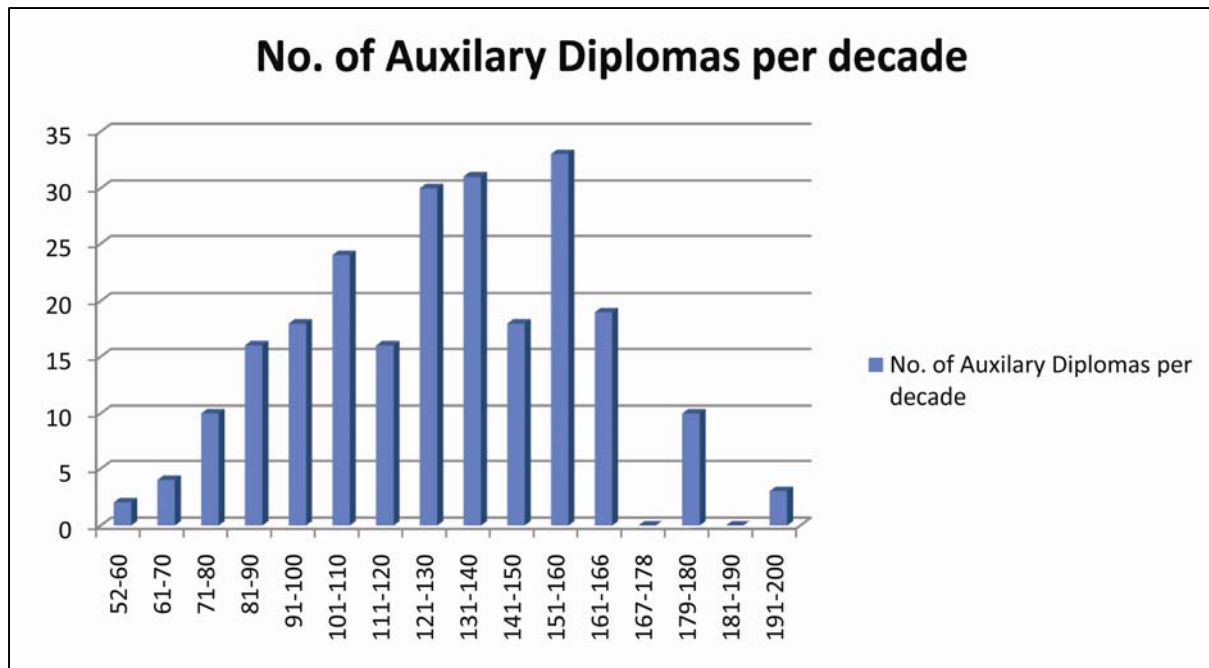


TABLE 6. Number of auxiliary diplomas dating to decades between AD 52 and 200.

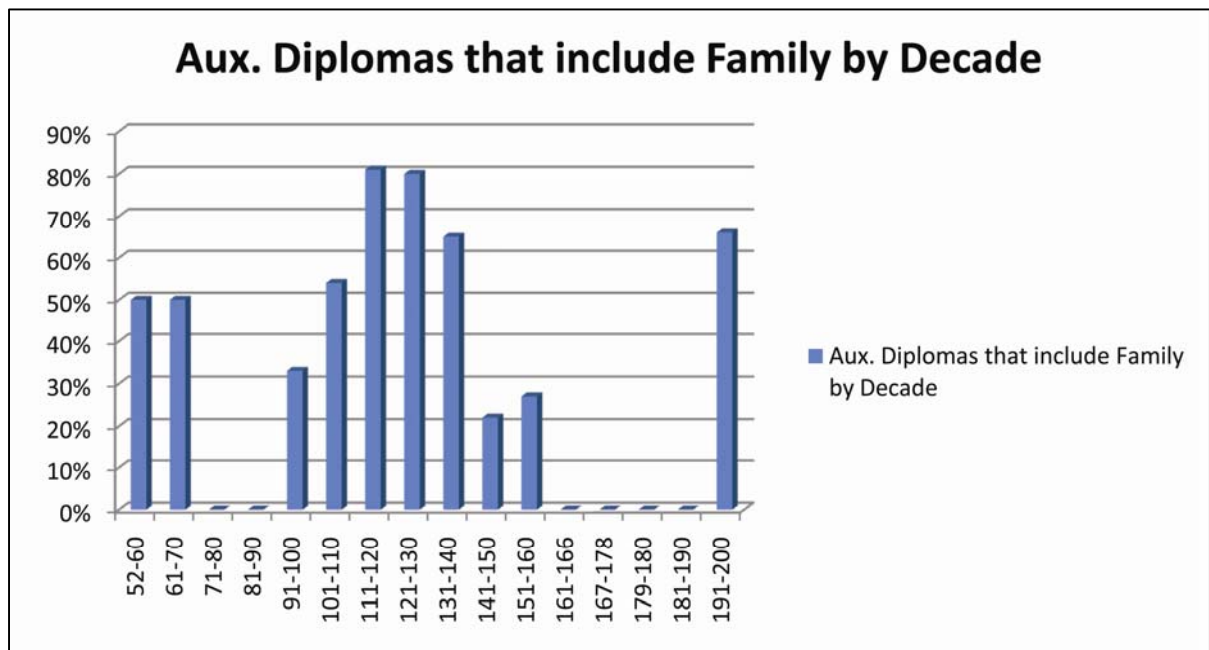


TABLE 7. Percentage of diplomas that include family by decade between AD 52 and 200.

APPENDIX 3: The Vindolanda Tablets discussed in Chapter 6

(All transcriptions and translations are taken from Bowman and Thomas 1994, and Bowman and Thomas 2003)

1. *Tab. Vindol. 643*:

i.

Floru[s] Calauiro suo
salut[e]m arculam clusa
et res quecumque ini
.]a comclusae su[n]t dabet
....]o benifeciario
....] signabet anulo
Traces?

.

ii.

Florus Tito suo salute
frates securem quam in
casula habea dabet Gam[
qui ..[...]. ctilia[..
dabet et ut re[.]ddat
traces?

.

Back:

Neque eam ei dab[e]s nisi
in carrulo eam pona[t] conti-
nuo Ingenua uos salu-
tat u[e]stra filia
Caelouiro dabet

.

Margin:

Opto bene [

b.

. . .

..ma.[

qua[

. . .

“Florus to his Calavir(us), greetings. The closed small box and whatever things have been locked in it(?) give to ... the *beneficiarius* which(?) he will seal with his ring.

“Florus to his Titus, greetings. Brother, if you happen to have(?) an axe in your hut, give it to Gam-, the man who will deliver you this tablet(?), and in order that he gives it back ... (Back) and do not give it to him except on condition that he straightway places it in the cart. Ingenua, your daughter, send greetings to you both. Deliver to Caelovir(us).

(Margin) I pray that you are in good health.”

i.
Chrauttius Veldeio suó fratri
contubernali antique pluri
mam salutem
et rogo te Veldei frater mirror
quod mihi tot tempus nihil
rescripsti a parentibus nos-
tris si quid audieris aut
Quot.m in quo numero
Sit et illum a me salutabis
[[s]]uerbis meis et Virilem
Ueterinarium rogabis
Illum ut forficem

“Chrauttius to Veldeius his brother and old messmate, very many greetings. And I ask you, brother Veldeius – I am surprised that you have written nothing back to me for such a long time – whether you have heard anything from our elders (parents?), or about ... in which unit he is; and greet him from me in my words and Virilis the veterinary doctor. Ask him (sc. Virilis) whether you may send through one of our friends the pair of shears which he promised me in exchange for money. And I ask you, brother Virilis, to greet from me our sister Thuttena. Write back to us how Velbutena is (?). (2nd hand?) It is my wish that you enjoy the best of fortune. Farewell. (Back, 1st hand) (Deliver) at London. To Veldedeius, groom of the governor, from his brother Chrauttius.”

ii.

traces
 ut remittat meos denarius
 cum assic... citra

conscientiam praefecti
sui salute Verecundam
et Sanctum Lo..um Capito-
nem et omnes ciues et
amecos cum quibus opto
bene ualeas .[] *vacat*?

Back:

.

Traces

Mensori

Ab Ascanio comiti Aug(usti)

“... so that he might send my money ... without the knowledge of his prefect. Greet Verecunda and Sanctus, ..., Capito and all my fellow-countrymen and friends, with whom I pray that you are in good health. ... (Back) ..., surveyor(?), from Ascanius, *comes Augusti*.”

4. *Tab.Vindol. 670*:

i.

Martius Victori fratri

Karissimo salute[m]

scias me recte esse quod te

inuicem facere cupio procur[a-

torem te facio frater ..[.

....[

...]cogn.tis patris .[..

.]. diligenter neque a.a.[

..]...id eis distrahant ..[..

...]...te.[.....]...[....

.

ii.

et quid circ[a] eas res agatur

peto per occ[asi]onem scribis

mihi si oc[cas]ionem Breme-

sione non h[abeb]is dabis Catarac-

toni Durm[... u]eterano ...

Hario in .[c. 12

fueramus [c. 5 P]roculum

et familiam [c.4]..onidicem

filiam .[c.6] Valentinum

uexill[arium et ..]...anum

.

A. Adress: Coris

Victori

eq(uiti) arm...

a M]artio ..br

“Martius to Victor, his most dear brother, greetings. Know that all is well with me and I wish that the same may be true for you. I am making you agent, brother, ... the relatives(?) of my(?) father ... carefully nor ... they sell(?) anything(?) for them ... and write to me, I ask, what is being done about those matters when you have the chance. If you do not have the chance (to write) from Bremesio(?), give (your letter_ at Cataractonium to Durmius(?) the veteran or(?) to Harius ... we had been. [Greet?] Proculus and (his?) family and .. your (?) daughter and Valentinus the *uexillarius* and – anus ... (Address) [Deliver] at Coria(?) to Victor, cavalryman, armourer, from Martius, clerk (?).”

5. Tab.Vindol.292:

i.

.....

Salutem

ego soror sicut tecum locuta fueram et promiseram
ut peterem a Brocchó et uenirem at te peti
et res[po]ndit mihi <i>ta corde semp[er li]citur uná

ii.

.....

traces

quomodocumque possim
at te peruenire sunt enim
necessariá quaedam qua[e]

iii.

.....

traces?

rem meum epistulas meas
accipies quibus scies quid
sim actura haec nobis

v.

.....

traces

.ra eram et Brigae mansura
Cerialem tuum a me saluta
uacat

Back:

m^2 [val]e m .. soror
karissima et anima
ma desideratissima
vacat traces

m^1 Sulpiciae Lepidi-

nae Cerialis traces?
a Seuera B[rochi]

" ... greetings. Just as I had spoken with you, sister, and promised that I would ask Brocchus and would come to you, I asked him and he gave me the following reply, that it was always readily (?) permitted to me, together with to come to you in whatever way I can. For there are certain essential things which you will receive my letters by which you will know what I am going to do I was ... and will remain at Briga. Greet your Cerialis from me. (Back, 2nd hand) Farewell my sister, my dearest and most longed-for soul. (1st hand) To Sulpicia Lepidina, wife of Cerialis, from Seuera, wife of Brocchus (?)."

6. Tab. Vindol. 291:

i.
Cl(audia) · Seuera Lepidinae [Suae
[sa][u]tem
Iii Idus Septembr[e]s soror ad diem
Sollemnem natalem meum rogo
Libenter facias ut uenias
Ad nos iucundiores mihi

ii.
[diem] interuentu tuo factura si
[.].[c.3]s vacat
Cerial[em t]uum saluta Aelius meus .[
Et filiulus salutant vacat
 m^2 vacat sperabo te soror
vale soror anima
mea ita valeam
karissima et haue

m^1 Sulpicia Lepidinae
Cerialis
a S[e]uera

"Claudia Seuera to her Lepidina greetings. On 11 September, sister, for the day of the celebration of my birthday, I give you a warm invitation to make sure that you come to us, to make the day more enjoyable for me by your arrival, if you are present (?). Give my greetings to your Cerialis. My Aelius and my little son send him (?) their greetings. (2nd hand) I shall expect you, sister. Farewell, sister, my dearest soul, as I hope to prosper, and hail. (Back, 1st hand) To Sulpicia Lepidina, wife of Cerialis, from Seuera."

7. Tab. Vindol. 622:

i.
· · · · ·
salutem
et Saturnalia transie-

runt et h []ea mihi
missa sun[t] et non
tam [...].nc quam

ii.

.

Traces

Es c[um tu]a Lepidina ueni
Sicu[....] Kalendas
Apu[d nos] remane s

.

] Severa mea
uos [s]alutat
 m^2 ua[le] mi frater
k[ari]ssime

Back:

.

m^1 Flavio C[eri]ali
prae[f(ecto) co]h(ortis)
a Broccho [

“...greetings. Both the Saturnalia have passed and the ... have been sent to me and not so ... as ... Come with your Lepidina, in this way so that you may stay with us beyond (?) the New Year. ... My Severa greets you (both). (2nd hand) Farewell, my dearest brother. (Back, 1st hand?) To Flavius Cerialis, prefect of the cohort, from Brocchus.”

8. Tab. Vindol. 294:

]a...na Lepidin[ae suae
s[alutem
ita sim salua domi[na
ut ego duas an.[
feram tibi alter[am
alteram febric.[
et ideo me tibi e[
sed quatenus m.[
.

“... Paterna (?) to her Lepidina, greetings. So help me god, my lady [and sister?], I shall bring (?) you two remedies (?), the one for ..., the other for fever (?) and therefore ... myself to you ... but insofar as ...”

9. Tab. Vindol. 581: Part of a longer account

K(alendis) Martis dom[
matronar[

“1 march, for the lord(s) (?) ...
of the Matronalia (?) ...”

10. *Tab.Vindol. 629:*

i.
Cl]odius Super Ceriali suo
salutem
libentissime frater sicut uoluer[as
Lepidinae tuae [...]a interf[u-
issem utique te [[*traces*]] (m^2)..le.te ' (m^1)..[
.

ii.
reddere. utique enim scis
iucundissime mihi esse quo-
ti]ens partier sumus simi-
...].iam non putau[mi-
.....]m ne antequam u[
.

Back:
 m^3 ? Flavio Ceriali
.

“Clodius Super to his Cerialis greetings. Most willingly, brother, just as you had wanted, I would have been present for your Lepidina’s birthday (?). At any rate ... For you surely know that it please me most whenever we are together. If(?) ... I did not think ... lest before ... (Back, 3rd hand?) To Flavius Cerialis ...”

11. *Tab.Vindol. 257:*

Valatta [Ceriali suo
s[alutem
rogo domin[e per pos-
teritat[e]m tuam
et per Lepidinam quod
mihi concedas *vacat*
].[
.

“Valatta to her Cerialis, greetings. I ask my lord, by your posterity, and through Lepidina that you grant me what I ask (?)”

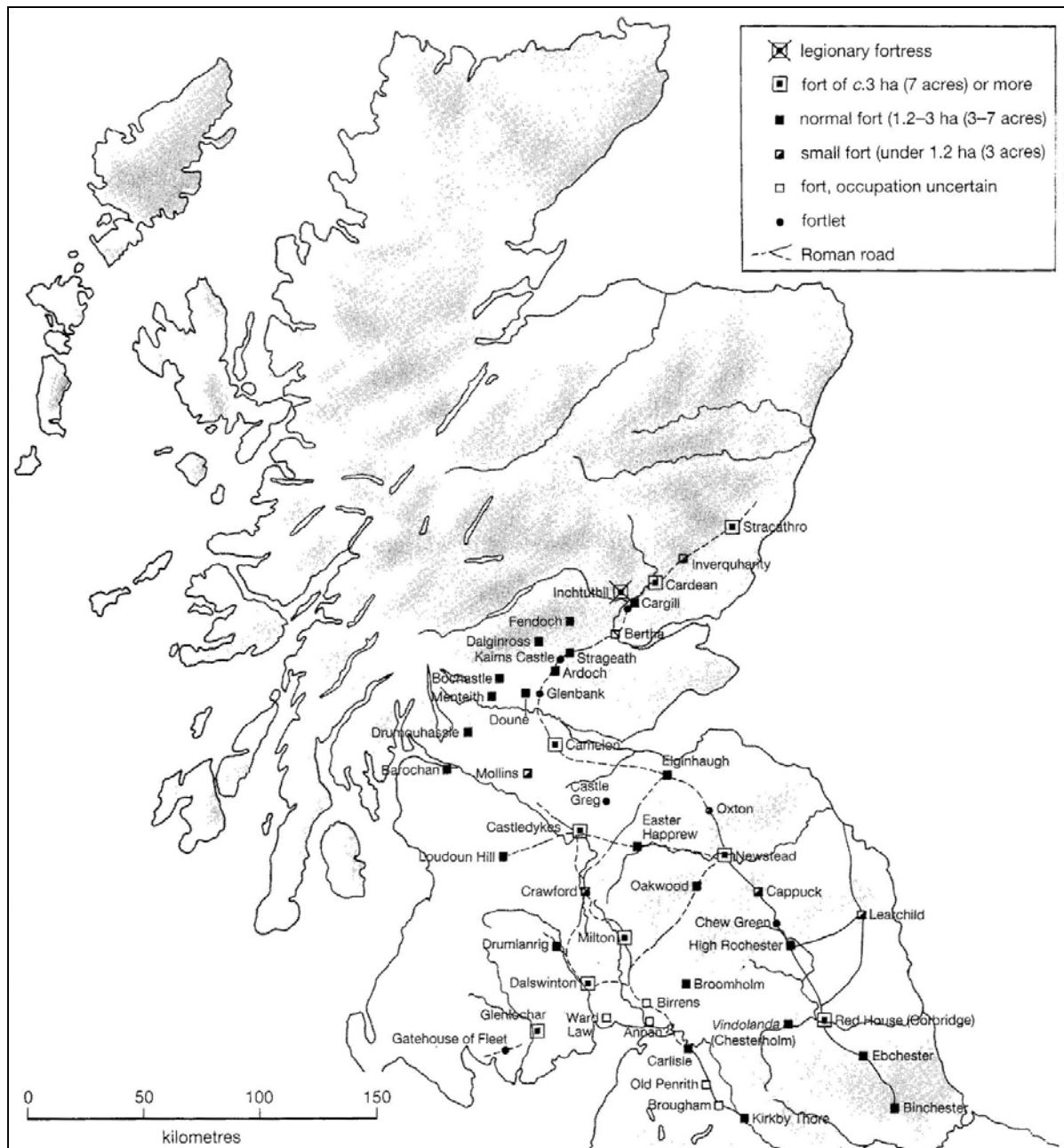
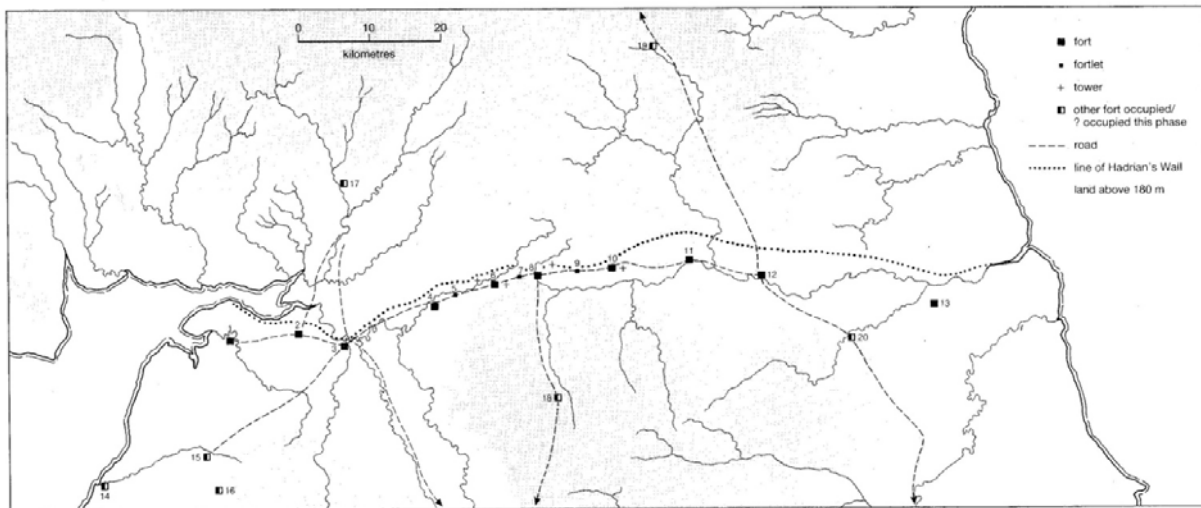


FIGURE 1. Map of the northern region of Roman Britain in the late-1st century AD. The sites to the far north were only occupied for a short period in the AD 70s. The forts at Carlisle, Vindolanda and Red House (Corbridge) are located toward the southern end of the map. Newstead is marked as a large fort in the center of this map. (IMAGE: B. Jones and D. Mattingly. 1990. *An Atlas of Roman Britain*. Oxbow. Map 4:39. Page 106).



Map 4:42 The Stanegate 'frontier': 1 Kirkbride, 2 Burgh-by-Sands I, 3 Carlisle, 4 Old Church, Brampton, 5 Boothby, 6 Nether Denton, 7 Throp, 8 Carvoran, 9 Haltwhistle Burn, 10 *Vindolanda*, 11 Newbrough-Fourstones?, 12 Corbridge, 13 Whickham, 14 Maryport, 15 Blennerhasset, 16 Caermote, 17 Broomholm, 18 Whitley Castle, 19 High Rochester, 20 Eborchester (not all sites were certainly occupied at the same time).

FIGURE 2. The Stanegate Frontier in the late-1st century AD. Vindolanda is located in the middle of the region (10). Carlisle (3) was the major city on the west and Corbridge (12) monitored the line on the east before the road dropped south. (IMAGE: B. Jones and D. Mattingly. 1990. *An Atlas of Roman Britain*. Oxbow. Map 4:42. Page 113).

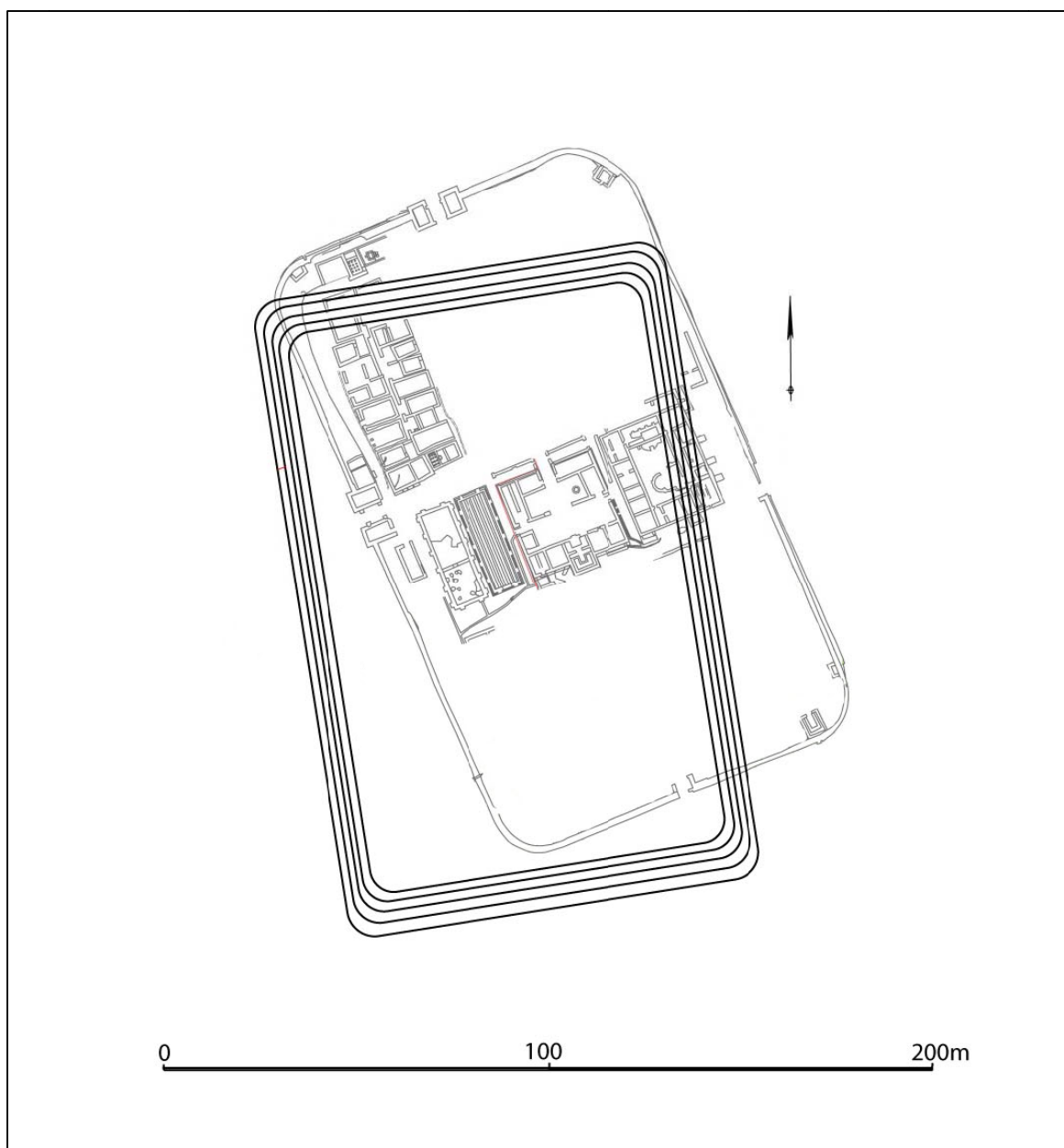


FIGURE 3. Vindolanda Period 1, ca. AD 85-90/92. Alignment of the Period 1 fort and ditches (black), in relation to the 3rd century Period 7 fort (below, grey). The explored ditches run underneath the *vicus* structures to the west of the fort between the settlement and fort wall. (IMAGE: Property of Andrew Birley and The Vindolanda Trust).

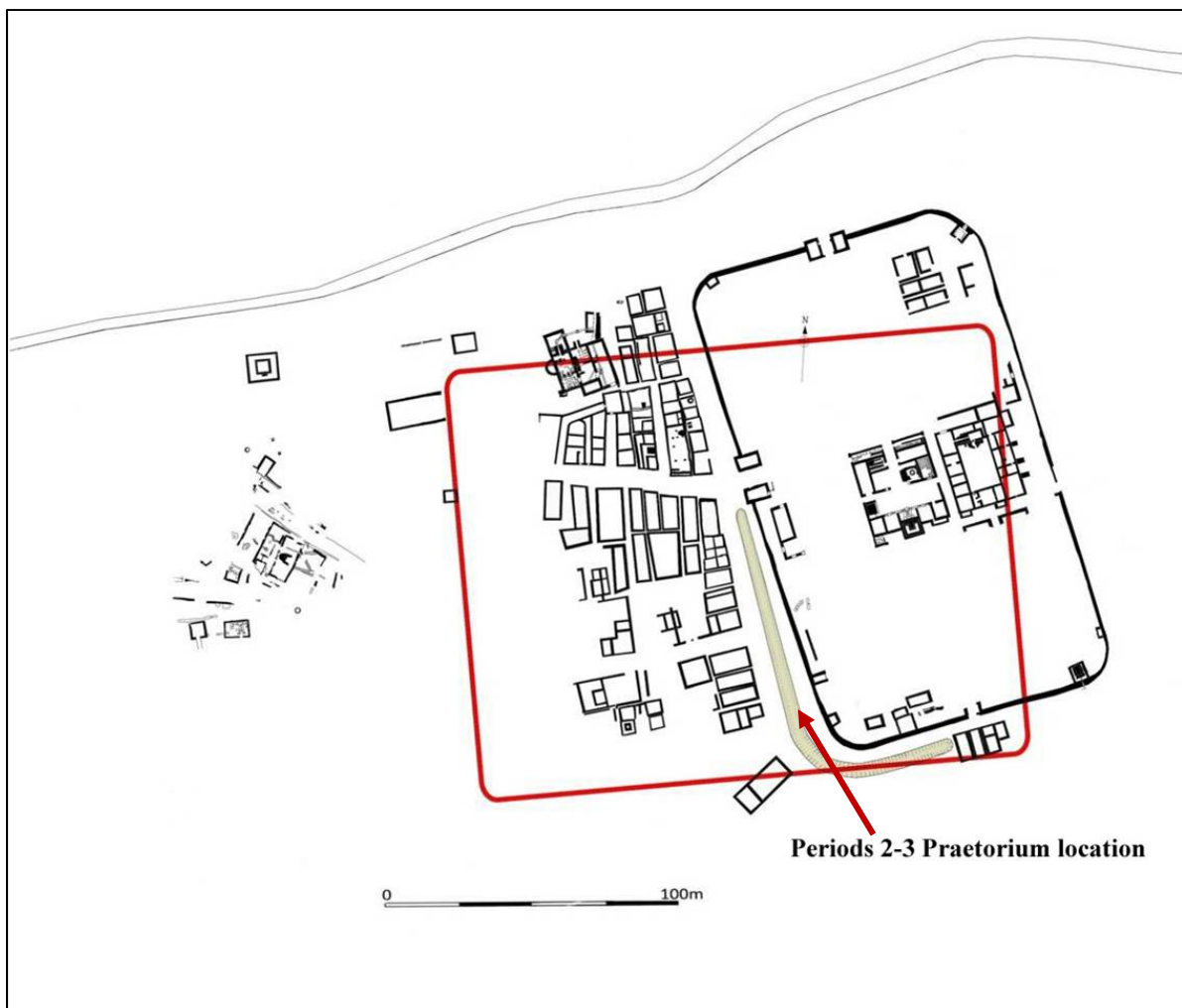


FIGURE 4. Vindolanda Period 2-3 fort walls, ca. AD 90/92-105, as they stand below the later 3rd century stone fort on the west. The *praetorium* is shown just inside of the southern gate to the period 2-3 fort. The two periods were built on the same alignment with most structures continued in the same use. Period 3 is an almost complete rebuild of the period 2 fort in a more permanent form. (IMAGE: Property of Andrew Birley and The Vindolanda Trust).



FIGURE 5. The rough outline of the Vindolanda Period 4 fort, ca. AD 105-120. The fort defenses are mostly unknown, but it was at least four times larger than the period 1 fort, housing a milliary cohort and a vexillation of Vardulli cavalry. Period 4 structures have been found underneath several stone *vicus* buildings of the 3rd century and further west of the settlement. The eastern edge of the fort is an estimation ending here just before the topography drops sharply into a burn. (IMAGE: Property of Andrew Birley and The Vindolanda Trust).

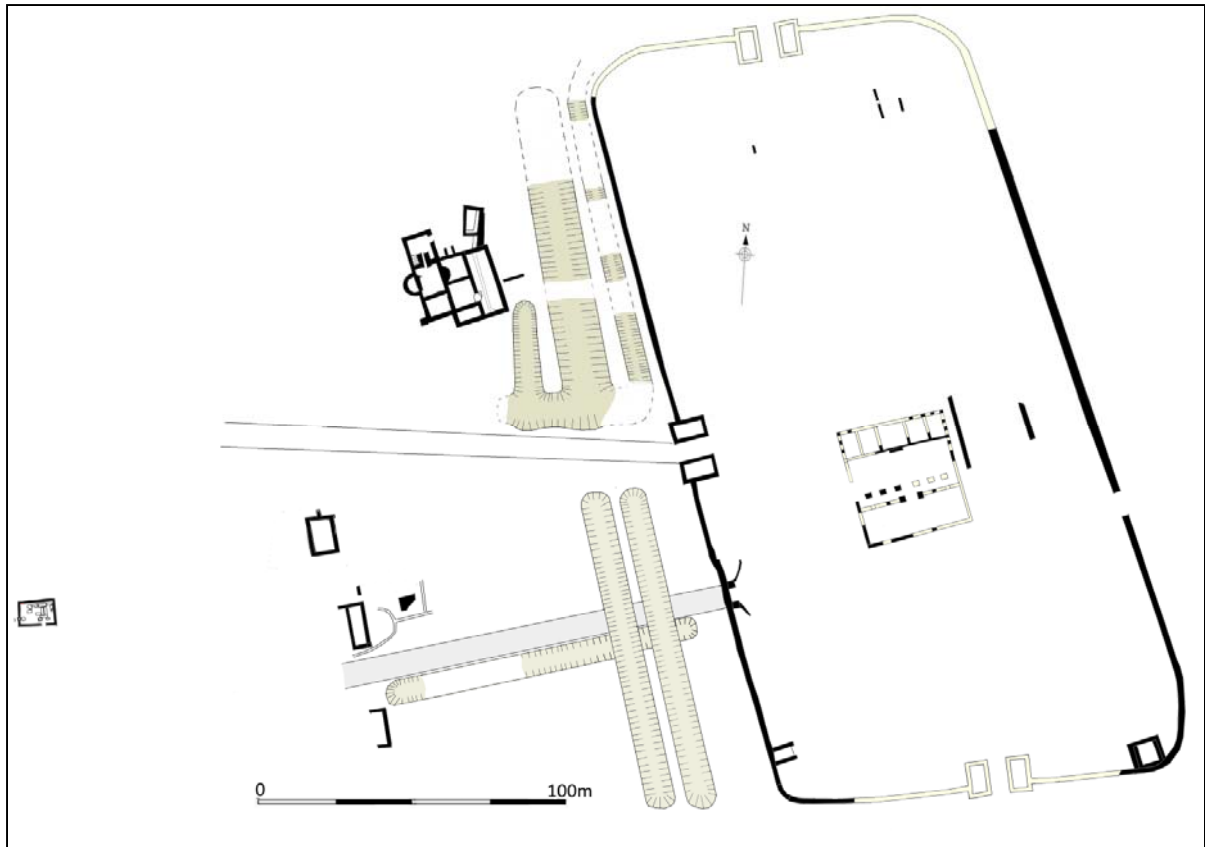


FIGURE 6. Vindolanda, Period 6 stone fort, ca. mid-2nd century. This unusual fort was trapezoidal with the north and south walls not perpendicular to the east and west walls of the fort. The ditch system was fairly extensive to the west of the fort. In its earliest phase Period 6 faced south, with the standard five office rooms at the back facing south. The approach shifted when the fort was constructed in stone and the gate is seen here in black on the western wall. It is unclear at what stage the *principia* shifted as it is altered greatly by later construction. (IMAGE: Property of Andrew Birley and The Vindolanda Trust).

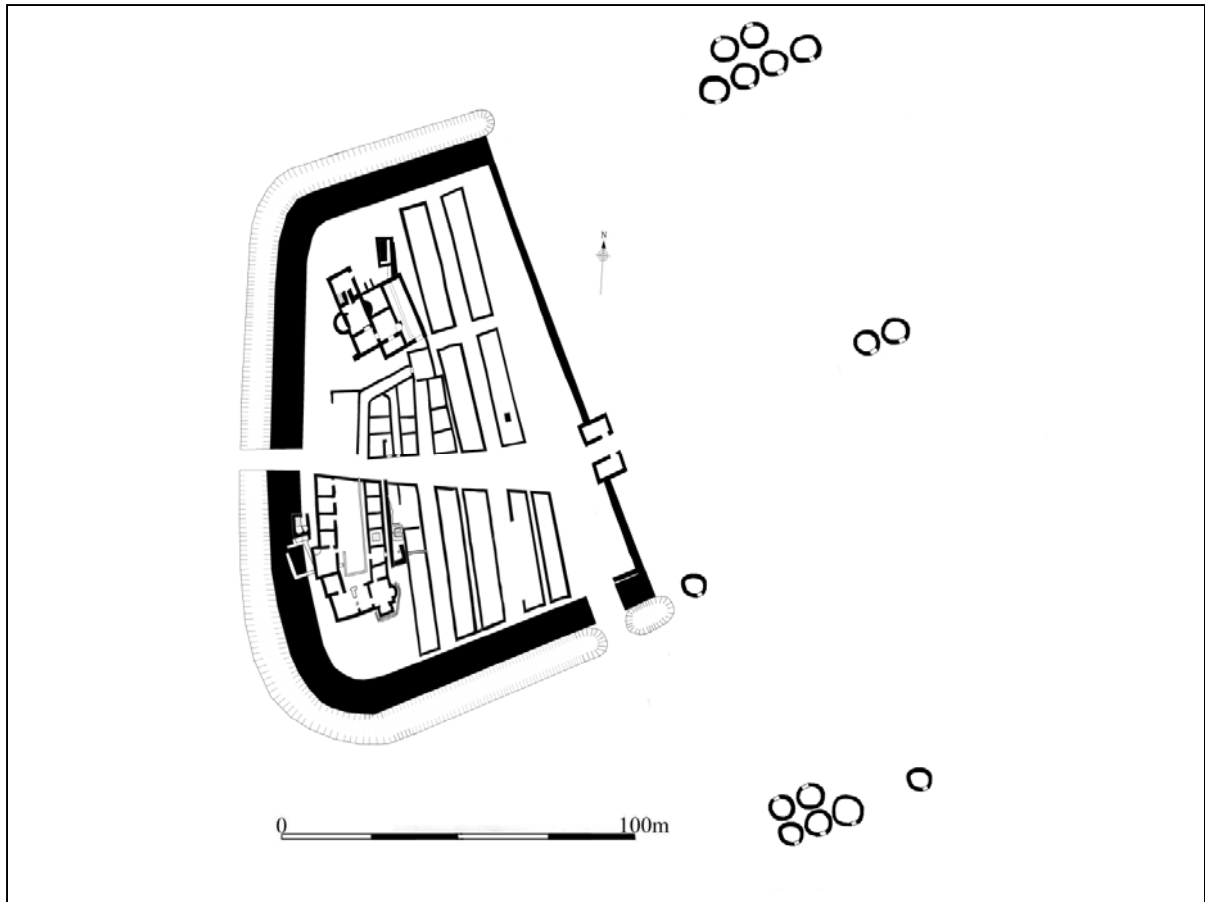


FIGURE 7. Vindolanda Period 6b, ca. AD 208-213. The fort is atypical. It probably housed an irregular or partial unit. The round structures located outside of the fort have been found in various spots beneath the 3rd century remains, and may once have covered the entire area. Their use is not satisfactorily understood. The fort only holds a praetorium, workshops and barracks, and the bathhouse in the northwest corner may have been a part of this phase. The fortifications are unusually large with a massive rampart (black) and ditch system, explored primarily on the south and west sides of the fort. (IMAGE: Property of Andrew Birley and the Vindolanda Trust).

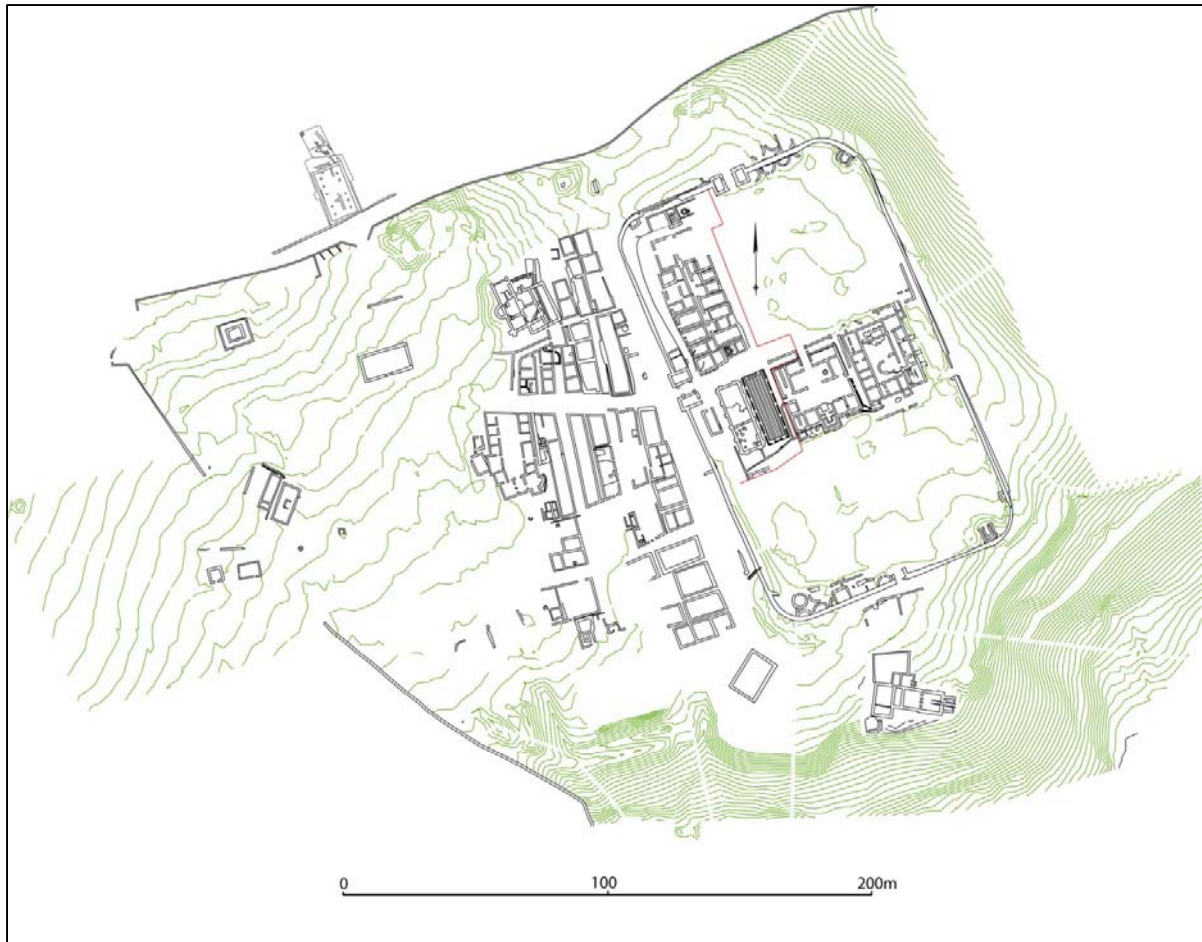


FIGURE 8. Vindolanda Period 7, ca. AD 213 construction. The extensive *vicus* stretches far to the west of the 3rd century stone fort. This is the last fort to be built on the site at Vindolanda but was extensively used and altered by various garrisons throughout the 4th century and by non-military inhabitants of the site in the sub-Roman period of the 5th and 6th centuries. (IMAGE: Property of Andrew Birley and The Vindolanda Trust).



FIGURE 9. A shoe insole on the upper layer with the insole underneath. The difference in size between the two can be anywhere from 1-3cm, depending on the style of the shoe. Midsole layers can also be quite a bit smaller than both. (IMAGE: Property of Elizabeth Greene and The Vindolanda Trust).



FIGURE 10. The parts of a shoe sole unit as discussed in the text. The toe does not always come to such an extreme point but here demonstrates a particular style. The tread is the widest part of the shoe underneath the ball of the foot, while the waist is the narrowest part of the shoe corresponding to the arch of the foot. The seat is the back heel. (IMAGE: Property of Elizabeth Greene and The Vindolanda Trust).



FIGURE 11. The difference in robusticity (primarily width here) of an individual demonstrated by two shoes. These are about the same length but the shoe on the left has a much narrower waist and is slender throughout suggesting a female owner. The shoe on the right is much wider throughout. The difference in shoes shown here also demonstrates the varying styles of footwear, which shifted between more rounded toes to a pointed end. (IMAGE: Property of Elizabeth Greene and The Vindolanda Trust).

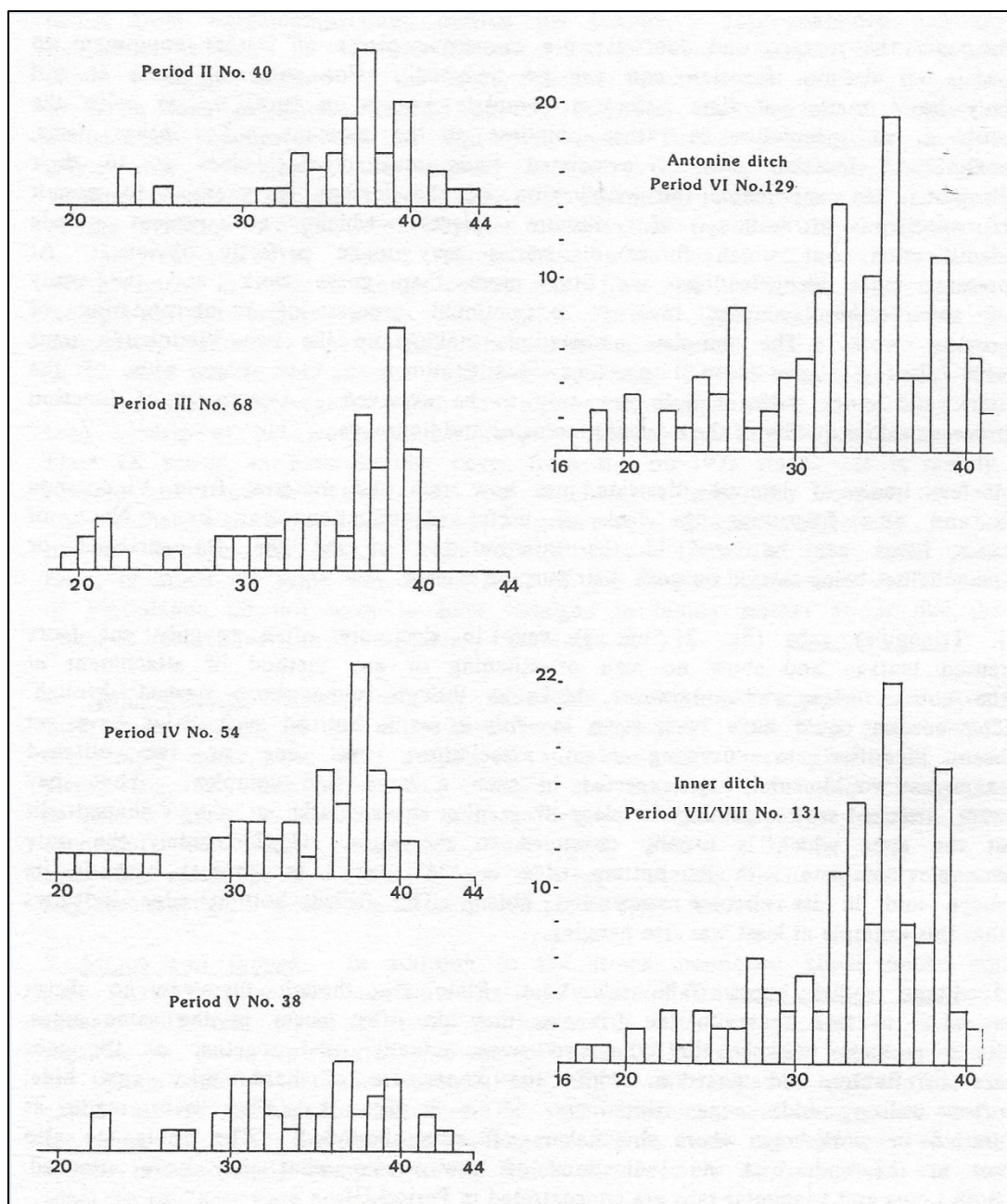


FIGURE 12. Driel-Murray's graphs from the interim report on the leather shows the peaks found in footwear complexes representing men, women and children in various occupation periods. These graphs are from specific levels at Vindolanda but only represent a small portion of the footwear assemblage. (IMAGE: C. van Driel-Murray, et al. 1993. *Vindolanda Research Reports New Series, Volume III. The Early Wooden Forts. Preliminary reports on the Leather, Textiles, Environmental Evidence and Dendrochronology*. The Vindolanda Trust. Page 47).



FIGURE 13. The so-called “Lepidina slipper” found in the period 3 *praetorium*. The shoe is certainly one of the most high-end from the site, with intricate detailing. On the insole the maker, Aebutius Thales, imprinted his name together with leaf stamps. The shoe is part of the assemblage from the main courtyard from the Period 3 *praetorium*. (IMAGE: Property of The Vindolanda Trust).

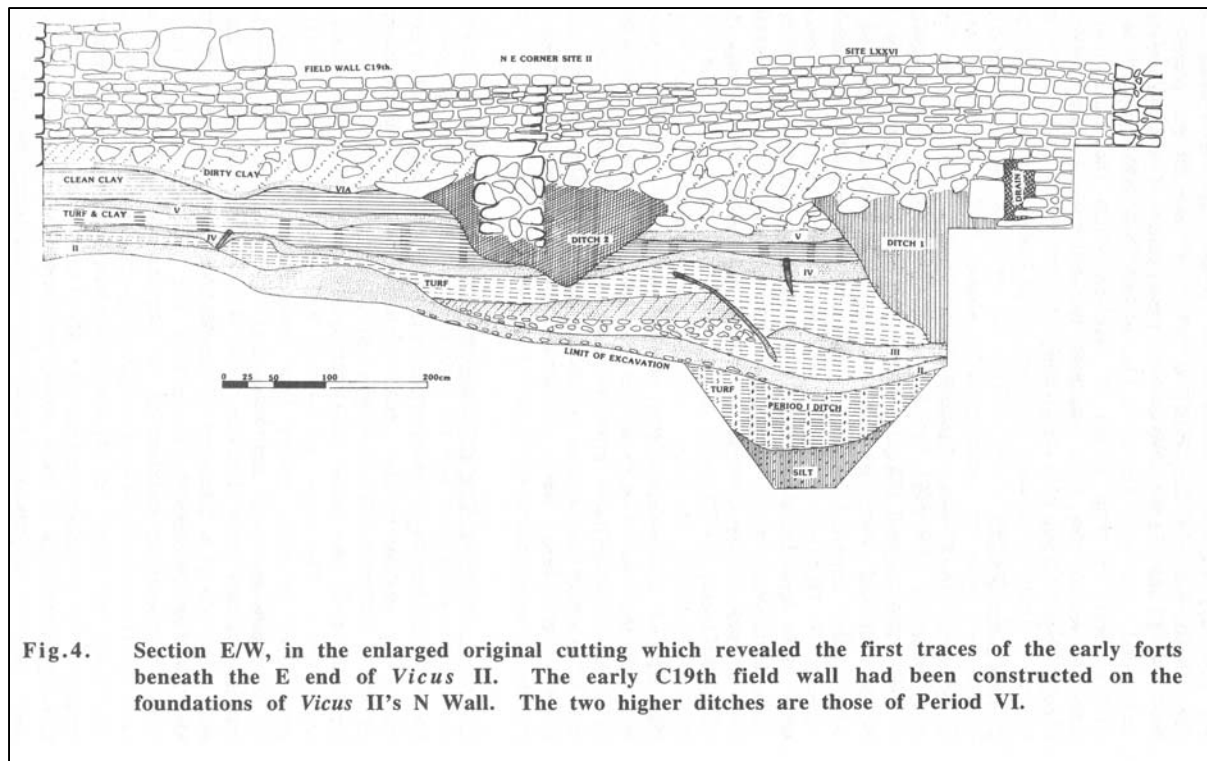


FIGURE 14. Section drawing of the Period 1 fort ditch as excavated in the 1980s, dating to ca. AD 85-90. The Period 2 and 3 buildings sealed the context of the ditch quickly with subsequent stone layers built over the timber forts. (IMAGE: R. Birley. 1994. *Vindolanda Research Reports, New Series: Volume I, The Early Wooden Forts*. Vindolanda Trust. Page 9).



FIGURE 15. A very small shoe, ca. 14cm, represents still quite a small individual (Vin.No. L-1986-475). This picture is taken in the author's hand. This is the insole with three laces sewn through the insole and secured to the lower sole layers below. (IMAGE: Property of Elizabeth Greene and The Vindolanda Trust).

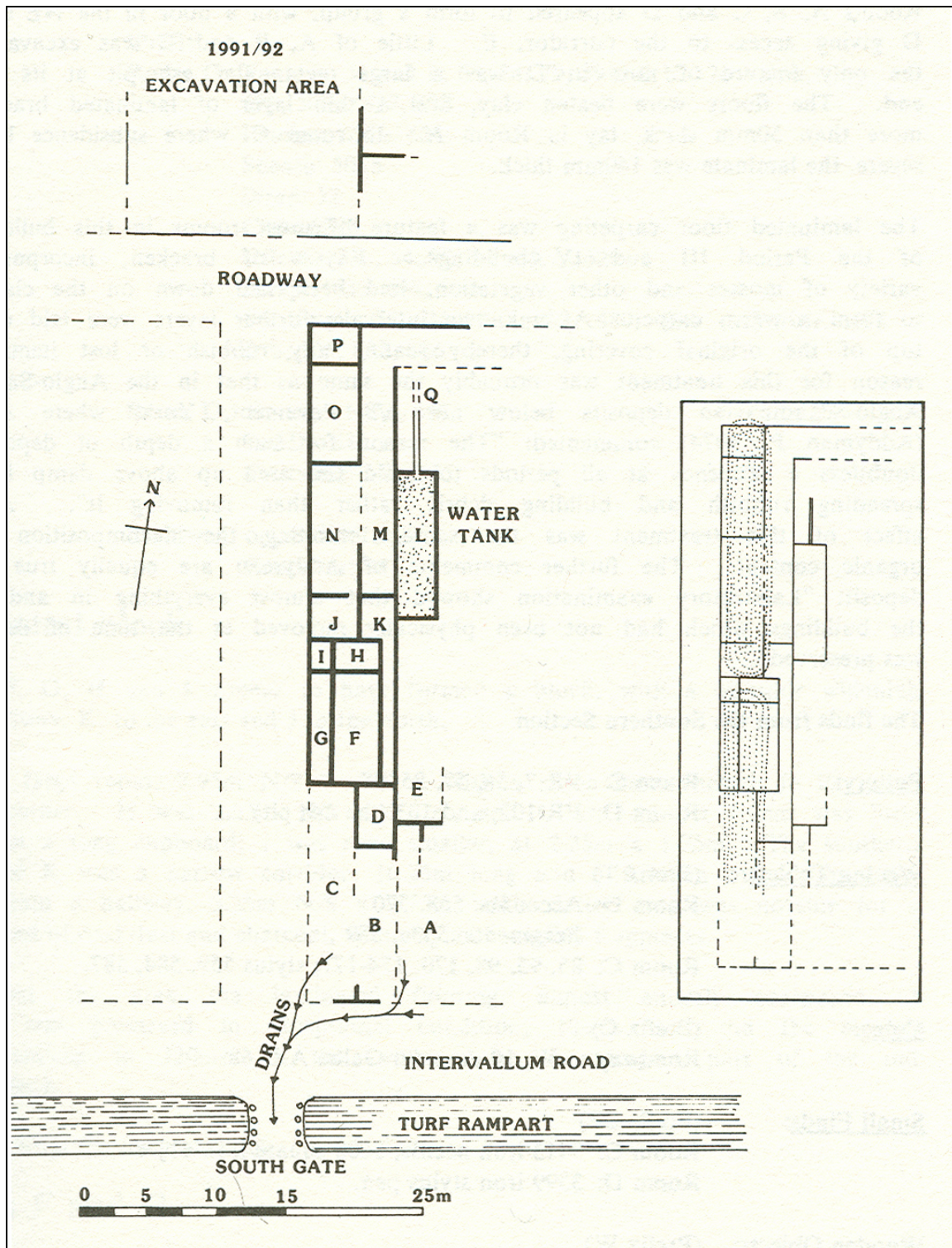
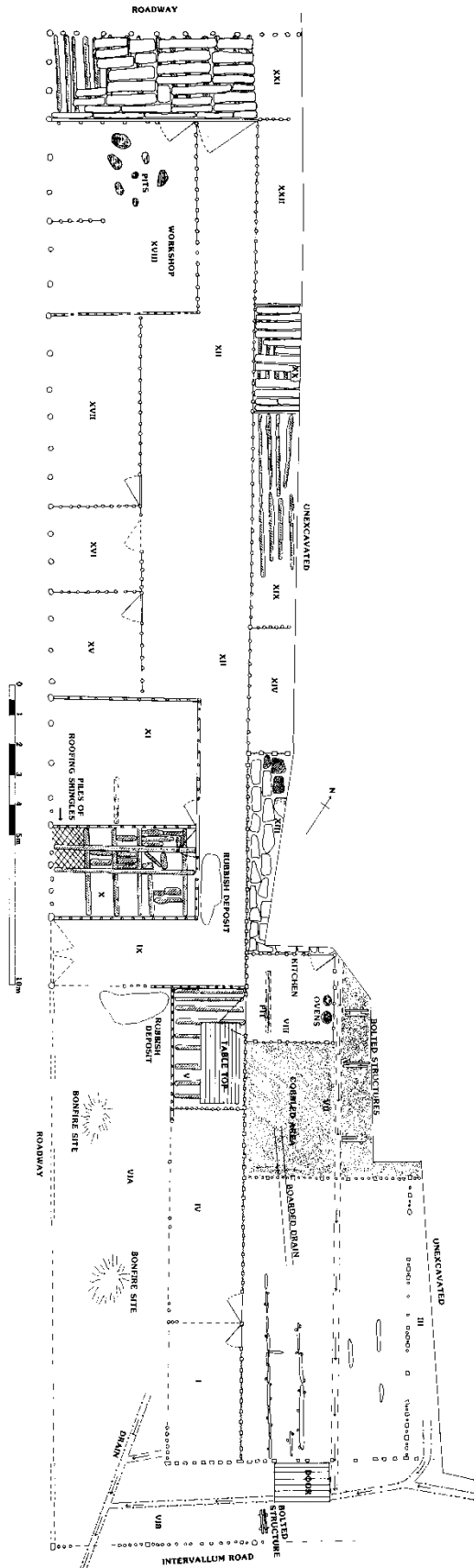


FIGURE 16. Vindolanda Period 2 *praetorium*, ca. AD 90/92-97. The *praetorium* was located just inside the south gate of the fort. The inset shows the position of the Period 2 *praetorium* above the Period 1 ditch. (IMAGE: R. Birley. 1994. *Vindolanda Research Reports, New Series: Volume I, The Early Wooden Forts*. Vindolanda Trust. Page 41).

FIGURE 17. Vindolanda Period 3
praetorium, ca. AD 97-105. The excavated
portion is only the western wing of the
structure. Several shoes belonging to
women and children were found in the
southern rooms and the open courtyard
area. (IMAGE: R. Birley. 1994. *Vindolanda
Research Reports, New Series: Volume I,
The Early Wooden Forts*. Vindolanda Trust.
Fig. 23. Foldout).

FIG. 23. The Period III structure, believed to be the *praetorium* of Flavius Cerialis. The major bonfire site, located in 1993, lay on the intervalum road, to the south of the old door in room VII.



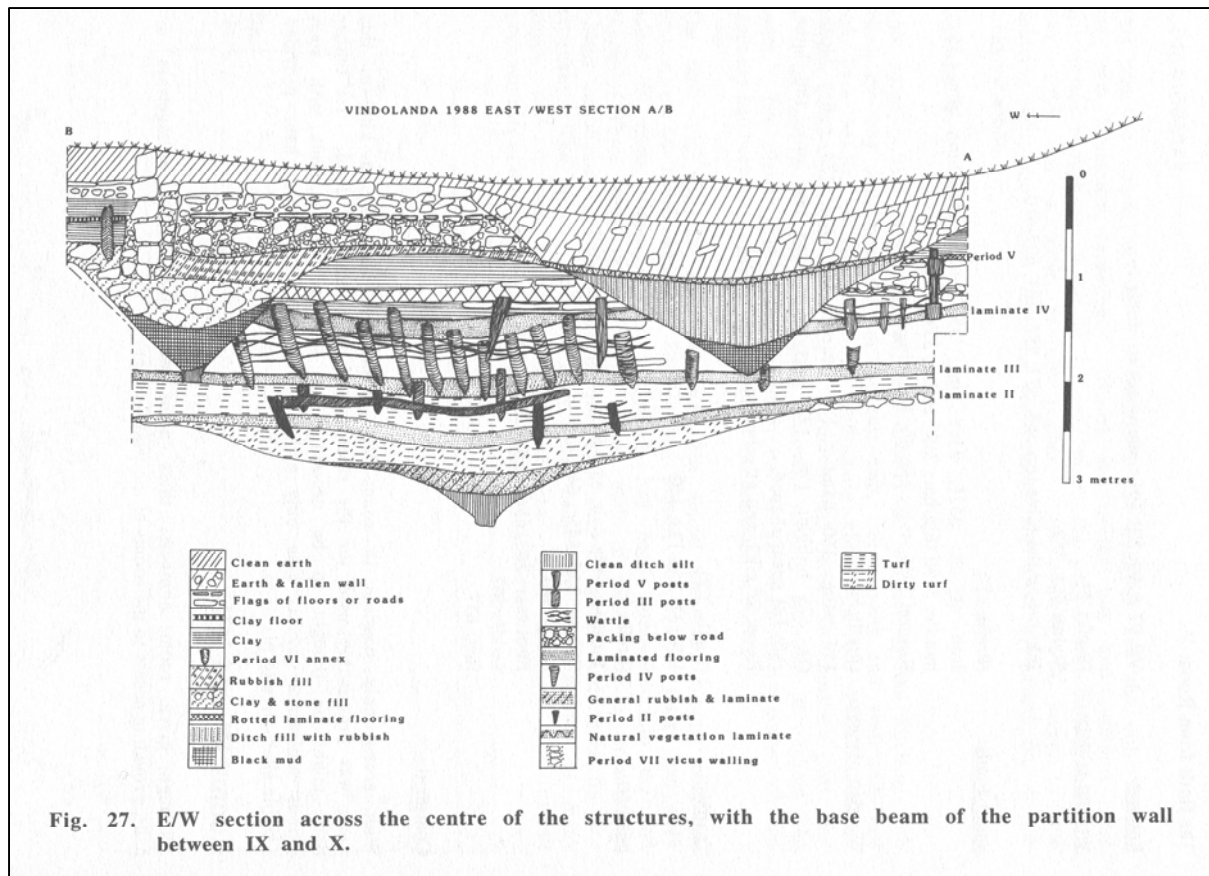


FIGURE 18. Sample section of construction phases of forts in Periods 2-5, ca. AD 90-130. They were all timber construction and built one on top of the other with slightly different alignments and sizes. (IMAGE: R. Birley 1994. *Vindolanda Research Reports, New Series: Volume I, The Early Wooden Forts*. Vindolanda Trust. Page 74).

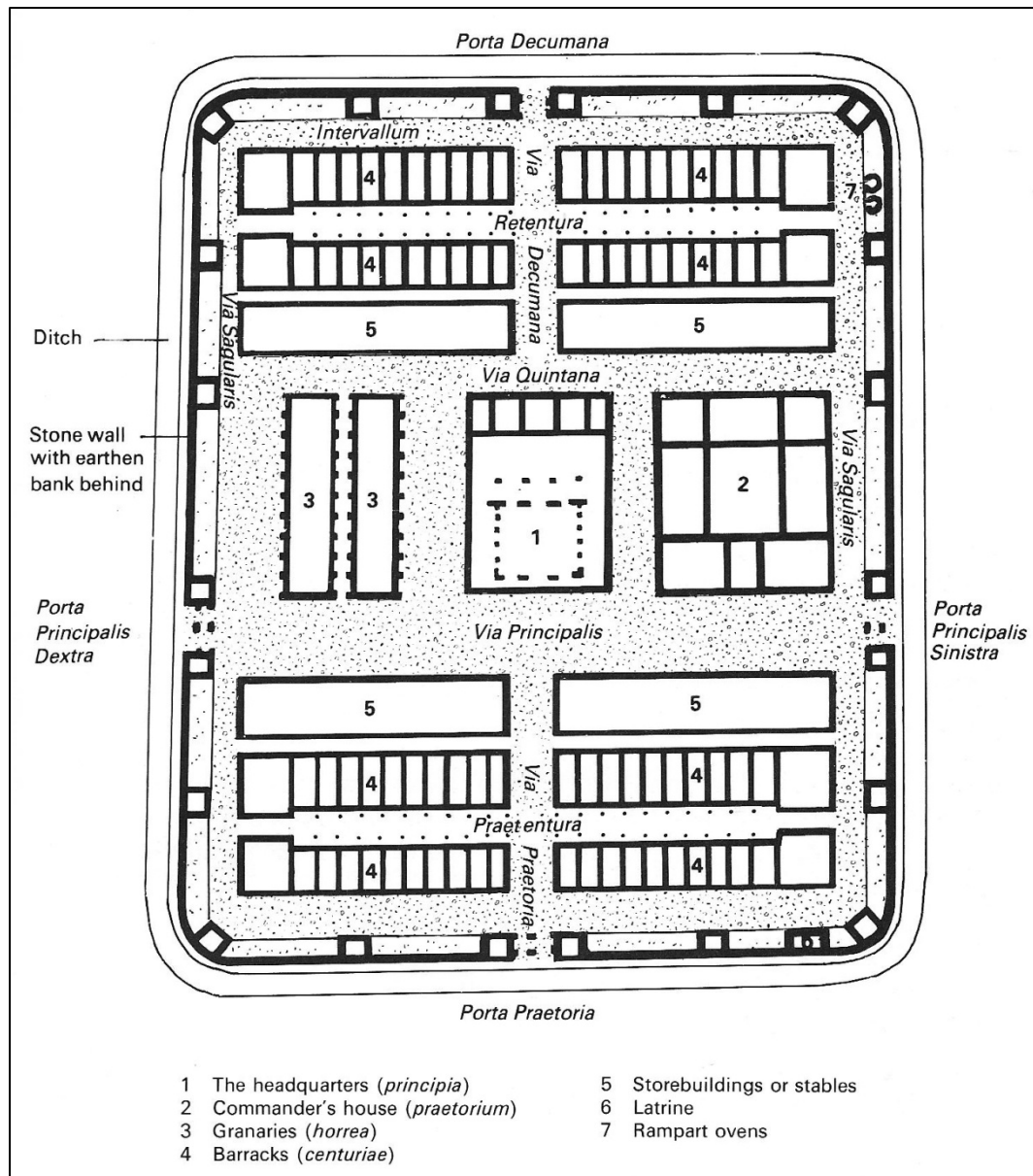


FIGURE 19. A standard idealized Roman auxiliary fort plan. The major roads *via Principalis* and *via Praetoria* dominate the *praetentura* (front half of fort) and meet in the center where the *principia* is located. Smaller roads can be found in the *retentura* (back half of fort) such as the *via Quintana* and *via Decumana*. Roman forts all differ to some extent, but standard auxiliary forts follow this general plan. (IMAGE: A. Johnson. 1983. *Roman Forts*. New York. Page 35).

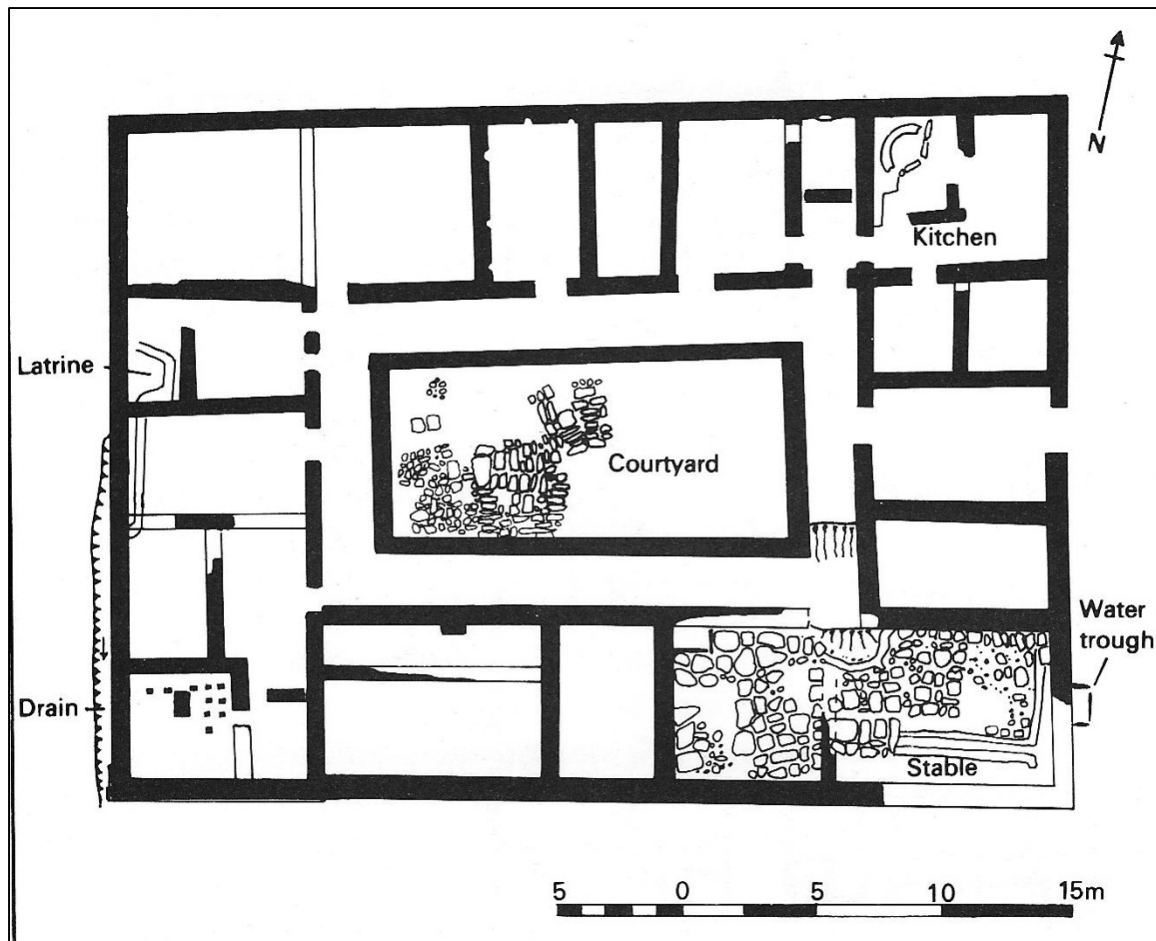


FIGURE 20. A standard plan of a *praetorium* in an auxiliary fort with central atrium area and private rooms surrounding. This example is from Housesteads fort, 2.5 miles east of Vindolanda. Many structures, particularly stone built ones, would have had a second floor with further private spaces. The *praetorium* is often thought to follow the plan of the standard Mediterranean atrium-style house. (IMAGE: A. Johnson. 1983. *Roman Forts*. New York. Page 136).

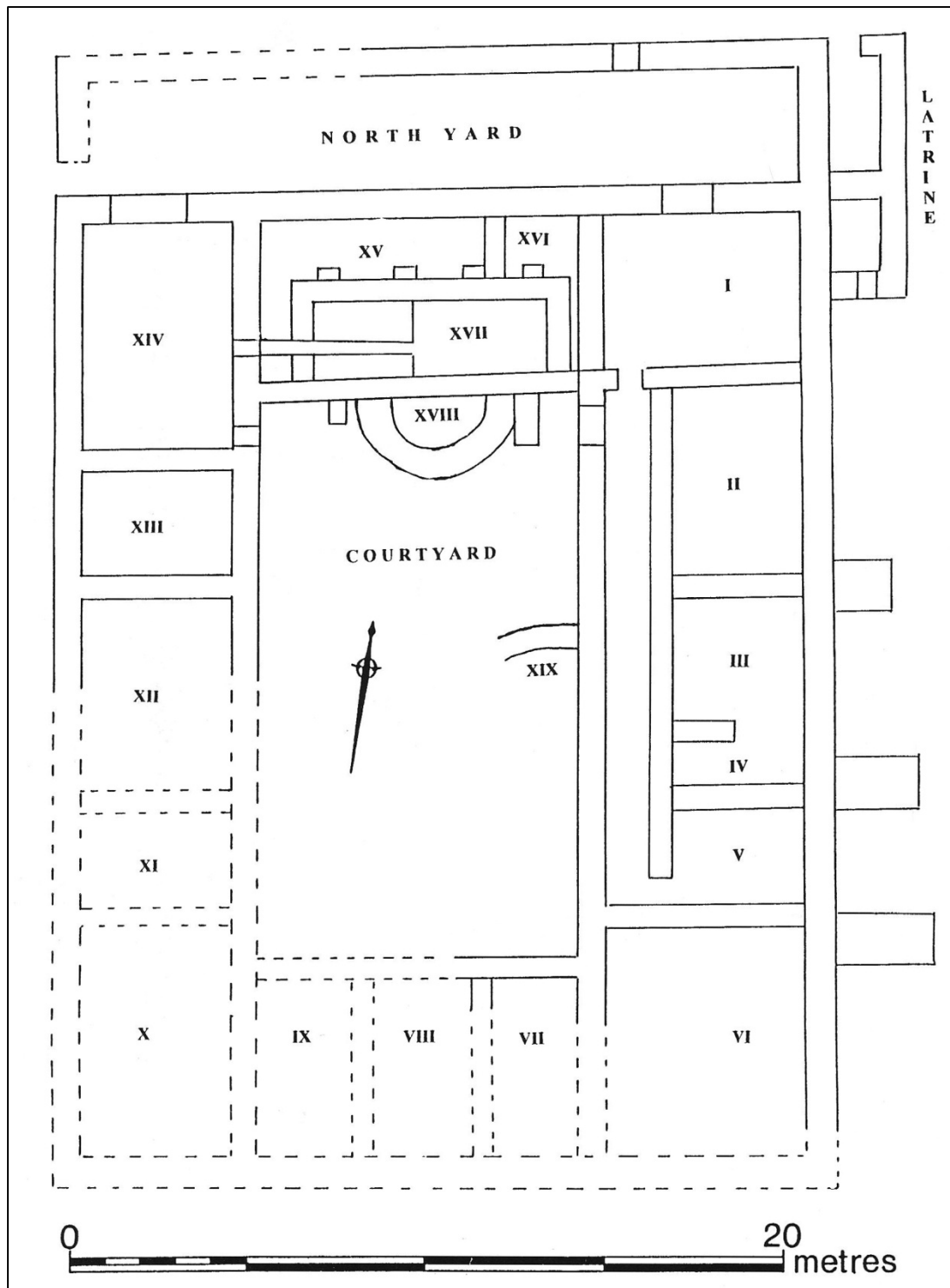


FIGURE 21. The 3rd and 4th century *praetorium* from Vindolanda. The solid lines are the original phase of the building in the first quarter of the 3rd century, which probably originally also included the west wing. The dashed walls reflect the remodeling of the building in ca. AD 300-320. (IMAGE: R. Birley et al. 1998. *The 1997 Excavations at Vindolanda. The Praetorium Site*. The Vindolanda Trust. Page 26).



FIGURE 22. Small shoe worn by an infant (Vin.No. L-1985-67) from the Period 3 *praetorium*. The intricate fishnet upper marks this shoe as having belonged to a high status child. The sole is fitted with studs even though the individual most likely could not yet walk. (IMAGE: Property of Elizabeth Greene and The Vindolanda Trust).

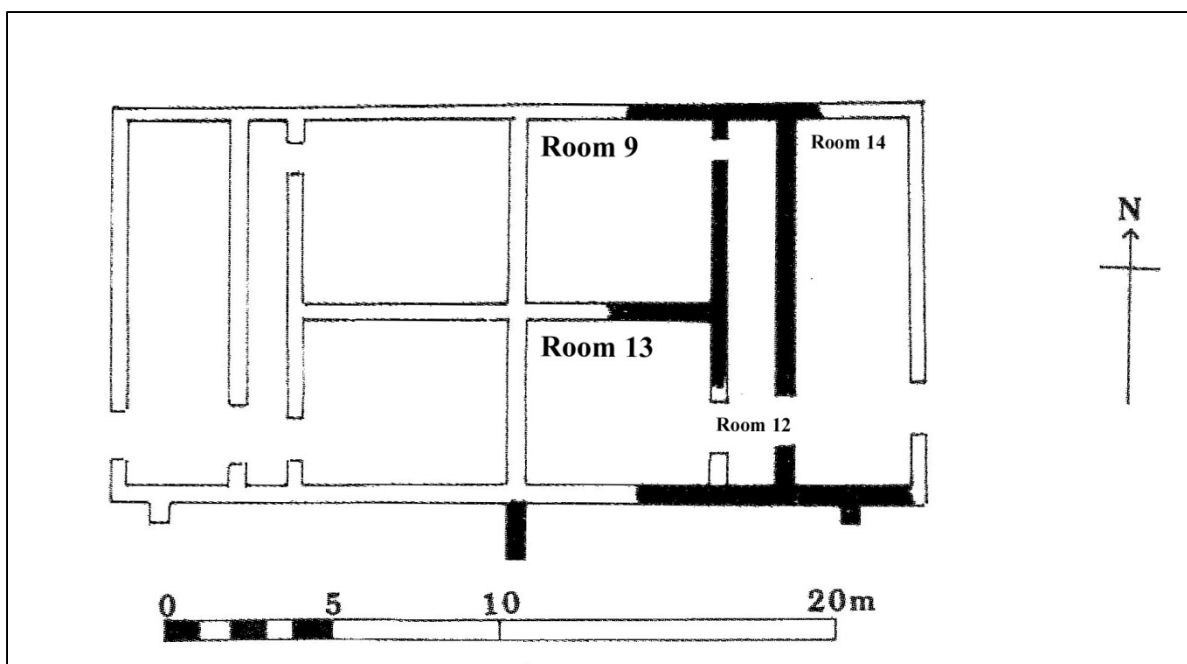


FIGURE 23. Plan of the Period 4 centurion's quarters at the northern end of the barrack block, ca. AD 105-120. The western side was not excavated but is presumed to have mirrored, for the most part, the apartment on the east. Two large rooms, a corridor and a fairly large front entrance room would provide accommodation for a centurion and his household. (IMAGE: Altered from: R. Birley. 1994. *Vindolanda Research Reports, New Series: Volume I, The Early Wooden Forts*. Vindolanda Trust. Page 109).

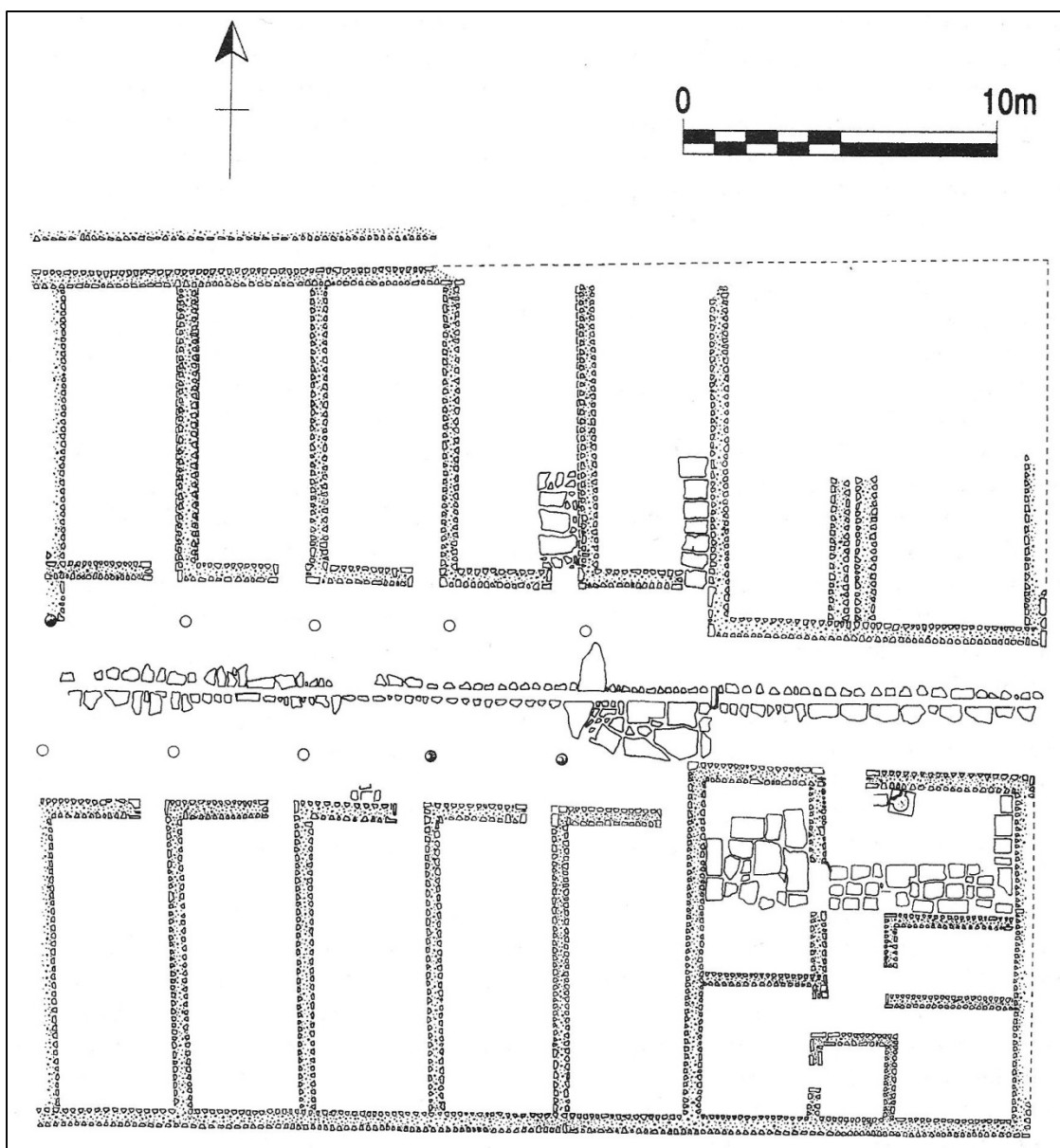


FIGURE 24. Plan of the partially excavated barrack block with centurion's quarters on the east end of the block at the stone fort at Chesters on Hadrian's Wall, ca. AD 130. (IMAGE: P. Bidwell. 1997. *Roman Forts in Britain*. London. Page 59).

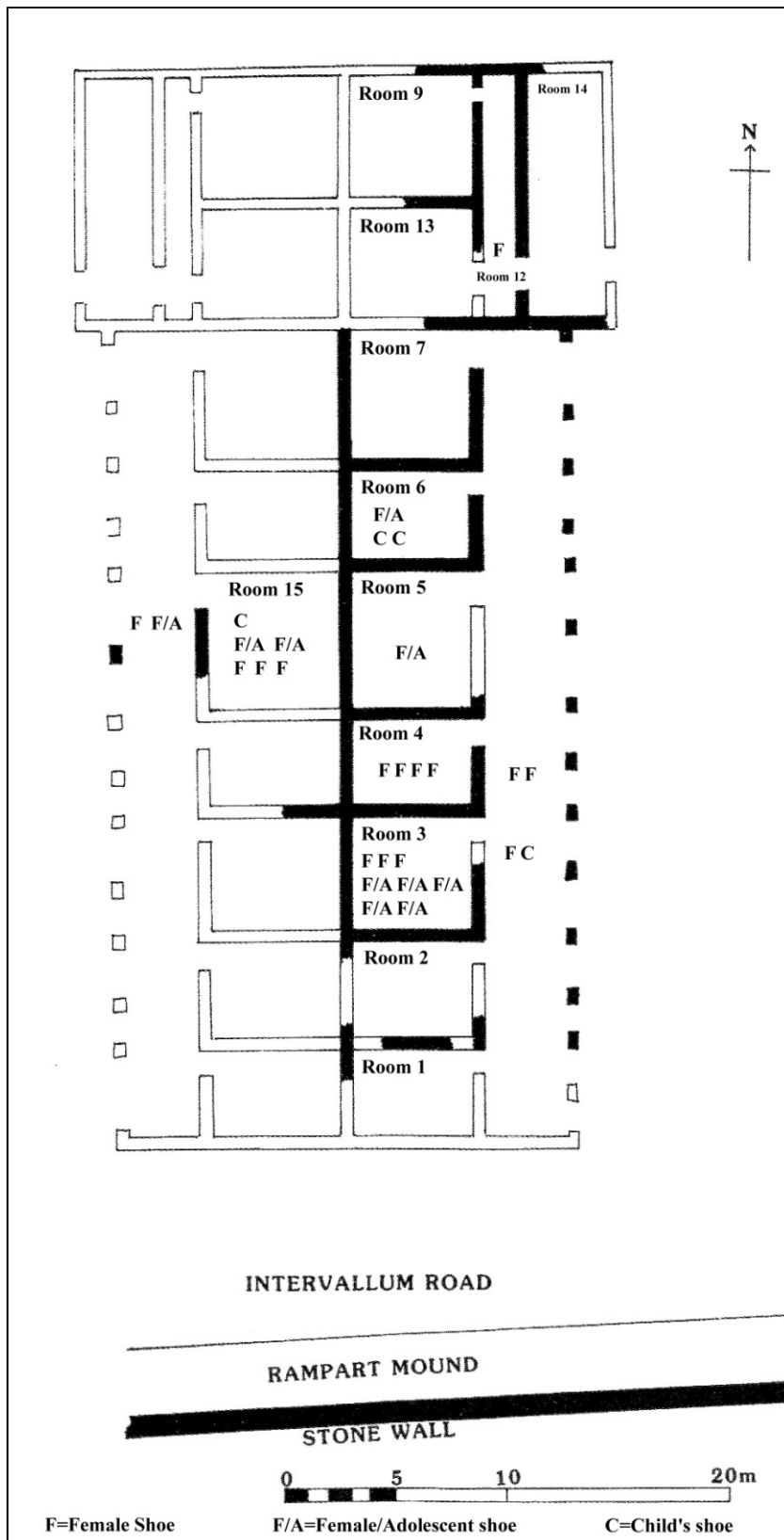


FIGURE 25. Period 4 barrack block as excavated (black) and reconstructed walls (white). The shoes belonging to women, adolescents, and children are marked as they were found in each room. Some of the shoes are pairs indicating that the levels are not fill brought in from elsewhere on site, but represent the occupation debris from those that lived in the structure. (IMAGE: Altered from: R. Birley. 1994. *Vindolanda Research Reports, New Series: Volume I, The Early Wooden Forts*. Vindolanda Trust. Page 109).

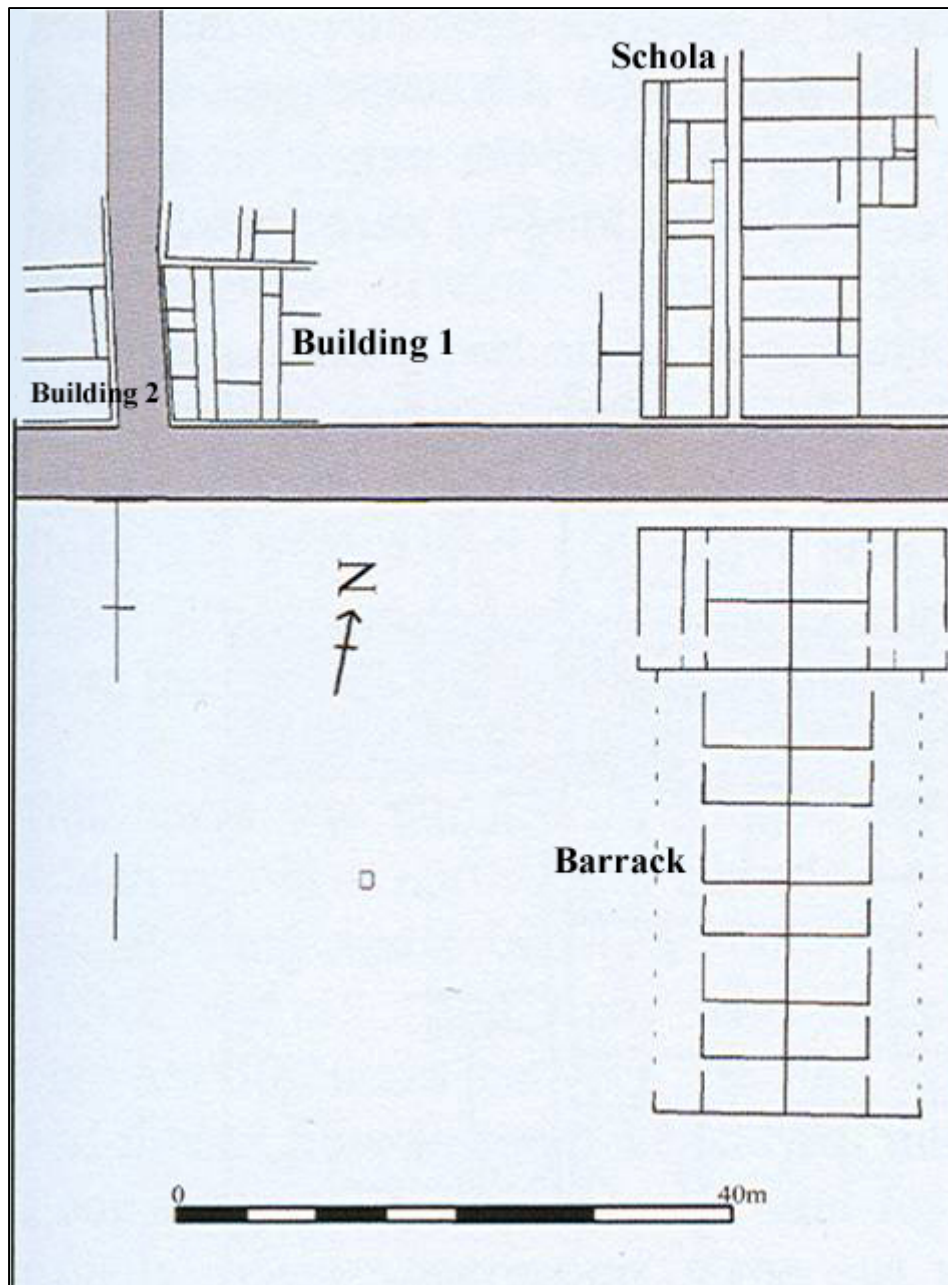


FIGURE 26. Vindolanda Period 4 plan of excavated structures, ca. AD 105-120. The Barrack to the south sits over the *praetorium* of periods 2 and 3. (IMAGE: A. Birley and J. Blake. 2005. *Vindolanda Excavations 2003-2004*. Vindolanda Trust. Fig. 42, page 27. Property of the Vindolanda Trust).

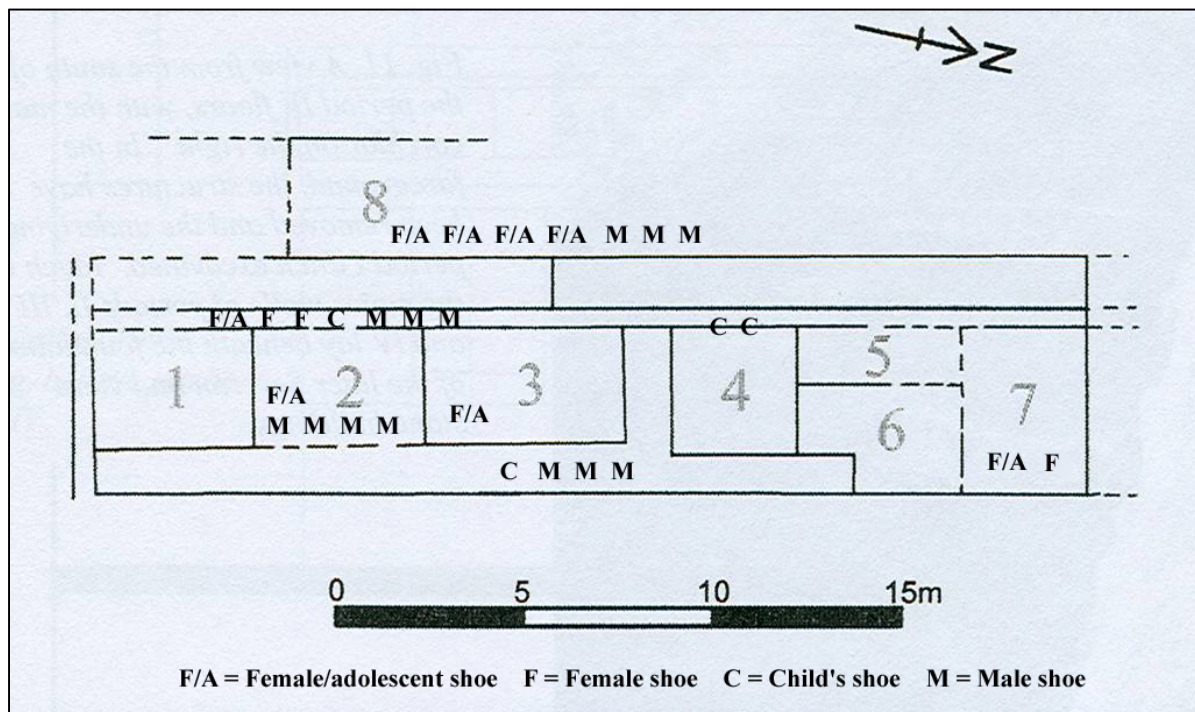


FIGURE 27. Vindolanda Period 4 *schola* (officer's mess), ca. AD 105-120. Shoes of children, women and possibly adolescents were found in the corridor and in rooms 2, 3, 7 and 8. Several shoes were associated with the rooms 1-4 but were part of a small space between these and room 8. (IMAGE: A. Birley. 2003. *Vindolanda Research Report: The Excavation of 2001-2, Volume I*. Vindolanda Trust. Fig. 12, page 22. Property of the Vindolanda Trust. Altered with shoe plots by E. Greene).

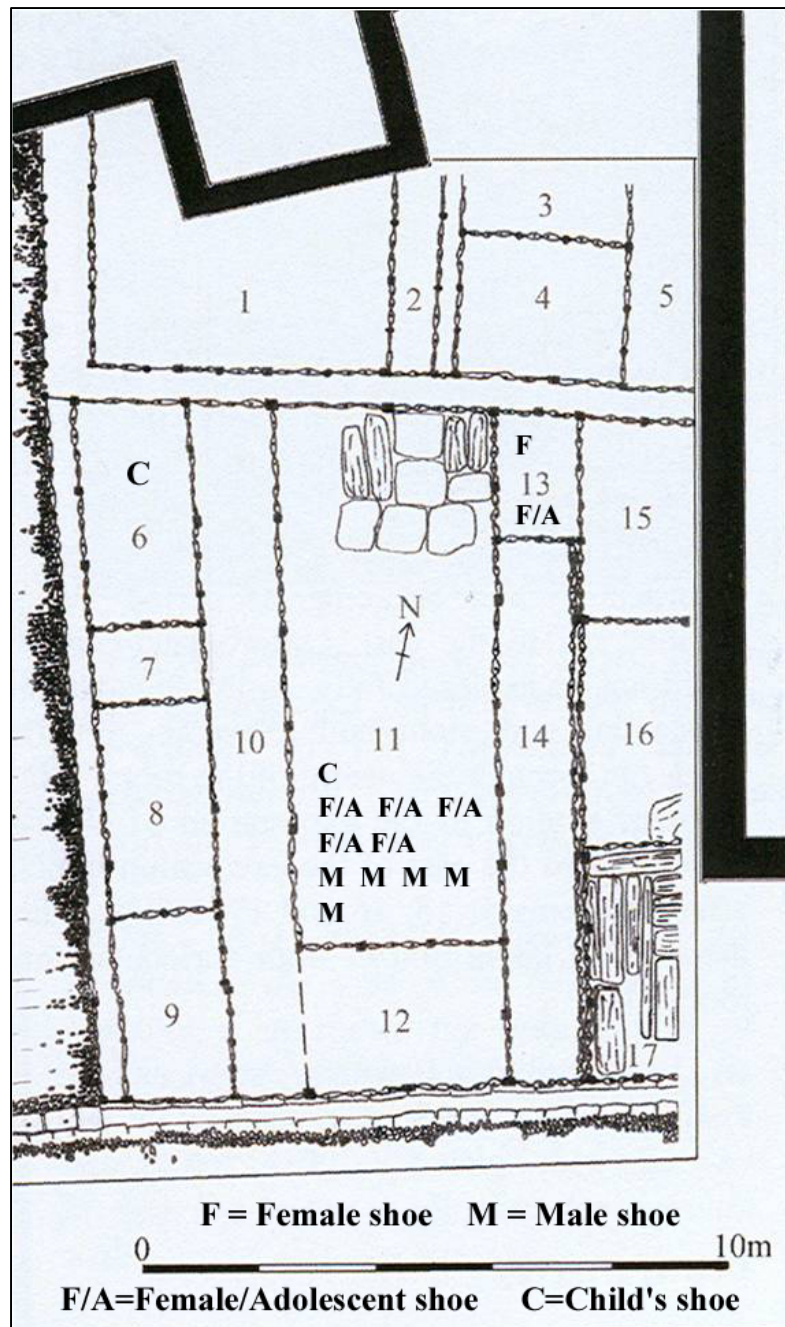


FIGURE 28. Vindolanda Period 4 Building 1, ca. AD 105-120. The function of this building remains unknown, but the plan has been compared to a military hospital. Shoes of women, children and possibly adolescents were found in the central courtyard and in two rooms. Room 6 had one children's shoe. Room 13 had one female shoe and one female/adolescent shoe. Most shoes clustered in the central courtyard (room 11) with five male shoes, five female/adolescent shoes and one children's shoe. (IMAGE: A. Birley and J. Blake. 2005. *Vindolanda Excavations 2003-2004*. Vindolanda Trust. Fig. 45, page 29. Property of the Vindolanda Trust. Altered with shoe plots by E. Greene).

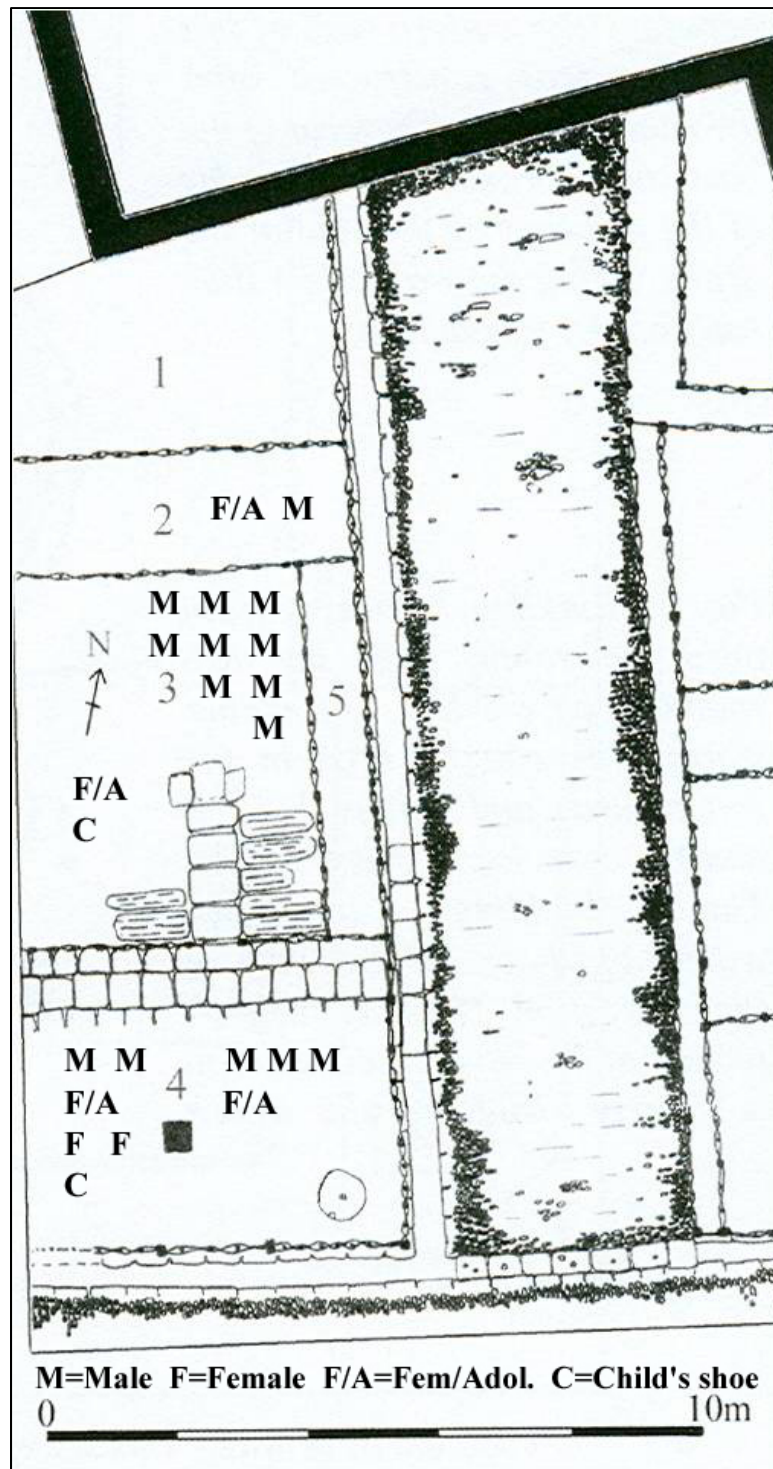


FIGURE 29. Vindolanda Period 4, building 2, to the west of building 1 with a road between the two, ca. AD 105-120. A definite identification of the building's use is not possible, but its location and layout might suggest a centurion's quarters. Shoes of women and/or adolescents clustered in room 4 of this structure and were also found in rooms 2 and 3. (IMAGE: A. Birley and J. Blake. 2005. *Vindolanda Excavations 2003-2004*. Vindolanda Trust. Fig. 53, page 33. Property of the Vindolanda Trust. Altered with shoe plots by E. Greene).



FIGURE 30. A single piece *carbatina* slipper that could be easily resized to fit growing children. The shoe wrapped around the foot and was secured by a lace. (IMAGE: Property of Elizabeth Greene and The Vindolanda Trust).



FIGURE 31. A whole *carbatina* slipper as it would have looked wrapped around the foot. The back heel seam is detached. (IMAGE: Property of Elizabeth Greene and The Vindolanda Trust).

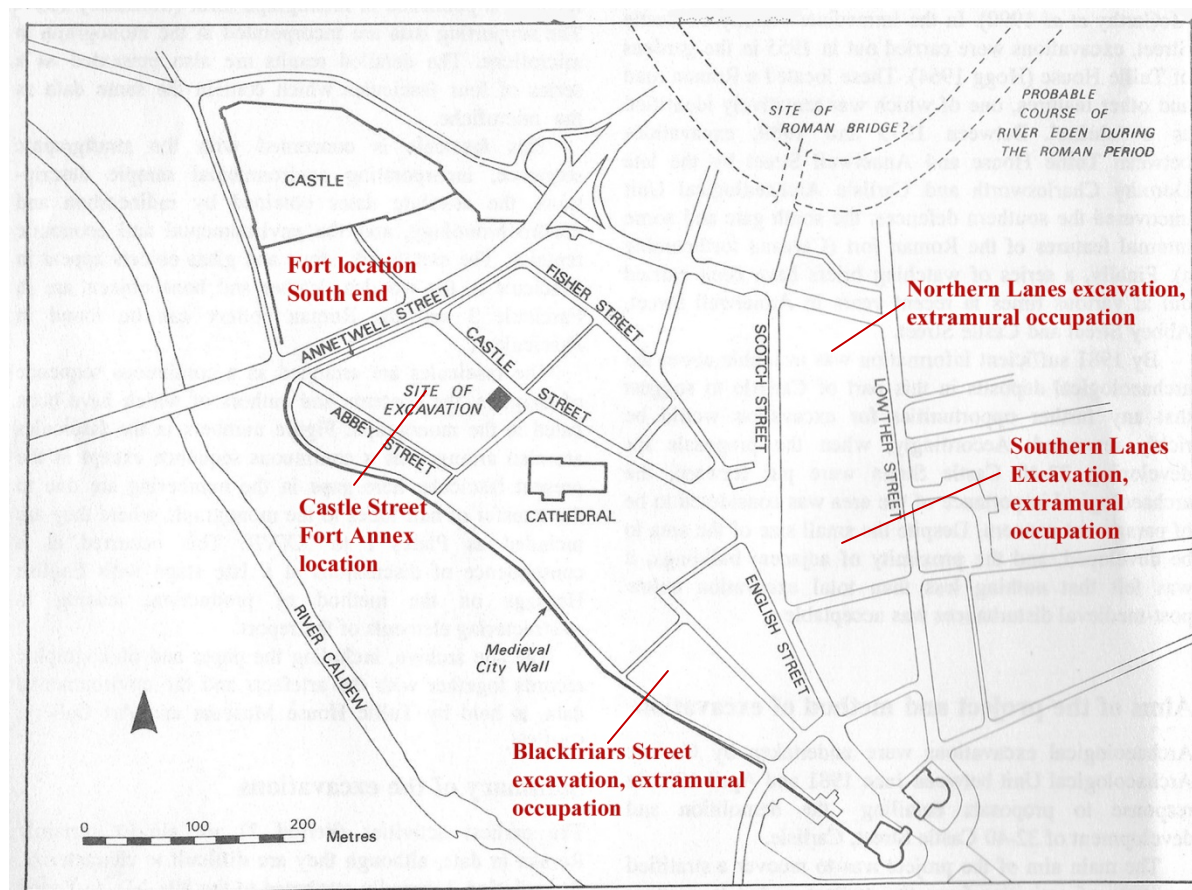


FIGURE 32. Plan of Carlisle with various locations of excavations and occupation in the city. The fort has only been excavated in its southern end because of the medieval castle that sits over its northern half. The fort annex was located south of the fort and Annetwell Street. All other locations of excavation revealed extramural occupation outside of the fort. (IMAGE: M.R. McCarthy. 1991. *The Structural Sequence and Environmental Remains from Castle Street, Carlisle: Excavations 1981-2*. Cumberland and Westmorland. Fig. 1, Page 2. Labels added by E. Greene).

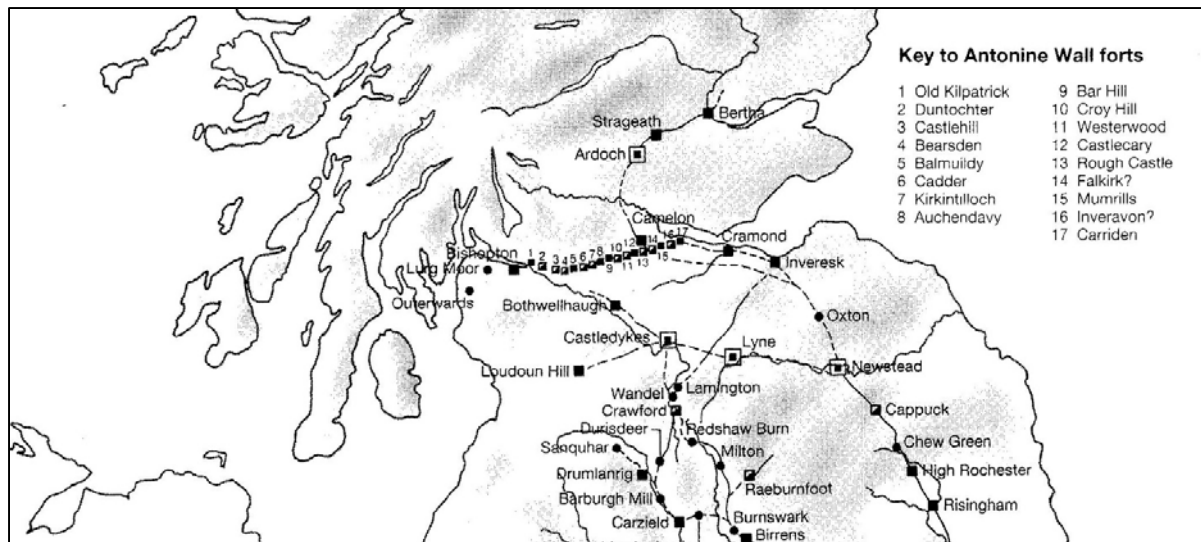


FIGURE 33. The Antonine Wall in the mid-2nd century AD. Bar Hill (9) is located in the central section of this linear defensive line. The Antonine Wall was garrisoned for only about twenty years before the military line was drawn back to Hadrian's Wall in ca. AD 163. (IMAGE: B. Jones and D. Mattingly. 1990. *An Atlas of Roman Britain*. Oxbow. Map 4:54. Page 127).

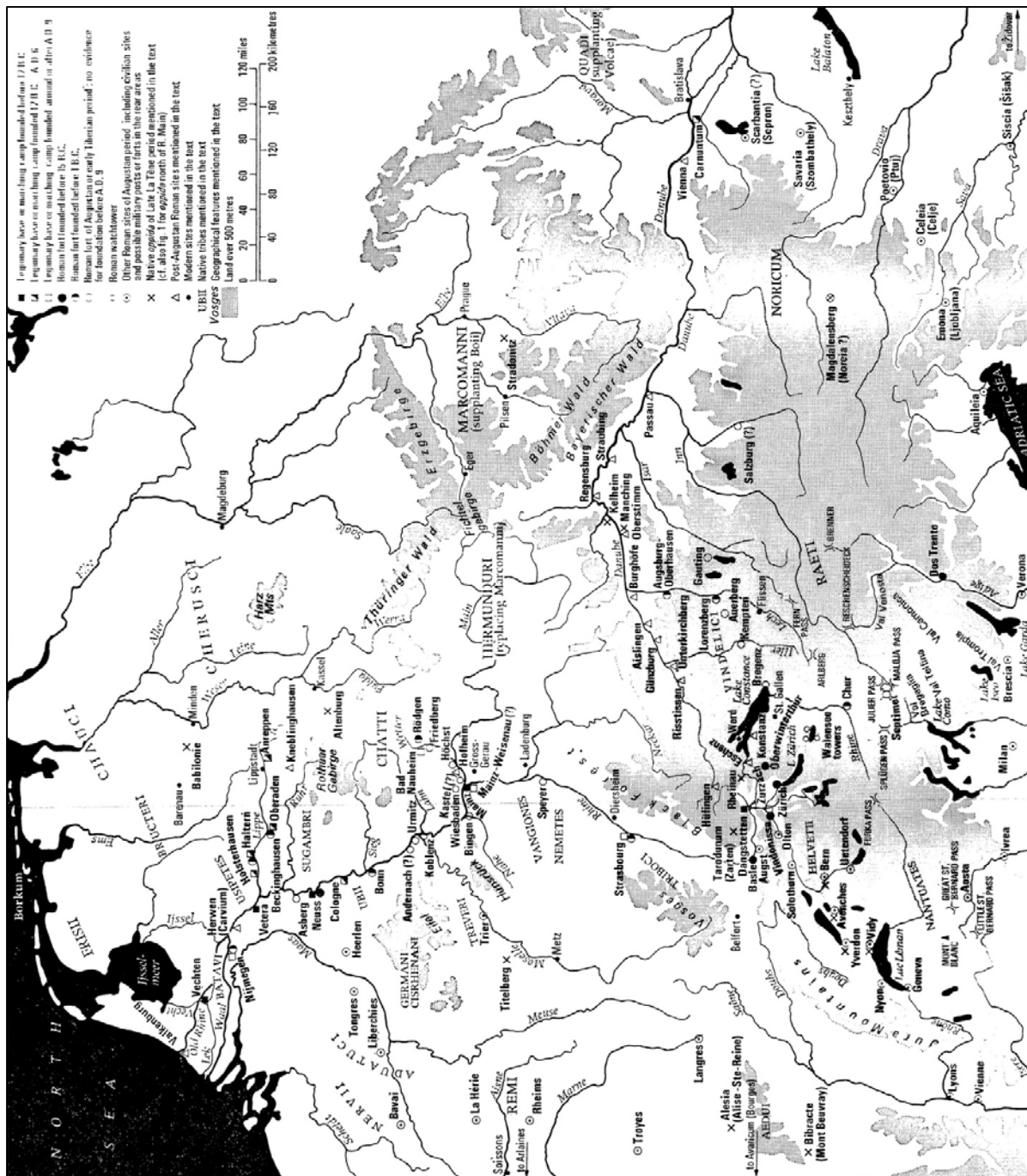


FIGURE 34. Roman Germany in the first half of the 1st century AD. The Raetian *Limes* established under Claudius in ca. AD 40 was located along the southern bank of the Danube River. The earlier Augustan installations were to the south of this line (Augsburg, Kempten), to the west along the Rhine (Strasbourg) and to the north situated primarily along the River Lippe (Haltern, Oberaden, Anreppen). The forts on the Lower Rhine frontier are at the mouth of the Rhine and along the small tributaries (Valkenburg, Vechten, Velsen, Zwammerdam). (IMAGE: C. Wells. 1969. *The German Policy of Augustus*. Oxford. Map Insert).

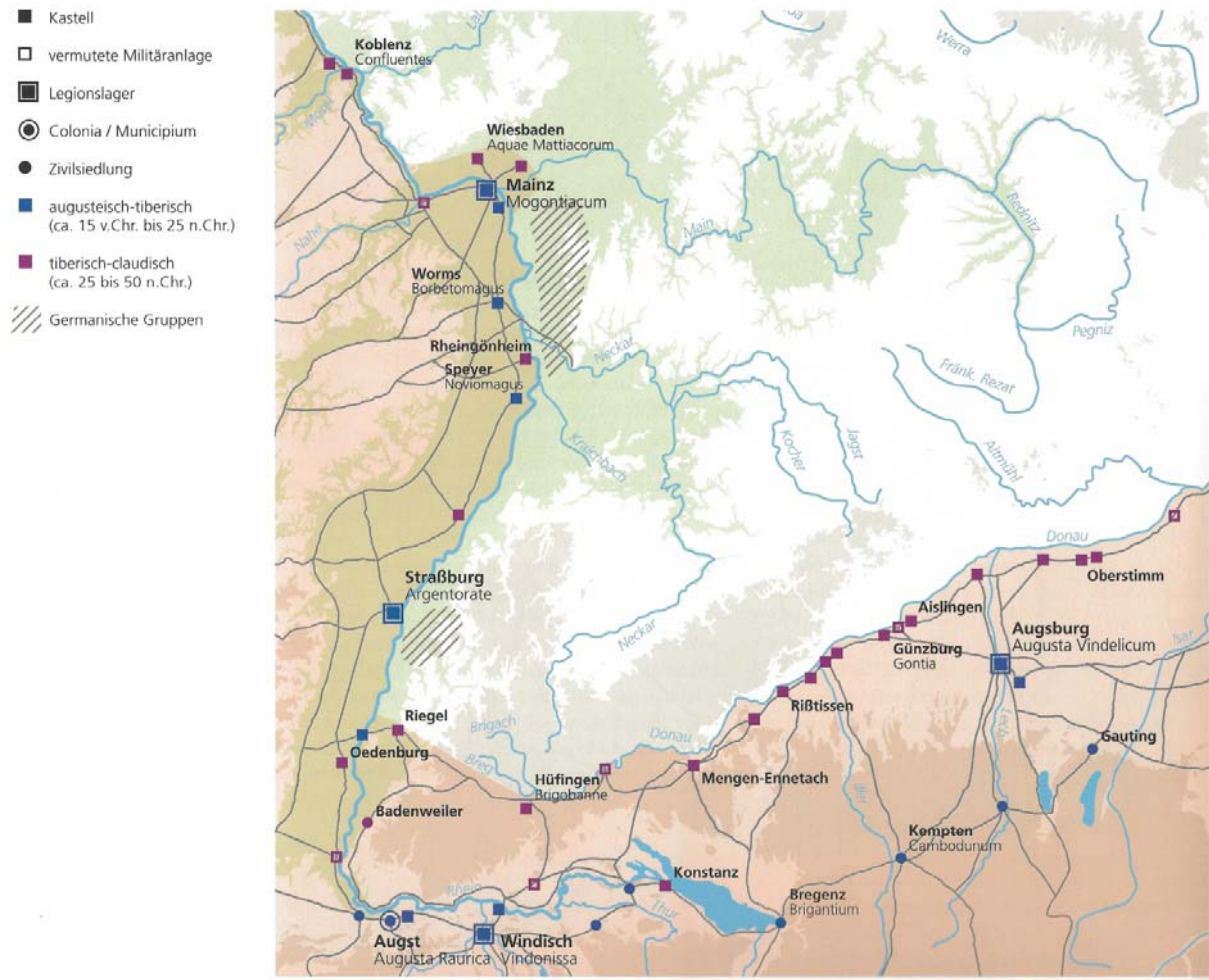


FIGURE 35. The Raetian frontier in the Tiberian-Claudian period, established by ca. AD 40. The fort at Oberstimm was the furthest east on this line that followed the Danube River to the southwest ending at the fort at Hüfingen. The earlier Augustan period forts in the *Voralpenland* are located to the south of the Raetian frontier. (IMAGE: M. Kemkes. 2005. "Vom Rhein an den Limes und Wieder zurück. Die Besetzungsgeschichte Südwestdeutschlands," in *Imperium Romanum. Roms Provinzen an Neckar, Rhein und Donau*. Archäologischen Landesmuseum Baden-Württemberg. Page 46).



FIGURE 36. The Lower Rhine frontier in the Netherlands, early 1st century AD. More forts were added to the frontier by the mid-1st century. (IMAGE: C. Wells. 1969. *The German Policy of Augustus*. Oxford. Map Insert, partial section).

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