ROMANISATION, POWER AND IDENTITY

Interpreting Roman Nijmegen

Figure on the cover: detail of the Tiberius column from Nijmegen.
Emperor Tiberius (TIB(e)R(ius) C(ae)SAR) is crowned by Victoria.

Romanisation, power and identity

Interpreting Roman Nijmegen

Bas van Wiggen

HIC STETIT HIC FRENDENS AQUILAS HIC LUMINE TORVO CLAUDIUS ULTRICES VIDIT ADESSE MANUS.

Here he stood, here, gnashing and with a furious expression, here saw Claudius that the eagles and the avenging hordes were approaching.

Verse on a balustrade in the Valkhof Park. After Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687).

Contents

Preface

This thesis is the final product of my research master program Ancient Culture at the University of Utrecht. It seeks by means of the debate on Romanisation to challenge the general assumption that the capitals of the *civitas* Batavorum, *Oppidum Batavorum* and *Ulpia Noviomagus* were regarded negatively by the indigenous Batavian population. I would like to thank several people for their contribution to this RMA-thesis. To begin with, Pieter Houten, friend and fellow student on Romanisation, for all the conversations about this much debated concept and the companionableness during our meetings. Secondly, Louis Swinkels, custodian of the department of archaeology of Museum Het Valkhof in Nijmegen, for showing me the three votive altars dedicated by the *decuriones* of the *municipium Batavorum* and further references for literature. Thirdly, Nico Roymans, professor of West-European Archaeology at the Free University of Amsterdam for being inclined to be second reader. Finally, my supervisor Saskia Stevens, for her useful tips and her tolerance, since I was not always able to meet my deadlines.

Bas van Wiggen

Vianen,

July 2013

1. Introduction

In the second half of the seventeenth century, Johannes Smetius *filius* (1636-1704) composed the *Antiquitates Neomagenses*, a catalogue of Roman artifacts, which were primarily collected by his father Johannes Smetius *pater* (1590-1651). The catalogue includes among other things, the description of coins, *fibulae*, dices, votive altars and lamps.[1] As the title of the catalogue indicates, these objects were found in Nijmegen and the direct environment, mainly in the river forelands on the southern bank of the river Waal, just west of the city, which were known as "De Winseling".[2] Father and son's interest in the Roman past of Nijmegen was followed by others[3] as many finds and artifacts were sold and bought by collectors, such as industrialist G.M. Kam, consequently destroying the Nijmegen archeological record during the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In 1834, however, the first scientific excavations were organized by professor C. Reuvens and his assistant C. Leemans in Nijmegen-West[4] and during the twentieth century, the archaeological investigation of Roman Nijmegen was professionalized by different individuals and institutions: J.H. Holwerda and H. Brunsting of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, M.P.M Daniëls, Nijmegen archivist, J.E. Bogaers and J.K. Haalebos of the Nijmegen Radboud University, J.H.F. Bloemers and W.J.H. Willems of the State Service for Archeological Investigations and H. van Enckevort and J. Thijssen of the Nijmegen "Bureau Archeologie en Monumenten".[5] In first instance, research focused on the military sites of Roman Nijmegen: the *castra* on the Hunerberg and the smaller army camp on the Kops Plateau. More recently, however, attention is also paid to the civilian settlements of *Oppidum Batavorum* in the Valkhof area and *Ulpia Noviomagus* in Nijmegen-West, resulting in an extensive bibliography.[6]

This thesis concentrates on the investigation of the civilian settlements, which generally revolves around two features. In the first place, attention is primarily paid to the local situation, updating the archaeological data and reiterating the existing views on the

---

[1] The catalogue was written in Latin: for a Dutch translation, see: L.G.J.M. Nelissen (2004). Johannes Smetius pater wrote a treatment about Roman Nijmegen in 1644/45, named *Oppidum Batavorum*: for a Dutch translation, see: A.A.R. Bastiaensen, S. Langereis and L.G.J.M. Nelissen (1999).

[2] Brunsting (1973), 7 and Van Enckevort, Thijssen and Van den Besselaar (1996), 49.

[3] The Smetii were not the first: somewhere around 1465, canon Willem van Berchen of the Sint Stevenskerk, thought (incorrectly) that a grave stone of a soldier from the Tenth Legion, indicated that Nijmegen was founded by Julius Caesar: Van Enckevort, Thijssen en Van den Besselaar (1996), 47 and Willems (1990), 7.

[4] Willems, *et al.* (2009), 11. For the results of these excavations, see: Brunsting (1949).

[5] The list of names derives from Willems, *et al.* (2009), 11-12.

[6] The main overviews of Roman Nijmegen that have been published are (in chronological order): de Waele (1931); Bogaers *et al.* (1979); Willems (1990); Van Enckevort, Haalebos and Thijssen (2000) and Willems, Van Enckevort, Van den Broeke, *et al.*(2009). Other important works are: Driessen (2007); Van Enckevort and Heirbaut (2010a); Van Enckevort, Thijssen, Van den Besselaar, *et al.* (1996); Van Enckevort and Zee (1996); Heirbaut (2010); Kemmers and Polak (2011) and Willems (2005). Smaller articles are frequently published, especially concerning the *castra*, in *Numaga*, a journal about the history of Nijmegen in general.

foundation, the character and the decline of both settlements. A regional view, connecting

Because of copyright, this map cannot be shown.
See page 118 for further references.

Map 1.1. The Lower Rhine Region and the *civitas Batavorum* (grey area).

Oppidum Batavorum and *Ulpia Noviomagus* to other historical phenomena in larger political and geographical frames is almost absent.[7] Such an approach is rather peculiar since both settlements were the consecutive capitals of the *civitas Batavorum*, the Batavian administrative district that was set up by the Romans on the southern bank of the river Rhine (map 1.1). The position of the settlements within these larger political and geographical frames asks for a different approach, not only analyzing the local situation, but also viewing both capitals from a regional perspective. Secondly, it is emphasized regularly that both settlements and *Oppidum Batavorum* in particular, were foreign (i.e. Roman) elements in an indigenous (i.e. Batavian) society and that they should be regarded as colonial cities.[8] This point of view cannot be denied with regard to their foundation, since they were both created *ex novo*. Before *Oppidum Batavorum* no large settlements existed in the Lower Rhine Region in the Late Iron Age,[9] and *Ulpia Noviomagus* was a creation of the Roman army.[10] As a consequence, the interpretation of the foundation and functioning of the settlements is predominantly negative concerning the indigenous Batavian population, as it is argued that the capitals should be considered as cities "for" instead of "of" the Batavians.[11] This hypothesis is supported by several arguments. Firstly, the deviant material

---

[7] Exceptions are: Van Enckevort and Heirbaut (2010a), 46, paragraph 5.2 and Willems (1990), 70-72, though these are not satisfactory. See also: Roymans (2004), 202-205. Furthermore, the 1980s Eastern River Area (ERA) project allowed for a study of the capital of the *civitas*, *Ulpia Noviomagus*, in relation to its immediate heartland, see: Willems (1986a), 291 and note 1 *ibidem*.

[8] Bloemers (1990), 75-76 and 84-85; Willems (1986b), 285 and Willems (1990), 35.

[9] Bloemers (1990), 80.

[10] Willems, Van Enckevort, Van den Broeke, *et al.*(2009), 115 and 125.

[11] Van Enckevort and Heirbaut, (2010a), 48; Van Enckevort, Haalebos and Thijssen (2000), 39-40; Van Enckevort and Thijssen (2005), 99-100; Haalebos and Willems (2005), 46; Kemmers and Polak (2011), 250; Willems

culture in both towns compared to the Batavian countryside, such as the small percentage of handmade pottery, graves, the outlay of *Oppidum Batavorum* and *Ulpia Noviomagus* and the absence of traditional byre houses suggest that the settlements should be considered as Roman and that they were not inhabited by the indigenous Batavian population, but by (Gallo-) Romans.[12] Secondly, it has been stated that the Batavian elites did not inhabit the capitals because they tried to retain their position of power in the countryside and consequently also lived there.[13] Lastly, *Oppidum Batavorum* is often regarded as a device to enforce the integration of the *Batavi* into the Roman Empire, eventually leading to the Batavian Revolt of AD 69/70.[14] From this point of view, the destruction of *Oppidum Batavorum* by the Batavians, as is described by Roman historian Tacitus,[15] is understood as an act of relief and liberation, directed at the enforced integration of the Batavians by the Romans.[16]

There are several arguments and clues, however, that indicate that this view can be doubted.[17] In the first place, a settlement should not have an indigenous character to be a indigenous centre.[18] The deviant material culture in both capitals compared to the Batavian countryside, for example, does not necessarily say something about the inhabitants of a settlement.[19] Secondly, the argument that Batavian elites did not live in the capital but in the countryside to maintain their position of power there, is discrepant with the interpretation of *Oppidum Batavorum* as a Roman device to enforce integration of the *Batavi* into the Roman Empire. As will be shown below, the Batavian elites played an important role in Batavo-Roman contacts and were therefore closely involved with the integration of the Batavians. A connection between the elites and the capital is therefore not only plausible but probably even inevitable. It nonetheless assumes that elites were living in the capital.[20] Thirdly, a specific interpretation of several artifacts from the settlements assumes the

<hr />

(1986a), 194; Willems (1986b), 284-285; Willems, (1990), 32; 35-37 and 40; and Willems, Van Enckevort, *et al.* (2009), 21, 70-71, 115 and 125.

[12] Bloemers (1990), 76; Willems (1990), 35 and 40, followed by Van Enckevort and Heirbaut (2010a), 48; Van Enckevort, Haalebos and Thijssen (2000), 40; Van Enckevort and Thijssen (2000), 10; Van Enckevort and Thijssen (2005), 100-101; Haalebos and Willems (2005), 46 and Willems, Van Enckevort, *et al.* (2009), 72, followed by Wells (1999), 173.

[13] Van Enckevort (2005a), 237; Van Enckevort and Heirbaut (2010a), 47; Van Enckevort and Thijssen (2005), 101 and Willems, Van Enckevort *et al.* (2009), 72.

[14] Willems (1990), 40 and Van Enckevort and Heirbaut (2010a), 52. It can be doubted, however, whether rapid social and cultural change were indeed causes to revolt, see: Woolf (1998), 21-22.

[15] Tacitus, *Historiae* V, 19.

[16] Van Enckevort and Thijssen (2005), 101; Willems (1990), 40; Willems, Van Enckevort, *et al.*(2009), 111.

[17] See: paragraph 2.3. See also: Raepsaet-Charlier (1996), 258-259 and Roymans (2004), 202-203.

[18] Willems (1986a), 294. Willems contradicts himself, as he later argues that *Oppidum Batavorum* was a foreign element, since it had a (Gallo-)Roman character, see: Willems (1990), 35.

[19] Raepsaet-Charlier (1999), 271. See also: paragraph 2.2.2.

[20] Derks (2012), 113; Raepsaet-Charlier (1996), 258-259 and Roymans (2004), 204.

existence of Batavian euergetism, indicating that the *Batavi* were engaged with the capitals of their *civitas*.[21]

This thesis primarily seeks to challenge the recurring view of the Batavians' negative interpretation of *Oppidum Batavorum* and *Ulpia Noviomagus* by means of a re-evaluation and reinterpretation of the available historiographical, archaeological and epigraphic sources. It will eventually be illustrated that the capitals played an important role in Batavian society by taking of the edges of the above mentioned arguments that support the negative interpretation of Roman Nijmegen and by bring along new arguments from the analysis of the sources. To re-evaluate and to reinterpret the sources and to strengthen the theoretical foundation of the investigation of Roman Nijmegen as well, the question will be examined through the concept of "Romanisation". The use of this concept principally focuses on situations of contact between natives and Romans and changes in native society as the outcome of those contacts.[22] Although Romanisation is rarely applied in connection to *Oppidum Batavorum* or *Ulpia Noviomagus*, its exact interpretation in studies on Roman Nijmegen is never explained, leaving a theoretical deficit.[23] The fact is, that the concept of Romanisation is heavily debated among historians and (provincial-) Roman archaeologists and its utilization is not undisputed.[24] The concept should therefore be explained as it is used. One of the major advantages of the intense debate on Romanisation is the rapid change of its perception, generating new points of view and lines of approach to situations of native-Roman contacts and the outcomes. These new ideas will be used to re-evaluate and reinterpret the available sources concerning Roman Nijmegen and the Batavians.[25]

Since the debate on Romanisation is rather extensive, one specific branch of the debate will be used here: post colonial theory. The 1996 volume of Webster and Cooper will be the point of departure, for the volume presents some key themes and concepts from the vast heterogeneous body of post colonial theory.[26] It is therefore a useful starting point. In the introduction of the volume, four interrelated themes are extricated. Firstly, decentring Western categories of knowledge, because "Western powers" feel the necessity to centre themselves by means of those categories at the cost of others, for example by silencing any attempt of self-representation by the colonial Other. Secondly, the focus on active histories

---

[21] See: paragraph 4.3.

[22] Heeren (2009), 15-16 and Hingley (2005), 14.

[23] For instance, Van Enckevort, Haalebos en Thijssen (2000), 40; Koster (2013), 17; Van Enckevort and Thijssen (2005), 109; Willems (1990), 72 and Willems, Van Enckevort, *et al.* (2009), 78. This observation is not only applicable to the investigation of *Oppidum Batavorum* and *Ulpia Noviomagus*, see: Hingley (2005), 15.

[24] For the debate on Romanisation, see: chapter 2.

[25] See: paragraph 2.3.

[26] Post colonial theory is not really a theory, for it is composed of so many parts and cannot be regarded as a systematic alternative to that which it critiques. It is rather a perspective, see: Duara (2002), 417. For the following, see: Webster and Cooper (1996), 1-17.

of the colonized peoples, including varied responses to colonial contact[27] such as overt and covert opposition to domination by colonial powers. Thirdly, the deconstruction of binary models and fourthly, the critique of the imperialism of representation, referring to the relationship between power and knowledge in the production of the colonial Other. The production of the colonial Other occur in the Western categories of knowledge. The critique is also known as "colonial discourse analysis", and has to do with the investigation of the representation of the relationships by colonial images and languages. Through colonial discourse analysis, colonial images and ideas can be unraveled and deconstructed, in order that a non-colonial image of the colonial can de (re)constructed. Summarizing these themes, the foremost purpose of post colonial theory is not to be simply "anti-colonialist", but to write another history than the dominant histories of the West and to centre the Other instead of the "Western power." Post colonial theory is not only applicable to Antiquity, but with regard to the historical period of this thesis, the Romans should be considered as the colonizing Western power, whereas the Batavians are understood as the colonized people.[28]

Although post colonial theory has been regarded to be a very useful perspective to study Romanisation,[29] it is felt that some of the above-mentioned theoretical reflections are too radical, and that they should be nuanced and revised. It is therefore necessary, by means of several examples, to demonstrate that post colonial theory on the one hand is a very useful device to approach the question of this thesis, but on the other hand that some post colonial ideas are too far reaching, even till the point of frustrating the investigation of Roman Nijmegen and the Batavians. Regarding the first theme from the Webster and Cooper volume, texts should be regarded as a Western category of knowledge and should therefore be decentred.[30] The most important textual source about the Batavians are the *Germania* and the Histories of Roman historian Tacitus and due to his writings, a lot is known about the Roman interpretation of the Batavians, which can be rather negative.[31] Tacitus' description of the colonial Other, however, cannot always be decentred, for no other sources are available. No comparable Batavian texts have passed down,[32] and Tacitus' statements cannot be verified. Archaeology can sometimes be helpful, but without historiography, the grand narrative cannot be structured and even the interpretation of the archaeological record can be troubled. Without Tacitus' report of the destruction of *Oppidum Batavorum* by fire in AD 70, for example, the interpretation of the layers of ash and burned debris in the

---

[27] Hingley (1996), 42-44.
[28] This dichotomy of Romans and Batavians in fact contradicts the aspiration of post colonial theory to avoid binary oppositions..
[29] See, among others: Heeren (2009), 15 and Mattingly (2011), 27.
[30] Mattingly (2011), 28 and note 121 and 122 *ibidem*.
[31] For a more profound analysis of Tacitus' writings by colonial discourse analysis, see: paragraph 1.3.1.
[32] The Batavians did write, however, as is indicated by numerous inscriptions, see, among others: Derks (2004) and Derks (2009) and Derks and Roymans (2002).

Nijmegen soil would have been very different.[33] Texts can therefore not always be decentred and in these cases colonial discourse analysis should be used to unravel the colonial agenda.

The indispensability of texts applies to the active histories of the colonized peoples as well. The outbreak of the Batavian Revolt of AD 69 can only be explained by the active agency of the Batavians and is an example of overt opposition to the domination of the colonizer.[34] Again, however, without texts, nothing would be known of a Revolt, all the more because resistance is archaeologically almost intangible. Active agency, however, is not confined to opposition and resistance, but can signify cooperation with the colonizer as well. This is demonstrated by inscriptions, such as the text inscribed on the votive altar found in Ruimel in the seventeenth century.[35] The inscription on the altar states the Batavian Flavus was the *summus magistratus* of the *civitas Batavorum* and therefore functioned within a Roman style system of government.[36] Another example of cooperation is the Batavo-Roman treaty that was concluded in the first century BC.[37] This treaty was concluded by Batavian elite negotiated incorporation and as a consequence the Batavians were able to migrate into the Roman Empire and eventually to strengthen their position of power with the aid of the Romans.[38]In situations of contact, active agency of both the Romans and the natives should therefore always be taken into account.

It is acknowledged that binary models, moreover, should be avoided by deconstructing the dichotomy between Batavian on the one hand and Roman on the other, because a value judgment is involved. The Batavians, as the colonized, are regarded negatively and the Romans, as the colonizers, positively. Furthermore, due to situations of contact, the strong separation between Batavians and Romans fades away in the course of time, especially concerning material culture.[39] Should the proposed (Gallo-)Roman inhabitants in *Oppidum Batavorum*, for example, indeed be interpreted as (Gallo-)Romans because of the material culture, or are they Batavians, utilizing artifacts that are identified with (Gallo-)Romans?[40] Can Batavians using (Gallo-)Roman artifacts be labeled Batavian, or should they be named otherwise, for example, Batavian-Romans?[41] Although a solution for this problem will not be presented here, it is thought that it is necessary to move beyond

---

[33] Van Enckevort and Heirbaut (2008), 26-31 and Van Enckevort and Heirbaut (2010a), 53 and 55.
[34] For the reasons of the outbreak of the Batavian Revolt, see: chapter 3.
[35] The inscription will be analyzed in paragraph 3.5.1.
[36] See also: paragraph 3.3.1 about the *summus magistratus*.
[37] This *antiqua societas* will be treated in paragraph 3.4.
[38] For the concept of negotiated incorporation, see: Terrenato (1998) and Terrenato (2005).
[39] Heeren (2009), 8 and note 42 and 43 *ibidem*.
[40] Van Enckevort and Heirbaut (2008), 24 and Van Enckevort and Hierbaut (2010a), 92 and 93. See also: paragraph 2.2.3.
[41] Bloemers tried to evaded the dichotomy of natives and Romans by creating sub-categories, such as Gallo-Roman, native-Roman and native-German and has construed a map of how these sub-categories appeared in the Lower Rhine Region, see: Bloemers (1980), 172-173 and map 14 *ibidem*.

natives and Romans.[42] Sometimes, conversely, binary oppositions are inevitable, for example in situations of conflict. During the Batavian Revolt, Batavian leader Julius Civilis grew his hair and his beard and dyed them red. By doing this, he assumed that he has a Batavian identity and he opposed himself to the Romans.[43] Binary models should therefore not always be deconstructed.

Lastly, it is acknowledged that post colonial theory is not anti-colonial, for it is thought that a Rome-centred perspective should not always be regarded negatively. The Romans were the initiators of the first contacts with the Batavians, because of their campaigns in Gaul and *Germania*[44] and they introduced new features in Batavian society, such as the city. Furthermore, Rome was an omnipresent factor in everyday life of the Batavians and cannot be ruled out. The self-image of the Batavians, for example, depended partially of how the Roman saw the Batavians and how the Batavians saw themselves in relation to Rome.[45] Furthermore, the large scale recruitment of Batavians for the Roman army demonstrates that Rome cannot be evaded and sometimes should be centered. Rome's presence and, Rome's representation of natives societies should be analyzed critically, however, using colonial discourse analysis. Not only the representation of native societies by the Romans should be critically analyzed by post colonial discourse analysis, but more recent studies on indigenous peoples as well to unravel colonial concepts, ideas and notions from the past.

Although this overview is rather short, it nevertheless illustrates the extensiveness of post colonial theory and the potential approaches to the sources. Simultaneously, the given examples illustrate that post colonial theory can be a valuable tool to study Roman Nijmegen and the Batavians and two important topics from the large body of post colonial theory, which are also important in the current study and debate on Romanisation, will be treated. Firstly, Batavo-Roman power relations and secondly, identity. In addition to their prominence in the debate on Romanisation, the choice for these two themes is further motivated by recent profound research connecting the Batavians to both topics. In the past two decades, research has focused on the ethnicity of the Batavians, their relations with Roman power and their identity.[46] Though this investigation primarily pays attention to the Batavian country side, the results are regarded as an important starting point for the question of this thesis.

---

[42] Woolf (1997), 339-350.
[43] See: paragraph 4.1.2.
[44] Slofstra (2002), 18.
[45] Roymans (2004), 227. See also: paragraph 4.1.
[46] Historiography, among others: Haynes (2003); archaeology, among others: Heeren (2009); Roymans (1996); Roymans (2004); Roymans (2009) and Slofstra (2002); epigraphy, among others: Derks (2004) and Derks (2009).

To sum up, this thesis is significant for the study of the Batavians and of Roman Nijmegen, for it challenges the general view that the Batavians regarded the subsequent capitals of their *civitas*, *Oppidum Batavorum* and *Ulpia Noviomagus*, negatively. By means of the re-evaluation and reinterpretation of the available historiographical, archaeological and epigraphic sources the arguments that support this vision will be refuted and replaced by other arguments to support the idea that the Batavians did not hate or avoid both settlements. The study and debate on Romanisation, and post colonial theory in particular, will constitute the frameworks to re-evaluate and reinterpret the available sources, at the same time strengthening the theoretical foundation of the study of Roman Nijmegen.

 In the next paragraphs of this chapter, the frameworks of this thesis will be set. As a start, an historical overview of *Oppidum Batavorum* and *Ulpia Noviomagus* will be presented, simultaneously explaining their geographical location and the temporal frameworks of their foundation, flourishing and decline. Next, the sources will be analysed, especially with regard their character, their availability and the problems arising from their usage and colonial discourse analysis will be used to critically examine them. The other chapters are arranged as follows: chapter two focuses on the debate of Romanisation, outlining its development during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries and elucidating on its current *status quo*. In addition, the position of post-colonial theory within the larger frames of the debate is analyzed. As a start of this chapter, some things will also be said about the consciousness of changes in native societies of writers in Antiquity. From this theoretical reflection, it will become clear that the current views on the interpretation of *Oppidum Batavorum* and *Ulpia Noviomagus* by the Batavians is embedded within a dated theoretical framework, that can be challenged by a post colonial point of view.

Chapter three deals with the dynamics of Batavo-Roman power relations and the relations within Batavian society itself, unraveling how Batavians and Romans were related and how Batavian society functioned. The analysis of several concepts of power in Tacitus' Histories illustrate the complexity of these relations and the inequality of Batavo-Roman power relations, favoring the Romans. A central feature of Batavo-Roman relations, a treaty dating back to the first century BC, will be discussed, for it not only defined the relations between Batavians and Romans, but is also closely connected to the foundation of *Oppidum Batavorum*. Lastly, several offices, such as the above mentioned *summus magistratus* will be discussed, to illustrate the participation of the Batavians in Roman structures of power and the importance of the capitals for the Batavians.

Chapter four concerns Batavian identity in different respects, focusing on the capitals as markers of identity. After the analysis of the names *Batavus* and *Batavodurum*, some things will be said about the Roman image of the Batavians, involving colonial discourse analysis. Furthermore, the interrelated debates about the localization of the place known as *Batavodurum* and the function of the archaeological site in De Winseling, will demonstrate

that Roman Nijmegen can be interpreted as a Batavian central place, comparable to other sites in the *civitas Batavorum*. Lastly, two stone monuments from *Oppidum Batavorum* are reinterpreted, demonstrating the involvement of the Batavian elites. In the conclusion, all results from the different chapters are synthesized, concluding the neither *Oppidum Batavorum* nor *Ulpia Noviomagus* were necessarily negatively interpreted by the Batavians.

1.1 HISTORY OF ROMAN NIJMEGEN

To introduce some relevant names, dates and other concepts, a short introduction to the history of (pre-)Roman Nijmegen will be presented here, focusing on the foundation, thriving and ending of *Oppidum Batavorum* and *Ulpia Noviomagus*. At the same time, the development of both towns will be connected to other historical events in the Lower Rhine Region. Since this thesis deals with the civilian settlements of Roman Nijmegen, the military structures on the Hunerberg and the Kops Plateau will only be referred to when necessary. In addition to the historical overview, the geographical position of both settlements will be explained, involving the temporal frameworks as well.[47]

Since *Oppidum Batavorum* and *Ulpia Noviomagus* were founded in two different sites, the investigated area is rather larger. From west to east, the area of investigation extends from the Rivierstraat, as this was the western boundary of *Ulpia Noviomagus*, to the Hugo de Grootstraat, the eastern border of *Oppidum Batavorum*. Both settlements were limited by the river Waal in the north[48] and to the south, the Hertogplein and the Biezenstraat are regarded as boundaries (map 1.2).[49] This area will be referred to as "Roman Nijmegen" and this designation will be used as a reference to the area enclose by the Rivierstraat, the Hugo de Grootstraat, de Waal and the Hertogplein/Biezenstraat. The adjective "Roman" should be interpreted as an indication of the temporal framework, namely the Roman period, rather than of the presumed character of the settlements. In addition to Roman Nijmegen, the ancient toponyms *Oppidum Batavorum* and *Ulpia Noviomagus* will be used as well, to indicate a more specific geographical framework. These

---

[47] It is impossible to do historical or archaeological research without fixed temporal and spatial frameworks and the study of Romanisation should be embedded within dimensions of time and space: Slofstra (2002), 20-21.

[48] The area on the northern bank of the river Waal has been intensively investigated because of the "Waalsprong", a project to facilitate the expansion of the city of Nijmegen north of the Waal, in the small town of Lent. During construction works, traces of habitation from the (pre-)Roman period have been found there, for example in the Steltsestraat and Smitjesland, including a debated structure, reminiscent of Roman building traditions. These traces, however, are not taken into account here. About these traces, see: Willems, Van Enckevort, *et al.* (2009), 89-94; Van den Broecke (2002a); Van den Broecke (2002b) and Van den Broecke (2003).

[49] The demarcation of the geographical area is rather difficult, for not all boundaries are clear and not every part within this area has been continuously been in use: for *Oppidum Batavorum*, see: Van Enckevort (2010), 91-92 and for *Ulpia Noviomagus*, see: Haalebos and Willems (2005), 52; Kemmers and Polak (2011), 251 and Van Enckevort and Thijssen (2005), 105.

Because of copyright, this map cannot be shown.
See page 118 for further references.

Map 1.2. Roman Nijmegen between 19BC and AD 70. 1. Legionry camp on the Hunerberg, 2. command post on the Kops Plateau, 3-8. encampments for auxiliary troops, 9. *Oppidum Batavorum*, 10. *Batavodurum*, 11. elongated habitation along the berg en Dalseweg, 12-16. cemeteries A. sanctuary in 'De Winseling'. The curved line, just left of *Oppidum Batavorum* indicates the *fossa punica*.

toponyms will be used to locate certain archaeological artifacts or features or to draw conclusions about one of the settlements in particular. It has been proposed to refer to the demarcated area as "the Roman agglomeration of Nijmegen"[50], but this characterization is denied, for it assumes that *Oppidum Batavorum* and *Ulpia Noviomagus* were Roman settlements, denying Batavian influence or presence.

The area of Roman Nijmegen has been continuously inhabited from the Early Neolithicum till the Late Iron Age, though the density of habitation and the use of land constantly changed.[51] With regard to the Iron Age, traces of a Late Iron Age settlement have been found in the Priemstraat, for example, and it has been proposed that in the De Winseling in Nijmegen-West a sanctuary was located during the Iron Age (map 1.2).[52] The Iron Age settlements were very small, consisting of only a few farms, built of wattle-and-daub, surrounded by hardly traceable burial grounds.[53] It has thus been archaeologically shown that the region was inhabited just before the arrival of the Roman armies in the last

---

[50] Willems (1990), 9.

[51] Van Enckevort, Thijssen en Van den Besselaar (1996), 31, map and Van den Broecke (2005), 25, plate 7.

[52] About the function of De Winseling, see: paragraph 4.2.

[53] Van den Broecke (2005), 34 and Koster (2005), 198.

quarter of the first century BC, contradicting Tacitus' statement that the lands were empty after the extirpation of the *Eburones* by Julius Caesar.[54] Only a few decades before, the Batavians had migrated from modern-day Hessen to the Lower Rhine Region. They were leaded by the *Iulii*, a family that formed the upper elites of the migrating group, that probably received Roman citizenship in the 50s BC.[55] Julius Civilis, one of the instigators of the Batavian Revolt was a descendant of this family. They probably also settled and lived in the area of future Roman Nijmegen. It is unknown, however, how they influenced the already existing societal structures and how they integrated, because no specific material culture can be assigned to them, except for a specific type of coin.[56] The analysis of house-building tradition and the circulation of La Tène glass arm-rings, however, show continuity between the third century BC and the first century AD.[57] The movement of the Batavians from their homelands in Hessen to the Lower Rhine Region in the 50s BC will be the starting point of the temporal framework of this thesis.

In the decades following the Gallic Wars of the 50s BC, Roman involvement in the Lower Rhine Region intensified and between 19 and 12 BC, Roman soldiers were stationed on the Hunerberg. Not much later, around 10 BC,[58] *Oppidum Batavorum* was built in the Valkhof area as the capital of the *civitas Batavorum*.[59] The settlement's exact size is unknown, but it is assumed that it extend from the Korte Nieuwstraat in the west to the Hugo de Grootstraat in the east.[60] Furthermore, the settlement was limited by the lateral moraine in the north and approximately reached to the Hertogplein in the south, covering an area of about 20-25 hectares at its zenith. *Oppidum Batavorum* had no walls, but was surrounded by a *fossa punica*, an asymmetrical ditch that was dug only during the Batavian Revolt, some eighty years after its foundation.[61] Although only a small part of *Oppidum Batavorum* has been excavated, the archaeological record shows ribbon building, approximately following the Lange and Stikke Hezelstraat, Burchtstraat, Kelfkensbos and St. Jorisstraat and probably the Ubbergseveldweg. A systematic allotment in the centre of the settlement is suggested, though without any signs of a Hippodamic layout, which is characteristic for Roman towns.[62] Buildings, most of them houses, along this road were made of wood and loam, sometimes resting on foundations of natural stone and brick, and

---

[54] Tacitus, *Historiae* IV, 12.
[55] There has been some debate about the grants of Roman citizenship to this elite group, see: Roymans (2004), 62-63 and notes 192 till 196 *ibidem.*
[56] See, for instance: Roymans (2001).
[57] On house-building, see: Roymans (1996), chapter 3 and on the La Tène arm-rings, see: Roymans and Van Rooijen (1993).
[58] The foundation of *Oppidum Batavorum* can be dated by Italic *terra sigillata* stamps, see: Van Enckevort and Thijssen (2003), 64. For a somewhat later date of foundation, see: Panhuysen (2002), 36.
[59] It is not known whether the *civitas Batavorum* already existed in 10 BC, but its institution will not have been much later, see: Roymans (2004), 200-202.
[60] Van Enckevort (2005a), 236.
[61] Willems, Van Enckevort, *et al.* (2009), 21.
[62] Van Enckevort (2005a), 236 and Van Enckevort and Heirbaut (2010a), 92. See also: Haalebos (1990), 193.

were roofed with shingles. Several buildings had walled-in cellars, fireplaces and toilets.[63] These features of the construction of buildings and houses were not known in the Lower Rhine Region before the foundation of *Oppidum Batavorum* and therefore it can be stated that the character of habitation changes rather dramatically during the transition from the Late Iron Age to the Roman era. Unfortunately, no signs of any public buildings, such as a *forum*, a temple or a bathing complex have been found so far,[64] but some excavated stone monuments, such as a damaged marble head of Julius Caesar and the remains of a large column dedicated suggest that *Oppidum Batavorum* had a *forum*.[65] The column has been interpreted as the foundation monument of *Oppidum Batavorum*,[66] but it is more likely that it was erected in an already existing settlement and that it had another function, probably the commemoration of the triumph of Germanicus in Rome in AD 17.[67] Concerning the inhabitants of *Oppidum Batavorum* very little is known, but it has been proposed that veterans were living in the houses in the area of the present St. Josephhof, as can be concluded from the inscribed names on *terra sigillata* fragments.[68] Furthermore, it has been argued that (Gallo-)Roman civil servants, craftsmen, innkeepers, soldiers and other immigrants lived in the town.[69] It is unknown from the archaeological record whether Batavians were living in the capital, but the possibility cannot be ignored, as will be shown below.[70] The Iron Age sanctuary in De Winseling, that was known as *Batavodurum*, continued to function after the foundation of *Oppidum Batavorum*.[71] In AD 70, less than a century after its foundation, *Oppidum Batavorum* was destroyed by fire by Batavian leader Julius Civilis,[72] whereas the sanctuary at *Batavodurum* was spared. The capital was not rebuilt after AD 70, but only some decades later, a building with a stone foundation and a road were constructed, overthrowing the idea that no building activities were undertaken in the area of the former capital after the fire.[73]

---

[63] Van Enckevort and Heirbaut (2008), 22.

[64] It is even possible that they have never existed at all: Willems, Van Enckevort, *et al.* (2009), 72. Following Kunow's criteria for a settlement to be an urban centre, *Oppidum Batavorum* should not be regarded as one, see: Kunow (1992), 143-147. The discussion about urbanization in the Lower Rhine Region will not be touched here.

[65] See: paragraph 4.3 for an analysis of the head and the column and the possible existence of a *forum*.

[66] Panhuysen (2002), 44.

[67] Roymans (2004), 213.

[68] According to Van Enckevort, inscribing names on belongings is a military routine: since eight soldiers shared only two rooms in the barracks of a legionary fort, it was necessary to inscribe their names on every object within those rooms, to be able to discern each other's possessions. After they left the fort because of their *missio*, former)soldiers continued to inscribe their names on their possessions out of habit, though it was not necessary, see: Van Enckevort and Heirbaut (2010a), 92 and Van Enckevort and Heirbaut (2010b), 56-57.

[69] Bloemers (1990), 75-76 and Willems (1990), 35 and 40.

[70] On the possibility that Batavian veterans and especially officers, returned to Roman Nijmegen after their *missio*, see: Derks and Roymans (2006), 133.

[71] This idea is disputed, see: paragraph 4.2 for the discussion.

[72] Tacitus, *Historiae* V, 19.

[73] Van Enckevort and Heirbaut (2008), 31.

The *civitas Batavorum* was deprived of its capital after the Batavian Revolt, but soon a new settlement was founded. Following the traditional view of the new settlements, four stages can be discerned.[74] The first was the shift of the localization of the new capital from the Valkhof area to Nijmegen-West some fifteen hundred meters to the west, to replace the burned down *Oppidum Batavorum* (map 1.3).[75] Within a short period of time, a new settlement was built, thanks to the efforts of the Tenth Legion.[76] Secondly, the new capital received the *ius nundinarum*, the privilege to have a market, from emperor Trajan and was named *Ulpia Noviomagus*, "Ulpian New Market".[77] It is thought that this coincided with the departure of the soldiers and their retinue on the Hunerberg around AD 104,[78] to set off the loss of a wealthy group and stimulate the economy.[79] The third stage was entered as the capital became a *municipium* and its official name changed into *Municipium Batavorum*.[80] It is debated when *Ulpia Noviomagus* received this privilege,[81] but definitely before AD 227.[82] The layout and appearance of *Ulpia Noviomagus* differed in several respects from *Oppidum Batavorum*. In the first place, the new capital was larger and covered an area of about 33 ha.[83] The western boundary should be sought in the Rivierstraat and to the east, *Ulpia Noviomagus*' limits should be sought in the Bronsgeeststraat.[84] The Biezenweg can be interpreted as the border to the south, but concerning the north side of the city, it is questioned how much has been washed away by the river Waal.[85] The settlement had a Hippodamic layout, though it was probably not square and the remains of several public buildings, such as a temple complex on the Maasplein and a bath complex on the Waalbanddijk, have been found.[86] Furthermore, during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, a stone defense wall was built and a moat was dug, to protect the city. These measures, however,

---

[74] Van Enckevort and Thijssen (2005), 104.

[75] Haalebos has argued that the new settlement in Nijmegen-West eventually was a garrison town, without a garrison: Haalebos (1990), 199.

[76] The involvement of the army is illustrated by bricks and roof tiles stamped LXGPF: L(egio) X G(emina) P(ia) F(idelis), but the Legio XXX Ulpia Victrix and the Exercitus Germania Inferior were involved in construction works as well: Bogaers *et al.* (1979), 59; Haalebos and Willems (2005), 52.

[77] *Ulpius* was the family name of Trajan and the indication "new" probably had to do with the already existing market, just south of the fort on the Hunerberg. Van Enckevort and Thijssen (2003), 68; Van Enckevort (2005b), 96 and Willems, Van Enckevort, *et al.*(2009), 74.

[78] Exact date is uncertain: AD 104: Bogaers (1960), 17 and Bogaers *et al.*(1979), 57 and Willems (1990), 63; between AD 102 and 105: Kemmers and Polak (2011), 251.

[79] Bogaers *et al.* (1979), 57.

[80] The actual name of the capital could have been a combination: *Municipium Ulpia Novioagus Batavorum*, but there is no (epigraphic) evidence to support this assumption: Kemmers and Polak (2011), 249 and Van Enckevort and Thijssen (2005), 111.

[81] *Ulpia Noviomagus* became *municipium* under Trajan, see: Haalebos (2000), 35-39; Haalebos and Willems (2005), 52 and Willems (2005), 15, *contra* Bogaers (1960), 20 and Haalebos (1990), 193-194.

[82] This date is based on an inscription, see: paragraph 3.3.2.

[83] Van Enckevort and Thijssen (1996), 140-141 and 150; Van Enckevort and Heirbaut (2009), 23-25.

[84] Van Enckevort and Heirbaut (2009), figure 1.

[85] Van Enckevort and Heirbaut (2009), 24-25.

[86] Swinkels and Koster (2005), 63.

Because of copyright, this map cannot be shown.
See page 118 for further references.

Map 1.3. Roman Nijmegen between AD 70 and 270. 1. fortress of the Tenth Legion on the Hunerberg, 2. *canabae legionis*, 3. Waalkade settlement, 4. Vlaamse Gas settlement, 5. *Ulpia Noviomagus*, 6-7 cemeteries. A. *forum*, B. *principia,*C. amphitheatre, D. *mansion*, E. temple complex Maasplein, F. bath house Waalbanddijk, G. Temple, H. bridge.

were ineffective, as the temples on the Maasplein and the baths on the Waalbanddijk were destroyed by fire.[87] The abandonment of *Ulpia Noviomagus* around AD 270 constitutes the fourth stage. Due to Germanic raids from the north and probably economic decline, caused by the departure of the soldiers on the Hunerberg and the fires in the later second century, the capital was deserted, though the ruins of the town were probably still inhabited.[88]

The temporal framework of this thesis, starting in the 50s BC, ends at this point, spanning a period of more than three centuries. Although it seems that the *Batavi* "disappear" from history at this moment,[89] it should be mentioned, that Roman Nijmegen does not cease to exist, for a second *Noviomagus* was built in the Valkhof area, on top of the former *civitas* capital, by emperor Constantine in the fourth century. Building materials from *Ulpia Noviomagus* and even from *Oppidum Batavorum* will have been used to construct the

---

[87] Van Enckevort and Heirbaut (2009), 23.

[88] Brunsting (1937), 201-202; Van Enckevort and Thijssen (2000), 22-23 and Van Enckevort and Thijssen (2005), 133.

[89] With regard to historiography, see: Teitler (2004),36-37 and with regard to epigraphy, see: Derks (2004), 43-44.

defense structures. of this new settlement.[90] Unfortunately, it has not been excavated very well and will therefore not be incorporated into the thesis.[91]

1.2 SOURCE MATERIAL

Since the re-evaluation and reinterpretation of the sources by means of colonial discourse analysis is an important part of this thesis, it is also necessary to say some words about their availability and the problems arising from their use. Three categories of sources are available for the investigation of Roman Nijmegen: historiography, archaeology and epigraphy. In addition to the significance of the specific theoretical framework, the synthesis of these three categories will also constitute an important part of their re-evaluation and reinterpretation. The combination of historiography, archaeology and epigraphy to come to a better understanding of Roman Nijmegen can be illustrated by several examples.[92]

Firstly, since the sources are occasionally fragmented or incomplete, as will be shown below in further detail, it is sometimes necessary that the information from all three categories is combined to study Roman Nijmegen. The names of the subsequent capitals of the *civitas Batavorum* can clearly illustrate this. The designation *Oppidum Batavorum* is only known from historiography, as Tacitus mentions it once in the Histories.[93] The names of the rebuilt capital in Nijmegen-West, by contrast, are only known from inscriptions.[94] The combination of historiography and epigraphy makes it possible to reconstruct the names of the different capitals of the *civitas Batavorum*. Another example sheds light on the presence of different Legion in Roman Nijmegen. Tacitus mentions that *Legio II Adiutrix pia fidelis* was stationed in the final stage of the Batavian Revolt,[95] but no archaeological traces of this Legion have been found. The presence of the Tenth Legion in Roman Nijmegen has been demonstrated archaeologically by stamps on bricks and roof tiles, though its encampment has not been recorded in historiography.[96]

Secondly, the three categories of sources can be deployed to assess each other's statements and colonial discourse analysis should play an important role in this evaluation. As has been mentioned above, Tacitus has stated that the lands just south of the river Rhine

---

[90] Van Enckevort and Thijssen (2005), 133.
[91] Swinkels and Koster (2005), 75.
[92] For the significance a such a synthesis, see: Blagg and Millett (1990), 3-4 and Wells (1999), 65-69.
[93] Tacitus, *Historiae* V, 19.
[94] Van Buchem (1959), 45. *Ulpia Noviomagus* se, for instance: CIL VI, 3237 and 32843 and AE 1993, 385. *Municipium Batavorum* see, for instance: AE 1975, 630 = AE 2001, 1499, see also: paragraph 3.6.3.
[95] Tacitus *Historiae* V, 20.
[96] Willems (2005), 15. Thousands of stamped tiles and bricks are found in the *castra* of Nijmegen, see: Brunsting and Steures (1995) and Brunsting and Steures (1997).

were inhabited in the aftermath of Caesar's Gallic Wars,[97] though it has been archaeologically shown that the region was not uninhabited at all. Another interesting example has to do with the characteristics of the Batavians. In historiography, the Batavians are depicted as fighters and riders,[98] but this description can also be interpreted as a feature of Roman ethnography of how natives in the northwest were seen in general.[99] The epigraphic record has shown, however, that the Batavians were indeed riders and that they probably were proud of their fighting and riding skills.[100]

The examples have illustrated the importance of a synthesis and to optimize the prospects of combining all three categories of sources, each will be treated in the following paragraphs. The availability and characteristics of every category will be explained, involving both the advantages and shortcomings of every category. Furthermore, colonial discourse analysis will be deployed to analyze the sources, concentrating on those issues relevant for this thesis. Concerning the categorization of the sources, it has been chosen to treat epigraphy as a category apart from historiography and archaeology. On the one hand, inscriptions can be interpreted as historiography, for epigraphy deals with texts, whereas on the other hand, inscriptions are often found during excavations and are therefore part of the archaeological record. Since inscriptions have their own characteristics, however, apart from historiography and archaeology and since much attention has been paid recently to Roman Nijmegen and Batavians in the epigraphic record, epigraphy will be regarded here as a category on its own.[101]

1.2.1 Historiography

In the preceding paragraphs, the concept "historiography" has been utilized to refer to the written record, apart from inscriptions. This concept, however, represents only a part of the written tradition from Antiquity that will be used in this thesis and its deployment unintentionally excludes other themes, such as poetry and ethnography. Therefore, instead of historiography the indication "primary written sources" will be used to refer to the textual evidence. The primary written sources include all different kinds of texts that are written in Greek or in Latin, excepts for those written on stone, metal or brick. This description avoids any discussion about the character of the texts or the identity of the writer, as these are not relevant for the question of this thesis.

---

[97] Tacitus, *Historiae* IV, 13.
[98] For instance, Tacitus, *Germania* 29.
[99] Van Driel-Murray (2003), 204.
[100] Derks (2004), 57.
[101] See, for instance: Derks (2004) and Derks (2009).

Several primary written texts and smaller passages concerning the Batavians have been passed down, whereas Roman Nijmegen is mentioned only thrice.[102] Tacitus' Histories and *Germania* are irrefutably the most important primary written sources, though other writers, such as Cassius Dio, Pliny, Ptolemy and Suetonius, provide valuable information as well, often in short quotations or comments.[103] Due to the multitude and variety of these texts and fragments, it is impossible to analyse all their peculiarities and therefore, only Tacitus' writing will be treated to some detail in the following. This analysis illustrates the consciousness of the possible problems with the use of Tacitus' writings, without trying to be exhaustive.[104] After a short introduction to the structure and content of Tacitus' accounts, some things will be said about Tacitus' background, including the nature, problems and historical value of his texts.

In four of Tacitus' writings Batavians are involved: the *Agricola*, the Annals, the *Germania* and the Histories. The Agricola and the Annals will be ignored here, for their references to the Batavians are very short and fragmentary. The *Germania* and the Histories, by contrast, deals with the Batavians in details, regarding their origin, customs and relations with Rome and the Romans. The *Germania*, dates back to AD 98[105] and is one of Tacitus' smaller works. It can be divided in two parts:[106] the first is about the customs of the Germanic tribes in general and the second is about the individual tribes in particular, including the Batavians.[107] The Histories date back to AD 105-109 and are more bulky than the *Germania*. The five books that have been passed down are about the rise of the Flavians and their imperial rule after the suicide of emperor Nero.[108] Book 4 and 5 deal partially with the troubles caused by the Batavians in the northwest of the Empire[109] which are referred to here as the Batavian Revolt. After a short description of the Batavians in chapter 12 and 13 of book 4, comparable to that of the *Germania*, Tacitus dwells on the causes and course of the struggles in AD 69 and 70. Unfortunately, the Histories have only been partially passed down and as a consequence, the exact outcome of the Revolt is unknown: the text breaks

---

[102] Texts and passage are drawn from the Loeb Classical Library. Translations from Greek and Latin are made by the author, except where specified otherwise.

[103] Cassius Dio, *Historia Romana* LIV, 32; Plinius, *Naturalis Historia* IV, 106; Ptolemaeus, *Geographica*, II,9,8. Suetonius*, De Vita Caesarum*, Caligula 43.

[104] The bibliography on Tacitus is massive and no complete bibliography can be presented here. Recently, two companions on Tacitus have been published, treating characteristics of Tacitus and his writings in much more detail, see: Págan (2012) and Woodman (2009). Older, but still very valuable is Syme (1958).

[105] This date is based on the reference to the second consulate of Trajan in chapter 37, see: Rives (2012), 46.

[106] The first part is constituted of chapter 1 till 27.1 and the second part of chapter 27.2 till 46, see: Thomas (2009), 60-61.

[107] For an overview of the content of all chapters, see: Thomas (2009), 62-63.

[108] The Histories are a top-heavy narrative. Of the original twelve books, book one, two and three deal with the year AD 69 and book four and five do not extend beyond the year AD 70, leaving seven books for the following twenty-seven years, see: Ash (2009), 88.

[109] Tacitus *Historiae* IV, 12-13, 54-78 and 85-86; V, 14-26.

off after chapter 26 of book 5, during the negotiations between the Batavians and the Romans on a broken bridge.

The character, style and the content of Tacitus' writings are shaped by his social and political position in Roman society. Publius Cornelius Tacitus was a member of the Roman senatorial elites, and followed the traditional *cursus honorum*. He became *consul* in AD 97 or 98 and governed the province of *Asia* as *proconsul* between 111 and 112 or between 113 and 116, indicating that he reached the very top of the Roman societal ladder.[110] In addition to Tacitus' own social status, the texts were read by members of the same upper echelon of Roman society, influencing their character, style and content. In the first place, Tacitus placed himself in the Republican tradition of Roman historiography and ethnography and consequently, he will have been restricted by certain expectations regarding to structure and content. Secondly, Tacitus' writings will have had certain purposes,[111] for example entertaining his reading public[112] or communicating political propaganda. The content does therefore not necessarily represent the actual situation.[113] Thirdly, the sources of the writers themselves should be considered as well. Writers could draw, for example, on senatorial records or other texts written by members of the senatorial elites. It can be questioned to what extend writers themselves witnessed the events they described: it is doubted for example whether Tacitus ever visited the northwest of the Roman Empire to verify his description of Germanic tribes.[114] Fourthly, another factor comes into play in case of the Histories. Since the described events had occurred only very recently, it is imaginable that individual involved in the described events were still alive at the time when the Histories were published. Readers, therefore, potentially had a personal stake in reading about the events in which they themselves or family members had participated.[115] This could lead, for example, to censorship and consequently to the alteration of the text.[116] These examples clearly illustrate that the production and the utilization of primary written sources was confined to a very small elite social group in the Roman Empire. As a consequence, Rome is centred by these elites at the cost of others and colonial images and ideas are present, as will be demonstrated below.

---

[110] Pagán (2012), 3.

[111] The *Germania* does not have one single purpose, see: Rives (2012), 45 and Thomas (2009), 72.

[112] The Histories were no mere description of events, but where meticulously composed, involving archaisms, poetical coloring, metaphors and specific shapes of sentences, see: Oakley (2009) and Thomas (2009), 60.

[113] The recurrent feature of speeches is a clear illustration of this, see: paragraph 3.1.

[114] Rives (2012), 49.

[115] In Histories I, 1 Tacitus admits that he had no acquaintance with Galba, Otho and Vitellius, but he does not deny that he owed his political career to the Flavian emperors. This suggests that he was influenced by other, though he states the opposite.

[116] Ash (2009), 87.

As a consequence of the mentioned limitations of the primary written sources, the value of the *Germania* and the Histories as historical sources is debated.[117] The following examples indicates, however, that both accounts can be valuable for the investigation of Roman Nijmegen and the Batavians, as long as their content is critically examined by colonial discourse analysis.[118] In the first place, the first generalizing part of the *Germania* implies that the *Germani* should be regarded as one single people, having the same barbarian customs and values.[119] Not only is the first part of the *Germania* a good example of a colonial representation of the barbarian Other, it can also be interpreted as a way to define "Roman" by means of the Germanic tribes: the creation of *Germania* by Tacitus is in fact a search for former Roman vestige.[120] Secondly, the characterization of the different tribes in the second part of the *Germania* is very stereotypical and is part of the Roman ethnographic tradition, just like Caesar's *De Bello Gallico*. Again, this is a good example of a colonial representation of the Other. Thirdly, with regard to the Histories, Tacitus tends to create a dichotomy between the Romans on the one hand and the Batavians on the other as he describes the Batavian Revolt in the Histories. It proved difficult, however, to construct this dichotomy, for members of the Batavian elites, such as Julius Briganticus and Claudius Victor fought on the side of the Romans against the Batavians and consequently even against their own family.[121] Lastly, Julius Civilis, instigator of the Revolt, is depicted as a barbarian several times, for example as he grew his hair and beard, according to barbarian custom.[122] This rather negative barbarian depiction of Civilis can be doubted, for he possessed Roman citizenship, was an officer in the Roman army and probably was educated in Rome or in another city, such as Cologne.[123]

In addition to colonial discourse analysis, the colonial statements in the *Germania* and the Histories should be verified by archaeological research to assess their historical value, whereas is also possible to compare a statement in a text with information from another text to assess it. In this way, the colonial depiction of the Batavians by the Romans becomes clear and can be altered to come to a better understanding of Batavian society.

---

[117] Rives (2012), 55. Rives does not take up a particular position, but Thomas argues that the *Germania* should not be regarded as a historical source, see: Thomas (2009), 59. On the reception and even the "misuse" of the *Germania* from the fifteenth century onwards, see: Krebs (2012).

[118] O'Gorman (1993) is a good example of a critical evaluation of the *Germania* by post colonial discourse: Rome is centered (135), *Germania* is no active agent (139) and there is a dichotomy between Rome and *Germania* (148).

[119] O'Gorman (1993), 135.

[120] Rome is always present in the *Germania*, see: O'Gorman (1993), 135; Rives (2012), 51 and Thomas (2009), 72.

[121] For a family tree of the *Iulii*, see: Roymans (2004), 61, figure 5.5.

[122] See: paragraph 4.1.2.

[123] Civilis' son was educated in Cologne, see: Tacitus, *Historiae* IV, 63.

1.2.2 Archaeology

The contribution of the archaeological record to the question of this thesis cannot be underestimated, as archaeological artifacts and features are distributed across a surface of some 450 ha.[124] From the nineteenth century onwards, different parts of Nijmegen have been excavated, but only after the Second World War large-scale excavations were carried out by different institutions and individuals as has been shown above. The large extent of excavations, however, is problematic as well, for much of the materials have not yet been investigated and published. In addition, the archaeological record suffered from collectors such as the Smetii and industrialist G.M. Kam and lots of artifacts were stolen from their archaeological context. Another problem is that the archaeological record is constantly threatened by building activities. The excavations of Reuvens and Leemans in De Winseling were necessary because of the construction of fort Krayenhoff at that site and archaeological research in the St. Josephhof was required for the site was prepared for building. Moreover, 1920-1921 two Gallo-Roman temples were excavated on the Maasplein in Nijmegen-West, because of the reconstruction of the sewer system. As the building activities were finished, Nijmegen archivist Daniëls (incorrectly) thought that this was the last chance of excavating *Ulpia Noviomagus*.[125] A rather controversial example of the threatened archaeological record are the remains of late-Roman walls on the Waalkade. Despite protests these walls were demolished and only a small part was integrated into the newly erected building.[126]

The importance of archaeology, is that it can give an insight in those areas which are not covered by primary written sources and an elite vision can be evaded. It is for example only known from excavations that the pattern of habitation in *Oppidum Batavorum* and *Ulpia Noviomagus* differed from habitation in the countryside. Nevertheless it is necessary to assess the excavations and the interpretation of artifacts by colonial discourse analysis. The focus of archaeological research, for example, was in first instance Rome-centered, for much attention was paid in first instance to the military installations on the Hunerberg and the Kops Plateau. Moreover, the Roman period was favored at the expense of the prehistory and the period of the transition between Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. In addition, as will be shown in the following chapters, artifacts and features were and are still interpreted colonially.[127] Archaeology should therefore not uncritically be regarded as an alternative for primary written sources.

---

[124] Willems, van Enckevort, *et al.* (2009), 9.
[125] Daniëls (1927), 111.
[126] Van Enckevort, Haalebos and Thijssen (2000), 104.
[127] Bloemers refers to *Oppidum Batavorum* as a colonial city, see: Bloemers (1990), 83-84.

1.2.3 Epigraphy

Epigraphy signifies the study of texts written on material other than paper, such as stone, metal and brick. The study of the epigraphy of Roman Nijmegen and the Batavians has been revived recently,[128] revising older catalogues[129] by including new finds and new interpretations of inscriptions. Stemming from these old and new overviews is that the epigraphic record is rather divers, concerning both the categories of inscriptions as well as their geographical distribution. Batavian bronze military diplomas, funerary inscriptions, votive altars, writing tables and household goods, have not only been found in Roman Nijmegen, but also in the Lower Rhine Region, in the Danube provinces, in the Vindolanda fortress at Hadrian's Wall and in Rome.[130] This distribution has primarily to do with the function of the *Batavi* as auxiliary troops in the Roman army and their occupation as bodyguards of the emperor in Rome. Although *Oppidum Batavorum* is never mentioned in any inscription, *Ulpia Noviomagus* is recurrently referred to in inscriptions of the guards.

The use of inscriptions has some major advantages. In the first place, an inscription can provide a lot of important information about a historical phenomenon: the altar dedicated to Hurstrga by Valerius Silvester states that *Ulpia Noviomagus* was a *municipium*.[131] Moreover, inscriptions can provide an insight into the functioning of society from an individual point of view: Valerius Silvester, for example, was a *decurio*. Another point concerning the individual perspective, has to do with someone's life. An inscription can tell a lot about an individual, such as his career, his *origo*, his self-image and his identity.[132] Lastly, the primary written sources can be assessed by inscriptions. As has been mentioned above, the prominence of riding skills attributed to the Batavians in the primary written sources, recurs in the content of inscriptions and the design of the surface it is carved into.

Nevertheless, epigraphy has some limitations as well. In the first place, the interpretation of inscriptions is troubled by later periods, because funerary inscriptions and votive altars have often been used as *spolia*, as is the case with the Tiberius column.[133] As a consequence, their archaeological context is not always clear troubling the understanding of the purpose of the text and the monument. On top of that, inscriptions can be forgeries, such as the inscription indicating that the Batavians were *amici* and *fratres* of the Romans.[134] Apart from the purpose of a forgery, it is unusable for it does not relate to the period of investigation. Lastly, the characteristics of epigraphic culture itself are disadvantageous: chronologically, inscriptions start to appear in the Lower Rhine Region in the first half of the

---

[128] See: Derks (2004) and Derks (2009).
[129] These older catalogues were: Byvanck (1935) and Bogaers (1960-1961).
[130] Derks (2004), 43.
[131] For the inscription, see: paragraph 3.5.3.
[132] Derks (2004), 40-41.
[133] See: paragraph 4.3.2.
[134] Langereis (2004), 78.

first century AD, their numbers peaking in the second century and rapidly declining in the third century, biasing a particular temporal framework.[135] From a geographical point of view, Batavian inscriptions especially appear along the borders of the Empire and in Rome, due to the military context the inscriptions were made in.

---

[135] This chronological pattern is not specifically related to the Lower Rhine Region, but is visible in other parts of the empire as well, Derks (2004), 43.

2. Romanisation: study and debate

Since Romanisation is a key concept for this thesis, it is necessary to give a short summary of the study and debate of the concept, outlining its development in the past one hundred years.[136] It will be shown how post colonial theory is embedded within the debate and how it influenced the interpretation of Romanisation. Furthermore, it will eventually be demonstrated that the concept of Romanisation that is used in accounts on Roman Nijmegen is colonially inspired, illustrating the effects of the naïve use of the concept. In short, the study of Romanisation reaches back to the second half of the nineteenth century,[137] though the debate only started in the 1970s and 1980s. Under the influence of Edward Said's book "Orientalism" and the rise of post colonial theory,[138] the debate intensified from the 1990s onwards. As a consequence, it became clear that the study of Romanisation had been influenced by a very apparent historical context, namely nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Modern Imperialism, and that the interpretation of the concept of Romanisation had to be changed. The post colonial movement in itself, was influenced by postwar decolonization and can be regarded as a product of a specific historical context as well.[139] Since the question of this thesis is approached from this post colonial movement, the following overview of the debate will focus on the latest development of the debate on Romanisation. One of the distinct features of the current debate is the multifold critique on the concept of Romanisation itself.

Although much attention will be paid to the period after 1990, the overview of the study of Romanisation will commence in Antiquity for several reasons. Firstly, the primary written sources show an awareness of changes in native societies in the northwest of the Roman Empire after the arrival of the Romans. Secondly, the current post colonial perspective of the debate has been shaped by the critiques on the depiction of changes in the primary written sources. Thirdly, the use of Romanisation in accounts on Roman Nijmegen is still influenced by the primary written sources and has barely been touched by post colonial views.

2.1 ROMANISATION IN ANTIQUITY

Several primary written sources show an awareness of change in native societies in the northwestern provinces of the Empire, caused by the presence of the Romans in those

---

[136] English overviews of the debate can be found in: Hingley (1996), 35-48; Hingley (2005), chapter 2 and Woolf (1998), chapter 1. For Dutch overviews, see: Heeren (2009), 3-16 and Pelgrom (2009), 4-16.
[137] Freeman (1997), 27-50.
[138] Heeren (2009), 16. Said (1978).
[139] Mattingly (2011), 19.

areas. No specific terminology was developed , however, to describe these changes and consequently, a concept such as Romanisation did not exist. Two examples, one Latin and one Greek, will be used here to illustrate the ancient awareness of change. The first is chapter 21 of Tacitus' *Agricola*, describing the situation of change as follows:

> *"Sequens hiems saluberrimis consiliis absumpta. Namque ut homines dispersi ac rudes eoque in bella faciles quieti et otio per voluptates adsuescerent, hortari privatim, adiuvare publice, ut templa fora domos extruerent, laudando promptos, castigando segnis: ita honoris aemulatio pro necessitate erat. Iam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent. Inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frequens toga. Paulatimque discessum ad delenimenta vitiorum, porticus et balineas et conviviorum elegantiam. Idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset."[140]*

Tacitus ascribes several features to the changes he detects. Firstly, governor Agricola in first instance actively civilizes the Britons by means of the construction of temples, markets and houses and he even manages to turn the aversion of Latin into admiration of rhetoric. Eventually, the Britons themselves start to actively adopt Roman customs, such as wearing a toga, without the assistance of Agricola. Secondly, the indigenous peoples of *Britannia* are regarded as a monolithic group, a generalization reminiscent of the depiction of the *Germani* in the first part of the *Germania*. Thirdly, the Britons are brought civilization in a linear development, without interferences or ruptures. Fourthly, Roman customs are adopted uncritically, assuming that those customs should be regarded positively. This last point is also mentioned by Tacitus, as he states that the Britons were once barbarians, but that they have been brought civilization (*humanitas*), due to the efforts of Agricola and the Roman Empire. In the end, Tacitus' evaluation of these processes of change, however, is scathing. Whereas the Britons naively regarded these changes as civilization, he sarcastically condemns them as

---

[140] "The following winter was employed in salutary measures. For the Britons lived scattered and were barbarous and were easily inclined to war. Agricola gave private encouragement and public aid to the building of temples, courts of justice and dwelling-houses, praising the energetic, and reproving the idle. Thus an honourable rivalry took the place of compulsion. He educated the sons of the chiefs in the liberal arts and preferred the Britons' talent above Gallic eagerness. The result was that those who just lately had been rejecting the Roman tongue now conceived a desire for eloquence. Thus even our style of dress came into favor and the toga was everywhere to be seen. Gradually, too, they went astray into the allurements of evil ways, colonnades and warm baths and eloquent banquets. The Britons, who had no experience of this called it 'civilization' although it was part of their enslavement." Translation, see: Hingley (2005), 65.

a mere part of the Britons' subordination to the Romans.[141] Nevertheless, despite the sarcasm, the occurring changes were important enough for Tacitus to describe them,[142] probably as a part of Roman propaganda.[143]

The second example is a passage from Cassius Dio's *Historia Romana*, a third century history of Rome. In book 56 chapter 18, Dio refers to several changes in the northwest of the Empire during the first centuries BC and AD. He describes how the natives of *Germania* gradually and unwittingly changed, until the arrival of Roman governor Quintilius Varus:

> *"(...)καὶ στρατιῶταί τε αὐτῶν ἐκεῖ ἐχείμαζον καὶ πόλεις συνῳκίζοντο, ἔς τε τὸν κόσμον σφῶν οἱ βάρβαροι μετερρυθμίζοντο καὶ ἀγορὰς ἐνόμιζον συνόδους τε εἰρηνικὰς ἐποιοῦντο. Οὐ μέντοι καὶ τῶν πατρίων ἠθῶν τῶν τε συμφύτων τρόπων καὶ τῆς αὐτονόμου διαίτης τῆς τε ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων ἐξουσίας ἐκλελησμένοι ἦσαν. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, τέως μὲν κατὰ βραχὺ καὶ ὁδῷ τινι μετὰ φυλακῆς μετεμάνθανον αὐτά, οὔτε ἐβαρύνοντο τῇ τοῦ βίου μεταβολῇ καὶ ἐλάνθανόν σφας ἀλλοιούμενοι: ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ὁ Οὔαρος ὁ Κυιντίλιος τήν τε ἡγεμονίαν τῆς Γερμανίας λαβὼν καὶ τὰ παρ᾽ ἐκείνοις ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς διοικῶν ἔσπευσεν αὐτοὺς ἀθρoώτερον μεταστῆσαι, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα ὡς καὶ δουλεύουσί σφισιν ἐπέταττε (...)."*[144]

Dio's description resembles that of Tacitus in the *Agricola* in several aspects. Firstly, the *Germani*, referred to here as barbarians, are regarded as one monolithic group and they adopt Roman customs in first instance progressively without resistance. They are, however, carefully watched by Roman power. Dio's description differs conspicuously from Tacitus' observation in two respects: in the first place, the *Germani* were unlearning their old customs, but they did not forget their ancestral habits and native manners. Tacitus, by

---

[141] Since Tacitus himself was an administrator, his attitude is rather remarkable, see: Ogilvie and Richmond (1967), 228.
[142] The ironic character of this text does not devalue the fact that Tacitus indeed refers to change: Hingley (2005), 66.
[143] Sailor (2012), 30-31 and 33-34.
[144] "(…) soldiers wintering there and cities were being founded. The barbarians were adapting themselves to Roman ways, were becoming accustomed to hold markets, and were meeting in peaceful assemblages. They had not, however, forgotten their ancestral habits, their native manners, their old life of independence, or the power derived from arms. Hence, so long as they were unlearning these customs gradually and by the way, as one may say, under careful watching, they were not disturbed by the change in their manner of life, and were becoming different without knowing it. But when Quintilius Varus became governor of the province of Germany, and in the discharge of his official duties was administering the affairs of these peoples also, he strove to change them more rapidly. Besides issuing orders to them as if they were actually slaves of the Romans, he exacted money as he would from subject nations (...)." Translation, see: Hingley (2005), 66.

contrast, does not refer to the continuation of any native customs of the Britons. Secondly, the involvement of the governor is very different: Agricola on the one hand enthused the Britons to change, but Quintilius Varus tried to enforce it. These differing attitudes of the Roman government are part of the debate of Romanisation and play an important role in the current view of the negative interpretation of Roman Nijmegen by the Batavians. Below, this feature of Roman involvement will be analyzed further.

Tacitus' and Dio's description of change are rather similar and can be summarized as follows: the indigenous population is regarded as one monolithic group, that is actively civilized by the Romans in a linear, positively regarded and smooth process of change towards civilization. Although the summary of Tacitus' and Dio's descriptions of change does not necessarily relate to Roman Nijmegen in particular, three specific examples from their accounts do relate to some characteristics of *Oppidum Batavorum* and *Ulpia Noviomagus*. In the first place, both authors refer to holding a market as a specific result of change. This reminds of the translation Ulpian New Market, of the toponym *Ulpia Noviomagus*. Secondly, Dio's statement that cities were established in *Germania,* reminds of the foundation of *Oppidum Batavorum* in the last decade of the first century BC. Thirdly, Dio's remark that soldiers were founding those cities corresponds to the military contribution to the construction of *Oppidum Batavorum* and *Ulpia Noviomagus*. These examples clearly illustrate the possibility to connect Roman Nijmegen to the ancient awareness of processes of change. The problems of this connection will be demonstrated further below.

In the following, an overview of the study and debate of Romanisation will be given beginning in the early twentieth century with the essay of British archaeologist Francis Haverfield. It will become clear from this overview that the concept of Romanisation was interpreted through the description of changes given by the writers of primary written sources, such as Tacitus and Dio. The ancient portrayal of change is regarded in the following as a colonial description, especially because it is Roman-centered and native agency is limited to uncritical adoption. Furthermore, next to the early twentieth century understanding of Romanisation, it will be shown that the colonial interpretation was challenged only in the last decades of the twentieth century, but at the same time that it is still applied in recent studies to describe and explain changes in native societies. This last observation is also relevant for recent accounts on Roman Nijmegen.

2.2 CURRENT DEBATE

The study and debate of Romanisation falls apart in two temporal frames, ranging from the later nineteenth century until the present-day, with a turn during the 1990s. During this decade, post colonial theory enters the stage and the concept of Romanisation itself

becomes debated. The next overview is divided in three parts, following the two-fold temporal division, adding an extra paragraph concerning the preservation of Romanisation and the position of this thesis with regard to the criticisms of the concept.

2.2.1 First half of the twentieth century

The 1905 essay "The Romanization of Roman Britain" of British archaeologist Francis Haverfield[145] is used here as a starting point, for this is not only regarded as the beginning of the modern study of Romanisation, but it has been very influential as well during several decades.[146] According to Haverfield, the presence of Roman material culture in a certain area could be explained by the adoption of Roman culture by the native inhabitants of that area and he named this process "Romanisation". By means of a number of historical and archaeological themes, such as language, art and material civilization, he tried to describe the changes in native society of Roman Britain. He argued that "*the land which the legions sheltered were not merely blessed with quiet* (i.e. peace)*. They were also given a civilization, and that civilization had time to take strong root* (…) *A large part of the world became Romanized.*"[147] According to Haverfield, Romanisation was a one-way process in which natives were not forced to adopt Roman culture: "*(t)he definite and coherent culture of Rome took hold on uncivilized but intelligent provincials and planted in them the wish to learn its language*(…) *Rome made her culture more attractive by not trusting it upon her subjects.*"[148] The influence of primary written texts is very clear as several elements from Tacitus' and Dio's passages appear in Haverfield's analysis: the process is envisioned as a linear and uniformizing development to civilization. Furthermore, it is instigated by Roman power and the Roman army in particular. The process was not only linear but also steady, involving no pressure, making Roman culture more attractive for the Britons. The example of learning Latin by the natives parallels Tacitus' remark of the wish of the Britons to learn the language. This colonial oriented use of primary written sources to study ancient history is strongly embedded in the ideas of Modern Imperialism and colonialism, in which Europe is centred and the inhabitants of the colonies were to be civilized by the colonizers.[149] Romanisation was regarded as a positive process leading towards civilization. At the same time, however, Haverfield acknowledged that Romanisation was a complex process and that native culture did not disappear completely.[150] This argument resembles Dio's remark that

---

[145] Haverfield (1905). Reprints in 1912, 1915 and 1923. The reprint of 1923 is used in the following.
[146] For an overview of the study in the later nineteenth century, starting with Theodor Mommsen, see: Freeman (1997), 27-50. Haverfield's analysis of Roman Britain was paralleled by Camille Jullian, focusing on Roman Gaul, see: Jullian (1908-26) vol. VI, 531-538.
[147] Haverfield, (1923), 11.
[148] Haverfield, (1923) 14.
[149] See: Hingley (2005), chapter 2.
[150] Haverfield, (1923), 22.

the barbarians did not forget about their ancestral habits and native manners as they changed under Roman influence.

Haverfield's colonial interpretation of Romanisation was not challenged much until the sixties and seventies. As the British Empire disintegrated and other European states lost the hegemony over their colonies, the colonial positive-naïve view on Romanisation became untenable and alternatives were proposed.[151] To renew the study of Romanisation, anthropological theories of acculturation from the 1930s were used in historiography and archaeology.[152] In short, acculturation assumes that in situations of frequent contact between two (or more) groups of different cultural backgrounds, cultural elements are transferred from one group to the other or are taken over by the other. Power relations in these situations are unequal, as the customs and thoughts of the superior culture, are taken over by the inferior culture.[153] As a consequence, the attempts to renew the study of Romanisation, were practically a resurrection of Haverfield's colonial approach, because the different parties involved were still regarded unequal and homogenous. Furthermore, the used theories of acculturation were developed in the colonial era. Methodologically, moreover, the transfer of cultural elements was utilized to calculate the degree of "Romanness" of native societies. A list of cultural elements was created, to assess to what extent a society was Romanised. Conclusions about the Romanisation of a group could be deduced from the length of a so-called "trait-list".[154] The creation of similar lists recurs in Tacitus and Dio as well, as they refer to several cultural elements that were taken over.

Despite the fact that Romanisation now had become an important subject in historical and archaeological studies, these anthropological approaches were rejected under the influence of processual and postprocessual archaeology, especially because a trait-list does not explain anything.[155] During the eighties, it was tried to construct explanatory models of Romanisation, resulting in an enduring and lively debate. The commonly accepted solution was that native inhabitants of a certain area were not forced to adopt Roman cultural elements, but that they eagerly tried to Romanise themselves. This is also known as the model of "self-Romanisation".[156] In Agricola 21, the native desire to become Roman is referred to. The model of self-Romanisation that was set up by Martin Millett in 1990,[157] became very influential it was even regarded as the New Orthodoxy.[158] At the same time,

---

[151] Heeren (2009), 4.

[152] Heeren (2009), 4 and Pelgrom (2009), 160. See, for instance: Brandt and Slofstra (1983).

[153] Heeren (2009), 4

[154] Pelgrom (2009), 5. Such a list can also be used geographically: the Roman West is more Romanized than the East, Italy more than the provinces, etcetera, see: Woolf (1998), 6.

[155] Pelgrom (2009), 160.

[156] Heeren (2009), and Pelgrom (2009),

[157] See: Millett (1990a). Millett (1990b) is an addition to Millett (1990a), involving the lower echelons of society.

[158] Hanson (1997), 67.

however, it was heavily criticized, as it focused too much on the elites and the interpretation of societies was too homogeneous.[159] These critiques were inspired by post colonial theory, that was strongly developed in Roman archaeology in the 1990s.

2.2.2 Romanisation and post colonial theory

From the moment post colonial theory entered the stage of Roman archaeology in the 1990s, it has been very influential. In chapter 1 some key themes of post colonial theory have been explained and with regard to Roman history and archaeology it can be stated that the main topic is a native-focused perspective.[160] Several problematic themes concerning the colonial interpretation of Romanisation have been proposed.[161] In the first place, the already mentioned problem of a supposed dichotomy between native and Roman, stemming from the use of primary written sources. Consequently, the dichotomy implies a value judgement, for example civilized (Romans) and uncivilized (native).[162] From an archaeological point of view, these labels, for example, cannot explain cultural hybrids. Secondly, more attention is paid to identity and culture as will be shown in chapter 4. Identity is determined by different aspects, such as age, sex, ethnicity and origin. Identities can overlap, can change in the course of time and can be constructed from the inside or the outside.[163] Moreover, the manifestation of identity depends on the situation: with regard to origin, for example, the expression of someone's origin depends on the environment he or she stays in.[164]

Moreover, the existence of a Roman civilizing mission and the related question of strong Roman intervention or politics of *laissez-faire* are a central theme. In the 1980s and 1990s, it was thought that the Roman government had a mission to actively civilize native societies in the Empire and Tacitus' *Agricola* 21 was used as an example to illustrate this.[165] The idea of a civilizing mission, however, was criticised by post colonial studies, for it was regarded as a late nineteenth and early twentieth century idea, influenced by western colonialism.[166] It cannot be denied, however, that the Roman government was indeed actively involved, for cities were founded and roads were constructed, probably to spread Roman urban ideology.[167] Furthermore, these changes occurred at the same, presuming

---

[159] Pelgrom (2009), 7.
[160] For instance: Wells (1999).
[161] These themes are derived from Heeren (2009), 6-12.
[162] Heeren (2009), 8.
[163] Heeren (2009), 11.
[164] Heeren (2009), 11. See, for instance: Derks (2004).
[165] Heeren (2009), 6 and Hingley (2005), 18-27.
[166] Hingley (2005), 64-67.
[167] Heeren (2009), 7

Roman intervention, especially during the reign of emperor Augustus.[168] Romanisation can therefore be interpreted as an instrument of the Roman government to exercise its power. In this view, however, native agency and the possibility of individual choice, for example, is partially denied. It furthermore rests on the assumption that the outcome of the intervention of the Roman government was homogenous, ignoring possible local and regional differences.[169]

Fourthly, the existence of a specific Roman material culture is challenged. It was first thought that a particular Roman culture could be identified. The recurrence of *terra sigillata* was seen as an example to demonstrate this, because this type of pottery is found in every province. Since *terra sigillata*, however, was not only produced in northern Italy, but also in Gaul (La Graufesenque), *Germania* (Rheinzabern) and Syria, it can be doubted whether this type of pottery should indeed be regarded as specifically Roman. Furthermore, because of the different sites of production, the shape and the decorations of the *terra sigillata* was differently was therefore probably appreciated as a local instead of as a Roman product.[170] In addition to the question of the existence of Roman material culture, it can be questioned for several reasons, whether material culture should also be regarded as an expression of a Roman identity by its users.[171] In the first place, an object in itself does not necessarily presume the expression of a certain identity, though its use does: an object could be used differently in Rome on the one hand and in the provinces on the other hand.[172] One shard of *terra sigillata* found in the context of native pottery, for example, does not indicate Roman table manners.[173] In addition, the heterogeneity of *terra sigillata* does not allow for a connection between this type of pottery and Roman table manners: *terra sigillata* is not Roman. Secondly, the use of objects can also be explained by practical concerns. An object that is abundantly available or easily accessible will have been used more often and recurs in the archaeological record frequently.[174]

In addition to these themes, one specific point of post colonial critique has become very important in the last two decades and is heavily debated, especially by British and American archaeologists: the use of the concept of Romanisation itself. The utilization of the concept to study processes of change in native societies has been doubted for several reasons. In the first place, Romanisation suggests a linear process towards Romanness, excluding other trajectories or individual choice.[175] The possibility of de-Romanistion, for

---

[168] Woolf (1997), 346.
[169] Terrenato (2001), 1 and Woolf (1997), 346.
[170] Hingley (1996), 42 and Wells (1999), 127-128. For different types of *terra sigillata* in *Oppidum Batavorum*, see: Enckevort (2010b), 7-8.
[171] Hingley (2005), 45 and Heeren (2009), 9.
[172] Heeren (2009), 165-166 and Mattingly (2004), 7.
[173] Heeren (2009), 9.
[174] See: Heeren (2009), 9 for a parallel with current practices concerning eating hamburgers at MacDonalds.
[175] Hingley (2005) 37-40.

example in conflict situations, such as the Batavian Revolt, is excluded. Secondly, the concept implicates a uniform process, denying individualism, with a uniform result, denying societal heterogeneity. Lastly, Romanisation is often implicitly valued positively, whereas the negative results of Roman presence, such as slavery and native war casualties are denied.[176] The concept of Romanisation is regarded as a colonial product and should therefore be avoided. As a result, the concept is referred to as "so-called Romanisation" and the "R-word", indicating that it cannot be avoided simply. It has been attempted to replace Romanisation with other concepts, such as "discrepant identities",[177] "creolisation"[178] and "globalisation",[179] but these concepts, as will be shown below, have their own restraints and cannot be regarded as the ultimate solution.

2.2.3 A new definition?

Notwithstanding the post colonial critiques of British and American archaeologists, it is thought that the concept of Romanisation should not be abandoned, for it can be still valuable for several reasons. In the first place, the mentioned attempts to replace the Romanisation have failed for other concepts are not infallible either. The idea of "discrepant identities" avoids an elite perspective, but has primarily to do with social aspects of society, whereas economic aspects of change are not included.[180] Moreover, "creolisation" has been criticized for having the same defects as Romanisation, though it has been regarded as more balanced.[181] The historical context of creolisation, the slave plantations of the eighteenth century, however, is very different from the Roman Empire.[182] "Globalisation" has some modern connotations which are not applicable to the Roman Empire,[183] but the potential of the concept is investigated.[184] Consequently, the replacement of Romanisation by another concept cannot be regarded as a solution, for other, sometimes rather similar problems are caused that should again be dealt with.

The second point, that is related to the search for other concepts is too much a theoretical approach towards Romanisation. The rejection of Romanisation as an analytical concept are sometimes artificial and its rejection, appears to have become a purpose on its own. Outdated models of Romanisation are attacked, without contributing anything to the

---

[176] Heeren (2009), 10.
[177] See: Mattingly (2011), 29.
[178] See: Webster (2001).
[179] See: Hingley (2005), title.
[180] Heeren (2009), 12.
[181] Heeren (2009), 12 and note 69.
[182] Webster (2001), 217.
[183] Heeren (2009), 12 and note 71.
[184] See, for instance: Hingley (2005), title.

current debate.[185] Although a theoretical framework is necessary to structure the available sources, the sources in itself should not be ignored and a profound analysis of the primary written sources and the archaeological an epigraphic record is essential.

Lastly, it has been proposed by Dutch archaeologists recently, Romanisation is a useful device to study Batavian society.[186] According to Heeren, Romanisation is a useful concept for the study of the Batavian rural population.[187] He refers to several changes in Batavian society that only occurred after the arrival of the Roman army in the Lower Rhine Region, such as the foundation of cities. Next to Heeren, Slofstra has stated that the concept should be rehabilitated, because the continuity in the theoretical debate about Roman archaeology is based on the concept and because Romanisation can be a powerful concept when used in a relevant theoretical framework.[188] An important aspect of their understanding, however, is that the concept should be reformulated each time.[189]

2.3 ROMAN NIJMEGEN AND THE DEBATE ON ROMANISATION

From the overview of the study and debate of Romanisation it has become clear how the interpretation of the concept changed has over the past century, from Haverfield's colonial explanation, supported by the ancient primary written sources, to the wide range of post colonial interpretations of the concept. Debate is still going on about the (replacement of the) concept and by means of this debate, several features concerning the investigation of Roman Nijmegen can be clarified.

Starting with the consciousness of change in Antiquity, it has been demonstrated that Roman Nijmegen can be identified with the descriptions given by Tacitus and Dio in different aspects, such as the foundation of cities, the holding of a markets and apparent military involvement. This easy identification is problematic, however, for not only the examples are easily connected to Roman Nijmegen, but as a consequence also Tacitus' and Dios the characterization of the processes of change. Active Roman (military) involvement, the depiction of the indigenous population as one monolithic group and the smooth, positive and linear development of change are therefore also implemented on *Oppidum Batavorum* and *Ulpia Noviomagus*.[190] In other words, modern research on Roman Nijmegen is colonially inspired, just like Haverfields' thesis about the Romanisation of Britain.

---

[185] Heeren (2009), 14. See, for instance: Mattingly (2011), constantly repeating the defects of the concept.

[186] In addition to Dutch archaeologists, others Continental archaeologists have proposed to rehabilitate the concept, see, for instance: Le Roux (2004); Terrenato (2001) and Woolf (1998), 7.

[187] Heeren (2009), 15-16.

[188] Slofstra 16-17.

[189] Heeren (2009), 15-16; Slofstra (2002), 18-23.

[190] See, for instance: Willems (1990), 72 and note 24 above.

This observation paves the way for the re-evaluation and reinterpretation of the available sources and for the revision of the colonially inspired ideas about Roman Nijmegen, such as the negative Batavian interpretation of the towns. The colonially based arguments to support this view can be invalidated by post colonial theory and a new line of approach can be applied. In the previous paragraph, some of the post colonial objections to the interpretation of the concept of Romanisation are very helpful here, for they support the assumption that the available sources are interpreted incorrectly. Two arguments to support the colonial view of Roman Nijmegen can be challenged from the post colonial perspective. In the first place, the deviant culture in both town compared to the Batavian countryside. The proposed (Gallo-)Roman character of the material culture does not indicate that all inhabitants were (Gallo-)Romans, because material culture does not necessarily say anything about the identity of its users as has been mentioned above.[191] The presence of (Gallo-) Roman material culture can also be explained by other factors, such as the presence of soldiers. Due to the military involvement in the foundation of both towns and because of the Roman military installations and the *canabae* in the vicinity of the capital, a (Gallo-)Roman material culture can be explained. This Roman military component, however, was absent in the countryside[192] and the material culture therefore deviates compared to the town. In the following paragraphs, this interpretation of material culture will be recurring and it will be stated that the supposed (Gallo-)Roman character of the archaeological record does not automatically designates that no Batavians were living in *Oppidum Batavorum*.

Secondly, it can be questioned to what extent *Oppidum Batavorum* was regarded by the Batavians as a device to enforce their integration into the Roman Empire. The debate on Romanisation clearly shows that it is not clear to what extent the Roman government was actively involved in civilizing the native peoples. The foundation of the settlement *ex novo* is clearly initiated by the Roman government and that Roman styled political functions were introduced, but it should be taken into account that not all Batavians would have reacted similarly to the establishment of the town. Native agency should also be taken into account here and there are indications, as will be demonstrated in chapter 3, that the Batavians were able to localize themselves in the new structures of power that arose from the foundation of the capital. From this perspective, it can be stated that the Batavians were not only influenced by the city, but that they themselves were able to exert their influence through the political infrastructure of *Oppidum Batavorum* as well.

---

[191] See also: Roymans (2004), 204.

[192] The recruitment of Batavians in the country side in the first and second centuries AD should also be taken into account, for after their *mission*, the soldiers will have taken (Gallo-)Roman material culture home, see: Heeren (2009), 9. The scale of military presence, however, is very different, however, for the Augustan legionary camp could hold up to 15.000 men and the Flavian *castra* could also accommodate thousands of soldiers, see: Willems *et al.* (2009), 35 and 48.

Next to these two insights, the use of the concept of Romanisation in connection with Roman Nijmegen should not be seen as a problem. The concept is valued positively by other researchers of the *civitas Batavorum* and of Batavian society, the replacement Romanisation by other concepts has been rather fruitless and instead of profound theoretical reflection, the rich archaeological record of Roman Nijmegen should be utilized in its full potential. Nonetheless, a theoretical foundation is necessary and both the concept of Romanisation as well as understandings from the debate on Romanisation can be used to strengthen the investigation of Roman Nijmegen. It is important, however, that the use of the concept Romanisation is explained and that it should be (re)formulated each time it is used. In this way the naïve colonial interpretation of the concept as it has been coined by Haverfield, supported by the descriptions of change in the primary written sources, can be avoided.

3. Batavo-Roman power relations

Power and power relations are important themes in post colonial theory and in the current study and debate of Romanisation and attention will therefore be paid in this chapter to the (re)construction of Batavo-Roman power relations. The significance of the examination of Batavo-Roman relations is pronounced by Mattingly as follows: "the first priority must be to locate indigenous people in the power networks and colonial discourse that bound them to Rome, and to seek to understand the prelude, processes and results of their complex negotiations (societal and personal) with the imperial power."[193] Slofstra underlines this argument by stating that: "Romanisation is all about social-cultural change, but the direction these changes take is always governed by power-related factors: the imperial authority, politico-geographical and institutional settings, modes of production and the impact of dominant personalities."[194] From a post colonial perspective, natives should be regarded as active agents within these dynamics of native-Roman power relations[195] and it will be shown in the following that natives were involved in shaping these relations. In the case of Roman Nijmegen and the Batavians particularly the elites are involved in negotiations and institutional settings. Not mentioned by Mattingly and Slofstra, but significant as well, is that native societies in itself were also affected by Roman power and Roman intervention. After the Batavian Revolt, for example, the disloyal *Iulii* were removed by the Romans and replaced by new elites. Internal power relations could also change without direct Roman interference in society, for example by the enactment of a law,[196] or by the conclusion of a treaty with the elites.[197] In addition to an elite perspective, the non-elite echelons of indigenous societies should be considered as well, for they were also affected by Roman structures of power and were even able themselves to exercise their influence on native-Roman power relations

In the following, Batavo-Roman power relations will be investigated by means of primary written sources and epigraphy. The available texts show interesting dynamics of power, not only between Batavians and Romans, but also within Batavian society itself, concerning both the elites and the non-elites. Batavo-Roman relations are unequal, favoring the Romans, but it will be shown that the Batavian emerge as active agents and that they were able to negotiate themselves a rather profitable position within the Roman Empire.

---

[193] Mattingly (1997), 10.

[194] Slofstra (2002), 22. The great difference between Mattingly and Slofstra is that they hate and try to reinstate Romanisation respectively: Mattingly (2002), 537 *contra* Slofstra (2002), 16-17.

[195] See, for instance: Hingley (1996), 43; Slofstra (2002), 17; Terrenato (1998), 25; Terrenato (2001), 2 and Woolf (1997), 346.

[196] See, for instance: Martin Millett (1990a): traditional elites in Britain lost their former base of power due to the *Lex Iulia de Vi Publica,* that forbade native elites to carry weapons the them and as a consequence their influence on lower echelons of society.

[197] See: paragraph 3.2.

Moreover, the negative aspects of Batavo-Roman power relations will be shown, eventually culminating in the Batavian Revolt. In paragraph 3.1, Batavo-Roman power relations in the Histories of Tacitus will be analyzed by means of the concepts of *dominus*, *servitus* and *libertas*. It is demonstrated that these concepts are strongly related to each other and that they depict the relations between the Roman in AD 69 and 70. In the end, it can be stated from the analysis that *Oppidum Batavorum* was not necessarily despised by the Batavians as a symbol of suppression. The next paragraph deals with the so-called *antiqua societas*, a treaty negotiated by Batavian elites, that appears to be a central feature of Batavo-Roman power relations. The analysis of this treaty demonstrates that Batavo-Roman relations were primarily shaped by the agreement and that Batavians were able to negotiate their position within the Empire. In the last paragraph, the role of Roman Nijmegen as a centre of power in the *civitas Batavorum* is investigated, by means of several inscriptions that provide information about political functions in the pre-Revolt and the post-Revolt periods.

3.1 TACITUS AND BATAVO-ROMAN POWER RELATIONS

Since power relations are archaeologically almost intangible, Tacitus' writings can be very valuable for the investigation of Batavian society and Batavo-Roman power relations. Some remarks concerning Tacitus as a historian and the context of his writings, however, should be taken into account first. Several things have already been said about this topic in the Introduction, but since this paragraph focuses on specific features of the Histories, some further elucidation is necessary.

With regard to the content of the Histories, Tacitus based his narrative on works of other male senatorial Roman writers. His writings still bear strong resemblances, to other primary written sources, for example, the Natural Histories and the German Wars of Pliny the Elder.[198] In addition, he will have accessed senatorial records to frame the narrative of the Revolt.[199] As mentioned previously, it is unknown whether Tacitus himself ever visited the northern boundaries of the Empire to witness events himself or to question individuals about these events.[200] Furthermore, writing contemporary history has not only adverse consequences, but can be regarded positively as well, for Tacitus would have been able to consulted eyewitnesses from the north, for example veterans or tradesmen, deploying the best possible source besides autopsy.[201] Though Tacitus' sources were still biased, it is thought that the grand narrative of the Histories is rather valuable as a historical framework.

---

[198] The German Wars is now lost, but Pliny the Younger mentions its existence in: Plinius *Epistulae* III, 5. Tacitus himself mentions the existence of the *Bella Germaniae* as well, see, for instance: *Annales* I, 69. About the resemblances between Pliny's German Wars and Tacitus' Histories, see: Sprey (1953), 2, note 2 and 3 *ibidem*.
[199] Chilver and Townend (1979), 20.
[200] Rives (2012) 49.
[201] Ash (2009), 86.

More detailed information, however, should be assessed more critically, for it suffers from biased views and incomplete reproduction. One example of the detailed information in the Histories that will be treated in the following are speeches and direct speech.

Direct speech and speeches are a specific stylistic element that is prominently recurring in the Histories, providing the reader with very detailed information. Speeches and direct speech are no exceptional tool in ancient historiography[202] and Tacitus is no exemption in this tradition.[203] Since almost all examples in the following paragraphs concerning concepts of Batavo-Roman power relations appear in speeches and direct speech, it is important to examine their implication and to look at some of the characteristics of speeches in the Histories. In the first place, speeches appear realistic, purporting to represent the speaker's actual words. They are certainly literary constructs, however and have their own purpose within the larger context of the narrative. They were not only used to liven up the text but, as Keitel argues, speeches also form a link between the foreign and the domestic in the narrative.[204] The events in Rome are linked to the events in *Germania* and at the same time Tacitus reveals the complex working out of the different interpretation of the concepts *servitus* and *libertas* by the Romans and the *Germani*.[205] This point will be illustrated below and indicates that Tacitus deliberately thought about the composition of the Histories and especially the speeches. They should indeed be regarded as literal constructs and rhetorical devices,[206] though they should not automatically be dismissed as unusable passages in the investigation of Batavo-Roman power relations, for the actual form and structure of a speech might not be historically accurate, the content of a speech can be reliable.[207]

In addition, there are some other considerations, which are plain, but should be mentioned. Firstly, Tacitus' writings have multiple interpretations making it difficult to draw conclusions from the texts. Secondly, the historical context should be taken into account: Tacitus writes about a chaotic period of (civil or foreign) war. The representation of Batavo-Roman power relations is prejudiced, because Romans and Batavians were enemies during the Revolt. Lastly, the investigated passages only relate to a very short span of time: less than a year passed between the outbreak of the Revolt, as Civilis organizes a meeting in a sacred forest[208] and the end, as Civilis negotiates with Roman general Petilius Cerialis on the broken bridge crossing the Nabalia river.[209] Batavo-Roman power relations, by contrast,

---

[202] Levene (2009), 212.

[203] For the following on speeches in the Histories, see: Levene (2009) 212-214.

[204] Keitel (1993), 39. The dynamics of domestic and foreign will be elucidated further below.

[205] Keitel (1993), 42-43, cf. 49.

[206] See: Haynes (2003), 163.

[207] Keitel (1993), 50.

[208] Tacitus, *Historiae* IV, 14.

[209] Tacitus, Historiae V, 26. The exact location of this river is unknown. See: Heubner V, 177; Sprey (1953), 107; Teitler (2004), 33 and note 29 and Chilver and Townend (1979), 103.

dated back to the first century BC and existed well into the second and third centuries AD. Despite the small temporal framework of the Histories, they give some clues about the relations before the outbreak of the Revolt, for the state of affairs during the Revolt is frequently compared to the situation before its outbreak. The main referential point in these comparisons is the Batavo-Roman treaty that will be examined further below.

Lastly, it should be mentioned that the labels, such as "Batavian" and "Roman" are used in these paragraphs to define political, rather than cultural entities, for the analyzed concepts are employed politically by Tacitus.[210] As has been argued above, Tacitus creates a strong dichotomy between the Batavians and the Romans, and a cultural interpretation of the labels does not fit his description. In addition, the Batavian Revolt should be regarded as a political conflict and not a cultural conflict, justifying the political interpretation.[211]

3.1.1 Tacitus: master and serf

The first two concepts that will be analyzed are *dominus* on the one hand and *servitus*/*servitium* on the other. These concepts are strongly related to each other and clearly express unequal relationships, as the Romans should be regarded as the *domini* and the Batavians as subjects, burdened by their *servitus*/*servitium*. This dichotomy clearly illustrates the colonial connotations of the Roman masters as the colonizers and the Batavian as the colonized.

To start, the noun *dominus*, is analyzed in three examples.[212] First, in Histories IV, 17, after a Batavian victory against the Romans, Civilis tried to persuade the Gallic provinces to join him by gifts: captured prefects were sent back to their *civitates* and soldiers were allowed to leave or stay. At the same time Civilis reminded the Gauls of their miseries in private conversations and told them that the Batavians had taken up their arms against their common *dominos*, despite the fact that the *Batavi* were exempt from taxation.[213] This statement opposes two elements of Batavo-Roman power relations, for Civilis refers on the one hand to the abuse of the Roman masters, a rather negative aspect of Batavo-Roman relations, but at the same time he mentions the exemption from taxation, which does not fit Roman mistreatment.[214] Furthermore, even though the Romans are presented as the

---

[210] Vielberg (1987), 114.

[211] The Revolt has several causes, but the most important is the violation of the Batavo-Roman treaty by the Romans, see: paragraph 3.2.

[212] LS: *dominus:* master, possessor, ruler, lord, proprietor, owner.

[213] Tacitus, *Historiae* IV, 17: "*Batavos, quamquam tributorum expertis, arma contra communis dominos cepisse.*" "That the Batavians, although exempt from tribute, have taken up weapons against their common masters."

[214] The exemption of taxation is part of a Batavo-Roman treaty, see: paragraph 3.5. Taxes were a burden for the provinces, see: Tacitus, *Germania* 29.

dominating party, the dispatch of the prefects, can be interpreted as an illustration of how the Batavians thought about the actual relations of power at that moment. The dispatch shows that the Batavians were not dependent on the weakening of the Roman army by making its officers prisoners of war to achieve their goals. This can be interpreted as an act of Batavian arrogance, stating that they were mightier than the Romans at that moment.[215]

The second example, in Histories IV, 32, the employment of *dominus* is strengthened by the reference to Roman symbols of power. In a conversation with Alpinius Montanus, a Roman army officer from the tribe of the *Treveri*, Civilis refers to the superiority of the Romans in the army and complains about his twenty-five years of service and the dangers he went through in those years. Montanus is asked what has been the use of that suffering, the ungrateful military service, everlasting tributes, floggings (*virgas*), axes of the executioner (*securis*) and the humours (*ingenia*) of masters?[216] The unequal power relations as expressed by *dominus* are strengthened by other concepts: the plural *ingenia* probably points to the capriciousness of Roman army officers,[217] reinforcing the notion of the powerless position of the native soldier under their command. This passage perhaps not only refers to Civilis' own experience. Very recently, Batavian youths were levied by emperor Vitellius, but the Roman army officers in charge of the levy defied the standard procedures, by capturing the old and weak, releasing them only for a price. Furthermore Batavian children were used as sex objects.[218] In addition to the *ingenia*, Civilis mentions the *virgas* and the *securis*, symbols of Roman *imperium* and power, strengthening the idea of unequal power relations.[219]

The third example involves not only one individual Batavian, but the *Batavi* in general. In the autumn of AD 70,[220] the Batavian cause was on the wane and when the fidelity of the tribes on the other side of the Rhine had been shaken, the common people debated what do to next. They concluded that any further resistance was useless, for they had been fighting for Vespasian and he was emperor now.[221] Furthermore, they were not burdened by the Romans as the Noricans, the Rhaetians or other allies, for they were exempt from taxation and were only required to supply soldiers for the Roman army.[222] All in all they agreed that, if they could select their own masters, they would choose Roman

---

[215] A common feature among Batavians, see: Tacitus, *Historiae* V, 23.

[216] Tacitus, *Historiae* IV, 32: "(…) *ingratam militiam, inmortalia tributa, virgas, securis et dominorum ingenia?*" (…) "Ungrateful military service, everlasting tributes, twigs, the *securis* and the temperament of masters."

[217] Hunink (2010) translates *ingenia* as 'capriciousness' (willekeur), characterizing the officers being temperamental and *dominorum* is translated as 'tyrants' (tirannen), strengthening its negative connotations.

[218] Tacitus, *Historiae* IV, 14. On power, sex and empire, see: Mattingly (2011), chapter 4. A reference to this specific passage is made on pages 111-112.

[219] Heubner IV, 77.

[220] Tacitus, *Historiae* V, 24.

[221] Tacitus, *Historiae* V, 25.

[222] According to Chilver and Townend, the reference to the Rhaetians and the Norcians is rather surprising, for tribes of the Three Gauls could have been mentioned as well. Instead, the Batavians preferred to refer to other Germanic tribes: Chilver and Townend (1979), 102.

emperors rather than German women.[223] The noun *dominus* is used in a context differing from the other examples: firstly, this passage relates to the thoughts and deliberations of the common people, whereas the other two were pronounced by a member of the elite.[224] Moreover, the view of Roman domination is less vindictive: the common *Batavi* do not criticize their subordination to Roman power and refer to the reasonable exemption from taxation. In this, they oppose Civilis' arguments in the speech in Histories IV, 17. For the commoners, the failure of the Revolt indicates that noting could be changed by force and thus that they should be satisfied with the existing situation.

The representation of the Romans as *domini* is paralleled by the Batavians suffering from their servitude. The nouns *servitium* and *servitus* express this.[225] According to Vielberg, *servitium* and *servitus* are employed by Tacitus in a political context to describe unequal relationships of dependency within a political entity (*innerpolitisch*), or between different political entities, involving international law (*außerpolitisch*).[226] This distinction, however, cannot be applied without any problems to Batavo-Roman relationships, for it is debated to what extent the *Batavi* were integrated into the Roman Empire and therefore whether an *innerpolitisch* or *außerpolitisch* an state of affairs is involved. The Batavian Revolt can consequently be interpreted both as a civil war and a foreign war. This topic is not a recent problem, for the textual construction of the Histories demonstrates that also Tacitus struggled with the question.[227] In addition, the main character of the Batavian Revolt, Julius Civilis, is depicted on the one hand as Hannibal, a foreign enemy, but on the other hand as Sertorius, a traitor of the Roman state.[228] The relevance of the distinction between *innerpolitisch* or *außerpolitisch,* becomes clear in the interpretation of *Oppidum Batavorum* by the Batavians.

In Histories IV, 14, following the brutal levy and abuse of Batavian youths by Vitellius' troops, Civilis assembles Batavians leaders and the bravest of the common people under the pretext of a banquet in a sacred grove. During this gathering, Civilis glorifies the Batavian tribe and speaks of the misfortunes of the *Batavi* as follows: "(…) *iniurias et raptus et cetera*

---

[223] Tacitus, *Historiae* V, 25: "(…) *si dominorum electio sit, honestius principes Romanorum quam Germanorum feminas tolerari.*" "(...) if there would be an election of our master, we would rather tolerate Roman emperors than the women of the *Germani.*" This sentence is probably part of Tacitean rethorics, see: Sprey (1953), 107 and Tacitus, *Germania*, 8.

[224] Tacitus, *Historiae* V, 25.

[225] LS: *servitium* and *servitus*: the condition of a slave, service, slavery, servitude, the government, rule, dominion of a master.

[226] Vielberg (1987), 114.

[227] The confusing characterization of the Batavian Revolt is visible in the construction of the *Historiae* as well: the annalistic tradition distincts *res internae* and *res externae* rather strictly, but Tacitus does not mark these formal categories explicitly, for they blend and cannot be separated from each other. Master (2012), 96-97.

[228] Tacitus, *Historiae* IV, 13. See: Ash (2009), 96-97 and Haynes (2003), 148 and 150.

servitii mala enumerat: neque enim societatem, ut olim, sed tamquam mancipia haberi."[229]
In his speech, Civilis interprets Batavian servitude very negatively as he argues that it is nowadays constituted of injustice (*iniurias*), extortion (*raptus*) and other bad elements (*cetera mala*). He thus emphasizes that the Batavians suffer from Roman power and abuse. In the past, however, Batavo-Roman power relations were better: Civilis contrast the negative *servitii* and the treatment of the Batavians as slaves (*mancipia*) to the existence of a friendly Batavo-Roman treaty (*societatem*) by *enim*.[230] The already negative Batavian valuation of *servitium* is, as a result, strengthened by the comparison with a more advantageous Batavo-Roman relationship in the past. The reference to the Batavo-Roman treaty indicates that this example has to do with an *innerpolitisch* interpretation of *servitium*, for it marks an unequal relation within the context of the Empire as a political entity.

Secondly, Histories IV, 17 is a powerful example of a negative interpretation of *servitus*, for it is paralleled by a passage in Tacitus' *Agricola*. After the Roman defeat, Civilis in his conversations with the Gauls, not only refers to the rise against their common masters, but mentions as well that they "(…) *miseram servitutem falso pacem vocarent*."[231] The existing relationships were regarded by the Batavians and other tribes as friendly understandings with the Romans, but they were actually misled and they were in fact subordinate to Roman power. Although the expression *miseram servitutem* designates a negative aspect of native-Roman relations, its interpretation is rather vague. In *Agricola* 30, a rather similar expression can be found in what is known as the speech of Calgacus, a Caledonian *dux*, facilitating the interpretation of Civilis' statement.[232] Calgacus disparages the Romans and states that they plunder, slaughter and steal under the false name of *imperium* and that they call it peace.[233] The positive concept of peace is used to veil exploitation, which is not overlooked, however, by a native leader. The parallel with Civilis and the *Batavi* is evident: a native leader warns his tribe, because the Romans under the pretext of a false peace abuse their position of power to exploit native tribes. This intertextual example demonstrates very well the negative aspects of *servitus*, which were present in other parts of the Roman Empire too. As in the previous example, an *innerpolitisch* interpretation of *servitus* as applicable here, for the same reasons.

---

[229] Tacitus, *Historiae* IV, 14. "(…) injustice and extortion and the other misfortunes of their slavery he enumerated: this was no treaty, as once, but a treatment as slaves."

[230] Heubner IV, 43.

[231] Tacitus, *Historiae* IV, 17."(…) they called their miserable servitude a false peace." See also: Chilver and Townend (1979), 38 and Heubner IV, 49.

[232] "Blessings of peace" as one of the features of empire figured much in Roman literary propaganda, see: Ogilvie and Richmond (1967), 257-258.

[233] Tacitus, *Agricola* 30: "*Auferre trucidare rapere falsis nominibus imperium, atque ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant*." "Plundering, slaughtering and pillaging under the false name of empire and, they make a solitude and call it peace."

Lastly, the common Batavians in Histories V, 25 do not only refer to their *domini*, but to *servitium* as well. They agree that no single tribe can avert the enslavement of the whole world by the Romans,[234] as they themselves have experienced. No tribe can escape servitude for it will only lead to its own destruction. The commoners have resigned themselves to the current state of affairs of unequal Batavo-Roman relationships and their dependence of Roman power. The elites, except for Civilis, appear to have resigned themselves to the current situation as well, for they acknowledge that the Revolt has been fruitless, unless they show their repentance by punishing the guilty individual (Civilis),[235] returning to Roman favor and inevitably to Roman structures of power. Civilis himself, however, actively tries to negotiate with the Romans, for both better relationships and his own life.

The utilization of the concepts *dominus* and *servitus/servitium* in the Histories indicates that Batavo-Roman relations were unequal and that the Batavians were dependent of Roman power. All the examples show that the mentioned problems, such as the violation of the Batavo-Roman treaty and the *falso pacem*, are regarded as *innerpolitisch* issues, indicating that the Roman Empire is the political umbrella and the Batavians are part of its political structure. In the next paragraph, the concept of *libertas* will be analyzed. It indicates a state of political freedom and is therefore is opposed to *dominus* and *servitus/servitium*.[236] This antithesis recurs regularly, as the concepts are utilized often in the same passages.[237]

3.1.2 Tacitus: freedom

The concept *libertas*[238] is important for another reason as well: it was an important value for both the Romans and the *Germani*.[239] According to Vielberg, *libertas* is ambiguous and Tacitus uses the concept in different contexts.[240] In this paragraph it is used politically and consequently, the concept of *libertas* can be interpreted in two ways. In the first place negatively, referring to the political freedom of a tribe and independence of Roman rule and rulers. The aspiration of the involved tribe is that native-Roman relations become *außerpolitisch* and therefore that unequal power relations are abolished. Secondly, it can be interpreted positively, indicating a situation of semi self-government of tribes within the

---

[234] Tacitus, *Historiae* V, 25. "(…) *nec posse ab una natione totius orbis servitium depelli*." "(…) one single nation cannot keep off the servitude of the whole world."
[235] Tacitus, *Historiae* V, 25.
[236] Cf. Keitel (1993), 50.
[237] Vielberg (1987), 121.
[238] LS: *libertas*: freedom, liberty, absence of restraint, permission. More specific: political freedom, liberty, or independence of a people not under monarchical rule, or not subject to another people (opposed to *servitus* and *dominatus*).
[239] Rives (2012) 51.
[240] Vielberg (1987), 113, 121 and 152.

sphere of the Roman Empire.[241] In this *innerpolitisch* scenario, unequal native-Roman power relations are still present, for the semi-independent status of the tribe is controlled by Roman power.

Quite a few passages deal with *libertas* as an important value for the *Germani,* especially with regard to Vielberg's negative interpretation of the concept. In Histories IV, 25, for example, the Roman army marches towards Cologne and Gallic auxiliary troops join the Roman soldiers. At this moment, the Gallic auxiliaries were still loyal, but as Tacitus remarks, their loyalty to Rome faded as the strength of the *Germani* increased. The Gauls and other *civitates* then took up arms against the Romans, because of "(…) *spe libertatis et, si exuissent servitium, cupidine imperitandi.*"[242] In this sentence, *libertas* is meant positively, for the "hope of self-government" (*cupidine imperitandi*) can be interpreted as the negative *libertas*. The Gauls and the *Germani* hope for semi-selfgovernment under Roman auspices, but depending on the outcome of the conditional clause *"si exuissent servitium"* they were even able to become independent from Roman power.[243] This example illustrates the strong connection between *libertas* and *servitium*. They are opposed, because negative *libertas* cannot be achieved as long as servitude existsed. In other words, full self-government cannot be attained as the Romans (and consequently unequal native-Roman power relations) existed. It should be mentioned, however, that the possession of negative *libertas*, does not only mean self government, but also the opportunity to dominate others.[244]

The rather radical attitude of the Gauls and the *Germani* to *libertas* is applicable to the *Batavi* as well. In Histories IV, 16, Tacitus tells about the treason that caused Roman defeat. A cohort of *Tungri* defects to the armies of Civilis and the Batavian rowers of the *classis Germania* betray their Roman officers by rowing to the enemy bank. Several boats and arms are captured by Civilis and he and his forces are portrayed as liberators (*libertatis auctores*) throughout the Germanic and Gallic provinces.[245] The defeat of the Roman army and the Roman fleet and the resulting weakening of Roman military power are an illustration of Vielberg's negative interpretation of *libertas*. The Romans are overpowered, the Gallic and Germanic *civitates* become fully independent and unequal native-power relations are abolished.[246] This interpretation is strengthened by the subsequent private conversations in Histories IV, 17. In those conversations, Civilis mentions that *libertas* is a gift of nature, that is even granted to dumb animals and he explicitly argues that Roman domination of the

---

[241] Vielberg (1987), 152. There is even a third option, combining the negative and positive interpretation, but this is not applicable here, for this option is also applicable to the Republic.
[242] Tacitus *Historiae* IV, 25. "(…) by hope for freedom and, if they were rid of servitude, desire for self-government."
[243] Chilver and Townend (1979), 44.
[244] Keitel (1993), 49.
[245] Tacitus, *Historiae* IV, 17: "(…) *per Germanias Galliasque fama libertatis auctores celebrabantur.*" "(…) they were celebrated in *Germania* and Gaul as liberators."
[246] Tacitus, *Historiae* IV, 17.

Germani and the resulting absence of Germanic *libertas* is unnatural. To support his argument, the concepts of *libertas* and *servitus* are connected to each other in two historical examples. Firstly, Civilis states that many are still alive who were born before the tribute. The tribute (*tributa*) is here an indication of unequal relations and an obstruction to achieve *libertas*.[247] Secondly, Civilis reminds his listeners that not very long ago, servitude (*servitutem*) was driven from *Germania* when the Roman armies of Quintilius Varus were defeated.[248] These two historical events are deployed to show that the *Germani* were not burdened by servitude as the Romans were absent, and therefore that there freedom had been given by nature. Roman rule, should therefore be regarded unnaturally and *libertas* is here interpreted from a negative point of view.

The commoners in Histories V, 25 once again participate in the assessment of Batavo-power relations, as they discuss the *libertas* of their tribe. As has been mentioned above, they are in a miserable state because of their defeat, but they argue they are still fortunate, for they are less burdened by Rome than others, as they are only required to furnish soldiers for the Roman army and are exempt from taxation. According to them the exemption from tribute is in fact, "*proximum id libertati;*(…)".[249] This statement again illustrates that *libertas* can be interpreted in two ways: the Batavians fought for independence from Roman power, but as this failed, the commoners acknowledge that they should be satisfied with a situation that is close to (*proximum*) sovereignty. In comparison with other allies, this was not a bad alternative at all, for they were able to avoid tribute.

These examples have illustrated a Germanic and Batavian longing for full independence from Roman power, for the concept of *libertas* is interpreted negatively in every passage. *Libertas*, however, was also an important concept for the Romans, though they thought that it should not be possessed by others as they could become a threat to the *securitas* of the Empire.[250] This explains the Roman military effort in the northwest during the Revolt as the Batavians on the one hand, tried to release themselves from Roman power to gain independence, whereas the Romans on the other hand desperately sent legions to the northwest to avoid this. The Batavian desire for independence could not be met by the Romans for it would weaken the political structure in the northwest. This observation clearly

---

[247] Cf. Cassius Dio *Historia Romana* LVI, 18, 2.

[248] Tacitus, *Historiae* IV, 17: "*multos adhuc in Gallia vivere ante tributa genitos. Nuper certe caeso Quintilio Varo pulsam e Germania servitutem*(...)". This should be regarded as a set of rhetorical arguments. Gaul was conquered during the 50s BC and the Lower Rhine Region in the 10s BC. Those who were born before the tribute should be at least eighty years of age and those who were born before the defeat of Varus were at least sixty years old. Although it is possible to imagine that individual could reach the age of eighty, it is unlikely that many (*multos*) will have been over eighty years. In addition, it is rather remarkable, in this context, that someone thinks of sixty years as a short period of time (*nuper*), see also: Heubner IV, 50.

[249] Tacitus, *Historiae* V, 25. "(..) this is close to freedom."

[250] Thomas (2009), 64. On *securitas* see: Vielberg (1987), 157.

illustrates the problem of the characterization of the Revolt as an *innerpolitisch* or *außerpolitisch* conflict. The military reaction of the Romans demonstrates that they saw the uprising as an internal problem, but the Batavian interpretation is more ambiguous. Following the examples, the Batavians saw the Revolt as an *innerpolitisch* conflict, but the analysis of another speech of Civilis shows that an *außerpolitisch* interpretation fits the situation as well. In Histories IV, 32 Civilis speaks as the representative of a sovereign people to Alpinius Montanus and asks for compensation or his suffering, because this is prescribed by "the law of nations" (*iure gentium*).[251] This reference to the law of nations, supposes a condition of Batavian sovereignty and a Batavian *außerpolitisch* interpretation of the conflict.[252] The Batavians' ambiguousness of the interpretation of the conflict will constitute part of the reinterpretation of the passage of Histories V, 19 as *Oppidum Batavorum* is burned down.

The relation between *Oppidum Batavorum* and the analyzed concepts, however, is not direct, for the settlement is not connected to them in the text of the Histories. How then should the concepts of *dominus*, *servitus*/*servitium* and *libertas* be implemented on *Oppidum Batavorum*? Was the capital indeed a Roman instrument to enforce the integration of the Batavians? Neither Civilis, nor the common *Batavi* refer to the capital as an oppressing force, or as a symbol of Roman domination and suppression. Besides, *Oppidum Batavorum* is never mentioned as an obstacle in achieving Batavian *libertas*. Despite the absence of any connection, some conclusions can be drawn from the analogy with *Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium*, modern Cologne. This city is connected in the Histories to all three concepts and therefore makes a potentially interesting case for *Oppidum Batavorum*. Both towns are comparable to each other in different respects. Firstly, they were both capitals of a Roman administrative district. Secondly, they were founded *ex novo* in the second half of the first century BC. Thirdly, they both homed veterans. The comparison will demonstrate that *Oppidum Batavorum* was not necessarily interpreted negatively by the Batavians and another reading of Histories V, 19 will be provided.

In Histories IV, 63, Civilis doubts whether he should assault Cologne and eventually an embassy of *Tencteri*, a Germanic tribe, was sent to the city.[253] In the subsequent chapter, the delegation speaks outside the walls of the *colonia* to the *Ubii*, the inhabitants of the city, as follows: "(…) *postulamus a vobis muros coloniae, munimenta servitii, detrahatis (etiam fera animalia, si clausa teneas, virtutis obliviscuntur), Romanos omnis in finibus vestris trucedetis*

---

[251] Tacitus *Historiae* IV, 32: "(…) *iure gentium poenas resposco.*" "(…) I ask for compensation following the law of nations." Heubner IV 76.

[252] Vielberg (1987), 114.

[253] According to Tacitus, Civilis doubted to attack Cologne, because he remembered the service done to him by the inhabitants of the city only shortly before: although his own son was arrested in Cologne, he was treated by the inhabitants with respect and honour while in custody, see: Tacitus, *Historiae* IV, 63.

(haud facile libertas et domini miscentur)(…).”[254] The speech is very aggressive and the inhabitants of Cologne are demanded to take some drastic measures against their own city.[255] In the first place, they are asked to pull down the city walls as these are interpreted as the monuments of their servitude. The concept of *servitium* is clearly connected here to the physical appearance of the city, because the city was founded *ex novo*. Consequently, the city walls were built under Roman authority and are understood as the symbols of the servitude of the *Ubii* to the Romans. Secondly, in order the gain freedom, the *Ubii* should kill all the Romans in the city, for they are seen as the masters. The concepts of *domini* and *libertas* are closely connected to each other here and this has to do with the function of Cologne as the capital of a Roman administrative district. The masters (*domini*) are an obstacle in the way to freedom (*libertas*) and should therefore be removed. The interpretation of the masters as Roman officials, will mean that *libertas* is utilized negatively here. Only as all the Roman masters are killed, the *Ubii* will be fully independent from Roman power. The issue should be seen as an *innerpolitisch* issue, for unequal relations and a reference to full independence are involved. So, the appearance of the city, as well as its inhabitants and the function of Cologne are deployed by the *Tencteri* to point to the unequal Ubian-Roman relations and the city's function to make Roman oppression possible.

With regard to the Batavian interpretation of *Oppidum Batavorum* an interesting conclusion can be drawn from the comparison. In Histories V, 19, Tacitus states that *Oppidum Batavorum* was destroyed by Civilis because he did not dare to defend the settlement against the Roman legions, probably because it had no walls. Consequently, Roman city walls as monuments of servitude, such as in Cologne, are not occurring and the physical appearance of *Oppidum Batavorum* had no (symbolic) function of Roman suppression or enforcement. Furthermore, the statement that *domini* and *libertas* are difficult to combine as long as Romans were living in the city cannot easily be applied to *Oppidum Batavorum*. Since it was the capital of a Roman administrative district, Roman structures of power can be expected, but not much is known about its inhabitants. From an archaeological point of view the (Gallo-)Romanness of the inhabitants of *Oppidum Batavorum* can be doubted,[256] but anticipating on chapter 3.3, the administrative functions of the Batavian capital are not (only) exercised by Romans. The remark that masters and freedom are not easily to combine is therefore not applicable on *Oppidum Batavorum*. The *dominus-servitus*/*servitium* antithesis and the negative interpretation of *libertas* are therefore not connected to *Oppidum Batavorum* and despite the Batavian *innerpolitisch* comprehension of the conflict, the reason for the destruction of the town had nothing to do

---

[254] Tacitus, *Historiae* IV, 64. “(…) we demand that the walls of the city, the monuments of your servitude, are pulled down by you (even ferocious animals, if you hold them in an enclosure, forget about their strenght) and that you slaughter the Romans in all of your lands (by no means are freedom and masters easy to combine).”
[255] About this speech, see: Keitel (1993), 49-51.
[256] See: paragraph 2.3 and 3.3.

with Roman enforcement of integration. This idea is supported by the moment of the fire, for if *Oppidum Batavorum* was regarded negatively by the Batavians as a force of suppression, it would have been destroyed in an much earlier phase of the Revolt. Civilis' *außerpolitisch* interpretation of the Revolt explains that *Oppidum Batavorum* was not seen as a symbol of unequal relations and as an oppressing force and that it was therefore spared. The reason to eventually burn the town will be explained further below.

3.2 THE *ANTIQUA SOCIETAS*

One of the central features of Batavo-Roman power relations is a treaty that is mentioned several times in the Histories. The Batavians use it as a reference to better relations with the Roman before the outbreak of the Revolt and the agreement can therefore be an interesting case of studying pre-Revolt Batavo-Roman power relations. Starting point of the analysis of the treaty is not the Histories, however, but the *Germania* as the treaty is mentioned in chapter 29. Here, Tacitus mentions that the Batavian tribe "*manet honos et antiquae societatis insigne*" with the Romans, sketching an exceptional situation as will explained in this paragraph.[257] The content of the treaty is explained next: the Batavians are not visited by *publicani* and are exempt from paying tribute to the Romans. Instead, they are required to supply troops for the army and they are reserved for war purposes.[258] These conditions are probably the main elements of the agreement, as they are not only mentioned in the *Germania*, but are also referred to several times in the Histories. The violation of the treaty by the Romans prove to be the cause of the Revolt.[259]

Next to the content, the reference to the treaty in the *Germania* emphasizes two other important characteristics of Batavo-power relations: they are both unique and old. Tacitus' use of the noun "*insigne*"[260] signifies that the conditions of the treaty are exceptional, especially in comparison to other tribes.[261] The Romans were used to conclude agreements with other peoples in the northwest, but the content of this specific agreement was so exceptional that Tacitus explicitly mentioned it. This statement is verified by a comment in the Histories that the Batavians are not taxed, despite the fact that stouter peoples are always taxed.[262] So the Batavians occupy a special place. In addition to its distinctiveness, Tacitus mentions the antiquity of the alliance. Unfortunately, he does not

---

[257] Tacitus, *Germania* 29: "their distinction continues to exist and the emblem of their ancient alliance with us (is as follows)(…)."

[258] Tacitus, *Germania* 29: For a map of the pre-Flavian Roman recruitment of Batavian soldiers, see: Roymans (1996), 23, figure 4.

[259] Tacitus, *Historiae* IV, 14; IV, 17 and V, 25.

[260] *Insignis* indicates a unique relationship: BETEKENIS LEWIS and SHORT

[261] For an overview of taxationin Belgic Gaul and the Lower Rhine Region and the exceptional position of the Batavians, see: Roymans (1996), 85, figure 28.

[262] Tacitus, *Historiae* IV, 12.

reveal anything about its history in particular, for example by whom and when it was concluded. Both topics, however, can be answered rather satisfactorily by the reconstruction of the historical context by means of historiography, archaeology and historical parallels.

Unfortunately, no names have been passed down and it is therefore not known by whom exactly the treaty was concluded. Since native-Roman contacts were maintained by elites, however, it can be stated that only groups or individuals from the upper echelons of a native society were able to conclude a treaty with the Romans. This general model of native-Roman contact is also relevant for the Batavian tribe,[263] but it can be nuanced, for Tacitus mentions the existence of a Batavian royal stock.[264] The conclusion of the Batavo-Roman treaty was probably not only a product of elite negotiation, but of royal conciliation as members of the royal family were involved.[265]

Concerning the date of the conclusion of the agreement, its exact age is never mentioned. As a starting point, it would be worth trying to say something about the origin and the early history of the Batavian tribe, to discover any clues of Batavo-Roman relations. In the *Germania* and the Histories, Tacitus speaks of the origin of the *Batavi* shortly.[266] According to him, they were once part of the *Chatti*, living on the eastern bank in the Middle Rhine Region, but they moved to the Lower Rhine Region because of internal strife, probably caused by contrasts between a pro-Roman and an anti-Roman faction.[267] These assumptions are supported by numismatic evidence: Roymans' investigation of Celtic *triquetrum* coins has shown that the Batavians were indeed part of the *Chatti* and that they migrated to the Lower Rhine Region. Following the geographical distribution of the coins, he dates this migration between the 50s and 10s BC.[268] Although the evidence is scarce, this little information can be related to the dating of the conclusion of the treaty.

It has been argued that the migration of the Batavian tribe to the Lower Rhine Region was not a spontaneous event,[269] but that is was part of Roman politics in the aftermath of the Gallic Wars. During the 50s BC, the Batavians fought on the side of Caesar against the Gallic tribes. They proved to be loyal and reliable fighters[270] and as a consequence, they were moved by the Romans to the Lower Rhine Region after the war to protect the northern

---

[263] Bloemers (1990), 80.

[264] Tacitus, *Historiae* IV, 13. For a reconstruction of the Batavian royal genealogical tree, see: Roymans (2004), 61, figure 5.5.

[265] This idea depends on the date of the origin or introduction of Batavian kingship. Slofstra thinks that a king was introduced as the Batavians migrated to the Lower Rhine Region, see: Slofstra (2002), 25 *contra* Roymans (2001), 126.

[266] Tacitus, *Germania* 29 and *Historiae* IV, 12.

[267] Tacitus mentions the internal strife. Interpretation, see: Roymans (2004), 58.

[268] Roymans (2001), 118.

[269] Roymans (2004), 55 note 109.

[270] Caesar, *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* 8.13.1. See also: Speidel (1994a), 12-18.

boundaries of newly conquered Gaul.[271] Roymans' statements about the geographical distribution of the *triquetrum* coins fits within the chronological framework of the Gallic Wars. Given the function of the Batavians as protectors of the northern borders of Gaul, it is imaginable that a treaty was concluded as the Batavians migrated to the Lower Rhine Region, because not only were the Batavians loyal to Rome, the Romans would be assured of a constant supply of strong soldiers. The conclusion of the treaty should therefore be dated to the 50s BC. This explains Tacitus' indication of the antiquity for the *Germania* was written almost a hundred and fifty years later.[272]

This explanation fits the evidence very well and the dating is convincing, but it is too Romano-centric. The Batavian migration and the conclusion of the treaty are regarded as part of Roman intervention, whereas the Batavians are denied any initiative. It is better to interpret the migration of the Batavians and the conclusion of the treaty as a consequence of Batavian elite negotiation, for several reasons. In the first place, the text of the *Germania* suggests such a point of view. Tacitus writes in chapter 29 that the Batavians "(...) *in eas sedes transgressus, in quibus pars Romani imperii fierent*(...).[273] According to Sprey, the use of *transgressus* indicates a voluntary crossing of the river, contrasting it for example with *traiecti* in chapter 28, which is much more passive.[274] In addition, the Batavians were probably eager to leave their homelands because of the internal strife that is mentioned in the Histories. Furthermore, the Batavians were moved to distant lands and probably would have longed for some support of a strong ally, in this case the Romans. These arguments indicate that the Batavians should be regarded as active agents in the process.

The initiative of the *Batavi* can be implemented as follows. Due to Caesar's conquests in Gaul, the *Chatti* were in disagreement whether to collaborate with Caesar or to resist him.[275] That part of the *Chatti* that eventually would split of, fought along with Caesar under the leadership of their aristocrats in accordance with the Germanic *comitatus* tradition.[276] The internal strife caused, by the differences between the pro-Roman and the anti-Roman faction, would finally have caused a split in the tribe of the *Chatti* and the separation of the pro-Roman faction, that would become known as the *Batavi*.[277] So, not only were the Batavians moved by the Romans, because they proved to be reliable allies, the *Batavi*

---

[271] Van Enckevort (2009), 108; Roymans (2004), 55 and Willems (1990), 13.

[272] The Batavians are not the only tribe to have concluded a treaty in such a context: other examples are the *Ubii* and the *Sugambri*, see: Roymans (2004), 56.

[273] Tacitus, *Germania*, 29. "(…) they crossed to those lands, which were to become part of the Roman Empire by circumstances." Cf. Sprey (1953), 19.

[274] Sprey (1953), 19.

[275] Roymans (2004), 58.

[276] The Germanic *comitatus* tradition has to do with an aristocratic leader and his followers, offering their services to a powerful military leader outside their homeland, to gain booty, honor and glory, see: Roymans (2004), 58.

[277] About the origin of the name *Batavi*, see: paragraph 4.1.1.

themselves migrated because of the internal conflicts. With regard to the conclusion of the treaty, Batavian initiative can be expected, for they migrated to unknown lands and would have asked for the support of their Roman ally, in particular since they migrated to those lands which would only become part of the Empire by later Roman conquests. As a consequence, several reasons to conclude a treaty from a Batavian point of view can be imagined. Firstly, by the conclusion of a treaty, the *comitatus* was able to strengthen or renew his internal position of power, which was affected by the separation from the *Chatti*.[278] Moreover, the (new) elites, supported by the Romans, were able to construct structures of power in their new homelands by claiming superiority over the peoples already living in the Lower Rhine Region.[279]

Nevertheless, it cannot be denied, that the treaty benefited the Romans as well. The Batavians were tough fighters and were able to defend the strategic Rhine delta.[280] In addition, they were employable in other parts of the Empire as well. The conclusion of the treaty also strengthened Roman grip on Batavian society, but is should not be forgotten that the Romans were also dependent on the loyalty and strength of the Batavians. The treaty was therefore not only profitable, but could be a danger to Roman power as well as is demonstrated by the Revolt.[281] The advantages for the Batavian tribe itself, their active agency and Roman dependence of them, illustrates that the Batavians should not be regarded as a powerless tribe at the mercy of the Romans, but as a strong military force on the frontier of the Empire.

The treaty was still regarded positively by the Batavians in the second half of the second century AD and its violation by the Romans in AD 69 caused a lot of unrest. To what extent, however, was the Batavo-Roman agreement affected by the destructions of the Revolt? How were relationships shaped after the Batavian surrender in AD 70? In Histories V, 26 this question is addressed, but since the text is lost, no proper answer is given. After the Batavian defeat, Civilis meets with Cerialis to negotiate. Civilis starts negotiations but the text breaks off after a few lines and the outcome of the conversation is unknown. Based on the statement in *Germania* 29, that the Batavians "*manet honos*" it is generally accepted that the regulations of the *antiqua societas* were practically reinstalled and that nothing really changed.[282] This assumption, however, is problematic for several reasons. In the first place, it can be argued that Tacitus refers to a pre-Revolt and not to a post-Revolt treaty. In writing the *Germania*, Tacitus drew heavily on Pliny the Elder's now lost German Wars which

---

[278] Roymans (2004), 65.
[279] Roymans (2001), 125-127.
[280] See also: Driel-Murray (2003), 207.
[281] Tacitus, *Historiae* IV, 14 and Slofstra (2002), 31.
[282] Van Enckevort (2000), 45 and 90; Van Enckevort (2009) 23, 112-113; Heubner V, 178; Sprey (1953), 109; Teitler (2004), 33; Willems (1986b), 285-286; Willems (1990), 40 and Willems, (2005), 48.

ended about AD 47, more than twenty years before the Batavian uprising.[283] Tacitus' reference has probably nothing to do with the post-Revolt relations, but with a treaty that was concluded several decades before the Revolt. This argument is strengthened by Roymans' consideration that the *antiqua societas* was not a single treaty, but that Batavo-Roman relations were defined by a series of treaties starting in the 50s BC.[284] It is, according to him, not unimaginable that the original treaty from the 50s was renewed in a later period. The presence of Drusus in the north, around 10 BC would for example be an occasion for such a renewal. During that period, Roman soldiers were stationed along the Rhine and several infrastructural works were begun, such as the dam of Drusus and the canal of Drusus.[285] Furthermore, *Oppidum Batavorum* was founded as the capital of the *civitas Batavorum* in those years. The intensified Roman involvement in the Lower Rhine Region would be a good occasion to renew the treaty.

These arguments, indicate that Tacitus probably refers in the *Germania* to a treaty that has been concluded before instead of after the Revolt.[286] There are, in addition, some other reasons to assume that Tacitus' remark should not be interpreted as a reference to the continuity of the conditions of the treaty after the AD 70. To avoid any future ethnic uprisings in the north, rebellious Batavian troops were probably substituted or moved by the Romans to other parts of the Empire[287] and in Roman Nijmegen, a legion was stationed for several decades to control the area.[288] Batavian troops, however, were not entirely expelled from the *civitas Batavorum* and were stationed there after the Revolt and it has been shown by that the *Batavi* were still able to serve as an officer under their own tribe nobility.[289] These features indeed indicate continuity from of the pre-Revolt situation into the post-Revolt situation, but with regard to the recruitment of troops continuity is certainly not applicable. The burden of the levy of soldiers in the Batavian *civitas* was increased. Before the Revolt, the different tribes in the Lower Rhine Region supplied 5,000 troops for the Roman army, whereas afterwards, these numbers were to be supplied by the Batavians alone.[290] In addition, the Batavians lost the prestigious and influential position as imperial bodyguards at the Roman court, for they were not recruited for this specific duty

---

[283] Chilver and Townend (1979), 33.

[284] Roymans (2004), 58. See also: Chilver and Townend (1979), 33.

[285] For the dam, see: AE 1939, 107 = AE 1939, 130. For the canal, see: Suetonius *Claudius*, 2-4 and Tacitus *Annales* II, 8.

[286] Although Tacitus probably does not refer to the treaty that was concluded in the 50s BC, the treaty that he does refer to is over a hundred years old as he wrote the *Germania*.

[287] Willems *et al.* (2009), 23.

[288] Slofstra (2002), 33. Cf. Willems *et al.* (2009), 23.

[289] It was assumed for a long time that Batavians could not serve as officers under their own tribal nobility after the Revolt and were not stationed close to home as has been shown by a military diploma from Elst, dated 20 February 98, see: Willems *et al.* (2009), 113, note 45.

[290] Driel-Murray (2003), 212.

anymore.[291] It can be concluded that the Batavo-Roman treaty was altered after the Revolt to Roman benefits and the argument of continuity should therefore be dismissed.

The Revolt and the conclusion of this new treaty would also have affected Batavian society. In addition to the replacement of rebellious troops, elites were substituted and internal power structures changed as new elites were installed. The Batavian royal family, for example, suffered heavy losses and lost their former position of power. It is not known exactly what happened to Civilis after the negotiations with Cerialis, but since other Batavians elites threatened to execute him, he will not have been able to regain his former position as one of the leading elites.[292] Furthermore, Civilis' nephew and enemy Julius Briganticus died in a battle against his uncle.[293] The power of the *Iulii*, the traditional Batavian elite, was now broken and a new elite of merchants was installed.[294] Next to the elites, the lower echelons of society were affected as well, for they were to carry the new burden of the military recruitment for the Roman army. It has been calculated that in every Batavian family, one of two (young) male members served in the Roman army, indicating the heavy consequences of the new conditions of the Batavo-Roman treaty.[295]

It is not known when the treaty stopped to function, but it is possible that this occurred in the last quarter of the third century as the Batavians disappear from the primary written sources and inscriptions. As can be concluded from the survey of the *antiqua societas*, Batavo-Roman relations constantly changed and the Roman grip on the Lower Rhine Region was strengthened every time. Nonetheless, it should not be forgotten that the Batavians were able to negotiate the conditions with the Romans, even after the Revolt.

3.3 ROMAN NIJMEGEN AND BATAVO-ROMAN POWERSTRUCTURES

Several aspects of Batavo-Roman power relations have been investigated and it is now time to turn to the structures of power relating to *Oppidum Batavorum* and *Ulpia Noviomagus*. In the following paragraphs it will be illustrated how the Batavians were able to locate themselves within the informal and formal Roman structures of power and that Roman Nijmegen can be regarded as the center of their authority. The investigation is divided in two chronological frames, involving the pre-Revolt situation on the one hand and the post-Revolt situation on the other. Due to their characteristics, inscriptions will be useful source here.

---

[291] They had been banished before, in the aftermath of the *Varusslacht* in AD 9, but were recalled under Tiberius in AD 14, see: Speidel (1994a), 18.

[292] Tacitus, *Historiae* V, 25. "(…) et noxii capitis poena paenitentiam fateantur." "(…) they confess their repentance by punishing the guilty man." Maybe Civilis was imprisoned again by the Romans, see: Tacitus, *Historiae* IV, 12.

[293] Tacitus, *Historiae* V, 21.

[294] See: paragraph, 3.3.3.

[295] Roymans (2004), 208.

3.3.1 Pre-revolt structures of power: a king and a summus magistratus

In the period preceding the Revolt, several structures of power can be connected to the Batavians. The first is their kingship, that definitely existed in the Neronian era, but probably dated back to the first century BC.[296] Slofstra has argued that the origin of Batavian kingship should be sought in the period of the conclusion of the *antiqua societas* and the migration of the Batavians to the Lower Rhine Region in the 50s BC. The installation of a king and the formation of a Batavian royal family in this period was probably initiated by the Romans, because it was part of Roman treaty policy at the frontiers in the aftermath of the Gallic Wars. The installation of a king was important for the Romans, because Batavian loyalty to the Romans was guaranteed.[297] The title of king was awarded by the Romans on a dominant aristocrat and citizenship was granted to him and probably his family. The nomenclature of the Batavian upper elites in the first century AD shows that they belonged to the gens *Iulia* and they are therefore referred to as the *Iulii* in the Histories.[298]

It is unknown how Batavian kingship functioned as an institution, but from a Roman perspective, the kingship should be interpreted politically, because it was part of Roman treaty policy. The Batavian interpretation is unknown and it can be questioned for example, whether the Batavians understood their king only as a political agent, as the Romans did, or also as a representative of the religious realm.[299] Furthermore, nothing is known about the king's centre of power and the location of his seat also depends on the Batavian interpretation of kingship. Several Batavian central places, such as *Vada* and *Batavodurum* can be proposed[300] and even *Oppidum Batavorum* should be taken into account. Since there is no historiograpical, archaeological or epigraphic evidence available to confirm or to reject these proposed locations, no conclusions about the seat of the king will be drawn here. Concerning the abolition of Batavian kingship, it is imaginable that this happened during the presence of Drusus in the Lower Rhine region as a Roman system of civic administration was introduced.[301] The memory of a royal line, however, was not forgotten and although the political function of Batavian kingship did not exist anymore, it is possible that the king still had a leading function for the Batavians that was not officially recognized by the Romans.[302]

---

[296] Tacitus, *Historiae* IV, 13 and IV, 32.
[297] Slofstra (2002), 25.
[298] Slofstra (2002), 25. For instance, Julius Civilis and Julius Paulus, see: Tacitus, *Historiae* IV, 12.
[299] Roymans and Slofstra both interpret Batavian kingship politically, see: Roymans (2001), 125; Roymans (2004), 61-63 and Slofstra (2002), 25.
[300] See: paragraph 4.2.
[301] Roymans (2001), 125; Roymans (2004), 63-64 and Slofstra (2002), 28. Slofstra argues that the royal family of the *Iulii* probably became prefects under Augustus, maintaining and even strengthening their position of power: Slofstra (2002), 28.
[302] Tacitus observation in *Historiae* IV, 12 that Civilis and Paulus were both of royal stock, indicates that kingship did exist. From *Historiae* IV, 18 it could ne concluded that Civilis should be regarded as the king, but he is never identified directly as such.

The political successor of the Batavian king was the *summus magistratus*. He was the governor of the *civitas Batavorum* and was elected annually. The existence of a *summus magistratus* is known from a votive altar from the first century AD, that was found in Ruimel, near modern 's-Hertogenbosch in the seventeenth century.[303] The inscription is slightly damaged, but it is legible (figure 3.1) and says:

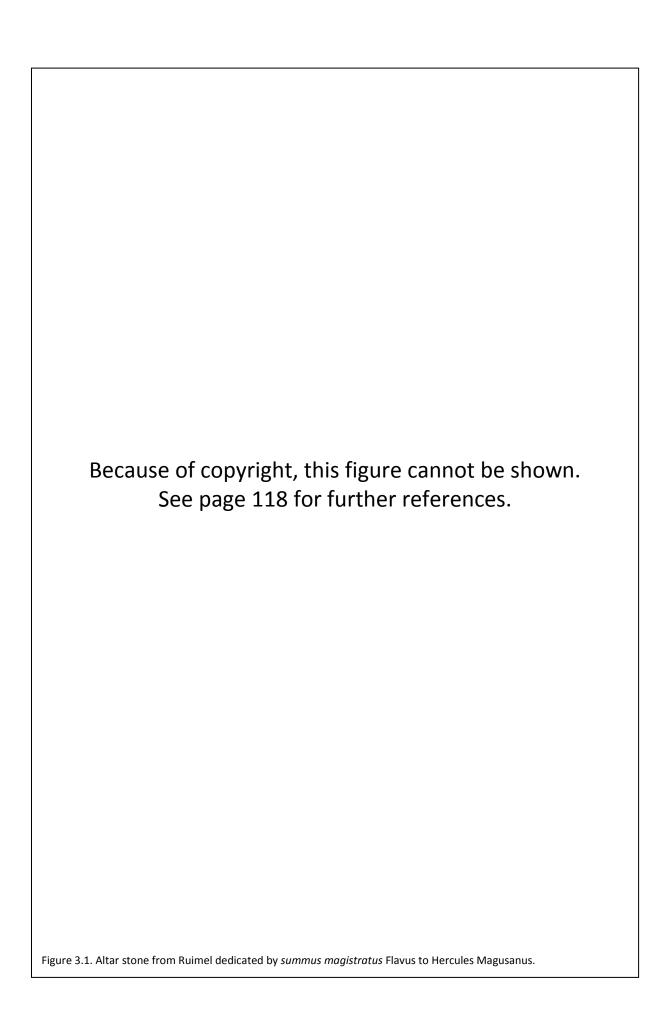|	
[M]AGVSA/	*To* Magusanus
NO HERCVL(i)/	Hercules,
SACRV(m) FLA(v)VS/	*dedicated by* Flavus,
VIHIRMATIS FIL(ius)/	*son of* Vihirmas,
[S]UMMUS MAGISTRA(tus)/	*highest magistrate,*
[C]IVITAS BATAVORVM/	*of the* civitas Batavorum,
V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito).	*fulfilling his vow gladly and with reason.*

The *summus magistratus* was the most important political individual in the Batavian *civitas* but did not fit the formal Roman *civitas* system, for this was based on the principle of collegiality. Roymans interprets the function of the *summus magistratus* as a Latinized form of an indigenous office, that was an alternative to hereditary kingship. Both political authorities did therefore not coexist. Despite the fact that the *summus magistratus* did not fit the introduced Roman *civitas* system, it was no exception, for similar monocratic magistratures can be found in Gaul, such as the *vergobretus*, the *magister* and the *praetor*.[304] Contrary to kingship, the new magistrature was not exclusively reserved for elites as the inscription from Ruimel demonstrates. Regarding the absence of the *tria nomina* it can be concluded that the magistrate *Flavus* had no Roman citizenship and it is therefore unlikely that he was part of the upper echelons of Batavian society, which did possess citizenship. If Flavus had Roman citizenship, he would have mentioned it on the altar, because it was a status symbol. Nevertheless, he could have be sponsored by a powerful *princeps* and could have been dependent of the Batavian royal family. So, as has been mentioned above, despite the abolition of the political function of the king, the Batavian royal family was still influential in Batavian society and the *summus magistratus* can be

---

[303] CIL XIII, 8771. Roymans (2004), 64.
[304] The Aedui had a *summus magistratus* as well, see: Caesar, *BG* I, 16 and VII, 32-33. For the following, see: Roymans (2004), 64.

Because of copyright, this figure cannot be shown.
See page 118 for further references.

Figure 3.1. Altar stone from Ruimel dedicated by *summus magistratus* Flavus to Hercules Magusanus.

interpreted as a device of the royal family to consolidate their position of power that had officially been abolished by the Roman government.

As in the case of the Batavian king, the *summus magistratus* is not connected to Roman Nijmegen directly. The inscription does not mention any settlement and the finding place of the altar, Ruimel, is located some forty kilometers to the south-west of Nijmegen. Even of it had been found *in situ*, probably at the sanctuary in Empel,[305] just north of 's-Hertogenbosch, the distance to Nijmegen would be similar. There is a reason to assume, however, that a close connection between the *summus magistratus* and *Oppidum Batavorum* existed. The introduction of the *summus magistratus* was part of the political development of the Romans and is chronologically coincided with the recondition of the *antiqua societas* and the foundation of *Oppidum Batavorum* that had to become the capital of the newly formed *civitas*. As the *summus magistratus* had become the most important political function in the new *civitas* and *Oppidum Batavorum* was the capital of the district, it is imaginable that the capital was also the seat of the highest magistrate and that he exercised his authority from *Oppidum Batavorum*.

3.3.2 Post-revolt structures of power: decuriones

After the Revolt, the structures of power in Batavian society and in the *civitas Batavorum* were dramatically changed by the Romans. The *Iulii*, the traditional elites, were deprived of their power, to prevent other uprisings in the *civitas Batavorum* and a new elite was formed. Furthermore, those Batavians who had been loyal to the Roman cause during the Revolt, were given Roman citizenship as is indicated by the recurrence of the names *Flavius* and *Cerialis* in inscriptions and on letters from the Vindolanda fortress, where Batavians soldiers were stationed in the 80s and 90s AD.[306] Despite these dramatic changes, the Batavians were again able to obtain positions of power in the period after the Revolt as will be shown.

Following the destruction of *Oppidum Batavorum*, a new capital was founded in Nijmegen-West. The settlement became known as *Ulpia Noviomagus* and in the period between AD 70 and AD 227, it received the privileges of a city and its name was changed in *municipium Batavorum*. It is debated when this exactly happened, but it is generally accepted that *Ulpia Noviomagus* became a city *de iure* during the reign of emperor Trajan concurrently with his donation of the *ius nundinarum*.[307] Nonetheless, it has demonstrated by three inscriptions that the Batavian capital was governed by an *ordo decurionum*, the city council, giving an interesting insight in the post-Revolt elites of the *civitas Batavorum*.

---

[305] Roymans and Derks (1994), 26.
[306] Willems *et al.* (2009), 113 and note 41-44 *ibidem*.
[307] Haalebos (2000), 35-39 and Willems (2005), 15. Cf. Bogaers (1960), 20 and Haalebos (1990), 193-194.

The first inscription has been written on a votive altar, that was found in the Oosterschelde, near Colijnsplaats on Noord-Beveland in the early 1970s, during dredging.[308] The altar is dedicated to Nehalennia, an indigenous goddess that was very popular in that region, by Hilarus in AD 227. The inscription has been heavily affected by the salty waters of the Oosterschelde, but the text is readable (figure 3.2) and says:[309]

DEAE/	To the goddess
NEHALENNIAE/	Nehalennia
ARAM QVAM/	the altar, that
Q(uintus) PHOEB(ius) HILARVS/	Quintus Phoebius Hilarus
D(ecurio) M(unicipii) B(atavorum) OB MERCE(s)/	*decurio* of the *Municipium*
SVAS BENE CONS/	*Batavorum* had pledged himself to
ERVATAS VOVERA[T/	(erect), because of his well
P]OSVIT L(ibens) M(erito)/	conserved merchandise,
ALBINO ET MAXI/	gladly and with reason
MO CO(n)S(ulibus)	during the consulate of Albinus and Maximus.

The second inscribed votive altar was found on the same location as the first, in the early 1970s, but it was broken into pieces. The different parts of the altar were only combined later and the text on the altar could be (re)constructed as follows:[310]

DEAE/	To the goddess
NEHALEN[NIAE]/	Nehalennia
Q.PHOEBI[VS]/	Quintus Phoebius

---

[308] Bogaers *et al.* (1979), 58.
[309] AE 1975, 464 = AE 2001, 1488 = Bogaers (1972), 7-10 = Stuart and Bogaers (2001), B37.
[310] AE 1975, 630 = AE 2001, 1499 = AE 2003, 1228 = Bogaers (1972), 10-11 = Stuart (2001), B63. The complete text can be found in AE 2001, 1499 and Stuart (2001), B63.

HI[L]ARVS D(ecurio) M(unicipii) B(atavorum)/	Hilarus, *decurio* of the *Municipium*
P[RO] MERCIBV[S]/	*Batavorum* that his merchandise
BE[NE C]O[NSER]/	will be well preserved
VA[NDIS] V(otum) S(olvit) [L(ibens) M(erito)]	gladly and with reason

The third inscription was found in Kapel-Avezaath, just west of Tiel, in 1955.[311] It is written on a votive altar dedicated to the indigenous goddess Hurstrga by Valerius Silvester. It should be dated somewhere between AD 150 and 250 and it reads: [312]

DEAE/	To the goddess
HVRSTRGE/	Hurstrga,
EX P(raecepto) EIVS/	following her order,
VAL(erius) SILVESTE[R]/	Valerius Silvester
DEC(urio) M(unicipii) BAT(atavorum)/	*Decurio* of the *Municipium*
POS(uit) L(ibens) M(erito)	*Batavorum* has placed this gladly and with reason.

Several details about the post-Revolt elites can be deduced from these inscriptions. In the first place, *Ulpia Noviomagus* became a *municipium* before AD 227, as is indicated by the consular year of Marcus Nummius Senecio Albinus and Marcus Laelius Maximus Aemilianus.[313] Unfortunately the inscription of Valerius Silvester is not dated that specifically and provides no further information for the *municipium* discussion, so that AD 227 is the only settled date. Secondly, the inscriptions dedicated to Nehalennia by Hilarus illustrate a rather remarkable phenomenon, namely, that a trader could become *decurio*. The fact that traders were needed to fill this position reveals a lack of typical candidates, who would originate from the circle of the wealthy, because a *decurio* had to meet certain property requirements.[314] Traders did not belong to the wealthy, but could nonetheless become *decurio* in the *civitas Batavorum*. Lastly, Hilarus and Valerius Silvester dedicated their altar to indigenous goddesses and not to Roman deities or hybrid forms. Nehelannia was a merchant

---

[311] Bogaers *et al.*(1979), 58.

[312] See: Bogaers *et al.* (1979), 58. AE 1958, 38 = AE 1959, 10 = BRGK 40 (1959), 214, no.261 = AC 27 (1958), 139 = Fasti Archaeologici X (1955), 320 no. 4056 and fig. 94.

[313] AE 2001, 1488.

[314] Derks (2012), 109 and Willems *et al.* (2009), 125.

goddess, but nfortunately, nothing is known about Hurstrga besides this inscription.[315] The reference, however, to indigenous goddesses,[316] indicate strong local bonds of both *decuriones*.

The strong local bonds can be explained by some characteristics of the office of a *decurio* in general. In the first place, *decuriones* not only ruled the town, but also the surrounding country side, so the *decuriones* of the *municipium Batavorum* were also the ruling elites of the entire *civitas Batavorum*[317] and consequently, they were a unifying link between the town and the country.[318] Secondly, *decuriones* had to be of local origin and it can therefore be expected that Hilarus and Valerius Silvester were born in the Lower Rhine Region and perhaps can be identified as Batavians.[319] Thirdly, with regard to his profession and his income, it is possible that Hilarus did not live in the countryside, but only possessed a house in the town and thus that he lived in *Ulpia Noviomagus*.[320] It should be mentioned, however, that the houses of *decuriones* are archaeological barely distinguishable from other houses and therefore that the existence of *decuriones* can only be confirmed by inscriptions. Nevertheless, these characteristics show interesting town-country dynamics, revolving around the *decuriones* and can be used as an argument for this thesis. The close connection between the town and the country indicates that *Ulpia Noviomagus* was not necessarily interpreted negatively by the Batavians in the countryside as the *decuriones* Hilarus and Valerius Silvester, were the binding element. They held down an office in the town, but erected altars to indigenous goddesses in the countryside.

Because of copyright, this figure cannot be shown. See page 118 for further references.

Figure 3.2. Altar stone from Colijnsplaat dedicated to Nehalennia by Hilarus.

Unfortunately, there is no epigraphic evidence that *Oppidum Batavorum* had an *ordo decurionum* or a similar political institution. There are several reasons, however, to assumes that a city council did exist in *Oppidum Batavorum*. In the first place, Roman-style towns in

---

[315] This is the only known reference to Hurstrga. She was an indigenous goddess in the fashion of Nehalennia.
[316] The name Nehalennia has still not been interpreted satisfactorily. It is even not known wheter it is a Germanic or a Celtic name, see: Toorians (2000), 113. Hurstrga is Germanic and has something to do with a hill covered with undergrowth, see: Toorians (2000), 125.
[317] Derks (2012), 109.
[318] Derks (2012), 128, conclusion point 7.
[319] Derks (2012), 109.
[320] Derks (2012), 138, conclusion point 4.

the western part of the Roman Empire had an *ordo decurionum* or a similar political structure, such as a *senatus* or a *curia*.[321] Secondly, Tacitus mentions in the Annals that the *Frisii*, a tribe that lived two hundred kilometers north of Roman Nijmegen were given a senate, magistrates and laws by Roman general Corbulo in the 40s AD.[322] The process that had been begun in the Lower Rhine Region under Drusus in 10 BC, was started among the *Frisii* in the later first half of the first century AD.[323] Assuming that the introduction of Roman political systems was carried out from the south to the north, from Gaul to the coast of the North Sea, it is imaginable that an *ordo decurionum*, a *senates* or a *curia* was also installed in the *civitas Batavorum*.[324] Thinking of the characteristics of the *decuriones* this would mean that the ruling elites of the *civitas Batavorum* lived in the town and the countryside and formed a link between *Oppidum Batavorum* and the surrounding countryside. As a consequence, the argument that the Batavian elites lived in the country side to retain their power there is incorrect and even the material culture of *Oppidum Batavorum* should be reinterpreted. The absence of byre houses in *Oppidum Batavorum* does not indicate that no Batavians were living in the town and it can be considered that the *decuriones* lived in a non-native type of dwelling in the town and in a traditional byre house in the country side. On the one hand, this can be interpreted from an ideological point of view, as the elites tried to show that they had a Roman identity, but on the other hand it is fairly possible that the absence of byre houses can be explained by the foundation of the town. Since the Roman army was involved in the construction of both towns, it would be rather remarkable if they would have constructed traditional native houses. The problem here, however, is that houses of *decuriones* are archaeologically not discernible from other houses and consequently that no conclusion can be drawn about the houses that have been found in *Oppidum Batavorum* and *Ulpia Noviomagus*. It is known from the Histories, that Civilis, had *villas agrosque* in the countryside, and it can be assumed that he also possessed a house in *Oppidum Batavorum*, but this cannot be confirmed archaeologically.[325]

3.4 CONCLUSION

The investigation of Batavo-Roman power relations has shown that they are a complex concert of mutual influence, negotiation, subordination, discrepancy and resistance involving different parties, though only some specific examples have been illustrated. The general conclusion from the overview is that the Romans were the dominant party and that

---

[321] Derks (2012), 109.

[322] Tacitus, *Annales* XI, 19.

[323] Willems *et al.* (2009), 149.

[324] It can be questioned though how such a political institution should be related to the *summus magistratus*.

[325] Tacitus, *Historiae* V, 23.

their dominance increased in the course of time. The Batavians, however, were active agents and were able to negotiate with Roman power, without being ignored or wiped of the map.

Batavo-Roman relations started in the 50s BC as a Batavo-Roman treaty was concluded and the Batavians migrated to the Lower Rhine Region. A royal family and a king were installed and they were given Roman citizenship. Following the conditions of the treaty, the Batavians were required to supply troops for the Roman army and eventually functioned as imperial body guards. Several decades later, Roman involvement in Batavian society increased due to the Roman military expansion to the north and Batavo-Roman power relations started to change. The *antiqua societas* is reconditioned and a Roman civil government is introduced in the Lower Rhine Region. The Batavian *civitas* is set up, the capital *Oppidum Batavorum* is founded and a *summus magistratus* is installed, replacing former hereditary kingship. The violation of this treaty by the Romans caused the Batavian Revolt of AD 69, as the Batavians, under the leadership of Julius Civilis tried to release themselves from unequal relations with the Romans. Their most important demand was the reinstallation of the conditions of the treaty. For a short moment of time, the Batavians militarily had the upper hand and the Romans had a lot of trouble with regaining control. In the period after the Revolt, the Romans take the initiative again and the treaty in reinstalled, but the burden of its conditions were increased, as the Batavians were required to supply more troops and they were banned from Rome as imperial bodyguards. Power relations in Batavians society in itself were radically changed as well, because the Romans replaced the traditional elites and gave Roman citizenship to those Batavians who had been loyal to the Romans during the Revolt. The recondition of every treaty strengthened Roman grip on Batavian society to their own favor.

This overview complies with Mattingly's statement that the indigenous peoples should be located in the power networks and colonial discourse that bound them to Rome and illustrates that the Romans were at all time the dominant party, except for the year AD 69/70. They introduced different political institutions, such as the kingship, the *civitas Batavorum* and the *summus magistratus* and the conditions of the Batavo-Roman treaty were always profitable for them, especially in the period after the Revolt. In this Rome-centered perspective, the Batavians should not be forgotten, however, as active agents, as they negotiated they conditions of the *antiqua societas* and because of the impact of one dominant personality, as Slofstra states, the Batavians successfully challenged Roman power for a year. In addition, the treaty was also profitable for them, as they could escape internal strife within their former tribe, they were not required to pay taxes and were recruited as imperial bodyguards, a honorable post. The examples of Julius Briganticus and Claudius Labeo, demonstrate that Batavians could also served as officers in the Roman army and that they were not bound to be soldier only.

With regard to the Batavian interpretation of *Oppidum Batavorum* and *Ulpia Noviomagus*, Roman domination cannot be equated with suppression or enforced integration. The analysis of concepts of power in the Histories, such as *dominus*, *servitus/servitium* and *libertas* illustrates that *Oppidum Batavorum* was not interpreted negatively by the Batavians and that it was not seen as an symbol of oppression by them. If it was seen as such, it would have been destroyed in an much earlier stage of the Revolt. Furthermore, the recondition of the Batavo-Roman treaty paved the way for the foundation of *Oppidum Batavorum* and since the Batavians were able to negotiate the conditions, they probably agreed that a town was founded in their territories. Lastly, the investigation of several political offices, such as the *summus magistratus* and the *decuriones* has shown that the Batavians fitted themselves in Roman structures of power and that they could exercise their power by means of political offices that were installed by the Romans. As a consequence, strong links existed between the town on the one hand and the country on the other hand, especially as it can be assumed that the officeholders themselves inhabited the capitals. *Oppidum Batavorum* and *Ulpia Noviomagus* should therefore not be understood as foreign elements in Batavian society, but as an extra element in power relations within Batavian society. The destruction of *Oppidum Batavorum* by Civilis, should therefore not be interpreted as an act of relief and liberation, because the Batavians were politically engaged with the city and their position of power partially depended on its existence. The presumed negative interpretation of both settlements can therefore be dismissed on political grounds while the archaeological point of view should not be forgotten. The absence of traditional byre houses can be explained by the assumption that elites only lived in a traditional byre house in the country, but resided in a non-native styled dwelling in the town.

4. Roman Nijmegen and Batavian identity

In the preceding chapter, the dynamics of different aspects of Batavo-Roman power relations have been examined, concluding that these relations were unequal, favoring the Romans. In the past two decades, not only identity in itself has become an important theme in the study of Romanisation, but it is recognized that its relation with power should be considered as well.[326] According to Mattingly: "identity is integrally bound up with power in society, and as such, the creation of provincial identities cannot have taken place in a vacuum, isolated from the power negotiations between the Roman Empire and its subject peoples".[327] It is therefore necessary to involve power relations and the conclusions from the previous chapter in the investigation of a Batavian identity and to analyze the role of Roman Nijmegen in the (re)construction of a Batavian identity in this chapter.

Despite its attractiveness, the study of identity is problematic for several reasons, with regard to identity in general as well as Batavian identity in particular. The main problem is that identity is dynamic and that it constantly alters under different circumstances, such as (changing) power relations. This statement can be split up in several other problems and issues, illustrating the importance of post colonial theory in the study of identity as well. Firstly, a group or an individual can have multiple identities, indicating that dichotomies do not exist.[328] Having a Batavian military identity, for example, does not necessarily rule out having a Roman identity, although dichotomies can arise in conflict situations, as will be shown below. Secondly, an identity can change in the course of time and can therefore be temporarily, for example in a situation of conflict or resistance. Thirdly, identity can be invented from the inside of the outside.[329] Van Driel-Murray has argued for example, that the description of Batavian characteristics, such as martial values, in primary written sources do not indicate the existence of a Batavian identity, but that characterizations of natives by writers were a part of Roman ethnography.[330] Moreover, the manifestation of identity depends on the situation: with regard to origin, for example, the expression of someone's origin depends on the environment he or she stays in.[331] Lastly, identity is not always expressed materially and is therefore archaeologically almost intangible.[332] The presence of

---

[326] For instance: Derks (2009), 242; Mattingly (2011), title; Roymans (2004), title and Slofstra (2002), 22.
[327] Mattingly (2011), 206.
[328] Mattingly has proposed to use the concept of discrepant identity, see: Mattingly (2011), chapter 8.
[329] Derks (2009),242 and Van Driel-Murray (2003), 204.
[330] Van Driel-Murray (2003), 204. This argument is a good example of how colonial discourse analysis can change the interpretation of the available sources.
[331] Heeren (2009), 11. See, for instance: Derks (2004).
[332] Roymans (2004), 221.

a specific artifact does not necessarily indicate a certain identity, because the use of an object and not the object in itself was an expression of a certain identity.[333]

This list of problems with the study of identity does not pretend to be exhaustive, but, it can be concluded from the list of given examples that "the" Batavian identity did not exist at any time and that it is therefore better to speak of "an" identity. Nevertheless, recent studies have shown that Batavian identity was composed of some recurring features, especially with regard to martial values.[334] The role of *Oppidum Batavorum* and *Ulpia Noviomagus* in (the construction of) a Batavian identity and to what extent these settlements were regarded as a marker of identity for the *Batavi*, however, is frequently ignored.[335] On the one hand, this has to do with the focus on the Batavian countryside, rather than on the capitals, but on the other hand, this has also to do with the recurring statements about Roman Nijmegen which are challenged in this thesis.

In the following, identity will be conceived as a result of the processes of developing (self-)images, attitudes and behavior, occurring in a context of interaction between those directly involved and outsiders.[336] In the next paragraphs it will be shown that from this definition, Roman Nijmegen can be regarded as a part of a Batavian identity or that is was used by the Batavians to express their identity. In the following section, the characterization of the Batavians in the primary written sources will be reconstructed, combining several passages and quotations about the Batavians. Thereafter, attention will be paid to the question of *Batavodurum*, a supposed pre-Roman Batavian sanctuary and to the discussion about the function of the archaeological site in De Winseling. It is argued that both sites can be identified with each other and that it constitutes a marker of identity. Finally, the remains of a large stone column and a marble head of Julius Caesar from *Oppidum Batavorum*, are investigated, arguing that these stone monuments signify Batavian solidarity with the capital.

4.1 (RE)CONSTRUCTING A BATAVIAN IDENTITY

The (re)construction of a Batavian identity in this paragraph is principally executed by means of primary written sources and the epigraphic record. As a consequence, the problems with regard to the use of texts, as have been mentioned in the introduction, should be taken into account here. The prominence of texts, however is not necessarily problematic for several reasons. Firstly, colonial discourse analysis is a useful text to analyse the texts. Secondly,

---

[333] Heeren (2009), 9.
[334] See, for instance: Derks (2004); Derks and Roymans (2002); Heeren (2009); Roymans (1996); Roymans (2001); Roymans (2004) and Slofstra (2002).
[335] Exceptions are Derks (2004), 57 and Roymans (2004), 211-217.
[336] Roymans (2004), 2.

characterizations of Batavians in primary written sources sometimes reappear in the archaeological and epigraphic record too and can therefore be verified. Thirdly, Roymans has argued that the Batavians primarily shaped their self-image by how they were conceived by the Romans and how they saw themselves in relation to Rome.[337] This statement does not only indicate the usefulness of the primary written sources, but also illustrates the significance of power relations in the study of identity.

4.1.1 The names Batavus and Batavodurum

A name can be a strong marker of identity[338] and it is therefore necessary to elucidate the presence, origin, meaning and the significance of name "*Batavus*" and the toponym "*Batavodurum*". The name *Batavus* can be found in both Greek and Latin texts and inscriptions, though it is not always spelled in the same way. In Latin written texts, *Batavi* is common,[339] but Latin inscriptions display *Betaus*, *Bataus* and *Badaus* as well.[340] Greek written texts are less consistent, referring to *Βατάβοι*, *Βατάουοι* and *Βαταυοι* and in Greek inscriptions *Βατάονες* can be found.[341] This variety in spelling can be explained by the origin of the name and the different stems it derives from. Several etymological solutions have been proposed for the first part of the name,[342] but it is generally accepted that it is made up of the stem "bat-" or "bet-", which can be connected to Germanic or Gothic word "*batiza*" meaning "better".[343] According to Sprey, the second part of the name should be interpreted as *"ouwe"* which resembles "*aue*", referring to an island. The pronunciation of these sounds explains the variety of forms, in the written texts, especially in Greek. The addition of certain letters, such as "*οι*" and "*ες*" in *Βατάβοι* and *Βατάονες*, and "*s*" in *Betaus* has probably to do with the Hellenization and Latinization of the original Germanic form.[344]

The combination of the two elements into "bataue" or "betaue" can be translated as "(inhabitant of) the better (or: fertile) marsh land/peninsula/river island,[345] which is referred to in Latin texts as *insula Batavorum*. It is not clear whether the *Batavi* obtained their name by adopting an already existing topographical indication of an island in the river Rhine, or that they gave their name to their new homelands,[346] but it is thought here that the first

---

[337] Roymans (2004), 227.

[338] In the army, for instance, soldiers often chose a new name, see: Derks (2009), 243 and James (1999), 16. Furthermore, the gift of Roman citizenship was often accompanied with the change or extension of the individual's name.

[339] Or declensions of this form, for instance: Tacitus *Germania* 29: *Batavis*.

[340] Examples are from Sprey (1953), 14 and Derks (2009), appendix. Examples from the epigraphical record: Betavos: CIL III, 4368; Bataus: CIL VI, 8807; Badaus: CIL VI, 3240.

[341] Examples are from Sprey (1953), 14. Plutarch, *Otho* 12; Dio, *Historiae Romana* LIV, 32.

[342] Sprey (1953), 14.

[343] Sprey (1953), 14; Toorians (2000), 85 and Wolters (1990), 144, note 53.

[344] Sprey (1953), 11.

[345] Sprey (1953), 14 and Toorians (2000), 85.

[346] Sprey (1953), 14.

explanation is more convincing. In the first place, Cassius Dio mentions that the *Batavi* are named after the island,[347] and secondly, it is more plausible that the *Chatti* immigrants would have adopted a name rather than gave one to their new living area. Moreover, the abovementioned translation of the name *Batavus* indicates that the Batavians named themselves after the island.[348] Another conclusion that can be drawn from the analysis of the name *Batavus* is that it should not be considered as a construct of Roman ethnography, because it is a Germanic name.[349]

The significance of the name *Batavus* with regard to identity can be illustrated by two examples and the first example has to do with the recurrence of the name in inscriptions. Derks has investigated the *Batavi* in the epigraphic record, restricting his research to inscriptions entailing an explicit reference to Batavian descent, resulting in a total of 58 texts.[350] A chief conclusion from his assessment is that the name *Batavus* has some positive military connotations, such as bravery, manliness and martiality. Eventually the designation *Batavus* became a synonym of these characteristics and was a source of pride for actual Batavians.[351] This conclusion, however, is not applicable to every use of *Batavus* in the inscriptions, for it could also used as a clarification a phenomenon: Simplicius Serenus, for example, has written on his grave stone that he came from *Ulp(ia) Noviomagi Bata(v)us*, indicating that his origin was the Batavian *Noviomagus* and not one of the other settlements bearing the same name.[352] Nevertheless, both applications of the name indicate that it could used as a marker of identity, to refer to individual military qualities or to specify one's origin.

The second example concerns the topoynym *Batavodurum* or *Βαταυόδουρον* in Greek.[353] It is constructed of different indigenous linguistic elements. The first part, "*Batav-*" is Germanic, whereas the second part consists of the Gallic word "*-durum*" which can be translated as stronghold.[354] The name *Batavodurum*, consisting of two indigenous linguistic elements and can thus be translated as "Batavian stronghold."[355] This is also the translation of the Latin toponym *Oppidum Batavorum*, indicating that both names were used to refer to the same site.[356] The problem with this interpretation, however, is that the Gallic word for *oppidum* is not *durum* but *dunum* and therefore that the Germano-Gallic translation of

---

[347] Cassius Dio, *Historia Romanae* LV 24, 7.

[348] Toorians (2000), 85.

[349] Toorians (2000), 85. Cf. Roymans (2004), 232.

[350] Derks (2004), 38-69 and Derks (2009), 239-282.

[351] Derks (2009), 269,

[352] CIL VI, 32869bb = AE 1993, 385 = ESA 211 = Derks (2009), 279, number 46. For the different cities named *Noviomagi*, see: Van Buchem (1959), 45 and Derks (2009), 259, note 86.

[353] *Batavodurum*, see: Tacitus, *Historiae* V, 20 and *Βαταυόδουρον*, see: Ptolemaeus *Geographica* II, 9, 8. In paragraph 4.2 *Batavodurum* will be localized.

[354] Buijtendorp (2003), 203 and Sprey (1953), 98.

[355] Buijtendorp himself translates *Batavodurum* as "stronghold in the land of the Batavians", see: Buijtendorp (2003), 203.

[356] See: paragraph 4.2.

Oppidum Batavorum should be *Batavodunum*. The two toponyms should therefore not be interpreted as one single location from a philological point of view.[357] Nonetheless, the translation of the toponym *Batavodurum* suggests that a connection existed between the inhabitants of the area, the Batavians, and the site of a stronghold and that it perhaps functioned as a marker of a Batavian identity. In paragraph 4.2, it will be argued that this assumption is plausible.

4.1.2 Construction from the outside

The representation of the colonial Other, can be understood as the construction of an identity from the outside and therefore attention will be paid to the construction of a Batavian identity by means of the primary written sources, eventually also involving epigraphy. This examination shows how outsiders saw the *Batavi*, what characteristics they attributed to them and what role Roman Nijmegen played in their construction of a Batavian identity. Batavian groups or individuals will have reacted differently to the characterizations of their tribe and of themselves by others and four categories of Batavian reactions are conceivable. Firstly, neglecting outside descriptions, because of ignorance or because the Batavians did not mind; secondly adaptation;[358] thirdly conscious avoidance and finally, attempting to actively change these images.[359] Since no Batavian written texts have been passed down and Tacitus, for example, was especially interested in the *mores* of the *Germani*,[360] it is not always easy to determine Batavian reactions to characterizations and preconceptions of others in written texts. Recent scholarly attention towards Batavian self-images and ethnicity, involving archaeology and epigraphy, however, will constitute a useful framework in which the role of *Oppidum Batavorum* and *Ulpia Noviomagus* can be investigated.

The outside characterization of the *Batavi* is rather inconsistent. On the one hand, the *Batavi* were regarded as inferior, because they were barbarians:[361] Tacitus mentions, for instance, that Civilis was a barbarian, even though he was better than the average barbarian.[362] On the other hand, the Batavian tribe was commended for its discipline and military strength and Tacitus almost admirably speaks of the Batavians' ability to cross rivers by swimming.[363] Such characterizations are often part of ethnographic imagery, which is a visualization of how the *Batavi* were seen or how they should be seen by the writers and

---

[357] Toorians (2000), 86. Cf. Buijtendorp (2003), 204.
[358] Derks (2004), 57 and Roymans (2009), 221.
[359] Roymans (2004), 229 and Roymans (2009), 231.
[360] Rives (2012), 56.
[361] Roymans (2004), 225. Martialis, *Epigrammata* VI, 82; Tacitus, *Historiae* IV, 61.
[362] Tacitus, *Historiae* IV, 13.
[363] See below for references.

readers of the texts, challenging the historical value of accounts such as Tacitus' *Germania*.[364] The rather military image of the Batavians, stems from the specific situations of contact between outsiders and Batavians. Batavians were often seen by Romans in the context of the army and as a result, they were conceived as: Germanic, barbarian, manly, large in statue, warlike, brave specialized elite soldiers and loyal to the emperor.[365] This summarized image of a Batavian will be illustrated below by several themes and will be conceived as the actual reality how Batavians were seen from the outside, for it allows for an examination of the Batavian reaction to these stereotypes. The inconsistency of the characterization of the Batavians in the primary written sources is not regarded problematical, for it illustrates the complexity of identity, even as it is constructed from the outside.

The first theme of the Batavian *origo* and territory is addressed by several writers. According to Tacitus, the Batavians migrated from the Middle Rhine to the Lower Rhine because of internal strife. [366] As long as they were living on the eastern bank of the Rhine, the *Batavi* were conceived as different, or more precise, as barbarians. The significance of the categorization of the Batavians as barbarians is illustrated by Tacitus, for he explicitly refers to their crossing of the Rhine from the right to the left bank as they moved into the lands that would become part of the Roman Empire. They not only physically moved into the Roman Empire, but they figuratively moved from barbarity to a more civilized state of mind.[367] Their new living area was an island that gave them their name that was known in Roman ethnography as the *Insula Batavorum*, a strip of land surrounded by two rivers.[368] Caesar mentions in the *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* that "(…) *et parte quadam ex Rheno recepta, quae appellatur Vacalus insulam efficit Batavorum, in Oceanum influit.*"[369] The Latin name '*insula Batavorum*' also occurs in Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 4.101 and 4.106, in Tacitus', *Germania* 29, *Historiae* IV, 15 and *Annales* 2.6.3 and the Greek indication '*ἡ τῶν Βατάουων νῆσος*' can be found in Dio's *Historia Romana* 54.32.2 and 55.24.7.[370] Plutarch mentions the island as wel, but does not use the attributive adjunct *Βατάουων*.[371] So, the description of the Batavian territory was rather commonly used in the primary written sources in the first and second centuries AD, but only Dio refers to the close connection between the geographical area and the name of the Batavians. Unfortunately,

---

[364] See: paragraph 1.2.1.

[365] For this list, see: Roymans (2004), 227.

[366] Tacitus, *Germania* 29 and *Historiae* IV, 12.

[367] Tacitus, *Germania* 29 and *Historiae* IV, 12. Rivers are an important part of the ethnographical tradition, see: Thomas (2009), 63.

[368] The indication of the *insula Batavorum* as *Batavia* will be ignored, for it was primarily used from the third century AD onwards, see: Teitler (2004), 23, cf. Tacitus, *Historiae* II, 17.

[369] Caesar, *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* IV.10.1. It is doubted whether this passage is a writing of Caesar himself, see: Teitler (2004), 21.

[370] Or declensions of these forms.

[371] In *Otho* 12.4 Plutarch mentions the Batavians and refers to the island in 12.5.

neither Tacitus, nor Dio or one of the other writers talks about the foundation of settlements, sanctuaries or other central places by the Batavians after their arrival in the Lower Rhine Region.[372]

Appearance is a second theme that recurs regularly, but at the same time is subject to ethnographic stereotypes.[373] Following Tacitus, Batavian children, for instance, are tall beyond their years, but this is a characteristic for *Germani* in general.[374] Another example of a preconception, that is expanded by Tacitus and others concerns Batavian hair style. In *Germania* 31, Tacitus mentions a custom of the *Chatti* that, when a boy reaches maturity, he grows his hair and beard, shaving them only when he has killed his first enemy.[375] The Batavians, former part of the *Chatti,* cherished this practice as it is mentioned in the Histories that Civilis, according to barbarian custom, cuts his hair short after the massacre of Roman legions.[376] He assumes having a certain identity, but in fact he applied the custom incorrectly, for he did not reached maturity at that moment and perhaps had killed an enemy before.[377] It is imaginable, though, that the rite in itself was a very powerful way to express a feeling of unity and was used by Civilis to strengthen his alliance with the other Germanic tribes during the Revolt against the Romans. From this point of view, the barbarous rites in Histories IV, 15, can perhaps be explained: Civilis summoned the Batavian leaders and the boldest of the commoners and bound them by national oathes and barbarous rites.[378] The *barbaru rito* is not explained here, but can be regarded as a reference to the growing of the hair and the beard.[379] To proceed the argument even further, it is even possible to state that the hair that Civilis starts to grow in chapter 15 is cut in chapter 61. In addition to the growing and shaving of the hair, Civilis dyed it red,[380] a routine that became rather popular in Rome, according to Martial, in the first century AD.[381] Although the *Epigrammata* were finished before Tacitus' *Historiae*, Martial verses about *spuma Batava*, indicating that dyeing hair was perceived to be a Batavian custom,[382] that was eventually copied by Roman women.[383] Growing, shaving and dying the hair in a conflict situation can be regarded as an individual identification with the Batavian tribe and with the repudiation

---

[372] Cf. Cassius Dio, *Historia Romana* LVI, 18, 1.

[373] Teitler (2004), 34-35.

[374] Tacitus, *Historiae* IV, 14. The *Germani* were tall in general: Tacitus, *Germania* 4.

[375] Tacitus, *Germania*, 31.

[376] Tacitus, *Historiae* IV, 61.

[377] Tacitus, *Historiae* IV, 13. One could argue of course that the custom was changed after the separation of the *Batavi* from the *Chatti*.

[378] Tacitus, *Historiae* IV, 15.

[379] See also: Heubner IV, 45 and Chilver and Townend (1979), 35.

[380] According to Tacitus, natural red hair was a characteristic of the *Germani*: Tacitus, *Germania* 4. The inhabitants of *Caledonia* were redheaded for they were of German origin: Tacitus, *Agricola* 11.

[381] Martialis, *Epigrammata* VIII, 33, 20.

[382] Dyeing the hair was no specific Batavian habit, see: Plinius, *Naturalis Historia XXVIII*, 191, cf. Suetonius, *De Vita Caesarum* Caligula, 47.

[383] Ovidius *Ars Amatoria* III, 163 and Martial, *Epigrammata* XIV 26,1 and XIV 27.

of the Romans. So a specific style of hair and its color were used in the primary written sources to identify Batavians, but it should be kept in mind that it articulated a barbarian identity and thus that it was regarded negatively from the outside.[384]

Several military aspects of the *Batavi* were well-known in Roman times: they were tough and disciplined fighters and according to Tacitus they excelled in courage in comparison to other tribes and were reserved for was purposes.[385] Two skills are frequently emphasized by authors: firstly the Batavians riding skills and secondly, their ability to swim. To start with their ridings skills, Dio and Plutarch state that the Batavians were the most able of horsemen.[386] This appreciation of Batavian horsemanship is not only expressed in texts, but also in the actual mobilization of troops. The Julio-Claudian emperors, for instance, can be connected to the deployment of Batavian cavalry in warfare: during the Germanic campaigns under Germanicus' command in the first decade of the first century AD, Batavian leader Chariovalda tried to defend his men against the *Cheruski*, but he fell and his horse was stabbed under him[387] and during the Revolt, Julius Briganticus, nephew and enemy of Civilis, commanded a cohort of special cavalry.[388] The strong emphasize on horsemanship started under Augustus, but the actual skills of horse riding dates back to pre-Roman times and functioned as an identity marker. In addition, the presence of aristocratic leaders as commanders on horse in the army, such as Chariovalda and Briganticus, is part of the Lower Rhine *comitatus* tradition.[389] The importance of horsemanship for the *Batavi* is reflected in their gravestones, depicting horses.[390] In addition to actual warfare, the Batavians were installed as imperial bodyguards under the Julio-Claudian emperors: although unsure, Julius Caesar was possibly the first to use Batavian horseman this way,[391] and Augustus probably followed his path.[392] Other references are more explicit: Suetonius, for example, mentions that Caligula asked for a troop of Batavians, to guard him constantly.[393] Since the *corporis custodes* were probably famous among the *Batavi*, serving as an imperial bodyguard would have been regarded as an honour.[394] As will be shown below, the prominence of *Batavi* as imperial bodyguards is also evident in the epigraphic record.

---

[384] Heubner IV, 142: the Roman fashion to dye the hair and the German ritual should not be connected to each other.
[385] Tacitus, *Germania*, 29 . The Batavians were regarded as strong allies: Tacitus, *Historiae* I, 59.
[386] Cassius Dio, *Historia Romana* LV, 24 and Plutarch, *Otho* 12.
[387] Tacitus, *Annales* II, 11.
[388] Tacitus, *Historiae* IV, 70 and V, 21.
[389] Roymans (2004), 227.
[390] CIL III, 3676 = ILS 2558 = AE 1991, 1550.
[391] Caesar, *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* VII, 13.
[392] Suetonius, *De Vita Caesarum*, Augustus, 49.
[393] Suetonius, *De Vita Caesarum*, Caligula, 43.
[394] Speidel (1994a), 40.

The Batavians' ability to swim is mentioned a lot in ancient texts,[395] but not every reference to swimming necessarily has to do with Batavians. Swimming is described as a Germanic skill in general and several authors write about "swimming *Germani*". It is not clear from the context whether these *Germani* should be regarded as Batavians or not.[396] Other texts are more specific: the indication *Batavi* is not used, but as the swimming is connected to (Germanic) cavalry, it consequently leads to the conclusion that Batavians are involved. Another example of such a reference can be found in Tacitus' *Agricola* 18, as Agricola encounters a native tribe, he deploys some auxiliary troops that were used to swim in their homelands. From the historical contexts it is clear the these soldiers were Batavians,[397] for they were stationed at that time in Britain.[398] Some texts explicitly connect Batavians to swimming and demonstrate that they were indeed able to cross rivers without boats.[399] After the failed siege of *Vada* and *Grinnes*, Civilis and Verax try to escape by swimming across the river.[400] As in the case of the cavalry, some epigraphic evidence is available concerning the Batavians skill of swimming.[401]

Two passages concerning riding and swimming are very interesting for both are combined with each other and they are referred to as typically Batavian. At first, in the Histories, Tacitus states that "*erat et domi delectus eques, praecipuo nandi studio, arma equosque retinens integris turmis Rhenum perrumpere…*"[402], arguing that the riders were trained to swim with their horse. The second example illustrates that this image had become such a prevailing concept in the third century, that the *Batavi* were not identified with swimming on horse, but that riders swimming on their horse were categorized as Batavians: Dio writes that "so excellently, indeed, had his soldiery been trained that the cavalry of the Batavians, as they were called, swam the Ister with their arms."[403] These two examples illustrate very well that a certain identity can be constructed from the outside, for the swimming riders in Dio were not necessarily Batavians or felt Batavian. According to Van Driel-Murray, the equation of swimming and riding with Batavians, instead of the other way around, was not limited to the third century AD, but was already prominent in the first

[395] Sprey (1953), 28, note 2.
[396] Cassius Dio *Historia Romanae* LX, 20, 2 and Tacitus, *Historiae* II, 35 and VI, 66.
[397] Ogilvie and Richmond (1967), 210.
[398] One could wonder why Tacitus does not explicitly mention the Batavians, instead of giving a description of their military skills. Did he do this, because it was of no interest of the reader to call the Batavias by name?: Van Driel-Murray (2003), 204.
[399] Tacitus, *Annales* II, 8.3; and *Historiae* V.21.2
[400] Tacitus, *Historiae* V, 21.2. This scene featuring Civilis in the *Histories* is rather opposite to the heroic appearance of Chariovalda in the *Annales*. Though both leaders were deprived of their horse during battle and were harassed by spears, Civilis flees lonely as a Roman enemy, whereas Chariovalda dies toghether with his men for the Roman cause.
[401] See: note 390.
[402] Part of the text is lost. Tacitus, *Historiae* IV, 12.
[403] Cassius Dio, 69.9.6: "*τῶν καλουμένων Βατάουων*".

century AD. Any tribal affiliation was not important for the Romans and native soldiers were simply called Batavians.[404]

In conclusion, the primary written sources strongly focus on martial aspects of the Batavians: they are brave, courageous, good swimmers and riders and change their style of hair as they kill their (first) enemy, which is probably also connected to the dyeing of the hhair. These military characterizations can be explained in several ways: in the first place, situations of contact between Batavians and outsiders often occurred within the army or on the battlefield. As the examples have demonstrated, Batavians were seen on the battlefield by others and in Rome they were known as imperial bodyguards. Secondly, as has been illustrated by the example from Dio, the military characterization of the Batavians had become a common stereotype and it is therefore imaginable that such descriptions were visualization of how Batavians were conceived, not how they actually looked like. The third reason, is that the army indeed was an important part of Batavian life, as they were recruited on large scale for the auxiliary troops and as imperial bodyguards.

Concerning their physical appearance, the characteristics that are attributed to the Batavians are also ascribed to *Germani* in general. Physical appearance and the growing, shaving and dying of the hair does therefore not necessarily indicate a specific Batavian identity. They should be regarded as stereotypes, in order that the readers of the primary written sources could identify the Batavians in the text, denying the question whether the characteristics were indeed specifically Batavians. This question, however, was not relevant for the reader, for the Batavian was seen as a barbarian and was therefore depicted as a barbarian. Batavians reactions to these outside depictions of themselves are very hard to discern though there are some clues about their reactions. The Batavians tried to live up to their military reputation and to the martial values that were ascribed to them, as is indicted by the large scale recruitment in the first and second centuries AD and the tombstones of the imperial body guard.[405] In chapter 4.3 it will be shown from an archaeological point of view that some Batavians tried to change the outside characterization of themselves as warlike barbarians.[406]

Oppidum Batavorum and *Noviomagus* are absent in the analysis of the primary written sources, for they are not referred to in the characterization of the Batavians. The only geographical reference that recurs is the *insula Batavorum*, perhaps because it was an exceptional living area. The absence of both capitals in the characterization of the Batavian supposes that they were no important feature in the identification of the Batavians by outsiders. An explanation could be that the Batavians were conceived as barbarians, and

---

[404] Van Driel-Murray (2003), 204 and note 17 *ibidem*. See also: Roymans (2004), 227.
[405] Roymans (2004), 227. Cf. Van Driel-Murray (2003), 205.
[406] Roymans (2004), 229.

cities and urban culture were regarded as symbols of civilization.[407] Identifying the Batavians by means of the capitals of their *civitas* would contradict the traditional stereotypical barbarian image of the Batavians.

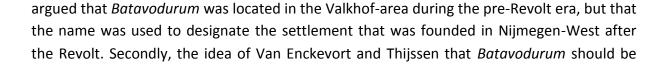## 4.2 THE QUESTION OF *BATAVODURUM*

In paragraph 4.1 the name *Batavodurum* passed by, as it was translated as "Batavian stronghold". In this paragraph the question about the interpretation and localization of *Batavodurum* will be treated. This question actually involves two smaller interrelated debates about (pre-)Roman Nijmegen: firstly, the problem concerning the localization of *Batavodurum* itself. It is generally accepted that *Batavodurum* was located in Roman Nijmegen, but is exact location is subject of discussion. Three differing visions about the localization of *Batavodurum* will be assessed in this paragraph. The second point that will be discussed is the function of the archaeological site in De Winseling in Nijmegen-West. After the Batavian Revolt, the site was incorporated into *Ulpia Noviomagus* and was probably used as a temple at that time, but the pre-Revolt function is unknown. These two discussions are interrelated, for it has been proposed that the archaeological site in De Winseling should be identified as *Batavodurum*.

The main problem of the discussion is the lack of sources about both subjects. The name *Batavodurum* is only mentioned twice by Tacitus in chapter 20 of book 5 of the Histories and Ptolemy refers to it in the *Geographica*. At the same time, no inscriptions bearing the name *Batavodurum* have been found. Moreover, the site in De Winseling has only been excavated during the second quarter of the nineteenth century and due to buildings, excavations are impossible at the moment. Nevertheless, it will be shown in the following paragraphs that some things can be said about the localization of *Batavodurum* and the function of the archeological site in De Winseling. By involving more chapters from Tacitus' Histories and by looking at other Batavian central places in the *civitas Batavorum*, it will be argued that *Batavodurum* should be located in Nijmegen-West and that it should be interpreted as a sanctuary. Consequently, this argument explains the foundation of the post-Revolt capital of *Ulpia Noviomagus* at this site and the importance of the settlement for the indigenous Batavian population.

4.2.1 Localization of Batavodurum

The obscurity of the location of *Batavodurum* has brought forth three differing theories, which will be examined here in chronological order of publication.[408] Firstly, Bogaers has

---

[407] Tacitus, *Agricola* 21 and Cassius Dio, *Historia Romana* LVI, 18, 1.

argued that *Batavodurum* was located in the Valkhof-area during the pre-Revolt era, but that the name was used to designate the settlement that was founded in Nijmegen-West after the Revolt. Secondly, the idea of Van Enckevort and Thijssen that *Batavodurum* should be

Because of copyright, this map cannot be shown.
See page 118 for further references.

Map 4.1. The localization of *Batavodurum*. Bogaers: red, Van Enckevort and Thijssen: green and Buijtendorp: blue.

located in Nijmegen-West, not only after the Revolt but also in the period before it. Lastly, the suggestion of Buijtendorp that the name *Batavodurum* was not used to indicate a specific location, but to refer to a larger area, ranging from Nijmegen-West to Nijmegen-Hunerberg (map 4.1).

Every theory heavily relies on Tacitus' remarks about *Batavodurum* in the Histories. In addition the settlement of *Oppidum Batavorum*, that is mentioned in chapter 19 of book 5 of the Histories, shortly before *Batavodurum*, plays an important role in the construction of all three theories. On the one hand, it is thought that both names refer to the same location, because they can be translated both as "Batavian stronghold". On the other hand, it is argued that the names do not indicate the same site, for they are mentioned shortly one after another. Archaeology will be deployed to support the textual evidence, because some of Tacitus' observations can be traced archaeologically.

---

[408] These three are not the only theories explaining the difficulties concerning *Batavodurum*, see: Sprey (1953), 98, notes 4 to 9. These other theories will not be treated here, because there are archaeologically not well founded.

In his inaugural lecture "Civitas en Stad van de Bataven en Canninefaten", Bogaers addresses the problem of the localization of *Batavodurum*.[409] His argument strongly depends on specific chronological and geographical frameworks and can therefore be confusing, but a chronological approach suffices to analyze Bogaers' argument, that starts with chapter 20 of book 5 of Tacitus' Histories. In this chapter Tacitus informs the reader that the Second Legion was stationed at *Batavodurum* in the final phase of the Batavian Revolt.[410] After the Revolt, the Second Legion left for *Britannia* and was replaced by the Tenth Legion, stationed at *Arenacium*.[411] Consequently, the Tenth Legion moved to *Batavodurum*. By means of stamps on roof tiles and bricks it has been archaeologically demonstrated that the Tenth Legions pitched their camp on Nijmegen-Hunerberg and built a fort there[412] and Bogaers' argued that pre-Revolt *Batavodurum* should therefore be located on the Hunerberg and in the area just west of it, in the Valkhof, Kelfkensbos and Hunerpark. In addition to the localization of *Batavodurum*, Bogaers stated that *Oppidum Batavorum* could now also be localized, for both names can be translated as "Batavian stronghold" or as "town of the Batavians". He even proceeded his argument further by saying that *Oppidum Batavorum* is the Latin translation of the Celtic name *Batavodurum* and therefore that both names refer to the same site.[413] Bogaers assumption that *Oppidum Batavorum* should be located in the Valkhof appeared correct afterwards.[414]

The situation after the Revolt changed, because *Oppidum Batavorum*, that is *Batavodurum*, was burned down by Civilis. According to Bogaers, the capital of the Batavian *civitas* could not be rebuilt on its former location in the Valkhof area, because of the military zone encircling the fort on the Hunerberg. As a consequence, a new capital was founded in Nijmegen-West and was named after the old capital, *Batavodurum*, for it had the same function. At the same time, however, the newly constructed fort on the Hunerberg was also known as *Batavodurum*, because it was located in the same area as the burnt down *Batavodurum*. So, instead of one site, two sites were called *Batavodurum* after AD 70. Ptolemy's reference of Βαταυόδουρον is not involved in the argument, though Bogaers suggests that Ptolemy probably meant the *Batavodurum* in Nijmegen-West. This idea, however, is rejected directly, for in Ptolemy's time, the settlement was already known as *Ulpia Noviomagus*.

---

[409] For the following, see: Bogaers (1960), 8, 15 and 25, point 3, 5 and 7.

[410] Tacitus, *Historiae* V, 20.

[411] Tacitus, *Historiae* V, 20. This site is oftenly but falsely referred to as *Arenacum*, see: Bogaers (1960), 8, note 63 and Heubner V, 167. The exact location of *Arenacium* is unknown, but can be located at Rhindern-Kleve: Bogaers (1960), 8.

[412] See, for the brick stamps from the *castra*: Brunsting and Steures (1995), 85-117 and Brunsting and Steures (1997), 323-331.

[413] Bogaers (1960), 8 and Buijtendorp (2003), 203.

[414] The exact location of *Oppidum Batavorum* was unknown at that time and in 1979 Bogaers concluded that *Oppidum Batavorum* should be located in the Valkhof area, see: Bogaers *et al.* (1979), 33. The settlement was located in the 1980s, see: Van Enckeevort (2005), 235.

Although Bogaers' theory has been generally accepted to be true, it has two defects. Firstly, Bogaers assumes that the Tenth Legion replaced the Second Legion at *Batavodurum* and consequently was stationed at exactly the same site. In contrast to the archaeological documentation of the Tenth Legion, the Second Legion has not yet been archaeologically traced. It can therefore be questioned whether both Legions were stationed at exactly the same site and Bogaers' statement that *Batavodurum* and *Oppidum Batavorum* should be equated can be doubted. Secondly, with regard to post-Revolt *Batavodurum* on the Hunerberg, it is doubtful to argue that the fortress on the Hunerberg was known as "stronghold/town of the Batavians" since the Tenth Legion came from Spain.

The second theory, that of municipal archaeologists Van Enckevort and Thijssen contradicts the hypothesis of Bogaers with regard to the pre-Revolt situation, for they argue that *Batavodurum* and *Oppidum Batavorum* probably were two different sites. The first was situated in Nijmegen-West and the second in the Valkhof area.[415] As with Bogaers, Tacitus' remarks about *Batavodurum* and *Oppidum Batavorum* are important here, for Van Enckevort and Thijssen point to the quick succession of both names in the Histories. According to them, this indicates that two different locations are meant, because otherwise Tacitus would not have used two names to refer to the same site. Since both toponyms, can be translated as "Batavians stronghold", this is not a very strong argument on its own and other clues are necessary to ground this theory. These can be found in the chronology of the Histories and the description of events in Histories 5 chapter 19 and 20. In chapter 19, *Oppidum Batavorum* is burnt down and abandoned by Civilis and his troops, as he is pursued by the Roman legions of Cerialis. In chapter 20, Tacitus states that Civilis was not yet defeated, for he dares to attack two legions: the Tenth at *Arenacium* and the Second at *Batavodurum*. Although the Histories do not provide a clear time table of these events, it can be stated that little time passed between the destruction of *Oppidum Batavorum* in chapter 19 and the Batavian assault on the Second Legion at *Batavodurum* in chapter 20. This illustrates the problem of Bogaers theory from a military and strategic point of view, for if *Batavodurum* and *Oppidum Batavorum* were the same site, it would follow that the Second Legion pitched its camp in the burned ruins of the former capital.[416] In addition, *Oppidum Batavorum* had no walls and was difficult to defend, as was illustrated by Civilis' retreat. The theory of Van Enckevort and Thijssen evades this problem, for *Batavodurum* was unaffected and could therefore be defended by the legions of Cerialis.

Tacitus' description of the events can be deployed to expound another argument, concerning the existence of a bridge at *Batavodurum*. In chapter 20 Tacitus not only mentions that the Second Legion was stationed at *Batavodurum*, but that a bridge was

---

[415] For the following, see: Van Enckevort en Thijssen (2001), 87-110 and Van Enckevort and Thijssen (2003), 59-72. The idea of two different sites is older, see: Sprey (1953), 98.
[416] Van Enckevort and Heirbaut (2008), 27.

begun there.[417] During the Batavian assault on The Second Legion was distracted by them and in the meanwhile *Germani* were able to demolish the bridge at *Batavodurum*.[418] During construction works between 1985 and 1987 on the southern bank of the Waal, just east of the railway line, remains of a pier were found, confirming Tacitus' observations of the existence of a bridge.[419] Since *Oppidum Batavorum* was located in the Valkhof area, the location of the remains of this bridge support the assumption of van Enckevort and Thijssen that *Batavodurum* should be sought somewhere else. The last argument that can be used to support the theory of Van Enckevort and Thijssen is Bogaers' assumption that post-Revolt *Batavodurum* was used to indicate the newly constructed settlement in Nijmegen-West. From the perspective of continuity it could be argued that not only the location of the new post-Revolt settlement in Nijmegen-West was known as *Batavodurum*, but that this name was already used to refer to that location in the pre-Revolt era.

The third hypothesis that will be analyzed has been proposed by Buijtendorp. According to him, *Batavodurum* was not a toponym for one particular site, but for a larger area ranging from Nijmegen-West to the military installations on the Hunerberg in the east.[420] *Oppidum Batavorum* should be regarded as the proto-urban civil settlement within the area of *Batavodurum*. Three arguments are used by Buijtendorp to illustrate that *Batavodurum* and *Oppidum Batavorum* should not necessarily be regarded as one single location. In the first place, in addition to Van Enckevort's and Thijssen's observation of the quick succession of the two names in the Histories, Buijtendorp points to the fact that *Oppidum Batavorum* disappears from the record and that only *Batavodurum* is mentioned twice. Since Tacitus cannot have been forgotten that the used *Oppidum Batavorum* only shortly before to indicate a specific location, *Batavodurum* should not be seen as a synonym for the same site. Secondly, *Oppidum Batavorum* was the name of the civilian settlement in the Valkhof area and considering *Batavodurum* to be a synonym, leaves the problem that the military installation on the Hunerberg does not have a name. Bogaers proposed that both the civilian settlement and the fort were called *Batavodurum*, but Buijtendorp regards *Batavodurum* as an indicator of the entire area. Lastly, Buijtendorp analyzes the toponym linguistically and argues that the postfix *'-durum'*[421] had lost its original, restricted meaning as a walled town in the first century AD. According to him, it was also used then to refer to locations without any defensive walls or ramparts and is therefore suiteable to indicate a

---

[417] The construction of a bridge was necessary to enter the *insula Batavorum*, for Tacitus mentions in chapter 19 that Cerialis had no boats to cross the river and that there was no other way to reach the other bank to pursue Civilis. Since the Batavians took everything from *Oppidum Batavorum* they could carry, it is improbable that they swam across the river (see: paragraph 4.1.2), but that they used a bridge instead to go across, which was destroyed afterwards. During their retreat, they also demolished the dike that Drusus had built, indicating that the destruction of a bridge fits the character of the Batavian retreat, see: Tacitus *Historiae* V, 20.

[418] Tacitus *Historiae* V, 20.

[419] Van Enckevort, Haalebos and Thijssen (2000), 73. See: map 1.3 letter H, for the location of the bridge.

[420] For the following, see: Buijtendorp (2003), 190-210.

[421] Just as *–dunum*. Buijtendorp (2003), 204.

larger area. The word *'oppidum'*, by contrast, should be literally translated as a stronghold and refers to the settlement of *Oppidum Batavorum*, that was encircled by ditches. In conclusion, Buijtendorp interprets and localizes *Batavodurum* by attacking the common assumption that *Batavorum* and *Oppidum Batavorum* are synonyms and should be regarded as one single settlement. As he solution, he proposes a "plain" solution for the problem, regarding *Oppidum Batavorum* to be the proto-urban settlement in the Valkhof area and *Batavodurum* being an indication of the complete Nijmegen agglomeration.

Although this hypothesis provides another interpretation for the question of the localization of *Batavodurum* and is quite interesting, it has two shortages. In the first place, Buijtendorp's point of departure is the inaccuracy of the generally accepted view that *Batavodurum* and *Oppidum Batavorum* were synonyms. He only deploys negative arguments to prove that both names should not be regarded as one single location. The second flaw is strongly connected to the first: no historiographical or archaeological sources are used to support the statement that *Batavodurum* was used to indicate an area in stead of a particular location. No historical parallels are given either and the given solution, although presented to be "plain", is not strongly founded.[422] Positive argumentation lacks, for almost no ancient sources to support this theory are available, resulting in hesitant formulations of his arguments.[423]

4.2.2 The site in De Winseling

The second topic of consideration is the function of the site in De Winseling in Nijmegen-West. Already during the seventeenth century, this site was known for the precense of Roman artifacts and features, as has been described by Johannes Smetius.[424] The first excavations at this location were executed by Reuvens and Leemans in 1834.[425] Preceding the construction of fort Krayenhoff, they found parts of Roman walls which measured at least 60 by 90 meters, in an L-shape (figure 4.1). The absence of oblique walls implies that the remains were partition walls or were part of a *porticus*, encircling a public space. Another interesting point is the presence of eight, two to three metres wide niches, symmetrically constructed into the walls. Reuvens himself thought that he had found parts of a bath complex.[426] Since the publication of the results of this excavation by Hendrik
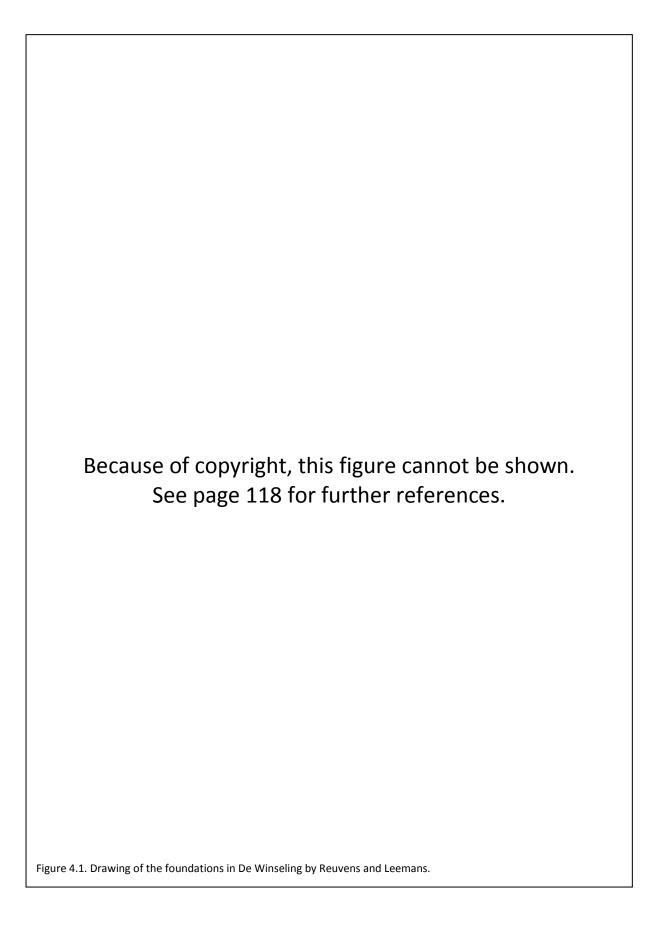
---

[422] Even more, the interpretation of *Batavodurum* is implemented on *Lugdunum*, a settlement on the shores of *Germania Inferior*, in the region of modern Katwijk.

[423] For instance: "The variant with the word *'oppidum'* will have been taken more literally." Buijtendorp (2003), 204.

[424] See: Nelissen (2004).

[425] For the publication of these excavations, see: Brunsting (1949), 47-65.

[426] Brunsting (1949), 52.

Because of copyright, this figure cannot be shown.
See page 118 for further references.

Figure 4.1. Drawing of the foundations in De Winseling by Reuvens and Leemans.

Brunsting in 1949, the remains have been interpreted in a number of ways.[427] Brunsting himself thought that the Roman structure had been a temple complex,[428] but others suggested, just like Reuvens, a bath,[429] a *cryptoporticus*,[430] or a *forum*.[431] The interpretation of a bath complex should be dismissed, for a bath complex was found in the vicinity in 1992 and because of its rather small population,[432] the settlement did not need two baths.[433] The possibility of a *forum* cannot be ruled out, for similar niches have been found in *forum* complexes in Bavay, Kempten, Martigny and Nyon,[434] but it is better to follow Brunsting's idea, regarding the walls as the remains of a temple complex for several reasons.

In the first place, the niches in the walls in De Winseling bear resemblance, not only to *forum* complexes in Roman settlements in Belgium and France, but also to a temple complex beneath the present Maasplein in Nijmegen itself. This complex, located only a few hundreds of metres south of De Winseling was found in 1920-1921 by Daniëls and was investigated again in 1992-1993 by the municipal archaeological service of Nijmegen.[435] Within this complex, two temples were found and in the eastern wall of the northern temple, niches, comparable to those in De Winseling were constructed.[436] Instead of looking at a comparable phenomenon hundreds of kilometres away in France or Belgium, it is better to regard these niches in the temples on the Maasplein, only a few hundreds of metres away, as an indication of the function of the structure in De Winseling.[437]

Secondly, De Winseling and its direct environment have brought up a certain material culture that indicates the presence of a religious complex. A total of nine votive altars, dedicated to different Roman deities have been found in the area from the seventeenth century onwards,[438] such as the small altar, erected by Blesio for *Fortuna* and *Mercurius*: MERCVRIO/REGI SIVE/FORTVN(a)E/BLESIO BVR/GIONIS FIL(ius)/V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito).[439] In addition, altars erected for native gods have been discovered as well,[440] for

---

[427] Driessen (2007), paragraph 4.3.

[428] Brunsting (1949), 52, cf. Enckevort and Thijssen (2003), 60-61.

[429] Bogaers (1972), 315-317; Haalebos (1990), 194; Kunow (1992),148 and Willems (1990), 64.

[430] Petrikovits (1955), 11.

[431] Driessen (2007), 155-156; Willems (1990), 64-65 and Haalebos and Willems (2005), 43.

[432] The population number can only be estimated. Brunsting, basing himself on the size of the burial grounds and the built-up area of *Ulpia Noviomagus*, thought that the population did not surpass 3000, see: Brunsting (1937), 17. Bogaers believed that the limit was set at 5000, see: Bogaers *et al.* (1979), 61.

[433] Driessen (2007), 151.

[434] Driessen (2007), 155 and note 75 *ibidem*.

[435] Daniëls (1927), 70-87; Van Enckevort, Haalebos and Thijssen (2000), 75-81. Van Enckevort and Thijssen (1996), 77-80.

[436] Driessen (2007), 157.

[437] See also: Brunsting (1949), 57. Brunsting even compares the dimensions and the orientation of both complexes, concluding that the bear close resemblances: Brunsting (1949), 56.

[438] Driessen (2007), 160-161.

[439] For king Mercurius or for Fortuna, Blesio son of Burgio, has fulfilled his vow gladly and with reason. CIL XIII, 1326 = ILS 3198 = AE 2007, 1024; Driessen (2007) 161.

example the dedication of the Nervian trader Marcus Liberius Victor to the *Matres Mopates* that is inscribed as follows: MATRIBVS/MOPATIBVS/M(arcus)/LIBERIVS/VICTOR/CIVES/ NERVIVS/NEG(otiator) FRV(mentarius)/ V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito).[441] This might point towards a connection of this sanctuary to local traditions, reaching back to pre-Roman times.[442] In addition to the altars, (parts of) statues have been found and the elements of one or two Jupiter colomns.[443] Furthermore, in addition to the religious artifacts from the Roman period, several stone en iron axes dating back to the early Iron Age have been dragged from the Waal near De Winseling. The blunt blades of the axes indicate that they were used in a cult, rather than for warfare. These axes can be regarded, according to Modderman as an indication that De Winseling was a pre-Roman sanctuary and therefore are strongly connected to the altars for the native deities.[444]

The supposed religious function of De Winseling in the Iron Age and in the Roman period perhaps suggests a similar use for the site during the intervening period.[445] After their arrival in the Lower Rhine Region, the Batavians will have found an indigenous sanctuary at this site. The major problem, however, with this interpretation is the obscure archaeological context of several artifacts and their origin.[446] It is doubted, for example, whether Blesio's altar was erected in Nijmegen[447] and Mommsen even thought that it was a forgery.[448] The function of the site can only be reconstructed by new excavations.

4.2.3 Batavodurum*: a Batavian sanctuary in Nijmegen-West*

Two conclusions can be drawn from the discussions in the previous paragraphs: in the first place, following Van Enckevort and Thijssen and Buijtendorp, *Batavodurum* and *Oppidum Batavorum* should not be considered as synonyms, but as names of two different locations. They should be located in De Winseling in Nijmegen-West and in the Valkhof area respectively. Secondly, De Winseling probably had a religious purpose and functioned as a sanctuary as has been argued by Brunsting, Modderman and Van Enckevort and Thijssen.

---

[440] Brunsting (1949), 57 and Driessen (2007), 161.

[441] For the *matres mopates* Marcus Liberius Victor, Nervian citizen and corn merchant has fulfilled his vow gladly and with reason. CIL XIII, 8725 = ILS 4811 = AE 2007, 1024; Driessen (2007) 161 and 277, number 2.

[442] Modderman (1965), 90.

[443] Driessen (2007), 160. In addition to the column some altars dedicated to Jupiter were found, see: Driessen (2007), appendix 4.2, 274, F15 = CIL XIII ,8716; F16 = CIL XIII, 8717 and F17 = CIL XIII, 8718.

[444] Modderman (1965), 91-93.

[445] Modderman (1965), 94.

[446] Driessen (2007), 161; Van Enckevort and Thijssen (2005), 97.

[447] Daniëls and Brunsting (1955), 33-34 and Driessen (2007), 161.

[448] Driessen (2007), 161.

These discussions are interrelated for *Batavodurum* was located in De Winseling and should as a consequence be interpreted as a (pre-Roman) Batavian sanctuary.[449]

This assumption is not only valuable for the analysis of Roman Nijmegen as a marker for a Batavian identity but it also clarifies several historical events, which are recorded in the primary written sources and the archaeological record. Before, the investigation of the question of *Batavodurum* was restricted in two ways: from a historiographical point of view too much attention has been paid to the potential reasons and effects of the quick succession of the names *Oppidum Batavorum* and *Batavodurum* in the Histories, whereas the chain of events between the destruction of *Oppidum Batavorum* and the demolition of the bridge at *Batavodurum* in chapter 19 and 20 are relevant as well. Secondly, from a geographical perspective, the question was approached from a local point of view, while references to other locations can be helpful to shed some light on the question of *Batavodurum*. As has been mentioned above, the Second Legion was attacked by the Batavians at *Batavodurum* after they burned *Oppidum Batavorum* down and retreated into the *insula Batavorum*. At the same time, however, Tacitus refers to three other sites where Roman military units were stationed: the Tenth Legion at *Arenacium*, the Second Legion at *Batavodurum* and some auxiliary troops in *Grinnes* and *Vada*. The question that should be asked is, why would Roman general Cerialis have sent his armies to these particular sites? Roymans' interpretation of *Grinnes* (Rossum?) and *Vada* (Kessel/Lith) can be helpful, for he has argued that they were important sites for the Batavians as an ethnic group, *Vada* in particular.[450] Regarding the importance of these sites, it is remarkable that only auxiliary troops were stationed there, instead of a legion as in *Arenacium* and *Batavodurum*. The fact that a legion, the largest and strongest unit of the Roman army, was stationed at *Batavodurum* probably indicates that it was an important site for the Batavians and was therefore heavily fortified and defended by the Romans.

The importance of the site in Nijmegen-West is underpinned by the relocation of the Batavian capital from the Valkhof area to the Waterkwartier after the Batavian Revolt. Bogaers' statement that a new civilian could not be rebuilt at its former location because of the *castra* on the Hunerberg should not be dismissed, but it does not explain the chosen site.[451] Haalebos, moreover, stated that the civilian population and the soldiers did not want to live next to each other anymore because of the Revolt, but this does not explain the relocation to Nijmegen-West.[452] Only Driessen analyzes some reasons and mentions that the foundation of a new civilian settlement in Nijmegen-West is not straight-forward, because the location has some disadvantages: risks of flooding and no noteworthy tactic or strategic

---

[449] Cf. Driessen (2007), 158; Haalebos (2000), 36 and Roymans (2004), 148.

[450] About *Vada* and *Grinnes*, see: Roymans (2004), 144-148.

[451] Other accounts lack an explanation as well, see, for instance: Kemmers and Polak (2011); Willems, (1990) and Willems, (2005).

[452] Haalebos (1990), 193.

importance.[453] According to Driessen, two concerns can be recognized to found the new settlement in Nijmegen-West:[454] firstly, from a spatial-juridical point of view, the civilian settlement had to be built at a certain distance from the military *territorium*.[455] Secondly, from a spatial-funtional approach, the Waal was not only a hazard, but it was as well a road for trade and transport.[456] These concerns, however, do not entirely explain the localization in Nijmegen-West, for they are implementable to the area just east of the *castra* as well.[457] Moreover, these concerns are rather Roman-centered and although they should be taken into account, more attention should be paid to a Batavian point of view, resulting in a more enhanced reasoning of the relocation of the new capital in Nijmegen-West. In addition to the given practical concerns, Driessen states that the choice of a certain location is emotionally charged as well, because it is difficult to abandon an already equipped location.[458] From this point of view, the foundation of the new capital of the *civitas Batavorum* at this particular site can be explained, for *Ulpia Noviomagus* was not only founded in Nijmegen-West because of spatial-juridical or spatial-functional reasons, but because of the importance of the site for the indigenous Batavian population. The new Batavian elites could have negotiated this location.[459]

The potential importance of *Batavodurum* for the *Batavi* can be an indication of its function. In addition to the religious finds in De Winseling, a more regional view would be helpful. Not only is it possible to compare the situation in *Batavodurum* with *Grinnes* and *Vada* as has been mentioned above, but also with the temples in Elst and Empel, which has already been proposed by Brunsting in 1949.[460] In these towns, two temples, dedicated to *Hercules Magusanus*, supreme deity of the Batavians, have been found and these temples can be regarded as Batavian central places.[461] The comparison with the Batavian religious sites in Elst and Empel could be very fruitful to analyze the importance of *Batavodurum* for the Batavians and how Roman Nijmegen functioned as a marker of identity for them. Unfortunately, due the lack of data and the absence in De Winseling of martial objects, which were important for Batavian religious practices, such a comparison cannot be made at this moment.

---

[453] Driessen (2007), 148.

[454] Driessen (2007), 148-150 and 164-165.

[455] See also: Bogaers (1960), 9 and Haalebos (2000), 13. This explanation is doubtful, however, for *Oppidum Batavorum* was located within military territory as well, see also: Koster (2013), 15.

[456] See also: Buijtendorp (2003), 206.

[457] Map in Willems (1990), 43 shows that settlements just east of the military camp did exist.

[458] Driessen (2007), 16.

[459] Cf. Tacitus *Historiae* V, 26.

[460] Brunsting (1949), 57.

[461] For Elst, see: Bogaers (1955) and Van Enckevort and Thijssen (2005) and for Empel, see: Roymans en Derks (*eds*.) (1994).

4.3 STONE MONUMENTS FROM *OPPIDUM BATAVORUM*

The importance of *Batavodurum* does not automatically indicate that nearby *Oppidum Batavorum* was of no significance for the Batavians. To illustrate this, two stone monuments from *Oppidum Batavorum* will be analyzed in this paragraph. The first is a heavily damaged marble head that has been identified as a portrait of Julius Caesar and the second are the remains of a large stone structure, the Tiberius column. Both monuments were erected in the city centre of *Oppidum Batavorum* and have a special meaning for the Batavians because they were probably involved in their erection, as will be shown below.

4.3.1 Marble head of Julius Caesar

In the later nineteenth century, a marble head was found on the Hunerberg[462] and came in the possession of the National Museum of Antiquities in 1931.[463] It has been determined by Braat that the head was a portrait of Julius Caesar of the "Campo Santo" type and probably was part of a larger statue.[464] According to Braat, the head was modelled after the original death mask of Julius Caesar,[465] and this suggests that it was made in Italy.[466] Although only the head has left, it is intact, for it has been damaged rather severely long ago. The neck is broken of diagonally and the forehead, just like the chin is heavily scratched, perhaps by a scoop. The currently missing nose had already been restored in Antiquity, as is indicated by a borehole.[467] Dark spots, moreover, signifies that the head was damaged by fire (figure 4.2).

Due to the unknown finding spot of the head and the inflicted damages, several theories about its location, function and origin have been proposed.[468] According to Braat, the head was brought to Nijmegen by the Tenth Legion, which played an important role in the conquest of Gaul, and was erected in the legionary fort on the Hunerberg, between AD 70 and 105. The damages were probably caused by the aim of the Flavian emperors to eradicate the remembrance of the Julian House.[469] Several decades later, Bracker, locates the head in the Augustan military fort on the Hunerberg and argued that the head was not

---

[462] The exact date in unknown, but the head probably has been found in the later nineteenth, rather than the early twentieth century, see: Roymans (2004), 212 note 478 and Swinkels (2008), 141.

[463] The head first belonged to the collection of a mister Gildemeester, and was acquired by the museum in 1931, see: Braat (1939), 28 and Swinkels (2008), 141. The inventory number of the head is: e1931/2.46.

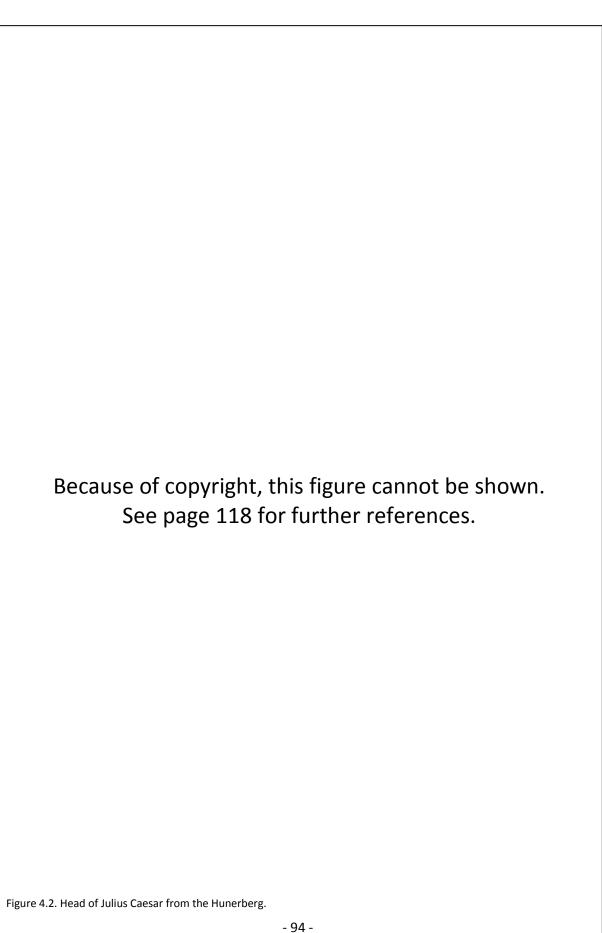[464] Braat (1939), 25 and 28 and Bracker (1967), 135.

[465] Braat (1939), 27.

[466] Roymans (2004), 212.

[467] The borehole has been filled, but is still visible, see: Roymans (2004), 214, figure 9.1 and Swinkels (2008), plates on p.142. The borehole is still visible on: Braat (1939), plate 20.

[468] The head was made around 30 BC, see: Bracker (1967), 135. It is not known, however, when the head was erected in *Oppidum Batavorum*.

[469] Braat (1939), 28.

Because of copyright, this figure cannot be shown.
See page 118 for further references.

Figure 4.2. Head of Julius Caesar from the Hunerberg.

Because of copyright, this map cannot be shown.
See page 118 for further references.

Map 4.2. *Oppidum Batavorum* in the first century AD. The possible finding spot of the head is marked red and the finding spot of the column is marked green.

damaged by the Romans, but by the Batavians during the Batavian Revolt.[470] These interpretations, however, are problematic for several reasons. In the first place, as has been mentioned by Braat himself, it is rather odd that the head was left by the Tenth Legion as it departed their fort on the Hunerberg, since, they had been carrying it with them for a long time.[471] Secondly, with regard to Bracker's theory, it would be unlikely that a legion during Drusus' offensives in *Germania* would have erected a stone monument in a transient camp: statues were rather made of wood, to be transportable.[472] Consequently, the interpretation of the head in a military context should be dismissed and another explanation is needed that fits the finding spot and the damages better.

Instead of a military sphere, Roymans has proposed to analyze the head from a "civilian" point of view.[473] He states that the finding spot of the head should be located in the vicinity of the current Trajanusplein (map 4.2), just west of the legionary fort on the

---

[470] Bracker (1967), 134.
[471] Braat (1939), 28. See also: Roymans (2004), 212.
[472] Roymans (2004), 212.
[473] For the following, see: Roymans (2004), 212-213.

Hunerberg.[474] As a consequence, the head should not be placed in a military context, but in a civilian context, for *Oppidum Batavorum* extended as far as that zone and was erected on the *forum*. From a Batavian point of view, the erection of a statue of Julius Caesar can be interpreted as a reference to the special bonds between Caesar and the Batavians, the *Iulii* in particular. As has been mentioned above, the origin of the *Batavi* follows from the *antiqua societas* that was concluded in the 50s BC, in the aftermath of the Gallic Wars. The erection of a statue of the deified Caesar, as a tribute to him, on the *forum* could have been a result of the renewal of the Batavo-Roman treaty during the reign of Augustus. Roymans' assumption, following Bracker, that the Batavians themselves damaged the statue during the destruction of *Oppidum Batavorum* and dumped it on the fringes of the settlement, is plausible but should be nuanced. Since the *Iulii* were the initiators of the erection of the statue, it seems unlikely that they were also responsible for its demolition: why would Civilis try to destroy such a symbol? Another possibility would be that the statue and consequently the head were damaged by fire as *Oppidum Batavorum* burned, but that the mutilations of the forehead, the chin and the nose were inflicted later, when Civilis was despised by other Batavians.[475] The damaging of the statue would have been an act of rejection of the Batavians of the *Iulii*.

4.3.2 Tiberius column

During excavations in the Kelfkensbos in the 1980s, another damaged monument from *Oppidum Batavorum* was found. In the filling of a late-Roman or a early medieval ditch, two parts of a square stone column were found, fitting on top of each other (map 4.2). They were probably used as *spolia* in the late-Roman period in the foundation of the fourth century fortification on the Valkhof.[476] The column originally measured about 7,5 meters, compromising three or four levels and was embellished with mouldings, figures of gods and personifications. The front is the most important part of the monument and depicts Victoria, placing a laurel wreath on the head of a man dressed in a toga, symbolizing victory (figure 4.3). The man in toga carries a *patera* in his left and a ritual knife in his right hand, indicating that he is bringing an offer on the altar next to him, that is inscribed TIB(e)R(ius)/ C(ae)SAR. The facial appearance of the sculptured man bringing an offer indicates that it is emperor Tiberius himself.[477] The monument probably dates back to the second decade of the first century AD.

---

[474] This specific localization has to do with the expansion of Nijmegen in the later nineteenth century and the reconstruction of the use of the name "Hunerberg" in that period. For further details and references, see: Roymans (2004), 212 and note 481 *ibidem*.

[475] Tacitus, *Historiae* V,25.

[476] For the following, see: Panhuysen (2002).

[477] Features such as the broad skull, the square jaw and the style of hair, see: Panhuysen (2002), 35.

The column was a monument with a political message and several historical events could have been the occasion of its erection. Firstly, the reorganisation of the frontier defence system under Tiberius, for he stayed in *Germania* for several years. Secondly, his appointment as emperor in AD 14 or lastly, Germanicus' triumph in AD 17, following the retrieving of some of the legionary standards that were lost after the battle in the Teutoburger Forest in AD 9. This last event should be regarded as the moment to erect such a monument, because Germanicus' offensives to repair Roman dignity, were launched from the Lower Rhine Region. It is unknown by whom the column was dedicated, for the votive inscription that will have been attached to the plinth has not been preserved.[478] According to Panhuysen, the column was an public votive offering of the Batavian community to honour the emperor,[479] and it is imaginable that the *Iulii* in particular will have contributed to the erection of their patron's monument. At the same time, however, one could wonder whether Batavian *Iulii* volunteered to pay for the monument or that they were forced to do it

Because of copyright, this figure cannot be shown.
See page 118 for further references.

Figure 4.3. Tiberius column from Nijmegen.

by the emperor. Regarding the political and military importance of the triumph of Germanicus for the Romans, it is imaginable that the emperor wanted to commemorate this event by means of the construction of stone monument, such as the column in *Oppidum Batavorum*, but the importance of Germanicus' victories and triumph for the Batavians can be questioned and as a consequence the voluntariness of the Batavian contribution.

The original position of the column is unknown, because it was reused in later times in the fortification on the Valkhof. Since this stronghold was located on the same site as *Oppidum Batavorum*, it can be argued that the column was not moved far and was originally erected in the urban context of *Oppidum Batavorum*, probably on the *forum*, not far from the location where parts of it were found in the 1980s.[480]

---

[478] Roymans (2004), 216.
[479] Panhuysen (2002), 40.
[480] Roymans (2004), 216.

Several similarities between the two monuments have arisen from the analysis. In the first place, both structures were probably erected in the *forum*, the public space of *Oppidum Batavorum* and as a consequence could be seen by everyone visiting the *forum*. Secondly, the head and the column are closely connected to the Julian House: Caesar was the founder of the House and through the system of adoption, emperor Tiberius belonged to the *Iulii* as well. Thirdly, since the monuments were erected in honour of the members of the Julian house, the connection with the Batavian *Iulii* is evident. Consequently, it can be argued that the sculptures were erected by the Batavian elites as a symbol of the Batavo-Roman treaty. From this point of view, both monuments presume a strong link between de *Batavi* and *Oppidum Batavorum* as a marker of their own identity. Roymans, has stated that the Batavians, in an attempt to change the prevailing image of themselves as barbarians, were eager that a Batavo-Roman capital was built at Nijmegen, to live up the ideals of Roman civilization.[481] *Oppidum Batavorum* should therefore not necessarily be interpreted as a marker of a Batavian identity, but as a way of the Batavian elites to assume a Roman identity, by means of stone monuments, dedicated to their patrons, which were visible for everybody visiting the settlement.

4.4 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, several themes that can be connected to a Batavian identity have been investigated, involving the potential importance for Roman Nijmegen as a marker of Batavian identity as well. Though some assumptions to connect Roman Nijmegen with a Batavian identity are hypothetical and require further archaeological research, it can be concluded that Roman Nijmegen was an element of Batavian identity or a way to express a certain identity, especially for particular parts of society.

Identity has been conceived in this chapter as a result of interaction between those directly involved and outsiders. The significance of outsiders in the investigation of identity is present in all the given examples: the name *Batavus* is used to illustrated the origin of an individual, stone monuments were erected by the *Iulii* to show bonds with the Roman imperial court and the barbarian characterization of the Batavians was constructed by outsiders. This last point is also a very good example of how a "Western" power centres itself by means of a "Western" category of knowledge at the cost of the colonial Other and how any attempt of self-representation is silenced. The Romans depicted the Batavians in the primary written sources as barbarians, while the Batavians were not able to react to these images via the same medium or to describe their identity through their own eyes. From this point of view, the absence of a connection between a Batavian identity and

---

[481] Roymans (2004), 229.

Oppidum Batavorum and *Ulpia Noviomagus* in the primary written sources can be explained, for the barbaric Batavians could not be connected to the civilized Roman urban culture, as this would affect the position of the Romans as a centred "Western" power. The connection of the Batavians to the *insula Batavorum* can also be clarified, because as the *insula* constitutes a natural geographical area, it fits the imagery of nature as a place of savagery and consequently the description of Batavians as barbarians.

Secondly, the question of *Batavodurum* demonstrates some potential to assume that Roman Nijmegen was an identity marker for the Batavians. The translation of the toponym as "Batavian stronghold" suggests a connection between the inhabitants of the area and that particular site in De Winseling in Nijmegen-West. Following the material culture found there, a (pre-Roman) Batavian sanctuary can be expected in De Winseling. The prominence of *Batavodurum*, however, does not necessarily rule out the significance of *Oppidum Batavorum*. With regard to the functions of both sites, *Batavodurum* can be interpreted as a Batavian religious centre, perhaps comparable to other site in the *civitas*, whereas *Oppidum Batavorum* should be considered as a place where political offices were exercised as has been stated in chapter 3. This idea is only strictly hypothetical as too little is known archaeologically about both *Oppidum Batavorum* and *Batavodurum*, but it is worth mentioning it. The presumed continuity of the religious function of *Batavodurum* from the Iron Age into the Roman period, nonetheless indicates the importance of the site for the Batavians and the localization of *Ulpia Noviomagus* at this site indicates that it was a city of the Batavians.

Lastly, the erection of the stone monuments by the *Iulii* in *Oppidum Batavorum* indicates that the settlement was an important place to express a certain identity. Since the statue of Caesar and the column probably were erected in the public space of the *forum*, they could be seen by everybody and the votive inscription that accompanied both monuments will have clarified by whom they were erected. Furthermore, it should be taken into account that both monuments were very expensive to erect, especially since the used materials are not available in the Lower Rhine Region and the head even originated from Italy. Such investments indicate that *Oppidum Batavorum* was regarded by the *Iulii* as a central place, to display their connection with the Julian house and to show to the outside world that they had a Roman identity. It should not be forgotten, however, that the contribution of the *Iulii* was not voluntarily, but that is was demanded by the emperor.

The bonds between the Batavians and their capitals contradicts the idea that the Batavians avoided or hated them. It should not be forgotten, however, that identity is changeable, although nothing can be said about this respect with regard to Roman Nijmegen. I can be mentioned, however, that the Batavians should not be regarded as one monolithic group and that the available material culture only concerns particular parts of Batavian society, the elites in particular. Besides this bias, however, the reinterpretation of

the material culture explains its deviancy in the town compared to the countryside. Stone monuments do not appear in the country side, but the interpretation of their erection as Batavian euergetism, shoves away the need to understand them as an indication of (Gallo-) Roman inhabitants. Together with the localization of *Ulpia Noviomagus* at *Batavodurum*, the monuments are the best examples of how the capitals were used by the Batavians to identify themselves and that for this reason, the capitals were not interpreted negatively by the Batavians.

5. Conclusion

It is generally assumed that *Oppidum Batavorum* and *Ulpia Noviomagus* were foreign elements in Batavian society and that they should be regarded as colonial cities. As a consequence, it is thought that both settlements were interpreted negatively by the indigenous Batavian population and that they should be referred to as cities "for" the Batavians instead of cities "of" the Batavians. This assumption is supported by three arguments. In the first place, the deviation of material culture in the towns, compared to the countryside. Several examples are give, such as the small percentage of handmade pottery, graves, the systemic outlay of both towns and the absence of traditional byre houses. They suggest that not the indigenous Batavian population inhabited the settlements, but (Gallo-) Romans immigrants. Secondly, it is stated that the Batavian elites did not inhabit *Oppidum Batavorum* and *Ulpia Noviomagus,* but that they lived in the countryside to retain their positions of power there. Thirdly, *Oppidum Batavorum* is regarded as a device to enforce the integration of the Batavians into the Roman Empire and the destruction of *Oppidum Batavorum* by Julius Civilis is interpreted in this perspective as an act of relief and liberation.

By means of the study and debate of Romanisation in general and the post colonial branch of this debate in particular, it has been shown that this idea and the used arguments are colonially inspired. The primary written sources were used as a starting point in the investigation of Roman Nijmegen, to interpret the archaeological and epigraphic records and moreover, the concept of Romanisation to describe the occurring changes in the Roman period was never explained. The deployment of the debate on Romanisation in this thesis and the chosen post colonial view has not only strengthened the theoretical foundation of the investigation of Roman Nijmegen, but has invalidated the arguments to support the negative Batavian interpretation of Roman Nijmegen too. Even more, the post colonial approach made it possible to re-evaluate and reinterpret the available sources and as a consequence, arguments could be formulated to support the statement that connections existed between the Batavians and *Oppidum Batavorum* and *Ulpia Noviomagus*. In other words, the available sources do not show a negative, but a positive interpretation of both towns by the Batavians.

In the first place, it has been demonstrated that the interpretation of the archaeological record in the capitals was erroneous. The supposed (Gallo-)Roman character of the material culture indeed deviates from the countryside, but post colonial critique on the existence of Roman material culture on the one hand and the proposed problematic relation between material culture and identity on the other, illustrates that the material culture and the inhabitants should not necessarily be characterized as (Gallo-)Roman. Other explanations can be thought of to explain the deviant material culture, such as the military involvement in the foundation of both settlements and the proximity of military fortresses.

The head of Caesar and the Tiberius column are a good example of how a different interpretation leads to different conclusions. Although such monuments have a Roman character and did not appear in the Lower Rhine Region before the arrival of the Romans, they should not be interpreted as an indication of Roman inhabitants, but as a symbol of Batavian euergetism. It can be assumed that the Batavian *Iulii* were involved in the erection of the monuments, illustrating that they erected Roman style structures to presume a Roman identity. Another example is the absence of traditional byre houses in the towns. This can be explained by the assumption that Batavians elites will have possessed a house in the countryside as well as a house in the town. Similar to the stone monuments, living in a non-native house in the town could also have been an expression of a certain identity. On the other hand, however, it should also be considered that no indigenous byre houses were found in both towns because there were founded *ex novo* by the Roman army.

Secondly, the reinterpretation of the material culture and inscriptions have shown that Batavian ruling elites were living in *Oppidum Batavorum* and *Ulpia Noviomagus*. The seat of the Batavian king is unknown, but it can be assumed that his political successor, the *summus magistratus*, lived in *Oppidum Batavorum*. Moreover, regarding the characteristics of the function of a *decurio*, it can be stated that the *decuriones* of *Ulpia Noviomagus* also inhabited the city and that this was probably also the case with *Oppidum Batavorum*. It is not denied that Batavian elites were living in the countryside to retain their power there, but since the *decuriones* governed both town and country, exercising power in the countryside almost inevitably meant exercising power in the town. The supposition that Batavian elites isolated themselves from the town and its power structures to retain their power in the countryside, does therefore not fit the available evidence. The stone monuments of *Oppidum Batavorum* can also be interpreted from the perspective of power. By the erection of the monuments in the *forum* of *Oppidum Batavorum*, the Batavians *Iulii* showed their bonds with the gens *Iulia* and their connections with the Roman imperial court.

Lastly, it can be doubted whether *Oppidum Batavorum* was indeed a device to enforce the integration of the Batavian tribe. The town was founded *ex novo*, but since this occurred at the same time as the recondition of the Batavo-Roman treaty, it is imaginable that the Batavians exerted influence on its foundation. In addition, referring to the previous argument, the Batavians exercised their political duties in the capital and as town and country are closely related to each other, the argument of enforced integration is rather weak. Instead, because the Batavians exercised their power by means of Roman structures of power, *Oppidum Batavorum* cannot be seen as a Roman device to enforce integration. In addition and probably related to this aspect, is the absence of any reference to the oppressing aspect of *Oppidum Batavorum* in the Histories as could have been expressed by the *dominus-servitus/servitium* antithesis and by the longing for *libertas*. The fact that the Batavians themselves governed the town, explains the nonexistence of any Batavian

reference to the domination aspect of *Oppidum Batavorum* and if it had existed, the city would have been destroyed in a much earlier phase of the Revolt.

In addition to the refutation of the arguments that support the colonial view of Roman Nijmegen and the suggestions to reinterpret an re-evaluate the available sources, there are several other topics that need to be considered. In the first place, the indigenous name *Batavus* has some positive martial connotations, but is also used as a reference to the origin of an individual, as in the case of *Ulpia Noviomagus*. Secondly, the primary written sources should be analyzed critically with regard of the question of this thesis. The absence of any reference to a connection between the Batavians and *Oppidum Batavorum* and *Ulpia Noviomagus* in the primary written sources, could be used as an argument to support the colonial view of Roman Nijmegen. It has been shown, however, that the Batavians could not be connected to urban culture in the primary written sources and therefore that this category of sources is hardly useable in this respect. Lastly, the question of *Batavodurum* constitutes an argument to assume that *Ulpia Noviomagus* was positively regarded by the Batavians. *Batavodurum* can be understood as a Batavian religious site, that was located just west of *Oppidum Batavorum*. The supposition that *Batavodurum* was an important site for the Batavians, explains the reason for the localization of *Ulpia Noviomagus*. The capital became indeed a city of the Batavians.

In the end, the employment of colonial discourse analysis to analyze the sources from Antiquity as well as the ideas and arguments in the modern sources, has shown that Roman Nijmegen should not be interpreted as colonial city or a foreign element, especially since one important aspect of post colonial theory is often forgotten: native agency. Every example shows native agency in different forms. Batavians negotiate with Roman power, exercise their own authority and show that they have a Roman identity. Rome is undeniable present and although Batavo-Roman power relations are unequal, too little attention is paid in the colonial view of Roman Nijmegen to Batavian agency. One aspect of native agency, however, has been emphasized a lot in the colonial view, the burning down of *Oppidum Batavorum* by Julius Civilis, because he hated the city. Unfortunately, even this single reference to native agency is not correct, as Civilis did not destroyed *Oppidum Batavorum* because he hated it, but simply because he did not dare to defend the city that he felt connected with. So in the end, Constantijn Huygens was right: "*hic stetit hic fredens aquilas hic lumine torvo Claudius ultrices vidit adesse manus.*"[482]

---

[482] Julius Civilis was wrongly designated as Claudius in the seventeenth century.

Abbreviations

AC: Antiquité Classique: revue semestrielle.

AE: L'Année Epigraphique.

BRGK: Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission.

CIL: Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.

ESA: Speidel, M.P. (1994b), *Die Denkmäler der Kaiserreiter. Equites Singulares Augusti* (Cologne/Bonn).

FA: Fasti Archaeologici: annual bulletin of classical archaeology.

Heubner IV: Heubner, H. (1976), *P. Cornelius Tacitus. Die Historiën. Band IV. Viertes Buch* (Heidelberg).

Heubner V: Heubner, H. and Fauth, W. (1982), *P. Cornelius Tacitus. Die Historiën. Band V. Fünftes Buch* (Heidelberg).

ILS: Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae

JRA: Journal of Roman Archaeology.

LS: Lewis and Short Latin dictionary. Accessed via www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper on July 7th 2013, search inquiries: *dominus*, *servitus*, *servitium* and *libertas*.

Bibliography

Primary sources
- Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*.
- Dio Cassius, *Historiae Romanae.*
- Martialis, *Epigrammata.*
- Ovidius, *Ars Amatoria.*
- Plinius Maior, *Naturalis Historia.*
- Plinius Minor, *Epistulae.*
- Plutarchus, *Vitae.*
- Ptolemaeus, *Geographica*.
- Suetonius, *De Vita Caesarum.*
- Tacitus, *Agricola*.
- Tacitus, *Annales.*
- Tacitus, *Germania*.
- Tacitus, *Historiae*.

Modern sources

Ash, R. (2009), 'Fission and fushion: shifting Roman identities in the *Histories*' in: A.J. Woodman (*ed.*) *Cambridge Companion to Tacitus* (Cambridge), 85-99.

Bastiaensen, A.A.R., Langereis, S. and Nelissen, L.G.J.M. (1999), *Nijmegen, stad der Bataven* (Nijmegen).

Blagg, Th.F.C. and Millett, M., 'Introduction' in: Th.F.C. Blagg and M. Millett (*eds.*), *The early Roman Empire in the West* (Oxford), 1-4.

Bloemers, J.H.F. (1980), 'Engels drop. Een poging tot ontleding van het romanisatieproces in Nederland' *Westerheem* 39, 152-173.

Bloemers, J.H.F. (1990), 'Lower Germany: *plura consilio quam vi*. Proto-urban settlement developments and the integration of native society' in:

Bogaers, J. E. (1960), *Civitas en stad van de Bataven en Canninefaten* (inaugural lecture Radboud University Nijmegen. Nijmegen/Utrecht).

Bogaers, J.E. (1960-1961), 'Civitas en stad van de Bataven Canninefaten', *Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek* 10-11, 263-317.

Bogaers, J.E. (1972), 'Romeins Nijmegen. Van Nijmegen naar Nehal(a)en(n)ia', *Numaga* 19, 7-11.

Bogaers, J.E. *et al.* (1979), *Noviomagus. Op het spoor der Romeinen* (Rijksmuseum G.M. Kam, Nijmegen).

Brandt, R.W. and Slofstra, J. (1983) *Roman and native in the Low countries: spheres of interaction. Papers from a symposium on romanization, December 17-18, 1980, Amsterdam* (Oxford).

Braat, W.C. (1939), 'Een portret van Julius Caesar in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden', *Oudheidkundige mededeelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* (*nuntii ex museo antiquario Leidensi*) 20, 24-28.

Bracker (1967), 'Bildnis des Gaius Julius Caesar' in: O. Doppelfeld *et al.*, *Römer am Rhein. Ausstellung des Römisch-Germanischen Museums Köln* (Cologne), 134-135.

Broecke, P.W. van den (2002a), *Vindplaatsen in vogelvlucht. Beknopt overzicht van het archeologisch onderzoek in de Waalsprong 1996-2001* (Archeologische Berichten Nijmegen, Rapport 1, Nijmegen).

Broecke, P.W. van den (2002b), *Van Mesolithicum tot Romeinse Tijd in Nijmegen-Ressen. Archeologisch onderzoek in een persleidingtracé door het monument Zuiderveld-West* (Archeologische Berichten Nijmegen 2, Nijmegen).

Broecke, P.W. van den (2003), 'De Betuweroute aangevuld. Onderzoek naar de metaaltijden in het Betuwse deel van Nijmegen (NL)' *Lunula* 11, 19-24.

Broecke, P.W. van den (2005), 'De natuurlijke ondergrond' in: *Nijmegen: geschiedenis van de oudste stad van Nederland. Deel I: Prehistorie en Oudheid* (Wormer), 19-25.

Brunsting, H. (1937), *Het grafveld onder Hees bij Nijmegen: een bijdrage tot de kennis van Ulpia Noviomagus* (*doctoral dissertation* University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam).

Brunsting, H. (1949), 'Een opgraving van Reuvens en Leemans bij het fort Krayenhoff te Nijmegen in 1834', *Oudheidkundige mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* (*nuntii ex museo antiquario Leidensi*) 30, 47-65.

Brunsting, H. (1973), *Johannes Smetius als Romeins provincial archaeoloog* (valediction as extraordinary professor Classical and Germanic archaeology at University of Amsterdam).

Brunsting, H. and Steures, D.C. (1995), 'De baksteenstempels van Romeins Nijmegen I. Opgravingen *castra* 1950-1967. Opgravingen Kops Plateau c.a. 1986-1994', *Oudheidkundige mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* (*nuntii ex museo antiquario Leidensi*) 75, 24-28.

Brunsting, H. and Steures, D.C. (1997), ' The brick stamps and the occupation history of the legionary fortress at Nijmegen' in: W. Groenman-van Waateringe, B.L. van Beek, W.J.H. Willems and S.L. Wynia (*eds.*), *Roman frontier studies 1995. Proceedings of the XVIth international congress of Roman frontier studies,* Oxbow monograph 91 (Oxford).

Buchem, H.J.H. van (1959), 'Romeins Nijmegen. Heeft Nijmegen in de Romeinse tijd Ulpia Noviomagus geheten?' *Numaga* 6, 41-51.

Buijtendorp, T.M. (2003), 'Lugdunum en Batavodurum – twee proto-urbane nederzettingen' *Westerheem* 52, 190-210.

Byvacnk, A.W. (1935), *Excerpta Romana . De bronnen der Romeinsche geschiedenis van Nederland, II, inscripties* ('s-Gravenhage).

Chilver, G.E.F. and Townend, G.B. (1979), *A historical commentary on Tacitus' Histories IV and V* (Oxford).

Daniëls, M.P.M. (1927), 'Romeins Nijmegen II. Ulpia Noviomagus' *Oudheidkundige mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* (*nuntii ex museo antiquario Leidensi*) 8, 65-111.

Daniëls, M.P.M and Brunsting, H. (1955), 'Romeins Nijmegen IV. De Romeinse monumenten van steen, te Nijmegen gevonden' 'Romeins Nijmegen II. Ulpia Noviomagus' *Oudheidkundige mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* (*nuntii ex museo antiquario Leidensi*) 36, 21-83.

Derks, T. (2004), 'Beelden en zelfbeelden van Bataven: de epigrafische bronnen' in: L. Swinkels (*ed.*), *De Bataven: verhalen van een verdwenen volk* (Amsterdam), 39-69.

Derks, T. (2009), ' Ethnic identity in the Roman frontier. The epigraphy of Batavi and other Lower Rhine tribes' in: N. Roymans and T. Derks (*eds.*), *Ethnic constructs in Antiquity: the role of power and tradition* (Amsterdam), 239-282.

Derks, T. (2012), 'Town-country dynamics in Roman Gaul. The epigraphy of the ruling elite' in: N. Roymans and T. Derks (*eds.*), *Villa Landscapes in the Roman North* (Amsterdam), 107 - 137.

Derks, T. and Roymans, N. (2006), 'Returning auxiliary veterans: some methodological considerations'*, JRA* 19, 121- 135.

Driel-Murray C. (2003), 'Ethnic soldiers: the experience of the Lower Rhine tribes' in: Th. Grünewald and Seibel, S. (*eds.*), *Kontinuität und Diskontinuität: Germania Inferior am Beginn und am Ende der römischen Herrschaft: Beiträge des deutsch-niederländischen Kolloquiums in der Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen (27. bis 30. 06. 2001)* (Erganzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde Band 35, Berlin), 200-217.

Driessen, M.J. (2007), *Bouwen om te blijven: de topografie, bewoningscontinuïteit en monumentaliteit van Romeins Nijmegen* (*doctoral dissertation* University of Amsterdam, Rapportage Archeologische Monumentenzorg 151, Amersfoort).

Duara, P. (2002), 'Postcolonial History' in: L. Kramer and S. Maza (*eds.*), *A companion to western historical thought* (Blackwell), 417-431.

Enckevort, H. van (2005a), 'Op zoek naar *Oppidum Batavorum*, de oudste stedelijke nederzetting van Nederland' *Westerheem* 54, 234-241.

Enckevort, H. van (2005b), 'Het garnizoen onder de Flavische keizer en Trajanus. Het forum' in: *Nijmegen: geschiedenis van de oudste stad van Nederland. Deel I: Prehistorie en Oudheid* (Wormer), 93-97.

Enckevort, H. van, Haalebos, J-K., Thijssen, J. (2000), *Nijmegen: legerplaats en stad in het achterland van de Romeinse Limes* (Abcoude).

Enckevort, H. van and Heirbaut, E.N.A. (2008), 'Vuur over *Oppidum Batavorum*. De eerste Nijmeegse stadsbrand' *Jaarboek Numaga* 55, 19-31.

Enckevort, H. van and Heirbaut, E.N.A. (2009), 'De Romeinse stad *Ulpia Noviomagus* opnieuw in kaart gebracht' *Westerheem* 58, 18-26.

Enckevort, H. van and Heirbaut, E.N.A. (2010a), *Opkomst en ondergang van Oppidum Batavorum, hoofdplaats van de Bataven: opgravingen op de St. Josephhof in Nijmegen* I (Archeologische Berichten Nijmegen 16, Nijmegen).

Enckevort, H. van and Heirbaut, E.N.A (*eds.*) (2010b), *Terra Sigillata uit Oppidum Batavorum: opgravingen op de St. Josephhof in Nijmegen* III. (Archeologische Berichten Nijmegen 18, Nijmegen).

Enckevort, H. van and Thijssen, J. (2008) (*eds.*), *In de schaduw van het Noorderlicht. De Gallo-Romeinse tempels van Elst-Westeraam*(Abcoude/Nijmegen).

Enckevort, H. van, Thijssen, J. Besselaar, J. van den, *et al.*, (1996), *Graven met beleid: gemeentelijk archeologisch onderzoek in Nijmegen 1989-1995* (Abcoude).

Enckevort, H. van, Thijssen, J., *et al.*, (2000), *Graven op Mariënburg: archeologisch onderzoek in het centrum van Nijmegen* (Nijmegen).

Enckevort, H. van and Thijssen, J. (2001), 'Der Hauptort der Bataver in Nijmegen im 1. Jahrhundert n. Chr. Von Batavodurum und Oppidum Batavorum nach Ulpia Noviomagus' in: G. Precht, N. Zieling, and J. von Freeden, (*eds.*), *Genese, Struktur un Entwicklung römischer Städte im 1. Jarhhundert n. Chr. in Nieder- und Obergermanien: Kolloquium von 17. bis 19. Februar 1998 im Regionalmuseum Xanten* (Xantener Berichte Band 9), 87-110.

Enckevort, H. van and Thijssen J. (2003), 'Nijmegen-A Roman Town in the Frontier Zone of *Germania Inferior*' in: P.R. Wilson (*ed.*), *The archaeology of Roman towns: studies in honour of John S. Wacher* (Oxford), 59-72.

Enckevort, H. van and Thijssen J. (2005), 'De stad' in: *Nijmegen: geschiedenis van de oudste stad van Nederland. Deel I: Prehistorie en Oudheid* (Wormer), 97-111.

Enckevort, H. van and Zee, K. (1996), *Het Kops Plateau: prehistorische grafheuvels en een Romeinse legerplaats in Nijmegen* (Abcoude).

Freeman, P.W.M. (1997), 'Mommsen through to Haverfield: the origins of Romanization studies in late 19th-c. Britain' in: D.J. Mattingly (*ed.*), *Dialogues in Roman imperialism:*

power, *discourse and discrepant experience in the Roman Empire*, *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series* 23, 27-50.

Haalebos, J-K. (1990), 'Neues aus Noviomagus' *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt: Urgechichte, Römerzeit und Frühmittelalter* 20, 193-200.

Haalebos (2000), 'Mosterd na de maaltijd' *Numaga* 47, 5-41.

Haalebos, J-K. and Willems, W.J.H. (2005), 'Inleiding' in: *Nijmegen: geschiedenis van de oudste stad van Nederland. Deel I: Prehistorie en Oudheid* (Wormer), 39-55.
Hanson, W.S. (1997), 'Forces of change and methods of control' in: D.J. Mattingly (*ed.*), *Dialogues in Roman imperialism: power, discourse and discrepant experience in the Roman Empire*, *JRA Supplementary Series* 23, 67-80.

Haynes, H. (2003), *The history of make-believe: Tacitus on imperial Rome* (Berkeley, University of California Press).

Haverfield, F. (1923), *The romanization of Roman Britain* (Oxford).

Heeren, S. (2009), *Romanisering van de rurale samenlevingen in de* civitas *Batavorum. De casus Tiel-Passewaaij* (*doctoral dissertation* Free University Amsterdam, Nederlandse Archeologische Rapporten 36, Amersfoort).

Heirbaut, E.N.A. (2010), *Privé-toiletten uit Oppidum Batavorum: opgravingen op de St. Josephhof in Nijmegen 2* (Archeologische Berichten Nijmegen 17, Nijmegen).

Heubner, H. (1976), *P. Cornelius Tacitus. Die Historiën. Band IV. Viertes Buch* (Heidelberg).

Heubner, H. and Fauth, W. (1982), *P. Cornelius Tacitus. Die Historiën. Band V. Fünftes Buch* (Heidelberg).

Hingley, R. (1996), 'The 'legacy' of Rome: the rise, decline, and fall of the theory of Romanization' in: J. Webster and N. Cooper (*eds.*), *Roman Imperialism: post-colonial perspectives*, 35-48.

Hingley, R. (2005), *Globalizing Roman culture: unity, diversity and empire* (London).

Hunink, V. (2010), *Tacitus. Historiën* (Amsterdam).

James, S. (1999), 'The community of the soldiers: a major identity and centre of power in the Roman empire', P. in Baker, S. Jundi, and R. Witcher (*eds.*), *TRAC 98: Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Leicester 1998* (Oxford), 14-25.

Jullian, C. (1913-1926) *Histoire de la Gaule* (Paris).

Keitel, E. (1993), 'Speech and narrative in *Histories* 4' in: T.J. Luce and A.J. Woodman (*eds.*), *Tacitus and the Tacitean tradition* (Princeton University Press), 39-58.

Kemmers F. and Polak, R. (2011), 'Ulpia Noviomagus Batavorum. De Romeinse stad aan de Waal' in: N. de Haan and S. Mols (*eds.*), *Cultuurgeschiedenis van de Oudheid* (Zwolle), 249-262.

Koster, A. (2005), 'Kunstambacht' in: *Nijmegen: geschiedenis van de oudste stad van Nederland. Deel I: Prehistorie en Oudheid* (Wormer), 198-202.

Koster, A. *et al.,* (2013), *The cemetery of Noviomagus and the wealthy burials of the municipal elite* (translation by Susan Mellor of Dutch *doctoral dissertation* Radboud University Nijmegen, Description of the archaeological collections in Museum Het Valkhof at Nijmegen 14, Nijmegen).

Krebs, C.B. (2012), 'A dangerous book: the receptions of the *Germania*' in: A.J. Woodman (*ed.*) *Cambridge Companion to Tacitus* (Cambridge), 280-299.

Kunow, J. (1992), 'Zentralität und Urbanität I der Germania inferior des 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr.' in: H.-J. Schalles, H. von Hesberg and P. Zanker (*eds.*), *Die römische Stadt im 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr. Kolloquium Xanten 1990* (Xantener Berichte Band 2), 143-152.

Langereis, S. (2004), 'Van botte boeren tot beschaafde burgers. Oudheidkundige beelden van de Bataven, 1500-1800' in: L. Swinkels (*ed.*), *De Bataven: verhalen van een verdwenen volk* (Amsterdam), 71-105.

Levene, D.S. (2009), 'Speeches in the *Histories*' in: A.J. Woodman (*ed.*) *Cambridge Companion to Tacitus* (Cambridge), 212-224.

Louwe Kooijmans, L.P. (1971), *Deae Nehalennia: gids bij de tentoonstelling: Nehalennia de Zeeuwse godin, Zeeland in de Romeinse tijd, Romeinse monumenten uit de Oosterschelde. Stadhuis Middelburg 17/6-29 1971* (Middelburg).

Master, J. (2012), 'The Histories' in: in: V.E. Pagán (*ed.*), *A companion to Tacitus* (Blackwell), 84-100.

Mattingly, D.J. (2002), 'Vulgar and weak 'Romanization', or time for a paradigm shift?' *Journal of Roman Archeology* 15, 536-540.

Mattingly (2004), 'Being Roman: expressing identity in a provincial Roman setting' *JRA* 17, 5-25.

Mattingly, D.J. (2011), *Imperialism, power and identity: experiencing the Roman empire* (Princeton University Press, Princeton).

Millett, M. (1990a), *The Romanization of Britain: an essay in archaeological interpretation* (Cambridge).

Millett, M. (1990b), 'Romanization: historical issues and archaeological interpretation' in: Th.F.C. Blagg and M. Millett (*eds.*), *The early Roman Empire in the West* (Oxford), 35-41.

Modderman, P.J.R. (1965), 'Kende men op de Winseling in vóór-Romeinse tijd een cultusplaats?' *Numaga: tijdschrift gewijd aan heden en verleden van Nijmegen en omgeving* 12, 90-94.

Nelissen, L.G.J.M. (2004), *Nijmeegse Oudheden* (Tilburg).
Oakley, S.P. (2009), 'Style and language' in: A.J. Woodman (*ed.*) *Cambridge Companion to Tacitus* (Cambridge), 195-211.

Ogilvie, R.M. and Richmond, I. (1967), *Cornelii Taciti de vita Agricolae* (Oxford).

O'Gorman, E. (1993) 'Identity and difference in the Germania of Tacitus' Ramus 22, 135-154.

Panhuysen, T.A.S.M. (2002), *De Romeinse godenpijler van Nijmegen*. (Museumstukken 8 Nijmegen).

Pagán, V.E. (2012), 'Introduction' in: V.E. Pagán (*ed.*), *A companion to Tacitus* (Blackwell), 1-12.

Pelgrom. J. (2009), 'Het romaniseringsdebat: een inleiding', *Lampas* 42, 159-171.

Petrikovits, H. von (1955), 'Beobachtungen am niedergermanischen Limes seit den zweiten Weltkrieg' *Saalburg Jahrbuch* 14, 7-11.

Raepsaet-Charlier, M.-Th. (1996), 'Cité et municipe chez les Tongres, les Bataves et les Canninéfates' *Ktèma* 21, 251-269.

Raepsaet-Charlier, M.-Th. (1999), 'Les institutions municipals das les Germanies sous le Haut Empire: bilan et questions' in: M. Dondin-Payre and M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier (*eds.*), *Cités, municipes, colonies* (Paris), 271-354.

Rives (2012), 'Germania' in: E. Págan (*ed.*), *A Companion to Tacitus* (Blackwell), 45-61.

Roux, P. Le (2004), 'La romanisation en question' *Annales* 59, 287-311.

Roymans, N. (1996), From the sword to the plough: three studies on the earliest romanisation of northern Gaul (Amsterdam University press, Amsterdam).

Roymans, N. (2001), 'The Lower Rhine *Triquetrum* coinages and the ethnogenesis of the Batavi' in: Th. Grünewald (*ed.*), *Germania Inferior. Besiedlung, Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft an der Grenze der römisch-germanischen Welt* (Berlijn/New York), 93-145.

Roymans, N. (2004), *Ethnic identity and imperial power: the Batavians in the early Roman Empire* (Amsterdam).

Roymans, N. (2009), 'Hercules and the construction of a Batavian identity in the context of the Roman empire' in: N. Roymans and T. Derks (*eds.*), *Ethnic constructs in Antiquity: the role of power and tradition* (Amsterdam), 219-238.

Roymans, N., Derks, T. (*eds.*) (1994), *De tempel van Empel: een Hercules-heiligdom in het woongebied van de Bataven* ('s-Hertogenbosch).

Roymans, N. and Van Rooijen, T. (1993), 'De voorromeinse glazen armbandproductie in het Nederrijnse gebied en haar culturele betekenis' *Vormen uit vuur* 3, 3-10.

Said, E. (1978), *Orientalism* (London).

Sailor, D. (2012), 'The *Agricola*' in: V.E. Pagán (*ed.*), *A companion to Tacitus* (Blackwell), 23-44.

Slofstra, J. (2002), 'Batavians and Romans on the Lower Rhine: The Romanisation of a frontier area' *Archaeological Dialogues: Dutch perspectives on current issues in archaeology* 9, 16-38.

Speidel, M.P. (1994a), *Riding with Caesar: the Roman emperor's horse guards* (London).

Speidel, M.P. (1994b), *Die Denkmäler der Kaiserreiter. Equites Singulares Augusti* (Cologne/Bonn).

Sprey, W. (1953), *Tacitus over de opstand der Bataven. Hist. IV 12-37. 54-79. V 14-26* (*doctoral dissertation* University of Utrecht, Utrecht).

Stuart, P. and Bogaers, J.E. (2001), *Nehalennia: römische Steindenkmäler aus der Oosterschelde bei Colijnsplaat* (Leiden).

Swinkels, L. (2008), 'Archeologische noviteiten uit Museum Het Valkhof: toegetakelde koppen' *Jaarboek Numaga: gewijd aan heden en verleden van Nijmegen en omgeving* 55, 139-145.

Swinkels, L. and Koster, A. (2005), *Nijmegen, oudste stad van Nederland* (Nijmegen).

Syme, R. (1958), *Tacitus* (Oxford).

Teitler, H. (2004), 'Romeinen en Bataven: de literaire bronnen' in: L. Swinkels (*ed.*), *De Bataven: verhalen van een verdwenen volk* (Amsterdam), 19-38.

Terrenato, N. (1998), 'The Romanization of Italy: global acculturation or cultural *bricolage*?', in C. Forcey, J. Hawthorne, R. Witcher (*eds.*), *TRAC 97*: Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, *Nottingham 1997* (Oxford), 20-27.

Terrenato, N. (2005), 'The deceptive archetype. Roman colonialism and post-colonial thought', in H. Hurst and S. Owen (*eds.*), *Ancient colonizations. analogy, similarity, and Difference* (London), 59-72.

Thomas, R.F. (2009), 'The *Germania* as literary text' in: A.J. Woodman (*ed.*) *Cambridge Companion to Tacitus* (Cambridge), 59-72.

Toorians, L. (2000), 'Keltisch en Germaans in de Nederlanden. Taal in Nederland en België gedurende de Late IJzertijd en de Romeinse periode' *Memoires de la société Belge d'etudes Celtiques* 13 (Brussels).
Vielberg, M. (1987), 'Pflichten, Werte, Ideale' *Hermes* 52.

Waele, F.J. de (1931), *Noviomagus Batavorum (Romeinsch Nijmegen)* (Nijmegen).

Webster, J. (2001), 'Creolizing the Roman Provinces' *American Journal of Archaeology* 105, 209-225.

Webster, J. and Cooper, N.J. (*eds*) (1996), *Roman Imperialism: post-colonial perspectives: proceedings of a symposium held at Leicester University in November 1994* (Leicester).

Wells, P. (1999), *The barbarians speak* (Princeton University Press).

Willems, W.J.H. (1986a), 'New discoveries along the Limes in the Dutch Eastern River Area' in: *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms III. 13. Internationaler Limeskongress Aalen 1983* (Stuttgart), 291-299.

Willems, W.J.H. (1986b), 'De Bataven: archeologisch onderzoek in het rivierengebied' *Hermeneus* 58, 281-289.

Willems, W.J.H. (1990), *Romeins Nijmegen: vier eeuwen stad en centrum aan de Waal* (Utrecht).

Willems, W.J.H. (*ed.*) (2005), *Nijmegen: geschiedenis van de oudste stad van Nederland. Deel I: Prehistorie en Oudheid* (Wormer).

Willems, W.J.H. (2005), 'Voorwoord' in: *Nijmegen: geschiedenis van de oudste stad van Nederland. Deel I: Prehistorie en Oudheid* (Wormer), 14-17.

Willems, W.J.H., Enckevort, H. van, Broeke, P. van den, *et al.*, (2009), *Ulpia Noviomagus, Roman Nijmegen: the Batavian Capital at the Imperial Frontier, Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series* 73 (Portsmouth).

Wolters, R. (1990), *Römische Eroberung und Herrschaftsorganisation in Gallien und Germanien: zur entstehung und Bedeutung der sogenannten Klientel-Randstaaten, Bochumer historische Studien. Alte Geschichte* 8 (Bochum).

Woolf, G. (1997), 'Beyond Romans and natives' *World Archaeology* 28.3: culture contact and colonialism, 339-350.

Woolf, G. (1998), *Becoming* Roman: the origins of provincial civilization in Gaul (Cambridge).

Illustrations

Maps
Map 1.1: The Lower Rhine Region and the *civitas Batavorum*.
After: Roymans (1996), 26, figure 5.

Map 1.2: Roman Nijmegen between 19BC and AD 70.
After: Willems *et al.* (2009), 20, figure 4.

Map 1.3: Roman Nijmegen between AD 70 and 270.
After: Willems *et al*. (2009), 25, figure 7.

Map 4.1: Localization of *Batavodurum*.
After: Willems *et al.* (2009), 20, figure 4.

Map 4.2: *Oppidum Batavorum* in the first century AD.
After: Willems *et al.* (2009), 20, figure 4.

Figures
Figure on cover: Detail of the Tiberius column from Nijmegen.

Figure 3.1: Altar stone from Ruimel dedicated to Hercules Magusanus by *summus magistratus* Flavus.
After: Roymans (2004), 201, figure 8.2

Figure 3.2: Altar stone from Colijnsplaat dedicated to Nehelennia by Hilarus.
After: Louwe Kooijmans (1971), figure 32.

Figure 4.1: Drawing of the foundations in De Winseling by Reuvens and Leemans.
After: Brunsting (1949), figure XIII.

Figure 4.2: Head of Julius Caesar form the Hunerberg.
After: Roymans (2004), 214-215, figure 9.1

Figure 4.3: Tiberius column from Nijmegen.
After: Panhuysen (2002), 16, figure 14.