

# THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

## ABSTRACT OF THESIS

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The Greeks considered the barbarians of Central and Northern Europe to be Celts in the west, and Scythians in the east. Poseidonius was the first known authority to mention the *Germanoi* which he described as Celtic tribes of the Middle and Lower Rhineland, although he did not regard the Cimbri, Teutones and Ambrones as Germanoi.

Caesar manipulated Poseidonius' term *Germanoi* to create a new deceptive concept of an ethnic divide between the tractable *Galli* west of the Rhine and the warlike, feral *Germani* east of the Rhine. Caesar's first encounter with these tribes was through Ariovistus, King of the Germani and his tribal confederacy. Caesar later equated the Germani with the Teutonic Suebi, which became his archetypal Germani. Caesar did this for his own political ends.

Many detailed scholarly studies have been undertaken in the isolation of one discipline on the origins of the tribes of Germania. By combining the three disciplines of History, Linguistics and Archaeology, a clearer and more complete picture will emerge. The assimilation of the complicated and often ambiguous nature of the three disciplines will be undertaken.

Following Ariovistus' settlement in Gaul, and Caesar's Gallic campaigns, a major Teutonic advance on Central Europe from Scandinavia and northern and eastern Germania occurred. This contributed to the fall of the *oppida* and Celtic tribal structure between the Main, Lippe, Weser, and also south of the Main. It resulted in the ethnogenesis of the Celtic and immigrant Teutonic tribes in Germania, e.g. the Chatti. These produced hybrid archaeological material cultures, mixed linguistic groupings, and increasing assimilation to Teutonic language and culture. An assessment of tribal, personal, place, river, forest, mountain, town, and fort names, demonstrates the ethnic and linguistic groupings of the tribes east and west of the Rhine. This is also true of military and religious inscriptions, e.g. the *Matronae*. The material cultures found in regions east of the Rhine, assumed to be populated by Teutonic tribes, are sometimes found to be solely La Tène.

The Augustan advance on Germania prompted increased militarization and consolidation of tribal confederations with a shift from native Rhenish confederations, e.g. the Sugambri, Usipetes and Tencteri, to an increasing focus on the Teutonic confederations of the north and east, e.g. Cherusci and Suebi. This was combined with a second wave of Teutonic migration from Scandinavia and northern Germania into central Germania. Augustan and post-Augustan re-settlement of Germani in Gaul, the ensuing tribal flux, reformulation, and the interaction of the immigrant Germani and native Galli, resulted in ethnogenesis and the creation of new tribal units, e.g. Batavi, Cugerni, Tungri, Texuandri.

The rediscovery of Tacitus' Germania in the fifteenth century reawakened an interest in the Germani amongst the German speaking peoples. The growth of German Nationalism culminated in the Unification of Germany in 1870. Later, the Fascists of the Third Reich formed an Imperial Association for German Prehistory (*Reichsbund für deutsche Vorgeschichte*), which denied any suggestion of the Teutonic origins of the German people being mixed with those of the cultures of neighbouring non-Teutonic speaking peoples. This enforced the idea that the indigenous people of modern Germany were all of Teutonic origin.

When taken as a whole, the Historical, Linguistic and Archaeological evidence demonstrates that the picture which emerges is of Celtic tribes east of the Rhine which had been subsumed and assimilated by the increasingly dominant peoples of Teutonic culture. There is no doubt that many of the tribes of Germania, who by the Augustan era had adopted Teutonic language and Northern German-Scandinavian archaeological culture, had Celtic origins. Between the time of Caesar in the mid-first century BC, and the end of the first century AD, a great movement of Teutonic tribes entered the already densely populated regions of Celtic central Germania and northern and eastern Gaul. They altered the ethnic, linguistic and cultural nature of the area and produced a hybrid population.

**CELTS AND GERMANS OF THE FIRST CENTURY BC – SECOND  
CENTURY AD: AN OLD QUESTION, A MODERN SYNTHESIS.**

Charles Joseph O' Hara.

A Dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.  
The University of Edinburgh.  
2005.



This is to certify that this dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration.

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## Abbreviations 1: Linguistic, Ethnographical and Geographical terms cited in Thesis.

|               |  |
|---------------|--|
| A.            | Antwerpen                                    |
| AA            | Ostalbkreis                                  |
| adj.          | Adjective                                    |
| Ale.          | Alemanic                                     |
| A.N.          | Animal Name.                                 |
| A.Sax.        | Anglo-Saxon.                                 |
| Anm.          | Annotation/footnote                          |
| AW            | Landkreis Ahrweiler                          |
| AZ            | Kreis Alzey-Worms                            |
| Bay.          | Bayerisch (Bavarian)                         |
| BA            | Landkreis-Bamberg                            |
| BC            | Kreis Biberach                               |
| B.W.          | Baden-Württemberg                            |
| Basq.         | Basque                                       |
| Balt.         | Baltic                                       |
| B.-L.         | Limburg (Belgium)                            |
| BIT           | Kreis Bitburg-Prüm                           |
| Bret.         | Breton                                       |
| Brit.         | British Celtic.                              |
| Burg.         | Burgundian                                   |
| BY.           | Bayern (Bavaria)                             |
| C.C.A.A.      | Köln (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium)    |
| Celt.         | Celtic                                       |
| Celto. Lat.   | Celtic-Latin                                 |
| Celt-Teut.    | Celto-Teutonic                               |
| Cogn.         | Cognomen                                     |
| Corn.         | Cornish                                      |
| C.U.T./C.V.T. | Colonia Ulpia Traiana/ Colonia Ulpia Traiana |
| Dan.          | Danish                                       |
| Dat.          | Dative                                       |
| De.           | German                                       |
| Des.          | Desertum /Desert.                            |
| D.            | Drenthe                                      |
| Du.           | Dutch  |
| EMS           | Rhein-Lahn-Kreis                             |
| Eng.          | English                                      |
| ES            | Kreis Esslingen                              |
| Est.          | Estonian                                     |
| ESW           | Werra-Meißner-Kreis                          |
| Far.          | Faroese                                      |
| F.            | Friesland                                    |
| f.            | following page                               |
| ff.           | following pages                              |
| <i>f.</i>     | footnote                                     |
| <i>ff.</i>    | footnotes                                    |
| FB            | Wetteraukreis                                |
| fem.          | feminine                                     |
| Finno Ug.     | Finno-Ugrian                                 |
| F.N.          | Forest name                                  |
| FO            | Landkreis Forcheim                           |
| Fr.           | French                                       |
| Fris.         | Frisian                                      |
| Frk.          | Frankish                                     |
| G.            | Gelderland                                   |
| Gal.          | Galatian (Celtic)                            |

|                      |                              |
|----------------------|------------------------------|
| <b>Gaul.</b>         | Gaulish                      |
| <b>Gen/gen.</b>      | Genitive                     |
| <b>Gr.</b>           | Groningen                    |
| <b>Gk.</b>           | Greek                        |
| <b>H</b>             | Henegouwen (Belgium)         |
| <b>H.D.</b>          | Hochdeutsch: High German     |
| <b>HE.</b>           | Hessen.                      |
| <b>I.E.</b>          | Indo-European                |
| <b>Illyr.</b>        | Illyrian                     |
| <b>Indo-Iran.</b>    | Indo-Iranian.                |
| <b>Ir.</b>           | Irish                        |
| <b>Isl.</b>          | Islandic                     |
| <b>KELT.</b>         | Celtic.                      |
| <b>Kr.</b>           | Kreis                        |
| <b>N.-L.</b>         | Limburg (Ne.)                |
| <b>Lith.</b>         | Lithuanian                   |
| <b>Latv.</b>         | Latvian                      |
| <b>Lat.</b>          | Latin                        |
| <b>L.De./L.G.</b>    | Low German                   |
| <b>L.</b>            | Luik                         |
| <b>Ligur.</b>        | Ligurian                     |
| <b>Lux.</b>          | Luxemburg                    |
| <b>masc.</b>         | Masculine                    |
| <b>M.H.G.</b>        | Middle High German           |
| <b>M.Du.</b>         | Middle Dutch                 |
| <b>M.Eng.</b>        | Middle English               |
| <b>M.Ir.</b>         | Middle Irish                 |
| <b>M.Wel.</b>        | Middle Welsh                 |
| <b>mögl G.</b>       | Possibly Teutonic            |
| <b>M.N.</b>          | Mountain/Mountain Range Name |
| <b>Myth.N.</b>       | Mythological Namen           |
| <b>Mss.</b>          | Manuscript.                  |
| <b>Mz.</b>           | Coins                        |
| <b>N.</b>            | Namen (Belgium)              |
| <b>Ne.</b>           | Netherlands (Country)        |
| <b>N.B.</b>          | Noord-Brabant                |
| <b>N.H.</b>          | Noord-Holland                |
| <b>N.H.D./N.H.G.</b> | New High German              |
| <b>N.W.B.</b>        | Nordwestblock                |
| <b>N.S.</b>          | Niedersachsen                |
| <b>O.</b>            | Overijssel                   |
| <b>O.A.S.</b>        | Old Anglo-Saxon              |
| <b>O.E.</b>          | Old European                 |
| <b>O.Eng.</b>        | Old English                  |
| <b>O.Ir.</b>         | Old Irish                    |
| <b>O.H.G.</b>        | Old High German              |
| <b>O.N.</b>          | Old Norse                    |
| <b>On.</b>           | Onomastic                    |
| <b>O.Vl.</b>         | Oost-Vlaanderen (Belgium)    |
| <b>Pe.N.</b>         | Personal name                |
| <b>Pict.</b>         | Pictish                      |
| <b>Pl.N.</b>         | Place name                   |
| <b>Pol.</b>          | Polish                       |
| <b>*</b>             | Postulated                   |
| <b>Pr.</b>           | Prefix                       |
| <b>Proto-Teut.</b>   | Proto-Teutonic/Germanic      |
| <b>Run.</b>          | Runic                        |
| <b>R.W.G.</b>        | Rhein-Weser-Germanen         |

|                     |                           |
|---------------------|---------------------------|
| <b>S.</b>           | Page number (German)      |
| <b>S.A.</b>         | Sachsen-Anhalt            |
| <b>Scand.</b>       | Scandinavian              |
| <b>sing. or sg.</b> | Singular                  |
| <b>Skt.</b>         | Sanskrit                  |
| <b>Slav.</b>        | Slavic                    |
| <b>Su.</b>          | Suffix                    |
| <b>Swe.</b>         | Swedish                   |
| <b>Teut.</b>        | Teutonic/Germanic         |
| <b>Teut-Celt.</b>   | Teutono-Celtic            |
| <b>TH.</b>          | Thüringen                 |
| <b>U.</b>           | Utrecht                   |
| <b>Vand.</b>        | Vandalic                  |
| <b>Venet.</b>       | Venetian                  |
| <b>VL.-B.</b>       | Vlaams-Brabant (Belgium)  |
| <b>V.N.</b>         | Volksname/Tribal name     |
| <b>W.-B.</b>        | Waals-Brabant (Belgium)   |
| <b>Wel.</b>         | Welsh                     |
| <b>W-VL.</b>        | West Vlaanderen (Belgium) |
| <b>W.N.</b>         | Waldname, Forest Range.   |
| <b>Z.</b>           | Zeeland                   |
| <b>Z.H.</b>         | Zuid-Holland              |

## Abbreviations 2: Registered German Districts Referred to in Thesis.

| Gde. | Gemeinde                       |
|------|--------------------------------|
| Kr.  | Kreis                          |
| Lkr. | Landkreis                      |
| AA   | Ostalbkreis                    |
| AÖ   | Landkreis Altötting            |
| AW   | Kreis Ahrweiler                |
| AZ   | Kreis Alzey-Worms              |
| BA   | Landkreis Bamberg              |
| BC   | Kreis Biberach                 |
| BGL  | Landkreis Berchtesgadener Land |
| BIR  | Kreis Birkenfeld               |
| BIT  | Kreis Bitburg-Prüm             |
| BL   | Zollernalbkreis                |
| COC  | Kreis Cochem-Zell              |
| CW   | Kreis Calw                     |
| DÜW  | Kreis Bad Dürkheim             |
| EI   | Landkreis Eichstätt            |
| EM   | Kreis Emmendingen              |
| EMS  | Rhein-Lahn-Kreis               |
| ES   | Kreis Esslingen                |
| ESW  | Werra-Meißner-Kreis            |
| FB   | Wetteraukreis                  |
| FO   | Landkreis Forchheim            |
| FR   | Kreis Breisgau-Hochschwarzwald |
| GI   | Kreis Gießen                   |
| HAS  | Landkreis Haßberge             |
| HBN  | Kreis Hildburghausen           |
| HD   | Rhein-Neckar-Kreis             |
| HG   | Hochtaunus-Kreis               |
| HOM  | Saarpfalz-Kreis                |
| HR   | Schwalm-Eder-Kreis             |
| KEH  | Landkreis Kelheim              |
| KIB  | Donnersbergkreis               |
| KH   | Kreis Bad-Kreuznach            |
| KT   | Landkreis Kitzingen            |
| KU   | Landkreis Kulmbach             |
| KÜN  | Hohenlohekreis                 |
| KUS  | Kreis Kusel                    |
| LA   | Landkreis Landshut             |
| LAU  | Landkreis Nürnburger Land      |
| LB   | Kreis Ludwigsburg              |
| LDK  | Lahn-Dill-Kreis                |
| LIF  | Landkreis Lichtenfels          |
| LM   | Kreis Limburg-Weilburg         |
| LU   | Kreis Ludwigshafen             |
| M    | Landkreis München              |
| MB   | Landkreis Miesbach             |
| MOS  | Neckar-Odenwald-Kreis          |
| MR   | Kreis Marburg-Biedenkopf       |
| MYK  | Kreis Mayen-Koblenz            |
| MZ   | Kreis Mainz-Bingen             |
| MZG  | Kreis Merzig-Wadern            |
| NES  | Landkreis Rhön-Grabfeld        |
| NK   | Kreis Neunkirchen              |
| NR   | Kreis Neuweid                  |

PAF  
R  
RH  
RT  
SIG  
SLS  
SON  
SÜW  
TBB  
TR  
TS  
TÜ  
TUT  
UL  
VS  
WIL  
WND  
WT  
WÜ  
WW

Landkreis Pfaffenhofen  
Landkreis Regensburg  
Landkreis Roth  
Kreis Reutlingen  
Kreis Sigmaringen  
Kreis Saarlouis  
Kreis Sonneberg  
Kreis Südliche Weinstraße  
Main-Tauber-Kreis  
Kreis-Trier-Saarburg  
Landkreis Traunstein  
Kreis Tübingen  
Kreis Tuttlingen  
Alb-Donau-Kreis  
Schwarzwald-Baar-Kreis  
Kreis Bernkastel-Wittlich  
Kreis St. Wendel  
Kreis Waldshut  
Landkreis Würzburg  
Westerwaldkreis

### Abbreviations 3. Frequently Cited Scholarly Works in Thesis.

|                                |   |
|--------------------------------|---|
| <i>AcS</i>                     | Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz. ( <i>AcS</i> 1-3). 1896-1922. Leipzig.   |
| <i>AEW</i>                     | Altnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. Leiden. 2 <sup>nd</sup> edn. 1977.   |
| <i>ANF</i>                     | Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi.   |
| <i>ANRW</i>                    | Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung. Berlin. 1972 ff.                                 |
| <i>BAR</i>                     | British Archaeological Reports.   |
| <i>BAR-IS</i>                  | British Archaeological Reports International Series.  |
| <i>Beitr. Zur Namenforsch.</i> | Beiträge zur Namenforschung. Heidelberg.  |
| <i>BerRGK</i>                  | Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen archäologischen Institut.   |
| <i>BG</i>                      | The Battle for Gaul. Translated by A and P. Wiseman. Chatto & Windus. London. 1 <sup>st</sup> edn. 1980.  |
| <i>BKAL</i>                    | Berichte der Kommission für Archäologische Landesforschung in Hessen: Aus dem Institut für Archäologische Landesforschung in Hessen, Büdingen. Wiesbaden. |
| <i>BJ</i>                      | Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn und des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande. Böhlau. Bonn.                                |
| <i>Celticum</i>                | Supplément à Ogam. Tradition celtique.  |
| <i>C.I.L.</i>                  | Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum.   |
| <i>DAG</i>                     | The Dialects of Ancient Gaul. Prolegomena and Records Harvard University Press. Cambridge, Mass. 1970.  |
| <i>Dinneen</i>                 | Foclóir Gaeilge agus Béarla. An Irish-English Dictionary. 1 <sup>st</sup> edn. Dublin. 1927.  |
| <i>Études Celtiques,</i>       | Études Celtiques, Paris.  |
| <i>EW</i>                      | Kluge, Friedrich. Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache, ed. Seebold, Elmar. Walter de Gruyter. 23 <sup>rd</sup> ed. Berlin. 1999.              |
| <i>FBH</i>                     | Fundberichte aus Hessen. Wachholtz. Bonn.   |
| <i>GDS</i>                     | Grimm, Jakob. <i>Geschichte der deutschen Sprach</i> . Leipzig. 1 <sup>st</sup> edn. 1880.  |
| <i>Grimm Myth.</i>             | Grimm, Jakob. Deutsche Mythologie. 1 <sup>st</sup> edn. Berlin.   |

- E.H. Meyer. 1875-1878.
- Germania* Germania. Anzeiger der Römisch-germanischen Kommission des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts. Mainz.
- Gnomon* Gnomon. Kritische Zeitschrift für die gesamte klassische Altertumswissenschaft. Munich.
- GPN* Evans, D. Ellis. Gaulish Personal Names: A Study of some Continental Celtic Formations. (1st edn.; Oxford: Clarendon Press). 1967.
- IEW* Pokorny, Julius. Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. (1st edn.; Bern). 1949.
- HESSEN* Caomhanach, Seamus, et al. (1933-1940), Hessen's Irish Lexikon. A Concise Dictionary of Early Irish (Halle).
- Historia* Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte. Wiesbaden.
- Germanen, Germania, germanische...* Heinrich Beck, Heiko Steuer, and Dieter Timpe (eds.). Germanen, Germania germanische Altertumskunde. Heinrich Beck, Heiko Steuer, and Dieter Timpe (eds.), (2nd edn., Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde. Begründet von Johannes Hoops Zweite völlig neu bearbeitete und stark erweiterte Auflage unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher Fachgelehrter und redaktioneller Leitung von Rosmarie Müller, Göttingen; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter), 79-85
- Germanenprobleme* Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde. Ergänzungsbände zum RGA. Heinrich Beck (ed.), Germanenprobleme in heutiger Sicht. (2nd edn., Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde, I; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter). 1999.
- Germania-Anderson* Tacitus, Cornelius. De origine et situ germanorum, Cornelii Taciti. ed. By J.G.C. Anderson (Oxford: Clarendon, 1938).
- Germanische Stammeskunde* Schwarz, Ernst. Germanische Stammeskunde. eds Richard Kienast and Richard von Kienle (Germanische Bibliothek. Handbücher und Gesamtdarstellungen zur Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte; Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag). 1956.
- GKAR* Germanen und Kelten bis zum Ausgang der Römerzeit. Der Aussagewert von Wörtern und Sachen für die frühesten keltisch-germanischen Kulturbeziehungen. Germanen und Kelten bis zum Ausgang der Römerzeit. Der Aussagewert von Wörtern und Sachen für die frühesten keltisch-germanischen Kulturbeziehungen. 272. Hermann Böhlhaus Nachf., Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. 1<sup>st</sup> edn. Wien. 1970.

- Helinium Helinium. Revue consacrée à l'archéologie des Pays-Bas, de la Belgique, et du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg.
- HZ Historische Zeitschrift.
- Hoops* Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde. A-E. (*Hoops I*) (1st edn., Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, I; Straßburg: Karl J. Trübner), 1911-1919.
- KGN* Toorians, Laurant. Keltisch en Germaans in de Nederlanden. Taal in Nederlanden en België gedurende de Late IJzertijd en de Romeinse periode, eds Frédéric (Faculté Ouverte des Religions et des Humanismes Laïques Blaive, Charleroi), et al. Memoires de la societe Belge d'etudes Celtiques, 13; Bruxelles. 2000.
- Klio* Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte. Berlin.
- JRS* Journal of Roman Studies. London.
- Kelten und Germane* Rùbekeil, Ludwig. Diachrone Studien zur Kontaktzone zwischen Kelten und Germanen, ed. Helmut Birkhan. 1st edn., Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Sitzungsberichte, 699. Band, 699; Vienna: Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. 2002.
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- PBB* Beiträgen zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur. Max Niemeyer. Halle.
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- ZCP* Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie
- ZfdA./ZDA* Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur

## **Definitions: Key terms as used in this Thesis.**

**Germanoi:** According to Strabo, the Greek term *Germanoi* was used by Poseidonius for Celtic peoples who lived along the Rhine.<sup>1</sup> Later, the Latin term *Germani* was used.<sup>2</sup>

**Germani:** The Germani are to be equated with Celtic peoples both east and west of the Rhine in this thesis. Between 58-50 BC, Caesar recreated the *Germanoi* of Poseidonius as an entirely new ethnic and cultural grouping named *Germani*, which he stated could not be compared in customs and culture with the Galli. He claimed that the Germani originated east of the Rhine, but included with them invading Germani, Ariovistus and his warhost, the Germani cisrhenani and the Belgae.

Caesar used the Teutonic Suebi as the definitive tribe of the Germani and henceforth all Germani were deemed Teutonic.<sup>3</sup>

Following the Caesarian period the term *Germani* continued to be equated through the Augustan era with Teutonic speaking tribes. This fallacy perpetrated by Caesar was thereafter continued.<sup>4</sup>

**Germania:** According to Caesar, Germania consisted of all territories east of the Rhine, which separated them from Gallia.<sup>5</sup> This definition was a construct of Caesar's. Although this Rhine-divide appears simplistic, it was a calculated scheme used by Caesar for his own advancement.

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<sup>1</sup> T. E. Page, E. Capps et al. (eds.), *The Geography of Strabo*, trans. Horace Leonard Jones VIII vols. (1st edn., The Loeb Classical Library, II; London: William Heinemann, 1923) at 152-153 (BookVII,Chapter1.2).

<sup>2</sup> J Caesar, *The Battle for Gaul*, trans. A. & P. Wiseman (1st edn.; London: Chatto & Windus, 1980) at 17 (BookI,Chapter1).

<sup>3</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 73-74 (BookI,Chapters1-3), at 124-127 (BookVI,Chapters21-28).

<sup>4</sup> This will be discussed in Chapter 2.

<sup>5</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 17, 30 (BookI,Chapter1,31).

**Keltoi:** This was a Greek term for Celtic peoples of Central Europe. Cassius Dio uses *Keltoi* to describe tribes east of the Rhine.<sup>6</sup>

**Gallia/Gaul:** This was the territory inhabited by the Belgae, Aquitani and Galli (native term: Celtae). Gallia/Gaul was bounded in north and east by the Rhine and in the south by the Pyrenees.

**Galli/Gauls:** Before Caesar's time the Celtic peoples who inhabited a Gallia of undefined boundary. According to Caesar, the peoples of Belgae, Celtae, and Aquitani were bounded by the Rhine.<sup>7</sup>

**Belgae:** The Belgae inhabited the northwestern third of Gallia. They were a predominantly Celtic people with some pre-Celtic elements. In the Augustan period, these were infiltrated by Teutonic tribes from Germania.<sup>8</sup>

**Celtae:** The Celtae were Celtic tribes of central Gallia, which included the tribes of Helvetia. According to Caesar, the term Celtae was an indigenous term for Galli.

**Germani cisrhenani:** These were the tribes of Germani of Celtic origin in northeastern Gallia in situ during Caesar's Gallic Campaign 58-52 BC.

**Teutons:** For the purpose of this thesis, this term is used to define peoples of Scandinavian and North German origin. These peoples are usually associated with archaeological cultures native to Scandinavia and northern Germany.

**Teutonic/Germanic:** This term is used to describe the languages spoken by the Teutons, which are generally deemed Germanic.

**Celts:** A term used to describe the peoples of central and northern-central Europe who spoke Celtic dialects. These Celtic speakers were generally associated with the La Tène archaeological culture.

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<sup>6</sup> E. Capps, T. E. Page et al. (eds.), *Dio's Roman History*, eds. E. Capps, T. E. Page et al., trans. Ernest Cary IX vols. (1st edn., The Loeb Classical Library, VI; London: William Heinemann, 1917) at 220-221 (BookLIII,Chapter12.6-7).

<sup>7</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 17 (BookI,Chapter1).

<sup>8</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 17 (BookI,Chapter1).

**Celtic:** The language spoken by Celts.

**Germans:** A term used to describe the inhabitants of modern Germany, mostly by foreigners.

**Deutsch:** The term used by the inhabitants of modern Germany to describe themselves.

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# 1. CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT OF THESIS.

This thesis intends to prove that the peoples initially referred to as Germani by the Ancients were not originally to be associated with Teutonic tribes of Scandinavia and Northern Germany, but with Celtic tribes residing on both sides of the Lower, Middle and Upper Rhine.

The thesis also aims to dispel the widely held notion that the Germani referred to by the Ancients are the same people as the Germans of the present day. It will trace the changes in which the writings of Caesar are demonstrated to be pivotal to the misconception that the Galli and Germani were not both Celtic. Caesar's writings give a distorted view of the reality. Evidence for this will be provided through the testimonies of other classical authors, notably Strabo, Tacitus, and Pliny. Linguistic and archaeological evidence will also be provided to support this view. Caesar's skewed ethnic divide hypothesis originated with his Gallic commentaries. It will be explained how the tribes named Germani were incorrectly considered to be associated with Teutonic tribes, only since the time of Caesar. In Greek ethnography, *Keltoi* equate with Celts as do the Galli in Latin ethnography. The Germani were a sub-group of the Celts. This thesis is primarily concerned with what happened between the time of the first known migratory movement from Germania to Gallia by the Cimbri, Teutones, and Ambrones, in 113 BC, at the time of Poseidonius, through the Caesarian (100-44 BC), Augustan (31 BC-14 AD), and Tiberian (14-37 AD) eras. Caesar's portrayal of the Germani is responsible for scholarship having been skewed for generations of historians, linguists and archaeologists.

The criterion by which this study is to be undertaken is through an interdisciplinary analysis of historical/literary, linguistic and archaeological data.

In order to demonstrate that many of the tribes of Germania who by the Augustan era had adopted Teutonic language and North German-Scandinavian archaeological culture had Celtic origins, it is necessary to clarify the sense in which the word 'Celtic' is used in this context, as it might be taken to mean at least one or more of four rather different things:

1. Being identified as Celts by Classical authors,
2. Speaking a Celtic language, i.e. a language which modern linguists would regard as recognizably different from Teutonic.
3. Using objects characteristic of the La Tène culture which since the second half of the nineteenth century have frequently been associated with people whom Greek and Roman writers called Celts.
4. Regarding themselves as Celts despite exhibiting only one or possibly none of the above three features.

The first and last of these points will not be discussed in detail as the Classical authors' definition of Celts is unreliable and likewise the self-image and self-definition of the peoples designated by the Classical authors as either Celts or Germans will not be used as criteria for this thesis.

The third point is contentious since Celtic languages were sometimes spoken by people who did not use La Tène material culture and it is probable that some of those who did use La Tène material culture might have spoken a non-Celtic language. This presents problems for exclusively equating La Tène culture with Celtic speech, e.g. Nordwestblock, and Germania east and of the Lower and Middle Rhine.<sup>1</sup>

In the Greek geographical model of Europe, the Celts, including the Germanoi, inhabited northwestern Europe. In the time of Poseidonius, before the arrival of Teutonic peoples to the territory of central Germania, the Teutonic peoples were almost unknown in this region. If Poseidonius knew of Teutonic peoples, we are not aware how he would have classified them. The fragments of the writings of Poseidonius have been passed down through Athenaeus, Diodorus, and Strabo. Poseidonius provides a zone- (Zonentheorie) and a climate-zone (Klimazonen) theory. Caesar neither applied the zone or climate-zone theory. The orientation of the

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<sup>1</sup> Professor Dennis W. Harding states that 'the *exclusive* equation of Celtic speakers with La Tène with culture was erroneous, since there are significant areas of Atlantic Europe, between Atlantic Scotland, southern Ireland and parts of coastal France and the Hispanic peninsula, which are not distinguished by the La Tène character of their material culture, but which must by the Early Iron Age have been Celtic-speaking', in: D. W. Harding, 'The Iron Age of the Western Seaways', in William Gillies and D. W. Harding (eds.), *Celtic Connections Volume 2. Papers from the Tenth International Congress of Celtic Studies, Edinburgh, 1995* (1st edn., 2; Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 2005), 166-180 at 175.

division of peoples ‘Anstelle der Nord-Süd-Orientierung tritt eine West-Ost-Orientierung, wobei der Rhein die Grenze zwischen dem Keltischen und dem germanischen Block bildet’.<sup>2</sup> Caesar’s Roman model suggests that the Germani occupied the region between Celts in the west and Scythians in the east, yet Caesar does not refer to these tribes as Celto-Scythians. Not long before Caesar stated that the Germani were to be found in Germania the Ancient Greeks had divided the northern peoples into Celts and Scythians.<sup>3</sup> Thereafter the original Greek hypothesis was difficult to maintain.

**Table 1. Classical Authors’ perception of origin of Germani.**

| CLASSICAL AUTHORS                       | CLASSICAL AUTHORS’ PERCEPTION OF ORIGIN OF GERMANI<br><br>Authors who follow Caesar’s ethnic divide hypothesis are indicated thus * |
|---|---|
| 1. Poseidonius: c. 135- c. 51 BC.       | Celtic Germanoi   |
| 2. Caesar: 100-44 BC.                   | Teutonic Germani  |
| 3. Augustus: 31 BC-14 AD.               | Teutonic Germani*   |
| 4. Strabo: c. 64 BC- c. 21 AD.          | Celtic Germanoi   |
| 5. Drusus: 38-9 BC. Tiberius: 14-37 AD. | Teutonic Germani*   |
| 6. Pliny: c. 23-79 AD.                  | Teutonic Germani*   |
| 7. Tacitus: 57- c. 117 AD.              | Teutonic Germani*   |
| 8. Cassius Dio: c. 155-235 AD.          | Celtic Germanoi   |

<sup>2</sup> Karl Reinhard Krierer, *Antike Germanenbilder*, eds Jürgen Borchhardt and Friedrich Krinzinger (1st edn., Archäologische Forschungen, 11; Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2004) at 46.

<sup>3</sup> Allan A. Lund, *Die ersten Germanen. Ethnizität und Ethnogenese* (1st edn.; Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1998) at 40. See also: Walter Pohl, 'Der Germanenbegriff vom 3. bis zum 8. Jahrhundert - Identifikationen und Abgrenzungen', in Heinrich Beck, Dieter Geuenich et al. (eds.), *Zur Geschichte der Gleichung "germanisch-deutsch". Sprache und Namen, Geschichte und Institutionen* (1st edn., Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, 34; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 163-183 at 170-178. Pohl remarks that ‘Die griechische Ethnographie hatte in der frühen Kaiserzeit die Entwicklung des Germanenbegriffes nur zum Teil mitvollzogen, hier unterschied man oft noch in der Spätantike zwischen Kelten im Westen und Scythen im Osten, so daß auch in der oströmisch-byzantinischen Historiographie Germanen weiterhin als Keltai bezeichnet werden konnten, zum Beispiel bei Zosimos’, at 170. Rolf Hachmann (ed.), *The Germanic Peoples*, ed. Jean Marcadé (1st edn., Archaeologia Mundi, Geneva: Nagel, 1971) at 31-49., particularly 49.

It will be proved that Caesar created a new category for existing tribes of largely Celtic origin based on one major Teutonic confederation, i.e. the Suebi, which was sporadically entering Celtic territory on Caesar's arrival to Gallia.

It will also be discussed how other Ancients did not agree with Caesar's classification. Reviews of scholarship and classical reviews will be undertaken. Whilst Poseidonius did not consider the origin of the Cimbri to stem from the Germanoi, Strabo (who cited Poseidonius) identified the Germanoi as a branch of the Celts and classified both the Cimbri and Teutones as Germanoi and therefore Celts. Caesar's ethnic Rhine-divide is accepted neither by other authors nor by indigenous peoples. Cassius Dio considered the region, which Caesar called Germania to be Celtic. Strabo never recognized an ethnic divide between Teutonic and Celtic tribes. He did not see any ethnic or linguistic difference in Belgic Nervii, Sugambri, Ubii, and Chauci. Strabo was mistaken in identifying northern Teutonic tribes as Celtic Germani. Although aware of their tribal, personal and place names he seems to have been unaware that the increasing Teutonic infiltrations were of different origin to the Celts.

It will be explained how Strabo, who lived in the Augustan and Tiberian era, may have been unaware that some of the peoples of Germania in his own era were of Teutonic rather than Celtic origin. This proves that Poseidonius' Germanoi were Celtic. In Strabo's own era, Teutonic bands were migrating into central Germania and changing the perception of the name Germani. Germania in Strabo's time was a region in flux, yet the nature of new Teutonic units must not have been evident to him.

Caesar's attempt to connect the Cimbri and Teutones with the threat of the Germani of Ariovistus and the Teutonic Suebi of Cimberius and Nasua will be discussed. He did this without offering any ethnic or cultural linkage other than his suggestion that the Cimbri and Teutones came from outside of Gallia. Caesar's association of the Cimbri and Teutones with the Germani of Ariovistus is tenuous though any implied associations of the Cimbri and Teutones and the Teutonic Suebi of Cimberius and Nasua are plausible. Both the Cimbri and Teutones and the Germani of Ariovistus were originally from Germania, although the warhost of Ariovistus comprised mixed

Celtic-Teutonic tribes. There is possibly also a connection between the origin of the Suebian Cimberius, some Suebic groups and the Cimbri.

It will also be suggested that Strabo who post-dated Caesar would have been aware of Caesar's commentaries, yet his newly created classifications continued to agree with Poseidonius's description of the term Germani.

It will be shown that Caesar was the pivotal factor in the reformulation and recategorization of the peoples and region of Central and Northern Europe into what he deemed to be diametrically opposed ethnic groupings. He based this on the geographical boundary of Gallia and Germania. It was Caesar who created the definition of Germani and Galli as different *nationes*. He designated the Germani as non-Gaulish and thus non-Celtic tribes. It will be displayed that Caesar single-handedly defined Gallia as an enclosed geographical entity. Before his arrival, Gallia had no defined borders at least in the sense that the Romans would have understood.

The new designation of Germani by Caesar will be demonstrated to have been based on the Suebi, the archetypal Teutonic tribe. Caesar ascribed this non-Gaulish (Teutonic) categorization to all tribes east of the Rhine, whether Celtic or Teutonic. This definition in many fields of study is still extant. It will be asserted that the name Suebi is problematic and its origin will be discussed.

In the case of the Germani and Galli Caesar represented this Roman ethnographical model as one which did not overlap. It will be explained that Caesar's model provided inconsistencies.

The purpose of Caesar's account was to inform the political powers in Rome and the Senate of his accomplishments. Secondly, it was to allow him to remain within Gallia and to provide him with the chance to conquer it, thus to facilitate his accession to greater power. This will also be discussed.

It will also be argued that whilst Greek and Roman writers had referred to the peoples of Central Europe as Celts or Galli/Gauls, Caesar was the first to separate the Germani from the Celts. Poseidonius's writings on the Germanoi are no longer extant except through Strabo. Poseidonius may have discussed the Germanoi at some

length. This may account for Caesar's extensive, if evasive, writing on particular elements of the Germanoi. In Caesar's writings, there is a lack of linguistic evidence for tribes of Germania compared to the wealth of evidence for Gaulish tribes. This creates a problem with classification. Poseidonius must have referred to Germanoi by name. Strabo provides linguistic material for the tribes of Germania for his own era, particularly between the Augustan and Tiberian periods.

In Greek and Roman cultural geography, rivers were considered as boundaries between peoples. In creating a new region which he called Gallia, bounded by the Rhine and claiming Germania as its aggressive neighbour east of the Rhine, Caesar created the necessary criteria to convince the political power-holders in Rome that the Rhine was the boundary between Galli(a) and Germani(a). Then also on the conclusion of his campaigns Caesar could claim the conquest of an entire people.

It will be contended that Caesar created the definition of Gallia as a country existing west of the Rhine with the river as a remarkably clear defining boundary. It will be argued that this division is incorrect on ethnic, cultural, and political grounds. Instead, the Rhine divide was both culturally and ethnically fictitious but it was purposely created by Caesar in 58 BC, and was crucial to Caesar's goal of political gain.

This pseudo-ethno-geographical divide into the two distinct regions of Gallia and Germania east and west of the Rhine was used as political manoeuvring by Caesar as a valid reason to prolong his presence as protector of Gallia. The division created by Caesar insured that wandering tribes who crossed his borders were deemed by him and thus Rome to be invaders. It also suggested that by expelling the Germani from Gallia Caesar was protecting Rome.

Caesar's creation of an ethnic divide based on geographical criteria was necessary to sustain his political objective of the conquest in Gallia. Caesar's political gain was the overriding motivation, which insured the advancement of his Galli-Germani ethnic hypothesis.

It will be discussed how the complexities of the terms Germani and Germania can be seen through their existence in Caesar's Gallic Commentaries. In Book II, Caesar refers to both the Germani cisrhenani of Gallia and the Belgae Germani who claimed to have migrated from east of the Rhine.<sup>4</sup> Books IV, V and VI clarify how Caesar uses the term Germania as a geographical term to designate the territory east of the Rhine. The Germani are claimed by Caesar to be the people of Germania. This is a designation for all the peoples east of the Rhine as opposed to the peoples west of the Rhine, i.e. the Galli.

As to the designation of Germani for entire regions, it is probable that some groups of Celts did refer to themselves as Germani, or were referred to by their kindred neighbours as Germani, e.g. the Belgic Remi, Nervii, and Treveri. It will be illustrated that there is no evidence to assume that all of the peoples east of the Rhine referred to themselves as Germani. It is probable that some did. It will be made clear that the Teutonic peoples referred to as Germani would not have thought of themselves as Germani as this was not a Teutonic term. They would however, probably have become aware of the Roman usage of the term Germani being applied to them.

It will also be discussed that some ethnic change did take place in Northern and Central Europe, particularly from the post-Caesarian period and the Augustan period to the reign of Tiberius. This stemmed from Scandinavia and Northern Germany. It will be argued that the Teutonic migratory element, e.g. Suebi and proto-Chattian tribes, intermixed with the great indigenous Celtic tribes of central Germania east of the Lower, Middle, and Upper Rhine, as far as the Weser and Werra by the Augustan era.

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<sup>4</sup> For an assessment of the tribes of the Germani cisrhenani, and Belgae see: Siegmund Von Schnurbein, 'Germanien in römischer Sicht. Germania Magna und die römischen Provinzbezeichnungen', in Heinrich Beck, Dieter Geuenich et al. (eds.), (1st edn., *Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, 34; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 25-36 at 27-28, 30-33. For a recent and invaluable study of the placenames of the regions of the Germani, Germani cisrhenani and Belgae see: Patrick Sims-Williams, *Ancient Celtic Place-Names in Europe and Asia Minor* (1st edn., Publications of the Philological Society, 39; Oxford: Blackwell, 2006). See especially § 6. The Extent of Celtic Names, I: Northern Europe (above 48 latitude), at 173-195.

This migration spread to the region of the Germani south of the Lippe and from the Weser to the Rhine. Particularly affected were the southern regions of the North German Plain and the *Mittelgebirge* as far east as the Upper Weser. These changes took place within three generations.

Intermediary stages will be examined. Thus, the fallacy of Caesar's ethnic divide was compounded by the fact that indigenous Celtic tribes were invaded by migrating Teutonic peoples who settled amongst them and became politically dominant in most regions of central Germania. This provided a definite Teutonic element in the region of the original Celtic Germani.

Caesar's Galli-Germani ethnic divide was taken as fact by succeeding authors and scholars. The reality was that between the Caesarian and post-Caesarian periods Teutonic tribes had been entering the Celtic territories of the Germani, from Scandinavia and Northern Germany. This has muddied the perception of the ethnic, linguistic, and cultural situation for Roman commentators.

It will be argued that new hybridized Celtic and Teutonic tribes and later confederations evolved in the post-Caesarian period. It is incorrect to view these new tribes/confederations as solely Teutonic in origin. These mixed Teutonic-Celtic confederations and newly arriving Teutonic tribes came to be referred to by, or to adopt the name of the older inhabitants of the region, i.e. Germani. The Celtic tribes within Germania are also referred to as Germani, the inhabitants of Germania.

It will be demonstrated that from the Augustan period a great movement of tribes of Teutonic origin began to arrive increasing the Teutonic element into Central Germania. Confederations, which were considered Teutonic, subsumed Celtic peoples. This lent further credence to the belief that the tribes of Germania were different to those of Gallia. A new hybrid breed of Celto-Teutonic peoples evolved, forming new tribal units who differed from either of the Celtic or Teutonic parent stock. This has also been used to suggest that the peoples of Germany today, although descendants of both the Celtic Germani and Teutonic peoples understand the Germani to be Teutonic. Because there is a perceived equation of modern Teutonic speech and ancient Teutonic tribes, a relationship between the Celtic

Germani and speakers of modern Teutonic languages is often not understood and thus disregarded and/or denied.

By the Augustan period the political and military powerhouse of Germania had shifted from the elusive Caesarian Teutonic Suebi (*Suebian Supergroup*) and Sugambri, Ubii, Usipetes and Tencteri, and the Augustan Sugambrian confederation to the Teutonic tribes of Northern Germany. This included the Cherusci in the first century AD. It was this North German region, which helped to consolidate the equation of Germani with north German Teutonic tribes rather than Celtic Germani.

By the Tiberian period, Rome's focus returned to the eastern Suebic peoples of Bohemia and other new Teutonic units from northeastern Germania and from northwestern Germania. As the Augustan and Tiberian periods progressed there was ever increasing political focus by Rome east of the Rhine on the Teutonic tribes of Northern Germany. The connotations for the Roman understanding of Germani/Germania became increasingly that of Teutonic rather than Celtic peoples. The fluid nature of tribes/confederations will be discussed. It will be shown that from the Caesarian to the Augustan period many individual tribal units would have become recognizably different.

An examination of the tribal names, place names, personal names, river names, mountain names, god names, and forest names will be undertaken for Germania transrhenania, Germania cisrhenania, Belgica, and northern Celtica, for the Caesarian, Augustan, and Tiberian era. Associated linguistic problems will be discussed, e.g. Hachmann, Kossack, and Kuhn's Nordwestblock theory. Core territories of linguistic groups and gradations thereof will be examined. It will be demonstrated that tribal names had various origins, i.e. self designated or named by others, i.e. barbarian or Roman.

Romans did not consider barbarian languages worthy of study or of any value in themselves. Caesar was aware of linguistic differences between Gaulish and Teutonic. However, Caesar would not have been aware of the many different dialects, which would have been difficult to classify in both Gallia and Germania. Caesar formed his divide for political reasons and was aware of ethnic and linguistic

differences, but generally, Germania to most Romans was simply the land on the eastern side of the river Rhine.

The movement of tribes will be discussed. It will be illustrated how the face of Europe changed with the movement of tribes, the forming of confederations and the forging of alliances. This is not as clear as assumed. The tribes transplanted in the Augustan and Tiberian eras to Gallia from Germania are incorrectly assumed to be only Teutonic. This can be seen in the case of the *Matronen* where archaeology and linguistics show an overlap of cultures. Here it is evident that an ever-increasing Teutonic element pervades the existing Celtic cultures.

The Augustan conquest of Germania will be discussed with its implications for forced migration of tribes within Germania and Gallia. Also to be reviewed is the additional transformation to the tribal map of Europe brought about by Roman foreign policy. Romanization began in northern and eastern Gallia with the Caesarian conquest but had little effect in these regions until the Augustan era when transplantation of entire tribal units was implemented by the Emperor. The infiltration of barbarian society by Roman culture and its effects will be discussed.

Latin inscriptions, related to the army, funerary practices, and trade, are informative, although they do not necessarily refer to indigenous peoples. These demonstrate elements of the ethnic and cultural diversity of some of garrisoned towns on the Rhine frontier from the early first century AD.

For the pre-Roman Iron Age mention will be made of central European Hallstatt and early La Tène and north European Jastorf, Nienburg, and Hausurnen cultures to demonstrate the core homelands of both Celtic and Teutonic speakers.

A review of the archaeological record for the late Iron Age, early Augustan era, i.e. The R.I.E. will include the La Tène culture, the Elbgermanen, Nordseegermanen, Rhein-Weser-Germanen, Nordgermanen, and Ostgermanen. This will be undertaken for the regions of central, southern and northern Germany, Bohemia, Netherlands, Belgium, northern, and eastern France. This will reveal a common archaeological culture for tribes on both sides of the Rhine. This culture was Hallstatt and La Tène,

the archaeological cultures associated with Celtic-speaking peoples. These archaeological cultures are to be associated with the peoples known as Germani. As with linguistics, there are core territories of archaeological groupings with gradations, which will be examined as zones of transition/hybridization.

The northern extent of the Celtic world was not limited to the area occupied by the *oppida*. The Celtic settlements extended into the North German Plain, a territory where flat and unfortified settlements were the norm. Mistaken claims for origins of tribes, which are at variance with perceived archaeological and/or linguistic evidence, will be discussed.

It will also be demonstrated that beginning with the Caesarian and into the Augustan era new archaeological cultures emerged. These are associated with homelands in Scandinavia and northern Germany. They began to appear in the territories of the La Tène people between the east of the Lower, Middle, Upper Rhine, and the Upper Weser. An overview of recent archaeological excavations will be provided. These will refer particularly to ethnic and cultural indicators of migration, including settlement, pottery, fibulae, belt-hooks, weaponry (spears, swords, shield bosses, knives), and coinage. The origins of these will be contrasted with the ethnicity, which Caesar claims for the Galli and Germani.

It will be argued that the term Germania should only have applied to the regions of La Tène settlement east of the Rhine and possibly to those in northern Gallia. An assessment will be made on re-emergence of interest in Germania, which consolidated the Teutonic myth following the discovery of Tacitus's Germania.

The modern concept of the ancient Germani and Germania is assumed by many historians, some linguists, and archaeologists to be equated with a homogenous grouping of Teutonic-speaking tribes, which originated in southern Scandinavian and northern Germany. This association of Germani, solely with speakers of modern Teutonic languages, is a relatively recent concept and is particularly strong amongst scholars of modern Teutonic-speaking countries. Even Caesar did not use language as a defining differentiating characteristic in his Rhine divide theory in which he contrasted peoples east and west of the Rhine. It will be argued that this process was

aided by the recognition and categorization of individual linguistic groupings, e.g. Teutonic, Celtic, and others by scholars in the early nineteenth century. These categorizations were simplistically applied and in the mid-nineteenth century and thereafter linked to Nordic myth and legend and thus used to provide an aetiological basis for a Teutonic origin.

These applications encouraged a wave of nationalism, which flourished throughout Western Europe in the late nineteenth century, leading to misconceptions, which eventually led from Nationalism and culminated in the of most German speaking states in 1870 into the self-designated *Deutschland*, rather than the non-native term *Germania*.

The perpetuation of the myth of a homogeneous and undiluted people, as proposed by some of the Ancients and more recently portrayed as the sole Teutonic ancestors of modern day Teutonic-speaking peoples was aggravated by medieval scholars, and exacerbated by nineteenth and twentieth century nationalism and fascism in twentieth century Germany. Nineteenth and twentieth century interpretations of the Celtic-Teutonic problem often produced varying polarized views from scholars.

The dominance of German scholarship on this subject influenced or pressured by political policy and the possible continuance of some erroneous or biased theories obliterating or obscuring reality will be discussed. These erroneous teachings were continued in the aftermath of World War II by some German academics who continued to hold office in German universities.

There is a problem with the scholarship particularly in the late nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century. The 1930s -1940s are very difficult to evaluate. There was a reluctance of other scholars to approach a delicate subject impartially. Despite the fact that La Tène culture was predominant in many areas of northern-central Europe, many scholars failed to incorporate all fields of study in their research. One specific problem for archaeologists who consider Germani to equate with Teutonic peoples is in acknowledging the fact that in some areas of Germania and Gallia where the archaeological culture is predominantly La Tène the natives might have been Celtic.

## 1.1. REVIEW OF BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOURCE MATERIAL.

### 1.1.1. BACKGROUND TO BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REVIEW OF SOURCES. PHILOLOGICAL STUDIES. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CELTIC AND TEUTONIC PEOPLES.

It was in the mid-eighteenth century that the early relations between Celtic and Teutonic peoples came to the fore. A trend of early Celtomania, due in part to the military conflicts escalating between France and Germany, led to a strong negative German reaction to it, which was detrimental to the subject. Henri D'Arbois de Jubainville was a leading proponent of Celtomania whose national sentiment obstructed his linguistic scholarship when he suggested in his Teutonic enslavement hypothesis that the Teutonic peoples had been subject to the Celts.<sup>5</sup>

Jacob Grimm was instrumental in recognizing sound-changes, which occurred in Teutonic and produced his *Deutsche Grammatik*, a major work in four volumes, which he regularly updated to develop his theories. This research led to his formulation of the *First Sound Shift* and later *Grimm's Law*. Verner later expanded on Grimm's theories i.e. *Verner's Law*.<sup>6</sup>

Great strides were made in the study of Teutonic history and archaeology as seen in Karl Müllenhoff's 'Deutsche Altertumskunde' of 1870, which is seen as the best survey of the entire field of its time.<sup>7</sup> By the 1880s Gustaf Kossinna was to push back the boundary of a recognizably Teutonic language to before 2000 BC. Based on the premise that an ethnic-continuum could be identified from Denmark to northern Germany from the Weser to the Oder, and the west Baltic islands, from the *Nordic Bronze Age*, to the Roman Iron Age, Kossinna determined that tribes could be identified from archaeological cultures. Before Kossinna, Teutonic was deemed to

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<sup>5</sup> Henri D' Arbois De Jubainville, *Les premiers habitants de l'Europe d'après les écrivains de l'antiquité et les travaux des linguistes*, II vols. (2nd edn., II; Paris, 1894) at 329. C. S. Elston, *The Earliest Relations between Celts and Germans* (1st edn., Birkbeck College Series of Monographs. Germanic Section 1; London: Methuen, 1934) at 57-94.

<sup>6</sup> Jacob Grimm, *Deutsche Grammatik*, ed. Dieterich, 4 vols. (2nd edn., *Deutsche Grammatik*, 1; Göttingen, 1822).

<sup>7</sup> Karl Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde. (DAK 1-5)*, 5 vols. (1st edn., 1-5; Berlin, 1870-1908).

have become a recognizable language in the mid first millennium BC. By the mid-nineteenth century, the interest in a recognizable Teutonic language encouraged further study resulting in linguistic discoveries, e.g. *The First Sound Shift*. Kossinna applied his understanding of ethnic continuum to suggest that the date of *The First Sound Shift* was 2000 BC.<sup>8</sup> Prior to Kossinna's hypothesis Teutonic had been deemed to become a recognizable language from the mid first millennium BC. More recent research by philologists favours the last five centuries BC, for the development of the Teutonic language.<sup>9</sup> Recent research by Voyles suggests *The First Sound Shift* took place, c. 400 BC, which Polomé does not consider feasible as conflicting linguistic evidence reflecting Sound Shift occurrence and non-Sound Shift occurrence existed in adjacent areas, e.g. Cimbri and Harudes. The Teutonic \**alces*, i.e. elk, referred to by Caesar for the region of Central Germania had not shifted from 'k' to 'χ' at that time.<sup>10</sup> Salmons dates the Germanic accentual change in *Verner's Law* to the middle of the first millennium BC.<sup>11</sup>

### 1.1.2. ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDIES: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CELTIC AND TEUTONIC PEOPLES AND ETHNIC CONTINUUM IN NORTHERN EUROPE.

Kossinna's perspective on the genesis of Teutonic peoples would transform the way in which the subject of the origin of the Teutonic peoples was conceived. This would

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<sup>8</sup> Malcolm Todd, *The Northern Barbarians, 100 BC - AD 300* (2nd edn.; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987) at 5-6. Malcolm Todd, *The Early Germans*, eds James Campbell and Barry Cunliffe (1st edn., The Peoples of Europe; Oxford: Blackwell, 1992) at 263.

<sup>9</sup> Reinhard Wenskus, *Stammesbildung und Verfassung* (1st edn.; Cologne: Böhlau, 1961) at 156. Jan De Vries, *Kelten und Germanen* (1st edn.; Bern, 1960) at 45. Colin M. Wells, *The German Policy of Augustus. An Examination of the Archaeological evidence* (1st edn.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972) at 313-314. See in Addenda note at 29 n. 3. Hans Kuhn, 'Das Zeugnis der Namen', in Rolf Hachmann, Georg Kossack et al. (eds.), *Völker Zwischen Germanen und Kelten. Schriftquellen, Bodenfunde und Namengut zur Geschichte des nördlichen Westdeutschlands um Christi Geburt* (Neumünster: Wachholtz, 1962), 105-128 at 116.

<sup>10</sup> Joseph B. Voyles, *Early Germanic Grammar. Pre-, Proto- and Post-Germanic Languages* (1st edn.; San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1992) at 76-79. Edgar C. Polomé, 'Germanic in early Roman times', in Rosina L. Lippi-Green and Joseph C. Salmons (eds.), *Germanic Linguistics. Syntactic and Diachronic* (Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science, 137; Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1996), 137-147 at 139.

<sup>11</sup> Joseph Salmons, C., *Accentual Change & Language Contact: Comparative survey & a case study of early Northern Europe* (1st edn.; Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992) at 173.

determine future thinking on the subject until the Second World War.<sup>12</sup> Kossinna's perspective of ethnic continuum was essentially founded on the principle that tribes or groups of tribes could be readily identified in the cultures distinguished by archaeologists.

Kossinna believed that the Teutonic peoples from the Bronze Age onwards were advancing on the Celts, where they crossed the Ems towards the end of the Bronze Age and were upon the Lower Rhine in the Early Iron Age.<sup>13</sup> In Central Germany, the Celtic/Teutonic frontier was based upon the differing burial practices of what was deemed to have been two different peoples. Cremations were generally associated with North European archaeological cultures and assumed to be Teutonic and inhumation was generally assumed to have been associated with the Hallstatt/La Tène folk (Celts).<sup>14</sup> Kossinna placed this common frontier at the end of the Bronze Age north of the Harz Mountains, which by the end of the Bronze Age he believed to have been overrun by Teutonic speakers. Kossinna understood these Teutonic peoples to have moved on Celtic territory and advanced as far south as Quedlinburg, Aschersleben, Eisleben, Querfurt, Halle, and Merseburg.<sup>15</sup>

Kossinna wrote that 'Sharply defined archaeological culture provinces invariably correspond with clearly defined peoples or population groups'.<sup>16</sup> Kossinna mistakenly adopted for the starting point of his investigations the maxim: 'one culture, one race'.<sup>17</sup> He was convinced that he was correct but although his ethnic continuum hypothesis cannot bear up to close scrutiny, his was a properly adequate

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<sup>12</sup> Todd, *The Northern Barbarians* at 5.

<sup>13</sup> Gustaf Kossinna, *Ursprung und Verbreitung der Germanen in vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit* (1st edn., Mannus Bibliothek, 6; Leipzig, 1928) at 22.

<sup>14</sup> It is now known that in Germania, cremation was also the dominant burial practice by the Late La Tène era, i.e. second century BC, in the La Tène cultural region. Peter S. Wells, *The Barbarians Speak: How the Conquered Peoples Shaped Roman Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999) at 81.

<sup>15</sup> Gustaf Kossinna, 'Die Grenzen der Kelten und Germanen in der La Tène-Zeit', *Korrespondenzblatt der deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnographie und Urgeschichte*, XXXVIII (1907), 57-62 at 57-62.

<sup>16</sup> Todd, *The Northern Barbarians* at 6. Although in possession of Kossinna's work I have taken this translation of Kossinna's statement on this one instance from Todd. See also Gustaf Kossinna, *Die Herkunft der Germanen* (Mannus-Bibliothek, 6; Würzburg, 1911) at 17. for its precision.

<sup>17</sup> Kossinna, *Die Herkunft der Germanen* at 3.

and reasonable hypothesis for his time.<sup>18</sup> In fact, although Kossinna may have been in part correct about the movements of Teutonic folk southward, his enthusiasm to see them on the Rhine and Lippe made him lose sight of reality.<sup>19</sup> On the North German Plain, extensive excavations have shown a slow but constant development of settlements from the Bronze Age until the La Tène period.

### 1.1.3. POST SECOND WORLD WAR.

Following the Second World War the general perspective towards research into the Teutonic peoples changed, although some scholarship initially continued to exhibit many of the same trends as found in the pre-war period. In Germany, directly after the War there was a reluctance to deal with race and ethnicity, particularly in the fields of archaeology and history. Philology was more open to the use of categorization of specific terminology for Celtic and Teutonic, as it dealt in absolutes and thus had to continue the same approach. Some attempts in the last quarter of the twentieth century were made to re-address the Celtic-Teutonic problem, which did not rely on old stereotypes but on revisionism.

Some years after the Second World War and the fall of the Third Reich a new generation of German and other scholars with freedom and integrity, have been producing serious and enlightened work on the subject of linguistics, archaeology and history, of the ancient peoples of Gallia and Germania. These include, Johann Leo Weisgerber, Helmut Birkhan, Hermann Reichert, Allan A. Lund, Wolfgang Meid, Heinrich Beck, Günter Neumann, Christoph Reichmann, Karl Peschel, Bernhard Maier, William Gillies, Dennis W. Harding, Wolfgang Spickermann, Heiko Steuer, Dieter Timpe, Laurant Toorians, Nico Roymans, Walter Pohl, Herwig Wolfram, Rosemarie Müller, Karl Horst Schmidt, Colin Wells, Peter S. Wells, Hermann Reichert, Stefan Zimmer, Johannes Heinrichs, Christoph B. Rieger, Heinz G. Horn, Reinhard Wolters, Ludwig Rübkeil, Thomas Völling, Michael Meyer, Detlev Hopp, Charlotte Trümpler, Hartmut Galsterer, Jan Slofstra, Thomas

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<sup>18</sup> Elston, *Celts and Germans* at 43. Kossinna, *Die Herkunft der Germanen* at 17.

<sup>19</sup> Kossinna, *Die Herkunft der Germanen* at 22. Kossinna believed that the Teutonic peoples from the Bronze Age onwards were advancing on the Celts, where they crossed the Ems towards the end of the Bronze Age and were upon the Lower Rhine in the Early Iron Age.

Grünewald, Dieter Geuenich, Tilmann Bechert, Willem J. H. Willems, Mathias Seidel, Michael Gechter, Georg Eggenstein, Bernd Steidl, Lothar Wierchowski, Harald Polenz, Siegmund von Schnurbein, Rudolf Simek, Wolfgang Schlüter and many others.

## 1.2. RECENT PHILOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES AND TRENDS.

In the post war period, there have been attempts to review the whole concept of Germani and Galli. Johan Leo Weisgerber was one of the most influential scholars in the field of the Celtic and Teutonic peoples in the Rhineland. Weisgerber, in a collection of papers later compiled as 'Rhenania Germano-Celtica' in (1969), produced very detailed information on the mixed nature of the tribes of the Rhineland by the Roman Imperial era. In 'Die Namen der Ubier' (1968), Weisgerber produced a detailed study of the personal, placenames, tribal names, and god names of the region of Cologne and its hinterland. Again, the results showed that by the early centuries AD, the population was mixed in origin, with Celtic, Teutonic, Latin, and pre-Celtic elements all clearly in evidence. To what degree mixed Celtic-Teutonic dialects evolved is uncertain, but the evidence from mixed personal and god names of the Lower Rhine suggests that this must have occurred in varying degrees.<sup>20</sup> This trend could also be seen in specialized work produced by Siegfried Gutenbrunner on the Lower Rhineland, which showed the increasingly heterogeneous nature of the frontier *civitates* of this region.<sup>21</sup> It would appear that before the Roman conquest and the Augustan resettlement of tribes the population groups were more culturally, ethnically, and linguistically homogenous, judging from available tribal names and placenames at the beginning of the Roman Imperial era. From that time onwards, the Teutonic element continued to increase both east and west of the Lower and Middle Rhine.

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<sup>20</sup> Joh. Leo Weisgerber, *Die Namen der Ubier*, eds Heinz Kühn and Leo Brandt (1st edn., Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, 34; Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1968) at 111-267.

<sup>21</sup> Siegfried Gutenbrunner, *Die germanischen Götternamen der antiken Inschriften*, eds Theodor Frings, Rudolf Meissner et al. (1st edn., Rheinische Beiträge und Hilfsbücher zur germanischen Philologie und Volkskunde, 24; Halle (Saale): Max Niemeyer, 1936).

One of the most important works on the subject of the interaction of the Celtic and Teutonic peoples is Helmut Birkhan's 'Germanen und Kelten bis zum Ausgang der Römerzeit' (1970). It provides a thorough philological and archaeological reassessment of available material and accords a very strong emphasis on both possible Teutonic and/or Celtic origins for the tribes of Germania and Gallia and of those in the area immediately east of the Rhine. Birkhan is part of the trend which favours a Celtic origin for the Germani and sees the Germani cisrhenani as largely Celtic, but he recognizes that some of these tribes are possibly of Teutonic or partly Teutonic origin. Birkhan underlines the existence of older indigenous strata in various populations of Gallia and Germania.<sup>22</sup> Loicq and Michel (1996) follow this trend for the region of Belgium, providing an equally balanced philological study of the region.<sup>23</sup>

More recently, Toorians's work provides an invaluable Dutch perspective on the interaction of Celtic and Teutonic speakers in the Netherlands and Belgium. Toorians has reviewed the Dutch and Belgian philological evidence in a much-needed study of the Celts and Teutonic peoples in the Low Countries.<sup>24</sup>

Another important work on the subject of interaction between the Celtic and Teutonic peoples is by Günter Neumann in 'Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde' (1999), i.e. (*RGA Germanen*), which assesses the possible origins of the term Germani.<sup>25</sup> In 1999 Neumann's 'Germani cisrhenani – die Aussage der

<sup>22</sup> Helmut Birkhan, *Germanen und Kelten bis zum Ausgang der Römerzeit. Der Aussagewert von Wörtern und Sachen für die frühesten keltisch-germanischen Kulturbeziehungen* (1st edn., Germanen und Kelten bis zum Ausgang der Römerzeit. Der Aussagewert von Wörtern und Sachen für die frühesten keltisch-germanischen Kulturbeziehungen, 272; Vienna: Hermann Böhlau Nachf., Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1970).

<sup>23</sup> J. Loicq and J. H. Michel, 'Equisse d'une histoire linguistique de la Belgique', *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Commissie voor Toponymie and Dialectologie*. (LXVIII, 1996), 229-380.

<sup>24</sup> Laurant Toorians, *Keltisch en Germaans in de Nederlanden. Taal in Nederlanden en België gedurende de Late IJzertijd en de Romeinse periode*, eds Frédéric (Faculté Ouverte des Religions et des Humanismes Laïques Blaive, Charleroi), Anne (Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire Cahen-Delhay, Bruxelles) et al. (Memoires de la société Belge d'études Celtiques, 13; Bruxelles, 2000). Laurant Toorians, 'Germanised Celtic in the Netherlands', (1995), 1-7. An unpublished paper presented at Celtic Congress Edinburgh.

<sup>25</sup> Günter Neumann, 'Sprache und Dichtung', in Heinrich Beck, Heiko Steuer et al. (eds.), *Germanen, Germania germanische Altertumskunde* (2nd edn., Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde. Begründet von Johannes Hoops Zweite völlig neu bearbeitete und stark erweiterte Auflage unter

Namen in Germanenprobleme' in heutiger Sicht', i.e. (*RGA Germanenprobleme*), produced a mixed Celtic-Teutonic group of tribes. Neumann provides detailed scholarship; however, some of it is noticeably inclined to side with Teutonic etymology over Celtic in many cases where Teutonic origin seems doubtful, in light of the numerous Celtic placenames on the Lower Rhine.<sup>26</sup>

In modern literature, Celtic and Germanic are usually linguistic terms whilst Germans and Celts refer to people who speak Teutonic and Celtic languages respectively. The crucial question is whether linguistic definitions should be used when referring to the peoples whom Caesar referred to as Germani. Hachmann, Kossack, and Kuhn (1962), and Dobesch (1982), express strong doubts about this, as does De Laet (1982).<sup>27</sup>

### 1.3. RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES AND TRENDS.

The archaeological evidence shows the arrival of North European archaeological groupings to central Germany and the Netherlands. One of the most prevalent hypotheses is that people of North European archaeological cultures, i.e. Nordgermanen, Elbgermanen, Nordseegermanen, and Ostgermanen, moved into Celtic territories, broke the power structure of the *oppida* culture, exterminated or displaced the Celts, and pushed them from Germania. The remaining population was assumed to be almost entirely of North European archaeological culture, hence it is assumed that the population originated in northern Germany and Scandinavia and had replaced the La Tène culture associated with the Celtic speaking peoples, which

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Mitwirkung zahlreicher Fachgelehrter und redaktioneller Leitung von Rosemarie Müller, Göttingen; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1998), 79-85.

<sup>26</sup> G. Neumann, 'Germani cisrhenani - die Aussage der Namen', in Heinrich Beck (ed.), *Germanenprobleme in heutiger Sicht. Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* (2nd edn., Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde, 1; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1986), 107-129.

<sup>27</sup> Rolf Hachmann, Georg Kossack et al. (eds.), *Völker zwischen Germanen und Kelten. Schriftquellen, Bodenfunde und Namengut zur Geschichte des nördlichen Westdeutschlands um Christi Geburt*. (1st edn., Neumünster: Wachholtz, 1962). Gerhard Dobesch, 'Zur Ausbreitung des Germanennamens', in W. Alzinger (ed.), *Pro Arte Antiqua. Festschrift H. Kenner* (1st edn., Sonderschriften des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes, 1; Vienna, 1982), 77-99. S. J. De Laet, *La Belgique d'avant les Romains* (1st edn.; Wetteren, 1982) at 721-723.

was no longer evident in the material record.<sup>28</sup> The view that the North European archaeological cultures settled upon, and integrated with the La Tène culture, is not considered in this hypothesis, rather it replaced it. Where it could not be denied that La Tène culture existed in Germania, the proponents of this trend played down the non-Teutonic element, i.e. the Celtic population.

A variation to this trend was produced by Kahrstedt who when confronted with obvious elements of La Tène culture in Germania between the Lippe and Main could not reconcile the La Tène population with the Germani of the same region. Kahrstedt stated that ‘we must admit that the material civilisation of the Ubii and the Sugambri, prior to their transplantation, in no way differed from that of the Treveri and other Celtic peoples, except that they were a little poorer. This is an instructive warning against a too hasty assumption that archaeological units represent ethnic entities’.<sup>29</sup> Kahrstedt, referring to the contemporary civilisation of the Lower Rhine, added:

‘The pottery types, formerly cited as proving that this La Tène civilisation was German and separated by a deep gulf from its Celtic predecessors, have recently been shown to have developed locally. In this case there is a well-defined cultural frontier parallel to and a few miles east of the Rhine, marking off the civilisation under reference from the normal Germanic culture... The sudden termination of the La Tène civilisation, described above, must have been due to the transplantation of the Sugambri in 8B.C.’<sup>30</sup>

Yet Kahrstedt unconvincingly asserts that these La Tène Germani were Teutonic. He considers that the La Tène civilisation is equated with Celts but never with Teutonic tribes.<sup>31</sup> As can be seen Kahrstedt surmised that these La Tène Germani must have been Teutonic, rather than admitting the obvious conclusion that they were Celtic, such was the level of synchronicity between the perception of the ancient Germani and the people of modern *Deutschland*. Other factors, which may have influenced this trend, were patriotism and an inherited sense of how ancient Germania should

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<sup>28</sup> Ernst Schwarz, *Germanische Stammeskunde*, eds Richard Kienast and Richard von Kienle (Germanische Bibliothek. Handbücher und Gesamtdarstellungen zur Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte; Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1956) at 35-37. Rudolf Much, *Deutsche Stammeskunde* (1st edn., Sammlung Göschen; Leipzig: G. I. Göschen'sche Verlagshandlung, 1905) at 41-54.

<sup>29</sup> Ulrich Kahrstedt, 'The Roman Frontier on the Lower Rhine in the Early Imperial Period.' in Eric Birley (ed.), *The Congress of Roman Frontier Studies. Newcastle. 1949* (1st edn.; Durham, 1952), 41-54 at 44-46.

<sup>30</sup> Kahrstedt, 'Roman Frontier on the Lower Rhine', at 44-46.

<sup>31</sup> Kahrstedt, 'Roman Frontier on the Lower Rhine', at 44-46.

reflect the ancestors of the modern inhabitants of the region. This may also have been a product of a yearning to belong to a particular culture and to see ones own ancestry in a certain light. Elements of Kahrstedt's theory also represent a type of pan-Germanism as witnessed in the years before the Second World War.

This trend, like all those associating Germani with the Teutonic/Deutsch-speaking peoples from the middle Ages became more entrenched with time and centred on the modern German speakers. Amongst some scholars, there is an inability or unwillingness to accept that the peoples of the same region of Central Germania could have spoken non-Teutonic dialects in the late Iron Age. This difficulty arises because these regions are Teutonic in speech today. Language change in Germania in the Late Iron Age-Early Roman period is not a difficult assumption to make as linguistic boundaries have constantly changed through time. Particular examples of this are, the Celtic languages in the British Isles, the rapid advance of Teutonic in northern Gallia in the Frankish era, the spread of English through the United States, the shift in language in the Val D'Aosta, and recent language shifts in southwestern Belgium and Northern France, where Flemish was replaced by French. This favours the view of total evacuation of the Celts by migration. The view of Celts migrating from Central Germania, their total extermination or dispersal to make way for Teutonic tribes is amongst the most prevalent view of the Celts of Germany. This hypothesis is still considered valid by many scholars and is commonly cited in research in the present day. This trend has been exhibited by Whatmough (*DAG*), Rieckhoff and Siedel (*BKAL*).<sup>32</sup>

In 'The German Policy of Augustus' (1972), Wells reassessed the historical, linguistic, and archaeological evidence in his 'Celts and Germans'.<sup>33</sup> From the

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<sup>32</sup> Joshua Whatmough, *The Dialects of Ancient Gaul. Prolegomena and Records of the Dialects* (1st edn.; Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1970). Sabine Rieckhoff, *Süddeutschland im Spannungsfeld von Kelten, Germanen und Römern. Studien zur Chronologie der Spätlatènezeit im südlichen Mitteleuropa*, ed. Rheinischen Landesmuseum Trier (1st edn., Trierer Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst des Trierer Landes und seiner Nachbargebiete, 19; Trier: Selbstverlag des Rheinischen Landesmuseums Trier, 1995). Mathias Seidel, 'Die Römische Kaiserzeit in Hessen. Aspekte der Forschung', *Kommission für Archäologische Landesforschung in Hessen. (BKAL)*, 3 (1994/1995), 13-36.

<sup>33</sup> Wells, *German Policy* at 14-32. See § 'Celts and Germans' at 14-32.

philological evidence, Wells identified the Germani cisrhenani as Celtic-speaking peoples of La Tène culture from Germania. He also recognized the tribes of Germani immediately east of the Middle and Lower Rhine between the Lippe and Main as being of the same type as the Germani cisrhenani, rather than as *Germans*, i.e. Teutonic peoples, typified by the Suebi. The Germani between the Lippe and Main were of La Tène culture. This view was compounded in his 'Celts and Germans in the Rhineland' (1995), where Wells intensified his linguistic and archaeological research into what he concluded were Celtic Germani cisrhenani west of the Rhine, and Celtic or Celticized east-bank Germani, also known as east-Rhenish Germani, or Germani transrhenani. Wells distinguished these Germani cisrhenani and Germani transrhenani from the Teutonic Suebi and peoples of northern Germany, Frisia, and Scandinavia, in language and archaeological culture. He asserted that the tribes for the most part along the east bank of the Rhine were Celtic.<sup>34</sup>

In 1978, Peschel produced 'Anfänge germanischer Besiedlung im Mittelgebirgsraum Sueben – Hermunduren – Markomannen', a most valuable, detailed, and comprehensive archaeological and literary study of the Teutonic and Celtic peoples east of the Rhine. In the same year, Peschel followed this work with a literary and archaeological study of the Suebi in 'Die Sueben in Ethnographie und Archäologie'.<sup>35</sup> In 1997 Peschel in: 'Frühgermanische Bodenfunde zwischen Werra und Rhein und die Stammesfrage', produced a comprehensive survey of the La Tène and North German-Scandinavian archaeological culture in the Mittelgebirge region of Central Germany, which asserted the strength of the La Tène culture in Germania

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<sup>34</sup> Colin M. Wells, 'Celts and Germans in the Rhineland', in Miranda J. Green (ed.), *The Celtic World* (1st edn.; London: Routledge, 1995), 603-620 at 603-620.

<sup>35</sup> Karl Peschel, *Anfänge germanischer Besiedlung im Mittelgebirgsraum. Sueben - Hermunduren - Markomannen*, ed. Werner Coblentz (1st edn., Arbeits- und Forschungsberichte zur Sächsischen Bodendenkmalpflege. Im Auftrage des Landesmuseums für Vorgeschichte Dresden, 12; Berlin: VEB deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1978). Karl Peschel, 'Die Sueben in Ethnographie und Archäologie', *Klio. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte* (60; Berlin, 1978), 259-309.

in the Late Iron Age and into the Augustan era.<sup>36</sup> Wolters followed this trend suggesting that the proto-*Germanen* originated in the La Tène culture.<sup>37</sup>

Todd suggests a perspective, which views the tribes described by Caesar's *Germani* as complex units. He stresses the difficult nature of defining the origins of these tribes. Todd's 'The Northern Barbarians' (1975), is a particularly important study for the English-speaking reader. It presents a balanced and much needed interpretation of the study of the Celtic and Teutonic peoples and of the North European archaeological cultures, e.g. Elbgermanen, Nordseegermanen, and Ostgermanen. In particular, Todd provides information on the treatment of the mixed cultural La Tène attributes, which crystallized to produce the Rhein-Weser, or Weser-Rhein-Germanen culture. This culture existed from the Lower Lippe, just north of the Lippe to the Aller, to the Middle and Upper Weser, and in the south to the Main. It began to form at the end of the La Tène era. This La Tène and North European archaeological cultural hybrid is all too often overlooked, and the Rhein-Weser-Germanen culture, which is distinct from the Elbgermanen culture, is often assumed to be just another North European archaeological culture.<sup>38</sup>

Sabine Rieckhoff's 'Süddeutschland im Spannungsfeld von Kelten, Germanen und Römern' (1995), provides an archaeology of the Teutonic peoples who arrived into central and southern Germania. Rieckhoff produces detailed research and suggests the arrival of small movements of early Elbgermanen groupings to Bavaria, one of which she has named the *Südostbayerische Gruppe*.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Karl Peschel, 'Frühgermanische Bodenfunde zwischen Werra und Rhein und die Stammesfrage', *Berichte der Kommission für Archäologische Landesforschung in Hessen: Aus dem Institut für Archäologische Landesforschung in Hessen, Büdingen. (BKAL)*, 4 (1996/1997 1997), 19-36 at 19-36.

<sup>37</sup> Reinhard Wolters, *Die Römer in Germanien*, ed. C.H.Beck Wissen (2nd edn., C.H. Beck. Wissen in der Beck'schen Reihe; 2136; München: Verlag C.H.Beck oHG, 2001) at 21.

<sup>38</sup> Todd, *The Northern Barbarians* at 41. See § 'The Rhine-Weser Region' at 41-44. 1987. Also on the *Germani* see: Todd, *The Early Germans* at 1-13, 20-28. Malcolm Todd, *Migrants & Invaders - The Movement of People in the Ancient World* (1st edn.; Stroud: Tempus, 2001) at 12-15. See § 'Ch 1. Migration ethnicity and identity' at 9-18, and Ch.3. 'Before migration: the stimulus of Rome' at 39-52 particularly 41-44 and 46-50. See Todd on *Germani cisrhenani* the non-Teutonic nature of *Tungri* and the La Tène nature of tribes between Lippe and Main.

<sup>39</sup> Rieckhoff, *Süddeutschland im Spannungsfeld von Kelten, Germanen und Römern*.

Peter S. Wells in 'The Barbarians Speak' (1999) has chosen a revisionistic approach to relations between the La Tène and North European archaeological cultures and the *Keltoi and Germanoi*. Wells provides a very broad overview of Late Iron Age culture of Central and Northern Europe. He defines the Gallic conquest by Caesar as having a deep effect on the Germani east of the Rhine. Wells asserts that material culture is very sparse at the end of the *oppida* and the post-*oppida* periods. He concludes that North European archaeological culture was not evident in a form consistent with southward Teutonic migration and North European settlement assemblages. Wells suggests that the culture of the region in the post-*oppida* era produced barely recognizable assemblages and settlements of poorer La Tène culture. There remained only a few available standardized, specialized, types of goods, which were characteristic of the *oppida* economy. Wells argues that Caesar's Gallic campaign had caused the destruction of Gaulish culture and hence the end of trade with Germania. Mass-production and importation of goods from Gallia and southern Germania had ended, trade routes dried up and the *oppida* economy crashed resulting in the inhabitants of the *oppida* moving back onto the surrounding land. Whilst the *oppida* flourished, wheel-made pottery was both imported and mass-produced. In the post-*oppida* era, a multitude of variations and styles existed. This is seen in the very crude hand-made pottery types of the period. This is often confused with the pottery of migrant Teutonic peoples. Wells concludes that the legacy of Caesar's campaign in Gallia with the fall of the *oppida* was increasing militarization of the tribes of Germania.<sup>40</sup> Wells in 'Beyond Celts, Germans and Scythians. Archaeology and Identity in Iron Age Europe' (2001) follows the trend that the same La Tène archaeological culture existed east and west of the Rhine in the region which Caesar described as the home of the Germani, and that the Germani of Caesar were very like the Galli whose situation had changed drastically because of his actions.<sup>41</sup> Thus, Wells sees other groups similar to the *südostbayerische Gruppe* discussed by

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<sup>40</sup> Wells, *Barbarians* at 77-85. See § 'End of the *Oppida*'. Peter S. Wells, *Beyond Celts, Germans and Scythians*, ed. Richard Hodges (1st edn., Duckworth Debates in Archaeology; London: Gerald Duckworth, 2001) at 114-118. Hans Krahe, *Germanische Sprachwissenschaft. Wortbildungslehre*, ed. Wolfgang Meid, 3 vols. (1st edn., Sammlung Götschen, 3; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1967).

<sup>41</sup> Wells, *Beyond Celts, Germans* at 117-118. See §. 'Celts and Germans' at 114-118.

Rieckhoff to be the impoverished La Tène peoples in the aftermath of the Gallic War and the fall of the *oppida*.

#### 1.4. CLASSICAL-HISTORICAL AND LITERARY BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOURCE MATERIAL.

For the Classical Authors, David Rankin's 'Celts and the Classical World' (1996), provides an observation of the Celts through the eyes of the Greeks and Romans. Rice-Holmes's 'Conquest of Gaul' (1911), provides a detailed account of the background to the manuscripts (Ms.) of Caesar's 'De Bello Gallico'.<sup>42</sup>

Recent interpretations on Caesar and Strabo and their perspective on Germania, include Franz Fischer's 'Rheinquellen und Rheinanlieger bei Caesar und Strabo', *Germania* (1997). Other journals provide recent useful classical observations, interpretations, and perspectives, e.g. *Historia*, notably, Klaus Tausend's 'Caesars Germanische Reiter' (1988) *Historia* 37 and the *RGA* series.<sup>43</sup>

Recent revisionistic research on the classical authors approach to the barbarian peoples of Gallia and Germania has been undertaken by Reinhard Wenskus, Dieter Timpe, W. M. Zeitler, Allan A. Lund, and Norbert Wagner in 'Germanenprobleme in heutiger Sicht' *Germanenprobleme RGA* (1999), and by Dieter Timpe, Heinrich Beck, W. M. Zeitler, and Piergiuseppe Scardigli in 'Germanen, Germania, germanische Altertumskunde' by the *RGA* (1998). Further recent research into the Caesarian and Augustan era is available in *Chiron*, *Historia*, *The Classical Review*, the *Journal of Roman Studies (JRA)*.

Anderson's commentary on Tacitus 'Cornelii Taciti de origine et situ Germanorum' (1938) (*Anderson. Tacitus. Germania*) is of particular importance for its depth of insight on Teutonic and Celtic tribal movement, culture, and linguistic attributes of

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<sup>42</sup> T Rice-Holmes, *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul* (2nd edn.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911) at 201-202 land on date of publication of Commentaries at 202-209.

<sup>43</sup> K. Tausend, 'Caesars germanische Reiter', *Historia. Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, 37 (1988), 491-497.

tribes within Germania.<sup>44</sup> A similar format has been re-translated and commentated upon by Rives in 1999 in her 'Tacitus. Germania'.<sup>45</sup> Rives provides a masterful introduction to her commentary. She presents a history of the manuscript tradition of Tacitus's *Germania*, combined with its role in the subsequent intermittent nature of nationalistic tendencies amongst some of the *Deutsch* speaking states of medieval Central Europe.

The main Classical sources for the Germani are Caesar's *De Bello Gallico*, Strabo's *Geography*, which drew on Poseidonius, Pliny's *Natural History* and Velleius Paterculus's account of his experiences in Germania when he served under Tiberius, published c. 30 AD.<sup>46</sup> Tacitus's *Germania* together with *Annals* and *Histories* are amongst the most important sources available. Unfortunately Pliny's Wars with the Germani are no longer extant.<sup>47</sup> Cassius Dio is an important source of information on the Germani.

Rives awareness of the complex and intertwined nature of Celtic and Teutonic peoples of central Germania is manifested in a provision for both Celtic and Teutonic applications of terminology, linguistics, and archaeological cultures. Rives considers in detail the problem of the Cult Leagues, e.g. *Ingaevones/Inguiones/Ingvaeones*, *Herminones*, *Vandilii*, *Peucini*, *Gambrivii*, and *Marsi*. She also deals with the application of Cult Leagues to tribes/confederations, and the difficult problem of the dating of these Cult Leagues.

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<sup>44</sup> J. G. C. Anderson, *Cornelii Taciti de origine et situ Germanorum*, trans. J. G. C. Anderson, 1 vols. (1st edn.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1938). Cf. Anderson's establishment of different movements of the Hermunduri and a plausible tribal origin stemmed from Teutonic speakers and indigenous Celtic Teurii or Turones.

<sup>45</sup> J. B. Rives, *Tacitus. Germania*, eds Brian Bosworth, Miriam Griffin et al., trans. J. B. Rives, 1 vols. (1st edn., Clarendon Ancient History Series; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999).

<sup>46</sup> Pliny c. 23 AD - AD 79. Pliny appears to have spent most of the period between 46 AD, and 58 AD, as an officer in the Rhine armies. Cf. Rives 1999, at 36-41.

<sup>47</sup> Rives, *Tacitus. Germania*. Betty Radice (ed.), *Tacitus. The Annals of Imperial Rome*, trans. Michael Grant (London: Penguin, 1989). Robert Baldick, C. A. Jones et al. (eds.), *Tacitus. The Histories*, ed. E. V. Rieu, trans. Kenneth Wellesley 1 vols. (London: Penguin, 1975).

## 1.5. REFERENCE: PHILOLOGICAL AND LINGUISTIC REFERENCE BOOKS.

For modern philological study Hermann Reichert's 'Lexikon der Altgermanischen Namen' I and II proved invaluable.<sup>48</sup> Other works of importance were Holder's 'Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz' (*AcS*). Whilst Holder must be consulted, some of the scholarship on individual subjects has been surpassed. This is due to advances in linguistic studies in the Celtic-Teutonic field since Holder researched and published the *AcS*. Many of Holder's findings for Celtic-Teutonic linguistic elements are valid, as these standard Celtic and Teutonic linguistic formations have not generally changed from Holder's era, e.g. **Celt.** *-dunum, -brig, -acum*, **Teut.** *-burg, -haem, -varii*. The framework of the understanding of the origins and interaction of Celtic and Teutonic peoples has changed. The proposed time-periods for the early arrival of Teutonic speakers on the Rhine have changed. Few archaeological excavations meant that there was a lack of evidence on which to base linguistic theories, a lack of refined chronologies, obsolescence of specific theories, e.g. Celtic overlordship theory. These circumstances provided a field in which there were very few certainties. One difficulty occurs where native Lower Rhenish dialectic variation obscures obvious Celtic or Teutonic forms, a problem which still exists today. Holder excluded these ambiguous Lower Rhenish names, rather than include them and attempt to determine their origin. Considering these difficulties, and despite the differences, Holder's *AcS* is still used by scholars today.<sup>49</sup>

Müllenhoff's 'Deutsche Altertumskunde' (*DA*) (1870ff.) and Moritz Schönfeld's 'Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völker-namen', (*Schönfeld*) (1910) are also important sources.<sup>50</sup> Rudolf Much's 'Deutsche Stammsitze', (*Stammsitze*) (1892), is useful, with impressive scholarship, particularly for those aspects of etymology which are undoubtedly Teutonic, but he was very biased towards all

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<sup>48</sup> See Abbreviations 3. LDAN 1 nd 2.

<sup>49</sup> Alfred Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz. (AcS 1-3)*, 3 vols. (1st edn.; Leipzig, 1896-1922).

<sup>50</sup> Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz. (AcS 1-3)*. Müllenhoff, *DAK 1-5*. Moritz Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen. Nach der Überlieferung des klassischen Altertums bearbeitet*, 1 vols. (1st edn., Germanische Bibliothek. Begründet von Wilhelm Streitberg; Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1911).

things Teutonic and only grudgingly admitted to Celtic origin where this was beyond doubt.<sup>51</sup> Evans's 'Gaulish Personal Names' (*GPN*) (1967) was useful to compare Celtic and Teutonic personal names.<sup>52</sup>

Tomás De Bhaldraithe and Niall Ó Dómhnaill's 'Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla' (1977) is a useful resource of linguistic research for Celtic word origins.

For German linguistics, Friederich Kluge's 'Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache' (ed.) Elmar Seebold *Kluge* (1999), and Wolfgang Pfeifer's, 'Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Deutschen' *EWD* (2000), provide a detailed account of the origin of modern German words.<sup>53</sup>

Helmut Birkhan's 'Kelten' (1999) illustrates recent research on complex issues between Celtic and Teutonic, e.g. Germani, Germani cisrhenani, Germani in Ireland, *Matronen*-cult, and the origin of disputed personal and tribal names.<sup>54</sup>

Theo Vennemann provides a progressive approach to Teutonic linguistics as seen in 'Systems and Changes in Early Germanic Phonology: A Search for Hidden Identities' (1987), in *Germania: Comparative Studies in the old Germanic Languages and Literatures* (1988).<sup>55</sup>

Leo Weisgerber's 'Deutsch als Volksname. Ursprung und Bedeutung' (1953) presents a history of the name *Deutsch* as a national name, its origin and significance.

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<sup>51</sup> Rudolf Much (ed.), *Deutsche Stammsitze. Ein Beitrag zur ältesten Geschichte Deutschlands* (1st edn., Sonderdruck aus den Beiträgen zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur. (*PBB*), 17; Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1892).

<sup>52</sup> D. Ellis Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names: A Study of some Continental Celtic Formations* (1st edn.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967).

<sup>53</sup> Wolfgang Pfeifer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Deutschen* (5th edn.; Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag., 2000).

<sup>54</sup> Helmut Birkhan, *Kelten. Versuch einer Gesamtdarstellung ihrer Kultur*, 1 vols. (3rd edn.; Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999) at 116-120, 178-181, 191-199, 320-323, 992-993, 1003, 1041-1042, 1100-1103, 1105-1106. For *Germani Cisrhenani*, 196-197, 342, 1042. For *Chatti*, 833-834. For *Matronen*-cult, at 513-549. For *Germani* in Ireland, 398-399 especially n. 1, O'Rahilly, on possibility of North German Cauci and Lower Rhenish Menapii in Ireland.

<sup>55</sup> Theo Vennemann, 'Systems and Changes in Early Germanic Phonology: A Search for Hidden Identities', in Daniel G Calder and T. Craig Christy (eds.), *Germania. Comparative Studies in the Old Germanic languages and literatures* (1st edn.; Woodbridge, Suffolk: D.S. Brewer, 1988), 45-65.

Weisgerber's subsection of 'Theudisk. Die deutsche Volksname und die westliche Sprachgrenze', 40-95, is of particular significance.<sup>56</sup>

Calvert Watkins, 'The American Heritage Dictionary of Indo-European Roots' (2000), is necessary for the interpretation of Indo-European roots for Celtic and Teutonic words and to establish probable Celtic or Teutonic possibilities for specific terminology.<sup>57</sup>

An effective assessment of Teutonic word origins, can be found in Jan De Vries's 'Altnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch' (1977), (*AEW*) but it is unwise to use De Vries to gain a balanced view of Celtic or Teutonic word origins, as its focus is clearly on Teutonic, not Celtic.<sup>58</sup>

Whatmough's 'The Dialects of Ancient Gaul' (*DAG*) (1970) also proved helpful for gaining a further insight into the formation of extant names in Northern Gallia and in particular the region of Germania Inferior. This text was useful, as was Weisgerber's *Rhenania Germano-Celtica* (1969), in helping to assess the similarities and differences in personal, place, tribal, god, and geographical names. It was also extremely useful in showing the slight differences in the above name-types and in the different use of elements, compound elements, prefixes and suffixes in macro and micro-regions in the Lower Rhenish territory.<sup>59</sup>

Although it is an old text, Kaspar Zeuss's 'Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme', Heidelberg (1837), reprinted 1925, provides some useful etymological interpretations and insights into traditional German regional names and colloquial terms. Norden's 'Die Germanische Urgeschichte in Tacitus' (1959), provides a historical, literary, and etymological perspective. Hans Krahe's 'Germanische Sprachwissenschaft' (1969) is a useful introduction to Teutonic etymology, with a particular emphasis on word formation, with verb, prefix, and suffix composition.

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<sup>56</sup> Johann Leo Weisgerber, *Deutsch als Volksname. Ursprung und Bedeutung*, 1 vols. (1st edn.; Darmstadt.: Wissenschaftliche Buchgemeinschaft E.V., 1953).

<sup>57</sup> Calvert Watkins, *The American Heritage Dictionary of Indo-European Roots*. (2nd edn.; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2000).

<sup>58</sup> Jan De Vries, *Altnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (2nd edn.; Leiden, 1977).

<sup>59</sup> Whatmough, *DAG*.

The *Vindolanda tablets* have recently shed some light on the linguistic nature of the Batavian and Tungrian units attached to the Roman army. It is obvious from these tablets that the ethnic origin of these native soldiers was a mixture of native Celtic, pre-Celtic and immigrant Teutonic speakers, e.g. Chatti amongst the Batavi.

Amongst the most important linguistic studies are those produced by the 'Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde' (*RGA*). The *RGA* provides an encyclopaedia in two editions, the first from 1911-1919 (eds.) Johannes Hoops and the second edition was commenced in 1973. It provides an ongoing series of texts, relating directly to Teutonic, and indirectly to Celtic, linguistics, archaeology, and the history of Ancient Germania. It highlights the development and gradations of core cultures through the processes of migration, acculturation, and assimilation. This results in the linkage of historical categorization and linguistic hybridization.

Other journals useful for linguistics include 'Germanen, Germania, germanische Altertumskunde' (1998) *RGA (Germanen, Germania)* edited by Heinrich Beck, Heiko Steuer and Dieter Timpe. Also edited by Heinrich Beck, and of particular use for analysis of the Celtic and Teutonic tribes is 'Germanenprobleme in heutiger Sicht', (*RGA Germanenprobleme*) (1999).<sup>60</sup>

David N. Parsons and Patrick Sims-Williams (eds.), on 'Ptolemy. Towards a linguistic atlas of the earliest Celtic place-names of Europe' (2000) provide some methodological considerations. These refer to the manuscript tradition, strengths, and weakness of the studies on Ptolemy to date.<sup>61</sup>

Siegfried Gutenbrunner's 'Die germanischen Götternamen der antiken Inschriften', Halle, Rheinische Beiträge zur germanischen Philologie und Volkskunde 24, (1936) (*Götternamen*), is still among the most important texts relating to the *Matronen*, their distribution and origin, and the degree to which they were native to the region, or a formulation of the Roman, Celtic, and Teutonic. Since Gutenbrunner's *Götternamen*

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<sup>60</sup> See: Abbreviations 3.

<sup>61</sup> David N. Parsons and Patrick Sims-Williams (eds.), *Ptolemy. Towards a linguistic atlas of the earliest Celtic place-names of Europe. Papers from a workshop, sponsored by the British Academy, in the Department of Welsh, University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 11-12 April 1999* (1st edn., Aberystwyth, Wales: CMCS Publications. Department of Welsh, University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 2000).

in 1936 many new *Matronen* stones and inscriptions have been unearthed but Gutenbrunner produced patterns for linguistic affiliation, which he links to the pre-existing Germani cisrhenani of the region before the arrival of the Ubii and other groups from Germania.

Jan de Vries's 'Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte I', Berlin and Leipzig, (1935) as is seen in the title is again viewed from a Teutonic perspective, although it does provide some interesting information on the origin of the *Matronen*. De Vries assumes the *Matronen* to be of Teutonic origin rather than allowing for the possibility of a Celtic, or Roman origin, or a hybridization of Celtic, Roman, and Teutonic. This means that the study has not been given unbiased treatment.

Bernhard Maier's 'Dictionary of Celtic Religion and Culture' (1997) is of particular importance for the provision of the origins, meanings of words and terms Celtic religion and culture, e.g. the *Matronae*.<sup>62</sup> Simek's 'Lexikon der germanischen Mythologie', Stuttgart, i.e. 'Dictionary of Northern Mythology' (1984), provides an invaluable source, in particular for the etymological origin of the *Matronen* names. However, as Simek sets out to describe Teutonic culture the possible Celtic origin for many of the *Matronen* is rarely dealt with.

The *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt (ANRW)* provides important information on Roman and native religious custom and attributes. In particular, it offers numerous articles on the genesis of the hybrid forms of Celtic-Teutonic and Roman religious observation in the aftermath of the transplantation of tribes from Germania to Gallia in the Augustan era. The co-ethnogenesis of these different ethnic groupings determined the syncretism to follow, where some groups would adopt more Celtic, others a more Teutonic outlook, covered in a Roman veneer, e.g. *Matronen* cult.

Stolte's 'Die religiösen Verhältnisse in Niedergermanien' (1986), is an important work on the religious relationships in Lower Germania, which concentrates on the

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<sup>62</sup> Bernhard Maier, *Dictionary of Celtic Religion and Culture*, trans. Cyril Edwards (1st edn.; Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997).

relationship between the Roman and native religious aspects of life in the early RIE, in particular on the *Matronen* cult of the Ubian region.<sup>63</sup>

To help explain the *Matronen* cult more scholarship could be focussed at Celtic, and even pre-Celtic cults, possibly brought from the Ubii's native territory in Germania. It is too simplistic to assume that the Celtic elements amongst the *Matronen* only stem from the Germani cisrhenani and Galli of the region. The strength of the Teutonic element had increased by the second - third century AD, and with every following decade this region's *Matronen* cult was increasingly Teutonicized, to the point where by the beginning of the Frankish settlement in Gallia the *Matronen* cult would have appeared outwardly Teutonic in form. Many of the *Matronen* stones date to the second and third centuries AD. A Teutonic origin should not be assumed for the *Matronen* cult. It must also be considered that Siegfried Gutenbrunner published the seminal work on the *Matronen* in 1936, 'Die germanischen Götternamen der antiken Inschriften'. In light of the political régime in Germany in 1936, it is surprising that Gutenbrunner placed some emphasis on other non-Teutonic, Celtic elements amongst the cult of the *Matronen*. However, his emphasis on the *Matronen* is from a largely Teutonic perspective.

For the region of the Netherlands, Peter Schrijver's 'The Celtic Contribution to the Development of the North Sea Germanic Vowel system, with special reference to Coastal Dutch', NOWELE, Odense University Press (1999), is used.

## **1.6. ARCHAEOLOGICAL BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOURCE MATERIAL.**

The series 'Die Römer in Nordrhein-Westfalen, Bayern, Hessen, Rheinland-Pfalz and Sachsen-Anhalt' has proved invaluable for Roman linguistic and archaeological finds. For interpretations of the pre- and post- Roman era in the *Länder* of the old D.D.R. Rieckhoff and Biel's (eds.) 'Die Kelten in Deutschland' provides recent summaries on the *oppida* with numerous reports by archaeologists on specific *oppida*

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<sup>63</sup> B. H. Stolte, 'Die religiösen Verhältnisse in Niedergermanien', *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung.* (ANRW), 2/18.1 (1986), 591-671.

and settlements in modern Germany. More emphasis on the northern state of Nordrhein-Westfalen would have been worthwhile. The ‘Vorgeschichte Hessens’, Stuttgart (1990), (ed.) by Jockenhövel is particularly useful for the *oppida* and settlements of Hessen. This is one of the most recent and interesting overviews of the Romans in Germany.

All of the above texts initially produced by Konrad Theiss Verlag, Stuttgart, have approximately the same internal Archaeological site Appendix, format, and Archaeological Projects in Central and Northern Europe, cf. *Germania*, *BROB*, *Bonner (BJ)*, *Kölner (KJ)*, series, *RGA*, *Archäologie im Rheinland (Arch. Rheinl.)* and *Berichte der Kommission für Archäologische Landesforschung in Hessen (BKAL)*.

Christoph B. Rüger’s ‘Germania Inferior’ (1968) is an important study for the identification of the individual tribal groupings and their locations. It portrays the integrated process of Roman involvement from the Gallic conquest in the region. It discusses the ethnic situation and the effects of the Roman settlement of east-Rhenish tribes, the resulting flux and re-establishment of the natives on the frontiers of the Lower Rhine.<sup>64</sup>

For the region of Nordrhein-Westfalen Wilhelmi’s ‘Beiträge zur einheimischen Kultur der jüngeren vorrömischen Eisenzeit und der älteren römischen Kaiserzeit zwischen Niederrhein und Mittelweser, Münster’ (1967), is important. This was followed by an informative study on the region of the mouth of the Lippe by Christoph Reichmann’s (1979).<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Christoph B. Rüger, *Germania Inferior. Untersuchungen zur Territorial- und Verwaltungsgeschichte Niedergermanien in der Principatzeit* (1st edn., Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher. Landschaftsverband Rheinland Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn und Verein von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande, 30; Köln: Böhlau, 1968) at 82.

<sup>65</sup> Christoph Reichmann, *Zur Besiedlungsgeschichte des Lippemündungsgebietes während der jüngeren vorrömischen Eisenzeit und der ältesten römischen Kaiserzeit. Ein Beitrag zur archäologischen Interpretation schriftlicher Überlieferung* (1st edn.; Wesel: Verlag Buchhandlung H. Dambeck, 1979). Roymans disagrees with Reichmann’s explanation of ‘Fremdgruppen’ in a material culture as consequence solely of migration, see Roymans, Nico. Nico Roymans, *Ethnicity Identity and Imperial Power: The Batavians in the Early Roman Empire*, eds E. M. Moormann, W. Roebroeks et al., trans. Annette Visser, 1 vols. (1st edn., Amsterdam Archaeological Studies 10; Amsterdam:

Bérenger's 'Zur Chronologie der vorrömischen Eisenzeit und römischen Kaiserzeit in Nordost-Westfalen', Mainz (2000), produced a specialized study for the most northeasterly region of Westphalia. Eggenstein's study 'Das Siedlungswesen der jüngeren vorrömischen Eisenzeit und der frühen römischen Kaiserzeit im Lippebereich', (2003), focuses on the Roman camps and native settlements at Bergkamen-Oberaden, Lünen-Beckinghausen, Delbrück-Anreppen, Haltern, and Rüthen-Kneblinghausen. Eggenstein provides further evidence for the arrival of Elbgermanen amongst the native, (presumably Sugambrian) and other peoples of the Lippe territory.

For archaeological research into the field of the La Tène, North German archaeological cultures, and the Roman archaeology of northern and eastern Gallia and Germania, a number of regional journals and publications are valuable. The series *Bodenaltertümer Westfalens* provides a range of articles on native Celtic, Teutonic, and Roman settlement for the region of Westfalen.<sup>66</sup>

The British Archaeological Reports (*BAR*) series has produced various works centred around the Late Iron Age and early RIE in Northern Central and Northern Europe, e.g. Clive Bridger and Claus von Carnap-Bornheim, (eds.) (1997), *BAR International Series*. 678.<sup>67</sup> This particular journal provides a wide range of articles on the interaction of Romans and Germani.

For the archaeology of Nordrhein-Westfalen the 'Schriften zur Bodendenkmalpflege in Nordrhein-Westfalen', (eds.) by H. G. Horn, provides a variety of articles on the

Amsterdam University Press, 2004) at 26. Royman's refers to Eggenstein's study of 2003 see Georg Eggenstein, *Das Siedlungswesen der jüngeren vorrömischen Eisenzeit und der frühen römischen Kaiserzeit im Lippebereich*, ed. Gabriele Isenberg (1st edn., *Bodenaltertümer Westfalens*. Berichte des Westfälischen Amtes für Bodendenkmalpflege. Westfälisches Museum für Archäologie, 40; Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 2003) at 179ff. 196. '(Eggenstein, 2003, 179 ff., 196)', which attempts to trace the influx of Teutonic groups from the Elbe in the later first century BC, despite what he determines the lack of evidence of discontinuity of habitation in this area.

<sup>66</sup> *Bodenaltertümer Westfalens* (ed.), 39 vols. (*Bodenaltertümer Westfalens*. Berichte des Westfälischen Amtes für Bodendenkmalpflege. Westfälisches Museum für Archäologie, Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2003).

<sup>67</sup> Clive Bridger and Claus Von Carnap-Bornheim (eds.), *Römer und Germanen - Nachbarn über Jahrhunderte. Beiträge der gemeinsamen Sitzung der Arbeitsgemeinschaften 'Römische Archäologie' und 'Römische Kaiserzeit im Barbaricum' auf dem 2. Deutschen Archäologen-Kongress, Leipzig, 30.09.-4.10.1996* (1st edn., *BAR International Series*, 678; Oxford: Archaeopress, 1997).

pre-history of Nordrhein-Westfalen.<sup>68</sup> In particular, 'Fundort Nordrhein-Westfalen. Millionen Jahre Geschichte' (2000), is particularly helpful for the Roman era.<sup>69</sup>

Hopp and Trümpler's 'Die frühe römische Kaiserzeit im Ruhrgebiet. Kolloquium des Ruhrlandmuseums und der Stadtarchäologie/Denkmalbehörde in Zusammenarbeit mit der Universität Essen' (2001), is an important series of articles on the Ruhr territory, in particular Reichmann's article 'Das rechtsrheinische Vorland Geldubas in frühromischer Zeit', (2001), which plots the existence of Elbgermanen finds. Reichmann also attempts to establish a chronology for the Elbgermanen arrival, possibly using the Hellweg to the region and to the Upper IJssel.<sup>70</sup>

Heinrichs 'Ubische und batavische Münzen im Ruhr-Lippegebiet', (2001), is useful to help with the process of plotting tribal migration, for specific time periods. The location of the Ubian and Batavian coins in combination with other studies on this topic also helps to identify control of particular *oppida* and associated problems of the Late La Tène and RIE, e.g coin linkage with specific tribal groupings.<sup>71</sup>

Elements of North German-Scandinavian settlement in the Ruhr territory are dealt with in Wolfgang Ebel-Zepezaer's 'Siedlungen der älteren römischen Kaiserzeit im Ruhrgebiet', (2001).<sup>72</sup> Tilmann Bechert's '*Caput rurae fluminis – Asciburgium* im 1. Jahrhundert', (2001), provides recent information on the archaeology of the mouth of the Ruhr in the early RIE. Detlev Hopp's '*Romer und Germanen* in der Essener Heimatforschung', (2001), draws together the work of authorities who suggested that

<sup>68</sup> Heinz Günter Horn, Hansgerd Hellenkemper et al. (eds.), (Schriften zur Bodendenkmalpflege in Nordrhein-Westfalen. Römisch-Germanisches Museum der Stadt Köln: Verlag Philipp von Zabern).

<sup>69</sup> Heinz Günter Horn, Hansgerd Hellenkemper et al. (eds.), *Fundort Nordrhein Westfalen. Millionen Jahre Geschichte* (1st edn., Schriften zur Bodendenkmalpflege in Nordrhein-Westfalen. Römisch-Germanisches Museum, 5; Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2000).

<sup>70</sup> Christoph Reichmann, 'Das rechtsrheinische Vorland Geldubas in frühromischer Zeit', in Detlev Hopp and Charlotte Trümpler (eds.), *Die frühe römische Kaiserzeit im Ruhrgebiet. Kolloquium des Ruhrlandmuseums und der Stadtarchäologie/Denkmalbehörde in Zusammenarbeit mit der Universität Essen* (1st edn.; Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2001), 63-78.

<sup>71</sup> Johannes Heinrichs, 'Ubische und batavische Münzen im Ruhr-Lippegebiet', in Detlev Hopp and Charlotte Trümpler (eds.), *Die frühe römische Kaiserzeit im Ruhrgebiet. Kolloquium des Ruhrlandmuseums und der Stadtarchäologie/Denkmalbehörde in Zusammenarbeit mit der Universität Essen* (1st edn.; Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2001), 25-38.

<sup>72</sup> Wolfgang Ebel-Zepezaer, 'Siedlungen der älteren römischen Kaiserzeit im Ruhrgebiet', in Detlev Hopp and Charlotte Trümpler (eds.), *Die frühe römische Kaiserzeit im Ruhrgebiet. Kolloquium des Ruhrlandmuseums und der Stadtarchäologie/Denkmalbehörde in Zusammenarbeit mit der Universität Essen* (1st edn.; Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2001), 107-114.

this region in the territory of Essen was the *Caesia silva* which Germanicus crossed in 14 AD, to attack the Marsi. This is combined with information and finds from sites of Late La Tène and early RIE, North German-Scandinavian settlement type and linguistic information, e.g. *Caesia silva* with ancient river *Hesapa*, now the Roßwasser, which may help reassert the identity of the *Caesia silva*.<sup>73</sup>

Wolfgang Tulowitzki 'Tanfana – in der lokalen Essener Tradition', (2001), is also important for helping to establish a possible location for the temple of Tanfana in the territory of the Marsi.<sup>74</sup> Paul Derks 'Die *Silva Caesia* bei Tacitus und die *Silva Heissi* in der Topographie der frühen Werdener Überlieferung. Ein Forschungs-Bericht', 2001 is a well-researched and detailed account of establishing the location of the *Caesia silva*. A Celtic linguistic connection should be considered, with the place name *Caesia*. The La Tène inhabitants presumably spoke Celtic at the time of the Gallic War. The place name *Caesia* could be a remnant of Sugambrian origin, e.g. a Sugambrian tribal unit, or perhaps an earlier people, i.e. the *Cassi*.<sup>75</sup>

Cordula Brand's 'Der Siedlungsplatz von Burgaltendorf im Lichte germanischer Fundstellen in Essen', identifies two sites of Late La Tène date which provide pottery of North German type, i.e. on the Middle Ruhr at Burgaltendorf and Fulerum. These sites are not placed in the context of the native Late La Tène pottery of the region, which pre-dates the North German Elbgermanen archaeology of the area. Although the North German finds of Burgaltendorf are uncharacteristically early for

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<sup>73</sup> Tilmann Bechert, 'Caput rurae fluminis - Asciburgium im 1. Jahrhundert', in Detlev Hopp and Charlotte Trümpler (eds.), *Die frühe römische Kaiserzeit im Ruhrgebiet. Kolloquium des Ruhrlandmuseums und der Stadtarchäologie/Denkmalbehörde in Zusammenarbeit mit der Universität Essen* (1st edn.; Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2001), 51-62. Detlev Hopp, '"Romer" und "Germanen" in der Essener Heimatforschung', in Detlev Hopp and Charlotte Trümpler (eds.), *Die frühe römische Kaiserzeit im Ruhrgebiet. Kolloquium des Ruhrlandmuseums und der Stadtarchäologie/Denkmalbehörde in Zusammenarbeit mit der Universität Essen* (1st edn.; Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2001), 128-137.

<sup>74</sup> Wolfgang Tulowitzki, 'Tanfana - in der lokalen Essener Tradition', in Detlev Hopp and Charlotte Trümpler (eds.), *Die frühe römische Kaiserzeit im Ruhrgebiet. Kolloquium des Ruhrlandmuseums und der Stadtarchäologie/Denkmalbehörde in Zusammenarbeit mit der Universität Essen* (1st edn.; Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2001), 138-153.

<sup>75</sup> Paul Derks (ed.), *Die Silva Caesia bei Tacitus und die Silva Heissi in der Topographie der frühen Werdener Überlieferung. Ein Forschungs-Bericht*, eds. Detlev Hopp and Charlotte Trümpler (1st edn., *Die frühe römische Kaiserzeit im Ruhrgebiet. Kolloquium des Ruhrlandmuseums und der Stadtarchäologie/Denkmalbehörde in Zusammenarbeit mit der Universität Essen*, Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2001) 154-172.

a La Tène region, the existence of Teutonic settlement here suggests a small migration to this area, which was probably isolated by La Tène settlement.<sup>76</sup>

In 'Protokoll zum Kolloquium 'frühe römische Kaiserzeit im Ruhrgebiet' Essen, 18. - 20. Januar 2000', (2001), a rare conversation between the contributors show the degree to which the existence of Celtic and Teutonic peoples in this region, for specific time periods, is still hotly debated, and the range of viewpoints appears to vary even in the face of archaeological evidence.<sup>77</sup>

More information on the native La Tène settlements at the point of contact with Elbgermanen settlement of the Ruhr territory would have been useful in this text. This would demonstrate the method in which La Tène settlements coped with the incoming Elbgermanen, and how it merged with the Elbgermanen culture and transformed into the Rhein-Weser-Germanen culture.

### **1.6.1. ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROJECTS IN GERMANY, NETHERLANDS, BELGIUM.**

The proceedings of the 'Schwerpunktprogramm' by the 'Deutsche Forschungs Gemeinschaft' (DFG) discussed in 'Kelten, Germanen, Römer im Mittelgebirgsraum zwischen Luxemburg und Thüringen', Bonn (2000), were used in this thesis.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Cordula Brand, 'Der Siedlungsplatz von Burgaltendorf im Lichte germanischer Fundstellen in Essen', in Detlev Hopp and Charlotte Trümpler (eds.), *Die frühe römische Kaiserzeit im Ruhrgebiet. Kolloquium des Ruhrlandmuseums und der Stadtarchäologie/Denkmalbehörde in Zusammenarbeit mit der Universität Essen* (1st edn.; Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2001), 173-181, Detlev Hopp and Charlotte Trümpler, 'Protokoll zum Kolloquium "frühe römische Kaiserzeit im Ruhrgebiet" Essen, 18.-20. Januar 2000', in Detlev Hopp and Charlotte Trümpler (eds.), *Die frühe römische Kaiserzeit im Ruhrgebiet. Kolloquium des Ruhrlandmuseums und der Stadtarchäologie/Denkmalbehörde in Zusammenarbeit mit der Universität Essen* (1st edn.; Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2001), 229-245. See also: Detlev Hopp, 'Germanische Fundplätze der Kaiserzeit im Essener Süden', in Wolfgang Spickermann, Matijević Krešimir et al. (eds.), *Rom, Germanien und das Reich. Festschrift zu Ehren von Rainer Wiegels anlässlich seines 65. Geburtstages* (1st edn., Pharos. Studien zur griechisch-römischen Antike, XVIII; St. Katharinen: Scripta Mercaturae Verlag, 2005), 193-203. See especially 195-197 and 202.

<sup>77</sup> Detlev Hopp and Charlotte Trümpler (eds.), *Die frühe römische Kaiserzeit im Ruhrgebiet. Kolloquium des Ruhrlandmuseums und der Stadtarchäologie/Denkmalbehörde in Zusammenarbeit mit der Universität Essen* 1 vols. (1st edn., Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2001).

<sup>78</sup> Alfred Haffner and Siegmund von Schnurbein, 'Kelten, Germanen, Römer im Mittelgebirgsraum zwischen Luxemburg und Thüringen: Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums zum DFG-Schwerpunktprogramm "Romanisierung" vom 28. bis 30. September 1998 in Trier. (RGK)', in Alfred

Also in the area of Gallia north-east of Köln, between the Rivers Erft (*Arnefa*) in the east and the Rur (*Rura*) ‘The Rhine Brown Coal Area Project’ was undertaken by the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn and ‘Rheinisches Amt für Bodendenkmalpflege’. This project was approximately enclosed in the north-west by Erkelenz, directly south by Jülich, and west by Übachpalenberg, south by Aachen/Eschweiler, east by Düren, northeast by Frechen, north-west by Bergheim and directly north by Grevenbroich in Nordrhein-Westfalen.

A recent overview of the pottery of Germania between the Late La Tène and the early RIE was supplied by the *RGK* in the ‘Beiträge zur germanischen Keramik zwischen Donau und Teutoburger Wald. Kolloquium zur germanischen Keramik des 1.-5. Jahrhunderts 17.-18. April 1998’ at Frankfurt am Main (eds.) Susanne Biegert, Siegmund von Schnurbein, Bernd Steidl, Dörte Walter, (2000). These projects are particularly valuable for discussion of settlement structure, pottery, burial-type, and evidence of acculturation as well as for fibulae, belt-hooks, and weapons.

Peter S. Wells’ revisionistic approach to the Late La Tène and RIE, has produced some logical, yet long awaited hypotheses regarding the relationship of the Gallic War to the fall of the *oppida* culture of Germania; see P. S. Wells, ‘The Barbarians Speak’, Princeton (2001). He proposes, on the basis of archaeological typologies, that the complete breakdown of economic, social, and cultural structures of La Tène peoples east of the Rhine was less due to Teutonic migration than to the impact of the Gallic Wars and argues that post-*oppidum* finds represent mainly indigenous peoples rather than immigrants. Wells believes that there was an impoverished continuity of La Tène culture and that elements of Teutonic archaeological culture are not positive proof of migration, as they do not equate to Teutonic settlement structure as seen in Northern Germany. These elements are found amongst La Tène typologies in central Germany. Wells is not convinced that they were sufficiently numerous to constitute large scale Teutonic settlement.

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Haffner and Siegmund von Schnurbein (eds.), *Internationalen Kolloquiums zum DFG-Schwerpunktprogramm "Romanisierung" vom 28. bis 30. September 1998 in Trier* (1st edn., Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, 5; Trier: Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 1998).

For an overview of the changes which occurred between the first century BC, and first century AD, Rolf Hachmann's 'The Germanic Peoples', Geneva (1971), provides a summary for the region of Germania.

Recent archaeological research on the movement of the archaeological cultures associated with peoples from Scandinavia and northern Germania into the territory of La Tène culture is investigated by Ronald Bockius and Piotr Łuczkiwicz in 'Kelten und Germanen im 2. 1. Jahrhundert vor Christus. Archäologische Bausteine zu einer Historischen Frage', (2004). This confirms the continued existence of a La Tène population but as seen through what Bockius and Łuczkiwicz refer to as the 'proto-elbgermanisch-keltischen Mischkultur mit latènoider Unterlage und Hybridformen der Mittelgebirgszone zur Stufe LT D2'.<sup>79</sup>

The latest archaeological discoveries are also available through the *Aktuelles aus der Landesarchäologie* section in each issue of the quarterly 'Archäologie in Deutschland', by Theiss, Stuttgart. Colin Wells in 1998 produced a study on Roman Germany 'What's New Along the Lippe: Recent Work in North Germany', *Britannia*, (1998).<sup>80</sup> Due to the lack of information for the state of the Roman frontier, a conference held between 11 and 13 April 1997 and its proceedings were published in the *JRA* (eds.) J. D. Creighton and R. J. A. Wilson which completed an analysis of Roman Germany (1999).<sup>81</sup>

For individual Roman-German finds in Germania, Becker in *Historia* (2003) and Von Schnurbein in *JRA* (2003) provides useful information and interpretations on the Lahнау-Waldgirmes.<sup>82</sup> The Dünsberg is also an important site. It has caused scholars

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<sup>79</sup> Ronald Bockius and Piotr Łuczkiwicz, *Kelten und Germanen im 2.- 1. Jahrhundert vor Christus. Archäologische Bausteine zu einer Historischen Frage*, ed. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum (1st edn., Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum. Forschungsinstitut für- Vor- und Frühgeschichte, 58; Mainz: Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 2004) at 124-125. Absolute Chronology by Gebhard: 1989-1991 LT D2 = around 40 BC., Miron: 1986/Miron 1991, Völling 1994: 45/40 BC. Also at 132-133 and n.628.

<sup>80</sup> Colin M. Wells, 'What's New Along the Lippe: Recent Work in North Germany', *Britannia*, 29 (1998), 457-464.

<sup>81</sup> R. J. A. Wilson and J. D. Creighton, 'Introduction: recent research on Roman Germany', in R. J. A. Wilson and J. D. Creighton (eds.), *Roman Germany. Studies in Cultural Interaction* (32; Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1999), 9-34 at 9-11.

<sup>82</sup> Armin Becker, 'Lahnau-Waldgirmes. Eine Augusteische Stadtgründung in Hessen', *Historia. Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, LII/3 (2003), 337-350. Another recent report on the Waldgirmes is by

to rethink the degree to which this region of Germania on the Lahn had developed a proper Roman infrastructure. It has also meant that scholars have had to rethink their research questions regarding conquest and the concept of the Rhine as frontier. The degree to which the native La Tène and incoming Elbgermanen and Romans integrated is discussed.<sup>83</sup>

The Journal series 'Archäologie im Rheinland', is particularly important for the Lower Rhine area of Nordrhein-Westfalen. This region is often overlooked for the Late La Tène because of its position on the periphery of the Celtic world. This series provides numerous excavation reports and findings for the Rhineland in general.

The 'Römisch-Germanische Kommission' (RGK) is particularly important for some of the sites of Germania including two of its sponsored projects, i.e. Lahnau-Waldgirmes and the Dünsberg. Yearly reports are provided for the activities of the RGK.

#### **1.6.2. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOURCE MATERIAL FOR NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM.**

For the Netherlands, an important survey is by Roel Brandt and Jan Sflostra (eds.) 'Roman and Native in the Low Countries' *BAR Int.Ser.* 184, Oxford (1983), which deals with assimilation and acculturation of the peoples of the Late La Tène and RIE. Van Es's 'Die Romeinen in Nederland', (1981), provides a general survey of the Romans in the Netherlands from the Conquest of Gallia.<sup>84</sup> Roymans's 'Tribal Societies in Northern Gaul', Amsterdam (1990), also provides insight into the ethnogenesis of the peoples of the Lower Rhine and Germania and the Roman effect on the region. Another useful text of the same format for the Lower Rhine is 'Die

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Siegmar Von Schnurbein, 'Augustus in *Germania* and his new 'town' at Waldgirmes east of the Rhine', *Journal of Roman Archaeology. (JRA)*, (2003), 91-107.

<sup>83</sup> Jens Schulze-Forster, 'Die Latènezeitliche Funde vom Dünsberg', (Marburg, 2002).

<sup>84</sup> W.A. Van Es, *De Romeinen in Nederland.*, 1 vols. (2nd edn.; Bussum, 1972).

römische Reichsgrenze von der Mosel bis zur Nordseeküste', Stuttgart (1995), (eds.) Tilmann Bechert and Willem J. H. Willems.<sup>85</sup>

R. M. Van Heeringen's 'The Iron Age in the Western Netherlands', *BROB* (1989), is of particular importance as it provides evidence for the co-existence of the distinct archaeological cultures of the region and their inter-relationship.<sup>86</sup>

Enclosing the triangle covered by the cities of Delft, Schiedam and Maassluis, just south of the Rhine mouth, a land development programme, begun in 1987, was implemented and as a result of this re-development archaeological investigations began in 1988. The archaeological excavations have provided much new information on the settlement of the region for the Late La Tène and early RIE.<sup>87</sup> A further study of the region just north of the Rhine mouth was that of 'The Midden Delfland Project' begun in 1987. Just north of *The Midden Delfland*, a detailed study of 'The Assendelver Polders Project' (*I.P.P.* Amsterdam) produced increased knowledge of the archaeology of the region.<sup>88</sup> Other Dutch Archaeological projects are 'The Bernisse Project' (*Bureau Oudheidkundig Onderzoek*, Rotterdam); *The 'Kromme-Rhine Area Project'* (*ROB* Amersfoort); 'The Eastern River Area Project' (*ROB* Amersfoort); 'The Kempen Project' (*AIVU* Amsterdam).

For the Netherlands and Belgium the linguistic journal, *Naamkunde* is useful. For archaeology the journal *Helinium* and the *BROB* provide numerous excavation reports for the Netherlands, cf. Willems, 'Romans and Batavians: a regional study in the Dutch Eastern River Area I, *BROB* 31', 7-217 1981 and 1984, II. *BROB* 34, 42-491 and recently E. Taaykes 2002 article 'Handmade pottery from a Roman period settlement at Wijk bij Duurstede-De-Horden', *BROB* 45, 189-218. The *Congress of*

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<sup>85</sup> Tilmann Bechert and Willem J. Willems (eds.), *Die römischen Reichsgrenze von der Mosel bis zur Nordseeküste* (1st edn., Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss Verlag, 1995).

<sup>86</sup> R. M. Van Heeringen, 'The Iron Age in the Western Netherlands V. Synthesis', *Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek (BROB)* (39; The Hague, 1989), 157-255.

<sup>87</sup> A. A. Abbink, 'The Midden-Delfland Project: Iron Age Occupation', *Helinium. Revue consacrée à l'archéologie des Pays-Bas, de la Belgique, et du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg*, XXXIII/2 (1993), 253-301 at 253.

<sup>88</sup> R. W. Brandt, W. Groenman Van Waateringe et al. (eds.), *Assendelver Polder Papers 1*, eds. J. H. Bloemers, O. S. Flier et al. (1st edn., CINGULA, 10; Amsterdam: Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1987).

*Roman Frontier Studies* is also an important source of information for the Lower Rhine.

### 1.6.3. FIBULAE/BELT-HOOKS AND COINAGE.

Glüsing has produced the following important studies on fibulae, 'Frühe Germanen südlich der Donau' (1965), (*Offa* 2). In 1965 he produced his 'Studien zur Chronologie und Trachtgeschichte der Spätlatènezeit und der frühen römischen Kaiserzeit', Kiel. 1972 and in 1989, 'Die Germanen im Spannungsfeld der römischen Okkupation', 70-80 (ed.) Trier, B. 2000 Jahre Römer in Westfalen (2000).

Völling in 1994 produced 'Studien zu Fibelformen der jüngeren vorrömischen Eisenzeit und ältesten römischen Kaiserzeit', (*RGK*), study of fibulae has been instrumental in the creation of an absolute chronology of the Late La Tène. At this point Rieckhoff's hypothesis on the arrival of North German archaeological cultures via migration is clear, as seen in one particular example through the *südostbayerische Gruppe*, which she designates as Germanen (Teutonic).<sup>89</sup> Rieckhoff's view is disputed by Peter. S. Wells, who looks to the fall of the *oppida* culture as the sudden end of mass production, e.g. fibulae, belt-hooks swords, pottery with the movement of people from *oppida* to the surrounding territories.

For research into numismatics the studies of Johannes Heinrichs, Nico Roymans, and David Wigg are of particular importance.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Rieckhoff, *Süddeutschland im Spannungsfeld von Kelten, Germanen und Römern*.

<sup>90</sup> Roymans, Nico. 2004. Johannes Heinrichs, 'Ubier, Chatten, Bataver. Mittel- und Niederrhein ca. 70-71 v. Chr. anhand germanischer Münzen', in Thomas Grünwald and Sandra Seibel (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)* (1st edn., Ergänzungsbande zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, 35; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 266-344. David G. Wigg, 'Die Stimme der Gegenseite? Keltische Münzen und die augusteische Germanienpolitik', in Thomas Grünwald and Sandra Seibel (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)* (1st edn., Ergänzungsbande zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, 35; Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 218-241.

## **1.7. ETHNICITY AND ETHNOGENESIS.**

To provide an understanding of ethnicity and the ethnogenesis of tribal units/confederations between the second century BC, and the first century AD, and the fluid nature of some of these units over time, it is necessary to define what are considered the core features of what constitutes the tribe. It is also necessary to establish to what extent genetic/blood relationship determined the basis of tribes, and to what degree political forces rather than ethnicity shaped tribal creation.

With regard to the emerging ethnogenesis of the tribes of northern Gallia and Germania and their fluid nature, an attempt will be made to determine the degree to which blood relationship or mixed blood relationship restricted or encouraged the formation of new tribal groupings in the Augustan era and later in the middle Roman Imperial era.

### **1.7.1. THE TRIBE (*CIVITAS*).**

The tribe was considered by the Roman Empire to be the basic centralized political entity. The Romans created a new political structure from the early RIE, which they named the *civitas*, or civic district. The *civitas* was based largely around the existing tribes of central and southern Gallia. In northern Gallia, new formations were created primarily from the Augustan era, which did not always reflect old native tribal structure for the region, but which reconstituted new political and geographical *civitas* territories. These newly created political and geographical territories were redistributed amongst transplanted tribes from Germania. The indigenous Gaulish tribes within these new political *civitas* territories became part of the *civitas* which they inhabited, e.g. the Eburones in the Ubian, Batavian, Cugernian, and Tungrian *civitas*. From the Augustan era, most of the existing tribal units were reconstituted into this basic *civitas* structure in order to provide a controlled unit under which Rome could incorporate new peoples into the Empire. It was necessary for Rome to reconstruct the constituent elements of existing tribes into a manageable Roman form of political and economic *civitas* structure, with a working infrastructure.

The deconstruction of the original tribal power-base and the reconstitution of it to include client tribes which had once belonged to neighbouring tribes allowed the Romans to construct a Gallia along standardized political and geographical parameters, rather than ethnic or cultural lines. The Roman *civitas* model could be closely monitored and would enable Rome to assess taxation and to force military service based on census data combined with this new political infrastructure.

Carroll suggests that it is doubtful if the north of Gallia, especially parts belonging to the Eburones and Aduatuci, was reorganized before the first census of 27 BC, and that the most northerly *civitates* on the Lower Rhine may not have been formalized until the later first century.<sup>91</sup>

The Romans annexed the territory east of the Upper and part of the Middle Rhine north of Mainz, from the Augustan era onward. However, it was only the territory north of the Main that was occupied as early the Augustan era.<sup>92</sup> This territory was temporarily abandoned after Arminius's victory in c. 9 AD, and reoccupied until 16 AD, when Tiberius withdrew to the Rhine.<sup>93</sup> South of the Main was annexed later.

According to Metzler-Zens and Metzler, the structure of the late Celtic aristocracy changed in Gallia in distinct phases from the Early Hallstatt to the Late La Tène periods.<sup>94</sup> Whether the *civitas* equated with the state is still hotly debated.<sup>95</sup>

In 27 BC, a census of Gallia was undertaken and another in 12 BC.<sup>96</sup> With this census in 27 BC, Rome could construct new political entities into controllable political units. One noticeable feature of the new *civitas* structure was that many of

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<sup>91</sup> Maureen Carroll, *Romans, Celts & Germans. The German Provinces of Rome* (1st edn.; Stroud: Tempus, 2001) at 41-42.

<sup>92</sup> Wells, *German Policy* at 237-245.

<sup>93</sup> Carroll, *Celts & Germans* at 40.

<sup>94</sup> Nicole Metzler-Zens and Jeannot Metzler, 'Die spätkeltische Aristokratie in Gallien', in Claus Dobiat and Klaus Leidorf (eds.), *Studien zur Archäologie der Kelten, Römer und Germanen in Mittel- und Westeuropa: Festschrift für Alfred Haffner; zum 60 Geburtstag gewidmet* (1st edn., Internationale Archäologie. Studia honoraria., 4; Rahden/Westfalen: Verlag Marie Leidorf, 1998), 417-427 at 421-427. The separate phases provided are for the early Hallstatt to Middle Hallstatt, the Late Hallstatt, the Early La Tène, an uncertain structure for the Middle La Tène, and the Late La Tène.

<sup>95</sup> Ian Ralston, 'Central Gaul at the Roman Conquest: conceptions and misconceptions', in Gillian Carr and Simon Stoddart (eds.), *Celts from Antiquity* (1st edn., Antiquity Papers 2, 62; Cambridge: Antiquity Publications, 2002), 97-106 at 97-105.

<sup>96</sup> Rüger, *Germania Inferior* at 14-15.

the small sub- and client tribes on the fringes of large nations were separated from their former masters and became part of the *civitas* structure of their previous neighbours. This may simply have been based on geographical factors, or may have been an intentional attempted restructuring of the *civitas* units to ensure a relatively standardized and sustainable population. Roman restructuring of the tribal network in Gallia would further have broken the political structure of large tribes, making it difficult for them to function thus preventing future insurrection.

The *civitates* were grouped into official provinces based loosely on old Gaulish provincial forms, e.g. Belgae, but not based specifically on ethnic or cultural ties. This lack of cohesion can be seen from the division of Augustan *Belgica*, *Lugdunensis* (which replaced *Celtica*), and *Aquitania* which was increased greatly in size. Some of the post-Caesarian tribal restructuring saw tribes removed from their old territories and placed in different regions, e.g. the Celtic Menapii, or part of the Menapii, who in 56 BC, lived on both sides of the Rhine, in the central Netherlands, were, by the Augustan era, found much further south and west, between southern Zeeland and the Nord pas de Calais. It is probable that many tribes of the Menapii remained in their northern settlements, but were absorbed by incoming groups, e.g. Frisii and Canninefates from the north, and Batavi from the east. The Marsacii and Sturii of the islands and surrounding region of the Schelde and Maas/Rhine estuaries were probably old Menapian sub-tribes.<sup>97</sup>

It would have been difficult for the old tribal units to ignore the new political framework and continue their former political tribal system as they had in the pre-Augustan era. Collective responsibilities of taxation and military levies would have forced new alliances; ex-sub and client tribes in other *civitates* would have had to concentrate on the requirements in their own *civitas*. Old alliances would have been quickly forgotten, within the passing of time as a consequence of what Roymans identifies as *oblivion*, and the *civitas* structure would have become normality for second generation immigrants or natives.<sup>98</sup> Although the Batavian Civilis constantly

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<sup>97</sup> Carroll, *Celts & Germans* at 31.

<sup>98</sup> Roymans, *Batavians* at 3.

stressed his barbarian ancestry, his Chattian ancestors had lived in Gallia for c.120 years by 70 AD. Civilis, as his Latin name suggests, would have been a product of the Roman Empire rather than a wild barbarian tribesman.

In general the *civitas* units were broadly based on the largest tribes of the regions, with particular exceptions e.g. where Caesar had irreparably destroyed or removed the political core of tribes, e.g. the Aduatuci and Eburones.<sup>99</sup>

With the Augustan redrawing of the provinces of Gallia some new *civitates*, especially along the frontier with Germania were created to incorporate newly transplanted tribes with older tribes, e.g. Sugambri and Suebi amongst Eburones/Menapii, and renamed Cugerni and Ubii amongst the Eburones. The Ubii kept their name, although they were settled amongst the Eburones.

With the reorganization of Gallia, most *civitates* of the interior of Gallia developed along the native tribal model, but for military or geographical reasons parts of their old territory were sometimes added to, or taken from them, and given to other *civitates*. The Treveri lost part of their old territory to the new *Civitas Tungrorum* and possibly the eastern sub-tribes of the region. Some of the remaining Eburones, Aduatuci, Condrusi, and presumably Segni, with other unknown small tribes were subsumed into the newly named *Civitas Tungrorum*, which was centred on *Aduatuca Tungrorum* (Tongerren) on the Jeker. Slofstra argues that in the first century AD, the *Oppidum Batavorum* (Nijmegen), *Oppidum Cugernorum* (Xanten), and the *Oppidum Ubiorum* (Cologne), were not regarded by the Batavi, Cugerni, and Ubii as their own political centres.<sup>100</sup> Vanderhoeven also suggests that after the census of 27 BC in Gallia and again in the census of 12 BC it is assumed that the administrative division

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<sup>99</sup> J Caesar, *The Battle for Gaul*, trans. A. & P. Wiseman (1st edn.; London: Chatto & Windus, 1980) at 56 (BookII,Chapter33) for Aduatuci, and at 189 (BookVII,Chapters24-25) for Eburones.

<sup>100</sup> Jan Slofstra, 'Changing settlement systems in the Meuse-Demer-Scheldt area during the Early Roman period', in N. Roymans and F. Theuws (eds.), *Images of the Past. Studies on Ancient Societies in Northwestern Europe* (1st edn., Studies in Pre- en Protohistorie, 7; Amsterdam: Publication of Pionier-project: Power and Elite, 1991), 131-199 at 156-157. For recent research on the settlement genesis of the *oppidum Ubiorum* see: Heinz Hermann Steenken, 'Funktion, Bedeutung und Verortung der *ara Ubiorum* im römischen Köln - ein *status quaestionis*', in Wolfgang Spickermann, Matijevic Kresimir et al. (eds.), *Rom, Germanien und das Reich. Festschrift zu Ehren von Rainer Wiegels anlässlich seines 65. Geburtstages* (1st edn., Pharos. Studien zur griechisch-römischen Antike, XVIII; St. Katharinen: Scripta Mercaturae Verlag, 2005), 105-149. See 106 ff.

of the province into *civitates* was undertaken, and that the decisions about the creation of *Aduatuca Tungrorum* was founded as a *civitas* capital.<sup>101</sup> Although *Aduatuca Tungrorum* was not constructed on the same site as the Eburonian/Aduatucan Aduatuca, it is clear that this region had comprised the central territory of one-half of the Eburones.

The reorganization of the provinces presents further problems with odd restructuring and re-naming, e.g. Germania Superior extended far into central Gallia. To the wider Roman world the smallest political division generally applied to Gaulish and German natives was by tribe, and above that by confederation, e.g. Semnonian of the Suebi, or Suessionian of the Belgae, Condrusian, or Segnian of the Germani cisrhenani. Within the tribe, there were further subdivisions.

With the collapse of the Suebi in the Augustan era the Chatti appear in the archaeological record.<sup>102</sup> From the archaeological record Chattian ethnogenesis is evident only in the extreme north of Hessen.<sup>103</sup> The genetic impact of the Elbgermanen on central Germania through migration is probably not as strong as formerly presumed. Some scholars believe that the Chatti moved to Hessen during the southward expansion of Elbgermanen groups in the period following Caesar.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Alain Vanderhoeven, 'The earliest urbanisation in Northern Gaul. Some implications of recent research in Tongres', in N. Roymans (ed.), *From the Sword to the Plough. Three Studies on the Earliest Romanisation of Northern Gaul* (1st edn., Amsterdam Archaeological Studies, 1; Amsterdam: Publication of *Pionier*-project: Power and Elite. Amsterdam University Press, 1996), 189-260 at 220-221. Alain Vanderhoeven, 'Aspekte der frühesten Romanisierung Tongerens und des zentralen Teiles der civitas Tungrorum', in Thomas Grünwald and Sandra Seibel (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)* (1st edn., Ergänzungsbande zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, 35; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 119-144 at 119-122, 138.

<sup>102</sup> Angelika Wigg, 'Confrontation and interaction: Celts, Germans and Romans in the Central German Highlands', in R. J. A. Wilson and J. D. Creighton (eds.), *Roman Germany. Studies in Cultural Interaction* (1st edn., Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series, 32; Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1999), 35-53 at 37-42.

<sup>103</sup> Seidel, 'Die Römische Kaiserzeit in Hessen', at 13-26.

<sup>104</sup> Armin Becker, *Rom und die Chatten*. (1st edn., Quellen und Forschungen zur hessischen Geschichte, 88; Darmstadt, 1992) at 97. Mathias Seidel, 'Frühe Germanen am unteren Main', *Germania. Anzeiger der Römisch-germanischen Kommission des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, 74/1 (1996), 238-247 at 238-247. Wigg, 'Celts, Germans and Romans in the Central German Highlands', at 38-42. David G. Wigg, 'The development of the monetary economy in N Gaul in the late La Tène and the early Roman periods', in R. J. A. Wilson and J. D. Creighton (eds.), *Roman Germany. Studies in Cultural Interaction* (1st edn., Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary

The view that there is no historical evidence for this theory is held by other scholars.<sup>105</sup>

### 1.7.2. TRIBAL NAMES.

Although the tribal situation in the Augustan era was fluid, other tribes appear to have been in existence for centuries, e.g. the Aedui, of central Gallia. The Insubres who were amongst the earliest of the northern invaders of northern Italy were a *pagus* of the Aedui.<sup>106</sup>

The name Nervii appears to have been a tribal name, rather than a designation to define the entire grouping of client tribes/sub-tribes. The name Cugerni is probably a self-designation produced by a council of the tribes to provide an overall name for the units of Sugambri and associated allies. Heinrichs states that these Sugambri, Suebi, and left-bank Rhenish tribes formed the Cugerni.<sup>107</sup> Alternatively, the tribal name Cugerni may refer to one *pagus* of the Sugambri. It is less likely that Cugerni was a name applied to these transplanted units by Gaulish neighbours, considering that the Galli had been neighbours of the Sugambri for generations and had referred

Series, 32; Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1999), 99-124 at 99-124. David G. Wigg, 'Das Ende der keltischen Münzgeldwirtschaft am Mittelrhein', *Germania*, 74/2 (1996), 377-397 at 389-394. Eggenstein, *Das Siedlungswesen der jüngeren vorrömischen Eisenzeit und der frühen römischen Kaiserzeit im Lippebereich* at 179-184.

<sup>105</sup> Nico Roymans, 'The Lower Rhine Triquetrum Coinages and the Ethnogenesis of the Batavi', in Thomas Grünwald and Hans-Joachim Schalles (eds.), *Germania inferior: Besiedlung, Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft an der Grenze der römisch-germanischen Welt. Beiträge des deutsch-niederländischen Kolloquiums im Regionalmuseum Xanten, 21.-24. September 1999* (1st edn., Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde, 28; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2001), 93-145 at 97, 134. Roymans, *Batavians* at 26, 29. Nico Roymans and Wijnand Van Der Sanden, 'Celtic coins from the Netherlands and their archaeological context', *Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek. (BROB)* (30, 1980), 173-254 at 212. Wells, *Barbarians* at 76-85. Wells, *Beyond Celts, Germans* at 100-102. Rolf Hachmann, 'The Archaeological Evidence. II. Germans on the Rhine', in Jean Marcadé (ed.), *The Germanic Peoples* (Archaeologia Mundi; Geneva: Nagel, 1971), 65-107 at 69-71.

<sup>106</sup> Nico Roymans, *Tribal societies in Northern Gaul. An anthropological perspective*, eds J. H. F. Bloemers, B. Brouwenstijn et al., trans. S. H. Loving (1st edn., CINGULA, 12; Amsterdam: Universiteit van Amsterdam. Albert Egges van Giffen Instituut voor Prae- en Protohistorie, 1990) at 22.

<sup>107</sup> Johannes Heinrichs, 'Römische Perfidie und germanischer Edelmut? Zur Umsiedlung protocugernischer Gruppen in den Raum Xanten 8 v. Chr.' in Thomas Grünwald and Hans-Joachim Schalles (eds.), *Germania inferior: Besiedlung, Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft an der Grenze der römisch-germanischen Welt. Beiträge des deutsch-niederländischen Kolloquiums im Regionalmuseum Xanten, 21.-24. September 1999* (1st edn., Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, 28; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2001), 54-92 at 55.

to them as Sugambri. Other examples of adopting new names for confederated tribes are possibly evident amongst the Batavi and Tungri.

### 1.7.3. THE SUB/CLIENT TRIBE (*PAGUS*).

The tribe (*civitas*) as seen in Gallia and Germania consisted of a confederation of a number of smaller sub-tribes, i.e. *pagi*, possibly akin to the Irish *túath*. The *pagus* appears to have comprised of 'a group of people with its own territory, a notable measure of autonomy, and with essentially the same political institutions as those present on the overarching level of the *civitas*'.<sup>108</sup> The Belgic Nervii, had a number of *pagi*, namely sub-groups or client-tribes, these were the Ceutrones, Grudii, Levaci, Pleumoxii and Geidumnii.<sup>109</sup> Even if not initially linked by blood to some, or all of these sub-tribes, the neighbouring and sub-tribes of the Nervii would have become genetically related to their sub-tribes through fosterage and intermarriage.

The Suebi of Cimberius and Nasua, who, Caesar remarked had 100 *pagi*, were initially a confederation of tribes. In Caesar's era these Suebi were probably lead by the Semnones from the region of the Middle Elbe. Tacitus, too, refers to the one hundred *pagi* of the Suebi, the most ancient of whom were the Semnones.<sup>110</sup>

In northern Gallia, the Treveri had many sub-tribes, which included the Eburones, Segni, and Condrusi, and may have included the Teucoriatii and Vosugones. The Talliates and Lugnesses are problematic. The Talliates appear to have been in the territory of the Ubii, as they were located in the region of Ripsdorf. This is as seen from two dedications to Mars, and the *genus* of the Talliates, and the other dedication

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<sup>108</sup> Roymans, *Northern Gaul* at 20.

<sup>109</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 106 (BookV,Chapter39). For name element: *\*pleu-*, see Schrijvers reference to the 'De naam van de noordelijke Rijnmonding , de Vlietstroom' referred to by the Romans as *Flevo*. Schrijver remarks that 'Oook dit is hoogstwaarschijnlijk een Germaans word, dat via de Germaanse klankverschuiving (oude *p* wordt Germaans *f*) op Indo-europese wortel *\*pleu-* 'strommen' teruggaat' See: Peter Schrijver, 'Keltisch of niet: twee namen en een verdacht accent', in Rijcklof Hofman (ed.), *Kelten in Nederland* (1st edn.; Utrecht: de Keltische Draak, 2000), 69-87 at 70.

<sup>110</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 33 (BookI,Chapter37). Rives, *Tacitus. Germania* at 93 (Germania,Chapter39.1-3), at 286-289. See Hubert Cancik, 'Religionsgeschichtsschreibung bei Tacitus. Zur Darstellung der germanischen und jüdischen Religion in Tacitus' *Germania und Historiae*', in Wolfgang Spickermann, Hubert Cancik et al. (eds.), *Religion in den germanischen Provinzen Roms* (1st edn.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 49-69 at 52-59. See especially § 2.2.1 Der Semnonen-Hain (Tac. Germ. 39), at 54-55.

mentions *Mars* and *Ancamna*. *Ancamna* is outside Treverian territory.<sup>111</sup> The religious worship of the Talliates suggests affiliation with the Treveri, rather than the Ubii, although Ripsdorf now has been assigned to the diocese of Köln, perhaps altered in Frankish times. Politically, the Talliates appear to have belonged to Köln, but were probably a pre-Ubian, Treverian or Eburonian people. Attempts to define ancient *civitates* through diocesan boundaries, combining Latin and Celtic toponyms, which referred to boundaries, and to state coinages is problematic, as demonstrated by Woolf.<sup>112</sup>

Elements of the Caerosi (around Prüm) may also have been in the territory of the Ubii.<sup>113</sup> The Lugnesses appear to have been a Treverian sub-tribe located on the Lower Mosel in the region of Koblenz and the Neuwieder Becken. If the Lugnesses were Treverian, it is possible that they inhabited the territory to the Ahr (*Obrincas*), a possible southern border of the Ubian territory. Alternatively, the Lugnesses may have been an Ubian tribe.<sup>114</sup>

Some *pagi* may have been sub-tribes of different tribes depending on the time period, e.g. before the Roman restructuring of Gallia the Condrusi were clients of the Treveri.<sup>115</sup> After the Roman restructuring of Gallia, some or all of this tribe had become part of the *Civitas Tungrorum*, as seen from C.I.L. 7 1073.<sup>116</sup> The reasons for political ties amongst the *pagi* varied, e.g. the Eburones had been clients of the

<sup>111</sup> Edith Mary Wightman, *Roman Trier and the Treveri* (1st edn.; New York: Praeger, 1970) at 125 (Mars and genus of Talliates, Ripsdorf), 214 (Lenus Mars, Ancamna).

<sup>112</sup> Greg Woolf, 'The Social Significance of Trade in Late Iron Age Europe', in C. Scarre and F. Healy (eds.), *Trade and Exchange in Prehistoric Europe* (Oxford: Oxbow, 1993), 211-218 at 213.

<sup>113</sup> Johann Leo Weisgerber, 'A. Das Material der Ubiernamen', in Heinz Kühn and Leo Brandt (eds.), *Die Namen der Ubier* (1st edn., Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, 34; Cologne: Weatdeutscher Verlag, 1968), 4-106 at 6, 9, 24.

<sup>114</sup> The Talliates if not originally Ubian may have been one of the tribes of the Germani cisrhenanian tribes or Treverian tribe. There is no reason to think that the Talliates of the region of Ripsdorf N.R.W. were not an Ubian tribe as their territory appears to have been within the south-western Ubian territory proper, and *Matronen* names are found throughout their region.

<sup>115</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 75 (BookIV, Chapter6).

<sup>116</sup> Hermann Reichert, *Lexikon der altgermanischen Namen. 1. Teil: Text*, ed. Helmut Birkhan, 2 vols. (1st edn., Thesaurus Palaeogermanicus, 1. Band. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Schriftenreihe der Kommission für Altgermanistik, 1; Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Schriftenreihe der Kommission für Altgermanistik, 1987) at 226. (226). Cf. 'CONDROST: V, C.W.B. 2108...Kontext: deae Viradecthi pagus Condrustis coh 2 Tungror(um) ANMERK.: = C.I.L. 7 1073'.

Aduatuci until Caesar's intervention. These *pagi* were probably forced to become clients who paid tribute. Many *pagi* would have chosen to become clients of large tribes for protection against neighbouring tribes. Others were forced to become clients through military intervention, e.g. the Eburonian Ambiorix was an unwilling client of the Aduatuci.<sup>117</sup>

#### 1.7.4. LOCAL GROUPS.

Below the *pagus* was the local group which formed the basic unit in society. This local group was based on the family units. It linked family groups related by marriage ties, i.e. (*familia*) and (*domus*). The *domus* was not a single household but a larger social group divided into factions.<sup>118</sup> Roymans asserts that amongst the Teutonic tribes the *familiae* and *propinquitates* formed their own units of infantry and cavalry, which operated as separate units in military actions. The *domus* was the family group which provided hostages and received compensation for ending feuds.<sup>119</sup> The *Matronen* had their origins in a pre-Roman cult based on ancestor worship. *Matronen* names are often based on, or 'related to names of local communities, population groups and clans', e.g. the *Matronae Cantrusteihia* to the Germani cisrhenanian Condrusi near Condroz on the Maas. The dedications found to these *Matronen* in the territories of the Tungri, Nervii, and Ubii, indicate that 'the Condrusi were absorbed by and possibly had family relations with these three groups'.<sup>120</sup>

#### 1.7.5. LOCAL GROUP NAMES.

Local groups are particularly evident in the Gaulish Lower Rhine area through the cult of the *Matronen*, in the territory of the Ubii, who had begun to settle in Gallia after the departure of Caesar. The *Matronen* inscriptions provide epithets of local group names, e.g. *matronae Etrahenae* (*Etrates*), *matronae Austriahenae* (*Austriates*), (*matronae*) *Gesahenae* (*Gesationes*). Other local groups of the region

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<sup>117</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 99 (Book V, Chapter 27).

<sup>118</sup> Roymans, *Northern Gaul* at 18.

<sup>119</sup> Roymans, *Northern Gaul* at 18.

<sup>120</sup> Carroll, *Celts & Germans* at 117.



are derived from local family names, which functioned as cult communities, e.g. *Matronen* names derived from personal names, e.g. *Gesationes* from *Gesatus*, *Arvagastae* from *Arvagast*, *Albiahenae* from *Albius*.<sup>121</sup> The **M.N.** *Andrusteihi* and **M.N.** *Cantrusteihiae*, disguises the name of the Condrusi; the **M.N.** *Hamavehae* provides the name of the Chamavi from the region east of the Lower Rhine.<sup>122</sup> Some names refer to mythical founders, family groups, or geographical area e.g. *Ambiamarcae* i.e. *those on both sides of the mark* and *Ambireneses*, those on both sides of the Rhine, suggesting kin on both sides of the river.<sup>123</sup>

### 1.7.6. TRIBAL CONFEDERATIONS.

Tribal Confederations formed to provide strong military structures for a range of reasons. The nature of confederations appears to have differed throughout Gallia and Germania where the following types of confederacies are evident:

*Long-standing confederations* usually based on ethnic, cultural, or religious ties (Cult Leagues), but open to inclusion of non-related tribes, e.g. Suebi, Belgae. In this way, origin legends served to keep the confederation together.

*Confederations formed to deal with political or military problems.* These do not depend on an ethnic link, e.g. the confederation of the Sugambri, Usipetes, Tencteri, with the Suebi, Cherusci and the confederation of the Aedui and Sequani with Ariovistus's Germani between 72-58 BC. This confederation was created to deal with Roman aggression. Some of these confederations are short-term arrangements. It is possible that the Suebi may have initially formed to counter the onslaught of the Cimbri, Teutones, and Ambrones; however, the Suebi remained intact for centuries.

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<sup>121</sup> Roymans, *Northern Gaul* at 18. The personal name *Gesatus* is probably derived from **Celt.** cf. **Gaul.** *gaiso*, **Ir.** *Gae*, **Eng.** *Spear*. Xavier Delamarre, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise. Une approche linguistique du vieux-celtique continental. Préface de P.- Y. Lambert. 2e édition revue et augmentée* (2nd edn.; Paris: Éditions Errance, 2003) at 174. Delamarre designates **Celt.** *gaiso* as **Fr.** *Javelot*, **Eng.** *javelin*, and adds that **Teut.** has a word of the same meaning as seen in **O.N.** *geirr*, **O.H.G.** *gēr*, **A.Sax.** *gār*, with a postulated **Teut.** *\*gaizas*.

<sup>122</sup> Gutenbrunner, *Die germanischen Götternamen* at 170-171. Reichert, *LDAN I* at 51, 170, 418. For the **M.N.** *Andrusteihi* three inscriptions are from Cologne and one from Bonn. The inscriptions for the **M.N.** *Cantrusteihiae* one two are from are from Rheydt, one from Hoylaert near Brussels. The reference to the **M.N.** *Hamavehae* is from Altdorf.

<sup>123</sup> Roymans, *Northern Gaul* at 18.

Many tribes were forced to join confederations under pain of annihilation. The Sugambri, in 11 BC, in an attempt to strengthen their position against Rome, had brought together all of their neighbouring tribes to join their confederation/alliance except the Chatti. Consequently, the Sugambri with all their population made a campaign against the Chatti.<sup>124</sup>

There is a noticeable development of the confederacy in eastern and northern Germania, which implies that tribal structure existed long before even basic tribal formation had occurred in regions of northwestern Germania, e.g. Frisia. This may in part be defined due to the migratory routes of confederacies such as the Cimbri, Teutones, Ambrones, and Harudes, some of which left Scandinavia and trekked into northern Germany, after which they moved southeastwards.

Gothic movements across the Baltic and Vandalic movements south toward the Carpathians may also have encouraged the tribes of northern central Germania to form confederations. Individual tribes would have recognized their own vulnerability against such migratory movements. The little communities of the Frisian coast would only *c.* 100-50 BC, have evolved into tribes, i.e. as Frisii. The late evolution of this tribe and possibly some other neighbouring tribes depended on their isolated location, where small communities were separated from the aggressive tribes of the interior of Germania.

## **1.8. ETHNOGENESIS.**

The concept of ethnogenesis is relevant to the processes which help to create local population groups, e.g. *pagi*, tribal groups and confederations. Roymans asserts that ‘Ethnicity refers to “aspects of relationships” between groups which consider themselves and are regarded by others, as being culturally distinctive’. Roymans

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<sup>124</sup> Cassius Dio, *Dio's Roman History*, eds E. Capps, T. E. Page et al., trans. Earnest Cary, 9 vols. (1st edn., The Loeb Classical History, 6; London: William Heinemann, 1917) 492 at 366-367 (BookLIV,Chapter33.2).

suggests that ethnic identity can be expressed *inter alia* in language, material culture, oral tradition and ritual acts.<sup>125</sup>

There can also be a shared genetic heritage within ethnic groups, especially in core regions, e.g. southern Scandinavia, although this need not necessarily follow. Ethnic identity is based on a number of factors. An examination of Roymans's analysis of the study of ethnicity and ethnogenesis is necessary. Roymans states that European archaeology has a long tradition of using ethnic concepts to explain regional patterns and changes in material culture, a view which he argues had its origins in the nineteenth century and has since been heavily criticized by archaeologists who use insights from anthropology, sociology and history, to attempt to re-define the subject.<sup>126</sup>

Roymans defines ethnic identity as:

'the temporary resultant process of developing collective self-images, attitudes and conduct that takes place in a context of interaction between those directly involved and outsiders. Ethnic identities are by definition subjective, dynamic and situational constructs, which renders their relationship to material culture problematical. In contrast to many other kinds of cultural identity, they are in principle archaeologically intangible, unless combined with contextual historical data'.<sup>127</sup>

Roymans is correct in assuming that there is a tension between ethnic identity as an image or representation, as a social reality and those ethnic identities as a rule are constructed around a set of clichés, stereotypes, and invented histories, which relate to a collective of people. Roymans believes these identities are also formed by actions and then managed and modified through constant interaction between the group image and the praxis of individual and collective actions.<sup>128</sup>

Van Driel-Murray remarks that:

'Dio, for instance uses terms like *Batavoi*, *Germanoi*, *Keltoi* and *Galatoi* almost interchangeably and, indeed, reveals that by his time the term 'Batavian' had become generic...When they died young, the Imperial Guard specified their own tribal identities –

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<sup>125</sup> Roymans, *Batavians* at 1.

<sup>126</sup> Roymans, *Batavians* at 1-2.

<sup>127</sup> Roymans, *Batavians* at 2.

<sup>128</sup> Roymans, *Batavians* at 2.

Batavi, Ubii, Suebi - but to the Romans such affiliations were usually irrelevant and they were all simply 'Batavians'.<sup>129</sup>

With regard to the emergence of the Lower Rhenish Batavi, Roymans studied the relationship between the emergence of the Batavi as a political formation and as an ethnic group.<sup>130</sup>

It is also necessary, according to Roymans, to identify distinguishing different levels of state of scale within ethnic categories such as macro-ethnic (*Grossgruppen*), i.e. Germani and Galli. Roymans asserts that:

'Research has shown that such *Grossgruppen* were to a large extent Roman constructs that had little significance for local groups of individuals and that bore no correspondence to political formations. On the other hand, there are small ethnic groupings, which usually equated to tribes. These did function as emic categories and often overlapped with political units'.<sup>131</sup>

Roymans attempts to focus more on smaller categories of the tribe/*civitas* which he correctly asserts were used by native soldiers to identify themselves within the *Grossgruppe* whole by tribal unit.

The category of *Grossgruppe*, i.e. Germani would have been incorporated by tribesmen from Germania when directly dealing with the Romans as it would have been recognized that this was how the Romans referred to them. To other tribes from Germania individual tribes of Germani would have introduced themselves by tribal designation. To the North German, Scandinavian, and Suebic tribes the term Germani would have designated the peoples along the Rhine and northern Gallia, but to them it would have had no specific meaning. To these north German Teutonic tribes the territory they inhabited was not Germania, but Suebia, Angrivaria or Cheruscia. The name Germania as a term to define all the territory east of the Rhine

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<sup>129</sup> Carol Van Driel-Murray, 'Ethnic Soldiers: The Experience of the Lower Rhine Tribes', in Thomas Grünwald and Sandra Seibel (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)* (1st edn., Ergänzungsbande zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, 35; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 200-217 at 204.

<sup>130</sup> Roymans, *Batavians* at 2-3.

<sup>131</sup> Roymans, *Batavians* at 2.

was a Roman designation. The concept of all the territory east of the Rhine, as one region, could only be a hypothesis developed west of the Rhine.

The structure of the tribe and that of the *civitas* was different. The introduction of different tribal units to specific *civitates* did not depend on ethnicity, culture, or language, e.g. Cugerni. After the creation of the *civitas*, a sense of ethnic, cultural and linguistic identity would have developed over the following decades. The tribal units of the Eburones, Sugambri, Suebi, and other east-Rhenish tribes initially forced together in 8 BC may have differed ethnically, linguistically, and culturally, but within a few decades they had formed a specific ethnic and cultural identity, as the Cugerni. By incorporating these peripheral martial tribes into the state military system Van Driel-Murray asserts that: 'The tribes so targeted are bound in allegiance to the state through their military role, becoming increasingly dependent upon the state for both their employment and their identity'.<sup>132</sup> The flow of information amongst these tribes was important to their eventual evolution.<sup>133</sup> The destruction of ethnicity did not just occur with the introduction of Teutonic-speaking tribes to Gallia in the Augustan era. It began with the Gallic War, which in the case of northern Gallia had led to a breaking down of the 'battle fame of the Belgae and the associated myths and hymns'.<sup>134</sup> Specific designations were provided for each *civitas*, some of which reflected east-Rhenish tribes, e.g. Ubii. This suggests a migration by one tribe to vacated territory where the inhabitants of the newly created *civitas* were exclusively of one tribal group. The new Roman *civitates* were an amalgamation of different tribal units, i.e. natives and migrants. The Romans initially refer to the inhabitants of individual *civitates* as Ubii or Batavi. This designation suggests a clearly defined ethnic origin. The Romans categorized the Batavi, Ubii, Canninefates, Frisiavones, Cugerni, Nemetes, Triboci and Vangiones as Germani. At the creation of the *civitas*, individual Batavians would have been aware of their

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<sup>132</sup> Van Driel-Murray, 'RGA Kontinuität und Diskontinuität'. (201).

<sup>133</sup> S. E. Van Der Leeuw, 'Acculturation as information processing', in Roel Brandt and Jan Slofstra (eds.), *Roman and Native in the Low Countries. Spheres of interaction. (BAR Int.Ser.)* (1st edn., BAR International Series, 184; Oxford, 1983), 11-41 at 11-18, 20-25.

<sup>134</sup> Nico Roymans, 'The North Belgic tribes in the 1st century B.C.: a historical-anthropological perspective', in Roel Brandt and Jan Slofstra (eds.), *Roman and Native in the Low Countries. Spheres of interaction. (BAR Int.Ser.)* (1st edn., British Archaeological Reports. International Series, 184; London, 1983), 43-69 at 57.

Menapian, Eburonian, or Chattian origin, and the *pagus* from which they originated. After a few generations a Batavian ethnic identity would have developed, at least on a political level, at the expense of the individual tribal identity. In ethnic, linguistic, and cultural terms, homogeneity would not have existed by the Augustan era.

Roymans examines Wenskus's 'ethnogenetic model which is a strongly politicized ethnogenesis with a clearly demonstrable core of tradition' (*Traditionskern*), i.e. the 'stirps regia', where he suggests that the 'leader makes the people' and the leader may have played a vital role in the process of ethnogenesis. Roymans asserts that this *Traditionskern* does not fully explain Batavian ethnogenesis.<sup>135</sup> In the case of the Batavi, the core ethnicity developed around the origins and cultural background of the family of Julius Civilis, whose tribal origins were Chattian. These proto-Batavian Chatti did not remain in central Germania long enough to develop into the Rhein-Weser-Germanen grouping, but appear to have left the region before this c. 50 BC. By c. 50 BC, there was undoubtedly some integration with the local La Tène population of Hessen, i.e. the Ubii and other unnamed groups. Civilis' kin-group must have migrated from central Hessen, rather than westward from northern Germania.<sup>136</sup> There is a conscious effort by Civilis to identify with the Germani beyond the frontier, rather than with the local Galli. The Batavi attempted to identify with a North German cultural focus, suggesting that the immigrant Batavi were numerically weak. However, Roman intervention on their behalf, the provision of control of the Rhine Island by Rome for military service, their martial nature, and political legitimacy, helped to provide them with an identity, which may have distinguished them from the other ethnic groupings of their *civitas*, i.e. Eburones and Menapii.<sup>137</sup> The assertion of a North German origin may also have served to provide cohesion for specific ethnically-based political factions, and thus keep them in power. This would have been achieved by reminding those of Chattian origin of their common descent, of the legitimacy of the noble Chattian families of the region, and their role in the resettlement of the Chatti in Gallia. It would have reminded the

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<sup>135</sup> Roymans, *Batavians* at 258.

<sup>136</sup> Roymans, 'Ethnogenesis of the Batavi', at 94, 97-99, 114-119, 122-127, 130-131, 134.

<sup>137</sup> Baldick, Jones et al. (eds.), *Tacitus. Histories* at 247 (Book IV, Chapter 60).

Chattian element of the Batavi of their heroic past in Germania, alongside peoples such as the Suebi and Cherusci. The re-assertion of a North German-Scandinavian origin would have helped to strengthen identity and directly counter more numerous vying factions of Eburonian origin, attempting to assert their identity on the region as late as 70 AD.

Minority populations which feel threatened often look inward and attempt to retain as much of their culture as possible which includes language, religion, myths, and origin legends. Migrant groups often retain a general knowledge of origin territory and a sense of belonging to the homeland. Existing links with the Chattian kin-groups in Batavia and those in Hessen are unknown. The origin-legends of the leading family groups, e.g. of Civilis, must have remained Chattian rather than Eburonian.<sup>138</sup> The question of a Suebic identity for the Chatti is rarely discussed but is a distinct possibility.<sup>139</sup> See *Ethnogenesis of the Batavi*.

The multi-tribal *civitates* has implications for the ethnogenesis of all the Lower, Middle and Upper Rhenish tribes, as well as for the emerging forms of cultural identity, e.g. *Matronen* cult, the Batavian cult worship, i.e. *Hercules Magusanus*. The nature of the change from tribal to *civitas* identity was due to Roman involvement. The fluid nature of identity was constantly undergoing a process of evolution and flux. The introduction of new tribal units to the Rhineland and within Germania the fluid nature of tribal confederations made the re-evaluation of specific ethnic identities inevitable.

At a core level, language can initially help to define ethnogenesis of a particular group, e.g. the Chattian Teutonic-speaking migrants to Gallia, arrived amongst a Celtic-speaking population of Eburones and Menapii. The Chatti in time became the political elite. The flow of information would suggest that whilst an element of the

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<sup>138</sup> The extent to which Civilis own ancestry was Chattian or Eburonian/Menapian is unknown, but he focuses on the Chattian side. This is also for political purposes as Civilis needed the support of the tribes of Germania for his revolt.

<sup>139</sup> Ludwig Rübekel, *Diachrone Studien zur Kontaktzone zwischen Kelten und Germanen*, ed. Helmut Birkhan (1st edn., Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Sitzungsberichte, 699. Band, 699; Vienna: Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2002) at 73.

population would have been bi-lingual, Teutonic would have been learned by those wishing to take advantage of the Batavian power structure. If the Celtic-speaking population was equal to, or dominating, the Chattian population, the Chattian elite would have found it necessary to learn Celtic to communicate with their subjects. The place name evidence of the Batavian region suggests that the latter may have been the reality. The adoption of Teutonic by some of the Celtic-speaking natives would have altered the dynamics of ethnogenesis of the region. The eventual adoption of language does not guarantee oblivion, but adoption of a new language guarantees the loss of information passed down from the native language, e.g. origin myths. Attempts by the Chatti to regain and retain their old culture, e.g. through old legends and myths, when exiled from their origin territory, eventually dwindled, due to the gradual loss of their own language and the assimilation to another more modern culture.

Eventually in the case of the Batavian *civitas*, an ethnogenesis would occur resulting in the apparent disappearance of Chatti and Eburones, due to forced inclusion in political units as a direct result of the evolution of both cultures for political necessity. This evolution was due to cultural factors such as spatial density of individual linguistic and tribal groups in the centres of power, and linguistic nature of the region.

Frontiers in general provide the necessary factors for tribal flux, because of tribal reaction to Roman attempts at conquest. The self-image of tribes is negotiated with internal and external forces and continually subject to change.

### **1.8.1. ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOGENESIS → NEOGENESIS.**

In the past decade the nineteenth century *ethnische Deutung* hypothesis, particularly used by Kossinna, concerning the relationship between peoples/tribal groups and material culture, has been criticized and deconstructed. Roymans suggests that ethnic identities cannot be solely reconstructed based on material culture, whilst attaching

archaeological substance to historically transmitted ethnic macro-concepts like Celts and Germani is fraught with risks, as these were largely Roman descriptions<sup>140</sup>.

However, specific migratory moves of particular archaeological cultural attributes, when linked to historical accounts and the existence of new linguistic elements in a region, can provide specific tribal or confederation designations, providing that the location of these units can be verified for particular time periods, e.g. Chatti, Suebi. Broad archaeological cultures can be determined and movements of peoples can be seen in the archaeological record. In particular cases, assumptions that archaeological cultures related to specific confederations can be made, but only in general terms, e.g. Marcomani from the Main to Bohemia. Within these broad political confederations there were many other unnamed tribes, which cannot be distinguished. The fluid nature of the tribes which produced the Suebi and their absorption of new tribes also complicate any attempts to link this tribe to a particular archaeological culture. Within the region of the Elbe, the Marcomani, Semnones, and Hermunduri are all simply Elbgermanen, and attempts to distinguish them are probably not feasible. Unknown political factors can cast doubt on the linkage of such data, but with the fluid nature of tribal groups it is necessary to attempt to ascertain the groups involved, many of which can be named as political units.

In broad terms, it cannot be denied that in the core region of southern Scandinavia there was a degree of genetic and ethnic relationship, which can be associated with the spread of North European archaeological culture to Central Europe.<sup>141</sup> This hypothesis can then be extended to the movement of Scandinavian and North German tribes into Celtic territory, where new archaeological culture from the core of Scandinavia and northern Germany can be seen to introduce a new gene pool and ethnicity to the La Tène region. The spread of languages does not necessarily imply the same genetic distribution.

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<sup>140</sup> Roymans, *Batavians* at 5.

<sup>141</sup> Michael Meyer, 'Ein Hausgrundriß aus der latène- und kaiserzeitlichen Siedlung Mardorf 23, Kr. Marburg-Biedenkopf', *Berichte der Kommission für Archäologische Landesforschung in Hessen. Aus dem Institut für Archäologische Landesforschung in Hessen (BKAL)*, 5 (1998/1999 2000), 115-121 at 120.

With the initial wave of Teutonic expansion at the time of Caesar's conquests, there must have been a small genetic impact on the native population of central Germania with little linguistic impact. With the commencement of the migration of the Teutonic peoples of northern Germania towards central Germania and the shift in power from Gallia and the Rhineland to northern and eastern Germania there was a genetic, linguistic impact resulting in the ethnogenesis of the tribes of central Germania.

Whilst the Roman period sees particular potential for tribal ethnicities which were significant for individuals, this may not have been a simple matter of identifying correlations between ethnic groups and spatial patterns in material culture. Ethnic groups are not necessarily singular cultural entities, e.g. the Rhein-Weser-Germanen, who can be examined to determine how their identity formed. So too, can more intense ethnic identities on the borders of La Tène and North German archaeological culture. For this reason, it is important to identify correlation between spatial patterns, material, house types, and pottery.<sup>142</sup>

For tribal identities, this process of deconstruction of hybridized archaeological cultures provides an insight into the ethnogenesis of tribal identity through mixed cultural entities. It also determines the origins of the different archaeological cultures within the newly formed groups. The process of ethnogenesis on a large scale as seen in central Germania between the Elbgermanen and La Tène peoples produced a large-scale ethnogenesis, not on a tribal level but on two distinct populations, resulting in a *neogenesis*, i.e. the Rhein-Weser-Germanen populations. This ethnogenesis altered the archaeological, linguistic, genetic, and cultural identity of the old La Tène population. Political entities survived in name throughout this process, but their ethnic identity changed, e.g. the Sugambri, Usipetes, Mattiaci, and Ubian elements remaining within Germania probably adopted Teutonic language and culture.

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<sup>142</sup> Roymans, *Batavians* at 5.

### **1.8.2. ASSIGNING SPECIFIC ETHNIC AND TRIBAL CATEGORIES.**

Assigning categories to specific groups of archaeological cultures and attempting to link them to historical units is essential. By utilizing historical sources to identify tribal location for specific periods for designated conterminous tribal units, together with archaeological cultures presented in those periods, an understanding can be achieved as to the nature of tribal ethnogenesis in both. By assigning archaeological and tribal categories, the degree of archaeological cultural exclusiveness with its relationship to ethnicity and ethnogenesis can be assessed. Applying these tribal categories can also help to determine whether there was a necessity for sub-tribes to be ethnically similar for inclusion in the greater tribe, and whether ethnogenesis always occurred within sub-client groups of tribes.

Archaeological ethnogenesis eventually occurred in most regions, as seen from the broad archaeological cultures which developed in central and southern Germania, primarily the Weser-Rhine-Germanen. By considering the ancient historical sources to determine the spatial representation of the tribes of Gallia and Germania for specific time periods and through establishing broad agreement on the locations of tribal units a general application of tribal grouping can be ascertained. Application of tribes within these regions is too specific, but general placement with a broad archaeological cultural framework can be determined, e.g. Semnonian Suebi as Elbgermanen and the Vindelici as La Tène peoples. Within some of these groups, it is uncertain what smaller tribes formed the core of the specified tribes. This is not akin to Kossinna's specific tribal designation from the archaeological record, and his approach has not been adopted. Instead, the general groupings recognized by the ancients as tribes with specific names can be located within a very broad archaeological framework, e.g. Elbgermanen, Nordgermanen, Rhein-Weser-Germanen, Ostgermanen, Nordseegermanen, and La Tène. In core regions, of the Northern and Central Europe, i.e. Scandinavia and northwestern central Germania and central southern Germania relatively homogenous archaeological and ethnic cultures appear to exist.

The establishment of particular tribes in specific regions may also help to determine the nature of tribal boundaries, the changing nature of these boundaries, border

zones, and the ethnogenesis in zones of transition. These depended on many factors, including military superiority, alliances, and cultural identity. The fluidity or static nature of the boundaries can also be contrasted with static tribal grouping and the delicate nature of tribal stability as seen from attempts at self preservation, e.g. the Danewirke near the present Danish-German border and the dyke built by the Angrivarii in northern Germany to separate them from the Cherusci, referred to by Tacitus for the year 16 AD.<sup>143</sup>

The Roman *civitas*, as applied to the tribes of Gallia, had politically fixed physical boundaries, which anchored the tribes within the *civitas* to the region. Ethnogenesis of the individual populations within the *civitas* was inevitable. Tribal units of central Germania could move at will, creating a different set of criteria for ethnogenesis to that of the *civitas*.

Willems believes that in the first century BC, the river area was probably occupied by Menapii and or Eburones.<sup>144</sup> These tribes were at a lower level of organization than those in central or southern Gallia. Roymans correctly believes that:

‘there are indications that Lower Rhine *civitates* mentioned by Caesar should be seen as loosely structured, fluid confederations of smaller ethnic groups, each with their own leaders, who were bound together by alliances and clientship relationships...The political geography of the Lower Rhineland was subject to constant change, which may have affected the ability of the *civitates* to establish any degree of permanence’.<sup>145</sup>

### 1.8.3. LINGUISTIC IDENTITY.

From the point of ethnogenesis of the second – first centuries BC, linguistic and archaeological boundaries appear to equate with each other. It is probable that Celtic-speaking peoples were not using North German-Scandinavian pottery types until the second-first centuries BC, e.g. with Suebic expansion, except in particular cases, near fringes of the Teutonic-Celtic speaking world. These dynamics again

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<sup>143</sup> Rives, *Tacitus. Germania* at 257. See § ‘Angrivarii’. Radice (ed.), *Tacitus. Annals* at 85-86 (BookII,Chapter14).

<sup>144</sup> Willem J. H. Willems, ‘Romans and Batavians: Regional developments at the Imperial frontier’, in Roel Brandt and Jan Slofstra (eds.), *Roman and Native in the Low Countries. Spheres of interaction. (BAR Int.Ser.)* (1st edn., British Archaeological Reports. International Series, 184; Oxford, 1983), 105-128 at 109-110.

<sup>145</sup> Roymans, *Batavians* at 19.

changed after *c.* 50 BC, with Teutonic migration and colonization of the Celtic regions of central Germania. It is probably at this point that the bulk of the population adopted Teutonic speech. At the same time, the Rhein-Weser-Germanen archaeological culture evolved.

At the fringes, where Celtic and Teutonic overlapped, mixed-speech and mixed-groups, with creoles of varying emphasis on Celtic/Teutonic, or older languages evolved.<sup>146</sup>

The temporary confederations formed between tribes of largely different origin may have been seen by the Romans as confirmation of similar identity. For the distinction of ethnic groups, a combination of archaeological, linguistic, and historical evidence is necessary. By using these forms of evidence the classifications provided by authors are often shown to be incorrect or generalizations. Thus, the term *Germani* may reflect the intention of foreign interlopers, i.e. Romans, to provide a categorization to designate peoples for their own particular purposes.<sup>147</sup> Whilst there were certainly tribes of *Germani* within Gallia and Germania it is probably fair to assume that if the natives east of the Rhine, inhabited Germania this did not extend to all the territories east of the Rhine, whilst the designation may only have been applied by the Galli west of the Rhine. Caesar extended this term to the region east of the Rhine, in the way that the term *Indian* was used incorrectly to describe all the inhabitants of Northern America.

Poseidonius remarked that the people in northern Gallia and beyond the Rhine were the *Germanoi*, i.e. (*Germani cisrhenani* and *Belgae*). If the archaeology and linguistic elements of both regions prove to be La Tène and Celtic dialects were spoken by these people, then just like the *Boii*, or *Helvetii*, these *Germani* must be assumed to be related to those more southerly Celtic peoples.

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<sup>146</sup> Wolfgang Meid, "Hans Kuhns "Nordwestblock" - Hypothese. Zur Problematik der "Völker zwischen Germanen und Kelten", in Heinrich Beck (ed.), *Germanenprobleme in heutiger Sicht. Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* (2nd edn., Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, 1; Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1999), 183-212 at 183-187, 199-203-211.

<sup>147</sup> Lund, *Germanen*. 1998 at 35.

## 1.9. TYPOLOGIES.

To link specific archaeological sites and micro-cultures (hamlet, village community, farmstead) to macro-culture, e.g. La Tène, or North German-Scandinavian archaeological culture, i.e. Elbgermanen, Nordgermanen, Nordseeermanen, or Ostgermanen culture, the establishment of some basic rules governing elements of typologies is necessary.

In sites where there is mixed La Tène and North German-Scandinavian pottery on particular archaeological sites, a relationship to the context of this mixed material in relation to settlement structure, i.e. houses, granaries, farm buildings, and also burial and pottery types, should be established. The chronological context must be taken into account to assess if these are the culmination of migrants into an already settled site, i.e. *Mischkultur*, or simply traded items.

For the Lower Rhine, North West European Plain and southern Scandinavian region long-houses of varying types, i.e. *Wohnstallhäuser*, of three-aisled (*dreischiffige*) and two-aisled (*zweischiffige*) construction are found.<sup>148</sup> These appear with many regional variations e.g. Hijken, Haps, Oss-Ussen, Oss Typ 9, Alphen-Ekeren and Rijkswijk/Druten type. All of these house-types are related to the *Hauslandschaft* which extends over the North West European Plain, but these will not be taken as a sign of North German-Scandinavian archaeological migration and settlement (with particular exceptions), as their origin predates the arrival of obvious Teutonic speakers to the regions of the Lower Rhine, the Netherlands, Westfalen, and Northern Hessen. This tradition of house building stems back to the Nordic Bronze Age which enveloped all the territory of southern Scandinavia and Northern Germany to the Lower Rhine, which still exists today in farm buildings of the region.<sup>149</sup> Van Enckevort believes that change in house-type in the Lower Rhine

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<sup>148</sup> Wolfgang Schwarz, 'Römische Kaiserzeit.' in Hans-Jürgen Häbeler (ed.), *Ur- und Frühgeschichte in Niedersachsen* (1st edn.; Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss Verlag, 1991), 238-284 at 244-251.

<sup>149</sup> Nico Roymans, 'Romanization, Cultural Identity and the Ethnic discussion. The Integration of Lower Rhine Populations in the Roman Empire', in Jeannot Metzler, Martin Millett et al. (eds.), *Integration in the Early Roman West* (1st edn., Dossiers d'Archéologie du Musée National d'Histoire et d'Art, 4; Luxembourg: Musée National d'Histoire et d'Art, 1995), 47-64 at 49.

region was due to immigration.<sup>150</sup> Gerritsen and Roymans disagree, considering the long history of the North European longhouse. There does appear to be development of house-types at the end of the Iron Age (La Tène D2). These developments were not necessarily discontinuity, but rather evolution and a trend toward sturdier houses linked to greater familial claims to land at the expense of the wider community.<sup>151</sup> Most of these North European house types within Gallia probably do not reflect migration, as they appear to have been constructed by the Celtic tribes of the region at the time of the Gallic War, i.e. Eburones, Menapii. The North European two and three-aisled house type is associated with native La Tène tradition of the first century BC. These houses are predominantly two-aisled with some three-aisled types, and hybrid two-aisled living sections with three-aisled byre sections.<sup>152</sup> The discontinuity of house types in the Lower Rhine may suggest the introduction of immigrants. Where this is Rhein-Weser-Germanen archaeological culture demonstrates that Elbgermanen and La Tène groups entering Gallia had already become hybridized and undergone a degree of ethnogenesis, e.g. the Sugambri, Ubii. There is disagreement over the implications of the discontinuity of particular types of two-aisled houses in Gaulish Lower Rhine and Westfalen. Specific forms of two and three-aisled houses begin to appear in central Hessen and Westfalen in the RIE after the mid-first century BC. Meyer is also correct in stating that the northern part of the Rhein-Weser-

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<sup>150</sup> Harry Van Enckevort, 'Bemerkungen zum Besiedlungssystem in den südöstlichen Niederlanden während der späten vorrömischen Eisenzeit und der römischen Kaiserzeit', in Thomas Grünwald and Hans-Joachim Schalles (eds.), *Germania inferior: Besiedlung, Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft an der Grenze der römisch-germanischen Welt. Beiträge des deutsch-niederländischen Kolloquiums im Regionalmuseum Xanten, 21.-24. September 1999* (1st edn., Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde, 28; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2001), 336-396 at 346-348. Andreas Thiedmann, '"Elbgermanische" Keramik und Baubefunde der Spätlatènezeit in der Siedlung Geismar bei Fritzlar, Schwalm-Eder-Kreis', in Susanne Biegert, Siegmund von Schnurbein et al. (eds.), *Beiträge zur germanischen Keramik zwischen Donau und Teutoburger Wald. Kolloquium zur germanischen Keramik des 1.-5. Jahrhunderts, 17.-18. April 1998, Frankfurt a. M. Römisch-Germanische Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. (RGK)* (1st edn., Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, 4; Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 2000), 37-47 at 44-47.

<sup>151</sup> F. A. Gerritsen, *Local identities, Landscape and community in the late prehistoric Meuse-Demer-Scheldt region*, eds E.M. Moormann, W. Roebroeks et al. (1st edn., Amsterdam Archaeological Studies, 9; Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003). (247-248, 250). Nico Roymans, 'The sword or the plough. Regional dynamics in the Romanisation of Belgic Gaul and the Rhineland area', in N. Roymans (ed.), *From the Sword to the Plough. Three Studies on the Earliest Romanisation of Northern Gaul* (1st edn., Amsterdam Archaeological Studies, 1; Amsterdam: Publication of Pionier-project: Power and Elite. Amsterdam University Press, 1996), 9-126 at 52-58.

<sup>152</sup> Slofstra, 'Meuse-Demer-Scheldt', at 137-145.

Germanen territory is linked to the ‘niederländisch-norddeutsch-südschandinavisches Hauslandschaft’.<sup>153</sup>

North German-Scandinavian fibulae, belt-hooks (*Gürtelhaken*), when found in isolation of other North German-Scandinavian archaeological contexts of the post-La Tène era are assumed to be traded items and not indicative of settlement.

Post-*oppida* handmade pottery in association with settlements clearly relating to Central European type indicates an impoverished La Tène culture. Before the fall of the *oppida*, pottery was generally wheel-made. After the abandonment of the *oppida*, this skill was lost. The ex-*oppida* inhabitants produced crude hand-made attempts to copy the La Tène wheel-made styles.<sup>154</sup> This is impoverished La Tène pottery and is often confused with incoming Elbgermanen, Nordgermanen, and Nordseeermanen peoples. *Grubenhäuser* are usually exclusively associated with Teutonic settlement, but in particular, instances may not necessarily be of North German-Scandinavian origin.

Cremation graves can be of either La Tène or North German-Scandinavian archaeological type. In the post-*oppida* era, it is often possible to mistake impoverished La Tène for North German-Scandinavian type, because of poor quality of pottery and associated imported fibulae. With Teutonic migration, one would expect great cemeteries, as found on the Elbe-Saale, but these are not evident, cf. problems associated with the *südostbayerische Gruppe*.<sup>155</sup> Instead, the standardization of lifestyle which existed prior to the fall of the *oppida* was lost with the fall of the *oppida*. Burial occurred, c. second-first centuries BC, from inhumation to cremation and the fall of the *oppida* produced a breakdown of society. Burial type loses standardization of form as individuals attempt to undertake the burial of

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<sup>153</sup> Meyer, 'Ein Hausgrundriß aus der latène- und kaiserzeitlichen Siedlung Mardorf 23, Kr. Marburg-Biedenkopf', at 115, 117, 119-121.

<sup>154</sup> Wells, *Barbarians* at 83.

<sup>155</sup> Sabine Rieckhoff has produced an in-depth study on the arrival of Teutonic groups to south-eastern Bayern c. 80-50 BC. This *südostbayerische Gruppe* is controversial. See: Rieckhoff, *Süddeutschland im Spannungsfeld von Kelten, Germanen und Römern*. For absence of cemeteries on the Elbe-Saale see Wells, *Barbarians* at 82.

kinfolk. Many forms of burial appear in the archaeological record, some of which are confused with immigrant groups.

The native societies of the region of the Lippe are not to be associated directly with the Elbgermanen culture until *c.* 50 BC. Until this time they looked to the region of the La Tène for cultural focus. House-types of this region of southern and central Westfalen and of the area of central Hessen generally equate with the houses of Central European type. La Tène peoples did not always produce wheel-turned pottery, as seen in the Netherlands and Lower Rhine, particularly in the post-*oppida* era.

Coin circulation is becoming an increasingly important area of research for the establishment of tribal migration, and the point of origin of particular tribes. The study of coins is also very important for the Caesarian-Augustan era in attempting to re-evaluate the chronology of migration and ethnogenesis of particular north and central German tribal groupings, e.g. the Chatti, Ubii, Batavi, and Sugambri.

*Matronen* cult inscriptions have to be assessed individually for suggested ethnic origin of local population or migrants.

Production of La Tène glass bracelets suggests continuity of settlement of Lower Rhine inhabitants.

### **1.9.1. SPECIFIC TYPOLOGIES.**

Sites with settlement, house-type, pottery, fibulae, burial, and metal goods of the same archaeological culture as the surrounding region can be considered to belong to that specific archaeological culture.

Sites with settlement structure of same type as surrounding region, i.e. house-type, with elements, either pottery, burial or metal goods, belonging to the surrounding archaeological cultural sphere, which appear not to have been imported items and with an absent alien archaeological culture should be considered to belong to the surrounding region.

Sites with settlement structure different to surrounding region, i.e. house-types, burial type and associated pottery or metal goods (fibulae, belt-hooks, swords, shield boss, coinage, artwork), will be considered immigrant in origin.

Finds of metal goods (fibulae, belt-hooks, swords, shield boss, artwork) in absence of settlement structure, cemeteries, should be considered to be stray finds or hoards.

Foreign metal goods, and pottery found in absence of settlement amongst foreign archaeological culture may be considered imports but settlement cannot be justified in absence of settlement evidence.

Regional variations are to be expected but these variations should not suggest that the styles were copied by peoples unrelated to the core populations.

Recent research is showing the importance of coinage allied to historical sources as a method of establishing migration.

## 2. CHAPTER 2. ASSESSMENT OF WHAT CLASSICAL AUTHORS CAN CONTRIBUTE TO THE MAIN ARGUMENT.

### 2.1. DIFFERING APPROACHES OF GREEK AND ROMAN CLASSICAL AUTHORS TO THE BARBARIAN PEOPLES, THEIR LANGUAGES, ETHNICITY, AND CULTURE.

Classical authors provide the first perspective on definitions of the barbarian peoples of Central and Northern Europe. Greek and Roman authors approached the ethnicity, language, and culture of the barbarian peoples from different standpoints. These commentators who were mainly Greeks and Romans came from a variety of backgrounds. Some were statesmen and politicians (Caesar, Augustus, and Tacitus).<sup>156</sup> Some were soldiers (Pliny, Paterculus).<sup>157</sup> Others were historians (Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Livy, Suetonius, Appian, Florus, and Cassius Dio), geographers (Strabo), mathematicians (Ptolemy), merchants, ethnographers (Poseidonius) and philosophers (Aristotle).<sup>158</sup> All had one thing in common, they wrote about the peoples inhabiting the territories north of the Alps.

Greek ethnography was initially gained through military involvement and trade movement, but much of this information was derived directly from anthropological and geographical research.

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<sup>156</sup> Gaius Julius Caesar, (100 BC – 44 BC); Caesar Augustus, (63 BC - AD 14); Publius Cornelius Tacitus, (c. 56-117 AD).

<sup>157</sup> Pliny the Elder, born Verona or Novum Comum (Como), Cisalpine Gaul, c. 23 – 79 AD, at Pompeii. Velleius Paterculus served in German campaign of Tiberius. Historical account written, c. 30 AD.

<sup>158</sup> Polybius, born Megalopolis, one of the one thousand noble Achaeans (c. 200 – c. 120 BC) (Greek); Diodorus Siculus, born Agyrium, Sicily (c. 90 – 21 BC) (Greek); Livy, born Patavium (Padua) Rome, (59 BC – AD 17) (Latin); Suetonius, probably born in Rome (c. 69 or 77 AD – uncertain) (Latin); Appian born in Alexandria (c. 95 – 165 AD) (Greek); Florus, born in Africa possibly in the reign of Domitian (81-96 AD), died in the reign of Hadrian (117-138 AD) (Latin); Cassius Dio, born Nicaea, Bithynia (155 – c. 235 AD) (Greek); Strabo, born Amasya, Pontus, now Turkey (c. 64 BC – c. AD 21) (Greek); Claudius Ptolemaeus, born Greece (c. 100 – c. 170 AD) (Greek); Poseidonius, born, Apamea, Syria (c. 135 – 51), (Greek).

Roman ethnography stemmed directly from military involvement with particular regions. Classical authors created the definition of *Germanoi/Germani*, which provided a new framework onto which succeeding authors introduced a variety of new interpretations. These included origin, territory of origin, ethnicity, and language, with specific criteria employed in each case. Each hypothesis presents a counter-hypothesis.

The first assessment in the sixth – fifth centuries BC, of the barbarian peoples concluded that there were three distinct peoples who inhabited the region north of the Alps, i.e. the Keltoi (Galatae), Skythoi, and Hyperborii.<sup>159</sup> D. W. Harding and William Gillies argue that ‘to the Greeks and Romans, ‘Celt’ was an ethnic term used in reference to a discrete barbarian people, however inadequately defined in detail’.<sup>160</sup>

The Greek world-view upon which their ethnographical framework rested included the barbarian peoples. At the centre of this were the Greeks. The Celts (*Κέλτοι*) occupied the northwest, the Indo-Iranian Scythians (*Σκυθιοί*), the northeast, the Ethiopians the south and the Indians the southeast. As early as the fifth century BC, Pytheas referred to both Celts and Scythians. North of the Greeks, an intermediate region between Celts and Scythians was considered by the Greeks to have resulted in Celto-Scythian peoples. Amongst the Celts Pytheas referred to the ‘Germara, a tribe of the Celtic country who do not see the day’. These *Germara* are possibly to be equated with the *Germani*.<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>159</sup> W. Dinan, 'Herodotus', *Monumenta Historica Celtica* (1st edn., 1; London: David Nutt, 1911), 28-35 at 31-33 (Book II, Chapter 33), at 30-33 (Book IV, Chapter 49). For *Skythoi*, cf. (Herodotus Book IV, Chapters 5-15) in Eduard Norden, *Die germanische Urgeschichte in Tacitus Germania* (4th edn.; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1959) at 48. For *Hyperborii*, cf. W. Dinan, 'Aeschylus and Hellanicus', *Monumenta Historica Celtica* (1st edn., 1; London: David Nutt, 1911), 26-29 at 28-29. Herodotus dismissed the Hyperborii as mythical: Dinan, 'Herodotus', at 31. According to Dinan Poseidonius would make the terms Celt and Hyperborii synonymous. Strabo as a geographer believed the Hyperborii to be mythical, cf. T. E. Page, E. Capps et al. (eds.), *The Geography of Strabo*, trans. Horace Leonard Jones VIII vols. (1st edn., The Loeb Classical Library, III; London: Harvard University Press, 1924) at 174-175 (Book VII, Chapter 3.1).

<sup>160</sup> D. W. Harding and William Gillies, 'Introduction: Archaeology and Celticity', in William Gillies and D. W. Harding (eds.), *Celtic Connections Volume 2. Papers from the Tenth International Congress of Celtic Studies, Edinburgh, 1995* (1st edn., 2; Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 2005), 1-14 at 2.

<sup>161</sup> W. Dinan, 'Pytheas', *Monumenta Historica Celtica* (1st edn., 1; London: David Nutt, 1911), 52-89 at 80 and 81.

Classical authors provided historical, ethnographic, military, and geographic accounts. They provided information enabling origins, definitions, chronology, and motivation, to be assessed. The terms *Germani/Germanoi/Germania* provided difficulties for the ancients. These difficulties have continued until the present day. One of the problems with these terms is that their meanings changed from the era of Poseidonius to that of Caesar.



**Figure 1. Barbarian peoples according to Greek Ethnography.**

The inclusion of Poseidonian pre-Caesarian *Germanoi* with *Keltoi* fits the worldview in *Figure 1* without complication. The above classification only becomes a difficulty in ethnic, rather than geographic terms, after the Caesarian era when Teutonic peoples assumed the name *Germani*. References to the *Germanoi* by Poseidonius do not necessarily equate to the same ethnic grouping as that designated by Caesar. This change is not appreciated by some authors. Others continued to use Poseidonius's Greek approach in post-Augustan times when it could no longer be correctly applied, e.g. the terms *Germanoi/Germani* developed different meaning from the time of its initial conception through to the Augustan era. Dio, c. 200 AD, spoke of Celts, i.e. *Κελτοί*, as *Germanoi*, i.e. *Γερμανοί*. The editor remarks that 'Dio's name for Germany proper is *Κελτική*; when he uses the name *Γερμανία*, as here, he refers to the provinces of that name, Germania Superior and Germania Inferior, both lying west of the Rhine'.<sup>162</sup> Poseidonius's knowledge was probably based on first hand information of *Germanoi* or Germania east of the Rhine. Roymans states that in modern literature

<sup>162</sup> Dio, *Dio's Roman History* at 221, n. 222 (Book VI, Chapter LIII.6)

the terms *Celtic* and *Teutonic* are usually linguistic terms, whilst *Germans* and *Celts* refer to people who speak Germanic and Celtic languages, but that ‘The crucial question is whether or not we should use linguistic definitions when considering the people whom Caesar called *Germani*’.<sup>163</sup> In an analysis of the evolution of the concept of what Roymans terms *Germans* in the Classical Literature, in the writings of Hachmann, Dobesch and De Laet, Roymans concludes that: ‘*Germanoi* are first mentioned ca. 90 BC, by Poseidonius as a name for a relatively small group of tribes living on both banks of the Rhine. He considers these ‘Rhine Germans’ to be Celts. Several decades later Caesar gives a much broader meaning to the term *Germans*’.<sup>164</sup> The evidence does suggest that the ‘Rhine-Germans’ of Poseidonius were Celts, and Caesar’s broader meaning was in this instance politically motivated and erroneous.

## **2.2. CAESAR: MOTIVES, POLITICAL GOALS, AND THE CREATION OF AN ETHNO-GEOGRAPHICAL DIVIDE, I.E. *GALLI V. GERMANI*: 58-52 BC.**

In the mid-first century BC, Caesar’s political and military motivation caused him to alter and corrupt the term *Germani*, which he defined as a newly distinct ethnic grouping generally equated with Teutonic peoples from the territory east of the Rhine which he referred to as Germania. Jisekoot remarks that ‘De benamingen “Keltisch” en “Germaans” lijken hier echter onder invloed van Caesar een politiek inhoud te hebben gekregen’.<sup>165</sup> Caesar would have been aware of Poseidonius’s reference to the *Germani* as *Keltoi* but Poseidonius’s Greek conception of the *Keltoi-Germanoi* as Celts was ignored by Caesar. If the *Galli* referred to Ariovistus’s tribes as *Germani*, it is probable that they regarded them as a kindred people from a specific region where the *Germani* were inhabitants, rather than as a different ethnic group. Ariovistus’s war-host appears to have contained a mixed grouping of Celtic

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<sup>163</sup> Roymans, *Northern Gaul* at 12.

<sup>164</sup> Roymans, *Northern Gaul* at 12. Dobesch, ‘Zur Ausbreitung des Germanennamens’. Rolf Hachmann, ‘Germanen und Kelten am Rhein in der Zeit um Christi Geburt’, in Rolf Hachmann, Georg Kossack et al. (eds.), *Völker zwischen Germanen und Kelten. Schriftquellen, Bodenfunde und Namengut zur geschichte des nördlichen Westdeutschlands um Christi Geburt* (1st edn.; Neumünster: Wachholtz, 1962), 9-68. De Laet, *La Belgique d'avant les Romains* at 721.

<sup>165</sup> Jozanne Jiskoot, ‘De Kelten in de ijzertijd’, in Rijcklof Hofman, Bernadette Smelik et al. (eds.), *Kelten in Nederland* (1st edn.; Utrecht: de Keltische Draak, 2000), 8-13 at 12.

and Teutonic tribes. Whilst it is possible that some of Ariovistus's tribes would have referred to themselves as Germani these would most likely have been the tribes of Celtic derivation. The Teutonic tribes may have referred to themselves by tribal or confederation name, but if they had a general designation, it is unlikely to have been Germani. Without Caesar's commentaries, the origin of the ethno-cultural divide would have remained elusive and Caesar might not have gone on to conquer the region of Gallia. Caesar's Gallic commentaries are necessary to help provide an insight into the relative tribal networking in place in Central and Northern Europe. By the provision of tribal names, personal names, and onomastics, with relative positioning, independent evaluation could also be attempted. Without these commentaries there would be no record of tribal movements, interactions, power-struggles, tribal-territories/confederations, and individual leaders for Gallia and Germania of 58-52 BC. It would not be possible to construct and understand migratory forces, cultures, and historical events except through archaeology alone.

### **2.2.1. REINTRODUCTION OF POSEIDONIAN CONCEPT OF GERMANI BY STRABO VERSUS NEW ETHNIC-DIVIDE ON RHINE IN AUGUSTAN PERIOD.**

It was through Strabo that the Poseidonius's Greek conception was reintroduced; however, by the end first century BC, Caesar's definition had taken hold in the minds of Roman writers and the Roman populace. For this reason Strabo's reintroduction of the Germani as Keltoi seems unusual, as Caesar's construction of a Germani-Galli definition was the very antithesis of Poseidonius's Keltoi-Germanoi explanation.

Strabo's reference to Poseidonius's understanding of the Germanoi was as that of a sub-section of the greater Celtic peoples. Strabo believed there to have been a direct ethnic and cultural relationship between the Germanoi and Keltoi, claiming that the Germanoi were the more primitive ancestors of the Keltoi. He suggested that the name Germanoi was to be defined as *genuine*, as in the language of the Romans.<sup>166</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), *Strabo. Geography III* at 152-153 (Book VII, Chapter 1.2).

Strabo must not have understood there to have been a linguistic difference between Poseidonius's Germanoi and the Keltoi or Teutonic tribes of his own time.

The name Germani was applied to Teutonic-speaking peoples from the mid first century BC, onwards, instead of a more suitable term, e.g. *Theudisci*, → medieval *Theudisk* → modern *Deutsch*, which was later adopted.<sup>167</sup> A proto-form of this medieval Teutonic designation would have been a more accurate description for the Teutonic-speaking tribes of the era of Poseidonius. Poseidonius's classification of the Germanoi as Celts was accurate.

### **2.2.2. CIMBRI, TEUTONES, AMBRONES, AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER TRIBES OF GERMANIA AND GALLIA.**

First and second hand accounts of interaction with tribes of Central Europe define the Cimbri, Teutones, and Ambrones as Celts. Poseidonius, who spent time in Marseilles for the purpose of gathering material on the tribes, classified the Teutones as Celts, not Scythians, because the Teutones were discovered in the north-west.<sup>168</sup> Most Classical scholars also considered the Cimbri to be Celts. Classical authors were often in a position to provide information on current events including wars. Caesar could provide first-hand accounts of direct contact with members of the Cimbri and Teutones, e.g. Caesar on Divico the Tigurinian Helvetian.<sup>169</sup>

Poseidonius was uncertain where the Cimbri originated, suggesting that they had covered too much territory and that their original homeland was too far away to provide an accurate insight into their territory of origin.<sup>170</sup> Strabo was aware that the Cimbri still held a peninsula, in the region of the North Sea, probably Jutland, in their original territory, even after Augustus's expeditionary force in 5 AD, to that region. Using his modern Augustan criteria for the region of Germania Strabo included the Cimbri as a people of Germania.<sup>171</sup> Poseidonius may have regarded the

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<sup>167</sup> Weisgerber, *Deutsch als Volksname*.

<sup>168</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), *Strabo. Geography III* at 168-169 (Book VII, Chapter 2.2).

<sup>169</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 22-23 (Book IV, Chapters 3, 13-14).

<sup>170</sup> Hachmann (ed.), *Germanic Peoples* at 34.

<sup>171</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), *Strabo. Geography III* at 170-171 (Book VII, Chapter 2.4)

Teutones as Helvetii.<sup>172</sup> Prior to Caesar's arrival in Gallia the Helvetic groups had inhabited southern Germania. According to Hachmann:

'Poseidonius did not know the exact origin of the Cimbri but certainly did not consider them to be Germani – although he knew of the Germani as a people of Celtic stock – we are puzzled to know what led the ancients to suppose that the Cimbri and Teutoni were Germanic peoples'.<sup>173</sup>

### 2.2.3. POSEIDONIUS AND THE KELTOI-GERMANOI.

Neither the Cimbri nor the Teutones were referred to by Poseidonius as Germanoi. Until the time of Poseidonius, the name Germanoi appears to have been unknown in the Roman Empire. Poseidonius probably initially heard it during his stay in Gallia. The Germanoi were thought to live on the Rhine and Poseidonius believed them to be Celtic, not Teutonic, i.e. *Keltoi-Germanoi*. When Poseidonius wrote in the early first century BC, the Elbgermanen, Nordgermanen, Ostgermanen, or Nordsee germanen groupings were not present in the territories immediately east of the Rhine. The tribal grouping of the Suebi, which Caesar equated with his archetypal Germani, had not yet arrived in the Rhineland. Groups such as the proto-Chatti were beginning to form. Poseidonius travelled to Gallia and probably even as far as the Rhineland. Diodorus, drawing on Poseidonius, indicated that:

'The people who dwell above Marseilles in the interior district, those near the Alps, and those on this side of the Pyrenees also are called Celts; while those who dwell beyond the Celtic country to the southern points of this region, those who inhabit towards the (Atlantic) Ocean, and those around the Hercynian Forest, and all those beyond as far as Scythia are called Galatae. The Romans include all these tribes under one name and call them Gauls'.<sup>174</sup>

Diodorus, drawing on Poseidonius's writings, used the Greek term *Keltoi* and *Galatae* to refer to the Celtic peoples as a whole. He related the Galatae provincial group of the Celtae (a Celtic and Roman term) east of the Rhine to the Celts west of the Rhine. Greek ethnography did not recognize the Germani as an independent population group. Hachmann asserts that the Teutonic peoples were Celts when they

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<sup>172</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), *Strabo. Geography III* at 168-169 (Book VII, Chapter 2.2). This depends on a much debated interpretation of the name as *Teutoni* or *Toygeni*.

<sup>173</sup> Hachmann (ed.), *Germanic Peoples* at 34. See § I.. The Problem of Germanic Identity. (11-65).

<sup>174</sup> W. Dinan, 'Poseidonius', *Monumenta Historica Celtica* (1st edn., 1; London: David Nutt, 1911), 302-355 at 323-324.

were encountered in the west, and Skythoi when in the east.<sup>175</sup> Poseidonius also relates the Keltoi west of the Rhine to the Germanoi east of the Rhine. To the Greek authors the term *Galatae* appears to have been interchangeable with Keltoi and Celts. The Greeks generally did not differentiate between Celtic and Teutonic peoples.

Poseidonius may have referred to the Ambrones, but there is no extant evidence for this. Poseidonius's writings no longer exist and only secondary references to his work remain, largely through Strabo and Diodorus Siculus. The later writer Plutarch, c. 200 AD, suggested an origin for the Cimbri, Teutones, and Ambrones in northern Germania.<sup>176</sup>

The first suggestion that the Cimbri and Teutones are to be linked with non-Celtic Germani is through Caesar.<sup>177</sup> Hachmann states that after Caesar's time the Cimbri and Teutones are seen as Germani. He questions Caesar's arguments and concludes that, 'Quels arguments César avait? Aucun!' Hachmann concludes that Caesar simply pretended that the Cimbri and Teutones were Germani, i.e. 'Il le prétendait simplement'.<sup>178</sup> Caesar equated the Cimbri and Teutones with the Germani in order to suggest a different ethnic group from the Galli. He implied kinship between the Teutones and Gallic Aduatuci, who were apparently known by the name Germani within Gallia, thus prompting the reader to assume a kinship with the Germani of Germania, i.e. the Teutonic Suebi.<sup>179</sup> The suggestion that the Cimbri and Teutones were Germani, and that they were distinct from the Celts or Galli is intentional. Both suggestions reflect Caesar's ambition and objectives. The Romans probably became aware of the different nature of the captive Cimbri, Teutones, and Ambrones, to the

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<sup>175</sup> E. Capps, T. E. Page et al. (eds.), *Plutarch's Lives. Demetrius and Antony Pyrrhus and Caius Marius*, eds. E. Capps, T. E. Page et al., trans. Bernadotte Perrin XI vols. (1st edn., The Loeb Classical Library, IX; London: William Heinemann, 1920), Hachmann (ed.), *Germanic Peoples* at 48-49.

<sup>176</sup> Hachmann (ed.), *Germanic Peoples* at 48-49. Capps, Page et al. (eds.), *Plutarch's Lives. Demetrius and Antony Pyrrhus and Caius Marius. 1920* at 486-489. See Caius Marius, (Book I, Chapters 1-3).

<sup>177</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 34-35 (Book I, Chapter 40).

<sup>178</sup> Rolf Hachmann, 'Germanis, Celtes et Belges dans la France du Nord et en Belgique à l'époque de Jules César', *Revue Archéologique. Bulletin de la S. F. A. C.* (Paris, 1974), 166-176 at 167.

<sup>179</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 44-45 for Belgae (Book II, Chapter 4), for Aduatuci (Book II, Chapter 29), at 55.

Galli in the aftermath of the slave war in 73-71 BC, under Spartacus, so Caesar's division of peaceful Celts and hostile Germani would have been plausible to them.<sup>180</sup>

### **2.3. CAESAR'S MANIPULATION OF THE EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE GALLIC WARS. HIS ENTRY INTO GALLIA AND HIS CREATION OF A PSEUDO-ETHNO-GEOGRAPHICAL DIVIDE.**

Caesar's manipulation of the Helvetii in 58 BC, provided him with his first foothold in Gallia. He learned that the two largest factions in Gallia, the Arverni/Sequani and the Aedui were in a continual struggle for supremacy. The Arverni/Sequani recruited 15,000 mercenaries from Germania led by Ariovistus in 72 BC. These were later joined by over 100,000 more.<sup>181</sup> By 58 BC, they were settled in large numbers west of the Rhine in Alsace and Rhineland-Pfalz, under their King Ariovistus. By the time of Caesar's arrival in Gallia Ariovistus had defeated the Arverni/Sequani, the Aedui and their dependants and he controlled eastern Gallia.<sup>182</sup> Ariovistus's Germani ranged from as far north as Mainz (territory of the Celtic Aresaces, Caeracates or Mediomatrici). Their main force probably commanded the territory between Karlsruhe in the north, and Mulhouse in the south, with additional groupings amongst the southern Sequani, south of Alsace (Elsaß), possibly centred in the region of Strasbourg. When referring to the forces of Ariovistus, Caesar frequently stressed the function of the Rhine as an ethnic boundary between Galli and Germani.<sup>183</sup> Hachmann believes that this suggests that at first sight Caesar had precise and

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<sup>180</sup> Herbert Schutz, *The Prehistory of Germanic Europe* (1st edn.; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983) at 343.

<sup>181</sup> Gerold Walser (ed.), *Caesar und die Germanen. Studien zur politischen Tendenz römischer Feldzugsberichte*, eds. Herman Bengtson, Karl Stroheker et al. (1st edn., Historia. Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte. Einzelschriften, 1; Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1956) at 22. See § 'Die Charakteristik Ariovists durch Diviciacus'.

<sup>182</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 29-30 (Book I,Chapter31).

<sup>183</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 17, (Book I,Chapter1), at 28-29 (BookI,Chapter28), at 29-30, (Book I,Chapter31), at 31 (BookI,Chapter33), at 32-33 (Book I,Chapters36-37), at 33-35 (Book I,Chapters39-40), at 36-37 (BookI,Chapter44), at 40 (BookI,Chapter54), at 43-44 (BookII,Chapters3-4), at 55 (BookII,Chapter29), at 62 (BookII,Chapter11), at 73 (BookIV,Chapter1), at 74 -75 (BookIV,Chapter3-6), at 80 (BookIV,Chapter14-19), at 89 (BookV,Chapter2-3), at 100 (BookV,Chapter27), at 102 (BookV,Chapter29), at 106 (BookV,Chapter41), at 112 (BookV,Chapter55), at 115 (BookVI,Chapter2), at 116 (BookVI,Chapter5), at 118 (BookVI,Chapter9), at 126 (BookVI,Chapter24), at 127 (BookVI,Chapter29), at 128 (BookVI,Chapter32), at 130 (BookVI,Chapter35), at 133 (BookVI,Chapter42), at 161 (BookVII,Chapter65), Book VIII was written by Aulus Hirtius.

reliable information about the population living on both banks of the Rhine. If we consider the sources available to him, including the direct information gained from the interrogation of prisoners and the indirect information supplied by Gallic informants, it must be concluded that in the first year of the Gallic War Caesar was not particularly well informed.<sup>184</sup> Under the guise of protecting the Aedui, Caesar pursued specific political and military objectives, i.e. to undertake the conquest of Gallia, which would ensure the elevation of his political career in Rome.<sup>185</sup> Caesar constantly voiced his wish to free the *Gallic* tribes from foreign oppression. It is under this pretext that he denied the Helvetii entry to Provincia, as an access route to western Gallia. Thus, he chose the Helvetii as the first confederation to pay the price for his military ambition. At this early stage, Caesar was aware of Ariovistus's position in Gallia having granted him the title 'King and friend of the Roman people', one or two years before. If the Helvetian campaign had not taken place, Caesar would have found another method to enter Gallia to engage Ariovistus.<sup>186</sup> Although Caesar chose to stress the Helvetii as a unit invading Celtica, they were in fact *Celtae* proper. Caesar forced a military encounter with the Helvetii early in 58 BC, granting him access to Gallia, which he had no intention of leaving.<sup>187</sup> He proceeded to manipulate events to ensure a military encounter with Ariovistus and his Germani in the autumn of the same year. In order to assert his authority Caesar deliberately attempted to thwart any invaders from outside Gallia, i.e. new immigrants and 100 cantons of the Suebi attempting to join Ariovistus. The Belgic campaign in the second year of the war displayed the importance which the Rhine played in Caesar's military plans.<sup>188</sup> His intended conquest of Gallia was to establish his future role in Rome, but this goal had to remain concealed, although suspicions were already aroused in Rome. Hachmann argues that Caesar downplayed his own role in the events leading up to the Gallic Wars, allowing his actions to speak for

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<sup>184</sup> Hachmann (ed.), *Germanic Peoples* at 34-35. See § I. The Problem of Germanic Identity. (11-65).

<sup>185</sup> Herbert Schutz, *The Romans in Central Europe*, 1 vols. (1st. edn.; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985) at 2-3.

<sup>186</sup> Presumably by aggravating one of the tribes bordering Provincia to War, i.e. the Helvetii, Segusiavi, Ambarri, Gaballi. Caesar may have pushed to provide recognition for Ariovistus because it would provide Ariovistus as a legitimate and recognizable threat to Rome.

<sup>187</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 21-29 (Book I, Chapters 11-28).

<sup>188</sup> Hachmann (ed.), *Germanic Peoples* at 35.

themselves. All of Caesar's actions seemed to follow inevitably from circumstances, yet they were circumstances engineered by Caesar himself, all based on careful calculation, though his commentaries suggest he was forced by events to act.<sup>189</sup>

### 2.3.1. THE BELGAE AND THE GERMANI CISRHENANI.

Following the campaign against Ariovistus in 58 BC, the Belgae in 57 BC opposed Caesar's attempts at an unprovoked outward policy of conquest.<sup>190</sup> At this juncture on his arrival to northern Gallia in 57 BC, Caesar seemed genuinely surprised to find peoples who claimed origin from the Germani, i.e. the Belgae and the Germani cisrhenani.

Caesar was immediately aware of their similarity to the Galli, in language and culture. The very obviously Celtic tribes of Belgae and Germani cisrhenani, which he encountered, did not fit with what he had attempted to define as Suebic tribes, but he used his own interpretation of their self designation as Germani to his advantage. He continued to refer to these northern Galli-Germani as Germani, to imply to the reader that they were akin to the Germani east of the Rhine, which he based on the fierce Teutonic Suebi. This made it imperative that they should be conquered. In reality these Gallic Germani were not akin to the Suebi but to the Galli.

If Caesar had referred to the Germani of Belgica and Germani cisrhenani before encountering Ariovistus the threat of the Germani of Ariovistus would not have been perceived as exclusive. This would have been very damaging for Caesar's campaign against Ariovistus and his continued presence in Gallia.

Caesar's description and transmission of the Belgae as Galli-Germani and his inclusion of the Germani cisrhenani within Gallia, as participating tribes of the Gaulish Belgic confederation, suggests that even Caesar had not worked out all the finer details of his new concept. His *geographical = ethnical* basis for his concept of Germani and Galli did not always fit neatly. Caesar may have considered that he had

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<sup>189</sup> Hachmann (ed.), *Germanic Peoples* at 35.

<sup>190</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 43-56 (Book II, Chapters 1-35).

sufficiently emphasized that the Belgae were Galli and that a reference to an origin from the Germani would not detract from this.<sup>191</sup>

### **2.3.2. DISTORTION OF TRIBAL IDENTITY AS SEEN THROUGH CAESAR'S COMMENTARIES.**

The Galli were largely correct when they referred to tribes such as the Ubii and Sugambri as Germani, and when they asserted that they were Belgae but also Germani. Some of the Germani cisrhenani regarded themselves not just as geographical Galli but also as both Galli and Germani. Here there was no contradiction, e.g. the Eburones. Whilst in the campaign of Ambiorix Caesar remarked that:

‘The Segni and Condrusi who live between the Eburones and the Treveri but are of German origin and so count as Germans, sent envoys to me to beg me not to regard them as enemies, and not to assume that all the Germans on the Gallic side of the Rhine were in league against me. They had...sent no help to Ambiorix’.

Conversely, Caesar suggests that Ambiorix considered himself a Gaul, whilst his tribe was of the Germani cisrhenani.<sup>192</sup> The Germani cisrhenani were very aware of their east Rhenish origin, but were part of the confederation which joined with the Belgae in an attempt to repel Caesar's invasionary force.

### **2.3.3. CAESAR AND THE SUEBI AS GERMANI.**

Caesar continually asserted that the Galli and Germani were different groups separated by the Rhine. He equated the Germani with the Teutonic Suebi and based his account of the Suebi, in part, on accounts of other northern peoples, i.e. the nomadic Skythoi.<sup>193</sup> Caesar created the concept of the Suebi as the archetypal Germani. He led his audience to assume that all other Germani possessed the same characteristics as the Suebi, without raising any questions on their language, culture,

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<sup>191</sup> Results have been obtained from my research entitled ‘The Legacy of Caesar and the tribes west and east of the Rhine had Caesar not succeeded in creating an ethno-geographical Rhine-divide based on Galli and Germani’, which has been omitted here for reasons of space.

<sup>192</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 128 (Book VI, Chapter 32).

<sup>193</sup> Rives, *Tacitus. Germania* at 26.

or origins of the tribes, which he had collectively referred to as Germani.<sup>194</sup> Peschel remarks that, 'Caesars Suebi erscheinen als die eigentlichen Exponenten der transrhenanischen Germanen'.<sup>195</sup> This explains why archaeology is now generally producing La Tène material culture between the Rhine and Weser, akin to that of the other Celtic peoples, for the pre-Caesarian and Caesarian period, i.e. mid-first century BC, rather than with the archaeological cultures associated with the Teutonic peoples. Caesar spent more than six years campaigning in Gallia and Germania and ventured into Germania twice, in 55 and 53 BC. It could be assumed that he must have had many opportunities to gather information on the peoples of Germania, yet altogether he only spent a few weeks in Germania. He entered Ubia, Sugambria, and possibly Mattiacia, but never dared to venture as far northeast as Suebia (Elbe), i.e. eastern Thüringen/Brandenburg/Sachsen. What he provides regarding ethnography in his treatise 'Customs of the Germani' is a mixture of traditional ideas on nomadic peoples, i.e. *Scythians* of Greek ethnography, together with other information of questionable source.<sup>196</sup> It is remarkable that Caesar did not provide a more in-depth account of the Germani. He may have wished to provide an account, which contrasted the Galli with the Germani, but his observations must, with the exception of Ariovistus's Suebic contingent, have shown the Germani proper to mirror and thus be akin to the Galli.

Caesar was undoubtedly aware of the languages of the Galli and Germani. With Ariovistus, he encountered a man who spoke Gaulish, although he suggests that Ariovistus had learned this language.<sup>197</sup> This should not necessarily imply that Ariovistus spoke a Teutonic dialect. Hachmann is of the opinion that the Germani of Ariovistus spoke Celtic. It is more likely that the Celtic Germani of Ariovistus spoke

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<sup>194</sup> Rives, *Tacitus. Germania* at 25. See § 3. *The discovery of the Germani*. Dieter Timpe, 'Ethnologische Begriffsbildung in der Antike', in Heinrich Beck (ed.), *Germanenprobleme in heutiger Sicht. Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde* (2nd edn., Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde, 1; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1999), 22-40 at 22-40. For the Suebi see: Ludwig Rübekel, *Suebica - Völkernamen und Ethnos* (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, 68; Innsbruck, 1992).

<sup>195</sup> Peschel, 'Die Sueben', at 259.

<sup>196</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 124-127 (Book VI, Chapters 21-28).

<sup>197</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 38 (Book I, Chapter 47).

Celtic and those tribes of Teutonic origin amongst his war-host spoke Teutonic.<sup>198</sup> The Suebi and Teutonic speakers should not be classed as Germani. It is feasible that Ariovistus spoke a dialect of Celtic unintelligible to the Galli, e.g Bohemian, Norican, Vindelician, and central German Celtic. The Celtic Belgic and Germani cisrhenanian dialects certainly produced audible differences to the Celtic dialects of central Gallia, although all are obviously broadly Celtic. Wells draws upon Meid's warning that:

'It is likely at this time that many people spoke languages that would not be easily classified into either modern linguistic category, and some that combined elements of both language groups. In days before national borders, textbooks and writing, languages varied much more widely than they do in the modern world'.<sup>199</sup>

Caesar remarked that within Gallia languages, customs, and laws of the Belgae, Aquitani, and Celtae were quite distinct.<sup>200</sup>

## **2.4. MILITARY INTELLIGENCE OF ROMAN ARMY.**

Interpreters played an important role in the Roman army in establishing the ethnographic traits of potential enemies, for the purpose of reconnaissance and interrogation. Hachmann argues that it would be necessary for the lower commands to be familiar with the languages spoken in the area. Such an astute man as Caesar must have noticed linguistic differences between the Teutonic and Celtic tribes, but to draw attention to it would have rendered his ethnic Rhine-divide theory less plausible.

## **2.5. EVOLUTION OF POSEIDONIAN CONCEPT OF KELTOI-GERMANOI.**

Poseidonius's concept of the *Keltoi-Germanoi* was carried through to the Augustan era and expanded by Strabo, who accepted a much greater Germania, incorporating a majority of Teutonic tribes referred to as Germanoi. Although Strabo never

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<sup>198</sup> Rolf Hachmann, 'Séance du Mars 16. 1974', *Revue Archéologique. Bulletin de la S. F. A. C.*, (1974), 166 at 166.

<sup>199</sup> Wells, *Beyond Celts, Germans* at 116. Meid, 'Hans Kuhns "Nordwestblock" - Hypothese.' at 183-212.

<sup>200</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 17 (BookI,Chapter1).

differentiated between Celtic and Teutonic Germanoi, the preponderance of Teutonic tribes together with the Roman definition of Germani eventually lead to the assumption that *Germanoi/Germani* were synonymous with Teutonic tribes.

Strabo also referred to the Belgic Nervii, the Sugambri, and Tribocchi as Germanoi, and infers that the Ubii were Germanoi.<sup>201</sup> This presented no problem for him. Tacitus also referred to the assertion that the Nervii and Treveri believed themselves to be Germani.<sup>202</sup> This assertion presented a problem for Tacitus who equated language with ethnicity. He lived 150 years after events undertaken by Caesar, by which time the term *Germani* was firmly equated primarily with Teutonic speakers. In origin, the Treveri and Nervii were probably correct in their assertion that they were Germani, i.e. Celtic Germani, but Tacitus thought that they meant they were of Teutonic descent and remained unconvinced that they were Germani. Hachmann argues that the name Germani is not recorded as being applied to themselves by any other tribes and ‘In claiming Germanic origin, therefore the Belgae and Treveri cannot have been thinking of the whole body of Germanic peoples in the sense in which Caesar uses the term’.<sup>203</sup> Hachmann adds that this provides a shadowy picture of a group of tribes of Northern Gallia who called themselves Germani and had some consciousness of ethnic solidarity. These were probably, according to Hachmann, the same Germani of whom Poseidonius heard on his journey up the Rhône valley.<sup>204</sup>

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<sup>201</sup> T. E. Page, E. Capps et al. (eds.), *The Geography of Strabo*, trans. Horace Leonard Jones VIII vols. (1st edn., The Loeb Classical Library, II; London: William Heinemann, 1923) at 230-231 (BookIV,Chapter3.4.).

<sup>202</sup> Rives, *Tacitus. Germania* at 88, 235-236. See § 28.4 *Nervii*, § 28.4 *Treveri*.

<sup>203</sup> Hachmann (ed.), *Germanic Peoples* at 47.

<sup>204</sup> Hachmann (ed.), *Germanic Peoples* at 47.

### 2.5.1. THE MIGRATION OF TEUTONIC ELEMENTS AMONGST THE TUNGRI AND ORIGINAL GERMANI WEST OF RHINE.

The Tungri are also mentioned by Tacitus as Germani. He states that they were the original *Germani*.<sup>205</sup> Hachmann believes that:

‘It was only at a later stage that the name of Germani was extended to all the peoples on the right bank of the Rhine, who did not originally apply this name to themselves or perhaps even use it at all’.<sup>206</sup>

This is certainly not what the evidence suggests, as the Belgae asserted that their origin lay east of the Rhine and remarked that they were descended from the Germani east of the Rhine.<sup>207</sup> The Germani cisrhenani also suggest that their parent stock of Germani originated east of the Rhine.<sup>208</sup> Strabo was probably drawing on Poseidonius when he remarked ‘Now the parts beyond the Rhenus, immediately after the country of the Celti, slope towards the east and are occupied by the Germanoi’.<sup>209</sup> In addition, Strabo referred to a number of tribes, which in his own time may have been described as *Germanoi*. He is probably also referring to a select number of tribal references made by Poseidonius. These tribes were particularly important in Caesar’s era and they were the most important tribes on the Rhine and Central Germania in the Poseidonian era prior to and at the time of the Cimbrian invasion. These tribes mentioned in connection with Gallia were the Sugambri, Nervii, Tribocchi, Ubii, and Suebi.<sup>210</sup> Regardless of the ethnic origin of the individual tribes of Ariovistus’s warhost it is certain that they were regarded as Germani by the Galli of Celtica.

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<sup>205</sup> Rives, *Tacitus. Germania* at 77-78, 117-118. See § 2.3 and § ‘...and now are called the Tungri’ § ‘Germani’. Tacitus’s Tungri present a difficult problem and represent the Germani cisrhenani of Caesar.

<sup>206</sup> Hachmann (ed.), *Germanic Peoples* at 47-48.

<sup>207</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 44-45 (BookII,Chapter 4).

<sup>208</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 128 (BookVI,Chapter 4), at 128 (BookVI,Chapter32).

<sup>209</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), *Strabo. Geography III* at 152-153 (BookVII,Chapter1.2). J. J. Tierney, ‘The Celtic Ethnography of Poseidonius’, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 60/Section C, No.5. (1960), 189-275. Charles Christopher Hawkes, ‘Celts, Gaulois, Germains, Belges’, *Celticum*, XII (1965), 1-7 at 1.

<sup>210</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), *Strabo. Geography II* at 228-231 (BookIV,Chapter3.4.4). See ‘Tribocchi’ at 228-229 and ‘Ubii’, ‘Nervii’, ‘Sugambri’, ‘Suevi’ at 230-231.

## 2.5.2. COMMENTARIES WHEN COMPARED PROVIDE AN ORIGIN FOR *GERMANOI* EAST OF RHINE: THE GERMANI-AMBI.

These Germani must have originated east of the Rhine. Both the Germani Belgae and Germani cisrhenani stated that they originated from the Germani east of the Rhine ‘Most of the Belgae are of German origin; they had crossed the Rhine long ago, driven out the Gauls they found there and settled in that part of Gaul because its soil was fertile’.<sup>211</sup> This implies that the Germani arrived from outside Gallia or that they moved east. The Germanoi of Poseidonius were quite possibly situated on the right bank of the Rhine as seen through Strabo. This can be confirmed through Tacitus who remarked:

‘But the term ‘Germania’, they say, is modern and recently applied, since those who first crossed over the Rhine and drove out the Gauls (and now are called the Tungri) were at that time called Germani. Thus the name of a tribe, and not of a people, gradually became dominant, with the result that they were all called Germani, at first by the conquered from the name of the conquerors because of fear, and then, once the name had been devised, also by the Germani themselves’.<sup>212</sup>

The Germani referred to by Tacitus are Caesar’s Germani cisrhenani, i.e. Eburones, Caerosi, Paemani, Segni, and Condrusi and possibly the Aduatuci. These are the real Germani who had traversed from the right to the left bank of the Rhine. In referring to the conquerors of Gallia, Tacitus was speaking of Caesar and his army. Caesar applied the names *Germani/Germania* not to just the Rhenish tribes to which it belonged, but to the entire region and all tribes, both Celtic and Teutonic, east of the Rhine, with particular emphasis on the Suebi, who were not in the real sense Germani. In time, the natives east of the Rhine became known as Germani.<sup>213</sup>

Caesar’s definition of Germani would not have been plausible unless there were still Germani remaining on the right bank of the Rhine. These were the Sugambri, Ubii

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<sup>211</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 44-45 (Book II, Chapter 4).

<sup>212</sup> Rives, *Tacitus. Germania* at 77-78. See (Germania, Chapter 2.1).

<sup>213</sup> Wells, *German Policy* at 29, 14-31. See *Ch. 2 Celts and Germans*. Wells, ‘Celts and Germans in the Rhineland’, at 606-610.

and possibly the Usipetes and Tencteri.<sup>214</sup> This implies that they originated east of the Rhine.

It is noticeable that Strabo picked certain tribes, some of which were in Gallia, and referred to them as Germanoi, e.g. Ubii, (Sugambri), Tribocchi and Nervii and Tacitus's Nervii and Treveri, Ubii, Nemetes, Vangiones and Triboci.<sup>215</sup> It is also possible that Strabo was mixing both Poseidonius's ideas with those of his own day when the definition had already been altered. Although the Germanoi may have originated east of the Rhine the core of the Germanoi eventually settled on both banks of the Rhine as a single ethnic and cultural region, which will be henceforth known as the *Germani-Ambi*. This would mean that the Sugambri, Ubii, Germani cisrhenani, (later Tungri), and Belgae Germani (Strabo's Treveri and Nervii) belonged to the same ethnic grouping on both sides of the Rhine.

### 2.5.3. DIFFICULTIES OF TRIBAL DESIGNATION.

Caesar is, in some respects, the least trustworthy commentator when treating of the peoples he referred to as Germani. It is only with the information from Belgica and the eastern Rhenish tribes of the Middle and Lower Rhine that a proper understanding of the actual ownership of the name Germani begins to come into focus. This name appears to have applied initially to groups east of the Middle and Lower Rhine and through migratory movements passed into Belgica and northern Gallia. The Germani cisrhenani and Treveri are assumed to be the latest movements into Gallia as they are closest to the Rhine. They kept the strongest cultural ties, and were most similar to the eastern Rhenish peoples directly opposite their territories. The difference between the Celtae proper and Germani was probably accounted for by dialectic differences. Caesar transferred the name *Germani* to the entire population east of Rhine without regard to language, ethnicity, or culture. This was an erroneous Roman construct. At the time of Caesar Germania outside of Gallia probably only extended to a strip of territory along the Lower and Middle Rhine.

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<sup>214</sup> Wells, *German Policy* at 20

<sup>215</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), *Strabo. Geography II* at 222-223 (BookIV,Chapter3.4-5). Rives, *Tacitus. Germania* at 88 (Germania.Chapter28.4).

## **2.6. THE REAL TEUTONIC CELTIC ETHNIC DIVIDE AT THE END FIRST CENTURY BC → BEGINNING FIRST CENTURY AD.**

The ethnic divide only began to become a reality after Caesar's departure in the Augustan era, with the arrival of Teutonic peoples into the territory of the Germani in the Mittelgebirge of central Germany. They were eventually provided with the new name *Germani* by the Romans, as they had become the dominant military power east of the Rhine. The Teutonic invaders would never have referred to themselves as *Germani* except when dealing with the Romans, as this term was alien to them. The newcomers would have used tribal designations to identify themselves and from an early period appear to have had no one particular overall designation by which to identify all Teutonic speakers.

## **2.7. THE DRAWBACKS OF THE TESTIMONIES OF THE CLASSICAL AUTHORS.**

Very often only fragments of Classical writings remain and we are often dependent on the interpretation of later scholars, as in the case of Strabo drawing on Poseidonius. Caesar's writings were often influenced by a wish for self-aggrandizement and advancement or the approbation of his contemporaries. Although he left us a wealth of information Caesar surprisingly neglected to provide important details of the barbarian tribes, e.g. he also neglected to name any of the leaders of the Ubii, Sugambri, Usipetes, or Tencteri, or tell us to which tribe Ariovistus belonged. Caesar also refers to tribes of Germani without naming them. This makes the placement of tribal units much more difficult.

Greek and Roman authors exhibited inconsistencies in their application of tribal and confederation names, e.g. the Suebi; they are sometimes referred to as a tribe and sometimes as a confederation.<sup>216</sup>

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<sup>216</sup> Wells, *Beyond Celts, Germans* at 112.

Caesar and other Roman writers seem to have been unaware that the geopolitical situation in Europe was highly dynamic. The social and cultural environment was in a constant state of flux heightened by Roman interference.<sup>217</sup>

Most of the classical writers show a lack of knowledge of or interest in the languages of the barbarians, although they had great interest in their own language. This is a great loss to the scholars of today.<sup>218</sup> Due to Caesar's Rhine-divide hypothesis, later writers sometimes misinterpreted writings, which pre-dated Caesar, which referred to Germani. This compounded by hindsight often led to erroneous opinions.

Poseidonius's use of the original term *Germanoi* was deliberately corrupted by Caesar and altered to produce a new definition. If Poseidonius had encountered Teutonic peoples, he would not have referred to them as *Germanoi*. Whilst one could argue that the region of Germania incorporated every tribe, whether Celtic or Teutonic, Poseidonius and Strabo believed the term had ethnic and cultural connotations and was applied to a select group of tribes. This questions the extent of Germania in the Poseidonian era and how the region outside of the fringe of Rhenish tribes of Germani was designated, whether tribe by tribe, or confederation by confederation, e.g. Suebia, Cheruscia.

Strabo was unaware of linguistic differences between Celtic and Teutonic tribes and he assumed that Poseidonius's Celtic Germanoi were identical to all Augustan Germanoi, as in his time Teutonic Germanoi of northern Germania were just arriving into the old region of Germania on the Rhine. Thus, Strabo's understanding of Germanoi was in keeping with Poseidonius's definition, as Greek ethnography did not differentiate between Celtic and Teutonic tribes.

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<sup>217</sup> Wells, *Beyond Celts, Germans* at 112.

<sup>218</sup> Hachmann (ed.), *Germanic Peoples* at 45.

### **2.7.1. THE CONTRIBUTION OF CLASSICAL AUTHORS TO SUCCEEDING GENERATIONS.**

Caesar created a distinction between Celtae and Belgae, and the Germani. Beyond this is the identification of tribes and supra-tribal units (confederations) e.g. Suebi, to units identified as ethnic groups.

The Classical authors provide invaluable information through first/second-hand accounts, on the language, place, personal and geographical names, religions, and customs, of peoples and regions.

Classical authors have provided historical accounts of military campaigns, migrations, the division and administration of conquered territory, native settlement, and infrastructure (*oppida*). They also provided information on the Caesarian, Augustan, and Tiberian eras and their policies, particularly with regard to the barbarian tribes and the effects on native society.

Caesar, Strabo, Pliny, Tacitus, Suetonius, Dio, Velleius and Florus provide valuable information on the location of the Roman forts on the Lippe and in the Taunus in central Germania and in providing the tribal territories.

The Classical scholars provided a unique insight into their time. Theirs is a very specialized and valuable resource. They have their own scholarly conventions, which they followed without the aids which modern scholarship takes for granted.

Due to the Classical authors, events, persons, and locations can be brought together to provide a better understanding of particular eras. They provide insight into political climate, motivation, philosophy, and forces, which led to the creation of decision-making. The Classical authors enlighten us on policy, campaigns, intrigue/subterfuge, dissemination of ideas/decisions, and the written word. These shaped entire regions and changed history, language, and thought processes. They have provided the modern reader with valuable information which would otherwise have been lost and a choice of directions in which to proceed.

## 2.8. EARLIEST REFERENCE TO TEUTONIC TRIBES.

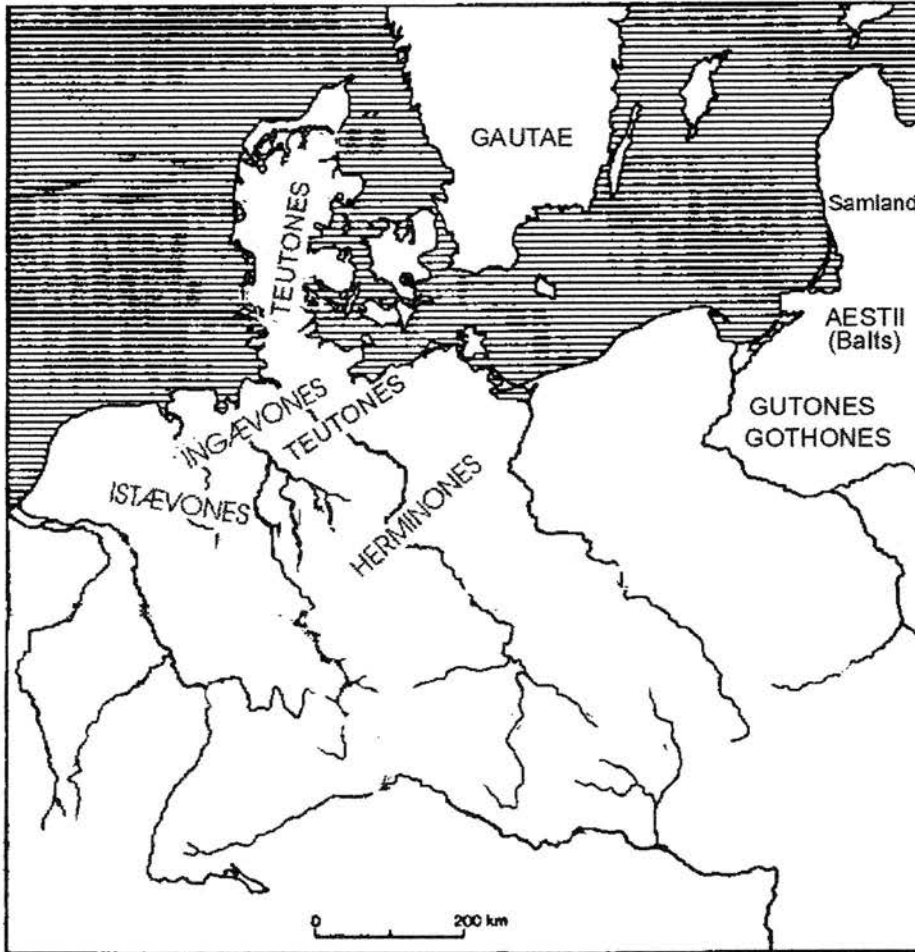


Figure 2. Pytheas' Teutonic tribes and probable location of Cult Leagues.

### 2.8.1. THE TEUTONES AND GUIONES.

Pytheas is the earliest Ancient author to refer to tribes of Teutonic origin. He names the Teutones 'Nat. Hist. XXXVII, 35-53' and the Guiones 'NH XXXVII.35; cf Pytheas T25 Roseman'.<sup>219</sup> The earliest manuscripts relating to Pytheas are fragmentary and not standard, due to scribal errors/mistaken transference. It is uncertain whether the Guiones refers to the Gutones, the Ingvacones/Ingaevones or

<sup>219</sup> Pliny *Nat.Hist.* XXXVII, 35-53) and the Guiones (*Nat.Hist.* III, 26 2ff.).

Tacitus's Suiones.<sup>220</sup> Pliny includes the Cimbri, Teutones and Chauci as a part of the Ingaevones.<sup>221</sup> This places the Ingaevones on the North Sea and possibly as far east as the Baltic. In accordance with Ptolemy the Teutonoarii are placed east of the mouth of the Lower Elbe, just south of the southern Baltic coast. Ptolemy also places the Teutones (probably the same as the Teutonoarii from a different source) on and east of the river *Suebis*, i.e. the Oder.

Rives remarks on Pliny's report on how Pytheas claimed that amber originated among a tribe called the Guiones/Gutones who inhabited a huge estuary of the Ocean (*Nat.Hist.* XXXVII, 35, Pytheas T 25 Roseman).<sup>222</sup>

Tacitus asserted that the Aestii on the Suebic sea were the only tribe in the world to gather *glaesum* (amber). Although amber was found all along the Baltic coast, by the time of Tacitus, the most important source was on the southeastern coast, i.e. the Samland peninsula north of Kaliningrad.<sup>223</sup> This could link the amber-producing Guiones on the Baltic with the Gothones, who inhabited the territory of the eastern Baltic west of the Aestii.

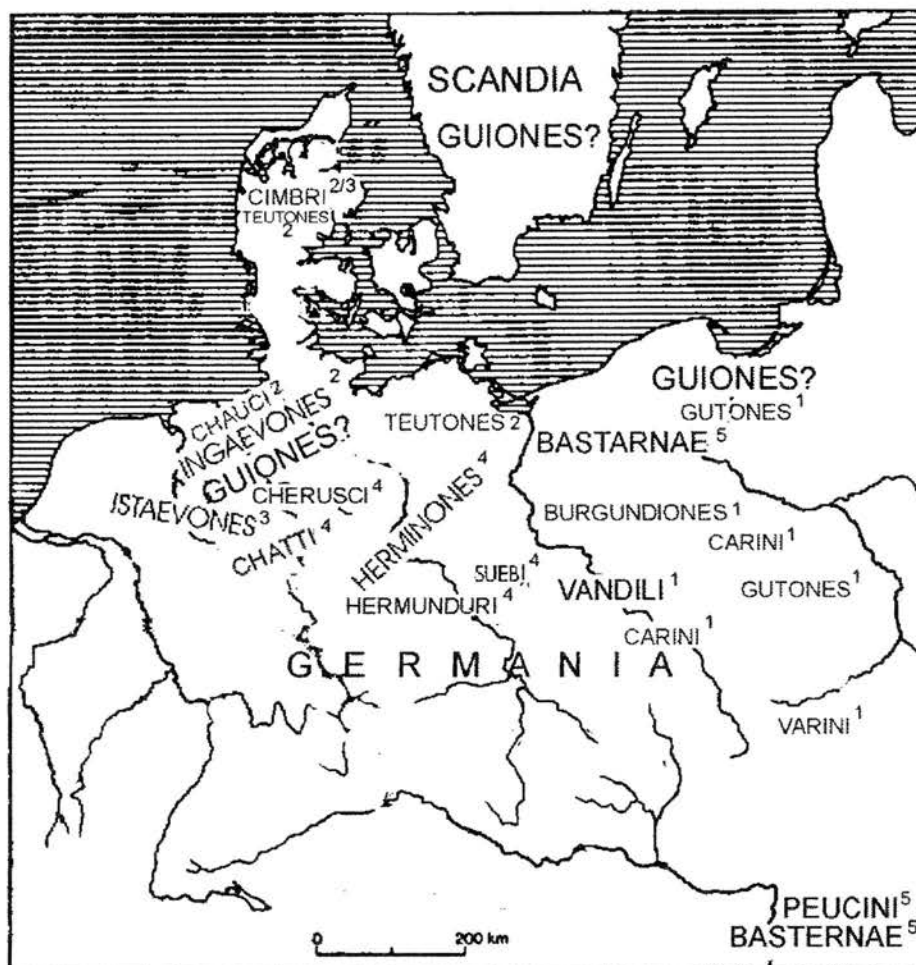
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<sup>220</sup> Ingaevones is often spelled Ingvaeones. See: Hans Kuhn, 'Ingwäonen, Erminonen und Istwäonen', in Dietrich Hofmann, Wolfgang Lange et al. (eds.), *Kleine Schriften. Aufsätze und Rezensionen aus den Gebieten der germanischen und nordischen Sprach-, Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte. Vierte Band. Aufsätze aus den Jahren 1968-1976* (1st edn., Kleinere Schriften zur Literatur- und Geistesgeschichte, IV; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1978), 225-231 at 225-230.

<sup>221</sup> T. E. Page, E. Capps et al. (eds.), *Pliny. Natural History. Libri III-VII.*, trans. H. Rackham X vols. (1st edn., The Loeb Classical Library, II; Cambridge MS.: Heinemann, 1942) at 194-197 (BookIV,ChapterXIV.99-100).

<sup>222</sup> Rives, *Tacitus. Germania* at 113. John Bostock and H. T. Riley (eds.), *The Natural History of Pliny*, trans. John Bostock and H. T. Riley III vols. (1st edn., I; London, 1855). C. H. Roseman, *Pytheas of Massalia on the Ocean: Text, translation and commentary* (1st edn.; Chicago, 1994). See § *Pytheas T25*.

<sup>223</sup> Rives, *Tacitus. Germania* at 95-96 (*Germania,Chapter45.4*), at 318-320. Todd, *The Early Germans* at 96-97. See § '45.4 amber, 'glaesum''. The word *glaesum* is Teutonic. The Aestii spoke a Baltic language.



**Figure 3. The Cult Leagues of Pliny and the Guiones and Teutones. Key:**

Key: Figure 3 illustrates the Cult Leagues of Pliny. The large numbers 1-5 are main cults and small numbers are the associated sub-tribes of the cult: 1. Vandili (Gutones, Burgundiones, Carini, and Varini), 2. Ingaevones (Chauci, Teutones, Cimbri), 3. Istaevones (Cimbri), 4. Herminones (Suebi, Hermunduri, Cherusci, Chatti), 5. Bastarnae/Peucini.

### 2.8.2. SKIRI AND BASTARNAE.

In the third and second centuries BC, the Sciri and Bastarnae are documented for the first time. Assumed by the Greek authors to be Celtic, their origins have provoked much debate. An inscription dated to the third century BC, from Olbia (C.I.G. 2058), refers to the *Σκίροις*, i.e. Sciri and Galatae.<sup>224</sup> The earliest reference to the Bastarnae is for the period between 233-230 BC, by Pompeius Trogus who lived in the

<sup>224</sup> Reichert, *LDAN I* at 117-119. See § 'BASTARN I'. The Galatae from Olbia may have been the Bastarnae.

Augustan era.<sup>225</sup> The Bastarnae emerged north of the Danube and threatened the Greek cities along the Black Sea coast.<sup>226</sup>

Livy referred to the Bastarnae for the year 182 BC, as mercenaries of Philip III of Macedon.<sup>227</sup> For the year 168 BC, Livy identified the Bastarnian leader Clondicus as self-declared King of the Gauls/Galatae.<sup>228</sup> Livy asserted that the Celtic 'Scordisci would readily give passage to the Bastarnae: for they were not very different in either language or manners'.<sup>229</sup> Livy was possibly correct, as the Bastarnae were made up of various tribes, some of which may have been Celtic in speech.

### 2.8.3. ANCIENTS VIEW OF BASTARNAE AND SCIRI.

In the pre-Augustan era, the Classical authors considered the Bastarnae and Sciri to be Galatae, Scythians, or Sarmatians.<sup>230</sup> From the post-Augustan era, they were linked to the peoples of Germania. Tacitus was uncertain whether to assign the Bastarnae to the Germani or Sarmatians, whilst Pliny (*NH* 4. 100 ; cf. 4. 81) considered the Bastarnae/Peucini to be one of the five great groups of Germania.<sup>231</sup> Dio referred to the Bastarnae as Scythians.<sup>232</sup> Strabo names the tribes of the Bastarnae as Atmoni, Sidoni, Peucini, and the Roxolani.<sup>233</sup> Schwarz identifies

<sup>225</sup> Günter Neumann, Reinhard Wenskus et al., 'Bastarnae', in Heinrich Beck (ed.), *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde von Johannes Hoops - (RGA)* (2nd edn., Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde von Johannes Hoops, Birkbeck - Brunichilde; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1976), 88-90 at 88-89. See Wenskus § 2. *Ethnische Zuordnung*.

<sup>226</sup> Todd, *The Northern Barbarians* at 7, 63-64.

<sup>227</sup> T. E. Page, E. Capps et al. (eds.), *Livy. Books XL-XLII*, trans. Evan T. Sage and Alfred C. Schlesinger (2nd edn., The Loeb Classical Library, XII; London: William Heinemann, 1948) at 15 (BookXL,ChapterV).

<sup>228</sup> T. E. Page, E. Capps et al. (eds.), *Livy. Books XLIII - XLV*, trans. Alfred C. Schlesinger (1st edn., The Loeb Classical Library, XIII; London: William Heinemann, 1951) at 175 (Book XLVI,Chapter XXVI.11), i.e. 'regulus Gallorum'.

<sup>229</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), *Livy. XL-XLII. 1948* at 172-175 (BookXL,Chapter LVII).

<sup>230</sup> Rives, *Tacitus. Germania* at 322-323.

<sup>231</sup> Rives, *Tacitus. Germania* at 96, 323-324. Bostock and Riley (eds.), *Pliny* at 345-348, (BookIV,Chapters28-29).

<sup>232</sup> E. Capps, T. E. Page et al. (eds.), *Dio's Roman History*, eds. E. Capps, T. E. Page et al., trans. Ernest Cary IX vols. (1st edn., The Loeb Classical Library, VI; London: William Heinemann, 1917) at 64-67, (BookLI,Chapters22.6 and 23.2-3).

<sup>233</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), *Strabo. Geography III* at 220-223 (Book VII, Chapter 3. 17). The Roxolani were probably Sarmatians. The Vibantvarii and Qvenen were probably Bastarniae.

Ptolemy's placename *Σχιρίων* on the Baltic between the Vistula and Oder with the original territory of the Sciri.<sup>234</sup>

The core of the Bastarnae and Sciri probably originated as Teutonic tribes on the central Baltic region. After moving to southern Europe, they quickly merged with various Celtic tribes. Wolfram identifies the Bastarnae as a 'keltisch-germanische Gruppe'.<sup>235</sup> This assumption is probably correct.

#### 2.8.4. THE CIMBRI, TEUTONES, AND AMBRONES.

The Cimbri, and their allies, probably the Teutones, Ambrones, Eudoses, and Harudes were first referred to for the period between 120 and 113 BC.<sup>236</sup> It has long been assumed by historians that they migrated from Scandinavia.<sup>237</sup> They probably moved southeast from Jutland along the Elbe, through Suebic territory. They were driven east by the Boii to the Volcae Tectosages, and from hence south to Noricum. They moved east to Scordiscia, re-entered Noricum and routed the Consul Cn. Papirius Carbo at Noreia.<sup>238</sup> They trekked north-west and were joined by the Teutones in the region of the Main where they remained from 113-109 BC. In 109 BC, the Teutones, Cimbri, and the Helvetian Tigurini crossed the Rhine and defeated the Consul Silanus somewhere in Gallia. In 107 BC, the Tigurini and Volcae defeated the Consul L. Cassius Longinus at Agen. In 105 BC, the Cimbri, Teutones, Ambrones, and Helvetii regrouped and defeated the two Roman armies of Caepio and Cn. Mallius Maximus at Aurasio (Orange) in southern Gallia. The Cimbri moved southwestwards to Spain and the Teutones north to northern Gallia, where

<sup>234</sup> Schwarz, *Germanische Stammeskunde* at 51.

<sup>235</sup> Herwig Wolfram, *Die Germanen*, ed. C. H. Beck (5th edn., C.H. Beck Wissen in der Beck'schen Reihe; München: Verlag C. H. Beck, 2000) at 58.

<sup>236</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), *Strabo. Geography III* at 168-169 (Book VII, Chapter 2.1-3). Henri Hubert (ed.), *The Greatness & Decline of the Celts*, ed. C. K. Ogden II vols. (1st edn., The History of Civilization, II; London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1934) at 106. Reichert, *LDAN I* at 218-222. See § 'CIMBR I: V'. See also Stephan Fichtl, *La ville celtique. Les oppida de 150 av. J.-C à 15 ap. J.-C.* (1st edn.; Paris: Éditions Errance, 2000) at 22-23.

<sup>237</sup> Rudolf Much, 'Goten und Ingaonen', *Deutsche Stammsitze. Ein Beitrag zur ältesten Geschichte Deutschlands. (PBB)* (1st edn., Sonderdruck aus den Beiträgen zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur, XVII; Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1892), 178-221 at 217-221, Schwarz, *Germanische Stammeskunde* at 60-61.

<sup>238</sup> For the Cimbri in the eastern Alpine region see: [Gerhard Dobesch, *Die Kimbern in den Ostalpen und die Schlacht bei Noreia*. Wiederabdruck in: H. Heftner u. K. Tomaschitz (ed.) *Gerhard Dobesch. Ausgewählte Schriften*, Bd. 2: *Kelten und Germanen*, Köln/Weimar/Wien. 2001, 969-994].

they left behind a unit, which later became the Aduatuci. In 102 BC, the Cimbri entered Gallia and rejoined the Teutones. A decision to advance on Rome with an offensive on three fronts failed when Marius defeated the Teutones in 103 BC, at Aquae Sextiae (Aix) and although the Cimbri defeated Catullus on the Adige, they lost time regrouping in northeast Italy and were defeated by Marius in 101 BC, at Vercelli. The Tigurini retreated to Helvetia.<sup>239</sup> The Cimbri, Teutones, and Ambrones appear to have been seeking a permanent home. They left contingents on the Main, and helped to spearhead the Helvetian migration to Gallia.

At the end of the second century BC, the geographer Artemidorus of Ephesus, according to Hachmann, the first reputable authority to express a view, stated that the Cimbri were Celts.<sup>240</sup> Poseidonius is the authority best placed to have known of the war between Rome, the Cimbri, and Teutones. For the origin of the Cimbri, Poseidonius initially drew on Ephorus and Cleitarchus.<sup>241</sup> Anderson is correct in assuming that ‘Poseidonius does not appear to have associated the Cimbri and Teutones with the Germanoi, though Caesar certainly did’.<sup>242</sup> Strabo included the Cimbri as one of the peoples of the Germanoi.<sup>243</sup> The term *Germanoi* did not exist amongst the Romans at the time of the Cimbrian and Slave Wars. Poseidonius was the first to use this term when he referred to the people of the Middle and Lower Rhine. References to the name *Germani/oi*, for the era of the Cimbrian movements post-dated the establishment of the Rhine-divide theory.<sup>244</sup>

Rives asserts that until the Augustan era Roman writers regarded the Cimbri as Galli, but henceforth they were classed as Germani.<sup>245</sup> This was not due to awareness of ethnic identity but rather to Caesar’s Galli-Germani Rhine-divide construct. It is the references of the post-Augustan authors to the location of the Cimbri, Teutones, and

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<sup>239</sup> Hubert (ed.), *The Celts II* at 103-118.

<sup>240</sup> Hachmann (ed.), *Germanic Peoples* at 32.

<sup>241</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), *Strabo. Geography III* at 164-169 (BookVII,Chapter2.1).

<sup>242</sup> Carl Edlund Anderson, *Formation and Resolution of Ideological Contrast in the Early History of Scandinavia* (Faculty of English. Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, & Celtic, Doctor of Philosophy; Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1999) at 2 n. 8.

<sup>243</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), *Strabo. Geography III* at 158-159 (BookVII,Chapter1.3).

<sup>244</sup> Eduard Norden, *Die germanische Urgeschichte in Tacitus Germania* (1st edn.; Leipzig: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1923) at 79 n. 1-2.

<sup>245</sup> Rives, *Tacitus. Germania* at 272.

Ambrones which lead modern scholars to assume that these tribes all stemmed from Scandinavia.<sup>246</sup> The reappearance of Ariovistus's Harudes and Eudoses in Jutland as Tacitus's Charudes and Sedusii helped to strengthen this argument.<sup>247</sup> Contrary to this, there is no contemporary account which can positively verify the origin of the Cimbri, Teutones, and Ambrones, thus the linkage of these tribes to Scandinavia stems from later writings.<sup>248</sup>

Plutarch believed the Cimbri and their allies to be Germani or Galloscythians.<sup>249</sup> Florus thought the Cimbri, Teutones, and Tigurini were fugitives from the extreme parts of Gallia.<sup>250</sup> Appian believed the Cimbri and Teutones to have been Celts, suggesting that the Nervii were the descendants of the Cimbri.<sup>251</sup>

Strabo, citing Poseidonius, wrote of the Helvetian tribes of the Tigurini and Toÿgeni, (possibly meaning the Teutones) joining the Cimbri.<sup>252</sup> This equating of Toÿgeni and Teutones is further seen when Strabo refers to the Massiliotes 'in the war against Ambrones and Toÿgeni'.<sup>253</sup> Zeuss and Hachmann equate the Toÿgeni with the Teutones. Hachmann is of the opinion that the Teutones originated in the territory of the Helvetii.<sup>254</sup> The Toÿgeni may have been synonymous with the Teutones and thus the Helvetii, but this is uncertain. It is equally plausible that the Teutones were from

<sup>246</sup> The Cimbri, Teutones, and Ambrones, were believed to be Teutonic peoples by the following authors, see Much, *Deutsche Stammeskunde* at 100-101. Schwarz, *Germanische Stammeskunde* at 54-63. For a Celtic origin, see Karl Müllenhoff (ed.), *Deutsche Altertumskunde* (II; Berlin, 1887) at 112-117. Otto Bremer, *Ethnographie der germanischen Stämme* (1st edn., Pauls Grundriß der germanischen Philologie, III; Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1904) at 37-38 (771-772), n. Anm. Bremer believed the Teutones to be Celts. See also § 60, at 58-59 (792-793). For Cimbri as a Teutonic peoples, at 59 (793), § 61 (c. Westgermanen). Norden, *Die germanischen Urgeschichte* at 67-84.

<sup>247</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 30 (Book I, Chapter 31). Wolfram, *Die Germanen* at 27-29.

<sup>248</sup> Lund, *Germanen. 1998*. Wells, *Beyond Celts, Germans* at 109-118.

<sup>249</sup> Capps, Page et al. (eds.), *Plutarch's Lives. Demetrius and Antony Pyrrhus and Caius Marius. 1920* at 488-489 (Caius Marius, Chapter XI.2-7). The Maeotic Lake is the Sea of Azof.

<sup>250</sup> T. E. Page, E. Capps et al. (eds.), *Florus. Epitome of Roman History*, trans. Edward Seymour Forster (1st edn., The Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge MS: Harvard University Press, 1929) at 168-169 (Book XXXVIII, Chapter 3.1).

<sup>251</sup> T. E. Page and W. H. D. Rouse (eds.), *Appian's Roman History*, trans. Horace White IV vols. (1st edn., The Loeb Classical Library, I; London: William Heinemann, 1912) at 100-101 (Book IV.1, Chapter 2), at 104-105 (Book IV.1, Chapter 4) for Nervii.

<sup>252</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), *Strabo. Geography III* at 168-169 (Book VII, Chapter 2.2).

<sup>253</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), *Strabo. Geography II* at 188-189 (Book IV, Chapter 1.8).

<sup>254</sup> Kaspar Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme.*, ed. Wilhelm Streitberg (1st edn., Germanische Bibliothek; Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1837) at 146-147. Hachmann (ed.), *Germanic Peoples* at 32-33.

Jutland and synonymous with Pytheas's Teutones and Ptolemy's Teutones and Teutonovarii. Whilst it is probable that the Cimbri and possibly the Teutones originated in Jutland, we first hear of the Teutones in Celtic Helvetian territory on the Main. The theory that the Ambrones, closely linked to the Teutones, originated on the Danish Frisian island of Amrum, or the Jutish peninsula, is also feasible. At the time the Cimbri and Teutones arrived in Gallia, they were joined by Celtic tribes, and could have been considered a Celtic-Teutonic confederation.

## 2.9. THE GERMANI TRANSRHENANI AND CISRHENANI. GERMANI IN GALLIA AND GERMANIA, C. 58-50 BC.

### 2.9.1. FORMATION OF CONFEDERATION OF SUEBI.

By at least the end of the second century BC, many of the northeastern Teutonic tribes joined to form the Suebic confederation. Until the middle La Tène period, c. 250 BC, the Teutonic tribes had not developed the same degree of political unity in confederations/tribes as the Celts. Great changes in tribal and political structure must have taken place in Scandinavia and northern Germany in the second century BC. Something must have provoked the merging of tribes to form such large and powerful confederations in northern Germania, e.g. Suebi. The Suebi may have formed to avert the threat of the Cimbri, Teutones, Ambrones, and tribes of eastern Germania, e.g. Gothones and Vandali, thus necessitating Suebic ethnogenesis.

Only a couple of generations after the Cimbrian migration the product of these political and military formations amongst the Teutonic tribes was witnessed by Rome in the form of the Suebi of Cimberius and Nasua and the confederation of the Germani of Ariovistus in 58 BC.<sup>255</sup>

Caesar mentioned the Suebi, the first and largest confederation of Germania, in 58 BC. He designated them as the archetypal Germani, in his treatise on their lifestyle and customs in 55 BC.<sup>256</sup> They retained a basic core of the Semnones, Marcomani, Quadi, Hermunduri, and Langobardi. Other non-Suebic tribes of possible Celtic origin in Franken, Thüringen, and northern Bayern were drafted into the Suebic confederation, through the strategy of subjugation, alliance, and overlordship. Eventually these Celts became Suebi. Caesar mentioned only the Suebi-proper but did not describe the Marcomani as Suebi.<sup>257</sup> Strabo identified the Semnones, Coadui/Coadui (Quadi), Marcomani, Hermunduri, and Langobardi, as Suebic.<sup>258</sup>

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<sup>255</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 33, 39 (Book I, Chapters 37, 51).

<sup>256</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 33, 39, 40 (Book I, Chapters 7, 51, 54), at 73-74 (Book IV, Chapters 1-4), 119-124 (Book VI, Chapters 11-20).

<sup>257</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 39 (Book I, Chapter 51).

<sup>258</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), *Strabo. Geography III* at 154-157 (Book VII, Chapter 1.3).

Pliny did not designate the Hermunduri as Suebi, only the Suebi proper.<sup>259</sup> Tacitus referred to the main Suebic tribes as Semnones, Langobardi, Hermunduri, Marcomani, and Quadi.<sup>260</sup> Ptolemy referred to the Suebi–Semnones, the Suebi-Anglii and Suebi-Langobardi, as well as the Marcomani and Quadi, which he referred to as single tribes.<sup>261</sup>

## 2.9.2. THE GERMANI OF ARIOVISTUS.

Caesar remarked only that Ariovistus had come from Germania, *c.* 72 BC, with a band of 15,000 mercenaries to aid the Arverni-Sequani against the Aedui, the two most powerful tribal factions in Gallia.<sup>262</sup> After the defeat of the Aedui, Ariovistus seized one third of his allies' territory of Sequania. At this point, the Sequani parted company with Ariovistus and there ensued a great battle at Magetobriga, *c.* 60 BC, where Ariovistus defeated the Sequani, the Aedui, and their allies. The druid Diviciacus of the Aedui pleaded with Caesar for aid against Ariovistus. Caesar used Diviciacus's plea as propaganda to display his magnanimity, and the tyranny of Ariovistus who had invited 24,000 of the Harudes to settle in Gallia, and demanded a second third of Sequanian territory.<sup>263</sup> He had under his command seven tribes, namely: the Harudes, Marcomani, Triboci, Vangiones, Nemetes, Sedusii, and Suebi.<sup>264</sup>

Ariovistus was described as *rex Germanorum*, not *rex Sueborum*.<sup>265</sup> It was Cimberius and Nasua who ruled the Suebi proper, i.e. Semnones and allied tribes, which consisted of one hundred cantons in northern Germania, from the Baltic to the Elbe/Saale. It was these Suebi who drove the Usipetes and Tencteri from their homeland and continually harassed the Ubii.

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<sup>259</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), *Pliny. III-VII*. 196-197 (BookIV,ChapterXIV.100).

<sup>260</sup> Rives, *Tacitus. Germania* at 93-96 (Chapter39.1-45.6). Radice (ed.), *Tacitus. Annals* at 99 (BookII,Chapter45).

<sup>261</sup> Rudolf Much, 'Sueben', in Johannes Hoops (ed.), *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde. Rü-Z. (Hoops)* (1st edn., Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde, IV; Straßburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1918-1919), 297-298 at 298.

<sup>262</sup> See Figures 11 and 20.

<sup>263</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 30 (BookI,Chapter31).

<sup>264</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 51 (BookI,Chapter39).

<sup>265</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 30 (BookI,Chapter31).

Ariovistus had only two known contingents of Suebi amongst his Teutonic-Celtic warhost, i.e. the Marcomani and Suebi. These Suebi were presumably a small contingent of Semnones, which may have come with Ariovistus's Suebic wife. This does not imply a Suebic origin but a marriage alliance with another tribe, as with his second marriage to the sister of King Voccio of Noricum. The fact that Ariovistus had two wives was more in the tradition of the Celtic than the Teutonic tribes.<sup>266</sup>

Ariovistus's tribal origin was never mentioned. Mela referred to a *rex Bootorum/Botorum* for the region north of Gallia Narbonensis for the consulship of Quintus Mettius Celer in 62 BC, and Schmidt has conjectured that this *rex Bootorum* is 'rex Tribocorum Sueborum' but according to Nierhaus this supposition is groundless.<sup>267</sup> Peschel agrees with Nierhaus, that the term *Tribocorum* and the assumption that this identified the Triboci as Suebi is unfounded.<sup>268</sup> Mela does not refer to a *rex Bootorum* and the word is unlikely to be a corruption of *Tribocorum*.<sup>269</sup>

Although early in Ariovistus's overlordship he was conferred with the title 'King and Friend' by the Senate, he was finally defeated in battle by Caesar in 58 BC, in Alsace, but escaped after the battle.<sup>270</sup>

### 2.9.3. THE USIPETES, TENCTERI, MENAPII, UBII, SUGAMBRI, AND CHERUSCI.

In 55 BC, northern Gallia was overrun by the Usipetes and Tencteri. Their migration began at a great distance east of the Lower Rhine, somewhere in central Germania, where they may have been amongst the first tribes to encounter the Suebi, who

<sup>266</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 126 (BookVI,Chapter19). Rives, *Tacitus. Germania* at 84 (Chapter18.1).

<sup>267</sup> Ludwig Schmidt, 'Ariovist', *Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie Hermes*, 42 (1907), 509-510 at 509-510. Rolf Nierhaus, *Das swebische Gräberfeld von Diersheim. Studien zur Geschichte der Germanen am Oberrhein vom gallischen Krieg bis zur alamannischen Landnahme* (1st edn., Römisch-germanische Forschungen, 28; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1966) at 217 Anm. 126. Mela, Pomponius. *De Chorographia* III, 45. Page, Capps et al. (eds.), *Pliny. III-VII*. Bostock and Riley (eds.), *Pliny* at 99 (BookII,Chapter67), i.e. (BookII,Chapter170).

<sup>268</sup> Peschel, *Sueben - Hermunduren - Markomannen* at 14.

<sup>269</sup> Rudolf Much, 'Triboci', in Johannes Hoops (ed.), *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde. Rü-Z. (Hoops IV)* (1st edn., Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde, IV; Straßburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1918-1919), 301 at 360. See § 2.

<sup>270</sup> For the site of the battle between Ariovistus and Caesar see T. Rice Holmes, 'Caesar's Campaign against Ariovistus', (2nd edn.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), 636-657 at 639-657. The battlefield has yet to be discovered. It possibly lies near Cernay.

eventually drove them from their land.<sup>271</sup> Having wandered for three years in Germania in 55 BC, they arrived on the Lower Rhine in the territory of the Menapii, 'who had lands, buildings, and villages on both banks of the river'.<sup>272</sup> The eastern extent of the Menapian territory is problematic. Caesar is clear that the Menapii had territory east of the Rhine. Rambaud suggests that the Menapii 'possédant des terres au nord du Rhin, entre Wesel et Emmerich et peut-être au nord de la Lippe'.<sup>273</sup>

The Usipetes and Tencteri may have begun their migration together as neighbours, or met en-route. Considering that they were attempting to escape the Suebi, they must have initially been moving in an easterly direction away from the Suebic front, which stretched in the mid-first century BC, from the Lower to the Upper Elbe.

The Usipetes and Tencteri were allies of the Sugambri, who later took the remaining refugees into their country.<sup>274</sup> It is unlikely that they crossed at the mouth of the Rhine. Their crossing could have taken place near Xanten or more likely Kleve, N.R.W.<sup>275</sup> This suggests that the Menapian territory stretched as far as the Lippe and bordered Sugambria.<sup>276</sup> It is plausible that the Menapii controlled the territory east of the Rhine and north of the Rhine-Maas deltas as far as the Lippe.

The unresolved question of whether the battlefield where Caesar defeated the Usipetes and Tencteri was on the *Mosa* or *Mosella* has great implications for the

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<sup>271</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 74 (BookIV,Chapter4).

<sup>272</sup> Rosemarie Seyer, 'Antike Nachrichten', in Bruno Krüger (ed.), *Die Germanen. Geschichte und Kultur der germanischen Stämme in Mitteleuropa* (5th edn., Veröffentlichungen des Zentralinstitut für Alte Geschichte und Archäologie der Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, 4.1; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1988), 37-63 at 45. Caesar, *BG* at 74 (BookIV,Chapter3).

<sup>273</sup> Michel Rambaud (ed.), *C. IVLIVS CAESAR. Bellum Gallicum. Liber quartus. César. La guerre des Gaules. Livre IV*, ed. Pierre Grimal (1st edn., Érasme. Collection de textes Latins commentés. Publiée sous la direction de Pierre Grimal, professeur à la Sorbonne, 4; St. Germain: Press Universitaires de France, 1967) at 52-53 (Book IV, Chapter 54). See § 4.2.

<sup>274</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 78 (BookIV,Chapter16).

<sup>275</sup> T. Rice Holmes, 'Where did the Usipetes and Tencteri cross the Rhine', *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul* (2nd edn.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), 689-690 at 690. Rice Holmes suggests Kleve as a likely Rhine crossing.

<sup>276</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 75 (BookIV,Chapter6).

positioning of tribes, for the movements and location of the Usipetes and Tencteri, for the territory they ranged over, and the location of the Menapii.<sup>277</sup>

In 55 BC, the defeated Usipetes and Tencteri probably retreated into Germania between Emmerich and Wesel and occupied the region of the modern province of Dutch Overijssel (Upper IJssel), districts of Twente, and southern Salland in Germany, the north-westernmost reaches of Nordrhein-Westfalen, and southwestern Niedersachsen, north of the Lippe.<sup>278</sup> The tribal boundaries of the Usipetes and Tencteri were not static, due to tribal conflicts. They migrated once again during the Augustan era.

For the Caesarian era, Rudolf Much places both the Usipetes and Tencteri north of the Sugambri and ‘Ältere Sitze beider Völker dürften nördlich der Lippe zu suchen sein, die der Usipeten mehr im Westen, die der Tenkterer landeinwärts in der Nachbarschaft der Brukterer’.<sup>279</sup>

Following their settlement north of the Lippe the Usipetes and Tencteri may have been known as, or have formed a *Bund* with the Tubantes.<sup>280</sup> This may also suggest an origin for the Usipetes and Tencteri, as the Tubantes were to be found in the region of Twente–Salland, Overijssel, or possibly on the Upper Lippe-Upper Weser.

The Suebian front with its yearly advance and retreat must have incorporated a line running between the Middle and Upper Elbe and Weser. The Usipetes probably originated between the *silva Bacenis*, the *Semana silva*, and the *Melibocus mons*.<sup>281</sup> Bremer places the origin of the Usipetes slightly further west on the Upper Fulda, Werra, to the Main.<sup>282</sup> If Celtic, they would have had to originate south of where the

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<sup>277</sup> T. Rice Holmes, 'Where were the Usipetes and Tencteri defeated?' *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul* (2nd edn.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), 691-706. Other possibilities are the confluence of the Roer and Maas.

<sup>278</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 76 (BookIV,Chapter12), at 77-78 (BookIV,Chapter15), at 78 (BookIV,Chapter16), 80 (BookIV,Chapter18), at 130 (BookVI,Chapter35).

<sup>279</sup> Much, *Deutsche Stammeskunde* at 83-84. See § 'f' Usipeten und Tenkterer'.

<sup>280</sup> Rudolf Much, 'Tubanten', in Johannes Hoops (ed.), *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde. Rü-Z. (Hoops IV)* (1st edn., Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde, IV; Straßburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1918-1919), 366 at 366.

<sup>281</sup> See Figure 15a. For location of *silva Bacenis*, *Semana silva*, and *Melibocus mons* see Figure 12.

<sup>282</sup> Bremer, *Ethnographie der germanischen Stämme* at 171. See § 'Tencteri', at 170-171.

Saale breaks from the Elbe, if Teutonic, they would have originated north or east of this point, or east of the Elbe.

The Cherusci are mentioned by Caesar for the year 53 BC. He remarked that they were separated from the Suebi by a forest called *Bacenis*, which prevented either tribe from making raids on the other.<sup>283</sup>

The Ubii resided south of the Sugambri.<sup>284</sup> Weisgerber placed the Ubii in the time of Caesar on the Lower Lahn in the region of Koblenz (Urmitz).<sup>285</sup> Much located the Ubii between the Main, Rhine, Taunus, Wetterau, and Lahn valley. At an earlier time, he believed their territory extended outwards from the Main.<sup>286</sup>

Julius Caesar first brought the Sugambri, like the Ubii, to our attention in the fourth year of his Gallic campaign in 55 BC.<sup>287</sup> They were one of the most powerful and militaristic native tribes of Germani and had never been subjugated by the Suebi. Caesar stated only that the Sugambri resided east of the Rhine and were neighbours of the Ubii.<sup>288</sup> Bremer placed the Sugambri between the Lippe and Sieg.<sup>289</sup> Much placed the Sugambri east of the Rhine near the Sieg, Wupper, and Lower Ruhr.<sup>290</sup> Heinrichs believes that the Sugambri were not a homogenous group, and were made up of different *Teilstämme*. He places their core at the earliest point, on the middle and eastern Ruhr, and south of this in the region of the *Bergischen Landes*. Later he places the Sugambri between the Rhine, Sieg, and Lippe.<sup>291</sup>

Recently Reichmann has added that the known sources for the Sugambri suggest that in the north they nearly reached the Batavian island and in the east the fortress of Oberaden. He adds that both great Suebian settlements, one west of the Upper IJssel

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<sup>283</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 119 (BookVI,Chapter10).

<sup>284</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 74 (BookIV,Chapter73), Seyer, 'Die Germanen. 1988', at 45.

<sup>285</sup> Weisgerber, *Die Namen der Ubier* at 8-9.

<sup>286</sup> Much, *Deutsche Stammeskunde* at 78-79. See § 'b) Ubier'.

<sup>287</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 78 (BookIV,Chapter16).

<sup>288</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 80 (BookIV,Chapter18-19).

<sup>289</sup> Bremer, *Ethnographie der germanischen Stämme* at 150 (884). See § 'E. Franken. § 168. B. Sugambri > Cugerni'.

<sup>290</sup> Much, *Deutsche Stammeskunde* at 82-83. See § 'e) Sugambrier, Kugernen'.

<sup>291</sup> Heinrichs, 'Zur Umsiedlung protocugernischer Gruppen', at 58-62, 73-77, 78. See § '5. Zum Umfang des sugambrischen Territoriums'.

and another near Bochum, were located within Sugambrian territory. Reichmann states 'daß die Grenze nicht allzu weit südlich der Ruhr verlief und der beschriebene Gebirgsweg zwischen Neuss und Werl außerhalb lag'.<sup>292</sup> He finds this interesting, as the Sugambri are generally believed to have lived further south, usually between the Ruhr and Sieg. Reichmann sees Schmidt as the initiator of the positioning of the Sugambri between the Ruhr and Sieg. He concludes that the territorial border between the Sugambri and the later Cugerni and Ubii from Tacitus (*Tac. Hist.* 26.3) is in exactly the same alignment, immediately north of Gellep (Gelduba).<sup>293</sup> This suggests that the Sugambri held a section of the left bank of the Rhine on Caesar's arrival to Gallia and thus the Ubian northern border (Neuss/Gellep) and Batavian eastern border were already confined by territory held by the Sugambri west of the Rhine. It is possible that the Sugambri also had settlements further south. Caesar named no Sugambrian client tribes, nor did he refer to tribes adjoining them on their northern and eastern borders.

#### **2.9.4. OTHER TRIBES OF NORTHERN GERMANIA.**

East of the Sugambri in the Caesarian era, other Celtic tribes were being overcome by the proto-Chattian units on the Lower Eder, Lower Fulda, and Lower Schwalm, around Kassel, in the extreme north of Hessen. The Gamabrivii of Strabo may have existed in the region of the Upper Lippe-Upper Ruhr, and the Bructeri and Marsi north of the Middle and Upper Lippe. The Chattvarii may not yet have existed at the time of Caesar.<sup>294</sup>

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<sup>292</sup> Reichmann, 'Das rechtsrheinische Vorland Geldubas in frühromischer Zeit', at 73.

<sup>293</sup> Reichmann, 'Das rechtsrheinische Vorland Geldubas in frühromischer Zeit', at 74,78 n. 35. L. H. Schmidt, *Geschichte der deutschen Stämme. Die Westgermanen 2.*, 3 vols. (2nd edn., 3; Munich, 1940) at 175.

<sup>294</sup> Rudolf Much, 'Marsen', in Johannes Hoops (ed.), *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde. K-Rö. (Hoops III)* (1st edn., Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde, III; Straßburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1915-1916), 199-200. Günter Neumann and B. Günnewig, 'Marsen', in Heinrich Beck, Dieter Geuenich et al. (eds.), *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde von Johannes Hoops - Luchs-Metrum. (RGA)* (2nd edn., Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde von Johannes Hoops, XIX; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2001), 361-364. Rudolf Much, 'Chattuarier', in Johannes Hoops (ed.), *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde. A-E. (Hoops I)* (1st edn., Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, I; Straßburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1911-1913), 372-373. Günter Neumann and Harald Von Petrikovits, 'Chattwarier', in H. Beck, H. Jankuhn et al. (eds.), *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde von Johannes Hoops - Brunnen-Chronologie (RGA)* (2nd edn.,

## 2.9.5. THE BELGAE AND GERMANI CISRHENANI OF CAESAR.

The Belgae inhabited northern Gallia from the Marne and the Seine in the south to the Lower Rhine in the north. Caesar includes as Belgae the tribes of the Remi, Suessiones, Nervii, Bellovaci, Atrebates, Ambiani, Morini, Menapii, Caleti, Veliocasses, and Viromandui. Caesar did not specifically include the Treveri as Belgae. According to the Remian envoys, Iccius and Andecomborius ‘most of the Belgae were of German origin; they had crossed the Rhine long ago, driven out the Gauls they had found there and settled in that part of Gallia because its soil was fertile’.<sup>295</sup>

Strabo asserted that ‘Next to the Treveri are the Nervii, who are also a Germanic tribe’.<sup>296</sup> Tacitus sceptically remarked the ‘Treveri and Nervii are quite eager to claim a Germanic origin’.<sup>297</sup> He applied his post-Augustan understanding of Caesar’s ethnic-divide to these Belgae-Germani and Germani cisrhenani.

In his campaign against the Belgae, Caesar referred to four tribes: the Condrusi, Eburones, Caerosi, and Paemani, which he collectively called the *Germani cisrhenani*. Later in his war against Ambiorix, Caesar mentioned the Segni with the Condrusi, who were also Germani cisrhenani.<sup>298</sup> Caesar did not include the Segni as being part of the military levy of the Belgae for their future campaign against him in 57 BC, possibly because they may have furnished only a small contingent. The Germani cisrhenani were levied 40,000 men by the Belgic confederation. The

Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde von Johannes Hoops, IV; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1981), 391-393. Günter Neumann, 'Chaituori', in Heinrich Beck, Herbert Jankuhn et al. (eds.), *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde von Johannes Hoops - Brunnen-Chronologie. (RGA)* (2nd edn., Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde von Johannes Hoops, IV; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1981), 365-366. Rudolf Much, 'Brukterer', in Johannes Hoops (ed.), *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde. A-E. (Hoops I)* (1st edn., Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, I; Straßburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1911-1913), 334-335. Günter Neumann, Harald Von Petrikovits et al., 'Brukterer', in Heinrich Beck, Herbert Jankuhn et al. (eds.), *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde von Johannes Hoops - Bilrost - Brunichilde. (RGA)* (2nd edn., Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde von Johannes Hoops, III; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1978), 581-586.

<sup>295</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 17 (Book I, Chapter 11), 43-45 (Book II, Chapter 13-15).

<sup>296</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), *Strabo. Geography II* at 230-231 (Book IV, Chapter 3.4).

<sup>297</sup> Rives, *Tacitus. Germania* at 88 (Chapter 28.4).

<sup>298</sup> Christoph B. Rügner, 'Germany', in Alan K. Bowman, Edward Champlin et al. (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History. The Augustan Empire. 43 B.C. - A.D. 69.* (2nd edn., The Cambridge Ancient History, X; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 517-534 at 517, 520-523.

Aduatuci, who were to supply 19,000 men, were not added to this group but Caesar designated them as descendants of the Cimbri and Teutones.<sup>299</sup> He included the Germani cisrhenani within the Celtic political and social sphere. The Germani cisrhenani and Belgae considered themselves somewhat different from the Galli, although both claimed an origin from the Germani. The attempts of the Germani cisrhenani to distance themselves from the Belgae and to compare themselves to Germani suggest tribal dissention with the Belgae Germani together with an affinity to certain neighbouring east Rhenish Germani transrhenani tribes, e.g. Sugambri, Ubi.

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<sup>299</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 55 (BookII,Chapter29).

## **2.10. THE GERMANI TRANSRHENANI AND CISRHENANI OF AUGUSTUS.**

Between the period of Caesar's departure from Gallia, c. 50 BC, and the end of the reign of Augustus in 14 AD, great changes took place in the tribal structure, composition and locations of both Germania transrhena and Germania cisrhena. The tribal map of Germania and northern Gallia appears to have substantially altered in terms of tribal movement, ethnic alteration, change and linguistic change.

### **2.10.1. TRIBAL SITUATION IN GALLIA AND GERMANIA FROM THE DEPARTURE OF CAESAR IN 51 BC, TO THE ACCESSION OF AUGUSTUS IN 31 BC.**

Following the departure of Caesar from Gallia, the depleted native tribes in the territories just east of the Rhine had become acutely aware of the possibility of Roman advancement into their territories. Natives, who had served with Caesar's legions and experienced the Roman war machine, would have updated their tribal leaders on Roman methods. The tribes on the eastern bank of the Rhine responded by attempting to consolidate their position through alliances and confederations. Tribal militarization was increased.<sup>300</sup> This was also necessitated by increasing incursions of northern and eastern Teutonic tribes.

The Ubii, who had an alliance with Rome, having been harassed by the Suebi for many years prior to Caesar's arrival, migrated to the west bank of the Rhine.<sup>301</sup> Strabo remarked that Agrippa transferred the Ubii although it is possible that they had already begun to migrate after Caesar left Gallia in 51 BC.<sup>302</sup> They had previously inhabited the territory between the Lahn and Sieg in the north and the Main in the south. They migrated in a northwesterly direction and settled north of the

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<sup>300</sup> Peter S. Wells, *The Battle that Stopped Rome. Emperor Augustus, Arminius, and the Slaughter of the Legions in the Teutoburger Forest* (1st edn.; London: W. W. Norton, 2003) at 142-144.

<sup>301</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 74 (BookIV,Chapter3), at 75 (BookIV,Chapter8).

<sup>302</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), *Strabo. Geography II* at 230-231, (BookIV,Chapter3.4). Rives, *Tacitus. Germania* at 88, 237-238 (Germania,Chapter28.4). Radice (ed.), *Tacitus. Annals* at 263 (BookXII,Chapter27).

Treveri, between Remagen (*Rigomagus*) in the south, and Neuss (*Novaesium*) in the north, in the old territory of the Eburones.<sup>303</sup>

Another tribal grouping, which probably crossed into northern Gallia in the period before Augustus's accession in 31 BC, was a small branch of the Chatti, who arrived from the area east of the Middle or Lower Rhine.<sup>304</sup> According to Tacitus, the Batavians, who formed a branch of the Chatti, inhabited the fringe of Gallia and the 'Island', (of the Batavi), i.e. the territory between the Waal and Lek on the Lower Rhine.<sup>305</sup> Caesar's reference to the Batavi in his commentaries is generally regarded as an interpolation.<sup>306</sup> Whether the Canninefates existed when the Batavi arrived, whether they were part of the Batavi, or an unrelated hybridized Teutonic-Celtic grouping is questionable. It is possible they did not arrive in the region until a later period.

Roymans correctly dates the Batavian migration to the period between Caesar's departure from Gallia in 50 BC, and the beginning of Drusus's activities in the Rhineland.<sup>307</sup> The region of Hessen from which these Chatti had arrived had probably just been wrested from the local Celtic tribes of the region and the Chatti might already have been somewhat hybridized before their arrival to Gallia. Until Augustus's accession, most of the tribes of northern Gallia retained the locations they had occupied in the Caesarian era, with the possible exception of the Menapii, elements of the Eburones, Aduatuci, and some other Germani cisrhenanian units. Some Teutonic immigration across the Lower Rhine may have been undertaken between 50-31 BC, but the Ancients refer to no specific migratory units.

Of Ariovistus's seven tribal units, i.e. the Nemetes, Triboci, Vangiones, Sedusii, Harudes, Marcomani, and Suebi, it is uncertain if, after his defeat in 58 BC, all of these tribes fled Gallia. It is possible that the Nemetes, Triboci, and Vangiones

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<sup>303</sup> Carroll, *Celts & Germans* at 123-126.

<sup>304</sup> Roymans, *Batavians* at 24. § See 'Ch.3. Caesar's conquest and the ethnic reshuffling of the Lower Rhine frontier zone'.

<sup>305</sup> Baldick, Jones et al. (eds.), *Tacitus. Histories* at 211 (Book IV, Chapter 12).

<sup>306</sup> Caesar, BG at 75-76 (Book IV, Chapter 10).

<sup>307</sup> Roymans, *Batavians* at 24.

remained in Gallia after 58 BC; alternatively, they were redrafted from the Augustan era onward.

In Germania, in the pre-Augustan era, tribal movement had begun to take place from as far north as Scandinavia and northern Germania, towards central Germania. The proto-Chatti had begun to move from northern and central Hessen towards southern Hessen. Small sections of the Suebi-Langobardi had probably left northern Germania and the Lower Elbe, reached the region of the Lippe and IJssel, a little after the end of the Caesarian era and into the Tiberian era, and settled amongst the Sugambri.<sup>308</sup> The Usipetes and Tencteri appear to have remained in situ north of the Lippe between 51-31 BC. There is no mention at this time of the Frisii, Chauci, Bructeri, Cherusci, Marsi, Tubantes, Hermunduri, Quadi, or Semnones.

The Marcomani of Maroboduus possibly stemmed from Ariovistus's Germani. They occupied the region east of the Upper Rhine along the Middle Main in the pre-Augustan era. Alternatively, these Marcomani may have been new arrivals to the Middle Main from the region of the Elbe. The Suebi who were centred on the Middle Elbe continued to raid as far west as the Ubian territory, forcing the Ubii to migrate to Gallia from the Taunus and Westerwald.

This period also saw the final demise of the *oppida*, and the subsuming of the La Tène culture and Celtic peoples by the incoming Teutonic invaders. It is probable that prior to the Augustan control of the frontier-land other unmentioned tribal cantons had already entered unnoticed, e.g. *Frisii* → *Frisiavones*. In the pre-Augustan era, movements of tribes were haphazard and were not manipulated. This changed in the Augustan period.<sup>309</sup>

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<sup>308</sup> Archaeology suggests that the Elbgermanen settlement amongst the Sugambri agrees with a very early date for Ptolemy's Map. See § 'Suebian immigrants to Lower Rhine region of north-western Nordrhein-Westfalen'.

<sup>309</sup> Wells, *Barbarians* at 89.

## 2.11. THE AUGUSTAN ERA: 31 BC- AD 14, TEUTONIC MIGRATION, RESETTLEMENT, AND REORGANIZATION OF TRIBES OF GERMANI TO GALLIA.

### 2.11.1. THE USIPETES AND TENCTERI.

The Usipetes appear to have remained north of Lippe in 55 BC, until at least 12 - 11 BC, in Twente, Salland, and even into parts of Overijssel, Ne. When they moved south of the Lippe is uncertain. Some of their tribal-units had moved into the region, which the Ubii had vacated between 38 and 19 BC. Velleius, writing about the campaign of Tiberius, which concluded in 4 AD, did not mention the Usipetes or Tencteri in this trek across northern Germania, nor does Strabo writing in 18 AD.<sup>310</sup>

It is more likely that the Usipetes and Tencteri were located north of the Lippe until at the latest 8 BC, although some of their number, a large section of cavalry, had been harboured by and probably settled amongst the Sugambri.<sup>311</sup>

Reichmann suggests that the Usipetes remained north of the Lippe before the transplantation of the Sugambri in 8 BC, although he does not provide a place for them on his map at the time of Caesar, *c.* 55 BC. His map of 12 BC, suggests that the Tencteri had already moved to the region south of the Lippe, to north of the Lower Wupper, just north of the Lower/Middle Ruhr in the Bergisches Land. This region comprised part of Sugambria, but not as far east as the Sauerland and Ubia of the Caesarian era, in which there remained sections of Sugambri and Ubii.<sup>312</sup>

The Chatti may have controlled the eastern reaches of the Ubian territory prior to their transplantation. This would have placed the Tencteri south of the Lippe in 12 BC. Strabo does not mention the Tencteri, as one of the peoples of Germania,

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<sup>310</sup> E. Capps, W. H. D. Rouse et al. (eds.), *Velleius Paterculus Compendium of Roman History. Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, eds. E. Capps, W. H. D. Rouse et al., trans. Frederick W. Shipley 1 vols. (1st edn., The Loeb Classical History, London: William Heinemann, 1924) at 270-271 (BookII,ChapterCV). Page, Capps et al. (eds.), *Strabo. Geography III* at 158-159 (BookVII,Chapter1.3).

<sup>311</sup> Caesar, BG at 76 (BookIV,Chapter12), at 77-78 (Book IV,Chapters15-16), at 80 (BookIV,Chapter18), at 130 (BookVI,Chapter35).

<sup>312</sup> Reichmann, *Zur Besiedlungsgeschichte des Lippemündungsgebietes*. See Map 10 for 58 BC, and Map 11 for 12 BC.

although he refers to the Usipi (Usipetes) as part of Germanicus's conquered tribal units. Strabo, probably writing, *c.* 18 AD, referred to indigent tribes thus:

'I mean the Cherusci, the Chatti, the Gamabrivii and the Chattuarii, and also, near the ocean, the Sugambri, the Chaubi, the Bructeri, and the Cimbri, and also the Cauci, the Caülci, the Campsiani and several others. Both the Visurgis and the Lupias Rivers run in the same direction as the Amisias, the Lupias being about six hundred stadia distant from the Rhenus and flowing through the country of the Lesser Bructeri'.<sup>313</sup>

Strabo mentions that in Germanicus's procession through Rome, on May 26, 17 AD, captive tribesmen from the 'Caülci, Campsiani, Bructeri, Usipi, Cherusci, Chatti, Chattuarii, Landi, Tubattii' were present.<sup>314</sup> It is noticeable that no obvious Suebic units were amongst the captive tribes mentioned.<sup>315</sup>

The Usipetes and Tencteri may have been considered by Strabo and other Greek and Roman observers as being part of the confederation of the Sugambri. It is also possible that the Tencteri were at the time of Strabo's account, on the move to new territories. Alternatively, the Tencteri may have removed themselves from the region where Rome was concentrating its efforts against the tribes of the Lower Rhine.

Strabo, writing in 18 AD, remarks that:

'Some of the tribes of this river-land were transferred by the Romans to Celtica, whereas the others anticipated the Romans by migrating deep into the country, for instance, the Marsi; and only a few people, including a part of the Sugambri, are left'.<sup>316</sup>

### 2.11.2. THE CHATTI.

The Chattian heartland in 11 BC, appears to have been in Northern Hessen, probably extending to central Hessen.<sup>317</sup> Their northern frontier must have bordered the Cherusci, Gamabrivii, Marsi, and migrant Tubantes in northern Germania, i.e. Upper

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<sup>313</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), Strabo. Geography III at 158-159 (BookVII,Chapter1.3).

<sup>314</sup> The Tubattii → Tubantes. Page, Capps et al. (eds.), Strabo. Geography III at 162-163 (BookVII,Chapter1.4).

<sup>315</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), Strabo. Geography III at 162-163 (BookVII,Chapter1.4).

<sup>316</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), Strabo. Geography III at 154-155 (BookVII,Chapter1.3). In 8BC, twenty-six years before Strabo wrote in *c.* 18 AD, a part of the Sugambri, and presumably Usipetes, Tencteri, Suebi, and others had been transferred to north-eastern Gallia.

<sup>317</sup> Karl Peschel, 'Armin Becker, Rom und die Chatten', *Germania*, 74/2 (1996), 615-620 at 616.

Lippe/Upper Weser. It is presumably at this time that a Roman campaign may have been fought against the Chatti.<sup>318</sup>

### 2.11.3. THE MARCOMANI/MARCOMANNI.<sup>319</sup>

Hostilities between Drusus and the Marcomani between 11-9 BC, may have forced the latter to move to the Celtic Boian territory (Bohemia).<sup>320</sup> It is, of course possible that the Marcomanic confederation migrated as a pre-emptive measure to avoid being subjugated and enslaved by Drusus. Their leader Maroboduus could, away from Roman grasp, continue to enlarge his confederation and his sphere of control.

By 9 BC, the Boii were no longer a powerful political or military force. The Marcomani vacated the region of the Main between 9-1 BC, and invaded Bohemia. The depleted Boii were unable to prevent Maroboduus's Marcomani, Quadi and their many Teutonic and Celtic sub-tribes from invading through the pass of Cheb.

### 2.11.4. THE HERMUNDURI.

Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus reached and crossed the Albis (Elbe), c. 1 BC.<sup>321</sup> The route chosen by Ahenobarbus would indeed have placed him in the path of the Hermunduri, some cantons of which he settled in the old territory of the Marcomani on the Middle/Upper Main, c. 1 BC.<sup>322</sup>

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<sup>318</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), *Florus. Roman History. 1929* at 336-337 (BookII,ChapterXXX.23). See § 'The German War', at 335-341.

<sup>319</sup> The first reference to the Marcomani by Caesar was in his Gallic Wars (BookI,Chapter51). Caesar use the spelling 'Marcomani', thereafter most authors spelled this tribal-name 'Marcomanni'. For this thesis Caesar's spelling is employed.

<sup>320</sup> Wells, *German Policy* at 156.

<sup>321</sup> Capps, Page et al. (eds.), *Dio. VI* at 416-417 (BookLV,Chapter10.2). Radice (ed.), Tacitus. *Annals* at 179-180 (BookIV,Chapter44), at 310-311 (BookXIII,Chapter54-56) for the Frisii.

<sup>322</sup> Capps, Page et al. (eds.), *Dio. VI* at 416-417 (BookLV,Chapter 10a.2-3). Wells, *German Policy* at 158-159. See § Ch. '6. The advance to the Elbe', at 149-233.

### 2.11.5. SUEBIAN IMMIGRANTS TO LOWER RHINE REGION OF NORTHWESTERN NORDRHEIN-WESTFALEN.

According to Ptolemy, there was Suebian immigration to the region of northwestern Nordrhein-Westfalen.<sup>323</sup> It is assumed that Ptolemy's reference to the Suebi in the region of the Rhine and the Lower/Middle Lippe/Ruhr is for, c. 170 AD. It is likely that Ptolemy used much earlier source material, possibly, according to Kahrstedt and Peschel, from the time of Drusus or before. Kahrstedt states that Ptolemy's Germania provides the tribal situation following the migrations of Caesar's era, before the campaigns of Drusus. Allowing for a time-lapse between the formation of the Suebic block and its disruption, as witnessed by Drusus, Kahrstedt provides a date, c. 30-25 BC, for Ptolemy's tribal map. This provides one of the earliest sources of the lands beyond the Rhine.<sup>324</sup> If some tribal references were taken from source material dated as early as the Augustan period and others from Ptolemy's own era, it is possible that Ptolemy's Suebi on the Rhine/Lippe/Ruhr may correspond to sub-tribes of the Suebi, which became client tribes of the Sugambri. Ptolemy places these Suebi south of the Sugambri and north of the Tencteri, on whose northern border they resided. He provides these Suebi with a sub-genus, i.e. that of the Suebi Langobardoi, i.e. *Σαμβοί λαγγόβαρδοι*.<sup>325</sup> Although some sections of these Suebi had probably reached the Sugambri as early as the period immediately following Caesar's departure from Gallia others probably did not arrive until as late as the Tiberian era.

The transplantation of some cantons of the Sugambri left the way open for immigrant Teutonic tribal units to enter the region of the Lippe/Ruhr, e.g. the Marsi, Tubantes, Bructeri, Chattvarii, and probably the Gambrivii and Chaubi.<sup>326</sup>

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<sup>323</sup> Rudolf Much, 'Langobarden', in Johannes Hoops (ed.), *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*. K-Rö. (Hoops III) (1st edn., *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, III; Straßburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1915-1916), 123-125 at 123.

<sup>324</sup> Reichert, *LDAN I* at 834. Ptolemy's *Geographia*, c. 170 AD. Peschel, 'Die Sueben', at 289 and n. 142. See: 'Abb. I'. Kahrstedt, 'Roman Frontier on the Lower Rhine', at 42-44.

<sup>325</sup> Reichert, *LDAN I* at 634. See § 'SUEB 3: V', at 629-635, at 451 'LANGOBARD: V:', at 451-458. Peschel, 'Die Sueben', at 289, n. 142). Kahrstedt, 'Roman Frontier on the Lower Rhine', at 41-43, 47-48. Kahrstedt's assumptions would appear to be correct for many of the tribes of Germania when one considers the tribal map from Caesar to Ptolemy.

<sup>326</sup> Günter Neumann, 'Chaubi', in Heinrich Beck, Herbert Jankuhn et al. (eds.), *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde von Johannes Hoops - Brunnen-Chronologie*. (RGA) (2nd edn.,

### 2.11.6. THE TUBANTES, CHAMAVI, CHASVARI, CHERUSCI, AND BRUCTERI.

The Tubantes may have migrated eastward to the Upper Lippe from the region of the Lower Rhine (Vecht/Lower IJssel), or as a response to Augustus's campaigns against the tribes of the region, as suggested by Strabo.<sup>327</sup> Ptolemy may have misplaced the Tubantes and Chamavi east of the Upper Lippe and Ruhr and both may have been located on the Lower Lippe and near the IJssel-Vecht in the Augustan era.

The Chasvarii must initially have been the people of the Hase, a river of Niedersachsen in northern Germania, west of the Cherusci and north of the Bructeri, extending from a tributary of the Middle (Amisia) Ems, at Meppen. The Upper and Lower reaches of the river may have been in Bructerian territory.<sup>328</sup>

The neighbouring tribes of Sugambri, Usipetes, and Tencteri were forced to ally to the confederation of Sugambri probably between 16 and 11 BC.

### 2.11.7. THE TUNGRI WITHIN GALLIA DURING THE GALLIC WARS, OR THEIR ESTABLISHMENT DURING THE AUGUSTAN PERIOD.

The debate continues as to whether the Tungri were a reformation of the Eburones or one of Augustus's tribes transplanted from Germania as part of his tribal settlement policy. It is unlikely that the Tungri were simply a reformation of the existing Germani cisrhenani alone. The remaining tribal units centred on the old Eburonian territory were probably drawn together with some immigrant Germani drafted to police the region.<sup>329</sup> They would have collectively reformed as Tungri, centred on the

Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde von Johannes Hoops, IV; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1981), 393 at 393. Neumann places the Chaubi between the Bructeri and Sugambri, this would place them north of the Lippe. Possibly from **Teut. O.H.G.** Houwan, **De.** 'schlagen, hauen'.

<sup>327</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), Strabo. Geography III at 154-155 (Book VII, Chapter 1.3).

<sup>328</sup> Bremer, *Ethnographie der germanischen Stämme* at 175-176 (909-910).

<sup>329</sup> Rives, *Tacitus. Germania* at 77-78, 117-118. See § 2.3 and § '...and now are called the Tungri', § 'Germani'. Tacitus's Tungri present a difficult problem and represent the Germani cisrhenani of Caesar. They were either an amalgamation of tribes after the breakdown of the Eburones who renamed themselves Tungri, or they were a drafted Teutonic military unit from Germania, who policed the local Celtic tribal units, cf. § 'Tribal fluidity'. There is little archaeological evidence to suggest Teutonic migration. The Teutonic garrison may have been established at Aduatuca Tungrorum and drafted from the region north of the Lippe. The rural area surrounding Aduatuca

old Eburonian capital Aduatuca, which later became Aduatuca Tungrorum, the capital of the *civitas* Tungrorum. The tribal name of Tungri was probably transferred to all the individual tribes under their control. These individual tribes would have retained some of their ethnic, linguistic, and cultural identity.

### 2.11.8. THE ARRIVAL OF THE SUGAMBRI, THE SUEBI AND THE ETHNOGENESIS OF THE CUGERNI IN GALLIA.

A section of the Sugambri and clans of the tribes allied to the Sugambri, i.e. Usipetes and Tencteri, together with some clans, or mercenaries of the Suebi numbering 40,000 captives, were transferred to Gallia in 8 BC, by Tiberius, where they emerged as the Cugerni. Spickermann remarks that:

‘Nach der Vernichtung der Eburonen durch Caesar erfolgten die beschriebenen Umsiedlungsaktionen in dem siedlungsarmen Raum zwischen Rhein und Maas, wobei die letzte dieser Maßnahmen größeren Umfangs durch Tiberius 8 v. Chr. möglicherweise eine Reaktion auf eine vorhergehende Infiltration durch verschiedene Ethnien war, die von den Römern unter dem Namen Sugambri bzw. Brukerer subsumiert wurden’.<sup>330</sup>

Whether the Cugerni and Baetasii were ‘Teilstämme’, of the Sugambri as suggested by Christa Frateantonio is uncertain.<sup>331</sup> It is probable that the Cugerni were rather the reorganization of both Sugambrian Germani, non-Sugambrian Germani and native Eburonian elements from Gallia. The Baetasii, were probably a Sugambrian tribe, possibly linked in some way to the lineage of the Sugambrian leader and King Maelo’s brother Baetorix whose son Deudorix was amongst the captives of Germanicus’s procession in Rome on 26 May 17 AD, and who may have avoided capture by Tiberius and controlled some of the remaining Sugambri who remained in

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remained Celtic in character. Cf. Archaeological and Linguistic sections. Mariën confirms the settlement of immigrant *Tungri* in the territory of the *Eburones* from around 15 BC, in the archaeological record. M. E. Mariën, ‘Tribes and Archaeological Groupings of the La Tène period in Belgium: some observations’, in J. Boardman, M.A. Brown et al. (eds.), *The European Community in Later Prehistory. Studies in honour of C. F. C. Hawkes* (1st edn.; London, 1971), 213-241 at 229.

<sup>330</sup>Wolfgang Spickermann, ‘Die germanischen Provinzen als Feld religionshistorischer Untersuchungen’, in Wolfgang Spickermann, Hubert Cancik et al. (eds.), *Religion in den germanischen Provinzen Roms* (1st edn.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 3-45 at 14.

<sup>331</sup>Christa Frateantonio, ‘Kulte des Xantener Raumes, Cugernervicus, *Vetera* I und *Vetera* II, *Colonia Ulpia Traiana*’, in Wolfgang Spickermann, Hubert Cancik et al. (eds.), *Religion in den germanischen Provinzen Roms* (1st edn.; Tübingen, 2001), 173-191 at 174.

Germania after the forced transplantation of 40,000 Sugambri to Gallia in 8 BC.<sup>332</sup> It is possible that Baetorix controlled was the leader of a canton of the Sugambri which settled in Gallia, whether his position was subservient or equal to that of his brother is uncertain. However if there is a direct relationship of the Sugambri of Baetorix in Gallia and to the Baetasii and if Baetorix was also a leader of the Sugambri then one would expect a similar canton of Sugambri (amongst the Cugerni) controlled and named after Maelo, (hypothetically named the \**Maelones*), within the Sugambrian territory of Gallia.

Dio, Suetonius, and Tacitus all refer to the war with the Sugambri. Suetonius mentions the settlement of the Sugambri and Suebi west of the Rhine.<sup>333</sup> Whether these were two separate settlements of Sugambri and Suebi, in two different places is unknown. Both Dio and Florus mention confederations of tribes east of the Rhine.<sup>334</sup>

Dio is clear that the Sugambri joined with some elements of the neighbouring tribes, probably the Marsi, Bructeri, Gambrii, and others, i.e. possibly the Tubantes, Chamavi, Chattuarii, and some other tribes of the region, i.e. Cherusci, Fosi, and Suebi. The Sugambri were settled only a short time previously. If these groups were transplanted to the same destination in Gallia it may help to define how the Germani transrhenani, Suebic groups, and Germani cisrhenani were forced together to forge a new identity as Cugerni.<sup>335</sup>

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<sup>332</sup> For the transplantation of the 40,000 captives see also: Lothar Wierschowski, 'Non sexus, nonaetas miseracionem attulit (Tac. ann. 1,51,1) "Nicht Alter, nicht Geschlecht brachten Erbarmen": Zur Kriegsführung der Römer in Germanien 14-16 n. Chr.' *Rom, Germanien und das Reich. Festschrift zu Ehren von Rainer Wiegels anlässlich seines 65. Geburtstages* (1st edn., Pharos. Studien zur griechisch-römischen Antike, XVIII; St. Katharinen: Scripta Mercaturae Verlag, 2005), 210-223 at 215-216.

<sup>333</sup> Peschel, *Sueben - Hermunduren - Markomannen* at 98 and n. 347. Peschel, 'Die Sueben', at 296. See 'Abb 1'.

<sup>334</sup> Capps, Page et al. (eds.), *Dio. VI* at 332-333 (BookLIV,Chapter20.4). Page, Capps et al. (eds.), *Florus. Roman History. 1929* at 337 (The German War BookII,ChapterXXX).

<sup>335</sup> Heinrichs, 'Zur Umsiedlung protocugernischer Gruppen', at 70.

### 2.11.9. THE EXISTENCE OR ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BAETASII AND SUNUCI.

The Baetasii and Sunuci are often reckoned to be Sugambrian sub-tribes. They may both have been settled within the Cugernian *civitas*.<sup>336</sup> The Baetasii, are found amongst the Sugambri. The Sunuci are often thought to be the native Eburonians, yet it is the opinion of Zeuss, Müllenhoff, Jullian, Stein, and Weisgerber that the Baetasii and Sunuci were sub-tribes of the Sugambri.<sup>337</sup> Considering the personal names of the Sugambri it is probable that the Baetasii were a Sugambrian tribe, e.g. Baetorix. It is also probable that the Sunuci were Sugambri. Horn suggests that the power of the aristocracy of the Sugambri and Ubii was either shattered or that they were annihilated before they arrived in Gallia, as no princely graves have been found in their territory in the Rhineland for this period.<sup>338</sup>

### 2.11.10. THE SETTLEMENT OR MIGRATION OF THE FRISIAVONES, CANNINEFATES, STURII, AND MARSACII.

The Frisiavones must reflect tribal migration from the northern Netherlands in the Augustan or post Augustan era, as they had apparently not migrated into northern Gallia during the time of Caesar. The region of the Frisiavones is uncertain and Slofstra states that Pliny (*NH* 4. 101) refers to them living: 'inter Helinium ac Flevum' (between tidal inlets that formed estuaries of the Maas and Striene).<sup>339</sup> At the time of the Gallic War the Marsaci and Sturii may have been Celtic tribes of the Menapii. The Frisiavones occupied Menapian territory after the Gallic Wars. The

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<sup>336</sup> Spickermann, 'Die germanischen Provinzen als Feld religionshistorischer Untersuchungen', at 4.

<sup>337</sup> Rüger, *Germania Inferior* at 96-97 and n. 481. Johann Leo Weisgerber, 'Das römerzeitliche Namengut des Xantener Siedlungsraumes', in Johann Knobloch and Rudolf Schützeichel (eds.), *Rhenania Germano-Celtica. Gesammelte Abhandlungen. Dem Autor zum siebzigsten Geburtstag am 25. Februar 1969. Mitwirkung von Henning von Gadow und Gernot Schmidt* (1st edn., Veröffentlichung des Instituts für geschichtliche Landeskunde der Rheinlande an der Universität Bonn; Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid, 1969), 237-274 at 240. Stammesnamen, at 239-240.

<sup>338</sup> Heinz Günter Horn, 'Das Leben in römischen Rheinland', in Heinz Günter Horn (ed.), *Die Römer in Nordrhein-Westfalen* (2nd edn., Die Römer in.; Hamburg: Nikol Verlagsgesellschaft, 2002), 139-317 at 141. Spickermann, 'Die germanischen Provinzen als Feld religionshistorischer Untersuchungen', at 4.

<sup>339</sup> Slofstra, 'Meuse-Demer-Scheldt', at 170-171, n. 104. Bostock and Riley (eds.), *Pliny* at 349 (BookIV,Chapter29), i.e. (BookIV,Chapter101), 354 (BookIV,Chapter31) i.e. (BookIV,Chapter106).

Frisiavones, Canninefates, Texuandri, Marsaci, and Sturii may later have constituted pagi of the Batavi. Evidence for a *civitas Frisiavonum* is not convincing.<sup>340</sup>

#### **2.11.11. THE TEXUANDRI.**

Pliny is the first to mention the Texuandri. Most modern authors consider this significant in terms of their linguistic and ethnic identity. Roymans looks at the Texuandri who, Pliny states, had many names, i.e. ‘pluribus nominibus’.<sup>341</sup> This, according to Roymans was ‘an indication that they were an amalgamation of the remnants of formerly existing groups’.<sup>342</sup> The groups in question may have been the Celtic Menapii/Eburones and other unnamed peoples, possibly including Teutonic speaking-immigrant groups.

#### **2.11.12. THE NEMETES, TRIBOCI, VANGIONES, AND SUEBI.**

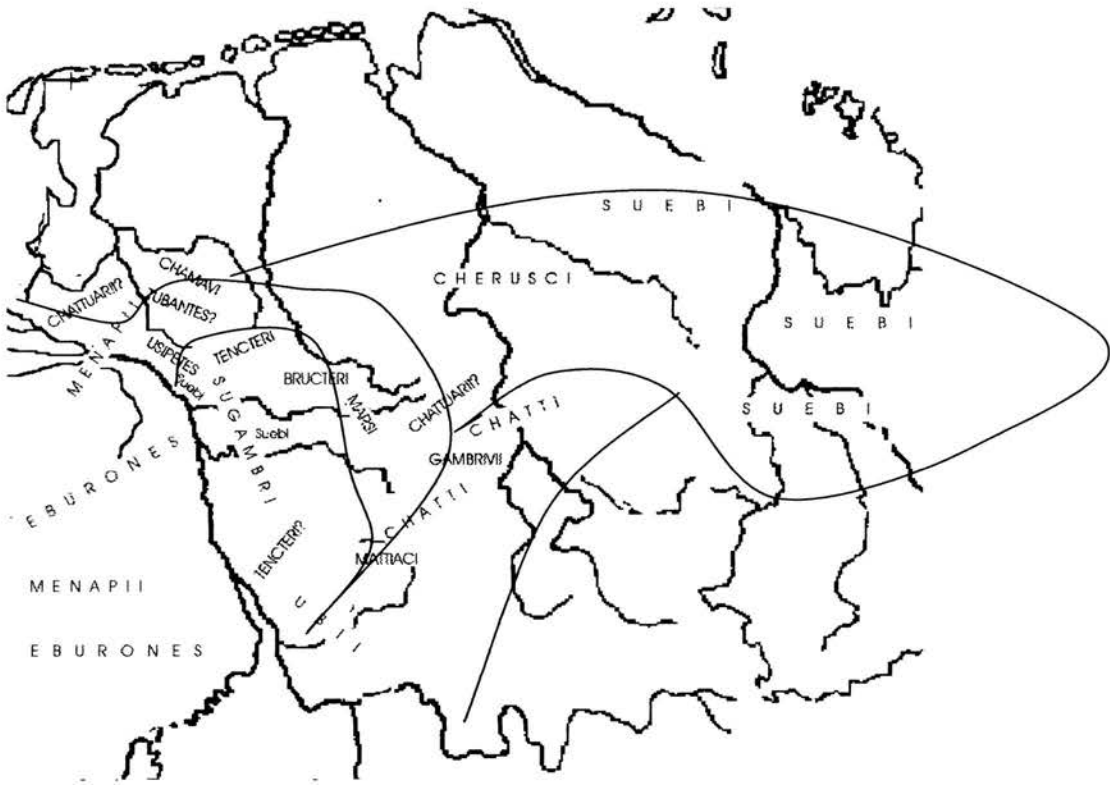
As there is no reference to the Mediomatrici, Leuci, or Sequani resettling their territories of the Rheinland-Pfalz west of the Rhine and Alsace, the Nemetes, Triboci, and Vangiones probably remained in this region of Gallia from the Caesarian period. The immigrant Elbgermanen who were settled here, *c.* 10 BC, along the Gaulish Upper Rhine, may have been new arrivals from northern Germania or have constituted some of the remaining Marcomani and Suebi of Ariovistus. These Suebic immigrants were probably garrisoned among the Nemetes, Triboci, and Vangiones to police the Rhine frontier.

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<sup>340</sup> Roymans, *Batavians* at 207-209.

<sup>341</sup> Bostock and Riley (eds.), *Pliny* at 353 (BookIV,Chapter31) i.e. (BookIV,Chapter106).

<sup>342</sup> Roymans, *Northern Gaul* at 21.



**Figure 4. The confederations of Germania.**

## **2.12. ROMAN ENTRY TO GERMANIA BEFORE 20 BC. THE CLADES LOLLIANA AND SUGAMBRIAN FORESIGHT OF ROMAN POLICY AND THE CAMPAIGNS OF DRUSUS.**

The Sugambrian awareness that the Romans were intent on conquest of a large tract of Germania imbued desperation among the usually confident Sugambri, Usipetes, and Tencteri. These tribes, spearheaded by the Sugambri, worked relentlessly to create alliances to safeguard their position, from the period of Caesar, to that of Augustus and Tiberius.<sup>343</sup> In the space of three generations the Sugambri, Usipetes, and Tencteri faced campaigns by Caesar, Augustus, Agrippa, Drusus, Tiberius, Germanicus, Ahenobarbus, and various appointed legates under their command. The Sugambri realized that a confederation could repulse Roman intervention where single tribes would fail, if a constant supply of tribal units was not available to

<sup>343</sup> Capps, Page et al. (eds.), Dio. VI at 332-333 (BookLIV, Chapter20.4).

reinforce weakened tribes. Confederations would allow campaigns to be fought continually to a conclusion. This model would have been adopted from the Romans. The Chatti adopted fortifications, a military command structure, with a proper inter-tribal communication network.<sup>344</sup>

The Sugambri may have had a standing army in anticipation of Roman invasion. A confederation of the Sugambri, Usipetes, Tencteri, neighbouring tribes, Suebic units in Sugambria, Cherusci, Suebi proper, and the Chatti, which controlled the territory between the Rhine mouth to the Main stood a credible chance of preventing the Romans from making permanent settlements in Germania.<sup>345</sup> By creating tribal-military alliances, the Sugambri had effectively taken the first step to producing the necessary criteria to successfully dealing with Roman invasion.

### **2.12.1. INCREASE IN MILITARIZATION EAST OF THE RHINE FROM THE ERA OF CAESAR ONWARD.**

A marked increase in the militarization of the Celtic and Teutonic natives took place east of the Rhine as a response to Roman aggression in Gallia, and their offensive on Germania.<sup>346</sup> The Sugambri, Usipetes, Tencteri, Suebi, and Marcomani, had nearly two generations of military experience dealing with Roman interference and intrusion, dating from Caesar's foray against them in 55 BC.

Before 16 BC, there was possibly a temporary Roman military presence in Sugambria. The Romans would have conducted preliminary lightning raids and intelligence-gathering missions as a precursor to establishing bases along the Lippe, (Holsterhausen, Haltern, Oberaden, and Delbrück-Anreppen), and the Main (Wiesbaden, Höchst, Hofheim, Friedberg, Bad Nauheim, Rödgen), or to large-scale

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<sup>344</sup> Rives, Tacitus. *Germania* at 89. Tacitus states that the Chatti were Roman-like in their approach to warfare.

<sup>345</sup> The neighbouring confederacies of the Sugambri, Usipetes, and Tencteri probably contained units of the Bructeri, Tubantes, Marsi, Gamabrivii, Chattvarii, Chamavii, and perhaps Ptolemy's Suebi Langobardi, Incriones, Intouergoi, Caritni, Nertereani, Danduti, Turones, Chasvarii. This may reflect the tribal settlement of, c. 30-25 BC, cf. Kahrstedt, 'Roman Frontier on the Lower Rhine', at 43-44.

<sup>346</sup> Wells, *Barbarians* at 119-121. Wells, *The Battle that Stopped Rome*. at 142-143.

invasion of their region.<sup>347</sup> This may have prompted the Sugambri, Usipetes, and Tencteri, to approach their neighbours to form temporary military confederations. These probably consisted of the Bructeri, Tubantes, Marsi, Chamavi, Chattvarii, Gambrivii, and possibly Canninefates. Later the Sugambri, Usipetes, and Tencteri, insisted that the others join. They then allied with the Cherusci, Suebi, and later the Chatti.

It was vital for Rome to crush the core of the Sugambri as they were the great instigators of resistance to Rome before the Marcomani, Cherusci, and Chatti became prominent. A hostile Sugambrian confederation was essential to protect the tribes from the continual aggression of Rome. Sugambrian objectives would have aimed to destroy existing Roman bases; to keep out and expel Roman troops, demoralize them through military defeat and to alter Roman perception of what was realistically achievable in Germania. The Sugambri's desperation to create an alliance network was well founded because Rome was already planning the invasion of Germania.

### **2.12.2. CONSTRUCTION OF FORTS ALONG THE RHINE AND IN GERMANIA BETWEEN THE AUGUSTAN AND TIBERIAN ERAS.**

From 16-13 BC, Augustus stayed on the frontier of the Middle and Lower Rhine to establish the reorganization and defence of eastern Gallia and possibly prepare for a major offensive against Germania. In 12 BC, Augustus took his troops into Germania and in the same year established a series of bases along the Lippe to act as a supply route eastwards from the Rhine at Vetera (Xanten), into the interior of Germania. Between 16 BC and 14 AD, the main forts along the Rhine were at Noviomagus, Vetera, Asciburgium, Novaesium, Bonna, Mogontiacum. Forts on the Lippe were Holsterhausen, Haltern, Oberaden, Delbrück-Anreppen, and on the Main were Friedberg, Rödgen, Bad Nauheim, Waldgirmes. Some scholars opine that Roman

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<sup>347</sup> Peter Ilisch, 'Der Münzschatzfund von Dorsten-Holsterhausen', in Heinz. Günter Horn, Hansgerd Hellenkemper et al. (eds.), *VON ANFANG AN Archäologie in Nordrhein-Westfalen* (1st edn., Schriften zur Bodendenkmalpflege in Nordrhein-Westfalen. Römisch-Germanisches Museum, 8; Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2005), 369-372 at 369-370, 372.

forts were probably situated approximately 18 km apart.<sup>348</sup> In northern Germania Hedemünden N.S., and in southern Germany, Marktbreit BY., were the most easterly forts found. A fort of possible Augustan origin is on the Upper Ruhr at Kneblinghausen.<sup>349</sup>

### **2.12.3. THE CAMPAIGNS OF DRUSUS, THE CONFEDERATION OF THE SUGAMBRI, USIPETES, TENCTERI, AND OTHER MILITARY ALLIANCES.**

After the Sugambrian protection of the Usipetes and Tencteri in 55 BC, they should be seen as a semi-permanent confederation.<sup>350</sup> This was probably the confederation referred to by Florus in the all-encompassing term of Sicambri.<sup>351</sup> Florus's reference to the crucifixion of Romans by the Cherusci, Suebi, and Sugambri, in their own territory must have been the same event described by Dio for the year 16 BC, as being perpetrated by the Sugambri, Usipetes and Tencteri, probably as a reaction to Roman interference in their territory before 16 BC.<sup>352</sup>

Augustus hastened against the Sugambri, Usipetes, and Tencteri, who preempted an offensive against them by providing hostages and securing a temporary cessation of

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<sup>348</sup> Harald Polenz, *Götter, Gräber, Grubengold. Archäologie im Ruhrgebiet*, 1 vols. (1st edn.; Essen: Klartext, 2000) at 100.

<sup>349</sup> Heinz Günter Horn, 'Was ist wahr an Varus?- Eine Frage ohne klare Antworten', in Heinz. Günter Horn, Hansgerd Hellenkemper et al. (eds.), *VON ANFANG AN Archäologie in Nordrhein-Westfalen* (1st edn., Schriften zur Bodendenkmalpflege in Nordrhein-Westfalen. Römisch-Germanisches Museum, 8; Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2005), 110-117 at 112, 115 (Kneblinghausen) and 120 (Hedemunden). Kühlborn asserts (2005) that the termination date for Haltern is disputed: Johann-Sebastian Kühlborn, 'Die Grabungen in den westfälischen Römerlagern', in Heinz. Günter Horn, Hansgerd Hellenkemper et al. (eds.), *VON ANFANG AN Archäologie in Nordrhein-Westfalen* (1st edn., Schriften zur Bodendenkmalpflege in Nordrhein-Westfalen. Römisch-Germanisches Museum, 8; Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2005), 119-127 at 126.

<sup>350</sup> Caesar, BG at 76 (BookIV,Chapter12), at 78 (BookIV,Chapter16), at 80 (BookIV,Chapter18), at 130 (BookVI,Chapter35). Capps, Page et al. (eds.), Dio. VI at 332-333 (BookLIV,Chapter20.4) for Sugambri, Usipetes and Tencteri. See at 364-365 (BookLIV,Chapter32.2) for Usipetes. Also at 366-367 (BookLIV,Chapter33.1) for Usipetes). Page, Capps et al. (eds.), Florus. Roman History. 1929 at 336-337 (BookII,ChapterXXX.23) for Usipetes, Tencturi and Catthi, and at 336-337 (BookII,ChapterXXX.24) for Cherusci, Suebi, Sicambri, at 336-337.

<sup>351</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), Florus. Roman History. 1929 at 336-337 (BookII,ChapterXXX.24-25). See § The German War, at 335-341. Caesar, BG at 112 (BookV,Chapter55). Reference to Usipetes and Tencteri as Tencteri.

<sup>352</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), Florus. Roman History. 1929 at 336-337 (BookII,ChapterXXX.24-26). Capps, Page et al. (eds.), Dio. VI at 332-333 (BookLIV,Chapter20.4).

hostilities.<sup>353</sup> This act of expediency prevented Augustus from immediately entering their territory.

Florus stated that Drusus was sent into the provinces and conquered the Usipetes, Tencteri, and Catthi (Chatti). He did not provide a date for Drusus's offensive but this must have been *c.* 11 BC; he remarked:

‘Next he attacked simultaneously those powerful tribes, the Cherusci, Suebi, and Sicambri, who had begun hostilities after crucifying twenty of our centurions, an act which served as an oath binding them together.’<sup>354</sup>

Dio remarks that in 12 BC, ‘the Sugambri and their allies had resorted to war, owing to the absence of Augustus and the fact that the Gauls were restive under their slavery’.<sup>355</sup> Other allies of the Sugambri, which they either coerced, or convinced to join their league, were probably the Chamavi, Tubantes, Bructeri, and Chattvarii (east of the Rhine), with the exception, until 10 BC, of the Chatti.

In 11 BC, Drusus devastated the Usipetian, Batavian, and Sugambrian territories, sailed down the Rhine, through the IJsselmeer to the ocean and won over the Frisii who came to his aid when he invaded the Chauci.<sup>356</sup>

Dio remarked that in 11 BC, Drusus entered Germania to ravage the country of the Usipetes a second time, and also presumably the Tencteri. He advanced to the country of the Cherusci as far as the Weser. He was able to do this because the Sugambri had gone on a campaign against the Chatti who would not ally with them. He retired to friendly territory amid many skirmishes and ambushes.<sup>357</sup>

In 11 BC, the Chatti were probably principally confined to northern and north-central Hessen, i.e. (possibly the old territory of Celtic Cassi and Northern Mattiaci). The Elbgermanen component of the Chatti may not yet have entered central and southern Hessen, or have reached Mattium, until 9 AD.

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<sup>353</sup> Capps, Page et al. (eds.), Dio. VI at 332-333 (BookLIV,Chapter20.4-6). Wells, Barbarians at 95.

<sup>354</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), Florus. Roman History. 1929 at 336-337 (BookII,ChapterXXX.23-24).

<sup>355</sup> Capps, Page et al. (eds.), Dio. VI at 364-365 (BookLIV,Chapter32.1).

<sup>356</sup> The editors of Dio place the Usipetes north of the Lippe in 12 BC, which is in keeping with Drusus' movements from Xanten/Vetera into Germania north of the Lippe.

<sup>357</sup> Capps, Page et al. (eds.), Dio. VI at 366-367 (BookLVI,Chapter33.1-2).

Because of harassment by the enemy on his return from the Weser in 11 BC, Drusus fortified a stronghold where the Lippe and Eliso joined, and another amongst the Chatti on the Rhine (probably Rödgen).<sup>358</sup> Roman action against the Chatti may have compelled them to join the Sugambri in 10 BC. Within a year of the Sugambrian campaign against them in 11 BC, the Chatti had moved from the territory provided to them by the Romans, (which probably comprised part of old Ubia), to join the Sugambri.

In 9 BC, Drusus again attacked the Chatti, Suebi, and Cherusci, crossed the Weser and reached the Elbe.<sup>359</sup> Florus spoke of Drusus's campaign against the Marcomani. It is unusual that Dio makes no mention of this, particularly as he always distinguished between the Marcomani and Suebi proper.<sup>360</sup>

#### **2.12.4. IMPORTANCE OF CHATTI IN SUGAMBRIAN LED CONFEDERATION.**

The Sugambri must have realized that it was essential that the Chatti join their confederation, as they controlled the frontier and territory of the Middle Rhine. This frontier comprised a major invasion route, which the Romans were attempting to use from Mainz into Germania, (southern Hessen) along the Wetter, through the territory of the Mattiaci/Ubii, and that of the Chatti. The Sugambri had to ensure that the Chatti blocked this strategic invasion route, thus safeguarding the region and denying the Romans a foothold. Campaigns against Sugambria from Vetera and from the Chattian territory would have presented the Sugambri with the almost insurmountable task of a war on two fronts with the Romans. The Sugambri needed to prevent a Chattian-Roman alliance, which would facilitate Roman bases in their territory. A combined tribal alliance would maximize the military effectiveness of these tribes against Rome.

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<sup>358</sup> Capps, Page et al. (eds.), Dio. VI at 368-369 (BookLIV.Chapter33.4). Carroll, Celts & Germans at 34-35.

<sup>359</sup> Capps, Page et al. (eds.), Dio. VI at 380-381 (BookLV,Chapter1.2).

<sup>360</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), Florus. Roman History. 1929 at 336-337. (BookII,ChapterXXX.23).

### 2.12.5. TIBERIUS'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE SUGAMBRI.

Drusus died in 9 BC, and in 8 BC, Augustus sent Tiberius to make a campaign against the Germani. All the tribes except the Sugambri submitted to the Romans. However, Augustus would not accept the truce without the submission of the Sugambri. The Sugambri sent envoys who were seized by Augustus and imprisoned in different cities. According to Dio they took their own lives but they were probably killed by Augustus. Consequently Tiberius transferred 40,000 Sugambri and Suebi across the Rhine into Gallia.<sup>361</sup>

In 7 BC, Tiberius took the field when there was a disturbance in Germania. He retired to Rhodes in 6 BC.<sup>362</sup> It is unfortunate that between 6 BC - 4 AD, Dio's account breaks off, as this was a very active period in Germania. Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus reached and crossed the Albis (Elbe), c. 1 BC.<sup>363</sup> Dio states that 'earlier Domitius, ...had intercepted the Hermunduri, a tribe which for some reason or other had left their own land and were wandering about in quest of another, and he had settled them in a part of the Marcomanian territory'.<sup>364</sup>

### 2.12.6. GERMAN WAR OF 4 AD. THE *IMMENSUM EXARSERAT BELLUM*.

In 4 AD, a war broke out in Germania and Augustus all but worn out, adopted Tiberius and sent him against the Germani, granting him the *tribunician* power for ten years.<sup>365</sup> Rürger argues that the *immensum exarserat bellum*, in the overlordship of Marcus Vinicius in 1 AD, referred to by Velleius, demanded renewal of the measures

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<sup>361</sup> Capps, Page et al. (eds.), Dio. VI at 392-393 (Book LV, Chapter 6.1-3). T. E. Page, E. Capps et al. (eds.), *Suetonius*, eds. T. E. Page, E. Capps et al., trans. J. C. Rolfe II vols. (2nd edn., The Loeb Classical Library, I; London: William Heinemann, 1914) at 151 (Book II. The Deified Augustus, Chapter XXI), at 305 (Book II. Tiberius, Chapter IX). Radice (ed.), Tacitus. *Annals* at 88-89 (Book II, Chapter 26). Carroll, *Celts & Germans* at 31.

<sup>362</sup> Capps, Page et al. (eds.), Dio. VI at 398-399 (Book LV, Chapter 8.3). See 'Tiberius' retirement to Rhodes, at 402-405 (Book LV, Chapter 9.5-6).

<sup>363</sup> Capps, Page et al. (eds.), Dio. VI at 416-417 (Book LV, Chapter 10.2). Radice (ed.), Tacitus. *Annals* at 310-312 (Book XIII, Chapter 57), and for the battle between and location of Hermunduri and Chatti in 58 AD. For the Frisii, at 179-180 (Book IV, Chapter 44).

<sup>364</sup> Capps, Page et al. (eds.), Dio. VI at 416-417. (Book LV, 10a.2-3). Wells, *German Policy* at 158-159.

<sup>365</sup> Capps, Page et al. (eds.), Dio. VI at 424-425 (Book LV, Chapter 13.1-2).

taken in the previous generation.<sup>366</sup> Velleius stated that Tiberius entered Germania, c. 4 AD, saying 'He at once entered Germany. The Canninefates, the Attuarii, and Bructeri were subdued, the Cherusci ...were again subjugated, the Weser crossed, and the regions beyond it penetrated'.<sup>367</sup> Tiberius overwintered in 4-5 AD, at the source of the Lippe, possibly at Paderborn.<sup>368</sup> He campaigned again in 5 AD. Velleius stated that the Roman army traversed Germania subjugating many tribes as far as the Elbe of which he names the Cauchi and Langobardi.<sup>369</sup>

This progress by Tiberius in Germania suggests that the Romans were in control of the regions beyond the Rhine, Zuid Holland, western Westfalen, western and southern Hessen, Franken, and southern Bayern, and practically all of Baden-Württemberg. The territory of northern Germania and the lands east of the Weser were probably nominally held.

### **2.12.7. LATER CAMPAIGNS OF TIBERIUS AND HIS LEGATES. MAROBODUUS, THE CLADES VARIANA, THE CHERUSCI, MARCOMANI, AND BRUCTERI.**

An *ara* to Augustus was set up at some time before 9 AD, in the Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinenses (Köln), i.e. *ara Ubiorum*, as a focus for unity in the provinces of Germania. Wells asserts, that after the transplantation of Sugambrian tribal units in 8 BC, 'Germany was organized as a province, except that regular taxation was apparently not yet imposed; that was left for Varus'.<sup>370</sup> The boundary of the province would now presumably have been the Elbe and from 10 BC, onwards part of the Roman army would have been stationed all year round in Germania, cf. Oberaden, and permanent bases established, e.g. Haltern.<sup>371</sup>

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<sup>366</sup>Capps, Rouse et al. (eds.), Velleius Paterculus at 264-265 (BookII,ChapterCIV.2). Rüger, 'Germany. CAH. 1996', at 526 and n. 517. Helmut Bernhard, 'Die römische Geschichte in Rheinland-Pfalz', in Heinz. Cüppers (ed.), Die Römer in Rheinland-Pfalz (2nd edn., Die Römer in.; Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 1990), 39-168 at 83 Abb. 39.

<sup>367</sup>Capps, Rouse et al. (eds.), Velleius Paterculus at 268-269 (BookII,ChapterCV.1).

<sup>368</sup>Capps, Rouse et al. (eds.), Velleius Paterculus at 268-269 (BookII,ChapterCV.3).

<sup>369</sup>Capps, Rouse et al. (eds.), Velleius Paterculus at 268-271 (BookII,ChapterCVI.1-2).

<sup>370</sup>Wells, German Policy at 156.

<sup>371</sup>Wells, German Policy at 157-159.

### 2.12.8. THE CONCLUSION OF THE CAMPAIGNS OF DRUSUS AND TIBERIUS IN GERMANIA: THE CONQUEST OF BOIOHAEMUM.

By the end of Drusus's campaigns in 9 BC, according to Florus, Germania, west of the Elbe, was deemed secure by Rome.<sup>372</sup> It would appear that the Romans had overrun the territory between Rhine and Elbe and subdued most of the tribes, *c.* 8 BC. It was an uneasy peace with numerous Roman outposts, probably not unlike those found on the American Indian frontier in the nineteenth century, where garrisons were established in hostile territory.<sup>373</sup>

Velleius stated that, 'Nothing remained to be conquered in Germany except the people of the Marcomani'.<sup>374</sup> Maroboduus lead the Marcomani to Boiohaemum away from Roman interference where he could consolidate his army and confederation. Strabo lists these as 'the Lugii a large tribe, the Zumi, the Butones, the Mugilones, the Sibini, and also the Semnones, a large tribe of the Suevi themselves'.<sup>375</sup> Tacitus adds the Langobardi to Maroboduus's confederation.<sup>376</sup> Maroboduus's Suebi were within the Hercynian forest where he also controlled the Coldui (presumably the Quadi). Velleius states that Maroboduus's army numbered seventy thousand foot and four thousand horse, which he exercised 'in constant wars against his neighbours, for some greater task than that which he had in hand'.<sup>377</sup>

There is no doubt that Augustus knew that *Boiohaemum* (Bohemia) must be conquered. This was necessary to secure the southern section of Germania and to link his northern and western conquests in Germania with the Elbe, which flowed through the north of Bohemia.

By giving priority to Bohemia, Wells argues that the proof that Germania seemed secure was Augustus's decision to proceed in 6 AD, to the conquest of Bohemia.<sup>378</sup>

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<sup>372</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), Florus. Roman History. 1929 at 336-337 (ChapterXXX,Book27-28).

<sup>373</sup> Wells, German Policy at 6-7.

<sup>374</sup> Capps, Rouse et al. (eds.), Velleius Paterculus at 272-273 (BookII,ChapterCVIII).

<sup>375</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), Strabo. Geography III at 156-157 (BookVII,Chapter1.3).

<sup>376</sup> Radice (ed.), Tacitus. Annals at 99 (BookII,Chapter45), at 100 (BookII,Chapter46).

<sup>377</sup> Capps, Rouse et al. (eds.), Velleius Paterculus at 274-275 (BookII,ChapterXCIX.2).

<sup>378</sup> Wells, German Policy at 159.

However, Tiberius's bitter campaigning in 4-6 AD, suggests that the region between Rhine and Elbe was neither consolidated nor peaceful.<sup>379</sup>

Tiberius resolved to attack Maroboduus in 6 AD, in Boiohaemum, but due to a revolt in Pannonia and Dalmatia in the same year, Tiberius and Saturninus abandoned their plans and went to crush the revolt.<sup>380</sup> The Romans may have perceived Germania as having been almost secured as a province as far as the Elbe.

Wells believes that Maroboduus was not a threat to Rome, that he was willing to accept peace and Augustus's attack on Boiohaemum was not a defensive measure but an act of aggression. Finally, Wells adds, with regard to conquest of Bohemia, 'If successful, it would have given the Romans a dominating position in Central Europe, including control of the headwaters of the Elbe'.<sup>381</sup>

Rome probably realised that with the size of Maroboduus's confederation, even before arriving in Bohemia, that he would always remain a threat. They probably decided to forstall any future attacks by him by invading his territory before he had ample time to consolidate his position. Rome also wished to annex Maroboduus's frontier territories.

### **2.13. THE VARIAN DISASTER AND ITS EFFECTS ON TRIBAL MIGRATION.**

Quinctilius Varus and the XVII, XVIII and XIX legions were slaughtered in the *saltus Teutoburgiensis* by Arminius and Segimerus of the Cherusci in 9 AD.<sup>382</sup> Rome had overestimated its control over Germania. Unlike Gallia, the tribes of northern Germania were not pacified, Romanized, demoralized, nor content to accept defeat.

What Arminius achieved through this defeat had a deep psychological effect on both Augustus and Tiberius. Until this defeat, it was always assumed by Augustus that

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<sup>379</sup> Capps, Page et al. (eds.), Dio. VI at 424-425 (BookLV,Chapter13.1-2), at 468-469 (BookLV,Chapter29-30.1).

<sup>380</sup> Capps, Rouse et al. (eds.), Velleius Paterculus at 276-277 (BookII,ChapterCIX.5). Capps, Page et al. (eds.), Dio. VI at 466-467 (BookLV,Chapter28.5-6), 468-469 (BookLV,Chapter29.1).

<sup>381</sup> Wells, German Policy at 161.

<sup>382</sup> Wells, German Policy at 239.

Rome would conquer this region between the Rhine and Elbe. Defeat in the *saltus Teutoburgiensis* in 9 AD, utterly changed the Roman perception of the possibility of conquest of Germania to the Elbe.<sup>383</sup>

According to Wells, all Roman garrisons in northern Germania, except *Aliso*, were wiped out. Germania was lost.<sup>384</sup> Because of the Varian defeat and the withdrawal of Rome to the Rhine, the north German tribes were enabled to migrate at will. Many tribal units migrated into central Germania altering the tribal map of that region.

### 2.13.1. THE MARSI, 14-16 AD.

Germanicus attacked the Marsi beyond the *Caesia silva* in 14 AD. He destroyed their sacred temple at Tanfana possibly forcing them to migrate from the Marschenland, south-west of Münster and the Bructeri to the Upper Lippe/Ruhr.<sup>385</sup>

It is not known where the temple of *Tanfana* is located.<sup>386</sup> The hypothesis that *Tanfana* was as close to the Rhine as Essen (Stoppenberg) would include the Tencteri as participants in the harassment of the Roman troops of Germanicus, if some of their number had migrated south of the Lippe to the region near Essen, but Tacitus only referred to the Bructeri, Tubantes, and Usipetes.<sup>387</sup> As Tacitus admired the Tencteri he would surely have mentioned their presence.<sup>388</sup> This suggests that the Tencteri were no longer very close to the territory of the Usipetes on the north of the Lower Lippe. By 14 AD, they had probably migrated south of the Lippe to the old Sugambrian and Ubian territory.

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<sup>383</sup> Wolfgang Schlüter, 'The Battle of the Teutoburg Forest: archaeological research at Kalkriese near Osnabrück', in R. J. A. Wilson and J. D. Creighton (eds.), *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series* (1st edn., 32; Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1999), 125-159 at 124.

<sup>384</sup> Von Schnurbein, 'Augustus in Germania and his new 'town' at Waldgirmes east of the Rhine', at 103. Von Schnurbein states that the Lahнау-Waldgirmes fell in 9 AD. Wells, *German Policy* at 239.

<sup>385</sup> Tulowitzki, 'Tanfana', at 139-140, 142, 144 (surrounding tribes), 143-151. See Tabelle 1. at 153 n. 32. and Derks (ed.), *Die Silva Caesia* at 154-155. Wells, *German Policy* at 241-242. See Ch. '7. Rebellion and Retrenchment', at 237-250. Baldick, Jones et al. (eds.), *Tacitus. Histories* at 61-62 (BookI,Chapter50-51).

<sup>386</sup> For Tanfana: Rudolf Much, 'Marsen', in Johannes Hoops (ed.), *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*. K-Rö (1st edn., *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, III; Straßburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1911-1913), 199-200 at 199-200. Rudolf Simek, 'Irmisul', *Dictionary of Northern Mythology* (1st edn.; Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1993), 175-176 at 175-176.

<sup>387</sup> Tulowitzki, 'Tanfana', at 139-140, 142, 143.

<sup>388</sup> Radice (ed.), *Tacitus. Annals* at 61-62 (BookI,Chapters50-51).

The Marsi may have settled in northwestern Sugambria (from the Ruhr to the Lippe) prior to Tencterian settlement south of the Lippe. Wormstall suggests that the Marsi moved inwards from the region of the Rhine to escape the Roman strike against the tribes of Germania and locates 'ihr Siedlungsgebiet im Raum zwischen Ems, Ruhr und Lenne mit einer Ausdehnung bis zum Wiehengebirge'.<sup>389</sup>

It is possible that Germanicus crossed the Rhine to campaign against the Marsi in 14 AD, at Asciburgium (Moers Asperg, Nordrhein-Westfalen).<sup>390</sup> There is no reason to believe that Germanicus did not cross the Rhine by the usual invasion route at Vetera along the Lippe, north of the Lippe, as it is probable that the *Caesia silva* extended to both sides of the Lippe and Ruhr. Moreover, the Usipetes, Bructeri, and Tubantes were at this time probably located in this area. Laser believes that Germanicus set out on his campaign of 14 AD, against the Marsi from Vetera.<sup>391</sup> The Marsi were presumably initially settled north of the Lippe and probably extended south of the river, following transplantation of some Sugambrian and Suebian tribes, to Gallia in 8 BC.

The region of Essen in 14 AD, is unlikely to have been in Marsian, but rather Tencterian territory. The Marsi were probably further north and east on the Upper Lippe and Ruhr. Strabo stated that the Marsi moved eastwards, deeper into Germania.<sup>392</sup> The association of the *Caesia silva* with the Marsi is unclear, as the Marsi appear to have been beyond this forest at this time.<sup>393</sup> This would have placed them close to the Chatti. It is probable that if the Marsi later migrated east to the Upper Lippe/Upper Ruhr, that they had only migrated after 14 AD.

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<sup>389</sup> Tulowitzki, 'Tanfana', at 138-153, 145-146. J. Wormstall, *Der Tempel der Tanfana auf dem Stoppenberg. Ein altgermanisches Heiligum in neuer Bedeutung*. Münster. (1st edn.; Münster, 1906) at 8-11.

<sup>390</sup> Tulowitzki, 'Tanfana', at 139. See Abb. 131 at 138.

<sup>391</sup> Rudolf Laser, 'Römisch-germanische Beziehungen und die Angriffe des Imperiums gegen Germanien. Abwehrkämpfe germanischer Stämme und römische Germanien-politik bis um die Mitte des 1. Jahrhunderts', in Bruno Krüger (ed.), *Die Germanen. Geschichte und Kultur der germanischen Stämme in Mitteleuropa* (5th edn., Veröffentlichungen des Zentralinstitut für Alte Geschichte und Archäologie der Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, 4.1; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1988), 276-289 at 284. Derks (ed.), *Die Silva Caesia* at 154.

<sup>392</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), *Strabo. Geography III* at 154-155 (Book VII, Chapter 1.3).

<sup>393</sup> Rudolf Much, 'Caesia silva', in Johannes Hoops (ed.), *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde. A-E. (Hoops I)* (1st edn., Karl J. Trübner, I; Straßburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1911-1913), 365 at 365.

The Marsi had moved further to the interior due to the Roman treatment of the Sugambri and later also due to Germanicus's campaign against them in 14 AD. Germanicus in 16 AD, in a second campaign may have forced the Marsi under Mallovendus, further inland. Mallovendus's name does not appear as one of the conquered chieftains in the triumphal procession by Germanicus in 17 AD, referred to by Strabo.<sup>394</sup>

Tacitus referred to territory occupied by the Ampsivarii in 58 AD, as having previously belonged to the Chamavi, followed by the Tubantes, and finally by the Usipetes. This territory was presumably just north of the Lippe on the IJssel. If indeed, they were not to be equated with the Usipetes and Tencteri it is possible that this branch of the Tubantes moved east to the interior of Germania due to the arrival of the Usipetes, or in an attempt to escape Rome.<sup>395</sup>

### **2.13.2. THE BRUCTERI, USIPETES, AND TENCTERI OF THE LATE AUGUSTAN TO THE TIBERIAN ERA.**

The Bructeri were certainly north of the Lippe in 14 AD, but by the time of Tacitus, a branch may have migrated south of the river. The Lesser and Greater Bructeri appear to have been south of the Lippe and south of the Frisii and Chauci, and probably centred on the region around Münster. On their eastern border were the Cherusci, in the northeast the Angrivarii and Chasvarii, in the north the Ampsivarii, and on the west the Chamavi, and possibly the Tubantes.

There is no reference to either the Usipetes or Tencteri south of the Lippe before the mid-first century AD. A unit of the Tencteri may have relocated south of the Lippe from north of the Lower Lippe to the Lower Ruhr. The Tencteri may have settled west and south of the Bructeri and Marsi. Elements of these probably moved south of

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<sup>394</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), Strabo. Geography III at 160-161 (BookVII,Chapter1.4). Radice (ed.), Tacitus. Annals at 88 (BookII,Chapter25). Neumann and Günnewig, 'Marsen (RGA)', at 364.

<sup>395</sup> Radice (ed.), Tacitus. Annals at 310-312 (BookXIII,Chapter54-57).

the Middle and Upper Lippe as part of the Tencterian territory is later reported by Tacitus in 70 AD, as being the region opposite Köln.<sup>396</sup>

### **2.13.3. CAMPAIGNS OF GERMANICUS OF 15 AD.**

After his slaughter of the Marsi in 14 AD, Germanicus's next campaign was against the Chatti in the early spring of 15 AD. Setting up bases on *Mons Taunus* Germanicus with eight legions and 15,000 auxiliaries took the Chatti by surprise. He defeated and slaughtered them on the Adrana (Eder) and burned their capital Mattium.<sup>397</sup> Germanicus's major objective was a summer campaign against the Cherusci. In early 15 AD, Caecina deterred the Cherusci, who were inclined to help the Chatti. He also defeated the Marsi.<sup>398</sup>

### **2.13.4. CALL TO ARMS BY ARMINIUS. CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE BRUCTERI, MARSII, AND CHERUSCI, IN THE SUMMER OF 15 AD, BY GERMANICUS AND CAECINA.**

In the summer of 15 AD, Arminius called the tribes to arms and won over his uncle Inguiomerus from the faction of Arminius's father-in-law, the Cheruscan Segestes. This alarmed Germanicus who went on the offensive. He divided his army and attacked and ravaged Bructerian territory. Arminius retreated into pathless country and woods followed by Germanicus. Many skirmishes followed with no proper outcome. Eventually Germanicus claimed a victory after a bloody battle.<sup>399</sup>

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<sup>396</sup> Baldick, Jones et al. (eds.), *Tacitus. Histories* at 249-250 (BookIV,Chapter63-64). The Marsi were located further east than the Bructeri.

<sup>397</sup> Radice (ed.), *Tacitus. Annals* at 64 (BookII,Chapter56). Wells, *German Policy* at 242.

<sup>398</sup> Radice (ed.), *Tacitus. Annals* at 65 (BookII,Chapter56). Jürgen Kunow, 'Die Militärgeschichte Niedergermaniens', in Heinz Günter Horn (ed.), *Die Römer in Nordrhein-Westfalen* (2nd edn., Die Römer in.; Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 1987), 27-138 at 48.

<sup>399</sup> Radice (ed.), *Tacitus. Annals* at 67 (BookII,Chapter60), at 71 (BookII,Chapter 68). Kunow, 'Die Militärgeschichte Niedergermaniens', at 48.

### 2.13.5. CAMPAIGN OF GERMANICUS IN 16 AD.

Germanicus with six legions prevented a fort on the Lippe from being besieged. The entire region between the *Aliso* and the Rhine was again entirely fortified.<sup>400</sup> He proceeded to the Ems.<sup>401</sup> The Angrivarii revolted to his rear and he crushed the revolt.<sup>402</sup> Germanicus crossed the Weser, which separated the Romans from the Cherusci.<sup>403</sup> The Batavi under Chariovalda launched and withstood an attack on the Cherusci.<sup>404</sup>

Germanicus defeated the Cherusci first at Idistaviso on the Weser, but Arminius escaped with his uncle Inguiomerus.<sup>405</sup> A second battlefield was chosen by the Cherusci, probably near the Ems (Amisius) near an earthwork built by Angrivarii, to separate their territory from that of the Cherusci.<sup>406</sup> Arminius's plans were again made known to Germanicus by an informant.<sup>407</sup> The Cherusci and their allies were routed and scattered.<sup>408</sup> The Angrivarii surrendered.<sup>409</sup> Germanicus's fleet was depleted by a great storm as he was returning to winter quarters.<sup>410</sup> This raised morale

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<sup>400</sup> Radice (ed.), *Tacitus. Annals* at 80 (BookII,Chapter7). Johann-Sebastian Kühlborn, 'Schlagkraft. Die Feldzüge unter Augustus und Tiberius in Nordwestdeutschland', in Ludwig Wamser, Christof Flügel et al. (eds.), *Germanen. Die Römer zwischen Alpen und Nordmeer: Zivilisatorisches Erbe einer europäischen Militärmacht. Katalog-Handbuch zur Landesausstellung des Freistaates Bayern Rosenheim 2000* (1st edn., Schriftenreihe der Archäologischen Staatssammlung; Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2000), 27-37 at 33.

<sup>401</sup> Radice (ed.), *Tacitus. Annals* at 81 (BookII,Chapter8). Willem J. H. Willems, 'Romans and Batavians. A Regional Study in the Dutch Eastern River Area, I', *Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek. (BROB)* (31; Amersfoort, 1981), 7-217 at 56-61. § 'The IJssel (Fossa Drusiana)', at 56-61. Kunow, 'Die Militärgeschichte Niedergermaniens', at 56. Wells, *German Policy* at 96, 154.

<sup>402</sup> Radice (ed.), *Tacitus. Annals* at 81 (BookII,Chapter8).

<sup>403</sup> Radice (ed.), *Tacitus. Annals* at 81 (BookII,Chapter9), 82 (BookII,Chapter11). Kunow, 'Die Militärgeschichte Niedergermaniens', at 56.

<sup>404</sup> Radice (ed.), *Tacitus. Annals* at 82 (BookII,Chapter11).

<sup>405</sup> Radice (ed.), *Tacitus. Annals* at 84 (BookII,Chapter16). Hans-Günther Simon, 'Eroberung und Verzicht. Die römische Politik in Germanien zwischen 12 v. Chr. und 16 n. Chr.', in Dietwulf Baatz and Fritz-Rudolf Herrmann (eds.), *Die Römer in Hessen* (2nd edn., Die Römer in.; Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 1989), 38-57 at 56. Rudolf Much, 'Idistaviso', in Johannes Hoops (ed.), *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde. F-J. (Hoops II)* (1st edn., Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, II; Straßburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1913-1915), 578.

<sup>406</sup> Radice (ed.), *Tacitus. Annals* at 85 (BookII,Chapter19). Kunow, 'Die Militärgeschichte Niedergermaniens', at 56.

<sup>407</sup> Radice (ed.), *Tacitus. Annals* at 86 (BookII,Chapter20).

<sup>408</sup> Radice (ed.), *Tacitus. Annals* at 86-87 (BookII,Chapter21).

<sup>409</sup> Radice (ed.), *Tacitus. Annals* at 86 (BookII,Chapter22), at 88 Acting as intermediaries (BookII,Chapter24).

<sup>410</sup> Radice (ed.), *Tacitus. Annals* at 88 (BookII,Chapter24).

amongst the tribes and in order to quash any possible rebellions Germanicus ordered an offensive against the Chatti led by Gaius Silius, with a force of 30,000 infantry and 3,000 horse. Germanicus himself with the larger force proceeded against the Marsi whose chief was Mallovendus.<sup>411</sup> Germanicus's army returned to winter quarters. He was voted a triumph, but begged Tiberius for another year to complete the reconquest of Germany. Tiberius refused this request.<sup>412</sup> This triumph is referred to by Strabo, a contemporary of Germanicus's. Tacitus placed the triumph on the 26 May 17 AD, and stated that, 'Germanicus celebrated a triumph over the Cherusci, Chatti, Angrivarii, and all other German tribes this side of the Elbe'.<sup>413</sup> Wells perceptively remarks that 'Nothing in Tacitus's account justifies the claim which he attributes to Germanicus, that one more year would have completed the reconquest of Germany to the Elbe, a river which Germanicus after three campaigns had not yet even seen'.<sup>414</sup>

## **2.14. ROMAN POLICY ON CONQUEST OF GERMANIA.**

### **2.14.1. STATUS OF TERRITORY BETWEEN THE RHINE AND ELBE BEFORE 9 AD.**

Unfortunately, Pliny's *Bella Germaniae* has been lost and it is difficult to ascertain to what degree tribes were defeated, or simply temporarily scattered. In contrast to Caesar's utter conquest and demoralization of the native population of Gallia, Germania was never completely conquered by Drusus, Tiberius, or Germanicus.

New tribal units kept moving westwards, reinvigorating and replenishing the depleted fighting units, enabling them to regroup. In Germania the lack of a controlled frontier on the Elbe, together with the fluid nature of tribal movement made it impossible to prevent new tribes from entering central Germania.

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<sup>411</sup> Radice (ed.), *Tacitus. Annals* at 88 (BookII,Chapter25). Kunow, 'Die Militärgeschichte Niedergermaniens', at 56.

<sup>412</sup> Radice (ed.), *Tacitus. Annals* at 89 (BookII,Chapter26).

<sup>413</sup> Radice (ed.), *Tacitus. Annals* at 97 (BookII,Chapter41).

<sup>414</sup> Radice (ed.), *Tacitus. Annals* at 64 (BookII,Chapter51). Wells, *German Policy* at 242.

## 2.14.2. REASONS FOR AUGUSTAN CONQUEST EAST OF THE RHINE. THE *ALBIS* AS FRONTIER OF GERMANIA.

The reasons for the Augustan conquest east of the Rhine are debatable. Todd has argued that after 19 BC, when Rome turned its attention to Germania, 'The intent was no longer to establish a defensive frontier along the Rhine, but to invade and occupy a huge area to the north-east of that valley'.<sup>415</sup> The view that Augustus may have wished to incorporate the region between the Rhine, North Sea, Danube, and Elbe within the Roman Empire can be determined by looking in more detail at Augustus's intentions.<sup>416</sup> These might have been:

1. The defence and stabilization of the frontier.<sup>417</sup> This was unlikely to be his sole purpose.
2. Pacification/*Pax Romana*.<sup>418</sup> This meant that Augustus would fight only when necessary. This was untrue and Alföldi perceived that Rome recognized no obligations to barbarians and that beyond the frontier they considered there was no law, and that barbarians had no rights.<sup>419</sup>
3. The creation of a Universal Empire/Manifest Destiny: i.e. *Welteroberung*.<sup>420</sup>  
This is the most probable reason for Augustus's actions.

Dio is the only author to state that Augustus's policy was defensive.<sup>421</sup> This frontier of the Elbe would probably have been crossed when the region between the Rhine and Elbe had been pacified and organized. Augustus did not wish to cross the Elbe,

<sup>415</sup> Todd, *The Northern Barbarians* at 17-18. See § Ch. '1. Germania & the Germans', at 1-39.

<sup>416</sup> For a recent view on a discussion of Augustus strategy towards Germania see: Jürgen Deininger, 'Germanien pacare. Zur neueren Diskussion über die Strategie des Augustus gegenüber Germanien', *Chiron*, 30 (2000), 749-773.

<sup>417</sup> Wells, *German Policy* at 5-6. Wolters, *Die Römer in Germanien* at 42.

<sup>418</sup> Wolfram, *Die Germanen* at 35.

<sup>419</sup> Maria R. Alföldi, 'The Moral Barrier on Rhine and Danube', in Eric Birley (ed.), *The Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*. Newcastle. 1949 (1st edn.; Durham, 1952), 1-16 at 5. Wells, *German Policy* at 9.

<sup>420</sup> Simon, 'Germanien zwischen 12 v. Chr. und 16 n. Chr.' at 46-47.

<sup>421</sup> Capps, Page et al. (eds.), *Dio. VI* at 302-303 (BookLIV, Chapter 9.1-2). E. Capps, T. E. Page et al. (eds.), *Dio's Roman History*, eds. E. Capps, T. E. Page et al., trans. Ernest Cary IX vols. (1st edn., The Loeb Classical Library, VII; London: William Heinemann, 1924) at 96-97 (BookLVI, Chapter 41.7).

not because he wished to draw a limit to the Empire but rather because he did not wish to rouse the tribes east of the river.<sup>422</sup>

Rüger asserts that the *clades Variana* marked the beginning of the abandonment of Augustus's policy of conquest.<sup>423</sup> Before the defeat of Varus Augustus probably intended universal conquest. After the *clades Variana* Augustus may have wished to wipe out the disgraceful defeat of Varus.<sup>424</sup> Just before his death in 14 AD, Augustus appointed Germanicus to supreme command on the Rhine in 13 AD, to lead punitive campaigns into Germania.<sup>425</sup>

Whilst the process of conquest was severely damaged in Augustus's era, in reality, it was with Tiberius that the offensives for the conquest of Germania were halted. There were probably two reasons for the halting of the policy of conquest. Tacitus suggests that it was due to Tiberius's jealousy of Germanicus.<sup>426</sup> Tiberius probably realized that conquest of Germania was unattainable. Whilst many scholars accept the theory of an Elbe frontier policy there is an absence of any direct official proof for this.

The theory that Augustus's strategy may have been motivated by a defensive policy against incoming Teutonic tribes is flawed. The problem with this defensive policy is that it suggests working within ones own borders, yet the Sugambri were retaliating against what were obviously Roman attempts to carve a foothold in their territory.

The actions of Augustus's lifetime suggest an offensive policy. Gruen correctly states that 'the martial accomplishments of Augustus belie any systematic policy of limits or leanings toward pacifism'.<sup>427</sup> The *princeps*' appointees entered Egypt, invaded Arabia, turned Judaea into a province, threatened Parthia, indirectly

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<sup>422</sup> Wells, *German Policy* at 5-6.

<sup>423</sup> Rüger, 'Germany. CAH. 1996', at 525. See § 'II. Roman Germany, 16B.C.-A.D. 17', at 524-528.

<sup>424</sup> Radice (ed.), Tacitus. *Annals* at 33 (BookI,Chapter3.6). Page, Capps et al. (eds.), Strabo. *Geography* III at 158-161 (Book VII,Chapter1.4).

<sup>425</sup> E. S. Gruen, 'The Expansion of the Empire under Augustus', in Alan K. Bowman, Edward Champlin et al. (eds.), *The Augustan Empire. 43. B.C. - A.D. 69.* (2nd edn., The Cambridge Ancient History, X; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 147-197 at 185-186.

<sup>426</sup> Radice (ed.), Tacitus. *Annals* at 89 (BookII,Chapter26).

<sup>427</sup> Gruen, 'The Expansion of the Empire under Augustus. CAH. 1996', at 188.

controlled Armenia, conquered northwestern Spain and fought campaigns in North Africa. Augustus's commanders also conquered the Dalmatians, Pannonians, Vindelicians, and Rhaetians and created the new provinces of Noricum, Rhaetia, and Pannonia. The Alpine tribes were routed. Augustus also incorporated Belgica properly into Gallia. On three occasions, Augustus threatened to invade Britain in 34, 27, and 26 BC. Gruen adds that 'the regime thrived on expansionism or at least the reputation of expansionism'.<sup>428</sup>

## **2.15. BREAKUP OF TRIBAL SOCIETY, SUBSEQUENT CONFUSION AND ROMANIZATION OF NORTH BELGIC AREA. THE EFFECTS OF MILITARY DEFEAT AND SUBJUGATION.**

With the conquest of the region of northern Gallia, 57-50 BC, the tribes of the Menapii, Nervii, Aduatuci, Morini, and other Germani cisrhenani were completely crushed. The Eburones, Usipetes, and Tencteri were systematically massacred.<sup>429</sup> Some new tribal formations were created from the remaining native Galli and units of immigrant Germani, e.g. Cugerni and Batavi.

The depleted tribes were demoralized. Freedom of tribal migration was curtailed.<sup>430</sup> Some controlled tribal movement was encouraged to new territories, i.e. Galli to *Agri Decumates*, and veteran soldiers to the provinces.<sup>431</sup>

### **2.15.1. PROBLEMS OF INTEGRATION OF TRIBAL SOCIETY TO ROMAN STATE SYSTEM.**

Between the Caesarian and Augustan era in Gallia the integration of less tribal societies to the complex Roman state system was implemented. According to Roymans, the Romans would have been confronted by the problem faced by many nineteenth-century colonial nations of how to integrate and exploit recently

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<sup>428</sup> Gruen, 'The Expansion of the Empire under Augustus. CAH. 1996', at 189.

<sup>429</sup> Caesar, BG at 70 (BookIII,Chapter28) for Menapii and Morini at 116 (BookVI,Chapter5), for Nervii at 80 (BookIV,Chapter18), for Aduatuci at 55-56 (BookII,Chapter29-35), for Eburones (BookVI,Chapter29-43) at 127-133. Roymans, 'The North Belgic tribes', at 57.

<sup>430</sup> Rüger, 'Germany. CAH. 1996', at 517.

<sup>431</sup> Malcolm Todd, 'Migration, ethnicity and identity', *Migrants & Invaders - The Movement of People in the Ancient World* (1st edn.; Stroud, 2000), 9-18 at 50.

conquered tribes into a complex polity. Roymans asserts that ‘indeed the north Gallic region, with the Rhine as northern and eastern boundary, was conquered after Caesar’s departure’.<sup>432</sup> Polenz also ratifies the position that left of the Rhine was only made into a Roman province in the period of Augustus.<sup>433</sup>

After the departure of Caesar until 15 BC, the frontier was lax enough in places for tribal units to cross and settle in Gallia. By the time of the Augustan settlement policy of Teutonic and Celtic tribes, c. 15 BC, the Gaulish frontier became more secure, curtailing tribal movement. The policy of integration was enforced, according to Slofstra. Elites were made responsible for collecting taxes and supplying auxiliary troops.<sup>434</sup> The social, economic and political structures were established to facilitate integration into the Roman state system.<sup>435</sup>

### **2.15.2. ANNIHILATIVE EFFECTS OF CONQUEST, INTEGRATION, AND ACCULTURATION OF NATIVE TRIBES FROM GALLIA AND GERMANIA INTO THE ROMAN SYSTEM.**

The tribes from Belgica and Germania found it difficult to cope with the imposition of an alien Roman culture. The Roman state showed little interest in the north Belgic area in this period, development of this backward region was not implemented, ‘Consequently, there was no acculturation during this phase, because the Roman power did not manifest itself effectively and in a positive way’.<sup>436</sup> Further south Augustus aimed at rapid detribalization, which Slofstra suggested ‘focused on integrating existing tribal *civitates* in the Roman state system. To this end Augustus created a formal *civitas* structure along Roman lines’.<sup>437</sup>

Caesar’s Gaulish campaigns brought about catastrophic and immediate cultural and social changes for tribal peoples. This was especially true with regard to basic tribal warfare necessary to maintain their system, cattle raiding, territory wars, frequent

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<sup>432</sup> Roymans, 'The North Belgic tribes', at 56.

<sup>433</sup> Polenz, *Ruhrgebiet. 2000* at 74. See § ‘9. Xanten: Blühende Stadt der Römer: Die Colonia Ulpia Trajana an der Grenze zum Barbaricum’, at 72-79.

<sup>434</sup> Slofstra, 'Meuse-Demer-Scheldt', at 172-173.

<sup>435</sup> Roymans, 'The North Belgic tribes', at 56.

<sup>436</sup> Roymans, 'The North Belgic tribes', at 57.

<sup>437</sup> Slofstra, 'Meuse-Demer-Scheldt', at 172.

inter-tribal battles, migration, and language, religion, and social values/perspective, concept of land ownership, employment, and loyalty. All aspects of life changed immediately.

In the case of the Augustan campaigns native life altered for the transplanted Germani from the moment they arrived within the Empire. Their traditional way of life became obsolete, by crossing the Rhine into Roman Gallia.

A policy of inclusion rather than exclusion should have produced the desired effect of Romanizing the offspring of barbarian settlers. Ties to the old tribal ethos were weakened with each successive generation, which would produce more Romanized children, who would have understood less of the psyche of their ancestors east of the Rhine. They would have retained their basic tribal identity, but in a Romanized form. This tribal identity was preserved through the Roman creation of the *civitas* centre, based loosely on the Celtic-Teutonic tribe, and Romanized to become the *civitas*, which consisted of a confederation of a number of sub-tribes, or *pagi*.<sup>438</sup>

Putting an infrastructure in place, by providing education, schools, baths, towns, Romanized religious worship, public amenities, military service, and citizenship would have ensured that the offspring of transplanted barbarians would have increasingly seen themselves as part of that Empire.<sup>439</sup>

### **2.15.3. EXPRESSION OF TRIBAL IDENTITY WITHIN THE EMPIRE.**

The tribal identity, which could not be exercised, would eventually be lost, together with the customs of their ancestors. A new expression for this tribal identity had to be found outside of warring, cattle raiding, and territory extension. Old tribal identity became *civitas*, or *pagus* identity and in the case of some regions, peasantization. Within a couple of generations the children of the Romanized Cugerni, or Batavi would probably have thought of themselves with each generation increasingly as

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<sup>438</sup> Roymans, Northern Gaul at 18, 21, 23.

<sup>439</sup> Carroll, Celts & Germans at 61.

neither fully native nor Roman. This situation is seen amongst the Ubii of Köln.<sup>440</sup> West of the Rhine the Celtic and Teutonic tribal groups merged with Roman citizens, resulting in hybridized *civitas* groups. East of the Rhine, ethnic hybridization excluded Romans, extending only to Celtic and Teutonic tribes.

Pacification rendered war myths, military fame, and ancestor worship invalid, although Romanization of religious practices still allowed native deities to be worshipped, cf. *Matronen* cult which also became hybridized. The breakdown of tribal society together with the psychological repercussions from the Gallic War, created a state of bewilderment of the demoralized tribes of Gallia and Germania.

#### **2.15.4. ROMANIZATION AND RESISTANCE TO ROMANIZATION.**

There was gradual integration of the north Belgic area into the Roman polity. A basic reorganization took place, resulting in the development of a system of administrative control (new *civitas* division). Pan-tribal uniform *civitas* governments with real power were installed. A limited market economy was introduced in military centres. Structured selling and the introduction of a standard coinage throughout the Empire replaced the old tribal barter and exchange system.

A better infrastructure was established, with new communication networks, i.e. road and canal building, e.g. the *Fossa Drusiana*, which connected the IJssel to the Rhine (between Westervoort and Doesburg in Gelderland, Ne), was developed. All of these tasks were carried out by the army. The beginning of urbanization took place in the regions of Bavai (Nervii), Tongeren (Tungri), Köln (Ubii), and Nijmegen (Batavi) in the Augustan period.<sup>441</sup>

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<sup>440</sup> Baldick, Jones et al. (eds.), Tacitus. Histories at 249-250 (BookIV,Chapter64-65). The native Tenceteri appealed to Romanized Ubii on their common ancestry and beliefs, for justice and retribution.

<sup>441</sup> Roymans, 'The North Belgic tribes', at 58.

Some other regions of this frontier would have been more easily integrated. In certain cases resistance to integration occurred and Carroll cites the Menapii, Batavi, Canninefates, Cugerni, and Baetasii as resisting Romanization.<sup>442</sup>

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<sup>442</sup> Carroll, *Celts & Germans* at 60.

## 2.16. THE CHATTI AND BATAVI FROM THE CAESARIAN TO THE AUGUSTAN ERA.

The first reference to the Batavi in Caesar's Gallic Commentaries is accepted as an interpolation. The first accepted reference to the Batavi was by Dio for the year 12 BC, as a tribe of northern Gallia, at the beginning of the campaign of Drusus.<sup>443</sup> Dio states that 'The Sugambri and their allies had resorted to war'. Drusus waited for the Germani to cross the Rhine and then repulsed them, 'Next he crossed over to the country of the Usipetes, passing along the very island of the Batavians, and from there marched along the river to the Sugambrian territory, where he devastated much country'.<sup>444</sup>

The Chatti are first mentioned in 11 BC, when Drusus crossed into Germania to attempt conquest. He was able to invade Sugambrian territory because the Sugambri, angry 'at the Chatti, the only tribe among their neighbours that had refused to join their alliance, had made a campaign against them with all their population and seizing the opportunity he traversed their country unnoticed'.<sup>445</sup>

Later in 10 BC, the Chatti joined the Sugambri having abandoned territory provided to them by the Romans, (old Ubian territory). This implies that although they had not been previously mentioned by Classical authors they had been well known to both the native tribes and the Romans.<sup>446</sup>

Although the Batavi were mentioned before the Chatti by the Ancient authors, they were described by Tacitus as having once been a tribe of the Chatti, who after a civil upheaval became part of the Roman Empire.<sup>447</sup>

Other tribes linked to the Chatti were the Mattiaci and Chattvarii. The tendency of many commentators to assume that the Mattiaci were a tribe of the Chatti based upon

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<sup>443</sup> Caesar, BG at 75-76 (BookIV,Chapter10). Rives, Tacitus. Germania at 239. See § '29.1. Batavi'. for interpolation. Capps, Page et al. (eds.), Dio. VI at 364-365 (BookLIV,Chapter32.2).

<sup>444</sup> Capps, Page et al. (eds.), Dio. VI at 364-365 (BookLIV,Chapter32.1-2).

<sup>445</sup> Capps, Page et al. (eds.), Dio. VI at 366-367 (BookLIV,Chapter33.1-2).

<sup>446</sup> The Tencteri probably already inhabited the northern part of the old Ubian territory.

<sup>447</sup> Rives, Tacitus. Germania at 88. See (Chapter29.1).

similar names, adjoining territories, and the tribal capital of the Chatti as Mattium is probably mistaken.<sup>448</sup> The Mattiaci were probably forced out of their northern territories by the Chatti in the mid-first century BC, where they had their capital at Mattium on the Adrana (Eder) in northern Hessen. They later joined the Usipetes and Chatti on an attack on the fort of Mogontiacum (Mainz) in 69 AD.<sup>449</sup> The Chattvarii were possibly a tribe of the Chatti, or a tribe who entered abandoned Chattian territory. The Chattvarii were possibly originally to be found in the old Chattian territory of northern Hessen, east of the Upper Lippe-Ruhr. Later, by the time Velleius was on the campaign, c. 4-5 AD, with Tiberius, the Chattvarii were to be found north and east of the Batavian Island. The Intouergoi and Incriones of Ptolemy may have been related to the Chatti or to some of the old Celtic peoples of the region (Ubii/Mattiaci, or an unnamed tribe), however, it is not certain from which period between Augustus and Ptolemy the settlement of the Intouergoi ( *Ἰντοῦέργοι*) should apply, as they are known from no other writer.<sup>450</sup>

The designation of Chattvarii by Rudolf Much as an earlier name for the Marsi is a possibility.<sup>451</sup> Günnewig states 'Da dies etwa zeitgleich mit der Umsiedlung der → Sugambren 8 v. Chr geschah, liegt der Schluß einer Beziehung zu denselben nahe. Möglicherweise handelte es sich bei den M. um eine Teilgruppe aus dem

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<sup>448</sup> Wells, German Policy at 20-21. Wells defines the Mattiaci as Celtic based on the linguistic and archaeological evidence. See Linguistic and Archaeological sections. Kuhn is of the opinion that Mattium was originally Chattian. Hans Kuhn, 'Chatti und Mattium. Die langen Tenues des Altgermanischen', in Dietrich Hofmann, Wolfgang Lange et al. (eds.), *Kleine Schriften. Aufsätze und Rezensionen aus den Gebieten der germanischen und nordischen Sprach-, Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte. Vierte Band. Aufsätze aus den Jahren 1968-1976* (1st edn., Kleinere Schriften zur Literatur- und Geistesgeschichte, IV; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1978), 61-82 at 61-70, 74-78, 80-82.

<sup>449</sup> On the Mattiaci as a Chattian tribe see Anderson, *Tacitus. Germania* at 146-147. See § 3., on the Mattiaci as a Celtic tribe see Rives, *Tacitus. Germania* at 241-242. See § '29. 2'.

<sup>450</sup> Rudolf Much, 'Intouergoi', in Johannes Hoops (ed.), *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde. F-J. (Hoops II)* (1st edn., *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, II*; Straßburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1913-1915), 578. For a recent interpretation of *Intouergoi* see: Günter Neumann, 'Intouergoi', in Heinrich Beck, Dieter Geuenich et al. (eds.), *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde. Fünfte Band - Hobel - Iznik (RGA)* (2nd edn., *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde von Johannes Hoops*; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2001), 465 at 465. Günter Neumann, 'Incriones', in Heinrich Beck, Dieter Geuenich et al. (eds.), *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde. Fünfte Band - Hobel - Iznik (RGA)* (2nd edn., *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde von Johannes Hoops*; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2000), 443-444 at 443-444.

<sup>451</sup> Much, 'Marsen. Hoops III. RGA. 1915-1916', at 200.

vernichteten Stammesverband der Sugambri'.<sup>452</sup> Wierschowski also believes the Marsi to have been a 'Teilstamm' of the Sugambri.<sup>453</sup> The Marsi do not appear to have been part of the initial confederation of the Sugambri, Usipetes and Tencteri, they seem to have been a tribe on equal footing with the other tribes of the region, e.g. Bructeri, Usipetes, as is vouched for by Tacitus when he referred to their ancient origin and their aetiological status (*Germania*, 2). Although it is possible that they may have been subject to the Sugambri at unknown specific periods in history it is difficult to believe that they were of the Sugambrian origin as they appear to have moved into the region from the north or north-east after 8 BC. At some point before 17 AD, they moved further inland to avoid the Romans.<sup>454</sup> Considering their initial location north of the Lippe it is more likely that they had by 8 BC, politically ties to the Bructeri rather than the Sugambri. However, the Marsi probably occupied Sugambrian rather than Chattian territory south of the Upper Lippe after the forced transplantation of part of the Sugambri by Tiberius in 8 BC.<sup>455</sup> South of the Lower Lippe and on the Lower Ruhr the Tencteri had probably occupied Sugambria. If the name Chattvarii does suggest a tribe of non-Chattian origin, the Marsi could have been this tribe.<sup>456</sup> However, the Marsi were mentioned simultaneously with the Chatti, Sugambri, Gamabrivii, and Chattvarii and they appear to have been a particularly important tribe of the region north of the Lippe. The Marsi were probably not related to the Chatti.<sup>457</sup> The tribe who assumed the name of the Chattvarii, may have been Chatti or one of Strabo's or Ptolemy's tribes, Ptolemy's Danduti, Nertereani, or the Fosi, Chasvarii, Tubantes, Chamavi, or possibly Strabo's

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<sup>452</sup> Neumann and Günnewig, 'Marsen (RGA)', at 362.

<sup>453</sup> Wierschowski, 'Non sexus, nonaetas miserationem attulit (Tac. ann. 1,51,1) "Nicht Alter, nicht Geschlecht brachten Erbarmen":' at 214. See Wierschowski for an important reappraisal of the campaigns against the tribes in *Germania* between 14-16 AD and particularly for his comments on the political relationships between individual tribes, e.g. Sugambri and Ubii.

<sup>454</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), *Strabo. Geography III* at 154-155 (Book VII, Chapter 1.3).

<sup>455</sup> Rudolf Much (ed.), *Die Germania des Tacitus erläutert von Rudolf Much. Dritte, beträchtlich erweiterte Auflage. [unter Mitarbeit von Herbert Jankuhn herausgegeben von Wolfgang Lange]*, eds. Wolfgang Lange and Herbert Jankuhn (3rd edn., Germanische Bibliothek. Handbücher und Gesamtdarstellungen zur Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte, Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1967) at 308. See § Ch. '34. Kapitel Dulgubnier, Chasuarier und Friesen'.

<sup>456</sup> Rübkeil believes the view that the Marsi were the Chattvarii is a fallacy. See Rübkeil, *Kelten und Germanen* at 305-306. See Ch. 'IV. Ethnische Kontaktzone und das Probleme der Namen auf -varii', at 304-400, § '2.1. Chattvarii', at 304-312.

<sup>457</sup> Much, *Deutsche Stammeskunde* at 84-85. See § h) Marsen, Chattuarier. Much, 'Chattuarier', at 372.

Chaubi, Cäulci, and Campsiani. The tribal designation of the Chattvarii, if they were not Chattian, is uncertain.

### **2.16.1. THE SPREAD OF THE GALLIC WARS TO GERMANIA AND THE SUBSEQUENT MIGRATION OF CHATTIAN GROUPS TO THE LOWER RHINE BETWEEN THE CAESARIAN AND AUGUSTAN ERA.**

The Batavi (Chatti/Chattvarii) may have entered Gallia as a direct consequence of Caesar's Gallic War. They spread into Germania and had a great effect on the tribes of the region. Unfortunately, Caesar does not refer to the individual tribal units he encountered, as only the Sugambri, Ubii, and Suebi concerned him, but he must have been made aware of the existence of other tribes through envoys. Whilst on campaign in Germania in 55 BC, Caesar remarked, 'Meanwhile deputations came to me from several tribes asking for peace and friendship. I replied courteously and told them to have hostages brought to me'.<sup>458</sup>

Willems asserts that 'the Batavi settled in the eastern river area after 50 BC, and before 12 BC, as did some other tribes in adjoining areas. It is extremely difficult to understand the processes involved in these events'.<sup>459</sup> Whether transplanted tribes arrived overnight or over an extended period is also unknown.<sup>460</sup>

### **2.16.2. PROTO-CHATTIAN SUBJUGATION BY SUEBI: SUBSEQUENT POLITICAL REFORMATION AND CHATTIAN ETHNOGENESIS AFTER 58 BC.**

Timpe suggests that the Chatti were dominated by the Suebi.<sup>461</sup> If Timpe was correct, then following the retreat from the Rhine of Cimberius and Nasua's Suebi in 58 BC, and the subsequent break in Suebic domination, the proto-Chatti would have had to

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<sup>458</sup> Caesar, BG at 80 (Book IV, Chapter 18).

<sup>459</sup> Willem J. H. Willems, 'Romans and Batavians. A Regional Study in the Dutch Eastern River Area, II.' *Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek. (BROB)* (34; Amersfoort, 1984), 39-331 at 23.

<sup>460</sup> Immediate transplantation of Sugambri in 8 BC.

<sup>461</sup> Dieter Timpe, 'Zur Geschichte der Rheingrenze zwischen Caesar und Drusus', in E. Lefèvre (ed.), *Monumentum Chlioniense. Studien zur augusteischen Zeit. Festschrift für E. Burck* (1st edn.; Amsterdam, 1975), 124-147 at 134-135.

become a tribe/confederacy in the interim period. This would have forced the completion of Chattian ethnogenesis to form the Chatti proper. It would have been necessary for these Chatti subsequently to form alliances with the neighbouring tribes, i.e. Sugambri and Ubii. A break from the subjugation by the Suebi would only have been a temporary respite. This was just one setback for the Suebi, who could have subjugated the Chatti at will. The Chatti would have had great difficulty withstanding repeated bombardment by the Suebi following Caesar's departure from Germania. It is by no means certain that the Chatti were under Suebic domination at this time.

The Batavian sub-unit of the proto-Chatti/Chatti may have wished to leave northern/central Hessen because of internal disputes. They may also have made pleas to Caesar for military assistance, due to constant attacks by the Suebi.<sup>462</sup> Caesar or Augustus probably provided them the opportunity of settlement in Gallia as a reward for military service to Rome and to secure the frontier.

The move of the Chatti to join the Sugambri in 10 BC, may have been a combination of the external forces exerted by the Sugambri from the west, Drusus from the south, and the Suebi from the east.<sup>463</sup>

Because of political events, the proto-Chatti reorganized politically and militarily, to counter future attacks by the Suebi. It may be at this point that the mixed Teutonic-Celtic confederation of tribes in northern and central Hessen joined to produce the Chatti proper.

### **2.16.3. INTERNAL POLITICS OF GERMANIA: TRIBALIZATION. INCREASED MILITARIZATION. RESPONSE OF SMALL COMMUNITIES/SMALL TRIBAL UNITS TO AGGRESSIVE MILITARY UNITS.**

The formation of the Chatti may also have been a response, not only to Rome, but also to internal political affairs in Germania. At the end of the second, until to the

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<sup>462</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 40, (Book I, Chapter 54), 78 (Book IV, Chapter 16), 80 (Book IV, Chapter 18).

<sup>463</sup> Capps, Page et al. (eds.), Dio. VI at 374-375 (Book LIV, Chapter 36.3).

beginning of the first century BC, large political tribal units were forming in response to migratory movements of great tribal units across Northern Europe, e.g. Cimbri, Teutones, Ambrones, (cf. Tribalization in Archaeological Section). This tribalization occurred at different rates and whilst great confederacies of northeastern Germania, e.g. Suebi, were probably extant before, c. 100 BC, their aggressive nature prompted their neighbours to respond by creating their own confederate blocks. Communities in more remote areas away from invasion routes, who had suffered neither at the hands of migrations, nor their neighbours, were slower to form larger political units, i.e. tribes. Some of these units may not have formed or been fully formed by the time Caesar entered Gallia, e.g. the Frisii and Chatti. Whilst the Elbgermanen proto-Chatti may have been aggressive towards the Celtic communities, they were no match for the Suebi before they formed into the Chatti proper. They probably had to create larger tribal groupings in order to combat the Suebi. The forced incorporation of Celtic communities by Teutonic invading migrant groups, from north of the Lippe may also have been intended to increase their territory, to swell their number, to gain their *oppida*, and to create a greater fighting force with which to combat the Suebi. The proto-Chattian element may have been living on the frontiers of the Celtic communities before they moved into northern Hessen and assumed the name Chatti.

#### **2.16.4. CONSOLIDATION OF ETHNOGENESIS OF CHATTI AND BATAVI.**

A series of treaties may have occurred between the proto-Chatti, the Ubii and Rome. The earliest treaties may have dated to the period when the Batavi were part of the Chatti. Roymans believes that the Batavi, who split from the Chatti, can be regarded as a small élite with a prominent pro-Roman leader, his kinsmen and warriors, which assimilated with the indigenous Celtic population in the Rhine delta. According to Roymans, ‘What we have here is a complex process of ethnogenesis from a pluriform ethnic background. If we assume that a Batavian identity group existed in the middle–Augustan period, this process must have taken place over several

decades'.<sup>464</sup> This is not necessarily so. Ethnogenesis under these intense circumstances may have taken place in only a couple of decades, as seen with the *Sugambri* → *Cugerni*, and *Eburones* → *Tungri*.<sup>465</sup> It may even have depended on a decision based on dissension within the tribe.

The time taken to create the Batavian identity would have depended on differing criteria. The possibilities are:

1. The Batavi, Chattvarii, and proto-Chattian groups may have existed as sub-units of the Teutonic tribes of the Middle Weser, north of the Upper Lippe, before they settled amongst the Celtic peoples of the region. These Batavi may have split from this larger Teutonic group on the North German Plain and moved southwest to the Lower Rhine, where they possibly settled north of the Rhine Island, as Chattvarii. They were later transferred to Gallia as either Batavi or, from this point merged with Celts of the southern Netherlands to become Batavi.
2. The Chatti and Batavi may have existed under these names in northern Germania on the Middle Weser, north of the Upper Lippe, before migrating to the Celtic territory of northern Hessen and completing their ethnogenesis. The Batavi may then have split from the Chatti and moved from central and northern Hessen to the Lower Rhine.
3. The Batavi may have existed as a sub-tribe of the Teutonic Chatti on their arrival to Hessen and may have moved to the Lower Rhine within a short time of their arrival in Hessen.

Whether the Chattvarii were part of the tribal movement, which produced the Batavi and hence found on the Lower Rhine, whether they were Chatti proper from central Hessen, or a tribe, which lived in vacated Chattian territory is unknown.

This process of ethnogenesis of the Batavi need not have occurred in central Hessen alone. It is more likely to have begun on the North German Plain in northern Germania, north of the Upper Lippe and in northern Hessen.

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<sup>464</sup> Roymans, 'Ethnogenesis of the Batavi', at 94.

<sup>465</sup> Roymans, 'Ethnogenesis of the Batavi', at 94.

As Timpe suggests, the Chatti were possibly freed by Caesar from their bondage to the Suebi. Therefore, the Chatti and the Ubii supplied him with cavalry (Caesar's German cavalry in Gallia, i.e. at Alesia). After the Gallic and Civil Wars, the Chatti, and possibly the Ubii, may have been rewarded by being granted land in Gallia.

Caesar may not have mentioned the Chatti because their ethnogenesis from proto-Chatti/Chattvarii was probably not complete. They may not, by 58-50 BC, have fully formed as a political, military, and tribal unit in northern Hessen. Even if Chattian ethnogenesis was in progress and they were in situ in northern Hessen, this would have rendered them militarily unimportant as a separate tribe.<sup>466</sup> The assumption that the Suebi may have controlled the proto-Chatti is an unlikely one.

The proto-Chattian groups were not fully absorbed by the Suebi because:

1. It is possible that the proto-Chatti had not been under the control of the Suebi for a long period.
2. The Suebi might not have attempted to integrate the proto-Chatti, but simply treated them as subject tribes, therefore some of the proto-Chattian cultural elements, which distinguished them from the Suebi survived.

This in itself may have prompted the crystallization process of ethnogenesis and a separate identity more quickly, due to a possible backlash against the Suebic influence. Undoubtedly, some of the Chattian units succumbed to the Suebic way of life and may have been integrated into Suebia. The complexities of this process are not fully understood, but the proto-Chatti/Chattvarian group was strong enough to evolve from the original Teutonic proto-Chattian core with a Celtic admixture together with slight Suebic influences to eventually produce a new group, known as the Chatti.

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<sup>466</sup> Timpe, 'Zur Geschichte der Rheingrenze zwischen Caesar und Drusus', at 134-135.

### 3. CHAPTER 3. LINGUISTIC SECTION.

#### 3.1. CELTS, TEUTONS, AND ROMANS.

##### 3.1.1. THE GERMANI: A DEFINITION.

The inhabitants of *Germania* are referred to in this text as *Germani* regardless of Celtic, Teutonic, or other origins. This term should not be seen to be synonymous with modern *German/Deutsch*. The terms *Germani* (Latin) and *Germanoi* (Greek), in the twenty-first century are often incorrectly assumed by English speakers to define the peoples from the North German Plain and southern Scandinavia who are of Teutonic origin and speak Teutonic dialects. The term *Germani* was applied to the ancient inhabitants of *Germania*.

From antiquity there are the *Germani* who lived in the north of Gaul (*Germani cisrhenani* and *Belgae* and on the Rhine (*Ariovistus's Germani*) and in *Germania*, secondly there are there are the *Germani* the Romans refer to at the time of the birth of Christ, thirdly there are the *Germani* of whom for most of the Greek authors writing after Christ's birth and late into the Byzantine period were part of the group of Celtic peoples and this situation was further complicated according to Hachmann by the change in the Roman conception of the Teutonic peoples which occurred in late antiquity. He states that:

‘*Germania* now became a word used by poets and men of letters because they found it employed in older literature. The name was no longer used with reference to contemporary conditions; or, if it was, had a quite different meaning. The Goths, Gepidae, Vandals and all other Germanic peoples living in the east were still referred to only by their tribal names, and the peoples living in the west were usually known as *Alamanni* and *Franks*. In this usage it might be applied to both peoples together or to one or other of them - most commonly to the *Franks* alone’.<sup>467</sup>

Thus there were the *Germani* who were known to the Romans of the late antique period as those who lived beyond the Rhine, i.e.the *Alamanni* and the *Franks* and

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<sup>467</sup> Hachmann (ed.), *Germanic Peoples* at 49.

finally there were the Germani who modern scholars define as ‘population group in central and northern Europe speaking Germanic languages’.<sup>468</sup>

Howorth states that ‘the word German is also used in English, not for a race or a tribe, but for a blood relation,... e.g. brother-german or sister-german, which are found as early as 1340-1382, and cousin -german, which occurs in 1380’.<sup>469</sup>

Howorth remarks that:

‘The word German has never been applied by any Teutonic race to itself, except as a borrowed and secondary word derived by an author from literary contact with foreign writers. The native name applied to themselves by those we now call Germans is of course *Deutsch*’.<sup>470</sup>

The English term *German* was probably taken from the Latin term *Germanus* in the sixteenth century; its meaning is ambiguous. This term was applied by English speakers to those who called themselves *Deutsch* and had been previously known to them as *Dutch* or *Almaynes*.<sup>471</sup> Rives states that ‘it was only in this same period that the English speakers began to restrict the term Dutch to the language of the Netherlands’.<sup>472</sup>

In Latin, the word *Germanus* has, as in English, a double connotation, meaning brother and sister by the same parents, hence the adoption into English of the word

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<sup>468</sup> Hachmann (ed.), *Germanic Peoples* at 49. See also Pohl, 'Der Germanenbegriff vom 3. bis zum 8. Jahrhundert - Identifikationen und Abgrenzungen', at 170-178., at 170 and n. 31 'Zosimos 2, 15, 1: Konstantin I. stellt ein Heer aus "Germanen und den anderen Keltischen Völkern" zusammen'. See also Bede's identification of the Germani which he remarks the Britons referred to as Garmani. Pohl remarks 'Die Briten nannten offenbar die ethnische ja durchaus uneinheitliche Bevölkerung, die sich von Einwanderern aus Germanien herleitete, Garmani', in Pohl, 'Der Germanenbegriff vom 3. bis zum 8. Jahrhundert - Identifikationen und Abgrenzungen', at 174 and n. 52. See ['Beda Venerabilis, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* 5, 9].

<sup>469</sup> Henry H. Howorth, 'The Germans of Caesar. Part I', *The English Historical Review* (XXIII No. XCI, 1908), 417-433 at 417. Stefan Zimmer, 'Germani und die Benennungsmotive für Völkernamen in der Antike', in Heinrich Beck, Dieter Geuenich et al. (eds.), *Zur Geschichte der Gleichung "germanisch-deutsch". Sprache und Namen, Geschichte und Institutionen* (1st edn., *Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, 34; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 1-23 at 7 n.19.

<sup>470</sup> Howorth, 'The Germans I', at 423-424.

<sup>471</sup> Howorth, 'The Germans I', at 417.

<sup>472</sup> Rives, *Tacitus. Germania* at 1.

*germ/germination*.<sup>473</sup> It is also used to denote neighbouring tribes of common kinship to the Galli whose country was known as *Germania*.

The term *Teutonic/Teuton* rather than *Germanic* will be used in this text to avoid confusing Teutonic peoples with genuine Celtic Germani. Strabo (64 BC -AD 24), writing a tract most probably taken from Poseidonius (135- 50 BC) identified the *Germanoi* east of the *Keltoi* as meaning ‘genuine’ Galatae.<sup>474</sup> The name *Germanen* is the term used in modern German (Deutsch) to describe ancient Germani, which is used exclusively to incorrectly equate the ancient Germani with speakers of Teutonic dialects. Cassius Dio, probably referring to the tribes settled from the Augustan era, using the provincial terminology of *Germania Inferior* and *Germania Superior* remarks ‘for some of the Celts, whom we call Germans, had occupied all the Belgic territory along the Rhine and caused it to be called Germany’.<sup>475</sup> Hachmann argues ‘Mais, tandis que Poseidonios considérait ces Germains comme un groupe analogue aux Celtes, César relevait les différences entre les pays et les moeurs des Gaulois et des Germains’.<sup>476</sup>

When Poseidonius wrote his treatise on the *Galatae* (*Γαλάται*) and *Germanoi*, (*Γερμανοί*), the tribes closest to the Rhine were probably Poseidonius’s Celtic Germani, i.e. Keltoi-Germanoi in the linguistic sense, e.g. the Sugambri, Ubii, and others north and south of the Main respectively, and west of the Rhine, the Germani cisrhenani. Robert Nouwen equates the Germanoi of Poseidonius with Celts ‘gesitueerd op de rechteroever van de Rijn tussen de Main en de Lippe’. He suggested that they were also Caesar’s Germani cisrhenani.<sup>477</sup>

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<sup>473</sup> Howorth, ‘The Germans I’, at 418.

<sup>474</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), *Strabo. Geography III* at 152-153. (BookVII,Chapter1.2).

<sup>475</sup> Capps, Page et al. (eds.), *Dio. VI* at 220-221 (BookLII,Chapter12.6-7). Cary, E., the editor of this work remarks that Dio used the name *Κελτική* for *Germania* proper, but when Dio uses the name *Γερμανία* here he refers to the provinces *Germania Inferior* and *Germania Superior* west of the Rhine.

<sup>476</sup> Hachmann, ‘Hachmann, Germains, Celtes. 1974’, at 171.

<sup>477</sup> Robert Nouwen, *Tongeren en het land van de Tungri. (31. V.Chr.-284.N.Chr.)*, eds A. M. van Woude, M. van der Eycken et al. (1st edn., Maastrandse Monografiën, 59; Leeuwarden: Eisma B. V., 1997) at 37.

Through Caesar's ethnic-divide construction, by the first century AD, the name *Germani/Germania* had generally become synonymous with Teutonic-speaking tribes.

The name *Germani* is problematic. Numerous attempts have been made to provide a definition; however, there has been no widespread agreement on its origin. It is most likely to have derived from Celtic, Teutonic, or Latin, from an Indo-European root.<sup>478</sup>

It is necessary to look at the most likely sources for the possibilities for the origin of the name Germani.

### 3.1.1.1. THE NAME GERMANI AS A TEUTONIC NAME.

In attempting to define Germani as being of Teutonic origin Neumann who provides a detailed and important investigation of the name *Germani* in the *RGA* suggests that both Watterich definition of *Germani* as **Teut.** 'Ger-Mannen', **De.** *Speer-Träger*, **Eng.** spear-carriers and later Wesebe's designation assertion that *Germani* was **Teut.** 'Heer-Manner' were worthless theories.<sup>479</sup> Others who saw the name Germani as Teutonic in origin were Rudolf Much, Willy Krogmann, and Siegfried Gutenbrunner.<sup>480</sup>

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<sup>478</sup> Illyrian and Ligurian are also possibilities for the origin of the name *Germani* e.g. Ligurian from a valley named *Germanasca*. However this name is of late origin. For Illyrian names such as *Germus* (from Alvona in Istria), *Germulla* (Central Italy), *Germullus Germani filius* CIL III 6411 and *Germusa* (Dalmatia) see Neumann, 'Sprache und Dichtung', at 80-81. See also throughout: Eduard Norden, *Alt-Germanien. Völker- und namenögeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (1st edn.; Leipzig, 1934).

<sup>479</sup> Neumann, 'Sprache und Dichtung', at 80. See § 10. A. Name und Namen, at 79-85, also: [J. M. Watterich, *Der dt. Name der Germanen und die ethnographische Frage des linken Rheinuferes*, 1870] and [A. von Wesebe, *Ueber die Völker-Bündnisse des alten Teutschlands*, 1826].

<sup>480</sup> Rudolf Much, 'Die Südmark der Germanen', *Deutsche Stammsitze. Ein Beitrag zur ältesten Geschichte Deutschlands. (PBB)* (1st edn., Sonderdruck aus den Beiträgen zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur, XVII; Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1892), 1-136 at 164-165. Much, *Deutsche Stammeskunde* at 65-67. See § 10. 'Name und Art. A). Herkunft und Bedeutung des Namens Germani'. Rudolf Much, 'Germanen', in Johannes Hoops (ed.), *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde. F-J. (Hoops II)* (1st edn., Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, II; Straßburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1913-1915), 174-183 at 182-184., see § G. 'Der Name Germanen'. Also Rudolf Much, *Der Name Germanen* (1st edn., Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte, 195 (2); Wien: Alfred Hölder Universitäts-Buchändler, Buchändler der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, 1920) 1-80. Willy Krogmann,

Another theory for Teutonic was the assertion by Trier is that the root *\*ger-* had the meaning **De.** ‘einen Zaun hegen’, and **De.** ‘die Leute unserer Hegung, unseres Dings und Rechts’ and also **De.** ‘der Bereich des hegenden Mannrings, seiner Lebensordnung seiner kultischen Begehungen und Feierbräuche’.<sup>481</sup>

Following Grienberger and Kauffmann, Rudolf Much as early as 1898 suggests that the name *Germani* derives from ‘*\*germena* aus *\*ga-ermena*’, and in ‘Der Name Germanen, 1920’ remarks ‘Und is *garman-* als Nebenform von *ermen*, *erman* usw. zu betrachten, so wird doch *Garmangabis* dasselbe bedeuten wie *\*Ermangabis*, nämlich “die große Geberin, die Allgeberin, Πανδώρα’’.<sup>482</sup> Although not referring to *Garmangabis* Watkins states that ‘the cognate of English GIVE (**ghabh-**) has the meaning “to take” in Irish’.<sup>483</sup> Collinder remarks that ‘Those scholars who think that *Germani* is a Teutonic word have failed to find an irreproachable etymon for it. I hardly need to dwell on the endeavours made by several authors to approximate O.H.G. *irmin* (in *irmindeot*, mankind, etc.) to *Germani* by the aid of the prefix *ga-*;

*Der Name der Germanen* (Wismar: Historische Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1933). [Siegfried Gutenbrunner: ‘Die Geschichte der linksrheinischen Germanen bis auf Caesar’, in: Volk und Rasse 7, 1932, at 150-162]. Gutenbrunner, *Die germanischen Götternamen* at 90-99. Siegfried Gutenbrunner, ‘Zum Namen Germanen’, *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 65 (1941), 106-120.

<sup>481</sup> Neumann, ‘Sprache und Dichtung’, at 82. See [J. Trier, Zaun und Mannring, PBB 66, 1943, 232-264, at 243-248] Also [J. Trier, Der Name Germ., Die Welt als Gesch. 9, 1943, 83-86.] and [J. Trier, Ags. *Geormanleaf*, PBB 67, 1945, 64.]. Also [J. Trier, in: Westfäl. Zeitschr. 97, 1947, 9-37].

<sup>482</sup> See: [Th. Grienberger, *Dea Garmangabis*, ZDA 38, 1894, 189-195]., also: [F. Kauffmann, *Dea Garmangabis*, PBB 20, 1895, 526-534.], also [Rudolf Much, Germ. Himmelsgott. In: Festg. f. R. Heinzel, 1898, at 199], Much, ‘Germanen’, at 183. Much, *Der Name Germanen* at 69-70. Much (ed.), *Germania* at 71-73. For *Garmangabis*: see: Jan De Vries, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte. Band I: Einleitung - Die vorgeschichtliche Zeit Religion der Südgermanen*, ed. Hermann Paul, II vols. (1st edn., Grundriss der germanischen Philologie unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher Fachgelehrter. 12/1, I; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1935) at 192, 204. Rudolf Simek, ‘Garmangabis’, *Dictionary of Northern Mythology* (1st edn.; Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1993), 100 at 100. Bernhard Maier, *Die Religion der Germanen. Götter - Mythen - Weltbild* (1st edn.; München: Verlag C.H.Beck, 2003) at 26. For a very detailed look at *Garmangabis* and *Germani* see: Gutenbrunner, *Die germanischen Götternamen* at 90-97. For *Friagabis* see: Rudolf Simek, ‘Friagabis’, *Dictionary of Northern Mythology* (1st edn.; Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1993), 93 at 93. For *Gabiae*: Rudolf Simek, ‘Gabiae’, *Dictionary of Northern Mythology* (1st edn.; Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1993), 97 at 97. For *Ollogabiae*: Rudolf Simek, ‘Ollogabiae’, *Dictionary of Northern Mythology* (1st edn.; Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1993), 253 at 253. For *Alagabiae*: Rudolf Simek, ‘Alagabiae’, *Dictionary of Northern Mythology* (1st edn.; Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1993), 5 at 5.

<sup>483</sup> Watkins, *Indo-European* at xxix and 28. See **ghabh-** Also **ghebh-**. ‘To give or receive’.

this hypothesis has been sufficiently criticised by Schnetz, to mention only one name'.<sup>484</sup>

Krogmann also suggests a Teutonic origin for Germani and provides the name for a plant named *Malva*, with the Old English name *geormanléaf*.<sup>485</sup>

Other tribal names which at face value appear to suggest a possible Teutonic link to the second element of *Germani*, i.e. *-mani*, are the tribal names **Teut. Alamanni Eng.** All the men, and **Teut. Marcomani, Eng.** men of the mark.

Rives remarks that for Teutonic 'One frequent suggestion for its derivation is the combination of \**ermin*-...("Herminones") with the prefix \**ga*-, with a meaning of "the exalted ones". She adds that 'Much (1967:72), on the other hand, suggests a connection with modern German *gern* and *begehren*, so that the original meaning of the term would have been something like "the desired ones, the befriended ones"'.<sup>486</sup>

### 3.1.1.2. THE NAME GERMANI AS A CELTIC NAME.

For the name *Germani* as being of Celtic origin Zeuss suggests that it derived from **Celt. Brit. garm, Lat. clamor, Eng.** shout, cry acclamation, or **Celt. Wel. ger, Ir. gair, Lat. vicinus, Eng.** neighbour.<sup>487</sup> Dahn believes that Celtic peoples called themselves "*Germani*" e.g. the Celtic Oretani (*Germani*) in Spain. He remarks that the name *Germani* was **Celt.** and was defined as **De. 'Rufer im Streit'**.<sup>488</sup> Neumann refers to Grimm's suggestion that the name Celtic derived from the '*Ost-Leute*' from **Ir. oir, De. 'Osten', Eng.** east.<sup>489</sup> Grimm also in *GDS* suggests that the name *Germani* may be derived from *gairm*, plural *gairmeanna*, **Eng.** a cry, **Wel. garm**. He suggests that it was applied to their neighbours by the Galli due to their practice of

<sup>484</sup> Björn Collinder, 'The name Germani', *Arkiv for Nordisk filologi. (ANF)*, 59 (1944), 19-39 at 23.

<sup>485</sup> Krogmann, *Germanen. 1933* at 57 f.

<sup>486</sup> Rives, *Tacitus. Germania* at 118-119. See Much (ed.), *Germania* at 72.

<sup>487</sup> I. C. Zeuss (ed.), *Grammatica Celtica e monumentis vetustis tam Hibernicae linguae quam Britannicorum dialectorum*, ed. H. Ebel (1st edn., Paris: Bertolini, 1871) at 773 See note \*\*. Neumann also acknowledges Zeuss designates the name *Germani* as meaning 'Bedeutung: Nachbarn'. See Neumann: Neumann, 'Sprache und Dichtung', at 81. Rübekeil, *Suebica - Völkernamen und Ethnos* at 177-178. See also note 800.

<sup>488</sup> Felix Dahn, *Die Germanen- Westgermanen - Die im Fränkischen Reich versammelten Germanen* (1st edn.; Essen, 1899) at 24.

<sup>489</sup> Neumann, 'Sprache und Dichtung', at 81.

shouting in battle.<sup>490</sup> Also for the Celtic origin of the name *Germania*, both Rübekeil and Neumann refer to Henning who postulated a **Celt.** adjective *\*germo-*, **De.** *Warm*, **Eng.** *warm*.<sup>491</sup> Müllenhoff remarks that: ‘für die bedeutung des namens ergibt die stelle nichts. ich habe darüber und besagt entweder “nachbarn” oder “schreier, rufer im streit”’.<sup>492</sup>

Schönfeld drawing on Holder suggests that the tribal name *Germani* is of Celtic origin.<sup>493</sup> Schnetz proposes a Celtic origin meaning **De.** ‘die Grimmigen, Krieger’ from ‘ir. *grim*, “Krieg, Schlacht”, nir. *grimeamhail* “kriegerisch, tapfer”, ngäl. Grimeil’. He believes this to be an ‘Übersetzung des Ingaevonen-Namens’.<sup>494</sup>

Pokorny remarks of Schnetz’s form ‘Nun kann auch ein im Keltischen nicht Bewandertes aus den Wörterbüchern entnehmen, daß das *m* in ir. *grim* nicht leniert ist, so daß es gar nicht nötig ist, ältere Beispiele zu zitieren (z. B. *grimm*, Anecd. Fr. Ir. Mss. I 36, § 92)’.<sup>495</sup> Pokorny went on to add ‘Da ein Grundform *\*gh̥m-*, wie sie Schnetz ansetzt, über *\*grim-* nur neugäl. *\*grimheil* ergeben haben könnte, müssen wir die irischen und gälischen Formen unbedingt als Lehnworte aus dem Germanischen betrachten; das unlenierte *m* ist Beweis genug’.<sup>496</sup>

Kraft proposes a Celtic etymology suggesting that the name *Germani* is to be found in Gaulish vocabulary and he suggests a meaning of ‘Kennzeichnung furchtbarer

<sup>490</sup> Jacob Grimm, *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*. (GDS) (3rd edn.; Leipzig, 1868) at 546.

<sup>491</sup> Rübekeil, *Suebica - Völkernamen und Ethnos* at 177. Neumann, ‘Sprache und Dichtung’, at 81. See: [R. Henning, Der Name der Germanen. ZDA 54, 1913, 210-230. Also R Henning, Nachtrag, Anz. für dt. Altert. und dt. Lit. 36, 1913, 304].

<sup>492</sup> Karl Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*. (DAK), 5 vols. (1st edn., 2; Berlin, 1870-1908) at 131. Müllenhoff has written without using capital letters and this has been replicated in his quote above.

<sup>493</sup> Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen* at 106. See § **Germani** VN. Bremer also believed the ‘Der Name Germanen ist keltischen Ursprungs’. Bremer, *Ethnographie der germanischen Stämme* at 5-6. However, Bremer also remarked that ‘Mit völliger Sicherheit ist der Name noch nicht gedeutet worden’, at 6.

<sup>494</sup> Rübekeil, *Suebica - Völkernamen und Ethnos* at 177. See: [J. Schnetz, Über den Namen Germanen. PBB 47. 1923: 470ff., also J. Schnetz, Zu den Thema: Die *Γερμανιοί* bei Herodot und das heutiger Kirman. ZONF 10. 1934, 215ff.]. Also Neumann : Neumann, ‘Sprache und Dichtung’, at 81-82.

<sup>495</sup> Julius Pokorny, ‘Ist der Germanenname keltisch’, *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 20 (1936), 461-475 at 462.

<sup>496</sup> Pokorny, ‘Ist der Germanenname keltisch (ZCP)’, at 463.

Angreifer”, however Neumann suggests that Kraft does not attempt a suitable semantic word-stem from Celtic.<sup>497</sup>

Pedersen remarks that, **Wel.** ‘germain ‘to shout’ (garm ‘a shout’), Ir. gairm, an –n-stem’.<sup>498</sup>

Rix refers to an **LE.** root \*ġar-, **De.** ‘tönen, rufen’.<sup>499</sup> Savignac defines *garo-* and *garman* from Gaulish which he defines as **Fr.** ‘cri’, stating that ‘Mot déduit de NP *Garus, Garutius...*, comparable au gaul. *ad-garios* (► invocateur 1), au v. irl. *gairret*, au gall. *gawr*, et, avec le suffixe \**-men*, au v.irl. *gairm*, gall. *garm* “clameur”, continué par le v. fr. *guermenter* “se lamenter”?. Remonte à la racine i.e. \**ger-* “criailler”, cf. le gr. *gêrus* “voix”, *Geruón* “Géryon” (“Le Criard”) et le lat./gaul. *Garumna, La Garonne* (“La Criante”). ► grue (oiseau criard)’.<sup>500</sup>

Rives remarks that:

‘Other scholars have preferred a Celtic origin for the word, calling attention to Old Irish *gairm*, “cry”, and *gair*, “neighbour”. So for example Zachrisson (1928) refers to a hypothetical root \**gher(e)m*, meaning ‘a strong noise’, and citing the use of this element in river-names, argues that “Germani” meant “people of the roaring torrents”’.<sup>501</sup>

Delamarre remarks that **garo-**, is to be equated with **Fr.** ‘cri’ e.g.:

‘Les NP *Garomarus* “aux grands cris” et Oxo-garus “Crie-comme-un-Boeuf” = *Βοῦδα-γαρος* (chef galate, Freeman 32m, *bouissā*? “Meugle-comme-une-Vache”), ont un terme *garus* (\**gāros*) comparable à v.irl. *gáir* “cri” (\**gāri-*), gall. *gawr* ‘id.’ ; cf. aussi *Gario* DAG 1125, *Garuo, Garmo* 1276 (si pas pour *Carmo*), *Garmanus* 1177, *Arri-gario (are-)* 372 “(qui pousse des) cris en avant (/ en avance)”?, *Garricus* 1354, *Garutius* 385, *Gartos* à Limoges, *Ogarius* 349 (*au-* : ‘Aus-schrei’). Même racine que *ad-garion* “invocateur”, *garanus* ‘grue’ (“la

<sup>497</sup> See: [K. Kraft, Zur Entstehung des Namens ‘Germania’, SB der Wiss. Ges. Frankfurt 9, 1970, 27-62], in: Neumann, ‘Sprache und Dichtung’, at 82.

<sup>498</sup> Henry Lewis and Holger Pedersen, *A Concise Comparative Celtic Grammar* (2nd edn.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961) at 314.

<sup>499</sup> Helmut Rix and Martin Kümmel (eds.), *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben. Die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstambildungen Unter Leitung von Helmut Rix und der Mitarbeit vieler anderer bearbeitet von Martin Kümmel, Thomas Zehnder, Reiner Lipp, Brigitte Schirmer. Zweite, erweiterte und verbesserte Auflage bearbeitet von Martin Kümmel und Helmut Rix* (2nd edn., Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2001) at 161.

<sup>500</sup> Jean-Paul Savignac, *Dictionnaire Français-Gaulois* (1st edn.; Paris: La Différence, 2004) at 110.

<sup>501</sup> Rives, *Tacitus. Germania* at 118-119. See also [R. E. Zachrisson, Germani The Name and its Early Hist., *Studia Neophilologica* 1, 1928, 18-33].

crieuse”), v.irl. *gairm*, gall. bret. *garm* “clameur, vocifération” (\**garsmen-*, cf. les deae *Garmangabi* en GB), ‘Preneuses-de-Cris’ et *Γαρυα* [ à Alise, G-257), etc’. Delamarre adds that ‘On a proposé de rattacher le nom de la *Garonne*, ancien *Garunna* (*Garumna* chez Ammien et St-Jérôme) à cette racine, F. Diack *RC* 39 (1922), 152 (*garo-* + suffixe *-mno-* de participle actif : ± “l’appelante”, cf. le NR *Labara* en Bavière “bavarde”). J. Vendryes *RC* 28 (1907), 139, *KGP* 215, Stüber 65, *DGVB*, *LEB* 130, *US* 106, *IEW* 383’.<sup>502</sup>

### 3.1.1.3. GERMANI AS AN OLD EUROPEAN NAME.

Rosenfeld provides the **I.E.** \**g<sup>h</sup>hermo*, **De.** ‘heiß’, **Eng.** hot, suggesting that it is a possible origin for *Germana*.<sup>503</sup> He states that the Illyrian or proto-Illyrian *Germana* is not from **I.E.** \**g<sup>h</sup>hermo*, and that in Illyrian i.e. **I.E.** \**g<sup>h</sup>hermo* > \***bermo-** where **I.E.** \**g<sup>who</sup>* > *b<sup>o</sup>*. He asserts that the name *Germana* must be a settlement on a pre-Teutonic river-name namely \**Germa* or \**Germana*, and that this river must be in the neighbouring area. This river can according to Rosenfeld be found in the *Würm* (772 *Wirma*, 956 *Wirama*, 1046 *Wirmina*) which from the ‘Würmsee fließt und bei Dachau in die Amper mündet’.<sup>504</sup> The alteration in the name of the *Würm* alone in a relatively short period of time within a population group speaking the same language throughout is indicative of the problems of linguistic alteration. Rosenfeld remarks that ‘Abgesehen davon sei die Würm nicht wärmer als andere im moorigen Voralpengebiet entspringende Gewässer und gewiß nicht “heiß” wenn auch relativ wärmer als in den Alpen selbst entspringende eiskalte Gewässer wie Isar und Inn’.<sup>505</sup> Rosenfeld concludes that the name *Germana* and all related names must consequently have a root which \**g<sup>h</sup>er-*. Can be defined as ‘hervorragend’, he adds that ‘abzuleiten ist und dann die Bedeutung “Bergsiedlung” haben kann’.<sup>506</sup>

Rübekeil states that apart from the linguistic criticism for the model of Old European Schmeja also sees some general difficulties. Firstly, there are also names to explain outside the system of the localized Old European waterway names. He adds that here again one must again resort to an immigration theory. Rübekeil remarks that “Vor

<sup>502</sup> Delamarre, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise* at 176.

<sup>503</sup> Hellmut Rosenfeld, “Germana vel ad monte” und der Name der Germanen’, *Beiträge zur Namenforschung*, 12 (1961), 250-262.

<sup>504</sup> Rosenfeld, “Germana vel ad monte” und der Name der Germanen’, at 252. See also Rübekeil, *Suebica - Völkernamen und Ethnos* at 180-181.

<sup>505</sup> Rosenfeld, “Germana vel ad monte” und der Name der Germanen’, at 252.

<sup>506</sup> Rosenfeld, “Germana vel ad monte” und der Name der Germanen’, at 259.

allem aber zielt die ursprüngliche Motivation für rine (prot)illyrisch-alteuropäische Deutung des Germanennamens, nämlich die Herleitung aller Germanennamen, gewissermaßen ins Leere'. Effectively Rübekiel remarks that Steinhauser follows stringently a monogenetic principle that all 'Germanennamen' had the same linguistic base whilst Schmeja asserts that a monogenetic principle for all 'Germanennamen' is not possible.<sup>507</sup>

Watkins also refers to **I.E.** \**g<sup>w</sup>her* without specifically referring to Celtic or a connection to 'Germani'.<sup>508</sup> Whilst Watkins does not attempt to ascertain the origin of the name *Germania*, he provides specific elements from Indo-European which are distinct possibilities. Watkins remarks that 'A number of metaphorical expressions appear to be creations of ancient, even Indo-European date, e.g. the verb *g<sup>w</sup>her-*, **Eng.** "to keep warm, cherish", and refer especially to the pious son toward his aged parent'.<sup>509</sup>

Another possibility is from **I.E. gar-** **Eng.** "'To call, cry" Expressive root', Watkins suggests that this is evident from 'Old English *cearu*, care...from Germanic \**karō*, lament, hence grief, care 2. SLOGAN, from Irish Gaelic *gairm*, shout, cry, call, from Celtic suffixed form \**gar-(s)mn*. 3. Suffixed form (with expressive germination) \**garr-iyō*. GARRULOUS, from Latin *garrīre*, to chatter'.<sup>510</sup>

One other aspect of possibly equating the name *Germani* with Celtic is in connection with the second element *-mani* and with associated tribal and personal names of Celtic peoples, e.g. the **T.N.** *Cenomani*, *Paemani*, **Pe.N.** *Nertomanus*, *Poemana*, *Ariomanus*, *Valmanus*, *Germanus Indutilli* (Treveri).

#### 3.1.1.4. GERMANI AS A NORDWESTBLOCK NAME.

Another possibility is that the name *Germani* is of Nordwestblock origin. The linguistic evidence suggest that the name Germani could be of Indo-European origin

<sup>507</sup> Rübekiel, *Suebica - Völkernamen und Ethnos* at 181. See: [W. Steinhauser, *Herkunft, Verwendung und Bedeutung des Namens "Germania"*. Festschrift. Dietrich Kralik. Horn, 1954, 15, 18 ff. and H. Schmeja, *Der Mythos von den Alpengermanen*. Wien. 1968, 56].

<sup>508</sup> Watkins, *Indo-European* at 35.

<sup>509</sup> Watkins, *Indo-European* at xxxiii.

<sup>510</sup> Watkins, *Indo-European* at 25. See *gar-*.

and Kuhn states that the Nordwestblock peoples spoke a language which was non-Indo European but which had links with certain early names found in the Mediterranean lands. Kuhn remarks ‘In den ältesten Namensschichten dieses Raums ist manches, das nicht indogermanisch ist und mit alten Namen in den Mittelmeerländern zusammenhängt, von Spanien bis Kleinasien’.<sup>511</sup> However it is not impossible that the name *Germani* stemmed from the region of Northern Gallia and the Rhineland of Nordwestblock origin which may have been subsequently adopted and/or altered adopted by the then mixed Nordwestblock and Celtic peoples of the region, but this is uncertain and no plausible Nordwestblock origin has been offered for the name *Germani* to date.

### 3.1.1.5. GERMANI AS A LATIN NAME.

Laistner regards the name *Germani* to be a Latin translation of the Teutonic *Istaevones* which he defines as the **De.** ‘leiblich, recht echt, wahr’.<sup>512</sup> The *Istaevones* appear to have been tribes near the North Sea and the *Germani* first encountered by the Romans were those of the interior. The etymology of the designation *Istaevones* is in reality unknown, even the form in which it is transmitted varies, e.g. *Istaevones* or *Istvaeones*. This is the second of the Latin.<sup>513</sup>

The name *Germani* is also found in Spain amongst the Celtic tribe of the ‘Oretani qui et Germani cognominantur’, referred to by Pliny (Natural History 3,25), which Rübekil defines as the ‘Die “eigentlichen” *Oretani* – sicher die Bewohner der Stadt

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<sup>511</sup> Kuhn, ‘Das Zeugnis der Namen’, at 127.

<sup>512</sup> L. Laistner, *Germanische Völkernamen. Sonderabdruck aus den Wörterabdruck aus dem Württembergischen Vierteljahrsheften für Landesgeschichte, neue Folge 1892* (Stuttgart, 1892) at 47ff. See also: Rübekil, *Suebica - Völkernamen und Ethnos* at 184.

<sup>513</sup> Collinder, ‘The name Germani’, at 26 f. Rübekil, *Suebica - Völkernamen und Ethnos* at 182-186. Kuhn, ‘Ingwäonen, Erminonen und Istwäonen. 1978’, at 227-228, 230-231. Günter Neumann, ‘Istwäonen (Istrionen)’, in Heinrich Beck, Dieter Geuenich et al. (eds.), *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde von Johannes Hoops - Luchs-Metrum (RGA)* (2nd edn., Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde von Johannes Hoops, XIX; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2001), 541-542 at 541-542.

*Oretum* – reagieren darauf, indem sie dieses “eigentlich” betonen. Ihre Erklärung, sie seien die “echten” Oretanier, lautet auf lat. *Oretani germani*.<sup>514</sup>

Strabo remarks of the Germani:

‘Now the parts beyond the Rhenus, immediately after the country of the Celti, slope towards the east and are occupied by the Germans, who though they vary slightly from the Celtic stock in that they are wilder, taller, and have yellow hair, are in all other respects similar, for in build, habits, and modes of life they are such as I have said the Celti are. And I also think that it was for this reason that the Romans assigned to them the name “Germani,” as though they wished to indicate thereby that they were “genuine” Galatae, for in the language of the Romans “germani” means “genuine”’.<sup>515</sup>

Strabo was correct in his translation of the Latin word ‘Germani’ but whether he was also correct about its application is uncertain and thus whether the Latin term Germani was a native or a Latin term. The Tungri who crossed the Rhine were according to Tacitus originally known by the name ‘Germani’, but as Rives asserts:

‘We would like to know whether they already had that name, or only acquired it after crossing the Rhine, whether this is what the Gauls called them, or what they called themselves; and lastly at what date all this took place’.<sup>516</sup>

Even the origin and application of the name of the Tungri is problematic, although the earliest *Germani* Tacitus refers to are probably Caesar’s Germani cisrhenani.<sup>517</sup>

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<sup>514</sup> Rübkeil, *Suebica - Völkernamen und Ethnos* at 158-159. Sims-Williams, *Ancient Celtic Place-Names in Europe and Asia Minor* at 231 n. 46.

<sup>515</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), *Strabo. Geography III* at 152-153 (Book VII, Ch1.2).

<sup>516</sup> Rives, *Tacitus. Germania* at 77-78. *Germania* 2.3.

<sup>517</sup> The Tungri are often seen as immigrants from Germania in the Augustan era sent to police the region of the Germani cisrhenani of northern Gallia. Alternatively, they may have been settled by Augustus in an effort to a.) either deal with conquered peoples/prisoners of war (like the settlement of part of the Sugambri in 8 BC), or b.) to settle peoples who wished to enter the Empire from Germania and thus organize and use their added manpower and loyalty to protect the frontier. The relatively low percentage of military recruitment relative to surrounding Gaulish *civitates* in the pre-Flavian era could suggest that the bulk of the population of the Tungrian *civitas* was native, unlike other more recent immigrant groups, e.g. Batavi and Cugerni, where Roman settlement terms would have exacted a higher price from the settlers/captives which in certain. This may be seen when figures of Pre-Flavian ‘national’ auxiliary units recruited in Belgic Gaul are examined as provided by Roymans, e.g. Batavi 5000, Canninefates, 1000, Sugambri/Cugerni 2000, Ubii 1000, Sunuci 500, Treveri 1000, Aresaces 500, Vangiones 500, Tungri 250, Frisiavones 500, Menapii 500, Morini, 500, Nervii 2500, see: Roymans, ‘The sword or the plough’, at 20-24. The Tungri are also possibly a reformation of the Germani cisrhenani after the Gallic wars. This would suggest a largely Celtic origin. There were immigrant units sent into the old Eburonian territories, but these may not have been initially known as Tungri, which might have been the name of the reformed Germani cisrhenani. If the Teutonic immigrants were stationed in the towns of the Tungri, then a large number of Teutonic names should be evident in the towns amongst auxiliary units. This number of Teutonic names should be

Björn Collinder remarks that the term *Suebi* may be rendered ‘sui generic, nostras’ or ‘eiusdem sanguinis populi’. He adds that ‘Latin *germanus* is = *frater germanus*, brother born of the same father and the same mother. It also mean “genuine”...As pointed out by Norden (1918), it was used from the earliest times as a synonym of *consanguineus*’. Collinder concludes that the term *Germani* was the Teutonic term \**swēōǰ*, transferred into Latin.<sup>518</sup> This seems like an unlikely transference.

More recently a proposed etymology for the name *Germani* using the term *Sciri* has been proposed by Pekkanen who suggests that the tribal name *Sciri* means ‘the pure ones’, as opposed to their sometimes partners the *Bastarnae* i.e. **Eng.** ‘the bastards, those of mixed heritage’. Pekkanen believes that the term *Sciri* was translated into Latin as ‘Germani’.<sup>519</sup> This theory seems unlikely as the *Sciri* and *Bastarnae* do not appear to have been referred to as *Germani* when first encountered by the Ancients, but rather it is the *Germani* of northern Gallia and western Germania who first appear with the name *Germani* at the time of Poseidonius and Caesar.

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disproportionate to the Celtic names for the entire *civitas*, as it was the immigrants rather than the native *Germani cisrhenani* who would have been required to provide the Roman army with a higher percentage of their male immigrants for military service as the price for settlement. This is also probably to be expected for the *civitas* of the *Batavi*, whilst the *Ubi* may have entered under different settlement arrangements at an earlier time and possibly reflecting their apparent loyalty to Caesar. For the *Tungri*: Hermann Reichert, ‘Linksrheinische Germanen’, in Heinrich Beck, Dieter Geuenich et al. (eds.), *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde von Johannes Hoops - Landschaftsrecht - Loxstedt. (RGA)* (2nd edn., Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde von Johannes Hoops, XVIII; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2001), 483-494 at 486-487, 493. For the *Tungri* as a reformation of the *Germani cisrhenani* in the aftermath of Gallic War see: J. F. Drinkwater, *Roman Gaul* (1st edn.; London, 1983), also Roymans, *Northern Gaul*. For the *Tungrian* names see: Johann Leo Weisgerber, ‘Zum Namengut der *Germani cisrhenani*’, in Johann Knobloch and Rudolf Schützeichel (eds.), *Rhenania Germano-Celtica. Gesammelte Abhandlungen. Dem Autor zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag am 25. Februar 1969. Mitwirkung von Henning von Gadow und Gernot Schmidt* (1st edn., Veröffentlichung des Instituts für geschichtliche Landeskunde der Rheinlande an der Universität Bonn; Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid, 1969), 275-296., and Anthony R. Birley, ‘Batavians and *Tungrians* in the *Tabulae Vindolandenses*’, in Thomas Grunewald and Hans-Joachim Schalles (eds.), *Germania inferior: Besiedlung, Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft an der Grenze der römisch-germanischen Welt. Beiträge des deutsch-niederländischen Kolloquiums im Regionalmuseum Xanten, 21.-24. September 1999* (1st edn., Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde, 28; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2001), 241-260.

<sup>518</sup> Collinder, ‘The name *Germani*’, at 31-33. See also [E.Norden, *Germani. Ein grammatisch-ethnologisches Problem*: Berlin, Akademie der Wissenschaften, Sitzungsberichte 1918, I. Halbband].

<sup>519</sup> T. Pekkanen, ‘*Germani* as a Translation of *Sciri*’, *Indogermanische Forschungen*, 76 (1971), 151-164.

Stefan Zimmer has recently produced a detailed re-assessment of the origin of the name *Germani* and states that: ‘Bisher ist keine überzeugende Deutung aus dem Germanischen bekannt; noch weniger aus dem Keltischen. Am ehesten ist daher ein lateinisches Wort, also eine Fremdbezeichnung, vielleicht - aber das ist völlig unbeweisbar - eine Übersetzung, anzunehmen’.<sup>520</sup> Zimmer concludes that ‘Von einer plausiblen Deutung von Germani sind wir leider nach wie vor weit entfernt. Wahrscheinlich ist es lateinische Bezeichnung für eine ursprünglich sehr kleine Gruppe, deren Namen Caesar für politische Zwecke benutzte’.<sup>521</sup>

It is probable that the name *Germani* could have been derived from the Latin adjective *germanus*.

### 3.2. GERMANI AS OPPOSED TO DEUTSCH, TEUTONES.

C. J. Wells comments that whilst:

‘The English term *German* was once the name of a Celtic people; the German name *deutsch* is an adjective that may once have meant “popular”, “vulgar”, “heathen”, “non-Latin” ...adj. \**Þhiudisk* from the fem. Noun \**Þeudō*- “people”, “folk”, OHG *deot*, *deota*. Apart from a Gothic adverb *Þiudisko* “like a heathen”, the earliest attestation is the learned Latinate form *theotisce* “in the vernacular”, “not latine”, found in a letter of 786 where the term actually applies to Anglo-Saxon’.<sup>522</sup>

Wolfgang Haubrichs remarks that:

‘Das heutiger Ethnonym, die Volks- und auch Sprachbezeichnung *deutsch* < mhd. *diut(i)sch* < ahd. \**diutisc* < westgerm. \**theodisk* ist ursprünglich eine relationale Adjectivableitung mit Hilfe des Suffix *-isk-* zu germ. *þeudō* (altsächsisch *thioda*, ahd. *diot*, altengl. *þēod*, altfries. *thiād*, altnord. *þjóð*, got. *þiuda*) ‘Volk’. Das Wort existierte auch in den Parallelsprachen des Althochdeutschen: altenglisch *þēodisc*, altsächsisch *thiudisc*, flämisch *dietsc*, mittelniederländisch *duutsc*, die auf dieselbe Ausgangsbasis zurückgehen. Aus mndl. *duutsc* wiederum leitet sich engl. *dutch* ab, das bis ins 17./18. Jahrhundert sowohl “deutsch” (vgl. auch das *Dutch* der Pennsylvania-deutschen Auswanderer des 17./18. Jahrhunderts) als auch “niederländisch” bedeutete’.<sup>523</sup>

<sup>520</sup> Zimmer, ‘Germani und die Benennungsmotive für Völkernamen in der Antike’, at 7, also 1-6.

<sup>521</sup> Zimmer, ‘Germani und die Benennungsmotive für Völkernamen in der Antike’, at 19.

<sup>522</sup> C. J. Wells, *German: a linguistic history to 1945* (Oxford, 1985) at 31-32.

<sup>523</sup> Wolfgang Haubrichs, ‘*Theodiscus*, Deutsch und Germanisch - drei Ethnonyme, drei Forschungsbegriffe. Zur Frage der Instrumentalisierung und Wertbesetzung deutscher Sprach- und Volksbezeichnungen’, in Heinrich Beck, Dieter Geuenich et al. (eds.), *Zur Geschichte der Gleichung "germanisch-deutsch". Sprache und Namen, Geschichte und Institutionen* (1st edn., Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, 34; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 199-227 at 199.

Shippey remarks that:

‘In den frühesten englischen Sprachzeugnissen gab es das ae. mit “deutsch” verwandte Wort *theodisc*, das nur selten verwendet wurde. Prof. Haubrichs hat bereits darauf hingewiesen, daß es “eine Sprache” zu bedeuten scheint, d.h., es meint alle nicht-lateinischen Sprachen. Ein Beispiel für diese Verwendung findet sich in König Alfreds Boethius-Übersetzung, “þeah hit nu gebyrige ðæt ða utemestan ðioda eowran naman up ahebban ond on manig ðeodisc eow herigan...” (“Wenn es auch geschehen sollte, daß die äußersten Völker Ihren Namen preisen und Ihnen in vielen Sprachen huldigen...”).’<sup>524</sup>

Zeuss refers to the terms used for the period after 813 AD, i.e. *Theotisca*, *Theutisca*, *Tiutesca*, *Theudisca* and *Teudisca*.<sup>525</sup> Howorth asserts that these terms were used to designate the popular vernacular speech, rather than a race, to distinguish it from the Latin of the church. It was used as a derivative of *Theod*, i.e. **Eng.** ‘people’.<sup>526</sup> It was Otto the Great who first used the name as a generic for the Teutonic peoples when he styled himself *Rex Teutonicorum*’ in the tenth century AD.<sup>527</sup>

The Teutonic term *Thiod/Theotisc* also became a generally accepted term by the Roman establishment to distinguish between the Latin and Teutonic-speaking peoples within the Carolingian Empire.<sup>528</sup> Self identification of these non-Latin speakers as ‘theodisk/diutisk’ or ‘Deutsch/Deutscher’ was an altogether different and more complicated affair.<sup>529</sup> The peoples beyond the non-Latin Teutonic speaking tribes east of the Rhine did not see themselves as the Romans saw them as simply *theodisk/diutisc*.

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<sup>524</sup> Thomas A. Shippey, ‘Germanen, Deutsche und Teutonen in der englischsprachigen Geistesgeschichte’, in Heinrich Beck, Dieter Geuenich et al. (eds.), *Zur Geschichte der Gleichung "germanisch-deutsch". Sprache und Namen, Geschichte und Institutionen* (1st edn., Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, 34; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 325-341 at 325-326.

<sup>525</sup> Zeuss, *Die Deutschen* at 64.

<sup>526</sup> Howorth, ‘The Germans I’, at 424.

<sup>527</sup> Howorth, ‘The Germans I’, at 424. Zeuss, *Die Deutschen* at 64.

<sup>528</sup> Lucien Musset, *The Germanic Invasions* (1st edn.; Glasgow, 1975) at 6.

<sup>529</sup> Dieter Geuenich, ‘Karl der Große, Ludwig “der Deutsche” und die Entstehung eines “deutschen” Gemeinschaftsbewußteins’, in Heinrich Beck, Dieter Geuenich et al. (eds.), *Zur Geschichte der Gleichung "germanisch-deutsch". Sprache und Namen, Geschichte und Institutionen* (1st edn., Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, 34; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 185-197 at 185-187. Geuenich remarks that ‘Daß *rex Germanorum* und *rex Germaniae* eben nicht mit “König der Deutschen” oder gar “Deutschlands” übersetzt werden kann, ist ja das zentrale Thema dieses Bandes und der ihm zugrunde liegenden Tagung’, at 186.

There was not a continuous linkage between the terms *Germani* and *deutsch* between the end of the Roman Empire and the rediscovery of lost manuscripts including Tacitus's *Germania* in the fifteenth century.<sup>530</sup>

Ester Leroy asserts that:

‘Die Verwendung dieser Schriften für geschichtliche Darstellungen über die Deutschen beginnt jedoch nicht erst im 19. Jahrhundert. Eine erste Phase der Rezeption ergab sich hierbei in der Renaissance, als die taciteische Schrift wiederentdeckt wurde und zu einer "erste[n] Phase des europäischen Interesses für das Germanische" führte’.<sup>531</sup>

The Renaissance gave Classical texts a new importance, encouraging a growth in German patriotism. The political, religious, and intellectual leaders sought to define a distinctive culture and character. Rives states that:

‘The late medieval correlation of the terms *Germani* and *deutsch* provided the crucial link between these two trends. Scholars of the Renaissance, unlike their counterparts in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages, were quick to identify the *Germani* of the Classical texts as the ancestors of the modern *deutsch* speaking peoples, and so too appropriate these texts for the promotion of a German national identity’.<sup>532</sup>

Although Caesar had described the *Germani* in the Gallic War, the newly discovered *Germania* was a much richer source of information.

It was an Italian cleric Enea Silvio Piccolomini, (1405-1464) later Pope Pius II (who reigned from 1458-1464), who in response to Martin Mayer, chancellor of the archbishop of Mainz and in defence of the oppressive treatment by the Curia of Rome of the German Church composed a treatise of three books. In these he outlined the views of Caesar, Strabo and a newly acquired text of Tacitus to demonstrate that

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<sup>530</sup> The terms *Germani* and *deutsch* are further complicated with the terms for Germanic employed by Scandinavian scholars. See: Hans Frede Nielsen, 'On the Terms for Germanic Employed by Scandinavian Scholars in the 19th and 20th Centuries', in Heinrich Beck, Dieter Geuenich et al. (eds.), *Zur Geschichte der Gleichung "germanisch-deutsch". Sprache und Namen, Geschichte und Institutionen* (1st edn., Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, 34; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 309-323.

<sup>531</sup> Esther Leroy, *Konstruktionen des Germanen in bildungsbürgerlichen Zeitschriften des deutschen Kaiserreiches*, eds Olaf in Verbindung mit: Mörke, Heinrich Detering et al. (1st edn., Imagination Borealis. Bilder des Nordens, 6; Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2004) at 43. Leroy in her assessment also quotes: [Uffe Østergaard, 'Nationale Identitäten. Ursprünge und Entwicklungen: Deutschland, der Norden, Skandinavien'. In: Bernd u.a. (ed.), *Wahlverwandtschaft. Skandinavien und Deutschland 1800-1914*. (1<sup>st</sup> edn.; Berlin, 1997), 29-37 at 29].

<sup>532</sup> Rives, *Tacitus. Germania* at 70.

the ancient Germans were poor barbarians and that Rome had provided them with religion and wealth.<sup>533</sup> Krebs too remarks that:

‘Tacitus’ “Germania” kommt im allgemeinen in diesem Zusammenhang selbstverständlich dieselbe Funktion zu wie Caesars “Commentarii” und Strabos “Geographia”; Enea Silvios Verwendung der taciteischen Schrift zeichnet sich aber dadurch aus, daß sie das alte Germanien noch dunkler, noch düsterer, noch barbarischer darstellt’.<sup>534</sup>

Rives states that: ‘We find here both the assumption that the Germani were the ancestors of the modern Germans, an idea almost entirely absent from Medieval writers, and the application of this history to current political arguments’. It was several decades before the Germans followed Piccolomini’s idea. This transpired when another Italian, Giannantonio Campano, who, trying to raise support for a papal crusade against the Turks, cited passages from the *Germania* of their ancestors courage.<sup>535</sup>

Lund states that the first publication of the *Germania* in the ‘deutschsprachigen Raum’, was in Nürnberg. He remarked that ‘Es dauerte danach nicht mehr lange, bis die Idealisierung der Germanen, die erste Phase des Germanenkultes einsetzte’.<sup>536</sup> The second phase of glorification of the ‘Germanomanie’ from 1800-1945 was inspired through the lectures of the Humanist scholar and lecturer at Vienna, Conrad Celtis (1459-1508) who produced an edited version of the *Germania*.<sup>537</sup> According to Rives, Conrad Celtis accompanied this edition of the *Germania* ‘by his own description of modern Germany’.<sup>538</sup> Celtis’s description and discussion of Germani and Germania was complicated by the constructed origin myths prevailing through Europe. With regard to Celtis’s own ‘Herkunftmythos’ Müller states that:

‘Celtis’ Herkunftmythos, der sich in bezug auf die Nationalisierung von Herkunft der in Frankreich zu beobachtenden Entwicklung an die Seite stellt, ähnelt dieser auch insofern, als er den Ursprung aus Demogorgon auf alle *Germani* bezieht und somit den Zusammenhang eines

<sup>533</sup> Rives, *Tacitus. Germania* at 71.

<sup>534</sup> Christopher Krebs, *Negotiatio Germaniae. Tacitus' Germania und Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Giannantonio Campano, Conrad Celtis und Heinrich Bebel*, eds Albrecht Dihle, Siegmund Döpp et al. (1st edn., Hypomnemata. Untersuchungen zur Antike und zu ihrem Nachleben, 158; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005) at 144-145.

<sup>535</sup> Rives, *Tacitus. Germania* at 71.

<sup>536</sup> Allan A. Lund, *Germanenideologie im Nationalsozialismus. Zur Rezeption der 'Germania' des Tacitus im "Dritten Reich"* (1st edn.; Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1995) at 16.

<sup>537</sup> Lund, *Germanenideologie im Nationalsozialismus* at 16.

<sup>538</sup> Rives, *Tacitus. Germania* at 71.

Volks vorstellt ...Celtis leistet damit seinen Beitrag zu einer in humanistischen Kreisen geführten Diskussion um die eigene Herkunft und versucht damit wohl als erster, jenseits von genealogischen Linien durch den gemeinsamen Ursprung aller *Germani* im Mythos eine ethnische Zusammengehörigkeit zum Thema zu machen'.<sup>539</sup>

Müller adds that with regard to 'Zusammengehörigkeit der Germani und Indigenität':

'Neben der fundamentalen Verlagerung der Erklärungsleistung der Trojasage von der Rechtfertigung universaler Geschichtskonzepte zu einer Legitimierung partikulärer Herrschaftsräume entsteht in Deutschland in gelehrten, frühhumanistischen Kreisen eine Diskussion um die Trojasage und um das Problem der Herkunft überhaupt'.<sup>540</sup>

Jakob Wimpfeling (1450-1528) quoted passages of the *Germania* in patriotic contexts. Wimpfeling was patriotic and used Tacitus to assert that Alsace had always been German.<sup>541</sup> Dieter Mertens remarks that Wimpfeling produced his text entitled *Germania*, in 1515.<sup>542</sup>

Heinrich Bebel (1472-1518) also used the *Germania* for patriotic ends, quoting German valour to prove Germans were an indigenous people. He claimed through quoting Tacitus's *Germania* that 'we are therefore the only ones out of all the nations of the earth who have held sway without any mixture of immigrants, and have held sway widely without the yoke of foreign servitude'.<sup>543</sup> Klaus von See quoting Bebel states 'weder Fremdlinge noch ein zufällig verbundenes Volksgemisch gaben den

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<sup>539</sup> Gernot Michael Müller (ed.), *Die "Germania generalis" des Conrad Celtis. Studien mit Edition, Übersetzung und Kommentar*, eds. Jörg Jochen Berns, Klaus Garber et al. (1st edn., Frühe Neuzeit. Studien und Dokumente zur deutschen Literatur und Kultur im europäischen Kontext. In Verbindung mit der Forschungsstelle "Literatur der Frühen Neuzeit" an der Universität Osnabrück, Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2001) at 341.

<sup>540</sup> Müller (ed.), *Die "Germania generalis" des Conrad Celtis*. at 341.

<sup>541</sup> Rives, *Tacitus. Germania* at 71-72.

<sup>542</sup> Dieter Mertens, 'Die Instrumentalisierung der "Germania" des Tacitus durch die deutschen Humanisten', in Heinrich Beck, Dieter Geuenich et al. (eds.), *Zur Geschichte der Gleichung "germanisch-deutsch". Sprache und Namen, Geschichte und Institutionen* (1st edn., Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, 34; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 37-101 at 64.

<sup>543</sup> Rives, *Tacitus. Germania* at 72.

Germanen ihren Ursprung sondern wir sind auf demselben Boden geboren, den wir bewohnen'.<sup>544</sup>

This manuscript of the *Germania* was subsequently edited and interpreted by *Beatus Rhenanus* (1485-1547).<sup>545</sup> *Beatus Rhenanus* linked information given by Tacitus to the contemporary situation. Unlike his predecessors he did it in a scholarly detached fashion, not for purely patriotic or political ends.<sup>546</sup> Around this time the *Annals* of Tacitus and the work of Velleius Paterculus were circulating.<sup>547</sup>

Andreas Althamer (c. 1500-1539) a devoted patriot and Protestant wrote a commentary on Rhenanus's edition of the *Germania* and later produced a revised and expanded version of it. The great Protestant leader and educational reformer Philip Melancthon (1497-1560) wrote a commentary on the *Germania* indicating modern equivalents with the old tribal names. These were published in Wittenberg in 1538 as were Ulrich von Hutten's writings on Arminius.<sup>548</sup>

In 1541 Johannes Aventinus's 'The Chronicle of the Origin, Descent and Achievements of the Ancient Germans ("Chronica...der vralten Teutschen")' was one of the first works to identify the 'Teutsche', or modern Germans with the ancient Germani (Germanen).<sup>549</sup>

Philipp Cluverius in his *Germaniae Antiquae Libri Tres*, in 1616 attempted to produce a complete account of the Germans.<sup>550</sup>

Kipper remarks that the position of the German Humanists that the *Germanen* and *Deutsche* were autochthonous was influenced by the *Germania* itself e.g. (Ch. 2.),

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<sup>544</sup> Klaus Von See, *Barbar, Germane, Arier: die Suche nach die Identität der Deutschen* (1st edn.; Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1994) at 62.

<sup>545</sup> James S. Hirstein, *Tacitus' Germania and Beatus Rhenanus (1485-1547). A Study of the Editorial and Exegetical Contribution of a Sixteenth Century Scholar*, ed. Michael von Albrecht (1st edn., Studien zur klassischen Philologie, 91; Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1995) at 15.

<sup>546</sup> Rives, *Tacitus. Germania* at 72.

<sup>547</sup> Todd, *The Early Germans* at 257.

<sup>548</sup> Rives, *Tacitus. Germania* at 72-73.

<sup>549</sup> Hachmann (ed.), *Germanic Peoples* at 14.

<sup>550</sup> Todd, *The Early Germans* at 257.

and states that the ‘Land und Volk standen in einer untrennbaren Verbindung miteinander’.<sup>551</sup>

Lund argues that after the middle of the sixteenth century the interest in the *Germania* wavered:

‘und die Germanen ab und tauchte als Folge der Napoleonischen Besetzung Deutschlands erst am Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts wieder auf, getragen von dem Volksbegriff des Romantikers Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) und später der Neuromantik sowie einer nationalistischen Welle, die erst mit dem Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges zur Ruhe kam’.<sup>552</sup>

In the winter of 1807/1808 Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814) gave his ‘Reden an die deutsche Nation’, in which he referred to the historic transmission of the German language and an ‘*Urvolk*’ and ‘*Nation*’. Lund states that he wished to procure the unity of the German nation. Lund also states that Fichte during these proceeding almost exclusively uses the term *Germania* and that following this with the poet and Professor of History Ernst Moritz Arndt (1769-1860) came the precursor for Nationalism ‘weil er so gern von den Nationalsozialisten rezipiert wurde, scheint die geistige Verwandtschaft mit der *Germania* des Tacitus evident. Bei ihm gelten die Deutschen als reinrassig (1815/16)’.<sup>553</sup>

The second phase of Germanomania occurred between 1800 and 1945 is of particular importance.<sup>554</sup>

Jürgen Busch remarks that Karl Friedrich Eichhorn in his *Deutsche Staats- und Rechtsgeschichte* (Göttingen) in 1843 in the chapter entitled ‘Die Hauptstämme der germanischen Völker und ihre Wohnsitze’ equated the *Germani* with the *deutsch* stating that ‘Die erste sichere Thatsache in der Geschichte deutscher Völker, ist der Krieg der Cimbern und Teutonen gegen die Römer’.<sup>555</sup>

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<sup>551</sup> Rainer Kipper, *Der Germanenmythos im Deutschen Kaiserreich. Formen und Funktionen historischer Selbstthematization*, ed. Günter Oesterle (1st edn., *Formen der Erinnerung*, 11; Frankfurt: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002) at 39-40.

<sup>552</sup> Lund, *Germanenideologie im Nationalsozialismus* at 19.

<sup>553</sup> Lund, *Germanenideologie im Nationalsozialismus* at 19.

<sup>554</sup> Lund, *Germanenideologie im Nationalsozialismus* at 16.

<sup>555</sup> Jürgen Busch, *Das Germanenbild der deutschen Rechtsgeschichte. Zwischen Wissenschaft und Ideologie. Mit einem Vorwort von Herwig Wolfram*, eds H. -J. Becker, W. Brauner et al. (1st edn., *Rechtshistorische Reihe*, 299; Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2004) at 14-15.

The introduction of a new element in what had been the focus on equating the ancient *Germani* of Caesar's Gallic War and Tacitus's *Germania* with the *Deutsch* speaking peoples of Central Europe took a further twist in the nineteenth century in the form of the emergence of race philosophy.

However, this race philosophy had emerged in the early eighteenth century and Bernhard Maier states that:

‘Eine verhängnisvolle Zuspitzung erfuhr der Glaube an die Bedingtheit der Gegenwart durch biologische Kontinuität schon zu Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts, als Graf Henri de Boulainvilliers (1658-1722) die politischen Auseinandersetzungen zwischen dem Adel und dem Bürgertum Frankreichs mit Hilfe einer “Zwei-Rassen-Theorie” aus dem Gegensatz zwischen Germanen (Franken) und Kelten (Gallier) zu begründen suchte’.<sup>556</sup>

In the nineteenth century Arthur Comte de Gobineau's ‘Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines’ (1853-1855) referred to the original hereditary disposition of the Teutonic race, and to the disparity between races. Gobineau's theory influenced the racial theorist Professor Ludwig Schemann (1852-1938).<sup>557</sup> Kipper states that ‘Sein Werk markiert einen Paradigmenwechsel’.<sup>558</sup>

The events leading to the Franco-Prussian War had no small effect on the ever increasing polarized positions between France and Prussia, both increasingly attempting to identify with a glorious past.

Whilst Karl Müllenhoff's *Deutsche Altertumskunde* of 1870 ‘was the best work of synthesis that had appeared to that time’, it was Gustaf Kossinna who most influenced how the subject would be studied over the following fifty years. Kossinna outlined his approach in a lecture delivered before the German Anthropological Institute of Kassel in 1885. Kossinna stated that the original German homeland had been Mecklenburg, Schleswig-Holstein, Denmark the west Baltic islands and Southern Sweden where German culture had developed without external influence since the Mesolithic and from these territories the German had extended control of to the eastwest and south. As Todd remarks:

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<sup>556</sup> Maier, *Die Religion der Germanen* at 144.

<sup>557</sup> Lund, *Germanenideologie im Nationalsozialismus* at 20.

<sup>558</sup> Kipper, *Der Germanenmythos im Deutschen Kaiserreich*. at 70.

'The title of Kossinna's most popular book, published in 1912, neatly encapsulated the doctrine: *German Prehistory, a Pre-eminently National Discipline*. Its direct appeal to German nationalism ensured its popularity and its later editions could be adopted almost as a political text by the National Socialist Party. The leaders of the Third Reich took Germanic antiquity, or at least Kossinna's version of it, very seriously indeed, encouraging the formation of a Reichsbund für deutsche Vorgeschichte (Imperial Association for German Prehistory) and effectively barring any suggestion that early Germanic culture might have drawn on that of neighbouring peoples'.<sup>559</sup>

Houston Stewart Chamberlain's (1855-1927) 'Die Grundlagen des 19. Jahrhunderts', of 1932 borrowed intellectually from Gobineau, he justified his anti-Semitic stance by drawing on Tacitus's fifth book of the *Germania*. Chamberlain was the son-in-law of Richard Wagner (1813-1883). Lund states that 'dessen Werk Adolf Hitler unmittelbar beeinflusst hat, führt ein nicht immer gerader Weg u.a. zu Alfred Rosenberg (1893-1946), einem "Chefideologen" der NSDAP'.<sup>560</sup>

Heiko Steuer states that the 'Rassenphilosophie' of Arthur Comte de Gobineau (1816-1882):

'von 1854 die "Germanenherrlichkeit" des Houston Stewart Chamberlain von 1899 und nennt schließlich Ludwig Woltmann als neuen "fanatischen" Vertreter der Rassenlehre mit dessen Theses: Die Nordlandrasse ist die dominierende, vielleicht höchstqualifizierte, unter den Rassen der Erde. Der Norden Europas sei ihre Heimat, den Kern stellen Germanen dar. Wo sich Germanen mit anderen Völkern mischten, verhalfen sie diesen zu höherer Kulturtätigkeit'.<sup>561</sup>

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<sup>559</sup> Todd, *The Early Germans* at 263. Uwe Puschner, 'Germanenideologie und völkische Weltanschauung', in Heiko Steuer and Dietrich Hakelberg (eds.), *Eine hervorragend nationale Wissenschaft. Deutsche Prähistoriker zwischen 1900 und 1995 unter Mitarbeit von Dietrich Hakelberg* (1st edn., Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, 29; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2001), 103-129 at 116-117. Even Müllenhoff appears to have got caught up in the equation of *Germanen* and *Deutsche* (if only briefly) when he referred to his study as *Deutsche Altertumskunde* rather than *Germanische Altertumskunde*. Haubrichs, 'Theodiscus, Deutsch und Germanisch - drei Ethnonyme, drei Forschungsbegriffe.' at 217. However Müllenhoff provided good scholarship which should be taken seriously and should not be included with the works of 'Rassenphilosophie' or those works of the produced for a political end, to induce Nationalistic fervour, but with little regard for the facts.

<sup>560</sup> Lund, *Germanenideologie im Nationalsozialismus* at 20-21.

<sup>561</sup> Heiko Steuer, 'Deutsche Prähistoriker zwischen 1900 und 1995 - Begründung und Zielsetzung des Arbeitsgesprächs', in Heiko Steuer and Dietrich Hakelberg (eds.), *Eine hervorragend nationale Wissenschaft. Deutsche Prähistoriker zwischen 1900 und 1995 unter Mitarbeit von Dietrich Hakelberg* (1st edn., Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, 29; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2001), 1-54 at 16., see also 17. See also Wolfgang Pape, 'Zehn Prähistoriker aus Deutschland', in Heiko Steuer and Dietrich Hakelberg (eds.), *Eine hervorragend nationale Wissenschaft. Deutsche Prähistoriker zwischen 1900 und 1995 unter Mitarbeit von Dietrich Hakelberg* (1st edn., Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, 29; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2001), 55-88 at 75. Dietrich Hakelberg, 'Deutsche Vorgeschichte als Geschichtswissenschaft - Der Heidelberger Extraordinarius Ernst Wahle im Kontext seiner Zeit', in Heiko Steuer and Dietrich Hakelberg (eds.), *Eine hervorragend nationale Wissenschaft. Deutsche*

This fanaticism led to a Germanideologie which according to Puschner stood on three columns, 'der Prädestination der germanischen bzw. nordischen Rasse, deren Superiorität über andere Rassen und Völker und der unmittelbaren Blutsverwandtschaft von Germanen und Deutschen'.<sup>562</sup> Other publications used Tacitus, elements of the Edda and the Nibelungenlied to promote their these ideas, e.g. 'the 'Germanen-Bibel' edited by Wilhelm Schwaner, Stuttgart/Berlin in 1904/1934; Ludwig Woltmann's 'Die Germanen und die Renaissance in Italien' in 1905 and Woltmann's 'Politische Anthropologie'. Woltmanns Werk Bd.1 Leipzig, 1903/1936.<sup>563</sup>

The connection of the between the ancient *Germani* and *deutsch* was continually being stressed during the Third Reich period and even Gero von Merhart remarked in 1931: 'Feststellung, daß dieses nordische Kultur an weitaus wichtigster Stelle unter den Ahnen unseres heutigen deutschen Volkes steht'.<sup>564</sup> This was the common held view.

The problem of the tendency to identify the *ancient Germani* as 'deutsche Volk' in an earlier time was exacerbated by the attempts of the propagandists of the Third Reich to make *Germani* and *deutsch* synonomous.<sup>565</sup> Such was the extent of the attempts to make *Germani* and *deutsch* synonomous that this conception of equating 'Germani' with the people of modern Germany has at least in popular consciousness to some extent remained extant, but this theory is also aided by the fact that some of the *Germani* (regardless of their linguistic or ethnic affiliations) certainly shared the same land-mass/territory as speakers of modern dialects of *deutsch*.

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*Prähistoriker zwischen 1900 und 1995 unter Mitarbeit von Dietrich Hakelberg* (1st edn., Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, 29; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2001), 199-310 at 232.

<sup>562</sup> Puschner, 'Germanenideologie und völkische Weltanschauung', at 107.

<sup>563</sup> Puschner, 'Germanenideologie und völkische Weltanschauung', at 107 ff. and also for Germanenbibel 114 ff.

<sup>564</sup> Steuer, 'Deutsche Prähistoriker zwischen 1900 und 1995', at 28.

<sup>565</sup> See Rives: Rives, *Tacitus. Germania* at 3.

### 3.3. ETYMOLOGY OF T.N. TEUTONES: MISINTERPRETATION AS TEUTONIC.

The application of the word *Teutones* for an entire ethnic group of people, i.e. the Teutonic race, is ill-founded, as the word *Teuto-* is a derivative of an older Indo-European word found in various Indo-European languages, of which Celtic and Teutonic are but two. Bernhard Maier states that the word ‘*teutā*’ is found in several Indo-European languages and means **Eng.** ‘people’. It appears in the Gaulish deity *Teutates*. Maier states that ‘the adjective *diutisc*, which in later times came to signify “German” (*deutsch*), is derived from the Old High German *diot*’.<sup>566</sup> Kluge surmises that the Teutonic variants of the word *deutsch* are derived from the **I.E.** *\*teutā*. For the Teutonic languages, he equates **O.H.G.** *diutisc*, **M.H.G.** *tiutsch*, *diut(i)sch*, **O.A.Sax.** *thiudisc*, with **Teut.** *\*peudō*, **Got.** *þiuda*, **O.N.** *þjóð*, **O.Eng.** *þēod*, **Fr.** *thiād*, **A.Sax.** *thiod(a)*, with **Mod.H.G.** ‘*Volk*’, **Eng.** ‘people’. Kluge extends his derivation of **I.E.** *\*teutā* to other Indo-European languages showing the almost exact derivation as in Teutonic also found in **O.Lit.** *tautà*, and in **Celt. O.Ir.** *túath*.<sup>567</sup> An earlier Celtic form, i.e. **Celt.** *Teuto-*, is widely known from Gallia and Germania.<sup>568</sup> Mac Cana defines *Teutates* as ‘a derivative of the Celtic word for tribe, *teutā*. This name would mean in effect, **Eng.** the god of the tribe.’<sup>569</sup>

The use of the Indo-European stem is more prominent in the Celtic than Teutonic language, giving rise to the modern Irish word *\* túath* for **Eng.** a people/tribe. In the first century AD, and earlier, examples of the Celtic form of the stem *Teut-*, include **Pe.N.** *Teutomatus*, **T.N.** *Teutones*, **Pe.N.** *Teutobod*.<sup>570</sup> The Teutonic dialects exhibit

<sup>566</sup> Bernhard Maier, *The Celts*, trans. Kevin Windle (1st edn.; Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003) at 130.

<sup>567</sup> Friedrich Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, ed. Elmar Seebold (23 edn.; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1999) at 175.

<sup>568</sup> Evans, *GPN* at 266-269. See § ‘*Teuto-*’. Whatmough, *DAG* at 1232-1233. Birkhan, *GKAR* at 492 n. 1459. See § ‘*\*Teutobodūā*’, cf. *Teutates* of the triad **G.N.** *Teutates*, *Taranis* and *Esus*.

<sup>569</sup> Proinsias MacCana, *Celtic Mythology* (Middelsex: Newnes Books, 1987) at 20.

<sup>570</sup> Krahe, *Germanische Sprachwissenschaft* at 20. See Krahe for **Pe.N.** *Teutomatus*.

instances of the **I.E.** *Teutā-*, from Roman times and earlier e.g. the tribal name *Teutonoarii*. From the etymology of the Teutones, it is difficult to ascertain either a Celtic or Teutonic origin. It is only because of the Teutones' association with the Cimbri and Ambrones that they are assumed to be of Teutonic origin; however, a Celtic Helvetian origin is just as likely.

### **3.4. THE LINGUISTIC FRONTIER.**

The Teutonic core comprised the region of southern Scandinavia and the northernmost extent of the North German Plain. For the core homeland of the Celts one might look at any region between Austria, Bohemia, southern/central Germany, Switzerland, and eastern France. The dissemination of both Teutonic and Celtic people will be assigned to between the second century BC and the first century AD.

### **3.5. CELTO-TEUTONIC CONTACT AND FEIST'S KELTO-GERMANEN AND SUEBO-GERMANEN.**

Müllenhoff was the first to criticize Caesar's claim that the Rhine, which divided Gallia and Germania, was the frontier between the Celtic and Teutonic worlds.<sup>571</sup> He believed that the Rhine frontier between the Celtic and Teutonic peoples was an invention of Roman writers and that the Celts extended far to the east of the river. Feist too distinguished the *Kelto-Germanen*, as Celts who were settled between the Rhine and Weser, from the *Suebo-Germanen*, whom he regarded as true Teutonic peoples beyond the Weser.<sup>572</sup> Much disagreed with Feist's hypothesis and on the meaning of the word *Germani* as applied by Classical authors.<sup>573</sup>

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<sup>571</sup> Müllenhoff (ed.), *DA II* at 45.

<sup>572</sup> Sigmund Feist, *Germanen und Kelten in der antiken Überlieferung* (1st edn.; Halle, 1927) at 35.

<sup>573</sup> Rudolf Much, 'Waren die Germanen des Caesar und Tacitus Kelten?' *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* (LXV; Berlin, 1928), 1-50 at 1-50.

### **3.6. THE EQUATING OF LINGUISTIC GROUPS WITH ARCHAEOLOGICAL CULTURE.**

The dissemination of archaeological culture does not necessarily correspond to a linguistic group, or the migration of peoples into an area. However, language, and archaeological culture are as a rule for the Hallstatt/La Tène eras to be associated with Celtic speakers and development for the Jastorf and Scandinavian-North German cultures are associated with Teutonic speakers.

The development of proto-Teutonic speech can be equated with the regions of the archaeological cultures of the Jastorf (northern central Germany/southern Scandinavia), Harpstedt (eastern Netherlands northwestern Germany), and Pomeranian (Gesichtsurnenkultur) in the east and further north.<sup>574</sup>

#### **3.6.1. DISSEMINATION OF CULTURE, LANGUAGE, AND PEOPLE: DISSEMINATION OF LA TÈNE CULTURE VERSUS DISSEMINATION OF CELTIC SPEAKERS.**

The regions of Gallia and Germania dealt with in this study are largely within the original core of the La Tène heartland before the dissemination of Celtic speakers to non-Celtic speaking regions.

In the core La Tène region and its fringes of Gallia and Germania, a linguistic Celtic identity is obvious. However, portable and tradeable elements of La Tène culture found outside the core area do not suggest Celtic linguistic affiliation.

In the Rhineland, the pre-Celtic linguistic strata, included elements of what is known as the Nordwestblock.<sup>575</sup>

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<sup>574</sup> Toorians, *KGN* at 35. Hachmann (ed.), *Germanic Peoples* at 81.

<sup>575</sup> Todd, *The Northern Barbarians* at 32-34. Hans Kuhn, 'Die Nordgrenze der keltischen Ortsnamen in Westdeutschland', *Beiträge zur Namenforschung*, 3 (1968), 311-334 at 319, 321, 327, 330. Kuhn, 'Das Zeugnis der Namen', at 128. Kuhn suggests that the Nordwestblock was between the Oise and Aller.

### 3.7. THE NORTHWESTBLOCK.

The Northwestblock theory developed by Hans Kuhn was based on the reinterpretation of the river and place names of northwestern Germany. Kuhn suggests the existence of a people between the Celtic and Teutonic speakers who spoke a different language from either. Kuhn defined these people as the Northwestblock and placed them between the Aller in Germany and the Oise in France. Before Caesar's arrival to Gallia Teutonic speakers had begun to enter areas which Kuhn designated as Northwestblock. This theory is controversial.

Polomé states that 'Projecting unsolvable problems into IE is not a satisfactory way of coping with them, even when this type of material is connected with a prehistoric culture as seemed to be the case with the pre-Celtic 'Belgian' assumed by Gysseling (1952): besides the characteristic names in -apa- which stretch into Hessen, the Rhineland, and the Ruhr. This language has the following features:

- (a) an ablaut between a ~ i ~ u, as in the place-names of Hus-id-inniu (Heusden; Houdaing): His-id-inniu- (Hesdin);
- (b) initial p- weakened to h-, e.g. in Han-aciu- (\*pan-; cf. Gmc. \*fanja > Du. veen, Fr. fagne; Celt. annā 'mud');
- (c) suffixes like -are (e.g. Tamare > Demer), -one (e.g. Bibr-one, 'beaver brook')'.<sup>576</sup>

The idea for his theory was developed by Kuhn in a number of articles, particularly those of 1959 and 1961, which concentrated on forms with suffix -st-, the words with initial -p- and the -apa- names.<sup>577</sup> Kuhn's collaboration with Hachmann and

<sup>576</sup> Edgar C. Polomé, 'Lexical Data and Cultural Contacts: A Critique of the Study of Prehistoric Isoglosses and Borrowings', in Anwar S. Dil (ed.), *Language, Society, and Paleoculture. Essays by Edgar C. Polomé* (1st edn.; Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982), 352-364 at 358-359. Also see 361 n. 8 referred to here. For the -apa- names Kuhn relied largely on H. Dittmaier: [H. Dittmaier, *Das -apa- Problem*. Louvain, 1955.] and used data for European Hydronymy by Hans Krahe in: [Beiträge zur Namenforschung] for the -st- names also Hachmann, Kossack et al. (eds.), *Völker zwischen Germanen und Kelten. Schriftquellen, Bodenfunde und Namengut zur Geschichte des nördlichen Westdeutschlands um Christi Geburt* at 139., also M: Gysseling: [M. Gysseling, *Inleiding tot de studie van het oude Belgisch. Mededelingen van de Vereniging voor Naamkunde te Leuven en de Commissie voor Naamkunde te Amsterdam*, 28, 1952, 3-4, 69-76].

<sup>577</sup> Polomé, 'Lexical Data and Cultural Contacts'. See: [Hans Kuhn, *Vor- und frühgermanische Ortsnamen in Norddeutschland und den Niederlanden*. *Westfälische Forschungen* 12, 1959, 5-44]. Also: [Hans Kuhn, *Anlautend p- im Germanischen*. *Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung* 28, 1961, 1-31].

Kossack in 'Völker zwischen Germanen und Kelten', (1962), suggested that the major part of the territory between the Rhine and Weser, north of the Main to the North Sea coast, had only been Teutonicised at a late date. They dated this to around the time of the Roman conquest of Gaul and believed that earlier a population, which was neither Celtic nor Teutonic, had occupied this area as far south as the Aisne.<sup>578</sup> Polomé adds that 'These views have triggered very strong criticism for the following methodological reasons: (1) they failed to examine the rise and origin of the non-IE component of the Germanic vocabulary; (2) they failed to exhaust the possibilities of Gmc. explanations for the allegedly aberrant forms'.<sup>579</sup>

Kuhn argues that the northern limits of the names which are Celtic run on an east-west line from the mouth of the Somme to the valley of the Main. This line would, in theory, suggest the limit of Celtic speech. This supposition is flawed as numerous Celtic place, tribal, and geographical names are found north of this line and their consistent nature appears to suggest Celtic speech was in evidence north of it.<sup>580</sup>

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<sup>578</sup> Polomé, 'Lexical Data and Cultural Contacts', at 358-359. Hachmann, Kossack et al. (eds.), *Völker zwischen Germanen und Kelten*, at 105-128 (Kuhn: Das Zeugnis der Namen) and 129-135 (Hachmann, Kossack and Kuhn: Gemeinsames Schlußwort).

<sup>579</sup> Polomé, 'Lexical Data and Cultural Contacts', at 358-359.

<sup>580</sup> Hachmann, Kossack et al. (eds.), *Völker zwischen Germanen und Kelten*. Wolfgang Laur, 'Die Herkunft des Germanischen im Spiegel der Orts- und Gewässernamen', in Astrid van Nahl, Lennart Elmevik et al. (eds.), *Namenwelten. Orts- und Personennamen in historischer Sicht* (2nd edn., Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, 44; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 201-212 at 208-212. This theory also suggests that the region north of the Rhine to the Aller and Weser, including the region of Friesland, was within the Nordwestblock area. Referring to Kuhn's hypothesis Ulf Timmerman remarks that 'Er nahm eine späte und langsam verlaufende Germanisierung der "Friesen" im Laufe der ersten Jahrhunderte n.Chr. an wobei die ethnische Identität der voegermanischen Bevölkerungsschicht, wenn auch in sozial schwacher Stellung, noch lange erhalten blieb', see: Ulf Timmermann, 'Frisia Germanica - auch den Namen nach?' in Heinrich Beck, Dieter Geuenich et al. (eds.), *Namenwelten. Orts- und Personennamen in historischer Sicht* (2nd edn., Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, 44; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 333-358 at 333. For a detailed study of the problems of Kuhn's Nordwestblock theory see: Meid, 'Hans Kuhn's "Nordwestblock" - Hypothese.'

### 3.8. FIRST SOUND SHIFT, GRIMM'S LAW (1822), AND VERNER'S LAW (1877).

In attempting to assess the linguistic origin and migration of the Teutonic tribes of Germania through the Caesarian and Augustan eras it is necessary to examine the *First Sound Shift*.

Grimm produced his *Deutsche Grammatik* in 1819. He recast and enlarged this work and inspired by Rasmus Rask's *Undersøgelse* in 1818 he produced what became known as *Grimm's Law* in 1822.<sup>581</sup>

**Table 2. The First Sound Shift.**

| The First Sound Shift. Grimm's Law |                              |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------|
|                                    | $p > f$                      |
|                                    | $t > þ$                      |
|                                    | $k > \chi$ i.e (ch), later h |

#### 3.8.1. GRIMM'S LAW (1822).

*Grimm's Law* is a systematization of the consonantal changes peculiar to Teutonic languages.<sup>582</sup> Grimm recognized changes which had taken place in early Teutonic language. These changes, once brought to the attention of academia by Grimm, subsequently became known as the *First Sound Shift*. Grimm was unable to account for all the phenomena associated with consonantal changes and it was not until 1877 that Verner dealt with the exceptions and anomalies and helped to elucidate the accentual stem of Indo-European. This became known as *Verner's Law*.<sup>583</sup>

<sup>581</sup> W. B. Lockwood (ed.), *Indo-European Philology. Historical and Comparative*, ed. R. Auty (1st edn., Modern Languages, London: Hutchinson, 1969) at 25-26. Lockwood refers to Rasmus Rask's '*Undersøgelse om det gamle nordiske eller islandske Sprogs Oprindelse* (1818). Investigation into the origin of the Old Norse or Icelandic Language. Rask finished this work in 1814 but it was not published until 1818.

<sup>582</sup> Lockwood (ed.), *Indo-European Philology* at 26. Grimm, *Deutsche Grammatik*.

<sup>583</sup> Lockwood (ed.), *Indo-European Philology* at 26.

### 3.8.2. THE FIRST SOUND SHIFT. (LAUTVERSCHIEBUNG)

The *First Sound Shift* was the systematic change of Indo-European ‘p, t, k’ and ‘ph, th, kh’, into voiceless spirants: ‘f, th (ð), χ (c (h))’ in Teutonic. The Indo-European ‘b, d, g’ became ‘p, t, k’ in Teutonic, e.g. **Lat.** *Decem*, **Eng.** ‘Ten’.<sup>584</sup>

**Table 3. Verner’s Law**

| Indo-European. |   | Teutonic.        |             |
|----------------|---|------------------|-------------|
| p              | > | bh instead of to | f           |
| t              | > | dh instead of to | th i.e. (þ) |
| k              | > | gh instead of to | ch i.e. (χ) |

### 3.8.3. VERNER’S LAW (1877).

*Verner’s Law* was essentially a modification and augmentation of *Grimm’s Law*, by the Dane, Karl Verner in 1877. It describes a regular shift in stress that took place in words in the Germanic languages after the consonant-shifts postulated by Grimm. According to Grimm, the Indo-European sounds of ‘p, t, k’, changed into ‘f, þ (th), χ (ch), in the Teutonic languages, while ‘b, d, g’ in Indo-European changed to Teutonic ‘p, t, k’. Verner stated that this was true when the accent fell on the root syllable. However, when the accent fell on another syllable, Indo-European ‘p, t, k’ became Teutonic ‘bh, dh, gh’. These rules were also applied to the consonants ‘s’ and ‘r’ which survive in the past tense of **O.Eng.** *wesan*, **Eng.** ‘to be’, which was **O.Eng.** *wæsan*, *wæron*. This alteration became **Eng.** ‘was/were’. Verner’s work has demonstrated the evolutionary nature of linguistics.<sup>585</sup>

<sup>584</sup> Oswald J. G. Szemerényi, *Introduction to Indo-European*, trans. David and Irene Morgan Jones (4th edn.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) at 47.

<sup>585</sup> Kurt Gustav Goblirsch (ed.), *Lautverschiebungen in den germanischen Sprachen*, eds. Rolf Bergmann and Claudie Moulin (1st edn., Germanistische Bibliothek, 23; Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2005) at 20-21, 23, 28, 34-35, 37, 39, 50, 71-75, 145-146, 164. Voyles, *Early Germanic Grammar* at 40-41. See § 3.1.3. Verner’s Law. Szemerényi, *Indo-European* at 19-

*Verner's Law* dealt with the considerable number of exceptions to *Grimm's Law* which helped to clarify the accentual system of Indo-European.

### 3.8.4. DATING OF THE FIRST SOUND SHIFT.

The date of this *First Sound Shift* is controversial.<sup>586</sup> Polomé disagrees with Voyles's chronology of dating the *First Sound Shift* to 400 BC.<sup>587</sup> He believes this date is hardly compatible with the occurrence of the name of the *Cimbri* with constant initial 'k' when compared to the designation of their purported home region, i.e. Himbersyssæl, Jutland, from the Middle Ages. Polomé argues that even if one accepts Schönfeld's objection this association of *Cimbri* with Himbersyssæl is not warranted.<sup>588</sup> Nonetheless Voyles's derivation from the **Teut.** *\*kimb-*, **Eng.** 'edge', does not according to Polomé, citing de Vries 1971, solve the problem, as the word is strictly localized to the Ingaevonic and Baltic regions. De Vries defines the meaning of **Teut.** *Cimbri* as **Eng.** 'people of the rim', **Du.** *\*Kim*, **Eng.** 'horizon'.<sup>589</sup>

Polomé adds that Caesar and other early sources continually mention the tribe of the Harudes of the Jutland-Lower Elbe region, using initial '<H>' in **Lat.** and '<X>' in **Gk.** whilst their name is found in the **Norw.** *Hörðaland*, near Hardangerfjord. This would display the successful consonantal shift amongst these Jutish residents, who had immigrated to Alsace by c. 58 BC, if indeed these are the same people.

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20. See § 2.4.1. Robert Beekes, S. P., *Comparative Indo-European Linguistics: an introduction*, trans. Paul UvA Vertalers/Gabriner (1st edn.; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1995) at 130-131. See § Verner's Law. Voyles, *Early Germanic Grammar* at 40-41. See § 3.1.3. Verner's Law. Szemerényi, *Indo-European* at 19-20. See § 2.4.1. Beekes, *Comparative Indo-European Linguistics* at 130-131. Goblirsch (ed.), *Lautverschiebungen in den germanischen Sprachen* at 20-21, 23, 28, 34-35, 37, 39, 50, 71-75, 145-146, 164. Voyles, *Early Germanic Grammar* at 40-41. See § 3.1.3. Verner's Law. Szemerényi, *Indo-European* at 19-20, 25-26. See § 2.4.1. Beekes, *Comparative Indo-European Linguistics* at 130-131. See § Verner's Law. Watkins, *Indo-European* at 146-147. See § Indo-European Sound Correspondences. Orrin W. Robinson, *Old English and its Closest Relatives. A Survey of the Earliest Germanic Languages* (1st edn.; London: Routledge, 1992) at 10-11.

<sup>586</sup> Polomé, 'Germanic in early Roman times', at 139.

<sup>587</sup> Voyles, *Early Germanic Grammar* at 76-79.

<sup>588</sup> Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen* at 64.

<sup>589</sup> Jan De Vries, *Nederlands etymologisch woordenboek* (2nd edn.; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971) at 320.

### 3.8.5. SOME PROBLEMS WITH DATING THE FIRST SOUND SHIFT.

One of the greatest problems in attempting to date the *First Sound Shift* and in endeavouring to precisely gauge amongst which tribes it had taken place is the lack of linguistic evidence for this early period. Even in the time of Caesar, *c.* mid-first century BC, there are so few examples of tribal, personal, and place names that it is impossible to provide an accurate reflection of the advance of this sound shift, and in which tribes it occurred.

A problematic issue arises concerning two doubtful examples utilized by Polomé regarding the dating of the *First Sound Shift*. Polomé attempts to show how it had not taken effect with other tribes in Germania, e.g. the Tencteri, from the same period as the Harudes, of Caesar's Gallic commentary. Polomé argues that the shift from 'k' before 't' had not become 'χ < [ch] h >' in the tribal name Tencteri.<sup>590</sup> The problem is that the Tencteri may not have been Teutonic.<sup>591</sup> Together with the Tencteri Caesar mentioned their companion tribe, the Usipetes. The name Usipetes is etymologically unfeasible to determine as Teutonic.<sup>592</sup> If the Tencteri were Teutonic speakers then Polomé makes an interesting point that 'kt' had not shifted to 'χt' by 55 BC, when Caesar first mentioned them. It is possible that Latin or Greek '<kt>' where Teutonic '<χt>' is expected may be due to sound substitution.<sup>593</sup> Although Schönfeld shows variation in the name Tencteri of numerous examples over the next couple of centuries it is noticeable that 'kt' never shifts to 'χt' amongst the Tencteri. This would seem to indicate that the *First Sound Shift* did not take place even after the beginning of the first century AD.<sup>594</sup> This is improbable, if the Tencteri were Teutonic, and would suggest that the Tencteri did not speak Teutonic in the first century BC.

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<sup>590</sup> Polomé, 'Germanic in early Roman times', at 139.

<sup>591</sup> Polomé, 'Germanic in early Roman times', at 139. Stefan Zimmer, 'Usipeten/Usipier und Tencterer', in Heinrich Beck, Dieter Geuenich et al. (eds.), *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde von Johannes Hoops - Luchs - Metrum. (RGA)* (2nd edn., Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde von Johannes Hoops, XXXI; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2006), 572-576. See also § 'Etymology of the T.N. Tencteri'.

<sup>592</sup> See § Germani transrhenani of Caesar. § Etymology of the T.N. Usipetes.

<sup>593</sup> Polomé, 'Germanic in early Roman times', at 139.

<sup>594</sup> Reichert, *LDAN I* at 652-653. See 'TENCTER: V'.

Admittedly the example of **Teut.** *\*alces* for **Eng.** ‘elk’, given by Caesar at the same time has seemingly not made the shift from ‘k’ to ‘h’ either, cf. **O.H.G.** *\*elahho* versus **O.N.** *<algi-* which agrees with Verner’s Law.<sup>595</sup> Polomé argues that the change from ‘k’ to ‘χ’ (written h) was not completed in Caesar’s day.<sup>596</sup> Another problem with this hypothesis is that the Celtic Gaulish word for elk is ‘alco’, **Fr.** ‘élan’, which is almost identical to Caesar’s *alces*. Delamarre refers to the **Gaul. Pe.N.** *Alco-uindos*; also ‘*Alcius, Alciacus* H1 89, *DAG* 634, 761, 1081 ; et dans la Toponymie : *Alcena* auj. Aucène’. Although Delamarre also states that ‘K. H. Schmidt *KGP* 121, suivant Dottin 225, avait proposé de voir dans *alco-* le nom (germanique > celtique) d’élan, cf. allemande *Elch*’.<sup>597</sup>

The other example mentioned is that of *silva Bacenis* which, if Teutonic, was passed on to Caesar through what might be Celtic intermediaries, i.e. the Ubii, as Caesar appears to write a Celtic form of the name.<sup>598</sup> There are numerous examples of this form in Gallia, e.g. according to Delamarre ‘Beiach nom d’une forêt en Suisse (<*\*bāgācon*), Bavóna rivière du Tessin (<*\*bāgonā*),...Le nom de la *silva Bacenis* c.-à.-d. ‘forêt de hêtres’ don’t parle César, *BG* 6.10, actuellement le Harz, doit représenter un mot germanique, et n’est donc pas utilisable ici’. However Delamarre adds that the Teutonic form of the Indo-European word *\*bhāgós* was ‘germanique *\*bōkō*, ‘id.’, passé aux thèmes en *-ā* (allemande. Buche angl. beech < *\*bōkjō*). The Gaulish form *\*bagos* mirrors the form provided by the Ubii.<sup>599</sup> Incidentally, although Polomé argues that the change from ‘k’ to ‘χ’ (written h) was not completed in Caesar’s day, he believes that the shift from ‘g’ to ‘k’ had taken place by the time Caesar referred to the *silva Bacenis*.<sup>600</sup> There is a problem with the latter part of this theory. Polomé assumes the term *Bacenis* to be Teutonic. The Teutonic form of *Bacenis* would probably have been **Teut.** *\*Bōkiōn*, *\*Boconis*/*Buohonis*, which could

<sup>595</sup> Polomé, ‘Germanic in early Roman times’, at 139. Caesar, *BG* at 126-127 (Book VI, Chapter 27).

<sup>596</sup> Polomé, ‘Germanic in early Roman times’, at 139.

<sup>597</sup> Delamarre, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise* at 38. See § **alco-**, ‘élan’?

<sup>598</sup> Delamarre, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise* at 64. See § **bagos**, ‘hêtre’.

<sup>599</sup> Delamarre, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise* at 64.

<sup>600</sup> Polomé, ‘Germanic in early Roman times’, at 139. Caesar, *BG* at 119 (Book VI, Chapter 10).

have been the Suebian name for the region. Voyles attempts to explain this by stating that ‘The āTOō change seems to have occurred sometime around 50 B.C. The reason for assuming this is that the place name *silva Bācenis* ‘Beech wood’ is attested in Caesar (100-44 B.C.). The adj. *Bācenis* is from early Gmc. \**bāk*, which comes from the IE \**b<sup>h</sup>āg* and occurs in later Germanic as \**bōk* ‘beech’. Thus the occurrence of *Bācenis* seems to indicate that the 1<sup>st</sup> SS had already occurred, but not the ā-TO-ō change’.<sup>601</sup> There is no certain way to tell whether the name *Bacenis* was a Celtic transmission of a Teutonic name. This may simply be the Ubii transmitting to Caesar their native name for the region, or the Ubii using the Suebi’s Teutonic form of the word, but altering it to their own Celtic interpretation, **Teut.** \**Bocen(is)* → **Celt.** \**Bacenis*. The Celtic form of this name is **Celt.** \**bāgos*, **Eng.** beech.<sup>602</sup> Lambert referring to Ptolemy’s *Εαγακον* indicates that it is tempting to follow Hubschmied’s analysis ‘on the model of **Bret.** (Le) Faouët from \**fagētum*, ‘with a Celtic tree name \**bhāgo*-‘beech’ followed by the -āko suffix.’<sup>603</sup> If the term was Teutonic and transmitted exactly as it was uttered by the Suebi then the shift from ‘g’ to ‘k’ had taken place. Yet the shift from ‘k’ to ‘χ’ would not have taken place at this time.<sup>604</sup> Regardless of the origin of *Bacenis* the name was eventually Teutonicized as seen in the Middle Ages when the form of the name is **Teut.** \**Bōconia*.<sup>605</sup> Toorians suggests a Celtic origin for the name also stems from the **I.E.** \**b<sup>h</sup>āgo*, **Celt.** \**bāgos*, i.e. **Du.**

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<sup>601</sup> Voyles, *Early Germanic Grammar* at 78.

<sup>602</sup> Toorians, *KGN* at 52.

<sup>603</sup> Pierre-Yves Lambert, 'Remarks on Gaulish Place-Names in Ptolemy', in David N. Parsons and Patrick Sims-Williams (eds.), *Ptolemy. Towards a linguistic atlas of the earliest Celtic place-names of Europe. Papers from a workshop, sponsored by the British Academy, in the Department of Welsh, University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 11-12 April 1999* (1st edn.; Aberystwyth, Wales: CMCS Publications, Department of Welsh, University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1999), 159-168 at 163. J. U. Hubschmid, 'Bāgāko-. \*Bāgōn(o)- ‘forêt de hêtres’. Étude de Toponymie suisses', *Revue Celtique*, 50 (1933), 254-271.

<sup>604</sup> Polomé, 'Germanic in early Roman times', at 139.

<sup>605</sup> Much (ed.), *Germania* at 108.

*beuk*, i.e. **Eng.** beech. Roymans also equates the tribal capital of the Celtic Nervii, i.e. *Bagacum*, with **Gaul. Celt.** \**Bagaco*, **Du.** *beuken-plaats*, **Eng.** beech-place.<sup>606</sup>

This could be a Celticized form of a Teutonic name, which probably referred to the Harz forest. Part of this forest would have been in Suebian territory, bordering the Cheruscan region. Zeuss identifies the Harz (=Hart) with the *Bacenis* and with Ptolemy's 'Μηλίβοχον ὄρος. In keltischer Benennung, ein einzeln stehender, nur durch niedrige Hügel mit dem Außenwalde verbundener Fels'. Zeuss adds that 'Abgeleitet aus *bac*, Rücken? Unmöglich kann *Bacenis*, wie man erklärt hat, die spätere Buchonia sein. Μηλίβοχον, kelt. Compositum, wovon das erste Wort in Μηλίβοχον Ptol., Melo-dunum Caes., Melibodium (Maubeuge), das zweite in Triboci'.<sup>607</sup>

It is probably unsafe to assume that the shift from 'g' to 'k' had definitely taken place on the evidence of only one reference, from a large area, which in all probability was not Teutonic.

Even if the original forest name was from **Celt.** *Bacenis*, immigrant Teutonic speakers would have ensured both Teutonicization and evolution of the term by introducing the sound shift. This example provides evidence for possible Teutonicization or Celticization, linguistic borrowing or mistransference, by the Ubii to Caesar. It is also possible that the translators spoke with a Celtic accent, or that Caesar may have unconsciously Latinized the names in his Commentaries.

One other possibility lies in a clue provided by the later name of Ptolemy 'Μηλίβοχον ὄρος. Although some of Ptolemy's sources may have dated back to Augustan times some were undoubtedly much later in date. The 'Μηλίβοχον ὄρος appears to equate with the Harz and surrounds, and if this form of the name refers to Caesar's *Bacenis* it would appear to contain the Teutonic *-βοχον*, at a later date than Caesar's transmission. The name 'Μηλίβοχον ὄρος may have been a Teutonic name or Celtic-Teutonic hybrid. It is not unreasonable that the Ubii would have known the *silva Bacenis* as it was not at a great distance from their northern-most borders, and

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<sup>606</sup> Toorians, *KGN* at 52, 93.

<sup>607</sup> Zeuss, *Die Deutschen* at 11, n. \*, 94. Rubekeil provides both a Teutonic and Celtic explanation for the origin of the name *Bacenis*, see Rubekeil, *Kelten und Germanen* at 175-180.

because the name for Beech-tree was similar in Celtic and Teutonic and would have described the same region, described by both Suebi and Ubii, it is possible that the Ubii used their own terminology for it, to describe a region of forest to Caesar, or alternatively they used the Suebian word but mistransferred it. The Ubii would have attempted to provide Caesar with the information needed to find the region which could suggest they used the term to describe a beech forest in Suebia. This would suggest that the Ubii either had their own word for the *Bacenis* which was Celtic, i.e. *Bacenis*, or they mistransferred the name to the Romans in a Celtic form and altered the Suebic form of the word from *o* to *a*, thus Teutonic Suebic *\*Bōkenis* to Celtic Ubian *\*Bācenis*.

The relaying of tribal names to Caesar by Gaulish speakers may account for some mistransference, but not in the case of obviously Teutonic tribes, e.g. Suebi, Marcomani. Later mistransference is accounted for by scribal and scholastic error.

### 3.8.6. SOUND-SUBSTITUTION AND COGNATES.

The transference of onomastics is relevant to the spread of Celtic and Teutonic names. Elston argued that the importance of the similarity between Celtic and Teutonic personal names might be due to sound-substitution. He referred to the personal name Maroboduus as purely Celtic in form. Although he was the leader of the Teutonic Suebic Marcomani he may not have been so called by his followers.<sup>608</sup> Schönfeld too designates the name Maroboduus is in a Celtic form.<sup>609</sup> Much remarks that it 'ist eine keltisierte Namensform statt germ. *\* Mērabadwaz* oder vielleicht *Mārabadwaz*'.<sup>610</sup>

Elston states that it is not surprising to find a prince bearing a foreign name, possibly due to intermarriage with the Celts.<sup>611</sup> Many Teutonic words contained sounds that were foreign to native Celtic speakers, and Elston suggests that 'we must suppose that many Teutonic names have been preserved in their Celtic form, after Celtic

<sup>608</sup> Elston, *Celts and Germans* at 119.

<sup>609</sup> Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen* at 163. See § *Maroboduus*.

<sup>610</sup> Much (ed.), *Germania* at 471.

<sup>611</sup> Elston, *Celts and Germans* at 119.

sounds had been substituted for the unfamiliar and possibly unpronounceable Germanic ones'.<sup>612</sup> This process of sound-substitution was no doubt greatly facilitated by the fact that, both Celtic and Teutonic, had in common a number of words, which were very frequently used in both languages for the formation of personal names, e.g. **Teut.** \**χabu-* **Eng.** 'battle', is a loan word from **Celt.** \**catu*.<sup>613</sup> The 'χ' sound was unknown in Celtic. Any Teutonic name containing this sound would be handed down by the Celts as a 'k', i.e. \**katu-*. In turn the Romans would have had little difficulty in pronouncing these Celtic variants. Sound substitution and cognate terms may have existed due to the bilingual nature of border peoples, e.g. **Teut.** \**Gaizarīks* → **Celt.** *Gaesorix*.<sup>614</sup>

The Latin pronunciation (through direct contact) of Teutonic words, which had undergone the process of sound substitution, may have created ambiguity in defining the origin of particular words as Latinized forms of some Teutonic names are close in form to Celtic names. Substitution of the equivalent word and sound may have occurred in the personal name *Teutoboduus*, which if it had only been substitution of sounds foreign to Celtic, i.e. **Teut.** \**peuda-* would have been represented in the Celtic name by **Celt.** *teudo*.<sup>615</sup> Much argues that in the case of the king of the Teutones, Celticization of a Teutonic name has occurred, e.g. **Pe.N.** *Teutoboduus*, from **Teut.** \**Peudabadwaz*, **O.H.G.** to *Deotbato*.<sup>616</sup>

Elston argues that 'Equally uncertain is the value of names of persons as a criterion in the determination of the ethnic group to which we are to assign a tribe'.<sup>617</sup> This viewpoint is valid but personal names are invaluable and combined with other linguistic evidence is essential in determining linguistic and ethnic origins.

Formative elements of proper names exclusive to Teutonic and Celtic are, e.g. **Celt.** \**Katu-* → **O.H.G.** *hadu-*, **Celt.** \**Teuto-* → **O.H.G.** *Diot*, **Celt.** \**Segho* → **O.H.G.**

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<sup>612</sup> Elston, *Celts and Germans* at 120.

<sup>613</sup> Elston, *Celts and Germans* at 120.

<sup>614</sup> Elston, *Celts and Germans* at 118-121.

<sup>615</sup> Elston, *Celts and Germans* at 120.

<sup>616</sup> Much (ed.), *Germania* at 471.

<sup>617</sup> Elston, *Celts and Germans* at 122-123.

*Sigu-*, **Celt.** \**Ēsu*, → **O.H.G.** *Ās-*, **Celt.** \**Dhagho*, **O.E.** *Daeg*, **Celt.** \**Māro* → **Teut.** *Mērus*, **Celt.** \**Rīg* → **O.H.G.** *-rih*, **Celt.** \**Wolko-* → **O.E.** *-wealh*.<sup>618</sup>

### 3.8.7. LINGUISTIC BORROWING/ADOPTION/ALTERATION AND EXTERNAL CLASSIFICATION OF TERMINOLOGY.

The process of borrowing/adoption/alteration between the Celtic and Teutonic languages provided first direct contact between the Late Hallstatt and early-middle La Tène eras. Celtic tribes would have reached the southern most extremes of Teutonic settlement in Thüringen, Niedersachsen, northern Nordrhein-Westfalen and Bohemia. This increased the possibility of contact through warfare and trade between the Teutonic and Celtic peoples.<sup>619</sup> By the Late La Tène era the frontier lay north of the Rhine mouth, north of the Lippe, along the edge of the North German Plain, to southern Poland in the east.

### 3.9. ONOMASTICS AND PREHISTORIC MIGRATIONS.

The linguistic evidence revealed through studying and evaluating migrations yields much unique information about the origins of the peoples involved. The effects of migration on linguistic interactions display many complex features.

Interaction between the native and migrant linguistic groupings can produce hybridization resulting in variations of *Mischsprache*, where differing degrees of vocabulary and grammar would be provided by both groups, e.g. **PI.N.** *Batavodurum*. Further complications in defining linguistic origins arise when there is a shared institutional vocabulary. Much depends on how the groups integrate, e.g. a very dominant group would impose its language on a weaker group. Where two languages provide numerous cognates difficulties arise in defining origins, e.g. **Celt.** *Deodorix* and **Teut.** *Theodoric*. This also applies to where two languages provide similar linguistic elements but with completely different meanings, e.g. **Celt.** \**Marko-*, **Eng.** *horse*, **Teut.** *Marco-*, **Eng.** *border*.

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<sup>618</sup> Elston, *Celts and Germans* at 100.

<sup>619</sup> Dennis Howard Green, 'Contact with the Celts', *Language and history in the early Germanic world* (1st edn.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 145-163 at 145.

The onomastic evidence from the Rhineland is, as Markey indicates, severely complicated and subject to multiple interpretations.<sup>620</sup>

Markey states that however mutually unintelligible Gallic, and other varieties of Celtic, may have been with early Rhenish dialects of Teutonic ‘there is evidence that Gallic was a real superstrate and that there was a high degree of Germano-Celtic diglossia in the Rhineland’.<sup>621</sup>

Markey adds that such onomastic fabrication in the Rhineland is evident in this region today where Celtic-based formants in the Teutonic toponyms provide a fusion creolization that exhibits overlay and adaption but not polarization ‘from *Trierscheid* < *Trerocetum* with Gall. *-cetum* ‘forest, wood’. < \**keito-n*, cf. MW, Bret. *coit*, MdW *coed*’.<sup>622</sup>

Examples of Teutonicization of Celtic place-names in the Rhineland are from **Celt.** *Rigomagus*, modern Remagen, **Celt.** *Durnomagus*, modern Dormagen, **Celt.** *Noviomagus*, modern Nijmegen.

Loanwords from Celtic to Teutonic, i.e. *Reich*, from **Gaul.** *rīx* → **Teut.** \**rīks* → **Goth.** *reiks*, for Amt, from **Celt.** *ambactos* → \***Teut.** *ambahtaz* → **Goth.** *Andbahts.*, *Eisen*.<sup>623</sup> Teutonic loanwords to Celtic include \***Teut.** *brōk* → (evolving into later **O.Nor.** *brók*) → **Gaul.** *brācae*, → **Lat.** *bracae*, **Eng.** breeches, also complicate linguistic origins.<sup>624</sup> Complete replacement of existing Celtic place names can be seen for **Celt.** *Argentoratum* → **Teut. Ale.** *Stratisburgia*.

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<sup>620</sup> T. L. Markey, 'Social Spheres and National Groups in Germania', in Heinrich Beck (ed.), *Germanenprobleme in heutiger Sicht. Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* (1st edn., **Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde** / von Johannes Hoops. Hrsg. von Heinrich Beck.-; New York, 1; Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1986), 248-266 at 257.

<sup>621</sup> Markey, 'Social Spheres', at 255 n. 7.

<sup>622</sup> Markey, 'Social Spheres', at 256.

<sup>623</sup> Elston, *Celts and Germans* at 160-161 (*rix*), 167-169 (*ambactos*).

<sup>624</sup> Green, 'Contact with the Celts', at 146-147. Birkhan, *GKAR* at 247. Elston, *Celts and Germans* at 184.

### 3.10. PREFIXES (PR.), SUFFIXES (SU.), ELEMENTS, AND COMPOUND ELEMENTS.

#### 3.10.1. INTRODUCTION TO PREFIXES, SUFFIXES, ELEMENTS, AND COMPOUND ELEMENTS.

The degree to which a personal or place name can be derived from a specific linguistic group is often aided by the accompanying word element, compound elements, prefix or suffix.

Celtic compound elements found as prefixes or suffixes are: *-dun-* (fort), *-dur-* (door), *-briga* (hill), *-briva* (bridge), *-cetom* (forest), *argento-* (silver), *Viro-* (man or true), *Cat-* (battle), *Lugu-* (the God Lug), *Corio-* (army), *Con-* (confluence), *Vindo-* (blond/white/fair), *ambi-* (both sides or around), *are-* (near/by), *ver-* (over), *vo-* (under), *teuto-* (people). Also *-ant*, *-ako*, *-iako*, *-ito*, *-isso*, *-usso*, *-cca*, *-ccinius*, *-giannus*, *-onnus*, *-tta*, *-ttia*, *-ttio*, *-ttoni*, *-ucco*, *-ss*.

Teutonic compound elements are *-burg-* (fortress), *asci-*, *asca-* (ash) *alt-* (high). Prefix name elements include *Amm-*, *Hald-*, *Fre-*, *Fri-*, *Gam-*, *Gan-*, *Vad-*, *Van-*, *Vel-*, *Ald-*, *Kald-*, *Aland-*, and *Ch-* prefixes, i.e. from 'k' to 'χ-' to 'h-', e.g. first seen as **T.N.** *Cherusci*, *Chatti*, *Chamavi*, *Chattuarii*, go to *Herusci*, *Hatti*, *Hamavi*, *Hattvarii*.

Suffixes and name endings include *-varii*, *-nd*, *-abjo*, *-eio*, *-heim*. There appears to be a lack of standard Teutonic suffixes for place names, which is, in part, because most areas of Teutonic speech were never incorporated into the Roman Empire, limiting the availability of sources. Even Ptolemy's references to place names of Germania lack regular Teutonic suffix endings.

The Indo-European suffix *-ijo-*, is found in both Teutonic and Celtic.

Some prefixes of compound name elements *Leub-*, *Loub-*, *Lib-*, *Lob-*, and *Lub-* are of possible Celtic or Teutonic origin. Some of these forms due to Celticization and Teutonicization became hybridized.<sup>625</sup>

In the case of the convergence of the Celtic and Teutonic languages into continental Europe, pre-Celtic-Teutonic prefixes and suffixes are evident, i.e. Northwestblock, alongside both Celtic and Teutonic elements. Name elements which are provided as Northwestblock by Kuhn are the *-apa*, *-st*, names and *-nt* names.<sup>626</sup>

Many Celtic and Teutonic name elements and compound, are found in both the first and second elements of placenames, e.g. **Celt.** Remagen, i.e. Rigo-magus and for **Teut.** e.g. Asciburgium, i.e. Asciburgium.

Where two ethnic groups with two languages border each other and where one has become dominant, there are two prevalent results.

### 3.11. ETYMOLOGICAL HYBRIDIZATION (HYBN.).

Where hybridization occurs, name elements, prefixes and suffixes can be derived from different languages within the same name to provide hybrid compound name elements. Anomalies are also a feature of such a process, which may also occur because of similar words being used in both languages. The result is that hybridization sometimes creates a difficulty in producing etymological conclusivity, e.g. **Pl.N.** *Marcodurum*, from **Celtic** \**Markos*, **Eng.** *horse*, and **Celt.** *dur-*, **Eng.** *door*, or from **Teut.** *marco-*, **Eng.** *border*, and *dur-*, **Eng.** *door*, and for *Marcomagus*, **Celt.** *-magus*, **Eng.** *plain*, thus from **Celt.** → **Eng.** the plain of the horses, or from **Teut.** → the border plain.

Hybridization can be seen in the tribal names of Batavi, Chamavi, and Frisiavones as the stem of all three tribes appears Teutonic and the suffix is **Celt.** *-avi*, see

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<sup>625</sup> Delamarre, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise* at 229.

<sup>626</sup> Kuhn, 'Das Zeugnis der Namen', at 112, 115, 119, 120, and particularly 127-128. Laur, 'Die Herkunft des Germanischen im Spiegel der Orts- und Gewässernamen', at 208-212.

etymology of the Batavi. This suggests that they lived long enough among or near Celtic tribes to acquire their names or name elements and spoke a *Mischsprache*.

### 3.12. ETYMOLOGY OF THE GERMANI IN THE PRE-CAESARIAN ERA.<sup>627</sup>

#### 3.12.1. CIMBRI, TEUTONES, AND AMBRONES. ETYMOLOGY OF THE CIMBRI.

For the etymology of the Cimbri, cf. the First Sound Shift.

#### 3.12.2. ETYMOLOGY OF THE T.N. TEUTONES

See: Etymology of the Teutones: misinterpretation as Teutonic.

#### 3.12.3. ETYMOLOGY OF T.N. AMBRONES.

Schönfeld defines the tribal name Ambrones as Teutonic, where he refers to the **Teut. Pe.N.** *Ambri*, *Ambricho*.<sup>628</sup> Rudolf Much connects the Ambrones to the island of Amrum/Ambrum on the northern Frisian Islands. He also refers to the **Celt. Pe.N.** *Ambri* and **Pe.N.** *Ambrico*.<sup>629</sup> However, if the tribal name Ambrones originated from the Jutland Peninsula, or from northern Germania, one could expect a Teutonic etymology. If they originated in central Germania, a Celtic etymology might be more fitting. There is no definite proof that the Ambrones originated from Jutland and this derivation has only been applied through association with the Cimbri.

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<sup>627</sup> Excluded from the Thesis for the purpose of length but used as research for thesis is a detailed study I have produced of the Placenames of the Lower Rhine region entitled 'The Placenames of Germania cisrhenania and Germania transrhenania', beginning with the 'Etymology of the Ubian Placenames', followed by 'An Etymology of the Placenames of the Batavi and Canninefates', then an 'Etymology of the Placenames of the Frisiavones', followed by an 'Etymology of the Placenames of the Treveri', an 'Etymology of the Placenames of the Sunuci', an 'Etymology of the Placenames of the Germani cisrhenani', an 'Etymology of the Placenames of the Cugerni/Baetasii', an 'Etymology of the Placenames of the Tungri', an 'Etymology of the Placenames of the Catuvellauni', and a study of 'Etymology of the Placenames of Germania'. Also excluded from this thesis for reasons of length but used to help assess the ethnic and linguistic origin of particular peoples are detailed studies I produced entitled 'The Etymology of Mountains, Forests and Rivers of Germania Transrhenania and Germania cisrhenania'.

<sup>628</sup> Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen* at 64. See § 'Ambrones'.

<sup>629</sup> Much, 'Die Südmark der Germanen', at 9.

### 3.13. ETYMOLOGY OF THE GERMANI OF THE CAESARIAN AND AUGUSTAN ERAS.

#### 3.13.1. ETYMOLOGY OF T.N. SUEBI.

Rudolf Much derives the etymology of T.N. *Suebi* from proto-Teutonic *Swēbōz*, from the pronoun-stem *\*svē*, *\*svō*: i.e. **Lat.** *homines sui iuris*, **Mod.H.G.** *Leute vom eigenen Volk*.<sup>630</sup>

Like Rudolf Much, Schwarz agrees that the ‘ē’ was used in the time of Caesar and ‘ā’ was to be found in **O.H.G.** *\*Swāba* and thus Schwaben. Schwarz too understands the meaning of Suebi to be ‘Leute vom eigenen Volk’.<sup>631</sup> Wenskus also defines the name *Suebi* as meaning: **Mod.H.G.** *die Freien*, Eng. the free.<sup>632</sup> This *\*swe* is seen in the word ‘*Suebi*’. Calvert Watkins sees *\*s(w)e* as the pronoun of the third person and reflexive, adding that it further appears in various forms referring to the social group as an entity, ‘(we our-)selves’. The suffixed extended form *\*sel-bho-*, **Eng.** ‘self’, from **O.E.** *self, sylf*, i.e. **Eng.** ‘self, same’, from **Teut.** *\*selbaz*, **Eng.** ‘self’. A further definition is the suffixed form *\*s(w)e-bh(o)-*, i.e. *Sib, Gossip*, from **O.E.** *sibb*, relative from **Teut.** *\*sibja-*, **Eng.** ‘one’s own, blood relation, relative’. This is from the same **L.E.** root which provides the name *\*Suebi* as cognate in **Celt.** i.e. **\*Celt. Ir.** *sinn féin*, from, **O.Ir.** *féin*, **Eng.** ‘self’, suffixed form: *\*swei-no-*.<sup>633</sup> The Suebi is certainly Teutonic and its meaning could describe a free, independent and confident people.

#### 3.13.2. ETYMOLOGY OF T.N. QUADI.

There is no indication in the name of Quadi that they were Suebic, yet a Teutonic etymology is possible. Schwarz equates Quadi with **M.H.G.** *quât*, **M.L.G.** *kwaad*,

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<sup>630</sup> Much (ed.), *Germania* at 58.

<sup>631</sup> Schwarz, *Germanische Stammeskunde* at 156.

<sup>632</sup> Wenskus, *Stammesbildung und Verfassung* at 271.

<sup>633</sup> Watkins, *Indo-European* at 87-88.

i.e. **Mod.H.G.** *böse, häßlich, verderbt*.<sup>634</sup> This translates as **Eng.** bad, odious, degenerate. Schönfeld also defines Quadi from the Teutonic, i.e. **Mod.H.G.** *die Bösen*, **Eng.** the evil, or **Mod.H.G.** *die Schlimmen*, **Eng.** bad.<sup>635</sup> The form in which this tribal name has been transmitted could suggest a Latin origin, indicating **Eng.** 'four', as in **Pl.N.** Quadriburgium. A Latin origin is unlikely. The **Mod.H.G.** *die Bösen*, **Eng.** the evil is more plausible.

### 3.13.3. ETYMOLOGY OF T.N. SEMNONES.<sup>636</sup>

### 3.13.4. THE ETYMOLOGY OF T.N. HERMUNDURI, TEURII, TEURIOCHÆMÆ AND THURINGI.

Rudolf Much identified the Hermunduri from **Teut.** *\*Ermundurōz*, from the older **Teut.** *\*ermuna-*, **Teut.** *\*ermana-*, **Teut.** *ermena-*, from *Herminones*. See Cult Leagues.<sup>637</sup> Much designated the meaning of Hermunduri as the **Mod.H.G.** *Groß-Thuren*, as uncertain and adds that the basic word is not conclusive, but is perhaps related to the **I.E.** *\*tu: swellen*, i.e. **Eng.** swell, to **O.N.** *þori*, **Eng.** quantity, **A.Sax.** *þeōr*, **Eng.** swelling. This probably signifies: **Eng.** mass (of people).

The Herminones may have become the Hermunduri following settlement amongst the Celtic Teurii/Turones, i.e. *Herminones* and *Teurii/Turones* → *Hermun-Teurii* → *Hermun-duri*. The Celtic Teurii/Turones were probably to be located north of the Erz- and Fichtelgebirges. Another branch of these Teurii/Turones, may eventually have become the hybrid people of the Celtic-Teutonic *Teuriochæmæ*, i.e. *Teurii/Turones*, i.e. **Teut.** *-hæm*, **Mod.H.G.** *-heim*, **Eng.** place, thus *Teuriochæmæ*, is in **Eng.** the place of the Teurii/Turones.

<sup>634</sup> Schwarz, *Germanische Stammeskunde* at 159-160. See § Ch. '31 Die Sweben des Ariovist'.

<sup>635</sup> Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen* at 181-182. See § 'Quadi'.

<sup>636</sup> Similar results have been obtained from a study of data and completed etymology of the Germani transrhenanian tribe of the Semnonen which have been omitted here for reasons of space. The **Pr.** is **Teut.** *\*Sebnō-*, is another form of *\*sebjō-*, i.e. **Mod.H.G.** *Sippe*, or **Eng.** clan, and found in the name of the Old Norse love goddess, i.e. **O.N.** *Sjöfn*, or **O.N.** *Sjöfn*, as seen in the term **Mod.H.G.** *Sippegenossen*, **Eng.** clan, comrades/co-operative see Rudolf Much, Tacitus, Germania, at 433, See § Ch. '39. Die Semnonen', at 432-440.

<sup>637</sup> Much (ed.), *Germania* at 463. See § Ch. 41. *Die Hermunduren*.

Weisgerber on the *Τευριοχαίμαι*, refers to Rudolf Much's view that this Celtic people inhabited the German *Mittelgebirge*. Ptolemy does not place the Hermunduri in his map of Germania, but instead refers to the *Teuriochæmæ*, whilst Strabo, Pliny, and Tacitus mention the Hermunduri, but not the *Teuriochæmæ*.<sup>638</sup>

According to Schwarz this **Teut.** tribal name: *\*-durōz*, is the same word as the **Celt.** *Turones*, a people in Gallia. Schwarz asserts that in the first part of the name there is the **Teut.** *\*ermana*, *-ina*, *-una* and in *\*Ermanadurōz*, where 'th' was replaced by 'ð' due to the first sound shift.<sup>639</sup>

Ptolemy's reference to the *Teuriochæmæ* may have been older than 150 AD, and may depict the location and name of the tribe of the *Teuriochaemæ* from as early as the first century BC, to the first century AD. The Celtic *Teurii/Turones* were probably settled upon by the *Herminones/Hermiones* and the resultant hybrid population became known as the *Hermunduri*. Possible explanations are from **Teut.** the mass of people of the *Hermiones*, and from the **Teut.-Celt. Hybd.** the people of the *Herminones* and *Teurii*. There is an undoubted link between the Suebic *Hermunduri* and the eastern *Teuriochæmæ* with the Celtic *Teurii/Teurones*.

### 3.13.5. ETYMOLOGY OF THE T.N. BOII.

The etymology of the tribal name *Boii* is obviously Celtic, i.e. **I.E.** *b<sup>h</sup>oy-ó-s*, **Celt.** *\*Boios* → **Mod.H.G.** *der Schläger*, **Eng.** the hitters/batterers/bruisers.<sup>640</sup>

### 3.13.6. ETYMOLOGY OF PE.N. ARIOVISTUS. REX GERMANORUM OR REX SUEBORUM.

The personal name *Ariovistus*, is etymologically Celtic in the form in which it has been provided. It is possible that *Ariovistus* was Teutonic, but had a Celtic name. A possible Teutonic form is *\*Harjagastaz*, **Eng.** army guest/warrior. The name

<sup>638</sup> Much (ed.), *Germania* at 463.

<sup>639</sup> Schwarz, *Germanische Stammeskunde* at 177.

<sup>640</sup> P. De Bernardo Stempel, 'Keltische Ortsnamen', *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, 16/Jadwigen - Kleindichtung (2000), 407-413 at 409.

Ariovistus may be a mistransference from Teutonic to Celtic and then to Latin, due to difficulties in pronunciation.

Caesar's attempts at transference may have been accurate because he was capable of distinguishing 'H', in Latin and 'χ' i.e. **Teut.** 'Ch-', e.g. **T.N.** *Harudes* and *Cherusci*.

A difficulty with the name Ariovistus is that a similar Teutonic name already referred to can be formulated, i.e. **Teut.** \**Harjagastaz*. This prefix name element is common, i.e. **Teut.** \**harja-*, **Got.** *harjis*, **Mod.H.G.** *heer*, **O.N.** *herr*, **O.E.** *here*, **Eng.** *army*, **I.E.** \**korjo-*, **Lit.** *kārias*, **Mod.H.G.** *Schar*, *Menge*, **Eng.** *band*, *multitude*.<sup>641</sup> Gaulish also had a similar term for this, i.e. **Gaul.** *corio*, **Eng.** *war-host*, as seen in Gaulish tribal names, e.g. *Petrucorii* and *Tricorii*. According to Elston the **Teut.** \**harja-*, which is the exact equivalent of **Gaul.** *corio*, was borrowed from Celtic.<sup>642</sup>

Evans, although referring to Ariovistus as King of the Suebi states that 'The name is clearly compounded, *Ario-vistus*, but whether it is Celtic or Germanic or Celto-Germanic it is difficult to tell'. i.e. **Gaul.** *ario-/areo*, **Eng.** *a nobleman, a master, a chief*.<sup>643</sup> This name element prefix can be seen in the **T.N.** *Aresaces* south of Mainz and in **Ir.** *aire*, **Eng.** *lord*.

Evans referring to the **Su.** *-vist* states that 'the second element which is not otherwise attested as a name element at all, has not been convincingly explained'. Scherer relates it to **O.N.** *vīsir*, **Mod.H.G.** *Keim*, *Sproß*, **A.Sax.** *wīse*, **Mod.H.G.** *Sproß*, *Steng*, *Wiese*, **Eng.** *meadow*, **I.E.** *ueis-*, **Mod.H.G.** *sprießen*, *wachsen*, **Eng.** *germinate, grow*, is apparently not attested in Celtic. Scherer interpreted Ariovistus as a compound of adjective + verbal participle meaning **Mod.H.G.** *edelgeboren*, **Eng.** *nobly born*.<sup>644</sup> This may not be a birth-name, but a title as seen in the Celtic personal name *Vortigern*, from **Celt.** *Vortigern*: **Eng.** *Great-Lord/Overlord*.

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<sup>641</sup> Kluge, *EW* at 362-363. See § 'Heer'.

<sup>642</sup> Elston, *Celts and Germans* at 77.

<sup>643</sup> Evans, *GPN* at 54-55. See § *Ariovistus* and at 141-142.

<sup>644</sup> Evans, *GPN* at 54-55. A Scherer, 'Die keltisch-germanischen Namengleichungen', *Corolla Linguistica. Festschrift F. Sommer* (Wiesbaden, 1955), 199-210 at 203, 207.

Two other examples of the name Ariovistus are known, one of which applied to a leader of the Gaulish *Insubres*.<sup>645</sup> Rudolf Much believed the name Ariovistus was Celtic, so too did Schönfeld, although believing him to be the ‘Suevenkönig’.<sup>646</sup>

Caesar indicates that *Ariovistus* spoke Gaulish fluently because of his extended time in Gallia, yet this should not imply he spoke Teutonic.<sup>647</sup>

A Teutonic form of the name Ariovistus may be compared to the second-first century BC Proto-Teutonic inscription *HARIGASTITEIVA* from Negau, Slovenia. Simek believes that *HARIGASTITEIVA* translates as **Eng.** ‘to the god Harigast’, or **Eng.** ‘Harigast to the God Teiva’, but less likely, **Eng.** ‘Harigast son of Tei’, cf., similar **Su.** *-teiva*, and the origin of the **Su.** *-teiva*, can be seen in, e.g. *Alateiva*, **Eng.** ‘the all divine one’.<sup>648</sup> Reichert also argues that ‘*HARIGAST*’ is ‘*sehr alten germ*’.<sup>649</sup>

Finally, the name Ariovistus is provided in a Celtic form, yet many assume that he was a Teutonic Suebian. Ariovistus was known to the Romans as *rex Germanorum* and Suebic, non-Suebic, and Celtic tribes, constituted his warhost. It is just as likely that he was Celtic as Teutonic. The name element prefix of his name was Celtic meaning **Eng.** noble/lord, and the suffix is a strengthening verbal participle. The name Ariovistus is Celtic in form. This would have been an apt title.

### 3.13.7. ETYMOLOGY OF THE T.N. MARCOMANI/MARCOMANNI.

The T.N. *Marcomani* constituted one of Ariovistus’s seven tribal units. They are generally regarded as Suebi, although they are distinguished from the Suebi proper

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<sup>645</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), *Florus. Roman History. 1929* at 90-93 (BookII,ChapterXX.4).

<sup>646</sup> Rudolf Much, ‘Die Germanen am Niederrhein’, *Deutsche Stammsitze. Ein Beitrag zur ältesten Geschichte Deutschlands. (PBB)* (1st edn., Sonderdruck aus den Beiträgen zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur, XVII; Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1892), 137-177 at 166. Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen* at 28.

<sup>647</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 38 (BookI,Chapter47).

<sup>648</sup> R. Simek, ‘Harigast’, *Dictionary of Northern Mythology* (1st edn.; Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1996), 132 at 132. Reichert, *LDAN I* at 31. See § ‘**ALATEIVA**’, which Reichert does not define as **Teut.** because the dedicator *Divos* has a Celtic name.

<sup>649</sup> Reichert, *LDAN I* at 70-72. See § ‘**HARIGAST**’. Definitions 1 and 3 defined as Celtic.

within Ariovistus's warhost. Conversely, Tacitus referred to the Marcomani as Suebi.<sup>650</sup>

Whether Caesar recognized the Marcomani as Suebi is unknown but he must have been aware that they were a variant of the Suebi proper. The Marcomani probably consisted of a mixture of border tribes of mixed origin, possibly Suebi, Cimbri, Teutones, and Celts.<sup>651</sup> The name *Marcomani* may have been adopted as a collective name.

Much equates the **T.N.** *Marcomani* with **M.H.G.** from 'marcman "Grenzmann, Grenzhüter, Bewohner einer Mark, Märker"', **Eng.** man of the border, border man, border guardian, inhabitant of a border, borderer.<sup>652</sup> Schönfeld defines the *Marcomanni* as **Mod.H.G.** *Männer der Mark, der Grenze, vgl. an Marka-menn.* **Eng.** men of the mark/border.<sup>653</sup>

### 3.13.8. ETYMOLOGY OF THE T.N. HARUDES.

The Harudes are also first mentioned by Caesar as part of the war-host of Ariovistus.<sup>654</sup> Ptolemy refers to a tribe of the *Χάρουδες*.<sup>655</sup> Much refers to the Harudes and Eudoses as tribes which stemmed from the Jutland Peninsula and ended up in the warhost of Ariovistus in 58 BC.<sup>656</sup> Much connects the Harudes with Danish **Pl.N.** *Harthesyssel*, i.e. now **Pl.N.** *Harsyssel*.<sup>657</sup> Schönfeld suggests that the name is generally accepted to mean **A.Sax.** *hard*, **O.H.G.** *hart*, **Mod.H.G.** *Wald*, **Eng.** forest.<sup>658</sup> The Harudes can be defined as Teutonic → **Eng.** the forest dwellers. This form is also seen in the Norwegian Hordaland.

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<sup>650</sup> Radice (ed.), *Tacitus. Annals* at 99-100 (BookII,ChapterXLV).

<sup>651</sup> Hubert (ed.), *The Celts II* at 113. The Abnoba silva later became the silva Marciana.

<sup>652</sup> Rudolf Much, 'Markomannen', in Johannes Hoops (ed.), *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde. K-Rö. (Hoops III)* (1st edn., Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde, III; Straßburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1915-1916), 195-196 at 195.

<sup>653</sup> Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen* at 161. See § 'Marcomanni'.

<sup>654</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 33, 39 (BookI,Chapters37,51).

<sup>655</sup> Reichert, *LDAN I* at 420. See § 'HARUD:V, PTOLE 2 11 7 258 1 (*Χάρουδες*) ...westliche Nachbarn der Chali'.

<sup>656</sup> Much, *Deutsche Stammeskunde* at 101. See § 'Eudosen und Haruden'.

<sup>657</sup> Much, 'Goten und Ingvaonen', at 204.

<sup>658</sup> Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen* at 129.

### 3.13.9. ETYMOLOGY OF THE T.N. SEDUSII/EUDOSSES.

Caesar only refers to the Sedusii once in his commentary and it is the only reference in history to this specific tribal name.<sup>659</sup> The name Sedusii has been linked to Tacitus's Eudoses and Ptolemy's *Φουνούσιοι*, (Fundusii), neighbours of the Cimbri in Jutland.<sup>660</sup> Schönfeld equates the Eudusii with **O.N.** *jóð*, **Lat.** *proles, infans*, **Eng.** offspring, infant, and ultimately the Euthungae/Iuthungi, i.e. who were later associated with the Suebi-Semnonnes.<sup>661</sup> Rudolf Much also agrees with the Teutonic designation of **Lat.** *proles, infans, filius*.<sup>662</sup>

It is probable that the Harudes/Charudes, Sedusii/Eudoses were natives of the Jutland peninsula and migrated from this region with their neighbours the Cimbri and Teutones.

### 3.13.10. ETYMOLOGY OF T.N. NEMETES.

The name Nemetes is **Celt.** *Nemetes*, \**Nemet-*, **Eng.** sacred grove, sanctuary, shrine. This word is found over the entire territory occupied by Celtic tribes from Galatia to Ireland, e.g. **PL.N.** *Tasi Nemetum*, i.e. Klagenfurt, Austria, on the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. Coins from Noricum inscribed **PL.N.** *Nemet* and *Adnamat*, were found at Eliss on the Drave near Völkermarkt and Ober Laibach, Carinthia, Austria.<sup>663</sup> The Celtic origin of Nemetes is also found in the **Ir.** *Neimheadh*, **Eng.** Sanctuary, Holy thing, haidom.<sup>664</sup> Rudolf Much saw the name Nemetes as Celtic.<sup>665</sup> On the etymology of the Nemetes, Weisgerber remarks 'Als keltisch gelten seit langem auch die Namen

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<sup>659</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 33, 39 (Book I, Chapters 37, 51).

<sup>660</sup> Much (ed.), *Germania* at 134. Reichert, *LDAN I* at 296.

<sup>661</sup> Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen* at 81. See § 'Eudusii'.

<sup>662</sup> Much, 'Die Südmark der Germanen', at 85.

<sup>663</sup> Elston, *Celts and Germans* at 157. Henry Howarth, 'The Germans of Caesar. Part II', *The English Historical Review* (XXIII; London: Heinemann, 1908), 625-642 at 628. See Reichert Reichert, *LDAN I* for *Tabula Peutingeriana*, i.e. G.L.M. PEUTI.

<sup>664</sup> Niall Ó' Dómhnaill, *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla*, ed. Tomás de Bhaldraithe (Dublin: Oifig an tSoláthair, Rialtas na hÉireann, 1977) at 909.

<sup>665</sup> R. Much, 'Nemetes', in Johannes Hoops (ed.), *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde. K-Rö. (Hoops III)* (1st edn., Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde, III; Straßburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1915-1916), 301-302 at 301-302.

Nemetes'.<sup>666</sup> García-Alonso states that for the element *\*nem-* 'Greek *νέμος* "wooded pasture, glade", Latin *nemus* "wooded pasture, grove", Gaulish *νεμητων* "shrine, sanctuary (?)", Early Irish *neimed* "sanctuary".<sup>667</sup> Lambert defines 'nemeto-' as Fr. 'Bois ou enclose sacré'.<sup>668</sup> Delamarre provides numerous examples of the term *nemeton* e.g. "Segomarus fils de Villo(nos), citoyen de Nîmes, a dédié à Bélisama ce *nemeton*"; inscription de Villelaure, *RIG* 1, inscr. G-154', defines Gaulish '**nemeton**' as Fr. "'sanctuaire" (< bois sacré)'. and states cites the '*Nemetes* nom d'une tribu rhénane'. Other examples provided by Delamarre are '*Nemeto-cenna*, *Nemeto-marus*', also '*Nemetacum* ancient nom d'Arras', '*Augusto-nemeton* 'Temple d'Auguste' ou plutôt "Grand-Temple" avec latin *Augusto-* = gaulois *Uer-* auj. Clermont-Ferrand (*DAG* 361).<sup>669</sup> The name Nemetes, which was transmitted to Caesar, is certainly Celtic in form, meaning **Eng.** The people of the sacred grove.

For the Nemetes Spickermann remarks that 'Eine "Stammesgottheit" der umgesiedelten Nemetes ist nicht zu erkennen. Der mit 30 sicheren und vier unsicheren Zeugnissen inschriften am meisten verehrte Gott ist I(upiter) O(ptimus) M(aximus), in elf Fällen erscheint er zusammen mit Iuno Regina'. Spickermann adds that 'Mercurius folgt an zweiter Stelle mit 20 Weihinschriften, er wurde in Hohenburg und Tabernae/Rheinzabern als Cissonius, in Neustadt-Weinstraße als Visucius und in Hohenburg als Toutenus verehrt'. The names Cissonius, Visucius and Toutenus are Celtic.<sup>670</sup> Innineteenplaces associated with the Nemetes the

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<sup>666</sup> Johann Leo Weisgerber, 'Erläuterungen zur Karte der römischzeitlich bezeugten rheinischen Namen', in Johann Knobloch and Rudolf Schützeichel (eds.), *Rhenania Germano-Celtica. Gesammelte Abhandlungen. Dem Autor zum siebzigsten Geburtstag am 25. Februar 1969. Mitwirkung von Henning von Gadow und Gernot Schmidt* (1st edn., Veröffentlichung des Instituts für geschichtliche Landeskunde der Rheinlande an der Universität Bonn; Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid, 1969), 317-358 at 336. See Caeracates on same page and the relationship of Tacitus' *Caeracates/Caitracates*.

<sup>667</sup> Juan Luis García-Alonso, 'Celtic and Pre-Celtic Indo-European Place-names in the territory of the Arevaci', in William Gillies and D. W. Harding (eds.), *Celtic Connections Volume 2. Papers from the Tenth International Congress of Celtic Studies, Edinburgh, 1995* (1st edn., 2; Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 2005), 79-110 at 98.

<sup>668</sup> Pierre-Yves Lambert, *La langue gauloise. Description linguistique, commentaire d'inscriptions choisies. Édition revue et augmentée*, ed. Xavier Delamarre (2nd edn., Collection des Hesperides; Paris: Éditions Errance, 2003) at 37 also 38.

<sup>669</sup> Delamarre, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise* at 233-234. See § **nemeton**.

<sup>670</sup> Wolfgang Spickermann, *Germania Superior. Religionsgeschichte des römischen Germanien I*, eds Hubert Cancik and H. Rackham (1st edn., Religion der Römischen Provinzen, 2; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003) at 429. CIL XIII (Cissonius: Hohenburg), 6085, (Mercurius Cissonius:

remainders of fifty six Jupiter columns were found, nine of which were found in Noviomagus Nemetum (Speyer). Apart from those gods of Roman and other names e.g. Mercury, Minerva Vulcan, Fortuna, Apollo, Iuno, Hercules, Matrone, Maia, Mars, many of which were in native gods worshipped in Roman guise or alongside Roman gods obvious native gods worshipped in the territory of the Nemetes were Epona. Native dedicants can also be seen in the territory of the Nemetes and a Bronze kettle consecrated to Mercury and twenty one other vessels of the third century AD, from Speyer was dedicated by the the Celtic named Vasitus.<sup>671</sup> Other native gods associated with the territory of the Nemetes are Epona and Nantosuelta of Speyer, in Rüstungen the god-pair Mercurius and Rosmerta.<sup>672</sup> Landau-Godramstein was a large cult-centre which contained seven ‘Viergöttersteine und zwei Zwischensockel von Iupiter(giganten)säulen’. One of these is an alter fo the Deus Taranucus und Ravini, Taranucus is a Celtic name designating Celtic Taranis. From Ruppertsberg bei Neustadt-Weinstraße.<sup>673</sup> What is noticeable for the gods of the territory of the Nemetes is that considering that they are considered to be Teutonic by many scholars and are known as Germani the majority of their god-names and cult associations and the personal names of the dedicants are of Roman or Celtic origin.

### 3.13.11. ETYMOLOGY OF T.N. VANGIONES.

The tribal name Vangiones can be either Teutonic or Celtic. Rudolf Much, who often found a Teutonic etymology even where a Celtic definition was obvious, as in the case of the Vangiones states that there are two possibilities: ‘*Vangiones*, Ableitung von \*wanga- “Feld, Wiese mit Baumbestand”, germanisch, war aber wohl auch den Kelten, die ein \*vāgno- “Feld”, besaßen, verständlich’.<sup>674</sup> De Bernardo Stempel states that ‘*Vāgn-yā*, the town in the meadow...related to OIr. *fán* “slope, valley”, W.

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Tabernae/Rheinzabern), CIL XIII 6118 (Mercurius Visucius: Neustadt), 6122 (Mercurius Toutenus: Hohenburg).

<sup>671</sup> Spickermann, *Germania Superior* at 432 see also 430-431.

<sup>672</sup> Spickermann, *Germania Superior* at 433. Mercurius and Rosmerta E. VIII 6073, 6075, 6557.

<sup>673</sup> Spickermann, *Germania Superior* at 435-436.

<sup>674</sup> Much (ed.), *Germania* at 362.

*gwaun* “moor, meadow” (resp. < \**wāgno-* and \**wāgnā*), OBrit. *Vagniacis*.<sup>675</sup> Delamarre defines *uagna* as “‘pente, depression, bas-fond’?”.<sup>676</sup> This could this be a geographical descriptive term later transferred to the people who occupied the plain along the upper Rhine between the Vosges and the Upper Rhine. Neumann explains \**wanga* as **Mod.H.G.** *Wiese*, from **Teut.** \**wenjō*, *Wiede*, **Eng.** meadow/grassland/Pasture.<sup>677</sup> Weisgerber relates the Vangiones to **Teut.** \**wanga-* *Feld*, **Eng.** field. Hachmann is adamant that ‘on the language of the Vangiones...there is no ground for believing that these peoples too spoke Germanic dialects, merely because the Romans were accustomed to refer to them as Germani’.<sup>678</sup> Wells, in identifying the ‘Vangiones as not obviously Celtic in form believes that from an archaeological perspective one would suppose the Vangiones to be Celtic’.<sup>679</sup>

Although the place names of the Vangiones are of Celtic etymology, e.g. *Borbetomagus*, *Rufiniana*, i.e. *Wolfsberg-Neustadt* RP, and *vicani Altiaienses* (*Alzey*, RP), it is more likely that the name Vangiones is Teutonic in form.<sup>680</sup>

Spickermann states that ‘Wie im Nemetergebiet, war Jupiter auch bei den Vangionen der meist verehrte Gott. Ihm gelten 22 inschriftliche Weihungen, acht (neun) davon zusammen mit Iuno Regina. Ebenso folgt Mercurius mit 15 inschriftlichen Dedikationen’.<sup>681</sup> There are also sixty-one examples from seventeen find-places the greatest number of which are found in *Borbetomagus*/Worms (30), whilst Mercurius

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<sup>675</sup> P. De Bernardo Stempel, ‘Ptolemy’s Celtic Italy and Ireland: a Linguistic Analysis’, in David N. Parsons and Patrick Sims-Williams (eds.), *Ptolemy. Towards a linguistic atlas of the earliest Celtic place-names of Europe. Papers from a workshop, sponsored by the British Academy, in the Department of Welsh, University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 11-12 April 1999* (1st edn.; Aberystwyth, Wales: CMCS Publications. Department of Welsh, University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 2000), 83-112 at 92-93.

<sup>676</sup> Delamarre, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise* at 305-306.

<sup>677</sup> Neumann, ‘Sprache und Dichtung’, at 86, 87.

<sup>678</sup> Hachmann (ed.), *Germanic Peoples* at 30.

<sup>679</sup> Wells, *German Policy* at 30-31.

<sup>680</sup> Gerhard Rasch, *Antike geographische Namen nördlich der Alpen. Mit einem Beitrag von Hermann Reichert "Germanien in der Sicht des Ptolemaios"* Herausgegeben von Stefan Zimmer unter Mitwirkung von Hasso Heiland, eds Heinrich Beck, Dieter Geuenich et al. (2nd edn., Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, 47; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005). For *Borbetomagus*, 30; *Rufiniana*, at 128; *Altiaienses vicani*, at 14.

<sup>681</sup> Spickermann, *Germania Superior* at 437.

is seen from twenty-six monuments.<sup>682</sup> Spickermann argues that little is known of the sanctuaries of the Vangionian territory but that their primary cult place was under today's 'Dom' in Borbetomagus/Worms. Further sanctuaries based on the finds in the north of the town between Martinstor and Liebfrauenkirche '(I(Upiter) O(optimus) M(aximus), Iuno Regina, Mercurius und Rosmerta) und in der Klosterstraße vermutet (Mars Loucetius)'. Rosmerta and Loucetius are Celtic names, it is also thought that Nemetona was worshipped here too. Spickermann states that a temple of Mars Loucetius and Nemetona may have existed in Borbetomagus. He remarks that 'Das zentrale Heiligtum dieses aresacischen Götterpaares lag in Ober-Olm bei Mainz'.<sup>683</sup> A dedication to Mars and Nemetona by two brothers in Alta Ripa/Altrip has also been found in the Vangionian territory.<sup>684</sup> The god-pair Mercurius and Rosmerta is found through a votive-basis with an inscription from the area of the Liebfrauenkirche.<sup>685</sup> A dedicatory altar is also found which reads '*deo Su[cel]lo [et] [S]ilvano*'.<sup>686</sup> Spickermann states that 'Die keltische Schlägelgott wurde in Mogontiacum/Mainz auch mit I(upiter) O(optimus) M(aximus) verbunden' and the horse goddess Epona is seen through two reliefs.<sup>687</sup> The smith god Vulcan is seen from more 'Viergöttersteinen' and from a relief with Mercurius and Minerva. These 'Viergöttersteinen' of the Vangiones included the Pantheons of Hercules, Luna, Genius and Apollo. In Altiaum/Alzey is an inscription to 'Apollo Grannus und seiner Pareda Sirona' dated to 175 AD.<sup>688</sup> In Buconia/Nierstein baths dedicated to Sirona have been found.

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<sup>682</sup> Spickermann, *Germania Superior* at 437.

<sup>683</sup> Spickermann, *Germania Superior* at 439. Nemetona? CIL XIII 6221. With regard to the Aresaces it is unknown if they were a canton of the Treveri, or of the Vangiones. It is possible that they arrived in the region with Ariovistus's Germani c. 72 BC. What is certain is that the name is Celtic from **Celt.** *Are-* see **O.Ir.** *aire, airech*, **Eng.** *Lord*. And see the **Pe.N.** *Ariovistus*: Delamarre, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise* at 55. See: **arios** 'homme libre, seigneur'? ('qui est en avant'). Also: Paul Russell, 'The suffix -āko- in continental Celtic', *Études celtiques*, 25 (1988), 131-173.

<sup>684</sup> Spickermann, *Germania Superior* at 440. CIL XIII 6131 = ILS 4586.

<sup>685</sup> Spickermann, *Germania Superior* at 440. CIL XIII 6222. Mars Camulus is also found in the region but this is not a native god CIL XIII 6226.

<sup>686</sup> Spickermann, *Germania Superior* at 440. CIL XIII 6224.

<sup>687</sup> Spickermann, *Germania Superior* at 440. CIL XIII 6730, E VIII 6040.

<sup>688</sup> Spickermann, *Germania Superior* at 440.

Again most of the god names dedicants, places and forms of worship in which the gods of the Vangiones are portrayed are provided in Latin or Celtic, with little or no obvious evidence for Teutonic.<sup>689</sup>

### 3.13.12. ETYMOLOGY OF T.N. TRIBOCI.

Weisgerber remarks that a problem exists with the designation of the origin of the Triboci, i.e. that their etymology is obviously Celtic but Caesar, Strabo, and Pliny, designate them as Germani.<sup>690</sup>

Zeuss equates the Triboci with **Celt. Tri-**, i.e. **Wel. Drwy**, **Gaul. tre**, cf. **Got. Thairh**, **Mod.H.G. durch**, **Eng. through**, as seen in **Celt. Tricassi**, **Tricorii**, **Trinobantes**, and **Celt. M.N. Melibocus**, i.e. Harz Mountains (possibly Teutonic). Zeuss offers a Celtic explanation for the **Su. -boci**, i.e. **Lat. tergum**, in *Bacenis*, from **Eng. ridge**, and refers to the 'Striche und Hügel' of this region.<sup>691</sup> Glück states two uses for the **Celt. Su. tri**, i.e. the numeral three, i.e. **Wel. tri**, **Ir. tri**, **Lat. tres**, e.g. **Celt. Trigaranus**, **Eng. 'three cranes'**, **Gk. τριμαρκισία**, **Eng. 'three horses'**. The second meaning attributed by Glück is with the preposition, **Wel. trwy = tre**, and **Ir. tri**, **Eng. 'through'**. Glück cites the 'tri' in Triboci as the second of these two explanations. Regarding the **Su. -boci**, he compares it to *Toutobocio* and *Melibocus*, i.e. *Μελίβοκον*, i.e. probably the Harz, unless *-boc* in this instance is to be equated with the *Boc-* i.e. **Teut. bok**, **Eng. Beech**.<sup>692</sup> The **M.N. Melibocus** of Ptolemy may be equated with the **F.N. silva Bācenis**, of the Suebi, mentioned by Caesar some 150 years before.<sup>693</sup> Glück states that it is to be found in modern **Celtic**, e.g. **Ir. 'bocaim (tumeo) = bocim, bocal (ostentatio)'**. The **Ir. bog**, **Eng. weak**, confers the same meaning. Howarth states that 'the true meaning of the word means a swelling, hence its secondary meaning of a height (locus editus, clivus collis)'. According to Glück

<sup>689</sup> Spickermann, *Germania Superior* at 441-444.

<sup>690</sup> Weisgerber, 'Rheinische Namen', at 338 also 340, 331-332, 336, 339.

<sup>691</sup> Zeuss, *Die Deutschen* at 220. See § 'Vangiones, Triboci, Nemetes', at 217-222.

<sup>692</sup> C. W. Glück, *Die bei Caius Julius Caesar vorkommenden Keltischen Namen in ihrer Echtheit festgestellt und erläutert. (KN)* (1st edn.; Munich, 1857) at 158-160. Howarth, 'The Germans II', at 627-628. Krahe, *Germanische Sprachwissenschaft*. See § 'bok'.

<sup>693</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 119 (Book VI, Chapter 10).

and Howorth, **Celt. T.N. Triboci**, equates with **Eng.** ‘hillmen’.<sup>694</sup> Other possibilities with the **Su. boci/boki**, are **Teut. Hæriboki**, **Teut. Hæri**, **Eng.** army, **Teut. -boki**, **Eng.** beech. The **Su. -boci**, can also be seen in **T.N. Σαβόχοι** and **Celt. T.N. Costoboci**, a tribe mentioned in the second century AD, north of the Bohemian forest, fighting with Suebic tribes.

The tribal name Triboci is Celtic from **Celt. tri-**, **Eng.** *through/between*, and **Celt. boc-**, **Eng.** swellings/hills, and means is **Eng.** between/through the hills, i.e. glensmen/men of the glens. Rudolf Much, C. M. Wells, and Rolf Nierhaus also regard the Triboci as linguistically Celtic.<sup>695</sup>

Most of the place names in the territory of the Triboci were Celtic. The capital Argentoratum, i.e. Strassbourg, also Brenkomagus, (Brocomagus/Breucomagus) probably Brumath, and the location of **PL.N. Helkebos/Elkebos**, is unknown.<sup>696</sup> The first element of this name *Hel*, or *El* appears Celtic, as seen in the neighbouring tribe of the Helvetii, Elvetii.<sup>697</sup> Tribocian personal names are also predominantly Celtic, e.g. Conteddius, Taluppa, Cossattio, Pabenn, Mainnus, Matto, Mattonius, Ruttoni.<sup>698</sup> Spickermann remarks that for the Tribocian territory ‘Der bei weitem am meisten

<sup>694</sup> Henry H. Howorth, 'The Germans of Caesar. Part II', *The English Historical Review* (XXIII No. XCII; London: Heinemann, 1908), 625-642 at 627-628.

<sup>695</sup> Much (ed.), *Germania* at 362. See § Ch. '28.Fremdvölker innerhalb Germaniens'. Wells, *German Policy* at 22. See § Ch.2 'Celts and Germans' at 14-32. Nierhaus, *Das swedische Gräberfeld von Diersheim* at 221. See § 'Die sieben Stämme im Heere Ariovists', at 220-224.

<sup>696</sup> Howorth, 'The Germans II', at 630.

<sup>697</sup> Delamarre, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise* at 162. See § **elu(o)-**, 'nombreux'? Heluetii

<sup>698</sup> Weisgerber, 'Zum Namengut der Germani cisrhenani', at 283. Weisgerber suggests a Celtic etymology for the **Pe.N. Tausius**. Birkhan, *GKAR* at 187-188 n. 298, 204, n.358, 205 n. 365, 215, Patrick Sims-Williams, *The Celtic Inscriptions of Britain: Phonology and Chronology, c. 400-1200* (1st edn., Publications of the Philological Society, 37; Oxford: Blackwell, 2003). For Taluppa see: 123 and 124 n. 690. Sims-Williams suggests **Gaul. talu-**. Weisgerber, 'Zum Namengut der Germani cisrhenani', at 289-290. Weisgerber suggests the **Pe.N. Taluppa** may have an Aquitanian together with other names with formations including *-ss-* *-mm-*, *-nn-*, *-pp-*, *-rr-*, *-tt-*, and Delamarre believes the **Pe.N. Taluppa** to be derived from **Gaul. talu- talamon-**, 'front, surface'. For **Pe.N. Matto** see Reichert: Reichert, *LDAN I* at 497. See: 'nicht G MATTO 1 ... (KELT TRIBOC) C.I.L. 13 2018 MATTONI, 03): LYON, GA.LUG... memoriae M. Restituti cives Triboci negotiatoris artis macellariae Ruttonia Martiola coniunx et Mattonius Germanus et Mattonius Respectinus filii'. Also 'nicht G MATTONI 2: P, M (TRIBOC KELT) C.I.L. 13 2018 13 (Mattonius, 01): LYON, GA.LUG ... KONTEXT M. Germanus, Bruder des Mattonius Respectinus, Sohn des Tribokers Matto Restitutus und der Ruttonia Martiola'. Also 'nicht G MATTONI 2: P,M (TRIBOC KELT) C.I.L. 13 2018 15 (Mattonius, 01): LYON, GA.LUG ... KONTEXT M. Respectinus Bruder des Mattonius des Tribokers Matto Restitutus und der Ruttonia Martiola., at 497. Also 'nicht G RUTTONI: P,F (TRIBOC/KELT) C.I.L. 13 2018 15 (Ruttonia, 01): LYON, GA.LUG ... KONTEXT R. Martiola, Gemahlin des Tribokers Matto Restitutus, at 581.

vorkommende Gott des Tribocergebietes ist Mercurius. Ihm gelten 53 der 133 überlieferten inschriftlichen Weihungen. Ferner ist er auf 70 Bildzeugnissen abgebildet, 26 davon enthalten Weihinschriften'.<sup>699</sup> Spickermann remarks that 'J.-J. Hatt sieht hinter dem tribocischen Mercurius den Keltischen Gott Teutates'.<sup>700</sup> It is also clear from observation of the religion of the Triboci that outside of the obvious Roman god names, e.g. that native gods and associated dedication of personal names shows that the most native god names appear Celtic, e.g. *Mercurius* with two *Epona* goddesses and *Mercurius* and the Celtic *Bucius* and *Nerius*.<sup>701</sup> Further evidence for the Celtic nature of the Tribocian gods can even be seen through dedications to to I(upiter) O(ptimus) M(aximus) 'durch die Dedikation eines Einheimischen mit Keltischen Namen', and through the syncretistic nature of the Greek and Celtic religious aspects, where Greek myth was bound with Gallic 'wobei in Leda eine Muttergottheit sehen sollte, die dem Apollo bzw. Dem Keltischen Esus ihre Kinder zum Schutz unterstellt'.<sup>702</sup> Other Celtic gods/goddesses for the territory for the Triboci are *Deus Medru* '(CIL XIII 6017 = E. VII 5549), from Hagenau Alsace, which Spickermann remarks been defined his 'ein keltische Version des Mithras zusehen'. Spickermann sees this interpretation as problematic and he adds that from Rome a *Toutates Medurinus* is known, CIL VI 31182 = ILS 4691.<sup>703</sup> From Langensoutzbach is a *Deus Tribantus*, a bearded god with three horns, which is seen from almost nowhere else. He carries a diadem and a long sceptre in his right hand. Spickermann suggests that he may be the God of the underworld 'eine Funktion, die auch den für das Tribocergebiet ebenfalls bezeugten Dis Pater und Sucellus zukam'. Also from the region of the Triboci are dedications to Celtic *Epona* and *Cissonius* from Strassbourg-Königshoffen (Alsace).<sup>704</sup> What is noticeable amongst the Triboci

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<sup>699</sup> Spickermann, *Germania Superior* at 421., see also 422-428. See § '5.4. Civitas Tribocorum', at 421-428.

<sup>700</sup> Spickermann, *Germania Superior* at 422.

<sup>701</sup> Spickermann, *Germania Superior* at 422 (Mercurius and two Epona goddesses), 423 (Mercurius, Bucius and Nerius).

<sup>702</sup> Spickermann, *Germania Superior* at 425.

<sup>703</sup> Spickermann, *Germania Superior* at 426.

<sup>704</sup> Spickermann, *Germania Superior* at 427. For *Dis Pater* see note 874: CIL XIII 6071 (Nierbetschdorf); for Celtic *Sucellus* and Celtic *Nantosuelta*: E. VII 5564 (Oberseebach). Also from this region is a dedication to the *Suleviae*, 'AE 1978, 564 (Suleviae); CIL XIII 5968 (IOM) u. 5966 (Mercurius)', although the *Suleviae* may not be native to this region and may be from the Lower Rhine. The *Suleviae* are amongst the earliest of the Matrons, one inscription of which dates to before

is the distinct lack of personal, place and deity names of Teutonic origin, considering the assumption by many scholars that the Triboci, because they were part of Ariovistus's war host and were named Germani, were Teutonic. Considering such strong Celtic linguistic evidence for personal, place and deity names, this old and outdated assumption must be reconsidered.

### **3.13.13. CONCLUSIONS CONCERNING THE LINGUISTIC NATURE OF THE NEMETES, TRIBOCI, VANGIONES, AND RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SUEBI/SUEBI NICRETES.**

The linguistic nature of the Nemetes, Triboci, and Vangiones, depends on whether these tribes remained in, or fled, Gallia after 58 BC, returning toward the end of the first century BC, and into the first century AD. If they had migrated from Germania as Teutonic-speakers from, *c.* 20-10 BC, Teutonic place names should exist from that era onwards, before the arrival of the Suebi Nicretes, *c.* 50 AD; they do not.<sup>705</sup>

Concerning these tribes Hachmann remarks that 'no remains of the languages themselves have survived, and the few place names known seem to be non-Germanic'.<sup>706</sup>

The Romans also lived amongst the Nemetes, Triboci and Vangiones and would have heard these tribes refer to themselves by name. It is through Roman writers that we are provided with these names. The formation of these names is unchanged throughout the Roman era. If these tribes had been Celticized Teutonic-speakers, through time, one would expect to find Teutonic additions and alterations to the names of towns, personal names, and place-names but this does not occur. This is

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89AD. Rudolf Simek, 'Suleviae', *Dictionary of Northern Mythology* (1st edn.; Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1993), 302-303 at 302-303. Reichert believes the *Suleviae* to be Celtic. See: Reichert, *LDAN I* at 638-639. Reichert defines Suelviae as 'nicht G SULEVI: P, FM (KELT)'. See also Gutenbrunner, *Die germanischen Götternamen* at 194-197.

<sup>705</sup> Oliver Schlegel, 'Frühe germanische Keramik an Oberrhein und Neckar - Die Neckarsweben zwischen Tradition und Romanisierung', in Susanne Biegert, Siegmund von Schnurbein et al. (eds.), *Beiträge zur germanischen Keramik zwischen Donau und Teutoburger Wald. Kolloquium zur germanischen Keramik des 1.-5. Jahrhunderts, 17.-18. April 1998, Frankfurt a. M. Römisch-Germanische Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. (RGK)* (1st edn., Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, 4; Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 2000), 83-96.

<sup>706</sup> Hachmann (ed.), *Germanic Peoples* at 51.

also true for the lower Rhine civitates of the Cugerni, Baetasii, Ubii, and Tungri, where if significant Teutonic immigration had occurred this would inevitably be reflected in the town names which would have changed been Teutonicized or been replaced from Celtic to Teutonic forms and new Teutonic names would have been created as Teutonic speaking settlers created new settlements. This process of transference of Celtic/Latin names to Teutonic names is obvious with the settlement of Alamanni in the region of the Nemetes, Triboci and Vangiones, c. 300-400 years after Caesar's era, e.g. **PL.N.** *Argentoratum* → *Stratisburgia*; and **PL.N.** *Noviomagus (Civitas Nemetum)* → *Speyer*. This is also true for the Lower Rhine region where obvious changes in placenames from Celtic/Latin to Teutonic reflected Teutonic settlement with the arrival of Frankish peoples.<sup>707</sup>

There is so little evidence for this process of Teutonicization or of the replacement of Celtic and Latin names with Teutonic names and of the creation of new town/vicus names surrounding already named centres with Teutonic names in the territory of the Nemetes, Vangiones and Triboci (also in the new *civitates* of the Lower Rhine Cugerni, Baetasii, Ubii, and Tungri whose newly created towns appear to be formed with Celtic and Latin names) for the period from the first century BC to the second century AD that it is difficult to see evidence for Teutonic speakers entering the region in significant numbers.

The linguistic evidence for these three tribes would suggest that it is mostly Celtic and Latin with very little Teutonic.

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<sup>707</sup> For replacement of the Celtic see: *Contiomagus* → Pachten im Osten, *Ricciacus* → Dalheim, for *Andethanna* → Niederanven. For Teutonicization : *Coriovallum* → Heerlen. Numerous names are virtually unchanged from Celtic/Latin, e.g. *Theudurum* → Tüddern, *Tolbiacum* → Zülpich, *Juliacum* → Jülich.

**Table 4. Settlements of the Nemetes, Triboci and Vangiones and respective ownership.**

|             | <b>Nemetes</b>             | <b>Triboci</b>             | <b>Vangiones</b>                          | <b>Caeracates?</b>                      |
|-------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|---|---|
| Caesar      | None                       | None                       | None                                      | None                                    |
| Strabo      | Argentoratum               |                            | Borbetomagus                              | None                                    |
| Ptolemy     | Noviomagus<br>Argentoratum | Breucomagus<br>Elcebus     | Borbetomagus<br>Argentoratum<br>Rufiniana | None                                    |
| Tacitus     | None                       | None                       |   | None                                    |
| Cassius Dio | None                       | None                       | None                                      | None                                    |
| In reality  | Noviomagus                 | Argentoratum<br>Brocomagus | Borbetomagus<br>Rufiana/Rufiniana         | Vangiones?<br>Caertacates?<br>Aresaces? |

### 3.14. THE ETYMOLOGY OF THE TRIBES OF THE GERMANI TRANSRHENANI OF CAESAR.

The Germani transrhenani of Caesar were the Ubii, Sugambri, Usipetes, Tencteri, Cherusci, and Suebi. Ariovistus's Nemetes, Triboci, Vangiones, Eudoses, Harudes, Marcomani, and Suebi were also Germani transrhenani although they resided in Gallia. Caesar's Rhine-divide construction would imply that the tribes west of the Rhine were Teutonic. It is necessary to look at the etymology of some of the tribes east of the Rhine referred to by Caesar to assess and better understand the real origins of the Germani transrhenani.

#### 3.14.1. ETYMOLOGY OF T.N. UBII.

Weisgerber, in *Die Namen der Ubier*, provides both a Teutonic and Celtic etymology for the T.N. *Ubii*. For Teutonic the Ubii can be defined from *\*ubja*, i.e. **Mod.H.G.** 'über das Maß hinausgehend', i.e. **Eng.** very large/excessive/oversized. Weisgerber also adds that this may define 'zum Stamm von *ob, ober, über*', from **O.H.G.** adjective *ubbi*, **Mod.H.G.** *bösartig*, **Eng.** ill-natured, malicious, or possibly **Mod.H.G.** *stolz*, **Eng.** proud/haughty and in the broader sense of **Mod.H.G.** *üppig*, **Eng.** luxurious/exuberant/lush/sumptuous, in the sense of **Mod.H.G.** *obenauf seins*, **Eng.** on top of existence, i.e. the best, a translation of 'Ubius', owing itself to 'Super', is probably correct. Weisgerber, the foremost authority on the Ubii, believes that this etymology can also be seen in Celtic, i.e. **Celt.** *ver-* (*=\*uper*), in the sense of '*Verinus = Superinus*'.<sup>708</sup>

Weisgerber has remarked that the region of Köln belonged to Germania Inferior which is flat and the Ubii were originally known as the **Mod.H.G.** *Oberländers*, **Eng.** Highlanders, and continued to be known as such by the neighbouring Celtic tribes when they moved to the flat lands around Köln in the territory of the Eburones.<sup>709</sup>

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<sup>708</sup> Weisgerber, *Die Namen der Ubier* at 131. See § 'B. I.1.g'. Weisgerber, 'Rheinische Namen', at 335.

<sup>709</sup> Weisgerber, *Die Namen der Ubier* at 130-131.

The Ubii originated in the upland region of the Taunus and Westerwald. Reuter has found that the region of Nida-Hedderheim was possibly the core homeland of the Ubii on the arrival of Caesar in Gallia. The Nidenses, Taunenses, Cattarenses, and even the Auderienses may have formed subsections of the Ubii. These tribes which comprised the later *civitas Taunensium* had a noticeably strong Celtic linguistic and archaeological basis after the first century AD.<sup>710</sup> It is possible that the eastern cantons of the Ubii had undergone Teutonicization by the time Caesar arrived in Gallia, due to constant subjugation by the Suebi.

### 3.14.1.1. PREFACE TO THE ETHNIC AND LINGUISTIC MAKEUP OF THE CIVITAS OF THE UBI.

Although widely attested to have been Teutonic speakers, because of their geographical origin from Germania, the Ubii, before the arrival of Caesar, should rather have been associated with Celtic speakers. It is probable that old pre-Celtic dialects were also prevalent in the region of the Ubii. By the time of Caesar, a process of Teutonicization had already begun to take effect, due to westward movement of the Teutonic Suebic Elbgermanen, who had been harassing the Ubii for many years, and had arrived from the region of the Elbe, by way of the valley of the Lahn. Teutonicization would have been strongest on the eastern borders of the Ubii as opposed to the presumably Celtic Ubian dialects in the centre and west of the Ubian territory. Teutonicization is particularly obvious in the personal names of some of the Ubii. This process may already have begun to affect the Celtic speech of the Ubii which is evident from hybrid personal name formations by the time of

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<sup>710</sup> Markus Scholz, 'Namen von Kelten, 'Römern' und Germanen. Die Bevölkerung von Nida-Hedderheim im Spiegel von Namensgraffiti', in Clive Bridger and von Carnap-Bornheim (eds.), *Römer und Germanen - Nachbarn über Jahrhunderte: Beiträge der gemeinsamen Sitzung der Arbeitsgemeinschaften 'Römische Archäologie' und 'Römische Kaiserzeit im Barbaricum' auf dem 2. Deutschen Archäologen-Kongress, Leipzig, 30.09.-4.10.1996* (1st edn., British Archaeological Report International Series, 678; Oxford: Archaeopress, 1997), 49-57 at 49-57. The known tribal units east of the east of the Middle and Upper Rhine which functioned as part of the Roman system included including the *Mattiaci*, *Taunenses*, *Auderienses*, around the Neckar, the *Aquenses*, the *Suebi Nicretes*, the *Alisinenses*, the *Sumelocennenses*, *civitas Aurelia G(-)* the *civitas of Pforzheim* 'et le municipe d' Arae Flaviae', see: Marie-Thérèse Raepsaet-Charlier, 'Le formulaire des dédicaces religieuses de Germanie supérieure', in Wolfgang Spickermann, Hubert Cancik et al. (eds.), *Religion in den germanischen Provinzen Roms* (1st edn.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 135-171 at 136.

Caesar's arrival in Gallia and the linguistic and material culture of the Ubii must have undergone change.

In the early phases of Ubian, settlement in Gallia a noticeably low percentage of Teutonic personal names exists. This percentage increases throughout the RIE. This is to be expected with the beginning of Teutonic migration from northern Germania in the first century BC. The Celtic linguistic element within the Gaulish Ubian territory should not always be associated with the *Germani cisrhenani* or the original inhabitants of Gallia, but also with the Ubii.

**Table 5. Etymological origin of the place names of the Ubii.**

| Town Name            | Teutonic | Celtic | Latin | Hybrid | Undecided |
|----------------------|----------|--------|-------|--------|-----------|
| C.C.A.A.             |          | ▲      | ▼     |        |           |
| Iuliacum             |          | ▲      | ▼     | ◀      |           |
| Tiberiacum           |          | ▲      | ▼     | ◀      |           |
| Tolbiacum            |          | ▲      |       |        |           |
| Novaesium            |          | ▲      |       |        |           |
| Marcomagus           | ●        | ▲      |       | ◀      | ■         |
| Marcodurum           | ●        | ▲      |       | ◀      | ■         |
| Durnomagus           |          | ▲      |       |        |           |
| Rigomagus            |          | ▲      |       |        |           |
| Burungum             | ●        |        |       |        |           |
| Sentiacum            |          | ▲      |       |        |           |
| Gelduba              |          | ▲      |       |        |           |
| Belgica Vicus        |          | ▲      |       |        |           |
| Trepitia             |          |        | ▼     |        |           |
| Icorigium            |          | ▲      |       |        |           |
| Fines                |          |        |       | ◀      |           |
| Albiacum             |          | ▲      | ▼     | ◀      |           |
| Cassianum            |          |        | ▼     |        |           |
| Bonna                |          | ▲      |       |        |           |
| Segorigeinses vicani |          | ▲      |       |        |           |
| Ad Gantunas vicus    | ●        |        |       |        |           |
| Sablonibus           |          |        | ▼     |        |           |

### 3.14.1.2. ETYMOLOGY OF TOWN NAMES IN UBIAN TERRITORY: CONCLUSION.

The etymology of town names in the Ubian territory raises the question as to why the Ubii are often considered to be Teutonic. This is not reflected in the place names in

many of their settlements. It is untenable to suggest that before the Ubian settlement in Gallia the majority of towns were already established. It is more likely that most of these urban centres, which became Ubian/Roman towns, were named by the Ubii. In most cases the archaeology clearly establishes that these towns were formed only after Ubian resettlement by Rome. The towns are largely Celtic in name, with Celtic primary name elements, i.e. *medio-*, *corio-*, *novio-*, *rigo-*, *ico-*, *antun-*, *tolb-*, *catu-*. Others also have Celtic secondary name elements, with *-durum -dunum*, *-magus*, *-iacum*, *-vallum*.

Marcomagus and Marcodurum have been included here as possible hybrid Celtic-Teutonic groups as the stem *Marco-* can be derived from **Teut.** *marca-* **Eng.** border/horse. As this stem is also easily definable as **Celt.** *Marc-*, **Eng.** horse, and the suffix was **Celt.** *magus*, **Eng.** plain. The surrounding towns names of the Ubian territory were of Celtic or Celto-Latin origin. Unlike the personal names Teutonic town names are not in evidence.

### 3.14.2. ETYMOLOGY OF THE T.N. SUGAMBRI, SICAMBRI, SIGAMBRI.

For the etymology of the Sugambri Rudolf Much states ‘Ihr alter Name wird wohl mit Recht als Zusammensetzung mit verstärkendem *su-* aufgefaßt und mit ahd. *gambar* ‘strenuus’ und dem Namen der Langobardenkönigin *Gambara* zusammengebracht. Dem gegenüber zeigt *Gambrivii* ein sehr altertümliches Suffix.’<sup>711</sup> He defines this **Pr.** as ‘idg. *su-* (aind. *su-*, zend. *hu-*, kelt. *su-*) “wohl, gut”, zu dem auch anord. *sū-* in *sūsvoꝛt*, “Schwarzdrossel” gestellt wird;’.<sup>712</sup> Rudolf Much relates that the etymology contains a reinforcing/strengthening prefix name element *su-* stating ‘Jedenfalls ist der Name mit *su-*, einer altindogermanischen, sonst im Germanischen verlorenen Verstärkungspartikel vom Sinn des griech. *eu-* zusammengesetzt; der zweite Teil wird zu ahd. *gambar* “rasch in Tat, Wort,

<sup>711</sup> Much (ed.), *Germania* at 57-58.

<sup>712</sup> Rudolf Much, ‘Sugambri’, in Johannes Hoops (ed.), *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde. Rū-Z. (Hoops IV)* (1st edn., Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde, IV; Straßburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1918-1919), 299 at 299.

Verstand" gestellt'.<sup>713</sup> Weisgerber argues that this absent particle *su-* in Teutonic is easily evident in Celtic and that it must therefore be presumed to be Celtic.<sup>714</sup>

Weisgerber also believes that the name element *su-*, **Eng.** good, is that which belongs to the **T.N.** *Sugambri*, i.e. and:

'für den sugambri-Namen zwar für *\*gambr-* die Parallele der *Gambrivii* und ahd. *gambar* 'rasch in Tat und Wort' einleuchtet, für *su-* dagegen eine "sonst im Germanischen verlorene Verstärkungspartikel" (R. Much), die aber im Keltischen ganz geläufig ist, angenommen werden muß, so wird man den Eindruck nicht los, daß in diesem Raum das Nebeneinander von Kelten und Germanen sich bis in den Einzelnamen hinein bemerkbar macht'.<sup>715</sup>

The etymology of the *Sugambri* is problematic. The **Pr.** *Su-*, is found in **I.E.** *\*sū-*, **Teut.** *sū*, **Celt.** *\*sunu-*, **Mod.H.G.** *Schwein*, **Eng.** pig, and subsequently both in **Celt.** *su-*, **Eng.** sow, pig, although **Celt.** *\*sunu*, i.e. **Mod.H.G.** *Schwein*, is probably the antecedent of **Eng.** sow, pig, whereas the equivalent **Teut.** *\*sunu*, may designate **Mod.H.G.** *Sohn*, **Eng.** son.<sup>716</sup> Watkins adds that a Celtic expressive form exists: *\*sukko*, and that the form, **Eng.** 'sow', is from **O.E.** *sugu*, from **Teut.** *\*sugō*, basic form: *\*sū-*, **Eng.** 'sow', **Lat.** *sūs*.<sup>717</sup>

Watkins designates **I.E.** *\*sū-*, as **Eng.** 'Pig', from earlier *\*suə* probably a derivative of **I.E.** *seuə*, **Eng.** 'to take liquid', cf. suffixed form: *\*suə-īno*, see also *\*sūg-*, **Eng.** 'to suck'.<sup>718</sup>

Wolters drawing upon Rubekeil defines the **T.N.** *Sugambri*, as *\*su* for **Mod.H.G.** 'gut' or **Eng.** good, or **Mod.H.G.** *echt*, **Eng.** genuine, and **Teut.** *Gambri*, possibly from the **T.N.** *Gambrivier*, as a *Mannusstämme* grouping, within which Wolters

<sup>713</sup> Much, *Deutsche Stammeskunde* at 82-83.

<sup>714</sup> Weisgerber, 'Xantener Siedlungsraum', at 240.

<sup>715</sup> Weisgerber, 'Xantener Siedlungsraum', at 240.

<sup>716</sup> Neumann, 'Germani cisrhenani', at 114. See § i) *Sunuces/Sunuci.Sunici*. Julius Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. (Bern, 1959) at 913-914.

<sup>717</sup> Watkins, *Indo-European* at 87. See § *sū-*.

<sup>718</sup> Watkins, *Indo-European* at 87. See § *sū-*.

remarks that the ‘Überreste sind möglicherweise in den Marsen und Chattvariern zu finden’.<sup>719</sup>

Rambaud defines the tribal name Sugambri as ‘In fines Sugambrorum: nom composé de deux termes su-gambri comme bene + strenuus’.<sup>720</sup>

Other Gaulish tribal names which include this name element *su-*, are the Suessiones and Sunuci. Evans states that ‘Gaulish *su-* “good” is cognate with Oir. *Su-*, ModIr. *So-*’, cf. numerous examples of **Gaul. Pr.** *Su-*, in personal names, e.g. **Pe.N.** *Suausia*, *Suagria*, *Subrooni*, *Subarum*, *Subilus*, *Sudecentus*.<sup>721</sup> Other Celtic onomastics may include the **T.N.** *Sunuci*, **T.N.** *Sudini*, **F.N.** *Sudeti*, of Germania and the **T.N.** *Suessiones* of Gallia, **G.N.** *Sunucsal* and **G.N.** *Sucellos*. Bernhard Maier referring to the Celtic *Sucellos* remarks that its root is \*kel ‘to beat, strike’ and interprets the god name *Sucellos* to mean ‘the Good Striker’.<sup>722</sup> This ‘good’ is derived from the **Celt.** name element ‘*su-*’. The tribal name *Suebi* is not a *su-* derivative, cf. Etymology of *Suebi*.

For the **Su.** *-gambri*, a Celtic etymology is also possible from **Celt.** \**cambo-*, **Fr.** *courbe*, **Ir.** *camm*, **Bret.** *Camm*, **Eng.** rim/edge, curved, bent, crooked, dishonest. Kuhn defines **Celt.** *Kamb*, from **Mod.H.G.** *krumm*, **Eng.** crooked, and **Mod.H.G.** *Krümmung*, **Eng.** contorted. e.g. **Pl.N.** *Cameriacum* (*Cameracum*), i.e. Cambrai, capital of the Nervii, and Champ, northwest of Verdun on the great bend of the Maas referred to for 656 AD, as **Pl.N.** *Camba*.<sup>723</sup> A possible cognate can be seen in Teutonic from **Teut.** \**kimb*, **Eng.** ‘rim’.<sup>724</sup> This is cognate with **T.N.** *Cimbri*. A Celtic

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<sup>719</sup> Reinhard Wolters, ‘Germanische Mobilität und römische Ansiedlungspolitik: Voraussetzungen und Strukturen germanischer Siedlungsbewegungen im römischen Grenzland’, in Thomas Grünwald and Hans-Joachim Schalles (eds.), *Germania inferior: Besiedlung, Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft an der Grenze der römisch-germanischen Welt. Beiträge des deutsch-niederländischen Kolloquiums im Regionalmuseum Xanten, 21.-24. September 1999* (1st edn., Ergänzungsbande zum Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde, 28; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2001), 146-168 at 164 n. 92. In n. 92 see reference to Ludwig Rübekeil, ‘Germanische Völkernamen’, in E. Eichler (ed.), *Namenforschung. Ein internationales Handbuch zur Onomastik* (1st edn., 2; Berlin, 1996), 1330-1343 at 1337-1338.

<sup>720</sup> Rambaud (ed.), *Rambaud: Bellum Gallicum IV. 1967* at 84.

<sup>721</sup> Evans, *GPN* at 257-258. See § ‘*SU-*’.

<sup>722</sup> Maier, *Dictionary of Celtic Religion and Culture* at 255.

<sup>723</sup> Kuhn, ‘Die Nordgrenze der keltischen Ortsnamen in Westdeutschland’, at 320-321.

<sup>724</sup> Watkins, *Indo-European* at 26. See § ‘*gembh-*’.

etymology can also be deduced for **T.N.** *Gambrivii* (**Celt.** *Gamba-* → **Celt.** *cambo-*, and **Celt.** *bri* cf. (*Etymology of Gambrivii*). Other Celtic equivalents are seen in **Pl.N.** *Cambodunum*, modern Kempten. Another similar personal name generally regarded as Teutonic is *Gamaladae*. Birley remarks when referring to the **Pe.N.** *Gamba* that Alfred Holder listed various names beginning with name element *Gamb-* as Celtic.<sup>725</sup> It is possible that the Celtic term *cambo-* describes the geographical nature of the Sugambrian territory which was unique in that in its eastern territory at the headwaters of the Lippe the hills start to close in and near Paderborn the river appears to flow through a giant amphitheatre. The Teutoburger Wald, the Eggebirge and the Briloner Höhen stand about it in a semi-circle. The tribal name Sugambri may reflect a description from Celtic as *the great people on the curved edge/frontier/frontiers people*, possibly describing the frontier as the Rhine/giant amphitheatre/or on a frontier with other tribes).<sup>726</sup>

During and since Caesar's campaigns in Gallia few onomastic terms associated with the Sugambri have survived, with the exception of some personal and geographical names. No names of sub-tribal units of the Sugambri survive. The tribal name Sugambri alone is insufficient evidence on which to classify these people as a particular grouping.

The Sugambri of the Augustan campaigns may have been principally the tribe of Caesar's time with more Teutonic admixture by which time it may have adopted Teutonic speech.

### 3.14.2.1. PERSONAL NAMES OF THE SUGAMBRI.

It is not until the time of Strabo that personal names are provided for the Sugambri.<sup>727</sup> Strabo must have written his account between 17 and 19 AD, because Arminius was still at war with Rome when Strabo wrote this section of his treatise, and Arminius

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<sup>725</sup> Birley, 'Batavians and Tungrians', at 254-255. Alfred Holder (ed.), *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz. (AcS I)* III vols. (1st edn., I; Leipzig, 1896-1922) at 1981.

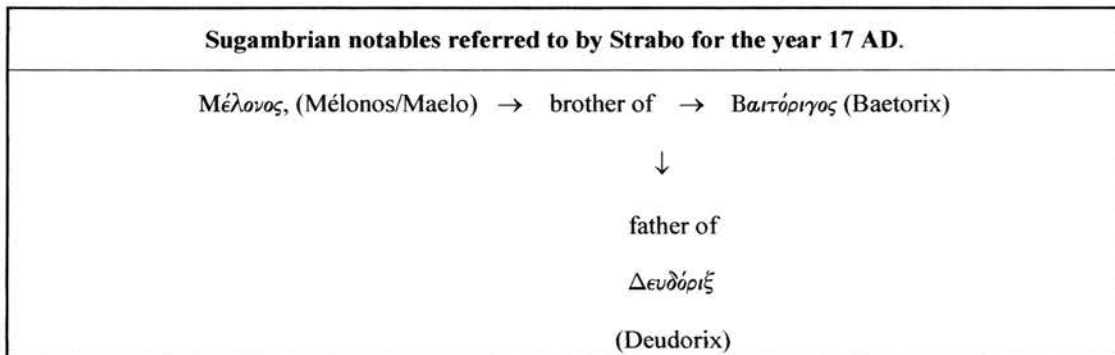
Holder lists various names beginning *Gamb-* as Celtic. Reichert, *LDAN I* at 306. Reichert lists some of these *Gamb-* names as Teutonic.

<sup>726</sup> Wells, *German Policy* at 151.

<sup>727</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), *Strabo. Geography III* at 160-161 (Book VII, Chapter, 1.4).

was murdered in 19 AD. The personal names which Strabo provided referred to the captives from Germania paraded in the triumph of Germanicus on May 26 in the year 17 AD.<sup>728</sup> Amongst these he referred to three Sugambrian names ‘Deudorix, a Sugambrian, the son of Baetrix the brother of Melo’.<sup>729</sup>

All three names are simplistic in form, yet the complexity of their origin is discerned from the fact that these names can be explained from both Teutonic and Celtic dialects.



**Figure 5. Etymology of the personal names of the Sugambri.**<sup>730</sup>

### 3.14.2.2. PE.N. BAITORIXOS, BAETRIX: SUGAMBRI.

The **Pe.N.** *Βαιτόριγος*. *Baitorixos/Baetrix* would appear to be connected to the tribe of the **T.N.** *Baetasii*, which may have been a sub-tribe of the Sugambri from Germania prior to 8 BC. Birkhan drawing on Marstrandter defines the **Pe.N.** *Baetrix* as Celtic from **Ir.** *baeth-ri*, **Lat.** *rex stultus*, **Eng.** foolish king.<sup>731</sup> Birkhan suggests either a Celtic or Teutonic etymology for the name, cf. Etymology of the Baetasii. From Celtic, i.e. **O.Ir.** *báith*, **Mod.H.G.** *töricht*, *launisch*, **Eng.** foolish/silly, ill-humoured/moody, and from **Teut.** *\*baita-*, **Mod.H.G.** *Einbaum*, *Boot*, **Eng.** Dugout (canoe), boat. He suggests a second etymology from **Celt. Wel.** *Baedd*, **Mod.H.G.** *Eber*, **Eng.** boar, from **I.E.** *bhaid-* or *bhaid-* where **I.E.** *ai* > **Wel.** *æ*. It is here that

<sup>728</sup> Radice (ed.), *Tacitus. Annals* at 97 (BookI,Chapter41) Page, Capps et al. (eds.), *Strabo. Geography III* at 160-161 (BookVII,Chapter1.3).

<sup>729</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), *Strabo. Geography III* at 160-161 (BookVII,Chapter,1.4).

<sup>730</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), *Strabo. Geography III* at 160-161 (BookVII,Chapter1.4)

<sup>731</sup> Birkhan, *GKAR* at 193. Carl Marstrandter, 'Om Runene og Runenavnenes Oprindelse', *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap. (NTS)*, 1 (1928), 85-188 at 123.

there is possibly a parallel with the tribal name *Sunuci*, cf. Etymology of Sunuci. It is also significant that Birkhan refers to Evans's remark that 'I also believe that there may have been a Celtic \**baido-*, "boar"'.<sup>732</sup>

Neumann, referring to Wolfgang Meid, states that an older meaning of the Celtic adjective *baith*, as defined by Rudolf Thurneysen from **O.Ir.** and **M.Ir.** *baith*, **Lat.** *Stultus*, **Mod.H.G.** *töricht, launisch*, **Eng.** foolish, silly, can be reckoned from Celtic. Rudolf Thurneysen, also agreed that the **Pe.N.** *Baetorix* and **T.N.** *Baetasii*, were etymologically Celtic.<sup>733</sup>

Neumann citing Wolfgang Meid in 'Zur Etymologie des Adjectivs vgl. Pedersen, VKG I 56' argued for an older derivation from Celtic i.e. 'Wildheit, Ausgelassenheit...heldischen Furor...', **Eng.** 'ferocity, friskiness...epic furor', in a heroic age. Thus a positive marker for this designation is **Celt.** *Baetorix*, **Eng.** king of wild armies.<sup>734</sup>

In a heroic society tribal leaders were named to indicate power and ferocity. It is not certain if leaders may have been provided with heroic names with the suffix *rix* at birth, as a sign of things to come, or only later in their lives as a mark of respect, for past exploits which inspire others, e.g. **Pe.N.** *Ambiorix, Vercingetorix, Deudorix, Dumnorix*. Evans states that with personal names such as *Biturix, Albiorix, Dumnorix*, it is quite uncertain if these are in themselves indications of what Wolfgang Meid has determined as an age-old Celtic *Weltbild*.<sup>735</sup> In the name **Pe.N.**

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<sup>732</sup> Birkhan, *GKAR* at 193 n. 324-325 and 194 n. 326-330. cf. Etymology of the Baetasii. For Evans see Julius Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. (IEW)* (1st edn.; Bern, 1949) at 161-162.

<sup>733</sup> Neumann, 'Germani cisrhenani', at 117-118. Pokorny, *IEW* at 913-914. See § *Baetasii*. Thurneysen, R in: Holder (ed.), *AcSI* at 327.

<sup>734</sup> Günter Neumann, 'Germani cisrhenani - die Aussage der Namen', in Heinrich Beck (ed.), *Germanenprobleme in heutiger Sicht* (2nd edn., Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde, 1; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1999), 107-129.

<sup>735</sup> D. Ellis Evans, 'Some Remarks on the study of Old Celtic Proper Names', in Roland Bielmeier and Stempel Reinhard (eds.), *Indogermanica et Caucasica. Festschrift für Karl Horst Schmidt zum 65. Geburtstag* (1st edn.; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1994), 306-315 at 311-312. W. Meid, 'Über Albion, elfydd, Albiorix und andere indikatoren eines keltischen Weltbildes', in M. J. Ball (ed.), *Celtic Linguistics/Ieithyddiaeth Geltaidd. Readings in the Brythonic Languages: Festschrift for T. Arwyn Watkins* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1990), 435-439 at 435-439.

*Baitorix*, the **Su. -rix**, if Celtic and not Celticized or Romanized Teutonic, defines **Eng. king**, or *chieftain*.

Another possible Celtic origin is from **I.E. *bheiǵ-***, **Eng. to strike**, as seen in the Celtic Boii. Watkins defines the Celtic Boii as **Eng. 'fighters'**. This form can however also be found in Teutonic, although its form is not as obviously close to the form of **T.N. *Baetasii*** as is the Celtic, e.g. **Teut. *bili***, **O.Eng. *bile***, **Eng. 'bird's beak'**.<sup>736</sup> Another Celtic explanation for *Baetasii* is from **Ir. *bád***, **Eng. boat**. Birkhan refers to **I.E. *\*bhei-d-/ \*bhī-***, as suggested by Pokorny '(IEW 116ff) als "Schläger, Spalter"?' to which Birkhan refers to Evans assertion that 'I prefer IE *\*bhāi-dh-* (IEW 161f.),? "terroriser, stormer"'.<sup>737</sup>

A possible Teutonic explanation as suggested by Gutenbrunner is derived from *\*baita-*, **Mod.H.G. *Schiff, Boot, Einbaum***, **Eng. ship, boat, dugout canoe**.<sup>738</sup> Yet this may not apply to the personal name *Baitorix*, but to the tribal name of the *Baetasii*. Although the names appear almost identical, it is not any more certain that both are derived from the same origin, than that the name *Baitorix* may be a corruption of **Gaul. Pe.N. *Biturix***, from **Celt. *bitu***, **Ir. *bith-*, *bid-***, **Eng. ever, permanent, lasting**, **Wel. *byd***, **Eng. world**, and **Celt. *riges***, **Ir. *rí***, **Wel. *rhi***.<sup>739</sup> This is cognate with **Mod.Ir. *beatha***, **Eng. life**.

Reichert only refers to this name '**BAITORI**' under the categories as a personal and mythological name but does not venture an opinion on its etymology. Reichert seems not to see the personal name *Baetrix/Baitorixos* and the tribal name *Baetasii* as necessarily being linked. He defines the *Baetasii*, often thought to be a sub-tribe of the Sugambri of Germania Inferior, as '**nicht G(ermanische) BAETASI: V, (KELT)**'.<sup>740</sup>

<sup>736</sup> Watkins, *Indo-European* at 9. See § 'bheiǵ'.

<sup>737</sup> Birkhan, *GKAR* at 194 n. 327.

<sup>738</sup> Gutenbrunner, *Die germanischen Götternamen* at 152.

<sup>739</sup> Ellis Evans, 'Old Celtic Proper Names', at 311-312.

<sup>740</sup> Reichert, *LDAN I* at 112 (*Baetasi*), 113 (*Baitori*). See § nicht G(ermanische) **BAETASI: V, (KELT)**' and '**BAITORI: P, M**'.

It is not impossible that the first element of the personal names *Baitorix/Baetorix* was to be equated with Gaulish personal name *Biturix*, and that variations in dialect or accent accounted for the transference and both are the same name.

On reviewing the Teutonic evidence an origin for Baetorix from *\*baita-*, **Mod.H.G.** *Schiff, Boot, Einbaum*, **Eng.** ship, boat, dugout canoe, seems unconvincing.

The definition of **Pe.N.** *Baitorix/Baetorix* from Celtic as **Eng.** foolish king, at first appears unlikely but is quite plausible as it may have some religious significance or refer to an honoured inherited title.

In conclusion a Celtic etymology suggesting **Pe.N.** *Baitorix/Baetorix* as **Eng.** King of wild armies/ferocity, or the strikers/fighters, or King of the wild boar/boar-king, seems the most likely option. Many of the tribesmen from these northern forest regions probably wore boar skins and were ferocious in battle like the berserkers of the Viking Age.

### 3.14.2.3. **PE.N. MELON, MAELO: SUGAMBRI.**

Strabo was not alone in referring to **Pe.N.** *Μέλωνος, Melonos/Maelo*.<sup>741</sup> Augustus in his *Res Gestae* referred to supplications sent to him by kings ‘To me were sent supplications by kings...of the Sugambri, Maelo...’. This reference must date to before 14 AD, when Augustus compiled the *Res Gestae* at which time Maelo still reigned in Sugambria. Strabo wrote his account of *Maelo* in 17 AD, or later. Weisgerber argues of the **Pe.N.** *Maelo* has been equated with ‘Mael’ which would primarily appear to be of Celtic origin from **Celt.** *Mael*. **Eng.** bald. Weisgerber states that: ‘Der Sugambrierfürst *Maelo* (Strabo *Μέλωνος*) trägt einen Namen, der zu air. *Mael* “geschoren”, “Sklave” passen würde...’<sup>742</sup> Birkhan identifies the **Pe.N.** *Mael* as **Celt.** i.e. **Mod.H.G.** *kahl (geschoren)*, **Eng.** bald, shorn.<sup>743</sup> The personal name Mael is also common amongst the insular Celts, e.g. in mythology, **Ir. Pe.N.** *Conán Maol*, and the cognomen, **Ir.** *Maol Domhnaigh*, modern **Eng.** *Moloney*.

<sup>741</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), *Strabo. Geography III* at 160-161 (Book VII, Chapter 1.3).

<sup>742</sup> Weisgerber, 'Xantener Siedlungsraum', at 270.

<sup>743</sup> Birkhan, *GKAR* at 562, 563 n. 1768. See § Ch. ‘6. Keltische und germanische Weihenamen’.

A possible Teutonic cognate form of the personal name Maelo from the territory of the Ubii in Gallia may be **Pe.N. Mello**, from **Teut. mella**, **Mod.H.G. glänzend**, **Eng.** bright, brilliant, glossy, shiny.<sup>744</sup> The personal name *Mellonius* would appear to be Teutonic according to Weisgerber, who referred in this instance to M. Bang's derivation of the name.<sup>745</sup> Weisgerber in reference to Gutenbrunner adds that Gutenbrunner cites as similar the **Teut. Harimella**.<sup>746</sup> A derivation for Harimella, is **Teut. hari**, **Mod.H.G. Heer**, **Eng.** army/war-host, and **Teut. mella**, **Eng.** bright, brilliant, glossy, shiny. The personal name *Mallovendus*, a chieftain of the Marsi, referred to by Tacitus for the year 16 AD, may be of either Teutonic or Celtic etymology.<sup>747</sup> Even Siebs does not include *Mallovendus* as a Teutonic personal name, nor does Reichert classify it as either etymologically Teutonic or Celtic.<sup>748</sup> Weisgerber remarks that the name element *Mallo-*, stems from a **Celt. stem \*mallo-**, from **Ir. mall**, **Mod.H.G. langsam**, **Eng.** slow. Delamarre also defines **Gaul. mallos**, as **Fr. lent**,  **paresseux** and refers to the **Pe.N. Mallo-uendus**.<sup>749</sup> For a Teutonic derivation, the **O.N. Meili**, brother of *Thor*, which Elston believes is connected to the **Goth. noun mail**, **O.E. māl**, **O.H.G. meil**, and *meila*, i.e. **Eng.** 'mole, spot, mark'. Ptolemy refers to: 'Μελιόδουνον, 01', '*Meliodunum*'.<sup>750</sup> He appears to place it somewhere between the **T.N. Varisti**, *Marcomani*, *Quadi* and *Baemi* (Boii), i.e. and south of the **M.N. Sudeti Montes**, north of the **F.N. Luna silva** and due east of **PL.N. Marobodum**, i.e. (Hradište near Stradonice, a short distance from Beroun, due north

<sup>744</sup> Weisgerber, *Die Namen der Ubier* at 157. See § 'B. 2. Die germanische Namensschicht, at 143-171, e) Diskutierte germanische Etymologien', at 156-159.

<sup>745</sup> Martin Bang, *Die Germanen in römischen Dienst bis zum Regierungsantritt Constantins I* (Berlin, 1906) at 79.

<sup>746</sup> Weisgerber, *Die Namen der Ubier* at 157. B. *Die sprachliche Schichtung der Ubiernamen*, at 107-367. '2 Die germanische Namensschicht', at 143-171, 'E) Diskutierte germanische Etymologien', at 156-159. Gutenbrunner, *Die germanischen Götternamen* at 100.

<sup>747</sup> Radice (ed.), *Tacitus. Annals* at 88 (BookII,Chapter25).

<sup>748</sup> Benno Eide Siebs, *Die Personennamen der Germanen* (Wiesbaden, 1970) at 101-102, 127. See Prefix 'Mahal-, Mal.'

<sup>749</sup> Weisgerber, 'Xantener Siedlungsraum', at 267. It is conceivable that the name *Mallovendus* is Celtic. Delamarre, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise* at 214-215. The second element *-vendo*, if Celtic could stem from **Celt. vindos-**: **uindos** 'blanc ; heureux', at 320-321. Delamarre remarks that *-barrus* is Fr. 'Blanche-Tête' \**Undo-barros* = v.irl. Findbarr), 68. This rare name equates with modern **Ir. Finbarr/Finnbarr**, **Eng.** blond top, blond head, or better still, as *blondie*. It is found in Cork, and a happens to be one of my own father's personal names.

<sup>750</sup> Reichert, *LDAN I* at 500. See § '**MELIODUN**: G, (KELT) PTOLE 2 11 14 273 9', which refers to 'Μελιόδουνον, 01'.

of **Pl.N.** *Eburodunum* which Howorth equates with Brünn in Moravia. Reichert asserts a Celtic etymology for *Meliiodun*, **Eng.** The fort of Mello, i.e. **Celt.** *Mellodunum*, modern **Pl.N.** *Melun*, France and **Celt.** *Meliiodunum*, **Eng.** the fort of Meli/Melio-, i.e. ‘**nicht G(ermanische) MELIODUN: G, (KELT)**’, although Reichert suggests a possible location of Meliodunum near Pardubitz on the Elbe.<sup>751</sup> This illustrates that the **Celt.** name element *Mel-*, *Mello-* was as prevalent as, and may have predated, the Teutonic form of the name. Rudolf Much defines the name **Pe.N.** *Maelo* as **Celt.**, cf. *Maelo*, **Ir.** *mael*, **O.Wel.** *mail*, **Wel.** *moel*, **Bret.** *moal*, **Mod.H.G.** *kahl*, and **Eng.** *bald*.<sup>752</sup> Rudolf Much concluded that the *Maelo*, was a personal name which is Teutono-Celtic.

Romanization or Celticization for the name *Maelo* is a possibility, yet this form provided by Strabo, may be an exact transference of the original name. It is doubtful that Strabo received his information from native Sugambri, although he may have received it through Romans. This may infer an altered transference of the names. The linguistic evidence suggests that although the name *Maelo* can be either etymologically Celtic or Teutonic, a Celtic etymology is more plausible.

#### 3.14.2.4. **PE.N. DEUDORIX: SUGAMBRI.**

The **Pe.N.** *Δευδóriξ* /*Deudorix* would, at first inspection, appear to be Teutonic and equate with the **Got.** *Theoderich*. Reichert argues that the name *Deudorix*, is ‘**mögl. G**’, i.e. ‘möglich Germanisch’, but he does not elaborate.<sup>753</sup> Weisgerber argues that **I.E.** *teutā*, signifies: **Mod.H.G.** *Stamm, Volk*, **Eng.** *tribe, people*, and is to be found in Celtic, Teutonic, Baltic, Illyrian, and Italic.<sup>754</sup> However, in the region of the Sugambri the personal name *Deudorix*, is probably either Celtic or Teutonic. The reference to the name element and **Pr.** *Deud-*, is probably a phonetic transference by Strabo for the stem *\*Teut-*, or *\*Theud-*. Although it is as likely to be from Teutonic as Celtic, as

<sup>751</sup> Reichert, *LDAN I* at 500. See ‘**nicht G MELIODUN: G, (KELT)**...Stadt in Südgermanien; (bei Pardubitz an der Elbe?)’. Elston, *Celts and Germans* at 105.

<sup>752</sup> Much, ‘Waren die Germanen des Caesar und Tacitus Kelten?’ at 23 n. 4 and 6.

<sup>753</sup> Reichert, *LDAN I* at 237. See § ‘**mögl. G DEUDORIX: P,M STRAB 7 14 31 (Δευδóriξ, 01)**’.

<sup>754</sup> Weisgerber, *Deutsch als Volksname* at 43. See § ‘Theudisk. Der deutsche Volksname und die westliche Sprachgrenze’, at 40-95.

seen in **Gothic** *þiuda*, **Fr.** ‘people, nation’, **Eng.** people, nation.<sup>755</sup> Lambert suggests that **Celt.** *\*teutā*, means ‘celui de la tribu’.<sup>756</sup> Savignac defines **Gaul.** *teuta, touta*, as **Fr.** *dérivé de teuta, ► tribu*.<sup>757</sup> If this **Pr.** *Deud* is derived from **Celt.** *\*Teut/Teuta*, then an equally plausible explanation for *Deudorix* is from **Celt.** *\*Teutorix*. The first element *teut-* is very common in Celtic personal names, e.g. Teutomatus of the Nitiobriges (*BG* VII, 31, 46).<sup>758</sup> The name element *Teut-Teuta*, cf. **Ir.** *túath*, **Eng.** the people, and the **Su.** ‘*rix*’, is **Celt.** *rix*, cognate with **Lat.** *rex*, **Eng.** ‘king’.<sup>759</sup> The origin of the name *Deudorix* could be either **Celt.** or **Teut.** probably signifying **Eng.** *King of the people*, or, *the people’s King*.

### THE SU. ‘-RIX’ AND ‘-RIC’ IN RELATION TO THE NAMES OF SUGAMBRI.

The suffix *-rix* was probably a borrowing from Celtic by Teutonic. Green suggests that whilst the Celtic noun ‘rix’ signified ‘king’, he draws upon Jan de Vries’s explanation for the definition of its Teutonic, derivative. De Vries explains this was not used in Teutonic to convey the same meaning, to denote ‘king/kingship’, but as an adjective meaning ‘powerful’, and as a noun denoting ‘authority’, or ‘conglomeration of power’.<sup>760</sup> However **Teut.** ‘*ric*’ may also mean **Eng.** *king*.

#### 3.14.2.5. CONCLUSION FOR PERSONAL NAMES OF THE SUGAMBRI.

The fact that all of the Sugambrian personal names, i.e. *Baetorix*, *Maelo* and *Deudorix* were provided by the ancients in Celtic formation does not necessarily mean that they were of Celtic origin. Although it is possible that the provided form of these names may be due to transference, e.g. from Teutonic to Celtic to Latin, or from Celtic to Latin, or from Teutonic to Latin, it is more likely that these

<sup>755</sup> For possible Teutonic stems for *Deudorix* see: Siebs, *Die Personennamen der Germanen* at 159-160.

<sup>756</sup> Delamarre, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise* at 295-296. See § **teuta, touta**, ‘tribu, peuple’. Lambert, *La langue gauloise. Description linguistique, commentaire d’inscriptions choisies. Édition revue et augmentée* at 60.

<sup>757</sup> Savignac, *Dictionnaire Français-Gaulois* at 236.

<sup>758</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 148 (Book VII, Chapter 31), at 154 (Book VII, Chapter VI).

<sup>759</sup> Beekes, *Comparative Indo-European Linguistics* at 38.

<sup>760</sup> Green, ‘Contact with the Celts’, at 150-151. De Vries, *Kelten und Germanen* at 70.

Sugambrian personal names were of Celtic origin. The form in which they were provided was Celtic.

### 3.14.3. ETYMOLOGY OF T.N. USIPETES/USIPI.

Rudolf Much in *Deutsche Stammsitze* refers to the **PL.N.** *Usuernum*, from the *Peutiger Table*, **PL.N.** *Ussubium* in the *Antonine Itinerary*, by Dioscorides 4, 147., *ὄσουβίου* (herba lactago, lauriola Galis) and by Ptolemy **PL.N.** *Ὀῤσουβίων*, *ὄσουβίου*. Much adds that **Celt.** *vernum*, can be seen in ‘*kymr. Guern, air. Fern “almus”*’, and that this points to the **Celt.** *\*usubion* from **Celt.** *uesubion*, **Celtic T.N.** *Vesubiani*, **Celt.** *usu-*, **Celt.** *\*uesu-*, **Mod.H.G.** *gut*, **Eng.** *good*.<sup>761</sup> For a similar name of possible Celtic origin see etymology of **T.N.** *Canninefates*.

For the **T.N.** *Canninefates* cf. (Table I). Much states ‘(Cananivati, Caninefates) < kannena-efatez, cf. –epid, *ἐπίδοι*, Ptolemaeus 2.3.8. “good riders” (?), possibly (?) a calque on Celtic, cf. Goth. *aihwa*, OS *ehu* horse’.<sup>762</sup> Much indicates that the second part of the name Usipi equates unhesitatingly with **Gaul.** ‘epo-’ and ‘urkelt. *ekuos* idg. *\*ekuos* “pferd”’. Much referred to the process whereby the substitution of **I.E.** ‘e’ for ‘i’ or alternatively ‘e’ and ‘i’ in Celtic words is entirely commonplace.<sup>763</sup> The **Pr.** ‘us’ derives from a vowel-change form, from Indo-European ‘vesu- “gut” ’ or to “eus” in got. *iusiza* “besser”’, and from ‘eu’ in Celtic earlier ‘ou’, as seen in **PL.N.** *Uxello-dunum*, *Uxellus*, *Uxellimus* cf. ‘*ir. uasal, cymr uchel aus \*oukselo-*’.<sup>764</sup> The **Su.** ‘–ipetes in Us-ipetes’, according to Rudolf Much is exactly the same as in **Lat.** ‘*equites*’ and in ancient **Celt.** ‘*\*Ues(u)ekuetes*’. Much reconstructs the term Usipetes

<sup>761</sup> Much, 'Die Germanen am Niederrhein', at 137-139 particularly 138-139. See etymology of **T.N.** *Sugambri*.

<sup>762</sup> Markey, 'Social Spheres', at 257. See Table I. Much, 'Die Südmark der Germanen'. In the same text: Much, 'Goten und Ingvaonen'. Rudolf Much, 'Usipeter', in Johannes Hoops (ed.), *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde. Rü-Z. (Hoops IV)* (1st edn., Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde, IV; Straßburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1918-1919), 385. Rudolf Much, 'Canninefates', in Johannes Hoops (ed.), *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde. A-E. (Hoops I)* (1st edn., Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, I; Straßburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1911-1913), 365-366 at 365-366.

<sup>763</sup> Much, 'Die Germanen am Niederrhein', at 137-139 particularly 138-139.

<sup>764</sup> Much, 'Usipeter', at 385.

as ‘die guten Reiter’, **Eng.** the good rider, or ‘die wohlberittenen’, **Eng.** the well mounted/the good riders.<sup>765</sup>

Zimmer in 2006 provides a new etymology for Usipetes. He remarks that the Usipetes were first mentioned by Caesar at the same time as the Tencteri and that the tribal name Usipetes has been provided with a Celtic origin. He adds that it is unfortunate that it was provided with a wholly fantastical meaning by Rudolf Much in (Hoops 1). It gives neither **Gaul.** **\*\*us-** **De.** ‘gut’, **Eng.** good, nor **Gaul.** **\*\*-ipet-** **De.** ‘Reiter’, **Eng.** rider; and Zimmer remarks that an educated construction would not give **De.** ‘gute Reiter’, **Eng.** good rider, and that **De.** ‘Gut mit Pferden versehen’, from Gaulish would translate in accordance with other words for horse in Gaulish, as **Gaul.** ‘su-veredo’. Zimmer also refers to Delamarre who vouches for other words for Celtic horse.<sup>766</sup>

While the name *Usipetes* does not have an obvious Teutonic etymology and *may* be Celtic, Rudolf Much’s proposed etymology faces serious objections.<sup>767</sup> While there is a Continental Celtic name element *Su-*, we do not have *\*Uesu-*, and while Latin *equus* is paralleled by Celtic *epo-*, the Continental Celtic equivalent of Latin *equus* is not attested and possibly never existed.

Zimmer proposes a newly submitted proposal for the tribal name Usipetes. He states that a single -s- between the vowels stands in Classical Latin orthography for /ss/, then /VsV/ and in the fourth century AD this becomes /VrV/. According to Zimmer the tribal name *Usipetes* stands also very probably for /Ussipet-/ with **Lat.**

<sup>765</sup> Much, 'Die Germanen am Niederrhein', at 137-139.

<sup>766</sup> Zimmer, 'Usipeten/Usipier und Tencterer. (RGA)', at 572. Delamarre, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise* at 163-164 (epos) and connection to 'epos' in 165 (equos). Although much emphasis is placed on the possible origin of Batavian and Ubian cavalry in Caesar’s employ it is likely that some of Caesar’s cavalry of east Rhenish origin were Usipetes and Tencteri and had remained with him from the time of their defeat in 55 BC (BG Bk.IV,Ch.15), at 77-78. As the Usipetes and Tencteri had been neighbours of the Suebi this may also explain the cavalry tactics employed by the Germani at Alesia (BG Bk.VII,Ch.65), at 161. It is also possible that a defeat of the Usipetes and Tencteri on the *Mosa* rather than the *Mosella* may have prompted Caesar to attempt to fortify this region of the Rhine Island by introducing new settlers, or by resettling those natives already in the region, i.e. Menapii, Eburones and Chatti who could also be used as recruits. See also Armin Becker, *Rom und die Chatten* (1st edn., Quellen und Forschungen zur hessischen Geschichte, 88; Marburg, 1992) at 95-96.

<sup>767</sup> For a non-Teutonic origin for **T.N.** *Usipetes* see: Reichert, *LDAN I* at 739 (Usipetes), 738-739 (Usipii). Reichert defines the Usipetes as 'nicht G USIPET: V,', a and the Usipii as 'nicht G USIP: V,'.

‘Pl.endung’. There is presumably a nominal composition before this, thus rendering it *\*Ussi-pet*. The previous term was known in Gaulish, in return, giving *\*uχsi-*; but on account of the old *-i-* this does not belong to *\*uχsū*, **De.** ‘Ochse’, **Eng.** Ox, for which Zimmer remarks Old Celtic does not allocate, but instead uses the term ‘*tarvos*’, however it is testified through **Ir.** *oss*, **Wel.** *ych*. Zimmer states that in all probability ‘setzt *uχsi* den alten Lokativ *\*upsi*, “in der Höhe, oben”, vor, der im Kelt. (gall. *Ούξι-σάμμη*; zu keltiberisch *usa-* mit vielen Formen und Ableitungen vgl. 5) wie in anderen idg. Sprachen gut bezeugt ist (griech. *ὑψι* usw.)’. It belongs to the widespread ‘Partikel (Präverb, Präposition)’ *\*upo*, of the ‘mit durchgehendem *-s-*, aber *-lo-* nur im Positiv’ in the Celtic, as in the Greek from the adjective, ‘hoch, oben befindlich’, a derivative of which is **Ir.** ‘*úasal, ós/úais, úaissem*’, **Wel.** ‘*uchel, uch, uchaf*’, **Gk.** ‘*ὑψηλός, -, ὑψιστος*’.<sup>768</sup> Sims-Williams also refers to the **T.N.** *Usipetes* under the title ‘Selected Celtic-Looking Strings and Elements’ and under the heading ‘Ux- ‘HIGH’ (OI *ós, úasal*, W. *uwch, uchel*)’. He adds that ‘On the forms of the name *Usipetes* see PNPG Comments s.n. *Ouispoi*’.<sup>769</sup> However despite this, Sims-Williams when later referring to the **T.N.** *Usipetes*, remarks that *Usipetes* is ‘doubtfully Celtic’, but he refers to Reichert stating ‘Non-Germanic according to Reichert i, 739’.<sup>770</sup> Zimmer remarks that the previous term could stem from the root *\*k<sub>u</sub>e<sub>h</sub>i*, **De.** ‘aufscheinen’, of the multiple words for white (‘weiß’), **Old Indian** *śvit-rá, śvet-á-*, **Teut.** *\*hweita-*. **I.E.** *\*k<sub>u</sub>-*, becomes **I.E.** *\*k<sup>h</sup>-* in Gaulish and British Phonetic Law changes to *p-*. Faced with the next form of the tribal name *Usipii* it appears necessary to think that it was a Gaulish consonantally Flexion Nominative Singular *\*Uχsi-pit-s*, Nominative Plural *\*Uχsi-pit-es*, with penultimate emphasis and debilitation of the unstressed *-i-* > *-e-*, then Nominative Singular *\*Uχsí-pit-s*, and

<sup>768</sup> Zimmer, ‘Usipeten/Usipier und Tenkerer. (RGA)’, at 572. See also García-Alonso, ‘Celtic and Pre-Celtic Indo-European Place-names in the territory of the Arevaci’, at 91-92. García-Alonso remarks referring to the Spanish *Ούξαμα Ἀργαίλα* remarks: ‘*Uxama*, “the very high, the highest, the most elevated”, is clearly Celtic’, at 91. See also Watkins, *Indo-European* at 94 (*\*upo*).

<sup>769</sup> Sims-Williams, *Ancient Celtic Place-Names in Europe and Asia Minor* at 116-117.

<sup>770</sup> Sims-Williams, *Ancient Celtic Place-Names in Europe and Asia Minor* at 180 and n. 141. PNPG is [G. R. Isaac, *Place-Names in Ptolemy’s Geography: An Electronic Data Base with Etymological Analysis of the Celtic Name-Elements*. CD-ROM. Dept of Welsh, University of Wales, Aberystwyth].

Nominative Plural \* *Uχsi-pít-es*.<sup>771</sup> Zimmer remarks that the Usipetes were also perhaps to be defined from Celtic with the meaning **De.** ‘die in der Höhe Leuchtenden, oben Aufstrahlenden’, which he describes as a typical parade or ostentatious name. He adds that **Lat.** *Usipetes/Usipii*, is the result of the adaption-process to Latin. Zimmer suggests that it is rather implausible, that in *Usipii* another perhaps parallel name of similar formation exists (from \**k̑ehi-* **De.** ‘anschwellen’, or to another of three roots from \*\**k̑* -*eĵ*, i.e. **De.** ‘wahrnehmen; ‘sammeln; Buße annehmen, strafen’.<sup>772</sup>

The tribal name Usipetes does not have an obvious Teutonic etymology. These tribes are generally referred to by the Classical authors as *Usipetes* or *Usipii*, as is attested from numerous Roman encounters with them in the Low Countries, Nordrhein-Westfalen, and southern Hessen.<sup>773</sup> Unfortunately no known personal names are available for the Usipetes. This was partially due to this tribe never having formed a *civitas* within the frontiers of the Roman Empire, although a *cohors Usiporum* is mentioned by Tacitus.<sup>774</sup> Although it is known from the sources that the Usipetes moved throughout central Germania there is no record of a forced transplantation.

#### 3.14.4. ETYMOLOGY OF THE T.N. TENCTERI.

The **T.N.** *Tencteri* is almost exclusively linked to the *Usipetes*, with whom they either travelled from their original homeland in Germania, or met up with on their journey away from the Suebi. Rudolf Much defined the name *Τεγκτηροι, Τένκεροι, Ταρχαείαι*, as **Teut.** < \**Tenh-t(e)rōz*, from **O.Isl.** *tengðr*, **Mod.H.G.** *Verwandschaftlich verbunden, verschwägert*, **Eng.** kinship/affinity, bound, connected by marriage.

The **O.Isl.** adjective can be postulated from **Teut.** \**tangjaz*, also in **A.Sax.** *getenge*, **Mod.H.G.** *nahe befindlich, verwand*, **Eng.** near, located nearby, akin. Next to **Teut.**

<sup>771</sup> Zimmer, 'Usipeten/Usipier und Tenkterer. (RGA)', at 572.

<sup>772</sup> Zimmer, 'Usipeten/Usipier und Tenkterer. (RGA)', at 572.

<sup>773</sup> Reichert, *LDAN I* at 738-739.

<sup>774</sup> Cornelius Tacitus, *The Agricola and the Germania*, ed. Betty Radice, 1 vols. (2nd edn., The Penguin Classics; Middlessex: Penguin, 1976) at 78 (Agricola, Chapter 28).

*tanh, tang*. Rudolf Much asserted that another explanation can be sought in **Eng.** ‘tight’, **M.Eng.** *tīht*, but that when this form has not derived from **Teut.** *tenhtaz*, the same form can be derived from a postulated **Teut.** *\*penhtaz, \*thight, \*thiht*, **Mod.H.G.** *dicht*, **Eng.** *dense*.

For Teutonic Rudolf Much also suggested that this may also have been derived from *\*Tenh-t(e)rōz*, **Mod.H.G.** *die Treuen*, **Eng.** *the loyal*.<sup>775</sup>

Markey drawing on Much agrees that the term *Tencteri* is derived from **Teut.** *\*tenh-t(e)rōz*, **Eng.** ‘the trustworthy, the faithful’.<sup>776</sup> Watkins provides two explanations for the **I.E.** *\*tenk-*, **Eng.** ‘to stretch’, cf. (extension of ‘ten-’) where he proposes a Teutonic derivative may produce the term ‘Perhaps Germanic *\*thingam*, assembly (? < “meeting-time for an assembly” < “stretch of time”...[Pokorny 1. *tenk-* 1067.]’. The second explanation provided for *tenk-* is: ‘To become firm, curdle, thicken. 1. Suffixed form *\*tenk-to-*, thickened’. For *tenk-*, Watkins also suggests **Eng.** ‘TIGHT’, from **M.Eng.** ‘*thight*, dense’, from a Scandinavian source akin to **O.N.** *thēttir*, **Eng.** ‘dense, watertight’, from **Teut.** *\*thinhta-*. Watkins adds a possible suffixed ‘*o-grade*’ form *\*tonk-lo-*, ‘TANGLE, from a source akin to Old Norse *thöngull*, seaweed (? < “thick mass”)’), from **Teut.** *\*thangul-*.<sup>777</sup>

Rudolf Much later stated ‘Der Name *Tencteri*, der sehr alten Lautstand zeigt - -enct-, d. i. -enct-, ist gemeingerm. zu -inht- und weiter zu -iht- geworden -, bildet sichtlich mit *Bructeri* ein Paar’.<sup>778</sup> One wonders if the relationship between the names *Bructeri* and *Tencteri* reflect anything other than a similar name, or if it suggests that they originated from the same homeland. This may not be so, as the suffix may be nothing more than a general description, e.g. **T.N.** *Baiovarrii*, and *Angrivarrii*, **Teut.** *-varrii* →

<sup>775</sup> Much, ‘Die Germanen am Niederrhein’, at 146, also 144-145.

<sup>776</sup> Markey, ‘Social Spheres’, at 257. See Von See on ‘Treue’: Klaus Von See, *Altnordische Rechtswörter. Philologische Studien zur Rechtsauffassung und Rechtsgesinnung der Germanen*, eds Helmut de Boor and Hermann Kunisch (1st edn., Hermaea. germanistische Forschungen. Neue Folge, 16; Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1964) at 204 ff.

<sup>777</sup> Watkins, *Indo-European* at 95. See ‘tenk-1, tenk-2’. Watkins referred to Pokorny, *IEW* at 1067-1068. See § ‘1. tenk-1, 2-tenk’.

<sup>778</sup> Much (ed.), *Germania* at 394. Rudolf Much, ‘Tencterer’, in Johannes Hoops (ed.), *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde. Rü-Z. (Hoops IV)* (1st edn., Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde, IV; Straßburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1918-1919), 310-311 at 311.

**Eng.** people of. These two tribes lived a great distance apart and had no apparent relationship other than that they spoke Teutonic dialects. There may be a connection between the tribal names of the Tencteri, Bructeri and Treveri, but this depends on the suffix chosen, e.g. *-teri*, or *-eri*.<sup>779</sup> Rudolf Much provided one possible etymology for the **Su.** *-teri*, which he suggests is from ‘*ahd. heri, got. harjis heri*’.<sup>780</sup> The likelihood is that the name provides rather a *-teri*, **Su.**

Weisgerber drew on Thurneysen for an origin for the **T.N.** *Treveri*, from **O.Ir.** *tréoir*, **Mod.H.G.** ‘“*Durchwaten*”; Furtanwohner,’ **Eng.** water-crossers, waders, ford-ers, is Celtic.<sup>781</sup> The suffix *-eri* cannot be equated with Teutonic *-varii* as the tribal name *Treveri*

Rudolf Much believed that Caesar provided a Celticized form of the name Tencteri which as he suggests can be seen from his earlier reference to the Cimbri and Teutoni and that a direct Teutonic form would be ‘*penhta-*’, **Mod.H.G.** *dicht*, **Eng.** ‘dense’, which is cognate with superlative **Avest.** *tañčišta*, meaning **Mod.H.G.** *der kräftigste, energischste*, **Eng.** ‘the lustiest, most vigorous’.<sup>782</sup>

Polomé argues that the First Sound-Shift had not taken place in the tribal name *Tencteri* as the ‘k’ before ‘t’ is apparently not shifted to the /x/<[c]h> in the **T.N.** *Tencteri* in Caesar’s era. If it is assumed that the Tencteri were Teutonic then Polomé’s argument is significant in terms of the origin of the name.<sup>783</sup> Polomé draws on Schönfeld’s reference to the seventeen clear references and two conjectural ones to the Tencteri as displayed in the manuscript tradition from the ninth to the twelfth

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<sup>779</sup> Kuhn, ‘Die Nordgrenze der keltischen Ortsnamen in Westdeutschland’, at 333. *-teri* suffix can be related see: Neumann, Von Petrikovits et al., ‘Brukterer (*RGA*)’. The Bructeri may possibly be defined in Teut. as the resisting ones (Rudolf Much/Müllenhoff *DAKII* 422/423) or more recently by Neumann as the ‘Leute des Niederwaldes. **Eng.** people from the low-forests/scrubland, to be Much, ‘Brukterer. *Hoops IV*. As the Bructeri appear to have resided within the northern fringe of the La Tène world, which was Rhein-Weser-Germanen, so there must have been some degree of hybridization with the Celtic peoples of the Lower Rhine. It is not impossible that they could have had a Celtic etymology.

<sup>780</sup> Much, ‘Die Germanen am Niederrhein’, at 142.

<sup>781</sup> Weisgerber, ‘Rheinische Namen’, at 336. Weisgerber referred to Thurneysen at ‘Furtanwohner,’ *Rhein. Mus.* 84, 188ff’.

<sup>782</sup> Much, ‘Tenkterer’, at 311.

<sup>783</sup> Polomé, ‘Germanic in early Roman times’, at 139.

centuries AD. In these the ‘ch’ occurs only once before ‘t’ and with an inserted ‘e’. The ‘ct’ is followed by ‘h’ in nine of the seventeen references and the two conjectural references to the text.<sup>784</sup>

Polomé questions whether Latin or Greek ‘kt’ may have been substituted for Teutonic ‘χt’.<sup>785</sup> This would produce *\*Ten(kt)eri* < *\*Ten(χt)eri* < *\*Ten(h)teri*. Also seen in *Bructeri*.

Zimmer remarks that the neighbours of the *Tencteri* first mentioned by Caesar to Tacitus were the ‘Amsivarier’ and ‘Tubanten’ and in Ptolemy’s era their neighbours were the ‘Inkriones’ and ‘Karitanoi’, the former who are thought by Reichert to have had a Celtic name, whilst Neumann suggests the *Inkriones* had a Teutonic name.<sup>786</sup> Zimmer argues that it is that both names must have been from the Middle or Lower Rhine with both being possibilities.

For the *Tencteri* Zimmer in 2006 ‘suggests that the name ‘*Tencteri* kann ebensogut ein kelt. *\*Tenkteroi* wie ein germ. *\*Pentheraz* wiedergeben’, but that in the latter case it is accepted that there is a greater similarity of conversion for instance with *Bructeri* [→ *Brukerer*] and similar names. Both are formations of the **I.E.** root *\*tenk-* **De.** ‘fest werden, gerinnen’ Zimmer adds that according to Oettinger, Hittite *tamekzi*, **De.** ‘heftet an, schmeigt an’ and its root *\*temk-*, is applied through Anatolian and assimilated according to Rix from *-mk-* > *-nk-*.<sup>787</sup> Zimmer states that in Baltic, Teutonic, and Celtic its expanded meaning is **De.** ‘fest, häufig, zuverlässig, dicht’. Zimmer adds that ‘Zur Vollstufigkeit der Wurzel vor dem Dentalsuffix vgl.

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<sup>784</sup> Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen* at 221. Polomé, ‘Germanic in early Roman times’, at 139. In the manuscripts from the ninth to twelfth centuries AD, for Caesar’s *De Bello Gallico*, ‘*Tencteri*’ (3x), ‘*Tenctheri*’ (5x), ‘*Tencheri*’ (2x), ‘*Tanctheri*’ (1x), ‘*Thencteri*’ (1x), ‘*Theneteri*’ (1x.), ‘*Thenctheri*’ (1x), ‘*Thenetheri*’ (1x), ‘*Tenctheri*’ (1x), ‘*Tencheteri*’ (1x) ‘*Tinctheri*’ (1x) ‘*Thinctheri*’ (1x).

<sup>785</sup> Polomé, ‘Germanic in early Roman times’, at 139.

<sup>786</sup> Neumann, ‘*Inkriones* (RGA)’, at 443.

<sup>787</sup> Zimmer, ‘*Usipeten/Usipier und Tenkterer*. (RGA)’, at 573. See [N. Oettinger, *Die Stammbildung des hethitischen Verbums*, 2002, at 144-146]. Also Rix and Kümmel (eds.), *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben*. (LIV) at 625 f. Rix equates this with **O.Ir.** *-téici*, **De.** *gerinnt*, **Eng.** *curdles, congeals, coagulates*, or from **O.Eng.** *ðungon*, **De.** *gedienen*, **Eng.** *thrive, prosper*, also **O.Ir.** *\*-tuici* **De.** *bestimmt*, and **A.Sax.** *ā-thengian*, **De.** *ausführen, vollenden*.

Heidermanns (2, 620)'.<sup>788</sup> The suffix *\*-tero-* is frequently used as a 'Komparationssuffix', it designates but its origin is that which is against/opposite, e.g. **Lat.** *dex-ter* : *sinis-ter*. Thus Zimmer asserts that this may allow it to be, in the case of tribal names, a description which praises, thus **De.** 'die (im Gegensatz zu den Nachbarn?) Geschlossenen', 'Zuverlässigen'.

Similar derivations of the root are repeated, e.g. **De.** *dicht*, **OIr.** *técht*, i.e. **De.** 'gefroren; befriedet' < *\*tenk-tó-*, *técar*, **De.** 'Schutz' < *\*tenk-ró-*; **Lith.** *tánkus*, i.e. **De.** 'dicht' < *\*tenk-u-*; **Avestan** *tancista-*, i.e. **De.** 'am festesten', *\*tenk-isto-*.<sup>789</sup> Zimmer argues that of considerable semantic value is the Celtic formation of the low-key **Gaul.** i.e. – **De.** 'Frieden', and perhaps also 'Friedensrichter', **Old.Welsh.** *Tanc*, modern *tang*, **De.** 'Frieden', also seen in the proper name vouched for by Delamarre 1 289).<sup>790</sup> Zimmer adds that formations are also to be seen from **O.Ir.** – *tuici*, **De.** 'legt fest', **Wel.** *Tyng-u* **De.** 'bestimmen', **O.Ir.** *Tocad*, **Wel.** *Tinged*, **De.** 'Schicksal'. In addition the **Teut.** 'Sippe' can be added from **Got.** *þeihan*, **De.** 'gedeihen'.<sup>791</sup>

The alternative etymology of Tencteri is Celtic. Toorians designates the **P.I.E.** *\*denk-*, **Du.** *bijten*, **Eng.** bite, corrode, which he argues is possibly related to **Du.** *tang*, but this is not certain. According to Toorians another etymology for Tencteri is from **O.Ir.** *técht*. He states that 'Een andere mogelijkheid is te denken aan een verband met het Oudierse *técht* "stevig, dik" en het Nederlandse *dicht*, beide uit *\*tenkto-*'.<sup>792</sup> Irish provides the noun, *Teann*, and also **Ir.** *Theannadh*, **Eng.** tight. The origin of the **T.N.** Tencteri is uncertain, which is in part due to their association with the Usipetes. For this reason a Teutonic etymology from a postulated **Teut.** *\*þenhtaz*,

<sup>788</sup> Zimmer, 'Usipeten/Usipier und Tenkterer. (RGA)', at 573. See also [F. Heidermanns, Etym. Wb. Der germ. Primäradj., 1993].

<sup>789</sup> Zimmer, 'Usipeten/Usipier und Tenkterer. (RGA)', at 573.

<sup>790</sup> Zimmer, 'Usipeten/Usipier und Tenkterer. (RGA)', at 573. Delamarre, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise* at 289. See *tanco-*, 'paix'. Delamarre refers to **O.Ir.** *téc-*, **Fr.** "geler, se solidifier", *téchta-*, "gelé", et "pacifié" (<*\*tnkto-*), *técar* "protection, couverture (*\*tenkro-*) dans le même rapport sémantique que le latin *pāx* "paix, convention" et *pangō*, *pāctus*, "ficher, figer, fixer".

<sup>791</sup> Zimmer, 'Usipeten/Usipier und Tenkterer. (RGA)', at 573. Also Watkins, *Indo-European* at 90., see *\*teng-*, 'to soak' *\*tenk<sup>-1</sup>* 'To stretch', and *\*tenk<sup>-2</sup>* 'To become firm, curdle, thicken'.

<sup>792</sup> Toorians, *KGN* at 75. See § 'Noordelijk Nederland'. Krahe, *Germanische Sprachwissenschaft* at 90 (tenk-). See also **O.Ir.** *techt*, 144.

\**thight*, \**thîht*, **Mod.H.G.** *dicht*, **Eng.** dense or from **Celt. O.Ir.** *técht*, **Eng.** thick or **Ir.** *Theannadh*, **Eng.** tight, are equally plausible.

### 3.14.5. ETYMOLOGY OF T.N. CHERUSCI.<sup>793</sup>

Caesar mentioned the **T.N.** *Cherusci* once in his Gallic commentaries, when he referred to the **F.N.** *silva Bacenis* which separated the territory of the Cherusci from that of the Suebi. Rudolf Much must have been mistaken about the location of the *silva Bacenis* which he placed just north of the Main, in spite of Caesar's statement that it divided the Suebi and Cherusci. Both the Cherusci and Suebi were located in northern *Germania* far north of the river Main. The origin of the Cherusci is probably derived from \**Herut-kōz* or \**Herut-skōz* → \**herut-* **Mod.H.G.** *Hirsch*, **Eng.** hart.<sup>794</sup>

Various forms of the name have survived from *Χερούσχοι* of Strabo to *Χαιρούσιχοι* of Ptolemy.<sup>795</sup>

There is an obvious difficulty created by the close proximity and similarity of the tribes of the Cherusci and Teuriski/Teurisci. Although their territories were adjacent, linguistically the Cherusci were Teutonic, and the Teuriski/Teurisci Celtic. This complicates the definition of their tribal origins and associated etymology. The Teuriscan/Teuriskan territory was eventually overlaid by Oder-Warthe and Elbgermanen peoples. Due to this admixture, tribal units emerged which later became known as the Teuriochæmæ and Hermunduri.

A further shared similarity between the Cherusci and Teuriski/Teurisci is the origin of the tribal name **Mod.H.G.** *die jungen stiere*, **Eng.** the young steers, cf. *Teurisci*, *Taursci*, i.e. **Celt.** young bull, **Ir.** *tarbh*. The **Su.** *-isci*, is a **Celt.** diminutive **Su.** *-isci*.

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<sup>793</sup> Probably **Teut.** \**zeruta* **Eng.** the young/small stags/harts, with possible earlier origin amongst **Celt.** Teurii/Teurisci of region with Celtic diminutive, *-isci* → later fusion of Celtic and Teutonic possibly seen in **T.N.** *Teuriochaemae* and **Pl.N.** \**Peurjahaima(n)*.

<sup>794</sup> Much, 'Die Südmark der Germanen', at 60. Much, *Deutsche Stammeskunde* at 94. See § 'n) Cheruskern'.

<sup>795</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), *Strabo. Geography III* at 158-159 (Book VII, Chapter.1.3). Reichert, *LDAN I* at 181-182. '**CHERUSC:** V,...STRAB 7 1 3 51. *Χερούσχοι*...PTOLE 2 11 10 262 4...Strabo to *Χαιρούσιχοι*, 11'.

It is possible that the Cherusci took as their name a Teutonic form of their earlier Celtic neighbours the Teurisci. These people must have been a powerful force in the region. De Vries refers to **Teut.** \**χeruta-* **Du.** *het gehoornde dier*, **Eng.** the horned deer, **Lat.** *cervus*, **Du.** *hert*.<sup>796</sup> A difference between the names can be detected and when precisely defined the Cherusci signifies **Eng.** the young/small stags/harts, whilst the Celtic *Teurisci/Teuriski* refers to **Eng.** the young/small bulls.

Rudolf Much suggests that in the fifth century BC, before the migration of Sigovesus and Bellovesus the border between the Cherusci and Teurisci was the Harz. Much suggests that the Teurisci can be seen in **PLN.** \**Deurjahaima(n)*.<sup>797</sup>

### 3.14.6. THE MENAPII.

The Menapii, who lived in both Germania and Gallia were a Celtic-speaking tribe, who were part of the confederation of the Belgae.<sup>798</sup> Specific place names which may have been of Menapian origin along the Lower Rhine and include, the estuary of the Rhine, *Helinium*, *Levefanum*, later *Flevum*, *Lugudunum*, (Katwijk-Brittenberg) at the mouth of the old Rhine, *Matilo* (Leiden-Roomburg), *Albaniana* (Alphen a/d Rijn), *Fectio* (Vechten), *Mannaricium* (Maurik), *Carvo* (Kesteren), *Carvivium* (Herwen-De-Bijland) if this was in Caesar's Menapia) may have been formed after the end of Menapian supremacy in the region and can also possibly be attributed to tribes arriving the region from the Augustan era onwards, e.g. Cugerni, Batavi, Frisiavones.<sup>799</sup>

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<sup>796</sup> Jan De Vries and F. De Tollenaere (eds.), *Etymologisch Woordenboek* (15th edn., 1991) at 169. Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen* at 134-135. See § 'Cherusci VN'.

<sup>797</sup> Much, 'Die Südmark der Germanen', at 62.

<sup>798</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 45 (Book II, Chapter 4).

<sup>799</sup> Tilmann Bechert and W. J. H. Willems, 'Die Niedergermanische Limes - Geschichte und Gestalt einer Grenze', in Tilmann Bechert and Willem J. with contributions by Bechert Willems, Tilmann, Brulet, Raymond, van Dockum, Saskia G, Van Enkevort, Harry Gechter, Michael, Hessing, Wilfried A.M., Reichmann, Christoph, Willems, Willem J.H. (eds.), *Die römischen Reichsgrenze von der Mosel bis zur Nordseeküste* (1st edn.; Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss Verlag, 1995), 8-28. For *Helinium* see See § Helinium in Schrijver, from British **Celt.**, *hel-*, 'estuarium', **Wel.** *hêl*, **Du.** 'rivierweide, moeras', **Eng.** *estuary, morass*. This description is exactly what the region of *Helinium* was, a giant estuary. See: Schrijver, 'Keltisch of niet', at 72-75. For **Celt.** *Levefanum* → **Teut.** *Flevum*, see: Laurant Toorians, 'De Kelten, taalgroep of volk', in Rijklof Hofman, Bernadette Smelik et al. (eds.), *Kelten in Nederland* (1st edn.; Utrecht: de Keltische Draak, 2000), 33-42 at 40. Perhaps seen in British Celtic

### 3.14.7. CONCLUSION: APPEARANCE OF NEW TRIBAL UNITS. LINGUISTIC CHANGE OR CONTINUITY?

It is likely that the tribes of Ubii, Sugambri, Usipetes, Menapii, Tencteri(?), Volcae Tectosages, and Boii spoke dialects which could be defined as Celtic. The Cherusci appear to have been Teutonic-speakers. The Suebi, although they absorbed entire Celtic peoples, appear as the archetypal Germani. Their leading tribes in the mid-first century BC, (presumably the Semnones) were Teutonic-speakers. Even the Cherusci is problematic, as the exact relationship to the old tribe of the Celtic Teurisci/Teurii is also uncertain. Both tribes resided in the region of the Harz and had a similar tribal name with a similar meaning. Eventually the Teurisci/Teurii became Teutonicized. Invasions of Przeworsk and Elbgermanen in the second to the first century BC, into the territory of the Teurisci/Teurisci produced the hybrid Teuriochæmæ and Hermunduri. It is unknown if the Teurisci, Teuriski, Teuriochæmæ, and Hermunduri shared an ethnogenesis with the Cherusci.<sup>800</sup> It is also probable that the Hermunduri had their origins in the Teuriochæmæ and Suebi. Tribal migration between the second century BC, and first century AD, involved changes in the demographic situation.

The formation of new tribal units from existing tribes may not always have involved the introduction of new ethnic or linguistic elements but rather a change in political order. In other cases the movement or merging of immigrants with indigenous

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placenames, as in Leven in Lancashire and Lieve a tributary of the Schelde. Toorians suggests that Schrijvers suggestion is perhaps correct, that *leve* had a Celtic equivalent of **Teut.** *Flevo-*. See also **Lat.** *levis*, **Du.** 'glad, rimpellos'. Delamarre suggests that '**leuo-**, 'glissant, lent'? and links it with among other names '*Levae Fanum aux Pays-Bas (TP) et la rivière Leua affluent de l'Escaut*'. Delamarre also links *leuo-* to the Nervian sub-tribe of the 'Leuaci' (Levacii) see Lèves south of Namur, (Levacii are also linked to Nervian sub-tribe Pleumoxii) see: Delamarre, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise* at 201. For **Celt.** Lugudunum (Katwijk-Brittenberg) Zuid-Holland, see Toorians above at 40. Beekes suggests that modern Doeveren (+?) and Chaam (?), Breughel (-), Diessen (+?), Oss (?), in Noord Brabant, within Menapian territory may be Celtic names, also that Celtic may have been the origin of other modern names in the same region, e.g. Dorestad (+?) also Aardenburg (+) Zeeland. See: Robert Beekes, S. P., 'Keltisch in Nederland', in Rijcklof Hofman, Bernadette Smelik et al. (eds.), *Kelten in Nederland* (1st edn.; Utrecht: de Keltische Draak, 2000), 43-65 at 58-60. Arend Quak asks whether the first element of Dorestad is of 'Keltischer oder vorgermanischer Ursprung?' and come out firmly in favour of a Celtic origin, see: Arend Quak, 'Zum Namen *Dorestad*', in Heinrich Beck, Dieter Geuenich et al. (eds.), *Namenwelten. Orts- und Personennamen in historischer Sicht* (2nd edn., Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, 44; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 252-260 at 255-256.

<sup>800</sup> Herwig Wolfram, *History of the Goths* (1st edn.; London, 1988) at 42-43.

peoples produced new linguistic groups. The language of the stronger groups became dominant. An ethnic flux must have resulted in odd mixtures of dialects and new linguistic and political formations, which were recognized by the Romans as tribes.

### 3.15. THE ETYMOLOGY OF THE TRIBES OF THE GERMANI CISRHENANI OF CAESAR.

The Germani cisrhenani were mentioned as one of the contingents of the Belgic War-host which mustered to defend their territory against Caesar in 57 BC. They consisted of five known tribes, the Condrusi, Eburones, Caerosi, Paemani and Segni. The Aduatuci will be included as Germani cisrhenani although there is no proof that they were Germani cisrhenani proper. They were described by Caesar as descendants of the Cimbri and Teutones.<sup>801</sup>

#### 3.15.1. GERMANI CISRHENANI: CAESAR'S INVENTION, OR A REALITY.

In order to show that the ethnic Rhine-divide was an invention of Caesar's it is necessary to look at the etymology of some of the tribes to which Caesar attributed the same origin as the Suebi thus suggesting that:

**the Germani cisrhenani → Suebi**

The Germani cisrhenani may have owed their origin to the Germani transrhenani immediately east of the Rhine i.e. Sugambri, Ubii, e.g.

**Germani transrhenani i.e. Sugambri, Ubii → Germani cisrhenani.**

The linguistic nature of the Germani cisrhenani is of utmost importance to the understanding of the meaning of the Germani. The exact differences between the Belgae, Germani cisrhenani, and Germani transrhenani are difficult to establish, both in linguistic and socio-cultural terms. The reality of the legacy of Caesar's *Gallia-Germania Rhine-divide* shows that 'Caesar's picture of the ethnocultural identity of

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<sup>801</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 55. (BookII,Chapter29).

the North Gallic tribes was anything but clear'.<sup>802</sup> Caesar's Rhine-divide, has been a starting point for linguistic research.<sup>803</sup>

### 3.15.2. ETYMOLOGY OF T.N. CONDRUSI.

Many variations of the T.N. *Condrusi* from Caesar exist, e.g. *Condroosos*, *Condruosos*, and *Condurses*.<sup>804</sup> Their name is probably to be seen in the *pagus Condrustis* C.I.L. VII 1073 in a sub-unit during the Augustan reorganization of the region, e.g. the forms **Pl.N./T.N.** *pagus Condrustis*, *Condruscus*, *Condrustrius*, or *comitatus Condorusto*. Neumann places the Condrusi in the *pays de Condroz* between Namur and Lüttich. Other references to the Condrusi are seen in the later **G.N.** *Matronis Cantrusteihae* C.I.L. XIII 3585 and 7880 and the *Matronis Andrusteihae* C.I.L. XIII 7995 and 7880 and **G.N.** *Matronis Andrusteihae* C.I.L. XIII 7995 and 8212. It would appear that the **G.N.** *Matronis Cantrusteihae* was certainly the god name of the *pagus Condrustis*. A process of Teutonicization can be seen from the place name *Cantrust*, i.e. 'Die Lautung *cantrust-* mit ihrem *t* im Anlaut der 2. Silbe und der Ersetzung des *o* durch *a* scheint "germanisiert" zu sein', and that this appears to be a special kind of substitution according to Neumann.<sup>805</sup>

Weisgerber initially remarks that the tribal name *Condrusi* is Celtic and not Teutonic in form. He specifies the etymology of the *pagus Condrustis* from an element *\*drus(t)-* and equates it with **Teut.** *trust*, **Mod.H.G.** *Treueverband*, **Eng.** Binding loyalty, **O.Fr.** *antrustiones*, **Mod.H.G.** *Gefolgsleute*, **Eng.** *retinue*. Weisgerber would appear to believe that Condrusi might have been a Teutonic name which may have been pre-Sound Shift and shown some similarities to elements of the Ubii, e.g.

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<sup>802</sup> Roymans, *Northern Gaul* at 12.

<sup>803</sup> Harald Von Petrikovits, 'Germani cisrhenani', in Heinrich Beck (ed.), *Germanenprobleme in heutiger Sicht. Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* (1st edn., Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, 1; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1986), 86-108 at 97-98.

<sup>804</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 45 (BookII,Chapter4), at 75 (BookVI,Chapter6), at 128(BookVI,Chapter32).

<sup>805</sup> Günter Neumann, 'Condrusi', in Heinrich Beck, Dieter Geuenich et al. (eds.), *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde. Chronos-Dona. (RGA)* (Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde von Johannes Hoops, 5; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1984), 78-79 at 78-79.

the origin of the **Pe.N.** *Haldacco* and *Haldavvo*, both of which may have had pre-Teutonic roots e.g. \**Cald*-as seen in the **PL.N.** *Caldiniacum*.<sup>806</sup>

For the **PL.N./T.N.** *pagus Condrustis* Neumann remarks that there is no trace of the Teutonic Sound Shift, i.e. 'keine Spur germanischer Lautverschiebung'. A Teutonic nominal-root is found from **O.N.** *traust*, **Got.** *trausti*, **Lat.** *trustis*, **O.Frk.** *treue*, **Eng.** *fidelity*.<sup>807</sup> Birkhan stipulates that the tribal name 'Condrusti nicht germanisch ist'. He suggests that although a 't' exists in **Gaul.**, in *Condrusti*, in this instance, it is an '-st', for which he remarks 'Condrusti etwa "Scharen" sicher nicht germanisch vielleicht auch unkeltisch'. This would suggest a pre-Celtic stratum existed. The actual **T.N.** *Condrusi* provided by Caesar did not contain a 't'.<sup>808</sup> Birkhan suggests the same noun formation in Celtic **Gaul.** that is found in the **Teut. Got.** *trausti*, **Mod.H.G.** *Vertrag*, **Eng.** agreement/contract, **M.H.G.** *getrüste*, **Mod.H.G.** *Schar*, **Eng.** band/flock. In **Gaul.** this agrees with the Teutonic except for the conduct of the changeable '-st > s'. This is defined as **Celt. T.N.** *Condrusi*, **Mod.H.G.** as in 'Heer-Schar in der die Treubindung eine große Rolle spielte', **Eng.** i.e. The faithful war-host who fought well. Around the element -drus-/-drust-/-trust-, a still stronger **Celt. \*con-** strengthens this word formation. Evans defines the \**con-* in *Condrusi* thus 'The element *com-* is well attested in Gaulish names. It also occurs very frequently as *con-* and *co-* as well attested in Gaulish names *Con*'. Thus the element *Con-*, suggests 'connection or relationship or participation', cf. **Pe.N.** *Contoutos*, **Eng.** who is of the same country/compatriot.<sup>809</sup> This would modify Celtic *Con-drusi*, to **Gaul. con-**, to: **Mod.H.G.** as in 'die durch drusi-/drusti- (= "Verpflichtung gegenseitiger Treue") miteinander verbunden sind', i.e. **Eng.** those who are bound through a commitment of mutual fidelity.<sup>810</sup>

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<sup>806</sup> Johann Leo Weisgerber, 'Frühgeschichtliche Sprachbewegungen im Kölner Raum', in Johann Knobloch and Rudolf Schützeichel (eds.), *Rhenania Germano-Celtica. Gesammelte Abhandlungen. Dem Autor zum siebzigsten Geburtstag am 25. Februar 1969. Mitwirkung von Henning von Gadow und Gernot Schmidt. RGC* (1st edn., Veröffentlichung des Instituts für geschichtliche Landeskunde der Rheinlande an der Universität Bonn; Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid, 1969), 418-438 at 428.

<sup>807</sup> Neumann, 'Condrusi. (RGA)', at 78-79. Weisgerber, 'Frühgeschichtliche Sprachbewegungen im Kölner Raum', at 428.

<sup>808</sup> Birkhan, *GKAR* at 185 n. 288.

<sup>809</sup> Evans, *GPN* at 183-185.

<sup>810</sup> Neumann, 'Germani cisrhenani', at 111. See § 'II. 1) die keltischen. b) Condrusi'.

Neumann defines the name element *con-*, as Celtic in origin. The **Su.** *\*drus* may also be seen in the **Gaul.** *\*drus-/ \*drust-*, **Mod.H.G.** *fester Vertrag*, **Eng.** foothold, agreement, and in **O.Ir.** *dron* < *\*dru-no-*, **Mod.H.G.** *fest*, **Eng.** fast, **Wel.** *drud*, **Mod.H.G.** *tapfer*, **Eng.** brave. According to Neumann the tribal name may have signified ‘die vertraglich (aneinander) Gebundenen’, **Eng.** Those who are contractually bound together.<sup>811</sup>

Loicq and Michel define the **T.N.** *Condrusi* as the: “*confédérés*”, des “*affidés*”, “... si l’on rapproche le groupe germanique du francique *an-trustio* “homme lige” all. Treue, etc. ou des “opiniâtres” “si l’on pense au *cognomen* lat. *Drūsus*, d’origine gauloise, et d’ailleurs de la même famille que les précédents”<sup>812</sup>

Whatmough defines *drusus*, *drausus* as **Lat.** *patiens, rigidus, contumax?* and refers to the ethnicon *Condrusi* and *Condrustus*. Whatmough argues that **Lat.** *drusus*, is **Celt.** *\*drut-tos*, cf. *pagus Condrustis*, with ‘-st’: -(s)s- cf. **Ir.** *druth*, **Wel.** *drud*.<sup>813</sup>

The etymology of the *Condrusi* is undoubtedly Celtic as seen from Toorians’s definition as **Celt.** *\*kon-drust-*, **Du.** *door een verdrag samen verbonden*, **Eng.** through a treaty with an alliance.<sup>814</sup>

### 3.15.3. ETYMOLOGY OF T.N. CAERŌSI/CAEROESI.

Caesar refers to the **T.N.** *Caeroesi* only once in the course of the Gallic Wars and this is technically the only time in history this name is mentioned.<sup>815</sup> For **T.N.** *Caerosi*, Weisgerber drew on Rudolf Thurneysen who stated that *Caerosi*, originated from **Ir.** *caer*, **Mod.H.G.** *Schaf*, **Eng.** sheep.<sup>816</sup>

<sup>811</sup> Neumann, ‘Germani cisrhenani’, at 111. See § *b*) *Condrusi*. Neumann, ‘Condrusi. (RGA)’, at 78-79.

<sup>812</sup> Loicq and Michel, ‘Equisse d’une histoire linguistique de la Belgique’, at 284.

<sup>813</sup> Whatmough, *DAG* at 721-722. See ‘drusus’, ‘drausus’, in Ch.5. ‘Belgica’.

<sup>814</sup> Toorians, *KGN* at 73. See § ‘Eburones’.

<sup>815</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 45 (BookII,Chapter4). Norden, *Die germanischen Urgeschichte* at 383 n. 1 and 385 n. 2.

<sup>816</sup> Johann Leo Weisgerber, ‘Die Sprache der Festlandkelten’, in Johann Knobloch and Rudolf Schützeichel (eds.), *Rhenania Germano-Celtica. Gesammelte Abhandlungen. Dem Autor zum*

Watkins asserts that the form **I.E.** *Gap-ro*, i.e. **Eng.** 'He-goat, buck', is probably a derivative of 'kap-', **Eng.** 'to seize, (the grabby animal)', **Lat.** *caper*, **Eng.** 'he-goat, buck', and **Lat.** *capra*, **Eng.** 'she-goat'.<sup>817</sup>

Pokorny remarks that **I.E.** *\*kapros*, **Gk.** *χάπρος*, **Mod.H.G.** *Eber*, **Eng.** Boar, when applied becomes **Celt.** *\*karos*, **Ir.** *caer*, **Eng.** sheep; possibly also *\*kāros*.<sup>818</sup>

Birkhan refers to Björn Collinders's *Caero(e)si*. from 'germ. *\*haira-* > ahd. *hēr*, alt' nord *hárr*, "grauhaarig", **Eng.** grey-haired. This could designate flaxen-haired people. Birkhan also adds that Steinhauser refers to the **Su.** *-oesos*, as seen in **Lat.** *-ōsus*, as meaning **Mod.H.G.** *reich an etwas*, **Eng.** wealthy. Steinhauser suggests that the form *\*kaperos* then *car-* < *kapr* is an analogous form for **Celt.** *Caer*, **Eng.** sheep.<sup>819</sup> Much believes the Caeroesi to have been etymologically Celtic.<sup>820</sup>

For the location of the Caerosi, Weisgerber refers to the **PLN.** *Karos-Gau* which he equates with the Caerosi and ties them by an inscription to the *pagus Carucum* in Niedenbach, Kr. Bitburg as seen in C.I.L. XIII 4143.<sup>821</sup>

Neumann acknowledges that the variants of the tribal name Caerosi occur as *Caeroesi*, *Ceroesi*, *Caerosi* and *Cerosi* and that the **Su.** *-oeso-* is neither found in Celtic nor Teutonic, but the **Su.** *-oso-*, is also found in a **Gaul.** **R.N.** *Laudosa*, and moreover in **G.N.** *Deo Ibozo (Dat.)*.<sup>822</sup>

*siebzigsten Geburtstag am 25. Februar 1969. Mitwirkung von Henning von Gadow und Gernot Schmidt* (1st edn., Veröffentlichung des Instituts für geschichtliche Landeskunde der Rheinlande an der Universität Bonn; Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid, 1969), 11-85 at 54. Rudolf Thurneysen, 'Grammatisches und Etymologisches', *Zeitschrift für celtische philologie*, 13 (1921), 101-108 at 107.

<sup>817</sup> Watkins, *Indo-European* at 37. See § 'kap-ro'. Pokorny, *IEW* at 529.

<sup>818</sup> Pokorny, *IEW* at 529.

<sup>819</sup> Birkhan, *GKAR* at 200-201 n. 351. Collinder, 'The name Germani', at 22. W. Steinhauser, *Herkunft, Anwendung und Bedeutung des Namens "Germani"*. *Festschrift D. Kralik*. (1st edn.; Horn, 1954) at 22.

<sup>820</sup> Much, *Der Name Germanen* at 59.

<sup>821</sup> Weisgerber, 'Rheinische Namen', at 332.

<sup>822</sup> Neumann, 'Germani cisrhenani', at 111. See § 'II. Die Ethnonyme. 1) die keltischen. b) Caerosi'.

Holder equates T.N. *Caerosi* with Ir. *cáirchuide* (*besser caerchaide*. Lat. *ovinus* < \**kairakatio*s, O.Ir. *caira*, gen. *cairach*, Mod.H.G. *Schaf*. Eng. sheep.<sup>823</sup> Reichert defines the name *Caerosi* as non-Teutonic.<sup>824</sup> Rudolf Much asserts that *Caerosi* were placed by Zeuss in the *pagus Carouuascus*, i.e. which he equates with the place name *Caroascus* in the Eifel, in the region of Prüm. Rudolf Much wonders if the *Caruces* and *Caeracates* were to be equated with the *Caerosi*.<sup>825</sup>

Rüger stipulated that for the Middle Ages the districts at the kernal of the *Caros Gau* was probably in the region of Prüm and the Oos, which is certified as belonging to the T.N./Pl.N. *Carosgau* in 771 AD. The Inscription found on a Roman road, Pl.N. *Oos*, i.e. Lat. Pl.N. *Ausava*, can, in Roman times, be seen as a southern border point of a southern *pagus Carucum*. In 762 AD, a reference is made to the *Pagus Carosoascus* and a Lower district of the *Bitgau*, the northern boundary of which was on the *Reichstraße* between Trier and Köln.<sup>826</sup>

The tribal name *Caerosi* appears to have a clear Celtic origin, and can be defined as Eng. *Sheep-men/ Sheep-herders*. This Celtic element is also seen in the nearby *Caeracates*.

#### 3.15.4. ETYMOLOGY OF T.N. PAEMANI.

The T.N. *Paemani* was mentioned by Caesar as one of the units levied by the Belgae for their campaign against Caesar.<sup>827</sup> Rudolf Much believes the tribal name *Paemani* to be Teutonic and not Celtic in character, stating that the *Paemani* of Caesar only needs the change from Celtic ‘p’ to ‘f’. Müllenhoff too suggests that he believes that the *PAEmani* was derived from *FAEmani*, or *FALmani*.<sup>828</sup> Whilst this is possible, Caesar did not provide the letter ‘f’ which is probably a Teutonicization, due to the

<sup>823</sup> Holder (ed.), *AcSI* at 677.

<sup>824</sup> Reichert, *LDANI* at 165. See § ‘nicht G CAEROS: V’.

<sup>825</sup> Rudolf Much, ‘Germani cisrhenani’, in Johannes Hoops (ed.), *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde. F-J. (Hoops II)* (1st edn., *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, II*; Straßburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1913-1915), 183-184 at 184.

<sup>826</sup> Rüger, *Germania Inferior* at 45. Schwarz, *Germanische Stammeskunde* at 136-137. Schwarz also places the T.N. *Caerosi* in the neighbourhood of Prüm.

<sup>827</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 45 (Book II, Chapter 4).

<sup>828</sup> Much, ‘Die Germanen am Niederrhein’, at 166. Much, ‘Germani cisrhenani’, at 184. Müllenhoff, *DAK II* at 194ff.

later introduction of the Frankish language to the region. Neumann states that the forms of *Paemani* in Caesar (*Beta-Klass*) and Orosius's form *Caemani* is undoubtedly due to a very old scribal error. He also notes that the form of *Paemani* with 'p' is seen in *Galatia* and in the **G.N.** *Poemani*, in *Celtic Hispania* which despite the difference in the diphthong root syllable, are related. He further remarks that it is difficult to find a convincing etymology for *Paemani*.<sup>829</sup>

Neumann adds that clearly on the basis of the **Gk. Subst.** *ποιμῆν* **Mod.H.G.** *Hirt*, **Eng.** *Herder*, one must consider the relationship of the two as has Pokorny, 'Vox Romanica 10 1948/49, S. 228'.<sup>830</sup> He states that **I.E.** 'p-' in the initial sound of *Paemani* is regularly absent and that **I.E.** root *\*pō(l)-*, is **Mod.H.G.** *weiden*, **Eng.** *browse*. Pokorny does not allocate a Celtic etymology to this formation.<sup>831</sup> Neumann looks to the old proposal of Rudolf Much in *RGA* II, where he referred to the *Paemani* deriving from *\*Palmani* as correct. He states that it is identified with **O.H.G.** district name *Falmenna*.<sup>832</sup> Gutenbrunner's proposal from a **Teut.** *\*Faimonōs*, where there was a 'p-' word-substitution from Celtic is unacceptable to Neumann. Thus, etymologically *\*Faimanōz* is according to Neumann either to *\*faimō*, **Mod.H.G.** *Vereinigung, Zunft* **Eng.** *union, corporation*, cf. **M.Du.** *Veime*, or to **O.Isl.** *feiminn*, **Mod.H.G.** *blöde, scheu* as a derogatory name.<sup>833</sup>

Birkhan also surveys Rudolf Much *RGA* II and Gutenbrunner. With regard to the initial 'p-' sound of the tribal name *Paemani*, Birkhan remarks that Much and Gutenbrunner determine the sound substitution for **Teut.** 'f' to be the authentic Teutonic form, which ought to be seen in the district of the *Falmenne*, i.e. **Pl.N.** *Famenne* and thus postulated **Teut.** *<\*Faimanōz*, with "ai > ā".<sup>834</sup> Schwarz too believes that the tribal name was originally Teutonic and states that 'daß p-keltischer

<sup>829</sup> Neumann, 'Germani cisrhenani', at 118. See § '3. n) Paemani', at 118-119.

<sup>830</sup> Neumann, 'Germani cisrhenani', at 118.

<sup>831</sup> Neumann, 'Germani cisrhenani', at 118. Pokorny, *IEW* at 839.

<sup>832</sup> Neumann, 'Germani cisrhenani', at 118. Much, 'Germani cisrhenani', at 184.

<sup>833</sup> Siegfried Gutenbrunner, 'Die Geschichte der linksrheinischen Germanen bis auf Caesar.' *Volk und Rasse*, 7 (1932), 150-162 at 159.

<sup>834</sup> Birkhan, *GKAR* at 186. Much, 'Germani cisrhenani', at 184. Gutenbrunner, 'linksrheinischen Germanen', at 158.

Lautersatz für germ. *f-* und der Name germanisch ist (*\*Faimanōz*).<sup>835</sup> Birkhan mentions two possible tribal units, i.e. Poemani of Spain and the Poemaneni (Pliny Nat. Hist 5. 123) in Galatia. He determines that because of the initial sound, the *Paemani/Poemani* is unlikely to be Celtic, that it most probably originated from a single language and that the old ‘p’ was not displaced, but would become ‘o > a’ but scarcely with the **Teut.** ‘o > a-’.<sup>836</sup>

Reichert defines the **T.N.** *Paemani* as non-Teutonic, i.e. ‘**nicht G PAEMAN: V**’. Under this heading he includes the **T.N.** *Caemani/os*.<sup>837</sup> Weisgerber believes the union between the tribal name *Paemani* and ‘Landschaftsnamen Famenne (636 Famenne)’ to be debatable. He believes that the form **T.N.** *Paemani* provides an elegant derivation from Teutonic and he refers to the “*Landschaftsnamenen*” **Pl.N.** *Fammenne* (although he earlier referred to the equation of the *Famenne* as debatable). Weisgerber endorses the view that the initial sound ‘p-’ is a sound substitution for the uneasy ‘f-’ which would have originated as **Teut.** *\*Faimani*, as seen in the Teutonic formation of **M.Du.** *veime, veme*, **Mod.H.G.** *Zunft, Vereinigung*, **Eng.** company, union, i.e. the members of a *faimô*. Weisgerber proposes that the tribal name *Paemani* may be related to **Isl.** *feiminn*, **Mod.H.G.** *scheu, blöde*, **Eng.** shy, bashful.<sup>838</sup> However, Weisgerber stresses that the counter-arguments are plausible. The first is that *Poemana* is a god name in the Celtiberian sphere, i.e. **G.N.** *Poemaneni* and the second is the existence of *Galatian T.N.* *Poemani*. Weisgerber also refers to the **Su.** *-ani*, cf. ‘(Germani!)’. These arguments suggest the possibility for the existence and usage of a **T.N.** *Paemani* as a **Celtic T.N.** in north-eastern Gallia. The **Su.** *-mani* can also be seen in both Celtic and Teutonic, e.g. **Celt. T.N.** *Cenomani* and Teutonic *Alemanni, Marcomani*.

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<sup>835</sup> Schwarz, *Germanische Stammeskunde* at 137.

<sup>836</sup> Birkhan, *GKAR* at 186. Page, Capps et al. (eds.), *Pliny. III-VII* at 312-313 (Book V, Chapter XXXIII.123).

<sup>837</sup> Reichert, *LDAN I* at 539. See: ‘**nicht G PAEMAN: V**,’.

<sup>838</sup> Weisgerber, ‘Rheinische Namen’, at 337.

Finally Weisgerber refers to the old 'p-' which is taken from Celtic, stating that here the objection is that the old 'p-' gradually disappeared and a new 'p-' from old *labiovelar* was applied.<sup>839</sup>

Few Iron-Age tribes would have referred to themselves or would have accepted a tribal name of: *the shy* or *the stupid*, particularly in a societies which valued physical and mental prowess and where these attributes were often the difference between survival and extermination. Thus modesty may only have been perceived as weakness, and a name which inspired fear would have the desired effect of deterring any opponents. Scathing or flattering names would suggest those provided by neighbours. The *Condrusi* and *Eburones*, presumably neighbours of the *Paemani* did not speak Teutonic.

Schönfeld includes the tribal name *Paemani*, but wonders if this should be *Caemani*, and states that they are surely Celtic.<sup>840</sup> Bremer believes the *Paemani* to have been 'belgischen (keltischen) Germani'.<sup>841</sup> Zeuss remarks that the tribal name *Paemani* can perhaps not be represented as Teutonic without defacement and that it must be classified as Celtic.<sup>842</sup>

If the tribal name *Paemani* was provided by their neighbours, who were presumably the Celtic-speaking *Condrusi* and *Eburones*, it is likely that the *Paemani* would also have been Celtic and have been provided with a Celtic name. However, it is difficult to ascertain an etymological origin in the form it is provided by Caesar, but in this form it is more likely that they were Celtic than Teutonic, although later Teutonicization does appear to have taken place with the the replacement of 'p-' by 'f'.

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<sup>839</sup> Weisgerber, 'Rheinische Namen', at 337.

<sup>840</sup> Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen* at 179. See § 'Paemani VN. Oder Caemani?' Müllenhoff (ed.), *DA II* at 196-197.

<sup>841</sup> Bremer, *Ethnographie der germanischen Stämme* at 5 (739).

<sup>842</sup> Zeuss, *Die Deutschen* at 212-213. For etymology of T.N. *Germani* see 59\*.

### 3.15.5. ETYMOLOGY OF T.N. EBURONES.

A study of the T.N. *Eburones* was conducted showing a Celtic origin, but for reasons of space it could not be included in the Thesis. This T.N. *Eburones* is clearly cognate with **Celt.** *Eburo-*, as clearly cognate with **O.Ir./M.Ir.** *ibar, ibhar*, **Mod.Ir.** *iubhar* (*o-stem*) *m.*, **Eng.** ‘a yew, yew wood’.<sup>843</sup>

### 3.15.6. ETYMOLOGY OF T.N. ADUATUCI.<sup>844</sup>

### 3.15.7. ETYMOLOGY OF T.N. SEGNI.

The T.N. *Segni* is also mentioned by Caesar as *Germani cisrhenani* who commented ‘the Segni and Condrusi, who live between the Eburones and the Treveri but are of German origin and so count as Germans, sent envoys to me’.<sup>845</sup>

Using Pokorny, Neumann determines that one could define *Segni*, from the **Celt.** word-stem *\*sego-*, *Stärke*, **Eng.** strength/force, or *\*seg, säen* and **Celt.** *\*segnos* > **Ir.** *sén*.<sup>846</sup> The compound **Pl.N.** *Sego-dunum* on the Main has both a Celtic stem element and ending.<sup>847</sup> Although Birkhan remarks that Collinder, suggests that *Segni* is Celticized Teutonic from **Teut.** *\*begnōz*, i.e. **Mod.H.G.** *die Gefolgs mannen*, **Eng.** the followers/adherents. He advocates a sound substitution i.e. ‘s’ for ‘þ’. Birkhan believes the Segni were Celtic.<sup>848</sup>

Neumann remarks upon a new development in this field of research, i.e. **Lat.** *-gn-* in the tribal names *Reudigni, Marsigni*, etc. for **Teut.** *-gn-* as substituted for **Teut.** *-ng-*, e.g. *\*seng-*, **Mod.H.G.** *brennen* (*trans.*), *dörren*, **Eng.** burn, dry, **I.E.** *\*senk-*, i.e. **Mod.H.G.** *die Sengenden*, **Eng.** scorches. Neumann adds that it is conceivable that

<sup>843</sup> Evans, *GPN* at 347. See ‘ΕΒΟΥΡΟΝΕΣ’, at 346-347.

<sup>844</sup> Comparable results to the other *Germani cisrhenani* have been obtained from study of data for the tribal name *Aduatuci* but have been omitted here for reasons of space. It is probable that the tribal name *Aduatuci* was Celtic.

<sup>845</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 128 (Book VI, Chapter 32).

<sup>846</sup> Neumann, ‘*Germani cisrhenani*’, at 118. See § ‘3) die in Überlieferung schwankenden oder etymologisch unklaren. o) Segni’. From Pokorny, *IEW*. See § *\*sego-*, at 888-889 and *\*segnos*, at 887.

<sup>847</sup> Kuhn, ‘Das Zeugnis der Namen’, at 114.

<sup>848</sup> Birkhan, *GKAR* at 202-203. Collinder, ‘The name *Germani*’, at 122.

an outgoing ‘-ja-’ derivative, \**seŋjōz*, is **Mod.H.G.** *die in Trockengebiet wohnenden*, **Eng.** the inhabitants of the dry territory, and that the root was possibly \**seŋō*, as in **M.H.G.** *Trockenheit, Dürre*, **Eng.** aridity, dryness. He determines that the ‘e’ in the **T.N.** *Segni* should be maintained.<sup>849</sup>

The **I.E.** *segh-*, **Eng.** *to hold*, referred to by Pokorny and Watkins is a more direct form for **Teut.** \**sigiz*, **Eng.** *victory*. Cf. also **R.N.** *Sigina*.<sup>850</sup> Elston suggests that **Celt.** *segnos*, is **Eng.** *powerful/strong*. He states that a corresponding Teutonic form *sigā* to **Celt.** *sego-* is not evident in the numerous Teutonic personal names.<sup>851</sup>

Birkhan defines **T.N.** *Segni* from **Celt.** \**segnos* to **Ir.** *sén*, **Mod.H.G.** *sprenkel*, **Eng.** *speckled*, **Mod.H.G.** *netz*, **Eng.** *net*.

One of the genuine problems with such a tribal name is to determine whether a process of Celticization/Teutonicization has occurred, and whether transference has been accurate. The provided form of the tribal name must heavily influence the outcome of the etymology. The territory of the Segni and Condrusi may have been adjacent to each other south of the Eburones.

Zeuss too relates that the *Segni* were Celtic Germani, stating that they cannot be represented as Teutonic without altering the tribal name.<sup>852</sup>

The tribal name *Segni* is linguistically Celtic from **Celt.** \**sego-*, **Eng.** *strength/force*, indicating a powerful tribe. A Celtic etymology is much more likely for Segni, on the merit of the tribal name provided.

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<sup>849</sup> Neumann, 'Germani cisrhenani', at 118. Watkins, *Indo-European* at 75. See § 'senk-'. Pokorny, *IEW* at 907.

<sup>850</sup> Pokorny, *IEW* at 888. Watkins, *Indo-European* at 74. See § 'segh-'.

<sup>851</sup> Elston, *Celts and Germans* at 107.

<sup>852</sup> Zeuss, *Die Deutschen* at 212-213.

### 3.15.8. PERSONAL NAMES OF THE GERMANI CISRHENANI.

The only available personal names of the Germani cisrhenani of Caesar are *Ambiorix* and *Catuvolcus*, chieftains of the Eburones. Both of these names are clearly of Celtic origin.

### 3.15.9. CONCLUSION: GERMANI CISRHENANI OF CAESAR.

The debate over the origin of the linguistic nature of the *Germani cisrhenani* has raged since the nineteenth century. Of the five main tribes of the Germani cisrhenani in the form that their names are presented, all can be defined as having Celtic etymology. It is possible that Caesar mis-transferred tribal names but he appears to have had an aptitude for recounting names of both Celtic and Teutonic character correctly. He was able to distinguish between Harudes, Charudes and Cherusci, so neither the Paemani nor postulated Teutonic *\*Faimanoz*, should have caused him difficulty, unless transferred to him by Galli who may have had difficulty pronouncing initial ‘f’ and would presumably have altered it to ‘p’.

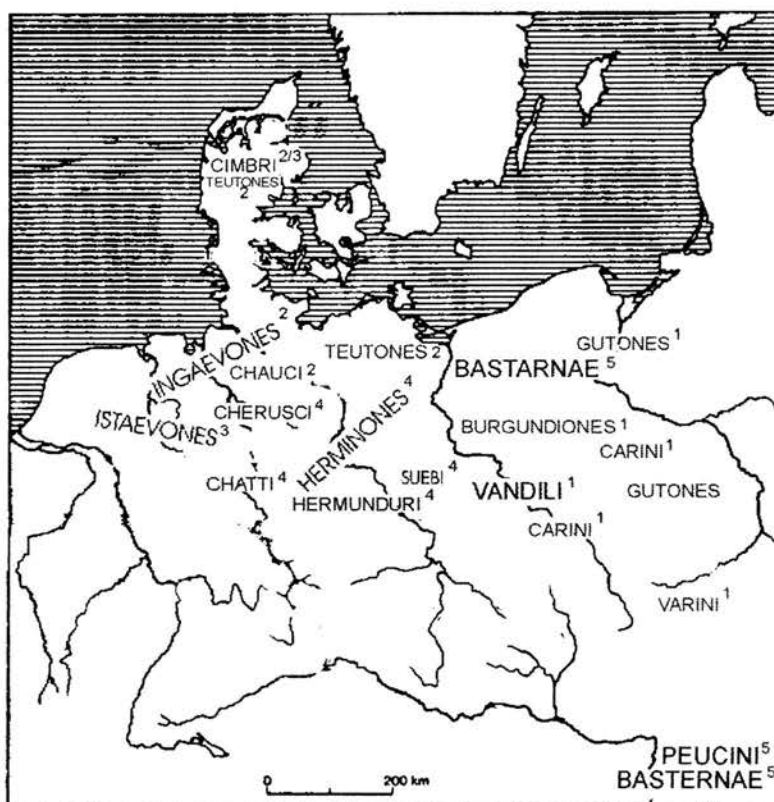
These Germani cisrhenani were probably the real Germani who migrated from the right bank of the Rhine to Gallia. Those who remained on the right bank, i.e. the Ubii, Sugambri (and possibly the Usipetes and Tencteri) were the same Germani as the Germani cisrhenani. There is no reason to assume that by referring to themselves as Germani the Germani cisrhenani were not simply acknowledging the Celtic origin they shared with the Belgae and other Celtic speaking tribes.

These Germanii cisrhenani were to be distinguished from Caesar’s Germani based on the Teutonic Suebi and belies his construct of an ethnic divide between Gallia west of the Rhine and Germania east of the Rhine.

### 3.16. INTRODUCTION: *CULT LEAGUES*, ETHNO-CULTURAL RELIGIOUS/MILITARY BANDS IN GERMANIA.

The provision of a number of religious *Cult Leagues* was made by classical scholars for the region of Germania.<sup>853</sup>

Pliny, who had served in Germania from, c. 46 AD, was the first to refer to *cult leagues*. He remarked that there were five peoples in Germania, i.e. Vandali (containing Burgundiones, Varini, Carini, and Gutones), the Ingaevones (Cimbri, Teutones, and Chauca), the Istaevones (Cimbri), the Herminones (Suevi, Hermunduri, Chatti, and Cherusci) and the Peucini/Bastarnae.<sup>854</sup>



**Figure 6. Map of Pliny's cult leagues.**

<sup>853</sup> Another study undertaken of the Cult Leagues of Germania was completed but omitted here for reasons of space within this Thesis. This study referred to the ethno-cultural military religious bands in Germania, the *Æsir* and *Vanir*, the gods of Germania and Gallia, and Celtic and Teutonic religion in Germania and Gallia.

<sup>854</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), *Pliny. III-VII* at 194-197 (BookIV,ChapterXIV.99-100).

Tacitus mentions the earth-born God Tuisto whose son Mannus is thought to have been the fountain-head of their race. He in turn begot three sons who gave their names to the three groups of tribes, i.e. the Ingævones, nearest the sea, the Herminones of the interior of Germania and the Istævones, who comprised the rest.<sup>855</sup>

Tacitus adds that:

‘Some people, in as much as antiquity gives free rein to speculation, maintain that there were more sons born from the god and hence more tribal designations – Marsi, Gambrii, Suebi, and Vandilii – and that those names are genuine and ancient’.<sup>856</sup>

**VANDILII:** includes T.N. *Burgundiones, Varini, Carini (Harii?) Gutones.*

**INGÆVONES:** portion of which are T.N. *Cimbri, Teutoni* and tribes of *Chauci,*

**ISTÆVONES:** to whom the T.N. *Cimbri* belong.

**HERMIONES:** T.N. *Suevi, Hermunduri, Chatti, and Cherusci.*

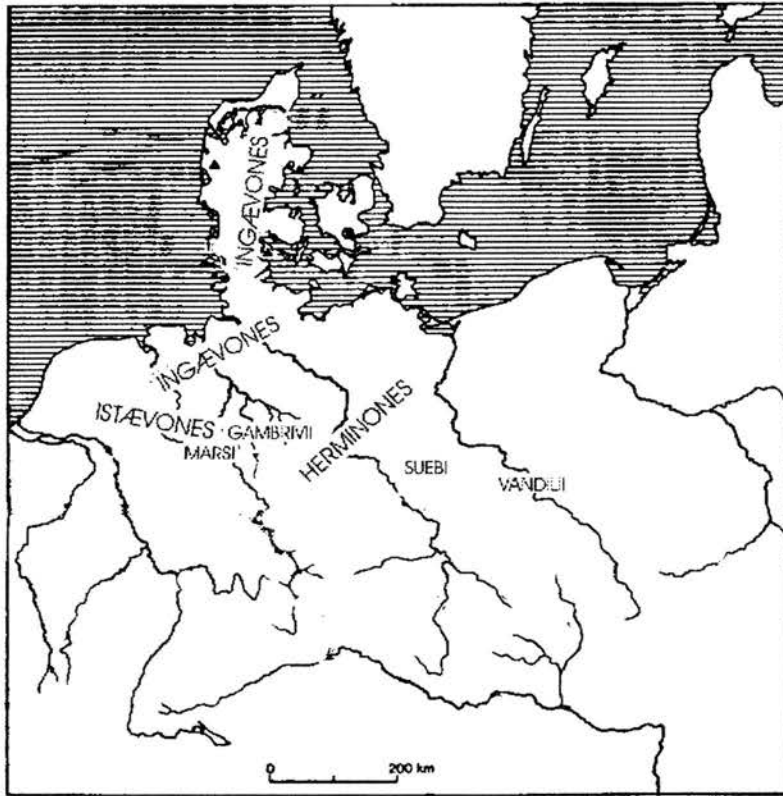
**PEUCINI/BASTARNÆ.**

**Figure 7. Cult Leagues of Pliny.**<sup>857</sup>

<sup>855</sup> Rives, *Tacitus. Germania* at 77 (Germania, Chapter 2.2). An important work relating to the linguistic interpretation of the onomastic material is by Dieter Timpe, see: Dieter Timpe, *Romano-Germanica. Gesammelte Studien zur Germania des Tacitus* (1st edn.; Stuttgart, 1995) at 1-60.

<sup>856</sup> Rives, *Tacitus. Germania* at 77 (Germania, Chapter 2.2). Allan. A. Lund, 'Zum Germanenbegriff bei Tacitus', in Heinrich Beck (ed.), *Germanenprobleme in heutiger Sicht. Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* (2nd edn., Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde / von Johannes Hoops. Hrsg. von Heinrich Beck., 1; Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1986), 53-87 at 57-61.

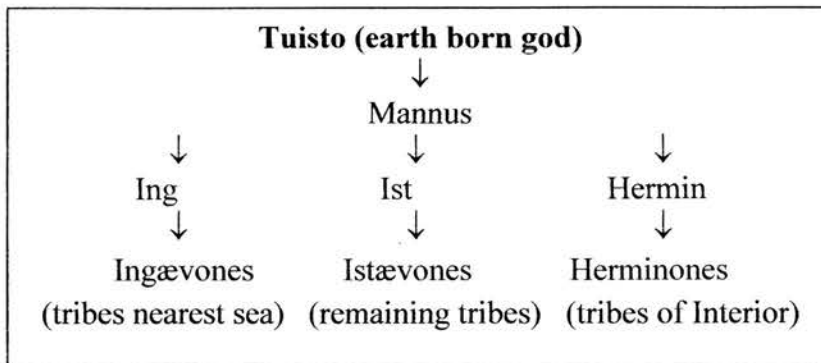
<sup>857</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), *Pliny. III-VII* at 194-197 (Book IV, Chapter XIV.99-100).



**Figure 8. Map of Tacitus's Cult Leagues**

Pliny and Tacitus attempted to classify the tribes of Germania into different cult leagues, based on specific territories almost like cult provinces. Many tribes would not have subscribed to any of these cult leagues, i.e. the Celts of Germania. Tribal migration would have confused any possibility of clearly defined cult league territories. In some case tribes with similar creation myths may have banded to form military alliances/groups, e.g. the Nerthus tribes. The gods worshipped by the Germani of Caesar are unnamed. The degree to which the Scandinavian gods of the Viking Age i.e. *Æsir* (mainly gods of war and politics) and the older *Vanir* (Njörd, Frey, Freyja) had developed, spread and were worshipped by the Teutonic tribes of Germania by Caesar's time is uncertain.

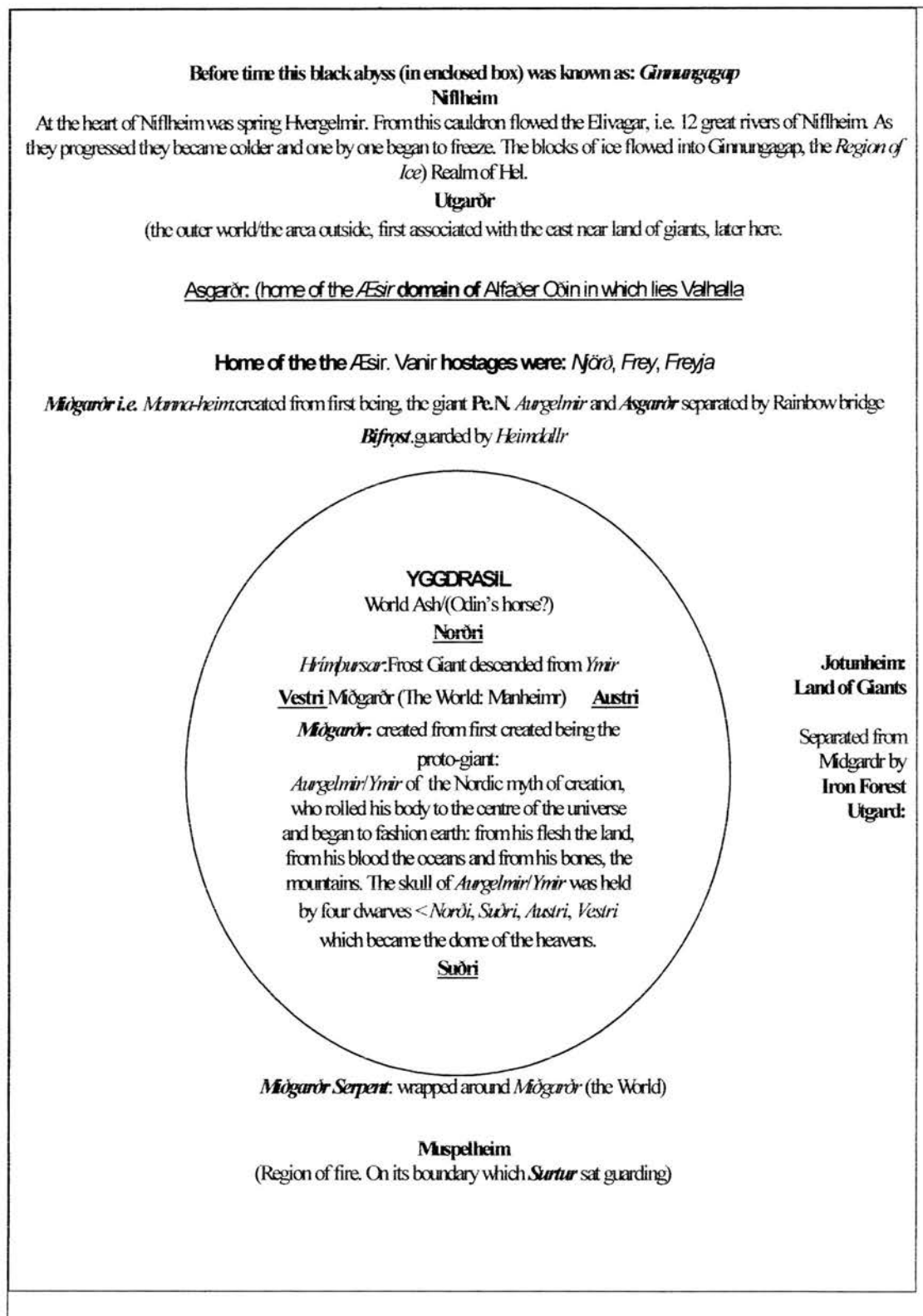
**Table 6. Ethnogenesis of the Earth born gods of the Teutonic peoples according to Tacitus's Germania.**



**ÆSIR:** *Alfaðer Oðin, Thor, Tyr/Tiu/Tiu, Heimdallr, Ull, Baldr and Loki* (half god, half devil: at one point blood brother to *Oðin*. (Loki:son of giant, married to giantess *Angrboða*: progeny: *Midgarðr Serpent*, the Wolf *Fenrisúlfr* and *Hel*. *Loki* singularly gives birth to *Sleipnir* (*Oðin's* horse).

**VANIR:** (older than **ÆSIR**: *Njörðr* (Nerthus), *Frey*, *Freyja*).

**Figure 9. The Æsir and Vanir.**



**Figure 10. Map of Scandinavian Teutonic World View.**

### 3.17. THE ETYMOLOGY OF THE TRIBES OF THE GERMANI TRANSRHENANI FROM THE AUGUSTAN PERIOD AND LATER.

It was not until the Augustan era that a Rhine-divide based on Caesar's ethnic construct came into existence through southward migration of Teutonic tribes and the resettlement of some of these tribes by Rome. It is necessary to look at the etymology of some of the tribes referred to for the Augustan era.<sup>858</sup>

#### 3.17.1. ETYMOLOGY OF THE T.N. GAMABRIVII/GAMBRIVII.

A tribe which is often referred to as possible predecessors of the Sugambri is the *Gambrivii*. Tacitus refers to the *Gambrivii* as one of the more numerous descendants of **G.N.** *Tuisto* and other tribal groups such as the Marsi, *Gambrivii*, Suebi, and Vandali.<sup>859</sup> The **Pe.N.** *Gambara* of the Langobardi, may stem from **Teut.** \**Gand-bera*, **Eng.** wand bearer.<sup>860</sup> With regard to the *Gambrivii*, Rudolf Much argues that the Sugambri has a strengthening element *su-*, as against the *Gambrivii* which had an outmoded suffix.<sup>861</sup> If the *Gambrivii* were connected to the aetiological legend of the Teutonic tribes they must have been a very old tribal grouping. Strabo mentions both the Sugambri and the *Γαμαβριούινι*, in separate locations and does not suggest any relationship between the two.<sup>862</sup> It is not known where the *Γαμαβριούινι* originated. A difficulty in equating the *Gambrivii* with the Sugambri is the **Pr.** *su-*, which is obvious in Celtic and Latin but not in Teutonic. The **Su.** *-brivi*, appears Celtic in form as seen in **Celt.** *briva*, e.g. Gaul. **PI.N.** Samarobriva, i.e. **Celt.** *briva*, **Du.** *brug, oversteekplaats, doorwaadbare plaats*'.<sup>863</sup> Lambert correctly associates the name

<sup>858</sup> Similar results have been obtained from a detailed study of data and completed etymologies of the Germani transrhennian tribes of the Bructeri, Chattuarii, Marsi, and Marsaci which have also been omitted here for reasons of space.

<sup>859</sup> Rives, *Tacitus. Germania* at 77 (Germania, Chapter 2.2).

<sup>860</sup> Rudolf Simek, 'Gambara', *Dictionary of Northern Mythology* (1st edn.; Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1993), 98-99 at 98-99.

<sup>861</sup> Much (ed.), *Germania* at 57-58.

<sup>862</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), *Strabo. Geography III* at 158-159 (Book VII, Chapter 1.3).

<sup>863</sup> Toorians, *KGN* at 67. Pierre-Yves Lambert, 'Remarks on Gaulish Place-Names in Ptolemy', in David N. Parsons and Patrick Sims-Williams (eds.), *Ptolemy. Towards a linguistic atlas of the earliest Celtic place-names of Europe. Papers from a workshop, sponsored by the British Academy, in the Department of Welsh, University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 11-12 April 1999* (1st edn.; Aberystwyth, Wales: CMCS Publications. Department of Welsh, University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 2000), 159-168 at 162.

briva with \**Bhri-wā* as a town a ‘bridge-town, e.g. *Samarobriua* (Amiens), i.e. **Eng.** the bridge over the Somme.

There is little information regarding the Gambrivii. Considering this, together with the fact that the etymology for either Celtic or Teutonic is unconvincing it is difficult to provide the both elements Gam-brivii/ Gama-brivii from either Celtic or Teutonic. The relationship of the Gambrivii to Sugambri is possible.

### 3.17.2. ETYMOLOGY OF THE T.N. TUBANTES.

Much designates the **T.N.** *Tubantes* as a Teutonic people in the Lower Rhine region, often linked with the Usipetes and Tencteri and perhaps even joined with them in a firm political union residing in the same districts, although their exact location cannot be determined for certain.<sup>864</sup>

The tribal name *Tubantes*/Τούβαντοι is undoubtedly complex and contains as a ground-word a Teutonic expression for **Mod.H.G.** *Gau*, i.e. **Eng.** district.<sup>865</sup> The determining word ‘tu’ is a form of two-numbers and graduating back to **I.E.** \**duo-*, as also seen in **Lat.** *du-plus, du-centi*. The **Pl.N.** *Twente* and **T.N.** *Tubantes* are different in form, although similar in appearance.<sup>866</sup>

It is possible that the *Tubantes* were an overlap of some Usipetean and Tencterian cantons which formed in the wake of the Gallic War on the Lower Rhine. Consequently their tribal name may simply be defined as Teutonic meaning **Eng.** the two districts or bands.

### 3.17.3. ETYMOLOGY OF THE T.N. CHAMAVI.

Schönfeld places the **T.N.** *Chamavi* initially on the IJssel and later in the region of Deventer which is to be equated with **Pl.N.** *Hama-land*, i.e. \**Hamave-land*.<sup>867</sup>

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<sup>864</sup> Much, 'Tubanten', at 366. See § 1.

<sup>865</sup> Much, 'Tubanten', at 366. See § 2.

<sup>866</sup> Much, 'Tubanten', at 366. See § 2.

<sup>867</sup> Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen* at 126. See § *Chamavi VN*. Schönfeld refers to: E. Förstemann, *Alteutsches Namenbuch. II. Ortsnamen, 2. Bearbeitung*. (1st edn., II; Nordhausen, 1872) at 397.

Schönfeld suggests that the tribal name *Chamavi* is perhaps cognate with the **Got.** -*hamōn*, **Mod.H.G.** *bedecken*, **Lat.** *vestire*, **Eng.** *cover*. He identifies the tribal name Hamii with the Chamavi.<sup>868</sup> Rudolf Much identifies the Hamii with the Chamavi, cf. ‘coh.1 Hamiorum (sagittarium)’ and the ‘coh I. Amiorum’. Reichert states that the Hamii of coh 1. Hamiorum are not Teutonic.<sup>869</sup>

Zeuss remarks that the **Su.** ‘-av’ dwindles at an early period, which is why the region becomes known as **Pl.N.** *Hamaland*, i.e. from earlier **Lat.** *Chamavorum terra*.<sup>870</sup> The name belongs to the lost root *HIMAN* **Lat.** *tegere*, **Eng.** *cover, hide, conceal, protect, defend*, from which **Got.** *hamon*, **Lat.** *vestire*, **Eng.** *cover*, **Got.** *himins, himil (Himmel)*, **O.H.G.** *hemidi*, **Mod.H.G.** *Hemde*, **Eng.** *shirt*.<sup>871</sup> This according to Zeuss, could agree with the definition of tribal name Chatti.<sup>872</sup>

Rudolf Much, in *Deutsche Stammsitze*, asserts that the tribal name Chamavi could better be defined from a *u*-stem **T.N.** *\*hamuz* next to **T.N.** *Chamavus*, the verb-form *hemmen*, **M.H.G.** *hemmen, hamen*, **O.Isl.** *hemja*, i.e. **Mod.H.G.** *aufhalten, hindern*, **Eng.** *arrest, delay, hold-up, hinder, hamper, impede*. This can be seen from the

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<sup>868</sup> Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen* at 125-126. See § *Chamavi VN*. Pp. 125-126 and § *Hamii*. Reichert, *LDAN I* at 174. ‘**CHAIM:** V, **PTOLE 2 11 9 259 10** (Χαίμαι, 11) **KONTEXT:** südlich der Bructeri maiores **LESARTEN:** χαίμαι Urt Ω, χαίμαι Σ’.

<sup>869</sup> Much, ‘Die Germanen am Niederrhein’, at 149. Other references to the **T.N.** *Chamavi*, cf. **C.I.L.** VII. 748, 750, 758, 774, 1110, 1195. Reichert, *LDAN I* at 418. See § ‘**nicht G HAMI:** V, **C.I.L.** 16 69 B 12 (**Hamior**/, 12): **O-SZÖNY, PA. S. Quell.Zeit:122 KONTEXT:** coh. 1 H. sagitt. (orientalische Bogenschützen)’

<sup>870</sup> Zeuss, *Die Deutschen* at 91-92. See § ‘Chamavi’. Other references to the **T.N.** *Chamavi* cf. **C.I.L.** VII. 748, 750, 758, 774, 1110, 1195.

<sup>871</sup> Zeuss, *Die Deutschen* at 91 and n.\*. § ‘Chamavi’.

<sup>872</sup> Zeuss, *Die Deutschen* at 91 and n.\*. Rudolf Much, ‘Chatten’, in Johannes Hoops (ed.), *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde. A-E. (Hoops I)* (1st edn., Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, I; Straßburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1911-1913), 370-372. Günter Neumann, W. Jungandreas et al., ‘Chatten’, in H. Beck, H. Jankuhn et al. (eds.), *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde von Johannes Hoops - Brunnen-Chronologie. (RGA)* (2nd edn., Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde von Johannes Hoops, IV; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1981), 377-391. Helmut Birkhan, ‘Das gallische Namentelement *\*cassi-* und die germanisch-keltische Kontaktzone’, in Wolfgang Meid (ed.), *Beiträge zur Indogermanistik und Keltologie* (1st edn., Innsbrück, 1967), 115-145.

*Matronen* names **G.N.** *Sait-chamiae*, *Sait-haimiae* from Hoven, near Zülpich, Kr. EU., N.R.W.<sup>873</sup>

Rudolf Much, is adamant that the designation of Teutonic to the **T.N.** *Chamavi* is ensured from its stem *ham*, which is in Teutonic seen with different meanings.<sup>874</sup> He stipulates that the **Su.** *-avi* is unusual in Teutonic tribal names. He also explains that, on the contrary, in Celtic the *-avi*, **Su.** name element is encountered very frequently, however, he believes that the name element **Pr.** *Cham-* proves that this is not a Celtic name. Rudolf Much demonstrates the **Celt. Su.** with **O.Ir.** *tana*, **Corn.** *Genau*, i.e. (**Mod.H.G.** *mund*/**Eng.** *mouth*) **Gaul.** *Genava* and **O.Ir.** *giun*, from \**genus*, **Gaul.** *Litavia* and *Litu-gena*. **Eng.** *birth, descent*.<sup>875</sup> Rübkeil suggests both Teutonic and Celtic possibilities for the suffix *-avi-* from a postulated **Teut.** \**awjo*, **Mod.H.G.** *Land das mit Wasser zu tun hat, Feuchtgebiet, Marschland*, and from **Celt.** *-āvus*.<sup>876</sup>

Rudolf Much argues that an obvious explanation of the name has not been found.<sup>877</sup> He places the Chamavi as neighbours of the Batavi and Frisiavi opposite the Batavi in Veluwe and also attributes their tribal name to the placename Hamaland.<sup>878</sup>

Bremer remarks that Ptolemy placed the Chamavi east of the Sugambri and south of the greater Bructeri.<sup>879</sup> Reichert designates the tribal name Chamavi as Teutonic.<sup>880</sup>

Neumann remarks that ‘**Chaimai**, Χαίμαι, Germ. Stammesname, nur einmal belegt (Ptol. II 11,9), bezeichnet wohl einen Teilstamm der → Brukterer’. He adds that the judgement of this this name is difficult.<sup>881</sup>

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<sup>873</sup> Much, 'Die Germanen am Niederrhein', at 148. Rudolf Simek, 'Saitchamiae', *Dictionary of Northern Mythology* (1st edn.; Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1993), 275 at 275. Reichert, *LDAN I* at 583. 'SAITCHAMI: PM,F'. i.e. C.I.L. XIII 7915-6.

<sup>874</sup> Rudolf Much, 'Chamavi', in Johannes Hoops (ed.), *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde. A-E. (Hoops I)* (1st edn., Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, I; Straßburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1911-1913), 369-370 at 370.

<sup>875</sup> Much, 'Die Germanen am Niederrhein', at 147-149.

<sup>876</sup> Rübkeil, *Kelten und Germanen* at 75. See in 'Etymology of Batavi'.

<sup>877</sup> Much, 'Chamavi', at 370.

<sup>878</sup> Much, 'Chamavi', at 369.

<sup>879</sup> Bremer, *Ethnographie der germanischen Stämme* at 156(890). See § 'b) Chamavi'.

<sup>880</sup> Reichert, *LDAN I* at 175. See § 'CHAMAV: V,'.

To understand how the etymology of the tribal name Chamavi may have developed, an assessment of tribal movement in the region is necessary. In 58 AD, the Ampsivarii had arrived on the Rhine into territory which had previously initially belonged to the Chamavi, then the Tubantes and then the Usipi.<sup>882</sup> This suggests that the Chamavi had inhabited the territory north of the Lower Rhine from an early time, perhaps as early as the Caesarian era.

An obvious explanation for the tribal name Chamavi is not available but the most common view is that it relates to vestiture, as seen in Müllenhoff who uses the **Got.** *hamōn*, **Gk.** *ἐνδύεσθαι*, **O.N.** *hamr* **Mod.H.G.** *Hülle, Balg*, **Eng.** *cover, skin*, **O.H.G.** *hamo*, **Lat.** *vestis*, **Eng.** *clothes*.<sup>883</sup> According to Müllenhoff these suggest that the **T.N.** *Chamavi* is defined as **Mod.H.G.** *die mit dem Kriegsgewand gerüstete*, **Eng.** *those equipped with the war-garb*.<sup>884</sup> This could refer to a tribe who wore the skins of wild animals. Another simpler possibility is the connection of Chamavi with **Teut.** *\*haimoz*, **Mod.H.G.** *heim*, **Eng.** *home/homeland*. The hybrid nature of the tribal name Chamavi suggests a Teutonic tribe which settled amongst a Celtic population north of the Lower Rhine.

#### 3.17.4. ETYMOLOGY OF T.N. CHATTI.

The etymological explanation for the meaning of the tribal name Chatti has been sought by most of the scholars of the ancient tribes of Northern and Central Europe. There is a very broad spectrum of opinion on the origin of the tribal name Chatti. Initially it appears to be standard Teutonic, with a typical Teutonic *Ch-* formation.

Zeuss derives the etymology of **T.N.** *Chatti* from: **O.Nor.** *hattr*, **A.Sax.** *hæt*, **Lat.** *pileus*, from which **O.H.G.** *höttr* or *hattr*, **M.H.G.** *hæze, hez*, **A.Sax.** *hætir*, **Eng.** *hat*.

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<sup>881</sup> Günter Neumann, 'Chaimai', in Heinrich Beck, Herbert Jankuhn et al. (eds.), *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde von Johannes Hoops - Brunnen-Chronologie. (RGA)* (2nd edn., Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde von Johannes Hoops, IV; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1981), 365 at 365.

<sup>882</sup> Radice (ed.), *Tacitus. Annals* at 310-311 (Book XIII, Chapters 54-56).

<sup>883</sup> Müllenhoff, *DAK II* at 423.

<sup>884</sup> Müllenhoff, *DAK II* at 423.

Zeuss adds that ‘Darum kann Chatti gleicher Bedeutung sein mit Chamavi aus altn. *hamr* in *úlfahamr*, Wolfshemd’.<sup>885</sup>

Schönfeld referring to Holder equates the tribal name Chatti with the Celtic tribe Cassi, which Schönfeld argues may be identical with **O.H.G.** *Hassi*.<sup>886</sup> He provides two etymological options. The first is drawn from Grimm and Braune, who stated that Chatti is defined from **O.N.** *hottr*, **A.Sax.** *hæt*, **Mod.H.G.** *Hut*, **Eng.** *hat*.<sup>887</sup>

The second, as suggested by Müllenhoff, Kögel and Laistner who define Chatti from **Got.** *hatan*, **A.Sax.** *hatôn*, **O.H.G.** *hazzên*, *hazzôn*, **Mod.H.G.** *hassen* **Eng.** *hate*.<sup>888</sup>

Rudolf Much remarks that Müllenhoff is the first to suggest that the name Chatti may be connected to **Celt.** *-cassi* = *-cappi*.<sup>889</sup> According to Much, Müllenhoff, drawing on Glück concludes that Chatti is defined from **Celt.** *Cassi*, *Casses* from **Ir.** *cas* **Lat.** 1. *iracundus*, 2. *atrox*, 3. *alacer*, 4. *agilis*, i.e. **Eng.** 1. rage, irascible, angrily, choleric, 2. brutal, unyielding, fierce, dreadful, 3. brisk, cheerful, 4. mobile, nimble, agile.<sup>890</sup> Much adds that Glück refers to **M.H.G.** *hessen*, **Mod.H.G.** *hetzen*, **Eng.** hurry, rush, hunt.<sup>891</sup>

Rudolf Much states that no-one attempted to attain a different interpretation for Chatti, until Müllenhoff, who interprets the components from the Celtic **Gaul.** **T.N.**

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<sup>885</sup> Zeuss, *Die Deutschen* at 95-98. Evans, *GPN* at 216, 281-282, 315-316, Zeuss, *Die Deutschen*. See § ‘Lati’, ‘Vic-’, ‘Vict-’, ‘Vec-’, ‘Vect-’, and ‘Brig-’.

<sup>886</sup> Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen* at 131., ‘Chatti VN’.

<sup>887</sup> Jacob Grimm, *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*. (*GDS*) (1st edn.; Leipzig, 1880) at 400. Braune (ed.), *Indogermanische Forschungen*. (*IF*) (1st edn., 4; Straßburg, 1891ff) at 341-343. For both references: cf. Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen* at 131. See § ‘Chatti VN’.

<sup>888</sup> Müllenhoff, *DAK IV* at 407. Rudolf Kögel, ‘Ueber einige germanische Dentalverbindungen’, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* (*PBB*), 7 (1880), 171-201 at 178. Laistner, *Germanische Völkernamen. Sonderabdruck aus den Wörterabdruck aus dem Württembergischen Vierteljahrsheften für Landesgeschichte, neue Folge 1892* at 27.

<sup>889</sup> Much, ‘Chatten’, at 371. Karl Müllenhoff, *ZfdA.* 23, 7. Bremer, *Ethnographie der germanischen Stämme*. Bremer, *Ethnographie der germanischen Stämme* at 181(915) and n. 182(916).

<sup>890</sup> Much, ‘Chatten’, at 371. See § 6. Müllenhoff, *DAK IV* at 407.

<sup>891</sup> Much, ‘Chatten’, at 371. See § 6. Müllenhoff, *DAK IV* at 407. Glück, *keltischen Namen* at 163.

*Cassi*, *Casses* and *Bodio-*, *Velio-*, *Viducasses*, designated by him as Celtic. Much recognizes that Müllenhoff, finds a parallel with Teutonic Chatti.<sup>892</sup>

Toorians claims that the name of this tribe was derived from the older **Celt.** \**cad-ti*, **Du.** *Uitblinkend; mooi, knap*, **Eng.** out-shine; beautiful, handsome, fine; precise, intelligent, and he speculates that a compromise would be \**catsi*.<sup>893</sup>

In the other instance the name *Cais*, is sufficient as **Du.** *liefde*, **Eng.** passion, lust, and can be defined as **Du.** *Haat*, **Eng.** hate, consequently, with an origin meaning: **Du.** *hevige emotie*, **Eng.** heavy affection, passion. In modern Celtic languages the word **Ir.** *Cas*, **Wel.** *cas*, **Bret.** *kas*, according to Toorians is defined as **Du.** *haat*, **Eng.** hate, **Gk.** *kèdos*, **Du.** 1. *smart*; 2. *groot*; 3. *verdriet*, **Eng.** 1. sorrow, disappointment, annoyance, grief; 2. great; 3. chagrin, annoyance, grief.<sup>894</sup>

Evans believes the most likely etymology to be from the **Ir.** *cais(s)*, *cais(s)e*, **Eng.** fem. Love, hatred, **Ir.** *cas*, **Eng.** pleasant, and **Wel.** *cas*, **Eng.** subst. 'bitterness, hatred, enmity, Adj. hateful, hated; disagreeable, nasty, unkind, surly'.<sup>895</sup>

It is also a possibility that the **T.N.** *Chatti* evolved from the Celtic **Gaul.** *catu-*, cognate with **Ir.** *cath*, **Eng.** battle. **Corn.** *cas*.<sup>896</sup> There is also a Teutonic cognate which Evans defines from **O.N.** *hoð*, **Eng.** a fight, and **O.H.G.** *hadu-*, **Eng.** battle, also seen as \***Teut.** \**hadu-*.<sup>897</sup>

Rübekeil has provided a very detailed and most helpful study of the Chatti suggesting innumerable origins from Teutonic and Celtic. He illustrates the

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<sup>892</sup> Much, 'Chatten', at 371. See § 6. Müllenhoff 'ZfdA. 23, 7.

<sup>893</sup> The beginning of the sixth century AD, saw the disappearance of the tribal name *Chatti* and it was not until c. 720 or 737AD, that the name reappeared as **T.N.** *Hassi(i)*, *Hessi(i)* or *Hessones*, see Bremer, *Ethnographie der germanischen Stämme* at 181(915) and n. 2 and 182(916).

<sup>894</sup> Toorians, *KGN* at 83-84. See § *Bataven en Kannenefaten*.

<sup>895</sup> Evans, *GPN* at 169.

<sup>896</sup> Evans, *GPN* at 171. See § 'CASSI-, CASSES, CATU-'.

<sup>897</sup> Evans, *GPN* at 171.

complexity of determining the origin of mixed Celtic-Teutonic peoples of central Germania.<sup>898</sup>

According to Toorians the **T.N. Chatti** can be defined from **Celtic.** as **Du. de heftigen**, **Eng. impetus, force**, or **Du. die tot het uiterste gaan**, **Eng. those who lead.**<sup>899</sup>

The Celts of northern Hessen may have provided the tribal name *Cassi*, **Eng. the hated**, to the Elbgermanen invaders, who on settling amongst these Celtic peoples, adopted it, and altered it, whereupon it evolved into Chatti. *Chatti* from **Got. hatan**, **A.Sax. hatôn**, **O.H.G. hazzên, hazzôn**, **Mod.H.G. hassen**, **Eng. hate.**<sup>900</sup>

The Chatti were known for their ferocious appearance, their long hair and beards which they only removed after slaying an enemy.<sup>901</sup> However, Tacitus never refers to the **T.N. Chatti** as wearing hats or helmets.<sup>902</sup>

The most probable etymologies are:

Teutonic tribal name meaning **Eng. hated**, or **Teut. Mod.H.G. Kopfbedeckung Eng. head cover**, or **Eng. hat-wearers**.

The Celtic tribal name meaning: **Eng. Hate, Ferocious, rage, irascible, angrily, choleric, 2. brutal, unyielding, fierce, dreadful.**

This could also apply to **Celtic. T.N. Catti**, i.e. from **Celt. Catu-**, **Eng. battle** → **battlers**. The **T.N. Chatti** may have retained this name as a deterrent to their enemies.

<sup>898</sup> Rûbekeil, *Kelten und Germanen* at 13-180. See § 'II. HESSI, CHATTI, VOLCAE'.

<sup>899</sup> Toorians, *KGN* at 83-84. See § *Bataven en Kannenefates*.

<sup>900</sup> Müllenhoff, *DAK IV* at 407. Kögel, 'Ueber einige germanische Dentalverbindungen', at 178. Laistner, *Germanische Völkernamen. Sonderabdruck aus den Wörterabdruck aus dem Württembergischen Vierteljahrshäften für Landesgeschichte, neue Folge 1892* at 27.

<sup>901</sup> Rives, *Tacitus. Germania* at 89-90 (Germania, Chapter 31.1-3). See Note on § '31.1 hair and beard grow long' at 249-250 and in same § 'vowed and pledged to valour'.

<sup>902</sup> On the contrary, it may have been more meaningful and thus another method to proof of courage or worth, e.g. killing a boar, or bear, single handed, as amongst the **T.N. Taifali**. Cf. Ammianus Marcellinus. 31.9.5, and fighting without a shield amongst the **T.N. Heruli**. Bell Pers. 2. 25. Anderson, *Tacitus. Germania* at 157. See § 'CHAPTER XXXI PECULIAR CUSTOMS OF THE CHATTI' at 154-157. See § 5.

One of the most likely explanations is from Celtic **Ir.** *cais(s)*, *cais(s)e*, **Eng.** fem. Love, hatred, **Ir.** *cas*, **Eng.** pleasant,' and **Wel.** *cas*, **Eng.** subst. 'bitterness, hatred, enmity, Adj. hateful, hated; disagreeable, nasty, unkind, surly'.<sup>903</sup>

It is possible that **Teut.** *Hat-helmet/head-cover* referred to a hair-style, i.e. wild *Chattian* head covering, i.e. wild hair and beard rather than *hat-wearing*, as in Suebic hairstyles.<sup>904</sup> Rûbekeil refers to the hair-cult of the Chatti as described by Birkhan as a definition for the Celtic derivation of the name Chatti from **Celt.** *Cassi*, meaning **Mod.H.G.** *die strubbelig Behaarten*, **Eng.** tousled/wild haired. This is a distinct possibility and fits with the description of the Chatti as supplied by Tacitus.<sup>905</sup>

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<sup>903</sup> Evans, *GPN* at 169.

<sup>904</sup> Anderson, *Tacitus. Germania* at 157.

<sup>905</sup> See Rûbekeil, *Kelten und Germanen* at 20-21., on: Birkhan, 'Das gallische Namenelement \*cassi- und die germanisch-keltische Kontaktzone', at 142.

### 3.18. THE ETYMOLOGY OF THE TRIBES OF THE GERMANI CISRHENANI FROM THE AUGUSTAN PERIOD AND LATER.

It is necessary to look at the etymology of some of the tribes of Germani cisrhenania referred to for the Augustan era to assess linguistic origins, to determine the degree to which hybridization took place, to conclude the linguistic origin of immigrant tribes from Germania to Gallia, and to estimate the impact they had on the native populations.<sup>906</sup>

#### 3.18.1. ETYMOLOGY OF THE T.N. BATAVI.

Zeuss provides a parallel between the T.N. *Batavi* and the T.N. *Βατῆνοι*, (a people of the Riesengebirge) from the lost root **Teut. \*BATAN**, **Got. batiza**, **Lat. (melior)**, i.e. **Eng. better**, **Got. batnan**, **Lat. proficere**. **Eng. make progress, profit, be of use, better.**<sup>907</sup>

Schönfeld defines the tribal name *Batavi* from **Teut. Got. batiza**, **Mod.H.G. besser**, **Eng. better**, **Got. gabatnan**, **Mod.H.G. zu Nutzen gelangen**, **Eng. to gain profit**, **Got. bōta**, **Mod.H.G. Nutzen**, **Eng. benefit, profit.**<sup>908</sup> He concedes that the **Celt. -āvus**, may have influenced the tribal name *Batavi*. Schönfeld defines this name as **Mod.H.G. tüchtige Männer**, **Lat. virtute praecipui**, **Eng. brave men.**<sup>909</sup>

With regard to the suffix relating to the tribes of the *Batavi*, *Chamavi*, and *Frisiavones*, Rudolf Much initially describes the suffix as unusual for a tribal name and in Teutonic vocabulary generally and remarks that it is not detectable, whereas in Celtic it is encountered very frequently.<sup>910</sup>

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<sup>906</sup> Similar results have been obtained from my study of data and completed etymologies of the Germani cisrhenanian tribes of the Texuandri and Canninefates, which have been omitted here for reasons of space.

<sup>907</sup> Zeuss, *Die Deutschen* at 100 n\*, 101. See § 'Batavi'.

<sup>908</sup> Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen* at 47. See § 'Batavi'.

<sup>909</sup> Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen* at 47. Rives, *Tacitus. Germania* at 88-89 (Germania, Chapter 29.1). According to Tacitus the *Batavi* were 'Foremost in valour of all these peoples, the *Batavi* inhabit just a bit of the bank, but dwell on the island of the Rhine'.

<sup>910</sup> Much, 'Die Germanen am Niederrhein', at 147-148.

Rudolf Much chooses another explanation, stating that the ‘a’ in the ‘-avi’ was not a long ‘ā’ but derived from a *u*-stem, which Much believes to be Teutonic, but in fact exists in suffixes attached to **Celt. Gaul.** *Genava*, *Litavia* and *Litu-gena*, **Eng.** *mouth*.<sup>911</sup> Rudolf Much believes that the tribal name is certainly not Celtic because the same derivative is available in the name of the neighbouring *Chamavi* and *Frisiavi*, with an impossible initial-sound in Celtic. Much suggests that the root of the tribal name *Batavi* is well grounded in **Teut.** from *\*bat-is*, *\*bat-iz*, **Mod.H.G.** *besser*, **Eng.** *better*.<sup>912</sup> This tribal name is, according to Rudolf Much, seen in the Dutch regions of modern place name *Over* and *Neder-Betuwe* between the Waal and Lek. A similar form to the formation of the tribal name *Batavi* in the Dutch region of modern *Veluwe*, can be regarded as a companion to *Betuwe*. i.e. (the district just north of the *Insula Batava*). Rudolf Much argues that on phonetic grounds it could be named as Celtic. However, the auxiliary ‘coh.II Tungrorum pagus Vellaus’: (C.I.L. VII 1072), according to Much, bears no relationship to *Veluwe* (Gelderland), which he believes is surely formed from an initial sound of **Teut.** ‘f’. e.g. **Teut.** *\*Feluwe*.<sup>913</sup>

Rudolf Much defines tribal name *Batavi* from **Teut.** *\*Batawōz*, **Mod.H.G.** *die tüchtigen, trefflichen*, **Eng.** *brave, outstanding/excellent*.<sup>914</sup> Rübekeil suggests that the name *Batavi* may stem from Teutonic meaning, **Mod.H.G.** *die Guten, die Besseren*, **Eng.** *the good, the best*.<sup>915</sup> Rübekeil suggests that the *-avi* suffix may stem from **Teut.** *\*awjō* not as a definition for **Mod.H.G.** *Insel*, **Eng.** *island*, but **Mod.H.G.** *Land, das mit Wasser zu tun hat*, *Feuchtgebiet, Marschland*, **Eng.** *Land that has to do with water, damp territory, marshland*. He also suggests a possible etymology from **Teut.** *\*bat(a)-awjō*, **Mod.H.G.** *gute Insel*, **Eng.** *good island*. When referring to the *Chamavi*, *Frisiavi*/*Frisiavones*, Rübekeil refers to the possibility of the influence of **Celt.** *āvus*.<sup>916</sup>

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<sup>911</sup> Much, 'Die Germanen am Niederrhein', at 148.

<sup>912</sup> Much (ed.), *Germania* at 366. See § Ch. '29. Bataver, Mattiaker und Bewohner des Zehntlandes'.

<sup>913</sup> Much (ed.), *Germania* at 366.

<sup>914</sup> Much, 'Die Germanen am Niederrhein', at 148.

<sup>915</sup> Rübekeil, *Kelten und Germanen* at 74.

<sup>916</sup> Rübekeil, *Kelten und Germanen* at 75 n. 276-280.

A Celtic origin for the **T.N.** *Batavi* may also be seen in **Celt.** *\*batu-*, **M.Ir.** *bath*, **Mod.H.G.** *Tod*, **Eng.** *death*.<sup>917</sup> Although the Batavi were located near the Baetasii the etymologies of both names do not appear to be related.

Another possibility for a Celtic origin for the **T.N.** *Batavi* is from the Celtic word element referred to by Delamarre as **Gaul.** *'batoro-'*, which Delamarre defines as **Fr.** *'combattant'*. Delamarre remarks that 'Sur le plat de Lezoux, ligne 10: batoron ueia subreto su...que L. Fleuriot propose de lire comme le génitif pluriel d'un *\*batoros* "combatant", littéralement "bateur", à rattacher à la racine du latin *battuō*, *-ere* "batter, qu'on suppose lui-même emprunté une Gaulois (cf. *anda-bata* "gladiateur" etc.) EC 17 (1980), 140;', Delamarre also cites the **Pe.N.** *'Batelis'* and *'Battauso en Norique ?' RPS 29*.<sup>918</sup>

Rübekeil also conjectures that the Menapii may have been a model for the *-avi* names and he draws on Schütte, suggesting in hindsight that the **Celt.** *\*apia*, equates with **Mod.H.G.** *Insel, Land am Wasser*, **Eng.** *island, land in the water*, **Wel.** *aber*, **Mod.H.G.** *Flußmündung*, **Eng.** *estuary*.

It is also possible that a Nordwestblock origin may be responsible for the *'-avi'*, **Su.**, cf. Birkhan on the *'-apa'* question and Toorians's postulation that *'-avi'* derived from **Teut.** *\*agwio*, **Mod.H.G.** *Au(e)*, **Du.** *Rivierweide*, **Eng.** *river-meadow*.<sup>919</sup> However the fact that the Batavi, Frisiavones, and Chamavi appear to have only adopted the ending *-avi* when they reached Celtic territory further suggests this *-ending -avi* is of Celtic in formation.

Anderson states that the tribal names *Batavi* and *Chamavi* had the same Celtic termination, i.e. *'-avi'*.<sup>920</sup> It would appear that the suffix was indeed Celtic and that the Chamavi probably originated or formed out of mixed Menapii/Eburones and

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<sup>917</sup> Rübekeil, *Kelten und Germanen* at 74 n. 275.

<sup>918</sup> Delamarre, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise* at 69. See § *batoro-*, 'combattant' ? The **Pe.N.** *Batauso* sounds similar in form to many Lower Rhenish personal names, e.g. *Tausius*.

<sup>919</sup> Birkhan, *GKAR* at 223 n. 331. Toorians, *KGN* at 83. See § 'Bataven en Kannenefaten'.

<sup>920</sup> Anderson, *Tacitus. Germania* at 161. See 'Chapter XXXIII The Bructeri, Chamavi and Angrivarii'.

Teutonic peoples. The Frisiavones were surely a mixture of Frisii and Menapii, whilst the Batavi were formed from the Chatti, Menapii, and Eburones.

The hybrid nature of the tribal territory of the Batavi is demonstrated through their place names, (e.g. Batavo-durum, and Noviomagus, The Celtic place names which occur amongst the Batavi are *Carvium* = Bijlandse Waard, *Carvo* = Kesteren, and *Levefano* = Wijk bij Duurstede.<sup>921</sup> A Latin-Celtic origin is also certain for *Ulpia Noviomagus*, (Nijmegen), which was also founded after the arrival of the Batavi, cf. **Celt.** *Novio-magus*, **Eng.** new-plain.<sup>922</sup> Latin is also evident in *Castra Herculis* = Meinerswijk and for Teutonic probably *Ceuclum* = Cuijk.<sup>923</sup> Another possibly corrupted Celtic **PL.N.** within **PL.N.** *Batavia* is *Trajectum* (Utrecht), alternatively this may be **Lat.** *Traiectus*, **Eng.** crossing.

The Teutonic personal and place names in evidence are due to the settlement of Chatti/Chattvarii on the Lower Rhine as a result of treaties with Rome, when the Batavi promised to provide troops, presumably in exchange for the *Insula Batavorum* and exemption from payment of tax. Thus the Batavian Celtic sub-tribal units, i.e. Menapii/Eburones, which may have comprised the bulk of the population, may not have been required to provide troops to the Roman army. This could explain why many Teutonic personal names existed on the military lists of the auxiliary Batavian cohorts, although Celtic personal names are also found. Some of the personal names of the Batavi are **Teut. Pe.N.** *Chariovalda*, *Hucdio*, *Chlenoc[us]*, *Chnisso*, *Chrauttius*, *Frissia[us]*, *Hvete[ ]*, *Similis*, *Thuttēna*, and possible new Celtic personal names are: *Cessaucius*, *Andecarus*, *Brigio*, *Briganticus*, *Suandacca*, *Vassio*, *Germinus*, *Vihirmas*, *Suasco*. It is difficult to decide whether some names are Celtic

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<sup>921</sup> For location of **PL.N.** *Harenatium* on military borderland (*glacis?*), presumably within Cugernia and less likely within Batavia: cf. Rūger, *Germania Inferior* at 37.

<sup>922</sup> Toorians, *KGN* at 97-99. See 'Fectione: Vechten (U)', at 95 'Carviom', at 97 'Coriovallo', at 97-99 'Fectio', at 107-108 'Teudurum', at 102-103 'Levefano', at 108-109 'Traiectum', at 103-104 'Lugudunum', 83-87 'Batavenen Kannenefaten' at 86 'Noviodunum'.

<sup>923</sup> Heinz Günter Horn, '**Kleve-Rindern KLE** Römisches Auxiliarkastell', in Heinz Günter Horn (ed.), *Die Römer in Nordrhein-Westfalen* (1st edn., Die Römer in.; Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 1987), 458. Willems, 'Romans and Batavians I', at 65. Willems, 'Romans and Batavians', at Map.: Fig 5.1.

or Teutonic, e.g. *Sattua*, *Sautenus*, *Leubius*, or Romanized Teutonic, e.g. *Agilis*, *Similis*, and Romanized Celtic, e.g. *Sactius*, *Verecundus*.<sup>924</sup>

It is probable that the tribal name Batavi was a hybrid derived from a Teutonic stem and Celtic suffix from **Teut.** from *\*bat-is*, *\*bat-iz*, **Mod.H.G.** *besser*, **Eng.** *better*, i.e. **Mod.H.G.** *tüchtige Männer*, **Lat.** *virtute praecipui*, **Eng.** *brave men*. and **Celt.** *-avi*, meaning **Lat.** *genus*, **Eng.** *birth/descent*.

### 3.18.2. ETYMOLOGY OF T.N. SUNUCI.

It is the the opinion of Zeuss, Müllenhoff, Jullian, Stein, and Weisgerber, that the Sunuci and (Baetasii) were sub-tribes of the Sugambri.<sup>925</sup>

Another possibility is that, if the Sunuci were not related to the Sugambri, they would probably have been an Eburonian tribe or sub-tribe. Alternatively they may have been an Eburonian sub-tribe of the Sugambri, (*Cugerni*) in Gallia. Although Caesar did not mention the Sunuci by name, this does not prove that they did not exist at this time. If the Sunuci were Sugambrian, they would not have been in Gallia at the time of Caesar's Gallic War.

Weisgerber, referring to Much's definition of the tribal name Sunuci as a Celticization of **Teut.** *Eber*, **Eng.** *boar*, believes that this tribal name is uncertain. The tribal name Sunuci may also be etymologically similar to **Celt. M.N.** *Sudeti* of Bohemia, i.e *Sauwald*, **Eng.** *boar forest*.<sup>926</sup>

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<sup>924</sup> Birley, 'Batavians and Tungrians', at 253-259. Birkhan, *GKAR* at 204 n. 358 and 205. Weisgerber, 'Zum Namengut der Germani cisrhenani', at 278-296. Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen* at 292. See § '2 sß Batavi'.

<sup>925</sup> Rüger, *Germania Inferior* at 96-97 n. 481. Weisgerber, 'Xantener Siedlungsraum', at 240. Weisgerber, 'Rheinische Namen', at 333, 335. Johann Leo Weisgerber, 'Der Deditantenkreis der Matronae Austriahenae', in Johann Knobloch and Rudolf Schützeichel (eds.), *Rhenania Germano-Celtica. Gesammelte Abhandlungen. Dem Autor zum siebzigsten Geburtstag am 25. Februar 1969. Mitwirkung von Henning von Gadow und Gernot Schmidt* (1st edn., Veröffentlichung des Instituts für geschichtliche Landeskunde der Rheinlande an der Universität Bonn; Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid, 1969), 385-411 at 405.

<sup>926</sup> Weisgerber, 'Xantener Siedlungsraum', at 239-240. See § 'Stammesnamen' at 239-240. Much, *Deutsche Stammeskunde* at 87-88. See §.Die westlichen Germanenstämme. Also 'ß) Verbreitung der Kelten in Deutschland. Keltische Altertümer', at 54-57.

Zeuss equates the Sunuci/Sunici of Pliny with the Segni.<sup>927</sup> It is possible the Germani cisrhenanian Segni may have inhabited the territory later ascribed to the Sunuci in the region between and crossing both the rivers Würm and Rur and in, or bordering, Mederiacum in the north and Aquae Granni in the west, taking in the confluence of the rivers Rur and Urft.<sup>928</sup> Inscriptions by natives in the RIE used the name Sunuci, never Segni. This could cast doubt on Caesar's transference of the tribal name Segni.<sup>929</sup>

Neumann drawing upon Rudolf Much, referred to his statement that the element /prefix 'Su' is derived from **I.E.** \*sū, **Mod.H.G.** *Schwein*, **Eng.** swine/pig. Much refers to **O.N.** *sonar-goltr* and **Lang.** *sonor-pair*, both with the meaning: **Mod.H.G.** *Zuchteber*, **Eng.** breeding-boar, derived from the **Teut.** -az/iz stem \*sunaz-. Neumann observes that the stem \*sunu- was taken by Much as a variant of \*sunaz-. Neumann proposes that it is the **Teut. Su.** -k-, < **I.E.** -g-, (with a diminutive meaning), e.g. **A.Sax.** *bulluc*, **Eng.** bullock, **Mod.H.G.** *junger Ochse*, **Eng.** young ox, which equates, not with a bull-calf, but with a castrated bull-calf.<sup>930</sup> Gutenbrunner sees this meaning as a possibility.<sup>931</sup> This is similar to Rudolf Much's description of a diminutive for the Celtic Teuriski and Teutonic Cherusci of northern Germania.<sup>932</sup> Neumann states that the tribal name Sunuci can be derived from both Teutonic and Celtic. He adds that Much's definition is accordingly afflicted by several difficulties. Firstly, Neumann suggests that newer research by Jan de Vries alludes to the stem 'sonar-', which is expressly and convincingly from the **I.E.** stem-word for **Mod.H.G.** *Schwein*, *Sau*, **Eng.** swine, sow. According to de Vries there is no parallel to the

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<sup>927</sup> Zeuss, *Die Deutschen* at 213.

<sup>928</sup> Rüger, *Germania Inferior* at 37. See Map. 'Militärisches und ziviles Land in der Germania Inferior'. See also **T.N.** *Sunuci*: at 99-100.

<sup>929</sup> Reichert, *LDAN I* at 642-643. See § 'mögl. G SUNUCI: V. (KELT?): V', and at 595 the **T.N.** *Segni*: 'nicht G SEGNI: V. (KELT)'.

<sup>930</sup> Neumann, 'Germani cisrhenani', at 114. See § 'i) Sunuces/ Sunuci/ Sunuci'. Rudolf Much, 'ZfdA 39, 1895, at 22-23.'

<sup>931</sup> Neumann, 'Germani cisrhenani', at 114. Gutenbrunner, *Die germanischen Götternamen* at 88.

<sup>932</sup> Much, 'Die Südmark der Germanen', at 60.

enlargement of \**sū-* with an *n-Su*.<sup>933</sup> Secondly de Vries suggests it is not improbable that \**sunaz/-iz* = \**sunu*.<sup>934</sup>

An alternative possibility, according to Neumann, is Gutenbrunner's definition of Sunuci from a Celtic **M.N.** \**Sunukon*, **Mod.H.G.** *Sau-Wald*, **Eng.** sow-forest. Neumann states that in Celtic the stem \**sunu*, **Mod.H.G.** *Schwein*, **Eng.** swine, pig, is not verifiable.<sup>935</sup>

Neumann refers to Kaspers's definition of the adjective \**su-*, \**sū*, stating that it is in evidence in both Celtic and Teutonic.<sup>936</sup> It appears to be much more prevalent in Celtic than in Teutonic and Kaspers argues that its appearance in Teutonic is sparse.<sup>937</sup> The **Pr.** \**su-* is seen in Celtic tribal names Suessiones, Sugambri, the place name Sumelocenna, and the *Matronen* name Sulevae. In the Teutonic etymology the most apparent \**su* as seen in the tribal name Suebi is not related to \**sū*, but is of a different derivation, cf. Etymology of the Suebi.

Neumann states that Birkhan holds firm with Much's proposed association for the tribal name Sunuci, but sees, as an alternative, the possibility of Sunuci as an etymon of the Teutonic subst. \**sunu*, **Mod.H.G.** *Sohn* '(Pokorny IEW 913f.)', **Eng.** son. Neumann regards this as decisively progressive. Much argues for a **Teut.** *k-Su*. (with diminutive meaning), with which Meid agrees. Neumann comments that it would appear that the tribal name *Sunuci* lies almost entirely in **Teut.** Meid approximates the tribal name Sunuci to mean **Mod.H.G.** *die jungen Söhne*, **Eng.** the young sons.<sup>938</sup>

Neumann remarks that although some scholars willingly accept the *k-Su*. as Celtic he cannot accept this, because of what he considers an obvious Teutonic form of the

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<sup>933</sup> Neumann, 'Germani cisrhenani', at 114. De Vries, *AEW* at 530.

<sup>934</sup> Neumann, 'Germani cisrhenani', at 114. De Vries, *AEW* at 530.

<sup>935</sup> Neumann, 'Germani cisrhenani', at 114. Gutenbrunner, *Die germanischen Götternamen* at 88.

<sup>936</sup> Neumann, 'Germani cisrhenani', at 114.

<sup>937</sup> Neumann, 'Germani cisrhenani', at 114. Pokorny, *IEW* at 1037-1038. For **G.N.** *Sulivae* see Reichert, *LDANI* at 638-640. See W. Kaspers in: 'PBB Halle 80, 1958, 407'.

<sup>938</sup> Neumann, 'Germani cisrhenani', at 114. Birkhan, *GKAR* at 191. Birkhan on **Mod.H.G.** *Sohn* see Pokorny *IEW* 913-914. Krahe, *Germanische Sprachwissenschaft* at 211-216. See § 153. Pokorny, *IEW* at 913-914.

fem. **G.N.** *Sunucsalis* and that ‘Sunu-’ meaning: **Mod.H.G.** *Nachkommen*, **Eng.** descendants, which he asserts is absent in Celtic.<sup>939</sup> This view is controversial.

Referring to Sunucsalis, the god of the Sunuci, Birkhan wonders whether it was pre-Ubian, Eburonian or another cisrhenanian people.<sup>940</sup> Birkhan also states that the initial origin of the tribal name Sunuci of Pliny is probably derived from the **I.E.** *sūs*, *\*suuós*.<sup>941</sup> Against this Birkhan speaks of a Germanization in terms of a *k-Su*.<sup>942</sup>

Birkhan also adds that in the suffix we encounter again the un-Teutonic *k-Su*. that is seen in the tribal names Sunuci and Marsaci and in the personal names which usually occur in the Nordwestblock.<sup>943</sup> He refers to Gutenbrunner who considers a Teutonic origin (**I.E.** –*g-Su*. occasionally seen in animal names (**A.N.**) as in: **Teut.** *bulluc*, **Mod.H.G.** *junger ochse*, **Eng.** bullock.<sup>944</sup> Gutenbrunner states that it is Celtic of Celtic formation, as paralleled in the **Celt. T.N.** < *Caruces* < *\*Kaerukes*, from **O.Ir.** *caera*, **Mod.H.G.** *Schaf*, cf. **Ir.** *caor*, and seen in the Bohemian Sauwald, i.e. Sudeten forest.<sup>945</sup> Gutenbrunner concludes by asserting that the tribal name Sunuci was of Celtic origin. Luján also defines ‘*ś-u-n-u-ge-* (MLH 1.310)’ as Celtic from *\*Sunucus*.<sup>946</sup>

Specht defines the *k-Su*. cf. **T.N.** *Sunuci* as non-**Teut.**<sup>947</sup> Birkhan suggests that the tribal name Sunuci could be defined from the **I.E.** *\*sunus*, **Mod.H.G.** *Sohn*, **Eng.** son, with a diminutive **Su.** *-k*.<sup>948</sup> Birkhan drawing upon Schlaug, remarks that the **T.N.** *Sunuci*, would then be defined as **Mod.H.G.** *Söhnchen*, **Eng.** the little sons, **O.Sax. Pe.N.** *Sunuko* and could possibly be derived from **Lat.** *ver sacrum*, **Eng.**

<sup>939</sup> Neumann, ‘Germani cisrhenani’, at 115.

<sup>940</sup> Birkhan, *GKAR* at 192. Gutenbrunner, *Die germanischen Götternamen* at 88-89.

<sup>941</sup> Birkhan, *GKAR* at 192. For **I.E.** *sūs*, *\*suuós*, Pokorny, *IEW* at 1038-1039.

<sup>942</sup> Birkhan, *GKAR* at 192 n. 322. For Celtic nature of suffix see Gutenbrunner, *Die germanischen Götternamen* at 88-89.

<sup>943</sup> Birkhan, *GKAR* at 191.

<sup>944</sup> Birkhan, *GKAR* at 192-193. Gutenbrunner, *Die germanischen Götternamen* at 88-89.

<sup>945</sup> Gutenbrunner, *Die germanischen Götternamen* at 89.

<sup>946</sup> Eugenio R. Luján, ‘Gaulish Personal Names: An Update’, *Études Celtiques*, XXXV (2003), 181-247 at 233. See also Luján also defines *ś-u-n-u-ge-* (MLH 1.310).

<sup>947</sup> F. Specht, *Der Ursprung der indogermanischehn Deklination*. (1st edn.; Göttingen, 1944) at 203-205. On p.203 Specht states that the “-k-” **Su.** was not **N.W.B.**

<sup>948</sup> Birkhan, *GKAR* at 203.

offerings of firstlings, i.e. presumably young animals. This is suggested by Birkhan as a possibility for the interpretation of the tribal name *Ambrones*.<sup>949</sup>

Reichert considers the name *Sunuci/Sunici* to be non-Teutonic and possibly Celtic.<sup>950</sup> The name *Sunuci* has a parallel in **Celt. Wel. baedd**, **Mod.H.G. Eber**, **Eng. boar**, and whilst the Teutonic word for boar, i.e. *\*bait-* also exists, Birkhan argues that for the *Sunuci* there is no Teutonic parallel for an 'eberwortes' with the name *Sunuci*. Birkhan states that there is an equivocal link between the word formation *Sunuci* and the *Baetasii*.<sup>951</sup>

Schönfeld defines the *Sunuci* as a Celtic tribal name.<sup>952</sup> Bremer includes the *Sunuci* with the *Germani cisrhenani* of Caesar, which he is adamant were Celtic speaking.<sup>953</sup> Carroll recently linked the *Sunuci* to the tribal name *Eburones*.<sup>954</sup> Birkhan eventually suggests that the tribal name *Sunuci* is Celtic or, neither Celtic nor Teutonic.<sup>955</sup>

Although there is divided opinion on the designation of the etymology of the name *Sunuci* it is probably Celtic from **Celt. \*sunuk**, **Eng. young boar**. All of the place names surrounding and within the territory of the *Sunuci* appear to be of undoubtedly Celtic or Latin origin, e.g. **Pl.N. Coriovallum** (*Heerlen*), *Theudurum* (*Tüddern*), *Mederiacum* (*Melich*), *Juliacum* (*Jülich*), *Aquae Granni* (*Aachen*), *Varnenum* (*Kornelmünster*).

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<sup>949</sup> Birkhan, *GKAR* at 193. This is suggested by Birkhan as a possibility for the interpretation of the **T.N. Ambrones**. Rudolf Much too provides it as one possibility for the **T.N. Ambrones**, although this could as easily derive from a Celtic source: cf. **Celt. \*ambros**.

<sup>950</sup> Reichert, *LDAN I* at 642. See § 'mögl. G SUNUC 1: V, (KELT?)'.

<sup>951</sup> Birkhan, *GKAR* at 194.

<sup>952</sup> Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen* at 219. See § 'Sunuci'.

<sup>953</sup> Bremer, *Ethnographie der germanischen Stämme* at 3(737).

<sup>954</sup> Carroll, *Celts & Germans* at 29. See § 'Demographic reorganisation under Augustus', at 29-32.

<sup>955</sup> Birkhan, *GKAR* at 203.

### 3.18.3. ETYMOLOGY OF T.N. CUGERNI/CUBERNI/CIBERNI/GUBERNI/GUGERNI.

The first reference to the Cugerni/Ciberni is made by Pliny, who names them Guberni rather than Cugerni/Ciberni.<sup>956</sup> One problem in assessing the etymology of the east-Rhenish tribe of the Cugerni/Cuberni is the form of the name applied to them. The tribal name Cugerni has until recently been the most prevalent form of the name employed. Most of the available etymological evidence including C.I.L. references by classical authors and authorities of the time, have to date, suggested that the name is *Cugerni*.<sup>957</sup> Two other references differ from the prevalent form **Pr. Cug-**, i.e. ‘C.W.B. 1524 (**Cubernorum**, 12)’; and ‘PLI.4 106 351 3 (**Guberni**, 11)’. Both have the prefix replacing *Cug-* with *Cub-* and *Gub-*.<sup>958</sup>

Prior to the establishment of Xanten, Bogaers postulates from an inscription that the capital of the Cugerni was known as ‘CIB’, which he relates to the tribal name and designates as *\*CIB[ERNODURI]*, i.e. **Celt. Pl.N. \*Cibernodurum**.<sup>959</sup> This postulated place name would be fair, if the bulk of the population of the Cugerni were Celtic speakers, but if they were Teutonic speakers the place name ‘CIB’ could as likely have contained a Teutonic suffix and the name *\*CIBERNOBURGIUM* would be more fitting.<sup>960</sup> An inscription from only one epigraph i.e. ‘CIB’ seems insufficient evidence to establish the name of the main settlement of the Cugerni as *\*CIB[ERNODURI]*.

For the **Pl.N. \*Cibernodurum/dunum** the **Su. -durum/dunum** is Celtic and cannot be interpreted as Teutonic.<sup>961</sup> However, the incoming Cugerni/Cuberni may have been a mixture of Celtic and Teutonic with the Celtic language dominant, as seen amongst

<sup>956</sup> Reichert, *LDAN I* at 229. See § ‘**mögl G CUGERN: V, PLI. 4 106 351 3 (Guberni, 11) LESARTEN: Hss.] Cube-Müllenhoff**’.

<sup>957</sup> For the **T.N. Cugerni/Ciberni/Cuberni**: see Reichert, *LDAN I* at 228-229. § ‘**mögl G CUGERN: V**’.

<sup>958</sup> Reichert, *LDAN I* at 228. See § ‘**mögl CUGERN: V**, C.W.B. 1524 (**Cubernorum**, 12): CARRAWBURGH, BR. Quell.Zeit. deae Coventinae coh I C.’. See at 229 Reichert ‘**PLI. 4 106 351 3 (Guberni, 11) LESARTEN: Hss.] Cube-Müllenhoff**’.

<sup>959</sup> J. E. Bogaers, ‘Zum Namen des “oppidum Cugernorum”’, *Naamkunde*, 16/(FS M. Gyseling [1]) (1984), 33-39 at 33-39.

<sup>960</sup> Neumann, ‘Germani cisrhenani’, at 112. See § ‘f) Cuberni/Cugerni’.

<sup>961</sup> Weisgerber, ‘Rheinische Namen’, at 350. See ‘3.Keltische Siedlungsnamen’, at 350-352.

the Batavi through **PI.N.** *Batavodurum/Noviomagus*. The Teutonic element amongst the Cugerni, may have been a Suebian contingent which accompanied the Sugambri into Gallia.

Although most of the place names on the Lower Rhine exhibit the characteristic **Celt.** *-durum/dunum* and *-magus* suffixes, e.g. **PI.N.** *Batavodurum* → *Noviomagus* (Nijmegen) and *Lugudunum* (Leiden), there are exceptions, e.g. **PI.N.** *Asciburgium* (Asberg) and *Quadriburgium* (Qualburg) both found amongst the Cugerni/Cuberni.

The fact that a Roman dedication to this people was made as *Cubernorum* suggests that if this referred to the same people equated with the Cugerni and not the Cubi, the name was accurate, although dedications can differ.<sup>962</sup> It is noticeable that Rüger, who formerly used the name *Cugerni* for his earlier treatise on Germania Inferior, later used the terms *Ciberni* and *\*Cibernodurum*.<sup>963</sup> Schalles remarks that by the 60's AD, *\*Cibernodurum*, had already attained a high status.<sup>964</sup>

Heinrichs refers to the origin of the **T.N.** *Cugerni* as a 'neue Mischverband' made up of the Sugambrian, Suebian and native Lower Rhenish peoples.<sup>965</sup>

Rudolf Much in 1892 provided a detailed description for a Teutonic origin of the Cugerni, referring to the name *Cugerni* from literary sources and from inscriptions, e.g. *Cugerni*, *Cuberni*, *Guberni*, *Gugerni*. He does not refer to *Ciberni*. He suggests that *Cugerni* signifies, **Mod.H.G.** *Kuhknechte*, **Eng.** cowboys.<sup>966</sup> Later in the *RGA* 1911-13 he remarked that the tribal names Cuberni or Cugerni are known from inscriptions, but they are not etymologically compatible. Much assumes the prefix of

<sup>962</sup> Reichert, *LDAN I* at 229. See § 'CUGERN: V, C.W.B. 1524 (Cubernorum, 12): CARRAWBURGH, Zeit: Heidn. KONTEXT: deae BR. Quell Coventinae coh I Cubernorum'.

<sup>963</sup> Christoph B. Rüger, 'Colonia Ulpia Traiana', in Heinz Horn, Günter (ed.), *Die Römer in Nordrhein-Westfalen* (1st edn., Die Römer in.; Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 1987), 626-638 at 627-629, 632, 633. Rüger, *Germania Inferior* at 9.

<sup>964</sup> Hans-Joachim Schalles, 'Städte im Rheinland: das Beispiel Xanten', in Ludwig Wamser, Christof Flügel et al. (eds.), *Die Römer zwischen Alpen und Nordmeer: Zivilisatorisches Erbe einer europäischen Militärmacht. Katalog-Handbuch zur Landesausstellung des Freistaates Bayern Rosenheim 2000* (1st edn., Schriftenreihe der Archäologischen Staatssammlung; Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 2000), 104-107 at 104. See Map. 'Abb.20'.

<sup>965</sup> Heinrichs, 'Zur Umsiedlung protocugernischer Gruppen', at 70-71.

<sup>966</sup> Much, 'Die Germanen am Niederrhein', at 158. See also § 'Berichtigungen und nachträge' at 221-224 and **T.N.** *Cugerni* at 223-224.

both names to be *Cu-*, i.e. *Cu-berni*, *Cu-gerni* and states that the first element is cognate with **O.Nor.** *kyr*, **O.Fris.** *kū*, **A.Sax.** *cū*, next to **O.Sw.** *kō*, **O.H.G.** *chuo*, and the second element from **A.Sax.** *beorn*, **Mod.H.G.** *Mann*, *edler Mann*, **Eng.** *man*, nobleman, = **Latv.** *bērns*, **Mod.H.G.** *Kind*, **Lith.** *bėrnas*, **Mod.H.G.** *Knecht*, **Eng.** *servant*, farm-hand, cf. **Teut.** *\*gerna-*, **Mod.H.G.** *begierig*, **Eng.** *eager*, *desirous*, *covetous*, **Got.** *faihugairns*. Rudolf Much concludes that the names *Cuberni*, *Cugerni*, were then **Mod.H.G.** *die Kuhknechte*, **Eng.** *cowboys*, and **Mod.H.G.** *die nach Kühen begehrenden*, *Kuhdiebe* (?) **Eng.** *those who covet cows* (presumably cattle), the cow (cattle) thieves/rustlers.<sup>967</sup>

Considering the *Cugerni/Cuberni* were settled amongst the Eburones it is surprising that Rudolf Much did not also provide a Celtic etymology. It is unknown whether they named themselves, were named by the indigenous Gaulish tribes or by the Batavi or Ubii. It is unlikely that the *Cugerni* would have called themselves cow thieves but they may have referred to themselves as cow handlers.

Cohorts of the *Cugerni* are found in the Roman army. The prefix *Cug-*, is dominant, but *Cub-*, is also present. As it seems unlikely that the *Cugernian* soldiers would have accepted an incorrect name for their cohort, it is probable that some of the references to them may have been provided by outside sources.<sup>968</sup>

Another possible Teutonic origin for *Cugerni* for **Teut.** is from **O.H.G.** *chubisi*, **Mod.H.G.** *Hütte*, **Eng.** *hut*, **A.Sax.** *cofa*, **Mod.H.G.** *Gemach*, **M.H.G.** *kobel*, *enges Haus*, **Eng.** *narrow house*.<sup>969</sup>

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<sup>967</sup> Rudolf Much, 'Cuberni oder Cugerni', in Johannes Hoops (ed.), *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde. A-E. (Hoops I)* (1st edn., Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, I; Straßburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1911-1913), 381 at 381.

<sup>968</sup> Reichert, *LDAN I* at 228-229. See § 'mögl CUGERN:', 'C.W.B. 1524 (**Cubernorum**, 12): CARRAWBURGH, BR. Quell.Zeit: Heidn. KONTEXT: deae Coventinae coh I Cubernorum', 'C.I.L. 16 D 70 A 10 (Cuger/,X): STANNINGTON, BR. Quell.Zeit: 124 KONTEXT: coh.1 C.', 'C.I.L. 16 D 48 B 10 (Cugernorum, 12): MALPAS, BR. Quell.Zeit: 103 KONTEXT: coh. 1 C. LESARTEN: †] gugeruos M; cunganos L', 'C.I.L. 16 D 48 A 10 (Cugernorum, 12): MALPAS, BR. Quell.Zeit:103 KONTEXT: coh.1 C.', 'C.I.L. 16 D 69 B 13 (Cugern/, X): O-SZÖNY, P.A.S. Quell.Zeit:122 KONTEXT: coh. 1 Ulpia Traiana C. c(ivium) R(omanorum)' at 228-229.

<sup>969</sup> Neumann, 'Germani cisrhenani', at 112 n. 11. See § 'f) Cuberni/Cugerni', at 112-113.

A possible origin from Celtic is provided by Neumann who states that it is worth considering a link with the **Celt. T.N. Cubi**, in spite of the vacillating vowel, perhaps seen in **O.Ir. cob**, **Mod.H.G. Sieg**, **Eng.** victory, i.e. the victorious.<sup>970</sup>

Neumann believes that the proof that Cuberni/Cugerni were old (first–second century AD) is shown from the ‘c’ of the initial sound as in the Cimbri and Vacalli, etc. as seen in and interpreted by **Teut. ‘χ’**, thus indicating the ‘Chi’ of **T.N. Χουβερνοι**. Neumann surmises that both are from the **Teut. \*χubila-**, **O.H.G. hubil**, **N.H.D. Hübel** and **Teut. \*χugila-**, **Mod.H.G. Hügel, kleine Anhöhe**, **Eng.** little heights. Now both substantives are testified to be *r*-stems, (**A.Sax. hofer**, **O.H.G. hovar**, **Mod.H.G. Buckel**, **Eng.** hump, **M.H.D. hoger**, **Mod.H.G. Höcker**, **Eng.** hump, hence the consonants ‘-rn-’ as frequently attached to an ‘-n-’ have been rooted in an *r*-stem. Neumann adds that both variants of these place names are defined as **Mod.H.G. Bewohner der Hügelkuppen**, **Eng.** the inhabitants of the hill-tops.<sup>971</sup>

Toorians opines that the etymology for the tribal name Cugerni is cloudy ‘Voor de Cugerni gaan de meeste geleerden uit van een Keltische naam, maar ook hier is de etymologie volstrekt onduidelijk’.<sup>972</sup>

To understand the linguistic nature of the tribal unit which would emerge as the Cuberni/Cugerni after 8 BC, it is necessary to understand which tribe, or tribes, made up this new unit.

As the Sugambri had headed an alliance of tribes from c. 20 BC, their transferral in 8 BC to Gallia must have included some allied tribal elements who were coerced into accompanying them to Gallia. The Cuberni/Cugerni must have constituted a large section of the Sugambri, their sub-tribes, probably the Baetasii and Sunuci, and other unnamed tribal sub-units, possibly small elements of the Usipetes and Tencteri, Marsi, Gamabrivii, Tubantes, and the Suebi (perhaps Suebi Langobardoi), with elements of the Menapii and Eburones.

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<sup>970</sup> Neumann, ‘Germani cisrhenani’, at 112 n. 11. Neumann refers to Pokorny, *IEW* at 610.

<sup>971</sup> Neumann, ‘Germani cisrhenani’, at 112 n. 13 and 14.

<sup>972</sup> Toorians, *KGN* at 79-80. See §‘Het oosten van Nederland’.

It is most likely that the creation of the tribal name Cuberni/Cugerni was a new construct by the remnants of these confederated tribes who were transplanted to Gallia.

Both Celtic and Teutonic etymologies are plausible for the tribal name. For Teutonic the most likely etymology is **Teut.** *\*gerna-*, **Mod.H.G.** *begierig*, **Eng.** *eager*, *desirous*, *covetous*, **Got.** *faihugairns*. Rudolf Much concludes that the names Cuberni, Cugerni, were then **Mod.H.G.** *die Kuhknechte*, **Eng.** *cowboys*, **Eng.** *cowboy/cow people*, and for **Celt.** etymology **T.N.** *Cuberni/(Cugerni)* **Celt.** *cob*, **Mod.H.G.** *Sieg*, **Eng.** *victory*, *the victorious*. A Celtic origin seems more plausible for such a powerful and warlike grouping as the Cuberni/Cugerni.<sup>973</sup>

### 3.18.3.1. GOD NAMES IN THE TERRITORY OF THE T.N. CUGERNI.

Apart from the 'Römische-südlandische' gods, the native god names associated with the Cugernian territory are of mixed Celtic and Teutonic origin.<sup>974</sup>

**G.N.** *Alateiviae* (Divos) 8606

**G.N.** *Matribus Annaneptis* (Q. Vetius Quintus) 8629

**G.N.** *Mercurio Arverno* (Irmidius Ma[cr]o) 9709

**G.N.** *Matribus Arsacis paternis sive maternis* (M. Aur. Lu. Veronius Verus) 8630 = H. Dessau, ILS 4782

**G.N.** *Matribus Brittis* (L. Valerius Simplex) 8631

**G.N.** *M(atribus) Brittis Ma[rs]iacis* (Landal ... 1) 8632

**G.N.** *Marti Camulo* (cives Remi) 8701

**G.N.** *Matribus Frisavis paternis* (?) 8633

**G.N.** *Iunonibus sive Gabiabus m(atribus oder aternis)* (M. Hilarinius Romanus) 8612

**G.N.** *Haevac, Herculi Magusano*. Cf. *Herculi Magusano*

**G.N.** *Marti Halamard* [ . . ] (T. Domit. Vindex) 8707

**G.N.** *Hludanae* (C. Tiberius Verus) 8611 from Xanten.

**G.N.** *H. LVCENAE* (Cen[ ... ]) 8661

<sup>973</sup> For **Celt.** etymology cf.: Pokorny, *IEW* at 610. Neumann, 'Germani cisrhenani', at 112 n. 11-12.

<sup>974</sup> Weisgerber, 'Xantener Siedlungsraum', at 271-274. See § 'Götternamen'.

- G.N. *Herculi Ma(gusano) (L. Vib. Castus) 8610* = P. Steiner, Katalog Xanten (1911) 45
- G.N. *Herculi Magusano et Haevac (Ulpi(us) Lupio et Ulpia Ammava) 8705*
- G.N. *M(atribus) Ma[rs]acis*, see *M(atribus) Brittis*
- G.N. *Matribus Treveris (T. Paternius Perpetuus) 8634*
- G.N. *[Matro]n[i]s? Vaeav[ ... ](?) 8665*
- G.N. *Vagdavercusti (Iulius Quint.) 8662; (?) 8702; (1 ... Jus Iustus) 8703*
- G.N. *Mars Cicollus (Lingonian) last third of first century AD in Xanten.*<sup>975</sup>
- G.N. *Matres A(m)biamarcae*. Wardt (Kreis Moers).<sup>976</sup>
- G.N. *Matres (Annanepitis) Xanten*. C.I.L. XIII 8329.<sup>977</sup>
- G.N. *(Matribus Quadruburgensis)* C.I.L. XIII 8638.<sup>978</sup>

From an altar at Kalkstein ‘[-----] sacru[m] / vicus Mati[di]a]/rum’.<sup>979</sup>

A further inscription is *Fano* (A.EPI 968 398) from Xanten. Teutonic *Fano* could be derived from **Teut.** *fana, fano* = **De.** ‘Tuch’. However, the name could as easily be from Celtic from **Gaul.** ‘-vanos’, **Fr.** *Tueur de*.<sup>980</sup>

It is unlikely that many of these god names can be established as belonging to the native Cuberni/Cugerni. Some are undoubtedly attributed to non-native, i.e. to legionary, auxiliary units, and individuals from elsewhere in Gallia. Some of what Weisgerber designates as ‘Römische-südlandische Gottheiten’ exhibit no native elements, others do, but it is not possible to determine them as Cubernian/Cugernian.

<sup>975</sup> Frateantonio, ‘Kulte des Xantener Raumes, Cugernervicus,’ at 176.

<sup>976</sup> Frateantonio, ‘Kulte des Xantener Raumes, Cugernervicus,’ at 186.

<sup>977</sup> Frateantonio, ‘Kulte des Xantener Raumes, Cugernervicus,’ at 186. Reichert defines Annanepitis as ‘mögl. G ANNANEPT (Hybridbildung?): PM,F (?KELT), see: Reichert, *LDAN I* at 53.

<sup>978</sup> Frateantonio, ‘Kulte des Xantener Raumes, Cugernervicus,’ at 186-187.

<sup>979</sup> Frateantonio, ‘Kulte des Xantener Raumes, Cugernervicus,’ at 187. Depending on the actual middle element of the word The initial element in the **Pl.N.** *Mati[di]a]/rum*, ‘Mati’ looks like common Celtic from ‘**matu-**, **mati-**, **matiacos**, bon, favourable, complet ?’ See: Delamarre, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise* at 221.

<sup>980</sup> Delamarre, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise* at 306-307.

### 3.18.3.2. RÖMISCHE-SÜDLANDISCHE GODS WITH NATIVE ELEMENTS.<sup>981</sup>

**G.N.** *Herculi Ma(gusano) (L. Vib. Castus) 8610* = P. Steiner, Katalog Xanten (1911) 45

**G.N.** *Herculi Magusano et Haevac (Ulpi(us) Lupio et Ulpia Ammava) 8705*

**G.N.** *Iuonibus sive Gabiabus m(atribus oder aternis) (M.Hilarinius) 8612.*

**G.N.** *Marti Camulo (cives Remi) 8701*

**G.N.** *Marti Halamarđ [ . . ] (T. Domit. Vindex) 8707* = H. Dessau. ILS 4561

**G.N.** *Mercurio Arverno (Irmidius Ma[cr]o) 9709*

**G.N.** *Silvano (Cessorinius Ammausius) 8639.*

### 3.18.4. ETYMOLOGY OF T.N. BAETASII.

The *Baetasii* were located within the *civitas* of the *Cugerni (Civitas Ulpia Traiana, i.e. C.U.T. )*. The fact that the *Baetasii* maintained an independent existence as part of the *Cugernian civitas* may suggest that they were not pre-existing Eburones, but immigrant Sugambri. Results have been obtained from a study of the *Baetasii* which have been omitted here for reasons of space. However the *Baetasii* appear to have been etymologically Celtic in origin. For the **T.N.** *Baetasii* see **Pe.N.** *Baetorix* which has the same origin as *Baetasii*.

#### 3.18.4.1. PERSONAL NAMES OF THE BAETASII.

Reichert refers to:

C.I.L. 7025: ‘ANNAVSO.SEDAVONIS.F.CIVES.BETASIV(S)...II.FLAVIA’.<sup>982</sup>

In this particular case it is probable that C.I.L. 7025 referred to either:

**Pe.N.** *Annauso*, the father of the *Baetasian Pe.N. Sedavonis* or:

**Pe.N.** *Annauso Sedavonius* of the *Baetasii*.

<sup>981</sup> Weisgerber, 'Xantener Siedlungsraum', at 271-274.

<sup>982</sup> Reichert, *LDAN I* at 594. ‘**mögl. G SEDAVO**: P, M. C.I.L. 13 7025 (**Sedavonis**, 02) MAINZ, D.S. Quell Zeit: Heidn. KONTEXT: Annauso (Dativ) S. f(ilio), cives Baetasius’.

In keeping with the general format of these inscriptions this reference probably refers to *Sedavonis*, the son of *Annaus*, of the Baetasii.

### 3.18.4.2. T.N. BAETASII: THE –AV (V)ON-UA- SU.

Weisgerber states that this C.I.L. 7025 refers to the only personal names of the Baetasii.<sup>983</sup> He suggests that **Pe.N.** *Sedavo* is of Teutonic origin, from \***Teut.** *sedu-*, **Mod.H.G.** *Sitte*, **Eng.** *custom*. Referring to **Pe.N.** *Sidua-Sedavo*, *Lellua-Lellavvo*, he remarks that this can be attributed to a Teutonic element. For *av (v)on-ua-*, but his research has suggested that this **Su.** *av (v)on-ua-*, is problematic and appears to provide both **Teut.** and **Celt.** possibilities, e.g. **Pe.N.** *Sedavo*, *Haldavvo*, *Lellavvo* and he refers to **Pe.N.** *Duravvo* as **Celt.(?)**: *Duravvo keltisch?*<sup>984</sup> This –avvo element may be connected to the –avi **Su.** and Weisgerber refers to the **T.N.** *Batavi*, *Chamavi*, *Frisiavi/Frisiavones* and also the fully **Celt.** \**Vellavi* of the **Pl.N.** *pagus Vellaus*.<sup>985</sup>

### 3.18.4.3. T.N. BAETASII: THE –AUSO SU.

The **Pe.N.** *Annauso* has no counterpart in **Teut.** but is of similar construction to the **Celt.** **T.N.** *Condrusi*, *Condrausis*, cf. –*drauso*, cf. **Pe.N.** *Drousa* and *Drauso*, which is interesting according to Weisgerber, as it is seen in the **T.N.** *Condrusi*, ‘Vannérus, J. Le nom des Condrusi. Acad. roy. Belg. Bulletin 38, 1952., 439ff’.<sup>986</sup>

When referring to the personal names of the Rhineland Weisgerber states that there are a great number of diphthongs, e.g. ‘ai’, ‘ou’, which do not exist in **Lat.** except for ‘au’, cf. **Pe.** *Annauso* and *Carausius*, *Pennauiusius*, *Tippausus*, *Tittausus*, *Annauso*.<sup>987</sup>

<sup>983</sup> Weisgerber, ‘Xantener Siedlungsraum’, at 271.

<sup>984</sup> Weisgerber, *Die Namen der Ubier* at 379-381. ‘Der Problemkreis –av(v)on-/ua-’, at 379, 380: **Teut.** **Pe.N.** *Sedavo*, *Haldavvo*, *Lellavvo* at 381. Evans, *GPN*. ‘SED-’ at 253-254. See also at 172-173 and 296. Evans assigns the **Pe.N.** *Sedavo* to **Celt.** at 253, 253 n. 6-7, 254, see also C.I.L. XIII 7025 to **Celt.** See 254. Also see 56, 57, 296, 391, 397, 404, 469. The element *sed-* is also directly seen in common Celtic and often in Gallia as **Celt.** *sed-* **Eng.** to sit.

<sup>985</sup> Weisgerber, *Die Namen der Ubier* at 153-154.

<sup>986</sup> Weisgerber, *Die Namen der Ubier* at 235-236. Vannerus is referred to by Weisgerber: J. Vannerus, ‘Le nom des Condrusi’, *Acad. roy. Belg. Bulletin.*, 38 (1952), 439ff.

<sup>987</sup> Weisgerber, *Die Namen der Ubier* at 236.

Schönfeld asserts that to date there has been no luck in the translation of **Pe.N.** *Annauso Sedavonis*, or *Annaus Osedavonis f(i)lius*), but states that it is possible that the father **Pe.N.** *Annauso* was **T.N.** *Baetasian* and the son **Pe.N.** *Sedavonis* had a non-**Teut.** **Pe.N.** Schönfeld draws upon Holder, who affirms the **Celt.** origin of the **Pe.N.** *Sedavonis*, of the **T.N.** *Baetasii*, referring to: C.I.L. 13 7025, i.e. *Annauso Sedavonis f. civis Betasius*.<sup>988</sup>

The element “*sed-*”, is easily attainable in **Celt.** cf. **Ir.** *-said*, **Eng.** *sits*, **Wel.** *sedd*, *sed*, **Lat.** *sedeo*, **Eng.** ‘I sit’.<sup>989</sup> Evans lists the **T.N.** *Baetasian* **Pe.N.** *Sedavo* as **Celt.**<sup>990</sup>

Although Weisgerber believes **Pe.N.** *Sedavo* to be of Teutonic origin, a large body of evidence supports the position that the element ‘*Sed-*’ is **Celt.**<sup>991</sup> Indeed the element ‘*SED-*’ is common in Celtic. In the instance of **Pe.N.** *Sedavo* the name element ‘*Sed-*’ is much more likely to have been of Celtic origin.

### 3.18.1. ETYMOLOGY OF T.N. TUNGRI.

Pliny was the first authority to name the Tungri in northern Gallia.<sup>992</sup> The Eburones are notably absent from Pliny’s account.<sup>993</sup> Tacitus asserted that the Tungri were the first tribe in Gallia known as Germani.<sup>994</sup> This suggests that Tacitus’s Tungri were the Germani cisrhenani of Caesar. Caesar never mentioned the Tungri, as they did not exist until after his departure from Gallia.

Of the newly named tribal units of the Lower Rhine region, which appear in the Augustan era, Slofstra states: ‘Perhaps we should also regard the Texuandri, the Frisiavones and the Tungri, who lived further south, as new tribal aggregations under

<sup>988</sup> Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen* at 201. See § ‘*Sedavo* (?) PN’. Holder (ed.), *AcS I*. See Holder on **Pe.N.** *Annauso*.

<sup>989</sup> Evans, *GPN* at 253. ‘*SED-*’.

<sup>990</sup> Evans, *GPN* at 254.

<sup>991</sup> Weisgerber, *Die Namen der Ubier* at 379-380. See ‘II. Der Soldatenkreis’, ‘Der Problemkreis – av(v)on-/ua-’ at 379-381. **Teut.** **Pe.N.** *Sedavo*, *Haldavvo*, *Lellavvo* and at 381. Evans, *GPN* at 253 and n. 5. See § ‘*SED-*’, at 253-254.

<sup>992</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), *Pliny. III-VII* at 200-201 (Book IV, Chapter XVIII.106).

<sup>993</sup> Reichert, *LDAN I* at 725. See ‘**TUNGR:** V, PLI.1 4 106 350 10 (**Tungri**, 11) LESARTEN: tuncgri A’.

<sup>994</sup> Rives, *Tacitus. Germania* at 77-78 (Germania, Chapter 2.3).

new names, as the product of the complex ethnic dynamics which occurred in the northern frontier zone after the Gallic War'.<sup>995</sup> However, Slofstra adds that the extent to which these were all spontaneous regroupings is questionable and he cites Willems, who suggests a somewhat engineered process.<sup>996</sup>

Nouwen, referring to the list of *civitates* of the Augustan period, states that the *Germani cisrhenani* are no longer mentioned in the Augustan resettlement period.<sup>997</sup> This was probably because they were absorbed into or formed parts of the larger *civitates*, e.g. *Tungri*, *Ubii*, *Cugerni*, *Batavi*, and *Treveri*.

Loicq and Michel state for the origin of the T.N. *Tungri* that it can be found in Celtic **Gaul.** *tyngu*, **Fr.** *je jure*, **Eng.** swear, vow.<sup>998</sup> This may be a similar meaning in Celtic to **Lat.** *foederati*, **Eng.** the confederates, i.e. those who swore an oath to band together. This probably applied to the reformation of tribal units in this region after the Gallic War.

Much defines the T.N. *Tungri* from: **Teut.** *\*tungraz*, **I.E.** > basic-form *\*dnkrós*, close in form to **Teut.** *\*tangraz*, basic-form *\*donkrós*, **O.H.G.** *zangar*, **M.H.D.** *zanger*, **Mod.H.G.** *beissend, scharf, bissig*, **Eng.** biting, sharp, malicious, **M.D.** *tanger*, **Mod.H.G.** *frisch, munter*, **Eng.** fresh, awake.<sup>999</sup>

Delamarre states that the **Gaul.** *toncnaman*, equates with **Fr.** *serment*, which he suggests is also to be equated with **Gaul.** *\*tong-*, **Fr.** 'jurer'. He adds that when referring to the **Gaul.** *toncsiíontío*, **Fr.** 'qui jureront', as found on the 'Tablette de Chamalières, ligne 8 : (7) ...etic secoui toncnaman / (8) toncsiíontío meíon toncsesit...', *EC* 15 (1976-77), 159, *LG* 151'. Delamarre adds that 'On etymologise

<sup>995</sup> Slofstra, 'Meuse-Demer-Scheldt', at 171 n. 107.

<sup>996</sup> Slofstra, 'Meuse-Demer-Scheldt', at 171 n. 107. See also Fig. 30 at 185. Slofstra refers to Willem J. H. Willems, *Romans and Batavians. A regional study in the Dutch Eastern River Area* (1st edn.; Amersfoort, 1986) at 367. I have used the same text in its earlier published form in two parts in 1981 and 1984 in BROB 31 and 34, i.e. Willems, 'Romans and Batavians I'. And Willems, 'Romans and Batavians II.'

<sup>997</sup> Nouwen, *Tongeren en het land van de Tungri* at 55.

<sup>998</sup> Loicq and Michel, 'Equisse d'une histoire linguistique de la Belgique', at 306.

<sup>999</sup> Much, 'Die Germanen am Niederrhein', at 166-167. Rudolf Much, 'Tungri', in Johannes Hoops (ed.), *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde. Rü-Z. (Hoops IV)* (1st edn., Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde, IV; Straßburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1918-1919), 367 at 367. See § 3.

ensuite soit par la racine \**tong-* “jurer”, v.irl. *tongu* “je jure”, gall. *tyngu* “jurer” (*LEIA* T-84, *SOI* 236).<sup>1000</sup>

Toorians defines the **T.N. Tungri** from **Celt. \*tong-**, **Du. zweren (van een eed)**, **Eng. swearing (of an oath)**.<sup>1001</sup> He refers to a second attractive etymology proposed by Loicq which refers to a domestic translation of the Roman concept of *foederati*, i.e. **Du. door een verdrag verbonden**, **Eng. those in league/bonded through a treaty**, which naturally corresponds to the Condrusi.<sup>1002</sup> The Condrusi, or part of this tribe, formed a section of the *Tungrian civitas* cf. ‘**nicht G CONDRUST: V**, C.W.B. 2108 (**Condrustis**, 01): BIRRENS, BR....deae Viradecthi pagus Condrustis coh 2 Tungror(um)’<sup>1003</sup>

If the Aduatuci were of Cimbrian or Teutonian origin it is possible that Teutonic names existed in the Tungrian territory from as early as the end of the second century BC. The available tribal and personal names of this region were exclusively Celtic until the first century AD. This suggests that Teutonic immigration from Germania to this region occurred from the Augustan era onwards and probably as a result of the Augustan resettlement policy, beginning, c. 15 BC, after which Teutonic personal names become evident. There are numerous personal names, place names, dedications, and god names available for the territory of the Tungri.<sup>1004</sup> These are of mixed origin being mainly Celtic, Teutonic, or Latin. It is probable that the tribal name Tungri is a Celtic name designating confederated tribes, later expanded in the Augustan era to include Teutonic immigrants thus becoming a hybrid people.

<sup>1000</sup> Delamarre, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise* at 298. See § **toncnaman** and § **toncsifontio**.

<sup>1001</sup> Toorians, *KGn* at 74.

<sup>1002</sup> Toorians, *KGn* at 74.

<sup>1003</sup> Reichert, *LDAN I* at 226. ‘**CONDRUST: V**, C.W.B. 2108 (**Condrustis**, 01): BIRRENS, BR. deae Viradecthi pagus Condrustis coh 2 Tungror(um)’. For **Celt. G.N. Viradecd** worshipped by the **T.N. Tungri**: ‘**nicht G VIRADECHT: PM, F (KELT) C.I.L. 13 8815 (/adecd/X): VECHTEN, G.I. Quell.Zeit: Heidn. KONTEXT: Deae V. (civ)es Tungri (et) nautae (qui) Fectione (c)onsistunt**’, at 782. It is uncertain which **T.N. Tungrian pagus** these **T.N. Tungrian** worshippers belonged to. Reichert in Hermann Reichert and Robert Nedoma, *Lexikon der altgermanischen Namen. 2. Teil: Register*, ed. Helmut Birkhan, 2 vols. (1st edn., Thesaurus Palaeogermanicus, 1. Band. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Schriftenreihe der Kommission für Altgermanistik, 2; Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Schriftenreihe der Kommission für Altgermanistik, 1990) at 24., amends the existing entry to ‘**nicht G CONDRUST: V**, C.W.B. 210’. See C.I.L. 7. 1073. In Vol. 2.

<sup>1004</sup> Birley, ‘Batavians and Tungrians’. These are dispersed throughout the text.

### 3.19. CULT OF THE G.N. MATRONEN.

Little is known of the religion of the east Rhenish Ubii in their homeland between Sieg-Lahn-Main before they crossed the Rhine and settled part of Eburonia, between Bonn (Bonna) and Neuss (Novaesium). Their settlement founded the new Ubian towns of Remagen (Rigomagus), and Dormagen (Durnomagus) and CCAA (Köln).

The cult of the *Matronen* is found predominantly in the territory of the Ubii.<sup>1005</sup> This cult was largely situated between Köln, Neuss, and Aachen.<sup>1006</sup> This cult must have had its ethnogenesis in a mixture of the original, Germani cisrhenanian population, the immigrant Ubii and subsequent Teutonic immigration into the region. The earliest known *Matronen* stone, i.e. C.I.L. 13 7681 is dated to between 70 and 89 AD, by which time much new Teutonic immigration had taken place into Ubia. The cult continued until fifth century AD.<sup>1007</sup> Its peak was *c.* 200 AD, when this region had become both Teutonicized and Romanized.

The cult of the *Matronen* is evidenced only through inscriptions on votive stones and altars. To date *c.* 1100 votive stones or altars have been found.<sup>1008</sup> These were inscribed with *c.* 100 names.

The *Matronen* cult became Romanized and it was because of Roman literacy and native religion that the Roman custom of votive altars developed and was adopted by the native population. Many of the dedications were made by the Roman military. This would also account for the linguistically mixed nature of many of the dedications found in Gallia and Germania Inferior. Roymans sees a great density and diversity of names of *Matronen* groups in the region between the Maas and Lower Rhine which he believes:

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<sup>1005</sup> De Vries, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte. I* at 188-196. See § 127-132, *c.*Die weiblichen Gottheiten. 1. Der Matronenkult.

<sup>1006</sup> Carroll, *Celts & Germans* at 117.

<sup>1007</sup> Rudolf Simek, 'Matrons', *Dictionary of Northern Mythology* (1st edn.; Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1993), 204-205 at 204.

<sup>1008</sup> Maier, *Dictionary of Celtic Religion and Culture* at 190. Maier, *Die Religion der Germanen* at 93.

'point to the existence of relatively small cult communities functioning below the levels of the *civitas* and *pagus* and having their own sanctuaries...the local epithets of the *Matronae* are usually adjectives of group names, as is particularly clear in those cases where the group designations are also known'.<sup>1009</sup>

Spickermann remarks that the *Matronen* are to be found in the territory of the Ubii and its surrounds. He adds that 'Sie sind die Träger vieler Matronenkulte, die im Ubiergebiet ihre dichteste Verbreitung hatten'.<sup>1010</sup> Spickermann adds that these *Matronen* sanctuaries had often the function of local cult sites for the surrounding people. Referring to the local so-called Basilika' at Pesch he remarks that it might have acted as a *curia* in former times, which means that the *curiae* acted to preserve the structure and cult sites. Spickermann adds that 'Diese knüpften als lokale Zentren an vor-römische Verhältnisse an, indem sie zwar keine Kultkontinuität repräsentierten, wohl aber die Kontinuität der Kultgemeinde, deren polyvalente Ahnen-, Segens- und Schutzgottheiten die Matronen darstellten'.<sup>1011</sup>

In referring to the *Matronen* Spickermann states: 'Die meisten der germanischen oder keltischen Matronenepiklesen gehen auf geographische Bezeichnungen und Namen von Personengruppen wie Stämme, pagi oder curiae zurück. Seltener sind qualifizierende Epiklesen wie 'Ollogabiae' (die Alles-Gebenden)'.<sup>1012</sup>

The *Etrates* are mentioned in a dedication to *Mercury* as are the *Matronae Etrahenae*. A dedication to the *Matronae* of the tribe of the *Gesationes* comes from Jülich, N.R.W., whilst other altars producing the same goddesses are referred to as *Gesahenae*. The tribe of the *Austriates* are also seen mainly through the *Matronen* cult of *Austriahenae*.<sup>1013</sup>

There are different forms of the *Matronen* name. i.e. 1. *Matronae*, 2. *Matres* and *Matrae*. The *Matronae* are generally found on the Lower Rhine of Gallia and in Italy

<sup>1009</sup> Roymans, *Northern Gaul* at 50.

<sup>1010</sup> Spickermann, 'Die germanischen Provinzen als Feld religionshistorischer Untersuchungen', at 30.

<sup>1011</sup> Spickermann, 'Die germanischen Provinzen als Feld religionshistorischer Untersuchungen', at 30.

<sup>1012</sup> Spickermann, 'Die germanischen Provinzen als Feld religionshistorischer Untersuchungen', at 30.

In the case of *Ollogabiae* the form appears to be a hybrid compound name or a Teutonicised-Celtic or Celticised-Teutonic or name from **Celt.** *ollos*, 'grand' ('tous'), and *-gabiae*, which can be either Celtic or Teutonic in formation. In **Celtic Gaul.** *gabi*, *gabas*, *gab(i)setu*, 'prends, a pris, qu'il prene', and **Teut.** *-gabiae*, see, *matronis Gabiabus*, **Eng.** the giving ones, and Simek argues that Scandinavian *Gefjon* is its counterpart in Old Scandinavian mythology, see: Simek, 'Gabiae'.

<sup>1013</sup> Roymans, *Northern Gaul* at 50.

and usually depict a goddess of mothers. These are usually based on tribal and personal names, e.g. *Chuchenehae*; *Et(h)rahenae*; *Fachine(i)hae*; *Fernovinae*; *Gabiae*; *Gavadiae*; *Gavasiae*; *Gesahenae*; *Gratich(iae)*; *Guinehae*; *Hamavehae*; *Havae*; *Hiheraiae*; *Ineae*; *Iulinehae*; *Lanehae*; *Lubicae*; *Mah(a)linehae*; *Naitienae*; *Octocannae*; *Ollogabiae*; *Ratheihiae*; *Renahenae*; *Rumanehae*; *Saitchaamiae*; *Seccanehae*; *Suebae*; *Teniavehae*; *Tummaestiae*; *Udravarinehae*; *Ulahinehae*; *Vaccalinehae*; *Vallabneihiae*; *Vataranehae*; *Vativiae*; *Vesuniahenae*; *Veterahenae*; *Veteranehae*, and *Vocallinehae*.

In Britain only, the term *Matres*, connecting this cult to the *Matronen* is usually based on tribal names. Simek suggests that it is unsure whether these should actually be seen as Mother deities, because the *Matronen* were worshipped by married women. The *Matres* is a mother deity. It seems most likely that the *Matres* and *Matronen* are a variation on the same cult. The *Matres* are primarily found amongst the Celtic tribes of Gaul and Britain.

The known *Matres* are the *Annaptiae*; *Alaterv(i)ae*, *Aufaniae*, *Aumenahenae*; *Euthungae*; *Frisiavi*; *Marsacae*; *Masanae*; *Suleviae*.<sup>1014</sup> The *Matrae* and the *Matres* are documented in Gallia.

Some of the most frequently mentioned *Matronen* are the **G.N.** *Austriahenae* which is named 130 times and the **G.N.** *Aufaniae* more than ninety times. Simek believes that over half of the *Matronen* names are Teutonic.<sup>1015</sup> He states that ‘In many cases the names cannot be satisfactorily interpreted and the question whether they are Germanic or Celtic in origin is frequently equally problematic’.<sup>1016</sup>

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<sup>1014</sup> Rudolf Simek, 'Matres', *Dictionary of Northern Mythology* (1st edn.; Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1993), 204 at 204.

<sup>1015</sup> Rudolf Simek, 'Matron cult', *Dictionary of Northern Mythology* (1st edn.; Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1993), 205-207 at 205.

<sup>1016</sup> Rudolf Simek, 'Matron names', *Dictionary of Northern Mythology* (1st edn.; Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1993), 207-208 at 207. For the Teutonic and Celtic origin of the *Matronen* see also: Bernhard Maier, 'Religion', in Heinrich Beck, Heiko Steuer et al. (eds.), *Germanen, Germania germanische Altertumskunde* (2nd edn., Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde. Begründet von Johannes Hoops Zweite völlig neu bearbeitete und stark erweiterte Auflage unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher Fachgelehrter und redaktioneller Leitung von Rosemarie Müller, Göttingen; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1998), 199-208 at 200.

Gutenbrunner on examining the onomastic evidence together with the geographical region connects the *Matronen Su. –ahenae*, with the prevailing groups of Germani cisrhenani mentioned by Caesar, who continued to live in the Rhineland after Caesar's departure.<sup>1017</sup> Alföldy in an epigraphical study of the Rhineland also airs this hypothesis.<sup>1018</sup>

Weisgerber drawing on Gutenbrunner remarks that a strong Germani cisrhenanian population existed in the Ubian territory.<sup>1019</sup> Gutenbrunner states that the *Matronen Su. –ahenae* is found mainly between the rivers *Rura* (Rur) and *Arnefa* (Erft) but is not to be equated with the Ubii proper but rather with the pre-Ubian Germani cishenanian group.<sup>1020</sup> This interpretation is probable but it is also possible that the differences in the nature of these *Matronen* with *-ahenae* suffix resulted from a hybridization of a larger Germani cisrhenanian population with Ubian elements. This population structure is to be expected for the frontiers of the Ubii.

Weisgerber drawing on Gutenbrunner states that the *-ahenae*, groups are found with both Celtic and Teutonic *Matronen* god names e.g. **Celt. G.N.** *Gesahenae*, *Amnesahenae*, *Vesuniahenae*, and from **Teut. G.N.** *Austrahenae*, *Berhuiahenae*, *Almaviahenae*, *Etrahenae*, *Aumenahenae*.<sup>1021</sup>

Whilst the *–ahenae Su.* according to Gutenbrunner is typical of the *Matronen* names of the territory of the Germani cisrhenani Stollte suggests it is more typical of the Ubii. He argues that 'die Endung *–ahenae* typisch für Matronen-Beinamen in Niedergermanien und speziell bei den Ubiern ist'. Gutenbrunner adds that 'die Südgrenze für *-ahenae* teilt das Gebiet der Ubiern in eine nordöstliche und eine südwestliche Hälfte'. He remarks that the *Su. –ahenae* is missing in the headwaters of the Erft and Urft and completely absent in the *Kreis* of Bonn and is most frequent

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<sup>1017</sup> Gutenbrunner, *Die germanischen Götternamen* at 136-138. G. Alföldy, 'Epigraphisches aus dem Rheinland II. Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher 25', *Epigraphische Studien* 4., 25/4 (1967), 1-43 at 8.

<sup>1018</sup> Alföldy, 'Epigraphisches aus dem Rheinland II. ' at 8.

<sup>1019</sup> Weisgerber, 'Der Dedikantenkreis der *Matronae Austriahenae*', at 407-408. Gutenbrunner, *Die germanischen Götternamen* at 130-134 and Map on 239 Karte zu den Beinamen der *Matronen*.

<sup>1020</sup> Weisgerber, 'Der Dedikantenkreis der *Matronae Austriahenae*', at 407. Gutenbrunner, *Die germanischen Götternamen* at 188-195.

<sup>1021</sup> Weisgerber, 'Der Dedikantenkreis der *Matronae Austriahenae*', at 407. Gutenbrunner, *Die germanischen Götternamen* at 188-195.

in the area of Thorr and Rödigen.<sup>1022</sup> It is probable that the **Su.** *-ahenae*, stems from the mixture of both the Ubii and Germani cisrhenani with the emphasis on its ethnogenesis possibly resting more heavily on the Germani cisrhenani, as a typical Ubian *Matronen* suffix would have differed somewhat from *-ahenae*. Rüger, drawing on Gutenbrunner, also acknowledges the presence of the core territory of the *-ahenae* suffix between the Rur and Erft, and suggests that east of the Erft was Ubian speech, proper and west of the Erft was a mixture of pre-Ubian, early Teutonic mixed with Celtic, pre-Celtic and pre-Teutonic elements in Roman Age material.<sup>1023</sup>

The development of the *Matronen* **G.N.** *Iulineihi* (*Iulineihiabus*) is an example of Romanization of what probably originated as a Celtic community affiliated to the Celtic Ubii of Juliacum (Jülich) N.R.W. This is derived from a Hybrid Latin-Celtic place name after which the suffix is discarded and a new Latin dative plural ending *-iabus*, is added. It can be surmised from the **Celt. Su.** *-acum* that the population of Juliacum probably initially spoke a Celtic dialect.<sup>1024</sup> The **Su.** *-nehiae*, *-neihiae* or *-henae* may have developed from a native Celtic population of Germani cisrhenani and Ubii, rather than from Teutonic immigrants.

Whilst the *-ahenae* suffix is seen amongst Celtic and Teutonic *Matronen* so too is the **Su.** *-nehiae*, *neihiae*, or *-henae*. These suffixes are not necessarily Teutonic and may be of Celtic derivation, or of Latinized-Celtic origin. For *-nehiae*, *neihiae* or *-henae*, von Grienberger suggests a Latin etymology from *-ei-us* and *-enu-s*.<sup>1025</sup>

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<sup>1022</sup> Gutenbrunner, *Die germanischen Götternamen* at 130 and n. 1. Stolte, 'Die religiösen Verhältnisse in Niedergermanien', at 644 n. 234.

<sup>1023</sup> Rüger, *Germania Inferior* at 82. Gutenbrunner, *Die germanischen Götternamen* at 130 n. 1.

<sup>1024</sup> Hans Kuhn, 'Die -acum- Namen am Rhein (1975)', in Dietrich Hofmann, Wolfgang Lange et al. (eds.), *Kleine Schriften. Aufsätze und Rezensionen aus den Gebieten der germanischen und nordischen Sprach-, Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte. Vierte Band. Aufsätze aus den Jahren 1968-1976* (1st edn., *Kleinere Schriften zur Literatur- und Geistesgeschichte*, IV; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1978), 523-530 at 523-530.

<sup>1025</sup> De Vries, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte. I* at 192. Th. Von Grienberger, 'Niederrheinische Matronen. Die Beinamen nach dem Typus -ehae und -henae', *Eranos Vindobonensis*, (1893), 253-268 at 253-268.

The *Matronen* **Su.** *-ims/-gabiae*, are probably Teutonic. The *Matronen* **Su.** *-ahenae*, is probably Celtic.<sup>1026</sup>

Simek relates that the **G.N.** *Saitchamiae* is considered to be unquestionably Teutonic because of the dative ending *-ims*. The element *Sait-* is usually related to **O.N.** → *seiðr*, with a possible meaning from **Teut.** *goddesses of magic*.<sup>1027</sup>

There are no known *Matronen* cults associated with the peoples north of the Main and east of the Rhine. Had the region east of the Rhine been completely Romanized the native religious practices would have been more evident and comparisons could have been made to linguistic similarities either between northern Germania or central Gallia.

Written inscriptions rarely represent the underprivileged or the general population, although *Matronen* cults may offer an explanation to a native deity in Romanized form as that which was worshipped, possibly, not by Roman immigrants, but by the general native population. It is to the rural landscape that the focus of research should be applied. There it may be possible to sample the linguistic and ethnic makeup of a landscape aided by the linguistics applied to the *Matronen*, together with dedications and the names of the natives *in situ*. Worship does not define ethnicity; different tribal and ethnic groupings may have taken part in the same cult worship. The inscriptions define ethnicity. The prevalence of cult sites across the Ubian territory may in some cases reflect elites unrelated to the general population in language and ethnicity rather than the native people, but the native nature of the *Matronen* provides an indication of different tribal migrations, the existence of tribal native units and the languages spoken by them, e.g. cult sites with identical linguistics across a wide ranging area landscape reflects the language of the people, Celtic, Teutonic, Latin or hybrid. The ever increasing Teutonicization of the region of the Ubii through Teutonic migration from Germania, from the first century AD, onward is seen through the dedications on the *Matronen*.

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<sup>1026</sup> Gutenbrunner, *Die germanischen Götternamen* at 130 and n. 1.

<sup>1027</sup> Simek, 'Saitchamiae', at 275.

### 3.20. TRIBAL SUFFIXES OF THE PERSONAL NAMES OF LOWER RHENISH REGION.

The doubling of consonants is a recurring factor in personal names of the Lower Rhenish region of Gallia, e.g. *-tta* names of Treveri and Bituriges. These forms are present for both Celtic and Teutonic personal names suggesting a pre-Celtic-Teutonic stratum, a Celtic origin or a Teutonic origin.

The consonant doubling *-tt-* is common in Celtic personal names of the Lower Rhine and Gallia as demonstrated by Weisgerber with characteristic *-tt-* names for specific tribes and regions of Gallia with some regional variations. Some Teutonic or hybrid Teutonic-Celtic examples exist.<sup>1028</sup> These personal names display a degree of hybridization, as seen below in characteristic tribal name suffixes, e.g.

*-ttia*: C.I.L. 13 3375: from the Remi.

*-ttio*: C.I.L. 13 8339: from the Nervii.

*-ttius*: C.I.L. 13 8400: from Köln.

*-ttoni*: C.I.L. 13 5960: from the Triboci.

*-ucco*: C.I.L. 13 6125: from the Nemetes.

*-vvae*: C.I.L. 13 3604: from the Tungri.<sup>1029</sup>

For specific Personal names the suffix *-usso*: C.I.L. 13 3596: from the Tungrian **Pe.N.** *Gangussonis* (gen.)

Many *-isso*, *issa*, *-issus*, *-issius*, *-usso*, *-usso*, *-ussius*, *-ussa*, personal names are found on the Lower, Middle, and Upper Rhine, and can be seen in both Celtic and Teutonic personal names.<sup>1030</sup>

*-acco*: C.I.L. 13 3622: from the Tungri, the **Pe.N.** *Haldacco* (nom.).

Other suffixes characteristic of the Lower Rhine of probable Celtic origin are:

*-ausi*: C.I.L. 13 3628: from the Tungri, the personal name *Tagausi* and *Tausius* (Vit. Pert.).<sup>1031</sup>

<sup>1028</sup> Weisgerber, 'Zum Namengut der Germani cisrhenani', at 289, 290, 294 and for above names 278-296. For *-tta* names cf. C.I.L. 13 4148 **T.N.** *Treveri*, *-tta*, C.I.L. 13 11150 **T.N.** *Bituriges*.

<sup>1029</sup> Weisgerber, 'Zum Namengut der Germani cisrhenani', at 290. These are all in C.I.L. 13.

<sup>1030</sup> Weisgerber, 'Zum Namengut der Germani cisrhenani', at 282-290.

<sup>1031</sup> Stefan Schumacher, *Die Keltischen Primärverben. Ein vergleichendes, etymologisches und morphologisches Lexikon*, ed. Wolfgang Meid, trans. 1st (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur

Other suffixes characteristic of the Lower Rhine of Celtic, Teutonic and pre-Celtic and Teutonic origin, i.e. (Nordwestblock?) are:

*-asna*: C.I.L.13 3601: **T.N.** *Tungri*, **Pe.N.** *Leubasna*. See also **Pe.N.** *Melisattus*: C.I.L. 5553 **T.N.** *Lingones*. Also: **Pe.N.** *Verattius*, C.I.L.13 3586 of the **T.N.** *Nervii*.

A few possible Teutonic or hybrid Celtic-Teutonic derivations also exist:

*-iatto*: C.I.L. 13 3614: **Pe.N.** *Friatto*,

**Pe.N.** *Freiatto*: C.I.L. 13 7916 of the *Sunuci*.

**Pe.N.** *Friattius*, C.I.L. 8324 Köln, C.I.L. 13 8498 Deutz.<sup>1032</sup>

The similarity in the name elements of many of the the personal names of the tribes of the Lower Rhine, amongst both Celtic and Teutonic peoples, suggests that some hybridization had taken place by the first century AD.

### 3.20.1. CONCLUSION.

The available linguistic evidence for the regions east and west of the Rhine show a distinct change from the Caesarian to the Augustan era. In the Caesarian era the available onomastics west of the Rhine were numerous, whereas those east of the Rhine were few in number. Most of the tribal, place, personal, mountain, river, and god names available for the region of northern and Central Gallia are Celtic in origin.

Sprachwissenschaft, 110; Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, 2004) at 621. Whilst Schumacher remarks that “Urkelt. ?\*taus-e/o-‘still sein, schweigen’”, Delamarre, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise* at 293., asserts that **Celt. Gaul.** *tauo-* < *tauso-*, ‘silencieux, tranquille’. For According to Reichert: Reichert, *LDAN I* at 651., ‘**nicht G TAUSI**: P,M HIS.A 8 11 9 (Tausius, 01). Bez.Zeit:193’. Savignac, *Dictionnaire Français-Gaulois* at 275. Savignac defines **Celt. Gaul.** *tauo-*, *tauso-* as **Fr.** ‘Silencieux’ from which he produces the **Pe.N.** *Tausius* and *Tauso*. The **Pe.N.** *Tauso* of the Ubii probwibly has the same origin. For Tauso see: Weisgerber, *Die Namen der Ubier* at 397. Joh. Leo Weisgerber, ‘Altkeltische Flexionformen bei Varro?’ in Johann Knobloch and Rudolf Schützeichel (eds.), *Rhenania Germano-Celtica. Gesammelte Abhandlungen. Dem Autor zum siebzigsten Geburtstag am 25. Februar 1969. Mitwirkung von Henning von Gadow und Gernot Schmidt* (1st edn., Veröffentlichung des Instituts für geschichtliche Landeskunde der Rheinlande an der Universität Bonn; Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid, 1969), 175-183 at 181-182. Also: Joh. Leo Weisgerber, ‘Sprachwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur frührheinischen Siedlungs- und Kulturgeschichte I’, in Johann Knobloch and Rudolf Schützeichel (eds.), *Rhenania Germano-Celtica. Gesammelte Abhandlungen. Dem Autor zum siebzigsten Geburtstag am 25. Februar 1969. Mitwirkung von Henning von Gadow und Gernot Schmidt* (Veröffentlichung des Instituts für geschichtliche Landeskunde der Rheinlande an der Universität Bonn; Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid, 1969), 103-149 at 113, 120, 122, 123, 126, 128. Also *Tausius* at 123 and 126. For Tausius see also: Weisgerber, ‘Zum Namengut der Germani cisrhenani’, at 278-279, 283. The *-auso* is determined by Delamarre to be seen in **I.E.** and preserved in Celtic from **Gaul.** *aus(i)-*, ‘oreille’, see also **Pl.N.** *Arausiō*, **Fr.** Orange, at 62.

<sup>1032</sup> Weisgerber, ‘Zum Namengut der Germani cisrhenani’, at 279-296. See these name endings throughout Weisgerber, *Die Namen der Ubier*.

For Germania these names, were of mixed Celtic and Teutonic origin. Celtic names predominated between the Rhine, Lippe, and Weser, whilst east of the Weser in the region of the Elbe and in northern Germania Teutonic names were more numerous. For the Augustan era there is a noticeable increase in the available onomastics available due to Roman campaigning in Germania

#### 4. CHAPTER 4. ARCHAEOLOGICAL CULTURES IN NORTHERN, CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN GERMANIA.

The earliest archaeological cultures in Northern Europe after the end of the Bronze Age to be associated with people later referred to as Teutonic were the Nordgermanen groups of Denmark, southern Sweden, and southern Norway, associated with the Jastorf culture.<sup>1033</sup> The Danish groups comprised the Northern, Western, and Eastern Jutish groups, the Oberjersdal group, the Anglian, West Baltic, and Fuhlsbüttel groups, the Elbe-Weser, and the Mecklenburg-Warnow group.<sup>1034</sup> The southern Swedish groups of Skåne, the Öland islands, Götland, and Børnholm were very similar to those in the Jutland as was southern Norway. These Scandinavian archaeological cultures continued as Nordgermanen groups into the late pre-Roman era.<sup>1035</sup>

In northern Germania the progenitor of the Jastorf culture was the Wessenstedt culture (800-600 BC), in Niedersachsen. This was followed by the Jastorf culture (600-300 BC). There were two later groups a few kilometres from Jastorf, the Ripdorf culture (300-150 BC) and Seedorf culture (150-Roman era).<sup>1036</sup> All of these cultures were named after type sites and were situated within ten kilometres of each other. The Jastorf culture between the Weser and Oder extended south to the region of the La Tène culture. Beyond this was the Nienburger culture which extended along the Upper Weser and the Aller. The most westerly Jastorf sub-group was the Nienburger group. Hans-Jürgen Häbüler states that the Nienburger group was in early

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<sup>1033</sup> Heiko Steuer, 'Ursprung und Ausbreitung der Germanen', in Heinrich Beck, Heiko Steuer et al. (eds.), *Germanen, Germania Germanische Altertumskunde. Mit einem Vorwort von Heinrich Beck* (1st edn., Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde. Begründet von Johannes Hoops. Zweite völlig neu bearbeitete und stark erweiterte Auflage unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher Fachgelehrter und redaktioneller Leitung von Rosemarie Müller, Göttingen; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1998), 138-147 at 144-146.

<sup>1034</sup> Horst Keiling, 'Jastorkultur und Germanen', in Joachim Herrmann (ed.), *Archäologie in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik. Denkmale und Funde. Archäologische Kulturen, geschichtliche Perioden und Volksstämme* (1st edn., 1; Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 1989), 147-155 at 147-148. Todd, *The Northern Barbarians* at 64-67.

<sup>1035</sup> Steuer, 'Ursprung und Ausbreitung der Germanen', at 145. Todd, *The Northern Barbarians* at 67-70.

<sup>1036</sup> Schutz, *The Prehistory of Germanic Europe* at 309.

times considered to be within the northern contact zone of the southern Hallstatt culture.<sup>1037</sup>

#### 4.1. FROM JASTORF TO ELBGERMANEN CULTURE.

The original home of the Elbgermanen culture was mainly in the heartland of the territory known in earlier times as the Jastorf culture. As Peschel indicates 'Der Ursprung der Elbegruppe führt zur Jastorkultur und mit dieser an den Beginn der vorrömischen Eisenzeit des Nordens zurück'.<sup>1038</sup> The northernmost reaches of this region were at the base of Jutland in Holstein, in Mecklenburg, and Hanover. By the middle/end of the second century BC, indications in the archaeological record suggest that the Elbgermanen were beginning to move in a southward direction from their northern homes and by c. 100BC, there is evidence for these Teutonic Elbgermanen groups having arrived somewhat north of the region of Dresden.

The Elbgermanen may be divided into different sub-cultures, all of which have to be encapsulated in a time-frame as the positioning of any element of these northern Archaeological cultures would have altered within a few short years. In just fifty years the frontier of the southward moving Elbgermanen had shifted greatly. Between 100/80-70BC, the Elbgermanen invaded the Celtic La Tène cultural regions of central Germania, Thüringen, Sachsen-Anhalt, Sachsen, northern Hessen, and Nordrhein-Westfalen.

Amongst these Elbgermanen were groups of the Middle Elbe-Saale, Holstein the Lower Elbe, Brandenburg, Bohemia, and Moravia. The Elbgermanen type-site of Grossromstedt in Thüringen clarifies the process of differentiation in Teutonic archaeological cultures already taking place in the second half of the first century BC. Initially Collis sees the cemetery of Großromstedt demonstrating that lineages rather than specific individuals appear to be gathering power. The cemetery of Großromstedt dates to the end of the first century BC to the early first century AD,

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<sup>1037</sup> Hans-Jürgen Häbler, 'Vorrömische Eisenzeit', in Hans-Jürgen Häbler (ed.), *Ur- und Frühgeschichte in Niedersachsen* (1st edn., Die Römer in.; Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 1991), 193-237 at 197-198. Keiling, 'Jastorkultur und Germanen', at 148.

<sup>1038</sup> Peschel, *Sueben - Hermunduren - Markomannen* at 27.

and is exclusively male. On the Lower Elbe males and females were interred in separate cemeteries.<sup>1039</sup> Capelle states that for a period of fifty years 582 male graves were discovered at Großbromstedt and that in the settlement there must have been in excess of 1000 people in close to two generations, thus some 500-600 people living in the vicinity.<sup>1040</sup>

The grave goods associated with the Großbromstedt culture suggest the representation of two different hierarchies, one military, represented by a complete set of sword, shield, spear, and spur in which some symbolic finds have been discovered, e.g. miniature spears, empty scabbards, and shield fragments. The second hierarchy is represented by more domestic goods e.g. Campanian ware. Both hierarchies do not appear to correspond, yet both contain individuals of high status. Some of the graves were rich in military ware and poor in domestic ware and vice versa. This system of hierarchy took on a different form in Bohemia and Slovakia where another factor influenced grave material, i.e. imported ware, whereas in Denmark imports turn up in a ritual context or in hoards.

#### **4.1.1. ELBGERMANEN: BOHEMIA. PODMOLKY/BODENBACH CULTURE.**

Although the region of Bohemia was primarily a La Tène region, the earlier inhabitants before the coming of the Elbgermanen under Maroboduus, included two known groupings with cultural links to the Teutonic regions further north. The *Podmolky (Bodenbach)* of the middle La Tène, the first of these groups, was characterised by cremation cemeteries. By the middle of the first century BC, strong Teutonic pressure had been bearing down on the Celts. Smaller bands of Teutonic tribes 'had already settled not only where the Elbe leaves Bohemia but also in the Česká Lípa district (Jestřebí) and between Turnov & Český Dub (the Kobyly group

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<sup>1039</sup> John Collis, *The European Iron Age* (1st edn.; London, 1989) 126-138 at 174.

<sup>1040</sup> Torsten Capelle, 'Zur archäologischen Gliederung und Siedlungsgeschichte der Elbgermanen in der älteren römischen Kaiserzeit', *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung. (ANRW)*, 2/5, 1 (1976), 126-142 at 134. T. Voigt, 'Die Germanen des 1. und 2. Jahrhunderts im Mittelbegebiet', *Jahresschrift für mitteldeutsche Vorgeschichte*, 32 (1940), 1-242 at 110. See also G. Eichhorn, 'Der Urnenfriedhof auf der Schanze bei Großbromstedt', *Mannus-Bibliothek*, 41 (1927).

of cremation burials)'.<sup>1041</sup> Rieckhoff, in an assessment of the material culture, stresses that unlike northern Bayern, in Bohemia in La Tène D2a, there lived Teutonic people who were neighbours of the *oppida* of the region.<sup>1042</sup>

Todd argues for a Hallstatt ancestry for the bearers of the *Podmokly (Bodenbach)* culture. However, on inspection of their pottery and metalwork, he suggests that they may have included among their ranks a Teutonic element, perhaps colonists, who had moved up the Elbe Valley. In addition, the northern connections of the settlers survived into the late La Tène.<sup>1043</sup> The initial Elbgermanen who thrust into the region of the Main before Ariovistus' arrival in Gallia, c. 73/72 BC, may have been connected to the Semnones and Marcomani. These tribes may also have been associated with the *Podmokly (Bodenbach)* group. In 6 BC, Marobuduu moved to the territory of the Boii (later *Boihæmum*) bringing with him an Elbgermanen archaeological culture.<sup>1044</sup>

## 4.2. THE HARPSTEDT CULTURE.

The Harpstedt culture, named after the type-site, south east of Bremen in Niedersachsen, was located to the west of the Jastorf culture.<sup>1045</sup> The western frontier of the Harpstedt culture was the eastern border of the northern Netherlands and its eastern border was the river Hunte. In the Roman era a new cultural province emerged, which extended along the coast from Schleswig-Holstein to the Zuyder Zee. This archaeological culture is known as the Nordseegermanen culture. It extended through the valleys of the Ems and the Weser, where it encountered the Rhein-Weser-Germanen province (Hanover-Osnabrück-Rheine). This cultural

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<sup>1041</sup> Jan Filip, *Celtic Civilization and Its Heritage.*, eds Jan Filip, Rudolf Brdicka et al., trans. Robert Finlayson Samsour (1st edn., New Horizons; Prague: Publishing House of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and ARTIA, 1960) at 196.

<sup>1042</sup> Rieckhoff, *Süddeutschland im Spannungsfeld von Kelten, Germanen und Römern* at 104. See § '1.4.3. Zusammenfassung: Kelten und Germanen in Böhmen'.

<sup>1043</sup> Todd, *The Northern Barbarians* at 58.

<sup>1044</sup> Variants of the name: Baiahæmum, Baiohæmum, Boiohæmum.

<sup>1045</sup> Hachmann (ed.), *Germanic Peoples* at 81.

province provides the richest archaeological information as it is a very thoroughly studied region.<sup>1046</sup>

The Hausurnen culture extended along the Lower Saale to the Ohre and to the region of Magdeburg to the bend of the Elbe.<sup>1047</sup>

### 4.3. THE POMERANIAN FACE-URN CULTURE (GESICHTURNENKULTUR) TO PRZEWORSK (ODER-WARTHE) CULTURE.

In the east was the Pomeranian Face-urn culture (*Gesichturnenkultur*) which extended along the entire courses of the rivers Oder and Vistula.<sup>1048</sup> The western border of this culture is however sharply distinct and runs between Rega and Persante, then south until it crosses the Netze.<sup>1049</sup> The Oder-Warthe Culture had its origins in the *Jastorf Culture* and *Gesichturnenkultur* east of the river Rega. The Oder-Warthe Culture, is also referred to as the Przeworsk culture in Poland. This culture is now generally referred to as the Przeworsk culture.<sup>1050</sup> A movement of Oder-Warthe peoples from their core territory to the the Middle Elbe, over the Saale and Unstrut first appears in the archaeological record between the end of the second century BC, and the beginning of the first century BC, (*La Tène C2-D1*) in the region of the Oder and Neiße in Silesia (*Schlesien*), Posen and southern Poland (*Südpolen*). The Oder-Warthe Germanen are to be equated with the Ostgermanen.<sup>1051</sup> They settled in an area bounded on the east by the Elbe, *the Melibocus mons* in the west, and the

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<sup>1046</sup> Todd, *The Northern Barbarians* at 44.

<sup>1047</sup> Heinz Seyer (ed.), *Archäologische Kulturen am Beginn der Eisenzeit zwischen Elbe-Saale und Oder-Neiße (Billendorfer, Göritzer und Hausurnenkultur*, eds. Uta Donat and Erika Heydick 2 vols. (1st edn., 1; Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 1989) 140-146 at 143.

<sup>1048</sup> Steuer, 'Ursprung und Ausbreitung der Germanen', at 144. Hachmann (ed.), *Germanic Peoples* at 81. Todd, *The Northern Barbarians* at 71.

<sup>1049</sup> Wenskus, *Stammesbildung und Verfassung* at 200-201.

<sup>1050</sup> Thomas Völling (ed.), *Germanien an der Zeitenwende. Studien zum Kulturwandel beim Übergang von der vorrömischen Eisenzeit zur älteren römischen Kaiserzeit in der Germania Magna. (BAR Int. Ser.)*, eds. Holger Baitinger, Alexandru Popa et al. (1st edn., BAR International Series 1360, Oxford: Archaeopress, 2005) at 81.

<sup>1051</sup> Peschel, 'Die Sueben', at 295-296. See also Peschel, *Sueben - Hermunduren - Markomannen* at 56.

*Semana silva* and *Sudeta montes* in the south. See etymology of the Hermunduri, and Teuriochaemae.

The core archaeological cultural region of retrieved Oder-Warthe finds has to date been between the rivers Oder and Vistula, or more precisely the Oder and Warthe, in eastern Germany. These archaeological finds have been in the form of settlements and graves. This Oder-Warthe culture owed certain facets to external forces such as the La Tène culture which had reached southern Poland.

The impact of the Elbe group on the Oder-Warthe migratory settlement on the Saale-Elbe was eventually that the migratory band of Oder-Warthe people was absorbed into the greater Elbegermanen culture.

Further archaeological research is likely to prove the existence of the Oder-Warthe groups and incoming Suebi into the region of north central Germany, i.e. the *silva Bacenis* and *Melibocus montes*, probably north of the Thüringerwald.

#### 4.4. THE RHEIN-WESER-GERMANEN.

The archaeological culture of the region between Rhine, Weser, Lippe, Leine, and Main and a small strip of land running north of the Rhine-mouth at Katwijk to the Leine/Lippe was at one with that of the Rhine Valley in the first century BC, (Celtic La Tène Culture).<sup>1052</sup> Beck suggests that the Rhein-Weser-Germanen culture was made up of Nordseegermanen and Elbgermanen elements on a Celtic base.<sup>1053</sup> Müller too suggests that central German western Thüringen shows an orientation toward the Rhein-Weser-Germanen culture which shows continuity from the local Late La Tène culture.<sup>1054</sup> Peschel also considers the Rhein-Weser-Germanen to have stemmed from both the La Tène culture and north European archaeological culture.<sup>1055</sup>

A more appropriate name for the Rhine-Weser-Germanen culture would be the Rhein-Weser-Germanen-Kelten culture. According to Todd the area between the Rhine and Weser was a 'barbarian fringe' of La Tène culture. In this area there is a similar, but more impoverished La Tène culture, to that of Gallia and the region south of the Main.

According to the archaeological evidence these areas have:

- a. The same pattern of hillforts and settlements.
- b. The same currency bars and Celtic coinage.

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<sup>1052</sup> Todd, *The Northern Barbarians* at 41.

<sup>1053</sup> H. Beck and R. Müller, 'Rhein-Weser-Germanen', in Heinrich Beck, Dieter Geuenich et al. (eds.), *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde. Quadriburgium-Rind. (RGA)* (2nd edn., Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde von Johannes Hoops, 24; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 532-534 at 533.

<sup>1054</sup> Beck and Müller, 'Rhein-Weser-Germanen (RGA)', at 534.

<sup>1055</sup> Peschel, 'Frühgermanische Bodenfunde zwischen Werra und Rhein', at 30, 32 and n. 57-58 and at 33. Karl Peschel, 'Keramik aus Siedlungen der jüngeren vorrömischen Eisenzeit und frühen römischen Kaiserzeit in Nordthüringen', in Susanne Biegert, Siegmund von Schnurbein et al. (eds.), *Beiträge zur germanischen Keramik zwischen Donau und Teutoburger Wald. Kolloquium zur germanischen Keramik des 1.-5. Jahrhunderts, 17.-18. April 1998, Frankfurt a. M. Römisch-Germanische Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. (RGK)* (1st edn., Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, 4; Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 2000), 1-16 at 12.

c. Similar wheel-made La Tène pottery, a distinguishing characteristic of La Tène culture.<sup>1056</sup>

By the end of the first century AD, the La Tène culture, which had existed on both sides of the Rhine between the Leine, Weser, Lippe, and Main was largely replaced by a new culture.

In the archaeological record the evidence is in the form of:

a. Abandonment of hillforts and settlements without reoccupation.

b. The discontinuance of the circulation of coinage.

c. The supplanting of wheel-made by hand-made pottery.<sup>1057</sup>

d. In the Sieg valley, which had been the home to the Sugambri/Ubii, the exploitation of local iron deposits ceased.<sup>1058</sup>

#### **4.4.1. THE EMERGING RHEIN-WESER-GERMANEN CULTURE.**

Changes in material culture and living habits must reflect an invasion/migration of Elbgermanen into the region from the direction of the Elbe Basin and north-western Germania.

The region between the Rhine, Weser, Leine, Lippe and Main, made up what is termed the Rhein-Weser-Germanen culture. This distinguished it from the Elbgermanen proper as a mixed La Tène (Celtic) and Elbgermanen region. Todd

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<sup>1056</sup> Todd, *The Northern Barbarians* at 41. See § 'The Rhine-Weser Region'.

<sup>1057</sup> Georg Kossack, 'Archäologisches zur frühgermanischen Besiedlung zwischen Main und Nordsee', in Rolf Hachmann, Georg Kossack et al. (eds.), *Völker zwischen Germanen und Kelten. Schriftquellen, Bodenfunde und Namengut zur Geschichte des nördlichen Westdeutschlands um Christi Geburt* (1st edn.; Neumünster: Wachholtz, 1962), 69-104 at 87. Todd, *The Northern Barbarians* at 41.

<sup>1058</sup> Todd, *The Northern Barbarians* at 41. For Kossack, 'Archäologisches zur frühgermanischen Besiedlung zwischen Main und Nordsee', at 87. Hachmann (ed.), *Germanic Peoples* at 69-70. On Sugambri, see Stöckli who draws on Reichmann's assumption that in Augustan times the Sugambri dwelt around the mouth of the Lippe, Reichmann, *Zur Besiedlungsgeschichte des Lippemündungsgebietes* at 291-292. See Werner Ernst Stöckli, 'Römer, Kelten und Germanen', *Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn und des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande. (BJ)*, 193 (1993), 121-140 at 138-140.

states ‘there is no need to suppose that the newcomers drove out the earlier inhabitants: a peasant population is not easily uprooted in any circumstances, and on this occasion there will have been plenty of land to satisfy the intruders’.<sup>1059</sup> This can be seen in the first two forms of burial practice in the culture province of the Rhein-Weser-Germanen, similar to those of the coastal areas of the Nordseegermanen. A third form exists, which is a combination of La Tène and Elbe/Nordseegermanen type.

#### **4.4.2. GRAVE TYPES: OF THE RHEIN-WESER-GERMANEN CULTURE PROVINCE:**

1. *Brandgrube/Brandgrubengrab (-gräber)*. Cremation grave, containing objects and material from the pyre together with the ashes of the dead.
2. *Brandschüttungsgrab. (-gräber)*. Cremation grave in which the remains of the pyre cover the urn containing the ashes. This form usually contains few, or no grave goods apart from a single pot.
3. *Rhein-Weser linked with La Tène Grabgärten practices* among the La Tène cultures west of the Rhine. Graves were placed within a square or rectangular ditched enclosure, similar to the *Grabgärten* of the Eifel and other La Tène burial enclosures of northern Gallia.

Large cemeteries such as those found in coastal areas and the Elbe basin are unknown, and most finds have been recovered from remarkably small groups of graves.<sup>1060</sup>

Wells identifies the Rhein-Weser-Germanen with the Suebic Elbgermanen who moved ‘into north-west Germany towards the end of the first century B.C.’, which by the second half of the first century AD, had formed a new archaeological culture,

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<sup>1059</sup> Todd, *The Northern Barbarians* at 41.

<sup>1060</sup> Todd, *The Northern Barbarians* at 42. See § ‘The Rhine-Weser Region’.

different to the Elbgermanen and La Tène but definitely influenced by the La Tène culture of the original tribes.<sup>1061</sup>

#### **4.5. THE NORDGERMANEN.**

It is appropriate to examine the archaeology of the cultures of southern Scandinavia and the Baltic peninsula which would by the middle first millennium BC largely equate with Teutonic language groups. These cultures are referred to as Nordgermanen. This early usage of the term signifies the archaeological cultures of Jylland (*Jutland*), the Danish Isles, and the rest of southern Scandinavia.<sup>1062</sup>

##### **4.5.1. CULTURAL GROUPINGS FOR SOUTHERN SWEDEN GÖTLAND AND BORNHOLM.**

Links between Jutland and parts of Sweden are undeniable in the Roman Iron Age, yet Todd is of the opinion that in certain important respects the islands were more advanced than in the Swedish peninsula e.g. more receptive to continental influences and were more densely settled. This resulted in the importation of more goods from the Roman Empire.<sup>1063</sup>

#### **4.6. THE LATE LA TÈNE IN THE NORTHERN WETTERAU, HESSEN: THE LA TÈNE CELTS AND PRE- CHATTIAN ODER-WARTHE/PRZEWORSK OSTGERMANEN GROUP FOLLOWED BY ELBGERMANEN.**

Prior to the arrival of the Elbgermanen proper to the territory of northern, central, and southern Hessen, *c.* the mid first century BC, a very small group of Ostgermanen, i.e. the Przeworsk culture (Oder-Warthe Gruppe), arrived in central and southern Hessen. This culture first appeared between the end of the second

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<sup>1061</sup> Wells, *German Policy* at 30-31. Rafael Von Uslar, *Westgermanische Bodenfunde des ersten bis dritten Jahrhunderts nach Christus aus Mittel- und Westdeutschland.*, ed. Herausgegeben von der Römisch-germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. (*BerRGK*), 2 vols. (1st edn., 1; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1938) at 3.

<sup>1062</sup> Jørgen Jensen, *The Prehistory of Denmark* (1st edn.; London: Methuen, 1992) at 193-197.

<sup>1063</sup> Todd, *The Northern Barbarians* at 67.

century and the beginning of the first century BC.<sup>1064</sup> The Przeworsk culture originated between the Oder and Neiße in Silesia (Schleisen), Poland, and southern Poland (Südpolen), where it had its origins in the old Jastorf and Pomeranian Face-urn culture (Gesichtsurnenkultur) together with influences from the La Tène culture of Galicia/Silesia.

Of the La Tène aspect of the Przeworsk culture there are different stages. The first stage was in the Przeworsk origin territory ('Przeworsk Kultur Kerngebiet') which was influenced by the La Tène of southern Poland (Galicia). This La Tène influence must be equated with the Lugii, Lugi-Diduni (Duni), Lugi-Omani, Lugi-Buri, the Corcontii, and Batini. Most of these tribes appear to have lived in the general region north and south of the *Vandalici montes* and *Asciburgius Mons*, since at least the first century BC. Also near, or in the territory of the Lugii, Corcontii, or Batini was the settlement of Lugidunum, possibly to be equated with Liegnitz, Poland.<sup>1065</sup>

The second La Tène element can be seen amongst the Przeworsk group after their migration westwards from their core region to the Middle Elbe, Saale and Unstrut. Lindenthal and Rupp remark that 'In spätkeltischer Zeit ist erstmals germanische Bevölkerung des Przeworsk-Kultur-kreises nachweisbar'.<sup>1066</sup> Offshoots from this migration are evident in southern Hessen in a few places, e.g. Lich-Muschenheim, Kr. Gießen, Vorderwald, He, in the region of the Vögelberg.<sup>1067</sup> More recent finds of

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<sup>1064</sup> Peschel, *Sueben - Hermunduren - Markomannen* at 57. See § 'ÖRTLICHE SPÄTLATÈNEKULTUR UND ODER-WARTHE-GRUPPE', at 44-71, Abb.3. Also Peschel, 'Die Sueben', at 296. See 'Abb.1. Keramik der Oder-Warthe-Gruppe im Mittelgebirgsraum aus Siedlungen und Gräbern'.

<sup>1065</sup> Wolfram identifies the Lugii and Vandali as a single '*cultic community*' inhabiting the same region of the Oder in Silesia, where it was first under Celtic and then under Teutonic domination. Herwig Wolfram, *Das Reich und die Germanen* (1st edn.; Berlin: Siedler, 1990) at 84. The Lugii are probably to be equated with the old La Tène culture of southern Poland. The Buri are problematic, cf., Lugi-Buri. They may have been a Teutonicized Celtic people as were the Lugii.

<sup>1066</sup> Jörg Lindenthal and Vera Rupp, 'Forschungen in germanischen und römischen Siedlungen der nördlichen Wetterau', in Alfred Haffner and Siegmund von Schnurbein (eds.), *Kelten, Germanen, Römer im Mittelgebirgsraum zwischen Luxemburg und Thüringen: Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums zum DFG-Schwerpunktprogramm "Romanisierung" vom 28. bis 30. September 1998 in Trier. (RGK)* (1st edn., Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, 5; Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 1998), 67-75 at 68.

<sup>1067</sup> Peschel, 'Frühgermanische Bodenfunde zwischen Werra und Rhein', at 23, 24 and 24 n. 22. See also 'Abb.5: Gräber der Przeworsk-Kultur...' at 25. and 'Abb.4: Lich-Muschenheim, Kr. Gießen, ...Przeworsk-Kultur (1994) und Polenz, Latènezeit (1976)' at 24.

Przeworsk are from Mardorf, Mardorf-Biedenkopf, He.<sup>1068</sup> These Ostgermanen settlements were quickly absorbed by the surrounding La Tène peoples. No evidence for the Ostgermanen in Hessen survives beyond the Late La Tène.

Bockius and Łuczkiwicz have recently shown that a large number of Przeworsk finds, particularly round shield-bosses, entered North eastern Gallia, into what was largely the Treverian territory. The significance of these finds is uncertain and they have not been backed up by accompanying Przeworsk settlement. It is unclear why such a degree of Przeworsk finds have been found in this region. Interestingly a Przeworsk round shield boss was found at Alesia but this is hardly enough evidence to suggest implications for the origins of the contingent of Germani serving with Caesar.<sup>1069</sup>

A substantial migration of Przeworsk people took place in the Late La Tène D1/2 from the Oder-Warthe district, i.e. Oder and Neiße in Silesia, Poland, and southern Poland, in a westerly direction. This migration relocated a large group of peoples to the region of the eastern Harz *Melibocus mons*, to the territory of the Middle Elbe, Saale, and Unstrut. There was a great distance between the initial region of migration and the migration *terminus*. The territory between both points was devoid of Przeworsk material culture. This suggests a sizeable and complete migration from one point directly to another, completed over a short period of time between the La Tène C2 and D1, i.e. 125 BC, and 75 BC. On migrating to the Harz, i.e. *Melibocus mons*, Thüringer Wald, i.e. *Semana silva*, and Saale-Unstrut region, the Przeworsk Gruppe settled amongst more La Tène peoples. These were presumably the Teurii/Turones, or one of the many unknown Celtic peoples of this central German Mittelgebirge region. Ptolemy places the Turones/Teuriochaemae near this region. The archaeological evidence would suggest that the Teuriochaemae were mixed La Tène and Przeworsk culture, possibly with a later Elbgermanen input.<sup>1070</sup>

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<sup>1068</sup> Meyer, 'Ein Hausgrundriß aus der latène- und kaiserzeitlichen Siedlung Mardorf 23, Kr. Marburg-Biedenkopf', at 115-121.

<sup>1069</sup> Bockius and Łuczkiwicz, *Kelten und Germanen* at 73-91.

<sup>1070</sup> Peschel, 'Die Sueben', at 295-297.

The succeeding Elbgermanen groups in the late first century BC, spread southwards and subsumed the Przeworsk culture, centred on the confluence of the Middle Elbe-Saale south of Magdeburg. This region was enclosed on three sides. Todd remarks 'that it is tempting to see it as the heartland of a major tribe, probably the Hermunduri'.<sup>1071</sup>

#### **4.7. THE CIMBRI, TEUTONES, AND AMBRONES.**

Although the migration of the Cimbri, Teutones and Ambrones ranged over much of Central Europe there is no definite material culture attributed to them. Bockius and Łuczkiwicz have recently affirmed that the archaeology of the migration of the Cimbri and Teutones is as perplexing as the question of the 'caesarische Germanentum'.<sup>1072</sup> Todd asserts that the Cimbri and Teutones left no archaeological evidence behind them, but he believes that they 'appear to have returned to Jutland after their wanderings across Western Europe'.<sup>1073</sup>

#### **4.8. BETWEEN THE MAIN AND LIPPE AND THE NORDOSTGRUPPE OR MODERN NORTHEASTERN GROUP: LATE LA TÈNE CULTURE OF THÜRINGEN, NORDHESSEN, AND SOUTHERN WESTFALEN.**

When looking at the native peoples east of the Rhine one obvious material culture becomes evident for the period of the Late La Tène in a region comprising western Thüringen, northern Hessen, and southern Westfalen. Behagel has named this group the 'Nordostgruppe'.<sup>1074</sup> This term is rarely used today, however, a *Northeastern*

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<sup>1071</sup> Todd, *The Northern Barbarians* at 48. Ptolemy's information could refer to a time period as early as the Augustan-Tiberian period. On compiling a chronology of the tribes, their locations and relative spatial relationship to each other Ptolemy appears to have different bands of information provided for specific tribes at different time periods. This results in a tribal map which relates to not one time period but a number ranging from the Augustan time period to Ptolemy's own time. Ptolemy's information is still invaluable.

<sup>1072</sup> Bockius and Łuczkiwicz, *Kelten und Germanen* at 3.

<sup>1073</sup> Todd, *The Northern Barbarians* at 8, 64.

<sup>1074</sup> H. Behagel, *Die Eisenzeit im Raume des Rechtsrheinischen Schiefergebirges* (1st edn.; Wiesbaden, 1943) at 123-125. See also: Rosemarie Müller, 'Gotthard Neumann und das Problem der Kelten und Germanen in Thüringen', in Heinrich Beck, Dieter Geuenich et al. (eds.), *Eine hervorragend nationale Wissenschaft. Deutsch Prähistoriker zwischen 1900 und 1995 unter Mitarbeit*

*group* of La Tène culture exists in central Germania east of the Rhine, in the regions between the Lippe and Main, i.e. from the region of Westfalen south of the Lippe to northern and southern Hessen north of the Main as far east as the Weser, and including northeastern Rheinland-Pfalz, northern Bayern, and western Thüringen. This can be seen both as an extension of southern German La Tène and of the north-eastern Gaulish La Tène.<sup>1075</sup>

#### 4.9. BETWEEN ODER-WARTHE AND ELBGERMANEN.

The Elbgermanen Suebi of Caesar are possibly to be equated with Elbgermanen peoples from the Middle Elbe-Saale. An upheaval of the Oder-Warthe-Gruppe which had entered the region from the eastern region of the Neiße and Bober to the region east and south of the Harz must have taken place by the Elbgermanen newcomers who originated in the Lower Saale-Elbe from the Jastorf culture.<sup>1076</sup>

Peschel adds that in contrast to this the settlement pottery of western Thüringen makes the change in archaeological culture clear from Elbgermanen to La Tène. This is testified by pottery from Gotha, Kr. Gotha, Fischau, TH., for the first half of the first century BC, where Peschel asserts that pottery made on the potter's wheel is of La Tène character 'und damit die keltische Nähe'.<sup>1077</sup>

In contrast at Stregda near Eisenach handmade Elbgermanen pottery is in evidence from the second half of the first century BC. Elbgermanen pottery arrives which has an older type of stamping, similar in type to that found on the Lower Elbe. Przeworsk elements are also to be found in the area. The region of Eisenach had until this period

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von Dietrich Hakelberg (1st edn., Ergänzungsbände zum Realexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, 29; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2001), 89-107.

<sup>1075</sup> Results have been obtained from the study of archaeological data to verify the existence of a north eastern La Tène culture or Behagel's *Nordostgruppe*, in the regions of Westfalen south of the Lippe, northern and southern Hessen northern Rheinland-Pfalz, (the La Tène peoples between the Main, Lippe and Weser) and also northern Bayern and Thüringen. The results of this *Nordostgruppe*, are omitted here for reasons of space in Thesis.

<sup>1076</sup> Peschel, 'Frühgermanische Bodenfunde zwischen Werra und Rhein', at 24. Keiling, 'Jastorkultur und Germanen', at 150-151.

<sup>1077</sup> Peschel, 'Frühgermanische Bodenfunde zwischen Werra und Rhein', at 24.

been La Tène in culture.<sup>1078</sup> South of the Harz settlements are seen now and again but the establishment of new cemeteries according to Peschel suggests a shift in population. These changes became characterised by the appearance of Elbgermanen *Situlae*, an earthen-vessel on a narrow base with rambling lower-sections and projecting shoulders.<sup>1079</sup>

Peschel adds that in the grave customs are imparted through arms in the greatest burials. Sword, lance, and shield provided the authority and ordering of rank of the warrior, where rank was displayed through the echelon of arms. The emphasis of rank through the use of the feast is evident with a bronze kettle used as an urn for corpse burning. Peschel remarks that this is reminiscent of the armed predecessor of the Oder-Warthe-Group of the Przeworsk Culture, but differentiated by their martial nature.<sup>1080</sup> The change in attitude to life and presentation of the Oder-Warthe Group of the Przeworsk Culture as a militaristic people was not a radical departure and it also provides cases where these new militaristic people intruded or went beyond existing settlement-places.<sup>1081</sup> This is probably to be reflected in the Przeworsk settlements of Mardorf and in the finds at Lich Muschenheim in Hessen.

Renewed militarization by the Oder-Warthe people suggests they were defending themselves against invasion, presumably against the Elbgermanen, rather than the La Tène Celts of the region. Peschel states that with this is bound an Elbgermanen cultural indicator from the Elbe outwards to Bohemia. In earlier times this also traversed the Weser from different invasion paths to the Rhine. The northern route directed toward the Lippe, the south-western route was directed over Lower Hessen and the Lahn to the Lower Main, where only a very loose covering of Elbgermanen west of the Werra is evident, between La Tène D2 and RIE B1a, i.e. after the mid

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<sup>1078</sup> Peschel, 'Frühgermanische Bodenfunde zwischen Werra und Rhein', at 25. For La Tène culture of this region (Thüringen) see Karl Peschel, 'Keltische Latènekultur und deren Randgruppen im Mittelgebirgsraum', in Joachim Herrmann (ed.), *Archäologie in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik. Denkmal und Funde. Archäologische Kulturen, geschichtliche Perioden und Volksstämme* (1st edn., 1; Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 1989), 130-139 at 137-138.

<sup>1079</sup> Peschel, 'Frühgermanische Bodenfunde zwischen Werra und Rhein', at 24. Peschel, *Sueben - Hermunduren - Markomannen* at 79 n. 268, 82 n. 272-273, 85, 100-101. (Abb.6b2).

<sup>1080</sup> Peschel, 'Frühgermanische Bodenfunde zwischen Werra und Rhein', at 25.

<sup>1081</sup> Peschel, 'Frühgermanische Bodenfunde zwischen Werra und Rhein', at 25.

first century – second decade of the first century AD. (dated by pottery).<sup>1082</sup> Peschel states that on the other hand it is recognizable that Elbgermanen cremation graves are rarely found in the mountainous territory. This also holds for Hessen in the region of Waldeck and on the Upper Eder, so that it appears that the advances were on the edges of the settlement kernel.<sup>1083</sup>

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<sup>1082</sup> Peschel, 'Frühgermanische Bodenfunde zwischen Werra und Rhein', at 25. See 'Abb. 7. Showing all the cemeteries'.

<sup>1083</sup> Peschel, 'Frühgermanische Bodenfunde zwischen Werra und Rhein', at 25. With reference to Peschel, see ., excavations: at 25 f.29: Cf. Lichtenfels-Goddelsheim, Kr. Korbach: see K. Naß, 'Germanische Brandgrubengräber der frühen Kaiserzeit aus Waldeck', *Marburger Studien*, (1938), 167-177 at 167-168. O. Uenze, 'Keramik der frühesten Kaiserzeit aus Nordhessen', *Fundberichte aus Hessen. (FBH)*, 2 (1962), 140-158 at 150-151, 151-152 (Hatzfeld-Lindenhof, Kr. Korbach). Seidel, 'Die Römische Kaiserzeit in Hessen', at 19, 22. Seidel provides a very helpful catalogue of the excavations and finds for the Kaiserzeit in Hessen, at 26-33., and for this reference at 27-28. references numbers 24-26.

#### 4.10. THE END OF THE LATE LA TÈNE ON THE MIDDLE MAIN, BAYERN (MAINFRANKEN) AND THÜRINGEN: CHATTI OR SUEBI.

##### 4.10.1. THE FIRST LA TÈNE GROßBROMSTEDT FIND HORIZON.

The beginning of Teutonic settlement on the Main with the arrival of the Elbgermanen Großbromstedt culture in La Tène D1, whilst an old and much discussed problem, may be aided by the recent archaeological excavations of Gaukönigshofen, Lkr. Würzburg and Gerolshofen, Lkr. Schweinfurt, on the Maindreieck according to Steidl.<sup>1084</sup>

Gerolshofen, was of Großbromstedt culture and produced a *Grubenhäuser*, *Wohnstallhäuser*, granary, loam pit, spoil pit and pottery. The find-spectrum has been dated to La Tène D2 and RIE A.<sup>1085</sup> Steidl suggests that the housetype, a three aisled *Wohnstallhaus* of the Großbromstedt culture, found on the Main, may surprisingly suggest a northeastern origin, as they compare to those of the coastal zone of the Lower Elbe territory.<sup>1086</sup> Incidentally, a recent study by Thiedmann suggests that whilst the phenomenon of the three aisled *Wohnstallhaus* is usually only found north of the Lippe and on the North German Plain that a few examples have been found south of this region. One recent example is in the Late La Tène D2 settlement of Geismar bei Fritzlar in Northern Hessen.<sup>1087</sup> Whether there was any relationship between both the peoples of Geismar bei Fritzlar and Gerolshofen is uncertain.

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<sup>1084</sup> For Großbromstedt see Elbgermanen culture.

<sup>1085</sup> Bernd Steidl, 'Die Siedlungen von Gerolzhofen und Gaukönigshofen und die germanische Besiedlung am mittleren Main vom 1. Jahrhundert v. Chr. Bis zum 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr.' in Alfred Haffner and Siegmund von Schnurbein (eds.), *Kelten, Germanen, Römer im Mittelgebirgsraum zwischen Luxemburg und Thüringen: Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums zum DFG-Schwerpunktprogramm "Romanisierung" vom 28. bis 30. September 1998 in Trier. (RGK)* (1st edn., Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, 5; Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 1998), 95-113 at 97-98.

<sup>1086</sup> Steidl, 'Die Siedlungen von Gerolzhofen und Gaukönigshofen', at 98.

<sup>1087</sup> Thiedmann, "'Elbgermanische" Keramik und Baubefunde der Spätlatènezeit in der Siedlung Geismar bei Fritzlar', at 37-38, 45-46. Andreas Thiedmann, 'Zur Besiedlung während der späten Latène- und frühen ömischen Kaiserzeit in Geismar bei Fritzlar, Schwalm-Eder-Kreis ', *Berichte der Kommission für Archäologische Landesforschung in Hessen: Aus dem Institut für archäologische Landesforschung in Hessen, Büdingen. (BKAL)*, 5 (1998/1999 2000), 99-113 at 104-108, 112.

The settlement of Gaukönigshofen began as a Middle La Tène settlement and was later settled by people of Großromstedt culture.<sup>1088</sup> Colonization of the La Tène natives must have occurred. Gaukönigshofen produced a *Grubenhäuser* (225), a *Fibulae* (*Beltz Var. J*) and a *Lochgürtelhaken*.<sup>1089</sup> Steidl remarks referring to the Late La Tène that ‘dessen keramischer Fundbestand ein für das Maingebiet bisher nicht beschriebenes ‘nach graphittonzeitliches’ Formenspektrum ortsfremder Prägung aufweist’.<sup>1090</sup> Pottery forms clearly point to forms made in the north of the Mittelgebirge zone, in particular in the south and west of Thüringen. The appearance of this new group of people on the Main is at a time between the end of the south German La Tène culture and the arrival of the Elbgermanen of the Großromstedt culture. Thus according to Steidl the question of ethnic identity in the Mittelgebirge has long been uncertain. Steidl remarks that the ‘Kontaktzone der Mittelgebirgsraums, deren ethnische Identität – ob keltisch oder germanisch – seit langem heftig umstritten ist’.<sup>1091</sup> Steidl draws on the existence of other groups in the west and south, namely the ‘südostbayerischen Gruppe’.<sup>1092</sup> He states that a ‘keltoide Bevölkerung’ were still residing on the Main when the Elbgermanen of Großromstedt culture arrived and settled. Steidl asserts that the Großromstedt find complex from Gerolzhofen is mixed with many numerous clear domineering pottery shards from Teutonic peoples (Elbgermanen) and also wheel-turned pottery (‘Drehscheibenware’), which was not characteristic of the Teutonic peoples in question. The pottery finds are evident until the last decade of the first century BC. and Steidl remarks that they suggest a mixed ‘germanisch-keltoide’ hybrid population stating that ‘Der keramische Befund läßt für die letzten Jahrzehnte v. Chr. in Mainfranken eine germanisch-keltoide Mischbevölkerung vermuten’.<sup>1093</sup>

In accordance with the finds a new concept has been suggested by Steidl for the chronology of the Late La Tène. Steidl determines that the classical Großromstedt

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<sup>1088</sup> Steidl, 'Die Siedlungen von Gerolzhofen und Gaukönigshofen', at 96, 98, 100. See Abb.1. 'Die Lage des Arbeitsgebietes mit den im Text erwähnten Fundorten' at 96.

<sup>1089</sup> Steidl, 'Die Siedlungen von Gerolzhofen und Gaukönigshofen', at 102.

<sup>1090</sup> Steidl, 'Die Siedlungen von Gerolzhofen und Gaukönigshofen', at 100.

<sup>1091</sup> Steidl, 'Die Siedlungen von Gerolzhofen und Gaukönigshofen', at 100.

<sup>1092</sup> Steidl, 'Die Siedlungen von Gerolzhofen und Gaukönigshofen', at 102.

<sup>1093</sup> Steidl, 'Die Siedlungen von Gerolzhofen und Gaukönigshofen', at 100.

find horizon with its slender *situlae* and refined *Rädchenverzierung* (small wheeled ornaments) as seen in Gerolshofen, no longer lies in the era of Augustan occupation. Rather it is a few decades older and should be dated to a few decades earlier than the Augustan occupation. Missing in Gerolshofen is any evidence of Roman imports and influence.

#### **4.10.2. A SECOND AUGUSTAN GROßBROMSTEDT FIND HORIZON IN MAINFRANKEN, BAYERN.**

For the first time in Mainfranken a later Großbromstedt find horizon can be identified from the settlement material as seen through slacker profiled vessels, some changed ceramic types and previously absent *Rädchenverzierung*. This horizon is represented from a *Grubenhaus* (find 563) at Gaukönigshofen of Augustan date. The stratification from the excavations of the gathered salvaged finds of *fibulae* from the early RIE may be temporally linked to the *Grubenhaus*. The perusal of both published and unpublished reports findings has in the southern extension of the Großbromstedt find horizon produced further places with corresponding material. It allows in particular the relative frequency of the occurrence of *Fibulae* of the *Almgren 2* variety. With this later second Großbromstedt find horizon can be paralleled the cemeteries of Altendorf by Bamberg and Tišice in Bohemia. Steidl adds that the *Grubenhaus* of Gaukönigshofen contains Roman pottery, chiefly Roman *amphorae* and the remainder of jars as well as other fragments of rough-walled vessels, but no *Sigillata*. The only determinable *Amphorae* fragments found at Gaukönigshofen had been used for oil rather than wine. Comparable to this is the find from Echzell, in the Wetteraukreis, where in the fill of one *Grubenhaus* a fragment of one *Garumamphore* was found. Similar pottery to that at Echzell is found on the Waldgirmes.<sup>1094</sup>

This later stage of the Großbromstedt find horizon in Mainfranken ends abruptly in the Augustan era. An attempt is made to bind the archaeological finds with the literary reports of the exodus of the Marcomani to Bohemia between 8/7 and 1 BC. Steidl

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<sup>1094</sup> Steidl, 'Die Siedlungen von Gerolzhofen und Gaukönigshofen', at 102-103.

remarks that after literary accounts the accurate localization of past tribal-seats is not possible except to suggest a general location in the region of the Main territory.<sup>1095</sup> The process of Marcomanian migration, was a consequence of Roman intervention in Germania c. 8 BC. The fort of Marktbreit was constructed in the territory abandoned by the Marcomani. It may have had the function of monitoring resettlement. Steidl offers the other alternative which suggests that its erection concurred with the pincer movement of Tiberius (and thus a staging post) against the Marcomanic Empire in Bohemia in the year 6 AD.

This second theory as discussed earlier is more likely, where Marktbreit was set up as a staging post for the movement against Maroboduus of Bohemia. It would have also been used to control the tribes of the area and does not specifically appear to have been set up as a *glacis*, as a section of wandering Hermunduri were allowed to settle in the region by the Romans after c.1 B.C. Consequently Steidl asks if the Roman finds in the Teutonic settlement of Mainfranken could be explained through the contact with the Marktbreit fort and he states that only a small population remained after the departure of the Marcomani. Steidl remarks that the question remains open as to why post Augustan *fibulae* of the first century AD, are found in spite of the postulated remaining people being absent in the Maindreick..<sup>1096</sup>

Steidl neglects to mention that a section of the Hermunduri arrived in this region c. 1 BC- 1 AD, and was settled in the vicinity of Marktbreit. Although the size of this southern break-away group of Hermunduri is unknown it is possible that they, with the remaining unimportant Teutonicized Celtic sub-tribes and clan units not affiliated to Maroboduus who combined with the Elbgermanen, would have been those peoples who produced or were responsible for the post-Augustan *fibulae* of the first century AD.

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<sup>1095</sup> Steidl, 'Die Siedlungen von Gerolzhofen und Gaukönigshofen', at 103.

<sup>1096</sup> Steidl, 'Die Siedlungen von Gerolzhofen und Gaukönigshofen', at 104.

### 4.10.3. SCHWEBHEIM BEI BURGBERNHEIM, LKR NEUSTADT A. D. AISCH-BAD WINDSHEIM, BAYERN.

A recent series of finds from near Marktbreit at Schwebheim in Mittelfranken may according to Koch also suggest an early Teutonic Großromstedt settlement at the time of the construction of the legionary fort of Marktbreit. Koch sees this as the south-eastern border of the early Teutonic settlement group in the Augustan era.<sup>1097</sup> With the early Elbgermanen pottery was found Late La Tène wheel-turned graphite ware.<sup>1098</sup> This suggests that the people may have been the arriving Hermunduri and that either the old Marcomani settled amongst the Late La Tène Celtic peoples and that remnants of these Marcomani remained after Maroboduus's exodus, that they merged with them, or that the incoming Hermunduri settled amongst the La Tène peoples in situ at the end of the Late La Tène. It is also possible that they settled on an old La Tène settlement site. Pietsch, Timpe, and Wamser argue that the area of Marktbreit was in the Celtic sphere in the Augustan period. This region is generally thought to have been Marcomanian at this point, but the Marcomanian confederation was probably composed of many Celtic tribal units and Pietsch, Wamser, and Timpe state that the Elbgermanen and Rhein-Weser Germanen who came into this region in Augustan times Teutonicized the Celtic population.<sup>1099</sup> Other early Teutonic settlements in Mainfranken are Acholshausen bei Ochsenfurt and Baldersheim.

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<sup>1097</sup> Robert Koch, 'Eine frühgermanische Siedlung in Schwebheim bei Burgbernheim, Lkr. Neustadt a. d. Aisch-Bad Windsheim', in Susanne Biegert, Siegmund von Schnurbein et al. (eds.), *Beiträge zur germanischen Keramik zwischen Donau und Teutoburger Wald. Kolloquium zur germanischen Keramik des 1.-5. Jahrhunderts, 17.-18. April 1998, Frankfurt a. M. Römisch-Germanische Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. (RGK)* (1st edn., Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, 4; Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 2000), 17-23 at 23.

<sup>1098</sup> Koch, 'Eine frühgermanische Siedlung in Schwebheim bei Burgbernheim,' at 17, 21.

<sup>1099</sup> Martin Pietsch, Dieter Timpe et al., 'Die augusteischen Truppenlager Marktbreit. Bisherige archäologische Befunde und historische Erwägungen', *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission. (BerRGK)*, 72 (1991), 264-325 at 268-270. See also § Pietsch, Martin. 'Die Funde und ihre Datierung' at 303-307.

#### 4.11. THE ETHNOGENESIS OF THE CHATTI, CHATTVARI, AND BATAVI.

Peschel confirms that the Elbgermanen peoples, who must have moved into La Tène territory to form the Chatti, did not originate north of the Lower Rhine, 'Die Chatten werden gewöhnlich in der niederhessischen Senke und im Kasseler Becken lokalisiert. Sprachlich nicht unbestritten, sind sie Vorläufer des Stammes der Hessen'.<sup>1100</sup> Frey also places their origin in the region of the Eder in Northern Hessen.<sup>1101</sup> Baatz referring to the Chatti states 'Dort absorbierten sie vermutlich suebische Bevölkerungsgruppen, vielleicht auch Reste der ursprünglichen keltischen Bevölkerung'.<sup>1102</sup> Seidel places the proto-Chatti as far east as the Werra. Seidel also produces a detailed study of the spread of settlement, graves and single finds. Seidel also illustrates the spread of Roman imports. Finally, Seidel depicts the settlement and Necropoli in Northern Hessen.<sup>1103</sup>

Baatz asserts that the Chatti possibly evolved from a blend of La Tène peoples, the Ubii, with Teutonic Elbgermanen and Suebi who were absorbed by the southward moving aggressive Rhein-Weser-Germanen from northern Hessen.<sup>1104</sup> This flux produced the proto-Chattvarii/Chatti. This Rhein-Weser-Germanen expansion and origin is to be seen in Von Uslar's spread of his 'Form I' Rhein-Weser-Germanen culture of the old RIE, i.e. specifically the early first century AD.<sup>1105</sup>

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<sup>1100</sup> Peschel, 'Frühgermanische Bodenfunde zwischen Werra und Rhein', at 29, 30 and 30 n. 47.

<sup>1101</sup> Otto-Hermann Frey, 'Die frühen Chatten', *Berichte der Kommission für Archäologische Landesforschung in Hessen: Aus dem Institut für Archäologische Landesforschung in Hessen, Büdingen. (BKAL)*, 3 (1994/1995 1995), 5-11 at 8.

<sup>1102</sup> Dietwulf Baatz, 'Rhenus transeundus est - Rom überschreitet den Rhein. Antike Schriftquellen und archäologische Spurensuche in Hessen', *Berichte der Kommission für Archäologische Landesforschung in Hessen: Aus dem Institut für Archäologische Landesforschung in Hessen, Büdingen (BKAL)*, 4 (1996/1997 1997), 37-52 at 42.

<sup>1103</sup> Seidel, 'Die Römische Kaiserzeit in Hessen', at 16, 17, 25. See Abb. 2, 3, 6.

<sup>1104</sup> Baatz, 'Rhenus transeundus est', at 42. These La Tène peoples may have been the Mattiaci and Cassi.

<sup>1105</sup> Von Uslar, *Westgermanische Bodenfunde des ersten bis dritten Jahrhunderts nach Christus aus Mittel- und Westdeutschland.* at 142-154.

#### 4.11.1. THE CHATTI FROM LOWER RHINE OR LOWER HESSEN.

Baatz suggest a movement of the Chatti/Chattvarii from the region of the IJssel, i.e. Dutch Salland/Twente. Roymans also contends that the proto-Chatti migrated from Northern Germania.<sup>1106</sup> This would not appear consistent with the archaeological evidence for the origin of the proto-Chatti.<sup>1107</sup> The original Elbgermanen, i.e. proto-Chatti must have migrated from north of Hessen, to settle amongst the La Tène population of Kassel, i.e. Altenburg bei Neidenstein, HR, Baunatal-Altenritte, KS, and the Adrana, i.e. Eder. Some of these were from the region north and east of Kassel as far as the Weser and Werra.<sup>1108</sup>

The La Tène origin of the material culture is clearly attested in the archaeological record in the region of the Altenburg bei Niedenstein, near Kassel in Northern Hessen, (possibly Mattium) and in the linguistic record, as seen in the modern river name Wetter from **Celt. Vedron**, < **Mod.H.G. Wasser**, **Eng.** water, and in the Celtic place name Mattium, which the Chatti later appropriated from the northern Hessian Celtic Mattiaci as their capital.<sup>1109</sup> The Teutonic element of the proto-Chatti, i.e. the Elbgermanen, migrated south, from north of the Lippe and settled upon the indigenous La Tène population, thus producing the hybrid Rhein-Weser-Germanen

<sup>1106</sup> Roymans, 'Ethnogenesis of the Batavi', at 97 and n. 13 and at 134 n. 60.

<sup>1107</sup> Seidel, 'Die Römische Kaiserzeit in Hessen', at 13, 16, 24-26. See Abb. 1-3 and 6. Frey, 'Die frühen Chatten', at 6-8.

<sup>1108</sup> Ulrike Söder, 'Vorberichte über die Ausgrabungen auf der Altenburg bei Niedenstein, Schwalm-eder-Kreis', *Bericht der Kommission für Archäologische Landesforschung in Hessen. (BKAL)*, 3 (1994/1995 1995), 37-46 at 37, 40-41. The earliest Teutonic finds in Hessen are stray finds from Mardorf, Kr. Marburg-Biedenkopf. They are of Oder-Warthe rather than Elbgermanen or Rhein-Weser-Germanen culture, i.e. (Teutonic-Celtic *Vandali* + Celtic *Turones* < hybrid Teutonic-Celtic *Teuriochaemae*). A group of Rhine-Wesergermanen pottery probably belonging to the mixed native Celtic assimilated and Chattian immigrants is later associated with Mardorf T.N. *Chatti*, c.75-150A.D., The Mardorf finds are quite late in date. Much, 'Chattuarier', at 372-373. Much, 'Chatten', at 370-372. Neumann, Jungandreas et al., 'Chatten'. Todd, *The Northern Barbarians* at 41. See § 'The Rhine-Weser Region'. Wells, *German Policy* at 21, 30-31. See 'Celts and Germans'. Hachmann, 'Germanen und Kelten am Rhein in der Zeit um Christi Geburt', at 51-52. Roymans and Van Der Sanden, 'Celtic coins from the Netherlands', at 212 n. 228. Fenemma also argues that 'Tacitus noemt de Bataven Germanen. Zij zouden een afsplitsing zijn geweest van de Chatten, die in Hessen aan de bovenloop van de Weser leefden. De materiële culture in dat gebied heeft echter, ondanks Tacitus' vermelding, een duidelijk herkenbaar La Tène-karakter en is dus in archeologisch opzicht eerder Keltisch dan Germaans te noemen'. See Jurjen Fennema, 'De Nederlandse bevolking inde ijzertijd', in Rijklof Hofman, Bernadette Smelik et al. (eds.), *Kelten in Nederland* (1st edn.; Utrecht: de Keltische Draak, 2000), 14-32 at 15.

<sup>1109</sup> Schwarz, *Germanische Stammeskunde* at 145-146. See § 'Die Weser-Rhein-Germanen' Ch 28 'Chatten und Hessen, Bataver und Kanninefaten', 144-147.

of northern Hessen. A branch of these Elbgermanen/Rhein-Weser-Germanen migrated to central Hessen, due to the provision of territory, possibly Ubia, by the Romans, and settled amongst the La Tène peoples. A further offshoot moved to the Lower Rhine, Baatz suggests that a Chattian settlement may have been transplanted from this region to the Ubian territory. This would only be possible if, as Baatz suggests, the Chatti originated near the Dutch-German border in the territory north of the Lippe. However, the archaeology clearly demonstrates that the Teutonic element of the proto-Chatti was Elbgermanen and that the particular ethnogenesis of Chatti took place on the Kasseler Becken on the Schwalm-Eder and Upper Weser.<sup>1110</sup>

On this very complex question of post-proto-Chattian ethnogenesis, Roymans has recently provided some enlightening and controversial modern research on the Chattian/Chattvarian/Batavian ethnogenesis from central/northern Hessen to the Lower Rhine, utilizing the Lower Rhine *Triquetrum* coinages. Roymans suggests that Suebic-dominated native La Tène and Chattian peoples existed in central/northern Hessen, possibly at the time of the Gallic Wars, or a little after.<sup>1111</sup> Timpe believes that these Celts and Chatti were Suebic-dominated. Roymans is also inclined toward this viewpoint.<sup>1112</sup>

#### **4.11.2. SUEBIAN SUPER-GROUP: THE SUEBI AND FORMATION OF THE CHATTI. REASSERTION OF EXISTING LA TÈNE TRIBES AND IMMIGRANT ELBGERMANEN AS CHATTI.**

What emerged as a confederated grouping known by the name Chatti took shape as a confederation of the La Tène Celts. Some Suebic pockets, isolated from the Suebi proper on the Elbe, settled among non-Suebic immigrant peoples between the Werra, Eder and Fulda. These would certainly have merged, but may have forged alliances more quickly because the politics of the region demanded it as a foil to the imminent military threat from the Super-group of the Suebi. The machinations of such complex

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<sup>1110</sup> Baatz, 'Rhenus transeundus est', at 41. See Abb.4: 'Abb.4: Umsiedlung der Chatten und Bataver: vor 11 v. Chr.'. Todd, *The Northern Barbarians* at 41. Wells, *German Policy* at 21, 30-31. Hachmann, 'Germanen und Kelten am Rhein in der Zeit um Christi Geburt', at 51-52.

<sup>1111</sup> Roymans, 'Ethnogenesis of the Batavi', at 97 and 97 n. 13. Todd, *The Northern Barbarians* at 41.

<sup>1112</sup> Timpe, 'Zur Geschichte der Rheingrenze zwischen Caesar und Drusus', at 134-135. Roymans, 'Ethnogenesis of the Batavi', at 97 and 97 n. 13, 134 and 134 n. 60.

political circumstances led to an ethnogenesis which produced an altered ethno-cultural dynamic. This dynamic is evident in the continually changing tribal map of northern and central Hessen from *c.* 50 BC. In only a generation or two a pluriform ethnic blend of mixed La Tène and immigrant Elbgermanen tribes was brought, or forced together, to form the Rhein-Weser-Germanen groups, as witnessed in the archaeological record.<sup>1113</sup>

This ethnogenesis would have formed due to migratory groups from northern Germania entering Celtic dominated Hessen, but was hastened due to the constant threat of the Suebi. Wells states that:

‘Archaeology reveals the Suebi, with their culture characteristic of the Elbe region, moving into north-west Germany towards the end of the first century B.C., taking over all the land between the Lower Rhine and the Rivers Werra and Leine. By the second half of the first century A.D. there has developed in the western part of this area a distinct culture, that of the so called ‘Weser-Rhine Germans,’ which can be distinguished from the Elbe-German culture, and which is clearly influenced by La Tène forms and techniques taken over from the original inhabitants’.<sup>1114</sup>

The archaeological record clearly illustrates the breakdown of Celtic La Tène tribal units, to the primitive proto-*Chattian* settlements, ultimately to a mixed La Tène and Elbgermanen culture, culminating in the Rhine-Weser Germanen culture as the emerging Chattian polity. This process could have occurred at any time just before or after the Gallic Wars, until the arrival of Drusus in Germania in 12 BC.

#### **4.11.3. ROMAN INTERFERENCE IN GERMANIA AND THE ETHNOGENESIS OF THE CHATTI.**

To some degree the Roman interference in the socio-political structure of the ethno-cultural melting pot in the area of Hessen influenced the creation of the Chatti by the resettlement of tribes and the provision of lands to the Elbgermanen on the middle Rhine.

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<sup>1113</sup> Todd, *The Northern Barbarians* at 41. Wells, *German Policy* at 19-21, 30-31.

<sup>1114</sup> Wells, *German Policy* at 30-31. Hachmann, 'Germanen und Kelten am Rhein in der Zeit um Christi Geburt', at 36-37, 39-42, 56-58. Hachmann, Kossack et al. (eds.), *Völker zwischen Germanen und Kelten*. Also 'Karte 8'. Von Uslar, *Westgermanische Bodenfunde des ersten bis dritten Jahrhunderts nach Christus aus Mittel- und Westdeutschland*. at 3.

After the ethnogenesis of the Chatti from La Tène and Elbgermanen groups the dynamic changed from individual tribal units of La Tène culture to mixed peoples of Rhein-Weser-Germanen culture united under the title of Chatti. The cultural focus became predominantly North European.

Rome's interference unwittingly promoted the ethnogenesis of the proto-Chatti due to the abandonment of La Tène culture for the Elbgermanen culture and culminating in the Rhein-Weser-Germanen culture.

The Romans under Drusus, Tiberius, and Germanicus aided the destruction of the political power and tribal units of La Tène peoples of central, and southern Hessen by breaking their military might. They subsequently withdrew from the region, leaving the La Tène peoples defenceless and open to attack from the proto-Chatti and Suebi, thus hastening the advance and supremacy of the language and material culture of the Elbgermanen Teutonic peoples over the La Tène natives of northern, central, and southern Hessen.<sup>1115</sup>

Roymans also suggests that the Batavian divergence from the Chatti was non-spontaneous and that a Batavian identity group (*Chattvarii*) who later merged with Celts of the Lower Rhine, taking the name *Batavi*, already existed in the middle-Augustan period (presumably in northern Hessen). He believes that this process must have taken place over several decades.<sup>1116</sup> The La Tène tribes with which the *Batavi* merged were the *Eburones*, *Menapii*, and perhaps the *Texuandri*, if these latter were not a sub-unit of the *Chatti/Chattvarii*, or a migrant Teutonic group from Northern Germania.

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<sup>1115</sup> Wells, *German Policy* at 21, 30-31.

<sup>1116</sup> Roymans, 'Ethnogenesis of the *Batavi*', at 97 and 97 n. 12-13, 134 n. 60. Roymans refers to the possibility that the Chatti did not reside along the Rhine when Caesar entered Germania, but presumably in the interior of Germania in northern Hessen along the upper reaches of the Weser. Roymans and Van Der Sanden, 'Celtic coins from the Netherlands', at 212 n. 228.

## 4.12. RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN THE TERRITORY OF HESSEN AND NORDRHEIN-WESTFALEN.

### 4.12.1. RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN HESSEN.

In the Northern Wetterau a few fragments of Przeworsk culture are found alongside those of Late La Tène. The Przeworsk culture, i.e. excavations of Lich-Muschenheim, and recently Mardorf 23, as so far evident in this region were too scanty to have had any real effect on the culture of the region and were swallowed up by the La Tène culture of the region. Lindenthal and Rupp argue that with the retreat of the Celtic people from the region there is an overlap of Przeworsk and La Tène find materials in the second half of the first century BC, but an open view must be taken of this. By the time of Christ the Celtic material culture is weak. In its place is an Elbgermanen element of Großromstedt horizon seen in relation to the Augustan forts. In the course of the first half of the first century AD, a Rhein-Weser-Germanen people finally appeared.<sup>1117</sup> Walther referring to Peschel remarks that the beginning of the Rhein-Weser-Germanen in Westfalen was in the early phase of RIE, i.e. KZT B1a.<sup>1118</sup> An excavation at Hatzfeld on the upper Edertal provided evidence for settlement for the period at the beginning of the Christian era. Jockenhövel excavated Dillenburg to find only a Celtic settlement of the Late La Tène.<sup>1119</sup>

Material culture of Elbe and Rhein-Weser-Germanen type have been found at Dalheim, Niedergirmes, Naunheim, Garbenheim, Waldgirmes, Dünsberg, Dorlar, Atzbach, Wetzlar-Stoppelberg, Heuchelheim/Dutenhofen, Linden-Leihgestern, Gießen-Kleinlinden, Atzbach, Gießen-Stadtwald, and Wettenberg between the first

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<sup>1117</sup> Lindenthal and Rupp, 'Forschungen in germanischen und römischen Siedlungen der nördlichen Wetterau', at 68.

<sup>1118</sup> Wulf Walther, 'Frühe rhein-weser-germanische Keramik aus dem Brandgräberfeld von Körner, Unstrut-Hainach-Kreis', in Susanne Biegert, Siegmund von Schnurbein et al. (eds.), *Beiträge zur germanischen Keramik zwischen Donau und Teutoburger Wald. Kolloquium zur germanischen Keramik des 1.-5. Jahrhunderts, 17.-18. April 1998, Frankfurt a. M. Römisch-Germanische Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* (1st edn., Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, 4; Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 2000), 97-108 at 97 and n. 3. Peschel, 'Frühgermanische Bodenfunde zwischen Werra und Rhein', at 635.

<sup>1119</sup> Otto-Hermann Frey, 'Berichte über das Schwerpunktprogramm der Kommission für Archäologische Landesforschung Hessen 1994-1997 Schlagwort: 'Germanisierung'', *Berichte der Kommission für Archäologische Landesforschung in Hessen: Aus dem Institut für Archäologische Landesforschung in Hessen. (BKAL)*, 5 (1998/1999 2000), 161-167 at 161-167.

Century BC, and third centuries AD. Wigg, Walter, and Biegert remark, regarding the native La Tène peoples of the region that 'Fragen zur Kontinuität bzw. Diskontinuität im Siedlungsgeschehen am Ende der Latènezeit sowie die Auswirkungen des Vordringens der Germanen ab dem 1. Jahrhundert v. Chr. auf die autochthone Bevölkerung lassen sich somit augenblicklich nicht beantworten'.<sup>1120</sup>

Recent excavations have taken place in Dorlar and Lahнау-Waldgirmes, in the Wetzlar-Giessen basin, Lahn-Dill-Kreis, LDK, Hessen. Waldgirmes shows evidence of La Tène D2 habitation. This is followed by Rhein-Weser-Germanen finds in Lahнау-Waldgirmes and Dorlar, *c.* the beginning of the first century AD.

Whilst the finds associated with some sites of the Wetterau are initially Rhein-Weser-Germanen sites, with an initial Teutonic settlement stemming from the pre-Rhein-Weser-Germanen/Elbgermanen horizon are also evident and to be expected.

The implication of Rhein-Weser-Germanen rather than Elbgermanen finds in southern Hessen is that these peoples had already evolved with the local La Tène peoples at an earlier period, between La Tène D2, *c.* 50 BC, and the last decade of the first century BC. This evolution presumably took place further north in Hessen or Thüringen before these newly evolved Rhein-Weser-Germanen migrated south-west through the Upper Lahn Valley and arrived in the territory of Lahнау-Waldgirmes and Dorlar. Some of the finds are certainly of Elbgermanen type and there must have been some earlier Elbgermanen elements to be associated with this region as a whole. The Elbgermanen did not reach this region of the Taunus-Wetterau territory and settle amongst the La Tène population until nearer the beginning of the first century AD. It was only with the proto-Chattian infiltration of southern and central Hessen of the old La Tène territories of the Ubii and Mattiaci at the beginning of the first century AD, and with infrequent movements of Suebic groups from the direction of Thüringen, that southern Hessen began to feel the effects of a settled Teutonic

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<sup>1120</sup> Angelika Wigg, Dörte Walter et al., 'Forschungen in germanischen Siedlungen des mittleren Lahntales', in Alfred Haffner and Siegmund von Schnurbein (eds.), *Kelten, Germanen, Römer im Mittelgebirgsraum zwischen Luxemburg und Thüringen: Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums zum DFG-Schwerpunktprogramm "Romanisierung" vom 28. bis 30. September 1998 in Trier. (RGK)* (1st edn., Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, 5; Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 1998), 55-65 at 55-56 and 57 Abb.1. 'Abb.1. Karte des Arbeitsgebietes mit den im Text genannten Fundstellen'.

presence. In many cases the peoples arriving in southern Hessen had already evolved from Elbgermanen to Rhein-Weser Germanen, by the time of their arrival.<sup>1121</sup>

The site of Fritzlar-Geismar, Kr. Schwalm-Eder, Hessen, began with a Celtic La Tène settlement in La Tène C2-D1, i.e. Geismar Phase Ib-Ic. It was later colonized by Elbgermanen and possibly some Nordseegermanen, beginning in La Tène D2, i.e. Geismar Phase IIa, which continued into the RIE.

Elbgermanen, Nordseegermanen, and Nordgermanen elements are possible within the Fritzlar-Geismar area. This is due to the presence of a-typical North European three-aisled longhouse (*dreischiffige Langhaus*), and two-aisled longhouse (*zweischiffige Häus*) of Scandinavia, northern Germany, and the northern Dutch region.

In Hessen and Nordrhein-Westfalen Meyer asserts that the house tradition until the RIE fell within the La Tène cultural tradition and is also the regular model of house type for the Celts of southern Germany. Adjacent to it was a cultural periphery. Meyer adds that in this area as far as can be determined the above outlined spread is of the south German tradition. It appears to be that in the RIE there was a continuation of this house type.

According to Meyer this observation is very important when one considers the rapid cultural change after the end of the *oppida* in the region of the Mittelgebirge. Meyer asserts that the continuation of a house tradition is, in this context, a strong argument for a local continuity, and excludes a complete population change.<sup>1122</sup> The northern area of the Rhein-Weser-Germanen territory was linked to the Dutch-northern German and southern Scandinavian 'Hauslandschaft', with *dreischiffigen* (excluding southern Scandinavia) and *zweischiffigen* longhouses. However, parallel with this is

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<sup>1121</sup> Angelika Wigg, 'Roman and native in the Lahn Valley between Wetzlar and Giessen', in Jeannot Metzler, Martin Millett et al. (eds.), *Integration in the Early Roman West - The Role of Culture and Ideology. Papers arising from the International Conference at the Titelberg (Luxembourg) 12-13 November 1993*. (1st edn.; Luxembourg: Dossiers d'Archéologie du Musée National d'Histoire et d'Art IV, 1995), 169-182 at 177-178. Wigg, Walter et al., 'Forschungen in germanischen Siedlungen des mittleren Lahntales', at 55, 56 and 57 (Abb.1).

<sup>1122</sup> Meyer, 'Ein Hausgrundriß aus der latène- und kaiserzeitlichen Siedlung Mardorf 23, Kr. Marburg-Biedenkopf', at 117-121.

the southern part of the Rhein-Weser-Germanen territory where local Celtic La Tène traditions continued, and where examples can be observed from Mardorf and Warburg-Daseburg. There was also a native tradition in Brandenburg. In addition are new building forms which are not evident from the above picture as seen from the ‘*einschiffigen*’ building form at Gaukönigshofen, Mainfranken, BY.<sup>1123</sup>

Meyer argues that this hybrid picture acts as a mirror to the heterogeneous cultural relationship in the transitional period from the La Tène to the RIE where there was a mixing of the local continued La Tène forms with a strong new influence from the north and east. This hybrid culture was also affected through the immediate contact with the new Roman civilization.<sup>1124</sup>

This area was initially La Tène and even in the Late La Tène D2 there is evidence for Late La Tène settlement at Geismar bei Fritzlar, cf. pottery which was later transformed into Rhein-Weser-Germanen pottery.<sup>1125</sup> This is the heart of the proto-Chattian territory. It seems likely that many of the examples of the *dreischiffiges Wohnstallhaus* south of the Lippe are due to the immigration of Elbgermanen and Nordseegermanen to Sugambria, e.g. the Bochum Suebi and proto-Chatti in the second half of the first century BC and later to other tribes north of the Lippe.<sup>1126</sup>

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<sup>1123</sup> Meyer, 'Ein Hausgrundriß aus der latène- und kaiserzeitlichen Siedlung Mardorf 23, Kr. Marburg-Biedenkopf', at 117-121. three a isled house: Thiedmann, "'Elbgermanische" Keramik und Baubefunde der Spätlatènezeit in der Siedlung Geismar bei Fritzlar'. For extent of Elbgermanen settlement of this region beginning in the La Tène D2 see: Michael Meyer, 'Keramik der römischen Kaiserzeit aus der Siedlung Mardorf 23, Kr. Marburg-Biedenkopf', in Susanne Biegert, Siegmund von Schnurbein et al. (eds.), *Beiträge zur germanischen Keramik zwischen Donau und Teutoburger Wald. Kolloquium zur germanischen Keramik des 1.-5. Jahrhunderts 17.-18. April 1998 Frankfurt a. M. Römisch-Germanische Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* (1st edn., Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, 4; Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 2000), 139-150 at especially 140 Abb. 1.

<sup>1124</sup> Meyer, 'Ein Hausgrundriß aus der latène- und kaiserzeitlichen Siedlung Mardorf 23, Kr. Marburg-Biedenkopf', at 120-121.

<sup>1125</sup> Peschel, 'Frühgermanische Bodenfunde zwischen Werra und Rhein', at 32 and 32 n. 57-58. See 'Abb.5: Gräber der Przeworskultur (Oder-Warthe-Gruppe) im westlichen Mittelgebirgsraum (Latène D1; 2.Jh. bis etwa Mitte 1. Jh.v.Chr.)...'. Peschel refers to Robert Heiner, *Studien an Siedlungskeramik. Ausgewählte Merkmale und Fundkomplexe der Latène und der Römischen Kaiserzeit aus der Siedlung Fritzlar-Geismar, Schwalm-Eder-Kreis* (1st edn., Mat. Vor- u. Frühgesch. Hessen, 12.1; Wiesbaden, 1994) at 52 Abb.31. See continuation between Late La Tène pottery at 52 Abb.31., and Rhein-Weser Germanen prototypes at 53 Abb.32. For complete change in culture see 68.

<sup>1126</sup> Thiedmann, "'Elbgermanische" Keramik und Baubefunde der Spätlatènezeit in der Siedlung Geismar bei Fritzlar', at 37, 46. See 'Abb.6. Verbreitung der dreischiffigen Hausgrundrisse (nach BRABANT 1993 Abb.9 mit Ergänzung 'Geismar'). Grafik: K.Ruppel', after J. Brabant (ed.),

For the region of the Dutch Lower Rhine the North European house type tradition can be seen to exist together with peoples of La Tène culture. These house types were subject to regional variation.

Thiedmann asserts that at Frizlar-Geismar it was found that the pottery of the transitional period, i.e. Geismar IIa, (La Tène D2), is clearly from the previous outgoing La Tène age ware, which differed from the nearby *Elbgermanische Einflüsse* some of which are seen nearby. Thiedmann stresses that a lasting and continuous *latènoïd* strain is supported in the archaeological record. It is in the 'Fundgruppe Geismar IIa' (La Tène D2) that Thiedmann believes an inherent perhaps Chattian imprint can be recognized.<sup>1127</sup> It is noticeable that the Geismar pottery from the transitional period of the late outgoing finds, was already germinating. This process is evident when compared to forms of the succeeding early Imperial era ware of the form B1. This showed the development of the Rhein-Weser-Germanen style. These observations appear to agree with the investigatory opinion. Thiedmann states that it was during La Tène D2 (LTD2) and perhaps until the beginning of the RIE B1 that the characteristics of the direction of style of Elbgermanen and the Rhein-Weser-Germanen gradually began to form.<sup>1128</sup> Thiedmann states that the beginning of the Rhein-Weser-Germanen style can already be interpreted in the late transition period and faintly in the outgoing phase of Geismar IIa (La Tène D2-RIE A.). At the latest, with the beginning of the find-group Geismar IIb, the proto-type of the Form Uslar I can be more clearly understood. In Geismar as elsewhere the beginning of the Rhein-Weser-Germanen culture can be seen in a horizon which is heavily Elbgermanen in character and both Elbgermanen

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*Hausbefunde der römischen Kaiserzeit im freien Germanien. Ein Forschungsstand* (1st edn., Veröff. Landesamt Denkmalpfl. Sachsen-Anhalt. u. Landesmus. Vorgesch., 46; Halle, 1993) at Abb.9. Thiedmann, 'Geismar bei Fritzlar', at 104-108, 112.

<sup>1127</sup> Thiedmann, 'Geismar bei Fritzlar', at 104. See La Tène tradition – Elbgermanen tradition of Geismar-Fritzlar: Robert Heiner, 'Flörsheim-Weilbach "Gastrasse" Fundkomplex 27d', in Susanne Biegert, Siegmund von Schnurbein et al. (eds.), *Beiträge zur germanischen Keramik zwischen Donau und Teutoburger Wald. Kolloquium zur germanischen Keramik des 1.-5. Jahrhunderts, 17.-18. April 1998, Frankfurt a. M. Römisch-Germanische Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. (RGK)* (1st edn., Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, 4; Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 2000), 59-74 at 66-70.

<sup>1128</sup> Thiedmann, 'Geismar bei Fritzlar', at 104.

and Rhine-Weser-Germanen styles can be found beside each other at this time, essentially around the decades of Christ's birth.<sup>1129</sup>

The Rhein-Weser-Germanen period evolved from initial Elbgermanen settlement amongst the La Tène peoples and thus post-dates Elbgermanen arrival. The Rhein-Weser-Germanen horizon at Geismar begins at the end of La Tène D2. This is probably to be equated with the layer which Thiedmann refers to as Chattian.<sup>1130</sup> Between the La Tène and RIE Peschel suggests a continuation from the native La Tène pottery and Rhein-Weser prototypes.<sup>1131</sup> This suggests a hybrid population.

The site of Arnsburg, Kr. Gießen, has recently been shown by Austermann to have been Middle-Late La Tène B-C, but with some La Tène D1 finds. There is no obvious take-over by the Elbgermanen at Arnsburg. Very few finds exist for the RIE at Arnsburg.<sup>1132</sup>

Frey and Laumann have dated large amounts of pottery of Wehren, Schwalm-Eder-Kreis, He. to Late La Tène pottery dated to La Tène D2, confirming that a Celtic population for this region of northern Hessen still thrived in this later period.<sup>1133</sup>

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<sup>1129</sup> Thiedmann, "'Elbgermanische"Keramik und Baubefunde der Spätlatènezeit in der Siedlung Geismar bei Fritzlar', at 44.

<sup>1130</sup> Thiedmann, 'Geismar bei Fritzlar', at 101, 104 n. Cf. Thiedmann states that the region of Fritzlar – Geismar was throughout the 500 years of the La Tène period populated by people of a La Tène culture; however, finds for the period are scanty (101). The chronology for Fritzlar-Geismar is: Geismar Ic (LTD1) Geismar Ic-IIa (LTD1-D2) Geismar IIa (LTD2/Kaiserzeit RKZ A) Geismar IIa-IIb (RKZ A-B1) Geismar IIb (RKZ B1) Geismar IIc (RKZ B2) Geismar IId (RKZ C2), See 101-104. Also Heiner, *Studien an Siedlungskeramik. Ausgewählte Merkmale und Fundkomplexe der Latène und der Römischen Kaiserzeit aus der Siedlung Fritzlar-Geismar, Schwalm-Eder-Kreis* at 72., suggests that the evolution of the Rhine-Weser-Germanen took place in Geismar IIc-(RKZ B2) IId (RKZ C2) in Thiedmann (2000) at 104 n. 28.

<sup>1131</sup> Peschel, 'Frühgermanische Bodenfunde zwischen Werra und Rhein', at 32 and 32 n. 57-58. See Abb.5. Heiner, *Studien an Siedlungskeramik. Ausgewählte Merkmale und Fundkomplexe der Latène und der Römischen Kaiserzeit aus der Siedlung Fritzlar-Geismar, Schwalm-Eder-Kreis* at 52-53, 68. Continuation between Late La Tène pottery at 52, Abb.31. and Rhine-Weser-Germanen prototypes at 53. Abb.32 and 68 for a complete change in culture.

<sup>1132</sup> Mathias Austermann, 'Grabungen in einer latènezeitlichen und mittelalterlichen Siedlung bei Arnsburg, Kr. Gießen', *Berichte der Kommission für Archäologische Landesforschung in Hessen: Aus dem Institut für Archäologische Landesforschung in Hessen, Büdingen. (BKAL)*, 3 (1994/1995 1995), 113-143 at 115 and 115 n. 12, 117-119.

<sup>1133</sup> Otto Hermann Frey and H. Laumann, 'Einen spätlatènezeitliche Töpferei bei Wehren, Gemeinde Fritzlar, Schwalm-Eder-Kreis', *Fundberichte aus Hessen. (FBH)*, 1/7/18 (1977/1978. 1980), 137-150 at 141.

The site of Hanau-Mittelbuchen is also dated to the Late La Tène, showing evidence for La Tène Celtic people and the subsequent arrival of Elbgermanen at this time.<sup>1134</sup> Between 1993-1998 excavations took place at Mardorf 23 Kr. Marburg-Biedenkopf. Mardorf 23 from the Late La Tène period appears to have had a Przeworsk settlement and possibly also the Großromstedt Horizon.<sup>1135</sup> Both Fritzlar and Marburg are associated with new settlements of Elbgermanen (proto-Chatti) entering the region of central Hessen in La Tène D2- early RIE A, or Geismar IIA. In Lahnstein-Oberlahnstein, EMS, RP, Joachim has also found masses of Late La Tène pottery dated to La Tène D2.<sup>1136</sup> The region of Fulda, which was also a region of La Tène culture in the mid first century BC, had, by the early RIE, i.e. the early decades of the first-century AD, received some Elbgermanen settlement at Fulda-Domhügel. Söder stipulates that its northerly location provided evidence of relations with both north-west Germany and southern Germany seen in the graves and through mortuary ritual. The graphite vessels provide good evidence that this was an influence from southern Germany. The stone-lining of graves is seen in the Early Iron-Age of north-west Germany. Also in use were Harpstedt *Rauhtöpfe* as gravegoods. The cemeteries of Altenbrunslar and Melsungen of Rhünda in Hessen, exhibit the connection between the Hallstatt and La Tène to the south and the Jastorf culture to the north. Here elements of both cultures can be found. Söder suggests that northern Hessen displayed elements of both cultures but was not of any single element.<sup>1137</sup> In terms of cultural spheres Rhünda, Schwalm-Eder-Kreis, He, is part of the Hallstatt and La Tène cultural sphere, although showing elements of Jastorf culture. For the Late La Tène period both Seidel and Söder demonstrate initially a La Tène culture for the region. This was followed by the arrival of Elbgermanen of Großromstedt culture,

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<sup>1134</sup> Heiner, 'Flörsheim-Weilbach "Gastrasse" Fundkomplex 27d', at 66. For Hanau-Mittelbuchen see Seidel, 'Frühe Germanen am unteren Main', ( Cf. Abb.2,4,7.

<sup>1135</sup> Meyer, 'Ein Hausgrundriß aus der latène- und kaiserzeitlichen Siedlung Mardorf 23, Kr. Marburg-Biedenkopf', at 115, 117, 119, 120. Michael Meyer, 'Die Siedlung der Spätlatène- und Kaiserzeit von Mardorf, Fdst. 23. Vorbericht über die Ausgrabungen 1993-1994', *Berichte der Kommission für Archäologische Landesforschung in Hessen: Aus dem Institut für Archäologische Landesforschung in Hessen, Büdingen. (BKAL)*, 3 (1994/1995 1995), 47-58 at 47-48, 50-56.

<sup>1136</sup> H. E. Joachim, 'Braubach und seine Umgebung in der Bronze- und Eisenzeit', *Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn und des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden in Rheinlande. (BJ)*, 177 (1977), 1-117 at 92.

<sup>1137</sup> Söder, 'Vorberichte über die Ausgrabungen auf der Altenburg bei Niedenstein, Schwalm-eder-Kreis', at 76.

which eventually developed into the hybrid Rhein-Weser-Germanen culture. Söder stipulates that during the Middle and Late La Tène in northern Hessen there existed side by side with the new Teutonic immigrants a dense settlement of concentration of fortified upland and lowland settlement of Celtic La Tène peoples. The finds from Rhünda for the Late La Tène can be integrated into this. Söder asserts many of these La Tène settlements end at the cessation of La Tène D2. Söder stipulates that new settlements under the rule of unattached lowland settlements were founded and that at this time the Teutonic Chatti first entered northern Hessen. Söder states that 'Einige Fundstellen weisen aber auch eine Siedlungskontinuität auf und es häufen sich die Hinweise, daß mehr Fundstellen als noch vor einiger Zeit angenommen durchgehend besiedelt waren'. This new invasive culture was the arrival of the Elbgermanen in the form of the Großromstedt Horizon.<sup>1138</sup> Its integration with the local La Tène settlement continuation produced the proto-Chatian culture.

#### **4.12.2. ELBGERMANEN OF NORTHERN HESSEN: PROTO-CHATTI OR SUEBI.**

It cannot be certain that the specific grouping or groupings that formed in the niederhessischen Senke and Kasseler Becken in northern Hessen were the same grouping as that of the Chatti referred to in 11 BC, in central and southern Hessen/southern Westfalen by Dio. There were doubtless Suebic groupings of the Großromstedt Horizon (with some Przeworsk elements) possibly relating to the time of Caesar and before. These may have been outposts of the Suebi of Cimberius and Nasua. However, a second group of Elbgermanen entered the region or were already in-situ before the time of Caesar, or between Caesar and Drusus. It would appear that

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<sup>1138</sup> Mathias Seidel, 'Frühgermanische Siedlungskeramik aus Felsberg-Rhünda, Schwalm-Eder-Kreis (Niederhessen)', in Susanne Biegert, Siegmund von Schnurbein et al. (eds.), *Beiträge zur germanischen Keramik zwischen Donau und Teutoburger Wald. Kolloquium zur germanischen Keramik des 1.-5. Jahrhunderts, 17.-18. April 1998, Frankfurt a. M. Römisch-Germanische Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. (RGK)* (1st edn., Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, 4; Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 2000), 25-35 at 25, 28, 34-35. Cf. Late La Tène Culture at 25, 28, 34-35; Elbgermanen (Großromstedt Horizon) at 25-35; Rhein-Weser-Germanen culture at 35. Ulrike Söder, Norbert Buthmann et al., 'Ein Vorbericht über die eisen- und kaiserzeitliche Fundstelle "Ameisenkuppel" in Felsberg - Rhünda, Schwalm-Eder-Kreis', *Bericht der Kommission für Archäologische Landesforschung in Hessen. (BKAL)*, 5 (1998/1999 2000), 65-97 at 78, 81. See Late La Tène Culture. At 78-82 see Elbgermanen (Großromstedt Horizon).

this is usually equated with the proto-Chatti and these peoples were probably in northern Hessen since before the time of Caesar, where they settled amongst the Celts and became the Rhein-Weser-Germanen. This does not rule out the possibility that these proto-Chatti were Suebic. The Elbgermanen of the proto-Chattian horizon were Großmstedt in type, just as the Suebi; therefore the proto-Chattian Elbgermanen cannot be distinguished from Suebic groups. It is probable that the proto-Chatti were not considered Suebic as they are always distinguished from the Suebi. There is no doubt that in the archaeological record the core of the proto-Chatti was in northern Hessen. These Elbgermanen originated in the region of the Middle-Lower Elbe, although some Nordseegermanen elements are seen in house-types at Geismar. These are exceptional and the proto-Chatti probably owe their origin more to the Elbgermanen Großmstedt horizon and the La Tène culture rather than the old Harpstedt and the ensuing Nordseegermanen culture.

One problem is the presence of the Batavi and possibly the Chattvarii (although possibly in northern Hessen) on the Lower Rhine rather than northern Hessen. There is no actual proof that the Chattvarii were located on the Lower Rhine. This could place the origin of the proto-Chatti on the Lower Rhine where they were transferred to the Ubian territory (abandoned 38/19 BC) on the Lahn given to them by the Romans after which, *c.* 10 BC, they abandoned this territory and moved into northern Hessen. However, this cannot be the series of events as:

The archaeology is clear that the proto-Chatti were Elbgermanen rather than Nordseegermanen.

The archaeology traces the movement of these proto-Chatti in northern Hessen into central Hessen, the territory of the Chatti where the evolution to Rhein-Weser-Germanen continued. The peoples usually associated with proto-Chattian ethnogenesis in northern Hessen were not the proto-Chatti but only the Suebi. There appears to be constant Elbgermanen and La Tène settlement in northern Hessen without a break in settlement from La Tène D1.

The archaeology suggests that the proto-Chatti originated north of northern Hessen on the Middle-Lower Elbe as Elbgermanen. They then settled in northern Hessen in

38 BC, and the campaigns of Drusus. Another branch of the Chatti was granted settlement on the Lower Rhine, c. 50-25 BC, i.e. the Batavi. The Chatti are not mentioned by Caesar. This may be because they were in the process of settling in La Tène D2 as Elbgermanen amongst the La Tène peoples and formed the Chatti. They then moved southward and were granted lands by the Romans, probably the Ubian territory, before ethnogenesis and were not yet known by the name Chatti.

#### 4.12.3. RECENT EXCAVATIONS OF NORDRHEIN-WESTFALEN EAST OF THE RHINE.

La Tène cultural settlements were found for the Late La Tène on the Lower Rhine near the mouth of the Lippe at Colettenberg: (81 graves), Sommersberg: (90) and Spelmansberg: (44 graves), NRW.<sup>1139</sup> For the region of the Ruhr material culture dating to the Late La Tène- early RIE have been found more recently Fulerum, Pastoratsberg, Burgaltendorf, Kettwig, all in the region of Essen. These sites all date to between the Late La Tène D2 and the early RIE.

Also found to be of Late La Tène material culture in Nordrhein-Westfalen east of the Rhine are the hillforts of Bensberg near Köln and further south Königswinter near the Sieg, south of Bonn. Kunow correctly asserts 'Die beiden letztgenannten Orte lagen wohl im Stammesgebiet der rechtsrheinischen Sugambren'.<sup>1140</sup> A few kilometres from Königswinter is Stieldorferhohn, Rhein-Sieg-Kreis, where recent excavations have also provided for a strong La Tène culture in the region.<sup>1141</sup> Elbgermanen migration is seen in the archaeological record in the region of the Lippe and IJssel in the early Augustan period producing Elbgermanen cemeteries at Bochum, (Bochum-Hiltrop and Bochum-Riemke), south of the Lippe. West of the

<sup>1139</sup> Reichmann, *Zur Besiedlungsgeschichte des Lippemündungsgebietes* at 158-159.

<sup>1140</sup> Kunow, 'Die Militärgeschichte Niedergermaniens', at 32. Heinz Günter Horn, '**Bergisch Gladbach-Bensberg GL.** Spätlatènezeitliche Ringwall', in Heinz Günter Horn (ed.), *Die Römer in Nordrhein-Westfalen* (2nd edn., Die Römer in.; Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 1987), 353-355 at 355, for abandonment of site 356. Heinz Günter Horn, '**Königswinter SU.** Spätlatènezeitliche Ringwall', in Heinz Günter Horn (ed.), *Die Römer in Nordrhein-Westfalen* (1st edn., Die Römer in.; Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 1987), 521-523 at 523.

<sup>1141</sup> Alfred Schuler, 'ICE-Neubaustrecke: eine eisenzeitliche Siedlung bei Stieldorferhohn', in Gerhard Bauchhenß, Wenke Hoyer et al. (eds.), *Archäologie im Rheinland 1999* (1st edn., Landschaftsverband Rheinland, Rheinisches Amt für Bodendenkmalpflege; Köln-Bonn: Rheinland-Verlag GmbH. Köln in Kommission bei Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH. Bonn, 2000), 69-72 at 71-72.

Upper IJssel, at the end of the La Tène, c. 45 BC, Elbgermanen settlements are established, in what presumably was territory inhabited by the Celtic Menapii, or Sugambri, prior to the arrival of the Usipetes and Tencteri. These sites include Rees-Haldern, Heeren-Herken, Hamminkeln-Mehrhoog, and Wesel Bislich, adjacent to each other near the Dutch border in Nordrhein-Westfalen.<sup>1142</sup> Heiner sees a parallel between Haldern-Sonsfeld in Nordrhein-Westfalen, and Hatzfeld-Lindenhof in Hessen, which exhibit Elbgermanen influences of the group IIa for Lower Hessen.<sup>1143</sup>

In the region of the mouth of the Lippe was a thriving La Tène culture, somewhat poorer than found south of the Mittlegebirge in southern Germany. At Haldern-Colettenberg in Nordrhein-Westfalen a La Tène culture continues into the Late La Tène D2. At approximately this time a new series of Elbgermanen influences is found in this region of the IJssel and Bochum. The Bochum and IJssel groups may have been related. There is increased Elbgermanen entry south of the Lippe after c. 50 BC. This region, prior to, and post 55 BC-8 BC, was controlled by the Sugambri, who in the mid- first century AD, may have incorporated small groups of Suebi (presumably from the Lower Elbe).<sup>1144</sup>

Völling, when looking to the region of the Lower Rhine, draws on Reichmann for his standard view for the late La Tène and the RIE.<sup>1145</sup>

The Roman fort of Anreppen is located in the lowland territory of the Lippe where it meets the hill country of the Teutoburger Wald. This eastern Lower Lippe region was probably always outside the territory of the Sugambri. Their territory was on the Lower and Middle Lippe. The Upper Lippe may have belonged to the Marsian, Cheruscan or Suebic groups of the area and after the departure of a section of the

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<sup>1142</sup> Reichmann, 'Das rechtsrheinische Vorland Geldubas in frühromischer Zeit', at 64-65, 75 n.7.

<sup>1143</sup> Heiner, 'Flörsheim-Weilbach "Gastrasse" Fundkomplex 27d', at 68 n. 33-34. For Haldern-Sonsfeld: Reichmann, *Zur Besiedlungsgeschichte des Lippemündungsgebietes*. See Table 34,2;33,1.

<sup>1144</sup> The difficulties involved in keeping intruders out of northern Sugambria must have been great considering the geography of the region. From the east and south there were formidable obstacles to migration, i.e. from the east the northern Mittelgebirge, in a semi-circle around Paderborn the Teutoburger Wald, the Eggebirge and Briloner Höhen. Beyond Bad Lippspringe an army would have to break through the hills to move further east. The Hellweg presented a migration route from the north-east to western Germania into Sugambrian territory passing through this curved basin.

<sup>1145</sup> Völling (ed.), *Germanien an der Zeitenwende* at 8-9.

Sugambri to Gallia it became part of Marsian territory. The Elbgermanen settlement of Delbrück-Anreppen appears to be contemporary with the Augustan Roman fort, as is evident from pottery and finds from the time of Christ's birth.

According to Eggenstein the Elbgermanen settlement by the Augustan Roman fort of Delbrück-Anreppen was between 4-5 AD and 9 AD. Elbgermanen influences begin to fade in the first decade of the first century AD, and Rhein-Weser-Germanen culture becomes faintly tangible.<sup>1146</sup>

The region of north-eastern N.R.W. studied by Bérenger deals mainly with the north east of the region in territory which he suggests belonged to the Cherusci. The large grave-field of Petershagen-Lahde lies outside the ambit of the La Tène culture proper.<sup>1147</sup>

Archaeological evidence shows that the Bochum and IJssel groups of Elbgermanen who arrived into Sugambria after *c.* 45 BC, possibly the Suebi Langobardoi, were small enough to have been easily expelled by the Sugambri, unlike the great migrations of the Usipetes and Tencteri. New groups of Elbgermanen entered the region of the Sugambri and south of the Lippe after 50 BC, This must have been in part due to the political agenda of the Sugambri, who appear to have allowed the Bochum and IJssel groups of Elbgermanen, and presumably other Elbgermanen, to settle in their territory. There are suggestions of alliances with Suebic groups in the early Augustan era, but there is no reference to Suebic groups over-running

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<sup>1146</sup> Georg Eggenstein, 'Die Keramik aus der römerlagerzeitlichen germanischen Siedlung von Delbrück-Anreppen, Kr. Paderborn', in Susanne Biegert, Siegmund von Schnurbein et al. (eds.), *Beiträge zur germanischen Keramik zwischen Donau und Teutoburger Wald. Kolloquium zur germanischen Keramik des 1.-5. Jahrhunderts, 17.-18. April 1998 Frankfurt a. M. Römisch-Germanische Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* (1st edn., *Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte*, 4; Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 2000), 49-58 at 58. There are doubtless other Roman outposts to be located, but how much further east and north these are to be found remains to be seen. Thus, all the lowland territory of the course of the Lippe was patrolled in Roman times. This open flat valley was ideal territory for the Romans to penetrate Germania. It must have been difficult given the geographical nature of their territory to keep invaders out.

<sup>1147</sup> Daniel Bérenger, *Zur Chronologie der Vorrömischen Eisenzeit und Römischen Kaiserzeit in Nordost-Westfalen*, ed. Gabriele Isenberg (1st edn., *Bodenaltertümer Westfalens. Berichte des Westfälischen Museum für Archäologie. Amt für Bodendenkmalpflege*, 38; Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 2000) at 5, 215. Völling (ed.), *Germanien an der Zeitenwende* at 10-11. See Petershagen-Lahde.

Sugambria. The frequent and concerted efforts of the Sugambri, Usipetes, and Tencteri were directed at the formation of a large confederation or *Super-group*.

Beside native La Tène settlement in Sugambria at the mouth of the Lippe and throughout the region were newly arriving Elbgermanen groups and Nordseegermanen groups.<sup>1148</sup> On the Upper Lippe these new groups may include further Suebic, Marsian, Bructerian and even Cheruscan influences. This region also bordered the Nordseegermanen groups of the Dutch and North Sea Coast and influences from this region are present.

Reichmann does not agree with the generally held view for the position of the Sugambri as proposed by L. Schmidt between the Sieg and Ruhr. Reichmann suggests that they should possibly be located further to the north.<sup>1149</sup>

#### **4.12.4. RECENTLY EXCAVATED SITES OF THÜRINGEN.**

Körner, Unstrut-Hainach Kreis, provides native La Tène settlement from La Tène C2 – D1, followed by Elbgermanen settlement and in RIE, RKZ B1b this evolved into Rhein-Weser-Germanen culture.<sup>1150</sup> This Late La Tène Culture for La Tène D1 is found at Körner 1954, 6/58 and 6/57. Some Przeworsk culture is also found at Körner 6/58 and 6/57 in La Tène D1.

Großfahner northwest of Erfurt, Th. was a Celtic Middle La Tène (C1-C2) settlement which broke off before the Elbgermanen horizon of the Late La Tène. Gravegoods found at Großfahner included wheel-turned pottery (*Drehscheibenware*). Gotha, approximately almost equidistant between Eisenach and Erfurt, was a La Tène settlement of the Late La Tène D1.<sup>1151</sup>

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<sup>1148</sup> Roymans, *Northern Gaul* at 237. Johannes Heinrichs, 'Sugambri', in Heinrich Beck, Dieter Geuenich et al. (eds.), *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde von Johannes Hoops. (RGA)* (2nd edn., *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde von Johannes Hoops, XXX*; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005), 124-127 at 124.

<sup>1149</sup> Reichmann, 'Das rechtsrheinische Vorland Geldubas in frühromischer Zeit', at 64-65, 75 n. 7.

<sup>1150</sup> Walther, 'Frühe rhein-weser-germanische Keramik aus dem Brandgräberfeld von Körner. *RGK*', at 97 and 97 n. 93, 98, 108.

<sup>1151</sup> Peschel, 'Keramik aus Siedlungen in Nordthüringen', at 3-6.

Other Celtic Late La Tène sites are those of Dienstedt south-west of Jena and south-east of Erfurt and Friemar just a few kilometres north of Gotha, between Eisenach and Erfurt. Both sites date to the Late La Tène D1. Mühlhausen, twenty-five kilometres north of Eisenach also dates to the Late La Tène D1 and Bad Sulza approximately twenty kilometres north of Jena dates to the Late La Tène D1.<sup>1152</sup>

Elbgermanen sites of the region, for the Late La Tène D2 –RIE RKZ B1a include Mühlhausen, Bad Sulza, Körner 1b/57, Arnstadt, fifteen kilometres south of Erfurt, Niederdorla, twenty kilometres north-east of Eisenach and Sondershausen, fifteen kilometres south-east of Nordhausen.<sup>1153</sup>

For the Rhein-Weser-Germanen RIE RKZ B1 precursors to the cultural type are seen in Körner 1b/57, and 1954, neither of which had an Elbgermanen horizon proper, but both of which had Late La Tène D1 settlements. Körner 1b/57 also had a Przeworsk layer. Mühlhausen had a precursory Rhein-Weser-Germanen horizon of RIE RKZ B1. This Rhein-Weser-Germanen settlement did not extend beyond the territory of the older La Tène region.<sup>1154</sup> This must have developed from the Elbgermanen layer which preceded it. A fully formed Rhein-Weser-Germanen culture with pottery of Uslar Form I exists at Arnstadt, Niederdorla and Sondershausen, all of which had Elbgermanen horizons which preceded them, but none with Late La Tène sites which pre-dated them. Only at Dörma RIE RKZ B1 is Uslar Form I not present, in the fully formed Rhein-Weser-Germanen horizon. Nor is there a preceding Elbgermanen or Late La Tène horizon.<sup>1155</sup>

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<sup>1152</sup> Peschel, 'Keramik aus Siedlungen in Nordthüringen', at 2-4.

<sup>1153</sup> Peschel, 'Keramik aus Siedlungen in Nordthüringen', at 3.

<sup>1154</sup> Peschel, 'Keramik aus Siedlungen in Nordthüringen', at 8, 12.

<sup>1155</sup> Peschel, 'Keramik aus Siedlungen in Nordthüringen', at 1-16. See Abb.1. 'Abb.1. Fundorte der behandelten Inventare. Grafik: K. Ruppel', at 2 and Table 1. 'Die Inventare nach ihrem kulturellen und zeitlichen Umfeld' at 3.

#### 4.13. THE ARRIVAL OF A SUB-TRIBE OF THE CHATTI TO THE LOWER RHINE AND ETHNOGENESIS OF THE BATAVI IN GALLIA.

Roymans argues that until recently the information from Tacitus was taken literally by historians and archaeologists as ‘It was assumed that the Batavian community consisted of Chattian immigrants, who had moved to the Rhine delta on their own initiative’.<sup>1156</sup> Roymans refutes Tacitus’s view stating that ‘Tacitus’s report that the Batavi settled in an almost uninhabited Rhine delta is now clearly contradicted by the archaeological evidence. The second half of the first century BC, is by no means a phase of massive discontinuity in habitation and cultural traditions’.<sup>1157</sup> Roymans cites continuity of the old tradition of building longhouses, (*Wohnstallhäuser*), amongst the La Tène population, (presumably Eburones/Menapii).<sup>1158</sup> The process of glass arm-ring production by the La Tène Celts of the Lower Rhine was on-going after the arrival of the Batavi. This constitutes La Tène continuity at least one generation following the arrival of the Chatti. When these Batavi/Chatti arrived on the Lower Rhine, they were possibly known as the Chattvarii, to the native Menapii/Eburones. Von Petrikovits also sees the possibility that the Chattvarii were neighbours of the Batavi.<sup>1159</sup> On entering Gallia these Chattvarii may have evolved with the local La Tène populations to become Batavi.

Roymans remarked that ‘on the basis of this archaeological data, the Batavi who split away from the Chatti and moved to the Rhine delta can be regarded as a small elite group (probably a prominent, pro-Roman Chattian leader with his kinsmen and warriors), which subsequently assimilated with the indigenous groups present in the Rhine delta’.<sup>1160</sup> The Batavi may have resulted from ‘the integration of the (probably rather small) Chatto–Batavian immigrant group with indigenous groups in the Rhine delta’.<sup>1161</sup> The Canninefates may only have had a client relationship with the Batavi.

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<sup>1156</sup> Roymans, 'Ethnogenesis of the Batavi', at 94.

<sup>1157</sup> Roymans, 'Ethnogenesis of the Batavi', at 94.

<sup>1158</sup> Roymans, 'Ethnogenesis of the Batavi', at 94.

<sup>1159</sup> Neumann and Von Petrikovits, 'Chattvarier. (RGA)', at 392.

<sup>1160</sup> Roymans, 'Ethnogenesis of the Batavi', at 94 and 94 n. 5.

<sup>1161</sup> Roymans, 'Ethnogenesis of the Batavi', at 126.

The archaeology of the region of the Canninefates encompasses elements of La Tène and North European archaeological cultures.

The region between the Oude Rijn and Maas during the first century BC, based on pottery studies, appears to have had a small population. At the beginning of the first century AD, new peoples arrived in the region and pottery of the Frisian style is evident. This could suggest that the Canninefates were largely of Frisian origin.<sup>1162</sup> However, Roymans suggests that a multi-ethnic ethnogenesis for the Canninefates would eliminate the inconsistencies in the historical and archaeological evidence regarding the origin of the Canninefates.<sup>1163</sup> Because of the predominance of coins in the Batavian area and the absence of coins in the coastal area Roymans suggests that between c. 50 and 10 BC, the Canninefates had not yet become part of the client network of the Batavi.<sup>1164</sup>

Taayke suggests that the western area of the Netherlands (inhabited by the Canninefates) shows evidence of *Streepband* pottery (Van Heeringens Santpoort II type) pottery of Frisian type probably represent a mixed archaeological culture. Taayke suggests that in the eastern Netherlands whilst Iron Age pottery was virtually unknown, in the Rhine-Waal area pottery showed La Tène Marnian-like characteristics and in the course of the first century AD, the Rhein-Weser-Germanen tradition encompassed the whole of the eastern Netherlands. The western area appears to have been associated with the Frisii and the eastern element with the Batavi.<sup>1165</sup>

#### **4.13.1. BATAVIAN IDENTITY. THE LOWER RHINE TRIQUETRUM COINAGES: BATAVIAN OR UBIAN.**

Roymans proposes that the Batavian identity was in existence for decades by the time of their arrival in Gallia and that it originated among the North Hessian Chatti.

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<sup>1162</sup> Van Heeringen, 'The Iron Age in the Western Netherlands V. Synthesis', at 243 n. 5.

<sup>1163</sup> Roymans, *Batavians* at 205-206.

<sup>1164</sup> Roymans, *Batavians* at 92-93.

<sup>1165</sup> Ernst Taayke, 'Handmade Pottery from a Roman Period Settlement at Wijk bij Duurstede-De Horden', *Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek*, 45 (2002), 189-218 at 214-216.

Since Roymans and van der Sanden's: 'Celtic coins from the Netherlands and their archaeological context', in 1980, they argue that the *triquetrum* stater *Mardorf group* was located, not only in northern Hessen, but also in central Hessen, at, or before, the time of the Gallic War. This suggests the existence of Chatti or proto-Chattian groups in the region of central Hessen when Caesar entered Germania in 55 BC and 53 BC.<sup>1166</sup>

Roymans does not accept Heinrichs's hypothesis that the production of gold *triquetrum* staters of the Mardorf group was undertaken by the Ubii, who were still located in Germania, i.e. (central Hessen and southern Westfalen), at the time of the Gallic War, c. 58-50 BC. He does not believe that the Ubii subsequently continued production in their new territory, (Ubia-Gallia) on the left bank of the Rhine.<sup>1167</sup>

Heinrichs' hypothesis is yet another point of contention, as there is a distinct possibility that the Ubii did mint these staters in Ubia-Germania. This would seem like a credible assumption, considering the production of these coins was between c. 65-45 BC, in central Hessen, Germania. According to Heinrichs, this production would have taken place in the *Ubian* homeland in *Ubia-Germania*, with the Dünsberg *oppidum* as a major Ubian centre, after their move to Gallia. Heinrichs provides a date of c. 19 BC, as that from which coin production would have continued in the new Ubian territory of Köln, i.e. (subtypes of the Bochum group). Roymans declares 'I do consider it possible, as said above, that part of the electrum/silver coins of subtype (a) were minted in the Dünsberg area in central Hessen. Whether in that case the production was carried out by the Ubii or - alternatively - the Chatti, remains a point for discussion'.<sup>1168</sup>

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<sup>1166</sup> Roymans, 'Ethnogenesis of the Batavi', at 116-117 and 117 n. 39. Johannes Heinrichs, 'Zur Verwicklung ubischer Gruppen in den Ambiorix-Aufstand d. J.54 v. Chr. Eburonische und ubische Münzen im Hortfund Fraire-2', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 127 (1999), 275-293 at 283-285. Roymans, 'Ethnogenesis of the Batavi', at 105-107 n. 29

<sup>1167</sup> Roymans, 'Ethnogenesis of the Batavi', at 116-117 and 117 n. 39. Heinrichs, 'Zur Verwicklung ubischer Gruppen in den Ambiorix-Aufstand', at 283-285.

<sup>1168</sup> Heinrichs, 'Ubische und batavische Münzen im Ruhr-Lippegebiet', at 25-27, 33-34 and 25 n.21. 31 n. 26, 37. Roymans, 'Ethnogenesis of the Batavi', at 114-117. Heinrichs, 'Zur Verwicklung ubischer Gruppen in den Ambiorix-Aufstand', at 283-285. See also more recently Heinrichs in Heinrichs, 'Ubier, Chatten, Bataver. Kontinuität und Diskontinuität', at 303.

The *oppida* of central Hessen (presumably *Ubian* before 38 or 19 BC) may have been used in the production of the gold *triquetrum* staters of the Mardorf group. Little is known of the Rhineland *triquetrum* coinages. One major problem is that almost all coins, apart from those in hoards, are isolated finds by metal detector users. The most important key to absolute chronology of the Lower Rhine emissions is the occurrence of coins in military camps and several nucleated settlements from the Augustan period 15 to 12 BC, where billon coins of the *Bochum type* are dominant. However, it is unlikely that they were still minted at this time, as finds are too rare. The 'AVAVCIA' coins of the Scheers 217 type predominate here.<sup>1169</sup> At the camp of Novaesium (Neuss, in use from 16BC), twenty-four *triquetrum* coins were found, as opposed to *c.* six hundred 'AVAVCIA' coins.<sup>1170</sup>

#### 4.13.2. THIRD POSSIBILITY TO THE QUESTION OF THE ORIGIN OF RHENISH CHATTIAN OR UBIAN *TRIQUETRUM* STATERS.

It is unlikely that the Ubii would have passed on their knowledge of coin minting to the Chatti, who appropriated their territory, albeit briefly. The argument that the Ubii would have continued production west of Rhine in Köln may be entirely feasible. The Ubian tribes who remained in Germania could have continued to mint coins. Those peoples associated with the *oppida* of central Hessen were probably, *c.* the time of the Gallic War, the Ubii. It is possible that only a few centres were responsible for the production of all of these *triquetrum* staters. These may have remained in-situ, being far inland and away from the necessity to transfer across the Rhine. If the Chatti had subjugated the local Ubian population, it is possible that they continued to utilize the expertise of Ubian smiths to continue production of these coins. It is certain that peoples of La Tène culture continued to inhabit the region of the Dünsberg/Heidetränk and other areas of central and southern Hessen, the Taunus, Westerwald, e.g. Bad Nauheim until between the campaigns of Drusus and Germanicus, *c.* 10 BC to 15 AD.

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<sup>1169</sup> Previously thought to be *Aduatucan*, until 1909 when Tourneur suggested a Tungrian origin for the AVAVCIA coins, due to large numbers being found in Aduatuca Tungrorum (Tongeren). Since then, Nuber has suggested an Ubian origin, utilizing Weisgerber's *Ubian* names. See summary in: Roymans and Van Der Sanden, 'Celtic coins from the Netherlands', at 226 and 226 n. 306-307.

<sup>1170</sup> Roymans, 'Ethnogenesis of the Batavi', at 105-107 and 107 n. 29.

Heinrichs assumes an Ubian production for some of the *triquetrum* coinages and is inclined towards a Chattian origin for others.<sup>1171</sup>

#### **4.13.3. MARDORF STATERS: UBIAN OR CHATTIAN MANUFACTURE. LITH AND BOCHUM STATERS AND RESPECTIVE MANUFACTURE. CHRONOLOGY OF MARDORF, LITH, AND BOCHUM STATERS, AND RELATIONSHIP TO THE ETHNOGENESIS OF CHATTI.**

A relative chronology of the Mardorf, Lith and Bochum groups of *triquetrum* staters can be compiled, based on parallel processes of decline in weights and metal standards within this class of rainbow cups (*Regenbogenschüsselchen*). The electrum coins of the Mardorf group are judged older than the predominantly silver pieces of the Lith group. The latter, pre-date the copper pieces from the Bochum group, c. 30-10 BC.

To place this in an absolute time-scale, the southern German *Vogelkopf* /Torques staters of the Celtic *Vindelici* were minted between 80 and 50 BC, 'From these staters are derived, typologically, the oldest *triquetrum* coins, that is, those of the Mardorf group. However, it is not known to what extent the two emissions overlap in time'.<sup>1172</sup> Roymans estimates that the Mardorf group is possibly of a slightly later date than the Vindelician coins whilst the Mardorf coins probably discontinued towards the middle of the first century BC. This accords with developments in the northern Gallia, where the production of gold ended during the Gallic War.<sup>1173</sup>

Chronologically Roymans proposes a correlation between the migration of the Batavi to the Lower Rhine and the Lith group, whose coins were probably issued between c. 50 and 30 BC. According to Roymans, these dates correspond to the period in which the Batavi moved into the Dutch river area, hence Roymans connects the Lith group with the Batavi after which the centre of production shifts from the Middle Rhine to

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<sup>1171</sup> Heinrichs, 'Ubier, Chatten, Bataver. Kontinuität und Diskontinuität', at 279-281, 300-306.

<sup>1172</sup> Roymans and Van Der Sanden, 'Celtic coins from the Netherlands', at 211.

<sup>1173</sup> Roymans and Van Der Sanden, 'Celtic coins from the Netherlands', at 211.

the Lower Rhine.<sup>1174</sup> Roymans proposes that the Batavi moved to the Rhine-delta (Betuwe) somewhere between 50 and 13 BC.<sup>1175</sup>

The Mardorf group is believed by Roymans to have been created by the *Chatti* which he states is closest to the Lith group in weight and alloy. He states that they ‘derive from north Hesse. Remarkably enough, this is roughly the same area in which the Chatti are assumed to have lived’.<sup>1176</sup> The first proper reference to the Batavi is for the year 12 BC, at which point Dio remarks that Drusus crossed along the island of the Batavi, suggesting they were in situ in at least 13 BC.<sup>1177</sup>

Roymans proposes that the Chatti were to be found in the eastern Middle-Rhine area which he argues they left for the Lower Rhine in the period between Caesar’s departure from Gallia and start of Augustus’ campaigns in Germania.<sup>1178</sup>

Whilst Roymans is undecided whether the Mardorf hoard was manufactured by the Ubii or the Chatti he states that the earliest Batavian emissions were derived directly from the electrum/silver staters, circulated in the German Middle Rhine, *c.* 50BC.<sup>1179</sup> The Mardorf hoards, the second oldest of the hoards found, were probably created by the Ubii. This would suggest a date of at least, *c.* 65-45 BC.

#### 4.13.4. THE BOCHUM GROUP.

The Bochum groups of staters are seen as homogenous and are found in what at the time of their manufacture, *c.* 30 to 10 BC, was Sugambrian territory.<sup>1180</sup> A settlement of Elbgermanen arrived in Bochum *c.* 30 BC, and these are associated with the

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<sup>1174</sup> Roymans and Van Der Sanden, 'Celtic coins from the Netherlands', at 212. Roymans, 'Ethnogenesis of the Batavi', at 97 and 97 n. 12, 118.

<sup>1175</sup> Roymans, 'Ethnogenesis of the Batavi', at 98. Roymans and Van Der Sanden, 'Celtic coins from the Netherlands', at 211-212. In this text Roymans and van der Sanden place the date of the settlement of the Batavi between 50 and 12 BC.

<sup>1176</sup> Roymans and Van Der Sanden, 'Celtic coins from the Netherlands', at 211-212. See Fig. 16 at 210.

<sup>1177</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 75-76 (BkIV,Chapter10). Capps, Page et al. (eds.), *Dio. VI* at 380-381 (BookLIV,Chapter32.2).

<sup>1178</sup> Roymans, 'Ethnogenesis of the Batavi', at 95.

<sup>1179</sup> Roymans, 'Ethnogenesis of the Batavi', at 119.

<sup>1180</sup> Roymans and Van Der Sanden, 'Celtic coins from the Netherlands', at 210-212. See Fig. 16. at 210.

Suebi.<sup>1181</sup> It is debatable whether the manufacture of these Bochum staters is associated with the Suebi. It seems unlikely, although there may have been Sugambrian smiths working under Suebian masters, or Suebi, minting these coins under the tutelage of the Sugambri. The Bochum group may be seen as a Sugambrian issue, or, as they are found in many settlements and Roman forts, they may be a Chattian issue associated with the Elbgermanen of Bochum (Bochum Group) or an Ubian introduction. Wilhelmi is not certain if these Elbgermanen immigrants of the Bochum region, c. 45-15 BC, were Suebi or Chatti. They are generally thought to be Suebi, (Suebi Langobardi?), they could have been Chatti as their territory in northern Hessen was closer to that of the Sugambri than the Suebi.<sup>1182</sup> This territory was not under the command of the Marsi or Bructeri until after 8 BC, and it is unlikely that the Bochum hoard was of Marsian or Bructerian manufacture.

#### 4.14. SETTLEMENT IN HESSEN AND SURROUNDING THÜRINGEN, WESTFALEN AND BAYERN.

In the periods before and after the Gallic War, the region of Hessen in which the gold *triquetrum* staters were located, was inhabited by La Tène peoples. This included the areas where the gold *triquetrum* coins of the Mardorf type were found at Höchst, the Heidetränk *oppidum*, Ober-Mörlen-Langenhain, Heuchelheim, the Dünsberg *oppidum*, Mardorf, (near the great Amöneburg *oppidum*), and possibly even Kirchberg.

Central and northern Hessen were inhabited by La Tène peoples, before and after the Gallic Wars, i.e. La Tène D1- end D2. Other sites where *triquetrum* coins have been discovered in central Hessen are Cölbe, Heuchelheim, Wetzlar, Höchst,

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<sup>1181</sup> Eggenstein, *Das Siedlungswesen der jüngeren vorrömischen Eisenzeit und der frühen römischen Kaiserzeit im Lippebereich* at 193.

<sup>1182</sup> Klemens Wilhelmi, *Beiträge zur einheimischen Kultur der jüngeren vorrömischen Eisen- und älteren römischen Kaiserzeit zwischen Niederrhein und Mittelweser*, eds August Stieren and Hans Beck (1st edn., *Bodenaltertümer Westfalens XI. Berichte des Landesmuseums für Vor- und Frühgeschichte und der Altertumskommission im Provinzialinstitut für Westfälische Landes- und Volkskunde* begründet von August Stiere, XI; Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1967) at 106 and 106 n. 9.

Stieldorferholm, and Waldgirmes.<sup>1183</sup> Together with a rich history of both Hallstatt and early La Tène settlement in northern, central and southern Hessen the La Tène culture continued until the late Augustan era, after which the native population blended with a presumably militarily superior, but numerically inferior group of invaders of Elbgermanen origin.

The intermediary period between La Tène and Elbgermanen culture and the emergence of the Rhein-Weser-Germanen culture may be seen in the small grave-field of Goddelsheim in northern Hessen. Here, pottery of Elbgermanen (Großromstedt) culture, with early 'geschweiften fibeln' of *Kronwinkl* type and an S-form *geschweifte Schüssel*, with impressed ornament are found.<sup>1184</sup> Rieckhoff refers to this grave-field as a middle German 'Fremdgruppe'. The immigrant Elbgermanen settled among the La Tène tribes of northern Hessen and eventually became the mixed Rhine-Weser-Germanen culture.<sup>1185</sup> This corresponds to what Rieckhoff refers to as the 'elbgermanisierte' of La Tène D2b.<sup>1186</sup> Jockenhövel identifies the great settlements (*oppida*) of the Late La Tène of northern and eastern Hessen find materials as Amöneburg, the Altenburg bei Niedenstein and Milseburg, adding that the Milseburg bears a striking parallel to the Steinsburg bei Römhild in southern Thüringen, being bound closely to Thüringen and northern Bayern.

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<sup>1183</sup> Roymans, 'Ethnogenesis of the Batavi', at 105-107 and 107 n. 29, at 98 Fig.2: 'Fig.2. General distribution of silver and billon triquetrum coins in the Rhineland and adjacent areas' and Fig.7. 'Fig.7. Distribution of gold triquetrum coins of Mardorf type' and Fig.8: 'Fig.8. Distribution of (predominantly silver) triquetrum coins of type a...' at 112.

<sup>1184</sup> Naß, 'Germanisch Brandgrubengräber der frühen Kaiserzeit aus Waldeck', at 167-177. See Pottery of Großromstedt Culture: Tab.70, 1b. 1a. 2a 5a. Kronwinkl and S-Form 'Schüssel' (Bowl) and Fibulae Tab.70, 3c. 3a. Rieckhoff, *Süddeutschland im Spannungsfeld von Kelten, Germanen und Römern* at 96-97. See § '1.3. Mitteldeutschland', at 88-100, 'Zum Beginn der rheinwesergermanischen Kultur' at 96-98. Also and '2.5. Frühe geschweifte Fibeln' at 121-151 and '2.5.3. Chronologie und Verbreitung: Nordhessen : Altenburg bei Niedenstein und Goddelsheim', at 130-131.

<sup>1185</sup> For the spread of Elbgermanen in Hessen: note absence of Elbgermanen in central and southern Hessen during La Tène D1 and D2. Frey, 'Die frühen Chatten', at 5-6, 7-9. Seidel, 'Die Römische Kaiserzeit in Hessen', at 13 and 13 n. 13. On settlement of Chatti, at 16, 24-26 and Map 1: 'Abb.1' at 14. See also at 15 n. 13-14 and Map 2: 'Abb.2' at 16. Map 3: 'Abb.3' at 17. For settlement continuation by La Tène Celts in Northern Hessen, at 18-19 and 22, and at 22 n. 82-83 and at 24-25 and Map 6: Abb.6. at 25, also 26.

<sup>1186</sup> Rieckhoff, *Süddeutschland im Spannungsfeld von Kelten, Germanen und Römern*. See § '2.5. Frühe geschweifte Fibeln'. Pp.121-151. '2.5.3. Chronologie und Verbreitung: Nordhessen : Altenburg bei Niedenstein und Goddelsheim' at 130-131.

Jockenhövel adds that both the Altenburg and Altenritte-Baunatal suffered a localized catastrophe whilst other Late La Tène age settlements were at this time abandoned and that this discontinuation possibly reflects a new contrasting historical situation. Fiedler and Gensen place this destruction of the Altenburg and Altenritte-Baunatal respectively to the mid-first century BC.<sup>1187</sup> Jockenhövel concludes that nearly a generation later, (presumably *c.* 25 BC), finds from graves and settlements are discovered, but these are of a different type to the La Tène settlement and of Elbgermanen ‘suebischem’ character. He remarks that a little later, this horizon was absorbed by Rhein-Weser-Germanen formation. Jockenhövel states that as the bearers of this new archaeological culture, there are good grounds for the Chatti to be named as the *hessische Nationalstamm*.<sup>1188</sup>

Jockenhövel assumes that the ethnogenesis of the Chatti was complete when the Suebic horizon was absorbed by the proto-Chatian Rhein-Weser-Germanen. Otherwise, it would probably have been incorporated into an earlier proto-Chatian Elbgermanen horizon. It is generally assumed that the Elbgermanen Suebian element predated the proto-Chatian Elbgermanen settlers who were assimilated with the Celtic tribes of the region at the same time to form the Rhine-Weser-Germanen.<sup>1189</sup> The arrival of groups of Elbgermanen into the territory of the Celtic La Tène peoples of northern Hessen as raiders and settlers resulted in the eventual subsuming of the Celtic peoples and their La Tène culture by Elbgermanen proto-Chatian peoples. From the settlement of the Elbgermanen amongst the La Tène peoples a new hybrid Rhein-Weser-Germanen culture formed.<sup>1190</sup> (See Figure 24).

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<sup>1187</sup> Albrecht Jockenhövel, 'Die Eisenzeit', in Fritz-Rudolf Herrmann and Albrecht Jockenhövel (eds.), *Die Vorgeschichte Hessens* (1st edn., Archäologie bei Theiss; Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss Verlag, 1990), 244-294 at 284. Rolf Gensen, 'Niederstein, HR (HE). Oppidum Altenburg', in Sabine Rieckhoff and Jörg Biel (eds.), *Die Kelten in Deutschland* (1st edn.; Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 2001), 430-431 at 431. Lutz Fiedler, 'Baunatal-Altenritte KS Siedlung der Latènezeit', in Fritz-Rudolf Herrmann and Albrecht Jockenhövel (eds.), *Die Vorgeschichtes Hessens* (1st edn., Archäologie bei Theiss; Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 1990), 321 at 321.

<sup>1188</sup> Jockenhövel, 'Die Eisenzeit', at 283-284.

<sup>1189</sup> Jockenhövel, 'Die Eisenzeit', at 284. Baatz, 'Rhenus transeundus est', at 42.

<sup>1190</sup> Comparable results have been obtained from my study of data for *oppida* east of the Rhine, particularly in northern Hessen, omitted here for reasons of space in Thesis. See Table 7.

**Table 7. Summary of the demise of the *oppida*/settlements encountered by Chattian Elbgermanen invasions from the early first century BC to the beginning of the first century AD.<sup>1191</sup>**

| <b>Oppida-Settlement</b>  | <b>End Date of Settlement</b>   | <b>Conclusion</b>   |
|---|---|---|
| Zierenberg. Stadt und Landkreis Kassel HE. Dörnberg   | Late La Tène Age.<br>1 <sup>st</sup> century BC.  | No evidence for destruction.  |
| Niedenstein, Schwalm-Eder Kreis HE. Oppidum Altenburg.  | Late La Tène Age.<br>Mid 1 <sup>st</sup> century BC.  | Destruction, presumably by Elbgermanen (proto-Chatti).  |
| Baunatal-Altenritte. Stadt und Landkreis Kassel HE. La Tène settlement.   | Late La Tène Age.<br>c. 50 BC.  | Destroyed, presumably by Elbgermanen (proto-Chatti). Strong traces of burning of settlement in evidence.  |
| Alteburg. Biebergemünd Kassel. Main-Kinzig-Kreis HE. Ringwall Alteburg. Oppidum.<br>HE. Celtic oppidum.   | Late La Tène Age.   | No evidence for destruction.  |
| Biebertal-Fellinghausen: Dünsberg. Landkreis Gießen   | Late La Tène Age.<br>Mid 1 <sup>st</sup> century BC.<br>Augustan era.                             | Possibly attacked by Suebi in era of Caesar; Cimberius and Nasua and subsequently by Chatti.<br>Possibly destroyed in era of Augustus during campaigns of Drusus, in 10-9 BC. |
| Waldgirmes, Dorlar, Lahn-Dill-Kreis Fritzlar. Schwalm-Eder Kreis. Wetzlar and Gießen. Gießen HE.<br>Augustan camps  | Augustan era  | Possibly abandoned after the defeat by Arminius of Augustus's legions in the saltus Teutoburgiensis   |
| Amöneburg. Landkreis Marburg-Biedenkopf HE. Oppidum.  | Late La Tène Age.<br>Mid 1 <sup>st</sup> century BC.<br>Augustan era.                             | Possible continuity to era of campaigns of Germanicus by Celts.   |
| Bad Nauheim. Wetterau Kreis HE.   | Late Augustan era, first decade 1st century AD. Hillfort initially broken by Drusus or Germanicus | This area was swamped by Chatti   |
| Dillenburg, Dillenburg-Frohnhausen and Dillenburg-Nanzenbach, Lahn-Dill-Kreis HE. Oppidum Heunstein.<br>Dornburg-Wilsenroth. Landkreis Limburg-Weilburg HE. | Late La Tène Age.<br>Mid-1 <sup>st</sup> century BC.<br>Augustan era.                             | Possible breakdown of economy or invasion by proto-Chatti.  |
| Dautphetal-Hommerhausen. Landkreis Marburg-Biedenkopf HE. Ringwall Eisenköpfe*  | 2 <sup>nd</sup> -1 <sup>st</sup> century BC.  | Arrival of Elbgermanen or breakdown in economy due to Gallic War?   |
| Dietzenbach. Stadt und Landkreis Offenbach HE. Urnfield-La Tène Grabhügel.  | 1 <sup>st</sup> century BC.   | The reason for the abandonment of this ending of this Ringwall is uncertain. Possibly arrival of Elbgermanen or breakdown in economy due to Gallic War?                       |
| Dietzholztal-Rittershausen. Lahn-Dill-Kreis HE. Wallanlage Burg. (Hillfort with rampart).   | Late La Tène Age.   | The reasons for the abandonment of this ending of the use of this cemetery is uncertain. Possibly arrival of Elbgermanen or breakdown in economy due to Gallic War?           |
| Oberursel-Oberstedten. Hochtaunus-Kreis HE. Heidetränk-oppidum.   | Late La Tène Age.<br>Mid 1 <sup>st</sup> century BC.<br>Augustan era.                             | The reason for the abandonment of this ending of the use of this cemetery is uncertain. Possibly arrival of Elbgermanen or breakdown in economy due to Gallic War?            |

<sup>1191</sup> Each of the above *oppida*/settlements has been dealt with in detail, which due to word restriction is impossible to provide here. Conclusions for the demise of individual *oppida*/settlements have been reached and given above.

#### 4.15. ELBGERMANEN INVASION FROM THE EAST: THE SUEBI.

Before the mid-first century BC, the Suebic Elbgermanen had not settled in the regions of Bayern, south-western Thüringen, and eastern Hessen. It was the Suebic custom to raid and return home with booty. This is remarked upon by Caesar who referred to Suebic raids against the Ubii. He stated that the Suebic raiding was followed by a return to their homeland, on the middle Elbe.<sup>1192</sup> The first wave of Suebic raiding was underway when Caesar arrived in Gallia and was undertaken by the chieftains Cimberius and Nasua. This was a particularly destructive and aggressive campaign and from the accounts of Caesar can be seen to have affected the Ubii, and caused the Usipetes and Tencteri to migrate. A second Elbgermanen thrust westward into La Tène territory occurred *c.* 25/20-15-20 AD, from the region of the Middle Elbe.<sup>1193</sup> This westward migration was less aggressive than the previous migration as indicated through the archaeological evidence. (See Figure 24).<sup>1194</sup>

These Suebic Elbgermanen undertook yearly raiding campaigns using half of their male population to move west from the Elbe and bombard the La Tène peoples of northern Bavaria, south-western Thüringen and eastern Hessen, en route to the Alteburg bei Arnsburg TH, the Siegmundsburg on the Herrensberg TH, the Steinsburg bei Römhild TH, the Milseburg BY, the Staffelsburg on the Staffelstein BY, Völkershausen TH, Haina TH, and Jüchsen TH.

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<sup>1192</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 40 (BookI,Chapter37), at 73 (BooKIV,Chapter1).

<sup>1193</sup> Peschel, *Sueben - Hermunduren - Markomannen* at 96.

<sup>1194</sup> Comparable results have been obtained from the study of data for *oppida* east of the Rhine, particularly in Thüringen, Bayern, Baden-Württemberg and Hessen, omitted here for reasons of space in Thesis. See Table 8.

**Table 8. Summary of the demise of the *oppida*/settlements encountered by Suebic Elbgermanen invasions from the early first century BC to the beginning of the first century AD.**

| <b>Oppidum-Settlement</b>  | <b>End Date of Settlement</b>   | <b>Conclusion</b>   |
|--|---------------------------------|---|
| Alteburg bei Arnsburg TH.<br>Oppidum                                 | Late La Tène                    | Late La Tène population supplanted but not destroyed by Elbgermanen. Possible economic failure.   |
| Herrenberg TH. Oppidum<br>Siegmundsburg.                             | Late La Tène                    | Destroyed by Elbgermanen  |
| Kleine Gleichberg (Steinsburg bei Römhild)TH. Oppidum<br>Steinsburg. | After mid-first century BC.     | Late La Tène population supplanted but not destroyed by Elbgermanen.  |
| Haina TH. La Tène Settlements.                                       | Late Augustan era               | Late La Tène population subsumed but not destroyed by Elbgermanen   |
| Völkershäuser TH.  | Uncertain                       | Uncertain   |
| Widerstatt, Jüchsen. TH. La Tène Age settlement.                     | Second half of first century BC | No evidence of Elbgermanen destruction of settlement.   |
| The Staffelberg BY.  | Second half of first century BC | No evidence of destruction by Elbgermanen, although Elbgermanen settlement at base of oppida. Possible economic failure.  |
| Oppidum Milseburg HE.  | Late La Tène                    | This region represented the central transition-area of settlement between Celts and Teutonic peoples in the Late La Tène.   |
| Creglingen-Finsterlohr, Oppidum Burgstall, BW.<br>Schwanberg BY.     | Late La Tène<br>Late La Tène    | Reasons for end of oppidum uncertain.<br>Possible political centre controlling region between Steigerwald and the Main triangle. No evidence for Elbgermanen Possible economic failure of oppidum caused by Gallic War. |
| Kelheim BY. Oppidum.   | Late La Tène (abandoned).       | Economic failure in wake of Gallic wars and possible Elbgermanen migration.   |

#### **4.15.1. CONCLUSION TO *OPPIDA* IN HESSEN, WESTFALEN, THURINGEN AND BAYERN.**

The end of the *oppida* is sometimes thought to have been due to Teutonic invasion of the region but it is just as likely to have been by a combination of factors, including the destruction of trade to Germania from Gallia, due to Caesar's Gallic campaigns, resulting in the fall of the *oppida*, the displacement of their population to the

surrounding hinterland and the re-establishment of new non-standardized settlements, with no particular type of pottery and fibulae assemblages predominating. Another factor, especially in the northern reaches of Hessen, Westfalen, and Thüringen, was the south-eastern movement of Teutonic war parties and tribal sections. The degree to which the *oppida* structure had fallen, due to Caesar's campaigns, by the time of these movements east, is still unknown, and it probably differed from region to region, depending on the proximity of the *oppida* to Gallia, trade routes, and Teutonic advance.

Other *oppida*, e.g. Kelheim and Manching, which were occupied into the Late La Tène appear to show no signs of Teutonic invasion but were abandoned nonetheless. The abandonment of the *oppida* must have been related to the processes west of the Rhine, where the economy between Gallia and Germania collapsed due to the Gallic Wars.

The Chatti advanced from the north, c. 50 BC, with some possible raids on hillforts by Suebi, but with only a faint layer of Suebic settlement. Settlement appears from the Elbgermanen of the north, which fused with the La Tène archaeological culture, thus producing the hybrid Rhein-Weser-Germanen people, as seen in the Chatti.

Further east in Thüringen and northern Bayern (Franken), the frequent raids of the Suebic Elbgermanen began earlier than the settlement of proto-Chattian Elbgermanen, but these Suebic Elbgermanen did not settle and returned to their homelands at the time of Caesar. This period sees Suebi at their most powerful, yet they gained little in terms of territory in western Germania. The Chatti settled this territory at the expense of the Suebi, who would appear to have made settlement gains beginning at the end of the mid first century BC. They sent tribesmen west, but in this movement they may have established some small colonies. Abels, referring to Franken BY., argues that the Suebic Elbgermanen Teutonicized a Celtic population.<sup>1195</sup> The Suebi moved east, as is seen by the hillforts which fell, at

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<sup>1195</sup> Abels-Björn-Uwe, 'Die Vorchristlichen Metallzeiten', in Walter Sage (ed.), *Oberfranken in Vor- und Frühgeschichtlicher Zeit* (2nd edn.; Bayreuth: Im Auftrag der Oberfrankenstiftung Bayreuth, 1996), 65-161 at 104 and 105. See Map 'Verbreitung der eisenzeitlichen Grabhügelfriedhöfe in

Herrenberg on the Siegmundsburg, Steinsburg, the Staffelsburg, and the Milseburg. Scattered settlements of Elbgermanen were found in the Jüchsen, Dolmar, and Haina, sometimes alongside existing La Tène settlement. This movement appears to have occurred between the mid-first century BC, and the beginning of the first century AD, but predominantly between, *c.* 50-25 BC. This is witnessed in the existence of the Marcomani of Maroboduus, somewhere on the Middle Main, that is, if these were new Marcomanic groups not already in situ since the time of Ariovistus. Peschel argues that a first expansion of Suebic Elbgermanen peoples took place before and during the time of Caesar. He adds that a second Suebic Elbgermanen expansion took place from, *c.* 25 BC/20 BC, to 15/20 AD.<sup>1196</sup> These were probably the Suebi, including Maroboduus' Marcomani, who stormed some of the *oppida* of the eastern Rhön and Western Thüringen.

#### **4.16. NORDRHEIN-WESTFALEN, SIEGERLAND AND WESTERN HESSEN.**

Any late take-over by Rhein-Weser-Germanen in western Hessen on the Rhine suggests that the Chatti were not in this part of Hessen until late in the first century BC, but they do not appear to have moved to the territory directly opposite the Ubii, but rather to the east of the Taunus and Westerwald. This movement may not have occurred until land was given to them by the Romans, presumably the old Ubian territory, which they very quickly abandoned, at a point between 38/19-10 BC. Although there is some Teutonic settlement, it does not appear strong from the verifiable archaeological evidence, see section: Recent excavations on the territory of Hessen and Nordrhein-Westfalen.

The La Tène hillforts of the Bensberg and Königswinter in Nordrhein-Westfalen were probably Sugambrian, but possibly Ubian. These settlements were abandoned

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Oberfranken'. Menghin also remarks that 'Die Mainlande wurden germanisiert', in the first century BC., see: Wilfried Menghin, *Frühgeschichte Bayerns: Römer und Germanen - Baiern und Schwaben - Franken und Slawen* (1st edn.; Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 1990) at 16-17.

<sup>1196</sup> Peschel, *Sueben - Hermunduren - Markomannen* at 96 and Abb.5, at 76. Peschel, 'Die Sueben', at 295, 305.

in the mid-first century BC, but there is no evidence that they were invaded or taken over by Teutonic peoples. Their demise may be directly related to events in Gallia and breakdown of economy, or related to Caesar's intervention of Sugambria. The La Tène culture of the Siegerland to the north-east of Bonn in Germania disappeared at the beginning of the first century AD. This territory was not immediately settled by the Elbgermanen (proto-Chatti) who had been storming the *oppida* of northern and central Hessen, nor by the Elbgermanen Suebi; thus it remained relatively free of Teutonic settlers.

#### **4.16.1. THE NATURE OF SETTLEMENT IN THE LATE LA TÈNE PERIOD IN HESSEN, NORDRHEIN-WESTFALEN, NETHERLANDS, THÜRINGEN, BADEN-WÜRTTEMBERG, AND BAYERN. PRE AND POST OPPIDA PHASE. THE SÜDOSTBAYERISCHE GRUPPE.**

Whilst individual finds of Teutonic fibulae and *Gürtelhaken* occur in the Late La Tène and in the pre- and post-*oppida* phases, the association of these objects with their surroundings and existing settlement types and pottery does not necessarily indicate Teutonic settlement, but rather imported finds or objects.

However, Rieckhoff argues that the existence of such North German fibulae and crude pottery types in the post-*oppida* phase does indicate Teutonic settlement.<sup>1197</sup> In some circumstances this will have been probable, especially where settlement forms are of obvious North German type. For the most regions south of the Lippe, in the pre- and post-*oppida* period, the association of north German fibulae type is not found with North German settlement types. The post-*oppida* crude pottery types of the old La Tène exhibit few signs of North German manufacture, but rather of native La Tène construction. These pottery forms are of much poorer quality, as they are being hand-made by *ex-oppida* inhabitants. The post-*oppida* people copied the old *oppida* styles. The coarseness of the post-*oppida* pottery found outside the *oppida* and throughout the landscape of central and southern Germania should not automatically suggest they are Teutonic, but that this is a logical process after the

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<sup>1197</sup> Rieckhoff, *Süddeutschland im Spannungsfeld von Kelten, Germanen und Römern* at 13-150.

breakdown of a society and trade where homesteaders, instead of obtaining already produced goods from the *oppida* or from established trade routes, had, following the abandonment of the *oppida*, to create most of their own goods. Thus unskilled people were attempting to create their own pottery. These were attempts at carrying on the traditions of the *oppida*, with no standardization process. Thus, different elements of badly produced, barely recognizable La Tène culture were evident on different settlements. Proper evidence of Teutonic immigration should have produced a standardized archaeological culture as seen at the start of La Tène D2 and later after *c.* 50 BC, in some parts of Germania with incoming Elbgermanen culture. This standardization of Elbgermanen culture based on the Großromstedt type-site, produced slight variations in form, and with the exception of northern Hessen and the regions of the Upper Elbe is not conspicuous until after 50 BC, south of the Lippe. Standardization of material culture with regional variation was also evident amongst the La Tène cultures until the end of La Tène D2, and in some areas of Germany even continuing into the Augustan and Tiberian periods, in Northern-Central Germania, e.g. Jüchsen/Haina in Thüringen and in southern Germania, and Köln, cf. Regensburg, Eching, Auerberg, Kempten in Bayern, and numerous other sites of Bayern, e.g. see the Auerberg and *südostbayerische Gruppe* below.

Wells asserts that typical of the post-*oppidum* southern German settlement and graves and metal types are well represented in the Saale-Middle Elbe region. He observes that some investigators argue that these graves and settlements are those of immigrant Teutonic peoples from those northern regions, who settled in lands vacated by groups, such as the Helvetii and that some draw attention to the similarities between the pottery of the post-*oppidum* finds and that of the Saale-Middle Elbe region.<sup>1198</sup> Wells's interpretation of these grave settlements is different. He states that:

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<sup>1198</sup> Some of the post-*oppidum* small settlements found are: 11 burials in south-eastern Bavaria at Hörgertshausen: (5 graves), Kronwinkl: (2), Traunstein: (1) Uttenhofen: (3) and small cemeteries in northern Bavaria at Altendorf and Aubstadt. Graves are distinguished by particular sets of metal objects, i.e. *fibulae* of the arched and Beltz J type and belthooks of the triangular and rod types, all of which seem to be later in date, than the principal occupation of the *oppida*. The pottery in the graves also reflects some differences from that at the *oppida*. The reason for the lack of burials may be due to

‘None of the graves in southern Germany is just like any grave in the numerous excavated cemeteries of the Saale-middle Elbe region. If these graves were those of immigrants from that region who retained their traditions, then we would expect the graves to be outfitted like those in their homelands. The graves in southern Germany are diverse. They do not indicate any set of funerary rules that we might expect among an immigrant population maintaining its traditions’.<sup>1199</sup>

Wells refers to Thomas Völling’s comprehensive study of fibulae and belt-hooks. Völling believes that these types are widespread over much of temperate Europe, not concentrated in only that region.<sup>1200</sup> It is also noticeable that the style of several of the objects associated with the post-*oppida* graves belongs to the local La Tène tradition of ornament, not to that of the north.<sup>1201</sup> This initially displays a continuation of an impoverished La Tène tradition rather than the introduction of waves of Teutonic settlers to the regions south of the Lippe and west of the Weser/Fulda.

Wells states that some of the finds of possible North German type suggest a similar craftsmanship to La Tène finds of this time, e.g. the ornate rod belt-hook from Traunstein and the belt-hooks from the Uttenhofen graves, two and three, both with enamel inlay. Although Wells believes that whilst some pottery in the post-*oppidum* graves has been compared to northern wares in shape and decoration, the pottery in the graves is mostly of wheel-made type which, according to Wells, is a characteristic feature of local La Tène production during the time of the *oppida*. This is unusual in the northern region, i.e. the Elbgermanen cultural territories of northern Germania.<sup>1202</sup>

Christlein is of the opinion that the latest Celtic finds of south-eastern Bayern, after the fall of the *oppida*, belonged to the ‘südostbayerische Gruppe’, which he understood to be Celtic people, who at the time of the beginning of La Tène D2,

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changes in burial rite, from inhumation to cremation and destruction, through medieval and modern deep ploughing.

<sup>1199</sup> Wells, *Barbarians* at 82. See § ‘End of the Oppida’, 77-85.

<sup>1200</sup> Wells, *Barbarians* at 82.

<sup>1201</sup> Wells, *Barbarians* at 82. Thomas Völling, ‘Studien zu Fibelformen der jüngeren vorrömischen Eisenzeit und ältesten römischen Kaiserzeit’, *Bericht der Römisch-germanischen Kommission des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts (BerRGK)*, 75 (1994), 147-282.

<sup>1202</sup> Wells, *Barbarians* at 82-83.

which coincided with the end of the *oppida*, or a little later, came from the Thüringen Becken and wandered to south-eastern Bayern.<sup>1203</sup>

Rieckhoff associates the ‘südostbayerische Gruppe’, not with La Tène Celts but with Elbgermanen settlement based upon the Celtic settlements of the *oppida* culture.<sup>1204</sup> Rieckhoff suggests that between 80-50 BC, Elbgermanen entered Bayern from the region of north-west Thüringen in small groups and settled in areas which had already largely been abandoned by the Celts. She adds that after one generation this *südostbayerische Gruppe* disappeared in the stream of migrations which followed.<sup>1205</sup>

Not all pottery used by La Tène peoples, even before the time of the *oppida*, was wheel-made. Following the collapse of the *oppida* at Regensburg-Harting, Rieckhoff associates Elbgermanen finds with immigrants, i.e. ‘südostbayerische Gruppe’. Wells correctly points out that ‘on the settlements such as Regensburg-Harting, the pottery is mostly coarse and handmade, but some vessels closely resemble those at the *oppida*’.<sup>1206</sup> He adds that whilst the *oppida* housed large communities other contemporaneous settlements, e.g. Berching-Pollanten in southern Bayern had substantial numbers of post-*oppidum* settlements, e.g. Regensburg-Harting provided few graves, indicating much smaller communities.<sup>1207</sup>

#### 4.16.2. THE AUERBERG, LKR. WIELHEIM-SCHONGAU, BAYERN.

Although it has also been suggested that the Auerberg, Kr. Weilheim-Schongau has provided evidence of Teutonic immigrants, as seen in hand-made pottery fragments from the Late Tiberian era. Wells suggests that:

‘The re-creation of the ritual of burial in the post-*oppidum* contexts can be understood in terms of cultural dislocation and social stress typically suffered by people in circumstances when complex social systems disintegrate. Some communities, such as those in south-eastern

<sup>1203</sup> R. Christlein, ‘Zu den jüngsten keltischen Funden Südbayerns’, *Bayerisches Vorgeschichts blat.* (47, 1982), 275-292.

<sup>1204</sup> Rieckhoff, *Süddeutschland im Spannungsfeld von Kelten, Germanen und Römern* at 22.

<sup>1205</sup> Sabine Rieckhoff, ‘Die Kelten in Deutschland - Kultur und Geschichte’, in Sabine Rieckhoff and Jörg Biel (eds.), *Die Kelten in Deutschland* (1st edn.; Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 2001), 13-276 at 275.

<sup>1206</sup> Rieckhoff, *Süddeutschland im Spannungsfeld von Kelten, Germanen und Römern* at 22-29. Also at 109-111. Wells, *Barbarians* at 83.

<sup>1207</sup> Wells, *Barbarians* at 81. See § ‘End of the *Oppida*’. Pp. 77-85.

<sup>1207</sup> Todd, *The Northern Barbarians* at 81-82.

Bavaria represented by the graves discussed above, re-created the traditions of burial that their ancestors had practiced a few decades earlier. The categories of objects placed in the graves were similar to those in pre-*oppidum* times. Differences in burial practice and in grave arrangement reflect the diversity of the communities in the post-*oppidum* circumstances'.<sup>1208</sup>

There is general agreement that the earliest of the post-*oppidum* graves are from c. 60-50 BC, but less clear is just how late some of these finds are. At Eching, north-east of Munich, a settlement pit contained pottery, characteristic of this group of sites associated with a Roman coin of Tiberius, 14-37 AD. Very similar *fibulae* of La Tène manufacture are found in graves of the post-*oppida* group and at early Roman settlements, e.g. Auerberg and Kempten in Bayern and Köln, in Nordrhein-Westfalen, suggesting, according to Wells, that some of these complexes were contemporaneous with the early Roman period.<sup>1209</sup> Wells remarks that the Auerberg was occupied from, c. 10-40 AD, by indigenous peoples of the same region and by Roman colonists and soldiers. The house-types were rectangular in form and 'both local La Tène-style pottery and Roman wares are present'.<sup>1210</sup> Wells includes the Auerberg with the La Tène post-*oppida* tradition, rather than with an Elbgermanen post-*oppida* tradition. This is borne out in the archaeological record. The assumption that hand made pottery was automatically of Elbgermanen manufacture is mistaken.<sup>1211</sup> This should not imply that there was no Teutonic pottery to be found in this part of Bayern after the Caesarian period. There are a few examples of possible Elbgermanen pottery at the Auerberg, but according to Flügel, Martinec, Motyková, and Wagner, these are to be attributed to imported ware from southern Bohemia, which was at no great distance from the Auerberg.<sup>1212</sup>

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<sup>1208</sup> Wells, *Barbarians* at 84-85. Christof Flügel, Petr Martinec et al., 'Zur Herkunft der germanischen Keramik vom Auerberg', in Susanne Biegert, Siegmund von Schnurbein et al. (eds.), *Beiträge zur germanischen Keramik zwischen Donau und Teutoburger Wald. Kolloquium zur germanischen Keramik des 1.-5. Jahrhunderts, 17.-18. April 1998, Frankfurt a. M. Römisch-Germanische Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. (RGK)* (1st edn., Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, 4; Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 2000), 75-82 at 75-82.

<sup>1209</sup> Wells, *Barbarians* at 84.

<sup>1210</sup> Wells, *Barbarians* at 175.

<sup>1211</sup> Wells, *Barbarians* at 84-85, 175.

<sup>1212</sup> Flügel, Martinec et al., 'Zur Herkunft der germanischen Keramik vom Auerberg', at 77. See Abb.1.

In the post-*oppida* period, after *c.* 10 BC, Bohemia was invaded and annexed by Elbgermanen, i.e. Marcomani and Quadi and many Teutonic and Celtic sub-tribes of Maroboduus. They entered Bohemia, *c.* 10 BC, via the pass at Cheb at the modern German-Czech border and immediately took control of the region and replaced the La Tène culture with the Elbgermanen culture.<sup>1213</sup>

At the Auerberg, pottery thought to be Elbgermanen is very fragmented and it is difficult to ascertain definite origins.<sup>1214</sup> This would not suggest immigration, as the local population appears to have continued to inhabit the region. The Elbgermanen pottery may have been imported, as are many of the *fibulae* of Almgren type. However, there is also the possibility that some of the pottery may have arrived with immigrants. Settlement type does not generally conform to that found on regular Elbgermanen or Nord or Nordseegermanen sites from northern Germany, i.e. *grubenhäuser* and is generally in the form of round/long houses. Some *grubenhäuser* are found amongst the post-*oppida* *südostbayerische* settlements of Bayern, suggesting an Elbgermanen element.

#### **4.16.3. PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH THE FALL OF THE *OPPIDA*. INHUMATION TO CREMATION.**

One of the problems associated with the *oppida*, e.g. Manching, Kelheim, Heidengraben, is that few burials have been found which are contemporary to the principal occupation, whilst tens of thousands have been found from the pre-*oppida* era. This is probably because of a change in burial practice from inhumation to cremation in the mid first century BC ‘and the few graves that have been found for the *oppidum* period account for only a tiny fraction of the population that lived at the *oppida*’.<sup>1215</sup> Many of the tiny cremation graves have been destroyed by ploughing. Cremation graves are usually placed at much shallower levels than inhumation graves and over twenty centuries of ploughing including medieval furrow ridge and

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<sup>1213</sup> The spectacular finds at Mušov in Moravia may have been of a Quadian king of the late second century AD.

<sup>1214</sup> Flügel, Martinec et al., ‘Zur Herkunft der germanischen Keramik vom Auerberg’, at 75. See Abb.1, at 78 Abb.2., at 79 Abb.3. ‘Auerberg. Dünnschliffe von germanischer Feinkeramik aus Südböhmen. 1. Granodiorit in Tonmatrix (Gefäß R 2); 2 Granodiorit (Terrine R1)’.

<sup>1215</sup> Wells, *Barbarians* at 81.

modern deep ploughing have completely obliterated many of these shallow cremation layers. Consequently for the entire region this destruction suggests that the population was small on the evidence of cremations alone. The process of a change in burial practice from inhumation to cremation in the mid first century BC, combined with the destruction of most of the cremation graves suggests that an accurate picture for the post-*oppida* La Tène population is not being provided for the population of the second to first centuries BC, whilst from post-*oppida* times there is a return to the pre-*oppida* practice of burying the dead with grave-goods and whilst most graves are cremations, some are inhumations.<sup>1216</sup>

The sparse cremation finds for the period of the end of the *oppida* do not match the evidence provided by settlement structure, albeit non-standardized forms of settlement evidence for the post-*oppida* period prior to the arrival of Elbgermanen, as seen with the very dense settlement of Franken, in the hinterland of Forchheim, Bamberg, and Bayreuth, in Bayern. By the first century AD, in Franken a great Elbgermanen cemetery is found at Altendorf.<sup>1217</sup> This settlement is presumably Suebic and probably belongs to a second branch of the Hermunduri who arrived, *c.* mid-first century AD, the first branch replacing the Marcomani and Quadi on the Main *c.* 1 BC.

It is probable that had the burial practice remained inhumation, the population estimates and density would have reflected those levels found before the mid first century BC.

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<sup>1216</sup> Wells, *Barbarians* at 81.

<sup>1217</sup> Abels-Björn-Uwe, 'Die Vorchristlichen Metallzeiten', at 136-137.

#### 4.17. EFFECTS OF LARGE SCALE MIGRATION AS OPPOSED TO GRADUAL SETTLEMENT AND ASSIMILATION. THE ELBGERMANEN IN BOHEMIA AND THE ELBGERMANEN IN RHEIN-WESER-GERMANEN (KELTEN) HESSEN, NORDRHEIN-WESTFALEN, THÜRINGEN, AND NORTHERN BAYERN (RHEIN-WESER-GERMANEN).

The Celtic Boii controlled modern Bohemia and also, within Germania, the territory outside of modern Czech and in Austria, the modern Böhmerwald and the region of Passau and Bayern. The post-*oppida* period in Gallia and much of Germania had not taken effect in Bohemia, before the arrival of Elbgermanen, c. 10 BC. The once powerful Boii who had repulsed the Cimbri, Teutones and Ambrones, by 10 BC, were unable to prevent Maroboduus's much smaller force of Marcomani and Quadi from invading through the pass of Cheb.

The La Tène culture in Bohemia, came to an abrupt end after the arrival of the Elbgermanen (Marcomani and Quadi), c. 10 BC. The characteristic La Tène culture, e.g. large *oppida*, coinage, wheel turned pottery, was replaced by a peasant culture, Elbgermanen pottery with no large settlements of their own, only villages and groups of homesteads.<sup>1218</sup>

The Elbgermanen who arrived with Maroboduus also spread to Moravia where their archaeological culture is known as the the March Basin Elbgermanen culture. These Elbgermanen are to be equated with the Quadi.

For Bohemia Völling argues that the grave fields of Tišice is the best proposed example for the beginning of the Elbgermanen land settlement in Bohemia.<sup>1219</sup> The other great Elbgermanen grave-field is that at Dobřichov-Piřhova which also shows evidence for La Tène cultural elements.<sup>1220</sup>

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<sup>1218</sup> Todd, *The Northern Barbarians* at 57-58. For the Elbgermanen arrival see also Capelle, 'Zur archäologischen Gliederung und Siedlungsgeschichte der Elbgermanen', at 131.

<sup>1219</sup> Völling (ed.), *Germanien an der Zeitenwende* at 16.

<sup>1220</sup> Völling (ed.), *Germanien an der Zeitenwende* at 17-18.

The archaeological evidence does not suggest a significant drop in population between Late La Tène D1 and D2. La Tène remnants do not appear to exist in Bohemia after the Marcomanian arrival, unlike the region of the Rhine and Weser where Elbgermanen archaeological culture merged with the La Tène to form a hybrid culture, i.e. the Rhein-Weser-Germanen.

The most notable difference in the form of migratory movements between Bohemia and the region of central Germania between the Lippe and Main was that between the Main and Lippe remained a strong Celtic population. In Bohemia an overpowering major migration took place in 10 BC, into an area enclosed by mountain chains. The rate of invasions into different areas of the region of the Lippe and Main created an unequal rate amongst the La Tène population of *acculturation*→*assimilation* of specific sub-regions to Elbgermanen culture and Teutonic speech. The region between Lippe and Main was geographically very different from Bohemia, and the Celts in the east extended beyond the Weser to the Saale. The invasion routes into the region of the Lippe and Main from the north and east were more numerous than those into Bohemia. The La Tène population between the Lippe and Main were assimilated at different times and at rates as the effect of Elbgermanen in this region was a much less diluted and more hybrid population than found in Bohemia. Yet a strong single archaeological culture emerged between Lippe, Leine, Weser, and Main, i.e. the Rhein-Weser-Germanen culture. This suggests the existence of a strong Celtic population between Lippe, Main, and Weser with smaller migratory groups of Elbgermanen and more sporadic migratory moves. The continuation of an Elbgermanen culture in Bohemia suggests the La Tène culture had been completely subsumed without altering Elbgermanen culture in any significant way.

## 4.18. THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CULTURES OF NORTHERN AND NORTH-EASTERN GALLIA IN THE PRE-CAESARIAN TO THE CAESARIAN ERA.

### 4.18.1. ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE TERRITORIES WEST OF THE RHINE FROM THE PRE-CAESARIAN TO THE AUGUSTAN ERA.

The continually changing nature and the extent of the spread and influence of archaeological cultures of the Iron Age in northern Gallia and Germania makes assessment difficult.<sup>1221</sup> For the region of the southern Netherlands and Belgium south of the Rhine various archaeological cultural groups existed.<sup>1222</sup> For northern France and eastern Belgium was the Groupe de la Haine or celtique occidentale. This region remained constant from 200-50 BC, and further north the Belgian group extended from the western seaboard of Flanders along the Belgian and Dutch coast to the Rhine Islands, the Schelde, Lek, Zenne, and Demer from 400-200 BC. West of this region provided a distinct Coastal group of La Tène Marnian tradition, noted for its carinated ware, characterized by the site of De Panne (East Flanders) between 400-200 BC. Other sites belonging to the same group are at Bra-Dunes, Wulpen, (Steendam) and Mariakerke, whilst from the Zeeland Islands, east of the Striene, finds are similar, as at Oost and Westcapelle, Domburg, and Tholen. Marien adds that closer examination of the pottery forms would show that the same is true for decorated sherds from Zuid Holland (Vlaardinge and Hillegom), the Hague and Leiden, and beyond the old Rhine at Monster. Marien believes this may have been the region the Menapii had to leave in 55 BC. Van Heeringen shows the chronological development of the pottery of the three groups on the Rhine islands which formed separately to the surrounding archaeological styles, but also stemming from the La Tène culture. By 50 BC, North German (proto-Frisian) i.e. Nordseegermanen influences penetrated these regions, further influences came from the La Tène regions.

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<sup>1221</sup> Stephan Fichtl, *Les Gaulois du Nord de la Gaule* (1st edn.; Paris: Éditions Errance, 1994) at 97-101.

<sup>1222</sup> D. W. Harding, *The Iron Age in Lowland Britain* (1st edn.; London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974) at 201-226.

East of the Rhine Islands and south of the Lower Rhine Brabant was the La Tène culture of the south eastern part of the Netherlands, which extended along the Rhine Island to the region of the Lippe from 400-200 BC. This group continued between 200-50. By this time north of the Rhine was the Proto-Frisian culture which extended along the North Sea coast (Nordseegermanen) through the northern central Netherlands to the territory just north of the Rhine mouth.

For the Rhine Islands the pottery of the Haamstede group (500-400BC) 'derived from those of the La Tène pottery of northern France ('Marne')'.<sup>1223</sup> The first evolved style was the Domburg group (Domburg and Schouwen-Duiveland) north of which was the Broekpolder I pottery style group, based on (Goeree-Overflakkee, Voorne-Putten and southern Zuid Holland), whilst the third group in the Santpoort I pottery style began at the Rhinemouth at Katwijk and extended north in Noord Holland to Den Helder, the region south of the Frisian Islands.

The Domburg pottery style appears to have developed independently of the La Tène groups to the south yet its origins are in La Tène culture. The most northerly of these groups appear to have absorbed the most Frisian influence.

The region of the Rhine islands is probably to be equated with the Menapii of the time of Caesar, of whom the Sturii and Marsaci may have constituted sub-tribes. Later by the Augustan era the area of the Rhine mouth is probably to be associated with the Frisiavones.

#### **4.18.2. THE UBIAN SETTLEMENT IN GALLIA.**

A large section of the Ubii settled in Gallia (Germania cisrhenania) primarily in the territory of the Eburones in the aftermath of the Gallic War.<sup>1224</sup> Settlement evidence suggests they arrived in Gallia, c. 30 BC, at *Novaesium* (Neuss), *Bonna* (Bonn), and *Rigomagus* (Remagen).<sup>1225</sup> At this stage the Ubian La Tène pottery differed only

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<sup>1223</sup> Van Heeringen, 'The Iron Age in the Western Netherlands V. Synthesis', at 209-211.

<sup>1224</sup> Maier, *The Celts* at 74. Spickermann, 'Die germanischen Provinzen als Feld religionshistorischer Untersuchungen', at 4.

<sup>1225</sup> Carroll, *Celts & Germans* at 126. At Remagen a timber in the palisade of the settlement dates to 9 BC. See linguistic analysis of Rigomagus (Remagen ), Bonna (Bonn), Novaesium (Neuss). M.

slightly from that of the indigenous Galli/Germani cisrhenani, on whom they settled.<sup>1226</sup> The La Tène material culture of the Ubii was very similar to that of the Gallic Treverian Hunsrück-Eifel culture on the opposite bank of the Rhine.<sup>1227</sup>

#### **4.18.3. THE EXISTENCE OF THE TUNGRI WITHIN GALLIA DURING THE GALLIC WARS, OR THEIR ESTABLISHMENT DURING THE AUGUSTAN PERIOD.**

The settlement of the Tungri is usually presumed to have taken place in the last quarter of the first century BC. Elbgermanen finds and Teutonic personal names date from the first mention of the Tungri in the Augustan period.<sup>1228</sup> The archaeology does not provide for a Teutonic Cimbrian/Teutonian settlement between the end of La Tène D1 and D2., c. 100-50 BC. The sudden appearance of Elbgermanen material culture, c. 15 BC, corresponds with the appearance of Teutonic personal names alongside native Celtic personal names amongst the names of the military from Aduatua Tungrorum. These Teutonic personal names and Elbgermanen finds coincide with the period of Augustan tribal resettlement and must correspond to a settlement of Tungri, probably from the region of the Lower Rhine, (Upper IJssel).<sup>1229</sup>

#### **4.18.4. THE NEMETES, TRIBOCI AND VANGIONES AND THE IDENTITY OF THE UPPER RHENISH SUEBIC GROUPS.**

As there is no reference to the Mediomatrici, Leuci or Sequani resettling their territories of the Rheinland-Pfalz west of the Rhine and Alsace, the Nemetes, Triboci, and Vangiones, probably remained in this region of Gallia from the

Gechter, 'Bonn BN. Römische Besiedlung', in Heinz Günter Horn (ed.), *Die Römer in Nordrhein-Westfalen* (Die Römer in.; Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 1987), 364-372 at 364-365.

<sup>1226</sup> Carroll, *Celts & Germans* at 23, 126.

<sup>1227</sup> H. E. Joachim, 'Die Hunsrück-Eifel-Kultur am Mittelrhein Köln-Graz Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher 29', *Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn und des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande.*, 29 (1969) at and see reference to Teutonic peoples at 5.

<sup>1228</sup> Stöckli, 'Römer, Kelten und Germanen', at 122, 126, 133, 135, 137-138 (Haldern and Haps), 137-140 (Sugambri/Eburones). The Haldern group probably arrived in the region of the Lippe c. 30B.C. from into Sugambrian territory, this Haldern group is associated with the Elbgermanen and would appear to have arrived from the an easterly direction. Weisgerber, 'Zum Namengut der Germani cisrhenani', at 278-296.

<sup>1229</sup> Mariën, 'Tribes and Archaeological Groupings of the La Tène period in Belgium', at 215, 218, 222, 229 (Eburones) and 219 (Tungri).

Caesarian period.. The immigrant Elbgermanen who were settled here from c. 10 BC, along the Gaulish Upper Rhine, may have been new arrivals from northern Germania. Alternatively, they may have constituted some of the remaining Marcomani and (Suebi proper) of Ariovistus's war-host.<sup>1230</sup> Whilst it is possible that the Nemetes, Triboci, and Vangiones, are to be equated with the Suebic groups transplanted, c. 15-10 BC, at approximately the same time as the Sugambri this is unlikely as the Nemetes, Triboci, and Vangiones were probably not Suebic.<sup>1231</sup> Later in the mid-first century AD, Nierhaus distinguishes a newly arrived group of Elbgermanen, separate to the Nemetes, Triboci, and Vangiones, which settled opposite the territory and became known as *Suebi Nicretes*.<sup>1232</sup> Schallmayer also distinguishes these: 'oberrheinsuebischen Gruppen', (from the direction of the Main), from the Nemetes, Triboci, Vangiones.<sup>1233</sup> By comparing the finds of Roman forts/outposts of specific date range, Schlegel states that 'der ersten neckarswebischen Siedler am Oberrhein vergleichen läßt, kann das Einsetzen der germanischen Besiedlung am unteren Neckar absolutchronologisch zwischen 30 und 50 n.Chr also in der phase Eggers B1b im Barbaricum festgelegt werden'.<sup>1234</sup> Some of these settlers may have belonged to other Suebic groups east of the Rhine. Others may have been from Suebic groups who had remained in situ in the region of the Main from the time of Caesar.

Schlegel classifies the Teutonic find groups on the Upper Rhine the Rhine opposite:

- Wörms, i.e. (*Bürstadter Gruppe*).

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<sup>1230</sup> Caesar, *BG* at 39 (Book I, Chapter 51).

<sup>1231</sup> Rieckhoff, *Süddeutschland im Spannungsfeld von Kelten, Germanen und Römern* at 109-111. See 'Linkes und rechtes Oberrheintal. Die Oberrheinsweben'. Rieckhoff believes the Nemetes to have been one of these Suebic groups. Carroll, *Celts & Germans* at 31.

<sup>1232</sup> Nierhaus, *Das swebische Gräberfeld von Diersheim* at 1, 7-12, 182-184, 220-224. Particularly 221. See § 'Die sieben Stämme im Heere Ariovists'.

<sup>1233</sup> Egon Schallmayer, 'Der Limes in Obergermanien und Raetien bis zum Ende des 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.' in Ludwig Wamser, Christof Flügel et al. (eds.), *Die Römer zwischen Alpen und Nordmeer: Zivilisatorisches Erbe einer europäischen Militärmacht. Katalog-Handbuch zur Landesausstellung des Freistaates Bayern Rosenheim 2000* (1st edn., Schriftenreihe der Archäologischen Staatssammlung; Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2000), 64-74 at 64, 66. Nierhaus, *Das swebische Gräberfeld von Diersheim* at 1, 7, 12, 182-184, 220-224.

<sup>1234</sup> Schlegel, 'Frühe germanische Keramik an Oberrhein und Neckar - Die Neckarsweben', at 82, 84 Abb.1. 'Stark schematisierte Karte der germanischen Fundgruppen am Oberrhein um die Mitte des 1. Jahrhunderts n.Chr...'. at 82.

- At Ladenburg east of the Rhine, i.e. (*Suebi/Nicretes proper/ Neckarsweben*).
- North of Speyer at Rheingonheim, i.e. (*Ludwigshafener Gruppe*).
- Fifteen kilometres south-west of Speyer (*Südpfälzer Waffengräbergruppe*).
- Strassbourg, (*Diersheimer Gruppe*).
- East of the Rhine some 15km south-west of Mainz (*Südmainische* or *Groß Gerauer Gruppe*).

Others, possibly separate Suebic groups, recently arrived from the Middle Elbe, Saale, Werra, between the end of the Gallic Wars and the migration of Maroboduus to Boiohaemum, c. 10BC. These may possibly have been different tribal groupings to those of Ariovistus's Marcomani and Suebi. Peschel narrows the time period of migration to between 25/20 BC, and 15/20 AD, from northern Germania to the Mittelgebirge region of central Germania. This immigration took place a decade before the time of the Augustan offensive.<sup>1235</sup> These newly arrived Elbgermanen Marcomani may have constituted Maroboduus's Suebi and possibly some of the transplanted Suebic settlers to the territories of the Nemetes, Triboci, and Vangiones, before Maroboduus's departure to Boiohaemum.<sup>1236</sup>

Some of the later arrivals between 30-50 AD, may have arrived directly from the Elbe, whereas others appear to have arrived from Bohemia as back migration. The inscription C.I.L. 13 6448 'Triboci et Boii' may reflect a group of Tribocans and Boians employed to watch the frontier in the territory of the Triboci.<sup>1237</sup> Most migrations are followed by reverse/back migration to the homeland of the migrants.<sup>1238</sup> It is possible that all tribes arriving with Suebian back/reverse-migration would have been considered by the Romans to be Suebi, although presumably

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<sup>1235</sup> Peschel, *Sueben - Hermunduren - Markomannen* at 96. See § 'Der Elbgermanische Horizont der Ausgehenden Latènezeit' at 72-114. Peschel, 'Die Sueben', at 305. Eggenstein, *Das Siedlungswesen der jüngeren vorrömischen Eisenzeit und der frühen römischen Kaiserzeit im Lippebereich* at 192 and 192 n. 929.

<sup>1236</sup> Peschel, *Sueben - Hermunduren - Markomannen* at 96. Peschel, 'Die Sueben', at 305.

<sup>1237</sup> Reichert, *LDAN I* at 721. See 'C.I.L. 13 (Triboci, 11): MARBACH, G.S. Quell.Zeit: Heidn. KONTEXT: T. et Boi'.

<sup>1238</sup> Wells, *Barbarians* at 46, 84.

retaining their individual tribal identity, e.g. Marcomani, Triboci, or Boii. The towns of the Nemetes, Triboci, and Vangiones were already established on the arrival of the Elbgermanen who are only evident in a few specific locations. Under these circumstances it is difficult to see these Suebic immigrants as anything other than garrisons at major urban centres, which acted as a police force for the Rhine frontier and settled amongst the long established Nemetes, Triboci, and Vangiones. Furthermore, the towns of the Nemetes, Triboci, and Vangiones had Celtic names, e.g. Borbetomagus, Rufiniana, Argentoratum, Brocomagus, and Brisiacum. No subsequent Teutonicization of the names of the region occurred, showing that the immigrant Suebic population had little impact on the language of the local population of Nemetes, Triboci, and Vangiones.

Some later groups of Suebi arrived in the region of the *Nicer* (Neckar), c. 50 AD, i.e. Suebi Nicretes, i.e. Suebi Moenani (Marcomani?/Hermunduri?). The Sugambri/Suebi mentioned by Suetonius probably refer to Suebi Langobardoi which may have provided a constituent in the Cugernian population.

From the early time of Drusus's campaigns settlement of Elbgermanen has shown in the archaeological finds in the *civitas Vangionum* (*Borbetomagus*), the *civitas Nemetum* (Speyer), and the *civitas Tribocorum* (*Brocomagus*). Suebi must have been settled amongst the Nemetes, Triboci, and Vangiones.

#### 4.19. AUGUSTAN CONSTRUCTION AND DEFENCE OF FORTS ON THE RHINE.

Between 16 and 13 BC, Augustus stayed on the frontier of the Middle and Lower Rhine to establish the reorganization and defence of eastern Gallia and possibly prepare for a major offensive against Germania. He established in Gallia, on the frontier with Germania, between 16-13 BC, the forts of Mogontiacum (Mainz), Vetera (Xanten), *c.* 13 or 12 BC, Bonna (Bonn), and Novaesium (Neuss). Asciburgium (Moers-Asperg) was built after 9 AD. Vechten (Fectio) near the Rhine mouth was established before 12 BC. The Roman fort at Nijmegen (Noviomagus) was constructed before 1 BC and the marching camp at Nijmegen was established after 9 AD. On the Upper Rhine, Argentoratum (Strassbourg) was constructed before 1 BC.

Florus stated that Drusus set up 500 forts.<sup>1239</sup> This seems excessive, but probably included temporary marching camps. Some scholars opine that Roman forts were probably situated approximately 18 km apart.<sup>1240</sup> Between 27 BC - AD 14, twenty-eight known military bases were constructed in Gallia and Germania, and sixteen between 14 - 37 AD.<sup>1241</sup>

In 12 BC, Augustus took his troops into Germania and in the same year established a series of bases along the Lippe to act as a supply route eastwards from the Rhine at Vetera (Xanten), into the interior of Germania.

On the Lippe, Augustus, through Drusus and later Tiberius, established marching camps and legionary bases. At Dorsten-Holsterhausen Kreis Recklinghausen N.R.W., a marching camp or legionary base was established in 12 BC, and abandoned by 9 AD.<sup>1242</sup> At Haltern, Kreis Recklinghausen N.R.W., a legionary base

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<sup>1239</sup> Page, Capps et al. (eds.), *Florus. Roman History. 1929* at 336-337 (BookII,Chapter III.26).

<sup>1240</sup> Polenz, *Ruhrgebiet. 2000* at 100.

<sup>1241</sup> Wells, *Barbarians* at 89-90.

<sup>1242</sup> Wells, *German Policy* at Map: Augustan military installations on the German frontier. See § 6.1. *Holsterhausen*, at 161-162. For Teutonic settlement from the last third of the first century AD, cf. Wolfgang Ebel-Zepezauer, 'Römer und Germanen in Dorsten-Holsterhausen - Siedlung der Römischen Kaiserzeit', in Heinz. Günter Horn, Hansgerd Hellenkemper et al. (eds.), *VON ANFANG*

or marching camp was founded between 12 BC and AD 6, and a fort before 1 BC. Although Kühlborn cites 7 BC as the beginning of Haltern, Wells has more recently placed the beginning of the base, harbour, and port in 5 BC, and believes the entire complex to have been abandoned in 9 AD.<sup>1243</sup> Kühlborn in 2005 argued that the termination date for Haltern is disputed.<sup>1244</sup>

Lünen-Beckinghausen, Kreis Unna N.R.W., is often considered an appendage to Bergkamen-Oberaden, Kreis Unna N.R.W., two and a half kilometres to its east. Wells dates its construction to the period before 1 BC.<sup>1245</sup> Kühlborn states that Lünen-Beckinghausen was contemporary with Bergkamen-Oberaden, i.e. 11-8 BC.<sup>1246</sup> The legionary base at Bergkamen-Oberaden was founded between 12 BC-AD 6. Kunow suggests that whilst Bergkamen-Oberaden was lost between the years 8-7 BC, the little fort of Lünen-Beckinghausen stood alone safely in the Sugambrian territory for some time. This corresponds to the evident misjudgement, on the part of the Romans, of the enemy forces, that one little fort was insufficient protection.<sup>1247</sup> Following Tiberius's defeat of the core of the Sugambri in 8 BC, he probably abandoned Oberaden, burned it, and transported the 40,000 Sugambri and their allies and possibly Suebi to Gallia, where they were transplanted to the region directly opposite their old territory, (some of which they may have controlled at the time of the Gallic War), thus ending his campaign in the region. The possibility of the destruction of Oberaden by the Sugambri, or a coalition of other tribes from northern Germania appears unfounded. Polenz cites the contamination of the well in the fort with animal

*AN Archäologie in Nordrhein-Westfalen* (1st edn., Schriften zur Bodendenkmalpflege in Nordrhein-Westfalen. Römisch-Germanisches Museum, 8; Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2005), 367-368 at 367-368. Ilisch, 'Der Münzschatzfund von Dorsten-Holsterhausen', at 369-370, 372.

<sup>1243</sup> Sebastian Kühlborn, 'Haltern RE Römisches Legionslager', *Die Römer in Nordrhein-Westfalen* (1st edn., Die Römer in.; Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 1987), 431-439 at 437. Kühlborn, dates its construction to 7 BC. It goes out of use c. 9 AD, with the Varian disaster, in the *Teutoburgensis Saltus*. Wells, *The Battle that Stopped Rome*. at 91.

<sup>1244</sup> Kühlborn, 'Die Grabungen in den westfälischen Römerlagern', at 126.

<sup>1245</sup> Wells, *German Policy* at Map: Augustan military installations on the German frontier. See § 6.3. Oberaden, at 211-220, and § 6.4 Beckinghausen, at 220-222. Jürgen Kunow, 'Lünen-Beckinghausen. UN. Römische Militäranlage.' in Heinz Günter Horn (ed.), *Die Römer in Nordrhein-Westfalen* (2nd edn., Die Römer in.; Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 1987), 540-541.

<sup>1246</sup> Sebastian Kühlborn, 'Lünen-Beckinghausen. UN. Römische Militäranlage.' in Heinz Günter Horn (ed.), *Die Römer in Nordrhein-Westfalen* (1st edn., Die Römer in.; Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 1987), 540-541 at 541.

<sup>1247</sup> Kunow, 'Die Militärgeschichte Niedergermaniens', at 38. Kunow, 'Lünen-Beckinghausen. UN. Römische Militäranlage. 1987', at 541.

cadavers as proof that the Romans wished to ensure that Oberaden would never be used by the native tribesmen.<sup>1248</sup>

There is a divergence of opinion on the date of origin of the base at Delbrück-Anreppen, Kreis Paderborn N.R.W. Wells suggests that the legionary base was founded between 12 BC-AD 6.<sup>1249</sup> He dates the abandonment of the base to 9 AD.<sup>1250</sup> Eggenstein in 2000 identified the date of construction for Delbrück-Anreppen with either the campaign of Drusus in 12-9 BC, or a non-confirmable 4-5 AD, with an end date of 9 AD.<sup>1251</sup> In 2003 Eggenstein remarked that the lifespan of this fort was not exactly specified, but that it could be equated with either of two periods; the campaigns of Drusus between 12 – 9 BC, or the first decade of the first century AD.<sup>1252</sup> Horn suggests that it was constructed in 7 BC.<sup>1253</sup> Kühlborn, the excavator of Delbrück-Anreppen states that Anreppen is identical with a fort named by Velleius Paterculus (II 105), for the winter of 4-5 AD, constructed by Tiberius.<sup>1254</sup> Von Schnurbein remarks that Kühlborn's date of 4-5 AD, for the construction of Delbrück-Anreppen is well founded.<sup>1255</sup> There is a possibility that the fort was initially constructed by Drusus and reconstructed by Tiberius at the later date. Kühlborn in 2005 states that 'daß Anreppens Ende nicht mit dem Ende von Haltern gleichzusetzen ist. Halterns Ende datiert man ins Jahr 9 n. Chr., doch diese Datierung ist nicht mehr unangefochten.'<sup>1256</sup>

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<sup>1248</sup> Polenz, *Ruhrgebiet. 2000* at 111-112. See § 'Römische Invasoren an Lippe und Emscher'.

<sup>1249</sup> Wells, *German Policy* at Map: Augustan military installations on the German frontier. See § 6.5 Anreppen.

<sup>1250</sup> Wells, *Barbarians* at 90.

<sup>1251</sup> Eggenstein, 'Die Keramik aus der römerlagerzeitlichen germanischen Siedlung von Delbrück-Anreppen', at 49.

<sup>1252</sup> Eggenstein, *Das Siedlungswesen der jüngeren vorrömischen Eisenzeit und der frühen römischen Kaiserzeit im Lippebereich* at 42.

<sup>1253</sup> Heinz Günter Horn (ed.), *Die Römer in Nordrhein-Westfalen*, ed. Gabriele Susskind (2nd edn., Die Römer in., Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 1987) at 660.

<sup>1254</sup> Kühlborn, 'Schlagkraft. Die Feldzüge unter Augustus und Tiberius in Nordwestdeutschland', at 33.

<sup>1255</sup> Von Schnurbein, 'Augustus in Germania and his new 'town' at Waldgirmes east of the Rhine', at 97-98.

<sup>1256</sup> Kühlborn, 'Die Grabungen in den westfälischen Römerlagern', at 126.

Wells suggests that on hearing of the disaster at Kalkriese the small garrison left behind at Haltern fled in terror to the safety of the Rhine bases. He believes that all of the other short lived bases on the Lippe, i.e. Anreppen, Oberaden and Holsterhausen were also abandoned out of the fear that Arminius, just sixty miles to the north, was about to invade the region, as he had at Kalkriese.<sup>1257</sup> Also on the Lower Rhine were Velsen, Noord Holland, Ne., on the Dutch coast and Arnhem-Meinerswijk, Gelderland, Ne., which were constructed in the period 1-9 AD. A Roman fort may also have existed at Driel.<sup>1258</sup>

Another route into Germania was broached by the Romans on the Middle Rhine. This extended from Mainz into the Taunus and Wetterau and into central Hessen. The first Augustan fort of note in this region was Bad Nauheim-Rödgen on the Wetter. Rödgen, was located, c. 40 miles northeast of Mainz, which was constructed before 1 BC, as a supply fort. Schönberger is probably correct in suggesting that it was established in the course of the campaign of Drusus in 10 BC. He asserts that Nemausus coins struck between 28-16 and 10 BC are in the majority. The end date of the fort is before the absence of coins with the *altar of Roma* series and the absence of *Lugdunum II* series of the period 12-10 BC.<sup>1259</sup> Wells dates the establishment of Rödgen to, c. 12 BC, and like Schönberger remarks that the absence of *Lugdunum II* altar series shows that Rödgen like Oberaden was abandoned before this coin series took over as the normal currency of the Rhine army, within a few years after 10 BC.<sup>1260</sup> Another base near to Rödgen but dating to the period between 1-9 AD, was Friedberg. Further north on the Upper Lahn near Bad Nauheim were the forts of Lahnau-Waldgirmes and Dorlar, both dated to the period 1-9 AD. There may also have been a fort at Wiesbaden, Mainz-Kastel north of the Main and Trebur-Geinsheim just south of the Main. East of Dorlar there may have been a fort

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<sup>1257</sup> Wells, *The Battle that Stopped Rome*. at 104. Oberaden mentioned by Wells here is presumably and Lünen-Beckinghausen as opposed to Bergkamen Oberaden.

<sup>1258</sup> Kühlborn, 'Schlagkraft. Die Feldzüge unter Augustus und Tiberius in Nordwestdeutschland', at 28.

<sup>1259</sup> Hans Schönberger, 'Bad Nauheim-Rödgen. FB. Augusteische Versorgungsstation', in Dietwulf Baatz and Rudolf Herrmann (eds.), *Die Römer in Hessen* (2nd edn., Die Römer in.; Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 1987), 238-240 at 238.

<sup>1260</sup> Wells, *German Policy* at 229. See § 6.9. Rödgen, at 226-230.

constructed at a point between the campaigns of Drusus and Germanicus at Arnsburg, GI, He.

Further bases on the Middle Rhine were, Urmitz, Koblenz, Bingen, Wiesbaden, Hofheim, Höchst, Friedberg, for which there is no evidence before 9 AD. The legionary base at Bad Nauheim appears to have been founded, *c.* 9 AD.<sup>1261</sup>

On the Upper Rhine Speyer was constructed after 9 AD. The Roman fort at Strasbourg was founded before 1 BC. The marching camp was founded, *c.* 9 AD. The Roman fort at Basle was founded before 15 BC. The legionary base or marching camp at Dangstetten was constructed before 12 BC.<sup>1262</sup>

On the middle Main in central Germania Marktbeit was established between 1-9 AD.<sup>1263</sup> The possibility of an Augustan fort at Elsen near Paderborn, Kr. Paderborn as originally suggested by Mommsen, who equated it with Aliso on etymological grounds, has no foundation in the archaeological record. Single finds and a possible watchtower of Augustan date have been found at Sparrenberger Egge.<sup>1264</sup> Although Rütten-Kneblinghausen between Marsberg and Soest, Kr. Soest, N.R.W. on the Upper Ruhr is strategically viable and is the location of a fort from the end of the first century AD (era of Domitian) onwards, Kühlborn is adamant that although

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<sup>1261</sup> Wells, *German Policy at Map: Augustan military installations on the German frontier.*

<sup>1262</sup> Wells, *German Policy at Map: Augustan military installations on the German frontier.*

<sup>1263</sup> Rüger, 'Germany. *CAH.* 1996', at 526. Kühlborn, 'Schlagkraft. Die Feldzüge unter Augustus und Tiberius in Nordwestdeutschland', at 28 Abb. 20. Siegmund Von Schnurbein, 'Die augusteischen Stützpunkte in Mainfranken und Hessen', in Ludwig Wamser, Christof Flügel et al. (eds.), *Die Römer zwischen Alpen und Nordmeer: Zivilisatorisches Erbe einer europäischen Militärmacht. Katalog-Handbuch zur Landesausstellung des Freistaates Bayern Rosenheim 2000* (1st edn., Schriftenreihe der Archäologischen Staatssammlung; Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2100), 34-37 at 35-36. Martin Pietsch, Dieter Timpe et al., 'Die augusteischen Truppenlager Marktbeit. Bisherige archäologische Befunde und historische Erwägungen', *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission*, 72 (1991), 264-325 at 268-270. See also § *Entdeckung und Lage*, at 264-325, and § *Die Funde und ihre Datierung*, at 303-307.

<sup>1264</sup> Johann-Sebastian Kühlborn, 'Schlagkraft. Die Feldzüge unter Augustus und Tiberius in nordwestdeutschland', in Ludwig Wamser, Christof Flügel et al. (eds.), *Die Römer zwischen Alpen und Nordmeer: Zivilisatorisches Erbe einer europäischen Militärmacht. Katalog-Handbuch zur Landesausstellung des Freistaates Bayern Rosenheim 2000* (1st edn., Schriftenreihe der Archäologischen Staatssammlung; Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2000), 27-37 at 28. Wells, *German Policy* at 151-152. Wilson and Creighton, 'Introduction: recent research on Roman Germany', at 15.

Kneblinghausen is repeatedly connected with the *Varusschlacht* of the *saltus Teutoburgiensis* this argument is not tenable and fails on chronological criterion.<sup>1265</sup>

A Roman fort has recently been detected at Hedemünden on the confluence of the Weser, Werra and Fulda in Niedersachsen, which dates from the period of the Augustan campaigns in Germania. Its location is at the confluence of old traffic routes and on a strategically important ford through the Werra, but it is in the immediate vicinity of a vast Teutonic settlement. Hedemünden is the most easterly occupied Roman fort in northern Germania. Horn remarks that it is documented at the same time as the extensive Roman advance into Germania and from the perspective of the Germani would have represented a very real Roman presence in those years.<sup>1266</sup> At the time of the Augustan advance the region of Hedemünden was possibly to be equated with Caesar's *silva Bacenis* probably the heartland of the proto-Chatti. By the Augustan era it was probably at the northernmost extent of the Chattian territory near the borders of the southern Cheruscan lands. It is doubtful if the Cherusci extended as far south as this, their central territory being the territory from the Middle Weser at Bielefeld, through to the Leine and Upper Aller at Wolfsburg, near the borders of Niedersachsen and Sachsen-Anhalt.

Wilson and Creighton are correct in assuming that the finding of more sites is an urgent *desideratum*, of future research. There must also have been other Roman forts of the campaign of Drusus and Tiberius along the Lippe, Ems and Weser which have not yet been found.<sup>1267</sup> It is possible that some marching camps exist east of the Elbe.

After Augustus' arrival in Gallia in 16 BC, he undertook the settlement of tribal units from Germania to the frontier region of eastern Gallia, to act both as a buffer zone and to aid with recruitment in the army. Some of the transplanted tribes were, elements of what became the Suebi of the Upper Rhine, the Ubii, a section of the

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<sup>1265</sup> Sebastian Kühlborn, 'Rüthen-Kneblinghausen SO. Römisches Militärlager', in Heinz Horn, Günter (ed.), *Die Römer in Nordrhein-Westfalen* (2nd edn., Die Römer in.; Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 1987), 598-599 at 598. Wells, *German Policy* at 151-152. Wells is of the opinion that there was no archaeological evidence to support an Augustan date for Rüthen-Kneblinghausen.

<sup>1266</sup> Horn, 'Was ist wahr an Varus? 2005.' at 111.

<sup>1267</sup> Wilson and Creighton, 'Introduction: recent research on Roman Germany', at 15-16.

Sugambri (later Cugerni), elements of the Frisii which became Frisiavones, and elements of what later became the Tungri, Texuandri (although the Tungri and Texuandri are possibly reformation of existing Celtic tribes of northern Gallia with settled Augustan Germani).<sup>1268</sup>

Although Augustus did not transplant entire tribes into Gallia, his actions broke the political power of many of the remnants of the transplanted tribes in Germania, e.g. the Sugambri and Ubii. This allowed more northern mainly Teutonic tribes to move into the Celtic territories of central Germania, subjugating and subsuming those weakened tribes.

#### 4.19.1. CONCLUSION TO ARCHAEOLOGICAL SECTION.

Before the arrival of Caesar to Gallia the archaeological evidence of the region of Germania and Gallia suggests that the migration of peoples of North-German-Scandinavian archaeological culture were few, and that settlement was sparse. Ostgermanen elements which arrived into the region of central Germania were quickly absorbed by the surrounding La Tène population. North-German-Scandinavian archaeological culture is only evident before or at the time of La Tène D2 in the region of northern Hessen where some sparse Elbgermanen Suebian settlement is found on the eastern edge of the Mittelgebirge. Evidence for Elbgermanen, on the fringes of Gallia as suggested by Caesar's Commentaries is almost non-existent. Considering Caesar's frequent references to the aggressive nature of the Suebi and their constant harassment of the tribes of central Germania this is surprising. The actions of the Suebi can only be seen as raiding parties rather than settlement. The absence of archaeological evidence for the settlement of Ariovistus's mixed Teutonic-Celtic tribes is also surprising, considering their numbers.

The demise of the Celtic La Tène culture of central and southern Germani should not be seen as a dispersal of the Celtic population which appears to have remained in-situ. The economy of the *oppida* in Germania was all but destroyed by the Gallic

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<sup>1268</sup> Wells, *Barbarians* at 89. Wells, *Beyond Celts, Germans* at 111.

War which determined the demise of strong political tribal units, and the subsequent arrival of the Teutonic peoples concluded any hope of the reestablishment of the La Tène culture in the region.

Archaeological evidence for the arrival of Teutonic tribes to central Germania south of the Lippe and west of the Weser becomes evident after the departure of Caesar from Gallia and in particular in the Augustan era. Elbgermanen, Nordgermanen, and Nordseegermanen elements began to enter the La Tène regions subsuming and merging with the local Celtic population and La Tène archaeological culture. This resulted in the formation of new hybrid population i.e. the Rhein-Weser-Germanen. With the Augustan resettlement of tribal units from Germania to Gallia elements of Elbgermanen Nordgermanen, and Nordseegermanen and eventually Rhein-Weser-Germanen archaeological culture was brought to northern and eastern Gallia. This process created opportunities for Teutonic units to move south from the north German Plain to central Germania.

## 5. CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSION

### 5.1. CLASSICAL-HISTORICAL MATERIAL.

As a result of the natural native migrations within Germania and the defeat of the Galli by Caesar and later conquests by Augustus, Drusus, Tiberius, and Germanicus, the tribal map of Germania and Gallia changed completely. Under Augustus, resettlement and Romanization of lifestyle and language began with the establishment of Roman towns within Gallia and Roman forts within Germania. A process of detribalization was implemented, Roman laws were enforced and the integration of Gallia into the Roman Empire was undertaken in earnest. Augustus was intent on conquest of the territories of Germania east of the Rhine. Consequently, east of the Rhine confederations or *Supergroups* were formed.

But for the intervention of the Cheruscan Arminius, the territories of Germania directly east of the Rhine might have become full provinces of the Empire, with their own Teutono-Celto Romance language and the power of the Roman Empire and the extent of their territories could have been unlimited.

Without historical sources, particularly Poseidonius, Caesar, Strabo, Pliny, and Tacitus, to which modern scholarship turns for historical accounts, history becomes pre-history. Moreover, combining the historical accounts with linguistics and archaeology we can get a fuller picture than would otherwise be available. Historical accounts often differ. Conflicting testimonies give rise to lively debate. Central to this thesis is the origin of the Germanoi/Germani, their ethnic, linguistic and archaeological origins.

Different writers produced different interpretations of who the Germani were. Poseidonius understood the Germanoi to be Celtic speaking tribes from east of the Rhine, northern Gallia (Germani cisrhenania), and Belgica. The origin of the name Germani was subsequently distorted by Caesar, who, for political reasons decided to create an ethno-geographical divide, which he based on two groups, the Galli and the Germani. Caesar did not use the Celtic Germani cisrhenani or Belgae as archetypal Germani, but a foreign, ethnically, and linguistically distinct people to the Celtic

Galli, i.e. the Teutonic Suebi. All other tribes referred to by the Romans as Germani, from the time of Caesar, are assumed to be akin to Suebi, rather than the Galli.

The extreme Nationalism in nineteenth to the mid twentieth century Germany led to a renewed interest in the Germani, whom they identified as predominantly Teutonic peoples. When assessing the works of the scholars from this time, it is necessary, in some cases, to allow for a bias in favour of Teutonic peoples.

## 5.2. LINGUISTIC MATERIAL.

Celtic personal, tribal, onomastic, mountain, forest, river, and god names are all evident in central Germania and on the North European Plain. The names of the main rivers of northern-central Germania are Celtic, e.g. Lippe, Ruhr, Rhine, Lahn, Main. Other Teutonic names may include the Elbe and Ems.

The place names along the Lower and Middle Rhine are largely Celtic, even after the resettlement of new tribes. Linguistic evidence shows that with each decade of the first century the process of Teutonicization of the regions, both east and west of the Rhine, increased. Celtic elements were quickly eroded and Teutonicized, as with the cult of the *Matronen*, e.g. as seen in the name *Matronae Celapautharae* and also seen to a lesser extent among the Celtic *Juppitersäulen* of the Middle Rhine.<sup>1269</sup>

In the region of the Lippe, particularly north of the river, in the broad border zone between the peoples of North European and La Tène archaeological culture, south of

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<sup>1269</sup> Brigitte Beyer, 'Ein neuer Zungenbrecher - die *Matronae Celapautharae*', in Harald Koschik (ed.), *Archäologie im Rheinland 1997* (1st edn., Eine Veröffentlichung des Landschaftsverbandes Rheinland. Rheinisches Amt für Bodendenkmalpflege; Köln: Rheinland-Verlag Köln, in Kommission bei Dr. Rudolf Habelt, Bonn, 1998), 88-89 at 88. Beyer, 'Arch. Rheinh. 1997', at 88-89. Brigitte Beyer, 'Neue Matronen in Niedergermanien', in Heinz Günter Hörn, Hansgerd Hellenkemper et al. (eds.), *Fundort Nordrhein Westfalen. Millionen Jahre Geschichte* (1st edn., Schriften zur Bodendenkmalpflege in Nordrhein-Westfalen. Römisch-Germanisches Museum der Stadt Köln, 5; Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2000), 320-321., at 320. Peter Noelke, 'Juppitersäulen und -pfeiler in Niedergermanien - Neufunde aus 25 Jahren', in Heinz Günter Horn, Hansgerd Hellenkemper et al. (eds.), *VON ANFANG AN Archäologie in Nordrhein-Westfalen* (1st edn., Schriften zur Bodendenkmalpflege in Nordrhein-Westfalen. Römisch-Germanisches Museum, 8; Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2005), 128-137 at 128. For the *Juppitersäulen* see: Rainer Wiegels, 'Zur Götterverehrung in römischer Zeit im unteren Neckarraum. Das Beispiel des Iupiterkultes', in Wolfgang Spickermann, Hubert Cancik et al. (eds.), *Religion in den germanischen Provinzen Roms* (1st edn.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 193-221 at 204 and 203-217.

the river, there were probably many dialects which could not be classified as either Celtic or Teutonic. This is probably true for many regions of Europe. Dialectic difference from Celtic proper existed in Belgica where regional variation and possibly even old pre-Celtic dialects may have altered standard forms of Celtic.

The Teutonic dialects must have been adopted and adapted by many Celtic tribes at the end of the first century BC. This is in part due to:

- a. Migration of Teutonic elements to Celtic regions.
- b. Teutonic military elite taking control of Celtic populations.
- c. The main focus of power in Germania having shifted from the Rhineland, (Sugambri, Ubii, Usipetes, Tencteri) to northern Germania and the Cherusci. The Suebi was a constant focus of power, but were much further away to the north-east on the Elbe-Saale.
- d. New ethnic identities based on the North German model which emerged in the face of Roman attempts at conquest.
- e. The political heart of the La Tène culture and the economic basis of society having been decimated in Gallia, Helvetia, and later Noricum and Germania, together with increasing pressure from militarily and politically organized and dominant Teutonic tribes.

Many of the newly arriving tribes to Gallia, i.e. Cugerni, Batavi, Tungri, Nemetes, Triboci, and Vangiones created new settlements. What is surprising is the degree to which these new settlements have Celtic names, even on the Lower Rhine, after the Augustan era. This suggests that the incoming Germani newcomers were naming these new settlements, and that the general population was Celtic in speech. Teutonic and Latin names are also evident, especially on the Lower Rhine from the Cugernian territory to that of the Batavi and Frisiavones.

Hybridized names occur, particularly Celtic-Latin and Celtic-Teutonic. The most northerly of the Sugambrian tribes would, by the time of Caesar's arrival in Gallia have had some elements of Teutonic in their speech. It is even possible that some of

these northern groupings comprised Teutonic speaking *pagi*, i.e. ethnically distinct sub-tribes and hybridized sub-tribes, who for political purposes would have been aligned to the larger tribe. The Ubii and possibly the Usipetes and Tencteri, who had been harassed by the Suebi proper of Cimberius and Nasua before Caesar's arrival in Gallia, must have been Teutonicized to a degree, at least on their eastern borders where they were closest to the Suebi. By the first century AD, the Usipetes and Tencteri, surrounded by Teutonic tribes, must have been thoroughly Teutonicized, as they had, since the mid-first century BC, inhabited the territory north of the Lippe. Linguistic evidence shows that with each decade of the first century AD, the process of Teutonicization of the regions both east and west of the Rhine increased.

It is possible that by the time the elements of the Sugambri were transplanted to Gallia in 8 BC, they may have used a *Mischsprach*, and had a *Mischkultur*. Elements of the Ubii may also have been Teutonicized. In the Augustan and Tiberian era Teutonic dialects filtered further south, via central and southern Hessen, which the Romans had left open by defeating the La Tène tribes of the region, i.e. (Mattiaci/Ubii).

In the resettled regions of Gallia, amongst the Tungri and Batavi, substantial elements of Teutonic linguistics, particularly personal names exist alongside Celtic names. A mixture of Celtic and Teutonic personal, place, and god names are found amongst the Cugerni but there are not as many Teutonic names as would be expected. This may suggest the introduction of Suebi and other Lower Rhenish allies to the region in 8 BC, and show that the process of Teutonicization had already taken hold of the Sugambri before their arrival in Gallia. Names which appear Celtic showing regional variation are numerous for the Cugerni.

Very little Teutonic evidence has been found for the regions of the Nemetes, Triboci, and Vangiones. Most of the evidence for this region is Celtic. However, Teutonic linguistic elements are probably due to settlement of the Suebi Nicrotes of the mid first century AD, in these areas.

A high degree of Celtic place names is evident along the Lower Rhine, as seen from the elements, compound elements, prefixes and suffixes of the place names. For the

first century AD, Teutonic place names are to be found on the Lower and Middle Rhine, amongst the newly settled regions, but these are few in number. Most are found in the territory of the Batavi or Cugerni.

Hybrid names are also evident, e.g. Teutonic-Celtic *Batavodurum*, Latin-Celtic *Tiberiacum* and *Iuliacum*. This is further proof that from the era of Tiberius onward, in the heart of Ubian territory, the natives were naming their settlements after the Emperor, not in Teutonic, but in Celtic.

Other place names can easily be derived from Celtic, Teutonic, or Latin, e.g. *Vetera*. In the Cugernian territory this possibly suggests the mixed Suebian-Sugambrian origin and the presence of elements of Teutonic and Celtic speaking groups resettled in Eburonia by Tiberius, possibly the Usipetes, Tencteri, and Teutonic groups, such as the Bructeri, Marsi, and Tubantes. These hybrid place names also demonstrate the increasing Teutonicization of the Lower Rhine region after the first century AD.

The Ubian territory of Gallia is linguistically complex. Teutonic elements increased through additional non-Ubian Teutonic settlement in their region from the first century AD, merging with the native Ubian settlement. It is difficult to see the Ubian territory as Teutonic in speech, considering the lack of evidence for Teutonic place names. Teutonicization of Romano-Celtic place names would be expected, or the entire replacement of these names. This did not occur until the Frankish era.

The *Matronen* cult provides many Teutonic elements, the process of Teutonicization is a factor, e.g. many of the local groups from which these *Matronen* originated were Celtic and presumably Ubian, but because of continued non-Ubian Teutonic immigration through the first century AD, by the second to third centuries many of these names had become Teutonic in form. Some of the *Matronen* suffixes are native Celtic.

Celtic name elements are found in Teutonicized forms in central Germania. Tribal names of Germania, often assumed to be Teutonic can be derived from Celtic origin. Many tribal/*civitas* units, assumed today to be Teutonic, are often mixed Celtic and

Teutonic peoples, as can be seen from personal, god, cult, and place names along the Lower and Middle Rhine territory of Ubii, Batavi, Tungri, and Cugerni.

In Germania, Teutonic speech encroached upon and eventually replaced Celtic in the region of the Lippe, from the time of Caesar or a generation before. This region of the Lippe was on the front line with Teutonic speakers for a number of centuries and must have absorbed elements of North German archaeological influences from the Jastorf and Harpstedt cultures. The tribes north of the river must have adopted elements of Celtic and have intermarried with the Celtic speakers south of the river. Accessible trade routes such as the Hellweg made this region more accessible.

However, the territory south of the Lippe must be classified with non-North German-Scandinavian archaeological culture and whilst there is a strong native archaeological element it must be assigned to the La Tène cultural sphere, and thus to the Celtic peoples. The peoples south of the Lippe cannot at the beginning-mid first century BC, be classified with the Teutonic speaking peoples. It is probable that some form of Celtic was spoken by the tribes south of the Lippe, and Teutonic north of the river, until the mid first century BC. This was interspersed with local, indigenous, pre-Celtic dialects, and elements of Teutonic. Where both cultures met a *Mischsprach* probably existed. This degree to which the *Mischsprach* varied along the frontier depended on the intensity of settlement of Celtic or Teutonic peoples, military superiority, location, or economic status.

Evidence from succeeding centuries helps to clarify the linguistic adjustments which took place and in particular the process of Teutonicization of the language of these tribes 'Germanisierung'. It does not necessarily help to elucidate the linguistic nature of these tribes at the time of Caesar but only underlines the linguistic process of Teutonicization.

### **5.3. ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL.**

#### **5.3.1. PRE-CAESARIAN AND CAESARIAN ERA**

The earliest historical movements of mixed Teutonic–Celtic migrations of e.g. Cimbri and Teutones, cannot be seen in the archaeological record. The

archaeological culture of central Westfalen, including areas south of the Lippe, had both Celtic and Teutonic elements from the Hallstatt through to the La Tène era of Harpstedt and Jastorf culture. By the Late La Tène era the region nearest the Lower Rhine had a strong indigenous element which stemmed through the *niederrheinische Grabhügelkultur* culture into the Iron Age of the Hallstatt and La Tène cultural domain.

East of the Rhine the La Tène culture included the southern German territory north of the Upper Rhine of Baden-Württemberg and Bayern. The La Tène culture extended as far north as the mouth of the Rhine at Katwijk in Zuid Holland, through Utrecht and Gelderland in the Netherlands and extended into Germany along the Lippe in Nordrhein-Westfalen including the territory of central and southern Nordrhein-Westfalen, central and southern Hessen, and Rheinland-Pfalz east of the Rhine. Further east the La Tène culture extended into northern Hessen north of Kassel and as far as the Upper Weser. In the east it extended as far north as southern Thüringen.

West of the Rhine the La Tène culture extended across the whole of northern Gallia to the mouth of the Rhine, including France, Belgium, Luxembourg, and the southern Netherlands.

The La Tène culture is also equated with Celts in southern Germany south of the Upper Rhine and on both sides of the Danube and further east it extended across Bohemia, Slovakia and southern Poland. La Tène culture also extended across Austria.

The core of the North German archaeological culture associated with Teutonic speakers was centred in Scandinavia and northern Germany. Whilst some cultural spread to the Hallstatt and La Tène regions (Nordrhein-Westfalen and northern Hessen) is in evidence for the early La Tène era, in particular through the Jastorf culture proper, evidence of widespread cultural dissemination and migration is not apparent in the first century BC.

The archaeological culture of central and southern Westfalen was much poorer than the south German La Tène, but south of the Lippe the archaeological culture was related to the La Tène culture in many ways, with regional variations, rather than to the North German archaeological cultures. House types of Westfalen appear to conform to central European types constructed in the La Tène period. Pottery is problematic between the Ruhr and Lippe and although hand-made, it is not generally of North German type, for La Tène D2. Only after 50 BC, do Elbgermanen elements begin to appear.

If there was previous Teutonic settlement in southern Westfalen and central Hessen before the first century BC, it would be evident in the archaeological record. Furthermore, the La Tène culture would have been altered. There are elements of this seen in central Westfalen and northern Hessen showing influence from the earlier Jastorf and Harpstedt cultures. For the region of Nordrhein-Westfalen native Iron Age elements originating in the old *niederrheinische Grabhügelkultur* developed and are seen in the Iron Age of the region, which in turn, produced a Hallstatt and La Tène culture extending to the first century BC.

A small movement of Ostgermanen (Oder-Warthe-Przeworsk) peoples into Hessen was quickly absorbed by the local La Tène culture, but eventually some of these Ostgermanen may have later returned to their homeland in northeastern Germania.

Ostgermanen culture (Przeworsk/Oder-Warthe culture) is evident in the archaeological record in Hessen, but it does not develop into a hybridized North German-La Tène archaeological culture. Later proto-Chattian Elbgermanen cultures have been found in conjunction with the Oder-Warthe settlements in Hessen. These proto-Chattian settlements are not continuations of Ostgermanen culture but the arrival of new Elbgermanen settlers.

No material culture is evident for the Elbgermanen and Nordgermanen contingents of Ariovistus's Germani in Gallia. Ariovistus was head of a coalition of Celtic and Teutonic tribes. It is a mistake to assume that he was a Suebian or King of the Suebi. Caesar chose to base his definition of the Germani on the Suebic tribes amongst Ariovistus's war-host. The linguistic evidence suggests Ariovistus's Nemetes,

Triboci, and possibly the Vangiones were Celtic. The Teutonic Sedusii, Suebic Marcomani, Harudes (with Cimbrian migration), and Suebic (probably Semnonian retinue of his first wife's kinsmen) contingents are not to be seen in the linguistic or archaeological record in the mid first century BC. Caesar was aware of the mixed origin of this group.

With the settlement of the Nemetes, Triboci, and Vangiones in Gallia there is still no evidence of Teutonic settlement in Rheinland-Pfalz west of the Rhine and Alsace, unless the Elbgermanen in the towns of these three tribes is counted. This does not equate with the Nemetes, Triboci, and Vangiones but with newly drawn Teutonic elements of Elbgermanen drafted into the region from the Augustan era. However, the majority of the rural areas of these tribes in the Augustan era and well into the first century AD, do not show evidence for Elbgermanen. The Elbgermanen of this region appear to be military groups drafted into the towns of the Nemetes, Triboci, and Vangiones to police the frontier.

The fall of the *oppida* in Germania was due to both the devastating effects of the Gallic war on the economies of the *oppida* based societies and incursions by Teutonic invaders. The degree to which each of these elements affected the inhabitants was dependent upon various factors, e.g. location, vulnerability, natural route-ways, the breakdown of trade, and loss of skills, with resulting impoverishment. In some cases the populations voluntarily left the *oppida* to settle on the surrounding landscape, where they lacked the ability to produce standardized goods, i.e. skilled wheel-turned pottery, metal goods, e.g. *fibulae*. This has led to confusion and the sometimes mistaken assumption that the crude material finds are those of incoming Elbgermanen. There is also a lack of standardization with regard to burial practice of the post *oppida* peoples. Furthermore, large Elbgermanen cemeteries are not prevalent south of the region of the Lippe, as would be expected if they had settled there.

There were areas of central Germania, which did experience substantial Teutonic incursions, e.g. northern Hessen, eastern Thüringen and north-eastern Bayern (Mainfranken) with smaller settlements in Nordrhein-Westfalen, e.g. Bochum and IJssel groups.

The arrival of Suebic and other Teutonic tribes amongst the war-host of Ariovistus *c.* 72 BC on the Upper Rhine occurred at approximately the same time as the expansion of the Elbgermanen Suebic core of Cimberius and Nasua. The origin of Ariovistus's core of Germani is less obvious considering the mixed nature of his war-host, which consisted of tribes of both Teutonic (Scandinavian and Suebic) and Celtic origin, from central Germania. The archaeology of the region of Ariovistus's Germani appears to be La Tène in origin. There is no conclusive archaeological evidence for the mixed archaeological cultures of Ariovistus's war-host. This must have been because he moved them continually so they never settled properly. Moreover, they travelled light and moved often.

Two specific, simultaneous, but uncoordinated attacks by separate Elbgermanen groups took place against the Celtic populations of central Germania, as seen in the archaeological record for the period of the early to mid first century BC. These were the Elbgermanen of Cimberius and Nasua (the Suebi proper) from the Middle Elbe/Saale. Although the attacks were repeated and violent there is little evidence of Elbgermanen settlement in the La Tène territories which they must have controlled.

Simultaneously there began a south-south-westward movement of Elbgermanen from the pre- and post-Caesarian era to the La Tène region in northern Hessen. This settlement was particularly aggressive towards the Celtic population of the *oppida*. These Elbgermanen were the proto-Chatti. In contrast to the Elbgermanen Suebi of Cimberius and Nasua, the proto-Chattian settlement was successful. They appropriated the Celtic territory of northern Hessen and by the Augustan era successfully controlled central Hessen. This is evident from Elbgermanen settlement of the region.

The first real Elbgermanen Suebic settlement in La Tène regions of central Germania was from *c.* 25 BC, and lasted until *c.* 15 AD. This may have involved Maroboduus's Marcomani and Quadian peoples. A separate movement, at the end of the first century BC, appears to have involved Elbgermanen to be associated with the Suebic Hermunduri in the region east of the Chatti.

The archaeology between Lippe, Weser, and Main suggests that beginning with the Augustan era Elbgermanen and Nordseegermanen units began to move south of the Lippe and settled among the La Tène population rather than displacing them. One way of seeing this is the movement of tribes, into the region. Wars with the Romans resulted in large resettlements, e.g. sections of Sugambri and Ubii.

The culture, which formed in the period directly after the fall of the *oppida*, differed from the Elbgermanen culture and was essentially a fusion of the La Tène and Elbgermanen cultures, which became known as the Rhein-Weser-Germanen culture. The tribes which helped to create this culture were of indigenous La Tène peoples, south of the Lippe to the Weser, i.e. the Sugambri, Ubii, Usipetes, Tencteri, Mattiaci, Nidenses, Taunenses, Turones, and numerous other unnamed tribes. The incoming Teutonic tribes from directly north of the Lippe, which helped to form the Rhein-Weser-Germanen, were the Bructeri, Tubantes, Chamavi, Marsi, Langobardic Suebi, and proto-Chattian tribes. Those incoming tribes which did not form part of the Rhein-Weser-Germanen were the Marcomani and Hermunduri.

The first real evidence for substantial Elbgermanen and Rhein-Weser-Germanen culture in Gallia was introduced through the settlement policy of Augustus. These tribal units were generally settled along the frontier with Germania. By the time these tribal units were brought into Gallia most of the tribes of La Tène culture had already become Teutonicized. The region west of the Rhine is neither obviously Elbgermanen, Nordseegermanen, nor Rhein-Weser-Germanen in culture.

In Gallia more groups settled, Frisiavones, Texuandri, and others and there was a complete transformation of the tribal map but not everywhere was there a break in the archaeological record or in settlement type.

#### **5.4. FINAL CONCLUSION**

In conclusion the period from the first century BC, to the second century AD, was one of great change within Northern and Central Europe.

Poseidonius's *Keltoi Germanoi* was deliberately misinterpreted by Caesar in what became his Rhine-divide construction. In claiming that the Germani east of the Rhine

were all to be equated with the Teutonic Suebi he successfully identified all peoples east of the Rhine with peoples of non-Gallic origin. Caesar's intention was self aggrandizement Caesar's claim for an ethnic divide is not supported by either the linguistic or archaeological evidence available. The name Germani was originally a native Celtic term applied by a group of tribes east and west of the Rhine, i.e. Germani cisrhenani, the Belgae, Germani transrhenani. Caesar created an ethnic divide based on the names *Galli* and *Germani* which, he initially argued were from west and east of the Rhine respectively. The archaeological evidence at the time Caesar entered Gallia suggests that the tribes both east and west of Lower, Middle, and Upper Rhine were of La Tène origin. Ironically, Caesar's Rhine-divide became a reality for a short period in the early mid Augustan era, before his resettlement of tribes of Germania in Gallia.

Natural migrations of Teutonic peoples from Scandinavia and northern Germania were beginning to take place from the end of the second century BC. After the settlement of Ariovistus in Gallia c. 72 BC, and around the time of Caesar's campaigns, a major Teutonic advance took place on central Europe from northern and eastern Germania. Caesar's Gallic Wars created devastation, impoverishment, and demoralization of the Celtic population of Gallia. This, together with incursions of incoming Teutonic tribes lead to the fall of the *oppida* and the breakdown of the Celtic tribal system between the Lippe, Weser, Main, and south of the Main. Subsequent ethnogenesis of Celtic and incoming Teutonic tribes, or in some cases the subsuming of Celtic La Tène tribes by incoming Elbgermanen took place. This is seen in the archaeology of this region, which produced a hybrid material culture, i.e. the Rhein-Weser-Germanen culture.

Until the departure of Caesar from Gallia, the north of this region, from the Rhine mouth to the Middle Rhine, was entirely of La Tène archaeological culture. Although there is evidence for Teutonic settlement on the Lower and Middle Rhine the archaeological and linguistic evidence suggests that there was not a large scale discontinuity of settlement in this region. Although heavily Romanized the onomastics of this region were almost exclusively Celtic in the Augustan and Tiberian era.

In the period between Caesar's arrival in Gallia and the end of the first century AD, a great movement of Teutonic tribes had swept through Celtic central Germania. The ethnogenesis of Celtic and incoming Teutonic tribes is also seen in the linguistic groupings where there was an increasing tendency towards Teutonic or hybridized language. The abundance of Celtic names to be found east and west of the Rhine together with the La Tène material cultures east of the Rhine are proof of the existence of a strong Celtic culture both east and west of the Rhine. There was an increasing awareness by the tribes east of the Rhine of Roman intent on conquest of Germania. This resulted in their increased militarization and the formation of confederations.

A second wave of Teutonic migration took place from the early Augustan to the Tiberian era and this, together with the Augustan policy of resettlement of Germani in Gallia lead to the formation of new hybrid tribal units, which resulted in the ethnogenesis of even more new tribal groups in northern Gallia. The resettlement policy of Augustus in Gallia led to detribalization, demilitarization, Romanization, and peasantization.

The combined Historical, Linguistic, and Archaeological findings give evidence showing that the Germani/Germanoi were Celtic tribes of La Tène culture which had been subsumed and assimilated by the dominant Elbgermanen, together with the Nordgermanen, Nordseeermanen, and Ostgermanen tribes of Northern Europe. These Teutonic tribes altered the ethnic, linguistic, and cultural nature of the heavily populated Celtic central Germania and produced an ever-changing hybrid population.

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**Appendix 1: Tables referring to Etymological Origins of River, Place, Mountain, Forest and God names of Germania and Gallia researched for this thesis. Results of research provided, but research not included due to word restriction of Thesis).**

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| <b>Table 9.</b> River Names of Northern Gallia and western Germania: Key: Celtic = ▲, Teutonic = ●, Hybrid = ◀, Latin = ▼, Other = ■.....     | 408 |
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**Appendix 1. Tables referring to Etymological Origins of River, Place, Mountain, Forest and God names of Germania and Gallia, researched for this Thesis. Results of research provided, but research not included due to word restriction.**

**Table 9. River Names of Northern Gallia and Western Germania: Key: Celtic = ▲, Teutonic = ●, Hybrid = ◄, Latin = ▼, Other = ■**

| River Names | Celtic | Teutonic | Hybrid | Latin | Other          |
|-------------|--------|----------|--------|-------|----------------|
| Vidrus      | ▲      | ●        |        |       |                |
| Rhenus      | ▲      |          |        |       |                |
| Lupia       | ▲      |          |        |       |                |
| Rura        | ▲      |          |        |       |                |
| Sigina      |        | ●        |        |       |                |
| Fulda       |        |          |        |       |                |
| Logana      | ▲      |          |        |       |                |
| Adrana      | ▲      | ●        |        |       |                |
| Albis       |        | ●        |        |       |                |
| Visurgis    |        | ●        |        |       |                |
| Moenus      | ▲      |          |        |       |                |
| Nida        | ▲      |          |        |       |                |
| Scaldis     | ▲      | ●        |        |       |                |
| Arnefa      | ▲      |          |        |       | ■              |
| Inda        |        |          |        |       | ■ Old European |
| Lesura      |        |          |        |       | ■              |

**Table 10. Mountain names for Germani and Gallia. Key: Celtic = ▲, Teutonic = ●, Hybrid = ◄, Latin = ▼, Other = ■.**

| Mountain Names  | Celtic | Teutonic | Hybrid | Latin | Other |
|-----------------|--------|----------|--------|-------|-------|
| Melibochus      | ▲      | ●        | ▼      |       |       |
| Sudeta          | ▲      |          |        |       |       |
| Abnoba          | ▲      |          |        |       |       |
| Finne           | ▲      |          |        |       |       |
| Taunus/Artaunum | ▲      |          |        |       |       |
| Alpes           | ▲      |          |        |       |       |
| Jura            | ▲      |          |        |       |       |

**Table 11. Forest names of Germania and Gallia. Key: Celtic = ▲, Teutonic = ●, Latin = ▼, Hybrid = ◀, Other = ■.**

| Forest names of Germania and N. Gallia | Celtic | Teutonic | Latin | Hybrid | Other |
|--|--------|----------|-------|--------|-------|
| Semana                                 | ▲      |          |       |        |       |
| Bacenis                                | ▲      | ●        |       |        |       |
| Gabreta                                | ▲      |          |       |        |       |
| Caesia                                 | ▲      | ●        |       |        |       |
| Hercynia                               | ▲      |          |       |        |       |
| Marciana                               |        | ●        |       |        |       |
| Arduenna                               | ▲      |          |       |        |       |

**Table 12. Town Names of Ptolemy's Germania. Key: Celtic = ▲, Teutonic = ●, Latin = ▼, Hybrid = ◀, Other = ■.**

| Town Names of Ptolemy' Germania | Celtic | Teutonic | Latin | Hybrid | Other                  |
|---------------------------------|--------|----------|-------|--------|------------------------|
| Bogadium                        | ▲      |          |       |        |                        |
| Budoris                         | ▲      |          |       |        |                        |
| Teudurion                       | ▲      |          |       |        |                        |
| Bergium                         |        | ●        |       |        |                        |
| Asciburgium                     |        | ●        |       |        |                        |
| Locoritum                       | ▲      |          |       |        |                        |
| Artaunum                        | ▲      |          |       |        |                        |
| Nida                            | ▲      |          |       |        |                        |
| Canduum                         | ▲      |          |       |        | Probably<br>■ Candunum |
| Mediolanium                     | ▲      |          |       |        |                        |
| Mattiacon                       | ▲      |          |       |        |                        |
| Menosgada                       | ▲      |          |       |        |                        |
| Alkimoennus                     | ▲      |          |       |        |                        |
| Bikourgion                      | ▲      |          |       |        |                        |
| Melenuenses Brittones           |        |          |       | ◀      | ■ Teutonic/Celtic      |
| Curvedenses/Guruedenses         |        | ●        |       |        |                        |
| Streonti                        |        | ●        |       |        |                        |
| Dispardum                       |        | ●        |       | ▼      |                        |
| Segodunum                       | ▲      |          |       |        |                        |
| Novaesium                       | ▲      |          |       |        |                        |
| Gravionarium                    |        | ●        |       |        |                        |
| Devona                          | ▲      |          |       |        |                        |
| Amisis                          |        | ●        |       |        |                        |
| Aliso                           | ▲      | ●        |       |        |                        |

**Table 13. Place names of the Batavi/Canninefates/Frisiavones. Key: Celtic = ▲, Teutonic = ●, Latin = ▼, Hybrid = ◄, Other = ■.**

| Place names of the Batavi Canninefates, Frisiavones | Celtic | Teutonic | Latin | Hybrid | Other |
|---|--------|----------|-------|--------|-------|
| Batavodurum   | ▲      | ●        |       | ◄      |       |
| C.C.A.A.  |        |          |       | ◄      |       |
| Carvo   | ▲      |          | ▼     | ◄      |       |
| Vada  | ▲      | ●        |       | ◄      |       |
| Grinnes   | ▲      |          | ▼     | ◄      |       |
| Castra Herculis                                     |        |          | ▼     | ◄      |       |
| Fectio  | ▲      |          |       | ◄      |       |
| Ceuclum   | ▲      | ●        |       | ◄      |       |
| Levefanum   | ▲      |          | ▼     | ◄      |       |
| Matilo  | ▲      |          | ▼     | ◄      |       |
| Traiectum   | ▲      |          | ▼     | ◄      |       |
| Laurium   |        |          | ▼     |        |       |
| Lugudunum   | ▲      |          |       |        |       |
| Praetorium Agrippinae                               |        |          | ▼     |        |       |
| Nigrum Pullum                                       |        |          | ▼     |        |       |
| Albiniana   | ▲      |          | ▼     | ◄      |       |
| Forum Hadriani                                      |        |          | ▼     |        |       |
| <b>For Frisiavones:</b>                             |        |          |       |        |       |
| Flenio/Helinio                                      | ▲      |          |       |        |       |
| Helinium  | ▲      |          |       |        |       |

**Table 14. Place names of the Cugerni/Baetasii, Sunuci and Tungri. Key: Celtic = ▲, Teutonic = ●, Latin = ▼, Hybrid = ◀, Other = ■.**

| Place names of the Cugerni/Baetasii and Sunuci | Celtic | Teutonic | Latin | Hybrid               | Other          |
|--|--------|----------|-------|----------------------|----------------|
| Cibernodurum                                   | ▲      |          |       |                      |                |
| Carvio   | ▲      |          |       | ◀<br>Celtic/Teutonic |                |
| Vetera   | ▲      | ●        |       |                      |                |
| Quadriburgium                                  |        | ●        |       |                      |                |
| Calcaria                                       |        |          | ▼     |                      |                |
| Asciburgium                                    |        | ●        |       |                      |                |
| Bertunensium                                   | ▲      | ●        |       | ◀<br>Celtic/Teutonic |                |
| Burginatum                                     |        | ●        |       |                      |                |
| Harenatum/Arenacum                             | ▲      | ●        |       | ◀<br>Celtic/Teutonic |                |
| Calo   | ▲      | ●        |       | ◀<br>Celtic/Teutonic |                |
| Mederiacum                                     | ▲      |          |       |                      |                |
| Blariacum                                      | ▲      |          |       |                      |                |
| Mediolanium                                    | ▲      |          |       |                      |                |
| <b>For the Sunuci:</b>                         |        |          |       |                      |                |
| Traiectum                                      | ▼      |          | ▼     |                      |                |
| Aquae Granni                                   | ▼      |          | ▼     | ◀Latin/Celtic        |                |
| Varnenum                                       | ▲      | ●        |       |                      |                |
| <b>For the Tungri:</b>                         |        |          |       |                      |                |
| Aduatuca/Atuaca                                | ▲      | ●        |       |                      |                |
| Feresne  | ▲      |          | ▼     |                      | Probably Latin |

**Table 15. God names of the Greeks, Romans, Celts and Teutons and their near equivalents.**

| <b>Greek</b> | <b>Latin</b> | <b>Teutonic</b>   | <b>Celtic</b>  |
|--------------|--------------|---|--|
| Zeus         | Jupiter      | Alföðer Óðin  | Taranis (Ir. Torann Thunder), (yet Thor is equivalent, but Thor as Jupiter<br>Esus |
| Ares         | Mars         | Týr, /Tiwaz   | Teutates   |
| Hera         | Juno         |   |  |
| Hermes       | Mercury      | Alföðer Óðin  | Lug<br>Teutates  |
| Apollo       | Apollo       |   | Belenus<br>Grannus   |
| Herakles     | Hercules     | Thor  | Ogmios/Taranis   |
| Aphrodite    | Venus        | Freyja  |  |
| Cronus       | Saturn       | Freyr   |  |
| Hades        | Pluto        | Hel   |  |
| Poseidon     | Neptune      | Njörðr (Nerthus)  | Manannan (Insular)   |
|              |              | Loki (not revered-<br>multi faceted with<br>no equivalent ) |  |
|              |              | Balder  | Belenus  |
| Eros         | Cupid        |   |  |

## **Appendix 2: Maps Relevant to Research of Thesis. (Enclosed in back of Thesis).**

**Figure 11.** Germania and Scandinavia at the time of the Gallic War from 58 BC.

**Figure 12.** Map of tribes of Germania in the Augustan era.

**Figure 13.** The tribes of Germania and Scandia in the Late Augustan to Tiberian era.

**Figure 14.** The two great Elbgermanen thrusts into the territory of the Celtic La Tène oppida culture of Central Germania, beginning in the early -mid first century BC.

**Figure 15.** Map showing the extent of the southward movement of Teutonic peoples of North German and Scandinavian archaeological cultures into La Tène regions in the period immediately before and at the beginning of the Gallic War in 58 BC.

**Figure 15a.** Forced expulsion of Usipetes and Tencteri from their homeland in Central Germania on the Suebian front c. 58 BC, and their arrival on the Lower Rhine and entry to Gallia in 55 BC.

**Figure 16.** Map showing the extent of the southward movement of Teutonic peoples of North German and Scandinavian archaeological cultures into La Tène regions between the era of Caesar and Augustus.

**Figure 16a.** Map of extent of North German Scandinavian archaeological culture by the mid-end of the Augustan era and the beginning of the Tiberian era.

**Figure 17.** Map of spread of North German-Scandinavian archaeological cultures by the mid to end of the first century AD.

**Figure 18.** Map of movement of Teutonic peoples into Central Germania between the Augustan era and the early first century AD.

**Figure 19.** The Matronen cult of the Lower Rhine.

**Figure 20.** Arrival of Ariovistus in Gaul from Germania c. 72 BC and Suebic raids on central Germania by Suebic leaders Cimberius and Nasua.

**Figure 21.** Map of Przeworsk Migration.

**Figure 22.** Map of Roman forts of Augustan and Tiberian era.

**Figure 23.** Map of Oppida and settlement in central Germania of Late La Tène era.

**Figure 24.** Map of Oppida and settlement in central Germania of Late La Tène era stormed by proto-Chattian and Suebian Elbgermanen.

Figure 11. Germania and Scandinavia at the time of the Gallic War from 58 BC. Below are tribes mentioned by Caesar. Key: **Dark Green Lettering = GERMANI CISRHENANI**



Figure 12 Map of tribes of Germania in the Augustan era c. end first century BC - beginning of first century AD.

Key: **Green lettering** Forests Mountains  
**Blue lettering** Rivers

The tribes of the: Chalitani, Haliquenses, and Cattharenses may not have been in the region or even formed as tribal units in the Augustan era.

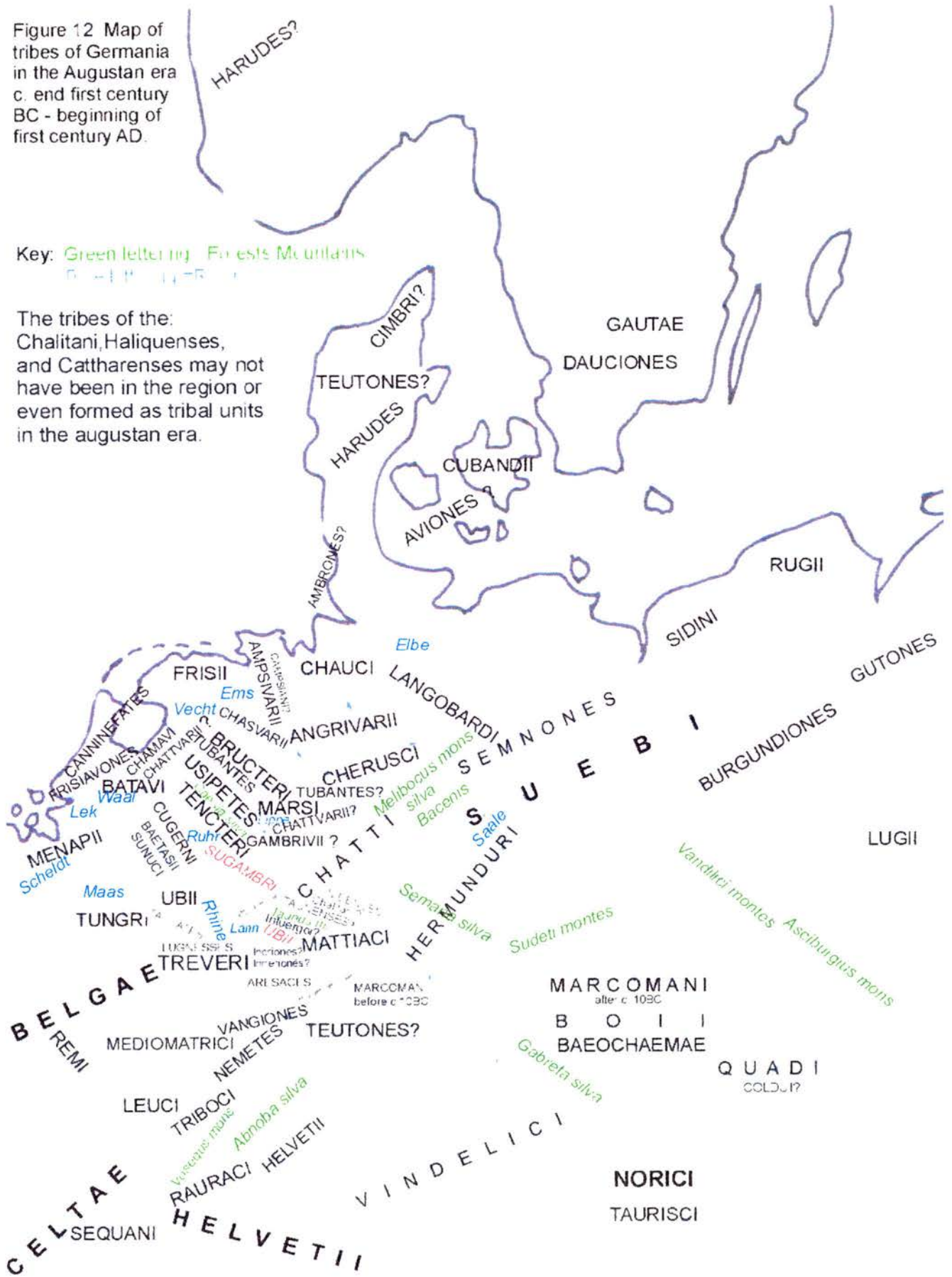


Figure 13. The tribes of Germania and Scandia in the late Augustan to Tiberian era.

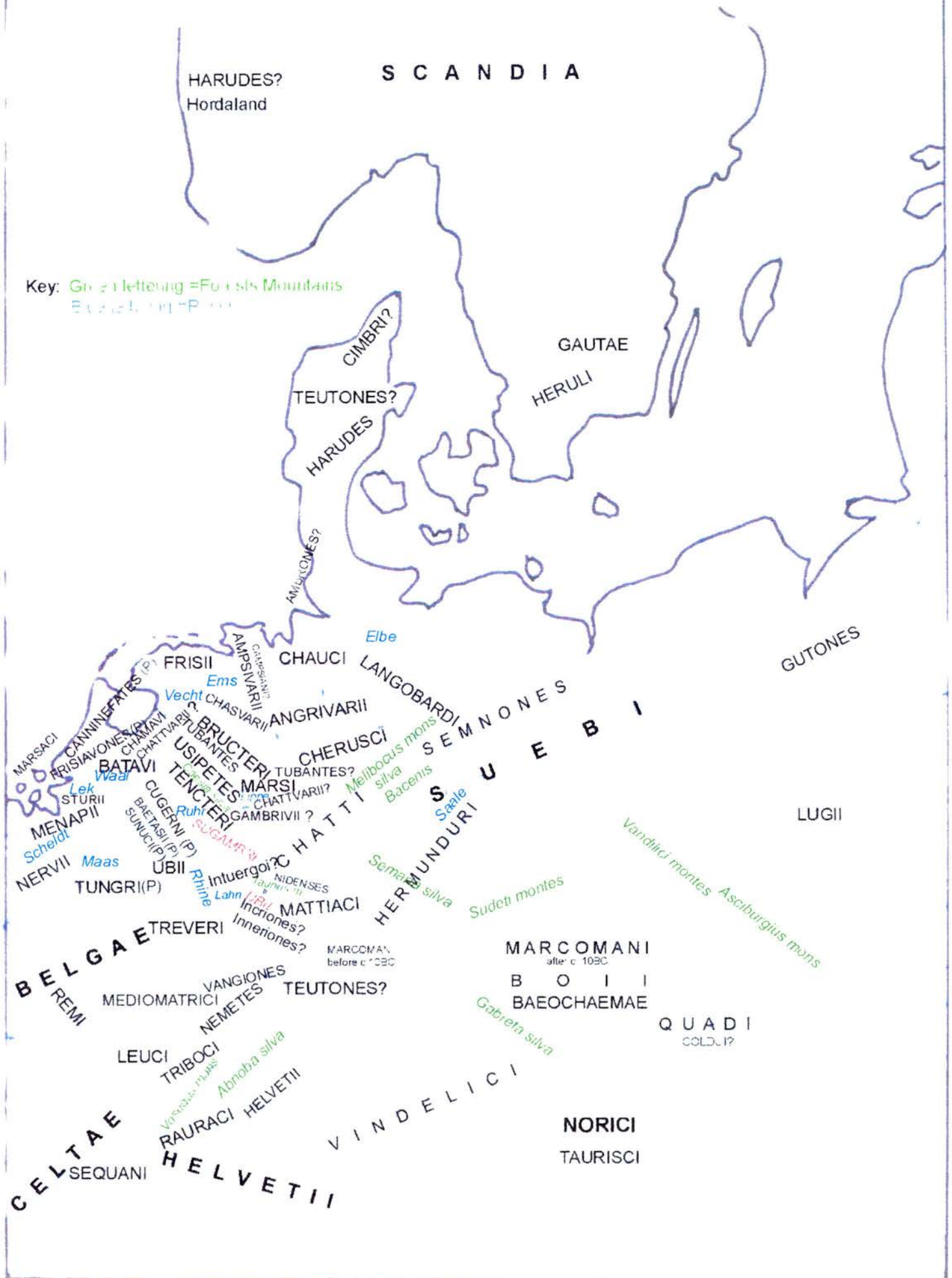


Figure 14 The two great Elbgermanen thrusts into the territory of the Celtic La Tène oppida culture of Central Germania beginning in the early -mid first century B C. The Suebi from the east correspond to Cimberius and Nasua of the Suebi proper. Ariovistus' mixed Celtic-Teutonic Germani left few traces in the Archaeology and arrived c. 72 BC and is not included as a Teutonic Suebic expansion. The second Elbgermanen thrust was by the proto-Chatti from the north against the hillforts of northern Hessen which began in the mid first century BC and was waged aggressively against the Celts of the region as seen from the destruction of oppida in northern Hessen at this time. Key: U & T = Usipetes & Tencteri.

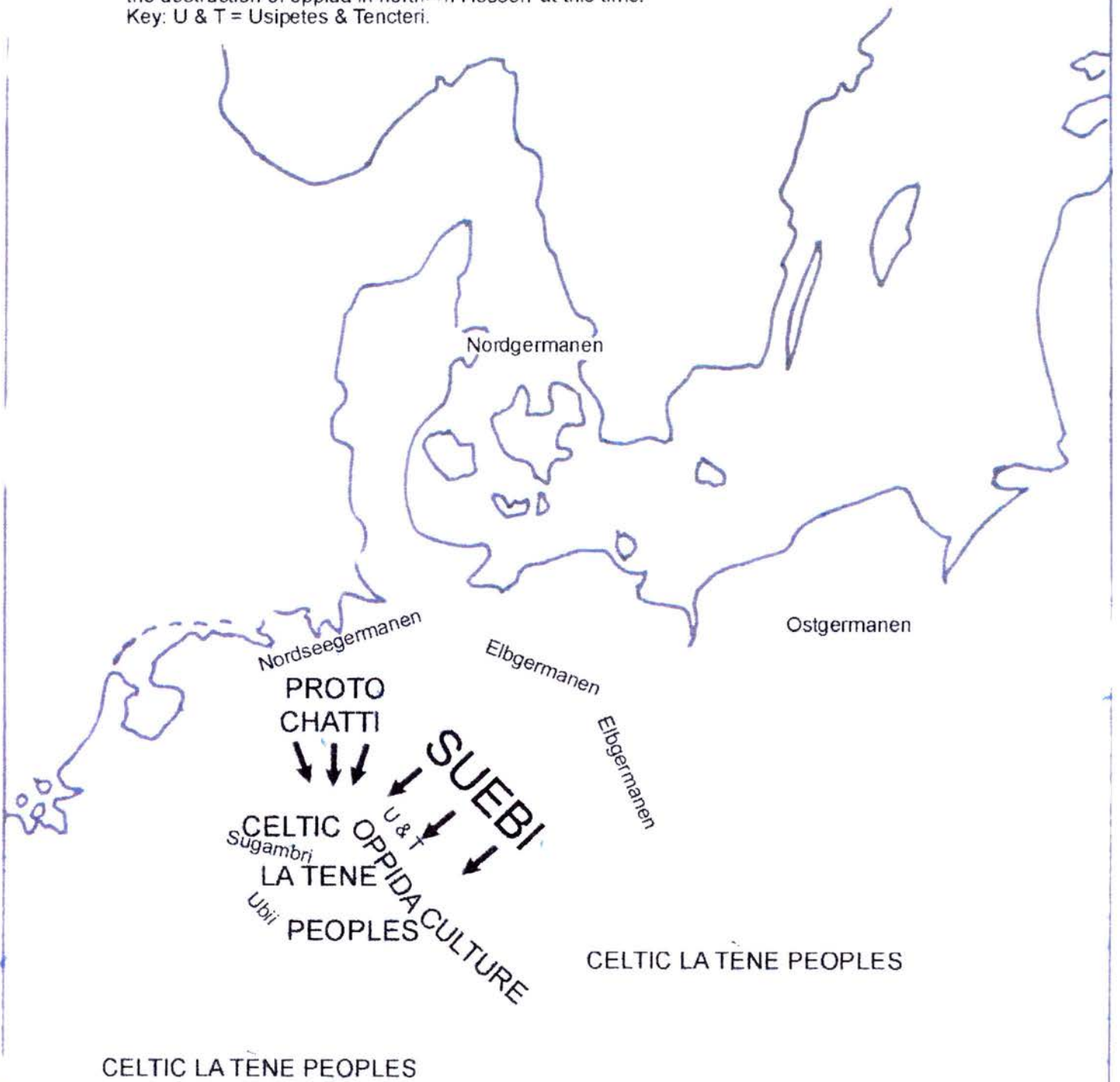


Figure 15. Map showing the extent of the southward movement of the Teutonic peoples of North German and Scandinavian archaeological cultures, into La Tène regions in the period immediately before and at the beginning of the Gallic War in 58 BC.

Key. Arrows indicate areas where the Teutonic peoples and their associated archaeological cultures

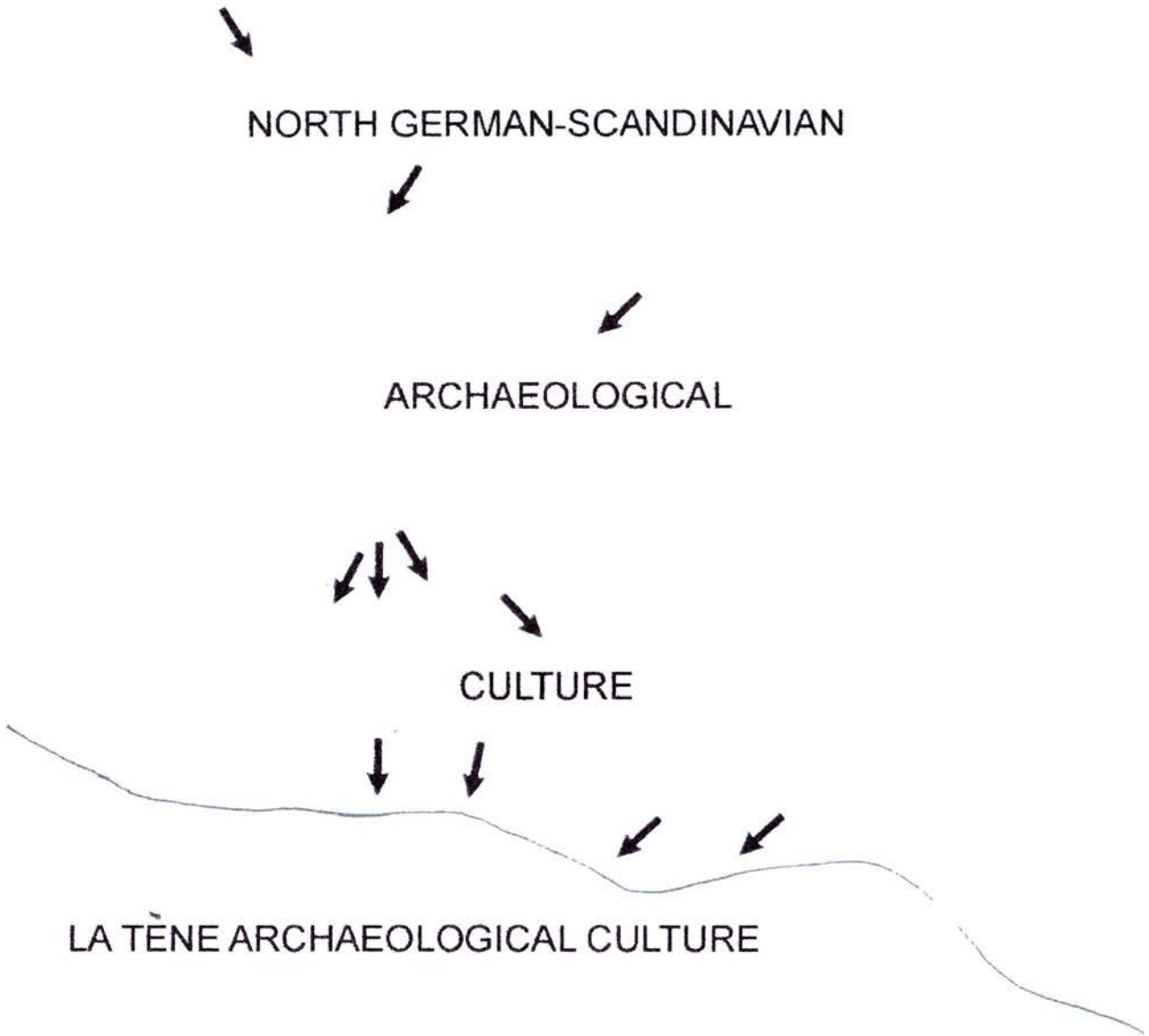


Figure 15a. Forced expulsion of Usipetes and Tencteri from their homeland in Central Germania on the Suebian front, c. 58 BC, and their arrival on the Lower Rhine and entry to Gallia in 55 BC.



Figure 16. Map showing the extent of the southward movement of the Teutonic peoples of North German and Scandinavian archaeological cultures, into La Tène regions between the eras of Caesar and Augustus.

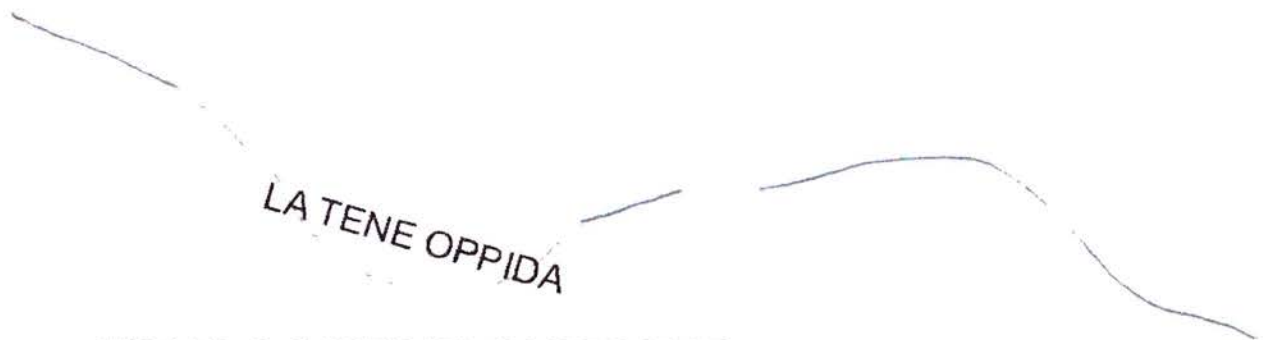
Key: Arrows indicate areas where the Teutonic peoples and their associated archaeological cultures placed great stress on peoples of La Tène culture.



Figure16a. Map of extent of North -German Scandinavian archaeological culture by the mid-end of the Augustan era and the beginning of the Tiberian era.

## NORTH GERMAN-SCANDINAVIAN

CULTURE



FINAL LA TENE CULTURE

Figure 17 Map of spread of North German-Scandinavian archaeological cultures by the mid to end of the first century AD.

Key:

- 1. Nordgermanen.
- 2. Nordseegermanen
- 3. Elbgermanen
- 4. Rhein-Weser-Germanen
- 5. Oder & Weichsel-mouth Germanen
- 6. Przeworsk i.e. Oder-Warthe Germanen.

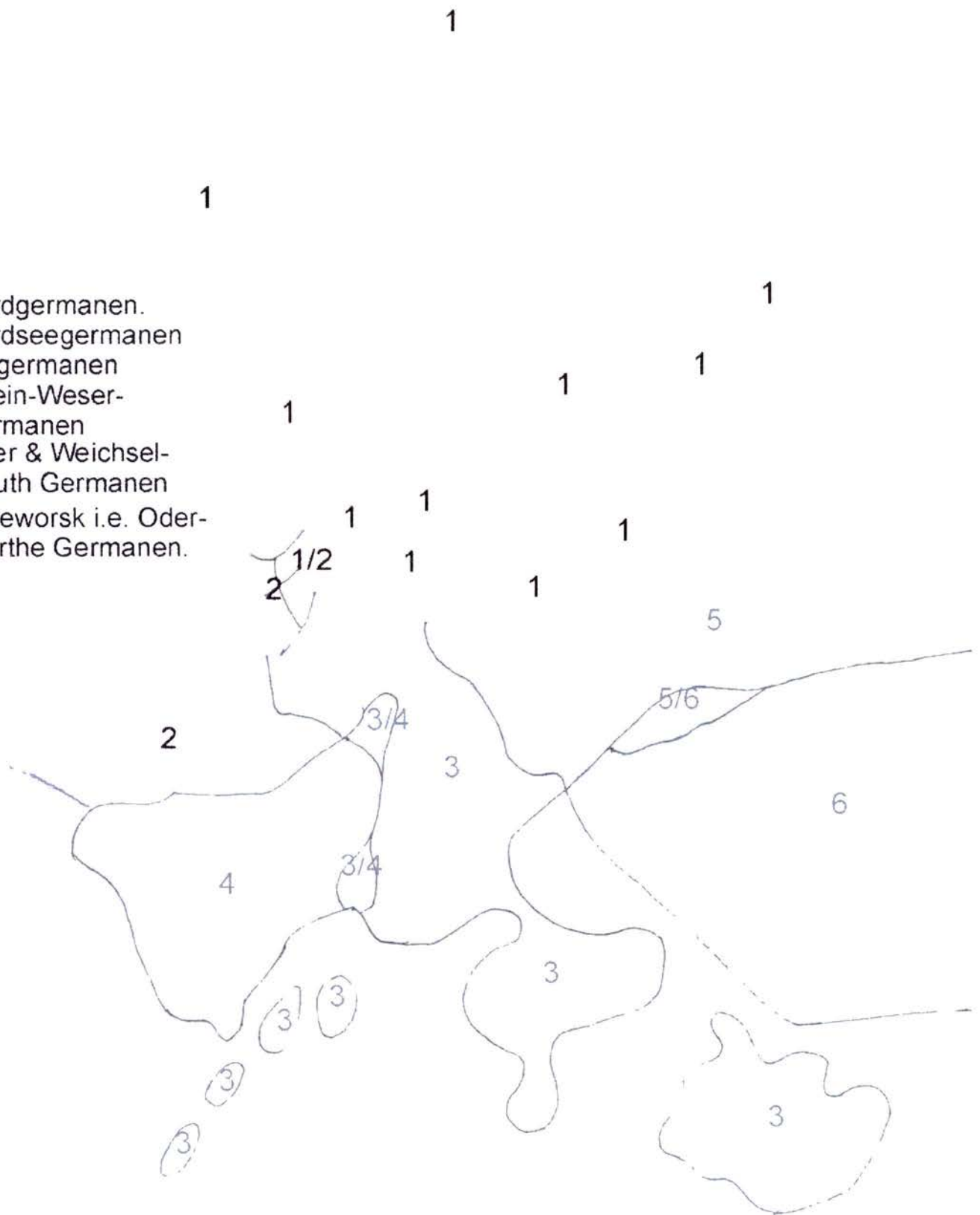


Figure 18 Map of movement of Teutonic peoples into Central Germania between the Augustan era and the early first century AD.

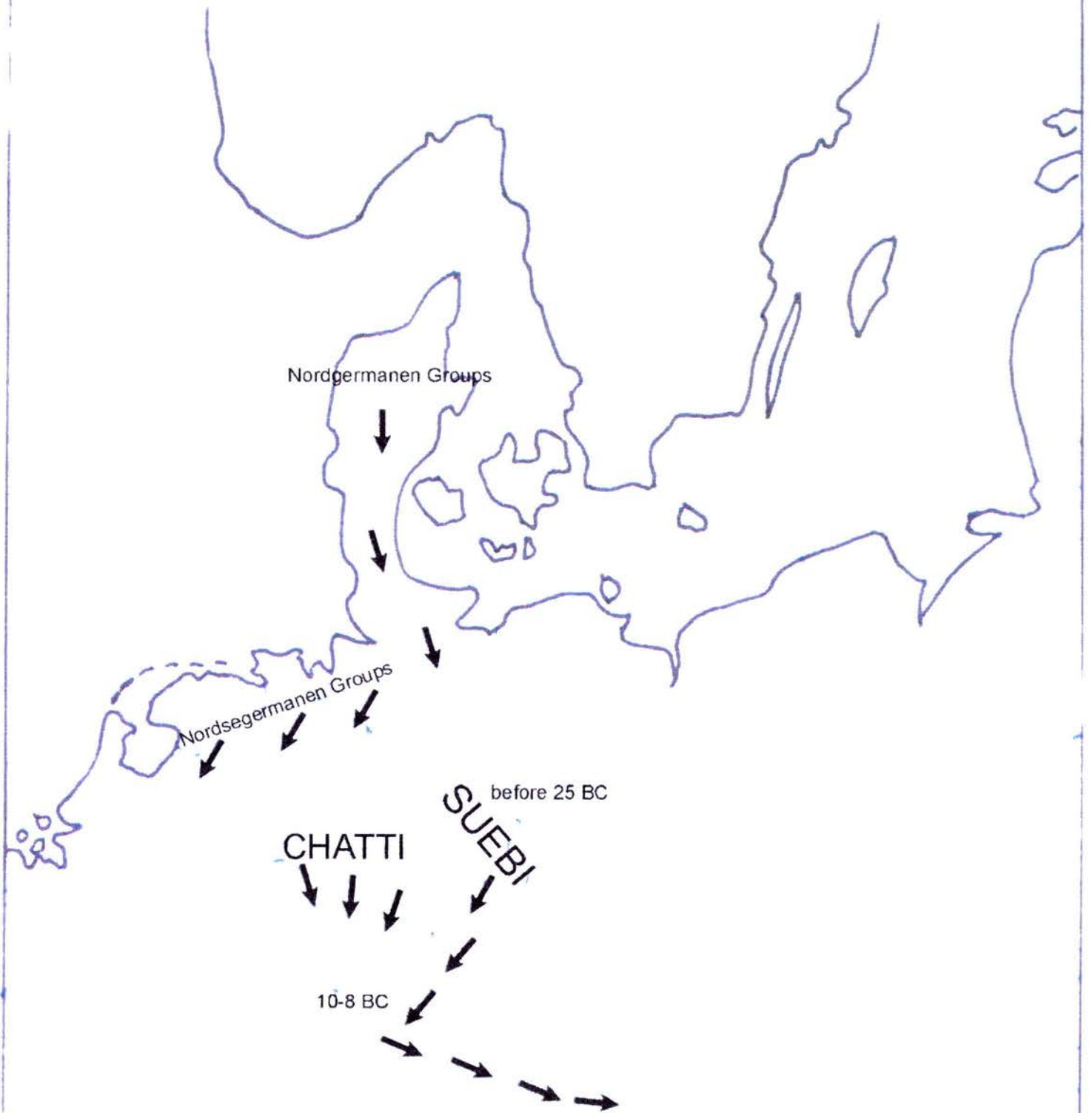




Figure 20 Arrival of Ariovistus to Gaul from Germania c. 72 BC. and Suebic raids on central Germani by Suebic leaders Cimberius and Nasua.  
 Ariovistus's Suebic contingent may have been Suebic kinsmen of his wife which was presumably a marriage to cement an alliance between Ariovistus and the Suebi.

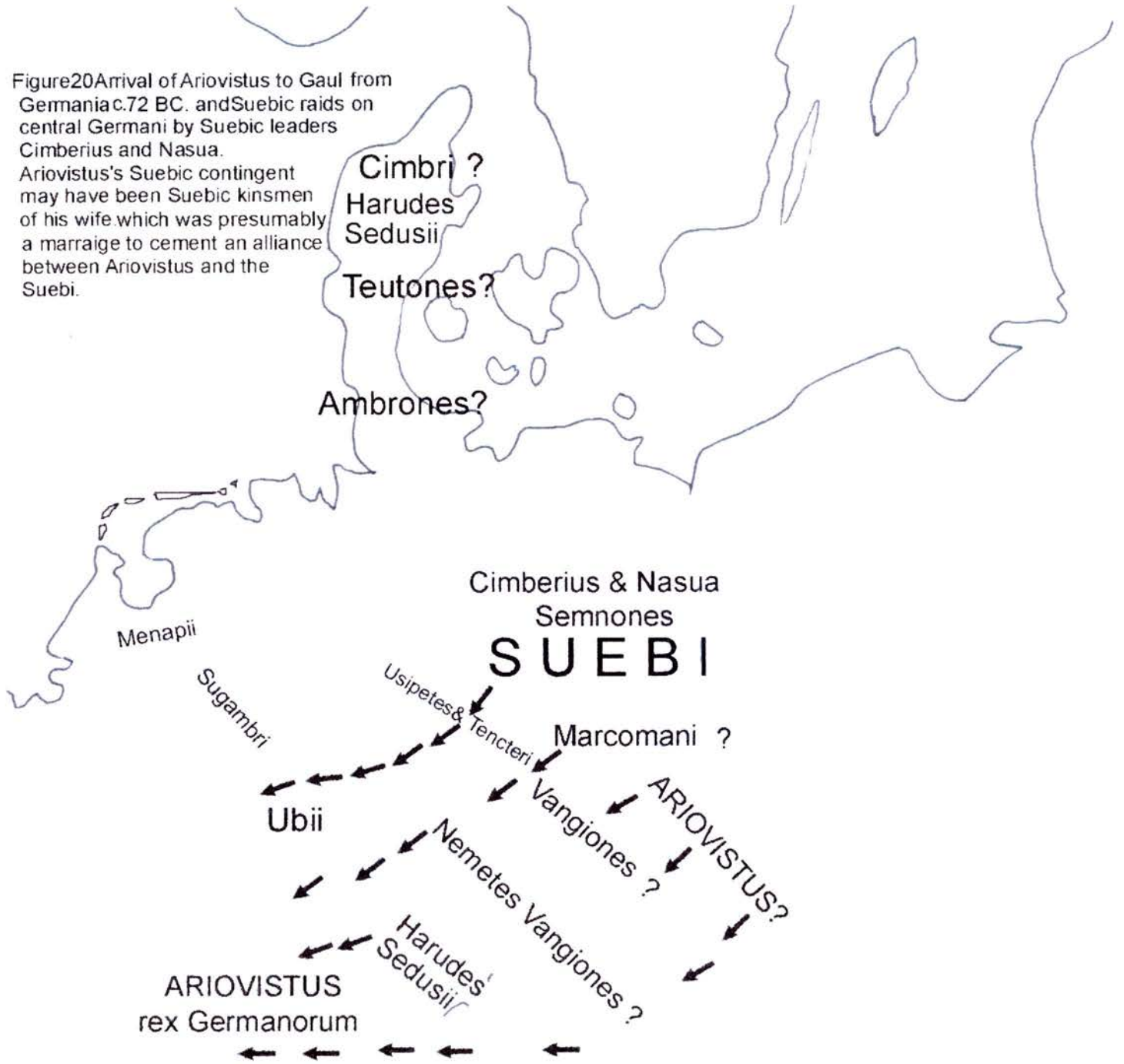


Figure 21 Map of Przeworsk migration from eastern Germania to the region of Saale-Elbe between the last quarter of the second century BC and the first quarter of the first century BC. That the migration took place in one movement appears clear from the separation of material culture of the core Przeworsk territory by a corridor leading to the terminus of migration on the Elbe-Saale. Scattered finds of Przeworsk culture are found in Hessen.

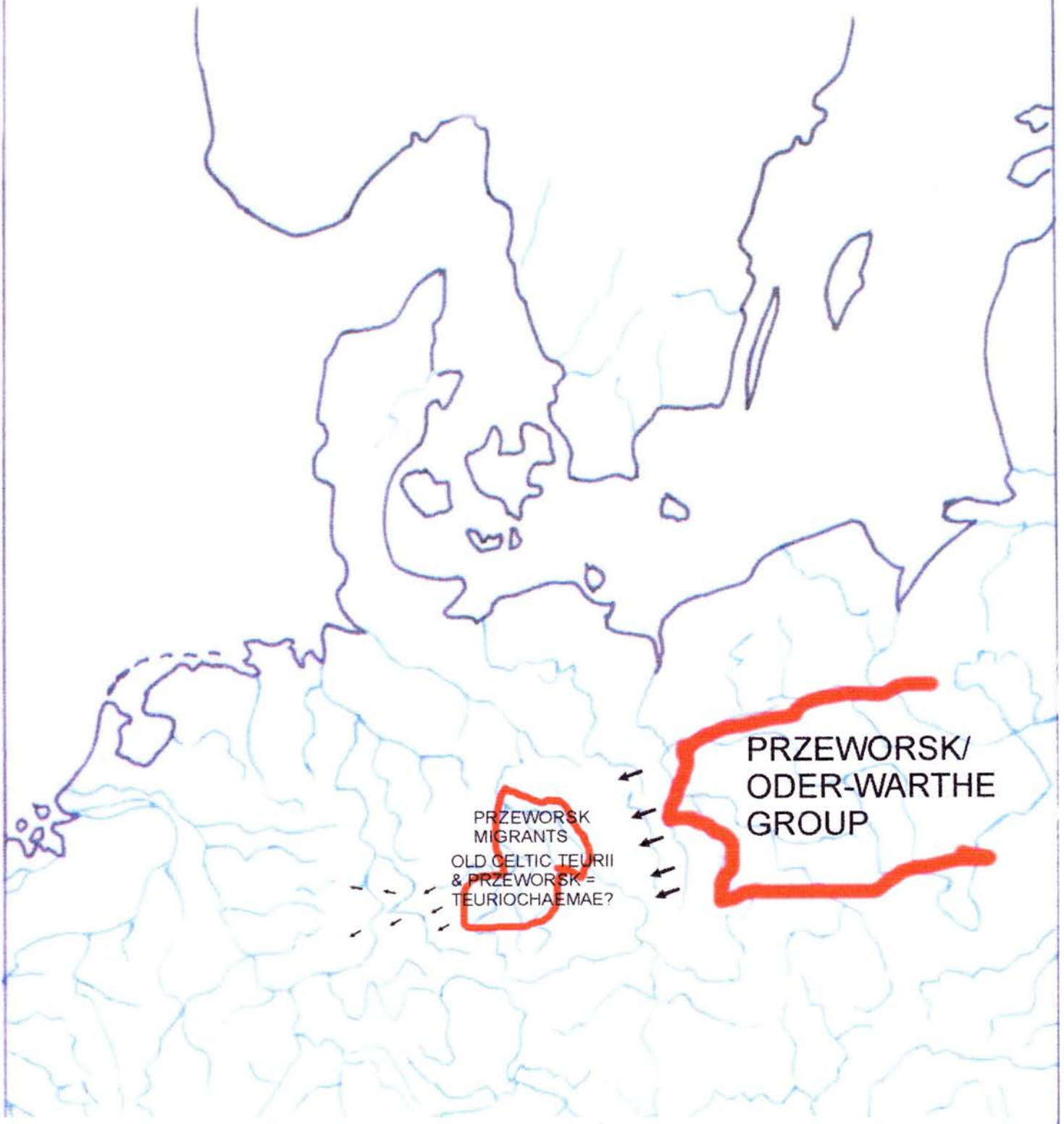


Figure 22 Map of Roman forts of the Augustan to Tiberian era, constructed during the campaigns of Drusus and Tiberius and earlier.

- 1. Vetera. 2. Holsterhausen. 3. Haltern. 4. Oberaden. 5. Anreppen. 6. Beckinghausen. 7. Hedemunden?
- 8. Vechten. 9. Asciburgium. 10. Novaesium. 11. CCAA. 12. Bonna. 13. Confluentes. 14. Mainz. 15. Hofheim.
- 16. Hochst. 17. Friedberg. 18. Rodgen. 19. Waldgirmes. 20. Wiesbaden. 21. Kneblinghausen? 22. Speyer i.e. Civitas Nemetum), 23. Argentoratum (Strasbourg). 24. Marktbreit.

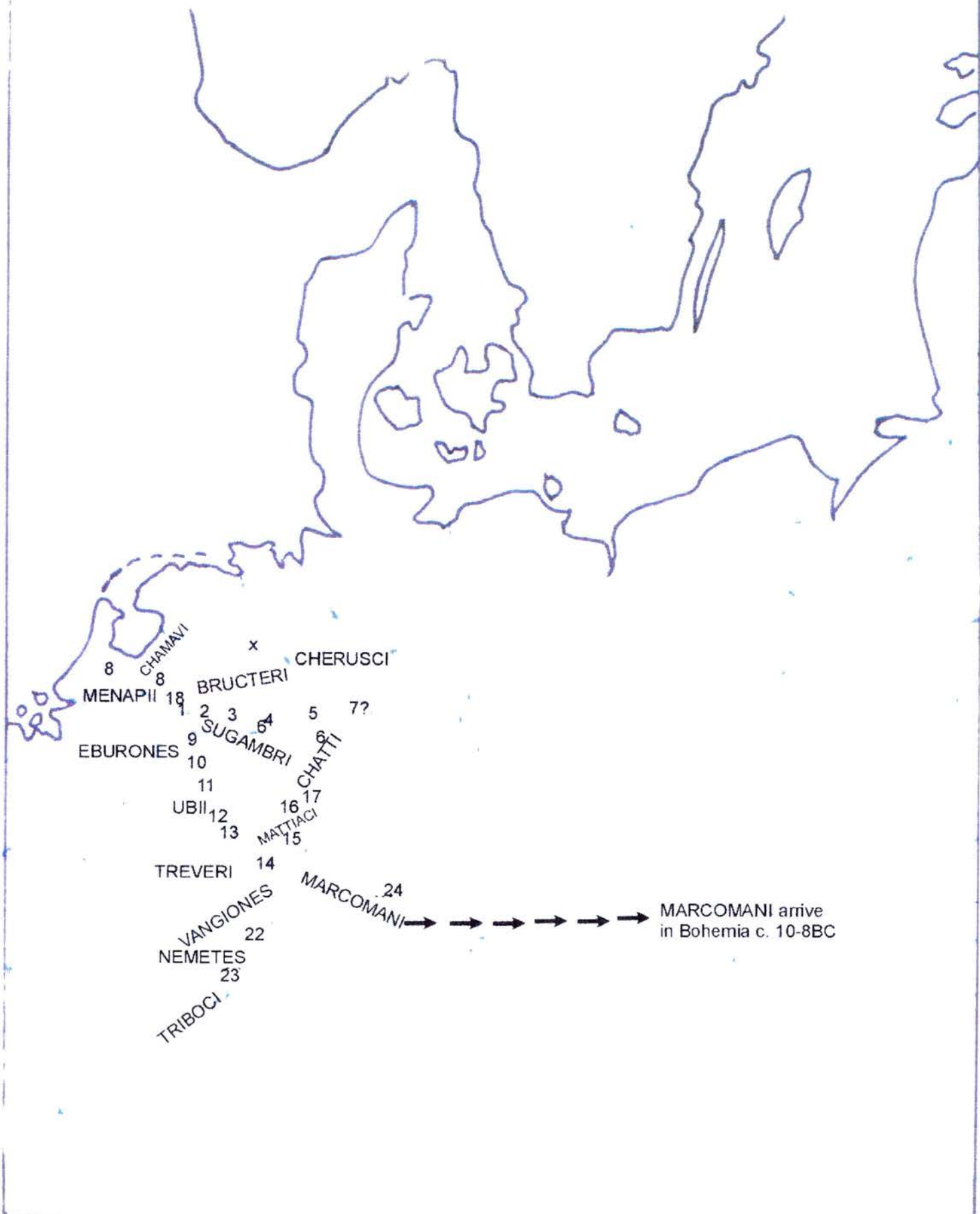


Figure 23. Late La Tène oppida and settlement in central Germania. Also included are references to two coin hoards and excavations on the lower Rhine.

1. Altenburg bei Niedenstein He. 2 Amöneburg He. 3 Dünsberg, He. 4. Glauberg, He. 5. Heidetränk, He.
6. Dornburg, He. 7. Finsterlohr, BW. 8. Alteburg bei Arnstadt TH. 9. Steinsburg, TH. 10. Milseburg, He. 11. Staffelberg BY, . 12. Schwanberg, BY. 13. Kelheim, BY. 14. Manching, BY. 15. Zierenberg, He. 16. Baunatal-Altenritte, He.
17. Alteburg, Biebergemund Kassel, He. 18. Waldgirmes, Dorlar. 19. Oppidum Heunstein, He. 20. Ringwall Eisenkopfe, Dautphetal-Hommerhausen, He. 21. Dietzholztal-Rittershausen, he. 22. Herrenberg, Oppidum Siegmundsburg, TH. 23. Haina TH. Bad Salzungen, TH. 24. Juchsen, 25. Auerberg, BY. R., Reichmanns excavations, NRW. B. Bochum group. M. Mardorf group. S. sudostbayerische Group.
26. Königswinter NRW. 27. Bensberg NRW.

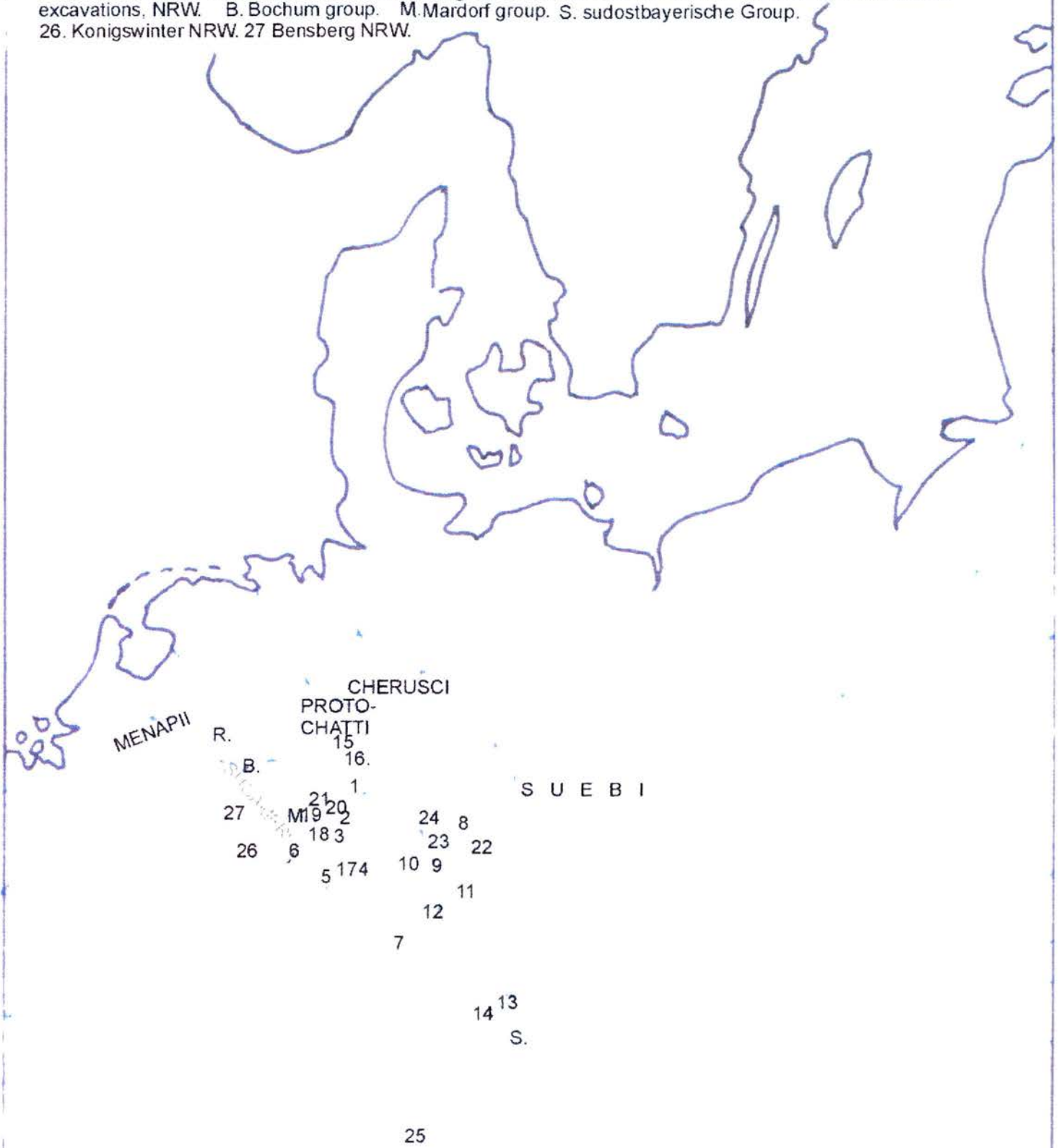


Figure 24. Map of Oppida and settlement in central Germania of the Late La Tène era stormed by proto-Chatian and Suebian Elbgermanen.

1. Altenburg bei Niedenstein He. 2 Amöneburg He. 3. Dunsberg, He. 4. Glauberg, He. 5. Heidetränk, He. 6. Dornburg, He. 7. Finsterlohr, BW. 8. Alteburg bei Arnstadt TH. 9. Steinsburg, TH. 10. Milseburg, He. 11. Staffelberg BY. 12. Schwanberg, BY. 13. Kelheim, BY. 14. Manching, BY. 15. Zierenberg, He. 16. Baunatal-Altenritte, He. 17. Alteburg, Biebergemund Kassel, He. 18. Waldgirmes, Dorlar. 19. Oppidum Heunstein, He. 20. Ringwall Eisenkopfe, Dautphetal-Hommerthausen, He. 21. Dietzholztal-Rittershausen, he. 22. Herrenberg, Oppidum Siegmundsburg, TH. 23. Haina Th. La Tene sites. TH. 24. Juchsen, 25. Auerberg BY. R. Reichmanns excavations, NRW. B. Bochum group. M. Mardorf group. S. sudostbayerische Group.

- = Stormed oppida by Elbgermanen.
- + ? = Possibly stormed by Elbgermanen

Also 26. Volkershausen Kr. Bad Salzungen.

