

# Soldiers and Society in Late Roman *Belgica*

A thesis submitted to the University of  
Manchester for the degree of Master of  
Philosophy in the Faculty of Humanities

2013

Ashley R T Hern

School of Arts, Languages and Cultures

## Table of Contents

Abstract	3
Author's Declaration	4
Copyright Statement	5
Acknowledgements	6
Map of <i>Belgica II</i>	7
Introduction	8
Chapter 1: Military identities in the 4 <sup>th</sup> and 5 <sup>th</sup> centuries	39
Chapter 2: Archaeology & the material evidence for the late Roman Army	66
Chapter 3: Belgica II Case Study	89
Section 1: Military structures and identity in Belgica II during the late Empire	89
Section 2: Forts in <i>Belgica II</i>	109
Section 3: Soldiers and cities in Belgica II	131
Section 4: The militarization of the countryside in <i>Belgica II</i>	155
Section 5: The Fifth Century	173
Chapter 4: Conclusions	186
Bibliography	190
Appendix 1: Forts in <i>Belgica II</i>	217
Appendix 2: Cities in <i>Belgica II</i>	226
Appendix 3: Epigraphy of <i>Belgica II</i>	246
Word Count: 50,190 (without footnotes); 82,990 (with footnotes)	

## ABSTRACT

This thesis explores military identity in late Roman *Belgica II*. It examines the central idea of a gradual blurring of lines between soldiers and civilians which is often identified as a distinctive feature of the late Empire. This is mediated through two scholarly paradigms: integration and militarisation. According to these, late Roman society was dominated by the military in cultural terms as well as through domination of the social and economic networks of ordinary life: i.e. the cities and countryside. This study seeks to refine this view through an examination of the province of *Belgica II*. This province would appear to be an extreme example of the militarisation process, but a closer study will reveal a more nuanced picture. This study uses the idea of identity and the sociological concepts of constructed and complex identities to explore the dynamic nature of military identity and argue that the late Roman period should be taken on its own terms, rather than being compared with an idealised past. The study uses archaeological and historical material, but adopts a post-processualist approach, where relevant, with the material evidence in an attempt to get away from older scholarly ideas such as, "Germanisation," which often obscures our understanding. A survey of the literary record from Gaul on military identity is followed by an examination of military identities in *Belgica II* through the remnants of its soldiers, forts, cities, countryside and finally a brief survey of the changing world of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. Cemetery evidence is used occasionally to deepen the analysis, where appropriate. It is concluded that the terms of the debate are probably too crude and underplay the importance of the long-term changes in northern Gaul as drivers of social and economic change.

**Declaration**

The author declares that no portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

## **COPYRIGHT STATEMENT**

i. The author of this thesis (including any appendices and/or schedules to this thesis) owns certain copyright or related rights in it (the “Copyright”) and s/he has given The University of Manchester certain rights to use such Copyright, including for administrative purposes.

ii. Copies of this thesis, either in full or in extracts and whether in hard or electronic copy, may be made **only** in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988 (as amended) and regulations issued under it or, where appropriate, in accordance with licensing agreements which the University has from time to time. This page must form part of any such copies made.

iii. The ownership of certain Copyright, patents, designs, trade marks and other intellectual property (the “Intellectual Property”) and any reproductions of copyright works in the thesis, for example graphs and tables (“Reproductions”), which may be described in this thesis, may not be owned by the author and may be owned by third parties. Such Intellectual Property and Reproductions cannot and must not be made available for use without the prior written permission of the owner(s) of the relevant Intellectual Property and/or Reproductions.

iv. Further information on the conditions under which disclosure, publication and commercialisation of this thesis, the Copyright and any Intellectual Property and/or Reproductions described in it may take place is available in the University IP Policy (see <http://documents.manchester.ac.uk/DocuInfo.aspx?DocID=487>), in any relevant Thesis restriction declarations deposited in the University Library, The University Library’s regulations (see <http://www.manchester.ac.uk/library/aboutus/regulations>) and in The University’s policy on Presentation of Theses

## **Acknowledgements**

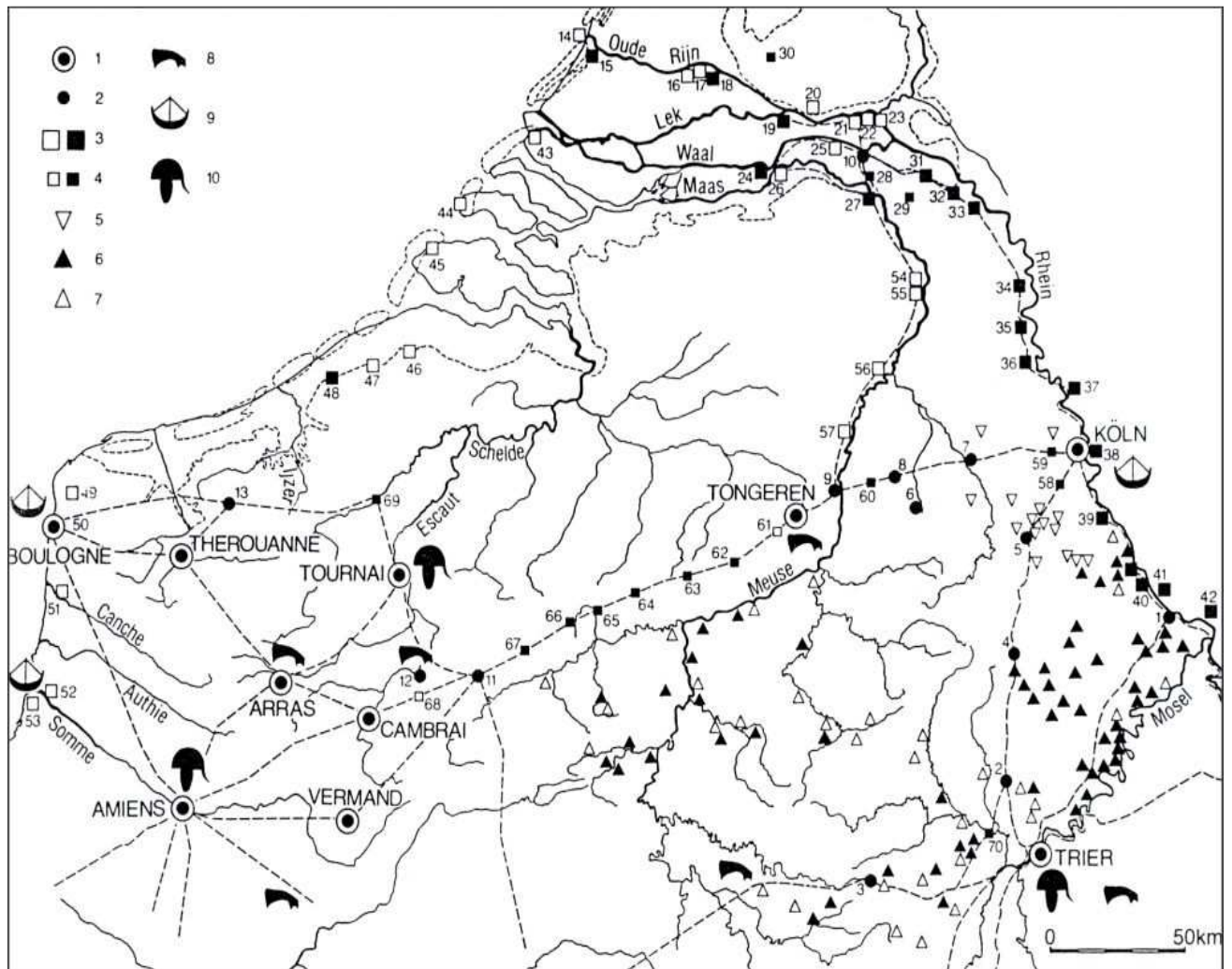
Profoundest thanks go to Andrew Fear and Paul Fouracre for their patience and good humour over the years. It was their persistence that ensured something of the work over the last few years saw the light of day. If ever a hagiography needed to be written it would be to them.

Thanks also go to Alain Jacques, Didier Bayard, Frédéric Lemaire, Raymond Brulet and Sophie Vanhoutte for help with queries on the intricacies of Gallic archaeology. Cathy King at the Ashmolean Museum provided some valuable help on 3<sup>rd</sup> century coinage of Amandus.

Thanks must also go to Manchester Grammar School for financial support and to my colleagues in the History Department, past and present, for their toleration of the time I have dedicated to a topic they mostly found perversely arcane. Given that I spend some of my professional life dealing with the soldiers who lie in the well maintained cemeteries in northern France, casualties of the war fought a century ago, there is some perspective to be gained spending time studying their professional ancestors.

Many thanks go to Rachel Hatton for proof reading; to Thomas Hern and Paul Hern for their help with bibliography. James Hern, Linda Hern and Rachel Hern should also be thanked for their help. Most of my gratitude goes to my wife, Anne, and our sons Felix and Rufus, who have suffered the most from this whole process through my absences in the library.

## Belgica in the Late Roman Period<sup>1</sup>



1. Civitas capital 2. Fortified Vicus 3. Frontier Fort 4. Interior fort 5. Rural valley fortification 6. Rural hillfort 7. Refuge 8. Praefecti Laetorum 9. Fleet 10. Arms Factory

### Key sites mentioned in text

#### Urban sites

- 11 Bavay
- 12 Famars
- 13 Courtrai

#### Forts

- 47 Aardenburg
- 48 Oudenburg
- 65 Liberchies
- 66 Givry
- 67 Morlanwelz
- 70 Revelles

#### Rural sites

- A Seclin
- B Berry-au-Bac
- C Conde-sur-Aisne
- D Saint Pierre-sur-Vence
- E Chatel Chéhéry
- F Omont
- E Zoufaques

<sup>1</sup> Adapted from R. Brulet, *La Gaule Septentrionale au Bas-Empire* (Trier, 1990)

## Introduction

The traditional narrative of the Roman Empire draws a sharp contrast between how it functioned during the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>2</sup> From the narrow perspective of this study, a crucial quality often identified about the earlier period of the Roman Empire was its ability to maintain a clear distinction between the military and civilian spheres of society, most dramatically in the Augustan military marriage prohibitions.<sup>3</sup> Not only were there legal and social distinctions but, as *milites* were generally stationed on the frontiers during the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD onwards, there was a geographical separation too. In the face of the subsequent existential threats to its security during the so-called '3<sup>rd</sup> century crisis' the provinces, in both their urban and rural aspects, became increasingly dominated by military concerns which saw an increased role of the army both in terms of direct management of the physical resources of the Empire, but also by having a more direct impact on élite culture and the values of the leading social groups found in the provinces.<sup>4</sup> This study will attempt to assess the merits of this view for the soldiers serving in the province of *Belgica II* during the late

---

<sup>2</sup> This has its roots, of course, in the English speaking world to E. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (London, 1776 – 1789) and followed by most subsequent historical traditions which distinguish between the early and late Roman periods e.g. early Empire/late Empire; *Haut-Empire/Bas-Empire*; *Frühe und hohe Römische Kaiserzeit/Spätantike* etc. This difference has been reflected in most modern textbooks treating the early and late Roman periods as separate topics, though with interesting differences in chronological range e.g. A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284 - 602* (Oxford, 1964); S. Mitchell, *A History of the Later Roman Empire AD 284 - 641* (Oxford, 2007); David S. Potter, *The Roman Empire at Bay, AD 180-395* (London, 2004).

<sup>3</sup> For a recent appraisal of the marriage issue see S. Phang, *The Marriage of Roman Soldiers (13 BC-AD 235): Law and Family in the Imperial Army* (Leiden, 2001) and W. Schiedel, 'Marriage, families and survival: demographic aspects', in P. Edrkamp, ed., *A Companion to the Roman Army. Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 417 – 434. Both argue that the ban reflected reality to some extent, though one that served a rhetorical and practical purpose (maximising soldierly loyalty to the state, and keeping wage demands down) rather than being something that was rigorously enforced.

<sup>4</sup> M. Whitby, 'Armies and Society in the Later Roman World', in A. Cameron, B. Ward-Perkins and M. Whitby, eds., *Cambridge Ancient History vol. XIV Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors AD 425 - 600* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 469 – 496. This study will take a rather skeptical attitude to the characterisation of the "Third Century" crisis especially as one defined by devastating barbarian attacks. For further discussion of the view that the whole 'crisis' has been overplayed see C. Witschel, 'Re-evaluating the Roman West in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Century', *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 17 (2004), 251 – 281 *contra* the views of G. Alföldy, 'The Crisis of the Third Century as Seen by Contemporaries', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 15 (1974), 89 – 111. For a summary of recent views and a restatement of the word's validity for the Roman Empire of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century see W. Liebeschuetz, 'Was There a Crisis of the Third Century?', in O. Hekster, G. de Kleijn, D. Slootjes, eds., *Crises and the Roman Empire: Proceedings of the Seventh Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Nijmegen, June 20-24, 2006)* (Leiden, 2007), pp. 11 – 22. Much of course depends on how the word 'crisis' is defined and used. There can be no doubting that there were significant disruptions in many parts of northern Gaul during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, but they were the intersection of many different factors, which are still poorly understood, and focus on political and military events in such a poorly documented period is unlikely to grasp the full picture. I would place this period as best understood as part of the *longue durée* of northwestern mainland rather than its *histoire événementielle*.



Roman period, and suggest the extent these ideas rely on a series of stereotypes about the Late Roman army and its predecessors.

The term “Late Roman” is defined here as the years of direct rule by a government acting (in name at least) on behalf of a recognised Roman Emperor (*Augustus*).<sup>5</sup> For northern Gaul this is the period following the political and military problems during the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD and lasts until the fragmentation and evaporation of imperial authority in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, and its replacement by a variety of groups who were eventually unified into a new grouping under Clovis, that that can be called the “Kingdom of the Franks” by the early 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>6</sup> Defining the end of the period is inherently more

---

<sup>5</sup> This is arguably a disingenuous point as when defining what one means by a “recognized Roman Emperor,” the next question is necessarily – recognized by whom? In the 40 years between 383 and 423 this was a particular problem given the regular emergence of usurpers in the western half of the Empire. For an overview of these rebellions see R. Urban, *Gallia Rebellis: Erhebungen in Gallien im Spiegel Antiker Zeugnisse* (Stuttgart, 1999), pp. 111 – 116. There were particular problems during the reign of Honorius (395-423). He was on many occasions only able to claim a titular control over the Gallic provinces in the face of usurpers and the actions of the Visigoth. For the example of Constantine III and the confused politics around the end of the first decade of the 5<sup>th</sup> century see J.F. Drinkwater, ‘The Usurpers Constantine III (407-411) and Jovinus (411-413)’, *Britannia*, 29 (1998), 269-298; Honorius’ successor in the west, Valentinian III (425 – 454), fared little better in controlling policy in Gaul given the dominance of the *magister militum* and patrician Aetius. In the four decades following the latter’s murder in 454, and Valentinian’s death in 455, Imperial control of Gaul dissipated in the face of several competing groups such as the Franks, Visigoths and provincials such as Aegidius, who exploited the political uncertainty surrounding Valentinian’s successors Avitus and Majorian. For an outline of this period see P. Heather, ‘The Western Empire 425 – 476’, in A. Cameron, B. Ward-Perkins and M. Whitby, eds., *Cambridge Ancient History vol. XIV Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors AD 425 - 600* (Cambridge, 2000) and S. Mitchell, *A History of the Later Roman Empire AD 284-641* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 115-117. For the sake of simplicity and given that who was the legitimate holder of imperial power is somewhat tangential to this project the proposed definition will not be given further discussion.

<sup>6</sup> There is a huge historiography on the origins of the kingdom of the Franks which is necessarily highly controversial given the paucity of source material and the part it plays in the wider debates on the move from the ‘Roman’ to the ‘Middle Ages’. This essentially revolves around the extent to which the Franks emerged as conquerors and colonisers; maintaining their ancient social and political structures as they took over northern Gaul, which many had argued was an empty landscape anyway, and those who argue for a continuity of Roman structures which incorporated the Franks. For a summary of the debate see T. F. X. Noble, ‘Introduction: Romans, Barbarians and the Transformation of the Roman Empire’, in T. F. X. Noble, ed., *From Roman Provinces to Medieval Kingdoms* (New York, 2006), pp. 1 – 28. The ‘Germanist’ position has long been challenged by various authors e.g. W. Goffart, *Romans and Barbarians AD 418 – AD 584: Techniques of Accommodation* (Princeton, 1980) and P. Geary, *Before France and Germany : the creation and transformation of the Merovingian world* (New York, 1988); though this had already found its way into the historiography of Frankish origins e.g. the Roman origins of the Frankish military system is already put forward by B. Bachrach, *Merovingian military organization, 481-751* (Minneapolis, 1971) and for the acceptance of the importance of Roman law and economic as creating the foundations of the early Merovingian state see J. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Long-Haired Kings* (Toronto, 1982), pp. 1 – 9. For a measured, detached version of events that emphasizes the non-Roman influences on the emergence of Clovis, as well as the wider Roman social and political context see I. Wood, *The Frankish Kingdoms* (London, 1994). Development of the view that the foundations for the kingdom of Clovis were made by a long period of co-operation with Roman authorities and wider social integration into northern Gaul see E. James, *The Franks* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 34 – 77, developed by G. Halsall, *Barbarians Migrations and the Roman West* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 269; pp. 303 – 304; who argues that the Frankish kingdom emerged out of a Roman field army on the Loire.

complex than identifying its beginnings, given the fragmentary nature of the source evidence and the difficulties interpreting it.<sup>7</sup> The main foundation of the study will be on the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century, with the 5<sup>th</sup> century used to provide a comparative framework.

These arguments are part of the wider intellectual tapestry of 'Late Antiquity' over the last few decades as scholars have sought to nuance concepts such as 'continuity' and 'change' when explaining such an important period.<sup>8</sup> Older ideas of 'decline and fall' have been replaced by discussions of the degree of continuity and how far the Late Roman period represented a clear break from the past. Scholars now usually deploy more neutral terms such as 'transition' and 'transformation' to show a loss of confidence in the traditional narrative of violent overthrow of a decadent Roman system by outside groups.<sup>9</sup> There has been subsequent reaction to this and a restatement of traditionalist views of change emphasising the ruptures of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, though the disputes on the "big story" of the 'Fall of the Roman Empire' do often reflect geographical fault lines, with optimists focusing on the eastern half of the Empire while pessimists tend to deal with the West.<sup>10</sup> The traditional military narrative also began to shift in the 1990s when a series of books argued

---

<sup>7</sup> I. N. Wood, 'Continuity or Calamity?: The Constraints of Literary Models', in J.F. Drinkwater and H. Elton, eds., *Fifth Century Gaul: a Crisis of Identity?* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 9-18. There is also difficulty in defining a "recognized Roman Emperor" as the next question is necessarily, recognized by whom? In the 40 years between 383 and 423 this was a real problem given the regular emergence of usurpers in the western half of the Empire, particularly during the reign of Honorius (395-423). He was on many occasions only able to claim a titular control over the Gallic provinces in the face of usurpers and the actions of the Visigoth. His successor in the west, Valentinian III, fared little better in controlling policy in Gaul given the dominance of the *magister militum* and patrician Aetius. In the 4 decades following the latter's murder in 454, and Valentinian's death in 455, Imperial control of Gaul dissipated in the face of several competing groups such as the Franks, Visigoths and provincials such as Aegidius, who exploited the political uncertainty surrounding Valentinian's successors. For the example of Constantine III and the confused politics surrounding the end of the first decade of the 5<sup>th</sup> century see J.F. Drinkwater, 'The Usurpers Constantine III (407-411) and Jovinus (411-413)', *Britannia*, 29 (1998), 269-298.

<sup>8</sup> S. F. Johnson, 'Preface: on the Uniqueness of Late Antiquity', in S. F. Johnson, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 2011), pp. xi – xxx.

<sup>9</sup> A good example of this approach (although very controversial) is W. Goffart, *Barbarians and Romans, A.D. 418-584: The Techniques of Accommodation* (Toronto, 1980). For a general overview on new historiographical trends see S. Mitchell, *A History of the Later Roman Empire AD 284-641* (Oxford, 2007). A particular example of this approach can be seen in the multiple volumes of the European Science Foundation 'Transformation of the Roman World' project carried out between 1992 and 1997 which reflected many of these approaches.

<sup>10</sup> A pair of popular history books addressing these questions from different viewpoints were published in 2005. One focused on the social and economic consequences of the collapse of a complex society: B. Ward-Perkins, *The Fall of Rome and the end of civilization* (Oxford, 2005); while the other focused on the external pressures that provoked a series of crises that eventually overwhelmed the western Empire while forcing the eastern half to adapt; P. Heather, *The Fall of the Roman Empire: A New History* (London, 2005).

for a far more positive assessment of late Roman military capability.<sup>11</sup> Rather than focus on the traditional approach to military history (campaigns, strategy, tactics, equipment etc.) there is merit on exploring a less common approach: trying to examine a social history of what it meant to be a *miles*, and how that changed during the period under investigation in one small part of the Empire. By using the many theoretical tools that have been developed by recent scholarship to explore 'identity' this may give a more satisfying understanding of the process of change than a simple move from dichotomy (soldier/civilian) to convergent harmony (soldier = civilian).

It would be contrarian to argue against any fundamental changes during this period. *Belgica* II arguably experienced some dramatic changes during the Late Roman period. There is a strong argument that fiscal determinism was a fundamental dynamic of change. The Roman Army in the Late Antique West seems to have experienced continual reorganisation so that by the Early Medieval period military force was organised in quite a different way in the various successor states to how it had been in the Imperial period.<sup>12</sup> Wickham summarises this change as a move from:

An army that was *basically* paid (though given land when necessary) to an army that was *basically* landed (though supplied when necessary or useful: on campaigns, in garrisons, or as one-off royal largesse).<sup>13</sup>

This process was one of enormous importance for the social and economic organisation of provincial societies and their transformation into the period called the "Early Medieval". A central question is how this change occurred, but also whether it was a cause or consequence of deeper changes within society and the impact of this on the various cultural aspects of those who fought for the Empire, and their identities. Did they move from being

---

<sup>11</sup> See for example H. Elton, *Warfare in Roman Europe: AD 350-425* (Oxford, 1995); M. Nicasie, *Twilight of Empire* (Amsterdam, 1998): both specifically target the thesis of 'barbarisation' of the Late Roman Army and its associate, the idea that the Empire fell due to military ineffectiveness of the Roman Army brought on by its composition of mercenaries from outside the imperial frontiers as had been recently restated by J.H.W.G. Liebescheutz, *Barbarians and Bishops* (Oxford, 1990).

<sup>12</sup> I. N. Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms* (London, 1994), p. 13, argues for quite rapid change as the sources show the army moved from a primarily Roman to a primarily barbarian force the period from 400 to 430.

<sup>13</sup> C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2005), p. 60, which is a developed summary of his earlier article 'The Other Transition: From the Ancient World to Feudalism', in C. Wickham, *Land and Power: Studies in Italian and European Social History, 400 – 1200* (London, 1994), pp. 7 – 42.

‘soldiers’ to ‘warriors’?<sup>14</sup> Wickham’s formula is necessarily dichotomous, presenting two ideal types that may never have existed in totality. Its deterministic approach is also arguably too narrow and unsatisfying. Many of the debates underpinning the social position of the Roman Army are similarly oppositional and often lack empirical testing in a narrow case study, instead relying on evidence from across a broad chronological and geographical area to create a composite version of events.<sup>15</sup> To move forward, this study will attempt to outline how military structures and identities evolved in one province, *Belgica II*, across the outlined period. A wide variety of historical information will be used, to see how far existing explanatory models are valid.<sup>16</sup>

It will be argued that narratives have too often framed this subject on overly generalised ideas constructed on evidence empirically extracted from written sources that have failed to reflect the rhetorical concerns of the authors who not necessarily compatible with describing how things were in reality. The very complex and partial archaeological evidence has often been fitted into these historical models, rather than allowing different perspectives of the multiple pieces of evidence to speak for themselves. This study will attempt to argue that, while the evidence is still too fragmentary for firm conclusions, what can be described as a formal Roman military structure remained in place in *Belgica II* until the 5<sup>th</sup> century: longer than some suggest with its cultural impact as a distinct ‘identity’ persisting for longer. While there was inevitably a process of ‘integration’ between soldiers and local communities when units were stationed in close proximity for considerable periods of time, the crude teleological approach of MacMullen is an excessive

---

<sup>14</sup> Jorgensen argues that anthropologically those who fight can be organised into 3 groups: warriors, soldiers and conscripts. Warriors are defined as those for whom warfare is their vocation, a way of life aimed at achieving personal glory. Soldiers’ profession is warfare which entails a focus on military strategy and technical efficiency. Conscripts are ordered to war and civilians were given military training, and instilling military values were a problem. While there is a problem of using such ideal types, as these categories do overlap to some degree, it can be argued that the end of the Roman Empire moved the emphasis of military service from “soldiers and conscripts” to “warriors.” L. Jorgensen, ‘Warriors, Soldiers and Conscripts of the Anthropology in the Late Roman and Migration period Archaeology’, in B. Storgaard, ed., *Military Aspects of the Aristocracy in Barbaricum in the Roman and Early Migration Periods*, (Publications from the National Museum. Studies in Archaeology and History 5) (Copenhagen, 2001), pp. 9-19.

<sup>15</sup> See for example P. Southern, *The Roman Army: a Social and Institutional History* (Oxford, 2007).

<sup>16</sup> There are several good recent examples of this approach on Roman Britain, though they do take a specifically archaeological approach: A. Gardner, *An Archaeology of Identity: Soldiers and Society in Late Roman Britain* (Oxford, 2007) and R. Collins, *Hadrian’s Wall and the End of Empire: the Roman Frontier in the 4th and 5th centuries* (London, 2012).

simplification.<sup>17</sup> Finally it will be argued that the oft-used theme of the “militarisation” of late Roman society has been overdone, as it generalises the complex changes in northern Gaul which have quite specific chronological and regional variations. Even in a province which appears to present these developments in such stark terms as *Belgica II*, such a term will be argued to be insufficient to explain the complex transformations that occurred.<sup>18</sup> Institutional transformation whereby traditional principles adapted to new political and social realities was a key element of the entire history of the Roman Empire, and from this perspective, the “late Roman army” remained part of that continuum for longer than we often think.

## 1.2 The Historiography of Soldiers and Society in the Later Roman Empire

The relationship between the Roman army and wider society in the later Roman Empire has been dealt with in three main paradigms: military identity, integration and militarisation.

### 1.2.1 Military identity

Given increasing disillusion with older explanatory frameworks for change such as ‘Romanisation’ and ‘Christianisation’ scholars have increasingly become attached to ‘identity’ as a means of explaining the complex interaction of individuals with the cultural power of the Roman state and imperial society.<sup>19</sup> There are two main threads to such a

---

<sup>17</sup> “Civilian turned soldier, soldier turned civilian in a rapprochement to a middle ground of waste and confusion. By the process each influenced the other, but one direction of influence, the militarization of civilians, was particularly significant and did much to change society.” R. MacMullen, *Soldiers and Civilians in the Later Roman Empire* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), p. 152.

<sup>18</sup> “Tout le monde est militarisé; le territoire de la Belgica devient une zone militaire ou paramilitaire.” J. Mertens, ‘Limes et territoire intérieur en Gaule du Nord’, in R. Bruet and others, eds., *Forts Romains de la Route Bavay-Tongres* (Louvain, 1995), p. 9.

<sup>19</sup> There is an enormous body of literature exploring these issues e.g. R. Miles, ed., *Constructing Identities in Late Antiquity* (London, 1999). Most of this is concerned with religious identity, which is no surprise given the cultural and social history popular since the publication of P. Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity AD 150 – AD 750: from Marcus Aurelius to Mohammed* (London, 1971). See also I. Sandwell, *Religious identity in Late Antiquity: Greeks, Jews, and Christians in Antioch* (Cambridge, 2007), to pick just one of many examples. For the late Roman west the issue has mainly focused on the creation of new identities in the aftermath of the ‘barbarian invasions’: see R.W. Mathisen and D. Shanzer, eds., *Romans, Barbarians, and the Transformation of the Roman world: Cultural Interaction and the Creation of Identity in Late Antiquity* (Farnham, 2011). For arguments of the adoption of ‘identity’ as a tool to understanding Roman imperial society better than concepts such as Romanisation see D. Mattingly, ‘Cultural crossovers: Global and local

theme: how the individual viewed themselves and their relationship with the outside world, and the wider group identities with which individuals could interact to measure similarities or differences between those they came into contact with. For this study the question is how far a universal, military corporate identity existed in the late Roman period in relation to a regional one which was specific to *Belgica* II and how much variety there was in the ways that soldiers expressed their own sense of what a ‘*miles*’ was. Developments in sociological theory suggest that human social identities are actually very dynamic, and the cumulative everyday actions of individuals through routine actually construct these identities.<sup>20</sup> Within this framework changing identities are only to be expected: the question is how far they retained their distinctiveness. Gardner uses these schemes effectively to argue for the maintenance of a distinct military identity in Roman Britain during the later Roman period, though it was an identity with strong regional aspects, which integrated into local networks during the 5<sup>th</sup> century after it lost contact with the imperial centre.<sup>21</sup> One thread in late Roman studies has been the concern that it is impossible to distinguish between a ‘military’ and a ‘civilian’ identity; that military identities become subsumed into local or regional patterns and that military and civilian relationships were transformed into a similar paradigm as “barbarian” and “Roman” in the early Medieval period.<sup>22</sup> This will be explored both in terms of the military identities that are reflected in contemporary texts, but also through material culture which will allow us to understand more directly how soldiers saw themselves.

### 1.2.2 Ethnicity

An important aspect of the discussion on identity is the issue of ethnicity. Many scholars still equate the discovery of ‘Germanic’ artefacts in northern Gaul to the presence of groups from outside imperial frontiers, and thus to Germans serving in the army.<sup>23</sup> This is extremely problematic. The documentary record of the army in Gaul is dominated by the many named

---

identities in the Classical World’, in S. Hales and T. Hodos, ed., *Material Culture and Social Identities in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 283 – 297.

<sup>20</sup> See for example Giddens’s structuration theory in A. Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration* (Cambridge, 1984) and for the *habitus* theory of Bourdieu, see P. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge, 1977).

<sup>21</sup> A. Gardner, *An Archaeology of Identity: Soldiers and Society in Late Roman Britain* (Oxford, 2007).

<sup>22</sup> G. Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West 376 – 568* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 101 – 2.

<sup>23</sup> This has a huge bibliography which will be dealt with further in chapter 2.

groups who fought for the Empire. Soldiers with different ethnicities and cultures would maintain and change the boundaries between military and civilian communities, and identifying how far this was allowed to continue within the institutional context of the army is a useful focus for this study. But equating a military identity with a 'Germanic' one is a circular argument based on several layers of assumptions i.e. that artefacts reflect ethnicity and all 'Germans' in Gaul were there to serve in the army.<sup>24</sup> Even the very question of 'Germanic' ethnicity is itself moot, given that it was an idea that emerged in the 19<sup>th</sup> century as a response to nationalism and imperialism.

Questions of ethnicity and the origins of the various barbarian groups are extremely problematic, and are outside the remit of this study.<sup>25</sup> Most scholars, influenced by work in the social sciences, would now agree that these groups were often a diverse range of individuals brought together by circumstance and the leadership of individuals who

---

<sup>24</sup> The first assumption is extremely controversial see for example S. Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present* (London, 1997) and *inter alia* G. Halsall, 'The Origins of the Reihengräberzivilisation: Forty Years On', in J.F. Drinkwater and H. Elton, eds., *op. cit.*, (1992), 196 – 207. The second is palpably false given that there were settlers were also brought in for agricultural purposes.

<sup>25</sup> The barbarian groups associated with the end of the Roman Empire (Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Vandals, Alans, Franks, Alamanni, Lombards etc.) in the west were traditionally seen as being discrete groups of common descent, culture and language who moved from their ancestral homelands under the leadership of war chiefs and royal leaders due to pressure from rival tribes. Their ethnic cohesiveness prevented them from being absorbed into Roman society and thus allowed them to retain their solidarity and in conjunction with other Germanic tribes their presence fatally weakened Imperial structures. For historiography of this issue see P. Heather, *Goths and Romans* (Oxford, 1991), 1-18 and M. Todd, *The Early Germans* (Oxford, 1992). 'Germanist' scholars in the 19<sup>th</sup> century followed this to suggest that the end of the Roman Empire was due to German 'national spirit' and allowed them to overcome the decadent and weak Romans, who were civilised beyond repair! This was opposed to 'Romanists' who were more inclined to stress the Roman contribution in creating the institutional framework of the post-Roman kingdoms. The creation of 'Visigoths' and other groups was seen as occurring *within* the Empire and produced by Roman cultural and social influence. While many of the biological assumptions behind this were discredited by events of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, they were recreated by scholars in Vienna, who developed the theory of 'ethnogenesis' by which a small 'core' of leaders were able to create a 'people,' by political success in war. This success attracted outsiders from a wide range of backgrounds, and this newly created people were forged together by adoption of a common language, law and culture. *Traditionskern* idea was developed by R. Wenskus, *Stammesbildung und Verfassung* (1961, Vienna) and developed by his pupils: see H. Wolfram, *History of the Goths* (Berkeley, CA, 1988) and W. Pohl and H. Reimitz, eds., *Strategies of Distinction: The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300–800* (Leiden, 1998). See also the articles and book chapters collected in T. Noble, ed., *From Roman Provinces to Medieval Kingdoms* (New York, 2006), pp. 1 – 28. This has been vigorously attacked by several historians, including Goffart, who restated the 'Romanist' position whereby the post-Roman kingdoms and the ethnic groups who formed their basis were created within a solidly Roman cultural and political context. Indeed he argues that the core texts of the *traditionskern* are origin myths created in the 6<sup>th</sup> – 8<sup>th</sup> centuries by contemporary political leaders who used rhetorical artifice to gain themselves legitimacy see W. Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History (A.D. 550-800): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon* (Princeton, 1988). Further criticism of the 'Vienna' school is found in the articles contained in A. Gillett, ed., *On Barbarian Identity: Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2002).

emerged from the difficult situation.<sup>26</sup> Arguments range over the extent of ‘original’ migrants as opposed to those who joined later.<sup>27</sup> As a result the differences between ‘barbarian’ groups like the Visigoths and the Roman army of the late Empire are increasingly reduced as both are products of a similar process, whereby different individuals are brought together by the Roman state and equipped in a very similar manner.<sup>28</sup> It has been argued that the Roman army had a long tradition of creating expressions of ethnicity amongst its heterodox recruits to create solidarity amongst its different units.<sup>29</sup> Amory in an extreme case has argued strongly that ethnic distinctions that appear in the sources for the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries are merely rhetorical and these different groups that appear to serve in Byzantine armies are in fact a professional distinction as soldiers and they all form part of a ‘Balkan’ military culture.<sup>30</sup> In this project ethnicity will be regarded as a complex and dynamic process in which identities are formed, and deconstructed.

Gardner argues that the late Roman military identity had a distinct regional tendency, and this could be observed in Gaul (as opposed to Britain) by the strong ethnic aspect of military service.<sup>31</sup> This project will therefore need to establish, as far as possible, what is meant by the term ‘Roman’ in the context of understanding how soldiers related to the ‘civilian’ provincial population. We are clearly hostages to both our own modern conceptions of what these terms mean, and to the rhetorical conventions of the sources which impose potentially misleading dichotomies such as barbarian/Roman upon us. Indeed such definitions and meanings were fluid at this period, as can be seen from the amount of

---

<sup>26</sup> T. F.X. Noble, ed., *From Roman Provinces to Medieval Kingdoms* (New York, 2006), pp. 10 - 11. Recent debates on ethnicity have been felt in almost all areas of archaeological and historical research. As one recent study of ethnicity in the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean puts it: “Ethnic spaces turn out to be very differently structured at different places in the world and in different periods of human history; there is a great variation in the way in which people demarcate ethnic groups through distinctive cultural attributes (for instance language) and through historical consciousness.” W. Van Binsbergen and F. Woudhuizen, *Ethnicity in Mediterranean Protohistory* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 33 – 34.

<sup>27</sup> This is the nub of the ethnogenesis argument. Heather for example argues for a considerable proportion of the Visigoths being made up of those who crossed the Danube in 376 and its aftermath while fleeing the Huns: P. Heather, *Goths and Romans AD 332 – 489* (Oxford, 1991).

<sup>28</sup> M. Kazanski, *Les Goths (Ier–VIIe après J.-C.)* (Paris, 1991), pp. 39–55. This view is discussed by G. Halsall, *Warfare and Society in the Barbarian West 450 – 900* (London, 2003), p. 26. This idea is challenged as impossible to prove in the light of the written evidence by M. Kulikowski, ‘Nation versus Army: a necessary contrast’, in A. Gillett, ed., *op. cit.* (2002), pp. 69 - 84.

<sup>29</sup> G. Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West 376 – 568* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 103 – 110.

<sup>30</sup> The key point that Amory makes is that the individuals are given different identities in different contexts see P. Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy, 489-554* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 277-313.

<sup>31</sup> A. Gardner, *An Archaeology of Identity: Soldiers and Society in Late Roman Britain* (Oxford, 2007), 258 – 261.



exchange in people and ideas across the Rhine frontier in the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>32</sup> The study will argue that the tendency to over-militarise the 'Germanic' population of northern Gaul is misleading, and based on anachronistic ideas of how 4<sup>th</sup> century Gaul functioned. This leads to further questions on the cultural and social impact of the 'Roman' army and how far the 'creation' of the 'Franks' that would take political power in *Belgica* II from the central Imperial authorities took place within the institutional framework of the Roman army. Were they distinct groups who replaced Roman distinctions between soldier and civilian with those of Roman/non-Roman or were they the product of a 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> century 'military culture' described in rhetorical terms by classicising authors?

### 1.2.3 Integration or Separation?

A particularly relevant debate to the subject of this thesis is the extent to which the Roman army integrated into local provincial society, and how far it remained a sub-community separated from the surrounding population by its organisational structures and corporate identity; almost an elite micro-society.<sup>33</sup> In the context of this study one can ask at which date that one can continue to discuss a "Roman Army" in Gaul, acting as a tool of Imperial government, rather than regional armies of Gaul acting as distinct communities in their own local interests. This social approach has been very common for the Early Empire with studies arguing that the army had a key role integrating pre-Roman societies into the ruling structures of the Empire after Augustus. In the west, for example, *auxilia* regiments functioned as a means of 'Romanising' local elites by co-opting their martial values to the service of the state and spreading language and culture.<sup>34</sup> Soldiers' pay provided a cash-rich

---

<sup>32</sup> H. Elton, 'Defining Romans, Barbarians and the Roman Frontier' in R. W. Mathisen and H. Sivan, ed., *Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity* (Aldershot, 1996), pp. 126-135.

<sup>33</sup> R. MacMullen, 'The Legion as a Society', *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, Bd. 33, H. 4 (1984), 440-456. For the army's elite position as a distinct group in provincial society see D. Mattingly, *An Imperial Possession: Britain in the Roman Empire* (London, 2006), pp. 166 – 169.

<sup>34</sup> N. Roymans, ed., *From the Sword to the Plough: Three Studies on the Earliest Romanisation of Northern Gaul* (Amsterdam, 1996), argues that the auxiliary regiments served as an important route for the integration of the newly conquered Belgic tribes into the Empire: the pre-Roman burial ritual of depositing weapons in northern Gaul continued into the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, but with Roman weapons replacing indigenous styles in the post-conquest period; the evidence of the Vindolanda tablet can be used to argue for the impressive degree of integration of Batavian tribesmen given the quality of their Latin and the other cultural trappings of Roman life that had been adopted: A.K. Bowman and D. Thomas, *The Vindolanda Writing Tablets* (London, 1994). For similar experiences in Roman Africa see E. Fentress, *Numidia and the Roman Army: social, military and economic aspects of the frontier zone* (Oxford, 1979).

market for commerce, which accelerated the monetisation of provincial society and led to communities springing up outside forts (*vici* and *canabae*) which acted as a liaison between soldiers and local groups.<sup>35</sup> Cities with recognisable forms of Roman municipal government were founded on former military sites, or founded for veterans and this helped spread the basic tenets of Roman urbanisation.<sup>36</sup> Recruiting grounds for the legions moved from the Mediterranean basin to the frontier provinces, showing an integration of the periphery with the centre.<sup>37</sup>

It is possible to argue that integration was an accelerated feature during the Late Roman period. The increasingly stationary nature of military units during the 4<sup>th</sup> century is suggested by the evidence that unit transfers by this point were rarer compared to earlier periods.<sup>38</sup> A military unit's station often became the basis of its official *nomenclature* and fortifications were increasingly constructed near cities and villages, seemingly interweaving them into settlement patterns.<sup>39</sup> An increasing reliance on local communities for recruitment could also act as a way of binding soldiers to the civilian population by giving them natural empathy with local cultural and social practices, as well as the increased likelihood of kinship ties.<sup>40</sup> The increased use of billeting in cities to provide accommodation for soldiers would have reduced the physical distance between soldier and civilian and undermined its institutional coherence.<sup>41</sup> If army privileges and status declined during the 4<sup>th</sup> century and military service became less desirable, as can be inferred from the legal texts concerning conscription, then one could presume that the social distance between military and civilian society decreased.<sup>42</sup>

There is some evidence for this effect in the eastern half of the Empire. Alston's work on the army in Roman Egypt argues military service became far less desirable in the late Empire, soldiers having lost many of the privileges and rewards that had made them a privileged

---

<sup>35</sup> T.C. Blagg and M. Millett, eds., *The Early Roman Empire in the West* (Oxford, 1990).

<sup>36</sup> J.E. Stambaugh, *The Ancient Roman City* (Baltimore, 1988).

<sup>37</sup> J.C. Mann and M. Roxan, eds., *Recruitment and Veteran Settlement during the Principate* (London, 1983), pp. 25-30.

<sup>38</sup> R.S.O. Tomlin, 'The Legions in the late Empire', in R. J. Brewer, ed., *Roman Fortresses and Their Legions. Papers in Honour of George C. Boon* (London 2000), pp. 158-159.

<sup>39</sup> See R. Alston, 'Ties That Bind: Soldiers and Societies', in A. Goldsworthy and I. Haynes, eds., *The Roman Army as a Community* (Providence, R.I., 1999) pp. 175 - 196; R.S.O. Tomlin, *ibid.*, pp. 161-2.

<sup>40</sup> N. Pollard, *Soldiers, Cities and Civilians in Roman Syria* (Michigan, 2000), pp. 152-3.

<sup>41</sup> For references see P. Southern and K. Dixon, *The Late Roman Army* (London, 1996), pp. 171-2.

<sup>42</sup> On the increasing use of conscription see A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* Vol. 2 (Oxford, 1964), pp. 615 - 619.

elite group. Army units also became thoroughly localised and involved in civilian concerns.<sup>43</sup> In Syria, Libanius famously portrays army officers replacing the local aristocracy in villages of the territory of Antioch during the late 4<sup>th</sup> century, and providing protection for the local population from the officials of their previous landlords in return for payment.<sup>44</sup> Back in Egypt one of the most valuable records is the Abinnaeus archive which contains the letters of a *praefectus* stationed in the Fayum between 341 and 351. They appear to show how an army officer could move out of the confines of his immediate institutional environment and becoming a figure of local importance to civilian communities, both as a source of patronage and as the representative of the Imperial power, for instance in the collection of taxation.<sup>45</sup>

However, it will be argued that the 'integrationist' approach is a problem. It often extrapolates wider social processes from lists of civilian roles occasionally fulfilled by soldiers. "Separatists" stress the continued importance of the army's function as a means of imperial repression.<sup>46</sup> The argument runs that the Empire's frontiers were not linear defences aiming to protect the provinces from external attack, but frontier zones largely shaped by logistical concerns and historical accident more than strategic purposes. From this view soldiers' function was primarily controlling and policing the provincial population.<sup>47</sup> The soldiers had to be paid and fed by Emperors who wanted to maintain their hold on power.<sup>48</sup> Roman history is littered with military *coup d'états* driven by grievances against the central government.<sup>49</sup> This political importance meant that rapacious taxation and requisition of supplies, accommodation and animals were only to be expected by the provincials.<sup>50</sup> Isaac has dismissed differences between the army of the 4<sup>th</sup> century and the early Empire in the Roman Near East. Pollard's work on the Roman army in Syria has also supported the 'separation' model. He disagrees with Alston's view that there was a relative

---

<sup>43</sup> R. Alston, *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt: a Social History* (London, 1995).

<sup>44</sup> Libanius, *Oration 47 'On Patronage'*.

<sup>45</sup> H.I. Bell et al, *The Abinnaeus Archive. Papers of a Roman Officer in the Reign of Constantius II* (Oxford, 1962); T.D. Barnes, 'The Career of Flavius Abinnaeus' *Phoenix*, 39 (1985), 368-374.

<sup>46</sup> B. Isaac, *Limits of Empire: Roman Army in the East* (Oxford, 1992).

<sup>47</sup> B. Isaac, *ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> For the creation of the 'barbarian threat' to Gaul as justification of continued high military expenditure see J. F. Drinkwater, 'Ammianus, Valentinian and the Rhine Germans', in J.W. Drijvers and D. Hunt, eds., *The Late Roman world and its historian: Interpreting Ammianus Marcellinus* (London, 1999), pp. 127 – 137.

<sup>49</sup> A. Birley, 'Making Emperors: Imperial Instrument or Independent Force', in P. Erdkamp, ed., *A Companion to the Roman Army* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 379 – 394.

<sup>50</sup> B. Isaac, *op cit.*, (1992).

decline in soldiers' social position. Indeed, he considers that the legal and financial privileges of soldiers actually increased during the late Empire.<sup>51</sup> The employment of large numbers of soldiers from outside the Empire during the 4<sup>th</sup> century was another factor that reinforced the "otherness" of the army, by increasing the cultural as well as the ideological distances between the indigenous population and the soldiery. Bagnall has argued that the Abinnaeus archive does not actually illustrate integration between military communities at all.<sup>52</sup>

To carry out this violent role effectively the army had to be a 'total institution' which remained clearly separated from civilian society by its routines, uniform and religious ritual.<sup>53</sup> Thus the evidence used to support the 'integrationist' school has often been turned on its head. Local recruitment did not necessarily lead to integration. Joining the army, with its status and privileges, could just as easily dislocate the individual from his previous social ties. Indeed, the whole concept of 'localised' recruitment may be misleading. Marriages were more likely to have been formed within the wider military community, with the children of comrades, rather than civilian families with whom soldiers had little in common.<sup>54</sup> Formal and informal interaction of soldiers and civilians does not necessarily lead to *de facto* integration. The progressive separation of civilian and military careers during the Tetrarchic period also argues against ideas of integration, though there was a great deal of interaction at court between high officials of both types.<sup>55</sup>

#### 1.2.4 Militarisation

The integration/separation debate has its own paradigm when discussed in the context of the western half of the Empire during the Late Roman period: "militarisation".<sup>56</sup> This idea is

---

<sup>51</sup> N. Pollard, *op. cit.*, (2000), p. 252.

<sup>52</sup> R.S. Bagnall, 'Military Officers as Landowners in Fourth Century Egypt', *Chiron*, 22 (1992), 47 – 54

<sup>53</sup> B. Shaw, 'Soldiers and Society: The Army in Numidia', *Opus: Rivista Internazionale per la Historia Economica e Sociale Dell'Antichità*, vol. 2.1 (1983), 133-159 and I. Haynes, 'The Roman Army as a Community', in A. Goldsworthy and I. Haynes, eds., *The Roman Army as a Community* (Providence, R.I., 1999), 175-195.

<sup>54</sup> B. Shaw *ibid*, p. 148.

<sup>55</sup> F. Millar, *The Roman Near East* (Harvard, 1993), pp. 190-2. For examples of senior officials co-operating and overlapping of responsibilities see R.S.O. Tomlin, 'Notitia dignitatum omnium tam civilium quam militarium', in J.C. Mann, R. Goodburn and P. Bartholomew, eds., *Aspects of the Notitia Dignitatum* (Oxford, 1976), pp. 189 – 209.

<sup>56</sup> "Militarisation" appears in various guises in the literature. The argument was originally articulated in its most influential form by M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1957) who argues that the urban civilian classes that created the prosperity of the Empire in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century were overcome by the army drawn from the peasantry. This was taken on by R. MacMullen, *Soldier and Civilian in*

venerable. For Rostovtzeff it was a result of class conflict: the rule of the Tetrarchs represented the triumph of the armed peasantry over the urban bourgeoisie who had generated the Empire's stability in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>57</sup> While Rostovtzeff is *passé*, the military nature of late Roman Imperial ideology has been forcibly restated by several modern scholars.<sup>58</sup> Rostovtzeff's model was also refined by MacMullen in the 1960s with his conclusion that one of the defining characteristics of the later Empire was the blurring of distinctions between soldier and civilian.<sup>59</sup> The key evidence in this model were the 'frontier soldiers', *limitanei*, who MacMullen saw as peasant-soldiers, essentially a militia of part-time farmers based on the land they used to support themselves. This 'blurring' process is also reflected in modern standard accounts of the diverging histories of the eastern and western Empires. In the latter the process had begun in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century, and was well underway by the 6<sup>th</sup> century in the East.<sup>60</sup> Civilian government in the west was dominated by a series of military figures (often referred to 'warlords' for want of a better term), such as Merobaudes, Stilicho, Constantius, Aetius, Aegidius and Ricimer, amongst others.<sup>61</sup> The Exarchate, introduced by the East Roman government in its western provinces during the 6<sup>th</sup> century, which combined civil and military power, was a culmination of these trends.<sup>62</sup>

A criticism of the concept of 'militarization' when applied to the Roman Empire is a failure to define terms. James's thorough definition applies for his study of a "post-Roman" society and so is not directly relevant to the imperial period, though this of course leaves a liminal zone where there is a transition from 'Roman' to 'post-Roman,' but identifying this with precision is difficult.<sup>63</sup> Generally scholars use two main elements in the concept of

---

*the Late Roman Empire* (Cambridge Mass., 1963) and has continued to rear its head through the work of historians and archaeologists working in the late Roman period.

<sup>57</sup> M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 503-511. This was subsequently pointed out as being too reflective of Rostovtzeff's experiences of early 20<sup>th</sup> century Russia see A. Alföldi, *Studien zur Geschichte der Weltkrise des 3. Jahrhunderts nach Christus* (Darmstadt, 1967).

<sup>58</sup> N. Faulkner, 'The case for the Dark Ages', in R. Collins and J. Gerrard, eds., *Debating Late Antiquity in Britain AD 300-700* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 5 – 12.

<sup>59</sup> R. MacMullen, *Soldiers and Civilians in the Later Roman Empire* (Cambridge, Mass. 1963).

<sup>60</sup> M. Whitby *op. cit.*, (2000), p. 469.

<sup>61</sup> J. O'Flynn, *Generalissimos of the late Roman Empire* (Toronto, 1983); P. MacGeorge, *Late Roman Warlords* (Oxford, 2002).

<sup>62</sup> T.S. Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers: imperial administration and aristocratic power in Byzantine Italy AD 554-800* (Rome, 1984).

<sup>63</sup> "By a militarised society I mean a society in which there is no clear distinction between soldier and civilian, nor between military officer and government official; where the head of state is also commander-in-chief of the army; where all adult free men have the right to carry weapons; where a certain group or class of people (normally the aristocracy) is expected, by reason of birth, to participate in the army; where the education of

militarization when applied as a sociological concept. Firstly, the Roman military became increasingly prominent in society and the landscape.<sup>64</sup> This increasing influence is detected in the changing urban structures and architecture from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century onwards, most obviously in the enceintes thrown up around fractions of the early Roman settlements and the appearance of projecting towers and fortified gates.<sup>65</sup> Northern Gaul had a far higher concentration of fortifications in the 4<sup>th</sup> century than in the early Empire. Upland areas around the Meuse and Moselle swarmed with hill forts. There seem to be far more soldiers stationed around the province, and cities arguably now primarily existed to serve military needs hosting arms factories, billets, barracks and stores. This, it is argued, reflects the army's increasing social and political importance and in everyday life military officers directly controlled the productive lives of provincials to directly serve their needs.

The second element is an adoption of military values by civilian elites who re-armed themselves in response to the problems of political and military insecurity caused by an increasingly ineffective central government. This is argued to be behind changing patterns of rural settlement in the late Empire.<sup>66</sup> Villas changed their form, with occupation becoming more 'simple': wood and *spolia* replaced newly quarried stone as the primary building materials, while baths and under-floor heating were replaced by artisan activities, such as metal-working, as the main function for buildings.<sup>67</sup> Rural buildings and villages of the later Roman period increasingly resembled what have been described by scholars as 'Germanic' forms of settlement – such as sunken houses or *Grübenhauser*. Whittaker, following Van Ossel and others, argued that this is explained by a cultural change, and the increasing importance of military values amongst the elites.<sup>68</sup> These replaced a 'civilian'

---

the young thus often involves a military element; where the symbolism of warfare and weaponry is prominent in official and private life, and the warlike and heroic virtues are glorified; and where warfare is a predominant government expenditure and/or a major source of economic profit." E. James, 'The Militarisation of Roman Society, 400 – 700', in A. N. Jørgensen and B. Clausen, eds., *Military Aspects of Scandinavian Society in a European Perspective AD 1 – 1300* (Copenhagen, 1997), p. 32.

<sup>64</sup> A. Dunn, 'Was There a Militarisation of the Southern Balkans During Late Antiquity?', in P. Freeman and others, eds., *Limes XVIII Proceedings of the XVIIIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies* (2002), pp. 705 – 712.

<sup>65</sup> See S. Johnson, *Late Roman Fortifications* (London, 1983) and N. Christie and S. Loseby, ed., *Towns in Transition: Urban Evolution in late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 1996).

<sup>66</sup> P. Van Ossel, 'Insécurité et militarization en Gaule du Nord au Bas-Empire. L'exemple des campagnes', *Revue du Nord-Archeologie*, 77 (1995), 27-36.

<sup>67</sup> P. Van Ossel and P. Ouzoulis, 'Rural settlement economy in Northern Gaul in the Late Empire: an overview' *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 12 (2000), 133-160.

<sup>68</sup> C.R. Whittaker, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire: a Social and Economic Study* (Baltimore, 1994), pp. 269 – 71

emphasis on lavish decoration and monumental architectural display and were symptomatic of this ‘militarisation.’ Accompanying these changes were transformations in burial rites. Weapons were increasingly deposited as grave goods during the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, and have been interpreted as an attempt to articulate status by association with martial values.<sup>69</sup> All of these have been argued to represent a militarised zone within northern Gaul.<sup>70</sup>

### 1.3 Methodology

Any study of Gaul relies heavily on archaeological material, complemented by other sources such as epigraphy and numismatics.<sup>71</sup> Recent innovative approaches to literary sources and archaeological evidence in other fields promise new insights when applied to old material.<sup>72</sup> Recent work has sought to understand cultural patterns in the provinces, and how clothing and burial rites reflect how people articulated their identity in the late Antiquity period.<sup>73</sup> An attempt will be made to test how far the concepts outlined above can be detected in the late Roman province of *Belgica* II. This will be done by identifying and analysing the evidence of soldiers from material remains and the surviving written evidence directly relevant to the province, having outlined the models and perspectives that can be gleaned from the broader range of sources that inform us about the wider context of Gaul. We will then attempt to see how far this evidence synchronises, and what it tells us about the coherence of late Roman military identities through the whole period, and their relationship with the wider provincial society.

This will attempt to avoid simply forcing an archaeological synthesis into a pre-existing historical framework derived from written texts or *vice versa*. This is a common, and sometimes justified, criticism of older research, but one that is hard to avoid in historical archaeology, as the temptation to link patterns on the ground to events mentioned in the written sources are tempting. This is not to champion one form of evidence over another.

---

<sup>69</sup> G. Halsall, ‘The origins of the “*Reiheingräberzivilisation*”: forty years on’, in J.F. Drinkwater and H. Elton, eds., *op. cit.*, (1992), pp. 196-207.

<sup>70</sup> S. Esmonde-Cleary, *The Roman West, AD 200 – 500* (Cambridge 2013), pp. 42 – 96.

<sup>71</sup> See for example R. Brulet, *La Gaule Septentrionale au Bas-Empire* (Trier, 1990).

<sup>72</sup> G. Halsall, *Cemeteries and society in Merovingian Gaul: Selected Studies in History and Archaeology, 1992-2009* (Leiden, 2010), pp. 5 – 9.

<sup>73</sup> E. Swift, *Regionality in dress accessories in the late Roman West* (Montagnac, 2000).

There is nothing to be gained by condemning the literary evidence as mere rhetoric with no basis in real events, as the material evidence is itself subject to whole range of difficulties and intellectual problems. Recent theoretical work exploring the use of material evidence and documentary evidence in recent decades has greatly improved understanding how different evidence should be handled, and this will be used to find some means of integrating the insights offered by the two disciplines.

One possible reason for the multiplicity of theories is the different forms evidence that are prominent across the Empire. Alston's study of Roman Egypt is primarily based on papyrological evidence, while Pollard's work relies on archaeological excavation and survey in Syria.<sup>74</sup> Studies of the army in Roman Africa are usually based on epigraphic evidence.<sup>75</sup> Administrative correspondence between soldiers and civilians could be argued to naturally emphasise an integrated relationship. Material evidence that can be demonstrated as military, either by its nature or context (forts, barracks etc.), involves a value judgement that it is not a civilian site, which reinforces the *a priori* idea of separation. Isaac's use of Talmudic evidence in his study of the army in the near East could be argued to give a predictably hostile view of an institution that was culturally and socially alien to Jewish religious leaders.<sup>76</sup> Interpretations are not merely a function of the evidence. Disagreements of interpretation can also arise from the same evidence. The debate between Fentress and Shaw over the army's role in North Africa during the early imperial period is a useful example. Shaw criticises Fentress' broadly integrationist approach as being based on a misreading of key evidence.<sup>77</sup> Our approach must therefore be as reflective as possible.

### 1.3.1 Written sources

Late Roman Gaul benefits from a wider range of literary sources than in the early empire, and many of these were produced by Gallic provincials. These survivals permit the historian to understand how the army was understood on the 'periphery' of the Empire, rather than merely in the 'centre,' to use sociological jargon. However, these written sources are not

---

<sup>74</sup> R. Alston, *op. cit.*, (1996); N. Pollard, *op. cit.*, (2000).

<sup>75</sup> R. Hitchener and D. Mattingly, 'Roman Africa: a Survey Article', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 85 (1995), 165 – 213.

<sup>76</sup> B. Isaac, *op. cit.*, (1992).

<sup>77</sup> E. Fentress, *op. cit.*, (1979), p. 77 and B. Shaw, *op. cit.*, (1992).



simple depositories of fact to be excavated by the intrepid scholar – as they have often been used in the past. Historians have become more concerned with understanding late antique texts in terms of their genre, and the socio-political agendas that lie behind them.<sup>78</sup> The influence of literary theorists (lumped together under the convenient shorthand of ‘postmodernists’) has led some to argue for the unobtainability of past events from such written sources. They can be viewed as pieces of free standing rhetoric, divorced from any concrete reality it might be reporting, and reflecting only the prejudices and educational background of the author.

While this perhaps satisfies a deeper longing for complexity, it ignores the fact that authors were knowledgeable individuals written deliberately in a real, contemporary environment. Their words would only resonate with a contemporary audience if it referred to shared cultural and social experience. Navigation around the written material must be done carefully and with reflection, but the paucity of evidence means every scrap must be valued. To prevent endless epistemological digression in the main body of text, the main approaches to different types of sources will be outlined below.

Unfortunately there is no full, detailed political narrative for the whole period. The record of political events has to be reconstructed from a clutch of writers who were active at different times and places across the Empire. Ammianus Marcellinus provides the bulk of political and military narrative in Gaul covering the years 354 to 378, but this is a relatively short period of time and assessing the key processes of change is not easy. The main periods covered are the campaigns of Julian (355-361) and Valentinian (364-375). Ammianus’ use of technical language and military experience, despite the occasional archaism, has lead to favourable assessment by many historians on his usefulness as an informed observer of the Roman army.<sup>79</sup> This is not to say Ammianus is free of distortion. The rise to power of Julian in 359-61, for example, is artfully treated to disguise Ammianus’ partisan views.<sup>80</sup> Despite this it is

---

<sup>78</sup> See discussion in G. Halsall, ‘Sources and their interpretation’, in P. Fouracre, ed., *The New Cambridge Medieval History Vol. 1 c. AD 500 – AD 700* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 56 – 92.

<sup>79</sup> See the generally positive assessments of Ammianus as a source: G.A.Crump, *Ammianus Marcellinus as a Military Historian* (Wiesbaden, 1975); N.J.E. Austin, *Ammianus on Warfare, an investigation into Ammianus’ military knowledge* (Brussels, 1979) and J.F.Matthews, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus* (London, 1989).

<sup>80</sup> Ammianus disguises the fact that Julian was a usurper by ignoring the question of the legal rights of Constantius and Julian. Julian’s seizure of power is justified by his handling of it, while Constantius’ legal rights are ignored and his decision to face Julian’s claims with violence emphasized to disguise his rights. Ammianus also ignores the precarious position Julian was in without the African grain supply and the unfavourable response of the Roman Senate and the loss of Aquileia to Constantius see J. Szidat, *Historischer Kommentar zu*

difficult to reasonably argue that the work is not built on a foundation of fact.<sup>81</sup> Ammianus certainly visited Gaul while accompanying his commanding officer and patron Ursicinus in 355 and remained there until 357, and there seems no doubt that he drew on memories of his experiences.<sup>82</sup> Back in Rome would have probably relied on official accounts of Imperial actions for information. There remained literary contacts between Rome and Gaul throughout the 4<sup>th</sup> century, and interviewing participants of events in retirement at Rome was possible.<sup>83</sup> There can be no doubt though that Ammianus's work is artfully constructed, and many of the events he may have personally described are wrapped in allusion to make a wider historical point, and his work shouldn't simply be mined empirically for data.<sup>84</sup>

Other historians that deal with Gaul have more strident rhetorical purposes. Zosimus, a pagan civil servant writing at Constantinople under the Emperor Anastasius (491-518) provides information compiled from the work of the early 5<sup>th</sup> century eastern historians Eunapius and Olympiodorus. Unfortunately he is both garbled and polemical, especially when discussing Christian emperors such as Constantine on whom he blamed all ills of the Empire, and his view of the 'barbarisation' of the empire makes him problematical as a guide.<sup>85</sup> Orosius's *History against the Pagans in Seven Books* written in Spain displays many of the same faults as Zosimus, but from the Christian perspective, as he attempted to fit his

---

*Ammianus Marcellinus Buch XX-XXI, Teil III: Die Konfrontation. Historia Einzelschrift 89* (Stuttgart, 1996), pp. 11-31.

<sup>81</sup> T.D. Barnes, *Ammianus Marcellinus and the Representation of Historical Reality* (London, 1998); see also the review of Barnes's work by M. Whitby, *Journal of Roman Studies*, 90 (2000), pp. 251-252. J.W. Drijvers and D. Hunt, *The Late Roman World and its Historian: Interpreting Ammianus Marcellinus* (London, 1999) gives a far more positive approach to Ammianus without succumbing to positivist naivety which Barnes condemns. For the basic historicity of the Silvanus usurpation in 355 see D. Hunt, 'Ammianus on the rebellion of Silvanus', in J. W. Drijvers and D. Hunt *ibid.*, pp. 51 – 63, *contra* J.F. Drinkwater 'Silvanus, Ursicinus and Ammianus: Fact or Fiction?', *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History*, VII (1994), 568-576.

<sup>82</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XV.5, J.F. Matthews, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus* (London, 1989), pp. 37-39. Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XV.12.1 contains Ammianus's famous account of the pugilistic Gallic wife could be the result of personal experience see T.D. Barnes, *op. cit.*, (1998), p. 100, *contra* J. F. Matthews *op. cit.*, p. 39, who argues that it was a stereotype. This is slightly odd given these observations somewhat contradict the central tenet of each man's work on Ammianus.

<sup>83</sup> T.D. Barnes, *op. cit.*, (1998), pp. 96 – 101, for a discussion of Ammianus' sources including a list similar to the *Notitia Galliarum* for his account on the Gallic cities. Julian wrote up the accounts of the Battle of Strasbourg (358) preserved in Eunapius, *frag.* 17 in R.C. Blockley, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire* (Liverpool, 1983), p. 23; Symmachus and Ausonius began corresponding after meeting at Trier in 370, see G. Bowersock, 'Symmachus and Ausonius', in F. Paschoud, ed., *Colloque Genevois sur Symmache à l'Occasion du Mille Six Centième Anniversaire du Conflit de l'Autel de la Victoire* (Paris, 1986), pp. 1-15.

<sup>84</sup> See in particular G. Kelly, *Ammianus Marcellinus: The Allusive Historian* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 31 – 103, which argues for the grave difficulty extracting any precise biographical information from Ammianus given that it defies the literary genre he was working in.

<sup>85</sup> R. Ridley, tr., *Zosimus: a New History* (Canberra, 1982).

sources into an ideological *schema*, i.e. that history represented the working out of God's plan for mankind, but his contemporary observations on events in his lifetime in the early 5<sup>th</sup> century are useful.<sup>86</sup> Another genre of historical work that emerged in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries was the chronicle. This grew out of Christian writers such as Eusebius of Caesarea, who sought integrate Christianity into mainstream historiography. Various chroniclers of the 5<sup>th</sup> century cover events in Gaul such as Hydatius, Prosper, as well as the Chroniclers of 452 and 511. These spare accounts of the main events lack analytical detail, often have theological agendas (particularly Prosper) and often provide more questions than answers. However, despite these reservations they do have an interest in secular affairs and provide distinctive, local perspectives and an understanding of the different reactions individuals to the events of a tumultuous era (to varying degrees).<sup>87</sup>

The Imperial court was an arena where education and rhetorical training were high value skills. This education provided a shared cultural heritage amongst those serving in positions of administrative responsibility. Literary endeavours were an integral part of the court social networks and a valued leisure pursuit.<sup>88</sup> This produced a demand for works that presented Imperial history in a manageable, digestible format. While they rarely compare in detail with the work of Ammianus, they provide many relevant details. They are also deeply entwined with contemporary events and policy debates. Eutropius' *Breviarum*, composed under Valens, provides in its historical narrative many details for armies in the west. Its precise purpose is uncertain, though it probably functioned as a history primer for functionaries. It does seem to have been composed with the aim of justifying Valens' aggressive policy against Persia.<sup>89</sup> Aurelius Victor who reached high office in Illyricum and Rome under both Julian and Theodosius wrote *De Caesaribus* which covers the period from Augustus to

---

<sup>86</sup> For an assessment of Orosius that places him into his proper context, and is generally positive towards his education and intelligence, while acknowledging the rhetorical purpose of his work, see A. T. Fear, *Orosius: Seven Books of History Against the Pagans* (Liverpool, 2010), pp. 6 – 25.

<sup>87</sup> For an emphasis on the usefulness of these sources, especially the historical worth of Prosper, though less of the Chronicle of 452 and Hydatius see S. Muhlberger, *The Fifth-century chroniclers: Prosper, Hydatius, and the Gallic Chronicler of 452* (Leeds, 1990); with specific discussion on Gaul and their different analyses of the 5<sup>th</sup> century its course of events, S. Muhlberger 'Looking back from the mid-century: the Gallic chronicler of 452 and the crisis of Honorius' reign', in J.F. Drinkwater and H. Elton, eds., *op. cit.*, (1992), pp. 28 – 37. For a generally positive assessment of Hydatius' value as a historical source see R. W. Burgess, *The Chronicle of Hydatius and the Consularia Constantinopolitana* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 9 – 10. For the quality of Hydatius' knowledge on Gaul specifically see R. W. Burgess, 'From Gallia Romana to Gallia Gothica', in J.F. Drinkwater and H. Elton, eds., *op. cit.*, (1992), pp. 19 – 27.

<sup>88</sup> J.F. Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court AD 364- 425* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 32 – 55

<sup>89</sup> H. W. Bird, *Eutropius: Breviarium* (Liverpool, 1993), pp. xviii – xxvi.

Constantius II, and seeks to provide a moral commentary on the Empire, much like his literary model Sallust.<sup>90</sup> He portrays the rising power of the army and other officials as a disruptive force undermining the health of the state. His rhetorical purpose therefore requires that his work is approached with caution. Even more valuable are surviving fragments of the eastern diplomat Olympiodorus, who wrote in the first quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century of events in the west, are highly valued for their author's knowledge and insight.<sup>91</sup>

Thus texts that present the perspective of the Imperial government cannot be taken at face value, but can illustrate contemporary Imperial concerns. The series of panegyrics delivered to various Emperors by Gallic orators during the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries contain accounts of military and political events and, more interestingly, contemporary evidence for ways in which these were presented for a public audience.<sup>92</sup> The panegyric poems of Claudian play a similar role for the policies and events involving the government of Stilicho in the early years of Honorius, though the centre of focus had now moved to northern Italy.<sup>93</sup> The nature of the audience for these works has been much discussed, but even a 'minimalist' view would suggest it was made up of the senior administrative and military officials that made up the court circles and, possibly, representative local elites. The authors use the florid late Roman rhetorical style which is frustratingly imprecise in detail for the modern taste, but aimed to demonstrate to the audience a broad and profound classical knowledge. However, they preserve information that would not be known otherwise. By preserving different speeches given at short intermediate periods, it is possible to detect the changing 'official' line taken by the Imperial court in response to events, especially during the Tetrarchic period and the early years of Constantine.<sup>94</sup>

---

<sup>90</sup> H. W. Bird, *Aurelius Victor: de Caesaribus* (Liverpool, 1994), pp. xxi – xxii.

<sup>91</sup> J.F. Matthews, 'Olympiodorus of Thebes and the History of the West (AD 407–425)', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 60 (1970), 79–97, and R.C. Blockley, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire: Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus, Malchus*, 2 vols. (Liverpool 1981, 1983).

<sup>92</sup> C. E. V. Nixon and B. Rodgers, *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors: The Panegyric Latini* (Berkeley, 1994), pp. 26 – 33. It is not clear whether all of these were actually given in the form that they are preserved, or revised for publication. The material referring to the military presumably had to be rendered comprehensible for the military officers in the audience, so one would assume that technical information was not grossly distorted, even if expressed in antiquarian terms.

<sup>93</sup> A. Cameron, *Claudian: Poetry and Propaganda at the court of Honorius* (Oxford, 1970).

<sup>94</sup> An often observed feature of the panegyrics published between 306–315 is the way they reflect the political vicissitudes of these years and the changing policies of the different emperors as regards their complex relationships, as well as the ways in which Constantine wanted to be seen see N. Lenski, 'The Reign of Constantine' in N. Lenski, *The Age of Constantine* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 61 – 70.

Other 'court' perspectives can be obtained from works by Imperial functionaries with an interest in military matters. The *De Rebus Bellicis* preserves a civilian's memorandum to Constantius II on how the army could be improved by a programme of mechanisation and fiscal reform, though the practical worth of his suggestions are, at best, optimistic.<sup>95</sup> As with the other principal surviving contemporary military treatise written by Vegetius, the extent to which these ideas were taken seriously is unclear, and these sources with their antiquarian tendencies and idealistic aims cannot be taken at face value.<sup>96</sup> However, they do give a range of contemporary perspectives on military issues and debates that existed amongst those seeking to influence policy.

Literary artfulness also limits the accessibility of letter collections produced by several aristocrats. Several relevant items survive in Symmachus' correspondence, in particular that between the Roman senator and Ausonius, which record a visit to the Rhine frontier by the former in 369. Especially useful are the letters of the Gallic aristocrat Sidonius Apollinaris which provide the main evidence for Gaul in the later 5<sup>th</sup> century. They detail his political career in the aftermath of Aetius' fall, as well as giving a glimpse into the social and ecclesiastical life of the period, albeit a high status view. As these letters were edited for publication, however, they are not a collection of official and private memoranda, but produced to shape the public memory of these individuals to best fit in with the values of their contemporaries.<sup>97</sup> Sidonius, for example, carefully crafted his letters for the fluid, and potentially dangerous, circumstances of late 5<sup>th</sup> century Gaul. His contemporaries would have understood his allusions, but modern readers cannot in the absence of detailed knowledge of the period.<sup>98</sup> Letter collections such as these provide a perspective, but one filtered through the concerns of a small, literate aristocratic circle. The use of classical allusion and deliberately archaising terms make them difficult to use to describe contemporary circumstances, but they are written in a real historical context.

---

<sup>95</sup> E. A. Thompson and B. Flower, *A Roman Reformer and Inventor, Being a New Text of the Treatise De Rebus Bellicis* (Oxford, 1952). For the attribution of Constantius II as the emperor see A. Giardina, *Le Cose Della Guerra* (Milan, 1989), pp. xxxvii-lit; J. Arce, 'Frontiers of the Roman Empire: Perceptions and Realities', in W. Pohl, I.N. Wood and H. Reimitz, eds., *The Transformation of Frontiers from Late Antiquity to the Carolingians* (Leiden, 2001), pp. 5 - 13.

<sup>96</sup> For Vegetius see discussion in introduction of N. P. Milner, *Vegetius: Epitome of Military Science* (Liverpool, 1993), pp. xiii - lxii. For a date of the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century for Vegetius see M. Charles, *Vegetius in Context: Establishing the Date of the Epitoma Rei Militaris* (Stuttgart, 2007).

<sup>97</sup> J.F. Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court AD 364- 425* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 7-8.

<sup>98</sup> J. Harries, *Sidonius Apollinaris and the Fall of Rome* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 11-12.

This approach is also relevant to the Christian moralists and hagiographers of Gaul whose works survive from the late 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries. The work of Salvian, for example, gives a wholly negative picture of the actions of the Roman state. He wishes to undermine the whole idea of secular government and emphasise its inherent corruption for his religious purpose of emphasising the transient nature of human achievements compared with the eternal security of God.<sup>99</sup> Hagiography often manipulates the details of the narrative to bolster the theological points that the author intends. In Sulpicius Severus' *Vita Sancti Martini*, for example, the account of Saint Martin's miraculous escape from barbarian troops when made an example of by Julian, the archetypal 'pagan' Emperor, raises issues of chronology given that Martin had probably started his military career over 20 years before this episode could have occurred, and Sulpicius implies that the holy man did not actually serve for very long.<sup>100</sup> Hagiographers in the late antique period increasingly followed earlier literary models, such as Athanasius' *Life of Anthony*, to emphasise the sanctity of their subject and their place in holy genealogy.<sup>101</sup> Any historical information that these sources must be detached from the literary and theological filter through which they are written. There are also problems of posthumous lives containing anachronistic information more relevant to the author's present rather than the time of the subject. The life of Germanus of Auxerre was written about 40 years after the saint's death by Constantius of Lyon, when the political and social circumstances were probably quite different.<sup>102</sup> However, the authors were writing within a real physical context which had to make sense to the reader.<sup>103</sup> The concerns of hagiographers were different to those of historians and often focused on ordinary people so are invaluable as a source of social history. Each piece of information drawn from such sources must be understood in the context of the work.

---

<sup>99</sup> M. Maas, 'Ethnicity, orthodoxy and community in Salvian of Marseilles', in J.F. Drinkwater and H. Elton, eds., *op. cit.*, (1992), pp. 275-284.

<sup>100</sup> Sulpicius Severus *Vita Sancti Martini* II.2-8; T. D. Barnes, 'The Military Career of Martin of Tours', *Analecta Bollandiana*, CXIV (1996), 25-32.

<sup>101</sup> T. Head and T. F. X. Noble, *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1995).

<sup>102</sup> For a positive assessment of Constantius' understanding of Gaul (though not Britain) see E. A. Thompson, *Saint Germanus of Auxerre and the end of Roman Britain* (Woodbridge, 1984); for a reminder of the ecclesiastical agendas behind the life of Germanus, particularly anti-Pelagianism, see I. Wood, 'Germanus, Alban and Auxerre', *Bulletin du Centre d'Études Médiévales d'Auxerre BUCEMA*, 13 (2009), 123-129.

<sup>103</sup> For a positive assessment of hagiography as a source for the realities of life see A. T. Fear, *Lives of the Visigothic Fathers* (Liverpool, 1997), pp. xvii – xxi.

All authors aimed to persuade their readers to perceive events in a way that reflected their own political and ideological vision. On the other hand, detecting the rhetorical and partisan purposes of these works can provide insights into the circumstances of their creation and allow reconstruction of contemporary debates and issues. The writing of history in antiquity required a search for a deeper truth than simply recording what happened. The rhetorical tradition gave historians leeway in adjusting or creating material that would allow them to do this. But while it did not require a comprehensive assembly of facts or technical details, the writing did have to resonate with contemporary audiences. Such material is what the author believed was *likely* to have happened, even if they were not completely factual. Therefore the authors' perspectives, or prejudices, are not necessarily unhelpful and we can, with caution, reconstruct aspects of the past with them.

Evidence for quotidian government administration has remained. This is subject to similar difficulties and limitations to other forms of evidence discussed so far. The manner in which these documents were compiled led to a process of selection and editing for particular purposes other than simply preserving documents in their original form. Laws and edicts preserved by the two major codices – the Theodosian Code (mid-5<sup>th</sup> century) and the Justinian Code (mid-6<sup>th</sup> century) provide a wealth of material on the army and its impact on society. These laws have long been queried as to how far they actually reflect social reality. The process of compilation for the Theodosian Code was ideological and antiquarian as well as practical. Its context in the reign of Theodosius II was in attempts of the eastern court to restore unity with the western court after the death of Honorius in 423, with the marriage of Eudocia to Valentinian III in 437.<sup>104</sup> The Code could also be an expression of the supremacy of the east.<sup>105</sup> However, the practical implications should not be minimised.<sup>106</sup> Therefore, the legal material must be used with as full an understanding of the particular circumstances in which it was issued and preserved as possible before it can be used as historical material.

---

<sup>104</sup> J. F. Matthews, *Laying Down the Law* (Yale, 2000).

<sup>105</sup> J. Harries, *Law and Empire in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 37.

<sup>106</sup> It has been suggested that another reason for its compilation was the concentration of legal expertise in the quaestors of Theodosius' court. T. Honoré, *Law in the Crisis of Empire AD 379 - 455* (Oxford, 1998), p. 97; the extent of non-metropolitan sources of the legal codes and the degree to which it compiled legal material from throughout the Empire has also recently been emphasised J. F. Matthews, *Laying Down the Law* (Yale, 2000).

The most important administrative document for this study is the *Notitia Dignitatum*. This identifies explicitly the two areas of official competence in government: civilian and military *Notitia Dignitatum tam civilium quam militarium*. From the perspective of the *Notitia* there were many positions in charge of different army regiments, whose names imply a wide range of different roles and functions. It is usually accepted that the information contained in the *Notitia* dates from the late 4<sup>th</sup> and early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>107</sup> However, it has long been recognised that the surviving form has been subject to much manipulation so that it does not reflect a reality at any one point in time.<sup>108</sup> The precise function of the *Notitia* lists seem to have originated with the office of the *Primecerius Notariorum* who drew up letters of appointment for the *dignitates*. The insignial illustration lists the *laterculum maius* was a list which forms the basis of the *Notitia*.<sup>109</sup> However, the material in the eastern half seems to reflect the position of the Empire at the death of Theodosius in 395. The suggestion has been made that the military lists reflect the position in 393 as Theodosius prepared for his confrontation with Eugenius and Arbogast, or perhaps even earlier.<sup>110</sup> Whether the western list was one created by Theodosius and Stilicho in Milan for the newly controlled provinces after the success of the Frigidus, or as Kulikowski suggests was part of the same document created by the Eastern *primecerius*, its inconsistency can only be explained by continual revision. J.C.Mann's schema sees the bulk of the Western document being created between 399 and 408 under Stilicho's increasing influence, and compiled with the old eastern half in 408 as part of his attempt to extend his influence over the eastern government of Theodosius II.<sup>111</sup> The lists continued to be revised. Chapter VII, the list of military units arranged geographically, in the western half seems to be created later addition, given that the *Comes Hispaniae*, a post first known about in the 420s, is placed between the Gaulish and African

---

<sup>107</sup> J.C. Mann, R. Goodburn and P. Bartholomew, eds., *Aspects of the Notitia Dignitatum* (Oxford, 1976); D. Hoffmann, *Das spätrömische Bewegungsheer und die Notitia Dignitatum*. 2 vols. (Köln, 1969), pp. 25-53; 494-519.

<sup>108</sup> J. B. Bury, 'The Notitia Dignitatum', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 10 (1920), 131-154.

<sup>109</sup> *Not. Dig.*, Or. XVIII.

<sup>110</sup> A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1964) Appendix II (Vol III, pp. 347-380); J.C. Mann, 'The Notitia Dignitatum – dating and survival', *Britannia*, 22 (1991), 215-219; M. Kulikowski, 'The Notitia Dignitatum as an Historical source', *Historia*, 49 (2000), 358-377, suggests that the *Notitia* can be dated at any time from 386-394.

<sup>111</sup> J. Mann, *op cit.*, (1991), pp. 215- 6.



lists rather than tacked on at the end. Chapters V and VI reflect haphazardly an attempt to reflect these later changes.<sup>112</sup>

The seductive potential of the *Notitia*, given that we have precious little else to give us an insight into the bureaucratic workings of the palatine administration, means it is still the fundamental tool for late Roman army studies. However, its ideological function has recently come under closer scrutiny. Brennan places the surviving *Notitia* within a context of the restructuring of Imperial power in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>113</sup> The purpose of such a document is to illustrate the ideology of the ruling power, and its administrative purpose is thus secondary, if it exists at all. Brennan places the *Notitia* in the same antiquarian framework as Macrobius' *Saturnalia*, of educated elites creating a past world from fragments and wishful thinking. The marriage of Valentinian with Theodosius II's daughter Eudocia in 437, with its symbolic importance of reuniting and recreating an Empire that had in fact been transformed is another occasion for which the surviving *Notitia* would be suitable.<sup>114</sup>

Using the *Notitia* for information about the position of the army in Gaul is therefore a dangerous prospect, but it is not a hopeless endeavour.<sup>115</sup> The reductionist positions outlined above are unnecessarily pessimistic. As with the literary sources, most scholars have long since abandoned the carefree plundering of ancient sources for basic facts. Of course it was in the interest of Valentinian's court to stress the continued existence of a Roman 'army' in Gaul and elsewhere in the Empire, especially as he had such a tenuous control over generals such as Aetius.<sup>116</sup> But the power of Imperial ideology was in its ability to unite a wide range of different cultural and political circumstances and the flexibility that allowed it to be recreated on a local basis. The document can be trusted that to tell us the name of a military unit associated with a place at one point in time, and while we will find it difficult to plot dynamic patterns of change, its absence would be worse. Doubts about how contemporary the information within the document is can be found e.g. for Britain, but

---

<sup>112</sup> J. Mann, *op cit.*, (1991), 218 – 9, though the use of *termini post quem* can be dangerous when these assumptions form of the basis of conjectures and arguments that quickly set into accepted judgements.

<sup>113</sup> P. Brennan, 'The *Notitia Dignitatum*,' in C. Nicolet, ed., *Les Littératures Techniques dans l'Antiquité Romaine Entretiens Hardt* 42 (Geneva, 1995), pp. 147-178.

<sup>114</sup> J. F. Matthews, *Laying Down the Law* (Yale, 2000).

<sup>115</sup> M. Kulikowski, 'The *Notitia Dignitatum* as an historical source', *Historia*, 49 (2000), p. 370.

<sup>116</sup> J. O'Flynn, *Generalissimos of the Western Roman Empire* (Edmonton, 1983), pp. 88 – 103.

recent studies have suggested that the information may be more accurate than has been believed.<sup>117</sup>

### 1.3.2 Epigraphy

Epigraphy is another important source of evidence for the social and economic aspects of military life. Inscriptions were erected by soldiers and their families, and therefore provide a direct written link with the past. Most scholars would argue that inscriptions are subject to the same problems of rhetorical convention and interpretation as other written texts. Most inscriptions discovered before the late 20<sup>th</sup> century have little recorded information concerning their original context. Using inscriptions for the late antique period is also rendered problematic by the loss of the 'epigraphic habit' in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>118</sup> The numbers of surviving inscriptions in Gaul is relatively low in comparison to other parts of the Empire, but drop off markedly during the 4<sup>th</sup> century and beyond.<sup>119</sup> Whether this is a historical reality rather than an accident of preservation is unclear as there are other possible explanations for the apparent numerical decline.<sup>120</sup> Inscriptions continued to be produced in certain areas, such as the Trier region. The spread of Christianity was a catalyst for the production of inscriptions, which also caused a diminution of the professional information that earlier inscriptions contained, replacing them with statements of religious devotion.<sup>121</sup> Many inscriptions are undated as a result and so are often assigned to earlier periods on palaeographic grounds often strongly influenced by the idea that the epigraphic habit is a feature of the early Imperial period. The lack of direct dating evidence also makes it difficult to assign into a chronological framework and this makes changing trends hard to spot.

---

<sup>117</sup> This can be seen in the approaches to the British garrison N. Hodgson, 'The *Notitia Dignitatum* and the later Roman garrison of Britain,' in V. Maxfield and M. Dobson, eds., *Roman Frontier Studies 1989* (Exeter, 1991), 84 – 91, argues that the units under the *Dux Britanniarum* in *ND Occ. XL* 'per lineam valli' are not necessarily relics from the past but could have continued to exist into the 4<sup>th</sup> century given the evidence for unit stability in the archaeological evidence *contra* the views of M. Hassall, 'Britain in the *Notitia*,' in R. Goodburn and P. Bartholomew, eds., *Aspects of the Notitia Dignitatum*. (Oxford, 1976), pp. 103 – 117.

<sup>118</sup> R. MacMullen, 'The Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire,' *American Journal of Philology* 103 (1982), 233-46.

<sup>119</sup> E. Wightman, *Gallia Belgica* (Oxford, 1985), p. 200.

<sup>120</sup> Though there is unquestionable evidence of a drop in the number of inscriptions produced, the epigraphic did continue in most parts of the Empire – especially Africa and the East: C. Rouché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity* (London, 1989). One observation is that many inscriptions have survived in the west due to their incorporation into city walls constructed during the 3<sup>rd</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> centuries. Subsequent inscriptions were far more vulnerable to more destructive forms of recycling.

<sup>121</sup> M. Handley, *Death, Society and Culture* (Oxford, 2003),

Despite these problems, there is a small corpus of inscriptions relating to soldiers for the late Imperial period in *Belgica* II. These can provide additional information for comparative purposes as can epigraphic patterns from other parts of the Empire. Epigraphy provides us with useful details about soldiers including their length of service, family details, as well as a sense of identity, both individual and institutional.<sup>122</sup> The location of the inscriptions also provides information on potential location of military units, or at least where soldiers ended up in their retirement. Inscriptions also inform us how the soldier and/or his family wished his memory to be viewed posthumously. This should not be seen as a simple reflection of his life but an idealisation.<sup>123</sup> Many forms of ritual associated with the deposition of the dead function in a similar way. The recording of an individual's details on a stone was an important statement of status given the considerable labour and wealth required to produce it. The question of what the erector had to gain by leaving a permanent marker to their family must be considered. There is a degree to which the individual was negotiating their position in society by perhaps confirming how far they have come from their origins.<sup>124</sup> Woolf has argued that the provincial epigraphic habit in the early Empire reflects the instability in post-conquest societies and was an attempt to consolidate individual positions within a new system of social status, where there was no tradition or ancestral memory to call upon.<sup>125</sup> But both he and Meyer argue that from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, the clear social distinctions of the early Empire became blurred.<sup>126</sup> The social, political and religious changes of late antiquity provide a situation of similar uncertainty where individuals could use inscriptions as a means of adopting a permanent marker of social status in a fluid society.<sup>127</sup> The question of how far military inscriptions reflect the relative social position of soldiers and their attempts to negotiate their status is therefore a potentially fruitful line of investigation. Can we say that this is the activity of a comfortably established elite group or one in which social competition is a pressing issue?

---

<sup>122</sup> V. Hope, *Constructing Identity: the Roman funerary monuments of Aquileia, Mainz and Nîmes* (Oxford, 2001), p. 3.

<sup>123</sup> V. Hope, *ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>124</sup> V. Hope, *ibid.*, p. 34-35.

<sup>125</sup> G. Woolf, 'Monumental Writing and the Expansion of Roman Society in the Early Empire', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 86 (1996), 22-39.

<sup>126</sup> E. Meyer, 'Explaining the epigraphic pattern in the Roman Empire: the evidence of epitaphs', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 80 (1990), 74 – 96.

<sup>127</sup> M. Handley, *Death, Society and Culture* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 13-14.

### 1.3.3 Archaeology

The material remains of the military system in northern Gaul are relatively extensive, and they also provide a potential corrective and alternative narrative to the literary evidence. The quality and quantity of western European archaeology has expanded exponentially over the last few decades as excavation techniques have become more technologically sophisticated. The development of national infrastructure: expansion of train and the motorway networks as well as urban developments, has instigated a systematic rescue archaeology that has produced a wealth of information. The combination of aerial reconnaissance, land surveys and excavations has provided data that provides both a breadth of information and a coherent dating framework through the development of techniques of stratigraphy.<sup>128</sup> This information is still variable in quality and quantity, however. Rural surveys are increasingly accumulating information on the settlement of the countryside in the 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>129</sup> Understanding the urban archaeology of Gaul is problematic given the continual settlement of most cities since Roman times and patterns in the late Roman period are particularly difficult to define and understand.<sup>130</sup>

Archaeology has also been subject to methodological introspection which affects the assessment of evidence. The 'New Archaeology' (Processual) movement that emerged in the 1960s emphasised optimistically the ability of material culture to reflect patterns of gradual long-term change. Many archaeologists believed this was a more efficacious way to understand the ancient past than using documentary evidence, given the ability of archaeologists to be objective and scientific.<sup>131</sup> As discussed above, writing was the preserve of elite groups, who were often a considerable distance away from the events they described, both in time and location. Their chronological span is erratic, leaving us largely ignorant of events for decades at a time. Archaeology, through the uncovering of material evidence by excavation and land survey, allows understanding of a broader cross section of

---

<sup>128</sup> For a good summary of modern excavation techniques see K. Greene, *Archaeology: an introduction* 5<sup>th</sup> edition (Abingdon, 2010).

<sup>129</sup> See for example P. Van Ossel, *Etablissements Ruraux de l'Antiquité Tardive dans le Nord de la Gaule* (Paris, 1992). For a good example of using modern archaeological techniques to do a regional study of rural archaeology see C. Gandini, *Des Campagnes Gauloises aux Campagnes de l'Antiquité Tardive : la Dynamique de l'Habitat Rural dans la Cité des Bituriges Cubi (Ile s. av. J.-C.-VIIe s. ap. J.-C.)* (Tours, 2008).

<sup>130</sup> D. Bayard, 'Les Villes du Nord de la Gaule dans l'Antiquité Tardive', in D. Bayard, ed., *La Marque de Rome: Samarobriva et les Villes du Nord de la Gaule* (Amiens, 2004), p. 173.

<sup>131</sup> S. Binford and L. Binford, *New Perspectives on Archaeology* (Chicago, 1968).

society. Material evidence therefore adheres to general social theories such as wealth and hierarchy, and would argue that burials are a functional reflection of the social status of the buried individual during their life: thus a lavishly furnished grave would represent an important, aristocratic individual. This moved the focus away from attribution to groups mentioned in historical texts. Some have argued that ethnicity (in the sense of linking archaeological cultures to named groups in the written sources) is in itself not really compatible with archaeological evidence which reflects long term structures and regional cultural traditions.<sup>132</sup>

This confidence has broken down somewhat under the ideas of ‘post-processual’ archaeologists who have re-emphasised the importance of texts and pointed out how material culture is constructed by societies in the same manner as written texts, and must be interpreted with great caution.<sup>133</sup> Material and textual evidence often reveal different concerns that, while they cannot be simply grafted onto each other, have perspectives which can be complementary. This study will generally lean towards a post-processualist position and emphasise that context is crucial to any interpretation, and meta-narratives such as ‘ethnicity’ are dangerously misleading. Chapter 2 will develop the discussion of the material evidence in detail when highlighting the main material criteria.

### **1.3.4 Case Study: *Belgica II***

*Belgica II* covered the flat, plains of northern Picardy and the coastal Pas-de-Calais region of modern France. The coastal area seems to have been subject to a rising sea level and increased flooding during the late Empire. The panegyric addressed to Constantius in 297 describes the area to the north of the province (modern Flanders) as a zone of marshes.<sup>134</sup> This was a more heavily urbanised area than *Belgica I* with a complex and developed road

---

<sup>132</sup> S. Brather, ‘Ethnic Identities as Constructions of Archaeology: the Case of the *Alamanni*,’ in A. Gillett, ed., *On Barbarian Identity: Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages* (2002), pp. 149 – 175, which argues that too many attempts to identify ethnic groups in the Early Middle Ages (he uses the *Alamanni* as his case study) are reflections of modern theoretical constructions and that the usual sources of identity, such as costumes and grave goods, are more likely reflections of general regional patterns. The problem of whether one is identifying the movement of peoples or ideas is another issue that he argues cannot be resolved by material evidence. Archaeology, he suggests, should stick to doing what it does best.

<sup>133</sup> I. Hodder, *Theory and Practice in Archaeology* (London, 1992); C. Shanks and M. Tilley, *Re-constructing archaeology: theory and practice* (Cambridge, 1987).

<sup>134</sup> *Panegyrici Latini*, IV.8.2.

network. In the early Empire there was a very limited military presence, apart from Bononia (Boulogne) which was the base of the *classis Britanniae*. The countryside was prosperous and its wealth seems to have been based on the wool trade, cloaks and clothing being well known throughout the Empire.<sup>135</sup> Diocletian's Price Edict mentions cloaks from Arras and Amiens.<sup>136</sup> In the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, archaeological and epigraphic evidence indicates that a military presence seems to have become more regular. This development continued during the late Empire. There were important military centres such as Reims, where campaign armies are recorded as having been assembled under Julian and Valentinian. Emperors also wintered with their *comitatus* at Amiens and Paris, as well as using the road network for travel to Britain. Forts were also constructed on the coast probably as part of the same thinking that led to the construction of the coastal forts on the south of Britain and further west into Armorica. This increased military presence, and its diversity, means there are potentially profitable comparisons and insights to be gleaned.

### 1.3.5 Research questions

- Did a coherent 'Roman' military identity exist in *Belgica II* during the 4<sup>th</sup> century?
- At what point in the 5<sup>th</sup> century is there a point in which we can no longer refer to 'Roman' soldiers?
- How far was there a process of integration underway between soldiers and the provincial population of *Belgica II* during the late Roman period?
- How far was the landscape of *Belgica II* dominated by the military, to the extent one can argue that the province was 'militarised'?

The research questions will be pursued by attempting to place the provincial investigation in a wider context. Firstly, key themes in terms of military identity and the relationship with wider society across the period under investigation will be explored in the literary evidence relevant to Gaul. Secondly there will be an examination of the material evidence and the issues that face its interpretation, while bringing in some examples from neighbouring provinces. This will create a wider context for the specific focus on the material and written evidence from the province of *Belgica II*.

---

<sup>135</sup> J. Wild, *Textile Manufacture in the Northern Roman Provinces* (Cambridge, 1970); E Wightman, *Gallia Belgica* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 149-51.

<sup>136</sup> *Diocletian's Price Edict* 19.32, 45, 46, 48, 54, 60 in C Rouché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity* (London, 1989), p. 287.

## Chapter 1: Military identities in the 4<sup>th</sup> century & 5<sup>th</sup> Centuries

### 1.1 Introduction

At the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century while describing the career of Maximian, a Gallic panegyricist described the Emperor's birthplace, Pannonia, as the: "Seat of the bravest of legions", and questioned whether he should mention: "The first standards to inaugurate your imperial auspices, which (were) the camps to receive you as their master, which the expeditions which led you in various directions".<sup>137</sup> This trinity of *signa – castra – bella* suggests that the civilian author believed in a clear, coherent military identity. The distinction between soldier and civilian is also drawn out in a memorable passage, where the panegyrist seems to be describing a (hurried) reaction to a military threat on the frontier by Maximian. In a series of juxtapositions he lays down several images which illustrate a dichotomy between the two spheres of activity: *toga praetexta/thorax*, *scipio/hasta* and *tribunal/campus*.<sup>138</sup> This suggests that in the context of imperial rhetoric, there was a clear understanding of the role of soldiers and their distinction from civilian life. There is a tendency in the sources to refer to the soldiers as an undifferentiated mass, which probably reflects a civilian perspective. Claudius Mamertinus' panegyric talks of the problems facing Julian in Gaul where: "Soldiers (*milites*), often trifled with in times past, were demanding the pay owed to them."<sup>139</sup> Lactantius also strongly emphasises the separation of soldier and civilian when he describes Constantine, in the context of Diocletian and Galerius's discussions over the succession to the first Tetrarchy, as: "Beloved by the soldiers and by choice of the private citizens."<sup>140</sup>

In many ways therefore, the 'Roman army' could still be understood in concrete terms during the late Roman period. It was formed of *milites* who undertook *militia*. They fought professionally at public expense, provided for materially by the imperial administration and, most importantly, their violence was legitimised by service to the emperor. This last point is

---

<sup>137</sup> *Panegyrici Latini*, X.2.5.-6: "*Quae te prima signa imperatoris auspiciis inaugurarint, quae castradominum habitura susceperint, quae bella diduxerint, quae victoriae auxerint?*".

<sup>138</sup> *Panegyrici Latini*, X.6.4.: "*Togam praetextam sumpto thorace mutasti, hastam posito scipione rapuisti, a tribunali temet in campum, a curuli in equum transtulisti et rursus ex acie cum triumpho redisti...*" (As swiftly and easily as you doffed the *toga praetexta* and put on the cuirass, laying down staff and seizing a spear, transporting yourself from the tribunal to the field of battle, from the curule seat to horseback, and returning again from the fray in triumph).

<sup>139</sup> *Panegyrici Latini*, III.1: "*Milites saepe anteactis temporibus ludo habitiprasus stipendium flagiterant*".

<sup>140</sup> Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, 18.10: "*A militibus amaretur, a privatis et optaretur*".

a particularly pertinent factor as we move from the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> into the 5<sup>th</sup> century, as there was a significant fragmentation of political authority in Gaul caused by the rise of many different forms of alternative claims to loyalty.<sup>141</sup> One could qualify the issue of legitimacy as being represented by an: “Emperor with general acceptance amongst a significant number of the Empire’s political classes.” A complicating factor is that the words *militia* and *exercitus* appear to have had more abstract meanings. It will be argued that an optimal approach to this question is to focus less on the institutional structure of the army, which can be seen as a product of an anachronistic tendency in modern scholarship, and rather to view Roman soldiers as social beings, defined by a dynamic set of identities and attributes which proved surprisingly resilient despite the significant changes that occurred during this period. This conceptual system continued to provide a robust cultural framework for legalised state violence, even when the logistical system supporting it began to dissolve. These complex identities are central to any understanding of how the military functioned in Late Roman society.

This chapter will examine the extant written sources to assess what light they shine on the different military identities and structures that appear in Gaul during the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries. As there are few texts directly relevant to *Belgica II*, texts that either focus more broadly on Gaul, or that can provide a direct analogy, will be used.

## 1.2 Defining *militia*

Ancient written sources usually refer to the Roman army in terms of *militia* (armed service): where *milites* (soldiers) are serving in an *exercitus* (army). However, the meaning of *militia* is quite a general one. It can mean ‘service’ in a broader sense than a purely military one; in the imperial bureaucracy for example. There were deliberate parallels between the two branches of imperial service. Civilian officials were paid in rations (*annona*), and possessed a similar uniform (*vestis*), with belt (*cingulum*) and the ‘crossbow’ brooches (*fibulae*) that denoted an individual’s status in both branches of service.<sup>142</sup> One could argue that the

---

<sup>141</sup> This can include usurpers, who proliferate in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century, and barbarian leaders who emerge as *reges* e.g. Alaric possibly from military contexts. We also have Roman military leaders who while not Emperors themselves are politically dominant – often described as “generalissimos” e.g. Stilicho; see J. M. O'Donnell, *Generalissimos of the late Roman Empire* (Albany, 1983).

<sup>142</sup> See for example E. Swift, *The End of the Western Roman Empire* (Stroud, 2000), pp. 27 – 52.



distinction between a *miles* and a civilian undergoing *militia* would be obvious to a contemporary observer. Ammianus Marcellinus refers to himself as: “*Haec ut miles quondam et Graecus*”.<sup>143</sup> It would be difficult to understand this as meaning anything but a soldier, given the biographical details of military service he recounts in his *Res Gestae*.<sup>144</sup> On the other hand, Ammianus served as a *protector* whose functions, while primarily military, were far removed from the duties of the humble *pedes*, involving administrative work such as intelligence gathering.<sup>145</sup> *Agentes in rebus* and *notarii* were civil functionaries who also undertook military roles, such as intelligence gathering.<sup>146</sup> There are also examples of ‘civilian’ officials commanding soldiers in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, such as when Iovius, the *Quaestor Palatium Sacrum*, commanded an army group in Julian’s march to meet Constantius II in 361, and was detached to besiege Aquileia.<sup>147</sup> The other major group of *milites* were the *fabricenses* who worked in the imperial arms factories (*fabricae*). Their service granted them the same status as other *milites*: the capacity to draw rations from the *annona*, exercise legal exemptions and a hierarchical system of promotions.<sup>148</sup> The precise meaning of *militia* can therefore be elusive.

The administration of the late Roman Empire was characterised by the strict separation of civilian and military responsibilities.<sup>149</sup> Praetorian Prefects, for example, had their military responsibilities removed during Constantine’s reign, and these were then taken on by the *magistri militum*.<sup>150</sup> All the examples of overlapping military and civilian roles quoted above can be explained as situations where personal loyalty to the Emperor overrode institutional boundaries rather than implying a systematic blurring of competences.<sup>151</sup> It seems unlikely that individuals could mistake their institutional role: Symmachus uses the adjective *militaris* and legal texts use the term *armata* to distinguish between the civilian and military

<sup>143</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XXXI.16.9.

<sup>144</sup> For Ammianus as soldier see introduction, notes 81 – 83.

<sup>145</sup> A. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284 – 602* (Oxford, 1964), pp. 636 – 40.

<sup>146</sup> See N. Austin and N. B. Rankov, *Exploratio: Military and Political Intelligence in the Roman World* (London, 1995), pp. 219-20 and 224-25 for further development.

<sup>147</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XXI.8.3; also see Florentius the Praetorian Prefect advising Julian to attack the Alamanni at Strasbourg in 357, XVI.12.14.

<sup>148</sup> S. James, ‘The *Fabricae*: State Arms Factories of the Later Roman Empire’, in J.C. Coulston, ed., *Military Equipment and the Identity of Roman Soldiers* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 275 – 76.

<sup>149</sup> S. Mitchell, *A History of the Later Roman Empire 284-641* (Oxford, 2007), p. 165.

<sup>150</sup> A. H. M. Jones, *op. cit.*, (1964), pp. 608 – 10.

<sup>151</sup> R.S.O. Tomlin, ‘*Notitia Dignitatum Omnium, tam Civiliam quam Militarium*’, in J. C. Mann, R. Goodburn and P. Bartholomew, eds., *Aspects of the Notitia Dignitatum* (Oxford, 1976), p. 193.

branches of the imperial service.<sup>152</sup> The *Codex Theodosianus* preserves two rescripts that discuss the confusion over whether it fell within the remit of the Praetorian Prefect or the *Magister Militum* to deal with an appeal when a provincial governor had conducted a case against a soldier.<sup>153</sup> Soldiers' weapons and uniforms would have been unambiguous to a contemporary observer, additionally reflecting their particular regimental affiliations.<sup>154</sup> A common theme throughout Roman history was the symbolic importance of the soldier's uniform, which was commonly displayed in public art (e.g. funerary reliefs) and also represented status and hierarchy within the army.<sup>155</sup>

Hostility between the civilians and soldiers is a *topos* in late Roman sources, which further suggests the maintenance of distinctive identities. At Cabylona (Chalons-sur-Saone) in 354, the failure of the Praetorian Prefect, Rufinus, to produce supplies caused problems according to Ammianus: "He (Rufinus) was forced to go in person before the troops, who were aroused both by the scarcity and by their natural savage temper, and besides they were naturally inclined to be harsh and bitter towards men in civil positions."<sup>156</sup> Aurelius Victor, writing during the 350s, rarely has anything good to say about *milites*. *De Caesaribus* makes several damning comments about soldiers' greed and corruption. In the account of Gordian I, Victor writes: "The soldiers were angry at being deceived by these promises (rewards offered) being the sort of men who are very greedy for money and loyal and true solely for profit."<sup>157</sup> There is damnation by faint praise when discussing the election of Claudius Gothicus: "The soldiers, whom the desperate state of affairs compelled, quite contrary to their natural inclination, to make the right decisions....eagerly approved and

---

<sup>152</sup> Symmachus, *Ep.* III.67: "*Militiae stipendiis cum honestate perfunctum...legimitia...praemia...veteranis.*"

<sup>153</sup> For example *Cod. Th.* 1.5.10 (393); *Cod. Th.* 1.7.2 (393).

<sup>154</sup> The best evidence for this are the unit shield patterns that survive in the *Notitia Dignitatum*. Their accuracy has been challenged, but there is sufficient indication from other sources that while some of the shield depictions may be authentic e.g. the Cornuti, many of the emblems in the surviving 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century copies are products of later copyists' imaginations: R. Grigg, 'Inconsistency and Lassitude: the Shield Emblems of the *Notitia Dignitatum*,' *Journal of Roman Studies*, 73, (1983), 132-142.

<sup>155</sup> For the importance of the soldiers' uniform and display see M. Spiedel, 'Dressed for the Occasion. Clothes and Context in the Roman Army,' in M.-L. Nosc, ed., *Wearing the Cloak: Dressing the Soldier in Roman Times* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 1 – 12.

<sup>156</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XIV.10.4: "*Unde Rufinus ea tempestate praefectus praetorio, ad discrimen trusus est ultimum. Ire enim ipse compellebatur ad militem, quem exagitabat inopia simul et feritas, et alioqui coalito more in ordinarias dignitates asperum semper et saevum.*"

<sup>157</sup> Aurelius Victor, *de Caesaribus* 26.

praised the accession of Claudius.”<sup>158</sup> He condemns several other groups too, such as the *actuarii* and the *agentes in rebus*, for their corruption.<sup>159</sup> Victor’s grievances appear to have their origins in resentment amongst the senatorial class at the political influence of their social inferiors.<sup>160</sup> When the matter of succession is referred to the Senate by the soldiers after the death of Aurelian, Victor comments: “The matter was debated with propriety and moderation on both sides, virtues rare among people...and almost unheard of with soldiers.”<sup>161</sup> The viewpoint of men in civilian positions is not exclusively hostile. The author of *de Rebus Bellicis* suggests a range of rather impractical improvements to the military establishment, which shows the active interest in military policy amongst bureaucrats. His ideas include an attempt to curb expenditure by having soldiers serve for shorter periods of time, and subsequently using the younger veterans to cultivate land more vigorously and thus increasing the number of taxpayers.<sup>162</sup> Eutropius, another civilian official, mentions these issues more circumspectly in his *Breviarum*, but several times describes a clear dichotomy between soldiers and provincials.<sup>163</sup>

*Militia* had a general applicability to anyone serving the emperor. What this brief textual survey tends to suggest is that despite the lack of precision demanded by a modern reader in Latin terminology, it was possible for contemporaries to make distinctions between the different branches of *milites* in the 4<sup>th</sup> century.

### 1.3 ‘Militia’ as a rhetorical category

*Militia* was also a rhetorical concept that could easily become detached from the concrete reality of soldiers garrisoned in forts, or fighting under imperial command. It gradually transferred into a Christian milieu from the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD onwards and was deeply ingrained into Christian rhetoric by the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries when ecclesiastical and

---

<sup>158</sup> Aurelius Victor, *de Caesaribus*, 34.1. See also the successes of Probus: “He had crushed the barbarian tribes which had invaded when our Emperors had been killed by the treachery of their own men.”

<sup>159</sup> For *Actuarii* see *de Caesaribus*, 33; for *Agentes in Rebus* see *de Caesaribus*, 39, where they compared with *frumentarii*.

<sup>160</sup> H.W. Bird *Aurelius Victor: a Historiographical Study* (Liverpool, 1984).

<sup>161</sup> Aurelius Victor, *de Caesaribus* 35: “*Ita utrimque pudore ac modestia certabatur, rara in hominibus virtute, rebus praesertim huiusmodi, ac prope ignota militibus*”.

<sup>162</sup> Anon., *De Rebus Bellicis*, V.

<sup>163</sup> Eutropius, *Breviarum*, 10.3.

hagiographical sources often talk of *milites Dei*, usually translated as ‘soldiers of Christ’.<sup>164</sup> The term derived from the analogy of spiritual combat against the Devil and his works to organised service given to an *imperator* i.e. Christ. An organised service is even more applicable to the organisation of many of the earliest ascetic groups on institutional/military lines.<sup>165</sup> Orosius uses the term in the context of Valens’ persecution of monks (*monachi*) in Egypt while forcing them into military service (*ad militiam*): describing them as: “True soldiers of Christ”.<sup>166</sup> The analogy of military service is stronger in other texts. Lactantius in the early 4<sup>th</sup> century uses it in the context of combat when describing the martyrdom of Donatus: “A soldier of Christ such that no enemy can storm you... he (the devil) found he could not conquer you in combat.”<sup>167</sup> St Augustine makes the explicit comparison when writing to the Comes Bonifatius that the *milites Christi* undertake spiritual combat as opposed to physical combat of soldiers.<sup>168</sup> Eugippius’s *Life of Saint Severinus* provides a neat juxtaposition between *milites* of the Empire and a *miles Dei* when describing Severinus’ activities in Raetia. The hagiographical aim of the work would seem to be to illustrating the ephemeral nature of protection provided by the powers of the world in comparison with the power of God. In Eugippus’ account Saint Severinus provides the only effective defence against barbarian raiders and it is he who negotiates with the local raiding tribes, while the ability of the Empire to provide protection through its officials and soldiers is negligible.<sup>169</sup> This evolution is a testament to how the Roman Empire’s increasing weaknesses saw loyalty to Christianity becoming not only an alternative source of loyalty, but also protection and patronage.

This leads to an important aspect of *militia*, the extent to which the term was a gauge of political loyalty as much as a professional identity. Grünewald has argued that the term *latrones* (bandits) was not functional, but rather a means of abusing individuals and groups that had opposed the established system. Those setting themselves up as usurpers to

---

<sup>164</sup> For St Paul’s use of the whole armour of God and a series of other military metaphors through to the helmet of righteousness amongst other military metaphors see Ephesians 6.11 – 17.

<sup>165</sup> A good example is the monk Pachomius, who was a former *miles*: P. Rousseau, *Pachomius: The Making of a Community in Fourth-century Egypt* (UCLA, 1999).

<sup>166</sup> Orosius, *Historia contra Paganos*, VII.33.3: “Huc tribuni et milites missi, qui sanctos ac ueros milites Dei alio nomine persecutionis abstraherent. interfecta sunt ibi agmina multa sanctorum”.

<sup>167</sup> Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, 16.9-10: “Hoc est militem Christi....quem tot proeliis expertus est non posse superare.”

<sup>168</sup> Augustine, *Ep.*, CCXX.9 to Count Bonifatius uses the term, “*Milites Christi*”.

<sup>169</sup> Eugippius, *Vita Severini*, ch. 4, 11 & 19.

challenge the legitimate emperor became tyrants and bandits in the written sources.<sup>170</sup> An example would be the abuse heaped on Carausius and the *bagaudae* in Gaul during the 280s and 290s. The *bagaudae* are dismissed as peasant insurgents whose attempts to fight are mocked by Maximian's panegyricist.<sup>171</sup> One must take these accounts with caution: historians have been too quick to fit these accounts into Marxian visions of peasant revolution.<sup>172</sup> This is another collective Roman term describing a wide range of activities.<sup>173</sup> Coins minted by a named bagaudic leader, Amandus, showing him as a Roman emperor are Renaissance fakes, which undermines attempts to argue the revolt was another usurpation of the period.<sup>174</sup> Carausius's origins are obscure, but he appears to have been a military officer who was forced to revolt when he fell out with Maximian.<sup>175</sup> His condemnation in the sources as a non-Roman warlord is contradicted the traditional policies he seems to have pursued.<sup>176</sup> The immense difficulties in unravelling such one-sided accounts aside, this would suggest how flexible the concept of *militia* could be when applied to particular situations.

Although bearing arms was illegal there was probably no state monopoly in reality.<sup>177</sup> Civilians, slaves, urban citizens or veterans seem to have been responsible for some defensive activities in the late Empire, but on an *ad hoc* basis as there seems to have been

---

<sup>170</sup> T. Grünewald, *Bandits in the Roman Empire* (London, 2004), pp. 80-87.

<sup>171</sup> *Bacaudae: Pan. Lat. X.4.3* "An non illud malum simile monstrorum biformium in hisce terris fuit quod tua, Caesar, nescio utrum magis fortitudine repressum sit an clementia mitigatum, cum militaris habitus ignari agricolae appetuerunt, cum arator peditem, cum pastor equitum, cum hostem barbarum suorum cultorum rusticus uastator imitates est?" (Was this not similar to that calamity of two shaped monsters in our land, I know not whether to say suppressed by your bravery, Caesar, or calmed by your mercy? Inexperienced farmers sought military garb; the plowman imitated the infantryman, the shepherd the cavalryman, the rustic ravager of his own crops the barbarian enemy. This I pass over in haste, for I see that such are your dutiful feelings that you prefer that victory to be cast into oblivion rather than glorified).

<sup>172</sup> E. A. Thompson, 'Peasant Revolts in Late Roman Gaul and Spain', *Past & Present*, 2 (1952-1953), 11 -23.

<sup>173</sup> J.C. Sánchez León, *Los Bagaudas: rebeldes, demonios, mártires : revueltas campesinas en Galia e Hispania durante el Bajo Imperio* (Jaén, 1996)

<sup>174</sup> L. Okamura, 'Social Disturbances in Late Roman Gaul: Deserters, Rebels and Bagaudae,' in T. Yuge and M. Doi, eds., *Forms of Control and subordination in Antiquity* (Leiden, 1988), pp. 288 – 302, argues for the usurpation theory while admitting the evidence is thin. Cathy King *pers. comm.* does not believe that any of the recorded coins, e.g. the three mentioned in *RIC V.2*, are authentic as the earliest publication of any Amandus coin dates to 1579. Coins from previously unknown Gallic usurpers have been discovered recently, e.g. Domitianus: A. Benenson, 'Finding a lost emperor in a clay pot', *Archaeology*, (October 11, 2005) <<http://www.archaeology.org/online/features/coin/index.html>>

<sup>175</sup> The main sources for Carausius's origins are Aurelius Victor, *de Caesaribus*, 39. 17 – 20 and Eutropius, *Breviarum*, 9.20-21.

<sup>176</sup> P. J. Casey, *Carausius and Allectus: The British Usurpers* (London, 1994).

<sup>177</sup> *C. Th.*, 15.15.1 (364).

no permanent institutional structure to organise this.<sup>178</sup> A law of Valentinian III reduced the official restrictions on holding weapons legally in the face of a serious Vandal threat to Italy in 440, but the law stresses that while local people can use weapons to defend themselves the key principles of free birth and public discipline were not to be impaired.<sup>179</sup> This reads as a weak attempt to legitimise current practice rather than evidence of the iron control of the Roman state, in the 5<sup>th</sup> century at least. The increasing prevalence of weapons burials in northern Gaul during the latter half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century onwards testify to an increasingly tenuous control by central imperial authorities.<sup>180</sup> The centrality of imperial legitimacy to armed groups continues through the various ‘barbarian’ groups operating in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, such as the Visigoths, who have been argued to represent ‘Roman’ armies.<sup>181</sup>

*Militia* was therefore not just a discrete reference to a particular institutional structure, but also a more general sense of political and military loyalty. The Roman Empire, when it was weak, probably spent much of its time legitimising armed groups that were formed outside of routine imperial procedures, so that they could be integrated into the military framework based on the group’s decision to show loyalty to the emperor.

#### 1.4 Army or Armies?

Translating *exercitus* as, “the Roman army”, in the late antique period can be very misleading if it is used to conceive of a unitary military institution in the way one would discuss a modern, national force such as the British or Turkish army, or even the Roman citizen army of the Republic. The rhetorical device praising victorious legions of one glorious Roman army that survive in many late imperial texts shows how deeply the image of Roman military power projected during the great period of imperial expansion, between 100 BC and AD 100, was embedded in the collective memory. Texts such as Claudian’s panegyrics discuss Roman soldiers in anachronistic terms of, “Maniples”, and, “Cohorts”, that allude to the early Empire and its military successes.<sup>182</sup> A survey of the use of the term *exercitus* in the *Panegyrici Latini* illustrates how the word was used across the 4<sup>th</sup> century. When

<sup>178</sup> H. Elton, *Warfare in Roman Europe, AD 350-425* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 102-3.

<sup>179</sup> *Nov. Val.* 9 (Rome, 440).

<sup>180</sup> See n. 300.

<sup>181</sup> P. Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy 489 – 554* (Cambridge, 1997).

<sup>182</sup> e.g. Claudian, *Contra Rufinum* II.173: “*Pugnandi cupidas accendit voce cohortes.*” (He (Stilicho) influences with his voice the hearts of the cohorts with fire).

discussing the marriage of Constantine and Fausta in 307, the panegyricist makes a digression on the importance of procreation for the: “Human strength of Roman armies,” which could also be rendered as: “The armies of the Romans”.<sup>183</sup> However one translates it *exercitus* is qualified by, “Roman”, rather than being described as a separate entity. In the panegyric addressed to Maximian at Trier in the late 280s the author stresses the emperor’s piety in his desperation to get back to: “Your army”, (*exercitus vestros*).<sup>184</sup> Nazarius’s panegyric to Constantine mentions: “This invincible army of yours”, (*exercitum tuum*).<sup>185</sup> In Constantine’s campaign of 312 against Maxentius, he was opposed at Verona by: “A large enemy army”, (*hostium exercitum*).<sup>186</sup>

In 5<sup>th</sup> century texts *exercitus* is increasingly used in contexts where it is defined by the commanding general, in a manner reminiscent of the personal loyalty of soldiers to the dynasts of the late Republic.<sup>187</sup> The Gallic Chronicler of 452 describes the actions of: “*Theodosius cum exercitu*”, in 388.<sup>188</sup> This can be rendered as Theodosius with an army, as well as Theodosius with the army. Hydatius’s Chronicle discusses the revolt of Heraclianus in 413 in terms of an *exercitus* that accompanied him: a body of soldiers presumably loyal to him.<sup>189</sup> Prosper of Aquitaine does not qualify the term: “*Arbogast magister exercitus*”, (Arbogast master of the/a army) or: “*Castino, qui exercitui magister militum praefuit*”, (Castinus who commanded a/the army), but the juxtaposition of leading military figures and the accompanying *exercitus* suggests the connection between the two.<sup>190</sup> The term is also used for those fighting the Romans, as shown by the Gallic Chronicler of 452 who describes how Radagaisus divided his *exercitus* into 3 parts before they were destroyed by Stilicho in 406.<sup>191</sup> *Milites* is often used as a synonym for *exercitus*, being rendered by translators as ‘soldiery’. Both Prosper and the Chronicler of 452 report the proclamation of Magnus

<sup>183</sup> *Panegyrici Latini* VII.2.4: “*Et quasi fontem humani roboris semper Romanis exercitibus ministrarunt.*”

<sup>184</sup> *Panegyrici Latini* XI.12.3.

<sup>185</sup> *Panegyrici Latini* IV.7.4: “*Illam invictum exercitum tuum.*”

<sup>186</sup> *Panegyrici Latini* XII.8.1: “*Maximo hostium exercitu tenebatur.*”

<sup>187</sup> C. Ando, ‘The Army and the Urban Élite’, in P. Erdkamp, ed., *A Companion to the Roman Army* (Oxford, 2007), p. 364.

<sup>188</sup> *Gall. Chron.* 452, 18 (388): “*Theodosius cum exercitu ad Italiam transgrediens Maximum interfecit.*”

<sup>189</sup> Hydatius, 40.19: “*Heraclianus mouens exercitum de Africa adversus Honorium.*”

<sup>190</sup> Prosper, *Chron.* 737 (392).

<sup>191</sup> *Gall. Chron.* 452, 52 (405): “*Cuius in tres partes per diversos principes divisus exercitus.*”

Maximus of 388 in Britain “*per seditionem militum*” (by conspiracy of the soldiers) and “*a militibus*” (by the soldiers).<sup>192</sup>

*Exercitus* is therefore a collective term for a group of *milites*, rather than meaning ‘the army’ in the modern sense. The fact that neither the *magistri* nor the Emperor can be shown to have had direct command of all Roman fighting men at that point shows that using *exercitus* as a precise term describing a single organisation is futile. The political fragmentation of the Empire during the late 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries saw a situation emerge analogous with the 3<sup>rd</sup> century crisis, where there were many armies operating within imperial territory. It could be argued this analysis cannot be sustained by placing so much weight on the use of technical terms in rhetorical speeches by civilians. Indeed, a deep underlying hostility to the business of war has been detected in many of these works, such as in Prosper.<sup>193</sup> While it would be easy to dismiss panegyric works as empty formulae and propaganda constructed to demonstrate the arcane classical knowledge of the authors rather than give a straightforward account of the events they purport to report, a blanket condemnation is too simplistic. They were composed by professional rhetors, not mere functionaries. Speeches were given with an aim at securing patronage, but were also a reflection of the opinions of the educated élite, part of constantly evolving and vital part of imperial ceremony which aimed to negotiate power between the ruler and the ruled.<sup>194</sup> To be credible these authors had to reflect a reality that was plausible to the audience, many of whom, in official imperial occasions, would have been senior military figures.<sup>195</sup> These texts use language that reflects a form of political and social reality, admittedly refined through an ornate literary construction, and cannot be suggested as mere artifice.

Support for this emphasis on the multiplicity of military structures in the late Roman period can be found in the surviving legal and administrative texts, which show that soldiers were divided into many different serving categories, graded by pay and status. The top grade was for those who served in the *scholae palatinae* or bodyguard regiments, which accompanied the imperial court. The *comitatus* or ‘field army’ as it is usually known had 3 orders: *palatinae*, *comitatenses* and *pseudocomitatenses*, the latter being *limitanei* promoted to

---

<sup>192</sup> Prosper *Chron.*, 735 (384); *Chron.* 452, 379 (Gratian 3).

<sup>193</sup> S. Muhlberger, *The Fifth Century Chroniclers* (Leeds, 1990), p. 106.

<sup>194</sup> S. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1981).

<sup>195</sup> See the interaction between military figures such as Symmachus and the general Bauto in the Altar of Victory controversy: Symmachus, *Ep.*, IV.15 – 16.



serve in the *comitatus*.<sup>196</sup> According to the *Notitia Dignitatum* lists for Gaul, the *Magister Equitum Galliarum* disposed of a series of units in the early 5<sup>th</sup> century described as *equites*, *auxilia palatina*, *legiones comitatenses*, *legiones palatinae* and *legiones pseudocomitatenses*.<sup>197</sup> In addition there were various *castella* located around the river frontiers and coasts commanded by *praefecti* of various units: *milites*, *cohortes*, *alae* and *numeri*. There were no palatine *scholae* or *comitatus* units in Gaul when the list was compiled in the early 5<sup>th</sup> century as the imperial court had moved to north Italy by this point. However, these units would have been present at various points in the 4<sup>th</sup> century when there were *Augusti* or *Caesares* residing there. Soldiers of course came from a variety of sources: tribes defeated in war and enrolled (*dediticii*) or from prisoners settled on land as farmers (*laeti*) for example. The Roman military system seems able to have been able to integrate these into effective fighting units, but the cultural and social mix added to the institutional complexity.

The difficulties of using surviving evidence is inevitably glossed by scholars attempting to answer queries by combing the literary sources for nuggets of information that can be used to create interpretational models. However, modern authors are accustomed to contemporary institutions that employ precise terminology to describe concrete reality. The surviving evidence for the late Roman army is often frustratingly allusive which undermines any confident conclusions. This can be seen in the case of the *limitanei*. The earliest, explicit use of the term is from 363, but the earliest reference to the concept of soldiers being defined by the frontier where they served is found in a law of 325 in the *Codex Theodosianus* which refers to *riparenses* – or river bank soldiers.<sup>198</sup> Whether this is a technical term, or merely a description of where the soldiers were stationed is unclear. Isaac has argued that the term *limes* is an administrative term in the 4<sup>th</sup> century that describes a frontier zone under the command of a *dux* and is not a ‘defended border’ or frontier, which is often how it is understood by moderns obsessed with identifying formal administrative boundaries.<sup>199</sup> It makes sense to elide these two terms together as representing the same

---

<sup>196</sup> M. Nicasie, *Twilight of Empire: the Roman army from the reign of Diocletian until the Battle of Adrianople* (Amsterdam, 1998), p. 17.

<sup>197</sup> *Notitia Dignitatum*, Occ. VII, 63-111; 166-178.

<sup>198</sup> *Cod. Th.*, 12.1.56 (363); *C. Th.*, 7.20.4 (325).

<sup>199</sup> B. Isaac, ‘Meaning of the terms of *limes* and *limitanei*’, *Journal of Roman Studies*, 78 (1988), 125-147 contra E. Luttwak, *Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire* (Baltimore, 1976).

phenomenon, and while this may well be correct, one should not fail to acknowledge the inbuilt assumptions of such an approach. This lack of precision illustrates how many Latin terms are liable to miscomprehension by giving them anachronistic definitions that are not warranted by the context. When one attempts to reconstruct the army's institutional structures, one can easily knit the fragmentary and problematic evidence into a tidy narrative that may fail to appreciate that changes could have been very *ad hoc* and messy. The huge variety of different titles used by *limitanei* units that are recorded in the *Notitia Dignitatum* indicates that the term is simply a convenient label grouping together army units in a similar location rather than representing a new strategic doctrine.

This issue also applies to the *comitatenses*, which are often glossed in the literature as 'mobile field armies.' Constantine is often given the credit for their creation, while others stress the importance of precedents found under Diocletian and the Tetrarchs.<sup>200</sup> However these scholarly constructs can move the discussion away from the original meaning. The term was coined in reference to inscriptions that described the soldier: "In the sacred *comitatus*."<sup>201</sup> The term is explicitly attested for Diocletian in the Acts of Maximilianus, where two soldiers are said to serve: "In the sacred *comitatus* of our Lords Diocletian and Maximian."<sup>202</sup> Similarly, the Abinnaeus archive from Egypt discusses recruits being sent: "To the *comitatus*."<sup>203</sup> Selective quotation could imply there is more institutional coherence to 'the' *comitatus* than is apparent elsewhere. The term *comitatenses* is derived from *comites* and *comitatus* – the entourage, or 'court' accompanying the emperor as he moved around the Empire hence soldiers were part of the *comitatus* rather than *being* the *comitatus*.<sup>204</sup> The term is also used in civilian contexts. An archivist (*adiutor memoriae*), was granted rations while: "Returning to the sacred *comitatus* of Maximianus Caesar (Galerius)", in 293.<sup>205</sup> As Le Bohec has recently argued, "mobile field armies", are a figment of historical

---

<sup>200</sup> A. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 621, credits Constantine with the significant reform but acknowledges that this built on Diocletian's creation of a mobile force.

<sup>201</sup> E.g. ILS 2781: "*Lectus in sacro comit(atu) lanciarus*."

<sup>202</sup> Dating of AD 295, *Acts of Maximilianus*, 2.8-9.

<sup>203</sup> H.I. Bell, ed., *The Abinnaeus archive: papers of a Roman officer in the reign of Constantine II* (Oxford, 1962), P. Abbin. 19, where it is contrasted explicitly with local service.

<sup>204</sup> R. S. O. Tomlin, 'A.H.M. Jones and the Army of the Fourth Century', in D. Gwyn, ed., *A. H. M. Jones and the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford, 2008), p. 156.

<sup>205</sup> J. Rea, R. Salomons and K. Worp, 'A ration-warrant for an *adiutor memoriae*,' *Yale Classical Studies*, 28 (1985), 101-13.

imagination since the 19<sup>th</sup> century and our texts are referencing military units' social position rather than their institutional role.<sup>206</sup>

Again, one could criticise the present argument as putting too much weight on semantics. The evidence on the army recorded by Ammianus and Vegetius appears more functional and descriptive than the material discussed so far. This would suggest that the Roman military had a clear internal sense of institutional coherence. Senior officers were able to move easily between different parts of the Empire to take charge of local military forces. Ursicinus, the *magister equitum* under whom Ammianus served as a *protector* during the 350s, was moved from command in the East under Gallus to the West where he was sent to Gaul to assassinate Silvanus before returning to the East to face the Persian invasion of 359.<sup>207</sup> The Gallic commanders amongst Julian's army that invaded Persia in 363, who are found debating the succession, Nevitta and Dagalaifus, illustrate an institutional coherence that must have existed for the Roman army to be militarily effective.<sup>208</sup> Imperial coinage used a variety of terms appealing to the "*exercitus*" in its coinage, which shows an attempt to support and sustain a corporate identity on that most crucial of elements: pay.<sup>209</sup>

While this is a reasonable point, operational co-operation can surely work within a general military 'culture' rather than having to be accounted for by a singular institution. We should therefore think of there being many Roman armies in the late antique world rather than discussing 'the' Roman army. Military identity was a function of the way each particular unit interacted with the imperial supply networks and their political loyalty to the imperial dynasty. The central authority usually co-ordinated myriad local forces by controlling official appointments, and direct command was usually only exercised in the presence of an emperor. One can speculate that this resulted in considerable local autonomy and variety, which is why we must now look at regional dynamics.

---

<sup>206</sup> Y. Le Bohec, '*Limitanei et comitatenses*': Critique de la thèse attribuée à Theodor Mommsen', *Latomus*, LXVI.3 (2007), pp. 659-672.

<sup>207</sup> J.F. Matthews, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus* (London, 1989), pp. 33-47.

<sup>208</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XXV.5.2.

<sup>209</sup> The Trier mint issued a series of gold coins through the 4<sup>th</sup> century with the legend, "*Gloria Exercitus*," see J. Pearce, *Valentinian I to Theodosius I RIC IX* (London, 1961), p. 126; "*Virtus Exercitus*," see J. Pearce *op. cit.*, p. 19; Constantine also released a silver coin in 309, "*Virtus Exercitus Gall(iarum)*," which shows a more localized appeal - see P. Brunn, *Constantine and Licinius, A.D. 313-337 RIC VIII* (London, 1966), p. 223.

## 1.4 Regionalism and local identities

There was a strong dynamic within the military structures of the Empire that could be described as ‘localism.’ An excellent illustration of the local ties that soldiers developed in the 4<sup>th</sup> century can be seen in the appeal to the Caesar Julian by Constantius II for reinforcements for his forces fighting the Persians in 359. Julian argued that volunteers from across the Rhine would not serve if they had to be moved to the east.<sup>210</sup> The threat to their families from the Alamanni spread around the soldiers of the Petulantes at Paris when they were told of the plans to move them, and this led to their request for public transport to move their loved ones to safety.<sup>211</sup> Too much weight can be placed on this anecdote. It is part of Ammianus’ literary justification of Julian’s usurpation in 360: by making Constantius’ requests seem unreasonable it excuses the Caesar’s treason.<sup>212</sup> Some of Ammianus’ anecdotal evidence appears to have been based on his own experiences. He describes tensions during the siege of Amida between eastern soldiers and those from Gaul, created by their different tactical inclinations, which indicates the existence of local military cultures.<sup>213</sup> Claudian talks of the distinct eastern and Gallic military traditions in the context of Stilicho’s control over the armies of Theodosius combining the forces of the eastern Empire with those which followed Eugenius and Arbogast in 394.<sup>214</sup>

Another example of a tendency for soldiers to integrate into provinces are the *limitanei* who MacMullen viewed as becoming mere peasant-soldiers completely integrated into local society: a militia of part-time farmers supported by the land they were given by the state.<sup>215</sup> This view has been vigorously challenged. The evidence of the *Codex Theodosianus*, for example, states that *limitanei* were given land grants on their retirement, which seems odd if they already held land as their primary means of subsistence.<sup>216</sup> The limited surviving evidence also suggests that they were subject to military discipline in the same way as ‘regular’ soldiers were. The *Notitia Dignitatum* lists 17 units under the *Magister Peditum*

---

<sup>210</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XX,4.4.

<sup>211</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XX.4.4; 10-11.

<sup>212</sup> J. F. Matthews, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus*, (London, 1989), pp. 93 – 100

<sup>213</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XIX.6.

<sup>214</sup> Claudian, *Contra Rufinum*, II.100 – 116.

<sup>215</sup> R. MacMullen, *Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire* (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 47 – 68.

<sup>216</sup> A. Jones, *op. cit.*, (1964), pp. 649 – 655; supported by P. Southern and K. Dixon, *The Late Roman Army* (London, 1996), pp. 35-37; see also Justinian’s code (*CJ* 12.35.15): it is forbidden for soldiers “who get their arms and supplies from the state” to work in the fields or herd animals.

*Praesentalis* in the west who are called *pseudo-comitatenses* who were transferred to the central military command from the frontier, which presumably means they remained mobile and battle worthy.<sup>217</sup> Written accounts of the battle of Mursa in 351 mention large cavalry numbers that could only have been drafted from frontier units.<sup>218</sup> Scholarly orthodoxy holds that *limitanei* remained a well trained professional force until the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>219</sup>

*Laeti* have also been suggested to be part of the 'soldier-farmer' paradigm. There is no consensus on what they actually are. Possible suggestions include that they represented provincial populations reclaimed from captivity by barbarian raiders in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century; they could be settlements of people from outside the Empire brought in as prisoners after Imperial campaigns or they could be groups who moved in on a formal basis and were given land in response for promises of loyalty, and made liable for taxation and recruitment.<sup>220</sup> They were probably communities of farmers liable for military service, but covered a broad range of different phenomenon. *Foederati* are another group who have engendered enormous debate, but given the shortage of space, all that will be said about them is that they reflect the variety of different arrangements that could exist within the Roman 'military' network.<sup>221</sup>

---

<sup>217</sup> *ND Occ. V. 257-274* (ed. Seeck), which is supported strongly by B. Isaac, *The Limits of Empire* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 208-9.

<sup>218</sup> D. Hoffmann, *Das Spätromische Bewegungsheer und die Notitia Dignitatum* (Dusseldorf, 1969), pp. 193-4. This is also related to the argument that cavalry units were more likely to be found amongst '*limitanei*' given that cavalry are less mobile over long distances and periods of time. Infantry are easier to maintain in good order, so make up the bulk of the 'mobile armies'. See M. Whitby, 'Emperors and Armies', in S. Swain and M. Edwards, eds., *Approaching Late Antiquity: The Transformation from the early to the late Empire* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 156 – 186.

<sup>219</sup> H. Elton, *Warfare in Late Roman Europe* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 200-208.

<sup>220</sup> C.J. Simpson, 'Laeti in Northern Gaul: A Note on *Pan. Lat. VIII.21*', *Latomus* 36 (1977), 169 – 70, argues that the word order in the Latin text and its juxtaposition with "*Francus*" reflects a belief on the part of the panegyricist that they were discussing a particular tribal group rather than a legal definition of a heterogeneous group. Simpson argues that this legal meaning may have evolved later, but is not part of the origin of the group. This is developed in C. J. Simpson, 'Julian and the Laeti: A Note on Ammianus Marcellinus XX, 8, 13', *Latomus*, 36 (1977 [2]), 519-521, where he argues that the Laeti despatched by Julian to Constantius II are a distinct group within the Empire who maintained their tribal identity. Simpson has changed his argument 10 years later when he argues that they are in fact part of the mainstream military network and do not exist as independent barbarian groups or irregular militias C. J Simpson, 'Laeti in the Notitia Dignitatum. "Regular" Soldiers vs. "Soldier-Farmers"', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 66 (1988), 80 – 85.

<sup>221</sup> Most recent authors stress the range of different arrangements that result from the '*foederati*.' P. Heather stresses that in the 4<sup>th</sup> century the Roman state was very much with the whip hand in their relationship – see P. Heather, 'Foedera and foederati of the fourth century', in T.F.X. Noble *op. cit.*, (2006), pp. 292-308.

The impact of localism can be exaggerated if it is argued to represent an inevitable integration of soldiers into provincial social networks. The late Roman state raised its manpower and fulfilled its military functions through a variety of local expedients that would have contributed to a heterogeneous military force, and underlines again how particular unit traditions and routines would have been crucial in constructing an individual *miles* sense of themselves, which would have taken place within the overarching background of imperial pay and command structures. It is likely that there was considerable tension between these dynamic cultural forces, particularly given the vicissitudes of imperial politics in late Roman Gaul.

### 1.5 Change in the 5<sup>th</sup> century

The 5<sup>th</sup> century was a turning point for the Roman army. There is plenty of evidence can be drawn from the compilations of historical materials by the 5<sup>th</sup> century chroniclers which offer a supporting contemporary perspective. Hydatius, writing in Spain, can be quite generalised when he discusses military affairs. He refers to military victories of late 4<sup>th</sup> century Emperors in the most general of terms, e.g.: “*Creothingorum gens a Theodosio superatur*”.<sup>222</sup> This also applies in the case of civil war e.g.: “*Eugenius a Theodosio Augusto superatus occiditur*”.<sup>223</sup> Similarly, other 5<sup>th</sup> century leading generals in Gaul such as Aetius are given quite general notices: “*Aetio duce et magistro militum Burgundiorum caesa XX milia*”.<sup>224</sup> This could be argued to demonstrate a more amorphous military structure existed than was the case in the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Another example can be made by comparing the accounts of Magnus Maximus’ usurpation in 383 in two 5<sup>th</sup> century annals, Prosper Tiro and the ‘Chronicler of 452’ with that of the later ‘Chronicler of 511’. Both use the term *milites* when explaining the usurpation as a result of a mutiny by soldiers, but the ‘Chronicler of 511’ does not mention *milites* at all.<sup>225</sup> This could be a stylistic choice by the author, but also could be due to the fact that *milites* as a distinct social group did not make sense to an author in the early 6<sup>th</sup> century, as it still did in the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.

From the perspective of Gaul, there is clear evidence that a set of military identities, which appear quite traditional, continued to exist at the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century amongst the

---

<sup>222</sup> Hydatius, *Chronicle*, 76: “The people of the Greuthungi were defeated by Theodosius”.

<sup>223</sup> *ibid.*, 78: “Eugenius was defeated and killed by Theodosius Augustus”.

<sup>224</sup> *ibid.*, 94: “The *dux* and *Magister Militum* Aetius slaughtered twenty thousand Burgundians”.

<sup>225</sup> Prosper Tiro, *Chron.* (c. 1183, AD 384); *Gall. Chron.* 452 (OL.CCXC.III); *Gall. Chron.* 511, 3.517.

civilian élite. Sulpicius Severus' *Vita Sancti Martini* shows how the separation of the military class from the civilian population continued to be a real distinction. Martin's military service in the elite *scholae* seems to have drawn critical comment, as Sulpicius appears to be defending his subject. He writes that Martin entered the military unwillingly, preferring an ecclesiastical or contemplative role, and only did so because his father forced him to join by betraying him to the authorities! Martin's behaviour as a soldier, his humility when dealing with his military slave, and other good deeds such as the famous donation of half his military cloak (*vestem militiae*) to a beggar outside the gates of Amiens, clearly aimed to demonstrate how even a soldier may live a Christian life: "(He) behaved like a candidate for Baptism."<sup>226</sup> Sulpicius even manipulates the chronology of Martin's military service moving it from the time of Constantine and his sons to the late 350s under Julian, which is impossible given the evidence of Sulpicius' own writings and other sources on Martin.<sup>227</sup> Julian's appearance allows Sulpicius to show Martin standing up to the great imperial adversary to Christians, in the manner of military martyrologies and therefore exculpate Martin's professional background.<sup>228</sup> It is from this apologetic standpoint that Sulpicius introduces the idea of *caelestis militia*, which permits the acceptability of military service for a Christian. This clearly indicates that late 4<sup>th</sup> century readers would readily know who was a *miles* and who was not. This is confirmed by other saints' lives from the early 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>229</sup>

More support for this persistence of a recognisable military identity comes from the Gallic author of *Querolus*, a comedic play written in the first decades of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, which may have been dedicated to the famous poet Rutilius Claudius Namatianus.<sup>230</sup> The character Querolus, discussing what destiny he would choose for his life with his *lar familiaris*, comments on the desirability of choosing wealth and military honours (*honores militares*). The *lar* questions Querolus' suitability for such a profession: "Can you wage a campaign, parry a sword, break through a battle line?.... Therefore yield the booty and honours to

<sup>226</sup> Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini*, II.8: "Agebat quemdam bonis operibus baptismatis candidatum". For the donation to the beggar see *Vita Martini*, III.1-2.

<sup>227</sup> T. Barnes, 'The Military Career of Martin of Tours', *Analecta Bollandiana* CXIV (1996): 25-32.

<sup>228</sup> The best example is 'The Acts of Maximilian' in H. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs* 17 (Oxford, 1972), pp. 244 – 249 where Maximilian is executed after defying all attempts of the Governor of Africa to make him undertake *militia* for the Emperor.

<sup>229</sup> See for example Possidius, *Vita Augustini*, where soldiers appear on several occasions.

<sup>230</sup> C. Jacquemard-le Saos, ed., *Querolus* (comédie Latin anonyme) (Paris, 1994), pp. viii – xii.

those that can!".<sup>231</sup> While the author of *Querolus* makes no institutional assumption in this comment, that only a Roman *miles*, should be undertaking such tasks, the assumption that lies behind the text is that serving in the military required technical skill and specialisation that an individual that could not merely pick up on a whim. Hence comments about the disappearance of distinctions between soldiers and civilians are not applicable in a general sense here.

There is also continuity into the 5<sup>th</sup> century of the distinctive rhetorical context that we identified for *milites* in the previous sections, which is best illustrated by the official writings of Sidonius Apollinaris. In the 450s Sidonius could still draw a clear distinction between the military and civilian aspects of government by admitting that the Emperor Majorian needed to learn about the civil arts of government, having already mastered the military side.<sup>232</sup> The trinity of *signa-castra-bella* discussed above continues as a clear defining structure for the literary representation of *militia* well into the 5<sup>th</sup> century. Sidonius uses the term *signa* and *castra* several times, for example, to describe military activity. He describes Julius Caesar's armies in terms of their standards.<sup>233</sup> In discussing the army that Majorian assembled in northern Italy to move into Gaul, Sidonius describes the scene: "Now you (Majorian) were moving camp and thousands were thronging around your standards".<sup>234</sup> Sidonius is still using these terms in the panegyric to Anthemius in the late 460s. He discusses one of the Emperor's campaigns where: "Following your standards the soldiers felt they had not been deserted in the struggle".<sup>235</sup> The Theodosian Code also defines *milites* spatially as being identified with *castra*. For example in an edict issued in the early 5<sup>th</sup> century at Ravenna in the discussion of exemptions to the levying of supplies of recruits and horses *militares* were not permitted to claim their exemption if: "They have no experience of military camp".<sup>236</sup>

Similarly a precise identity of the Roman *miles* retains a clear meaning in the sources. Aetius is described as being reliant on a clearly limited pool of *milites*: "Aetius was disheartened to

---

<sup>231</sup> *Querolus*, II.29: "*Potes bellum gerere, ferrum expicere, aciem rumpere?... cede igitur praemio atque honoribus his quo possunt omnia.*"

<sup>232</sup> Sidonius, *Carmen* V (Ad Maiorianum), 297: "*Ne solem militis artem.*"

<sup>233</sup> Sidonius, *Carmen* VII.88-9: "*Victoria Caesar signa Caledonios transvexit ad usque Brittanos,*" not "legions" as Anderson renders it.

<sup>234</sup> Sidonius, *Carmen* V. 483-4: "*Iam castra movebas et te diversis stipabant milia signis.*"

<sup>235</sup> Sidonius, *Carmen* II. 286-7.: "*Tua signa secutus non se desertum sensit certamine miles.*"

<sup>236</sup> *Cod. Th.*, 11.18.1 (409/12 Ravenna).



act without prayer, money or soldiers".<sup>237</sup> Sidonius can distinguish between *milites* and other non-Roman soldiers, fighting for Rome (*auxilia*) when describing Aetius crossing of the Alps from Italy in 439 to deal with the Visigoths: "Aetius had scarce left the Alps, leading a thin, meagre force of auxiliaries without (Roman) soldiers".<sup>238</sup> This is supported by the Novel of Valentinian III issued in 440 at Rome where the threat of attack from the Vandals would be resisted by *milites* commanded by Sigisvult, the Magister Militum, who are distinguished from the *foederati* (federated allies) who were also there.<sup>239</sup> The context is also important here, as Valentinian is asking local citizens to help resist any attack: "The regulation is made for the safety of all that they shall undertake the responsibility of resisting the brigands."<sup>240</sup> The Novel stresses the exceptional circumstances of this law and it is clear that the traditional identity of the *miles* was still being articulated in the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.

As we have stressed so far, one cannot simply take the information at face value. The language of rhetorical sources is deliberately archaic, reflecting the stress on earlier model classical works which were taught in the late Roman schools.<sup>241</sup> The fact that Sidonius's panegyric to Majorian reflects the language of the Panegyricist of Maximian in 289 should be no surprise given that Sidonius probably read the published collection of *Panegyrici Latini* at some point in his education. That Sidonius's language shows continuity of form probably reflects attempts to deal with a rapidly changing world by pretending things were the same. Sidonius was not averse to manipulating his writing to present reality in the way that suited him at that time, as can be seen by his presentation of Theoderic II as an idealised Roman ruler.<sup>242</sup> The political contexts of his speeches are also important. He portrays Avitus possessing all the traditional military virtues of a Roman male, there is an implicit comparison of Avitus to Roman military heroes such as Cincinnatus when he describes his recall from a life of *otium* to serve with Aetius against the Huns in 451.<sup>243</sup> What Sidonius was doing was consciously playing down the fact that Avitus was raised to the purple through the military support of Theoderic II and the Visigoths.<sup>244</sup> The audience for Sidonius' speech

<sup>237</sup> Sidonius, *Carmen* VII.299-300: "*Nil prece, nil pretio, nil milite fractus agebat Aetius*".

<sup>238</sup> Sidonius, *Carmen* VII.328-9: "*Vix liquerat Alpes Aetius, tenue at rarum sine milite ducens robur in auxiliis*".

<sup>239</sup> See above p. 48.

<sup>240</sup> *Nov. Val. 9* Restoration of the right to use weapons (*De reddito jure armorum*).

<sup>241</sup> J. Harries, *Sidonius Apollinaris and the fall of Rome* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 1-4.

<sup>242</sup> Sidonius Apollinaris, *Ep.* 1.2.

<sup>243</sup> Recall from *otium*: Sidonius, *Carmen* VII, 314-350.

<sup>244</sup> J. Harries, *op. cit.*, (1994), pp. 67 – 68.

and Valentinian's edict were therefore part of an élite discourse that reflected the opinions of those at the centre of imperial administration, which of course wished to portray an unchanging continuity.

However, while such qualifications on the use of these texts are important, it is too simplistic to simply dismiss them. The concepts still had to be plausible and comprehensible for their audience. There is also evidence from other sources that give some credence to Sidonius' claim of 'business as usual.' The 5<sup>th</sup> century chroniclers give support for the continuation of a distinctive Roman military identity and structure in their brief entries on events of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. Prosper Tiro wrote in Rome from the 430s to the 450s, so one could argue his perspective is as restrictive as Sidonius, but he was from the southern half of Gaul so shared a similar background. In the entry for 423 he discusses Castinus' support for the usurper John: "Honorius died and John took his imperial power with the connivance, so it was believed, of Castinus who controlled an army".<sup>245</sup> A *magister militum* commanding an *exercitus* is consistent with Roman practice in the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Similarly, the account of 424 recounts the murder of a Praetorian Prefect by *milites*: "Exuperantius of Poitiers the Praetorian Prefect of Gaul was killed by a riot of the soldiers, and this deed was not avenged by John".<sup>246</sup> There is a degree of hostility to the military – both generals and soldiers – in Prosper's work which is very resonant of the attitude of Aurelius Victor in the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century discussed in the previous section.<sup>247</sup>

There is further support for the notion of a recognisably 'Roman' military system operating in the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. Aetius's *comes* Litorius is described as using his cavalry to transport 2 measures of wheat into the city of Narbonne, implying the continued existence and importance of the centralised supply network.<sup>248</sup> There is also support from the Gallic Chronicler of 452 whose language reflects what is found in Prosper, and from a Gallic

---

<sup>245</sup> Prosper Tiro, *Chron.* 1282 (423): "*Honorius moritur et imperium eius Iohannes occupant conivente, ut putabatur, Castino, qui exercitui magister militum praeterat.*"

<sup>246</sup> Prosper Tiro, *Chron.* 1285 (424): "*Exuperantius Pictavus praefectus praetorio Galliarum in civitate Arelatense militum seditione occisus est, idque apud Iohannem inultum fuit.*"

<sup>247</sup> S Muhlberger, *The Fifth Century Chroniclers: Prosper, Hydatius, and the Gallic Chronicler of 452* (Leeds, 1990), p. 94. Prosper does have good things to say about Boniface, but this was probably due to his connection with Augustine. See also the more ambivalent attitude to Aetius, influenced undoubtedly by his political ascendancy in the period, Muhlberger, *ibid.*, p. 98.

<sup>248</sup> Prosper Tiro, *Chron.* 1324 (436): "*Si quidem per singulos equites binis tritici modiis advectis strenuissime et hostes in fugam verterit et civitatem annona implerevit.*"

perspective.<sup>249</sup> The Chronicler doesn't simply mimic Prosper, having a more sympathetic view of Aetius, for example, but also has less interest and knowledge about political affairs so we are left with the problem of our views being shaped by people outside military contexts. One important point that appears in these sources is the geographical focus in the south of Gaul, indicating a shift in the centre of gravity in Roman military/political action from the Rhineland into Narbonensis and Aquitaine. What is clear is that the context of Roman military operations shifted in the 5<sup>th</sup> century and this is the significant point, as there was no longer a clear settled frontier zone where a military culture could evolve gradually.<sup>250</sup>

While an argument can be made for continuity of traditional Roman military communities through the 5<sup>th</sup> century, there must be a point at which there is a break with continuity otherwise the term 'Roman' is meaningless. The evidence presented so far is more suggestive than conclusive. A key text that supports a fundamental change in the nature of the Roman military is Vegetius's *Epitoma Rei Militaris*, which calls for a return to traditional Roman military practices in recruitment, training and equipment that were used during the Republican and early Imperial periods. Vegetius describes how in his time Roman provincials have been siphoned off into easier civilian careers, while soldiers have lost many of the traditional skills that made them distinct. This is clear in his famous comment that the soldiers had successfully lobbied to have their armour removed: "Thus with their chests and heads unprotected our soldiers have often been destroyed in engagements with the Goths through the multitude of their archers."<sup>251</sup> Vegetius has long been recognised to be arguing for an end to reliance on 'barbarian' troops, usually identified as *foederati*, upon whom the Emperor addressed by the work is increasingly reliant. He clearly implies that there was a clear distinction of who was a Roman soldier was and who wasn't. The problem is how far Vegetius can be taken at face value given that he was a mélange of antiquarian and romantic reactionary. It is hard to deny that he is not describing something fundamental except by dismissing him entirely on the basis that his conclusions don't agree with my own ideas. Vegetius' evidence does seem more persuasive than the evidence presented above,

---

<sup>249</sup> S. Muhlberger, *op. cit.*, (1990), p. 150.

<sup>250</sup> C. R. Whittaker, *The Frontiers of the Roman Empire* (Baltimore, 1994), pp. 247 – 265.

<sup>251</sup> Vegetius, *Epitome*: 1.20.2 "*Sic delectis pectoribus et capitibus congressi contra Gothos milites nostri multitudine sagittariorum saepe deleti sunt.*"

in that it seems directly focused on the contemporary military circumstances, but this could be misleading. Vegetius's writing was still part of a civilian genre, which produced works for the Emperor's attention recommending reform in the various spheres of government, similar to the author of *De Rebus Bellicis*. This writing was as drenched in the rhetorical culture of government functionaries as the writings of the lawyers and panegyricists discussed above. Vegetius is perhaps best seen as the other side of the rhetorical coin, which sought to pass ideas upwards rather than proclaim imperial decisions to the world.

The dating of Vegetius is difficult to establish with precision, but was probably between 383 and 450 on account of the reference to *divus Gratianus* and a *subscriptio* dating a manuscript to the consular year of its copying.<sup>252</sup> Establishing a reasonable timeframe is crucial as its opinions underpin interpretations of Roman military organisation in the 5<sup>th</sup> century. Several authors have ascribed a date during the reign of Theodosius I.<sup>253</sup> This is based on arguments suggesting the text reflects the losses of Adrianople in 378, circumstantial details such as the mention of *divus Gratianus* who died in 383, and Vegetius' silence on the Vandals. Such details can be explained and the connection with Theodosius and Adrianople is a circular argument, based on the limited information we have of his military policies. If one takes a more circumspect view, the most compelling internal evidence tends to support a western context and the reign of Valentinian III, a position strongly supported by Charles.<sup>254</sup> Vegetius' claim that infantry were no longer wearing body armour finds no support in any contemporary evidence from the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century or the early 5<sup>th</sup> century. Charles interprets this as referring to 'federate' troops who were equipped in traditional 'barbarian' manner – i.e. no armour or helmet. This, he argues, is far more in line with the situation of the 430s/440s than anything before. This view seems far more persuasive than an earlier dating, though as ever with Vegetius, there is an element of circularity. The 'military crisis' which Vegetius appears to be addressing is more compatible with cumulative effects from the various crises that afflicted the western half of the Empire in the first few decades of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, rather than being a response to long-term trends such as the 'barbarisation' of the Roman army during the 4<sup>th</sup> century, a concept which has

---

<sup>252</sup> M. Charles, *Vegetius in context: establishing the date of the Epitoma rei Militaris* (Stuttgart, 2007), pp. 16 – 22.

<sup>253</sup> N. Milner, *Vegetius: Epitome of military science* (Liverpool, 1993), pp. xl – xli.

<sup>254</sup> M. Charles, *ibid.*

been challenged.<sup>255</sup> If this dating is correct this supports the idea of there being a considerable amount of continuity in Roman military structures through the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, and that the changes we can identify at the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century in the west are therefore most likely due to the deeper structural transformations the western Empire underwent in the 5<sup>th</sup> century.

The 5<sup>th</sup> century could be argued to represent a re-militarisation of Roman provincial society. Roman civilians were forced to organise their own security and did so by raising armies of private dependants (*servulos suos ex propriis praediis*) as in the examples of Didymus and Verinianus in Spain in 409.<sup>256</sup> This changed the military system as the previous central relationship between *miles* and Emperor was replaced by one between the local leader and his followers. The rise of the *buccellarii* (biscuit-men), whose loyalty was a personal one to their generals, has been argued to represent the basis of a proto-feudal system.<sup>257</sup> C.R. Whittaker sees this change as being part of wider transformation in the frontier societies of the Empire where the distinctions between soldiers and landlords disappeared and merged into 'warlords'.<sup>258</sup> The Roman state tried to maintain a monopoly of violence by limiting the use of arms to its own servants, but this was no longer possible in the 5<sup>th</sup> century. It is arguable whether this was anything more than an aspiration, but the 5<sup>th</sup> century (as with the 3<sup>rd</sup> century crisis) saw the ability of Roman power to maintain this monopoly slowly ebb away. Local communities increasingly had to manage their own security, though the opportunity to maintain a connection with the central imperial authority was possible.<sup>259</sup> Van Dam has argued, persuasively, that the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> century both saw local élites emerging to fill the political vacuum left by failing imperial power to provide protection and security.<sup>260</sup> The use of terms such as '*bagaudae*' to describe the various local movements are best seen as labels of abuse by the imperial centre used against groups acting with autonomy, to the frustration of the centre's viewpoint, rather than describing historical phenomena such as slave and peasant revolts, as '*bagaudae*' have often been taken to

---

<sup>255</sup> H. Elton, *Warfare in Late Roman Europe* (Oxford, 1996) pp. 136 – 152.

<sup>256</sup> Orosius, *Historiarum Adversum Paganos Septem Libri* VII.40.6.

<sup>257</sup> H.-J. Diesner, 'Das Buccelariertum von Stilicho und Sarus bis auf Aetius', *Klio*, 54 (1972), 321–350.

<sup>258</sup> C.R. Whittaker, 'Landlords and Warlords in the later Roman Empire', in G. Shipley and J. Rich, eds., *War and the Society in the Roman World* (London, 1993), pp. 277–302.

<sup>259</sup> Nov. Val. 9, Restoration of the right to use weapons (*De reddito jure armorum*).

<sup>260</sup> R. Van Dam, *Leadership and Community in Late Roman Gaul* (Berkeley, 1985), pp. 25 – 58.

mean.<sup>261</sup> However one takes the meaning of this, there can be no doubt that one of the defining characteristics of the 5<sup>th</sup> century that marks such a significant change to the 4<sup>th</sup> century was the different number of armed groups that were found within the Gallic provinces.

In a similar vein, the lack of imperial military forces that could be called upon to implement decisions could explain the use of an: "Armed band", (*manus armata*) by Hilarius, the bishop of Arles, to remove bishops he claimed that had been appointed without his metropolitan authority. Indeed: "He either encircled the enclosures of the walls by a siege, in the manner of an enemy, or he opened them by an attack."<sup>262</sup> In fact this view would be to fall into a trap, created by the invective of the incident. It is clear that Hilarius' *manus* had a more official role from Pope Leo's letter when he describes it as a: "*Manus militaris*".<sup>263</sup> The fact that Valentinian's edict was addressed to Aetius himself implies that Hilarius was actually supported by the civil and military authorities in Arles and they were acting in a more formal, traditional manner.<sup>264</sup> So evidence that appears to represent a new world can be reinterpreted as continuity of traditional Roman structures.

These armed groups no longer had any automatic loyalty to the Emperor: increasingly an isolated figure in Italy during the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. As discussed above the process the sources appear to describe show an *exercitus* or *milites* increasingly defined by the general who commanded them.<sup>265</sup> In the case of the various 'barbarian' groups in Gaul this would be their *rex*.<sup>266</sup> This pattern is often discussed in terms of the *buccellarii*, who according to Olympiodorus appeared in the early 5<sup>th</sup> century, and was a name applied to Roman as well as Gothic troops.<sup>267</sup> They certainly seem to have been given a more formal

---

<sup>261</sup> E. A. Thompson, 'Peasant Revolts in Late Roman Gaul and Spain', *Past and Present*, 2 (1952-1953), 11 -23 argued for the *Bagaudae* representing a peasant revolt in classical Marxist terms, an idea which is argued against by many authors such as J.F. Drinkwater, 'The Bacaudae of fifth-century Gaul', in J.F. Drinkwater and H. Elton, eds., *op. cit.*, (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 208-218; for a full account see J. Léon, *Les Sources de l'Histoire des Bagaudes* (Paris, 1996).

<sup>262</sup> *Nov. Val.* 17.1 (445) This incident is shrouded in difficulties as the Edict preserved in Valentinian's Novels are from the perspective of Rome in a partisan dispute over ecclesiastical jurisdiction, so the discussion of 'armed bands' is unlikely to be free of invective.

<sup>263</sup> *Epistula Leonis*: "*Divinae cultum*," 6.

<sup>264</sup> R. Mathisen, 'Hilarius, Germanus and Lupus: the aristocratic background of the Chelidonius affair', *Phoenix*, 33 (1979), 160-9.

<sup>265</sup> See above, p. 47.

<sup>266</sup> T. Burns, *Barbarians within the Gates of Rome* (Bloomington, 1994), pp. 179-82

<sup>267</sup> Olympiodorus Fragment, 7.3: see R.C. Blockley, *The Fragmentary Classicizing Historians of the Later Roman Empire* (Liverpool, 1983), p. 168.

role in the eastern Roman armies of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, but this is a comment on the continued flexibility of the Roman imperial system that could incorporate disparate bodies of men into its service.

The most famous was the group of soldiers brought by Titus from Gaul to serve the Emperor Leo who was subsequently appointed *Comes*.<sup>268</sup> The fact that Titus was given a formal title within Leo's military structure is interesting. Bringing these effective, well trained forces into the army structure was, again, nothing new to Roman practice. The example of Charietto from the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century is similar. His band of irregulars attacked hostile raiding groups in provincial territories, though: "As he did not, however, have permission to do this and the task had not been legally entrusted to him, at first he concealed himself alone".<sup>269</sup> Julian later enrolled Charietto's band into his forces and formalised this by appointing the leader as *comes per utramque Germaniam*.<sup>270</sup> One must be careful using these anecdotes to illustrate general trends. The story of Titus could be part of a rhetorical device by the hagiographer aiming to show how Titus exchanged the impermanence of imperial service with the far more rewarding divine version. The story of Charietto probably derives from Eunapius and does seem to part of a wider paeon to Julian, whose qualities of leadership were illustrated by his handling of Charietto. It is doubtful whether Eunapius and the hagiographer of Daniel the Stylite can be relied upon for a deep understanding of the contemporary situation in Gaul.

However, it is important to recognise the continuing strength of the Roman idea in organising and controlling violence. To discuss the 'rise of the generals' in the 5<sup>th</sup> century west as an inevitable and irreversible process by which *milites* become retainers of leading figures is a dangerous teleology.<sup>271</sup> Essentially, the local administrative structures that survived continued as best it could traditional practices. This can also be seen in parts of Gaul frontier region, where a defensive organisation descended from the 4<sup>th</sup> century

---

<sup>268</sup> *Life of Daniel the Stylite*, 62-4; *PLRE II*, Titus 1.

<sup>269</sup> Zosimus, *Historia Nova*, 7.2.

<sup>270</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XXVII.1-2.

<sup>271</sup> J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, 'Warlords and Landlords', in P. Erdkamp, ed., *A Companion to the Roman Army* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 481-3, discusses the political supremacy of generals from Merobaudes to Ricimer alongside the process by which military leaders moved from being *magistri militum* to being made kings of peoples. There is clearly a great deal of sense in Liebeschuetz' arguments, but it does underestimate the role of chance – a series of unmilitary emperors in the House of Theodosius – and underplay the energy with which Avitus, Majorian and Anthemius tried to remedy the situation. The fact that they thought doing so was conceivable is of significance.

military apparatus is maintained using local resources.<sup>272</sup> The Life of Saint Severinus in 5<sup>th</sup> century Noricum is a celebrated image of the last Roman soldiers fulfilling their traditional functions. When the surviving soldiers of *Batavis* (modern Passau) are sent to Ravenna to get their pay, they are massacred by the hostile Rugii tribe. Eugippius refers to the time of ‘Roman power’ when *milites* were maintained at public expense for the protection of boundaries (*multorum milites oppidorum pro custodia limitis publicis stipendiis alebantur*) of the civilians.<sup>273</sup> This text can be read two ways – either the soldiers were maintained at public expense in the traditional manner, and the account of them sending to Ravenna for pay would seem to confirm this. Or, *multorum milites oppidorum* can be read as the soldiers were recruited and paid by the cities themselves.

There is a sense that the crucial aspect of change in the 5<sup>th</sup> century was the disappearance of an ability to absorb armed groups into the centralised political structures. The landscape was now filled with a patchwork of different armies and armed groups, whose identity and loyalty to the Emperor were varied. Several authors have referred to this as ‘warlordism’ in the sense that these military figures became politically dominant in their own areas, which they ran in the manner of a protection racket. It is possible to have some sympathy for this view, especially when expressed with such eloquence by Liebeschuetz and Whittaker, but it downplays excessively the continuing importance of the Roman military culture argued for by Amory.

## 1.6 Conclusion

The argument advanced so far supports a growing trend in Roman military research. “The reality of ‘the army’, insofar as it existed at all, lay in ‘the soldiers’ themselves, as a social grouping and a real, self-aware force in Roman society.”<sup>274</sup> We should analyse soldiers as a

---

<sup>272</sup> J.F. Drinkwater, *The Alamanni and Rome 213-496* (Oxford, 2007), p. 329.

<sup>273</sup> Eugippius, *Vita Sancti Severini*, XX: “*Per idem tempus, quo Romanum constabat imperium, multorum milites oppidorum pro custodia limitis publicis stipendiis alebantur.*” The degree to which Eugippius understood the workings of the earlier army is uncertain, though contemporary experience of the military arrangements of Constantinople may have given him his knowledge – certainly the stationing of troops as garrisons to protect local settlements is a key feature of 6<sup>th</sup> century defense policy. However the use of technical language like *stipendia* does imply some technical awareness though that was not necessarily the purpose of hagiographical texts.

<sup>274</sup> S. James, ‘Writing the Legions: The Development and Future of Roman Military Studies in Britain’, *Archaeological Journal*, 159 (2002), p. 39.



social class, within which individual soldiers were part of multiple local sub-communities within a wider empire-wide military community, from which identities were created in a fluid and multifaceted way.<sup>275</sup> Theoretical approaches from across the humanities stress the complexity of recreating identities from the textual and material evidence. The crucial conclusion from the textual analysis in this chapter is that this approach allows us to suggest the evolution of military identities from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, but also suggest that the interpretational dichotomies of integration and separation are inadequate. A universalising concept of *militia* was abstract enough to be used by different cultural contexts, but resilient enough to underpin the relationship of the increasingly diverse armed groups that served imperial military interests. A particular Roman military 'structure' or 'culture' appears in the written sources with a regularity so that it can be argued with some confidence that provincial inhabitants of Gaul could identify a *miles*, whether he fought for Rome or not.

This is not to say that things were the same in the period under investigation. The collapse of Roman political hegemony was a fact that impacted the people living through it. The Roman government lost its monopoly on force and alternative armed groups began to challenge the military supremacy of the Roman state. This was driven largely by the fragmentation of the fiscal system in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, which made it difficult for the Roman state to maintain its political and economic hegemony.<sup>276</sup> However, the process was always potentially reversible and the various attempts by western rulers from Constantius III onwards should not be dismissed. One could argue that Roman armies continued to operate in Gaul until the defeat of Anthemiolus in 471.<sup>277</sup> These changes saw a transformation and adaption of traditional concepts of *militia* to serve the new situations, which could only be rationalised by the educated classes through references to the past.

---

<sup>275</sup> I. Haynes, 'The Roman Army as a Community', in A. Goldsworthy and I. Haynes, eds., *op. cit.*, (1999), pp. 7-13; A. Gardner, *op. cit.*, (London, 2007), pp. 243 – 253.

<sup>276</sup> For summary of the debate over barbarian settlement and the tax system of the 5<sup>th</sup> century see G. Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West 376-568* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 422 – 447

<sup>277</sup> *Gallic Chronicle of 511*, 649.

## Chapter 2: Archaeology & the material evidence for the Late Roman Army

The case study attempts to define what is meant by a ‘military assemblage’ in the Late Roman period and answer the issue of how far one can identify *milites* in the material record. This is important not only in terms of the artefacts themselves, but also in classifying the large variety of different fortifications built across northern France and establishing how far, and for how long, civilian and military communities remained distinct. This chapter discusses some of the fundamental methodological issues underpinning the use of material evidence in reconstructing the military cultures of *Belgica II*.

### 2.1 Material and written records

The fragmentary nature of the written evidence makes any model created from it a composite and artificial one. Taking evidence from a range of different genres across a wide geographical and chronological spectrum in a synchronic manner makes it very difficult to create anything that would reflect reality specific to one point in time and space.<sup>278</sup> The material evidence provided by archaeology has its own problems – both theoretical and practical – but it does have the advantage of allowing one to test the ideas raised in chapter 1 in the case study. A major methodological problem facing the interpretation of material evidence is attempting to fit it into a historical framework provided by literary sources.<sup>279</sup> Archaeologists tend to be suspicious of frameworks constructed from written sources, while historians are frustrated by archaeological models built on theory.<sup>280</sup> This can be illustrated by the example of Paris in the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century. This site has relatively abundant literary evidence. Ammianus discusses the city in some detail in the context of occupation by both Julian and Valentinian, and the usurpation of Julian in 360 meant the city was of interest to

---

<sup>278</sup> I. Morris, *Death, Ritual and Social Structure* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 10 – 11.

<sup>279</sup> G. Halsall, ‘Archaeology and Historiography’, in M. Bentley, ed., *The Routledge Companion to Historiography* (London, 1997), pp. 805 – 27.

<sup>280</sup> The suspicion of written records is very commonly associated with practitioners of processual (or ‘New’) archaeology such as Lewis Binford, who argued that archaeology should aspire to describe general aspects of human behaviour and behave more like a science: L. R. Binford, *An Archaeological Perspective* (New York, 1972). For a critique of fitting a material record the ‘agenda’ created by documentary historians see D. Austin, ‘The ‘Proper Study’ of medieval archaeology’, in D. Austin and L. Alcock, eds., *From the Baltic to the Black Sea: Studies in Medieval Archaeology* (London, 1990), pp. 43 – 78.

several authors including Julian himself.<sup>281</sup> Current archaeological research suggests that by the 4<sup>th</sup> century urban occupation levels were reduced and concentrated into several areas of the early imperial city.<sup>282</sup> The Ile de la Cité was surrounded by a fortified wall which has been argued to represent the residence of the imperial administration, possibly to the exclusion of those of lower official status.<sup>283</sup> The western part of the island possessed a regular rectangular design, which could be the *palatium* referred to by Ammianus.<sup>284</sup> During Julian's proclamation as Augustus in 360, several regiments are recorded as being stationed in the city, though their location is impossible to locate with any precision. Officers, whom Julian entertained to a banquet, returned to their 'quarters' according to Ammianus.<sup>285</sup> The *Petulantes* and *Celtes* are recorded as being stationed together, though whether this was as in billets or in a camp on the left bank of the river is not made clear. Comments that the soldiers made their way into the palace from all sides, implies they were stationed around the urban and sub-urban area rather than within the palace itself.<sup>286</sup> There is evidence for a building tentatively identified as a basilica on the Ile de la Cité, which may have been turned over to military use, and there are plenty of buildings, both public and private, that survive in the Parvis de Notre Dame which could have been requisitioned if needed.<sup>287</sup>

However, such a composite picture is fundamentally weakened by attempting to graft insubstantial excavation onto problematic source material. We can support the veracity of Ammianus' testimony by suggesting he had first-hand experience of Gaul and close contact with Julian and his military entourage, which would support the notion of accurate reportage.<sup>288</sup> But there are so many problems relying on information mediated through an artfully constructed literary work written 30 years after the events it is describing. While

---

<sup>281</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XVII.2 (AD 357); XVII.8 (AD 358); XVIII.1 (AD 359); XX.1 (AD 360); XXVI.5 (360).

<sup>282</sup> D. Busson, *Paris: Cartes Archeologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 1998), p. 68; P. Velay, *De Lutece à Paris: l'Île et les Deux Rives* (CNRS Paris, 2000), pp. 68 – 85. The main focus of settlement seems to have been concentrated on the main island on the Seine (l'Île de la Cité) but there is evidence for continued occupation amongst some of the main suburbs. The main evidence for abandonment is in the appearance of several cemeteries in previously occupied areas.

<sup>283</sup> D. Busson, *op. cit.*, (1998), p. 30.

<sup>284</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XX.4.14; D. Busson, *Cartes Archeologique de la Gaule: Paris* (Paris 1998), pp. 34 – 5.

<sup>285</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XX.4.14: "*In stavitis*".

<sup>286</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XX.4.21: "*Vagoque (ut in repentino solet excursu) occupavere volucriter regiam,*" (rushing forth from different sides and in disorder (as is usual in such sudden tumult) quickly filled the palace).

<sup>287</sup> D. Busson, *op. cit.*, (Paris, 1998), p. 385.

<sup>288</sup> See introduction, notes 79 – 84, for the debate on the reliability of Ammianus' testimony.

there may be some genuine knowledge of Paris, it is doubtful that Ammianus' account is any more than a collection of *topoi* relating to usurpations and their legitimisation.

## 2.2. Military identity in the material record

The large amount of excavation work done on Roman military sites from the imperial period has allowed scholars to sketch the material background to how the army functioned in impressive detail, and this has laid the foundation for the reconstruction of military identities.<sup>289</sup> The main areas of insight include issues like literacy (epigraphy and administration), diet and other consumption patterns (based on trade and local production), uniform and religion.<sup>290</sup> Understanding the material culture of the Late Roman period is far less straightforward than the earlier periods, and so clear cut generalisations are less easy to make. One could accuse descriptions of the earlier imperial period as being a caricature of a more complex reality. The shorter time framework than usually given to the earlier period (3 centuries, compared with 1) is in itself a distorting factor. There were a multiplicity of military identities in the early imperial period both chronologically and culturally speaking, and variations from the norm are better seen as being part of an overreaching military identity rather than being presented as a challenge to the existing status quo.<sup>291</sup> Given broader societal changes that are often seen as being hallmarks of the Late Roman period (changing administrative patterns, fiscal structures, economic patterns and cultural shifts etc.) it is no surprise that military identities may have expressed themselves in different material forms.<sup>292</sup> This is certainly a much more satisfying form of argument than simplistic notions of decline which still afflict the study of the late Roman army.

---

<sup>289</sup> Many frontier studies are arguably (and understandably) proxy Roman army studies e.g. for Hadrian's Wall see D. Breeze and B. Dobson, *Hadrian's Wall* (London, 2000); for the Rhineland limes see D. Baatz, *Der Römische Limes. Archäologische Ausflüge Zwischen Rhein und Donau* (Berlin, 2000). For the use of the provincial material record to reconstruct military identities see the use of the material in Britain see D. Mattingly, *An Imperial Possession: Britain in the Roman Empire* (London, 2006), pp. 199 – 252.

<sup>290</sup> D. Mattingly, *ibid.*, pp. 199 – 224.

<sup>291</sup> See the discussion of the 'Germanic' units found at Hadrian's Wall during the 3rd century and the cemetery of Brougham, Cumbria with their distinct cultural signifiers in D. Mattingly *ibid.*, pp. 222 – 224.

<sup>292</sup> H. Cool, 'A Different Life', in R. Collins and L. Allason-Jones, eds., *Finds from the Frontier: Material Culture in the 4th-5th centuries* (York, 2010), pp. 1 – 9.

Attempting to assess Late Roman military identities from the material evidence has been complicated by the major methodological debates within archaeology over the last few decades. Many archaeologists have become uneasy over essentialist readings of identity whereby one can expect a straightforward, uniform expression of a 'military' identity that is unchanging and consistent. The dynamic in these debates has been growing dissatisfaction with what were seen as excessively static understanding of how human societies functioned in the past in light of developments within the social sciences, especially anthropology, which have shown how humans are far more active in the creation of meaning within society than was previously assumed.<sup>293</sup> There has also been particular scrutiny applied to questions of ethnicity in the material record in recent research, and attacks on the early 20<sup>th</sup> century 'culture-history' paradigm, which sought to explain coherence in the material record between different groups of artefacts as evidence for coherent groups of 'peoples.' Scholars have been quick to identify idiosyncratic burial rites in Gaul during the Roman period as representing intrusive ethnic groups from outside the imperial frontiers; who then wished to distinguish themselves from the provincial population. There are several examples in Gaul – most strikingly the 'Hunnish' skulls that appear in the cemeteries in St.-Martin-de-Fontenay in Normandy during the 5<sup>th</sup> century that have been linked to the groups of *Alani* testified in the written sources as being present in Gaul in the 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>294</sup> Apart from the dubious political associations with mid-20<sup>th</sup> century totalitarianism, the ethnocentric 'Germanist' trend amongst scholars for interpreting burial evidence from the 4<sup>th</sup> century onwards has been rendered problematic by the enormous recent amount of scholarly work on ethnicity, which is now viewed as a constructed form of identity rather than a biological one.<sup>295</sup> Functionalist approaches which argue that particular burial rites

---

<sup>293</sup> A. Gardner *op. cit.*, (2007), pp. 35 – 61.

<sup>294</sup> C. Pilet and A. Alduc-Le Bagousse, *La Nécropole de Saint-Martin-de-Fontenay (Calvados): Recherches sur le Peuplement de la Plaine de Caen, du Ve s. avant J.-C. au VIIe s. après J.-C.* (Paris, 1994). For links with the Alans see V. Kouznetzov and I. Lebedynsky, *Les Alains* (Paris, 2005), pp. 114 – 115.

<sup>295</sup> For a discussion of the political agenda of the 'Germani' with 20<sup>th</sup> century German nationalism see H. Fehr, 'Volkstum as Paradigm: Germanic People and Gallo-Romans in Early Medieval Archaeology since the 1930s,' in A. Gillett, ed., *op. cit.*, (2002), pp. 177 – 200. The issue of ethnicity has an extremely extensive and complex bibliography. Much of the recent scholarly interest in 'ethnogenesis' follows modern studies in sociology which sees 'race' and 'ethnicity' as a socially constructed identity rather than a biologically essentialist idea. The work of Richard Wenskus is of fundamental importance in this area: see R. Wenskus, *Stammesbildung und Verfassung* (Cologne and Graz, 1961). He argued for a *traditionskern* (kernel of tradition) amongst the migrating groups of the early medieval period provided by the leadership core, which then used this identity as a means of creating loyalty from its ethnically diverse following. This has been developed, amongst others, by his students of the 'Vienna School' such as Wolfram and Pohl e.g. H. Wolfram, 'Einleitung oder Überlegungen zur

mirror ethnic identity continue to be used extensively in scholarship, especially in Europe.<sup>296</sup> A strong line of argument has emerged to challenge the 'ethnic' interpretation that surrounds the transformations of burial evidence.<sup>297</sup> Critics have pointed out that for late Roman northern Gaul there is no parallel in 'Free Germany' for the burial patterns that are identified as 'Germanic' within the Roman frontier. Burials within the Empire were generally inhumations, which of course paralleled the rites of the 'Roman' provincial population, rather than the cremation that was the favoured rite in *barbaricum*.<sup>298</sup> Many artefacts that had earlier been seen as originating from 'Free Germany,' e.g. belt sets, are now recognised as having their origin – both in design and manufacture – from within the Empire – i.e. in Pannonia or Gaul.<sup>299</sup>

The relationship between ethnicity and military identity is acute, given the tendency amongst many scholars to elide the two in the Late Roman period. Recent excavations at Angers have produced a series of graves with idiosyncratic rites that date to the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century/early 5<sup>th</sup> century, which have been identified as 'Goths' serving in the *comitatenses*.<sup>300</sup> The other factor relevant to northern Gaul is the emergence of weapons as grave goods from the 350s onwards found in cemeteries across *Belgica*, which have been

---

*origo gentis*', in H. Wolfram and W. Pohl, eds. *Typen der Ethnogenese unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Bayern: Berichte des Symposions der Kommission für Frühmittelalterforschung, 27. bis 30. Oktober, 1986, Stift Zwettl, Niederösterreich* (Vienna, 1990) and W. Pohl, 'Conceptions of Ethnicity in Early Medieval Studies', in L. K. Little and B. H. Rosenwein, *Debating the Middle Ages: Issues and Readings* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 13-24. For the west this idea has been most clearly expressed in P. Geary, *Before France and Germany: the creation and transformation of the Merovingian world* (New York, 1988). This approach has been criticised as failing to appreciate that the sources are not capable of passing on such a tradition, even if it existed, as they were texts created to suit contemporary agendas rather than preserving the past (cf. W. Goffart, *The Narrators of barbarian history (A.D. 550-800): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon* (Princeton, 1988)) which is the main argument put forward against the school by A. Gillett, 'Ethnicity, History and Methodology,' in A. Gillett, ed., *op. cit.*, (2002), pp. 1 – 20. The approach has also been attacked for not being reductionist enough and clinging onto the foundation of a transcendent ethnic identity, which other scholars would argue is entirely situational see P. Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy 489 – 554* (Cambridge, 1997).

<sup>296</sup> This can be seen particularly in the work of Michel Kazanski who associates many of the weapons found in Gaul during the late 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries as being of eastern "Gothic" origin. *Inter alia* M. Kazanski, 'Les Barbares Orientaux et la Défense de la Gaule aux IVe-Ve siècles', in M. Kazanski and F. Vallet, eds., *L'Armée Romaine et les Barbares du IIIe au VIIe siècle* (Condé-sur-Noireau, 1993), pp. 175-186; M. Kazanski, 'Les Fibules Germaniques Orientales et Danubiennes en Gaule (périodes C2-D2),' *Forschungen zur Archäologie im Land Brandenburg*, 5, 1998 (2002), 375-386.

<sup>297</sup> S. Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: A Theoretical Perspective* (London, 1997); this is also fundamental to the work of Guy Halsall in his various works such as his 'Archaeology and the Late Roman Frontier in Northern Gaul: the so called "Foederatengraber" Reconsidered' in W. Pohl and H. Reimitz, *Grenze und Differenz im frühen Mittelalter* (Vienna 2000), pp. 167 – 180.

<sup>298</sup> M. Todd, *The Early Germans* (Oxford, 1992).

<sup>299</sup> E. Swift, *The End of the Western Roman Empire : an Archaeological Investigation* (Stroud, 2000).

<sup>300</sup> J. Brodeur and I. Souquet-Lero, 'Les fouilles Archéologique de la Gare Saint-Laud á Angers', *Bulletin de la Société française d'Archéologie classique* 35 (2003), 197 – 201.

interpreted as evidence for 'Germanic' soldiers.<sup>301</sup> Material culture is only one part of ethnicity, which is also constructed by use of other means such as language or political community. Indeed, even in the 1950s and 1960s, some archaeologists suggested that the weapons burials were a reassertion of the earlier 1<sup>st</sup> century practice of burial rather than a new development.<sup>302</sup> There has been a gradual shift in scholarship as new archaeological theories have been assimilated. H. W. Böhme has refined his ideas since 1974 when he argued that the weapon burials in northern Gaul during the late Roman period represented *foederati*: he now holds the position that they represent 'Germans' from across the Rhine serving in the Late Roman Army.<sup>303</sup> The latest close study of the Late Roman burial site at Lankhills in southern Britain has moved away from the interpretation of different burial rites as representing a particular intrusive ethnic group, as the supposed uniformity of the funerary practices has broken down under close scrutiny, and the isotope analysis showed the different geographical origins of individuals practising a similar rite.<sup>304</sup> This clearly indicates the need for a complex understanding of identity in burial contexts, with particular need for specific context to be acknowledged.

The major issue is identifying artefacts that can incontrovertibly said to be 'military' as opposed to 'civilian,' and how appropriate these categories are during the period under examination. This could be seen as a disingenuous argument. Surely one can point to a fort

---

<sup>301</sup> J. Werner, 'Zur Entstehung der Reihengräberzivilisation', *Archaeologica Geographica*, 1 (1950), 23 – 32 argues that the weapons graves were associated with groups of *laeti*, a position elaborated on by H.W. Böhme, *Germanische Grabfunde des 4. bis 5. Jahrhunderts Zwischen Unterer Elbe und Loire*, 2 vols. (Munich, 1974), which argues that the graves represented *foederati* serving in the Roman army. These arguments were criticised by G. Halsall, 'The Origins of the Reihengräberzivilisation' in J.F. Drinkwater and H. Elton, ed., *op. cit.*, (1992), 196 – 207, who argued that both approaches were mistaken and that the changes reflected social factors (i.e. fashion) rather than being connected with a particular historical group.

<sup>302</sup> S. De Laet and A. van Doorselaer, 'Le Problem des Mobiliers Funéraires avec Armes en Gaule septentrionale a l'époque du Haut Empire romain', *Helinium*, 5 (1965), 118 – 129.

<sup>303</sup> Böhme's views have changed in since those put forward in H.W. Böhme *op. cit* (1974). H.W. Böhme, 'The Vermand Treasure', in K. Reynolds Brown, D. Kidd, and C. T. Little, eds., *From Attila to Charlemagne: Arts of the Early Medieval Period in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 2000), pp. 78 – 89, argues that the graves were of regular soldiers who were Germanic in origin. Such shifts indicate how archaeological interpretations still rely heavily on contemporary historical frameworks.

<sup>304</sup> See P. Booth, M. Allen, M. Dylewski and M. Wachnik, eds., *The Late Roman Cemetery at Lankhills, Winchester: Excavations 2000-2005* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 509 – 516; Giles Clarke argued that one group of intrusive burials in the Lankhills cemetery were from Pannonia, and suggested their presence was in an 'official' rather than a 'military' context: see G. Clarke, M. Biddle and J. Macdonald, *Pre-Roman and Roman Winchester. Part 2, The Roman Cemetery at Lankhills* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 174 – 5; 377 – 403. They have been variously described by authors as 'federates' or 'comitatenses' depending on the whims of the author, e.g. S. Esmonde-Cleary, *The Ending of Roman Britain* (London, 1989), p. 55; M. Millett, *The Romanization of Britain* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 216; D. Mattingly, *An Imperial Possession: Britain in the Roman Empire, 54 BC-AD 409* (London, 2006), p.346.

or *fabrica*-issue helmet and with confidence pronounce them to be evidence for soldiers? However, such a functional analysis is too simplistic. For many of the finds discovered before the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century there is a poor level of knowledge about the context in which an artefact had been deposited, through an absence of records or poor quality excavation, so there is no reason to assume that we can simply derive a clear understanding of the context of deposition from the object itself.<sup>305</sup> Roman military artefacts appear outside the Empire, which could as easily be argued to be products of trade rather than representing the movement of peoples into the Empire and back again.<sup>306</sup> Weapons could be used by a different numbers of groups apart from soldiers: veterans, hunting aristocrats or individuals acting outside of imperial authority but attempting to use 'official' symbols of power as a means of expressing their claims to leadership.<sup>307</sup> Identifying the difference between official and unofficial fortifications, 'public' and 'private', is difficult given the large variety of material remains at most sites. Therefore it is hard not to share the general sense of bewilderment reflected in many researchers' attempts to highlight material evidence for soldiers in the 4<sup>th</sup> century given the differences in finds patterns from earlier centuries, and how the finds rarely reflect the neat categories given to those periods.<sup>308</sup>

Two crucial aspects of the evidence pertaining to military identity are crossbow brooches and military belt sets. These have long been agreed to represent *milites* in the material record, but distinguishing between those who served in the army and the administration has been more difficult. Functionalist approaches are unhelpful given the wide variety of contexts these objects have been found in, though the over-representation in burial archaeology is probably as much a function of the preponderance of such material in the evidence. Ethnic attributions of this material is usually based on the artefacts female associated with accompanying burials, though some have argued that the belt-sets reflected borrowings from the Germanic world. These views have been comprehensively dismissed,

<sup>305</sup> L. Allason-Jones, 'What is a Military assemblage?', *Journal of Roman Military Equipment Studies*, 10 (1999), 1 – 4.

<sup>306</sup> G. Halsall, *Cemeteries and Society in Merovingian Gaul* (Leiden, 2010), p. 148; J. Werner, 'Zur Entstehung der Reihengraberzivilisation', *Archaeologica Geographica*, 1 (1950), 23 – 32 suggests that tutulus brooches were made in Gaul and exported back to *Germania*.

<sup>307</sup> The silver plates of the late Roman period often show aristocrats using lances when hunting, see *Gallien in der Spätantike* (Mainz, 1980), pp. 220 – 221 and J. Huskinson, 'Women and Learning: Gender and Identity in Scenes of Intellectual Life on Late Roman sarcophagi', in R. Miles, ed., *Constructing Identities in Late Antiquity* (London, 1999), pp. 190 – 213;

<sup>308</sup> See the complaints about a lack of clarity in H. Cool, 'A Different Life', in R. Collins and L. Allason-Jones, eds., *Finds from the Frontier: Material Culture in the 4<sup>th</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> centuries* (2010), pp. 1 – 9.



and now the belt sets and brooches are seen as coming from a Roman milieu, probably from *fabricae* or other workshops fulfilling state contracts. Both elements show an interesting evolution through the 3<sup>rd</sup> into the 5<sup>th</sup> century. They appear across the empire, but are most commonly found in frontier provinces, though some have argued that they represent a takeover of civilian display by frontier culture. How far these narratives are valid cannot be studied in detail here due to a lack of space, but the approach this study takes will focus on context. Crossbow brooches and belt sets were only a small component of what could be used to represent an idealised military identity in death, and so other elements were required.

Therefore, a crucial question for the case studies is how *milites* can be identified in the material record in the areas under study, and what this tells us about the evolution of military identity and its distinctiveness in the landscape. The most effective way forward here will be to examine three main forms of evidence: fortifications, cities and the countryside using a whole range of material evidence (coins, weapons etc.) within their particular context: urban and rural structures as well as cemeteries. Epigraphy exists in variable quantities, but the question to be asked is how important is the military identity in the tombstones of soldiers, and what is the relationship between the other identities they articulate. Finally, a main challenge will be to investigate how far one can distinguish between ‘military’ and ‘civilian’ architecture in both urban contexts and fortifications by assessing typologies created for different sites.

## 2.2. Fortifications & frontiers

This topic is relatively well understood compared with many areas of Late Antique archaeology but late Roman phases of many forts are still complex to interpret.<sup>309</sup> A major issue is attempting to define what precisely a ‘fort’ is during the Late Roman period. The problem of using Latin vocabulary (such as *castra* & *castella*) from contemporary sources is that their use is never technically specific.<sup>310</sup> Most of the typologies modern scholars use

---

<sup>309</sup> See for example the puzzling amount of animal bones found at Late Roman levels at Binchester: D. Petts, ‘Military and Civilian: Reconfiguring the End of Roman Britain in the North’, *European Journal of Archaeology*, 16.2 (2013), 314 – 335.

<sup>310</sup> R. Brulet, ‘L’Architecture Militaire Romaine en Gaule Pendant l’Antiquité Tardive’, in M. Reddé, ed., *L’Architecture de la Gaule Romaine: les Fortifications Militaires* (Bordeaux, 2006), pp. 156 – 179.

have been created using a series of parameters: size, architectural form and relationship to a wider defensive structure that seem to relate to the evidence are all used but may not sufficiently compensate for the inherent biases of that evidence.<sup>311</sup> Not enough is known about the interaction between frontier fortifications and those in the provincial interior as the chronology and typology are not necessarily the same. It should not be assumed that they are all the product of the military, as they could well have a civilian function.<sup>312</sup>

Function is an important aspect of form, and an argument made about Late Roman forts was that they lost regularity of form and systematic structure, which are important characteristics of early imperial forts, reflects changes in internal military structure.<sup>313</sup> A reason for changes in form could be that military families and civilians moved into forts and thus forts became increasingly difficult to distinguish from fortified sites in the interior of provinces.<sup>314</sup> The changes could also be explained by the multiplication of units and increasing gradations of status. The question of where soldiers were stationed and whether units were based in a single fort or spread across several is a complex one which is difficult to answer in the absence of textual evidence.<sup>315</sup> Another question is whether the forts

---

<sup>311</sup> R. Brulet *ibid.*, pp. 156 – 157

<sup>312</sup> The mistaken assumption leading to the attribution of the label “fort” to every potential walled site on a regular pattern has been observed for the Eastern frontier during the late Roman period where sites such as Tall Ar-Rum in northern Mesopotamia has now been shown to have been a civilian settlement after detailed investigation see M. Geschwind, ‘Every Square Structure a Roman fort? Recent Research in Qreiyeh-Ayyash and its Alleged Bridgehead Fort Tall Ar-Rum on the Euphrates’, in Á. Morillo, N. Hanel and E. Martin, ed., *Limes XX. 20 Congreso Internacional de Estudios Sobre la Frontera Romana Leon 2006*, vol. 3 (Madrid, 2009), pp. 1593 – 1604.

<sup>313</sup> S. Johnson, *Late Roman Fortifications* (London, 1983), pp. 78 - 81; P. Southern and K. Dixon, *The Late Roman Army* (London, 1996), pp. 139 – 41.

<sup>314</sup> The ‘chalet barracks’ argument is closely associated with forts on Hadrian’s Wall based on the identification of barracks with separate *contubernia* in smaller numbers (5 or 6) that differed from the standard High Empire model of 8, and appeared to be built in an irregular manner. This was suggested by C.M. Daniels, ‘Excavation at Wallsend and the Fourth century barracks on Hadrian’s Wall’, in W. S. Hanson and L. J. F. Keppie, ed., *Roman Frontier Studies 1979* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 173 - 193. The characterization of “chalet barracks” has been subsequently challenged, largely by Bidwell, on the grounds that the barrack forms identified as being typical of the 4<sup>th</sup> century by Daniels are actually built in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century and appear in several other forts: P.T. Bidwell, ‘Later Roman Barracks in Britain,’ in V. Maxfield and B. Dobson, eds., *Roman Frontier Studies 1989: Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies Exeter*, 9-15 (Exeter, 1991), pp. 9 – 15; also the interpretations of irregular barracks used by several authors as reflecting changes in 4<sup>th</sup> century practice, are in fact often the result of failing to identify several sequences of remodelling of the same barrack, rather than one ‘irregular’ construction. This was reinforced by some barracks whose irregular pattern was as a result of a failure to excavate with a systematic stratigraphy, thus several stages had been interpreted as one; N. Hodgson and P.T. Bidwell, ‘Auxiliary Barracks in a New Light: Recent Discoveries on Hadrian’s Wall’, *Britannia*, 35 (2004), 121-157.

<sup>315</sup> Understanding of occupation of forts and individual army units is largely based on Vindolanda tablet 154 which probably refers to the fort’s second occupation period which show that members of the Cohort of the

played a strictly defensive role, or whether they controlled the surrounding territory. Studies on the later Empire have often focused on soldiers' use as riot control within cities.<sup>316</sup> Fuhrmann argues that detached-service policing of civilian areas by *milites* is a common feature of the early imperial period.<sup>317</sup> Small detachments from legions and auxiliary regiments were often despatched to civilian areas in policing posts. The spread of *stationes* (government administration posts), run by *beneficarii consulares*, spread through the provinces too. For the late Roman period, Fuhrmann argues (using a reference in Ammianus) that the title *stationarius* had become an adjective for soldiers serving on the frontiers, whereas in the early Empire the meaning was for temporary guard or police duties by lower-ranking soldiers.<sup>318</sup> Whether the forts were used as means of oppression or defence is a fundamental one to this study.

Regional trends are central to developments in Gaul during the Late Roman period. In *Germania II*, for example, it is difficult to establish the precise nature of military occupation during the 4<sup>th</sup> century, which may be related to the inundation of the Rhine delta in this period due to rising sea levels in the North Sea (the so-called Dunkirk II transgression).<sup>319</sup> At the other end of the Rhine in *Maxima Sequanorum* the frontier is dotted with regularly refurbished guard towers and major forts, which while not conforming to a singular typology does appear to possess a strong formal structure into the 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>320</sup> Valentinian's refurbishment and construction programme is the most easily identifiable phase, but this should not be regarded as the end of the process.<sup>321</sup> Therefore, the study of

---

Tungrians were often spread over several different locations, often significantly removed from the original fort see A. Bowman, *Life and Letters on the Roman Frontier: Vindolanda and its people* (London, 1994), pp. 22 – 24.

<sup>316</sup> R. MacMullen, *Corruption and the Decline of Rome* (London, 1988), pp. 209 – 17; J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 124 – 5; though Liebeschuetz also stresses in *ibid.*, pp. 117 – 118, that an absence of a garrison was the normal situation in the 4<sup>th</sup> century in cities.

<sup>317</sup> C. Fuhrmann, *Policing the Roman Empire: Soldiers, Administration and Public Order* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 201 – 238.

<sup>318</sup> C. Fuhrmann, *op. cit.*, p.209; Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XVIII.5.3 describes soldiers guarding the eastern frontier as *stationarii*.

<sup>319</sup> There is some doubt about the global scale of this change in sea levels, which used to be connected to any apparent water based catastrophe in the archaeological record, whereas these effects are now seen by researchers as being localized affairs. There is now little doubt that the northwest coast of *Belgica II* and *Germania* were seriously affected: see J. Bazelmans, M. Dijkstra and J. De Koning, 'Holland during the First Millennium', in M. Lodewijckx, ed., *Bruc Ealles Well: Archaeological Essays Concerning the Peoples of North-West Europe in the First Millennium AD* (Leuven, 2004), pp. 6 – 8; 15 – 18.

<sup>320</sup> M. Reddé, ed., *L'architecture de la Gaule romaine: les Fortifications Militaires* (Bordeaux, 2006).

<sup>321</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XXVIII.2.1; H. Petrikovits, 'Fortifications in the North Western Roman Empire from the Third to the Fifth Centuries', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 61 (1971), 189-93.

*Belgica* II will involve assessing how far specific local military communities can be identified across northern and south-western Gaul and whether they develop separate institutional identities during the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>322</sup> It is also essential to explore how the changing fiscal and economic context of the Late Empire and its structures affects the military culture of the case study areas, a factor that has been observed in much recent work in the Balkans.<sup>323</sup>

### 2.3 Cities

The role of the city in Late Antiquity has been the focus of much research in recent years, benefitting from the relative wealth of data created by recent surveys and excavations. The main focus of researchers has been to challenge the traditional model of 'decline' used to

---

<sup>322</sup> R. Collins, 'Hadrian's Wall and the collapse of Roman frontiers', in Á. Morillo, N. Hanel and E. Martin, eds., *op. cit.*, (2009), pp. 181-197; Collins has emphasised that regional military identity in Roman Britain is apparent in the different material records that exist in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century and the 5<sup>th</sup> century across the north and south of the British provinces. On Hadrian's Wall, unlike the south coast of England, *limitanei* appear to have developed a separate institutional identity in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century that allowed them to adapt and survive in the absence of economic and political attention from the Imperial centre. Unlike earlier scholars arguing that the end of the 'Roman occupation' on the wall represented a 'military' collapse, he argues that while there was a form of collapse in Imperial authority, the military communities in the north actually experienced a form of continuity, adapting socially and economically to a new environment, a process that is witnessed by the increasing 'informal' use of the interior buildings of the forts themselves.

<sup>323</sup> A.G. Poulter, 'The Transition to Late Antiquity on the Danube: a City, a Fort and the Countryside', in A.G. Poulter, ed., *The Transition to Late Antiquity: on the Danube and Beyond* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 51 – 97, discusses excavations at Dichin near Nicopolis ad-Istrum in Moesia have revealed a fort constructed in a rural context. It was marginal to the frontier and road network, but it was built next to a river adequate for transporting goods so it must have functioned within a communication network. The strong external wall structures of the fort are of a high quality in common with many contemporary fortifications. Therefore it seems inconceivable that the fort was not created by military engineers using state resources. However, the internal organisation of the buildings was quite different from that which was to be found in traditional forts. There were no administrative buildings and baths, though there was a barrack building, granaries and a church. The quality of building materials used in the internal structures implies the use of local resources, possibly because the occupants were unable to access regional supply networks. The finds of weapons (e.g. spears, *plumbatae* and shield bosses) implies a military occupation but the fort also contains numerous agricultural implements. The dating of the fort is different for most of the known sites in the Danube region, the coinage suggesting construction in about c. AD 400 and the first phase of occupation remained in use until its destruction in about AD 480. The excavator suggests that it was a fort constructed for a garrison of *foederati*. While this point is disputable and problematic, what is interesting is that the fort seems to have been operating for the purposes of supply rather than being a purely defensive structure. The location of the fort in agriculturally rich territory away from the main defended frontier implies that it was responsible for co-ordinating collection of *annona*, if not involved in farming itself (hence the agricultural implements). Before speculating on the issue of soldier-farmers the excavator points to the fort's creation in the context of the disappearance of the villa economy in the region by the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, possibly as a result of the Gothic wars.

characterise developments in urban structure of the Late Empire.<sup>324</sup> In general there are three particular characteristics of Late Antique urbanism: Christianisation, the administrative role of cities and fortification. The erection of walled circuits around many urban settlements, which were unenclosed during the Early Empire, is a well observed phenomenon. Many of these circuits enclosed only a fraction of the earlier occupied area.<sup>325</sup> This arguably represented a fundamental change in urban organisation, moving away from the classical 'open city' model of urbanism to what can be described as a 'closed city.' This is often seen as a reflection of the wider changes associated with the Late Empire.<sup>326</sup> This is also commonly used evidence to support "militarisation". Defence had become a primary urban function, as cities were reduced to a series of strong-points organised by the Roman state to manage supply and taxation and protect key resources, primarily for the benefit of the military in terms of managing the *annona* system but also providing accommodation for the *comitatenses*.<sup>327</sup>

Many scholars emphasise the importance of government intervention in this general phenomenon, the argument being that only the imperial government had sufficient resources. This also follows from the suggestion that given the argument that city resources

---

<sup>324</sup> For a traditional view of urban decline during the late Empire see A.H.M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1964), pp. 712 – 766. For recent revisionist work emphasising continued vigour amongst urban communities see J. Rich, ed., *The City in Late Antiquity* (London, 1992); N. Christie and S. Loseby, eds., *Towns in Transition: Urban Evolution in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 1996); B. Ward-Perkins, 'The Cities', in A. Cameron and P. Garnsey, eds., *The Cambridge Ancient History XIII, The Late Empire: AD 337 – 425* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 371 – 410; L. Lavan, ed., *Recent Research in Late Antique Urbanism Journal of Roman Archaeology Suppl. 42* (Providence R.I., 2001). For a neo-traditionalist view of urban decline see J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City* (Oxford, 2001). It is orthodox to argue there was a significant transformation in urban settlement during Late Antiquity but there is however no consensus on what this was. The principal adjustment to scholarly discourse, in line with other areas, has been the recognition of variation between regions and within regions themselves.

<sup>325</sup> For general discussions on the shrinking of cities see J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, 'The end of the Ancient City', in J. Rich, ed., *The City in Late Antiquity* (London, 1992), 1 – 49; for the latest syntheses of the situation in the west more generally see S. Esmonde-Cleary *The Roman West AD 200 – 500: an archaeological study* (2013), pp. 97 – 149; for a still eloquent, if slightly outdated, summary of the situation in Gaul see E.M. Wightman *Gallia Belgica* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 219 – 228.

<sup>326</sup> In Roman Britain for example: "The domination of local administration by a substantial, town dwelling, Romanizing, local, land owning élite represented materially by well-constructed and well-maintained civic amenity buildings and large numbers of large town houses." N. Faulkner, 'Change and decline in late Romano-British towns', in T.R. Slater, ed. *Towns in Decline AD 100 – 1600* (Aldershot, 2001), p. 46.

<sup>327</sup> Such comments have been expressed strongly for other parts of the Empire: "Is this not grounds for suspecting the intervention of central authority, creating a secure base in a scene of desolation for what one might term today 'the essential fabric of government,' that is officials, soldiers, stores and money?" J. Wilkes, 'Civil Defence in Third-Century Achaia', *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, 36 (1989), 187–192; for Gaul see: S. Johnson, *Late Roman Fortifications* (London, 1983), p. 117.

were increasingly allocated to service the demands of the state in this period.<sup>328</sup> In Gaul, written sources show the inhabitants of Autun requesting and obtaining support for rebuilding from the Tetrarchs.<sup>329</sup> Ammianus comments that the walls of the city were crumbling with age in the 350s, which could be argued demonstrates how unaffordable the cost of maintaining them was for cities.<sup>330</sup> Italy and neighbouring provinces have more direct evidence for state support with Ravenna, Rome, Albenga, Salona, Naples and Carthage all receiving state help with their fortifications.<sup>331</sup> The demands of the Roman state could still make a significant impact on the internal structure of urban areas in the late 4<sup>th</sup> and early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries. Arles has evidence of significant amounts of housing being constructed in public spaces such as the forum and the circus at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>332</sup>

One important aspect is the incomplete nature of the evidence, often thanks to past excavation practice which saw later Roman levels being ignored. Scholars disagree on what a 'late antique' city should look like due to the complexity of evidence and lack of clear universal models, unlike those that exist for the Early Empire.<sup>333</sup> City walls, often the principal surviving structures, are hard to understand due to incomplete knowledge of their extent and problems establishing coherent dating.<sup>334</sup> The tendency to lump material together into a general framework, such as 'insecurity' or 'defence,' do not reflect the complexity of the technical issues. Aquileia, a site of major importance for Late Antique urbanism, on account of its accessibility for archaeological investigation, given its

---

<sup>328</sup> B. Ward-Perkins, 'The Cities,' in A. Cameron and P. Garnsey, eds., *op. cit.*, (1998), p. 375.

<sup>329</sup> Autun was damaged by the 7 month siege of 270 by Victorinus, the 'Gallic' Emperor, against whom the Aedui had revolted in 269 so was given special treatment by the Tetrarch Constantius. J. Drinkwater, *The Gallic Empire: separatism and continuity in the North-Western provinces of the Roman Empire, A.D.260-274* (Stuttgart, 1987), pp. 37 – 38.

<sup>330</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XVI.2.1, '*Comperit Augustudini civitas antiquae muros spatiosi quidem ambitus sed carie vestutatis invalidos.*' As always with Ammianus, It is difficult to know how far this reflects reality, given that he could have seen the walls himself or had contact with others who had, or it could suggest both Constantius had not adequately repaired them in the 290s. They are still standing today.

<sup>331</sup> Analogies can be made for Gaul from 5<sup>th</sup> century Illyria: Salona's fortification walls seem to have been rebuilt with the direct involvement of the *Magister Militum* Sigisvult see N. Christie and A. Rushworth, 'Urban fortification and defensive strategy in fifth and sixth Italy: the case of Terracina', *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 1 (1988), 73 – 87.

<sup>332</sup> C Sinté, 'La Reutilisation des Espaces Publiques à Arles: un Témoignage de la Fin de l'Antiquité', *Antiquité Tardive*, 2 (1994), 181 – 192.

<sup>333</sup> A. Cameron, 'Ideologies and Agendas in Late Antique Studies', in L. Lavan and W. Bowden, *Theory and Practice in Late Antique Archaeology* (Leiden, 2003), pp. 10 – 11.

<sup>334</sup> J. Wachter, 'Some Thoughts on Roman Urban Defences in the West', in J.C. Mann, J. Maloney and B. Hobley, eds., *Roman Urban Defences in the West* (Oxford, 1983), p. 142.

abandonment during the Early Medieval period and a lack of subsequent development, presents major difficulties when assessing the circuit sequences.<sup>335</sup>

During the Early Empire walls in the Western provinces were a statement of a city's status and part of the civic architectural elaboration championed by local pride and euergetism, in the same category as theatres, baths and aqueducts.<sup>336</sup> Only a few cities possessed them and they were a symbol of colonial status or imperial patronage. Autun's impressive walls were erected at the city's foundation with the support of Augustus himself and signified the city's importance in the *novo ordo*.<sup>337</sup> The city walls of the Late Empire have a different architectural style. Not only were they shorter, but they were often built on strong foundations of *spolia* taken from public buildings and tombstones, strengthened with towers and gates.<sup>338</sup> Entrance to cities was more easily controlled and the projecting towers added to many circuits are often interpreted as being for the deployment of artillery.<sup>339</sup> This can be paralleled in other parts of the Empire. In the Balkans, Late Antique cities have been described as fortified outposts of the state largely excluding civilian urban populations.<sup>340</sup> In Italy, the Late Roman period is being seen as one where the urban landscape was being shaped by the needs of defence: urban communities felt safer behind city walls.<sup>341</sup>

One can argue, however, that late Roman walls also represented a continued form of urban monumentality and symbolism.<sup>342</sup> Aurelian's walls at Rome were probably an inspiration to many other cities, and while the context of the construction was to do with threats to Italy,

---

<sup>335</sup> N. Christie, *From Constantine to Charlemagne* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 291 – 295.

<sup>336</sup> This point is strongly made in Angolphone literature see M. Hassall, 'Mediterranean and Northern Provinces, and Rome: the Origins and Character of Roman Urban Defences in the West', in J. Maloney and B. Hobley, eds., *Roman Urban Defences in the West* (London, 1983), p. 1; S. Esmonde Cleary, 'Civil Defences in the West under the High Empire', in P. Wilson, ed., *The Archaeology of Roman Towns: Studies in Honour of John S. Wacher* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 72 -85.

<sup>337</sup> J.-P. Guillaumet and A. Rebourg, 'L'Enceinte d'Autun', in *Les Enceintes Augustéennes dans l'Occident Romain: France, Italie, Espagne, Afrique du Nord: Actes du Colloque international de Nîmes, 9-12 octobre 1985* (Nîmes, 1987), pp. 41 – 49.

<sup>338</sup> E.M. Wightman, *Gallia Belgica* (London, 1985), pp. 219 – 228.

<sup>339</sup> S. Johnson, *Late Roman Fortifications* (London, 1983), p. 79; for artillery: R. Brulet, 'Les Transformations du Bas-Empire,' in M. Reddé, ed., *L'Armée Romaine en Gaule* (Paris, 1996), p. 260.

<sup>340</sup> A. Poulter, 'The Use and Abuse of Urbanism in the Danubian Provinces in the Late Roman Empire,' in J. Rich, ed., *The City in Late Antiquity* (London, 1992), pp. 99 – 135.

<sup>341</sup> N. Christie, *From Constantine to Charlemagne* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 282 – 290.

<sup>342</sup> The symbolist position is argued by S. Esmonde Cleary, 'Fortificación Urbana en la Britannia Romana: ¿Defensa Militar o Monumento Cívico?', in A. Rodríguez, J. Colmenero and I. Rodá de Llanza, eds., *Murallas de Ciudades Romanas en el Occidente dell Imperio. Actas del Congreso Internacional Celebrado en Lugo (26–29, XI, 2005) en el V aniversario de la Declaración, por la UNESCO, de la Muralla de Lugo Como Patrimonio de la Humanidad* (Lugo, 2007), pp. 155–165.

the extent of the walls are too impressive to be merely serving military needs. Not all wall circuits were tiny enceintes – some sites remained quite extensive. Some central-western Gallic walls have a range of similar geometric polychrome patterns on their external facing wall, most famously at Le Mans, with a common dating of construction to the last quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>343</sup> These visually striking walls are chronologically consistent with Aurelian's activities at Rome and the propaganda of his successor Probus as the "restorer of the cities of Gaul" in the 270s and 280s.<sup>344</sup> It would make sense to see the enormous logistical endeavour involved in this regional development to be part of an official building programme, possibly aimed at securing the loyalty of those cities whom until recently had been loyal supporters of the rival Gallic Empire, or the result of locals being keen to state their loyalty to the new political order.<sup>345</sup> Whether this was funded by the Imperial fisc or an act of the local curial class using their own resources is unclear, but local pride must have played some role in the commissioning of this work. At the end of the next century Ausonius was keen to comment on the monumental effect of Bordeaux's city walls, as well as its port, in his *Catalogue of Famous Cities*: he only mentions one monument from within the city.<sup>346</sup> The precise relationship between city walls and settlement patterns are not fully clear, for there is evidence for continued extra-mural settlement, not least related to the construction of suburban churches associated with particular saints.<sup>347</sup> However, it is likely that, given the large scale investment and manpower needed to create these structures, and their increasingly common occurrence, in some ways city walls became, along with churches, a powerful symbol of Late Antique city status as opposed to being the preserve of a few, favoured cities as was the case during the early Empire.<sup>348</sup>

Another important factor for cities was their role as administrative centres and they were probably important for military logistics. State arms factories (*fabricae*) appear in several

---

<sup>343</sup> A good example are the walls at Le Mans: see J. Guilleux, *L'enceinte romaine du Mans* (Le Mans, 2000).

<sup>344</sup> This reputation was praised by Julian, for whom it made a suitable comparison for his own record in Gaul: Julian *Convivium* 314b; Julian *Misopogon* 340D.

<sup>345</sup> H. Dey, 'Art, Ceremony, and City Walls: The Aesthetics of Imperial Resurgence in the Late Roman West', *Journal of Late Antiquity*, 3.1 (2010), pp. 3-37.

<sup>346</sup> Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, 128 – 168.

<sup>347</sup> For Paris see D. Busson, *Paris: Cartes Archeologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 1998); for Verdun see F. Mourot, *Meuse: Cartes Archeologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 2001), p. 576; Strasbourg in B. Gissinger, *Recherches sur le Site Fortifié de Strasbourg Durant l'Antiquité Tardive* (Oxford, 2002).

<sup>348</sup> S. Loseby, 'Decline and change in the cities of late antique Gaul', in J.-U. Krause and C. Witschel, eds., *Die Stadt in der Spätantike – Niedergang oder Wandel?* (Historia Einzelschriften 190) (Stuttgart, 2006), p. 80.



cities throughout the Empire.<sup>349</sup> The reason for their location is not clear, but it was probably due to factors such as existing transport networks, local traditions of metallurgy and cities that had the infrastructure to cope with providing manpower and accommodation. The other structures associated with the Late Roman period urban space are granaries (*horrea*). These appear at many locations across Gaul and throughout the Empire. It is these issues, and the fact that cities are seen as the main base for army units, that has led to the characterisation of cities as part of a militarised landscape.<sup>350</sup>

Therefore the key must be to establish what extent city walls can be identified as part of a long-term process of change during the period we call “Late Roman” or as a specific response to a particular military decision at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. All of this implies that urban fortifications were part of a deeper pattern of urban transformation rather than a simple response to the problems of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. As is clear from other parts of the Empire, such as the Danube, the 5<sup>th</sup> century also saw specific developments in urban sites when the imperial government established various military-ecclesiastical centres that marked a distinct rupture between previous phases of civilian occupation.<sup>351</sup> It remains to be seen how far this applies to the cities of *Belgica II*.

In this section therefore, the central questions are: how did the city walls and fortified circuits emerge in the case study areas, and what relationship existed between them and the Roman military?

## 2.4. The countryside

Rural organisation is a key aspect of understanding how the military system functioned. The redistribution of rural surpluses through the fiscal system was fundamental to how soldiers were supplied and organised.<sup>352</sup> The current evidence is certainly sympathetic to arguments

---

<sup>349</sup> S. James, ‘The Fabricae: state arms factories of the later Roman Empire,’ in J.C. Coulston, ed., *Roman Military Equipment and the Identity of Roman Soldiers* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 257 – 331.

<sup>350</sup> See for example R. Brulet, ‘La Militarisation de la Gaule du Nord au Bas-Empire et les Petites Agglomérations Urbaines de Famars et de Bavay’, *Revue du Nord-Archeologie*, 77 (1995), p. 62. “Dans tous les cas, le rôle militaire de la ville ne peut être sous-estimé....Leur rôle militaire peut donc être assez considérable.”

<sup>351</sup> A. G. Poulter, *Nicopolis ad Istrum a Roman, Late Roman and Early Byzantine City* (London, 1995).

<sup>352</sup> P. Van Ossel, ‘Insecurité et Militarisation en Gaule du Nord au Bas-Empire’, *Revue du Nord-Archeologie*, 77 (1995), p. 27.

for significant rural change in Late Roman Gaul.<sup>353</sup> The traditional view of the countryside was that there was a large-scale abandonment of rural sites (villas in particular) during the '3rd Century Crisis' as a result of the violent barbarian invasions (particularly 275-6).<sup>354</sup> Percival argued that invasions were an insufficient explanation and that observable changes in villa use were the result of long-standing economic and social changes which could be dated back to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>355</sup> Wightman developed these points, accepting that the evidence for violent destruction that could be associated with the invasions of the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century was at best ambiguous, and that several sites were already being abandoned at the start of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, suggesting long-term issues better explained the apparent collapse of the early imperial landscape in *Belgica*. She also argued that there was a concentration of estates in the 4<sup>th</sup> century and this led to the nucleation of settlements alongside lines of communication or security such as roads, waterways and hill forts in the face of increasing insecurity during the 4<sup>th</sup> century, in a way that laid the foundations for the 'feudal' pattern of land-holding in the Middle Ages.<sup>356</sup> It has been argued that the only type of building activity that flourished in the Late Roman countryside were fortifications in the form of *burgi*, circuit walls and other buildings that were traditionally identified as military sites, and this has been used to support the view already discussed in other contexts that the late Roman countryside was 'militarised'.<sup>357</sup> Wightman attributed the changes she identified as being driven by endemic insecurity and the changes in rural settlement partially caused by the settlement of new migrant communities in the countryside.<sup>358</sup> The 'militarisation' thesis would therefore argue that the military bureaucracy was more directly involved in rural production than it was in the early imperial period as it needed to consolidate and maintain its supply lines against a backdrop of rural depopulation and economic decline.

---

<sup>353</sup> P. Van Ossel, *Etablissements Ruraux de l'Antiquité Tardive dans le Nord de la Gaule* (Paris, 1992).

<sup>354</sup> The traditional view can be found in R. Agache, *La Somme pre-Romaine et Romaine d'après les Prospections Aériennes à Basse Altitude* (Amiens, 1978). Agache's argument was based on extensive aerial photography, which also argued that any villas that were refurbished or rebuilt during the 4<sup>th</sup> century were transformed into villages. The essence of his case was that there was a severe discontinuity between the mode of production in the Roman and Medieval periods and that the origins of this was to be found in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.

<sup>355</sup> J. Percival, *The Roman Villa: an Historical Introduction* (London, 1976), pp. 166 – 182.

<sup>356</sup> E.M. Wightman, *Gallia Belgica* (London, 1985), pp. 243 – 244.

<sup>357</sup> R. Brulet, *op. cit.*, (1995), p. 60.

<sup>358</sup> The 'peasant-soldier' thesis of the *limitanei* is strongly referenced here by Wightman in E.M. Wightman, *op. cit.*, (1985) p. 249.

One reason for changing ideas and approaches to the rural landscape is the methodological developments in archaeology over the last decades. The increasing use of land survey has provided a much higher quantity of data that can be used to test generalised statements based on unreliable indicators such as cemeteries.<sup>359</sup> Another issue in understanding rural settlement patterns in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries was the complexity involved in identifying and understanding the stratigraphic layers of later periods without the same quality of chronological indicators (coins, pottery etc.) that are common for earlier periods of Roman archaeology.<sup>360</sup> Enterprising studies have also identified aspects of recycling and reuse of materials from rural sites as indicating persistent use of sites.<sup>361</sup> The references to villas in the works of Late Roman authors do not have to be rejected out of hand on the grounds that their references to such sites are literary invention. The detailed descriptions in Sidonius, while undoubtedly influenced by accounts found in Pliny, have many parallels with existing structures in northwest Europe.<sup>362</sup> The question therefore remains how these new ideas affects understanding of the role the army played in the landscape of *Belgica II*.

Research since the 1980s has seen a more systematic attempt to understand the late antique countryside beyond using it as a catch all term for everything outside of the city walls, and paralleled (albeit delayed) the increased interest in urban archaeology.<sup>363</sup> This has led to a recent historiographical push for re-evaluation of the countryside during the late Roman period and attempts at being more positive than previous characterisations. Recent work has challenged many of the details of the traditional picture arguing that it is too

---

<sup>359</sup> For example this can be seen in the criticism of cemeteries as a basis for settlement patterns on grounds of their misleading data in C. Haselgrove and C. Scull, 'The changing structure of rural settlement in southern Picardy during the First Millennium AD', in J. Bintliff and H. Hamerow, eds., *Europe Between Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Recent Archaeological and Historical Research in Western and Southern Europe* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 58 – 59. On the benefits (and costs) of land survey see W. Bowden and L. Lavan, 'The Late Antique Countryside: an introduction', in W. Bowden, L. Lavan and C. Machado, eds., *Recent Research on the Late Antique Countryside* (Leiden, 2004), pp. xxi – xxii.

<sup>360</sup> This was due to a combination of disinterest by early excavators who looked past late Roman and post-Roman layers to access classical sites, but also thanks to a lack of secure dating material e.g. using the styles of mosaics. There has been radical re-dating of some villa sites by placing more emphasis on pottery rather than coinage, for example Montmaurin in the south of Gaul is now seen as dating to the 5<sup>th</sup> or even the 6<sup>th</sup> centuries; see L. Stirling, *The Learned Collector: Mythological Statuettes and Classical Taste in Late Antique Gaul* (Michigan, 2005), p. 64.

<sup>361</sup> For the western provinces (though the focus is mainly on Italy and Southern Gaul) see B. Munro, 'Recycling, Demand for Materials and Landownership at Villas in Italy and the Western Provinces in Late Antiquity', *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 25 (2012), 351 – 370.

<sup>362</sup> K. Dark, 'The Archaeological Implications of Fourth- and Fifth-Century Descriptions of Villas in the Northwest Provinces of the Roman', *Historia*, 54 (2005), 331 – 342.

<sup>363</sup> W. Bowden and L. Lavan, *op. cit.*, (2004), pp. xvii – xxvi.

derivative on models created by simplistic readings of literary texts.<sup>364</sup> Many villas were being restored, extended and refurbished although some lost the architectural complexity of the earlier period and continued to function on a simpler level.<sup>365</sup> The increasing ability to identify the persistence of élite settlement and continuity of site into the 5<sup>th</sup> century use has allowed challenges to older ideas of rural depopulation and abandonment as can be seen in ripostes to evidence of post-4<sup>th</sup> century settlement being dismissed as the work of 'squatters'.<sup>366</sup> As has been discussed already in the context of urban change, researchers now increasingly emphasise the importance of regional variations in qualifying generalised statements of settlement change.

This overall approach is important, as a better understood landscape permits a more accurate assessment of the economic function it played in the late Roman period and to what extent its production was essential to the provisioning of the military establishment. The systems of supply and transport of goods to army units entailed an enormous amount of administrative effort. Was the northern Gallic countryside still used to satisfy the enormous demands of the Roman state? The traditional view of rural decline in the 4<sup>th</sup> century would argue that it was not. The disappearance of villas and their replacement by primarily wooden structures suggest that there was a move away from a cash crop driven production system to subsistence.<sup>367</sup> The existence of long-distance trade and how the army integrated the local economy into the imperial economy is one topic requiring further investigation, alongside the micro-economic impact of individual forts and military communities. This implies the maintenance of a 'villa economy' supply system similar to

---

<sup>364</sup> P. Ouzoulias, 'La déprise agricole du Bas-Empire: une mythe historiographique?', in P. Ouzoulias and P. Van Ossel, *Les Campagnes de l'Île de France de Constantin à Clovis* (Paris, 1997), pp. 10 – 2; A. Chavarria and T. Lewit, 'Archaeological Research on the Late Antique countryside: a Bibliographic Essay', in W. Bowden, L. Lavan and C. Machado *op. cit.*, (2004), pp. 3 – 51; T. Lewit, *Villas, Farms and the Late Roman Rural Economy* (Oxford, 2004)

<sup>365</sup> For refurbished villas see J. Percival, 'The fifth century villa: new life or death postponed?', in J. F. Drinkwater and H. Elton, eds., *op cit.*, (1992). For continuity in villa occupation at a more simplified level see E. Louis, 'A De-Romanised Landscape in Northern Gaul: the Scarpe Valley from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD', in W. Bowden, L. Lavan and C. Machado *op. cit.*, (2004), pp. 479 – 504.

<sup>366</sup> See in particular the work of T. Lewit, 'Vanishing Villas': what happened to élite rural habitation in the West in the 5<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> centuries?', *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 16 (2003), 260 – 274; for increasing success in identifying 5<sup>th</sup> century occupation see E. Louis, *ibid.* In the Trier region, during the 4<sup>th</sup> century, a villa-based agricultural system continued to produce a healthy agricultural surplus which can be seen in the continuity of settlement patterns from earlier periods, luxury villas and luxury grave goods in the area E.M. Wightman, *Roman Trier and the Treveri* (London, 1970), pp. 162 – 72; E. Wightman, *Gallia Belgica* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 257 – 262.

<sup>367</sup> P. Van Ossel, 'Insecurité et militarisation en Gaule du Nord au Bas-Empire', *Revue du Nord-Archeologie*, 77 (1995), 28 – 30.

that which operated in the early Empire, as opposed to the direct central involvement in the production of supplies, which is suggested by the Dichin in the Balkans, as discussed above.<sup>368</sup> Evidence for a continuation of any form of villa scale production would imply a continued production of surpluses, while reduced occupation or simpler forms of land use could imply the adoption of subsistence forms of production which are less likely to have made much impact.<sup>369</sup> Parallel to this is the need to find any evidence for direct governmental involvement in rural production, like the famous ‘Langmauerbezirk’ in the Trier region of *Belgica I*, which has traditionally been identified as an imperial estate.<sup>370</sup>

Another approach is to examine the extent to which the countryside became dominated by issues of security and the extent it became more ‘fortified’ as a result. An important feature of the Late Roman countryside is the occupation of large numbers of *Hohensiedlungen* from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century onwards.<sup>371</sup> These are mostly found in *Belgica I*, though the growth of high level, secure settlement is to be found outside of northern Gaul too, which could indicate it was part of a wider trend in imperial society than one specific to the northern Gallic provinces and were specifically related to the political and economic circumstances of the Late Empire. What lies at the heart of our concerns is the question of how far they represent private as opposed to public initiatives?<sup>372</sup> Did the military have any role in these structures,

<sup>368</sup> A.G. Poulter, ‘The Transition to Late Antiquity on the Danube: a city, a fort and the countryside’, in A. G. Poulter, ed., *The Transition to Late Antiquity: on the Danube and beyond* (London, 2007), pp. 1 – 50 .

<sup>369</sup> P. Van Ossel, ‘Insecurité et Militarisation en Gaule du Nord au Bas-Empire’, *Revue du Nord-Archeologie*, 77 (1995), p. 25.

<sup>370</sup> K. J. Gilles, ‘Langmauer’, in: *Carte Archeologique du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg, Feuille 14 Rosport* (Luxembourg, 1985), pp. 6 – 21.

<sup>371</sup> The English term ‘hillforts’ is inadequate due to the variety of settlement types that the German word encompasses, and the word itself is often criticised by prehistorians see for example M. O’Kelly and C. O’Kelly, *Early Ireland: an Introduction to Irish Prehistory* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 310. It should be pointed out that some of these sites had been used during the Iron Age too see K.-J. Gilles, *Spatromische Hohensiedlungen in Eifel und Hunsrück* (Trier, 1985).

<sup>372</sup> In the south of Gaul the famous documented example is the ‘Theopolis’ site constructed by the former Praetorian Prefect Fl. Dardanus with his wife and brother in the second decade of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. The site provided strong walls for defence as well as, one can infer from the name, a religious function. *CIL* XII 1524 = *ILS* 1279 = *AE* 1959, 58

*Cl(audius) Postumus Dardanus v(ir) inl(ustris) et pa(triciae dignitatis, ex consulari pro/vincia Viennensis, ex magistro scri/nii lib(ellorum), ex quaest(ore), e x praef(ecto), pr(a)et(orio) Gall(iarum), et / Nevia Galla, clar(issima) et inl(ustris) fem(ina), materfam(iliis) / eius, lococ ui nomen Theopoli est / viarum usum, caesis utrumquem on/tium laterib(us), praestiterunt, muros/ et portas dederunt; quod in agro/ proprio constitutum tuetioni om/nium voluerunt esse commune, adni/tente etian(!) vir(o) inl(ustri) com(ite) ac fratre me/morati viri Cl(audio) Lepido ex consulari/ Germaniae Primae, ex mag(istro) memor(iae), /ex com(ite) rerum privat(arum), ut erga omni/um salutem eoru/m studi<or>ume /t devo/tionis public[ae] ti /tulus possi[t]o stendi*

Claudius Postumus Dardanus, a noble man of patrician rank, formerly consul of the province of Vienne, head of the petitions department, quaestor and praetorian prefect of the Gauls, and Nevia Galla, a distinguished and

and how far do their occupation patterns change over time? Another related aspect of the ‘militarisation’ of rural contexts is the appearance of ‘fortified villas’ which could strongly suggest the assumption of defensive duties by civilians or the direct involvement by the military or official administration to secure military needs. In Gaul there are several villas which seem to have defensive structures added to them; are reported to have been occupied by soldiers or have been located near a fortified site. These appear in several written texts for the 5<sup>th</sup> century mainly for southern Gaul.<sup>373</sup> Van Ossel identifies several types of sites that make up the “fortified villa” typology.<sup>374</sup> Again there are regional parallels which could make this a more general phenomenon relating to changes across the whole of imperial society than being simply directly related to *Belgica II*.<sup>375</sup> Ward-Perkins stresses

---

noble woman, his materfamilias, appointed themselves keepers of the place called Theopolis and, after approaches had been carved out on both sides of the mountains, gave it walls and gates. They wanted the land that is established as being in their ownership to be shared for the safety of all. Claudius Lepidus, a noble man, comrade and brother of the above-mentioned man, former consul of Upper Germany, *magister memoriae* and count of the *res privata*, also lent his support so that a notice could be displayed of their concern for the safety of everyone and of their devotion to the community.

This initiative is instructive as it implies an increasing provision of defence by private individuals not controlled by the state. On the other hand, one could argue that Dardanus’ *Theopolis* was not simply a ‘private’ initiative and the product of a political vacuum caused by the disappearance of Imperial power. The language of the famous inscription he erected is resonant of the language contained in a parallel text for the Eastern Empire issued by Theodosius II in 420 permitting landowners to fortify their estates in the context of increased tension with Persia. *CJ* 8.10.10 The phrase ‘*erga omnium salutem eorum studium et devotionis public[ae] titulus*’ (a notice could be displayed of their concern for the safety of everyone and of their devotion to the community) implies that Dardanus felt he had to justify the fortification of his estate, implying such actions were not seen as being legitimate unless following official procedure. The political climate in the first few decades of the 5<sup>th</sup> century was traumatic for southern Gaul, so while his action hints at the weakness of the Roman state it was not necessarily absent.

<sup>373</sup> Sidonius Apollinaris is the source for several sites: his own Avitacum (*Ep.* II.2); Ameonissimus of Consentius nr. Narbonne (*Ep.* VIII.4); the *Burgus* of Pontius Leontius (*Carmina* XXII); Venantius Fortunatus describes the villa occupied by Nicetius, Bishop of Trier (*Carmina* III.12).

<sup>374</sup> P. Van Ossel, *Etablissements Ruraux de l'Antiquité Tardive dans le Nord de la Gaule* (Paris, 1992), pp. 163 – 168: these are a) ‘hill forts’ rural fortifications constructed on a high point b) towers, sometimes enclosed by a ditch, constructed next to or inside rural settlements c) *burgi* (fortified structures) constructed next to or within rural settlements d) Defensive ditches encircling certain villas e) villas with fortifications f) ‘military’ or ‘Germanic’ objects found at villa sites.

<sup>375</sup> In Africa, the fortified *qusr* type of farmstead was the dominant type between AD 300 – AD 700, and synonymous with growing pressure from nomadic groups. D. Mattingly and J. W. Hayes, ‘Nador and Fortified Farms in North Africa’, *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 5 (1992), 408 – 418; D. Mattingly and B. Hitchener ‘Roman Africa: an archaeological review’, *Journal of Roman Studies*, 85 (1995), pp. 195 – 6; D. Mattingly, *Tripolitania* (London, 1995), pp. 147 – 8; 194 – 209. Mattingly has particularly argued against any simplistic attribution of ‘military’ or ‘para-military’ function to these sites in view of epigraphic evidence (Nador has an inscription identifying its proprietor as a civilian) and the different regions where these fortified farm structures have been found. He certainly argues against any interpretation which represents these as new ‘military’ settlers as a colonial hangover. They represent, in his view, a combination of possibilities: élites tightening control over labour, increasing concerns about security or possibly reinforced storage facilities. Types of ‘fortified villa’ are also very commonly identified in the Danube region too during the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries, where a variety of different types exist ranging from the strongly fortified ‘palace’ type structures at Split and Gamzigrad, as well as many others with thinner walls but possessing defensive towers. L. Mulvin,

regional variation in both style and intensity of fortification, and notes that despite the prominence in the historiography, given the political insecurity of the period it is surprising how little fortification there actually is, certainly when compared to the medieval period.<sup>376</sup>

Beyond the question of site typology is the issue of the various artefacts, including such objects as weapons, belts, brooches etc. at villa sites which have been identified as 'military' or 'Germanic': terms often interchangeable in the literature.<sup>377</sup> Of course, just because an occasional artefact is found on a site does not mean that there is conclusive evidence for a military presence – they may well be circulating due to commerce or another unrelated reason. The other problem in this debate is the complicated issue of ethnic attribution and the inherent problems in identifying items as 'Germanic' as opposed to 'Roman.' The wider issue of 'militarisation' bears heavily on this issue as it is unclear whether one should understand these artefacts signal a general increase in military values held by the general population or a specific military role in the running of the establishment, relating to the assumption that the "Roman Army" in the Late Roman period was primarily formed of mercenaries from across the Rhine frontier. Villas changed their form, with occupation becoming more 'simple': wood and *spolia* replaced newly quarried stone as the primary building materials, while baths and under-floor heating were replaced by artisan activities, such as metal-working, as the main function for buildings.<sup>378</sup> Rural buildings and villages of

---

'Late Roman Villa Plans in the Danube-Balkan Region', in W. Bowden, L. Lavan and C. Machado, *op. cit.*, (2004), pp. 377 – 410. Mulvin strongly argues that these can only be symptomatic of the political and military insecurity endemic in the region, though the precise nature of ownership is a problem which affects the ability to answer the question of function. Christie argues that these structures were built to cater for the military on the frontier and soldiers were stationed internally, N. Christie, 'Towns and People on the Middle Danube in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages', in N. Christie and S. Loseby, eds., *Towns in Transition: Urban Evolution in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 1996), p. 75. There is a large split in the literature, which hints at the difficulties in using this evidence. Soproni argued that these structures had a specific military role: patrolling the interior, S. Soproni, *Die letzten Jahrzehnte des pannonischen Limes* (Munich, 1985). Mócsy argues that these structures are Imperial *latifundia*. There are a large number of tower structures that appear in the Eastern half of the Empire during the 4<sup>th</sup> century onwards, but again the tendency of recent researchers has been to explain them with reference to a variety of different motives by local communities providing a secure base for storage and security in a general period of insecurity, and not attributing it to the actions of central government in most cases see M. Decker, 'Towers, Refuges and Fortified Farms in the Late Roman East', *Liber Annus*, LVI (2006), 499-520.

<sup>376</sup> B. Ward-Perkins, 'Land, Labour and Settlement', in B. Ward-Perkins, A. Cameron and M. Whitby, eds., *Cambridge Ancient History XIV AD 425 - 600* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 335 – 336.

<sup>377</sup> P. Van Ossel, *Établissements Ruraux de l'Antiquité Tardive dans le Nord de la Gaule* (Paris, 1992), pp. 163 – 168, uses these as one of his analytical categories. See also P. Van Ossel, 'Insecurité et Militarisation en Gaule du Nord au Bas-Empire', *Revue du Nord-Archéologie*, 77 (1995), 32 – 33.

<sup>378</sup> P. Van Ossel and P. Ouzoulis, 'Rural settlement economy in Northern Gaul in the Late Empire: an overview', *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 12 (2000), 133-160.

the later Roman period increasingly resembled what have been described by scholars as ‘Germanic’ forms of settlement – such as sunken houses or *Grübenhauser*. Whittaker, following Van Ossel and others, argued that this is explained by a cultural change, and the increasing importance of military values amongst the elites.<sup>379</sup> These replaced a ‘civilian’ emphasis on lavish decoration and monumental architectural display and were symptomatic of this ‘militarisation.’

The final area of investigation is the wider economic relationship between the military system and the land. The question that remains to be asked is how far the archaeological database in the areas covered by the case studies fit in with the two models listed above, and how far military issues can explain the changes in rural land use across the period under examination?

---

<sup>379</sup> C.R. Whittaker, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire* (Baltimore, 1994), pp. 269 – 71, strongly supported by Wickham in C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 476 – 77.



### Chapter 3: *Belgica II* Case Study

The existence of two large military zones in *Belgica II* during the late Roman period, supplemented by fortified wall circuits around the main urban centres, the large-scale abandonment of large scale rural settlements and an increasing number of weapons burials all appear to testify to the relative increasing importance of military aspects of the province's culture.<sup>380</sup> Thus it could be argued that the military became fully integrated into provincial structures, which were directly controlled by the military authorities to supply their men, thus creating a 'militarised' landscape in which civilians and *milites* were in reality indistinguishable. This is an overstatement of a more complex reality which varied from micro-region to micro-region. It is certainly true that military identities changed during the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, which was inevitable given the social and economic shifts that Gaul underwent, but this does not mean they necessarily became completely integrated into the province, or lost any formality before the 5<sup>th</sup> century. The literary evidence is limited and difficult to interpret, so it should be analysed fully before we examine what perspectives the archaeology gives us.

#### Section 1: Military structures and identity in *Belgica II* during the late Empire

##### 3.1.1 Institutional identity: *Dux Belgicae Secundae*

Evidence for a formal military structure in *Belgica II* is the appointment of a senior military officer with specific responsibility for *Belgica II* which is attested in the *Notitia Dignitatum* (*Dux Belgicae Secundae*).<sup>381</sup> This would seem to be *prima facie* evidence for a more prominent military role in the province during the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries. The office of the *ducatus* was probably a development from the Tetrarchic period, though it originated earlier.<sup>382</sup> The *Notitia* is the only direct testimony for the *ducatus* and thus the only positive

---

<sup>380</sup> J. Mertens, 'Limes et territoire intérieur en Gaule du Nord', in R. Brulet and others, eds., *Forts Romains de la Route Bavay-Tongres* (Louvain, 1995), p. 9.

<sup>381</sup> *ND Occ.* V.140; *ND Occ.* XXXVIII; the latter chapter gives a full list of the *castella*, *milites* and *officium* attached to the position, which seems quite limited compared with commands of other *duces*.

<sup>382</sup> Like so many Roman military terms, as discussed in chapter 2, the origin of the word has very general, non-technical origins. The position of *dux* originally appears in Republican period with a very general meaning of a leader in some form of military action. From the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD it denoted a temporary command in particular circumstances such as a centurion commanding a legion (e.g. *CIL* III.4885), but seems to have become formally used as a title for military commanders from the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> Century onwards, with a *dux ripae* appearing at Dura-Europus; see F. Millar, *The Roman Near East 31 BC – AD 337* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 133.

evidence for its existence in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century or early 5<sup>th</sup> century. However, it is probably a position showing the continual evolution of the Roman military structure in Gaul rather than a creation *de novo*.<sup>383</sup> The *Notitia* alludes to the origins of the office under the heading '*Dux Tractus Armorici*':

*Extenditur tamen tractus Armorici et Nervici limitis per provincias quinque Aquitanica prima et secunda, Lugdunensis secunda et tertia.*<sup>384</sup>

However, the district of the Armorican and Nervican frontier is extended to include the Five Provinces: First and Second Aquitaine; Second and Third Lugdunensis.

The text has some obvious anomalies, the most striking being that these provinces have no geographical relevance to the *civitas* of the *Nervii* despite appearing in the title. Of the five provinces referred to only four are mentioned by name. This discrepancy is resolved if the *ducatus Belgicae Secundae* was a later subdivision of the *tractus Armorici et Nervici*, which originally covered the whole north-western coast of Gaul down to Aquitaine: after this division, Armorica became a separate responsibility from that of the Nervian coast, and *Belgica II* would be the missing 5<sup>th</sup> province. When this division took place is difficult to answer.<sup>385</sup> There is a case that the *ducatus* was a descendant of the original command of the *praefectus Classis Britannicae*, to which direct textual references disappear after c. 250.<sup>386</sup> Many scholars assume the office still existed in some form after this date because of the multiple textual references to fleets operating in the English Channel.<sup>387</sup> This cannot be

---

<sup>383</sup> J. C. Mann, 'The Historical Development of the Saxon Shore', in V. Maxfield, ed., *The Saxon Shore: a Handbook* (Exeter, 1989), pp. 6 – 8.

<sup>384</sup> *ND. Occ.* XXXVII.24 - 29; the title *Dux Tractus Armorici et Nervici* is also used in the same section *ND. Occ.* XXXVII.13

<sup>385</sup> The reorganisation could date to Valentinian given the problems that he faced in Britain in 367, but it seems more likely, given the confusion in the *Notitia*, and the compilation of the document to some point after 395, that the reorganisation was in the context of the usurpations of Magnus Maximus (383 - 388), Eugenius (392 – 394) or Constantine III (407 – 411).

<sup>386</sup> This is from an inscription at Arles *CIL* XII.686 which the latest known epigraphic evidence for the *Classis Britannicae*.

<sup>387</sup> There is evidence that the usurper Carausius had responsibility for northwest Gaul in the 280s, and from this it can be inferred that Carausius's command was part of an evolution in the command of the *Classis Britannica* to one that involved the command of soldiers as well as the fleet. See Eutropius, *Breviarum*, 9.21: "*Cum apud Bononiam per tractum Belgicae at Armoricae pacandum mare accepisset, quod Franci et Saxones infestabant.*" (He had received orders at Boulogne to clear the sea along the coast of *Belgica* and *Armorica* which Franks and Saxons were infesting.) The evolutionary argument is outlined by J. Mann, 'The Historical Development of the Saxon Shore' in V. Maxfield, ed., *The Saxon Shore: a Handbook* (Exeter, 1989), pp. 6 – 8 which follow the arguments in S. Johnson, *The Forts of the Saxon Shore* (London, 1976). This suggested that the forts on both sides of the channel came under a unified command during the 4th century, the main evidence being Ammianus' reference to a *comes maritimum tractus*, Nectidarius, who was killed in 367 during the so-called "Barbarian Conspiracy" (Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XXVII.8.1- 10). Scepticism has been

proven, but what the fragmentary evidence appears to suggest is a long-term evolution of military commands in an area controlling a zone that had been strategically important since the early Empire, and which, as a result, saw a regular stationing of soldiers. This indicates that a constantly evolving military structure, with attendant hierarchy, was in place on the *Belgica* coast from the whole period under examination until the 5<sup>th</sup> century.

The creation of *duces* is often taken to represent late Roman separation of military and civilian powers: a *praeses* continued to exercise the non-military responsibilities in their province.<sup>388</sup> The *Codex Theodosianus* lists the responsibilities of the *ducatus* as defence of the frontier region; ensuring the fortifications were in good repair, managing recruitment and assignation of men to their units; responsibility for discipline and being responsible for the collection and distribution of supplies from the provincial administration.<sup>389</sup> This role required a significant administrative capacity. Some have noted a relative lack of bureaucracy in the late Roman Army compared with earlier periods apparent from the disappearance of *principia* in many late Roman forts. From this it has been concluded that military administration became more “centralised.”<sup>390</sup> This is inferred from the evidence of the *Notitia* with the list of clerical staff being restricted to senior officials. However such a view has no positive evidence and has probably been influenced by the old idea of ‘barbarisation’.<sup>391</sup> As we have established, unit sizes were smaller in the late Empire, so

---

placed on some of Johnson’s arguments for direct continuity of command throughout the century, see P. Bartholomew, ‘Review of S. Johnson, *The Forts of the Saxon Shore* (London, 1979)’, in *Britannia*, 10 (1979), 367–70, an argument which is followed by A. Pearson, *The Roman Shore Forts: Coastal Defences of Southern Britain* (Stroud, 2002). There are some other complexities which are difficult to explain, such as the attribution of one fort (*Marcis*) in *Litore Saxonico* to the supervision of the *Dux Belgicae Secundae*. It has been suggested that the other forts were added to the system later, but every indication exists that these other forts were constructed at a similar date to that of *Marcis*. The jurisdiction of the Count of the Saxon Shore through Britain (*Comes Litoris Saxonici per Britannias*) as a frontier region (*limes*) lies at the heart of Johnson’s case that an elaborate defence system that engaged the whole channel and is based on Seeck’s substitution of *militum* by *limitum* in his edition of the *Notitia* in the list of offices under the jurisdiction of the *Magister Peditum Praesentalis*. If the *comes* follows the traditional understanding, this would involve a command centred on a series of units rather than a *limes*. This study will follow the argument that the evidence suggests constant reorganisation of command, and that the *Notitia* is more interested in the offices it notes for allocation, rather than being a summary of defence strategy.

<sup>388</sup> *ND. Occ.* III for the *praeses* of *Belgica* II; P. Southern and K. Dixon, *The Late Roman Army* (London, 1996), 59.

<sup>389</sup> Managing frontier regions see (*C.Th.* 7.1.9); recruitment (*C.Th.* 7.22.5); discipline (*C.Th.* 2.1.2); supplies (*C.Th.* 11.5)

<sup>390</sup> P. Southern and K. Dixon, *ibid.* 141.

<sup>391</sup> Again this belief comes from ideas of a ‘Germanised’ army in the 4<sup>th</sup> century that was predominantly illiterate, are originally inferences from the archaising text in Vegetius, *Epitome*, II.19 discusses the traditional legion’s need of men trained in short-hand to manage the numerous administrative tasks necessary for the smooth functioning of the military system. This description was part of a wider rhetorical and political agenda to argue for military reform based on ancient practice, so the implication is that such practices were no longer

there is a case for arguing that specialist administrative staff would have become a pooled resource.<sup>392</sup> The testimony of the Abinnaeus archive from Egypt shows the *Dux Aegyptus* in his administrative role carrying out many of the tasks outlined above.<sup>393</sup>

The *ducatus* would logically act as a co-ordinator of the forts on the coast of *Belgica II* for the main business of supply and pay, and other military management issues. Even a small unit would necessarily produce a degree of administration, though the internal structures are not sufficiently understood to permit confirmation of this.<sup>394</sup> The fortuitous discovery of military archives from other periods and places have perhaps subconsciously disfavoured the late Roman West, but there is no direct evidence that while imperial administration functioned, this did not also find an expression on a local level. Parallels from other parts of the Empire can be found for the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>395</sup> The *Notitia's* list of ducal staff appears quite

---

common, but as ever with Vegetius, precise references to late Roman military practice is absent, N. Milner, *Vegetius: Epitome of Military Science* (Liverpool, 1993), p. xxviii.

<sup>392</sup> See discussion on unit sizes in chapter 1.

<sup>393</sup> He appears confirming appointments; resolving disputes over the aforementioned appointments; assigning soldiers for other duties (collection of taxes etc.); acting as a court of appeal to deal with complaints about officers; regulating the *annona* and disciplining soldiers. See H.I. Bell, ed., *The Abinnaeus Archive: Papers of a Roman Officer in the Reign of Constantine II* (Oxford, 1962) for examples: managing appointments (no. 1 and 2); collection of taxes (no. 3); court of appeal against soldiers (no. 18; 44 – 57); management of *annona* (no. 26); disciplining soldiers (no. 15).

<sup>394</sup> See the next section on forts for fuller discussion of the material context. For unit administration the best examples are for earlier periods are the auxiliary cohort at Vindolanda in the late 1<sup>st</sup> century; A. Bowman and D. Thomas, *Vindolanda: the Latin Writing Tablets* (Newcastle, 1974), and the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century archive at Dura-Europos; D. Kennedy, 'The *Cohors XX Palmyrenorum* at Dura Europos' in E. Dabrowa, ed., *The Roman and Byzantine Army in the East*, (Krakow, 1994), pp. 89-98. The military *ostraca* at Bu Njem in Tunisia from the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century provide close parallels in terminology and administrative procedures to those in Vindolanda which shows a degree of standardisation despite the differences in time and space: A. Bowman, *Life and Letters on the Roman Frontier: Vindolanda and its People* (London, 1994), p. 35; R. Marichal, *Les Ostraca de Bu Njem Suppléments de Libya Antiqua* (Tripoli, 1992).

<sup>395</sup> The Abinnaeus archive is the best known example used to illustrate 4<sup>th</sup> century military practice, see H. Bell, *op. cit.*, (1962), made up of correspondence that Abinnaeus received from a variety of military officials and civilians, alongside petitions and contracts. There are mentions of the continued use of bureaucratic means for the accounting of supplies (e.g. no. 4). The question of how far this is carried out in Gaul is impossible to prove at the moment, but there is no positive reason not to believe that soldiers in Gaul weren't behaving in similar ways. Another parallel is found in St. Augustine's correspondence with Publicola (*Ep.* 46) which records the importance of written instructions providing legitimate entry into provincial boundaries of nomadic tribesmen, the paperwork being approved by a decurion or a tribune, which in this case implies military officers. This has been disputed, and it has been suggested that the *decuriones* and *tribuni* were actually local 'dynasts' J. Matthews, 'Mauretania in Ammianus and the Notitia', in J.C. Mann, R. Goodburn and P. Bartholomew, eds., *op. cit.* (1976), p. 171, but I would argue that this is transposing a situation more appropriate to a later period. The situation in Africa, it goes without saying, is different from Gaul, but given the earlier evidence discussed in note 15, I am inclined to believe that some form of standard practice was still being carried out at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century in most parts of the Empire, as can be seen in Augustine *Ep.* 43.1:

*"In Arzugibus, ut audivi, decurioni qui limiti praeest vel tribuno solent iurare barbari, iurantes per daemones suos, qui ad deducendas bastagas pacti fuerint, vel aliqui ad servandas fruges ipsas, singuli possessores vel*

substantial, though it is difficult to give an accurate assessment given that only senior positions are mentioned, but even this brief list implies the command produced significant paperwork.<sup>396</sup> Although it could be argued that this was merely ceremonial, this does imply that the military structure in *Belgica II* wielded considerable administrative capacity, and this would have maintained a strong institutional ethos and perpetuated a military identity – as those responsible to the *ducatu*.

The *Dux Belgicae II* was one of the smallest military commands that exist in the *Notitia* (see table 1 below).

**Table 1: military units/castella listed under the command of various *duces* in the *Notitia***

Office	Military Units (Infantry/Cavalry)	<i>Castella</i>
<i>Dux Belgicae II</i>	1/1 & 1 fleet	3
<i>Dux Tractus Armorici</i>	10/0	9
<i>Dux provincia Sequanici</i> <sup>397</sup>	1	1
<i>Dux Mogontiacensis</i>	11/0	12
<i>Dux Britanniarum</i> <sup>398</sup>	27/9	37
<i>Dux Raetiae</i>	16/6	21

This might be because the *Dux* also had had previous responsibility for the fortifications in the hinterland of *Belgica II* – the so-called “*Limes Belgicus*,” and most of these seem to have

---

*conductores solent ad custodiendas fruges suscipere, quasi iam fideles, epistolam decurione mittente, vel singuli transeuntes quibus necesse est per eos transire.”*

In the country of the Arzuges it is customary, so I have heard, for the barbarians to take an oath, swearing by their false gods, in the presence of the decurion stationed on the frontier or of the tribune, when they have come under engagement to carry baggage to any part, or to protect the crops from depredation; and when the decurion certifies in writing that this oath has been taken, the owners or farmers of land employ them as watchmen of their crops; or travellers who have occasion to pass through their country hire them, as if assured of their now being trustworthy.

<sup>396</sup> *ND. Occ., XXXVIII ‘10 Officium autem habet idem vir spectabilis dux hoc modo: 11 Principem ex eodem corpore; 12 Numerarium; 13 Commentariensem; 14 Adiutorem; 15 Subadiuvam; 16 Regrendarium; 17 Exceptores; 18 Singulares et reliquos officiales.’*

<sup>397</sup> It is very probable is that the *Dux Sequanorum* folio is missing.

<sup>398</sup> This includes Hadrian’s Wall “*per lineam valli*” *ND. Occ., XL.33 – 56.*

been abandoned by the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>399</sup> The problem with this theory is that the existence of the “*Limes Belgicus*” is now discredited as being a product of 19<sup>th</sup> century nationalist ideas.<sup>400</sup> There is certainly no mention of it in the *Notitia*, and the occupation of the forts was not permanent during the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>401</sup> It would make sense, given the need to ensure supplies and maintain administration, that the *dux* would have authority over any soldiers there. This seems to be what the *Notitia* is telling us: the *ducatus* existed to co-ordinate the activities and maintenance of the soldiers under his sphere of authority rather than being concerned with military deployment. Hoffmann argued that the troops in Gaul during the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, e.g. the *equites catafractarii* Ambianenses, were all associated with the *tractus Armorici et Nervicani* for example before their departure to the east, which is a reminder that there seems to have been a considerable movement of soldiers in and out of the provinces during the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>402</sup> It is also probable that they moved around the various urban centres of the province, and its creation does imply a more regional, local supervision of military affairs from the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, which does correspond with the evidence from the cities that imperial administration played an increasingly important role in the functioning of urban sites.<sup>403</sup>

One can speculate on what the increasing number of local military commands tells us about the military presence in *Belgica II* during the 4<sup>th</sup> century. One reason was probably administrative: logistical matters were being managed on an increasingly local basis and so requiring more immediate supervision.<sup>404</sup> *Duces* were granted equestrian status under the Tetrarchs and senatorial status under Valentinian.<sup>405</sup> This implies that their role was becoming increasingly important as the century progressed. *Belgica II*’s strategic importance given its position on the main route to Britain, and the series of military usurpations in Gaul and Britain during the 4<sup>th</sup> century, suggests that by increasing the number of military commands it would ‘divide and rule’ and prevent excessive concentration of military

<sup>399</sup> J. Mertens, ‘Quelques Considérations sur les *Limes Belgicus*’, in J. Fritz, ed., *Limes Akten des XI Limeskongress* (Budapest, 1977), pp. 63 – 68.

<sup>400</sup> R. Brulet, ‘Les Dispositifs du Bas-Empire en Gaule Septentrionale’, in F. Vallet and M. Kazanski, eds., *L’Armée Romaine et les Barbares* (Rouen, 1993), pp. 135 – 49.

<sup>401</sup> See section 2 for further discussion of this.

<sup>402</sup> *ND. Or.*, VI.36; D. Hoffmann, *Das Spätromische Bewegungsheer und die Notitia Dignitatum* (Munich, 1969), p. 196.

<sup>403</sup> See section 3 for discussion of this.

<sup>404</sup> This finds support in the evidence from Oudenburg in section 2.

<sup>405</sup> *C.Th.*, 6.23.1; *C.Th.*, 6.24.11; *ND. Occ.*, XXXVIII.10 ‘(*Dux Belgicae Secundae*) *Officium autem habet idem vir spectabilis dux hoc modo.*’

power.<sup>406</sup> Practical and political factors are not incompatible, and in the absence of any decisive evidence in favour of one view, it would perhaps be more satisfactory to propose a series of overlapping concerns: worries that concentrating too much military power in the hands of one individual and the broadening of the *limites* zones during the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century made appointing more senior officers practical, and providing enhanced powers of patronage for the imperial government.<sup>407</sup>

The relatively limited number of units under the *ducatus*, and the wider context of the office in our sources, would suggest that rather than being a military frontier in the tactical sense of a linear defensive line, we should see the *ducatus* presiding over a broad frontier region with particular bureaucratic tasks and responsibilities rather than merely commanding units in battle.<sup>408</sup> But there is no reason why traditional Roman practice would not have been maintained, so that his authority was limited to soldiers in the province, which is what the *Notitia* infers. One could argue that this appointment would have initiated a process of increased regionalism. This is hard to deny, and there can be no doubt that Roman units found themselves strung out across the provinces across the century, but the constant multiplication of officers also suggests a close focus on the hierarchy and authority of officers, which implies the maintenance of a strong institutional identity amongst the Roman soldiers of the province. They would probably have been strongly aware who their superior was.

### 3.1.2 Military identity in *Belgica II*: *Milites*<sup>409</sup>

We only possess a handful of military inscriptions from *Belgica II*, most of which date to the earlier part of our period. Those that will be discussed in the text are listed below:

---

<sup>406</sup> There were nine major usurpations led by military officers, or senatorial figures with strong military support, between Carausius in 286/7 and Jovinus in 411 see R. Urban, *Gallia Rebellis : Erhebungen in Gallien im Spiegel Antiker Zeugnisse* (Stuttgart, 1999), pp. 96 – 114.

<sup>407</sup> D. Potter, *The Roman Empire at Bay* (London, 2004), pp. 526 – 575, develops a thesis that the imperial office increasingly became a prisoner of bureaucratic interests, that is the various military and civilian officials, and the late Roman state's interests were seconded to those of its employees. Potter argues that this trend is particularly observable in Valentinian's reign. If this argument is followed it would suggest that the multiplication of offices was done for the benefit of those at court.

<sup>408</sup> B. Isaac, *Limits of Empire* (Oxford, 1992) makes this argument very forcefully for the Late Roman army in the East, and there is no reason not to see this as directly relevant to *Belgica II*.

<sup>409</sup> See Appendix 3 for photographs of some of the inscriptions

Inscription	Translation	Origin	Reference 410
<i>D(is) [M(anibus) E(t)] M(emoriae)/ ... Ianuarius imagin(ifer) N(umeri) Ursarien(sium) Cives/ [Se]quan(or)um vix(it) annos/ [...XX]VIII Severianus frat(er)/ Memor(iam) posuit</i>	To the Manes and the memory of Ianuarius, <i>imaginifer</i> , of the regiment of Ursarienses, citizen of the Sequani who lived 29(?) years. Severianus, his brother, raised this memorial.	Amiens	<i>CIL</i> XIII 3492
<i>Val(erius) Durio Circit(or) N(umeri) Catafr(actariorum) vix(it) an(nos) XXX</i>	Valerius Durio, <i>Circitor</i> of the Cataphract Regiment lived for 30 years	Amiens	<i>CIL</i> XIII 3493 Schleiermacher no. 88
<i>D(is) M(anibus) E(t) M(emoriae) Val(erius) Iustus/ [E]q(ues?) vix(it) ann(os) XXXI scola/ provincialum in/ [s]tituit</i>	To the Manes and the memory of Valerius Iustus, cavalryman, who lived 31 years. The <i>Schola</i> of the Provincials installed this	Amiens	<i>CIL</i> XIII 3494 Schleiermacher no. 89
<i>[D(is)] M(anibus)/ E(t) M(emoriae) Val(erius) Zurdiginu[s]<sup>411</sup>/ De(curio) Ca[tafr(actariorum?)]</i>	To the Manes and the memory of Valerius Zurdiginu(s), Decurion of Cataphracts(?)	Amiens	<i>CIL</i> XIII 3495 Schleiermacher no. 90
<i>D(is) M(anibus)/Furius Antonin/us circ(itor) n(umeri) Dal(matarum) vixit (a)nnos XXVI (?) dies XV/ h(or)as III memorian (sic)/ ei coll(egium) (?) eius possuit (denariorum) V mil(ibus de suo</i>	To the Manes, Furius Antonius, <i>circitor</i> of the <i>numerus</i> of Dalmatians, lived for 25 years, 3 months, 15 days and 3 hours. His college erected this to his memory for the sum of 5,040	Châlons-sur-Marne	<i>CIL</i> XIII 3457 Schleiermacher no. 91

<sup>410</sup> M. Schleiermacher, *Römische Reitergrabsteine: die Kaiserzeitlichen Reliefs des Triumphierenden Reiters* (Bonn, 1984).

<sup>411</sup> M. Schleiermacher, *ibid.*, p.208, restores Zurdigenu[s] but it is impossible to tell given the damage done to the relief.



denaria XXXVIII CCC)	<i>denarii.</i>		
Plaianus equis/ in vixelatione/Dalmatorum V/ vixxit annos X (L?)/ impe(n)dium de su/ denaria XXXVIII/CCC	Plaianus, horseman of the vexillation of the Dalmatians, lived 40(?) years, he put up this monument which cost 338 <i>denarii.</i>	Châlons- sur- Marne	<i>CIL</i> XIII 3458
<i>Memoria/ fecit Ursina/ coiogi suo ursi/-niano veterano/ de menapis/ vixxi annos xxxxxxv(?)</i>	To the memory of Ursinianus, veteran of the <i>Menapii</i> , who lived 75 (?) years. His wife Ursina had this made.	Paris	<i>CIL</i> XIII 3033
Felix militiae sumpsit devota Jovinus Cingula, virtutum culmen provectus in altum: Bisque datus meritis equitum, peditumque magister, Extulit aeternum saeculorum in saecula nomen, Sed pietate gravi tanta haec praeconia vincit, Insignesque triumphos relligione dicavit, ut quem fama dabat rebus superaret honorem, Et vitam factis posset sperare perennem. Conscius hic sancto manantis fonte salutis, Sedem vivacem moribundis ponere membris, Corporis hospitium laetus metator adornat, Reddendos vitae salvari	Fortunate Jovinus, when he had taken up the devoted sword-belt, carried to the dizzy height of excellence: twice given the title of master of the horse and master of foot for his service, he acquired this everlasting name for himself for generation upon generation, but he surpassed these great commendations with his strong sense of piety, and he consecrated his glorious triumphs with sanctity, so that he could transcend the honour which fate was giving to the situation and so that he could hope for perpetual life through his deeds. Knowing that safety	Reims	<i>CIL</i> XIII 3256 <sup>412</sup>

<sup>412</sup> Recorded by Flodoard in the 10<sup>th</sup> century: *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae* VI.

providet artus. Omnipotens Christus iudex venerabilis, atque Terribilis, pie, longanimis, spes fida precantum, Nobilis eximios famulis non imputat actus. Plus justo fidei ac pietatis praemia vincant.	sprang from the holy fountain here, he settled for an everlasting seat for his mortal limbs and he, the maker of boundaries, happily furnished his body's chamber and he foresaw that his limbs needed to be returned to life to be saved. All powerful Christ, the venerable judge, terrible, O pious one, patient, the trusty hope of those who pray, does not make account of the extraordinary gestures of a servant of noble birth. Let us prevail to the highest the rewards of faith and piety.		
---	--	--	--

What can we learn from such a small sample? It is very difficult to generalise too far given the difficulties establishing the original context of the memorials.<sup>413</sup> The Amiens inscriptions can be dated, as a *terminus post quem*, to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> or early 4<sup>th</sup> century on account of the

---

<sup>413</sup> They were discovered in 1848 face down as part of the construction of a new road between Soissons and Amiens; B. Pichon, *Amiens: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 2009), pp. 247 – 48.

nomen 'Valerius'.<sup>414</sup> A comparison of the two styles of relief for Valerius Iustus and Valerius Durio would strongly suggest that they were contemporaneous, and would indicate a degree of uniformity amongst the commemorative traditions used by the cavalry soldiers stationed here.<sup>415</sup> Durio's name implies that he was from northwest Europe.<sup>416</sup> Iustus is an extremely common name and probably western in origin.<sup>417</sup> Ianuarius tells us he was from the Sequani (*cives sequanorum*). The sculptural relief of Val(erius) Zurdiginu[s?] is in quite a different style from the other cavalymen, and portrays him with a slave or groom. The differences could be because he was a decurion, and so wished to emphasise his higher status, or because he was from another unit of foreign extraction.<sup>418</sup> Another explanation for the differences could be that he died at a different time than the other two cavalymen and fashions of commemoration had changed, or simply that he chose a different tradition to emulate.<sup>419</sup> This could allow a potential comparison with the cavalymen at Châlons-sur-

---

<sup>414</sup> The using of onomastics to date inscriptions is problematic as cognomen associated with emperors could be dated to at least a 50 year period see for example the discussion in S. Phang, *The Marriage of Roman Soldiers (13 BC – AD 235)* (New York, 2001), p. 150. The best accepted way to identify soldiers from the 4<sup>th</sup> century and later is the use of "Flavius," as at the various military inscriptions from the cemetery at Concordia which are dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> century by Handley, but some are associated with the Frigidus campaign by Hoffmann in D. Hoffmann, 'Die Spätromischen Soldaten Grabinschriften von Concordia', *Museum Helveticum*, 20 (1963), 2 – 57; M. Handley, *Death, Society and Culture : Inscriptions and Epitaphs in Gaul and Spain, AD 300-750* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 16 – 17. The use of the nomen 'Valerius' is usually associated with the Tetrarchic period as 'Valerius' was the family name of Diocletian that was adopted by Maximian when he assumed his position as part of the imperial college. This would suggest that we can date the Amiens inscriptions to the period after 285. The *stelae* were not actually found in the city itself, but a few miles outside at St Achuel. The deposition date of the inscriptions at can be assumed to have 305-09 at the earliest on account of the milestone inscription buried with it (Maximian Daia's reign as Caesar), but one would assume it was a considerable time later given that one would expect the regiment would have maintained its cemetery if it was still in the region.. ' The Ianuarius inscription has been restored by X. Dupuis to read [Valerius] as well, but even if one doesn't accept that identification the shield and cloak makes it very likely that the inscription is from the end of the 3rd century at the very latest. There is contemporary evidence of *catafracti* as the mainstay of Tetrarchic armies: the *Equites Singulares Augusti* are portrayed as cataphracts on the Arch of Galerius and the Arch of Constantine which tells us how closely such heavy cavalry were associated with the military image of these emperors (while not suggesting that the horsemen at Amiens were in the same level of unit – they would surely have told us).

<sup>415</sup> They may well have been commissioned from the same sculpture. Images of the inscriptions are in Appendix 1 and also found in M. Schleiermacher, *Römische Reitergrabsteine: die Kaiserzeitlichen Reliefs des Triumphierenden Reiters* (Bonn, 1984), pp. 206 – 208.

<sup>416</sup> The name is also attested in Belgium (AE 1956), and near Brampton on Hadrian's Wall (RIB 2063).

<sup>417</sup> *Belgica* (39) is joint second with *Pannonia* (39) to Italy (60) with records for this name: B. Lörincz, *Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum Vol. 2: Cabalicius – Ixus* (Vienna, 1999), p. 210.

<sup>418</sup> Onomastically, Zurdiginus appears to be of eastern extraction. B. Lörincz *Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum Vol. 4: Quadrati – Zures* (Vienna, 2002), p. 192, lists Zurdiginus as the only example of this name found, so it cannot be proven that it was not local. However other similar names are usually found particularly in the Balkans or further east e.g. Zordeseiosus (*IG Bulg.* 872) or Zoticus (a common name across the east, though there are few in the west B. Lörincz, *ibid.*, p. 191.

<sup>419</sup> There is a strong argument that there was a cavalry unit based at Amiens for a period of time in the 4<sup>th</sup> century - see the discussion in section 3.

Marne whose unit association links them with Dalamatia, though there is no guarantee that they were actually originally from there or that they were precisely contemporaneous.<sup>420</sup>

Valerius Iustus, *sc(h)ola provincialum*, has been the source of some controversy, as it has not been recorded anywhere else. It has been suggested that the *scola provincialum* may represent a military unit. The *schola* were units of significant status in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, appearing as bodyguard regiments under the authority of the *Magister Officiorum* in the *Notitia Dignitatum*.<sup>421</sup> Such an attribution seems unlikely given the idiosyncratic nomenclature of this inscription. Another suggestion was that it was a paramilitary or militia unit raised during the chaotic events of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century from the civilian population, perhaps having a relationship with groups like the *iuvenes* who would have had a suitable background.<sup>422</sup> There are some parallels to this *ad hoc* arrangement in the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>423</sup> This is not particularly convincing, however. All the other evidence, from

---

<sup>420</sup> 'Furius' is mainly found in Italy (43% of surviving records) with a few scattered around the western and Danubian provinces, B. Lörincz, *Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum Vol. 4: Quadrati – Zures* (Vienna, 2002), pp. 155 – 56; the name Plaianus is uniquely found in this inscription: B. Lörincz, *Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum Vol. 3: Labareus – Pythea* (Vienna, 2000), p. 145. Some have suggested that the name was originally from Illyria, M. Chossenot and F. Lefevre, 'Les stèles funéraires gallo-romaines de Châlons-sur-Marne,' *Société d'Agriculture, Commerce, Sciences et Arts de la Marne* (1981), p. 48. M. Chossenot and F. Lefevre, 'Les Stèles Funéraires Gallo-Romaines de Châlons-sur-Marne,' *Société d'Agriculture, Commerce, Sciences et Arts de la Marne* XCVI (1981), 45 – 62, suggest a whole range of dates from the reign of Gallienus to the late 4th century. I would place them between 250 - 300 due to the name 'Furius' and the use of terms 'numerus' and 'vexillatio' which in this context seem more appropriate to the 3rd rather than the 4th century.

<sup>421</sup> The *schola* took their name from the room of the *principium* in a Roman fort where soldiers (or more likely officers) could meet when were permitted to form *collegia* by Septimius Severus. Some historians have argued that this signified a particular link to the Emperor, but this is unclear. Y. Le Bohec, *The Imperial Roman Army* (London, 2000), pp. 192 -3.

<sup>422</sup> J. Massy and D. Bayard, *Amiens Romains* (Amiens, 1983), p. 249, argue for that this group were a local militia incorporated into the army. For the *iuvenes* see J. Wiesehöfer 'Iuvenes (Iuventus)' *Brill's New Pauly*. (Leiden, 2012).

<sup>423</sup> The "victory altar" discovered at Augsburg describes local people (*populares*) helping soldiers fighting the Semnones and Iuthungi in Raetia in AD 260: *In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) / deae sanctae Victoriae / ob barbaros gentis Semnonum / sive Iouthungorum die / VIII et VII kal(endarum) Maiar(um) caesos / fugatosque a militibus prov(inciae) / Raetiae sed et germanicianis / itemque popularibus excussis / multis milibus Italarum captivor(um) / compos votorum suorum / [[M(arcus) Simplicinius Genialis v(ir) p(erfectissimus) a(gens) v(ices) p(raesidis) / cum eodem exercitu]] / libens merito posuit / dedicata III idus Septembres) imp(eratore) d(omino) n(ostro) / [[Postumo Au(ug)usto] et [[Honoratiano co(n)s(ulibus)]]*

(In honour of the divine household and to the sacred goddess Victory. [Erected] on account of the barbarian peoples Semnones and Iuthungi killed or put to flight on the 24<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> April by the soldiers of the province of Raetia and from the German (provinces) and also local forces, and for the rescue of many thousands of Italian prisoners. In fulfilment of their vows Marcus Simplicinius Genialis, *vir perfectissimus* acting on behalf of the provincial governor, with the same army gladly erected (this altar) to one deserving of it. Dedicated on 11<sup>th</sup> September in the consulship of our lord emperor Postumus Augustus and Honoratianus.)

See M. Bakker, 'Der Siegesaltar zur Iuthungenschlacht von 260 n. Chr.', *Antike Welt*, 24.4, (1993), 274-277; H. Lavagne, 'Une Nouvelle Inscription d'Augsbourg et les Causes de l'Usurpation de Postume,' *Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 138 (1994), 431-446.

commemoration style and context, implies Valerius lustus was attached to a formal military unit. All the inscription tells us is that the *scola* put up this memorial to Lustus, not that it was the name of the military unit to which he belonged. It could therefore even have been a form of funerary college to allow ordinary soldiers to put up monuments, like the *collegium* explicitly mentioned erecting the monument to Furius Antoninus at Châlons.<sup>424</sup>

Our discussion so far has highlighted the dangers of making generalisations that would apply to the whole province of *Belgica* II across the period under investigation. However, given that the Amiens stones all probably came from a similar context, in terms of landscape and chronology, we can make some tentative suggestions by comparison with the other examples about what they may tell us about military identities in the early 4<sup>th</sup> century.

#### a) The military unit

The fact that Zurdiginus and Durio were both probably *catafractii* (if we accept the reconstruction of the damaged Zurdiginus stone) is interesting given the degree of heterodoxy in unit nomenclature: Durio is from a N(umerus); Zurdiginus only uses “*catafractarii*”, while Lustus calls himself an *eques* and makes no mention of his unit at all (unless it is the *schola provincialum*). The fact that the soldiers generally identify themselves by their unit and military vocation (horseman etc.) should be no surprise. Such features were fundamental to early imperial epigraphy when formulaic representations commonly identified the deceased’s unit and function.<sup>425</sup> Our corpus continues this to some degree: tombstones all seem to follow common formulae (*vixit*, lived for) giving the age of the deceased.<sup>426</sup> The variety of nomenclature for military unit is notable and there are two ways to read this. The men could all have been from different cavalry units, hence the differences in names. The second possibility is that they were from the same unit but displayed their affiliations in different ways. There is no way of confirming either hypothesis, but I would argue for the former interpretation on the grounds that the differences are so

---

<sup>424</sup> For a discussion of *collegium* and a critique of the overly narrow understanding of these groups by T. Mommsen see É. Rebillard, *The Care of the Dead in Late Antiquity* (New York, 2010), pp. 37 – 56.

<sup>425</sup> See for example the large number of military tombstones at Mainz for example where common formulae and relief sculptures are the majority. V. Hope, ‘Construction of Identity in Military Tombstones,’ in G. Oliver, ed., *The Epigraphy of Death: Studies in the History and Society of Greece and Rome* (Liverpool, 2000), pp. 160 – 177.

<sup>426</sup> Zurdiginus’ age may have been recorded on the broken section which has disappeared.

striking. The only evidence that suggests they were from the same unit is the later regiment mentioned in the *Notitia*, which probably reflects the situation at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, and could easily be the result of several units being incorporated into a new one.<sup>427</sup> What this suggests is that the military unit was usually (though possibly not always), one of the fundamental bases of an individual soldier's identity. The subtle differences between the graves, would imply that those commemorating the deceased were keen, in some ways, to distinguish them from each other, while incorporating some common symbolic language too – for example in the sculptural forms, though this could simply have been based on whatever was available. This seems to be confirmed by the epitaphs at Châlons, which could be from the same Dalmatian regiment, but the differences of nomenclature and appearance of the grave, suggests they could be from different groups. If we restore the Paris inscription as being for a veteran from a unit of *Menapii*, then there is further support for this, given that his unit identity was still important even after his retirement.<sup>428</sup> The use of the unit name is the main common practice when compared with other inscriptions of soldiers found in Gaul from the 4<sup>th</sup> century onwards.<sup>429</sup> Jovinus has no regimental affiliations, but it is interesting how he references one of the simplest aspects of a military identity, the *cingula*. What these elements suggest is how, while there were clearly uniform, collective symbols of military identity that all *milites* would understand, each military unit gave a particular coherence and variation to an individual soldier's sense of identity, and the variety of different practices could show how different units could develop their own traditions within a wider institutional culture.

## **b) Hierarchy and status**

The most obvious statement of status is Jovinus' epitaph which is very different context from the others in chronology (370s), social status and religion. As well as recording his high

<sup>427</sup> *ND. Or.*, VI.36 *Equites catafractarii Ambianenses*: this regiment could even have been a creation *de novo*.

<sup>428</sup> There are two units of *Menapii* recorded in the *Notitia*: *ND. Or.* VIII. 35: *Menapii (Legio Comitatus)*; *ND. Occ.*, VII 83 *Menapii Seniores (Legio Comitatus)*. This is usually read as commemorating a veteran of the *Menapii*, and the failure to identify the *seniores* implies that this occurred before the division of 364 under Valentinian and Valens see R.S.O. Tomlin, 'Seniores–Iuniores in the Late Roman Field Army', *American Journal of Philology*, 93 (1972), 253–78. Note that subsequent inscription finds have made Tomlin's findings obsolete, but precise dating is impossible here, so the matter will not be pursued.

<sup>429</sup> For example the soldier at Bordeaux commemorated as '*de numero mattiacorum seniorum*' ILCV, no. 554 or the soldier from the same regiment at Concordia: *CIL* XIII 8737.

birth (*nobilitas*), the statement of his success in achieving high rank is obvious enough, but the lengthy part of the inscription shows that while his military status gave him authority, most of the inscription focused on his piety and religious virtues, which were far more important to the ecclesiastical context in which his memory was now operating. This could of course be the product of Flodoard's transcription – it is unclear how far he elaborated.<sup>430</sup> Despite its idiosyncrasies, it does show how the deceased's status is negotiated within the context in which the epitaph is displayed. The use of promoted positions (e.g. *decurio*, *circitor*, *imaginifer*) on most of the tombstones shows that hierarchical military titles were aspects of status that were to be displayed, and an important part of commemorating *milites*. Zuridiginus' display of his groom/slave holding his horse is another statement of his status as a decurion. The use of horses in the case of the cavalrymen; full military equipment in the case of Ianuarius; shows how important military identity was to the deceased. Given the cost of funerary monuments, these must be seen as statements of how *milites* remained an élite group in society.<sup>431</sup> The fact the two Châlons cavalrymen displayed how much they cost can be seen as a form of internal competition between soldiers, as well as displays of pride for the commemorators.

The 'Epigraphic habit' appears to have been relatively uncommon in northern Gaul compared with other parts of the Empire.<sup>432</sup> From a late antique epigraphic perspective, Gaulish funerary inscriptions are generally of individuals of high status.<sup>433</sup> As has been discussed already, funerary practices should not be seen as mirrors to social reality. Even if

---

<sup>430</sup> Given the antipathy of many churchmen in his day to *milites* one wouldn't be surprised if there was an element of didacticism in his use of the inscription promoting the religious life to combatants; T. Head and R. Landes, *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around 1000* (London, 1992).

<sup>431</sup> Calculating the cost of these monuments is very difficult, if not impossible for Gaul, especially given the monetary problems the Empire faced in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries. There would be a degree of variability as well. Duncan-Jones estimates that for *miles* and NCOs in Roman Africa during the early Roman period the cost would be between 20% and 80% see R. Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire: Quantitative Studies* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 79 – 80; the cost in Italy was much higher for tombstones (nearly 900% more in the median cost than Africa) but the samples are difficult to compare because of the very different social categories 127 – 30.

<sup>432</sup> Whether this was due to a failure to adopt cultural norms with sufficient enthusiasm or simply due to a shortage of skills and materials is debatable: G. Woolf, 'Power and the Spread of Writing in the West', in A.K. Bowman and G. Woolf, eds., *Literacy and Power in the Roman World* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 84 -98.

<sup>433</sup> There are arguments that Christianisation led to more people of lowly status being commemorated, B. Shaw, 'Seasons of death: aspects of Mortality in Imperial Rome', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 86 (1996), 100 – 138, but a) this wouldn't really apply to Gaul in the early 4<sup>th</sup> century and b) there is plenty of evidence that this isn't the case generally: see M. Handley, *Death, Society and Culture: Inscriptions and Epitaphs in Gaul and Spain A.D. 300–750* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 36 – 39 and certainly not for northern Gaul, even if a long-term view is taken of the epigraphic habit between AD 300 – 700; M. Handley, *ibid.*, pp. 46 – 48.

one does not take these stones as a literal reflection of status, the effort made to commemorate these individuals by those who invested in the monument, and the apparent variation in styles, could be argued for attempts at differentiation between individuals, and thus show evidence of social competition. The fact the two horsemen at Châlons both had advertised how much was spent on their tombs is an interesting tradition, which could imply a degree of conspicuous consumption. How intense this was can only be speculated on. If the cavalry soldiers at Amiens, and those at Châlons, were, despite the above supposition, from the same regiment, one could argue social competition within the military unit was very intense. The fact these epitaphs are generally 'NCOs', rather than senior officers, is interesting as it shows how soldiers lower down the hierarchy, and their commemorators, sought to invest capital into their commemoration.<sup>434</sup> The suggestion that the *scola provincialum* represents a form of *collegium* that funded Valerius Iustus' burial shows that ordinary horsemen also were complicit in this social competition, in the way that Plaianus did too. Given the probably small size of cavalry regiments in this period, and the expense of maintenance, it is perhaps not surprising that social competition would emerge. The tombstone of Ursinianus at Paris also shows that his quasi-military identity as a veteran was still worth being recorded for posterity.

### c) Complex identities

An important conclusion one can draw from these tombstones is how a 'military' identity was only one aspect of how individual *milites* would think about themselves and their position in society. If the restoration of *Cives Sequanorum* is correct, it illustrates how Ianuarius' local origin was an important part of his identity, and these links were not obliterated by military service. Of course, Roman soldiers had often celebrated their origins in death in the earlier period.<sup>435</sup> The fact that none of the other examples did show how individuals had a different set of influences whereby their identity in death could be constructed. Ursinianus' inscription can have an alternative reading as highlighting his place

<sup>434</sup> There are plenty of senior officers commemorated at Trier: see E.M. Wightman, *Trier and the Treveri* (London, 1970).

<sup>435</sup> E.g. CIL XIII 6921 (Mainz) *C(aius) Iulius C(aii) F(ilius) Vol(tinia tribu) Andiccus mil(es) leg(ionis) XVI anno(rum) XLV stip(endiorum) XXI h(ic) s(itus) e(st) heres pos(uit)* (Gaius Iulius Andiccus, son of Gaius, of the Voltinia tribe, soldier of the Sixteenth Legion, age 45, served 21 years, he lies here. The heir set this up).



of origin, in the *civitas Menapiorum* (i.e. the veteran from the *Menapii*) rather than of the *Menapii* regiment), rather than his regiment.<sup>436</sup> Whether we accept this view or not, a parallel can be drawn from the famous inscription from Aquincum of the Frank in Roman service usually dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> Century:

***Francus ego civis Romanus miles in armis/ egregia virtute tuli bello mea dextra sem[p]er***

437

This is often translated as “I, a Frankish citizen, and a Roman soldier under arms...” and used as a statement of the multiple identities Roman soldiers recruited from outside the Empire maintained.<sup>438</sup> The idea of a Frankish citizen in a Roman context is very odd, and the syntax means that ‘*civis*’ could be better defined by ‘*Romanus*.’ I would therefore follow the reading proposed by Rigsby: “*Francus ego, civis Romanus, miles in armis.*” Thus “I, a Frank, a Roman citizen, a soldier in arms, brought to war with exemplary courage....”<sup>439</sup> In fact, I would go so far to suggest that ‘*Francus*’ should be read as his *nomen*. What one means by a Frank at this moment in time is difficult to suggest, but it may be due to a connection with northern Gaul. It certainly seems to have been important to the individual’s identity on the Danube frontier. This was itself a change from before AD 212, when the differences in citizenship were displayed on tombstones by soldiers of *legiones* and *auxilia* for example.<sup>440</sup>

#### **d) The wider community**

Interestingly the tombstones of the *catafractarii*, Zurdiginus and Durio, only mention their unit, though in Zurdiginus’ this may be because the inscription is incomplete. Ianuarius of the *Ursarienses* mentions a *frater*. This does not necessarily mean that he was Ianuarius’s blood relation, but could have been a colleague or a half-brother, who may well have been serving in the same unit given the famous Tetrarchic insistence that sons of soldiers served which presumably meant brothers. Ursinianus, the veteran was commemorated by his wife, while Furius Antoninus and Valerius Iustus (possibly) were remembered by associations,

<sup>436</sup> This may be weak given that the “de...regiment formula” was quite common.

<sup>437</sup> *CIL* III 3576 [*ILS* 2814].

<sup>438</sup> For example E. James, *The Franks* (Oxford, 1988), p. 42; A.D. Lee, *Information and Frontiers* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 76; H. Elton, *Warfare in Roman Europe 350 – 425* (Oxford, 1996), p. 141.

<sup>439</sup> K. Rigsby, ‘Two Danubian Epitaphs’, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 126 (1999), 175–176. The second line’s meaning is not especially clear.

<sup>440</sup> V. Hope, *op. cit.*, (2000), pp. 168 – 176.

probably of fellow soldiers. The evidence we have is that the funerary rituals spoke to a variety of different individuals. To understand fully the social context of commemoration we need information on the location and actions of these memorials, but this is unfortunately lacking, which limits the conclusions that can be drawn.<sup>441</sup> The Amiens corpus was already moved from its original context when they were discovered. However, given these were recycled in the same location, there is a possibility they were originally located in the same place. If so, this implies the memorials were placed in a particular military cemetery (or part of one). The arguments that have been made for shared commemorative traditions, and the variations between them, would make more sense if they were being displayed in a common area. The group of the living mentioned in these epitaphs can therefore be said to be part of the extended military community we discussed in chapter 1.

The arguments of Woolf and Meyer, that epigraphy declined in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century as distinctions between different groups blurred, one example being those between the military and wider society, can therefore be brought into some focus. These inscriptions show how resilient a military identity was, and if we take their view that identities were constantly being socially constructed, especially in periods of social change, the stationing of the military units in Amiens and Châlons may have provoked the need to make a strong restatement of their differentiation from the civilian communities they now came into contact with. The use of such a traditional form of commemoration indicates how far military identities still operated within a very culturally conservative milieu, but the differences that can be drawn in style from the commemorative practices of early centuries also shows the dynamism of military identities in this period.

### **3.1.3 Military identities during the 4<sup>th</sup> and early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries**

A major weakness of focusing on such a narrow corpus is that generalised statements are immediately problematic. How long did the military identities of the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and early 4<sup>th</sup> century survive into the 5<sup>th</sup> century? This is difficult to say due to almost complete absence of any military inscriptions in this period, which could be in itself an indicator of change. Jovinus' inscription, while difficult to assess, seems to show that the basic sense of *militia*, in

---

<sup>441</sup> Almost all of these were found in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and so were poorly recorded.

service to the emperor (which he moves onto service to God), continued. The best analogy is an inscription from Bavai, which can be dated securely to the early 5<sup>th</sup> century, refers to an official in the military administration.<sup>442</sup>

***Hic depositus in p(ace) Lucinus/ Scrinar(ius) bene merens/ D(omino) Hon(orio) Aug VI  
C(o)ns(ule) Vixit Annos XXXXIII*** (Chi-rho monogram) (CIL XIII 395)

Here lies in peace Lucinus the Scrinarius of good merit who lived 44 years, in the year of our lord Honorius during his Sixth consulship (AD 404)

This operates within a slightly different paradigm, namely the primacy of the Christian identity and the loyalist statements to Honorius. While this form of consular dating is very rare in northern Gaul, and entirely absent from the three provinces of *Gallia Lugdenensis* and, apart from Bavai, in *Belgica II*, though there are two in *Belgica I*.<sup>443</sup> The persistence of a distinct Roman professional identity in relation to the administration of the imperial bureaucracy into the early 5<sup>th</sup> century, could be argued to suggest a military identity continued to exist, but this argument is *ex silentio* and weak.

The 'military' cemetery at Oudenburg, which is usually dated middle to late 4<sup>th</sup> century, gives us an interesting comparison to our epitaph sample. There can be little doubt that these individuals were occupants of the fort.<sup>444</sup> No inscribed tombstones have survived, and we do not have graves for the soldier at Amiens, so any statement is conditional, but it would appear that the burial rites had evolved quite considerably over the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Space prohibits an exhaustive analysis of the cemetery, and this has been done commendably already.<sup>445</sup> The conclusions are not straightforward: only a small proportion of the graves are dated, and some skeletons cannot have their gender identified clearly.

---

<sup>442</sup> This inscription was discovered in 1762 at Bavai but regarded as a forgery by a local historian, Desjardins, who claimed that the inscription was a forgery. Desjardins was followed by Edmond Le Blant, who pointed out that the stone named only a single consul and thus Otto Hirschfeld accordingly relegated it to the category of 'Inscriptiones Falsae vel Alienae' in the appropriate volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Delmaire argues that the single consul is actually evidence for its authenticity as the eastern consul was not recognised in 404: R. Delmaire, *Année Epigraphique* (2002), 359–60, no. 1007; R. Delmaire, 'Notes Épigraphiques no. 348', *Revue du Nord*, 84 (2003), 125–32. See also J. Knight, 'An Inscription from Bavai and the Fifth-Century Christian Epigraphy of Britain', *Britannia*, 41 (2010), 283–292.

<sup>443</sup> M. Handley, *Death, Society and Culture: Inscriptions and Epitaphs in Gaul and Spain A.D. 300–750*, (Oxford, 2003), p. 131.

<sup>444</sup> Coins from across the 4<sup>th</sup> century are found, but the latest coin found on the site is dated to 388 see J. Mertens and L. van Impe, *Het Laat-Romeins Grafveld van Oudenburg* (Brussels, 1971), pp. 33 – 34.

<sup>445</sup> J. Mertens and L. van Impe, *ibid.*; N. Cooke, *The Definition and Interpretation of Late Roman Burial Rites in the Western Empire* (Unpublished PhD thesis London, 1997), pp. 71 – 81.

What can be concluded is a small majority of the 216 inhumations found are men. There are significant numbers of women, but very few children have been identified. About 64% of the graves were furnished, and of these two main rites have been established. The first has large number of personal ornaments and pottery, but no animal remains. The second group has pottery, glass vessels and animal remains, but no personal ornaments. The main personal item associated with the first group male burials, as crossbow brooches and belt sets, which are placed in worn and unworn positions.

As we have already discussed in chapter 2, these artefacts do not in themselves mean a military identity. However, the main concentrations of the crossbow brooches are found at Krefeld-Gellep, Nijmegen and Oudenburg, all of which were forts.<sup>446</sup> The absence of 'weapons' (there are two knives, which are commonly found in all manner of burial contexts) makes no difference. Cooke argues that the distinct burial rites are 'military' and 'civilian.'<sup>447</sup> There seems to be some 'blurring' between the two rites as the 4<sup>th</sup> century progresses, but whether this means these identities were becoming indistinct is hard to say. The problem is we do not know whether we are looking at members of local communities in the cemetery or the extended military community itself. However this is resolved, I would suggest these rituals and the variations even within the different groups (3 are buried with gold crossbow brooches) show the similar combination of 'local' and universal 'military' identities at work we saw at on the reliefs of the early 4<sup>th</sup> century. As Halsall argues, these burials are a text for the commemorators to read, and the complex identities of individuals had many sources.<sup>448</sup> However, at Oudenburg, it seems the symbols of *militia* were the most important in this context, which was possibly a function of their peripheral position.

## Conclusion

What these examples suggest is the complex range of identities that were available to soldiers: a general professional identity (*miles* or *veteranus*); their unit; their family (whether blood or institutional – which would be an extension of the unit), and their origin. These were strongly maintained by a strong institutional hierarchy, which became more

---

<sup>446</sup> E. Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the Late Roman West* (Montagnac, 2000), p. 24.

<sup>447</sup> N. Cooke, *op. cit.*, (1997), p. 79

<sup>448</sup> G. Halsall, *Cemeteries and Society in Merovingian Gaul: Selected Studies in History and Archaeology, 1992-2009* (Leiden, 2010), p. 128.

locally focused by the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, but not necessarily ‘integrated.’ This would support the suggestions made in chapter 1, that military identity in the 4<sup>th</sup> century is far more than simply being part of the “army” but a complex one reflecting the multi-faceted role of the army in society.

## **Section 2: Forts in *Belgica* II<sup>449</sup>**

As already discussed in chapter 2, defining a “fort” in the late Roman period is not straightforward, though parallels in the Rhineland and Britain suggest that distinct military sites remained in existence until the 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>450</sup> Unlike many sites in Roman Britain, for example, the internal structures in sites of late Roman *Belgica* II (whether cities or forts) are poorly understood, which presents an obstacle to elucidating their precise nature.<sup>451</sup> We rely heavily on artefacts to interpret function, though this is also problematic. Although there were important fundamental change from the early imperial period in architectural styles and the number of fortified sites in the province, there are important aspects of continuity which can be ignored. Specific ‘forts’ can still be identified in the material record. This suggests there was a formal, distinctive, late Roman military identity persisted until the 5<sup>th</sup> century.

### **3.2.1 Defining late Roman fortifications in *Belgica* II**

There are two main geographic concentrations of ‘forts’ in *Belgica* II: the Saxon Shore; the ‘*Limes Belgicus*’ which is usually called the Bavay-Tongres road. Brulet proposed a model to identify forts in this period based on size: type I being large forts (approximately 2ha in size), type II medium sized forts (0.25ha – 0.4ha) and type III being a range of miscellaneous small

---

<sup>449</sup> See Appendix 1 for full survey of sites mentioned in the text. Some authorities speculate on additional forts on the northwest coast e.g. at Bruges, but in the absence of any evidence they won’t be discussed here.

<sup>450</sup> For example the fort at Alzey has a third period of formal occupation in the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century see J. Oldenstein, ‘Alzey’, in M. Reddé, ed., *L’Architecture de la Gaule Romaine: les Fortifications Militaires* (Paris, 2006), pp. 197 – 198 and for continuity of the forts of the Hadrian’s Wall zone see R. Collins, *Hadrian’s Wall and the End of Empire: the Roman Frontier in the 4th and 5th centuries* (London, 2012), pp. 154 – 170.

<sup>451</sup> See for example the quality of discussion achieved by N. Hodgson and P. Bidwell, ‘Auxiliary Barracks in a New Light: Recent Discoveries on Hadrian’s Wall’, *Britannia*, 35 (2004), 121-157, which relies on the high quality excavations and recording in Romano-British forts over the last few decades.

fortified structures.<sup>452</sup> This developed Petrokovits' model of frontier forts; fortified urban centres that could or couldn't hold military units; rural fortifications and refuges.<sup>453</sup> Using this scheme for *Belgica* II gives the following results:

**Table 2 Fort morphology according to Brulet**

Site	Size	Nature of occupation (Brulet)
Oudenburg <sup>454</sup>	2.7ha	Large fort
Revelles <sup>455</sup>	0.4ha	Medium fort
Liberchies I <sup>456</sup>	0.72ha	Medium fort
Liberchies II <sup>457</sup>	2ha	Large fort
Givry <sup>458</sup>	0.14ha	Small fortified structure
Morlanwelz I <sup>459</sup>	0.16ha	Small fortified structure
Morlanwelz II	0.9ha	Medium fort
Bavay <sup>460</sup>	2ha – 4ha	Large fort/fortified urban centre
Famars <sup>461</sup>	1.8ha/ 2.2ha	Large fort/fortified urban centre
Noyon <sup>462</sup>	2.5ha	Large fort/fortified urban centre

<sup>452</sup> R. Brulet, 'L'Architecture Militaire Romaine en Gaule Pendant l'Antiquité Tardive', in M. Reddé, *op. cit.*, pp. 158 – 167.

<sup>453</sup> H. Petrokovits, 'Fortifications in the North Western Roman Empire from the Third to the Fifth Centuries', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 61 (1971), 189-93.

<sup>454</sup> S. Vanhoutte, 'The Saxon Shore Fort at Oudenburg (Belgium): New Excavation Results', in Á. Morillo *et al.*, eds., *Limes XX: XX Congreso Internacional de Estudios Sobre la Frontera Romana / XXth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies: 1-3* (Madrid, 2009), pp. 1386 – 1388.

<sup>455</sup> F. Lemaire, 'Revelles', in M. Reddé *op. cit.*, (2006), pp. 368 – 369.

<sup>456</sup> R. Brulet, 'Pont-à-Celles/Liberchies', in M. Reddé *op. cit.*, (2006), pp. 364 – 367; R. Brulet, *La Gaule Septentrionale au Bas-Empire* (Trier, 1990), pp. 130 – 132.

<sup>457</sup> R. Brulet *ibid.* (1990), pp. 133 – 136.

<sup>458</sup> R. Brulet *ibid.* (1990), pp. 122 – 125; R. Brulet, 'Givry', in R. Brulet and others, eds., *Forts Romains de la Route Bavay-Tongres* (Louvain, 1995), pp. 31 – 32.

<sup>459</sup> R. Brulet, 'Morlanwelz', in M. Reddé, *op. cit.*, (2006), p. 276; R. Brulet *op. cit.* (1990), pp. 91 – 95; R. Brulet, 'Morlanwelz I and II', in R. Brulet and others, eds., *Forts Romains de la Route Bavay-Tongres* (Louvain, 1995), pp. 33 – 37.

<sup>460</sup> F. Lorient, 'Décadence Urbaine et Antiquité Tardive à Bagacum et dans la Civitas Camaracensium', in A. Ferdière, ed., *Capitales Éphémères: des Capitales de Cités Perdent Leur Statut dans l'Antiquité Tardive: Actes du Colloque Organisé par le Laboratoire Archéologie et Territoires, UMR CITERES, Tours, 6-8 Mars 2003* (Tours, 2004); R. Delmaire and others, *Nord, Bavay: Carte Archeologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 2011), pp. 75 – 82.

<sup>461</sup> R. Brulet, 'Famars', in M. Reddé, *op. cit.*, (2006), p. 276 ; R. Brulet, *op. cit.*, (1990), pp. 126 – 129; R. Clotuche, ed., *La Ville Antique de Famars* (Valenciennes, 2013), pp. 37 – 47.

This would suggest a larger number of forts in the landscape in the late Roman period than earlier, but also a blurring of distinctions between different sites and their functions. This analysis is too superficial. As the construction of stone walls, often with external projecting towers, was common around many different sites in the late Roman period, a broader range of criteria are required to assess identification of a “fort” as opposed to a ‘fortified urban centre.’<sup>463</sup> To further the analysis the following criteria will be used in the definitions:

- Did the site accommodate a civilian population or a military garrison?
- What was the nature of the structure and its internal buildings?
- Are the artefacts within a site military or civilian?
- Was the site a product of military investment or local, civilian, initiative?
- How did the sites relate to the wider context as part of a defensive system?

Long-term occupation by a garrison is a useful means of classifying a fort, though given their presence in cities (see section 3), an insufficient one. Units mentioned at sites believed to be forts in the *Notitia*, with clear associations of place, allow one to posit garrisons. With the decline in epigraphy, this is the best evidence we have. The *Notitia* focuses on the offices available for allocation rather than listing the military resources of the Empire, so they may be describing officers’ headquarters rather than where the soldiers were based.<sup>464</sup> Attributing precise dates or length of occupation is also problematic. Despite these reservations one can still argue that there was a unit of that name at these sites at some point during the 4<sup>th</sup> / early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries (see table 2 for details).

---

<sup>462</sup> B. Desachy, ‘Noyon’, *Revue Archéologique de Picardie. Numéro Spécial 16* (1999), 171-177.

<sup>463</sup> For the common nature of stone walls see S. Johnson, *Late Roman Fortifications* (London, 1983), pp. 31 – 54.

<sup>464</sup> See the introduction for a full discussion of the fort issue. Debate on occupation of forts by individual army units is based on Vindolanda tablet no. 154 which probably refers to the fort’s second occupation period during the late 1<sup>st</sup> century AD which shows that members of the Cohort of the Tungrians were often spread over several different locations, often significantly removed from the original fort see A. Bowman, *Life and Letters on the Roman Frontier: Vindolanda and its people* (London, 1994), pp. 22 – 24. This is supported by P. Southern and K. Dixon, *The Late Roman Army* (London, 1996), p. 140, following J. Mann, ‘The Historical Development of the Saxon Shore’, in V. Maxfield, ed., *The Saxon Shore: a handbook* (Exeter, 1989), p. 2.

**Table 3 Forts in Belgica II with garrison evidence from the Notitia**

Fort	Notitia Reference	Other evidence
Portus Eptiacus (Oudenburg)	<i>ND. Occ. XXXVII.9 Tribunus militum Neruiorum, Portu Eptiaci</i>	“Military” cemetery
Marcis (Marquise)?	<i>ND. Occ. XXXVII.7 Equites Dalmatae, Marcis in litore Saxonico</i>	None – no evidence has been revealed of this fort.
<i>Geminiacum</i> (Liberchies II)	<i>ND Occ. V 246 Geminiacenses</i> NB this is listed by the Notitia as a <i>comitatus</i> unit so isn’t actually based at Liberchies – the association of the name leads the suggestion that it was garrisoned there at some point.	Military artefacts associated with both phases of occupation: Liberchies I and II

There is also a considerable range of different structures that can be identified amongst the sites that have been called ‘forts’ and these have to be taken into account.

**Table 4 constructions – walls/internal structures**

Site	Size	Occupation phases/dates	Structures	Context
Oudenburg <sup>465</sup>	2.7ha	IVa c.260 - 270 IVb c.270 – 280 Va c.320 – 340 Vb c. 370 – 400	<b>Wall construction</b>  Quadrangular stone fortification 153m x 176m  Ditches around the wall	‘Military’ Cemetery  Part of Saxon Shore fortification system

<sup>465</sup> S. Vanhoutte, ‘The Saxon Shore Fort at Oudenburg (Belgium): New Excavation Results’, in Á. Morillo and others, ed., *Limes XX: XX Congreso Internacional de Estudios Sobre la Frontera Romana / XXth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, vol. 3 (Madrid, 2009), pp. 1386 – 1388.



			<b>Interior structures</b>  Timber-framed constructions  Official building with plaster “hospital”  Living units  Industrial activities  Bath complex  Animal grazing	
Revelles <sup>466</sup>	0.4ha	c.260 – c.280	<b>Wall construction</b>  V-shaped ditch and palisade  <b>Interior structures</b>  Series of wooden postholes hint at internal buildings	Amiens and Rouen road; 8km from Amiens
Liberchies I <sup>467</sup>	0.72ha	<b>Ia</b> c. 260 – c. 280  <b>Ib</b> c. 280 – c. 310	<b>Wall construction</b>  A series of ditches and wooden palisades  <b>Interior structures</b>  No internal structures known.	Middle of the <i>vicus</i> .  Tongres – Bavay road
Liberchies II <sup>468</sup>	2ha	<b>Ila</b> c. 300 – c. 320  <b>Ilb</b> c.330 – c.	<b>Wall construction</b>  Quadrangular stone fortification (45 x 56.5m)	Large fortified complex 1400m to the west of the original

<sup>466</sup> F. Lemaire, ‘Revelles’, in M. Reddé *op. cit.*, (2006), pp. 368 – 369.

<sup>467</sup> R. Brulet, ‘Pont-à-Celles/Liberchies’ in M. Reddé *op. cit.*, (2006), pp. 364 – 367; R. Brulet *La Gaule Septentrionale au Bas-Empire* (Trier, 1990), pp. 130 – 132.

<sup>468</sup> R. Brulet *ibid.* pp. 133 – 136.

		360 <b>II</b> c. 390 – c. 420	<p>Walls 2.8m high and circular towers.</p> <p>Ditches covering larger area surround the wall</p> <p>The perimeter of the site is complex as there is evidence for a large ditch, which is interrupted on the north west side by a small palisaded ditch.</p> <p><b>Interior structures</b></p> <p>Buildings constructed against the wall.</p> <p>Two annexes to the fortification on the east side, which appear to be bath houses.</p> <p>West side there may be the remains of a wooden barracks structure.</p>	<p>fortification, outside the <i>vicus</i>.</p> <p>Tongres – Bavay road</p>
Givry <sup>469</sup>	0.14ha	<b>I</b> c. 260 – c. 275  <b>II</b> c. 320 – c. 350	<p><b>Construction</b></p> <p>The structure was built on a foundation of loose stones alternating with placed stone fixed without mortar. The suggestion is that the site was a monument, reused as a</p>	<p>Tongres – Bavay road</p>

<sup>469</sup> R. Brulet *ibid.* 122 – 125; R. Brulet, 'Givry', in R. Brulet and others, ed., *Forts Romains de la Route Bavay-Tongres* (Louvain, 1995), pp. 31 – 32.

			watchtower during the 3 <sup>rd</sup> century.	
Morlanwelz I <sup>470</sup>	0.16ha	c. 250 – 300	<p><b>Construction</b></p> <p>Square building, with ditch and palisade, corresponding to a postal station.</p> <p><b>Interior structures</b></p> <p>The internal structure appears to be wooden building based on several pieces of wood used as foundations. There only seems to be one phase of construction.</p>	Tongres – Bavay road
Morlanwelz II	0.9ha	c. 300 – 350	<p><b>Construction</b></p> <p>The second structure was moved closer to the road and a square tower, 30m x 30m, with 3m thick walls was constructed. There also seems to be a ditch around the tower, but it is only on one side.</p>	Tongres – Bavay road
Bavay <sup>471</sup>	2ha –	I c. 280 – c. 300	<b>Construction</b>	Tongres – Bavay

<sup>470</sup> R. Brulet, 'Morlanwelz', in M. Reddé, *op. cit.*, (2006), p. 276; R. Brulet, *La Gaule Septentrionale au Bas-Empire* (Trier, 1990), pp. 91 – 95; R. Brulet, 'Morlanwelz I and II', in R. Brulet and others, eds., *Forts Romains de la Route Bavay-Tongres* (Louvain, 1995), pp. 33 – 37.

	4ha	II c. 360 – 380  III? c. 380 – c. 430	Fortified early imperial <i>forum</i> – 2 phases of construction, with <i>petit appareil</i> and towers  <b>Internal structures</b>  Second <i>castrum</i> – barracks  No clearly understood internal structures known	road
Famars <sup>472</sup>	1.8ha/  2.2ha	I c. 320 – 350?  II c. 360 – c. 450?	<b>Construction</b>  First phase saw the bath walls used in the structure and complete pentagon structure created. Ditches surrounding the style.  <b>Internal structures</b>  None known	No obvious military context
Noyon <sup>473</sup>	2.5ha	Early 4 <sup>th</sup> century?	<b>Construction</b>  Walls were constructed in a very similar form to other cities in southern <i>Belgica</i> II.	No obvious military context

<sup>471</sup> F. Lorient, 'Décadence Urbaine et Antiquité Tardive à Bagacum et dans la Civitas Camaracensium', in A. Ferdière, ed., *Capitales Éphémères: des Capitales de Cités Perdent Leur Statut dans l'Antiquité Tardive: Actes du Colloque Organisé par le Laboratoire Archéologie et Territoires, UMR CITERES, Tours, 6-8 mars 2003* (Tours, 2004), pp. 75 – 82; R. Delmaire, *Nord, Bavay: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 2011), pp. 75 – 82.

<sup>472</sup> R. Brulet, 'Famars', in M. Reddé op. cit., (2006), p. 276; R. Brulet, *La Gaule Septentrionale au Bas-Empire* (Trier, 1990), pp. 126 – 129; R. Clotuche, ed., *La Ville Antique de Famars* (Valenciennes, 2013), pp. 37 – 47.

<sup>473</sup> G.-P. Woimant, *L'Oise: Carte archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 1995), pp. 340 – 351; B. Desachy, 'Noyon', *Revue archéologique de Picardie. Numéro spécial* 16 (1999), 171-177.

As we have already discussed in chapter 3 assessing 'military' artefacts in the 4<sup>th</sup> century is quite problematic. As these were often recorded in the less scientific excavations of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, there is a problem of knowing the precise context in which objects are found.<sup>474</sup> Researchers have noticed the lack of military artefacts in comparable Roman forts such as the "Shore Forts" in Britain.<sup>475</sup> This perhaps should not be surprising given that military units were now smaller than they had been.

**Table 5 "Military" artefacts found at 'fort' sites in Belgica II**

Site	Swords	Lances	Chain mail	Arrows	Ballista	Cavalry	Other <sup>476</sup>	Crossbo w brooche s
Oudenburg	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	41
Revelles	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0
Liberchies I	2	3	0	0	3	1	7	2
Liberchies II	0	3	0	2	1	0	2	3
Givry	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Morlanwelz I	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Morlanwelz II	0	2	0	0	2	0	2	1
Bavay	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
Famars	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	3
N.Noyon	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3

<sup>474</sup> This could be due to the lack of systematic excavation, and the possibility that most inhabitants of these structures took care of their military equipment given the expense involved hence there is a low rate of loss.

<sup>475</sup> A. Pearson, *The Roman Shore Forts: Coastal Defences of Southern Britain* (Stroud, 2002), p. 157, notices the limited weapons finds, comparing it with the more common finds of clothing items such as brooches, as well as the numerous female items which imply family inhabitation of the fortification walls. However, such patterns are quite compatible with the notion of military community we have already explored in chapter 1.

<sup>476</sup> Shields, tent pegs, knives, scabbards etc.

When all of this information is factored in several observations can be made. In terms of ‘forts’ the clearest evidence for sites that fulfill this definition are Oudenburg and Liberchies II. Both sites are focused on a square shaped stone fortified wall, though there is some variation in the overall structure, as at Liberchies II several key buildings were outside the fort itself, though protected by a ditch. Only the south-west corner of the fort at Oudenburg has been excavated, but the series of buildings that have been found are compatible with a fort: the potential hospital, the bath building and the industrial area.<sup>477</sup> Oudenburg, which can be identified with some confidence as *Portus Epatiaci* in the *Notitia*, had a garrison: the *milites Neruiorum*.<sup>478</sup> What is known from its internal layout as well as the ‘military’ cemetery to the south-west all supports a permanent military presence at the site.<sup>479</sup> The *Geminiacenses* are usually associated with the fort at Liberchies II. Hoffmann suggests that the *Geminiacenses* were raised in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century, and therefore an earlier unit was garrisoned there.<sup>480</sup> The coin evidence seems to imply a lapse in occupation after 350 at some point, before a reoccupation at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Whatever the precise history of the unit, there is plenty of circumstantial evidence in the artefacts and history of the site to establish that there was a long-term garrison presence here, with interruptions.<sup>481</sup>

When we put the information into a wider context, these attributions are even clearer. Oudenburg was part of a long-term military zone, as discussed in section 1, which underwent some organizational changes during the 4<sup>th</sup> century, but remained a *limes* zone. The continual restructuring of space in the south-west corner is interesting, and probably testifies a series of reoccupations, but the bath building and hospital both hint at the continuation of Roman cultural practices that had long been associated with Roman

---

<sup>477</sup> S. Vanhoutte, ‘The Saxon Shore Fort at Oudenburg (Belgium): New Excavation Results’, in Á. Morillo and others, eds., *Limes XX: XX Congreso Internacional de Estudios Sobre la Frontera Romana / XXth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies: 1-3* (Madrid, 2009), pp. 1386 – 1388.

<sup>478</sup> J. Mertens and L. Van Impe, *Het Laat-Romeins Grafveld van Oudenburg* (Brussels, 1971), pp. 230-31; Leman rejects these hypothesis as unprovable, but all the circumstantial evidence seems fairly clear that Oudenburg is the best identification see P. Leman, ‘À Propos de Quelques Lieux de la *Notitia Dignitatum*. Etat de la Recherche et Suggestions’, in F. Vermeulen, K. Sas and W. Dhaeze, eds., *Archaeology in Confrontation. Aspects of Roman Military Presence in the Northwest. Studies in Honour of Prof. Em. Hugo Thoen* (Ghent, 2004), pp. 213 – 215.

<sup>479</sup> J. Mertens, *Oudenburg, Romeinse Legerbasis aan de Noordzeekust* (Brussels, 1973).

<sup>480</sup> D. Hoffmann, *Das Spätromische Bewegungsheer und die Notitia Dignitatum* (Dusseldorf, 1969), p. 149.

<sup>481</sup> Though it appears from the coin evidence that the site does seem to have been less intensely occupied in the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century.

soldiers.<sup>482</sup> Liberchies II was constructed 1400m to the west of Liberchies I (in the previously inhabited *vicus*). This move may well have been dictated by practical considerations, but also represented a physical separation from the old civilian site. The *vicus* had largely been abandoned by the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century, but one structure emerged during the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century, a sanctuary, which has been identified as a *mithraeum*.<sup>483</sup> This could be argued to be associated with the military community at the fort, given the historical association of soldiers with Mithraism, and religion was an important part of military identity.<sup>484</sup> What is odd is that the coin finds on the site peak between 364 and 378, the period with the smallest number of coins in the fort.<sup>485</sup> Then again, given the evidence of decreased settlement patterns in this area during the 4<sup>th</sup> century, there doesn't seem to have been a large non-military population around, and if even if they were present, it is very doubtful there were rich enough to leave such large amounts of coinage which are only found in such large numbers at military sites and cities. This, for me, would indicate that this shrine was for a military community. Sadly, no more can be said on the present evidence, but the physical separation of the religious site and the fort does imply the continued separation of the military community from others in the vicinity, though the high level of use at the sanctuary shows a place of possible interaction.

---

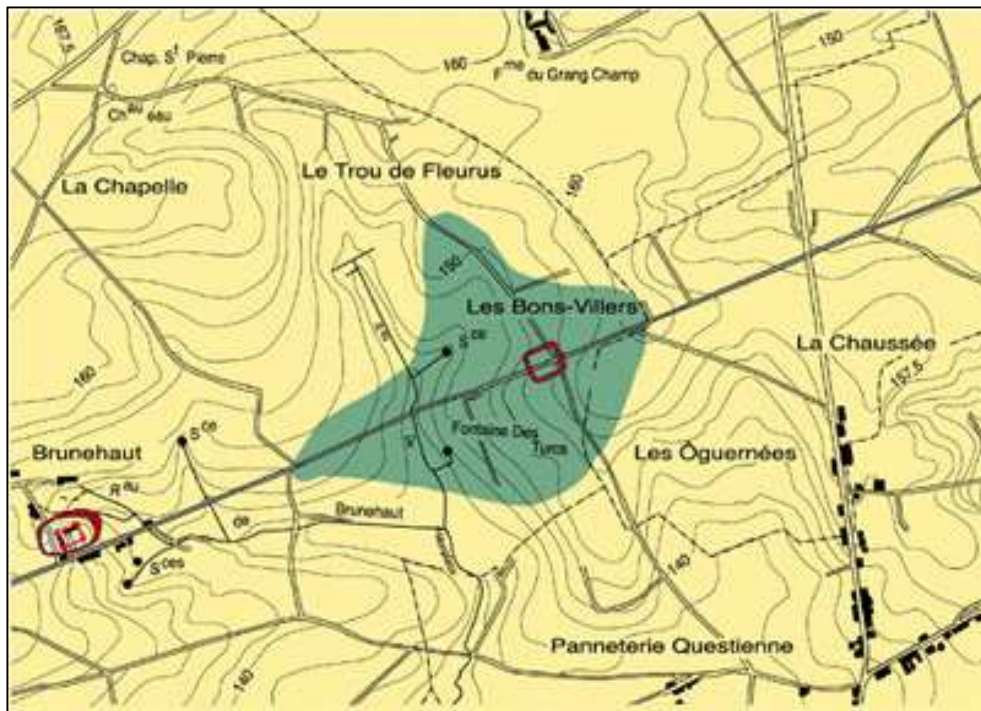
<sup>482</sup> N. Hanel, 'Military Camps, Canabae and Vici', in P. Erdkamp, ed., *A Companion to the Roman Army* (Oxford, 2007), p. 406.

<sup>483</sup> R. Brulet, J-P. Dewert and F. Vilvorde, *Liberchies V. Vicus Gallo-Romain. Habitat de la Tannerie et Sanctuaire Tardif* (*Publications d'Histoire de l'Art et d'Archéologie de l'Université Catholique de Louvain, CII*) (Louvain-la-Neuve, 2008). The identification, which cannot be certain in the absence of epigraphic evidence, is based on the finds of large numbers of chicken bones and pork. The discovery of almost 1700 coins from the 4<sup>th</sup> century is paralleled in other Mithraic sites in Gaul and further afield. For coins see L. Severs, *Les Monnaies de Liberchies-Bons Villers (Hainaut, Belgique): Quartier Artisanal et Sanctuaire Tardif (1er siècle Avant J.-C. - 4e siècle après J.-C.)* (Wetteren, 2011). Parallels can be drawn with the Mithraic sites of Septuil (c.1400 coins) and Martigny (c. 2000 coins) etc. in E. Sauer, *The End of Paganism in the North-Western Provinces of the Roman Empire: the Example of the Mithras Cult* (Oxford, 1996), p. 22.

<sup>484</sup> See M. Spiedel, *Mithras Orion: Greek Hero and Roman Army God* (Leiden, 1980).

<sup>485</sup> R. Brulet and others, *op cit.* (2008), p. 394

**Figure 1 Liberchies I and II in relation to the early imperial vicus (in green)**



Liberchies I (occupied 250 – 300) was a different establishment.<sup>486</sup> The surface area covered by the complex was 75.2 *ares* in total, thus more limited than Oudenburg and Liberchies II. It had a series of three defensive ditches, with wooden palisades and ramparts rather than stone. Built in the middle of the *vicus*, which had been largely abandoned during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, the site would appear to be built in a relative hurry.<sup>487</sup> There was a large amount of military equipment found in the ditches of the fort.<sup>488</sup> The specialised nature of equipment (trumpet mouthpiece, tent pegs, ballista bolts; cavalry accoutrements etc.) supports the idea of an occupation by a military unit, but the precise context deposition is uncertain, as the elements were found in the external ditches, and it is unclear why there were placed there. The lack of internal structures makes short-term or temporary occupation seem more probable, an explanation supported by the tent pegs. Parallels can be made morphologically and chronologically with Revelles, further to the south, though there were far fewer military artefacts found. The fort was located 8 miles to the southwest of Amiens, which is found

<sup>486</sup> R. Brulet, 'Pont-à-Celles/Liberchies', in M. Reddé, *op. cit.*, (2006), pp. 364 – 367; R. Brulet, 'Liberchies I', in R. Brulet and others, eds., *Forts Romains de la Route Bavay-Tongres* (Louvain, 1995), pp. 33 - 36; R. Brulet, *La Gaule Septentrionale au Bas-Empire* (Trier, 1990), pp. 130 – 132.

<sup>487</sup> R. Brulet, J-P. Dewert and F. Vilvorde, *Liberchies IV. Vicus gallo-romain. Travail de rivière (Publications d'Histoire de l'Art et d'Archéologie de l'Université Catholique de Louvain, CI)* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 2001), pp. 423 - 431.

<sup>488</sup> The weapons found here (swords, spears, daggers and a ballista projectile) make a military context for this site particularly likely.



alongside the main antique road to Rouen replaced a large funerary monument.<sup>489</sup> It could be suggested that this represents a local response to the political and economic problems caused by the 3<sup>rd</sup> century: an ‘unofficial’ construction so to speak.<sup>490</sup> An important piece of evidence for the identification of the site is the fact that 82% of the coins are imitations of official coinage. The official debased silver and bronze coinage of the Gallic Empire is concentrated in the Rhineland, which is understandable given the concentration of armed forces there and the political imperatives to pay them.<sup>491</sup> Local imitation of coinage was carried out in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century too, but became more common under Postumus, reaching epidemic proportions after the deposition of Tetricius in 274.<sup>492</sup> This phenomenon appears at other ‘official’ sites in *Belgica* II with evidence for coin moulds that indicates the creation of imitation coinage as opposed to those produced by official dies and specific ‘military’ contexts such as the barracks block at Boulogne.<sup>493</sup> The parallels between these structures and the square, wood and ditch structures at Liberchies I makes it more logical to identify Revelles as a *burgus* as part of the same programme of construction, which were built for the particular short-term needs in the context of the period 250 onwards: their abandonment does not suggest these were part of a long-term transition.<sup>494</sup>

---

<sup>489</sup> The dating of the site comes from the 641 coins which all carry the effigy of the Gallic Emperors Postumus, Victorinus, Tetricius I and II which implies an occupation date for the years around 270. The site seems to be laid out in an orthogonal shape, estimated to be 70m x 65m, with a v-shaped ditch surrounding a set of internal structures. The entrance is protected by a *titulum* (19m in length), which was where four iron arrowheads were discovered. F. Lemaire, ‘Revelles’, in M. Reddé *op. cit.*, pp. 368 – 9. The current state of knowledge about internal buildings is vague, but there are a series of post-holes which could be huts or possibly extensions to a wall that would permit those inside a better vantage point (a *chemin de ronde* or suchlike).

<sup>490</sup> This could be as a refuge for the local population, or a means of asserting power by indigenous élites. The majority of fortifications of such a style are found in the Hunsrück-Eifel region rather than *Belgica* II. R. Brulet, ‘La Militarisation de la Gaule du Nord au Bas-Empire et les Petites Agglomérations Urbaines de Famars et de Bavay’, *Revue du Nord-Archéologie*, 77 (1995), 55-70. The military provenance of the few arrow heads is ambiguous and could be associated with hunting or other activities carried out by a local aristocrat: W. Willems, ‘An Officer or a Gentleman? A Late Roman weapon grave from a Villa at Voerendaal’, in C. Van Driel-Murray, ed., *Roman Military Equipment: the Sources of Evidence* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 143 – 156. The similarities to other structures do not have to be explained by the involvement of military engineers either, as this assumption is based upon a belief that the ‘official’ Roman military had an exclusive capacity to build large structures which is in itself a circular argument, whereby all buildings must be, ‘official,’ as only, ‘official,’ engineers could build them.

<sup>491</sup> J.F. Drinkwater, *The Gallic Empire: Separatism and Continuity in the North-Western provinces of the Roman Empire, A.D. 260-274* (Stuttgart, 1987).

<sup>492</sup> A. Kropff, ‘Late Roman Coin Hoards in the West: Trash or Treasure?’, *Revue Belge de Numismatique et de Sigillographie*, 153 (2007), 73-86.

<sup>493</sup> R. Brulet, *La Gaule Septentrionale au Bas Empire* (Trier, 1990), p. 291; E. Belot and V. Canet, ‘Recherches Archéologiques à Boulogne-sur-Mer (Septembre 1990 – Avril 1993)’, *Revue du Nord*, 75 (1993), 57 – 61.

<sup>494</sup> This is the view of the excavator F. Lemaire *pers. comm.* The sites’s publication is in preparation by INRAP.

Morlanwelz I is probably slightly different in function from Liberchies I in that it is smaller and is credibly identified as a postal station, reinforced by a ditch and wooden palisade. Weapons (mainly spears) have been found here and there are also some crossbow brooches associated with the site, which although the context for these finds is poorly understood, indicates a probable military occupation.<sup>495</sup> Morlanwelz II, was probably occupied during the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, has several military finds, and probably had some official military function, though what that was is hard to say.<sup>496</sup> The suggestions have included watchtowers, and given its size Givry can probably be attributed a similar function. Such a range of different sites is not surprising, as the Roman authorities had constructed a range of different buildings in the early Empire too, though generally on the *Limes* rather than provincial interiors.<sup>497</sup> There is no evidence of civilian settlement here, so there is no reason to doubt an 'official' function for these sites, although they were occupied for a relatively short period of time.

The key ambiguity lies with reduced urban centres such as Bavay (*Bagacum*), Famars (*Fanum Martis*) and Noyon (*Noviomagus*), and whether their function was primarily a military one.<sup>498</sup> If so it would blur the distinctions with sites like Oudenburg, and imply a widespread military function across most of the province. One can argue that they fulfill several criteria we have already identified: size, fortified walls and the presence of military artefacts (though none of the latter have been found at Noyon). Famars, usually identified with *Fanum Martis* in the *Notitia*, is the location of the *Praefectus Laetorum Nerviorum* which has been argued represents a garrison.<sup>499</sup> Noyon is also associated with the *Praefectus laetorum*

---

<sup>495</sup> See table 5 above for references.

<sup>496</sup> Bronze cruciform brooch, knife, horse bit, 2 spear heads, 2 ballista bolts and an arrow head.

<sup>497</sup> R. Van Dierendonck, 'Five postholes and a ditch, the Valkenburg–Marktveld Timber Watch and Signal Tower', in F. Vermeulen, K. Sas and W. Dhaeze, ed., *Archaeology in Confrontation. Aspects of Roman Military Presence in the Northwest. Studies in honour of Prof. Em. Hugo Thoen* (Ghent, 2004), pp. 73 – 102.

<sup>498</sup> With the fortified forum at Bavay attempts have been made to identify its role during the late Empire both as a fort and a city or to split the site into two distinct zones: one military, the other civilian see E. Will, 'Recherches sur le Developpement Urbaine sous l'Empire Romain dans la Nord de la Gaule', *Gallia*, 20.4 (1962), 79 – 102. There have been suggestions that both Oudenburg and Aardenburg were 'fortified civilian settlements with military elements' rather than 'forts' *per se*: see R. Bruet, *La Gaule Septentrionale au Bas-Empire* (Trier, 1990), p. 118; G. Besuijen, *Rodanum: A Study of the Roman Settlement at Aardenburg and Its Metal Finds* (Leiden, 2008), pp.80 – 81; for Famars see R. Clotuche, ed., *La Ville Antique de Famars* (Valenciennes, 2013); B. Desachy, 'Noyon', *Revue Archéologique de Picardie. Numéro Spécial* 16 (1999), 171-177.

<sup>499</sup> *ND Occ.*, XLII.37.

*Contraginnensium*.<sup>500</sup> However, as we have argued there is no proof that the *laeti* were formal military units, and they were probably communities liable for military service in the countryside which required administration (hence the *praefectus*).<sup>501</sup> Of the artefacts found at Famars, the chain mail and sword certainly have strong military implications, but the context of the mail find is associated with the construction of the *castrum* in the 320s/30s while the sword was found in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and its context is unknown.<sup>502</sup> The crossbow brooches are also associated with finds from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century, and the construction, not later.<sup>503</sup> The lack of information on the interior buildings is a major limitation to advance further discussion. The fortified forum of Bavay has been extensively studied, and there have been many attempts to argue it was a military base.<sup>504</sup> The 11 crossbow *fibulae* are certainly strong indications of an official presence, as is the tombstone of the *scriniarius* from the early 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>505</sup> However, there have been no military artefacts found in the fortified forum itself. The ambiguity comes from the so-called ‘eastern’ *castrum* which does seem to have yielded structures akin to barracks, and ‘Germanic’ pottery, which is dated to the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>506</sup> The latest assessment is that this is evidence for a military unit being attached to the site at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, though what is striking is that the *castrum* itself may have continued to remain a defensive civilian settlement, or administrative centre.<sup>507</sup> The maintenance of separation in the articulation of space seems indicative of an attempt to maintain an institutional coherence. In some ways this development brings Bavay into line with developments that are observable in urban sites in *Belgica II*, so it is argued here that Bavay, Famars and Noyon represent sites that could be categorized as ‘fortified urban centres’ but not forts.

---

<sup>500</sup> *ND. Occ.*, XLII.41.

<sup>501</sup> See discussion in chapter 1.

<sup>502</sup> R. Clotuche, *op. cit.*, (2013), p. 47.

<sup>503</sup> R. Clotuche, *ibid.* (2013), pp. 42 – 43.

<sup>504</sup> E. Will, ‘Les Enceintes du Bas-Empire à Bavay’, *Revue du Nord*, 44 (1962), 391 – 401; F. Loridant, ‘Décadence Urbaine et Antiquité Tardive à Bagacum et dans la Civitas Camaracensium’, in A. Ferdière, ed., *Capitales Éphémères: des Capitales de Cités Perdent leur Statut dans l'Antiquité Tardive : Actes du Colloque Organisé par le Laboratoire Archéologie et Territoires, UMR CITERES, Tours, 6-8 mars 2003* (Tours, 2004), p. 80.

<sup>505</sup> *CIL* XIII 395, see discussion in section 1.

<sup>506</sup> F. Loridant, ‘Bavay-Bagacum’, in D. Bayard, J-L. Collart and N. Mahéo, eds., *La Marque de Rome: Samarobriva et les Villes du Nord de la Gaule* (Amiens, 2006), p. 43.

<sup>507</sup> For the latest view, arguing the site was fundamentally civilian, see R. Delmaire, J.-C. Carmelez, F. Loridant and C. Louvion, *Bavay: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 2011), pp. 148 – 149, *contra* the ‘military’ view in F. Loridant, ‘Décadence Urbaine et Antiquité Tardive à Bagacum et dans la Civitas Camaracensium’, in A. Ferdière, ed., *Capitales Éphémères: des Capitales de Cités Perdent leur Statut dans l'Antiquité Tardive : Actes du Colloque Organisé par le Laboratoire Archéologie et Territoires, UMR CITERES, Tours, 6-8 mars 2003* (Tours, 2004), p. 80.

Figure 2 the walls of Bavay (photo by the author)



### 3.2.2 The evolution of fortifications

The ‘militarisation’ of Gaul has been presented as a teleological process. The evidence would suggest that the forts in *Belgica* II were subject to quite different chronologies. Table 6 below highlights the different chronological information we possess for the occupation sites on the late Roman period based on material evidence (mainly coins and pottery).

Table 6 chronological indications for ‘military’ occupation of sites

Fort	260 - 280	280 – 300	300 - 320	320 - 340	340 - 360	360 – 380	380 – 400	400 - 420
Aardenburg								
Oudenburg								
Givry								
Morlanwelz								

<b>I</b>								
<b>Morlanwelz</b>								
<b>II</b>								
<b>Liberchies I</b>								
<b>Liberchies II</b>						?		
<b>Revelles</b>								

<b>Fortress?</b>	<b>260 - 280</b>	<b>280 - 300</b>	<b>300 - 320</b>	<b>320 - 340</b>	<b>340 - 360</b>	<b>360 - 380</b>	<b>380 - 400</b>	<b>400 - 420</b>
<b>Famars</b>								
<b>Bavay</b>								
<b>Noyon</b>								

There is a significant change in the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century. Despite some reservations it is very likely that most forts on the Bavay-Tongeren road can be linked to the so-called Gallic Empire (e.g. Givry, Morlanwelz, Liberchies I and Bavay), and the fort at Revelles seems to indicate that the construction of roadside fortifications was a more widespread phenomenon.<sup>508</sup>

Alongside these ruptures, Oudenburg provides strong contemporary evidence of continuity. The pottery relating to the occupation of Oudenburg from the period 260 – 280 has been extremely well studied.<sup>509</sup> There were large imports of pottery from *Britannia* in terms of the large amount of samian ware, as well as Black Burnished Ware imports and Black Burnished Ware imitations that were produced in native handmade and wheel-thrown variants, which

<sup>508</sup> One can also include Braives and Tavieres in this too, though these lie outside the provincial boundary, and thus outside the scope of this study. Von Petrokovits argues strongly that the beginnings of the changes to fortified structures in the late Roman period has its origins in the 260s, see H. Petrikovits, 'Fortifications in the North Western Roman Empire from the Third to the Fifth Centuries', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 61 (1971), p. 181; Drinkwater is more circumspect arguing that precise dating is impossible this period due to the volatility of the coinage see J. Drinkwater, *The Gallic Empire: Separatism and Continuity in the North-Western Provinces of the Roman Empire, A.D.260-274* (Stuttgart, 1987), pp. 218 – 224; R. Brulet, *La Gaule Septentrionale au Bas Empire*. (Trier, 1990), pp. 310 – 312.

<sup>509</sup> S. Vanhoutte, W. Dhaeze and W. De Clercq, 'The Pottery Consumption c. AD 260 – 70 at the Roman Coastal Defence Fort, Oudenburg, Northern Gaul', *Journal of Roman Pottery Studies*, 14 (2009), 95 – 141.

indicates that this supply network had been going on for some time, to the extent that it was being emulated in a local context. It would appear that inter-regional trade continued to provide supplies for the fort, as it had in earlier periods.<sup>510</sup>

Many of the forts in the two zones of *Belgica* II were subsequently abandoned or refurbished during the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and early 4<sup>th</sup> century. Brulet argues this was a programme of “Constantinian” rebuilding, though there are some challenges to this, as there were also programmes of refurbishment and building the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century as well.<sup>511</sup> There was a striking remodeling of many sites. The ‘fort’ at Aardenburg seems to have fallen out of use during the early 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>512</sup> The move from Liberchies I to Liberchies II saw a striking removal. Coinage finds suggest that the occupation of many of these sites was particularly intense between c. AD 330 and c. AD 350.<sup>513</sup> Morlanwelz II has several military artefacts as well which implies an increased occupation.

Evidence for the fort occupation phases in the last decades of the 4<sup>th</sup> and the early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries is sparser than for earlier periods. Several smaller sites (e.g. Givry, Morlanwelz) do not seem to have been occupied after the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century. Oudenburg provides much of the best evidence for this period. A double well that can be given a *terminus post quem* of c. 379 – 80 was excavated in the south-west corner of the fort.<sup>514</sup> Pollen analysis of material from the bottom of the fill suggests that open, grassland dominated vegetation surrounded the well in its period of use probably for raising livestock.<sup>515</sup> There is evidence in the wild plant record of a transition in the variety of vegetation types indicating the end of the fort’s occupation, but this may not have been until the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>516</sup> There are problems with assessing the pottery remains from the 4<sup>th</sup> century given the amount of

---

<sup>510</sup> S. Vanhoutte, W. Dhaeze and W. De Clercq, *op. cit.*, (2009), p. 136.

<sup>511</sup> Revelles went out of use by the 280s: F. Lemaire, ‘Revelles’, in M. Reddé *op. cit.*, pp. 368 – 369.

<sup>512</sup> G. Besuijen, *Rodanum: A Study of the Roman Settlement at Aardenburg and Its Metal Finds* (Leiden, 2008), pp. 62 – 63.

<sup>513</sup> R. Brulet *op. cit.*, (1990), pp. 304 -305.

<sup>514</sup> This comes from the dating of the felling of the wood used for the internal repairs within the well S. Vanhoutte and others, ‘A Remarkable ‘Double’ Well at the Saxon Shore Fort at Oudenburg (Belgium)’, in Á. Morillo and others, eds., *Limes XX: XX Congreso Internacional de Estudios Sobre la Frontera Romana / XXth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies: 1-3* (2009), p. 1395: it must be added that the precise dating of the well’s construction is extremely problematic given the use of older wood in the outer layer and the youngest ceramics found in the construction pit date to the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, while there is no ceramic evidence that originates from the construction date of the internal structure causing some confusion.

<sup>515</sup> S. Vanhoutte and others, *op. cit.*, (2009), p. 1397; the seeds that have been analysed from the well are compatible with animal husbandry (dung heaps, animal fodder) and crafts (oil pressing, textile).

<sup>516</sup> This is indicated from the ending of the external supply of vegetation and the domination of local plant life.

residual finds, but a large amount of the reduced ware seems to date from the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> and early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>517</sup> The bath building may not have ceased use in this period either as it was still standing. There was also a simple timber framed construction, identified as a stable. There is also a marked increase in coin finds at Liberchies in the last phase of occupation which implies some form of reoccupation.<sup>518</sup> This was also the period when one could argue that Bavay had a fort attached to its *castrum*.<sup>519</sup> Attempting to mark the abandonment is impossible given the poor archaeological data, though the advances in pottery dating, it would appear that the forts were abandoned by the 430s at the latest.

Rather than being a short-term response to the problems of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century one can argue that the 'fortification' of the landscape had long-term origins. Oudenburg's earliest phase dates back to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD and its occupation across the whole period show the importance of the channel coast as a military zone.<sup>520</sup> The other long-term process was the constant process of abandonment/reoccupation and often radical remodeling of these sites. Evidence from recent excavations has elucidated several phases of occupation across the whole period of study. At Oudenburg five phases of occupation in the fort are now recognized rather than the traditional three.<sup>521</sup> These physical indications of remodeling are supported in other, less well excavated sites by the fluctuation of coin finds. While these are less secure as evidence for architectural remodeling, they do provide a very general context that can complement the patterns observable on the ground, though they make identifying

---

<sup>517</sup> S. Vanhoutte and others, 'De Dubbele Waterput uit het Laat-Romeinse Castellum van Oudenburg (prov. West-Vlaanderen): Tafonomie, Chronologie en Interpretatie', *Relicta, Archeologie, Monumenten- en Landschapsonderzoek in Vlaanderen*, volume 5 (Brussels, 2009), p. 117.

<sup>518</sup> R. Brulet, 'Liberchies I', in R. Brulet and others, eds., *Forts Romains de la Route Bavay-Tongres* (Louvain, 1995), pp. 43 – 44. The crucial point here is that coin loss reflects coins that are used rather than coins as they are made, and reflects coin supply in the sense that this could vary depending on the proximity of mints, their production output and the ways in which new coins were distributed and diffused into the economy: A. Ravetz, 'The fourth-century inflation and Romano-British coin finds', *Numismatic Chronicle* (1964), 201 – 301.

<sup>519</sup> R. Delmaire, J-C. Carmelez, F. Lorient and C. Louvion, *Le Nord, Bavay: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 2011), pp. 148 – 149.

<sup>520</sup> S. Vanhoutte, 'The Saxon Shore Fort at Oudenburg (Belgium): New Excavation Results,' in Á. Morillo and others, *op. cit.*, pp. 1386 – 1388.

<sup>521</sup> Reports on the original excavations carried out by Mertens elucidated the two wooden forts, followed by the construction of a stone fort e.g. J. Mertens, *Het Laat-romeins castellum te Oudenburg Archaeologia Belgica* 206 (Brussels, 1978). The first stone fort had a stone building constructed in the same style as the wall which was found in the northern sector in 1977: J. Mertens, 'Recherches Récente sur le Limes en Gaule Belgique', in W. Hanson and L. Keppie, eds., *Papers Presented to the 12<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies* (Oxford, 1979), p. 463. The excavations in the south-west corner reveal a double well, a large oak basin and fences from the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century which replaced a workshop area that dated to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century.

complete abandonment as opposed to a minimal occupation very difficult.<sup>522</sup> This can be seen most clearly at Liberchies II where three phases of occupation are suggested, as well as the two at Liberchies I. Such a rapid change warns against failing to appreciate how dynamic the period was, and the amount of integration into the local social networks may have been quite limited.

### 3.2.3 Function in the province

One role the forts of *Belgica* II could have played was one of ‘policing.’ As has been argued so far, there is often far too stark a distinction drawn between the early and late Empire when it comes to institutions like the army and their deployment, and policing roads was one of the main roles of soldiers in the early Empire.<sup>523</sup> This explanation therefore may well explain one of the functions of the forts on the Bavay-Tongres road, or even at Revelles.<sup>524</sup> As we will see in section 4 though, many of these forts were in areas that seem to have had small populations, or been in areas vulnerable to raids, so the military security role was probably primary. The Abinnaeus archive seems to show how military officers got involved in the community, through policing and gathering tax, but the established village network of Egypt appears to be quite different to *Belgica* II.<sup>525</sup> As will be shown in section 4, some of the forts possibly had local civilian communities growing up in their vicinity, possibly as they provided some security and a market for produce. There is no reason however to assume that forts would simply integrate into local communities. They appear to retained separation in distance and organization. The position of many of these forts, and fortified road centres, on the road networks shows that the authorities were clearly concerned at particular

---

<sup>522</sup> R. Brulet, ‘Liberchies I’, in R. Brulet and others, eds., *Forts Romains de la Route Bavay-Tongres* (Louvain, 1995), pp. 43 – 44. The crucial point here is that coin loss reflects coins that are used rather than coins as they are made, and reflects coin supply in the sense that this could vary depending on the proximity of mints, their production output and the ways in which new coins were distributed and diffused into the economy: A. Ravetz, ‘The Fourth-Century Inflation and Romano-British Coin Finds’, *Numismatic Chronicle* (1964), 201 – 301.

<sup>523</sup> C. Fuhrmann, *Policing the Roman Empire: Soldiers, Administration and Public Order* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 201 – 238.

<sup>524</sup> This is the principal argued from the more abundant archaeological and literary evidence for the Near East see B. Isaac, *The Limits of Empire* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 178 – 186; C. Fuhrmann, *Policing the Roman Empire: Soldiers, Administration and Public Order* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 203 – 228.

<sup>525</sup> H.I. Bell, *The Abinnaeus Archive: papers of a Roman officer in the reign of Constantine II* (Oxford, 1962), letters 3, 5, 14, 16, 26, 29 and 30 are all related to the collection of the *annona* in some way. No. 15 involves requests for help policing outbreaks of trouble. Several (e.g. 18 and 28) involves Abinnaeus’ soldiers causing trouble in local communities. For Egyptian villages: R. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton, 1993), pp. 110-147.



periods about their control of the interior. One reason could be to allow the flow of supplies from the *annona militaris*.<sup>526</sup> This could explain the role of sites such as Bavay and Famars better than ‘forts’ in the strictest sense. This would be supported by the *scrinarius* at Bavai.<sup>527</sup> Burnt remains of grain have been found in the bathhouse at Famars, which may suggest a role before the erection of the fortification.<sup>528</sup> Rickman argued there were differences between the *horrea* found in forts and the separate state granaries which served the administrative system which are mentioned in the *Codex Theodosianus*.<sup>529</sup> Discussions on the role of the *annona* by archaeologists can be very vague.<sup>530</sup> There is currently no evidence of *horrea* in any of the forts. I would speculate that the *annona* has a bigger role in explaining the range of urban wall circuits in the province, rather than the forts, and the finds of crossbow brooches have more to do with these officials displaying their official status, than with soldiers, though many soldiers were undoubtedly in cities on detachment or travelling through.<sup>531</sup>

It has been argued that unlike late Roman forts, those from the early Roman period were “semi-independent installations housing their own clerical administration systems and responsible for the repair and storage of their own weapons.”<sup>532</sup> This characterisation sees the later period being one of centralised administration and supply: a more bureaucratic system that reflects one of the abiding stereotypes of the period. The pottery relating to the occupation of Oudenburg from the period 260 – 280 already discussed indicates that alongside inter-regional trade providing supplies for the fort, local supply networks were paramount.<sup>533</sup> The majority of pottery of use within the fort was from the regionally produced North Menapian Coarse Ware group, of both handmade and wheel-thrown

---

<sup>526</sup> The most cogent explanation is in A.D. Lee, *War in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 85 – 88.

<sup>527</sup> See section 1.3.

<sup>528</sup> R. Clotuche, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

<sup>529</sup> G. Rickman, *Roman Granaries and Store Buildings* (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 278 – 90.

<sup>530</sup> There are some parallels in Gaul to the situation in *Belgica II*, the fortification at Jublains being the most instructive. The recent work there has moved away from an imprecise connection with the collection of the *annona*, to being part of the wider reorganisation of fortifications in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Century. J. Napoli, ‘Le Complexe Fortifié de Jublains et la Défense du Littoral de la Gaule du Nord’, *Revue du Nord*, 85 (2003), 196 – 217.

<sup>531</sup> For ‘civil service’ see A. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284 - 602* (Oxford, 1964), pp. 563 – 606.

<sup>532</sup> P. Southern and K. Dixon, *The Late Roman Army* (London, 1996), p. 141; A. Pearson, *The Roman Shore Forts: Coastal Defences of Southern Britain* (Stroud, 2002), p. 141.

<sup>533</sup> S. Vanhoutte, W. Dhaeze and W. De Clercq, ‘The Pottery Consumption c. AD 260 – 70 at the Roman Coastal Defence Fort, Oudenburg, Northern Gaul’, *Journal of Roman Pottery Studies*, 14 (2009), 95 – 141.

varieties.<sup>534</sup> The excavations in the south-west corner also reveal that a large number of workshops dominated this area, in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and early 4<sup>th</sup> centuries with evidence for food production and metalwork appearing to extend for quite a long period.<sup>535</sup> The level of waste deposited in the large bowl shaped pit dug in the corner of the fort is particularly impressive in scale.<sup>536</sup> During the last period of occupation in the late 4<sup>th</sup> and early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries a double well has provided a range of evidence on the fort's activities.<sup>537</sup> The fort appears to have remained able to maintain its own food supply through raising cattle as well as manufacture necessities such as shoes, which included women and children.<sup>538</sup> The large amount of animal bones provides the most useful form of evidence for the economic and social analysis of the last garrison.<sup>539</sup> The domestic animal bones show a dominance of cattle, followed by remains of pig and sheep/goats. This combination of remains is consistent with a high status site in the Roman world, indicating the continued economic power of Oudenburg's fort and the élite status of its inhabitants.

All of this suggests a continued economic vitality and self-sufficiency in the fort during the whole of the late Roman period, with the logistical capacity to maintain regional trade links

---

<sup>534</sup> The presence of pottery from Britannia has been noted since the 1960s, but the initial finds were too isolated to provide anything more than generalized suggestions whether they represented trade or possibly the movement of people across the channel Y. Hollevoet, 'Le Site Oudenburg et la Bretagne Insulaire Durant l'Antiquité Tardive: Quelques Items Inédits', in F. Vermeulen and others, eds., *Archaeology in Confrontation: Studies of the Roman Military Presence in the Northwest* (Ghent, 2004), pp. 335 – 342. The most comprehensive work has been done derived from a dumping pit.

<sup>535</sup> Recent excavations have counted nearly 20 open fires which were covered by a series of wooden constructions during this period. Several of the fires revealed at least 2 levels of use and one revealed 7 layers. There was evidence for the production of simple brooches at the fort, and a burnt layer of 30m<sup>2</sup> contained c. 550 coins, most of which are imitations of Tetricius II: S. Vanhoutte, 'The Saxon Shore Fort at Oudenburg (Belgium): New Excavation Results,' in Á. Morillo and others, eds., *Limes XX: XX Congreso Internacional de Estudios Sobre la Frontera Romana / XXth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies: 1-3* (2009), pp. 1387 – 88.

<sup>536</sup> These finds include pottery sherds, animal bones, iron and bronze pieces, leather shoes, a few wooden bowls and many other items "The significant indicators here are the enormous number of finds, their variety and the location in the corner of the fort." S. Vanhoutte *ibid.*, p. 1388.

<sup>537</sup> This comes from the dating of the felling of the wood used for the internal repairs within the well S. Vanhoutte and others, 'A Remarkable 'Double' Well at the Saxon Shore Fort at Oudenburg (Belgium)', in Á. Morillo and others, eds., *op. cit.*, p. 1395. It must be added that the precise dating of the well's construction is extremely problematic given the use of older wood in the outer layer and the youngest ceramics found in the construction pit date to the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, while there is no ceramic evidence that originates from the construction date of the internal structure causing some confusion.

<sup>538</sup> S. Vanhoutte, 'The Saxon Shore Fort at Oudenburg (Belgium): New Excavation Results,' in Á. Morillo and others, eds., *ibid.*, p. 1390; there is of course nothing especially unusual or particularly "late Roman" about the discovery of shoes for men, women and children in fort contexts. The well preserved shoe corpus for Vindolanda demonstrates that this was the case throughout the period of occupation see C. Van Driel Murray, 'Vindolanda and the Dating of Roman Footwear', *Britannia*, 32 (2001), 185-197.

<sup>539</sup> A. C. King, 'Diet in the Roman World: a Regional Inter-site Comparison of the Mammal Bones', *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 12 (1999), 168-202.

and impressive levels of local production. While this must have involved significant links with the civilian population, the maintenance of specialised craftsmen implies the retention of a closed community within the fort. This certainly suggests that the rather negative assessment of the internal vitality of Late Roman forts, and their reliance on “centralised” command and administration is not applicable during the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century, which it has been in terms of the innovative style of stone fortifications in this period.<sup>540</sup>

### **3.2.4 A persistent military identity?**

While there were a variety of different types of fortified site in *Belgica II* during the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, it seems likely that we can still talk of the existence of forts as locations of distinct military communities in the period. Both Oudenburg and Liberchies II have strong indications of long-term occupation by garrisons and there is no positive evidence of a continued civilian occupation at either of these sites, outside of those who made up part of the wider military community, and so it would suggest that a distinct separation was maintained during the 4<sup>th</sup> century. The early 5<sup>th</sup> century is harder to understand, but there is no reason why there should have been such a clean break. The late Roman period was one of enormous complexity, and variety, and in one sense it is quite different from previous periods. On the other hand there are important continuities from the earlier periods too, and these overlapping continuities and transformations are a particular feature which makes the period from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> to the early 5<sup>th</sup> century quite distinct. The disappearance of forts does seem to have been one of conscious abandonment, which implies that the 5<sup>th</sup> century developed a different environment in *Belgica II*.

## **Section 3: Soldiers and cities in *Belgica II***<sup>541</sup>

### **3.3.1 Defining “cities” in late Roman *Belgica II***

As we have already discussed in the previous section, differentiating a ‘*castrum*’ from a ‘*castellum*’ is not straightforward in the late Roman period. However rather than attributing

---

<sup>540</sup> Thus *contra* A. Pearson, *The Roman Shore Forts* (Stroud, 2002), pp. 140 – 41; P. Southern and K. Dixon, *The Late Roman Army* (London, 1996), pp. 139 – 41.

<sup>541</sup> See Appendix 2 for full survey of sites mentioned in the text.

a clearly defined military role to every fortified structure, it is still possible to identify traditional forts in some parts of the province, and these should make us be cautious attributing military functions to sites without a range of contextual evidence. There are several categories of urban site in *Belgica II* to investigate as a means of assessing how far they continued to exist as cities, and to what extent they merely served military purposes. The most obvious category is of the *civitas* capitals listed in the *Notitia Galliarum*. While it was undoubtedly adjusted in subsequent centuries for ecclesiastical purposes, the document probably has its origins as a secular list of provinces in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>542</sup> There were several reorganisations in the late Empire, such as the transferring of *civitas* capital status from one centre to another e.g. from Cassel to Tournai; St. Quentin to Vermand; Bavay to Cambrai, which can be seen in table 7 below.<sup>543</sup>

**Table 7 Civitas Capitals in *Belgica II*: a) cities replaced b) names as civitas capitals**

City	Modern Location (Dept.)	Name
1.a) Tournai	Belgium (Hainaut)	<i>Civitas Turnacensium</i>
1.b) Cassel	France (Nord)	<i>Castellum Menapiorum</i>
2.a) Vermand	France (Aisne)	<i>Civitas Vermanduensium</i>
2.b) St. Quentin	France (Aisne)	?No name known
3. Soissons	France (Aisne)	<i>Civitas Susessionorum</i>
4. Reims	France (Champagne-Ardenne)	<i>Metropolis Civitas Remorum</i> (Provincial capital)
5.Châlons-sur-Marne	France (Champagne-Ardenne)	<i>Civitas Catuellaunorum</i>
6.a) Cambrai	France (Nord)	<i>Civitas Camarcensium</i>

<sup>542</sup> For a strong case against the document being ecclesiastical in origin, and that the list was compiled by Magnus Maximus' administration, see J. Harries, 'Church and State in the *Notitia Galliarum*', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 68 (1978), 26-43 contra A. Rivet, 'The *Notitia Galliarum*: Some Questions', in J.C. Mann, R. Goodburn and P. Bartholomew, eds., *op. cit.*, (1976), pp. 119 – 142, who argues the list is ecclesiastical in origin though using secular sources.

<sup>543</sup> E.M. Wightman, *Gallia Belgica* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 204 – 206.

6.b) Bavay	France (Nord)	<i>Bagacum</i>
7. Senlis	France (Oise)	<i>Civitas Silvanectum</i>
8. Beauvais	France (Oise)	<i>Civitas Bellovacorum</i>
9. Arras	France (Pas-de-Calais)	<i>Civitas Atrebatum</i>
10. Boulogne <sup>544</sup>	France (Pas-de-Calais)	<i>Civitas Bononium</i>
11. Therouanne	France (Pas-de-Calais)	<i>Civitas Morinorum</i>
12. Amiens	France (Somme)	<i>Civitas Ambianensium</i>

This list can only suggest a framework of administration, but the fluid situation implied by the changes in the 4<sup>th</sup> century suggests that this also reflects a varied urban network. Also in the settlement hierarchy are a series of secondary settlements, identified in francophone literature as *agglomerations secondaires* that vary widely in nature and scale. As we have already discussed in the previous chapter, many of these resembled forts in the size of their fortified castrum, but sites like Famars, Bavay and Noyon are best seen as retaining some urban functions.<sup>545</sup>

### 3.3.2 Dating

The view that urban wall circuits of *Belgica* II were constructed primarily for defensive purposes and serving military needs means they could be read as an index of the ‘militarisation’ of northern Gaul.<sup>546</sup> This is not straightforward. A recent statement in support of ‘defence’ asserts the view as axiomatic, and indicates how easily this view can become an *a priori* view.<sup>547</sup> Fundamental to the argument is chronology. If the walls were a direct response to the invasions and insecurity of the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, and built in the last decades of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, then the argument would be a perfectly logical

<sup>544</sup> Boulogne is not mentioned in the *Notitia Galliarum* which probably reflects the fact that the city wasn’t the seat of a bishop in the Middle Ages but it was raised to the status of the civitas capital in the Late Empire.

<sup>545</sup> Details of all sites mentioned in the text are in Appendix 3.

<sup>546</sup> S. Esmonde-Cleary, *The Roman West, AD 200 – 500: an Archaeological Study* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 62 – 76.

<sup>547</sup> B. Bachrach, ‘The Fortification of Gaul and the Economy of the Third and Fourth Centuries’, *Journal of Late Antiquity*, 3 (2010), 40.

deduction.<sup>548</sup> Until recently the sparse dating material, such as coins found in the foundation trenches at Soissons, Arras and Beauvais, for example, has also generally supported the defence line. But coins are not a precise chronological tool, only providing a *terminus post quem* which could be decades before the wall was actually built given that coins remained in circulation for a considerable period of time after their minting.<sup>549</sup> As has been argued above the “barbarian invasions” are not a sufficient explanation for the various changes that occur during the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and early 4<sup>th</sup> centuries. Subsequently, a simple connection between perceived insecurity and a defensive *mentalité* is not sufficient.

The most recent archaeological research on the walls of *Belgica* II indicates that the urban wall circuits were erected at different times over a period of as many as 100 years, from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> to the late 4<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>550</sup> The circuit wall at Amiens is now dated to the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century on the basis of dendrochronological analysis of wooden posts that were used to construct the foundation layer at *rue St Germain*, which would give a *terminus post quem* of 351.<sup>551</sup> While there are some doubts about the precision of these dates, the general view

---

<sup>548</sup> This view is still commonly held by researchers particularly, but not exclusively, archaeologists. For the cities of *Belgica* II see the various summaries of late Roman cities in the review of urban archaeology published in 1999 e.g. D. Roussel, ‘Soissons’, *Revue Archéologique de Picardie. Numéro Spécial*, 16 (1999), 129 – 137; D. Bayard, ‘Les Villes du Nord de la Gaule en l’Antiquité Tardive’, in D. Bayard, J-L. Collart and N. Mahéo, eds., *La Marque de Rome: Samarobriva et les Villes du Nord de la Gaule* (Amiens, 2006), pp. 172 – 175; S. Johnson, *Late Roman Fortifications* (London, 1983), p. 113, argues for a late 3<sup>rd</sup> century date for construction. This view is essentially built on the literary sources recording the “3<sup>rd</sup> century crisis.” The view of destruction followed by imperially organised reconstruction is found in the written sources particularly for Probus who was apparently responsible for the restoration of 60 Gallic cities according to the *Historia Augusta* (*Vita Probi* 13.5 – 8) which can be understood as evidence for their reconstruction with new walls. Eutropius, *Breviarum*, 9.17 and Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus*, 37 both record other traditions (from the same source given they report similar details, though there is some variation) on Probus’s work revitalising Gallic agriculture. Then again this was probably a literary *topos* assigned to “good” emperors as it can be seen being used for Julian while he was Caesar in Gaul, and Valentinian to some extent.

<sup>549</sup> Only the coins securely provenance from foundation trenches underneath walls can be used for this purpose, as sometimes coins associated with side trenches which could be the product of later repairs have been used for dating see J. Wachter, ‘Some Thoughts on Roman Urban Defences in the West’, in J. Maloney and B. Hobley, *Roman Urban Defences in the West* (Oxford, 1983), p. 142. Coin dating has been controversially used to provide precise chronologies for historical events like the movements of Frankish raiders in northern Gaul in the 270s when they cannot actually be trusted to give such accurate information: see R. Delmaire ‘Les Enfouissements Monétaires, Temoignages d’Inécurité?’, *Revue du Nord-Archéologie*, 77 (1995), 21 – 26.

<sup>550</sup> See the dating evidence in appendix 2.

<sup>551</sup> This is based on the dendrochronological dating outlined in L. Wozny, ‘Amiens, Saint-Germain, zone 1-zone 2 (80.021.017 AH), DFS de Fouille de Sauvetage, Amiens’, *SRA Picardie* (1996) on excavations at l’îlot Saint-Germain. “Trente-trois pieux ont été débités pendant l’hiver 340 et le printemps 341 et un pieu a été fabriqué dix ans plus tard.” For acceptance of this date see B. Pichon, *Amiens: Carte archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 2009), p. 72. This of course strongly challenges the traditional dating of Amiens’ late Roman walls which were based on the coins found in earlier excavations and dating to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century. See also F. Vasselle, ‘L’Enceinte Urbaine du Bas-Empire de Samarobriva (Amiens, Somme). Description - Construction – Datation,’ *Celticum*, 6 (1963), 323-342.

that this indicates a mid-4<sup>th</sup> century construction date has not been challenged.<sup>552</sup> An argument against this new dating is the famous story of St. Martin donating his military cloak to a beggar at Amiens, which has been dated to 335 on the grounds that Sulpicius was manipulating the chronology of Martin's career to bring him into conflict with the 'pagan emperor' Julian, thus serving Sulpicius' hagiographical purposes.<sup>553</sup> However, such quibbling over details puts too much weight on a source that is fundamentally unreliable for factual details on Gallic cities in the 350s. One can argue the story occurred in the 350s, which would fall into line with Sulpicius' own chronology or accept that Sulpicius was presenting the story to meet his understanding of what Amiens looked like when he was writing at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century (if he actually knew). There is further support for a mid-4<sup>th</sup> century date in the context from the dating of the *enceinte* at Reims, which was probably the product of the second quarter of Constantine's reign or that of his sons: a fairly secure, earliest possible, construction date is the 330s based on coins from the 320s that were found in the foundation trench below the wall.<sup>554</sup>

Dating other city wall circuits is more difficult. Beauvais' walls can be dated to the early 4<sup>th</sup> century at the earliest based on the coin evidence, which again provides scope for a later

---

<sup>552</sup> The tree ring chronologies for the 4<sup>th</sup> century are not yet as precise as they are for other centuries so some researchers give a note of caution when describing this material e.g. B. Pichon, *op. cit.*, p. 72. As a *terminus post quem* however, as one can infer that the wood being cut would have been done so deliberately for the purpose it seems far more precise than other forms of dating such as coins and pottery. For the techniques of dendrochronology and its efficacy see M.G.L. Baillie, *A Slice Through Time: Dendrochronology and Precision Dating* (London, 1995). The use of more accurate dating than coins and pottery, which can only provide a *terminus post quem*, can be seen at Paris where carbon dating has been used to place the erection of the walls between 308 and 360, D. Busson, *Paris: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 1998), p. 76. Other examples can be found in the eastern half of the empire where W. Cherf, 'Carbon-14 Chronology for the Late Roman Fortifications of the Thermopylai Frontier', *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 5 (1992), 261-64, which re-dates walls traditionally dated to Justinian's reign on the basis of Procopius' *Buildings* to the reign of Theodosius II to the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>553</sup> T. Barnes, 'The Military Career of Martin of Tours', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 114 (1996), 25-32, argues strongly that Sulpicius' account of Martin's military career in *Vita Sancti Martini* II.2-8 is deeply flawed as it stresses the short time Martin spent in the army (2 years) when he would have joined in the 330s and thus have left before Julian's accession. One could accept that Martin actually served for the full 20 years and the whole section on his removal was entirely fabricated. The problem of co-ordinating written sources with material remains is a long standing issue and can also be seen with the story of Constantius being lifted over a wall at Langres in Eutropius *Breviarum* 9.23 during the 290s. There is no evidence that Langres had a wall at that date. It has been proposed that this is a manuscript error and Eutropius mean Windisch which seems to have had a fortified wall in the 290s and was in an area where Constantius campaigned: E. Frézouls, *Les Villes Antiques de la France Vol. 2: Germanie Supérieure* (Paris, 1984), p. 410. The whole exercise of attempting to link anecdotes to physical evidence on the ground involves the accumulation of so many imponderables, it is essentially futile.

<sup>554</sup> R. Chossenot, A. Estéban and R. Neiss, *Reims: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 2010), p. 94.

construction.<sup>555</sup> Similarities in construction techniques used at Beauvais with those at Soissons and Senlis have led to the assumption that they were constructed contemporaneously, but this line of argument is circumstantial and not conclusive.<sup>556</sup> Another issue that complicates attempts to assess construction dates is that these walls required a considerable amount of work and would have taken a long time to build, and dating information often comes from only small sections of the overall circuit.<sup>557</sup> Although the walls reused *spolia* in the foundations of all (excavated) stone constructed walls in *Belgica II* this does not necessarily mean building was rushed. In fact the common standards that each wall seems to have attained are impressive and indicate considerable thought being put into their execution. The walls of secondary urban establishments provide some further insight into overall patterns in the province. Traditionally most of these wall circuits were dated to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century on the same reasoning as outlined above, e.g. at Noyon (*Noviomagus*).<sup>558</sup> However, in the far east of the province, the dendrochronology at Mouzon, based on wooden posts found in the wall foundations excavated in 1992 gives a *terminus post quem* of 368/9.<sup>559</sup> Research on the walled *forum* at Bavai is much better understood than most sites, and this shows a series of developments of the site. The first fortification wall raised around the forum in the 260s/70s was subsequently developed with a ditch, which was then followed by a remodeled wall *sans* ditch in the early 4<sup>th</sup> century which is the final phase that be seen now with the facing of *petit appareil* and narrow red brick courses.<sup>560</sup> While excavations have been less effective at Famars in elucidating the

---

<sup>555</sup> Dating based on finds of early 4<sup>th</sup> century coins Maximian Hercules (285) and Licinius (311) found in trenches underneath excavated section of the rampart during excavations from 1966 – 76 G.-P. Woimant *L'Oise: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 1995), p. 140; B. Desachy, 'Le Site Archéologique de Beauvais (Oise): Eléments de Présentation Topographique et Chronologique', *Revue Archéologique de Picardie*, 3 (1991), p. 26.

<sup>556</sup> S. Johnson, *Late Roman Fortifications* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 95 – 98.

<sup>557</sup> S. Esmonde-Cleary, *op. cit.*, (2013), p. 65; B. Bachrach, 'The Fortification of Gaul and the Economy of the Third and Fourth Centuries', *Journal of Late Antiquity*, 3 (2010), p. 60, argues that urban wall circuits in Gaul would have taken an average of 20 million man hours. A comparison can be made with the Edward I's castle building programme in North Wales which was completed over a period of 30 years. Intense activity led to the walls being constructed Rhuddlan (5 years), Beaumaris (built over 35 years), Flint (7 years), Conway (6 years), Caernarfon (built over 46 years and never completed): see D. Williams and J. Kenyon, *The Impact of the Edwardian Castles in Wales* (Oxford, 2010).

<sup>558</sup> G.-P. Woimant, *L'Oise: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule 60* (Paris, 1995), pp. 340 – 351; B. Desachy, 'Noyon', *Revue Archéologique de Picardie. Numéro special*, 16 (1999), 171-177.

<sup>559</sup> D. Nicolas, R. Chossenot, M. Chossenot and B. Lambot, *Ardennes: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 2012), p. 339.

<sup>560</sup> P. Thollard and C. Denimal, 'Fouilles sur le Forum de Bavay (1993 – 1998) II. Les Bas-Empire', *Archeologie de la Picardie et du Nord de la France (Revue du Nord)*, 80 (1998), 217 – 219.



precise chronology of changes, there were several re-modeling phases during its evolution.<sup>561</sup>

There still remain crucial obstacles to elucidating precise chronologies for the construction of the urban wall circuits of *Belgica* II, and in the absence of secure dating any interpretation can only be hypothetical. That the best dating information comes from small sections of the overall circuit means that it is difficult to distinguish between a short or long construction. Nevertheless it seems we should see the walls as an evolving structure that developed over decades. This should be no surprise given the enormous economic cost of wall construction. This would also bring *Belgica* II into line with the evidence from across Gaul where city walls were erected across the 4<sup>th</sup> and into the early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, probably reflecting local conditions and resources.<sup>562</sup> If this is the case, a simple factor seems insufficient to explain their appearance, and the arguments for their symbolic power seem relatively stronger than a reflex action to the military troubles of the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>563</sup>

### 3.3.3 Regional patterns

Another means of assessing the context of construction is by comparing their stylistic and functional similarities. Most *castra* that have been excavated show some common features. Foundations were created by using large reused sculpted blocks, often funerary monuments, which were placed on top of each other creating a width of anything between 3 and 5m.<sup>564</sup> A trench was then dug in which wooden posts (usually 1.5m x 0.15m) were put before impacted stone was placed on top. *Opus signium* (crushed tile mortar) was then applied with neat rows of *petit appareil* (small, orthogonal, dressed stones) that faced a compacted concrete rubble core, bonded every 2 metres or so with courses of red brick.

---

<sup>561</sup> R. Brulet, 'La Militarisation de la Gaule du Nord au Bas-Empire et les Petites Agglomérations Urbaines de Famars et de Bavay', *Revue du Nord-Archeologie*, 77 (1995), 55 – 70.

<sup>562</sup> For example coins found in foundation trenches at Tours give a *post terminus quem* of the 370s for the wall circuit see J. Wood, *Recherches sur Tours 2* (Tours, 1983), 11 - 60; the dating of St. Bertrand-de-Comminges in *Novempopulae* is now dated to the start of the 5<sup>th</sup> century; see S. Esmonde Cleary, M. Jones and J. Wood, 'The Late Roman Defences at Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges (Haute Garonne)', *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 11 (1998), 343 – 354.

<sup>563</sup> Thus *contra* E. M. Wightman, *op. cit.*, p. 223 who attributes the initiative to Probus with a timelag for completion.

<sup>564</sup> *Spolia* can be found in all the walls at Amiens, Beauvais, Soissons, Senlis and Reims that have been excavated – see the assembled evidence and references in appendix 2.

Many of the walls also had external projecting towers, often in quite large numbers.<sup>565</sup> These common forms are striking and form of the basis of Johnson's argument that the walls were a product of a regional policy of construction, and thus as part of imperial policy, by groups working under military supervision.<sup>566</sup> He also argues that the square corner towers at Beauvais and Soissons are unique in the western provinces, underlining the provincial 'style'.<sup>567</sup>

Johnson's argument is unsatisfactory. While the walls at Beauvais, Amiens and Soissons all followed an orthogonal plan, the walls at Reims and Senlis were constructed in an oval shape. The walls at Reims appear to incorporate the early imperial triumphal arches as entrance ways while maintaining many of their decorative features, which implies a monumental aesthetic.<sup>568</sup> The different areas enclosed by the urban walls circuits of *Belgica* II would suggest that construction was shaped by local geographical and social demands: the relatively large size of Reims' wall reflected the continued political importance of the city as a provincial capital. Amiens incorporated its amphitheatre into its walls while other cities did not.<sup>569</sup> Senlis also has polychrome decorative features in its walls that are paralleled with walls in western Gaul such as Le Mans.<sup>570</sup> The information on the wall circuit at Vermand for example is limited, but it seems that the city used a pre-existing *La Tène* era earthwork as a circuit wall during the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>571</sup> At Châlons-sur-Marne it is possible that the late Roman wall was a turf construction.<sup>572</sup> What settlement there was at Cassel seems to have concentrated on the summit of high ground.<sup>573</sup> Johnson's arguments for an imperially organised campaign of construction in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century are based on a

---

<sup>565</sup> Projecting towers have been found at Beauvais, Soissons, Senlis, Arras, Tournai, Famars and Bavay. They probably existed at other city walls too, but the poor level of preservation has meant it is impossible to assess.

<sup>566</sup> S. Johnson, *Late Roman Fortifications* (London, 1983), pp. 112 – 116.

<sup>567</sup> S. Johnson, *ibid.*, p. 97.

<sup>568</sup> R. Chossenot, A. Estéban and R. Neiss, *Reims: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 2010),

<sup>569</sup> D. Bayard, 'Samarobriva', in D. Bayard, J-L. Collart and N. Mahéo, eds., *La Marque de Rome: Samarobriva et les Villes du Nord de la Gaule* (Amiens, 2006), p. 31.

<sup>570</sup> H. Dey 'Art, Ceremony, and City Walls: The Aesthetics of Imperial Resurgence in the Late Roman West', *Journal of Late Antiquity*, 3 (2010), 3-37.

<sup>571</sup> This does seem a bit odd given that Vermand replaced St Quentin as *civitas* capital and one would expect this would have led to the construction of a new wall circuit. The possibility that there wasn't such a circuit perhaps underlines how far local considerations were responsible. B. Pichon, *l'Aisne: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 2004), pp. 477 – 504.

<sup>572</sup> For Châlons see R. Chossenot, J-J. Charpy, M. Chossenot, S. Chossenot, eds., *La Marne: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 2004), p. 291.

<sup>573</sup> F. Loridon, 'Cassel – Castellum Menapiorum', in D. Bayard, J-L. Collart and N. Mahéo, eds., *op. cit.*, (2006), p. 49.

circularity of argument and he tends to lump well understood examples in together with less clear sites to make his point.<sup>574</sup> That there should be similarities is no surprise: some Roman construction practices were common to the whole empire.<sup>575</sup>

Dey argues for the identification of a group of walls in western Gaul as a 'decorated cluster' which he attributes represents a co-ordinated imperial initiative by the Tetrarchic emperors, building on the work of their immediate predecessors, and representing a deliberate statement of imperial power and legitimacy in the context of the political troubles of the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>576</sup> Dey's dating evidence is problematic to say the least, which undermines his specific argument on the chronology of construction.<sup>577</sup> This does not undermine his basic argument that city walls have a crucial place in Tetrarchic and Constantine ideology as a statement of the resurgence of imperial power in the aftermath of the usurpations and chaos of the preceding decades, and may have had an associative role with the ceremony of *adventus*.<sup>578</sup> The aforementioned gates at Reims would have complements this view and the dating places it neatly into a developed Constantinian framework.<sup>579</sup> The depiction of walls identified with London on the Arras medallion minted in 310 would appear to illustrate how this had become a *leitmotif* of imperial propaganda.<sup>580</sup>

---

<sup>574</sup> S. Loseby, 'Decline and Change in the Cities of Late Antique Gaul', in J.-U. Krause and C. Witschel, eds., *Die Stadt in der Spätantike – Niedergang oder Wandel?*, *Historia Einzelschriften* 190 (Stuttgart, 2006), p. 76.

<sup>575</sup> That is not to say that the whole of the Roman world used exactly the same techniques, all of the time, but one can find similar walls to those in *Belgica* II across much of the western Roman world, and even in the east. The walls of Constantinople built in the early 5<sup>th</sup> century bear some similarities to the walls in the west even though their context of construction is quite different. This should be no surprise given the important symbolism of the Aurelian Walls at Rome.

<sup>576</sup> Only Senlis from *Belgica* II is amongst this group. H. Dey, 'Art, Ceremony, and City Walls: The Aesthetics of Imperial Resurgence in the Late Roman West', *Journal of Late Antiquity*, 3.1 (2010), 3-37.

<sup>577</sup> See Dey *op. cit.*, 17 – 18 n. 40 for his discussion of the dating material which provides a series of *termini post quem* based on coins and milestones, which while of 3<sup>rd</sup> century date, are not reliable indicators of precise chronology as we have argued already. Only the evidence of Le Mans actually best fits his dating patterns of 275 – 300, due to the archaeomagnetic analysis of bricks which date to 280. Dey argues that these bricks would have been fired when the wall was being constructed, but there is no way of proving this, and archaeomagnetic dating is not as reliable as Dey suggests it is, as it provides a range of dates rather than a precise one. C. Batt, 'Where to Draw the Line? The Calibration of Archaeomagnetic Dates', *Physics and Chemistry of the Earth* 23.9 (1998), 994, points out that dates before AD 600 are hard to calibrate with any accuracy, while the other evidence relies on *terminus post quem* of coins which as we have argued are rather too unreliable to have much weight placed on them. For Senlis see M. Durand, 'Des Vestiges Gallo-Romains dans une Cave Post-Medievale a Senlis (Oise)', *Revue Archéologique de Picardie*, 3/4 (1993), 121-129.

<sup>578</sup> S. MacCormack. *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Ann Arbor, 1981), pp. 17 – 61.

<sup>579</sup> If this did exist it would have most likely been a development of earlier imperial policy.

<sup>580</sup> S. MacCormack, *op. cit.*, (Ann Arbor, 1981), pp. 30 – 31.

**Figure 3 Late Roman Walls at Senlis (photo by author)**



The range and complexity of wall circuits in *Belgica* II implies a complex range of local and central initiatives, which cannot be easily reduced to one specific set of events. Most recent studies stress the reactive nature of late Roman government and so a centralised building programme could have covered the whole of *Belgica* II in a space of a few decades seems inherently improbable.<sup>581</sup> Late Roman government was still capable of impressive feats of organization and could mobilise huge resources, but the scale of the changes would suggest a more complex interaction of local, regional and imperial authorities.

---

<sup>581</sup> The classic statement of the 'reactive' emperor thesis see F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World 31BC – AD 337* (London, 1977). For the late Roman Empire the same essential conclusion is found by R. M. Errington, *Roman Imperial Policy from Julian to Theodosius* (Chapel Hill, 2006), pp. 261 – 265.

Figure 4 Arras Medallion from the Beaurains treasure



### 3.3.4 Cities or citadels?

The question remains how far the urban sites of *Belgica* II merely served the needs of the military and imperial administration, and whether a civic urban culture persisted into the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Some archaeologists argue that “these reduced fortifications that are called *castrum* (pl. *castra*) were populated with soldiers and military production facilities and arsenals.”<sup>582</sup> It can appear that these shrinking cities marked the ending of the monumental municipal culture of the early empire and the curial culture went with it.<sup>583</sup> The increase in positions available in the imperial bureaucracy meant there was an alternative path for social advancement which required investment in literary culture and education rather than localised euergetism.<sup>584</sup> Estimates on the population of the cities are pure guesswork, but it is not difficult to argue for hundreds rather than thousands living within the wall circuits.<sup>585</sup>

<sup>582</sup> “Ces réduits fortifiés que l’on appelle *castrum* (pl. *castra*) sont peuplés de soldats et plein d’entrepôts militaires et arsenaux,” in D. Bayard, ‘Les Villes du Nord de la Gaule en l’Antiquité Tardive’, in D. Bayard, J-L. Collart and N. Mahéo, eds., *op. cit.*, p. 173.

<sup>583</sup> S. Esmonde-Cleary, *op. cit.*, (2013), pp. 75 – 76 argues that the new wall urban sites were all part of the creation of a new ‘official’ society that was deeply militarized.

<sup>584</sup> This is a key point in the social history of the Late Roman Empire e.g. J-M. Carrié, ‘Developments in Provincial and Local Administration’, in A. Bowman, P. Garnsey and A. Cameron, eds., *The Cambridge Ancient History. Volume 12: The Crisis of empire A.D. 193-337* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 281 - 282; P. Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle: Wealth, the Fall of Rome, and the Making of Christianity in the West, 350-550 AD* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 23 – 26.

<sup>585</sup> Both E. M. Wightman, *op. cit.*, pp. 230 – 231 and J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *Decline and fall of the Roman City* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 84 – 85, use 100 – 200 people per hectare as a rough guess. Liebeschuetz uses the legionary camp (300/ha) as a rough model, while Wightman uses 18<sup>th</sup> century censuses based on the

The apparent monopolisation of the state in production terms seems clear from the *Notitia*, and this had a big impact on the *civitates* of *Belgica II* (see table 8 below):

**Table 8 *fabricae* recorded in *Notitia Dignitatum* based in *Belgica II***

<i>Civitas</i>	<i>Fabricae</i>
<i>Ambianensium</i> (Amiens)	<p><b><i>Notitia Dignitatum Occ. IX.39</i></b></p> <p><i>Ambianensis spatharia et scutaria</i></p> <p>At Amiens Swords and shields</p>
<i>Remorum</i> (Reims)	<p><b><i>Notitia Dignitatum Occ. IX.36</i></b></p> <p>Remensis spatharia</p> <p>At Reims swords</p> <p><b><i>Notitia Dignitatum Occ. XI.34</i></b></p> <p><i>Praepositus thesauorum Remorum</i></p> <p>Praepositus of the treasury at Reims</p> <p><b><i>Notitia Dignitatum Occ. XI.56</i></b></p> <p><i>Procurator gynaecii Remensis, Belgicae Secundae</i></p> <p>The procurator of the weaving-house at Reims in <i>Belgica Secunda</i></p> <p><b><i>Notitia Dignitatum Occ. XI.76</i></b></p> <p><i>Praepositus branbaricariorum sive argentariorum Remensium</i></p> <p>Praepositus of the gold and silver weavers at Reims</p>
<i>Tungracensium</i> (Tournai)	<p><b><i>Notitia Dignitatum Occ. XI.57</i></b></p> <p><i>Procurator gynaecii Tornacensis, Belgicae Secundae</i></p> <p>The procurator of the weaving-house at Tournai <i>Belgica secunda</i></p>
<i>Suessionum</i> (Soissons)	<p><b><i>Notitia Dignitatum Occ. IX.35</i></b></p>

---

occupation of *castra*. These figures are probably too high, though there is always the possibility that buildings had more than one storey.

	Suessionis...?
	At Soissons....?

This would support the idea that cities were entirely driven by state investment, aimed at serving military needs. The usual explanation for the growth of these production centres is the increase in the number of soldiers, especially in provinces of the interior, and the move to an *annona* system based on taxes in kind in the face of the monetary problems facing the empire in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>586</sup> One could argue that the production of arms in cities marks a break from the earlier period, when many *fabricae* that have been found were associated with forts, but this is inaccurate, as several arms manufacturers have been found in provincial Gaul from the early imperial period.<sup>587</sup> Such an assessment, which is closely associated with Vegetius' antiquarian concepts of the Roman army being autarchic, is false.<sup>588</sup> The discussion in section 2 shows that, where excavation has been carried out, forts produced their own materials or sourced locally, though the proportions are difficult to assess on current evidence.<sup>589</sup>

James argues for a Tetrarchic dating for the *fabricae*.<sup>590</sup> This is based on rather circular reasoning, and while undoubtedly some establishments contextually suit these emperors' policies, this isn't sufficient. There is some evidence for a reorganisation of the *forum* at Amiens in the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century, which saw the removal of buildings identified as a warehouse, and an erection of a building that was used for metalwork, which has been

<sup>586</sup> P. Cosme, *op. cit.*, p. 256. S. James, 'The *Fabricae*: State Arms Factories of the Later Roman Empire', in J. Coulston, ed., *Military Equipment and the Identity of Roman Soldiers* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 269 – 71.

<sup>587</sup> There is plenty of evidence of *fabricae* associated with Roman forts, especially in Britain at forts like Inchtuthil Chester or Housesteads, e.g. E. Shirley, *The Construction of the Roman Legionary Fortress at Inchtuthil* (Oxford, 2000), p. 115. But a considerable body of evidence also exists for weapons being manufactured for Roman soldiers across the provinces, often close to where supplies of iron were to be found, or at major centres of imperial administration e.g. at Monceaux-le-Comte in Burgundy where armour was being made on detachment from a legion at the *vicus* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. For further examples and discussion see P. Cosme, 'Les Fournitures d'Armes aux Soldats Romains' in L. de Blois, E. Lo Cascio, O. Hekster and G. de Kleijn, eds., *The Impact of the Roman Army (200 BC-AD 476) : Economic, Social, Political, Religious and Cultural Aspects: Proceedings of the Sixth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Roman Empire, 200 B.C.-A.D. 476), Capri, March 29-April 2, 2005* (Leiden, 2007), pp. 252 – 256.

<sup>588</sup> Vegetius, *Epitome*, II.11 (when discussing the Prefect of Engineers) "*Habebant etiam fabricas scutarias locarias arcuarias, in quibus sagittae cassides missibilia omniaque armorum genera formabantur*" (They also used to have workshops for shields, armour and bows in which arrows, missiles and all types of arms were made).

<sup>589</sup> See section 2.3 above.

<sup>590</sup> S. James *op. cit.*, (1988), pp. 269 – 71.

identified as the *fabrica*.<sup>591</sup> The *Notitia* also implies that Amiens may have been a later addition to an earlier list, implying a later date of construction.<sup>592</sup> Such activity is not unknown in Roman urban contexts in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, such as the large scale evidence of metal working in the theatre at Argentomagus in Aquitaine.<sup>593</sup> In Britain these activities are also well known, and there are no recorded *fabricae* in Britain, so making direct links to official state activity is at best problematic, though it is possible that they are *lacunae* in the *Notitia*.<sup>594</sup> The latest assessment of evidence for artisan workshops and activity in *Belgica II* shows a low level of workshop production in the *civitas* capitals.<sup>595</sup> One solution could be that the *procuratores* were ‘supervisors’ who managed a series of state run workshops across the province in the countryside, but there is no evidence for this at the moment.<sup>596</sup>

Due to the lack of excavation on the late Roman levels, resulting from continued occupation of *castrum* sites, explanatory models have a weak evidential basis. There has hardly been any excavation on the *castra* at Cambrai, Vermand, Soissons and Senlis.<sup>597</sup> There is concrete evidence for dislocation, with many structures from earlier periods going out of use e.g. baths, though this is not universal, with Reims gaining imperial help from Constantine in the maintenance of its structure.<sup>598</sup> Although Reims’ *castrum* only covered 25% of its early imperial predecessor, there are numerous testimonies to its wealth in terms of artefacts. Alongside its bath house, there is evidence that the aqueduct was still in use until the late

---

<sup>591</sup> D. Bayard and D. Piton, ‘Un Bâtiment Public du Bas-Empire à Amiens: 1973 – 1978 Six Ans de Recherche au Logis du Roy’, *Cahiers Archéologique du Picardie* 6 (1979), p. 164; B. Pichon, *Amiens: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 2009), pp. 48 and 118.

<sup>592</sup> Amiens is listed last when it should be first given the rest of the *fabricae* are listed from west to east: S. James, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

<sup>593</sup> F. Dumasy, *Le Théâtre d’Argentomagus (Saint-Marcel, Indre)* (Paris, 2000), pp. 218 – 223.

<sup>594</sup> Many sites in Roman Britain for example have evidence of metalworking in public buildings during the 4<sup>th</sup> century. 9 *forum-basilica* complexes have revealed evidence as well as 3 bathhouses and a couple of temples. Many of these tend to show evidence for metal recycling and smithery rather than smelting, though a high degree of skill is required for this see A. Rogers, *Late Roman Towns in Britain: Rethinking Change and Decline* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 130 – 148. Rogers argues strongly against the ‘militarising’ principle as being unproven. S. James, *op. cit.*, p. 258, points out that several Illyrian factories lack specific products, which he argues is a loss in transmission.

<sup>595</sup> M. Polfer, *L’Artisanat dans l’Économie de la Gaule Belgique Romaine à Partir de la Documentation Archéologique* (Montagnac, 2005), p. 99.

<sup>596</sup> This idea was first suggested by J. P. Wild, *Textile Manufacture in the Northern Roman Provinces* (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 51- 52, who suggested that the *gynaecii* were merely administrative and collection points that delegated the production to local cottage industries. This was subsequently followed by A. Ferdière, ‘La Distance Critique: Artisans et Artisanat dans l’Antiquité Romaine et en Particulier en Gaule’, *Les Petits Cahiers d’Anatole* (2001), p. 20.

<sup>597</sup> See Appendix 2 for full details and references.

<sup>598</sup> *CIL* XIII 3255.



4<sup>th</sup> century, presumably providing the necessary water.<sup>599</sup> There is evidence of continued urban life in some form around these *castra*. Several sites have evidence of continued building occupation to a high standard e.g. hypocausts.<sup>600</sup> There is also evidence to suggest internal reorganisation and rebuilding throughout the period, as for example at Tournai.<sup>601</sup> The city walls were not the limits on settlement. Bavay, which has been described as a ‘military outpost,’ has large amounts of coins and pottery finds inside and outside the *castrum* until the Valentinianic period.<sup>602</sup> While there were certainly important transitions occurring in urban and how their populations functioned within them, a complete rupture with the past at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century is not completely tenable.<sup>603</sup>

When the urban processes are put into a long-term perspective they are more impressive. For some sites such as Mouzon, Tournai and Cambrai the late Roman period were times of great prosperity, a process that continued well into the Merovingian period while sites such as Bavay, Cassel and St. Quentin all dwindled.<sup>604</sup> Many urban sites were already struggling at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, and large sections had been largely abandoned long before their buildings were dismantled and used to construct the walls (e.g. Bavay, Amiens etc.). Describing continued activity in cities is much simpler than explaining it. One approach would be to argue that these represent the continued existence of *curiales*, though this is an argument *ex silentio*. Salvian complains about the existence of *curiales* who taxed the poor, but he was probably referring to the Trier region.<sup>605</sup> The *Codex Theodosianus* shows that *curiales* were made responsible for walls. Other demands included the need to bring levies

<sup>599</sup> R. Chossenot, A. Estéban and R. Neiss, *Reims: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 2010), pp. 88 – 89.

<sup>600</sup> These have been found at Bavay, Beauvais, Tournai (possibly as part of a bath house) and Noyon.

<sup>601</sup> R. Brulet, ‘Tournai, Capitale du Bas-Empire et Évolution au Haut Moyen-Âge’, in R. Anaert, ed., *The Very Beginning of Europe? Early-Medieval Migration and Colonisation* (Brussels, 2012), pp. 125-134

<sup>602</sup> R. Delmaire and others, *Carte Archeologique de la Gaule: Nord, Bavay* (Paris, 2011), p. 71.

<sup>603</sup> J. Boudeau, ‘Devenir et Place des Thermes Publiques dans les *Castra* du Bas-Empire du Nord-Ouest de la Gaule: Étude de Dix Chefs-Lieux de Cité de Gaule Belgique et Lyonnaise’, *Revue Archéologique du Centre de la France* 50 (2011), 453 – 499.

<sup>604</sup> For Tournai’s prosperity in late antiquity see R. Brulet, ‘Tournai, Capitale du Bas-Empire et Évolution au Haut Moyen-Âge’, R. Anaert, ed., *The Very Beginning of Europe? Early-Medieval Migration and Colonisation* (Brussels, 2012), pp. 125-134. For St Quentin the only material evidence of 4<sup>th</sup> century occupation is a coin of Licinius, see J-L. Collart, ‘Saint-Quentin’, *Revue Archéologique de Picardie. Numéro Spécial* 16 (1999), 67-128; for Cassel see F. Loridont, ‘Cassel – Castellum Menapiorum’ in D. Bayard, J-L. Collart and N. Mahéo, eds., *op. cit.*, p. 49; Bavay’s reduction to a small core around the forum is well known, though large numbers of finds in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century show that the areas *extra muros* were not abandoned straight away, see R. Delmaire, J-C. Carmelez, F. Loridant and C. Louvion, *Le Nord, Bavay: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 2011), p. 94.

<sup>605</sup> Salvian, *De Gub. Dei*, 5.18; an inscription to a senior curial figure *Apronius principales* attested in *RICG* I no. 104 which dates to the 5<sup>th</sup> century would indicate the survival of municipal government in Trier.

of materials e.g. timber and ash, for use in the *fabricae*, which while it applies to Italy and Raetia, could also have theoretically applied to the élite of *Belgica* II.<sup>606</sup> The system seems to have been predicated on sufficient resources in the countryside to work. The only example we have of urban patronage is the Magister Equitum Jovinus who gave money towards a church in 370.<sup>607</sup> The ecclesiastical hierarchy of the 5<sup>th</sup> century like Remigius, and shadowy families like the *Syagrii* connected to Soissons, all suggest that élite families did exist and maintain some form of urban structure. However they may all have had their origins as *honorati* serving the emperor, like the owner of the hoard at Beaurains.<sup>608</sup>

### 3.3.5 Garrisons

The strongest form of evidence for the military purpose of cities would be the existence of permanent garrisons in the cities. Figures 3 to 5 below provide data supporting the association of garrisons with cities:

**Table 9 Evidence for soldiers garrisoned in urban centres  
of *Belgica* II during the 4th century**

City	Units	Evidence
Amiens	<i>Equites catafractarii Ambianenses</i>  <i>Numerus catafractarii</i>  <i>Numerus Ursariensies</i>  <i>Scola Provincialis</i>	ND Or. VI.36  CIL XIII 3493 & 3495  CIL XIII 3492  CIL XIII 3494
Arras	<i>Laeti Batavi</i>	ND Occ. XLII.40  “Germanic” sanctuary? <sup>609</sup>

<sup>606</sup> *Cod. Th.* 11.16.15 (Raetia, 388); 11.16.18 (Milan, 390).

<sup>607</sup> CIL XIII 3256.

<sup>608</sup> For Remigius and the Syagrii see section 5. For the owner of the Beaurains treasure see R. Tomlin, ‘The Owner of the Beaurains (Arras) Treasure’, in E. Hartley, and others, eds., *Constantine the Great: York’s Roman Emperor* (York, 2006), pp. 59 – 64.

<sup>609</sup> A. Jacques, ‘Le sanctuaire germanique d’Arras’, *Archéologica*, 270 (1991), 60 – 66; A. Jacques, ‘Le Sanctuaire Germanique d’Arras: les Fouilles de Rue Baudimont’, in R. Compantangelo-Soussignan and C-G. Schwentzel,

		Two phases of barrack buildings <sup>610</sup>
Boulogne	?	Barrack buildings <sup>611</sup>
Châlons	<i>Numerus Dalmatarum</i> <i>Vexillatio Dalmatarum V</i>	CIL XIII 3457  CIL XIII 3458
Vermand	?	Military cemeteries found on site <sup>612</sup>
Reims	?	Some evidence of military occupation in sanctuary site <sup>613</sup>
Bavay	?	Some evidence of barracks being constructed <sup>614</sup>

**Table 10 chronology of permanent military occupation in cities**

City	250 - 275	275 - 300	300 - 325	325 - 350	350 - 375	375 - 400	400 - 425
Amiens							
Arras							
Boulogne							
Châlons							

eds., *Étrangers dans la Cité Romaine : Actes du Colloque de Valenciennes (14-15 octobre 2005)* (Rennes, 2007), pp. 221 - 238

<sup>610</sup> A. Jacques, 'L'Occupation Militaire d'Arras au Bas-Empire', in F. Vallet and M. Kazanski, eds., *L'Armée Romaine et les Barbares du IIIe au VIIe siècle* (Rouen, 1993), pp. 197 – 99.

<sup>611</sup> C. Seillier, 'La Présence Militaire à Boulogne-sur-Mer', M. Lodewijckx, ed., *Archaeological and Historical Aspects of West-European Societies* (Brussels, 1996), pp. 237-244.

<sup>612</sup> B. Pichon, *l'Aisne: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 2004), pp. 477 – 504.

<sup>613</sup> R. Chossenot, A. Estéban and R. Neiss *Reims: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 2010), pp. 87 – 88.

<sup>614</sup> R. Delmaire, J-C. Carmelez, F. Lorient and C. Louvion, *Le Nord, Bavay: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 2011), p. 149.

<b>Vermand</b>							
<b>Reims</b>							
<b>Bavay</b>							

	Direct evidence for military occupation
	Indirect evidence

**Table 11 evidence for military units associated with urban sites**

City	Units	Location in Notita	Evidence
Tournai	<i>Numerus Turnancenses</i>		<i>ND Occ. XXVIII 15</i>
Bavai	Units of <i>Nervii</i>		<i>ND Occ. XXVIII 15</i> <i>ND Or. V. 46</i> <i>ND Occ. VII 121</i> <i>ND Occ. XL 23</i> <i>ND Occ. XL 53</i> <i>ND Occ. XL 56</i>
Cassel	Units of <i>Menapii</i>		<i>ND Occ. VII 83</i> <i>ND Or. VIII. 35</i>
Mouzon	<i>Musmagenes</i>		<i>ND Occ. VII.105</i>
Cortoriacum (Courtrai)	<i>Cortoriacenses</i>		<i>ND Occ. V 245/ Occ. VII 88</i>
Geminiacum (Liberchies)	<i>Geminiacenses</i>		<i>ND Occ. V 246/ Occ. VII 87</i>

This would make an impressive *prima facie* case to support the argument that soldiers were a common feature in many of the various urban centres of *Belgica II* throughout the whole period. Having soldiers permanently garrisoned in cities was common practice in the Near East for the whole of the Roman period, while in the west it seems to have been rare.<sup>615</sup> Therefore this was a substantial change from the early imperial period. However, one can argue that such a composite picture fails to reflect a dynamic situation.

French archaeological literature has a tendency to assume any military evidence in a city is synonymous with the presence of a garrison.<sup>616</sup> The appearance of 'military' burials at Vermand has been attributed to a 'garrison' without further elucidation.<sup>617</sup> Amiens has evidence for 3 different units being based there which has been argued to represent a long-term situation that applied to much of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>618</sup> However, there is no certainty that these were permanent residents. Units under the command of *duces* with the name *Ursarienses* are found in Pannonia, Rhaetia and at Rouen in the *Notitia*, which probably represents the situation at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>619</sup> While the presence of a detachment at Rouen could easily be interpreted as a garrison transfer, the time frame of almost a century between the two pieces of evidence is too long to make any secure assignments of permanent residence. A unit of the same name with the rank of *pseudo-comitatus* appears under the command of the *Magister equitum Galliarum* somewhere in Gaul. Hoffmann has identified this as part of the same regiment found at Amiens, but there is no way of confirming this.<sup>620</sup> The Roman habit of dividing up units and spreading them around the Empire means that it would be perverse to argue that the different units *Ursarienses* were not related. What their geographical spread seems to support is the fact that they maintained a capacity for mobility throughout the 4<sup>th</sup> century. The *catafractii* tombstones (discussed above) seem to have a stronger link to the city because of the appearance of the regiment of *Catafracti Ambianenses* recorded in the *Notitia*. This would

---

<sup>615</sup> N. Pollard, *Soldiers, Cities, and Civilians in Roman Syria* (Michigan, 2000), pp. 35 – 37.

<sup>616</sup> For example at Bordeaux see H. Lafont Coutourier and others, *Saint Augustin: Une Mémoire d'Algérie* (Bordeaux, 2003), p. 163.

<sup>617</sup> J.-L. Collart, 'Vermand', in J.-P. Petit and M. Mangin, eds., *Atlas des Agglomérations Secondaires de la Gaule Belgique et des Germanies* (Paris, 1994), pp. 230 – 231.

<sup>618</sup> D. Bayard, 'Samarobriva' in D. Bayard, J.-L. Collart and N. Mahéo, eds., *op. cit.*, (2006), p. 32.

<sup>619</sup> *ND Occ.* XXXIII.47 (Pannonia); *ND Occ.* XXXV.20 (Rhaetia); *ND Occ.* XXXVII.21 (Rouen) with the qualifications discussed in the introduction.

<sup>620</sup> *ND Occ.* V.244 and VII.85; D. Hoffmann, *Das Spätromische Bewegungsheer und die Notitia Dignitatum* (Munich, 1969), p. 184.

imply that the 2 cavalry *stelae* represented an earlier stage of a long-term occupation, to the extent that the regiment adopted the *civitas* into its nomenclature, but again this is speculation.<sup>621</sup> On one hand the presence of the tombstones does imply that the community responsible for their interment were present for sufficient time to make the investment of a tombstone worthwhile. However, it is worth noting that the *stelae* were not actually found in the city itself, but a few miles outside at St Achuel.<sup>622</sup> This could have been a result of the slabs being moved from the city (for example when the city wall was erected), or because the cavalrymen were based in a fort that has yet to be discovered (similar, though later, than that found at Revelles).<sup>623</sup> We also don't know when the *Ambianenses* set off to the east. Hoffmann has suggested that they moved with Magnentius in 351, but there are plenty of other earlier occasions when this transfer could have occurred if we are looking at it being a result of civil wars.<sup>624</sup> A good case could be made for their presence being related to the Carausius-Allectus revolt and its aftermath, where it subsequently moved on campaign several times.<sup>625</sup>

It can be argued that the evidence for permanent military garrisons in *Belgica II* is actually therefore quite thin, and based on circular arguments. Most of the tombstones that survive in *Belgica II* date from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century and at the latest the early 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>626</sup> This would imply that they were serving with the various Tetrarchic armies that can be traced actively campaigning across northern Gaul.<sup>627</sup> Those units that took the name of their *civitates* (see figure 5) may well have been named after their permanent base, but this is another circular argument. It can be just as easily argued that they were named after the place where they were raised. Those that came from the north-west of the province (i.e. the *Turnacenses*, *Nervii* and *Menapii*) were the part of the province that seems to have

---

<sup>621</sup> *Contra* S. Esmonde-Cleary, *op. cit.*, (2013), pp. 71 – 72.

<sup>622</sup> Wightman hesitates to attribute a full-time garrison to Amiens: E.M. Wightman *Gallia Belgica* (Oxford, 1985), p. 208; she says “base of a heavy-armoured cavalry unit for the first half of the century,” but in Wightman *ibid.*, p. 227, this becomes “Amiens had a semi-permanent garrison”.

<sup>623</sup> For Revelles see the discussion of the fort in section 2.

<sup>624</sup> For example Constantine's attack on Maxentius in 312, his attacks on Licinius in 318 and 324; Constantine II's attack on Constans in 340 etc.

<sup>625</sup> P. Casey, *Carausius and Allectus: the British Usurpers* (London, 1993), pp. 106 – 114.

<sup>626</sup> See section 1.2.

<sup>627</sup> The reign of Constantine campaigning in the northern frontier region seems to have been fairly continuous under Maximian and Constantius between 285 and 305: the *bagaudae*, *Alamanni*, *Franci* and the campaigns against Carausius and Allectus all appear in the rather lacunose sources see A. Bowman, ‘Diocletian and the First Tetrarchy 284 – 305,’ in A.K. Bowman, P. Garnsey and A. Cameron, eds., *Cambridge Ancient History Volume 12: the Crisis of Empire 193 – 337* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 67 – 89.

experienced the most dislocation in rural settlement, and military recruitment was traditionally taken from that area (see section 4 for full discussion).<sup>628</sup> Given that none of these units are in their place of origin in the *Notitia* indicates that they had originally been raised from population of the *civitas* territory, before being sent off to serve imperial military interests in variety of areas. The spread does testify to the continued capacity the Roman state had to move of army units around during the 4<sup>th</sup> (and even early 5<sup>th</sup>) century, but this doesn't have to be attributed to the last decades of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.

The only city that has solid evidence for a permanent military presences for the whole period under investigation is Boulogne with its' relatively well understood and excavated barrack blocks.<sup>629</sup> This is did not necessarily represent a break from the past however as Boulogne had been a military base for its entire history as the base of the *Classis Britanniae* and retained a crucial military role through the 4<sup>th</sup> century as the main port linking to *Britannia*.<sup>630</sup> The barracks were occupied until the early 5<sup>th</sup> century, though establishing an end date is difficult.<sup>631</sup> There is relatively good evidence of garrisons appearing at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. As discussed in the previous chapter Bavay has evidence of a wooden structure with 8 rooms dating to the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century being installed and early 5<sup>th</sup> century, which resembles the form of barracks found in Valentinianic forts like Altrip and Alzey.<sup>632</sup> Their lack of substantial construction material implies that this was a temporary structure.<sup>633</sup> The other barrack blocks that have been excavated are those at Arras which

---

<sup>628</sup> F. Veurmeulen, 'Les Campagnes de la Belgique Septentrionale et des Pays-Bas Méridionaux aux IV<sup>e</sup> et V<sup>e</sup> Siècles', in P. Ouzoulias and others, eds., *Les Campagnes de la Gaule à la Fin de l'Antiquité. Actes du Colloque de Montpellier*, (Antibes, 2001), pp. 45-68.

<sup>629</sup> E. Belot and V. Canut, 'Recherches Archéologiques a Boulogne-sur-Mer (Septembre 1990 – Avril 1993)', *Revue du Nord* 75 (1993), 57-87; C. Seillier, 'La Présence Militaire à Boulogne-sur-Mer', in M. Lodewijckx, ed., *Archaeological and Historical Aspects of West-European Societies* (Brussels, 1996), pp. 237-244.

<sup>630</sup> The key strategic importance can be seen by the extended siege of the city in 293 by Constantius when it was loyal to Carausius: P. J. Casey, *The British Usurpers: Carausius and Allectus* (London, 1994), pp. 106 – 114.

<sup>631</sup> C. Seillier *op. cit.*, pp. 241 – 242. The last phase from the late 4<sup>th</sup> century is characterised by changes in the layout of the barracks and the increasing amount of hand-turned pottery, which Seillier argues is "Germanic" using outdated ethnic typologies- see section 4.4 for discussion.

<sup>632</sup> For Alzey see J. Oldenstein, *Neue Forschungen im Spätromischen Kastell von Alzey: Vorbericht über die Ausgrabungen 1981-1985* (Mainz, 1986); for Altrip see S. von Schnurbein, 'Der neue Plan von Altrip,' in V. Maxfield and M. Dobson, eds., *Roman Frontier studies: Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies (15th : 1989 : Canterbury, England)* (Exeter, 2003) 208 – 209. For Bavay see R. Delmaire and others, *Le Nord, Bavay: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 2011), p. 149.

<sup>633</sup> R. Brulet, 'Casernements et Casernes en Gaule', in Y. Le Bohec and C. Wolff, eds., *L'Armée Romaine de Dioclétien à Valentinien 1er. Actes du Congrès de Lyon (12-14 septembre 2002)* (Paris, 2004), pp. 191 – 200.

are dated to the last two decades of the 4<sup>th</sup> century and into the early 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>634</sup> The barracks seem to have undergone two phases and Jacques draws a parallel with the famous ‘chalet’ barracks found in Hadrian’s Wall forts such as Housesteads, though he is not aware of recent research which shows these are actually developments from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>635</sup> Jacques identifies the second range of occupation with a cavalry regiment. This is linked to the *Laeti Batavorum* who are recorded as being based at Arras in the *Notitia*.<sup>636</sup> There are many problems with this attribution. As we have argued already, there is no indication that *laeti* should be considered as a military regiment – the indications are that they were a community of farmers liable to military service. The information in the *Notitia* for this part of the 4<sup>th</sup> century is probably out of date. These changes are indicative of significant changes in the last decades of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, and so imply significant changes were occurring in some cities, and they were clearly becoming more directly involved as military bases. It is difficult to say much about this, except the use of barracks strongly implies the maintenance of formal habits of occupation that are consistent with the maintenance of a distinct military identity. As we have discussed already, the series of ‘female’ artefacts associated with the second phase of occupation, are themselves quite consistent with the military communities of attached families that had been a consistent part of soldiers’ lives since the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>637</sup>

The dangerous tendency to maximise the military aspects of cities can be seen at Arras in arguments for the barracks representing a continuity of use based on the existence of the “Germanic sanctuary” in the preceding decades (370s – 80s), which provides evidence for

---

<sup>634</sup> A. Jacques, ‘L’Occupation Militaire d’Arras au Bas-Empire’, in F. Vallet and M. Kazanski, eds., *L’Armée Romaine et les Barbares du III<sup>e</sup> au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Rouen, 1993), pp. 197 – 99. The buildings are identified by the excavators as barracks, containing *contubernia*, with a *papillo* (common room) and an arms store. There is a second period of occupation in this stage, identified by the demolition of the room at the north end of barrack block A. This was replaced by an oven, used for baking bread, protected by a post-built shed (10m x 9m). The internal structure of the buildings was affected, with partitions dividing the rooms into smaller units, dotted with rectangular pits and silos. The internal structure of the buildings was also affected, with partitions dividing the rooms into smaller units, dotted with rectangular pits and silos. Given the remains of *amphorae* and *dolia* in these pits these were probably for storing foodstuffs. Finds from this period consist of many objects that suggest a female presence – bronze and silver rings, gold earrings, jet black bracelets and bronze brooches. A military occupation is still indicated by finds of a spur, buckles, daggers and lead *plumbatae*. Spears, pommels and bronze decorations are consistent with cavalry soldiers. The barracks seem to have been occupied until the 420s, though this is largely speculative and based on pottery in the absence of monetary evidence.

<sup>635</sup> See for example the quality of discussion achieved by N. Hodgson and P.T. Bidwell, ‘Auxiliary Barracks in a New Light: Recent Discoveries on Hadrian’s Wall’, *Britannia*, 35 (2004), 121-157, which relies on the high quality excavations and recording in Romano-British forts over the last few decades.

<sup>636</sup> ND XLII.40 *Praefectus laetorum Batavorum Nemetacensium, Atrabatis Belgicae secundae*.

<sup>637</sup> See chapter 1.



ritual practices unknown in northern Gaul during the Roman period.<sup>638</sup> While a military identification for the sanctuary is impossible to prove conclusively, Jacques argues that it is inherently plausible. The sanctuary would be evidence for the maintenance of an idiosyncratic cult by the military unit and its families, which would be indicative of their non-Roman origins but also of their integration into the Roman administrative and social systems given that this occurrence in the city boundaries clearly needed some official sanction. Jacques argues that the group can this be associated with a group of *foederati*.<sup>639</sup> However, the argument is based on a series of assumptions that we have already argued against, namely that 'Germanic' and 'Military' identities are interchangeable in late Roman *Belgica*, when they are most certainly not.<sup>640</sup> There is no particular reason, short of ethnographic stereotyping, to argue this sanctuary is Germanic, and the excavators' parallels are rather weak.<sup>641</sup> There are some parallels for these ritual behaviours elsewhere, and it is entirely possible that this centre was a result of a local group or community, rather than one inserted from the outside.<sup>642</sup>

### 3.3.6 Soldiers in cities

Many surviving pieces of legislation responding to various issues raised by the question billeting soldiers in the houses of urban dwellers in the Theodosian and Justinianic legal codices would indicate that soldiers were quite common features in cities.<sup>643</sup> This refers to

<sup>638</sup> The detail is laid out in appendix 2: A. Jacques, 'Le Sanctuaire Germanique d'Arras: les Fouilles de rue Baudimont', in R. Comptatangelo-Soussignan and C-G. Schwentzel, eds., *Étrangers Dans la Cité Romaine: Actes du Colloque de Valenciennes (14-15 octobre 2005)* (Rennes, 2007), pp. 221 – 238.

<sup>639</sup> A. Jacques, *ibid.*, p. 236

<sup>640</sup> *Contra* S. Esmonde-Cleary, *op. cit.*, (2013), p. 68 who accepts the attribution without question.

<sup>641</sup> They use the partially dismembered bodies and scalped skulls of thirteen bodies found in a well at Regensburg-Harting as a parallel but this is quite a different context interpreted as a massacre at a Roman villa site by raiding Alamanni in the 260s/70s see J. Drinkwater, *The Alamanni and Rome, 213-496* (Caracalla to Clovis) (Oxford, 2007), pp. 78 – 79

<sup>642</sup> One can take two approaches here. Firstly there is the argument that the evidence shows either the revival or persistence of pre-Roman practices which are invisible materially elsewhere: There are some analogies from late *La Tène Belgica* at sanctuaries such as Gournay-sur-Aronde and Ribemont, see J. L. Brunaux, *The Celtic Gauls: Gods, Rites and Sanctuaries* (London, 1988). The other is that some parallel odd ritual behaviours are found in similar sites e.g. there are a series of infant burials that appear in some late Roman forts in Britain (Portchester) see B. Cunliffe, *Excavations at Portchester Castle* Vol. 1 (London, 1975), pp. 375-77; D. Welsby, *The Roman Military Defence of the British Provinces in its Later Phases* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 87 – 90.

<sup>643</sup> See for example the collection of rescripts that deal with billeting in *Codex Theodosianus* VII.8 – though note that the majority of these rescripts deal with issues in the East, which could reflect the balance of survival was more likely in the East by the 420s, or because that was the issue arose more. One cannot be certain which of these views is the most appropriate.

soldiers passing through cities on campaign, rather than permanently stationed. Ammianus' descriptions of campaigns in Gaul under Julian and Valentinian imply a considerable amount of military movement, but these events can be interpreted as being a temporary situation as a result of acute military and political crises rather than a description of a 'normal' state of affairs.<sup>644</sup> The mention of Reims as a focus of military mobilisation could be as a result of its status as the provincial capital, as well as its strategic position on the road network, which would have made it an appropriate place to assemble, both politically and logistically, given its range of state enterprises.<sup>645</sup> It cannot be doubted that given the arterial road network of *Belgica* II and the intensity of direct imperial involvement in northern Gaul after the ending of the Gallic Empire saw a considerable number of soldiers passing through urban sites in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, and the city walls or their suburbs would have been needed to provide temporary accommodation at least.

The evidence of Arras probably reflects internal changes to the nature of military occupation in terms of how the army unit was supplied and managed at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century and into the early 5<sup>th</sup> century. The analogy of Dichin is helpful in associating the change of internal organisation of military sites with social and economic change; as opposed to the recruitment of soldiers with a different ethnicity, which is often the explanation. Such arrangements need not mean that cities assumed the appearance of forts. In the East the army had long been based in cities, but had often taken over an area for its own use and continued to maintain their separate identity.<sup>646</sup> There is no reason why this was not also happening in the cities of *Belgica* II during the late Roman period.

---

<sup>644</sup> Reims is described as the mobilization point for Julian and Valentinian: Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XV.2.8; XVII.2.1 (Julian assembles his forces at Reims in 356 and 357) Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XXVI.5.14; XXVII.2.1 – 10 (Valentinian mobilises an army at Reims in 366 – 67). Both of these campaigns were response to particular problems facing the Roman government. The aftermath of Magnentius' usurpation in 350 – 353 and Julian's usurpation and campaigning in the East in 361 – 363 seem to have been large scale instability in the northern provinces given the narratives of campaigning and political instability which is clear in the pages of Ammianus e.g. usurpation of Silvanus in 355 and the death of Charietto in 364 which led to the significant campaign of restoration undertaken by Valentinian.

<sup>645</sup> See table 8.

<sup>646</sup> The two best examples are at Dura-Europus and Palmyra: see B. Isaac, *The Limits of Empire* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 269-282.

### 3.3.7 Conclusions

It must be stressed that there is no denial that defence had no role to play in the changes to urban sites in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>647</sup> However, a reductionist viewpoint is unsustainable and it seems more likely that the symbolism of these structures evolved across the 4<sup>th</sup> century. The complexity of the phenomenon makes the argument that city walls represented a 'militarisation' of the landscape of *Belgica* II an inadequate one. The intensity of the military presence was variable, and could be reduced as well as increased. The evidence does seem to indicate how important the late Roman state was to the cities of *Belgica* II both in terms of economic support and imperial patronage. The capacity of some sites to transform themselves into the 5<sup>th</sup> century and beyond implies they maintained a degree of involvement from their own local élites which suggests one should not be blinded by the impressive physical monuments to imperial activity. The variety of unique urban experiences suggests that local factors, although difficult to trace archaeologically, were still important.

### Section 4: the militarization of the countryside in *Belgica* II

To what extent did the imperial government take over *Belgica* II and militarise it completely, secure the rural areas with forts and billet troops in the province to control its supplies? Vermeulen argues that: "Late Roman developments in the extreme north-west of Belgic Gaul were quite revolutionary", suggesting that imperial military policy was one of the major factors in explaining this.<sup>648</sup> The 3<sup>rd</sup> century 'crisis' and the barbarian raids caused the abandonment of the region, and it was only the heavy settlement of Roman troops and military installations in the province that restored it.<sup>649</sup> Such a focus on political-military events is distorting however. As Vermeulen admits "the archaeological evidence [for destruction] is minimal."<sup>650</sup> Causation is controversial, as even older ideas on the wider environment of 4<sup>th</sup> century *Belgica* e.g. the marine transgression of the North Sea (Dunkirk

---

<sup>647</sup> One can question against whom the defence was needed more: external or internal enemies!

<sup>648</sup> F. Vermeulen, 'Roads for Soldiers and Civilians in the Civitas Menapiorum', in F. Vermeulen, K. Sas and W. Dhaeze, eds., *Archaeology in Confrontation: Aspects of Roman Military Presence in the Northwest: Studies in Honour of Prof. Em. Hugo Thoen* (Ghent, 2004), p. 131.

<sup>649</sup> F. Vermeulen *ibid.*, pp. 132 – 133.

<sup>650</sup> F. Vermeulen *ibid.*, p. 131.

II), are now being questioned.<sup>651</sup> This section will try and examine the extent to which the countryside was militarised, in light of recent research.<sup>652</sup> An initial point to make is how far the landscape of *Belgica* II is *lacunae*. Salvage operations over the last two decades have increased the number of excavated sites, but the system of regionally organised archaeological research units does not particularly help scholars with narrow chronological concerns, as field archaeologists often deal with a huge range of sites that cover several millennia.

#### 4.1 The rural landscape

If *Belgica* II's rural resources had been so important to provisioning the *limites* in the early Empire, and these had been based on increased specialisation and control of rural labour and land management, then the disappearance of villas would imply a major dislocation during the late Roman period.<sup>653</sup> The existence of a consumption-driven élite in these structures helped explain the virtuous cycle of Roman taxation that gave the Empire such economic power in the first three centuries AD.<sup>654</sup> Extensive research over the last decades has revealed a much higher level of survival of rural sites into the late Roman periods than was previously thought, though research on rural areas in *Belgica* II is still incomplete and varies enormously from region to region.<sup>655</sup> The problem of identifying 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> century artefacts, and the destruction of late Roman layers by ploughing, makes the possibilities of accurate quantitative work problematic.<sup>656</sup> Even if one holds more traditional views on rural occupation levels, depopulation does not necessarily mean a decrease in production as

---

<sup>651</sup> F. Vermeulen, 'Les Campagnes de la Belgique Septentrionale et des Pay-Bas Meridionaux', in P. Ouzoulias, and others, eds., *Les Campagnes de la Gaule à la Fin de l'Antiquité: Actes du Colloque, Montpellier, 11-14 mars 1998* (Antibes, 2001), p. 50. We find the same basic line in many studies of settlement patterns on the northwestern Belgic coast. For example at Aardenburg, Besuijen makes the assertions that barbarian raids caused the fort's abandonment before admitting that there is no positive evidence to support this assessment, only contextual conjecture: G. Besuijen, *Rodanum: A Study of the Roman Settlement at Aardenburg and Its Metal Finds* (Leiden, 2008), pp. 61 – 62: "The destruction of the *castellum* as a result of invading tribes remains hypothetical."

<sup>652</sup> See chapter 2 for a fuller discussion.

<sup>653</sup> E. M. Wightman, *Gallia Belgica* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 188 – 89

<sup>654</sup> K. Hopkins, 'Taxes and Trade in the Roman Empire (200 B.C.–A.D. 400)', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 70, (1980), 101-125.

<sup>655</sup> This can be seen in the relevant sections of the local Cartes Archéologique de la Gaule where most plead ignorance for rural settlement patterns in the late Roman period e.g. Oise etc.

<sup>656</sup> P. Van Ossel, *Etablissements Ruraux de l'Antiquité Tardive dans le Nord de la Gaule* (Paris, 1992), p. 135.

what is often abandoned is marginal and unproductive land.<sup>657</sup> What is clear therefore is that the traditional picture of rural abandonment and decline in the 4<sup>th</sup> century must be abandoned, and that Wightman's view of nucleation is untenable given that settlement seems to have been dispersed.<sup>658</sup>

Crucially, the research shows that *Belgica* II was made up of a series of micro-regions. Brulet's survey of rural sites across the northern section of Gaul (including most of northern *Belgica* II) calculates that there was a decline from approximately 720 sites in the late Empire to around 110.<sup>659</sup> Even within this data set there is regional variation as the areas most touched by rural abandonment are the sandy regions of Flanders, northern Brabant & Campine. Surveys in the sandy region of the Lys and Escaut found that of the eight sites that were excavated, only one revealed evidence of activity in the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>660</sup> Further south towards the more urbanized area of the province, the Scarpe valley survey suggests that many of the rural sites which had been occupied during the 1<sup>st</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries continued to be occupied during the 4<sup>th</sup> century at least, although often the occupation took a different form.<sup>661</sup> Field walking almost always turns up elements of 4<sup>th</sup> century use, though it often takes several attempts to find this material.<sup>662</sup> Haselgrove's survey of settlement patterns across the first millennia in the Aisne valley shows that while the 2<sup>nd</sup> century was indeed a high point in crude numbers, the decline to the 4<sup>th</sup> century is not catastrophic, with a survival rate of 60%. The 5<sup>th</sup> century sees quite a marked decline however (see figure 4).<sup>663</sup>

---

<sup>657</sup> P. Van Ossel and P. Ouzoulias, 'Rural Settlement Economy in Northern Gaul in the Late Empire', *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 12 (2000), p. 140.

<sup>658</sup> P. Van Ossel, *op. cit.*, (1992), pp. 171 – 2.

<sup>659</sup> R. Brulet, *La Gaule septentrionale au Bas-Empire : occupation du sol et défense du territoire dans l'arrière-pays du Limes aux IV<sup>e</sup> et V<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Trier, 1990); F. Vermeulen, 'Les campagnes de la Belgique Septentrionale et des Pay-Bas Meridionaux,' in P. Ouzoulias, and others eds., *op. cit.*, (Antibes, 2001), p. 50: far north of the province, including territory in Germania Superior, it has been estimated that 300 implantations of sites (1<sup>st</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD) are reduced to 5 in the 4<sup>th</sup> century.

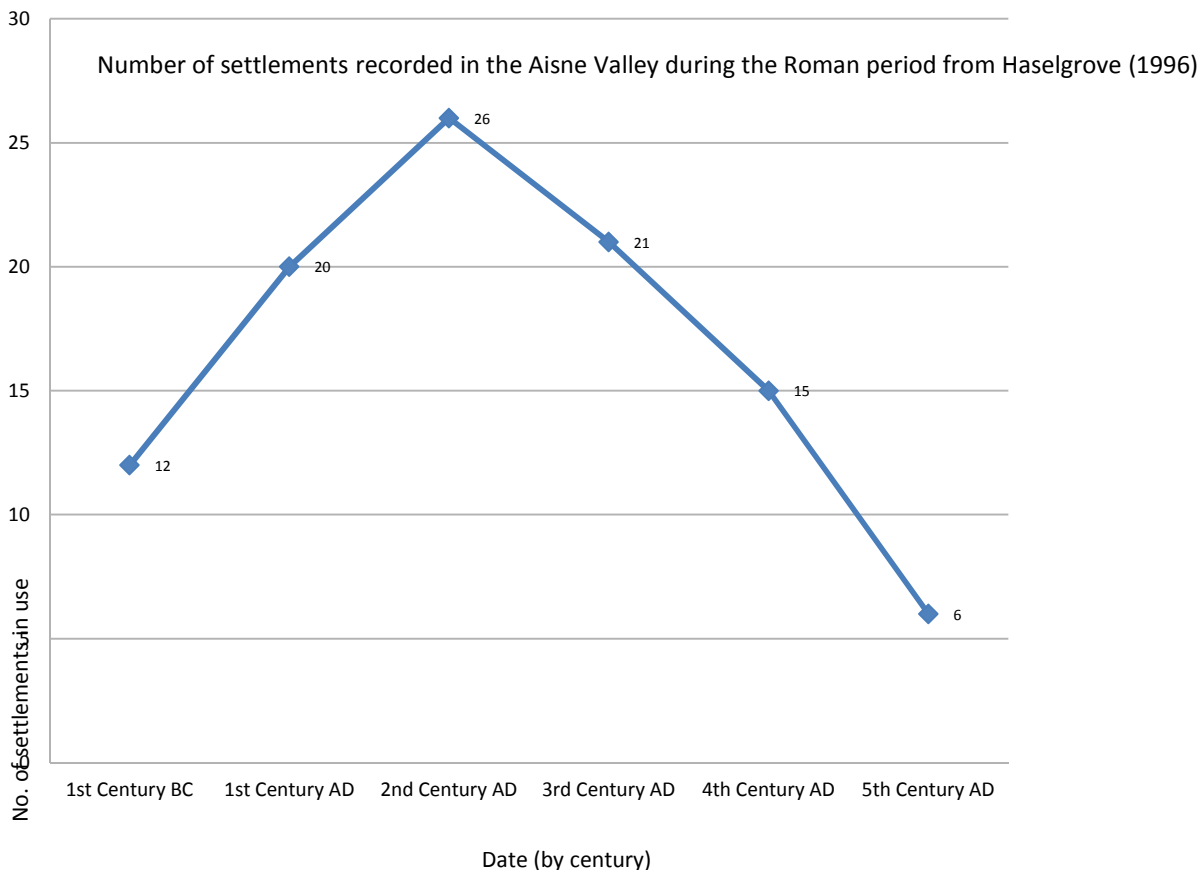
<sup>660</sup> F. Vermeulen, 'Les Campagnes de la Belgique Septentrionale et des Pay-Bas Meridionaux' in P. Ouzoulias and others, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

<sup>661</sup> E. Louis, 'A De-Romanised landscape in Northern Gaul: the Scarpe Valley from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 9<sup>th</sup> Century AD', in W. Bowden, L. Lavan and C. Machado, eds., *op. cit.*, (2004), pp. 479 – 504.

<sup>662</sup> E. Louis, *ibid.*, p. 489; much knowledge of the 4<sup>th</sup> century/5<sup>th</sup> century settlement is based on small numbers of Argonne were picked up in field surveys and often called 'transient settlement.' This may be true, but only excavation could prove it, but given the lower levels of finds from some Late Roman sites this is not an incentive to dig. For further details on this conundrum see R. Clotuche, 'The Scheldt Valley Commercial Activity Zone: 350 Hectares of the Gallo-Roman Landscape', *Britannia*, 49 (2009), 41 – 64.

<sup>663</sup> C. Haselgrove, 'La Romanisation de l'Habitat Rural dans la Vallée de l'Aisne d'Après les Prospections de Surface et les Fouilles Récentes', *Revue Archeologique de Picardie Special*, 11 (1996), 109 – 114; C. Haselgrove and C. Scull, 'The Changing Structure of Rural Settlement in Southern Picardy During the First Millennium A.D.',

**Figure 4 the Aisne Valley Survey**



The most striking transformation in *Belgica II* was the disappearance of the spectacular *pars urbana* from many villas: in the north of the province, there is no evidence of these villas surviving into the 4<sup>th</sup> century. This pattern is not universal, and villas such as Blanzly-les-Fismes (Aisne) in the Aisne valley and Vieux-Rouen-Sur-Besle (Somme) in Picardy seem to have retained expensive display items such as mosaics and a large surface area, and share many characteristics with the grand villas found in Aquitaine.<sup>664</sup> However in the current state of evidence, knowledge about the élite of the province is poor.<sup>665</sup> There does seem to be dislocation between the late Roman and Merovingian period as the only known villa site that became the basis of a later 6<sup>th</sup> century settlement was at St.-Germain-les-Corbeil which does imply that those sites which did survived into the 4<sup>th</sup> century did not last particularly

in J. Bintliff and H. Hamerow, eds., *Europe Between Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Recent archaeological and historical research in Western and Southern Europe* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 58 – 70.

<sup>664</sup> For Blanzly-les-Fismes see P. van Ossel, *Etablissements Ruraux de l'Antiquité Tardive dans le Nord de la Gaule* (Paris, 1992), pp. 341 – 2 and B. Pichon, *Aisne: Cartes Archeologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 2004), pp. 86 – 8; for Vieux-Rouen-sur-Bresle see D. Francois, 'La Villa Gallo-Romaine de Vieux-Rouen-sur-Bresle (Seine-Maritime),' in J. Le Maho, ed., *Trésors Archeologique de la Haute Normandie* (1980), pp. 117 – 120.

<sup>665</sup> C. Balmelle and P. Van Ossel, 'De Trèves à Bordeaux. La Marque des Élités dans les Campagnes de la Gaule Romaine aux IV<sup>e</sup> et V<sup>e</sup> siècles,' in P. Ouzoulias and others, eds., *op. cit.*, (2001), p. 537.

long.<sup>666</sup> While the focus on villas is understandable, their tendency to dominate discussion on rural life is misleading given that only a small part of the population actually lived in them.<sup>667</sup>

As more careful field-walking techniques have been developed so larger number of sites now show some form of continuity of occupation. Some sites occupied only a small proportion of the previously occupied space, or moved activities into other areas. For example at Famechon in the Somme, where the 3<sup>rd</sup> century *pars urbana* had been apparently destroyed, but the *pars rustica* was used with a series of renovations which involved some reuse of older structures, and some new building work as well.<sup>668</sup> The other defining features were the increasing use of wood as a building material on many of the sites that survived into the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries. These changes are extremely significant but this does not necessarily mean large scale rural impoverishment. Many sites still reveal large numbers of artefacts when they have been excavated, information that cannot be discovered by field walking. Le Luyot at Seclin (Nord) for example, which was occupied in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> and into the 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, has over 100 coins and large amounts of Argonne ware – the main high quality ceramic product of the period.<sup>669</sup> Similarly, the rural site at Neuville-Saint-Amand (Aisne) saw a re-organisation of the earlier villa site along quite different lines, and the two parts of the establishment are no longer as clearly distinctive as they were in the first phase. A large farm structure with evidence of an opulent lifestyle seems to have existed in the 4<sup>th</sup> century given the remains of marble and wall paintings.<sup>670</sup>

How far did *Belgica II*'s rural production relate to the military? Recent studies on rural production suggest a significant decrease in artisanal activity in the late Empire, and a move

---

<sup>666</sup> P. Petit, 'Saint-Germain-lès-Corbeil (Essonne), la Butte à Gravois' in *L'Ile-de-France de Clovis à Hugues Capet: du Ve siècle au Xe siècle* (Paris, 1993), pp. 203 – 4.

<sup>667</sup> N. Roymans and T. Derks, *Villa Landscapes in the Roman North: Economy, Culture and Lifestyles* (Amsterdam, 2011), p. 87.

<sup>668</sup> P. Van Ossel, *op. cit.*, (Paris, 1992), pp. 343 – 345; D. Veermesch, 'Le Site Archéologique du Marais de Famechon (Somme). Bilan provisoire.' *Cahiers Archeologie de la Picardie*, 8 (1981), 147 – 155.

<sup>669</sup> S. Révillion and K. Bouche, 'Architecture de Terre et Bois dans la Vallée de la Haute Deûle, de la Fin de l'Antiquité au Début de l'Époque Mérovingienne. Apports des Gisements du "Luyot," du "Haut de Clauwiers" et de "L'Épinette" à Seclin (Nord)', *Revue du Nord: Archéologie de la Picardie et du Nord de la France* 85 (2003), 113 – 214.

<sup>670</sup> S. Ziegler, 'Un Établissement Protohistorique et un Établissement Gallo-Romain à Neuville-Saint-Amand "La Vallée de Neuville" (Aisne)' *Revue Archéologique de Picardie*, 3 – 4 (2008), 135 – 162.

towards more 'autarchic' modes of production.<sup>671</sup> Palynological evidence shows that there was a return to trees and wasteland at the end of the Roman period, but this cannot be tied down precisely.<sup>672</sup> Supplies had to be transported from Aquitaine and Britain under Julian, which implies that the imperial establishment in *Belgica* II was a net consumer of goods and produced little by itself.<sup>673</sup> However, these forms of information are very unreliable as guides to production levels. The question is very difficult to assess, given the lack of data, but what one can say is that if the élites from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century were still producing large amounts in the 4<sup>th</sup>, they do not seem to have been spending the profits on ostentatious consumption that can be measured in the archaeological record. The increasing number of rural sites being excavated seems to show that agricultural production was still continuing, at a modest subsidy level. The unpredictability of environmental factors bringing great variability to harvests as well as the particular political circumstances of the situation in the 350s after Magnentius's revolt may indicate that Julian's event as expediency rather than the norm.<sup>674</sup> The changes in the tax system, and the tendency to extract agricultural surplus in kind possibly made a difference as a lack of monetization could have restricted growth, but this view is rather outdated. Even if there was no monetary stimulus as experienced by the eastern half of the Empire at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century on the back of the reissued *solidus* plenty of rural sites have evidence of coins and pottery showing a level of economic exchange, though the question is whether these were 'official' sites.

As we have seen in section 2, the evidence seems to point towards soldiers having access to supplies of a sufficient level to maintain an élite status within society. Oudenburg in the 280s, despite the economic dislocation of the period, was still receiving large amounts of pottery on a regional basis. The success of Argonne ware, being found on all sites in large numbers until the 5<sup>th</sup> century, is evidence for continued exchange involving the military. Britain, given the evidence for rural economic vitality in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, was probably a major source of food. But the evidence of local supplies for pottery becoming more

---

<sup>671</sup> M. Polfer, *L'Artisanat dans l'Économie de la Gaule Belgique Romaine à Partir de la Documentation Archéologique* (Montagnac, 2005), p. 102.

<sup>672</sup> E. Louis, *op. cit.*, (2004), p. 490.

<sup>673</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XIV.10; XVII.8.

<sup>674</sup> There is considerable evidence that the 350s do seem to have been quite traumatic in northern Gaul, given the series of sites with coin finds that stop then, and the series of sites that have destruction layers from that point. For example the Alf Valley in the Moselle shows plenty of numismatic indications of this at that point see P. Van Ossel and P. Ouzoulias, 'Rural settlement economy in Northern Gaul in the Late Empire: an overview and assessment', *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 13 (2000), p. 136.



important at military sites, in line with the ending of the declining amphorae exports from the southern Mediterranean after 350 implies a degree of self-sufficiency. The increasing reliance on local supply networks may well be one factor explaining the movement of some military units into cities in the last decades of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, as a means of easing matters of supply.

## 4.2 The fortification of the landscape

As outlined in chapter 2, one of the key features of the late antique countryside is the ‘fortification’ of the landscape.<sup>675</sup> Research tends to show there is very little evidence for ‘fortification’ of villas or rural sites in *Belgica* II during the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries along the models derived from Sidonius’ writings. The closest example that can be given are the ditches creating an enclosure at the late 4<sup>th</sup> century site of Berry-au-Bac, but these can hardly be called ‘defensive structures’ given their depth.<sup>676</sup> All the known cases in northern Gaul are generally found in the Trier region, e.g. Pfalzel, and even this *villa* may be better understood as an imperial residence with an attached military base than being related to rural production.<sup>677</sup> In terms of other types of structure, regional patterns are important. In the Rhineland there are over 20 fortified ‘tower-silos’ some of which have been discovered attached to villa sites.<sup>678</sup> The most common type is the tower-silo defended by a ditch that is found in the Cologne region.<sup>679</sup> This can be paralleled to some extent by the discovery of the tower-silo at the site of Seclin (Nord) during the 4<sup>th</sup> century, which seems to have been constructed as part of a major reorganization of the site.<sup>680</sup> Until this discovery these had not been found outside the Rhineland, and so it indicates that there were shared

---

<sup>675</sup> N. Christie, ‘Landscapes of change in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Themes, Directions and Problems’, in N. Christie, ed., *Landscapes of Change: Rural Evolutions in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 2004); P. Van Ossel, *Etablissements Ruraux de l'Antiquité Tardive dans le Nord de la Gaule* (Paris, 1992), 163 -165.

<sup>676</sup> P. van Ossel, *op. cit.*, (1992), 341. The ditches are around 0.4m – 0.6m wide.

<sup>677</sup> H. Cüppers, ‘Pfalzel’ in *Trier, Kaiserresidenz und Bischofssitz: die Stadt in spätantiker und frühchristlicher Zeit [Ausstellung, 4. Mai bis 10. November 1984]* (Mainz, 1984), pp. 319 – 22.

<sup>678</sup> P. Van Ossel, *op. cit.*, (1992), pp. 156 – 8; 163 – 4.

<sup>679</sup> P. Van Ossel, ‘Insecurité et Militarisation en Gaule du Nord au Bas-Empire’ *Revue du Nord-Archéologie* 77 (1995), p. 30.

<sup>680</sup> S. Révillion and K. Bouche, ‘Architecture de Terre et de Bois dans la Vallée de la Haute Deûle, de la fin de l’Antiquité au Début de l’Époque Mérovingienne. Apports de gisements du “Luyot,” du “Haut de Clauwiers” et de “l’Epinette” à Seclin (Nord)’ in *Archéologie de la Picardie et du Nord de la France: Revue du Nord* 85 (2003), 113 – 124.

architectural patterns from across the whole of *Belgica* II. Why this site was erected is less clear. Bechert argued that all fortified *burgi* found on the road network were developments of granaries from the early Empire.<sup>681</sup> This would seem to be contradicted by Seclin, as although the silo was enclosed, there are no indications of a defensive structure beyond the walls of the silo themselves. Other *burgi* in *Belgica* II such as Liberchies and Revelles do not appear to have had towers either, so this would suggest such a view is incorrect.<sup>682</sup> It is hard to differentiate between the silo being a watchtower or a storage base, but the rural context and the continued development of the site through the 4<sup>th</sup> century as an agricultural development would suggest that identification as a granary is best and the defensive elements toned down. The excavators place its construction within a framework of insecurity.<sup>683</sup>

**Table 10: rural sites with elements of fortification in the Late Roman period**

Site	Defensive features	Date
<b>Seclin (Nord)</b> (Le Haut de Clauwiers)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>There are several closures of buildings and redirecting of the site with ditches etc.</li> <li>The new enclosed system surrounds a tour-silo (9m x 16m) constructed in stone.</li> </ul>	4 <sup>th</sup> century and 5 <sup>th</sup> centuries
<b>Berry-au-Bac (Aisne)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The late Roman occupation is mainly defined by a series of enclosures using U and V ditches 0.40 – 0.60m wide.</li> <li>3 of these which are cut by the ditches dating to the late 4<sup>th</sup> century: 5 rectangular or oval ditches, with depth of 1m.</li> </ul>	Late 4 <sup>th</sup> to 5 <sup>th</sup> century

<sup>681</sup> T. Bechert, 'Wachturm oder Kornspeicher? Zur Bauweise spätrömischer Burgi', *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 8 (1978), 127–132.

<sup>682</sup> See section 2.

<sup>683</sup> S. Révillion and K. Bouche, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

<b>Conde-sur-Aisne (Aisne)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The late Roman period settlement has an oval ditch 2m wide; filled with many stones surrounding some areas of the site.</li> <li>• Another ditch from the late 4<sup>th</sup> century or Merovingian period has an irregular shape and contains a number of calcium blocks.</li> </ul>	4 <sup>th</sup> and 5 <sup>th</sup> centuries
<b>Saint-Pierre-sur-Vence (Ardennes)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The site seems to have a palisade to the west side.</li> </ul>	c. 310 – c. 350
<b>Chatel-Chéhéry (Ardennes)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The site was fortified in the late Empire and dominated habitation on the east slope.</li> <li>• Large amounts of 4<sup>th</sup> century pottery are found on the site, some with Christian motifs.</li> <li>• 110 coins were found across the area – from Hadrian to 388 – 402.</li> </ul>	4 <sup>th</sup> and 5 <sup>th</sup> centuries
<b>Omont (Ardennes)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Positioned on a blocked spur (éperon barré) which had a castle built onto it in 883 has led to the theory that there was a fort here.</li> <li>• A child burial was found with an axe.</li> </ul>	4 <sup>th</sup> and 5 <sup>th</sup> centuries

The other main set of fortified sites are found in the east of the province in the Meuse region, where many such 'hillforts' have been identified as being occupied from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century onwards with varying degrees of permanence. These sites are largely out of the

scope of this study, so the discussion will be brief. There is an enormous variety between them in terms of the sophistication of the structures associated with them and the period of their occupation. Of the three sites in the study's remit, there has been an argument to suggest Omont was a military site occupied by auxiliary barbarian soldiers.<sup>684</sup> The evidence for this is very weak, based on an axe found in a young male's burial. The site certainly was a fortified strong point in the Merovingian period, and while the site was occupied, there is little evidence that one could call it 'fortified' beyond its relatively secure position. We cannot tell if such a site was a permanently occupied site or a temporary refuge connected to other sites in the region. Saint-Pierre-sur-Vence seems to have had a palisade, given the evidence of post holes, but nothing further can be said about this. This could just as easily be related to pastoralism as defence. Chatel-Chéhéry on the other hand seems to have been a significant production centre given the evidence of decorated ceramics that have been found there, along with its coins. This site seems to have been occupied consistently across the century, without any particular evidence of the site being given any extra defensive functions.

There are some indications of perceived insecurity in the evidence, but it hardly mounts up to a large scale fortification of the countryside. What one can suggest from the fragmentary evidence, is that regional factors are probably influencing the changes in settlement patterns. The Ardennes has a long history of upland settlement, and a return to these sites was a common feature of the late Antique period more generally. The other sites have some indication of a wish to control the produce, but it is impossible to say whether this was due to military intervention or private initiative. Vermeulen strongly argues that the evidence for a continued rural population in the *vici* and other settlements of the northern part of the province only exist while there was a strong military system working i.e. the Bavay-Tongres road, so there probably was a relationship between security and rural settlement, but it is hard to say anything more than that on the current evidence.<sup>685</sup>

---

<sup>684</sup> D. Billion and J-P. Lémant, 'Francs de Fer, Francs de Hauter', in L. Verslype, ed., *Villes et Campagnes en Neustrie: Sociétés, Économies, Territoires, Christianisation* (Montagnac, 2007), p. 47.

<sup>685</sup> F. Vermeulen, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

### 4.3 Involvement of the state in rural production

The theme of *agri deserti* is one that comes up regularly in the late Roman Empire and implies a major concern about abandoned land.<sup>686</sup> This is not to say that this land was necessarily empty simply due to invasion or depopulation.<sup>687</sup> Still, there are many indications that the changes in the rural contexts of northern Gaul are the result of large scale settlement of abandoned lands.<sup>688</sup> Such contexts have been seen as creating a ‘militarised’ landscape full of *Germani* who were settled as ‘soldier-farmers.’ It is indisputable that one of the demonstrable changes in the countryside during the period is the growth in the number of ‘Germanic’ settlements that are identified with settlers from outside the Empire. These have been strongly argued to represent a deliberate policy of settlement by the Roman government, especially from the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century onwards. A series of sites to the north of the road system in the north-east of the Menapii between the Lys and Escaut, which have been partially excavated and seem to date between 360/70 and the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. These also largely involve structures in wood, and pottery which has stylistic and petrographic links to the north of Holland/Germany. Vermeulen identifies them as being strong candidates for Franks settled in Toxandria as *foederati*.<sup>689</sup>

Vermeulen strongly argues this is the case in the *civitas Menapiorum* for example, to replace the long-term depopulation of the area from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>690</sup> This of course confirms what we know about the *laeti* from the written sources. Most of these sites, with their defining features, such as wooden cabins and stables, are found in Germania inferior and so lie outside of the scope of this project.<sup>691</sup> As Halsall has strongly argued, settlement

---

<sup>686</sup> Specifically concerned with 1332km<sup>2</sup> “deserted and unkempt” lands in central and southern Italy in the *Codex Theodosianus*. XI.28.2.

<sup>687</sup> This could just as well result from the abandonment of marginal land, concentration of settlement or new management strategies increasing productivity. N. Christie, ‘Landscapes of Change in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Themes, Directions and Problems’, in N. Christie, ed., *Landscapes of Change: Rural Evolutions in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 2004), p. 15; C. Grey, *Constructing Communities in the Late Roman Countryside* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 171 – 2, discusses the potential for this to be a product of disjunctions of land use and the tax system rather than abandoned land *per se*.

<sup>688</sup> N. Christie, *ibid*, p. 15.

<sup>689</sup> F. Vermeulen, ‘Les Campagnes de la Belgique Septentrionale et des Pay-Bas Meridionaux’, in P. Ouzoulias and others, *op. cit.*, (2001), p. 59.

<sup>690</sup> F. Vermeulen, ‘Roads for Soldiers and Civilians in the Civitas Menapiorum’ in F. Vermeulen, K. Sas and W. Dhaeze, eds., *op. cit.*, (2004), pp. 125 – 141.

<sup>691</sup> F. Vermeulen, ‘Les Campagnes de la Belgique Septentrionale et des Pay-Bas Meridionaux’, in P. Ouzoulias and others, eds., *op. cit.*, pp. 59 – 65.

structures are not necessarily markers of ethnicity.<sup>692</sup> Restoration of structures and refurbishments in wood are a key feature of the late Roman period, marking a progressive transition from the Roman model of architecture which many Gauls had adopted. Many of these features such as aisled, post-built structures appear to be associated in northern Gaul with an indigenous habitat mode that persisted alongside villas and into the Early Medieval period. There are also sunken-featured settlements, which have often been labeled as “Germanic”. Despite their similarities in spatial organization to sites along/near the *Limes* those in *Belgica* II do have distinctive features in terms of the plans of the building and the material collected archaeologically. This has led Périn to argue for a continuity of Gallic traditions, but that Germanic influences must not be forgotten.<sup>693</sup>

There is some evidence of involvement of rural communities with forts. For example along the coast to the north of Oudenburg two small settlements were discovered at Zerkegem and Roskem.<sup>694</sup> These seem to have been occupied during the last occupation period of the fort.<sup>695</sup> Several potteries were found, although no buildings, and Vermeulen argues for the association with the forts on the basis of the ‘Germanic’ wives in the cemetery.<sup>696</sup> While this is less convincing, and much is made of the ‘Germanic’ pottery being similar to that found in Free Germany and Anglo-Saxon England, the case can be made that these sites were actually serving the fort, given the evidence we have already discussed which showed local supplies being central to ceramic finds during the late Roman period, even in the last phase.<sup>697</sup> A

---

<sup>692</sup> G. Halsall, ‘Archaeology and Migration: Rethinking the Debate’, in R. Annaert, ed., *The Very Beginning of Europe? Early-Medieval Migration and Colonisation* (Brussels, 2012), pp. 29 – 30.

<sup>693</sup> P. Petit, ‘The origin of the village in Early Medieval Gaul’, in N. Christie, ed., *Landscapes of Change: Rural Evolutions in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 272 – 74. He also makes the strong comparison with St-Ouen-du-Breil for Germanic origins, but notes its hand-made pottery and its crossbow brooches, which argues for a settlement associated with “auxiliaries.”

<sup>694</sup> For Roksem see Y. Hollevoet, ‘Een nieuwe vroeg-middle-leeuwse nedderzetting te Roksem (stad Oudenburg prov. West-Vlaanderen),’ *Archeologu in Vlaanderen*, 2 (1992), 223 -226. For Zerkegem see S. De Cock, M. Rogge and A. Van Doorselaer, ‘Het archeologisch onderzoek te Zerkegem-Jabbeke,’ *Westvlaamse Archeologica* 3 – 2 (1987), 37 - 50.

<sup>695</sup> See references in section 2. Vermeulen argues against the attribution that the settlement was occupied immediately after the fort’s evacuation, and this seems perfectly feasible given that he dates the end to 410, which is driven by the historical context rather than the material evidence which could be interpreted to last longer. F. Vermeulen, ‘Les Campagnes de la Belgique Septentrionale et des Pay-Bas Meridionaux’ in P. Ouzoulis and others *op. cit.*, (2001), p. 57.

<sup>696</sup> See section 1.3.

<sup>697</sup> S. Vanhoutte et al., ‘A Remarkable ‘Double’ well at the Saxon Shore Fort at Oudenburg (Belgium)’ in A. Morillo and others, eds, *Limes XX: XX congreso internacional de estudios sobre la frontera romana / XXth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies: 1-3* (2009), p. 1395.

common argument to support the ethnic attribution of settlements to ‘*Germani*’ in rural sites is by reference to the often large quantities of hand thrown pottery that have been argued to represent traditions of production brought from outside the frontiers in Free Germany.<sup>698</sup> Finds of such pottery are used to argue that the group who made them were from outside the Empire and had brought their own traditions of ceramic production with them as a means of maintaining a separate identity from the local indigenous population.<sup>699</sup> The latest archaeological research is now accepting that local traditions of hand thrown pottery can be identified across northern Gaul, which often pre-date the Roman period, and in many cases carried on being used into the Middle Ages. While these trends were largely replaced by wheel-turned imports and new forms of local production, handmade ceramic traditions never completely died out.<sup>700</sup> Therefore we must see this pottery not as simple indications of “Germanic” settlers but as a function of economic and social change.

The finds of the cemetery at Vron make a similar point. Seillier strongly argued these burials represented a “Germanic” settlement in the 370s made up of a force of auxiliaries and mercenaries recruited into the army and garrisoned on the *Litus Saxonicum*.<sup>701</sup> The tendency to ‘over-militarise’ these groups misses an alternative explanation. Excavations at Le Muret (Somme) on the channel coast, at the mouth of the River Authie, revealed a site that was reoccupied in the 320s after a possibly considerable hiatus.<sup>702</sup> On coinage and ceramic evidence the site seems to have been occupied from the 320s to the early 5<sup>th</sup> century. Much is unclear about the nature of the site, though it was probably an island, but its ceramics showed itself to be at the centre of numerous communication networks given that its

---

<sup>698</sup> J.-C. Routier and F. Thuillier, ‘Les Témoins d’Occupation Germanique de la Villa Gallo-Romaine de Zoufaques (France) et leur Apport dans le Contexte de la Militarisation de la Gaule du Nord au Bas-Empire,’ in F. Vermeulen, K. Sas and W. Dhaeze, eds., *Archaeology in Confrontation: Aspects of Roman Military Presence in the Northwest: Studies in Honour of Prof. Em. Hugo Thoen* (Ghent, 2004), pp. 385 – 386.

<sup>699</sup> This argument has been put forward for the finds at several late imperial sites in the Pas-De-Calais region: J.-P. Dewert, M. Osterreith and L. Severs, ‘Ceramique dite ‘Germanique’ au *castellum* de Brunehart à Liberchies’ *Archeologie en Wallonie 1980 – 85* (Namur, 1987), pp. 105 – 6; A. Jacques, ‘Le Sanctuaire Germanique phase IIIa et b, Décennies 370 et 380,’ in *Les Cultes à Arras au Bas-Empire* (Arras, 1990).

<sup>700</sup> F. Vermeulen “Transition from Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages in the South of Sandy Flanders, Belgium: rural settlement” *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* (1992)

<sup>701</sup> C. Seillier, ‘Les Tombes de Transition du Cimetière Germanique de Vron (Somme),’ *Jahrbuch des römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz*, 36 (1989), 599-634.

<sup>702</sup> The excavators R. Rougier, C. Hosdez et C. Chaidron, ‘Une fouille préventive à Quend « Le Muret » (Somme): questions sur l’organisation et le rôle d’un site côtier au Bas Empire,’ *Revue Archéologique de Picardie* n° 3/4, (2008), 203-246.

ceramics came from Britain as well as northern and eastern Gaul.<sup>703</sup> The excavators try hard to give the site a military function, given its context between three fortified sites noted in the *Notitia*, but they are forced to admit there are no artefacts that permit any military assignment.<sup>704</sup> The proximity with Vron is telling, as Seillier's arguments were largely based on the contextual evidence, seeing the coast as a military zone. Rather than these sites being 'military' settlements or official implantations, it is just as logical to see groups of peasant farmers setting themselves up near potential markets, or along communication routes. Like with Zergekem and Roskem, these settlements could be found outside the *territorium* of the forts. In that sense it could be argued to be very similar to the situation in the Early Empire, where settlements grew up around forts. Vermeulen argues that the close connection of many sites with Roman forts in Germania I as well is explained by the provisioning of forts with material from these villages/settlements.<sup>705</sup>

By denying ethnicity in the material record, we can easily enter a paradoxical state of denial that there was any movement across the frontiers at all. The literary sources are overwhelming in their testimony that it had been imperial policy since the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD to settle large groups of non-Romans in imperial territory.<sup>706</sup> Apparent decline in rural settlement is not a feature unique in the late Roman Gallic landscape.<sup>707</sup> We can say for sure that *laeti* were settled with their families at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century to replace the loss of native, rural cultivators in many of the territories of *Belgica* II.<sup>708</sup> The panegyricist seems to differentiate between a '*Francus*' and a '*Laetus*' in his speech, which has led to the suggestion that the *laeti* were actually ex-provincials.<sup>709</sup> There is a clear emphasis on the *laeti* to serve as a labour service, and had a variety of obligations, including military

<sup>703</sup> Dorset, Oxford and Canterbury to be precise, as well as Argonne ware and two pieces from the Rhineland.

<sup>704</sup> Étaples, Crotoy, Cap Hornu are all potentially identified as forts in the *Notitia* but there is no evidence for them on the ground – see appendix 1.

<sup>705</sup> F. Vermeulen, 'Les Campagnes de la Belgique Septentrionale et des Pay-Bas Meridionaux' in P. Ouzoulias and others, *op. cit.*, (2001), p. 64.

<sup>706</sup> G. E. M. de St. Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek world: from the Archaic Age to the Arab Conquests* (London, 1981).

<sup>707</sup> Early imperial Achaia also experienced a rapid decline in occupied sites from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC onwards which was maintained until the late Roman period, where from the 4<sup>th</sup> century there was an increase in site numbers. This reminds us that a decline in site numbers can be a complex phenomenon which needs careful explanation. S. Alcock, *Graecia Capta: the landscapes of Roman Greece* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 33 – 92.

<sup>708</sup> *Pan. Lat.*, VIII (V).8.4; *Pan. Lat.* VIII (V). 21; *Historia Augusta, Vita Probi* 15; *Historia Augusta, Vita Aurel.* 48.2.

<sup>709</sup> A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284 - 602* (Oxford, 1964), p. 620.



service.<sup>710</sup> Then again the Panegyricist cannot be trusted to be precise about these matters given that he was not giving a legalistic assessment but a general rhetorical speech praising the clemency and farsightedness of the emperor. Allowing outside groups to settle the land was a *topos* of late Roman rhetoric, which was often used to conceal the extent to which the government did not have much choice. Did the *laeti* make up self-governing communities separate from the surrounding territories? The mention of a *praepositus* in the *Notitia* and the Theodosian code does not prove this.<sup>711</sup> *Terrae laeticae* allocated to settlers by municipal authorities does not support the view that they lived in separate enclaves outside of the city territories, or that they were exclusively part of imperial estates.<sup>712</sup> Whittaker argues that the *laeti* and the other associated settlements made a significant and lasting impact on the labour supply of the late Roman Empire.<sup>713</sup>

As we have argued throughout, context is everything with material evidence. The temptation to attribute any rural site with a weapon or some sign of official favour to the *laeti* uses a general term from the written sources to a specific archaeological context, which may be correct, but also brings false certainty to the inherent complexity of rural settlement.<sup>714</sup> The site of St-Ouen-du-Breil, which dates to the early 4<sup>th</sup> century, with its series of huts based around a pond, sits askew with other settlements in the area just to the south west of *Belgica* II in *Lugdunensis* IV does seem to be an implantation, which with the large hoard found, shows access to considerable wealth.<sup>715</sup> Legislation concerning ‘barbarian’ marriages with Roman citizens under Valentinian, has sensibly been linked with concerns over status, a traditional Roman worry, rather than being an ethnic issue. It would seem better to suggest that a whole range of new settlers came into the landscape, through a variety of methods: as veterans, *gentiles*, *dediticii* and *laeti*, or even under their own

---

<sup>710</sup> *Pan. Lat.* VIII (V) 9.1 *atque hos omnes provincialibus vestris ad obsequium distributos* (nb use of *serviendo* and *serviunt* above); *Pan. Lat.* VIII (V) 9.4 *quin etiam si ad dilectum vocetur accurrit et obsequis teritur et tergo coeretur et servire militiae nominae gratulatur*; *Pan. Lat.* VI (VII) 6.2 – *ut in desertis Galliae regionibus conclocatae (sc. Franciae nationes) et pacem Romanam cultu iuarent et arma dilectu*.

<sup>711</sup> *C. Th.* VII.20.10 (369).

<sup>712</sup> *C. Th.* XIII.11.10 (399).

<sup>713</sup> C. Whittaker, ‘Labour Supply in the Later Roman Empire’, *Opus*, 1 (1982), 171 – 179.

<sup>714</sup> Saint-Pierre-sur-Vence (Ardennes) has several weapons (knives and spears) and is identified as being a *laetic* settlement. D. Nicolas, *Les Ardennes: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 2012), p. 398.

<sup>715</sup> V. Gonzalez, P. Ouzoulias and P. Van Ossel, ‘Saint-Ouen-du-Breil (Seine-Maritime): une Implantation du Milieu du IV<sup>e</sup> Siècle dans le “Pays de Caux”’, *Proximus*, 2 (1998), 113 – 119.

steam. Seeing the increasingly common *Grübenhauser* spread through *Belgica* II as a combination of migration and cultural exchange is a more satisfying synthesis.<sup>716</sup> From this perspective then, the state did have a role to play in changing rural patterns, but one can probably exaggerate its importance.

#### 4.4 Direct evidence of military presence in the landscape

The final issue is the extent to which the military can be seen as taking a complete takeover of agricultural production. There is evidence of direct military takeovers elsewhere in the Roman period e.g. at Castrum at Dobrinka in the Istrian peninsula argues for an imperial dye station being installed at a villa site in the 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>717</sup> At Sirmione in the late Roman period the large earlier villa was given a defensive cordon and a military cemetery that indicates a form of state takeover. This has been linked to a fleet base operating out of the site.<sup>718</sup> In *Belgica* II it is the association with weapons, belt sets and/or crossbow brooches that have led to identification with military takeover. The best site which illustrates this is Zoufaques (Pas-de-Calais) where an excavated cellar has provided a well preserved series of stratigraphic levels that give some idea of the different uses that area went through during the 4<sup>th</sup> and early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>719</sup> Routier attributed an occupation by Germanic auxiliaries undertaking a strategic, defensive role the site on the basis of the weapons finds. These are impressive, though apart from the shield boss, these items are not necessarily certainly military artefacts.<sup>720</sup>

Knives and spears are quite commonly found across rural sites, but particularly in the cemeteries that are so numerous across the countryside of *Belgica* II. Sadly, space is too

---

<sup>716</sup> R. Mathisen 'Provinciales, Gentiles and Marriages between Romans and Barbarians in the Late Roman Empire', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 99 (2009), 140-155.

<sup>717</sup> N. Christie, 'Landscapes of Change in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Themes, Directions and Problems', in N. Christie, ed., *Landscapes of Change: Rural Evolutions in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 2004), p. 17.

<sup>718</sup> N. Christie, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>719</sup> J.-C. Routier and F. Thuillier, 'Les Témoins d'Occupation Germanique de la Villa Gallo-Romaine de Zoufaques (France) et leur apport dans le contexte de la Militarisation de la Gaule du Nord au Bas-Empire', in F. Vermeulen, K. Sas and W. Dhaeze, eds., *op. cit.*, (2004), pp. 379 – 391; J.-C. Routier, R. Delmaire, S. Lepetz and J.-L. Collart, 'Le Site gallo-romain de *Wolphus* à Zoufaques,' *Archéologie de la Picardie et du Nord de la France (Revue du Nord)*, 93 (2011), 79 – 165.

<sup>720</sup> J.-C. Routier *op. cit.*, (2004), pp. 85 – 87: the weapons were a shield boss, a large axe, a small axe, a long knife, 4 other knives, a leaf-like metal strip, a small knife, a bronze spur (similar to one found at Arras), belt buckles in silver; bronze; glass and pendants used by 'Germanic' soldiers.

limited to survey this body of evidence, except very selectively. At Neuville-Saint-Amand (Aisne) the recent excavators have made a link between the site and a cemetery nearly 1km away on the basis of finds of 'Germanic' and 'military' artefacts – i.e. weapons, belt buckles and various female personal items such as brooches and beads.<sup>721</sup> The same link has been made between the reoccupied former villa site at Limé, and the large cemetery at nearby Bois de Sables, which has similar artefacts.<sup>722</sup> Van Ossel argues that these sites are difficult to deal with as they do not clearly distinguish between private and official defence strategies and equipment.<sup>723</sup> There is no site with the clear intersection of many different indicators of military settlement unlike, say, Newel in the Trier region.<sup>724</sup> It is interesting that Routier was beginning to soften his approach and retreat from his militarized interpretation and see Zoufaques as something more complex than evidence for a garrison in his latest work on the site.

The interpretation of cemeteries is a central issue to this theme: Effros, Halsall and Theuws have all argued that it would be better to look for social explanations for the changes in burial patterns in Gaul rather than making ethnic attributions. According to their school of thought these burials represent local phenomena produced by particular circumstances that influenced the deposition of the dead, such as the need to reinforce new social structures that emerged in the context of social and political upheaval.<sup>725</sup> According to Halsall these burials, and attendant female burials, are the product of social and political insecurity, representing the emergence of a new élite class who were seeking to consolidate their

---

<sup>721</sup> S. Ziegler, 'Un Établissement Protohistorique et un Établissement Gallo-Romain a Neuville-Saint-Amand, "La Vallée de Neuville" (Aisne)', *Revue Archéologique de Picardie*, 3 – 4 (2008), p. 157.

<sup>722</sup> B. Pichon, *Aisne: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 2004), p. 85.

<sup>723</sup> P. Van Ossel, *op. cit.*, (1992), pp. 165 – 8.

<sup>724</sup> J-C. Routier, R. Delmaire, S. Lepetz and J-L. Collart, 'Le Site gallo-romain de *Wolphus* à Zoufaques,' *Archéologie de la Picardie et du Nord de la France (Revue du Nord)*, 93 (2011), 79 – 165

<sup>725</sup> B. Effros, 'Grave Goods and Ritual Explanation of Identity', in T.F.X. Noble, ed., *From Roman Provinces to Medieval Kingdoms* (2006), pp. 189 – 232; G. Halsall *Settlement and social organization : the Merovingian region of Metz* (Cambridge, 1994); F. Theuws and M. Alkemade 'A kind of mirror for men: sword depositions in late antique northern Gaul', in F. Theuws and J. Nelson, eds., *Rituals and Power: From Late Antiquity to the early Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2000), pp. 401 – 476. This also has parallels in recent epigraphic studies that suggest inscribed epitaphs have regional and local explanations – the 'epigraphic' habit of the Early Imperial period representing the fluidity of social structure in the aftermath of the establishment of Roman rule e.g. G. Woolf, 'Monumental Writing and the expansion of Roman society in the early Roman Empire,' *Journal of Roman Studies*, 86 (1996), 22 – 39. Woolf was also a pupil of I. Hodder, which perhaps explains the similarities with the Halsall school of thought.

newly established hold on power.<sup>726</sup> The use of weapons can be seen as a claim to be able to provide security and the deposition of *fibulae* and belt sets a continued use of Roman forms of power to legitimise their rule. This is a society competing for power rather than being able to represent a formal position in the hierarchy. Different burial customs do not have to represent the arrival of intrusive groups from outside the Empire who maintain a particular ethnic identity. Theuws has moved even further than Halsall by suggesting that the burials represent the establishment of new communities on previously unoccupied territories and the establishment of new social norms outside of official 'Roman' control.<sup>727</sup> Dahlgren tries to develop these views by arguing that these weapons represent hunting becoming more visible in the archaeological record, as its quasi-military values provided a way for local élites from a variety of different backgrounds to assert themselves.<sup>728</sup>

## Conclusion

As already discussed in chapter 2 there has been a strong case that the gradual abandonment of the villa-type of rural settlement in northern Gaul corresponds to a cultural shift as there was a move towards wider interaction with northern European society and movement away from Roman/Mediterranean models. Many of the sites seem to have been abandoned long before the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. For example, the recent Scheldt valley survey of ground in the central part of Belgica II shows an abandonment of all the sites in the 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>729</sup> Therefore it is probably best to argue that rather than being the main catalyst of change, it would probably be more sensible to argue that army demands themselves shifted. We have already seen in section 2 that the evidence we have is that military units sourced many of their supplies locally. Overall then there is little evidence that one could describe the landscape of *Belgica* II as 'militarised.'

---

<sup>726</sup> G. Halsall, 'The origins of the Reihengraberzivilisation: forty years on', in J. F. Drinkwater and H. Elton, eds., *op. cit.*, (1992), pp. 196 - 207

<sup>727</sup> F. Theuws, 'Grave-goods, ethnicity and the rhetoric of burial rites in late antique northern Gaul' in T. Derks and N. Roymans, eds., *Ethnic Constructs in Antiquity: the Role of Power and Tradition* (Amsterdam, 2009), pp. 283 – 319.

<sup>728</sup> M. Dahlgren, 'Hunting High and Low: weapon graves and the interpretation of hunting practices in Late Roman militarised society', in B. Stoorgard, ed., *Military aspects of the aristocracy in Barbaricum in the Roman and early migration periods: papers from an international research seminar at the Danish National Museum, Copenhagen, 10-11 December 1999* (Copenhagen, 2001), pp. 21 – 26.

<sup>729</sup> R. Clotuche, 'The Scheldt Valley Commercial Activity Zone: 350 Hectares of the Gallo-Roman Landscape', *Britannia*, 49 (2009), p. 61.

## Section 5: The Fifth Century

It was argued in chapter 1 that there was considerable continuity of what can be described as a Roman 'military identity' into the 5<sup>th</sup> century. Roman influence could still be exerted over the increasingly autonomous armies within the Empire, but this was crucially diminished in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. In this section the persistence of a formal military identity in *Belgica II* will be traced through to the accession of Clovis to see if an evolutionary pattern can be traced.

### 5.1 *Ducatus Belgicae Secundae* in the 5<sup>th</sup> century

An important question is how long the office of the *Ducatus Belgica II* existed. Did the position fall into abeyance in the early years of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, with the series of military and political crises that afflicted Roman rule in Gaul, or did it continue in some form into the 5<sup>th</sup> century? There has been a suggestion that Germanus of Auxerre held either this office, or the *Dux tractus Armorici et Nervicani*, before his accession to the bishopric of Auxerre.<sup>730</sup> This argument is based on Germanus' biographer Constantius describing him as a *dux* responsible for more than one province (*provinciae*).<sup>731</sup> This does seem rather unlikely given Germanus' earlier career was in civil administration: after his education in Gaul via legal study in Rome he served as a lawyer in the court of a *praefectus*.<sup>732</sup> His career path would have more logically seen him become a provincial governor (*praeses*) given the "many provinces" he is mentioned as looking after in his *vita*. We can most likely attribute Constantius' imprecision to a lack of clarity about the role of officials in the early 5<sup>th</sup> century by the time he came to write his work in the 470s.<sup>733</sup> There was, of course, a degree of blurring between civilian and military offices in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, despite the much vaunted

---

<sup>730</sup> 'Germanus I' in A.H.M. Jones, J.R. Martindale and J. Morris eds., *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, Volume II (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 504 – 5.

<sup>731</sup> Constantius, *Vita Germani*, 2 "...quem quidem togae praeconiis praeminentem protinus res publica ad honorum praesumpsit insignia, ducatus culmen et regimen per provincias conferendo." (Then, when he was at the height of his reputation in the legal profession, the state promoted him to official rank by conferring on him the supreme office of *dux* and rule over more than one province).

<sup>732</sup> *PLRE* vol. II ed. J. R. Martindale, *op. cit.*, (1980), Germanus I, 504 – 5.

<sup>733</sup> T. F. X. Noble and T. Head, *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (New York, 1995), p. 76.

separation that is usually seen as having been completed under Constantine.<sup>734</sup> Another possibility is that the hagiography was strengthened by Germanus having a military career. This would develop the model of the *miles Christi* that Sulpicius Severus outlined in his *Vita Martini*, where Martin had rejected the service of the Emperor in return for the service of God.<sup>735</sup> The famous story of Germanus' 'military' role in Britain (*dux proelii*) developed this theme of the Church being the means by which people could be protected from the physical difficulties of the increasingly fragmented Empire, and that the Christian God was the best guarantee of security. This would confirm the idea put forward in chapter 1, that the concept of *militia* became attached to a concept of theological significance that emerged out of the ambiguous relationship between the Church and the Empire.

Germanus' activities also coincide with Aëtius' successes in restoring some form of Roman authority to Gaul.<sup>736</sup> Unfortunately, this evidence cannot prove the continuity of the title, and we must assume that it fell into abeyance at some point in the first quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. One approach to understand the events of *Belgica II* would be to take Jerome's account of the destruction of the great invasion of 406/7 seriously, but as with the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, it seems more convincing to see the internal political instability surrounding Constantine III's usurpation and move to Arles as being more destructive in the short-term for the administrative/military framework in the province. It seems that the river based settlements e.g. Tournai (Escaut), Courtrai (Lys) & Huy (Meuse) seem to do quite well in the 5<sup>th</sup> century which implies a decline in the effectiveness of the road network, which hints at what imperial investment in the 4<sup>th</sup> century had achieved. Gregory refers to a king Chlodio at Cambrai from the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, who may be identified with the *Francus Cloio* mentioned by Sidonius fighting Majorian in this period.<sup>737</sup> The other major piece of evidence that we have for the 5<sup>th</sup> century in *Belgica II* involves the attack on some 'Franks' at *Vicus Helena* by Aëtius at some point between 428 and 448.<sup>738</sup>

If we have shown caution about knitting together historical chronologies with material evidence in the 4<sup>th</sup> century then we should be even more cautious in the 5<sup>th</sup> where both

<sup>734</sup> R.S.O. Tomlin, 'Notitia dignitatum omnium tam civilium quam militarium', in J.C. Mann Goodburn and P. Bartholomew, eds. *Aspects of the Notitia Dignitatum*. (Oxford, 1976), pp. 189 – 210.

<sup>735</sup> J. Fontaine, *Vie de Saint Martin* (Paris, 1967 – 69).

<sup>736</sup> G. Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West 376 – 568* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 238 – 9.

<sup>737</sup> Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carmina*, V.210 – 230.

<sup>738</sup> Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carmina*, V.207–227; this is traditionally sited to the east of Arras: E. Wightman, *Gallia Belgica* (Oxford, 1985), p. 303.

forms of information become more problematic. One thing we do have is more contemporary perspectives on what was happening. The *Notitia Dignitatum* is, we have argued, an ideological document presenting the aspirations of the rump imperial government who produced it. The fact they published the list reflecting the situation in the early 5<sup>th</sup> century shows that there was still an 'ideological' claim that the office existed *ducatu Belgicae secundae*, and would be appointed again.

All of this implies that the imperial administrative framework was either defunct or localized and the cultural and social shifts that appear in the burial evidence at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century were accelerating towards some form of autonomy. Aëtius' military policy of rule by 'punitive expedition' seems quite different from what we have outlined as being the framework during the 4<sup>th</sup>/ first part of the 5<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>739</sup> The problems of dating the disappearance of military units from *Belgica II* is a problem, caused by the loss of regular minted coins providing a chronological structure. On the other hand, Argonne pottery is now seen as continuing into the 5<sup>th</sup> century, so there is more optimism about some sites than in the past. The barracks at Arras are estimated to have been abandoned around 425.<sup>740</sup> Famars is now seen as being occupied to 450 at the earliest, though if it held any troops can't be confirmed.<sup>741</sup> The strong identification of these rulers with important centres in *Belgica II*: Clovis/Childeric (Tournai); Syagrius (Soissons); Ragnacar (Cambrai); Remigius (Reims), does imply that while the traditional purview of the *Dux Belgicae II* was on the coastal area, the cities of the province became the core of military and civilian power during the 5<sup>th</sup> century. This does imply the persistence of some of the infrastructure, which was of course ultimately directed at soldiers. In this context the possible move towards soldiers being barracked in cities, as at Arras and Bavay seems to indicate longer-term changes at work, and that cities did become the focus of military and thus, after the retreat of central imperial authority, political activity.

---

<sup>739</sup> G. Halsall, *op. cit.* (2007), p. 250.

<sup>740</sup> A. Jacques, 'L'occupation militaire d'Arras au Bas-Empire', in F. Vallet and M. Kazanski, eds., *L'Armée Romaine et les Barbares du IIIe au VIIe siècle* (Rouen, 1993), pp. 197 – 199.

<sup>741</sup> R. Clotuche, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

## 5.2 Aegidius & Syagrius

Rather than give a narrative of events, we will try and compare what we can learn about the relationship of two apparent *milites* who operated in *Belgica II* the first being Aegidius who was appointed as *Magister Militum* by Avitus or Majorian 456 - 458.<sup>742</sup> Much ink has been spilt on the precise context in which these men were operating but the link between Aegidius to *Belgica II* is made through his son Syagrius, who as *rex romannorum*, is placed by Gregory of Tours in Soissons, and whose defeat, for Gregory, was a watershed.<sup>743</sup> There is some numismatic evidence to support this.<sup>744</sup> The nature of his position and role has been a subject of considerable discussion as he is one of the few historical figures for whom some detail survives from the north of Gaul. The surviving sources do lack some consistency in their description of the precise titles that Aegidius held. The following table summarises the details:

**Table 11 references to Aegidius' formal titles**

Source Reference	Aegidius title	Date
Gregory of Tours <i>HF</i> II.13	<i>Magister Militum</i> <i>Rex Francorum</i>	Late 6 <sup>th</sup> century
Marius of Avenches <i>Chronicle</i> (463)	Aegidius (no formal title mentioned)	Late 6 <sup>th</sup> century
Gallic Chronicler of 511 (461)	No mention of Aegidius at all	Early 6 <sup>th</sup> century
Hydatius <i>Chronicle</i>	<i>Comes</i> (5.1.212) <i>Comes utriusque militiae</i>	460s (Chronicle ends in 469)

<sup>742</sup> He was probably a native of Gaul, *PLRE II* Aegidius, 11-12; P. McGeorge *ibid*, p. 83 favours the appointment being made by Majorian in 458.

<sup>743</sup> The precise nature of this episode is mired in controversy with E. James, *The Franks* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 78 – 80 arguing that Syagrius' importance was deliberately exaggerated by Gregory of Tours to emphasise the victory of Clovis and P. MacGeorge *Late Roman Warlords* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 125 – 130 arguing strongly against this view saying that Gregory was reporting a genuine memory.

<sup>744</sup> J.P.C Kent, *The Divided empire and the fall of the western parts, 395-491 RIC X* (London, 1994), pp. 27; 220 – 229.



	(5.2.214)	
Priscus Fr. 39 (Blockley) Exc. <i>De Leg. Gent. 14</i>	"Fellow soldier of Majorian" Commander of "large force"	470s?

The principal discrepancy seems to be Aegidius' formal title. Gregory claims he was *magister militum* while the contemporary Hydatius calls him *comes utriusque militiae* which seems an odd combination of a variety of military titles. This could be used to imply the parochialism of Aegidius' position: that he was using a variety of Roman titles to legitimise his position in northern Gaul rather than representing a formal relationship to the central Imperial administration. Burgess has suggested that Nepotianus and Arborius who campaigned in Spain during the 450s, and whom Hydatius describes as *magister militiae*, are not Roman *magistri* as they are often described, but Visigothic commanders.<sup>745</sup> Roman titulature was the only available organisational military model (apart from *reges*) so its adoption by the Goths is entirely sensible. Aegidius therefore represents a similar local formulation. However, this is not the only reading as the title of *comes* was quite flexible – technically it signified an official carrying out duties for the imperial court.<sup>746</sup> Many *comites* had specific military roles leading *comitatenses* as '*comes rei militaris*' but there are examples of *magistri militum* also holding the title in a more honorific manner e.g. Stilicho received 4 rescripts in the Theodosian Code describing him as '*comes and magister militum*.'<sup>747</sup> Hydatius also compresses the title *dux et magister utriusque militiae* and *comes et magister utriusque militiae* on several other occasions into formulas similar to Aegidius so his rendering supports Gregory, it does not contradict him.<sup>748</sup>

The most notable title attributed to Aegidius is his title of *Rex Francorum*, recorded by Gregory of Tours. Some scholars have questioned whether this is simply an error on Gregory's part, a result of him transposing the title *rex* on anyone holding authority over

<sup>745</sup> R. Burgess, 'From Gallia Romana to Gallia Gothica: a Spanish view', in J.F. Drinkwater and H. Elton, eds., *op cit.* (1992), pp. 24 – 26.

<sup>746</sup> P. Barnwell, *Emperors, Prefects and Kings* (London, 1992), p. 37.

<sup>747</sup> *C.Th.* VII.22.12, 5.1, 13.18, 20.13.

<sup>748</sup> R. Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

people he saw as Franks, as was the case in his own day.<sup>749</sup> Others have been more supportive of Gregory and doubt whether such a title is a result of carelessness, suggesting that Aegidius was involved in a power struggle with rivals for the position such as Childeric.<sup>750</sup> There is a parallel to be drawn with Alaric's adoption of the title of *rex gothorum* in the Balkans in the 390s. This has been discussed as a means of creating legitimacy for Alaric's rule when his 'army' was thrown out of the Roman military system during his complex relationship with the western and eastern courts in the 390s.<sup>751</sup> The prominent role 'Franks' have whenever Aegidius is discussed is significant. Arguably, this reflects Aegidius' recruitment of large numbers of Franks into his forces, which then evolved an ethnic identity under Aegidius' leadership as he became more separate from the central government in Italy.<sup>752</sup>

Aegidius seems to have undertaken a significant amount of fighting, most notably the encounter with the Visigoths recorded for 463 by various sources in the Loire region.<sup>753</sup> It is painfully difficult given the paucity of evidence to establish the nature of the force that Aegidius commanded. The answer falls between two stools: some would argue for a 'Romanised' force based on the 'Gallic field army' that had continued to survive the travails of the 5<sup>th</sup> century or one can see Aegidius as representing the culmination of barbarisation, commanding a war-band of Franks who had very little to do with any form of Roman army.<sup>754</sup> What is crucial is that the contemporary sources, i.e. Hydatius and Priscus, despite their geographical distance, tend to stress that Aegidius is continuing to work within a recognisably Roman structure. This is clearly how things looked to observers from some distance away and undoubtedly this was the image that Aegidius and his supporters were trying to project, even though what was happening on the ground may have looked odd to a senator in Rome or Constantinople. This is where the similarity with Alaric also comes in useful, as he was undoubtedly also competing for a place within the existing Roman politico-military system and was being frustrated in this quest by being undermined at a politically

---

<sup>749</sup> E. James, *The Franks* (Oxford, 1988), p. 68.

<sup>750</sup> D. Frye, 'Aegidius, Childeric, Odovacer and Paul', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 36 (1992), 1-14; for a contrary opinion on this thesis see P. McGeorge, *Late Roman Warlords* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 95-97.

<sup>751</sup> T. Burns, *Barbarians within the Gates of Rome* (Bloomington, 1994), pp. 179-82.

<sup>752</sup> G. Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West 376-568* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 267.

<sup>753</sup> P. McGeorge, *op. cit.*, (2002), p. 99.

<sup>754</sup> P. McGeorge *op. cit.* (2002), chapter 10 opts out of taking any firm position of the question. G Halsall *op. cit.*, (2007), p. 267, describes Aegidius as commander of the "Roman field army on the Loire".

unstable court in Italy. In the confused accounts of the battle between Aegidius' forces and those of Fredericus and a Visigoth army in the Orleans region, Hydatius' version stresses that Aegidius was maintaining imperial policy of restricting Visigothic attempts to unilaterally expand their territories. He may well have looked to Constantinople for ultimate authority, though there would have been no practicality in putting himself under the eastern command structure. The record of him sending legates to the Vandal king should be seen as a witness to his capacity to act autonomously to undermine Ricimer and Libius Severus in Italy rather than him acting as an independent ruler.<sup>755</sup>

What Aegidius demonstrates is the complexity of military identities in the context of the fragmentation of the western imperial structures. I would suggest that Aegidius continued to maintain a Roman army in a form that was identifiable to contemporaries – Priscus seems supportive of this, describing Aegidius as being in charge of a “large force” and stressing that he was “a fellow soldier of Majorian’s.”<sup>756</sup> Hydatius makes many other favourable comments about Aegidius, describing him as a “*vir at fama commendatus et Deo bonis peribus complacens*” (a man who both enjoyed an excellent reputation and was very pleasing to God because of his good works).<sup>757</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux also praises his courage, good character and faith in his Life of St. Martin.<sup>758</sup> One could argue these were simply comments on their piety, but to separate that from feelings of political solidarity is perhaps being too schematic.<sup>759</sup> The rhetorical *schema* outlined in chapter 1 is broad enough to encompass this.

In the aftermath of Majorian's murder his legitimacy became more complex, and this explains the possibility of a hostile tradition amongst strict constitutionally minded figures. The *Vita Lupicini* preserves a hostile view to Aegidius, arguing that he was seeking to undermine the *Comes* Agrippinus by accusing him of selling out to the Visigoths “*barbaris procul dubio favere et subretione clandestine provincias a publica niteretur ditione desciscere*” (he was trying to grant favour to the barbarians and by secret plots to detach

---

<sup>755</sup> Hydatius, 224 (465).

<sup>756</sup> Priscus, Blockley fr. 39.

<sup>757</sup> Hydatius, 214 (463).

<sup>758</sup> Paulinus Petricordis, *V. S. Mart.* VI. 111-2: “*Illustrem virtute virum sed moribus almis plus clarum magnumque fide qua celsior exstat*”.

<sup>759</sup> Contra J. Harries, *Sidonius Apollinaris and the Fall of Rome* (Oxford, 1994) pp. 98-99.

provinces from the government of the state).<sup>760</sup> It is certainly telling that Sidonius fails to mention Aegidius by name in any of his letters, even though he does make allusions to him in his work, which implies that he excised Aegidius' name when he published his works in the 470s.<sup>761</sup> It is odd that the Gallic Chronicler of 511 replaces any mention of Aegidius by describing '*Franci*' in his account of the battle at Orleans. However, as discussed above, the 511 Chronicle rarely discusses Roman military actions or *milites*. Rather than describing him as an independent 'warlord' who was merely using his title of *magister* as a shroud to his actions, I would suggest that, as far as he was able, Aegidius was trying to maintain a traditional Roman military identity.<sup>762</sup> His problem was that the political and material context in which he operated. Comparing Aegidius with a Western military usurper in the 4<sup>th</sup> century such as Magnus Maximus is instructive. Maximus, having asserted his military control of Gaul in opposition to the regime he rebelled against declared himself Emperor. Aegidius never did this, which would have been the traditional response if he was leading a Roman army in the west, which highlights how far things had changed.

### 5.3 Childeric and Clovis

There has been extensive argument whether the Frankish kingdom emerged from pre-existing Roman structures; traditional Frankish practice; or as a result of entirely new structures created by the changing circumstances of the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>763</sup> The restrictions of the current study mean we must focus is whether any echoes of the *ducatus* or any other Roman military position can be traced in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. Discussions of the continuity of Roman military structures through the 5<sup>th</sup> century

---

<sup>760</sup> *Vita Lupicini*, 96.

<sup>761</sup> J. Harries, *Sidonius Apollinaris and the Fall of Rome* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 247-8.

<sup>762</sup> *Contra* J. Harries *op. cit.*, p. 141.

<sup>763</sup> Most studies of the 5<sup>th</sup> century tend to be in general terms (as discussed in chapter 2). H-W Goetz, 'Gens, Kings and Kingdoms', in H-W. Goetz, J. Jarnut and W. Pohl, eds., *Regna and Gentes: the relationship between Late Antique and Early Medieval Peoples and Kingdoms in the Transformation of the Roman World* (Leiden, 2003), pp. 307 – 344 though some try to isolate specific elements: D. Frye, 'Transformation and Tradition in the Merovingian Civitas,' *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 39, (1995), 1-11, argues that the *civitas* remained the main unit of administration under the Merovingians, and represented a development that arose out of an evolution of a more focused, local identity based on the *civitas* during the late Roman period. This was enhanced in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century by the erection of walled circuits around the cities of northern Gaul, which provided an additional focus of protection. He also argues that there is a dislocation during the 6<sup>th</sup> century when the Franks rearmed the *civitates* and used them to further their conquests in Gaul.

have generally been quite general.<sup>764</sup> The most direct written evidence is dominated by the rather opaque letter Bishop Remigius of Reims wrote to Clovis:

*Rumor ad nos magnum pervenit administrationem vos secundum Belgice (sic) suscepisse. Non est novum ut coepessit esse sicut parentes tui semper fuerunt.*<sup>765</sup>

A strong report has come to us that you have taken over the administration of second *Belgica*. There is nothing new in that you now begin to be what your *parentes*<sup>766</sup> were.

If this letter is to be taken literally, it could be reconstructed to mean that government of the province had survived in some significant form, and Clovis inherited this from his predecessors, which is presumed by most commentators to mean his father Childeric.<sup>767</sup> Many historians accept this testimony as *prima facie* evidence that the provincial administration remained intact.<sup>768</sup> Halsall has argued that the territory of *Belgica* II retained enough provincial and military administration to make it one basis for the “Roman” armies he argues continued to operate in the Loire valley in the 460s and 470s.<sup>769</sup> Did *administratio* therefore have any formal (or semi-formal) meaning in this context? The question of survival of Roman administration in the north of Gaul is problematic, though many have argued that some aspects did survive.<sup>770</sup> Remigius’ letter is highly stylised, though is

---

<sup>764</sup> B. Bachrach, *Merovingian Military Organisation 481 -751* (Minneapolis, 1971), pp. 4 – 5, argues for the continued existence of Roman military institutions until Clovis’ reign, the use of which gave him advantage over his competitors, though he does not elucidate what these were in practice. Anderson develops this argument by suggesting that Clovis’ army emerges directly from the *laeti* colonies and *foederati* settlements in northern Gaul of the 4<sup>th</sup> century in T.S. Anderson, ‘Roman military colonies in Gaul, Salian Ethnogenesis and the forgotten meaning of *Pactus Legis Salicae* 59.5’, *Early Medieval Europe*, 4 (1995), 129 – 144.

<sup>765</sup> *MGH III Epistolae Austrasicae* 2, p. 113, The text is erroneous in its transcription of *Belgicae Secundae*.

<sup>766</sup> According to Lewis and Short (parents) this term is quite general and could apply to parents but also of ancestors of generations preceding the present, and in rare instances after the Augustan period, in a more general sense of ‘relations’ or ‘kinsfolk’; it also has the meaning of a founder which would make more sense in a dynastic setting, which doesn’t seem to be the case here.

<sup>767</sup> M. Rouché, *Clovis* (Paris, 1996), pp. 389 – 391.

<sup>768</sup> E. James, *The Franks* (Oxford, 1988), p. 6; S. Lebecq, ‘The two faces of King Childeric: history, archaeology, historiography’, in T. F. X. Noble, ed., *From Roman Provinces to Medieval Kingdoms* (New York, 2006), p. 330.

<sup>769</sup> G. Halsall, ‘Childeric’s Grave, Clovis’ succession and the origins of the Merovingian Kingdom’, in R. W. Mathisen and D. Shanzer, *Society and Culture in Late Antique Gaul: Revisiting the Sources* (Aldershot, 2001), p. 127.

<sup>770</sup> J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Long Haired Kings* (London, 1962), pp. 8 – 9, argues that many of the legal and administrative practices of northern Gaul continued into the Merovingian period in terms of the long-term acculturation of the Franks to Roman practice and while legal expertise may have been found in south-western Gaul, he argues that the *Lex Salica* implies the continuance of vulgar law. “The Franks may well have misunderstood and failed to use much of what they found of government and administration in Gaul, but they certainly brought no alternative with them. Their rule was Roman derivative.” J. Wallace-Hadrill *op. cit.*, p. 9. The argument that Clovis wished to control Reims in particular because of its administrative expertise, economic strength and strategic position is highlighted by Noel Lázaro Delgado, *The grand testamentum of*

probably a set-piece rhetorical flourish on the nature of a good ruler. The question is what model he is using. Rouché is quite convinced that Remigius' list of qualities is that of the perfect *rector provinciae*.<sup>771</sup> Given Remigius' position, there are plenty of biblical allusions that he could be using, depending on who the audience for the letter actually is (he may have sent copies to his episcopal colleagues – and may have been more concerned to please them than Clovis!) There are several potential objections to using Remigius' letter in such a positivist way. Firstly, it is not clear how far the concept of *provincia* continued to be relevant in northern Gaul in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. Remigius, given his education, was writing in a self-consciously archaic manner and, much like his correspondent Sidonius, using his cultural heritage as a means of asserting the ecclesiastical power of himself and his aristocratic colleagues in the face of Clovis' military strength.<sup>772</sup> The amicable, almost paternalistic, language may disguise Remigius' relative weakness relative to Clovis, an attitude which would emphasise the alien nature of the Frankish king to the Gallo-Roman élite.

A distinction was created between the civilian authority of a *praeses* and the military authority of a *dux* in a province, though the authority of a *ducatus* was linked to a frontier region (*limes*). One can presume that the office of *praeses* for *Belgica II* had fallen into abeyance, at the very latest, by the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. Remigius could be hinting that Clovis had inherited another formal position or title, such as that of *dux*, from Childeric.<sup>773</sup> The main problem with this argument is there is no direct evidence to support it! Indirectly, Gregory of Tours makes the interesting comment from his own researches into the origins of Frankish kingship that: "The question who was the first of the kings of the

---

*Remigius of Reims: Its authenticity, juridical acta and bequeathed property* (Minnesota, 2011), pp. 15 – 21; H. Wolfram argues that Clovis must have received some education for Remigius' letter to have any meaning which he uses to imply that there was some continuity of the educational system H. Wolfram, *The Roman Empire and its Germanic Peoples* (Berkeley, 1997), p. 198.

<sup>771</sup> M. Rouché, *Clovis* (Paris, 1996), p. 392 – this argument is based principally on the line "praetorium tuum, omnibus omnibus pateatur ut nullus exinde tristis abscedat." (That your *praetorium* (tribunal) will be open to all and that no-one returns from it disappointed). This Rouché argues shows that the concern was that Clovis should be an ideal judge.

<sup>772</sup> Remigius' education see Sidonius, *Declamationes* "There is no oration by any man living today which your skill could not effortlessly surpass and outstrip" *Ep.* IX.7; Gregory of Tours, who seems to be relying on a lost *vita Remigii* makes a similar comment *Libri Hist.* II.31 describing him as a "bishop of immense learning and a scholar above everything else."

<sup>773</sup> Several scholars emphasise that Childeric was a "Roman general" e.g. H. Wolfram, *The Roman Empire and its Germanic Peoples* (Berkeley, 1997), p. 203; A. C. Murray *Gregory of Tours: the Merovingians* (2006), p. xxii says that Childeric was "associated with Roman and military episcopal authorities."

Franks is disregarded by many writers. Though the history of Sulpicius Alexander tells much of them, still it does not name their first king, but says that they had dukes.”<sup>774</sup> Sulpicius was writing in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century, so this moves out of the time frame, but implies Gregory sees a line of continuity between the two phases. There are several figures in the written sources with various Roman titles in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century who operated in northern Gaul (e.g. the *comes* Paul and Aegidius, who is identified as both *magister militum* and *comes*).<sup>775</sup> Most of the “Franks” we meet are given the title of *rex*. Clovis could not have been entirely in control of the province, a fact that seems to be underlined by the existence of other apparently independent rulers in the province, such as the *rex* Ragnachar in Cambrai.<sup>776</sup> Childeric is only referred to in the sources as a *rex*.<sup>777</sup>

There is traditionally a strong historiographical split between those that place stress on Childeric’s *romanitas* and those who emphasise his non-Roman, pagan identity; others equivocate and say he displays both.<sup>778</sup> The only really contemporary source we have for Childeric is his burial. The post-processual approach favoured by Halsall and Effros does allow these rites to be read as a source about what Clovis was claiming. Since Chifflet’s discovery of the tomb in 1653, scholars have stressed how the burial uses Roman artefacts as a statement of his ‘imperial’ status, hence the references to “Roman general” that are continually used when modern scholars discuss Childeric. This would stress continuity in the way that *militia* had a strong rhetorical component which could be exploited to present one’s use of force as legitimate and within a Roman cultural framework. On the other hand, most scholars who stress the Roman models place them in Constantinople rather than with Rome, so already the connection with a cultural continuity through Roman traditions in Gaul is weak. Childeric’s sword has recently been recognised as a western military type. The horse burials revealed by Bruet in his excavations in the 1980s also showed that Childeric

---

<sup>774</sup> Gregory of Tours, *History*, II.9.

<sup>775</sup> Paul: Gregory of Tours, *History*, II.18; Aegidius *Magister Militum*, Gregory of Tours, *HISTORY* II.13, *comes*, Hydatius *Chronicle* 5.1.212; 5.2.214.

<sup>776</sup> Gregory of Tours, *History*, II.42.

<sup>777</sup> Gregory of Tours, *History*, II.12 [*regnem super Francorum gentem*]; II.18 (the Angers Annals section); *Vita Genovefa*, 26, “*Childericus rex Francorum*.” The inscription of the ring that was found in his presumed tomb at Tournai says *CHILDERICUS REX*.

<sup>778</sup> S. Lebecq, ‘The two faces of King Childeric: history, archaeology, historiography’, in T. F. X. Noble, ed., *From Roman Provinces to Medieval Kingdoms* (New York, 2006), pp. 327 – 344.

was placed under an enormous, round tumulus.<sup>779</sup> While stressing the ‘pagan’ connotations, these views have been pushed further forward by Kazanski and Périn.<sup>780</sup> They argue, in an old fashioned culture-historical model, that both the tumulus and horse-burials show influences from Eastern Europe, and particularly the Huns. They cite evidence from Jordanes that Attila had a tumulus prepared for his own burial, before being interred secretly elsewhere. The authors suggest that the tumulus was a means by which large numbers of people could be brought into the rituals as a means of consolidating the heirs’ social position. The weakness of relying on the 6<sup>th</sup> century testimony of Jordanes is noted, but as they point out, mounds devoid of burials are found in the Hungarian plain in the 5<sup>th</sup> century. What the range of influences Kazanski and Périn show, even if ethnic labels need to be treated carefully is that Childeric (or Clovis) were busy creating a new military identity from a variety of sources. The fact they had to shows in a way that the ebb of Roman power at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> and early 5<sup>th</sup> century didn’t instantly create a new model of military identity.

## 5.4 Conclusion

In the context of this investigation it seems very unlikely that any of these characters would have identified themselves with the *Ducatus Belgicae* II at any point, though ultimately the written sources are not sufficient to make a definitive statement on this. It would seem logical in the absence of a civilian governor, a military commander with some form of official recognition operating in *Belgica* II could have filled the administrative void left behind with the shrivelling up of central influence and taken over some civilian responsibilities: a parallel, in some ways, to the ‘militarisation’ of civilian government that Brown argues occurred in Byzantine administered Italy a century after the period under review here.<sup>781</sup> During the 5<sup>th</sup> century as imperial power retreated to Italy (arguably after Gratian’s move to Milan in 381), and the direct involvement in local affairs would have diminished it appears that change

---

<sup>779</sup> P. Périn and M. Kazanski, ‘La Tombe de Childeric, le Danube et le Méditerranée’, in L. Verslype, ed., *Villes et campagnes en Neustrie: sociétés, économies, territoires, Christianisation* (Montagnac, 2007), pp. 29 – 37.

<sup>780</sup> P. Périn and M. Kazanski, *ibid.*, pp. 35 – 36.

<sup>781</sup> T. S. Brown, *Gentlemen and officers: imperial administration and aristocratic power in Byzantine Italy, A.D. 554-800* (London, 1984), beyond the reliance on circumstantial parallels from the Mediterranean region 100 years either side of the period under focus.



came quite quickly and by Clovis' accession, Roman military identities existed only as a literary *topos* in the educated minds of Sidonius and Remigius.

## Chapter 4: Conclusions

This study has attempted to demonstrate that many of the approaches to the late Roman military presence in the provincial society of *Belgica II* have approached the evidence with too many *a priori* assumptions and that alternative interpretations which challenge conventional wisdom are both feasible and desirable. However, we must always acknowledge the fundamental difficulty when dealing with the late Roman military system: the surviving evidence is extremely complex and often opaque, and can easily support quite different interpretations.

### 4.1 Identity

‘Military identity’, as modern sociological theory has shown, was not eternal and unchanging but mutable and affected by the particular social context in which it operated. In the Roman world, this identity ranged from a rhetorical means of legitimising imperial rule through armed service, but also created an institutional framework within which a diverse group of individuals could share a series of common ideas and routines which helped create a sense of military identity. On the other hand, there were also local expressions of community within army units, and wherever *milites* found themselves. Gardner argues that these regional identities were particularly strong, and that there were clear differences between Gaul and Britain, but it may be that these differences have been exaggerated. Gardner probably overrates the ethnic (i.e. ‘Germanic’) dimension to Gallic military units, certainly in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, and possibly even in the first few decades of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>782</sup> Further research needs to be done to understand the relationship between military identity and provincial cultures through the Empire as they underwent the transition from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the 5<sup>th</sup> centuries. The focus on the army of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century as an ideal type is partially a stereotype we can already see developing in the Christian literature which increasingly appropriated the concept of *militia* for its own purposes. The 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries should be seen as distinctive periods in their own right where military identity was refashioned between the twin anvils of tradition and socio-economic change rather than as representing a decline from an imaginary ‘golden age’.

---

<sup>782</sup> A. Gardner, *An Archaeology of Identity: Soldiers and Society in Late Roman Britain* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 258 – 261.

## 4.2 Integration

Crucially, the discourse of integration in Roman military studies seems a crude tool of analysis for our purposes. Soldiers did spend more time in cities, and across the landscape, in the 4<sup>th</sup> century onwards than in earlier periods, but that did not mean that they became part of the local community or developed growing interest in extending their own power and influence in local areas. Integration and separation are false dichotomies as both can apply simultaneously – identity is flexible enough for this. The evidence seems to suggest that when it comes to routines, ceremonies and the organisation of space, *milites* retained features that separated them from the diverse civilian community. A distinct military community existed, as it had done during the early Empire: a group of people with military attachments who retained dual identities, but who were part of a different world to ordinary civilians. Even when soldiers appear to be increasingly moved into urban areas (or settlements who retained some urban features) at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, they retained a physical and mental separation from the non-military population. Establishing how distinctive *Belgica* II was compared with the rest of the western Empire requires further research.

## 4.3 Militarisation

‘Militarisation’ is a crude term that is often poorly defined and seeks to reduce a series of complex changes into a misleadingly simple process. The best evidence for a militarisation of the province arguably comes in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, when financial collapse and political turmoil saw soldiers spread throughout the province in an attempt to reassert imperial authority, which was challenged by several groups, such as the *baguadae* and soldiers loyal to Carausius, who had quite different approaches in challenging the authority of the Tetrarchs, but could be argued to represent a similar phenomenon. The landscape did become more dominated by fortified structures but this happened gradually and was related to a series of longer-term changes in the provincial social and economic structures that had been occurring since the start of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. Militarisation was not so much an increasing influence of soldiers over civilian affairs as the imperial government intervening more directly in provincial life. Again, this is easily exaggerated, as despite its increased manpower and physical presence in late Antiquity, the Roman Empire was a reactive rather

than a proactive entity. It was the relationship of the diverse groups of people found in *Belgica II* during the 4<sup>th</sup> and early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries to the imperial government that was crucially altered by the political crises of the period. After imperial influence diminished in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, northern Gaul moved in a different direction. The breakdown of the administrative and material structures that had maintained the military communities of *Belgica II* appears to have been particularly serious in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, and this in turn reveals why we find little evidence for soldiers in the province after this point. It seems likely therefore, that before long new identities were being created, but crucially were being fashioned out of the foundations of those that they replaced.

This thesis would argue that we should recognise two divergent trends in the late Roman military structures. There was a centralising, universal set of values, which competed with a localising trend that created very particular expressions of military identity. While the Emperors and their proclamations, edicts and reforms created a uniformity of practice this would not apply consistently across the Empire due to the limitations imposed by geographical variation. We can witness the emergence of regional variation in the local responses to issues of insecurity and a continued need for military force to maintain order. This should not be understood as a teleological development, where we begin from a clear unitary army structure that gradually fragmented, but as a continual cyclical process of fragmentation and reconstruction. This could happen on an Empire-wide scale (as under the Tetrarchs and Constantine) but also on a more restricted, local basis (as under Valentinian I). The wider political developments of the 5<sup>th</sup> century changed the dynamics of this evolutionary trend with the pace of change quickening dramatically as the century progressed. Sidonius Apollinaris recorded Majorian's proclamation in Rome in 457 as the simultaneous act of the whole city: people, senators, soldiers.<sup>783</sup> Even allowing for the deliberate anachronism in Sidonius's writings, this phrase has a clear political implication that showed how the 'Roman army' was becoming the tool of historiography it remains today, as an idealised expression of a world that had vanished.

Future research should try and explore these issues in a wider context across the west, or explore the various topics raised here in more detail. Each aspect covered has only touched

---

<sup>783</sup> Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carmen*, V.385: "*Postquam ordine vobis ordo omnis regum dederat; plebs, curia, miles et college simul*".

the surface of understanding how the later Roman period relates to the *longue durée* of northern Gaul. The full understanding of the changing burial practices in northern Gaul and their relationship to changes in military structure remains a particular challenge, despite so much recent work, and possible provides the best evidence to allow a reconstruction of the dynamic processes of change we have outlined.

## Bibliography

### Primary Sources

- Acts of the Christian Martyrs*, ed. and trans. by Herbert Musurillo (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972)
- Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, ed. by Wolfgang Seyfarth, *Schriften und Quellen der Alten Welt*, Bd. 21, 4 vols. (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1968 - 71); trans. by J. C. Rolfe, Loeb Classical Library, 3 vols (Cambridge Mass: Loeb, 1935 - 9)
- Cassiodorus, *Variae*, ed. by Theodor Mommsen, *MGH AA XII* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1894), pp. 10 - 325; Selected *Variae* trans. by S.J.B. Barnish, *Translated Texts for Historians*, 12 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2006)
- Augustine, *Epistulae*, ed. Alois Goldbacher, *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, v. 34, 44, 57, 58 (New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1961 - 70)
- Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus*, ed. and French trans. by Pierre Dufraigne (Paris: Budé, 1975); trans. by H. W. Bird (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1994)
- Chronia Gallica ad annum 452*, ed. by Richard W. Burgess, 'The Gallic Chronicle of 452', in Ralph W. Mathisen and Danuta Shanzer, eds., *Society and Culture in late Antique Gaul* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 52 - 84
- Chronica Gallica ad annum 511*, ed. by Richard W. Burgess, 'The Gallic Chronicle of '511'', in Ralph W. Mathisen and Danuta Shanzer, eds., *Society and Culture in late Antique Gaul* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 85 - 100
- Claudian, *Carmina*, ed. by T Birt, *MGH.AA 10* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1892); trans. by Maurice Platnauer, Loeb Classical Library, 2 vols. (London: Heinemann, 1922)
- Constantius, *Vita Germani*, ed. by René Borius *Constance de Lyon, Vie de Saint Germain d'Auxerre* (Paris: Université de Paris, 1965)
- Diocletian, *Edict on Prices*, ed. by Siegfried Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedikt* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1971)
- Exposito Totius Mundi et gentium*, ed. by Jean Rougé (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1996)
- Eugippius, *Vita Sancti Severini*, ed. by Rudolf Noll (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1963); trans. Ludwig Bieler, *Fathers of the Church*, 55 (Washington, D.C: Catholic University of America Press, 1965)
- Eunapius, *History* ed and trans R. C. Blockley, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus*, vol. 2 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1983)
- Eutropius, *Breviarum*, ed. by Hans Droysen, *MGH.AA 2* (München: Monumenta Germaniae historica, 2000, c 1879); trans. by H.W. Bird, *Liverpool Translated Texts for Historians*, 14 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1993)
- Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum*, eds. Wilhelm F. Arndt and Bruno Kursch, *MGH Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*, I.1, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Hanover, 1951); trans. by Lewis Thorpe, Penguin Classics (London: Penguin, 1974)
- Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria martyrum*, ed. Bruno Krusch *MGH, Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*, I.2 (Hannover, 1885), pp. 484 - 561; trans. by R. Van Dam, *Translated texts for historians*, 3 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1988)
- Historia Augusta*, ed. by E. Hohl, *Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana* (Lipsiae: Teubner, 1927); trans. by David Magie, Loeb Classical Library, 3 vols. (London: Heinemann, 1922 - 32)

- Hydatius, *Chronica*, ed. and trans. by Richard W. Burgess, *The Chronicle of Hydatius and the Consularia Constantinopolitana* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 70 – 122
- Jerome, *Epistulae*, ed. and trans. by Frederick A. Wright, *Select letters of Saint Jerome*, Loeb Classical Library, 262 (London: Heinemann, 1933)
- Julian, *Works*, eds. and French trans. by Joseph Bidez and Christian Lacombrade, Collection des universités de France (Paris: Budé, 1932 – 64)
- Codex Justinianus*, ed. by Paul Kreuger, *Corpus iuris civilis*, vol. 2, 14<sup>th</sup> edition (Berlin: Weidmann, 1959)
- Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, ed. and trans. by J. L. Creed (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984)
- Libanius, *Letters*, ed. and trans. by Albert F. Norman, Loeb Classical Library, 478 – 9, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992)
- Libanius, *Orations*, ed. and trans. by Albert F. Norman, Loeb Classical Library 451 – 452, 2 vols. (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987)
- Life of Daniel the Stylite*, trans. by Elizabeth Dawes and Norman H. Baynes, Three Byzantine saints: contemporary biographies (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1996)
- Merobaudes, Fl., *Panegyric to Aetius*, ed. and trans. by Frank M. Clover, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, v. 61 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1971)
- Notitia Dignitatum*, ed. by Otto Seeck (Berlin: Weidmann, 1876)
- Olympiodorus, *History*, ed. and trans. by R. C. Blockley, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus*, vol. 2 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1983)
- de Rebus Bellicis*, ed. R. Ireland, *Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1984); ed. and trans. by Barbara Flower and E. A. Thompson, *A Roman reformer and inventor: being a new text of the treatise De rebus bellicis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952)
- Orosius, *Historiae adversos paganos*, ed. and trans. by Marie-Pierre Arnaud-Lindet Collection des universités de France, 3 vols. (Paris: Budé, 1990 - 91); trans. by Andrew T. Fear, *Orosius: Seven books of history against the pagans*, Liverpool Translated Texts for Historians, 54 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010)
- Panegyrici Latini*, ed. by Richard A.B. Mynors, *Scriptorum classicorum bibliotheca Oxoniensis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964); trans. by C.E.V. Nixon and Barbara S. Rodgers, Transformation of the classical heritage, 21 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994)
- Paulinus of Nola, *Sancti Pontii Meropii Paulini Nolani*, ed. Wilhelm Hartel with Margrit Kamptner, *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*; vol. 29-30 (Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999)
- Paulinus of Pella, *Eucharisticos*, ed. and French trans. by Claude Moussy, *Paulin de Pella, Poème d'action de grâces et prière* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1974)
- Possidius, *Vita Augustinii*, trans. by Frederick R. Hoare, *The Western fathers: being the lives of SS. Martin of Tours, Ambrose, Augustine of Hippo, Honoratus of Arles and Germanus of Auxerre*, Makers of Christendom (London: Sheed and Ward, 1954)
- Prosper Tiro, *MGH Chronica Minora* 1, pp. 341 – 500
- Querolus*, ed. by Catherine Jacquemard-le Saos, Collection des universités de France (Paris: Budé, 1994)

- Salvian, *De gubernatione dei*, ed. and French trans. by Georges Lagarrigue, *Salvien de Marseille, Oeuvres, II*, Sources chrétiennes, 220 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1975)
- Priscus, *History*, ed. and trans. by R. C. Blockley, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus*, vol. 2 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1983)
- Procopius, *Wars*, eds. Jakob Haury and Gerard Wirth, *Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*, 3 vols. (Lipsiae: Teubner, 1962 – 3); ed. and trans. by Henry B. Dewing, Loeb Classical Library, 4 vols. (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1914 – 1928)
- Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistulae et Carminae*, ed. Christian Luetjohann, *MGH.AA 8* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1887); trans. by William B. Anderson, Loeb classical library, 296, 420 (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1936 - 1965)
- Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini*, ed. and French trans. by Jacques Fontaine, Sources Chrétienne, 133 -5 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1967 – 9)
- Symmachus, *Opera*, ed. by Otto Seeck, *MGH AA 6.1* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1961)
- Synesius, *De Regno*, ed. and French trans. by Christian Lacombrade (Paris: Budé, 1951)
- Codex Theodosianus*, ed. by Theodor Mommsen and Paul Meyer, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1954); trans. by Clyde Pharr (New York: Greenwood Press, 1969)
- Vegetius, *Epitoma rei militaris*, ed. by Carl Lang, *Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana* (Lipsiae: Teubner, 1885); trans. by Neil P. Milner, Liverpool Translated Texts for Historians, 16 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1996)
- Vita Lupicini*, ed. and trans. by Kim Vivian, Jeffrey B. Russell, and Tim Vivian, *The life of the Jura fathers : the life and rule of the holy fathers Romanus, Lupicinus, and Eugendus, abbots of the monasteries in the Jura Mountains, with appendices, Avitus of Vienne, Letter XVIII to Viventius--Eucherius of Lyon, The passion of the martyrs of Agaune, Saint Maurice and his companions [and] In praise of the desert* (Kalamazoo, Mich. : Cistercian Publications, 1990)
- Zosimus, *Historia Nova*, ed. and French trans. by François Paschoud (Paris: Budé, 1971 – 89); trans. by Ronald T. Ridley, *Byzantina Australiensia*, 2 (Canberra : Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1982)

## Secondary works

- Agache, Roger, *La Somme pre-Romaine et Romaine d'après les Prospections Aériennes à Basse Altitude* (Amiens: Société des antiquaires de Picardie, 1978)
- Alcock, Susan, *Graecia Capta: the landscapes of Roman Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993)
- Alföldy, Geza, 'The Crisis of the Third Century as Seen by Contemporaries', *Greek, Roman And Byzantine Studies*, 15 (1974), 89 – 111
- Alfoldi, Andreas, *Studien zur Geschichte der Weltkrise des 3. Jahrhunderts nach Christus* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1967)
- Allason-Jones, Lindsay, 'What is a military assemblage?', *Journal of Roman Military Equipment Studies*, 10 (1999), 1 – 4
- Alston, Richard, *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt: a Social History* (London: Routledge, 1995)
- Alston, Richard, 'Ties That Bind: Soldiers and Societies', in Adrian K Goldsworthy and Ian P. Haynes, eds., *The Roman Army as a Community* (Portsmouth R.I.: Journal of Roman



- Archaeology, 1999), pp. 175 - 196
- Amory, Patrick, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)
- Anaert, Rica, ed., *The very beginning of Europe: Early-Medieval Migration and Colonisation* (Brussels: Flanders Heritage Agency, 2012)
- Anderson, Thomas S., 'Roman military colonies in Gaul, Salian Ethnogenesis and the forgotten meaning of Pactus Legis Salicae 59.5', *Early Medieval Europe*, 4 (1995), 129 – 44
- Ando, Clifford, 'The Army and the Urban Élite', in P. Erdkamp, ed., *A Companion to the Roman Army* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 359 – 378
- Arce, Javier, 'Frontiers of the Roman Empire: Perceptions and Realities', in Walter Pohl, Ian N. Wood and Helmut Reimitz, eds., *The Transformation of Frontiers from Late Antiquity to the Carolingians* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 5 - 13
- Austin, David, and Leslie Alcock, *From the Baltic to the Black Sea: Studies in Medieval Archaeology* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990)
- Austin, N.J.E., *Ammianus on Warfare: an investigation into Ammianus' military knowledge* (Brussels: Latomus, 1979)
- Austin, N.J., and N. B. Rankov, *Military and Political Intelligence in the Roman World* (London: Routledge, 1995)
- Baatz, Dietwulf, *Der Römische Limes. Archäologische Ausflüge Zwischen Rhein und Donau*, 4<sup>th</sup> Edition (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 2000)
- Bachrach, Bernard S., *Merovingian Military Organisation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1972)
- Bachrach Bernard S., *A History of the Alans in the West: from their first appearance in the sources of classical antiquity through the early Middle Ages* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1973)
- Bachrach, Bernard S., 'The Fortification of Gaul and the Economy of the Third and Fourth Centuries', *Journal of Late Antiquity*, 3.1, (2010), 38 – 64
- Bagnall, Roger S., 'Military Officers as Landowners in Fourth Century Egypt', *Chiron*, 22 (1992), 47– 54
- Bagnall, Roger S., *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993)
- Baillie, Michael G.L., *A Slice through Time: Dendrochronology and Precision Dating* (London: Batsford, 1995)
- Bakker, M. Lothar, 'Der Siegesaltar zur Juthungenschlacht von 260 n. Chr.', *Antike Welt*, 24.4 (1993), 274 – 277
- Balmelle, Catherine, and Paul Van Ossel, 'De Trèves à Bordeaux. La Marque des Élités dans les Campagnes de la Gaule Romaine aux IV<sup>e</sup> et V<sup>e</sup> siècles', in Pierre Ouzoulias, and others, eds., *Les campagnes de la Gaule à la fin de l'Antiquité: actes du colloque, Montpellier, 11-14 mars 1998* (Antibes: APDCA, Association pour la promotion et la diffusion des connaissances archéologiques, 2001), pp. 533 – 552
- Barnes, Timothy D., 'The Career of Flavius Abinnaeus', *Phoenix*, 39 (1985), 368-374
- Barnes, Timothy D., 'The Military Career of Martin of Tours', *Analecta Bollandiana*, CXIV (1996), 25 - 32
- Barnes, Timothy D., *Ammianus Marcellinus and the Representation of Historical Reality* (London: Cornell University Press, 1998)
- Barnwell, P.S., *Emperors, Prefects and Kings* (London: Duckworth, 1992)
- Bartholomew, Philip, 'Review of Stephen Johnson, *The Forts of the Saxon Shore* (London,

- 1976)', *Britannia*, 10 (1979), 367 – 70
- Batt, C.M., 'Where to Draw the Line? The Calibration of Archaeomagnetic Dates', *Physics and Chemistry of the Earth*, 23.9 (1998), 991-995
- Bayard, Didier and Daniel Piton, 'Un bâtiment public du Bas-Empire à Amiens: 1973 – 1978 six ans de recherche au Logis du Roy', *Cahiers Archéologique du Picardie*, 6 (1979), 153-168
- Bayard, Didier, 'Samarobriva', in Didier Bayard and others, eds., *La Marque de Rome: Samarobriva et les Villes du Nord de la Gaule* (Amiens: Musée de Picardie, 2006)
- Bayard, Didier, 'Les Villes du Nord de la Gaule en l'Antiquité Tardive', in Didier Bayard and others, eds., *La Marque de Rome: Samarobriva et les Villes du Nord de la Gaule* (Amiens: Musée de Picardie, 2006), pp. 172 – 175
- Bayard, Didier, and others, eds., *La Marque de Rome: Samarobriva et les Villes du Nord de la Gaule* (Amiens: Musée de Picardie 2006)
- Bazelmans, J., M. Dijkstra and J. De Koning, 'Holland during the First Millennium', in Marc Lodewijckx, ed., *Bruc Ealles Well: Archaeological Essays Concerning the Peoples of North-West Europe in the First Millennium AD* (Leuven: Leuven University Press 2004), pp. 3 – 36
- Bechert, Tilmann, 'Wachturm oder Kornspeicher? Zur Bauweise spätrömischer Burgi', *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt*, 8 (1978), 127–132
- Bell, Harold, I., *The Abinnaeus Archive: papers of a Roman officer in the reign of Constantine II* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1962)
- Belot, Eric, and Véronique Canut, 'Recherches archéologiques a Boulogne-sur-Mer (Septembre 1990 – Avril 1993)', *Revue du Nord*, 75 (1993), 57 – 61
- Benenson, Alexander, 'Finding a lost emperor in a clay pot', *Archaeology*, (October 11, 2005) <<http://www.archaeology.org/online/features/coin/index.html>>
- Besuijen, G. P. A., *Rodanum: A Study of the Roman Settlement at Aardenburg and Its Metal Finds* (Leiden, Sidestone Press: 2008)
- Bidez, Joseph, 'Amiens, ville natale de l'empereur Magnence', *Revue des Études Anciennes*, 27 (1925), 312 – 318
- Bidwell, Paul T., 'Later Roman Barracks in Britain', in Valerie Maxfield and Brian Dobson, eds., *Roman Frontier Studies 1989: Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies Exeter, 9-15* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1991), pp. 9 – 15
- Billion, D., and Jean-Paul Lémant, 'Francs de Fer, Francs de Hauter', in Laurent Verslype, ed., *Villes et Campagnes en Neustrie: sociétés, économies, territoires, Christianisation* (Montagnac: Éditions Monique Mergoïl, 2007), pp. 45 - 52
- Binford, Lewis R., *An Archaeological Perspective* (New York: Seminar Press, 1972)
- Binford, Sally R., and Lewis R. Binford, *New Perspectives in Archaeology* (Chicago: Aldine Pub. Co, 1968)
- Bintliff, John and Helena Hamerow, eds., *Europe Between Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Recent Archaeological and Historical Research in Western and Southern Europe* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1995)
- Bird, H.W., *Aurelius Victor: a Historiographical Study* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1984)
- Bird, H. W., *Liber de Caesaribus of Sextus Aurelius Victor* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1994)
- Birley, Anthony, 'Making Emperors: Imperial Instrument or Independent Force,' in Paul

- Erdkamp, ed., *A Companion to the Roman Army* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2011), pp. 379 – 394
- Blagg, Thomas C., and Martin Millett, eds., *The Early Roman Empire in the West* (Oxford: Oxbow, 1990)
- Blockley, R. C., 'Roman-Barbarian marriages in the late Empire', *Florilegium*, 4 (1982), 63 – 79
- Blockley, R. C., *The Fragmentary Classicizing Historians of the Later Roman Empire*, 2 vols. (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1983)
- Böhme, Horst W., *Germanische Grabfunde des 4. bis 5. Jahrhunderts Zwischen Unterer Elbe und Loire*, 2 vols. (Munich: Beck, 1974)
- Böhme, Horst W., 'The Vermand Treasure', in Katherine Reynolds Brown, Dafydd Kidd and Charles T. Little, eds., *From Attila to Charlemagne: Arts of the Early Medieval Period in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 2000), pp. 78 – 89
- Booth, Paul, and others, *The Late Roman Cemetery at Lankhills, Winchester: Excavations 2000-2005* (Oxford, Oxford Archaeology, 2010)
- Boudeau, Jasmine, 'Devenir et place des thermes publics dans les castra du Bas-Empire du Nord-Ouest de la Gaule: étude de dix chefs-lieux de cité de Gaule Belgique et Lyonnaise', *Revue archéologique du Centre de la France*, 50 (2011), 453 – 499
- Bourdieu, Pierre, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977)
- Bowden, William, and Luke Lavan, 'The Late Antique Countryside: an introduction', in William Bowden, Luke Lavan and Carlos Machado, eds., *Recent Research on the Late Antique Countryside* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. xvii – xxvi
- Bowden, William, Luke Lavan and Carlos Machado, eds., *Recent Research on the Late Antique Countryside* (Leiden: Brill, 2004)
- Bowman, Alan K., *Life and Letters on the Roman Frontier: Vindolanda and its people* (London: British Museum, 1994)
- Bowman, Alan K., and others, *Vindolanda: the Latin Writing Tablets* (London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies 1983)
- Bowman, Alan K., and Greg Woolf, eds., *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)
- Bowman, Alan K., Peter Garnsey and Averil Cameron, eds., *The Cambridge Ancient History Volume XII: the Crisis of Empire AD 193 – 337*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)
- Brather, Sebastien, 'Ethnic Identities as Constructions of Archaeology: the Case of the Alamanni', in Andrew Gillett, ed., *On Barbarian Identity: Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), pp. 149 – 175
- Breeze, David, and Brian Dobson, *Hadrian's Wall*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition (London: Penguin, 2000)
- Brennen, Peter, 'The Notitia Dignitatum', in Claude Nicolet, ed., *Les Littératures techniques Dans l'Antiquité Romaine* Entretiens Hardt 42 (Geneva, 1995), pp. 47 – 69
- Brodeur, Jean, and Isabelle Souquet-Lero, 'Les fouilles Archéologique de la Gare Saint-Laud à Angers', *Bulletin de la Société française d'Archéologie classique*, 35 (2003), 197 – 201
- Brown, Peter, *The World of Late Antiquity AD 150 – AD 750: from Marcus Aurelius to Mohammed* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971)
- Brown, Peter, *Through the Eye of a Needle: Wealth, the fall of Rome, and the making of Christianity in the West, 350-550 AD* (Oxford: Princeton University Press 2012)
- Brown, Thomas S., *Gentlemen and officers: imperial administration and aristocratic power in Byzantine Italy, A.D. 554-800* (London: British School at Rome, 1984)

- Brulet, Raymond, *La Gaule Septentrionale au Bas-Empire* (Trier, 1990)
- Brulet, Raymond, 'La militarisation de la Gaule du Nord au Bas-Empire et les petites agglomérations urbaines de Famars et de Bavay', *Revue du Nord-Archeologie*, 77 (1995), 55 – 70
- Brulet, Raymond, ed., *Forts Romains de la Route Bavay-Tongres: le dispositif militaire du bas-empire, guide publié à l'occasion du 16th International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université catholique de Louvain, Faculté de philosophie et lettres, Centre de recherches d'archéologie nationale, 1995)
- Brulet, Raymond, 'Morlanwelz I & II', in Raymond Brulet, ed., *Forts Romains de la Route Bavay-Tongres* (Louvain, l'Université Catholique de Louvain 1995), pp. 33 – 37
- Brulet, Raymond, 'Les Transformations du Bas-Empire', in Michel Reddé, ed., *L'Armée Romaine en Gaule* (Paris: Errance, 1996), pp. 223 – 226
- Brulet, Raymond, 'Casernements et casernes en Gaule', in Yann Le Bohec and Catherine Wolff, eds., *L'Armée Romaine de Dioclétien à Valentinien 1er. Actes du Congrès de Lyon 12-14 septembre 2002* (Paris: De Boccard, 2004), pp. 191 - 199
- Brulet, Raymond, 'Tournai, capitale du Bas-Empire et évolution au Haut Moyen-Âge', in Rica Anaert, ed., *The very beginning of Europe: Early-Medieval Migration and Colonisation* (Brussels: Flanders Heritage Agency, 2012), pp. 125 – 134
- Brulet, Raymond, Jean-Pierre Dewert and Fabienne Vilvorde, *Liberchies IV. Vicus gallo-romain. Travail de rivière (Publications d'Histoire de l'Art et d'Archéologie de l'Université Catholique de Louvain, CI)* (Louvain-la-Neuve: l'Université Catholique de Louvain, 2001)
- Brulet, Raymond, Jean-Pierre Dewert and Fabienne Vilvorde, *Liberchies V. Vicus Gallo-Romain. Habitat de la Tannerie et Sanctuaire Tardif (Publications d'Histoire de l'Art et d'Archéologie de l'Université Catholique de Louvain, CII)* (Louvain-la-Neuve; l'Université Catholique de Louvain, 2008)
- Burgess, Richard. W., 'From Gallia Romana to Gallia Gothica: a Spanish view', in John F. Drinkwater, J. and Hugh Elton, eds., *Fifth Century Gaul: a Crisis of Identity* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 19 – 27
- Burns, Thomas S., *Barbarians within the Gates of Rome* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994)
- Bury, John B., 'The Notitia Dignitatum', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 10 (1920), 131-154
- Busson, Didier, *Paris: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres : Ministère de la Culture [etc.] : diff. Fondation Maison de sciences de l'homme, 1998)
- Cameron, Averil and Peter Garnsey, eds., *Cambridge Ancient History. Volume 13, The Late Empire AD 337 – 425* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)
- Cameron, Alan, *Claudian: Poetry and Propaganda at the court of Honorius* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970)
- Cameron Alan and Jacqueline Long, *Barbarians and Politics at the Court of Arcadius* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993)
- Carrié, Jean-Michel, 'Developments in Provincial and Local Administration', in Alan K. Bowman, Peter Garnsey and Averil Cameron, eds., *The Cambridge Ancient History Vol. XII: The Crisis of Empire A.D.193-337* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 269 – 325
- Casey, P. John, *The British Usurpers: Carausius & Allectus* (London: Batsford, 1994)
- Charles, Michael B., *Vegetius in Context: Establishing the date of the Epitoma rei Militaris*

- (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2007)
- Chavarria, Alexandra, and Tamara Lewit, 'Archaeological Research on the Late Antique countryside: a Bibliographic Essay', in William Bowden, Luke Lavan and Carlos Machado, eds., *Recent Research on the Late Antique Countryside* (Leiden: Brill 2004), pp. 3 – 54
- Cherf, W. J., 'Carbon-14 chronology for the late Roman fortifications of the Thermopylai frontier', *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 5 (1992), 261 – 264
- Cheyette, Fredric, 'The disappearance of the ancient landscape and the climactic anomaly of the early Middle Ages: a question to be pursued', *Early Medieval Europe*, 16 (2008), 127 – 165
- Chossenot, Michel, and François Lefevre, 'Les stèles funéraires gallo-romaines de Châlons-sur-Marne', *Société d'Agriculture, Commerce, Sciences et Arts de la Marne* XCVI (1981), 45 – 62
- Chossenot, Raphaëlle and others, *Marne: Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles- lettres: Ministère de la Culture [etc.]: diff. Fondation Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2004)
- Chossenot, Raphaëlle and others, *Reims: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule 51/2* (Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles- lettres: Ministère de la Culture [etc.] : diff. Fondation Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2010)
- Christie, Neil, 'Towns and People on the Middle Danube in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages', in Neil Christie and Simon Loseby, eds., *Towns in Transition: Urban Evolution in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot: Scholar 1996), pp. 71 – 98
- Christie, Neil, 'Landscapes of change in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Themes, Directions and Problems', in Neil Christie, ed., *Landscapes of Change: Rural Evolutions in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 1 – 37
- Christie, Neil, *From Constantine to Charlemagne* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006)
- Christie, Neil, *The Fall of the Roman Empire: an archaeological and historical perspective* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2011)
- Christie, Neil, and Simon Loseby, eds., *Towns in Transition: Urban Evolution in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot: Scholar 1996)
- Christie, Neil and A. Rushworth, 'Urban fortification and defensive strategy in fifth and sixth Italy: the case of Terracina', *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 1 (1988), 73 – 88
- Clarke, Giles, Martin Biddle, and J.L. Macdonald, , *Pre-Roman and Roman Winchester. Part 2, The Roman cemetery at Lankhills* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979)
- Clotuche, Raphaël, 'The Scheldt Valley Commercial Activity Zone: 350 Hectares of the Gallo-Roman Landscape', *Britannia*, 40 (2009), 41 – 64
- Clotuche, Raphaël, *La Ville Antique de Famars* (Valenciennes: Illustria Librairie des Musées, 2013)
- Collart, Jean-Luc, 'Vermand', in Jean-Paul Petit, Jean-Paul, Michel Mangin and Philippe Brunella, eds., *Atlas des agglomérations secondaires de la Gaule Belgique et des Germanies* (Paris: Errance, 1994), pp. 230 – 231
- Collart, Jean-Luc., 'Saint-Quentin', *Revue archéologique de Picardie. Numéro spécial*, 16 (1999)
- Collins, Rob, *Hadrian's Wall and the End of Empire: the Roman Frontier in the 4th and 5th centuries* (London: Routledge, 2012)

- Collins, Rob, and James Gerrard, eds., *Debating Late Antiquity in Britain AD 300-700* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2004)
- Cooke, Nik, *The Definition and Interpretation of Late Roman Burial Rites in the Western Empire* (Unpublished PhD thesis, Institute of Archaeology, University of London, 1997)
- Cool, Hilary, 'A Different Life', in Hilary Cool, Rob Collins, and Lindsay Allason-Jones, eds., *Finds from the Frontier: Material Culture in the 4th-5th centuries* (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2010), pp. 1 – 9
- Cool, Hilary, Rob Collins and Lindsay Allason-Jones, eds., *Finds from the Frontier: Material Culture in the 4th-5th centuries* (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2010)
- Crump, Gary A., *Ammianus Marcellinus as a Military Historian* (Wiesbaden: Latomus, 1975)
- Cunliffe, Barry W., *Excavations at Porchester Castle*, 4 Vols. (London: Society of Antiquaries for London, 1975)
- Cüppers, Hans, 'Pfalzel', in *Trier, Kaiserresidenz und Bischofssitz: die Stadt in spätantiker und frühchristlicher Zeit [Ausstellung, 4. Mai bis 10. November 1984]* Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier (Mainz am Rhein, 1984), pp. 319 – 22
- Dabrowa, Edward, ed., *The Roman and Byzantine Army in the East: proceedings of a colloquium [sic] held at the Jagiellonian University, Kraków in September 1992* (Kraków: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1994)
- Dahlgren, Mikael, 'Hunting high and low: weapon graves and the interpretation of hunting practices in Late Roman militarised society,' in Stoorgard, B., ed., *Military aspects of the aristocracy in Barbaricum in the Roman and early migration periods: papers from an international research seminar at the Danish National Museum, Copenhagen, 10-11 December 1999* (Copenhagen: National Museum, 2001), pp. 21 – 26
- Daniels, C.M., 'Excavation at Wallsend and the Fourth century barracks on Hadrian's Wall', in William S.Hanson and Lawrence J. F.Keppie, , eds., *Roman Frontier Studies 1979: papers presented to the 12th International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1980), pp. 173 – 193
- Dark, Ken, 'The Archaeological Implications of Fourth- and Fifth-Century Descriptions of Villas in the Northwest Provinces of the Roman', *Historia*, 54 (2005), 331 - 342
- De Blois, Lukas, and others, eds., *The impact of the Roman army (200 BC-AD 476): economic, social, political, religious and cultural aspects : proceedings of the sixth workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Roman Empire, 200 B.C.-A.D. 476), Capri, March 29-April 2, 2005* (Leiden: Brill, 2007)
- De Laet, Sigfried and André Van Doorselaer, 'Le Problem des Mobiliers Funéraires avec Armes en Gaule septentrionale a l'époque du Haut Empire romain', *Helinium*, 5 (1965), 118 – 131
- De Ste. Croix, Graham E. M., *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek world: from the Archaic Age to the Arab Conquests* (London: Duckworth, 1981)
- Decker, Michael, 'Towers, Refuges and Fortified Farms in the Late Roman East', *Liber Annus*, LVI (2006), 499 – 520
- Delmaire, Roland, 'Les enfouissements monétaires, témoignages d'insecurité?', *Revue du Nord-Archéologie*, 77 (1995), 21 – 26
- Delmaire, Roland, *Nord, Bavay: Carte Archeologique de la Gaule* (Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles- lettres: Ministère de la Culture [etc.]: diff. Fondation Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2011)
- Delmaire, Roland and others, *Pas de Calais: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris:

- Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres: Ministère de la Culture [etc.]: diff.  
Fondation Maison des sciences de l'homme, 1993)
- Delmaire, Roland, and others, eds., *Le Nord: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres: Ministère de la Culture [etc.]: diff. Fondation Maison des sciences de l'homme, 1996)
- Desachy, Bruno, 'Le site archéologique de Beauvais (Oise): éléments de présentation topographique et chronologique', *Revue archéologique de Picardie*, 3 – 4 (1991), 11 – 46
- Desachy, Bruno, 'Noyon', *Revue archéologique de Picardie. Numéro special*, 16 (1999), 171 – 177
- Dey, Heindrik, 'Art, Ceremony, and City Walls: The Aesthetics of Imperial Resurgence in the Late Roman West', *Journal of Late Antiquity*, 3.1 (2010), 3 – 37
- Diesner, Hans-Joachim, 'Das Buccelariertum von Stilicho und Sarus bis auf Aetius', *Klio*, 54 (1972), 321–350
- Drijvers, Jan W., and David Hunt, eds., *The Late Roman world and its historian: Interpreting Ammianus Marcellinus* (London: Routledge, 1999)
- Drinkwater, John F., *The Gallic Empire: separatism and continuity in the North-Western provinces of the Roman Empire, A.D.260-274* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1987)
- Drinkwater, John F., 'The Bacaudae of fifth-century Gaul', in John F. Drinkwater and Hugh Elton, eds., *Fifth-Century Gaul: a Crisis of Identity?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 208-218
- Drinkwater, John F., 'Silvanus, Ursicinus and Ammianus: Fact or Fiction?', *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History*, VII (1994), 568-576
- Drinkwater, John F., 'The Usurpers Constantine III (407-411) and Jovinus (411-413)', *Britannia*, 29 (1998), 269-298
- Drinkwater, John F., *The Alamanni and Rome 213-496* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)
- Drinkwater, John F., and Hugh Elton, eds., *Fifth Century Gaul: a crisis of identity?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992)
- Dumasay, Françoise, *Le Théâtre d'Argentomagus (Saint-Marcel, Indre)* (Paris: Éditions de la maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 2000)
- Duncan-Jones, Richard, *The Economy of the Roman Empire: Quantitative Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982)
- Dunn, Archie, 'Was There a Militarisation of the Southern Balkans during Late Antiquity?', in Philip Freeman and others, eds., *Limes XVIII Proceedings of the XVIIIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2002), pp. 705 – 712
- Durand, Marc, 'Des vestiges gallo-romains dans une cave post-médiévale à Senlis (Oise)', *Revue archéologique de Picardie* 3/ 4 (1993), 121 – 129
- Elton, Hugh, 'Defence in Fifth Century Gaul', in John F. Drinkwater and Hugh Elton, *Fifth Century Gaul: a crisis of identity?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 167 – 175
- Elton, Hugh, *Warfare in Roman Europe AD 350-425* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996)
- Elton, Hugh, 'Defining Romans, Barbarians and the Roman Frontier,' in Ralph W. Mathisen and Hagith Sivan, eds., *Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996)
- Elton, Hugh, 'Warfare and the Military', in Noel Lenski, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 325 – 346
- Erdkamp, Paul, ed., *A Companion to the Roman Army* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007)

- Errington, Robert M., *Roman Imperial Policy from Julian to Theodosius* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006)
- Esmonde-Cleary, Simon, *The Ending of Roman Britain* (London: Batsford, 1989)
- Esmonde-Cleary, Simon, 'Civil Defences in the West under the High Empire', in Peter Wilson, ed., *The Archaeology of Roman Towns: Studies in Honour of John S. Wacher* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2003), pp. 72 – 85
- Esmonde-Cleary, Simon, 'Fortificación Urbana en la Britannia Romana: ¿Defensa Militar o Monumento Cívico?', in Rodríguez, A., Colmenero, J., Rodá de Llanza, I., eds., *Murallas de Ciudades Romanas en el Occidente dell Imperio. Actas del Congreso Internacional Celebrado en Lugo (26 - 29.XI.2005) en el V aniversario de la declaración, por la UNESCO, de la Muralla de Lugo como Patrimonio de la Humanidad*, (Lugo : Diputación Provincial de Lugo, 2007)
- Esmonde-Cleary, Simon, *The Roman West AD 200- 500: an archaeological study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)
- Esmonde-Cleary, Simon, Michael Jones and Jason Wood, 'The late Roman defences at Saint-Bertrand-de -Comminges (Haute Garonne)', *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 11 (1998), 343 – 354
- Faulkner, Neil, 'Change and decline in late Romano-British towns', in Slater, T.R., ed., *Towns in Decline AD 100 - 1600* (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 1 - 50
- Faulkner, Neil, 'The case for the Dark Ages', in Rob Collins and James Gerrard, eds., *Debating Late Antiquity in Britain AD 300-700* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2004), pp. 5 – 12
- Fear, Andrew T., *Lives of the Visigothic Fathers* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1997)
- Fehr, Hubert, 'Volkstum as Paradigm: Germanic People and Gallo-Romans in Early Medieval Archaeology since the 1930s', in Andrew Gillett, ed., *On Barbarian Identity: Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), pp. 177 – 200
- Fentress, Elizabeth, *Numidia and the Roman Army: social, military and economic aspects of the frontier zone* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1979)
- Ferdière, Alain, 'La distance critique: artisans et artisanat dans l'Antiquité romaine et en particulier en Gaule', *Les Petits Cahiers d'Anatole*, No. 1 (2001)
- Ferdière, Alain, ed., *Capitales Éphémères: des Capitales de Cités Perdent Leur Statut dans l'Antiquité Tardive: Actes du Colloque Organisé par le Laboratoire Archéologie et Territoires, UMR CITERES, Tours, 6-8 mars 2003* (Tours: FERACF, 2004)
- Ferrill, Arthur, *The Fall of the Roman Empire: the military explanation* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986)
- Fouracre, Paul, ed., *The New Cambridge Medieval History Vol. 1 c. AD 500 – AD 700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)
- Francois, Daniel, 'La Villa Gallo-Romaine de Vieux-Rouen-sur-Bresle (Seine-Maritime)', in Le Maho, Jacques, ed., *Trésors Archeologique de la Haute Normandie* (Rouen: Le Cerf, 1980), pp. 117 – 120
- Frézouls, Edmond, *Les Villes Antique de la France*, 3 vols. (Strasbourg: AECR, 1982 - 1997)
- Fritz, Jenő, ed., *Limes : akten des XI Internationalen Limeskongresses (Székesfehérvár, 30/8-6/9/1976)*, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó 1977)
- Frye, David, 'Aegidius, Childeric, Odovacer and Paul', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 36, (1992), 1 – 14
- Frye, David, 'Transformation and Tradition in the Merovingian Civitas,' *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 39, (1995), 1-11



- Fuhrmann, Christopher J., *Policing the Roman Empire: Soldiers, Administration and Public Order* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)
- Gallien in der Spätantike: von Kaiser Constantin zu Frankenkönig Childerich (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern 1980)
- Gandini, Cristina, *Des Campagnes Gauloises aux Campagnes de l'Antiquité Tardive: la Dynamique de l'Habitat Rural dans la Cité des Bituriges Cubi (Ile s. av. J.-C.-VIIe s. ap. J.-C.)* (Tours: Ferac Editions, 2008)
- Gardner, Andrew, *An Archaeology of Identity: Soldiers and Society in Late Roman Britain* (Oxford: Berg, 2007)
- Garnsey, Peter, 'Roman citizenship and Roman law in the late empire', in Simon Swain and Mark Edwards, eds., *Approaching late Antiquity: The Transformation from Early to late Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 133-155
- Geary, Patrick, *Before France and Germany: the creation and transformation of the Merovingian world* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988)
- Giddens, Anthony, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984)
- Gilles, Karl-Josef, *Spätromische Hohensiedlungen in Eifel und Hunsrück* (Trier: Rheinisches Landesmuseum, 1985)
- Gilles, Karl-Josef, 'Langmauer', in: *Carte Archeologique du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg, Feuille 14 Rosport* (Luxembourg, 1985), pp. 6 – 21
- Gillett, Andrew, ed., *On barbarian identity: Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002)
- Gissinger, B., *Recherches sur le Site Fortifié de Strasbourg Durant l'Antiquité Tardive* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 2002)
- Goetz, Hans-Werner, Jörg Jarnut and Walter Pohl, eds., *Regna and Gentes: the relationship between Late Antique and Early Medieval Peoples and Kingdoms in the Transformation of the Roman World* (Leiden: Brill, 2003)
- Goffart, Walter A., *Barbarians and Romans AD 418 - 586: the techniques of accommodation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980)
- Goffart, Walter A., *The narrators of barbarian history (A.D. 550-800): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede and Paul the Deacon* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988)
- Goffart, Walter A., *Barbarian Tides: the migration age and the later Roman Empire* (Philadelphia, Pa.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006)
- Goldsworthy, Adrian K., and Ian P. Haynes, eds., *The Roman Army as a Community including papers of a conference held at Birkbeck College, University of London on 11-12 January, 1997*, (Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplement 34: Portsmouth, R.I., 1999)
- Greene, Kevin, *Archaeology: an introduction*, 5<sup>th</sup> edition (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010)
- Grey, Cam, *Constructing Communities in the Late Roman Countryside* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)
- Grigg, Robert, 'Inconsistency and Lassitude: the Shield Emblems of the *Notitia Dignitatum*,' *Journal of Roman Studies*, 73, (1983), 132-142
- Gschwind, Markus, 'Every square structure a Roman fort? Qreiyé-Ayyash and its Alleged Bridgehead Fort Tall Ar-Rum on the Euphrates', in Ángel Morillo and others, eds., *Limes XX. 20 Congreso Internacional de Estudios Sobre la Frontera Romana Leon 2006* vol. 3 (Madrid: Ediciones Polefimo, 2009), 1593 – 1601
- Guillaumet, Jean-Paul and Alain Rebourg, 'L'Enceinte d'Autun', in *Les enceintes*

- augustéennes dans l'occident romain (France, Italie, Espagne, Afrique du Nord): actes du colloque international de Nîmes : IIIe Congrès archéologique de Gaule méridionale, 9-12 octobre 1985* (Nîmes: Musée archéologique, 1987), pp. 41 – 49
- Guilleux, Joseph, *L'enceinte romaine du Mans* (Le Mans: Bourdessoules, 2000)
- Gwyn, David, ed., *A. H. M. Jones and the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)
- Hales, Shelley and Tamar Hodos, eds., *Material Culture and Social Identities in the Ancient World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010)
- Halsall, Guy, 'Archaeology and Historiography', in Michael Bentley, ed., *The Routledge Companion to Historiography* (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 807 – 829
- Halsall, Guy, 'Archaeology & the Late Roman Frontier in Northern Gaul: the so called "Foederatengraber" Reconsidered', in Walter Pohl and Helmut Reimitz, eds., *Grenze und Differenz im frühen Mittelalter* (Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000), pp. 167 – 180
- Halsall, Guy, 'Childeric's Grave, Clovis' succession and the origins of the Merovingian Kingdom', in Ralph W. Mathisen and Danuta Shanzer, eds., *Society and Culture in Late Antique Gaul: Revisiting the Sources* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 116 – 133
- Halsall, Guy, *Warfare & Society in the Barbarian West 450-900* (London: Routledge, 2003)
- Halsall, Guy, 'Sources and their interpretation', in Fouracre, Paul, ed., *The New Cambridge Medieval History Vol. 1 c. AD 500 – AD 700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 56 – 92
- Halsall, Guy, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West 376-568* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007)
- Halsall, Guy, *Cemeteries and Society in Merovingian Gaul: selected studies in history and archaeology 1992 – 2009* (Leiden: Brill, 2010)
- Halsall, Guy, 'Archaeology and Migration: Rethinking the Debate', in Rica Annaert, ed., *The Very Beginning of Europe? Early-Medieval Migration and Colonisation: archaeology in contemporary Europe : conference Brussels : May 17-19 2011* (Brussels: Flanders Heritage Agency, 2012), pp. 29 – 30
- Handley, Mark, *Death, society and culture: inscriptions and epitaphs in Gaul and Spain, AD 300-750* (Oxford: British Archaeology Reports, 2003)
- Hanel, Norbert, 'Military Camps, Canabae and Vici', in Paul Erdkamp, ed., *A Companion to the Roman Army* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), pp. 395 - 416
- Hanson, William S. and Lawrence J. F. Keppie, eds., *Roman Frontier Studies 1979: papers presented to the 12th International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1980)
- Harries, Jill, 'Church and State in the *Notitia Galliarum*', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 68 (1978), 26-43
- Harries, Jill, *Sidonius Apollinaris and the fall of Rome: AD 407 - 485* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994)
- Harries, Jill, *Law and Empire in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)
- Haselgrove, Colin and Christopher Scull, 'The changing structure of rural settlement in southern Picardy during the First Millennium AD', in John L. Bintliff and Helena Hamerow, eds., *Europe Between Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Recent Archaeological and Historical Research in Western and Southern Europe* (Oxford: Tempus, 1995), pp. 58 – 70
- Haselgrove, Colin, 'La Romanisation de l'Habitat Rural dans la Vallée de l'Aisne d'Après les

- Prospectations de Surface et les Fouilles Récentes', *Revue Archeologique de Picardie Special*, 11 (1996), 109 – 114
- Hassall, Mark, 'Mediterranean and Northern Provinces, and Rome: the Origins and Character of Roman Urban Defences in the West', in John Maloney and Brian Hobley, eds., *Roman Urban Defences in the West* (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1983), pp. 1- 3
- Hassall, Mark, 'Britain in the *Notitia*', in John C. Mann, Roger Goodburn and Philip Bartholemew, eds. *Aspects of the Notitia dignitatum: papers presented to the conference in Oxford, December 13 to 15, 1974* (Oxford, British Archaeological Reports, 1976)
- Head, Thomas and Landes Richard, eds., *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around 1000* (London: Cornell University Press, 1992)
- Heather, Peter, *Goths and Romans, 332 – 489* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991)
- Heather, Peter, 'The Western Empire 425 – 476', in Averil Cameron, Brian Ward-Perkins and Michael Whitby, eds., *Cambridge Ancient History vol. XIV Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors AD 425 - 600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 1 – 32
- Heather, Peter, *The Fall of the Roman Empire: A New History of Rome and the Barbarians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005)
- Hekster, Olivier, Gerda de Kleijn and Daniëlle Slootjes, eds., *Crises and the Roman Empire: Proceedings of the Seventh Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Nijmegen, June 20-24, 2006)* (Leiden: Brill, 2007)
- Hitchener, R. Bruce and David Mattingly, 'Roman Africa: a Survey Article', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 85 (1995), 165 – 213
- Hodder, Ian, *Theory and Practice in Archaeology* (London: Routledge, 1992)
- Hodgson Nick and Paul T. Bidwell, 'Auxiliary Barracks in a New Light: Recent Discoveries on Hadrian's Wall', *Britannia*, 35 (2004), 121 – 157
- Hoffman, Dietrich, *Das spätrömische Bewegungsheer und die Notitia dignitatum*, 2 vols. (Düsseldorf: Rheinland-Verlag, 1969 - 1970)
- Hoffman, Dietrich, 'Die spätrömischen Saoldaten grabinschriften von Concordia', *Museum Helveticum*, 20 (1963), 50 – 89
- Hollevoet, Yann, 'Een nieuwe vroeg-middle-leeuwse nedderzetting te Roksem (stad Oudenburg prov. West-Vlaanderen)', *Archeologu in Vlaanderen*, 2 (1992), 223 -226
- Hollevoet, Yann, 'Le Site Oudenburg et la Bretagne Insulaire Durant l'Antiquité Tardive: Quelques Items Inédits', in Frank Vermeulen and others, eds., *Archaeology in Confrontation: Studies of the Roman Military Presence in the Northwest* (Ghent, 2004), pp. 335 – 342
- Honoré, Tony, *Law in the Crisis of Empire 379 - 455 AD* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998)
- Hope, Valerie, *Constructing Identity: the Roman funerary monuments of Aquileia, Mainz and Nîmes* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2001)
- Hopkins, Keith, 'Taxes and Trade in the Roman Empire (200 B.C.–A.D. 400)', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 70, (1980), 101 – 125
- Hunt, David, 'Ammianus on the rebellion of Silvanus', in Jan W. Drijvers and David Hunt, eds., *The Late Roman world and its historian: Interpreting Ammianus Marcellinus*, pp. 51 – 63
- Huskinson, Janet, 'Women and Learning: Gender and Identity in Scenes of Intellectual Life

- on Late Roman sarcophagi', in Richard Miles, ed., *Constructing Identities in Late Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 1999)
- Isaac, Benjamin, *Limits of Empire: the Roman Army in the East*, Rev. edition, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992)
- Issac, Benjamin, 'The Meaning of the terms of limes and limitanei', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 78 (1988), 125 – 147
- Jacquemard-Le-Saos, Catherine, *Querolus (comédie Latin anonyme)* (Paris: Budé, 1994)
- Jacques, Alain, 'Le sanctuaire germanique d'Arras', *Archéologica*, 270 (1991), 61 – 66
- Jacques, Alain, 'L'occupation militaire d'Arras au Bas-Empire', in Françoise Vallet and Michel Kazanski, eds., *L'Armée Romaine et les Barbares du IIIe au VIIe siècle* (Saint-Germain-en-Laye: Musée des Antiquités Nationales, ), pp. 197 – 99
- Jacques, Alain, 'Arras – Nemetacum', in Didier Bayard and others, eds., *La marque de Rome: Samarobriva et les villes du nord de la Gaule* (Amiens: Musée de Picardie, 2006), pp. 36 – 39
- Jacques, Alain, 'Le sanctuaire germanique d'Arras: les fouilles de rue Baudimont', in Rita Compatangelo-Soussignan and Christian-Georges Schwentzel, eds., *Étrangers dans la cite romaine: actes du colloque de Valenciennes (14-15 octobre 2005)* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2007), pp. 221 – 238
- Jacques, Alain, 'L'occupation militaire d'Arras au Bas-Empire', in Françoise Vallet and Michel Kazanski, eds., *L'Armée Romaine et les Barbares du IIIe au VIIe siècle* (Rouen: Association Francaise d'Archéologie Mérovingienne et Musée des Antiquités Nationales, 1993), pp. 197 – 99
- Jacques, Alain and Belot, Eric, 'Le complexe métroaque d'Arras-Baudimont', *Revue du Nord Archéologie*, LXXIII (1991), 21 – 34
- James, Edward, *The Franks* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988)
- James, Edward, 'The Militarisation of Roman Society, 400 – 700', in Anne N. Jørgensen, and Birthe Clausen, eds., *Military Aspects of Scandinavian Society in a European Perspective AD 1 – 1300*, (Copenhagen: National Museum, 1997), pp. 19 - 24
- James, Simon, *Military Equipment and the Identity of Roman Soldiers* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1988)
- James, Simon, 'The Fabricae: state arms factories of the later Roman Empire', in J. C. Coulston, ed., *Roman Military Equipment and the Identity of Roman Soldiers* (Oxford: Oxford Archaeological Reports, 1988)
- James, Simon, 'Writing the Legions: the Development and Future of Roman Military Studies in Britain', *Archaeological Journal*, 159 (2002), 1 – 58
- Johnson, Stephen F., *The Forts of the Saxon Shore* (London: Elek, 1976)
- Johnson, Stephen F., *Late Roman Fortifications* (London: Batsford, 1983)
- Johnson, Scott F., ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 2011)
- Jones, A.H.M., *The Later Roman Empire 284 – 602: a social, economic and administrative survey*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1964)
- Jones, A.H.M., John R. Martindale and John Morris, eds., *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, 3 vols., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971 - 1992)
- Jones, Sian, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: a Theoretical Perspective* (London: Routledge, 1997)
- Kazanski, Michel, *Les Goths (Ier–VIIe après J.-C.)* (Paris: Errance, 1991)
- Kazanski, Michel, 'Les Fibules Germaniques Orientales et Danubiennes en Gaule (périodes C2-D2)' *Forschungen zur Archäologie im Land Brandenburg*, 5, 1998 (2002), 375 – 86

- Kelly, Gavin, *Ammianus Marcellinus: The Allusive Historian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 31 – 103
- Kent, J.P.C., *The Roman Imperial Coinage vol. 10 The Divided Empire and the Fall of the Western Parts, AD 395-491* (London: Spink and son, 1994)
- King, Anthony C., 'Diet in the Roman World: a Regional Inter-site Comparison of the Mammal Bones', *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 12 (1999), 168-202
- Knight, Jeremy, 'An Inscription from Bavai and the Fifth-Century Christian Epigraphy of Britain', *Britannia*, 41 (2010), 283 – 292
- Kouznetzov, Vladimir and Iaroslav Lebedynsky, *Les Alains: cavaliers des steppes, seigneurs de Caucase* (Paris: Editions Errance, 2005)
- Krause, J.-U., and Christian Witschel, , 'Fifth-Century Christian Epigraphy of Britain', *Britannia*, 41 (2010), 283 – 292
- Kropff, Anthony, 'Late Roman Coin Hoards in the West: Trash or Treasure?', *Revue Belge de Numismatique et de Sigillographie*, 153 (2007), 73-86
- Kulikowski, Michael, 'Nation versus Army: a necessary contrast', in Andrew Gillett, ed., *On Barbarian Identity: Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), pp. 69 – 84
- Kulikowski, Michael, 'The *Notitia Dignitatum* as an Historical source', *Historia*, 49 (2000), 358-377
- Kulikowski, Michael, *Late Roman Spain and its Cities* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2005)
- Lafont Coutourier, Hélène and others, eds., *Saint Augustin: Une Mémoire d'Algérie* (Bordeaux: Somogny, 2003)
- Lavagne, Henri, 'Une nouvelle inscription d'Augsbourg et les causes de l'usurpation de Postume', *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (1994), 431 – 446
- Lavan, Luke and William Bowden, eds., *Recent Research in Late Antique Urbanism* (Portsmouth, Rhode Island: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2001)
- Lavan, Luke and William Bowden, eds., *Theory and Practice in Late Antique Archaeology* (Leiden: Brill, 2003)
- Lazaro-Delgado, Noel, 'The grand *testamentum* of Remigius of Reims: its authenticity, juridical acta and bequeathed property', (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Minnesota, 2011)
- Le Bohec, Yann, *The Imperial Roman Army* (London: Batsford, 1994)
- Le Bohec, Yann, *L'armée romaine sous le bas-empire* (Paris: Picard, 2006)
- Le Bohec, Yann, 'Limitanei et comitatenses.: Critique de la thèse attribuée à Theodor Mommsen', *Latomus*, LXVI.3 (2007), pp. 659-672.
- Lebecq, Stéphan, 'The two faces of King Childeric: history, archaeology, historiography', in Thomas F. X. Noble, ed., *From Roman Provinces to Medieval Kingdoms* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 272 –287
- Lee, A.D., *War in Late Antiquity: a Social History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007)
- Lee, A. D., 'The Army', in Averil Cameron and Peter Garnsey, eds., *Cambridge Ancient History. Volume 13, the Late Empire AD 337 – 425* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 211-237
- Lee, A. D., *Information and Frontiers: Roman foreign relations in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993)
- Lemaire, Frédéric, 'Revelles', in M. Reddé, ed., *L'Architecture de la Gaule Romaine: les*

- Fortifications Militaires* (Bordeaux: Ausonius Éditions, 2006), pp. 368 - 9
- Leman, Pierre, 'À Propos de Quelques Lieux de la *Notitia Dignitatum*. Etat de la Recherche et Suggestions', in Frank Vermeulen, Kathy Sas and Vouter Dhaeze, eds., *Archaeology in Confrontation. Aspects of Roman Military Presence in the Northwest. Studies in Honour of Prof. Em. Hugo Thoen* (Ghent, 2004), pp. 213 – 215
- Lemant, Jean-Paul, 'Mouzon (Ardenne)', in Jean-Paul Petit, Michel Mangin and Philippe Brunella, eds., *Atlas des agglomérations secondaires de la Gaule Belgique et des Germanies* (Paris: Errance, 1994), pp. 217 – 218
- Lenski, Noel, ed., *The Age of Constantine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)
- Léon, Juan C., *Les Sources de l'Histoire des Bagaudes* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1996)
- Lewit, Tamara, *Villas, Farms and the Late Roman Rural Economy* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2004)
- Lewit, Tamara, 'Vanishing Villas: what happened to élite rural habitation in the West in the 5th/6<sup>th</sup> centuries?', *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 16 (2003), 260 – 74
- Liebeschuetz, J. H. W. G., *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972)
- Liebeschuetz, J. H. W. G., *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)
- Liebeschuetz J. H. W. G., 'The end of the Ancient City', in John Rich, ed., *The City in Late Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 1 – 49
- Liebeschuetz, J. H. W. G., *Barbarians and Bishops* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990)
- Liebeschuetz, J. H. W. G., 'Warlords and Landlords', in Paul Erdkamp, ed., *A Companion to the Roman Army* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), pp. 479 – 494
- Little, Lester K., and Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Debating the Middle Ages: Issues and Readings* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998)
- Lodewijckx, Marc, ed., *Bruc Ealles Well: Archaeological Essays Concerning the Peoples of North- West Europe in the First Millennium AD* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2004)
- Loridant, Frédéric, 'Décadence Urbaine et Antiquité Tardive à Bagacum et dans la Civitas Camaracensium', in Alain Ferdière, ed., *Capitales Éphémères: des Capitales de Cités Perdent Leur Statut dans l'Antiquité Tardive: Actes du Colloque Organisé par le Laboratoire Archéologie et Territoires, UMR CITERES, Tours, 6-8 mars 2003* (Tours: FERACF, 2004), pp. 75 – 82
- Loridant, Frédéric, 'Bavay-Bagacum', in Didier Bayard and others, eds., *La Marque de Rome: Samarobriva et les Villes du Nord de la Gaule* (Amiens: Musée de Picardie 2006, 2006), p. 43
- Lörincz, Barnabás, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae latinarum, Volume 2: Cabalicius – Ixus* (Budapest: Archaeolingua Alapítvány, 1999)
- Lörincz, Barnabás, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae latinarum, Vol. 3: Labareus - Pythea* (Budapest: Archaeolingua Alapítvány, 2000)
- Lörincz, Barnabás, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae latinarum, Vol. 4: Quadrati - Zures* (Budapest: Archaeolingua Alapítvány, 2002)
- Louis, Etienne, 'A De-Romanised Landscape in Northern Gaul: the Scarpe Valley from the 4th to the 9th century AD', in William Bowden, Luke Lavan and Carlos Machado, eds., *Recent Research on the Late Antique Countryside* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 479 – 504
- Luttwak, Edward, *Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire* (London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976)

- Maas, Michael, 'Ethnicity, orthodoxy and community in Salvian of Marseilles', in John F. Drinkwater and Hugh Elton, eds., *Fifth Century Gaul: a Crisis of Identity?* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 275-284
- MacCormack, Sabine, *Art and Ceremony in late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981)
- MacGeorge, Penny, *Late Roman Warlords* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003)
- MacMullen, Ramsay, *Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press 1963)
- MacMullen, Ramsay 'The Legion as a Society', *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, Bd. 33, H. 4 (1984), 440 - 456
- MacMullen, Ramsay, *Corruption and the Decline of Rome* (London: Yale University Press, 1988)
- Maloney, John and Brian Hopley, eds., *Roman Urban Defences in the West* (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1983)
- Mann, John C., Roger Goodburn and Philip Bartholemew, eds., *Aspects of the Notitia dignitatum: papers presented to the conference in Oxford, December 13 to 15, 1974* (Oxford, British Archaeological Reports, 1976)
- Mann, John C., and Margaret Roxan, eds., *Recruitment and Veteran Settlement during the Principate* (London: Institute of Archaeology, 1983)
- Mann, John C., 'The historical development of the Saxon Shore', in Valerie Maxfield, ed., *The Saxon Shore. A Handbook* (Exeter: University of Exeter press, 1989), pp. 1–11
- Mann, John C., 'The Notitia Dignitatum – dating and survival', *Britannia*, 22 (1991), 215-219
- Marichal, Robert, *Les ostraca de Bu Njem. Suppléments de Libya antiqua*. (Tripoli : Grande Jamahira Arabe, Libyenne, Populaire et Socialiste, Département des Antiquités, 1992)
- Massy, Jean-Luc and Bayard, Didier, *Amiens Romains* (Amiens: Revue archéologique de Picardie, 1983)
- Mathisen, Ralph W., 'Hilarius, Germanus and Lupus: the aristocratic background of the Chelidonium affair,' *Phoenix*, 33.2 (1979), 160 – 169
- Mathisen, Ralph W., *Roman aristocrats in barbarian Gaul: strategies for survival in an age of transition* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993)
- Mathisen, Ralph W., 'Provinciales, Gentiles and Marriages between Romans and Barbarians in the Late Roman Empire,' *Journal of Roman Studies*, 99 (2009), 140-155
- Mathisen, Ralph W. and Hagith Sivan, eds., *Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996)
- Mathisen, Ralph W. and Danuta Shanzer, eds., *Society and Culture in Late Antique Gaul: Revisiting the Sources* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001)
- Mathisen, Ralph W. and Danuta Shanzer, eds., *Romans, Barbarians, and the Transformation of the Roman world: Cultural Interaction and the Creation of Identity in Late Antiquity* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011)
- Matthews, John F., 'Olympiodorus of Thebes and the History of the West (AD 407–425)' *Journal of Roman Studies*, 60 (1970), 79–97
- Matthews, John F., *Western Aristocracies and the Imperial Court* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975)
- Matthews, John F., *The Roman Empire of Ammianus* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989)
- Matthews, J.F., *Laying Down the Law* (Yale University Press, 2000)

- Mattingly, David, *Tripolitania* (London: Batsford, 1995)
- Mattingly, David, *An Imperial Possession: Britain in the Roman Empire, 54 BC-AD 409* (London: Allen Lane, 2006)
- Mattingly, David, 'Cultural crossovers: Global and local identities in the Classical World', in Shelley Hales and Tamar Hodos, eds., *Material Culture and Social Identities in the Ancient World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 283 – 297
- Mattingly, David, and John W. Hayes, 'Nador and Fortified Farms in North Africa', *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 5 (1992), 408 – 418
- Mattingly, David, and Hitchener, R. Bruce, 'Roman Africa: an archaeological review', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 85 (1995), 165 – 213
- Maxfield, Valerie, ed., *The Saxon Shore. A Handbook* (Exeter: University of Exeter press, 1989)
- Maxfield, Valerie, and Michael Dobson, eds., *Roman frontier studies: proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies (15<sup>th</sup>: 1989: Canterbury, England)* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2003)
- Mertens, Joseph, and L. van Impe, *Het Laat-Romeins Grafveld van Oudenburg* (Brussels: Archaeologia Belgica, 1971)
- Mertens, Joseph, *Het Laat-romeins castellum te Oudenburg Archaeologia Belgica* 206 (Brussels: Conspectus, 1978)
- Mertens, Joseph, 'Recherches Récente sur le Limes en Gaule Belgique', in William S. Hanson, and Lawrence J. F. Keppie, L., eds., *Papers Presented to the 12<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1980)
- Mertens, Joseph, ed., *Oudenburg, Romeinse Legerbasis aan de Noordzeekust* (Brussels: Archaeologicum Belgii Speculum, 1987)
- Meyer, Elizabeth A., 'Explaining the epigraphic pattern in the Roman Empire: the evidence of epitaphs', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 80 (1990), 74 – 96
- Miles, Richard, ed., *Constructing Identities in Late Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 1999)
- Millar, Fergus, *The Roman Near East 31 BC - AD 337* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993)
- Millett, Martin, *The Romanization of Britain: an archaeological essay* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)
- Mitchell, Stephen, *A History of the Late Roman Empire 284-641* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007)
- Morillo, Ángel, Norbert Hanel and Esperansa Martín, eds., *Limes XX: XX Congreso Internacional de Estudios Sobre la Frontera Romana / XXth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies: 3 Vols.* (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 2009)
- Morris, Ian, *Death, Ritual and Social Structure* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992)
- Mourot, Franck, ed., *La Meuse: Cartes Archeologique de la Gaule* (Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres : Ministère de la Culture [etc.] : diff. Fondation Maison de sciences de l'homme, 2001)
- Muhlberger, Steven, *The Fifth Century Chroniclers: Prosper, Hydatius, and the Gallic Chronicler of 452* (Leeds: Leeds University Press, 1990)
- Muhlberger, Steven, 'Looking back from the mid-century: the Gallic chronicler of 452 and the crisis of Honorius' reign', in John F. Drinkwater and Hugh Elton, eds., *Fifth-Century Gaul: a Crisis of Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 28 – 37



- Mulvin, Lynda, 'Late Roman Villa Plans in the Danube-Balkan Region', in William Bowden, Luke Lavan and Carlos Machado, eds., *Recent Research on the Late Antique Countryside* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 377 – 412
- Munro, Beth, 'Recycling, Demand for Materials and Landownership at Villas in Italy and the Western Provinces in Late Antiquity', *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 25 (2012), 351 – 70
- Murray, Alexander C., *The Merovingians* (Peterborough, Ont., Canada: Broadview Press, 2006)
- Musurillo, Herbert, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1972)
- Nicasie, Martinus J., *Twilight of Empire: the Roman army from the reign of Diocletian until the Battle of Adrianople* (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1998)
- Nicolas, David, and others, *Les Ardennes: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles- lettres: Ministère de la Culture [etc.]: diff. Fondation Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2012)
- Noble, Thomas .F.X., and Thomas Head, *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1995)
- Noble, Thomas F. X., ed., *From Roman Provinces to Medieval Kingdoms* (London: Routledge , 2006)
- Nosc, Marie-Louise, *Wearing the cloak: dressing the soldier in Roman times* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2012)
- O'Donnell, John M., *Generalissimos of the late Roman Empire* (Alberta: University of Alberta Press, 1983)
- O'Kelly, Michael, and Claire O'Kelly, *Early Ireland: an Introduction to Irish Prehistory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)
- Okamura, Laurence 'Social Disturbances in Late Roman Gaul: Deserters, Rebels and Bagaudae,' in Toru Yuge and Masaoki Doi, eds., *Forms of Control and subordination in Antiquity* (Leiden: Brill, 1988), pp. 288 – 302
- Oldstein, Jürgen, *Neue Forschungen im spätrömischen Kastell von Alzey: Vorbericht über die Ausgrabungen 1981-1985* (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1986)
- Oliver, Graham, *The epigraphy of death: studies in the history and society of Greece and Rome* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000)
- Ouzoulias, Pierre, 'La déprise agricole du Bas-Empire: une mythe historiographique,' in Pierre Ouzoulias and Paul Van Ossel, eds., *Les Campagnes de l'Île de France de Constantin à Clovis: colloque de Paris, 14-15 mars 1996 : rapports et synthèses de la deuxième journée* (Paris: Ministère [de la] culture [et de la] francophonie, Direction régionale des affaires culturelles Ile-de-France : Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1997), pp. 10 – 20
- Ouzoulias, Pierre, and others, eds., *Les campagnes de la Gaule à la fin de l'Antiquité. Actes du colloque de Montpellier* (Antibes: APDCA, Association pour la promotion et la diffusion des connaissances archéologiques, 2001)
- Paschoud, François, ed., *Colloque Genevois sur Symmache à l'Occasion du Mille Six Centième Anniversaire du Conflit de l'Autel de la Victoire* (Paris: Société d'Edition "Les Belles Lettres," 1986)
- Pearson, Andrew, *The Roman Shore Forts: Coastal Defences of Southern Britain* (Stroud: Tempus, 2002)
- Percival, John, *The Roman Villa: an Historical Introduction* (London: Batsford, 1976)
- Percival, John, 'The fifth century villa: new life or death postponed?', in John F. Drinkwater

- and Hugh Elton, eds., *Fifth Century Gaul: a crisis of identity?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 156 – 164
- Périn, Patrick, and Michel Kazanski, 'La Tombe de Childeric, le Danube et le Méditerranée', in Laurent Verslype, ed., *Villes et campagnes en Neustrie : sociétés, économies, territoires, Christianisation* (Montagnac: Éditions Monique Mergoïl, 2007), pp. 29 – 38
- Petit, Jean-Paul, Michel Mangin and Philippe Brunella, eds., *Atlas des agglomérations secondaires de la Gaule Belgique et des Germanies* (Paris: Errance, 1994)
- Petit, Paul, 'Saint-Germain-lès-Corbeil (Essonne), la Butte à Gravois', in *L'Ile-de-France de Clovis à Hugues Capet: du Ve siècle au Xe siècle* (Saint-Ouen-l'Aumône: Editions du Valhermeil, 1993), pp. 203 – 4
- Petrokivits, Harald, 'Fortifications in the North Western Roman Empire from the Third to the Fifth Centuries', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 61 (1971), 178 – 218
- Petts, David, 'Military and Civilian: Reconfiguring the End of Roman Britain in the North', *European Journal of Archaeology*, 16.2 (2013), 314 – 335
- Phang, Sara E., *The Marriage of Roman Soldiers (13 BC - AD 235): law and family in the Roman army* (Leiden: Brill , 2001)
- Pichon, Blaise, *Amiens: Carte archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres: Ministère de la Culture [etc.]: diff. Fondation Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2009)
- Pichon, Blaise, *L'Aisne: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres: Ministère de la Culture [etc.]: diff. Fondation Maison des science de l'homme, 2004)
- Pilet, Christian, *La Nécropole de Saint-Martin-de-Fontenay (Calvados): Recherches sur le Peuplement de la Plaine de Caen, du Ve s. avant J.-C. au VIIe s. après J.-C.* (Paris : Éditions du C.N.R.S, 1994)
- Pohl, Walter, 'Perceptions of Barbarian Violence', in Harold A. Drake, ed., *Violence in Late Antiquity: perceptions and practices* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 15 – 26
- Pohl, Walter, ed., *Kingdoms of the Empire: the integration of barbarians in Late Antiquity* (Leiden: Brill, 1997)
- Pohl, Walter and Helmut Reimitz, eds., *Grenze und Differenz im frühen Mittelalter* (Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000)
- Pohl, Walter, and Helmut Reimitz, eds., *Strategies of Distinction: The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300–800* (Leiden: Brill, 1998)
- Pohl, Walter, 'Conceptions of Ethnicity in Early Medieval Studies', in Lester K. Little and Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Debating the Middle Ages: Issues and Readings* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 13-24
- Polfer, Michel, *L'artisanat dans l'économie de la Gaule Belgique romaine à partir de la documentation archéologique* (Montagnac: M. Mergoïl, 2005)
- Pollard, Nigel, *Soldiers, Cities, and Civilians in Roman Syria* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000)
- Potter, David, *The Roman Empire at Bay AD 180 - 395* (London: Routledge, 2004)
- Poulter, Andrew G., 'The Use and Abuse of Urbanism in the Danubian Provinces in the Late Roman Empire', in John Rich, ed., *The City in Late Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 99 – 135
- Poulter, Andrew G., *Nicopolis ad Istrum a Roman, Late Roman and Early Byzantine City* (London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1995)

- Poulter, Andrew G., 'The Transition to Late Antiquity on the Danube: a city, a fort and the countryside', in Andrew G. Poulter, ed., *The Transition to Late Antiquity: on the Danube and beyond* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2007), pp. 1 – 50
- Poulter, Andrew G., ed., *The Transition to Late Antiquity: on the Danube and beyond* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2007)
- Ravetz, Alison, 'The fourth-century inflation and Romano-British coin finds', *Numismatic Chronicle* (1964), 201 – 301
- Rea, John R., Robert P. Salomons and Klaas A. Worp, 'A ration-warrant for an adiutor memoriae', *TCS* 28 (1985), 101 – 113
- Rebillard, Éric., *The Care of the Dead in Late Antiquity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010)
- Reddé, Michel, ed., *L'Architecture de la Gaule Romaine: les Fortifications Militaires* (Bordeaux: Ausonius Éditions, 2006)
- Révillion, Stéphane and Karl Bouche, 'Architecture de Terre et Bois dans la Vallée de la Haute Deûle, de la Fin de l'Antiquité au Début de l'Époque Mérovingienne. Apports des Gisements du "Luyot," du "Haut de Clauwiers" et de "L'Épinette" à Seclin (Nord)', *Revue du Nord: Archéologie de la Picardie et du Nord de la France*, 85 (2003), 113 – 214
- Reynolds Brown, Katherine, Dafydd Kidd and Chester T. Little, eds., *From Attila to Charlemagne: Arts of the Early Medieval Period in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000)
- Rich, John, ed., *The City in Late Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 1992)
- Rickman, Graham, *Roman Granaries and Store Buildings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971)
- Rigsby, Kent J., 'Two Danubian Epitaphs', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 126 (1999), 175 – 176
- Rivet, Albert L. F., 'The *Notitia Galliarum*: Some Questions', in John C. Mann, Roger Goodburn and Philip Bartholemew, eds., *Aspects of the Notitia dignitatum: papers presented to the conference in Oxford, December 13 to 15, 1974* (Oxford, British Archaeological Reports, 1976), pp. 119 – 142
- Roblin, Michel, 'Cités ou Citadelles? Les Enceintes Romaines du Bas-Empire d'après l'exemple de Senlis', *Revue des Études Anciennes*, 67.3 – 4 (1965), 368 – 391
- Rostovtzeff, Michael I., *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1957)
- Rogers, Adam, *Late Roman Towns in Britain: Rethinking Change and Decline* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)
- Rosseau, Philip, *Pachomius: The Making of a Community in Fourth-century Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985)
- Rouché, Charlotte, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity* (London: Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity, 1989)
- Rouché, Michel, *Clovis: histoire et mémoire* (Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne: 1996)
- Routier, Jean-Claude, Roland Delmaire, Sébastien Lepetz and Jean- Luc Collart, 'Le Site gallo-romain de Wolphus à Zoufaques', *Archéologie de la Picardie et du Nord de la France (Revue du Nord)*, 93 (2011), 79 – 165
- Routier, Jean-Claude and Freddy Thuillier, 'Les Témoins d'Occupation Germanique de la Villa Gallo-Romaine de Zoufaques (France) et leur Apport dans le Contexte de la

- Militarisation de la Gaule du Nord au Bas-Empire', in Frank Vermeulen, Kathy Sas and Wouter Dhaeze, eds., *Archaeology in Confrontation: Aspects of Roman Military Presence in the Northwest: Studies in Honour of Prof. Em. Hugo Thoen* (Ghent: Academia Press, 2004), pp. 379 – 392
- Roymans, Nico, ed., *From the Sword to the Plough: Three Studies on the Earliest Romanisation of Northern Gaul* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996)
- Salway, Benet, 'What's in a Name: a Survey of Roman Onomastic Practice from c. 700 B.C. to A.D. 700', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 84 (1994), 124 – 145
- Sánchez León, Juan Carlos, *Los Bagaudas: rebeldes, demonios, mártires : revueltas campesinas en Galia e Hispania durante el Bajo Imperio* (Jaén : Universidad de Jaén, 1996)
- Sandwell, Isabella, *Religious identity in Late Antiquity: Greeks, Jews, and Christians in Antioch* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007)
- Sauer, Eberhard, *The End of Paganism in the North-Western Provinces of the Roman Empire: the Example of the Mithras Cult* (Oxford: Tempus Reparatum, 1996)
- Schiedel, Walter, 'Marriage, families and survival: demographic aspects', in Paul Edrkamp, ed., *A Companion to the Roman Army. Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), pp. 417 – 434
- Schleiermacher, Mathilde, *Römische Reitergrabsteine: die kaiserzeitlichen Reliefs des Triumphierenden Reiters* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1984)
- Schnurbein, Siegmund von, 'Der neue Plan von Altrip', in Valerie Maxfield and Michael Dobson, eds., *Roman Frontier studies: Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies (15th: 1989: Canterbury, England)* (Exeter, 2003), pp. 208 – 209
- Seillier, Claude, 'La présence militaire à Boulogne-sur-Mer', Marc Lodewijckx, ed., *Archaeological and Historical Aspects of West-European Societies* (Brussels, 1996), pp. 237 – 244
- Seillier, Claude, 'Les Tombes de Transition du Cimetière Germanique de Vron (Somme)', *Jahrbuch des römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz*, 36 (1989), 599-634
- Sennequier, Geneviève and Marie Tuffreau-Libre, 'Le cimetière gallo-romain á inhumations (Bas-Empire) du chateau d'Étaples (Pas de Calais)', *Latomus*, 36 (1977), 933 – 41
- Severs, Luc, *Les Monnaies de Liberchies-Bons Villers (Hainaut, Belgique): Quartier Artisanal et Sanctuaire Tardif (1er siècle Avant J.-C. - 4e siècle après J.-C.)* (Wetteren: Moneta, 2011)
- Shanks, Christopher Y. and Michael Tilley, *Re-constructing archaeology: theory and practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987)
- Shaw, Brent, 'Seasons of death: aspects of Mortality in Imperial Rome', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 86 (1996), 100 – 138
- Shaw, Brent, 'Soldiers and Society: The Army in Numidia', *Opus: Rivista Internazionale per la Historia Economica e Sociale Dell'Antichità*, vol. 2.1 (1983), 133-159
- Shean. John F., *Soldiering for God: Christianity and the Roman Army* (Leiden: Brill, 2010)
- Shipley, Graham and John Rich, eds., *War and Society in the Roman World* (London: Routledge, 1993)
- Simpson, C. J., 'Julian and the Laeti: A Note on Ammianus Marcellinus XX, 8, 13', *Latomus*, 36 (1977 [2]), 519 – 521
- Simpson, C. J., 'Laeti in the Notitia Dignitatum. "Regular" Soldiers vs. "Soldier-Farmers"', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 66 (1988), 80 – 85

- Simpson, C. J., 'Laeti in Northern Gaul: A Note on *Pan. Lat.* VIII.21', *Latomus*, 36 (1977), 169 – 170
- Sinté, Claude, 'La Reutilisation des Espaces Publiques à Arles: un Témoignage de la Fin de l'Antiquité', *Antiquité Tardive*, 2 (1994), 181 – 192
- Soproni, Sándor, *Die letzten Jahrzehnte des pannonischen Limes* (Munich: Beck, 1985)
- Southern, Patricia, *The Roman Army: a Social and Institutional History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)
- Southern, Patricia and Karen Dixon, *The Late Roman Army* (London: Batsford, 1996)
- Spiedel, Michael, *Mithras Orion : Greek Hero and Roman Army God* (Leiden: Brill, 1980)
- Stambaugh, John E., *The Ancient Roman City* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1988)
- Stirling, Lea Margaret, *The Learned Collector: Mythological Statuettes and Classical Taste in Late Antique Gaul* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2005)
- Storgaard, Birger, ed., *Military Aspects of the Aristocracy in Barbaricum in the Roman and Early Migration Periods, (Publications from the National Museum. Studies in Archaeology & History 5)* (Copenhagen: National Museums of Denmark, 2001)
- Stickler, Timo, 'The Foederati', in Paul Erdkamp, ed., *A Companion to the Roman Army* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007)
- Swain, Simon and Mark Edwards, eds., *Approaching Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)
- Swift, Edith, *The End of the Western Roman Empire* (Stroud: Tempus, 2000)
- Swift, Edith, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the Late Roman West* (Montagnac: Monographies instrumentum, 2000)
- Szidat, Joachim, *Historischer Kommentar zu Ammianus Marcellinus Buch XX-XXI, Teil III: Die Konfrontation. Historia Einzelschrift 89* (Berne: Habilitationsschrift, 1996)
- Theuws, Frans, and Janet L. Nelson, eds., *Rituals and Power: From Late Antiquity to the early Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2000)
- Thollard, Patrick and Claude Denimal, 'Fouilles sur le forum de Bavay (1993 - 1998) II. Les Bas-Empire', *Archeologie de la Picardie et du Nord de la France (Revue du Nord)*, 80 (1998), 153 – 221
- Thompson, E. A., *Saint Germanus of Auxerre and the end of Roman Britain* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1984)
- Todd, Malcolm, *The Early Germans* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992)
- Tomlin, Roger S.O., 'Notitia dignitatum omnium tam civilium quam militarium', in John C. Mann, Roger Goodburn and Philip Bartholemew, eds. *Aspects of the Notitia dignitatum: papers presented to the conference in Oxford, December 13 to 15, 1974* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1976)
- Tomlin, Roger. S.O., 'The Owner of the Beaurains (Arras) Treasure', in Elizabeth Hartley and others, eds., *Constantine the Great: York's Roman Emperor* (York: York Museums and Galleries Trust, 2006), pp. 59 – 64
- Tomlin, Roger S.O., 'The Legions in the late Empire', in Brewer, R. J. , ed., *Roman Fortresses and Their Legions. Papers in Honour of George C. Boon* (London 2000), pp. 158-159
- Tomlin, Roger S. O., 'A.H.M.Jones and the Army of the Fourth Century', in David Gwyn, ed., *A.H. M. Jones and the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)
- Urban, Ralf, *Urban Gallia rebellis: Erhebungen in Gallien im Spiegel antiker Zeugnisse* (Stuttgart, 1999)
- Vallet, Françoise, and Michel Kazanski, eds., *L'Armée Romaine et les barbares* (Saint-

- Germain-en-Laye: Musée des Antiquités Nationales, 1993)
- Van Binsbergen, Wim M. J. and Fred Woudhuizen, *Ethnicity in Mediterranean Protohistory* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 2011)
- Van Dam, Raymond, *Leadership and community in Late Antique Gaul* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985)
- Van Dierendonck, Robert M., 'Five postholes and a ditch, the Valkenburg–Marktveld Timber Watch and Signal Tower', in Frank Vermeulen, Kathy Sas and Wouter Dhaeze, eds., *Archaeology in Confrontation. Aspects of Roman Military Presence in the Northwest. Studies in honour of Prof. Em. Hugo Thoen* (Ghent, 2004), pp. 73 – 102
- Van Driel-Murray, Carol, ed., *Roman Military Equipment: the Sources of Evidence* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1989)
- Van Driel Murray, Carol, 'Vindolanda and the Dating of Roman Footwear', *Britannia*, 32 (2001), 185-197
- Van Ossel, Paul, *Établissements ruraux de l'Antiquité Tardive dans le Nord de la Gaule* (Paris: Éditions CNRS, 1992)
- Van Ossel Paul, 'Insecurité et Militarisation en Gaule du Nord au Bas-Empire: l'exemple des campagnes', *Revue du Nord-Archeologie*, 77 (1995), 27 – 36
- Van Ossel, Paul and Pierre Ouzoulias, 'Rural settlement economy in Northern Gaul in the Late Empire: an overview', *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 12 (2000), 133 – 160
- Vanhoutte, Sofie, 'The Saxon Shore Fort at Oudenburg (Belgium): New Excavation Results', in Ángel Morillo, and others, eds., *Limes XX: XX Congreso Internacional de Estudios Sobre la Frontera Romana / XXth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, vol. 3 (Madrid, 2009), pp. 1386 – 94
- Vanhoutte, Sofie, Wouter Dhaeze and Wim De Clercq, 'The Pottery Consumption c. AD 260 – 70 at the Roman Coastal Defence Fort, Oudenburg, Northern Gaul', *Journal of Roman Pottery Studies*, 14 (2009), 95 – 141
- Vanhoutte, Sofie, and others, 'De Dubbele Waterput uit het Laat-Romeinse Castellum van Oudenburg (prov. West-Vlaanderen): Tafonomie, Chronologie en Interpretatie' *Relicta, Archeologie, Monumenten- en Landschapsonderzoek in Vlaanderen*, volume 5, (Brussels, 2009), 9 - 142
- Vanhoutte, Sofie and others, 'A Remarkable 'Double' Well at the Saxon Shore Fort at Oudenburg (Belgium),' in Ángel Morillo and others, eds., *Limes XX: XX Congreso Internacional de Estudios Sobre la Frontera Romana / XXth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies* (Madrid Ediciones Polifemo, 2009), pp. 1395 - 99
- Vasselle, François, 'L'Enceinte Urbaine du Bas-Empire de Samarobriva (Amiens, Somme).Description - Construction – Datation', *Celticum*, 6 (1963), 323-342
- Veermesch, Didier, 'Le Site Archéologique du Marais de Famechon (Somme). Bilan provisoire', *Cahiers Archeologie de la Picardie*, 8 (1981), 147 – 155
- Velay, Phillipe, *De Lutece á Paris: l'Île et les Deux Rives* (Paris: CNRS, 2000)
- Vermeulen, Frank, 'Roads for Soldiers and Civilians in the Civitas Menapiorum,' in Frank Vermeulen, Kathy Sas and Wouter Dhaeze, eds., *Archaeology in Confrontation. Aspects of Roman Military Presence in the Northwest. Studies in honour of Prof. Em. Hugo Thoen* (Ghent: Academia Press, 2004), pp. 125 – 142
- Vermeulen, Frank, 'Les Campagnes de la Belgique Septentrionale et des Pay-Bas Meridionaux,' in Pierre Ouzoulias and others, eds., *Les Campagnes de la Gaule à la Fin de l'Antiquité: Actes du Colloque, Montpellier, 11-14 mars 1998* (Antibes: APDCA, Association pour la promotion et la diffusion des connaissances archéologiques,

- 2001), pp. 45 – 68
- Vermeulen, Frank, Kathy Sas and Wouter Dhaeze, eds., *Archaeology in Confrontation: Aspects of Roman Military Presence in the Northwest: Studies in Honour of Prof. Em. Hugo Thoen* (Ghent: Academia Press, 2004)
- Wacher, John, 'Some Thoughts on Roman Urban Defences in the West,' in John Maloney and Brian Hobley, eds., *Roman Urban Defences in the West* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1983)
- Wallace-Hadrill, John M., *The Long Haired Kings* (London: University of Toronto Press, 1962)
- Ward-Perkins, Brian, 'The Cities', in Averil Cameron and Peter Garnsey, eds., *Cambridge Ancient History. Volume 13, The Late Empire AD 337 – 425* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)
- Ward-Perkins, Brian, 'Land, Labour and Settlement', Averil Cameron, Brian Ward-Perkins and Michael Whitby, eds., *Cambridge Ancient History XIV AD 425 - 600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)
- Ward-Perkins, Brian, *The Fall of Rome and the end of civilization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005)
- Welsby, David, *The Roman Military Defence of the British Provinces in its Later Phases* (Oxford, 1982)
- Wenskus, Richard, *Stammesbildung und Verfassung* (Köln: Böhlau, 1961)
- Werner, Joachim, 'Zur Entstehung der Reihengräberzivilisation', *Archaeologica Geographica*, 1 (1950), 23 - 32
- Wickham, Chris, *Framing the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005)
- Wickham, Chris, 'The Other Transition: From the Ancient World to Feudalism', in Chris Wickham, *Land and Power: Studies in Italian and European Social History, 400 – 1200* (London: British School at Rome, 1994)
- Whitby, Michael, *Rome at War AD 293-696* (Oxford: Osprey, 2002)
- Whitby, Michael, 'The late Roman Army and the defence of the Balkans', in Andrew G. Poulter, ed., *The Transition to Late Antiquity: on the Danube and beyond* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2007)
- Whitby, Michael, 'Armies and Society in the Later Roman World', in Averil Cameron, Brian Ward-Perkins and Michael Whitby, eds., *Cambridge Ancient History vol. XIV Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors AD 425 - 600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 469 – 496
- Whittaker, C. R., *The Frontiers of the Roman Empire: a social and economic history* (Baltimore: University of John Hopkins Press, 1994)
- Whittaker, C. R. 'Warlords and Landlords in the Later Roman Empire,' in John Rich and Graham Shipley, eds., *War and the Society in the Roman World* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 277 – 302
- Whittaker, C.R., 'Labour Supply in the Later Roman Empire', *Opus* (1982), 171 – 179
- Wiesehöfer, Josef, 'Iuvenes (Iuventus)', *Brill's New Pauly* (Leiden: Brill, 2012)
- Wightman, Edith M., *Gallia Belgica* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985)
- Wightman, E. M., *Roman Trier and the Treveri* (London: Batsford, 1970)
- Wild, John P., *Textile Manufacture in the Northern Roman Provinces* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970)
- Wilkes, J. J., 'Civil Defence in Third-Century Achaia', *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, 36 (1989), 187 – 192
- Will, Ernest, 'Recherches sur le Developpement Urbaine sous l'Empire Romain dans la Nord

- de la Gaule', *Gallia*, 20.1 (1962), 79 – 102
- Willems, Willem, 'An Officer or a Gentleman? A Late Roman weapon grave from a Villa at Voerendaal', in Carol Van Driel-Murray, ed., *Roman Military Equipment: the Sources of Evidence* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1989), pp. 143 – 156
- Williams, Diane and John R. Kenyon, *The Impact of the Edwardian Castles in Wales: the proceedings of a conference held at Bangor University, 7 – 9 September 2007* (Oxford: Oxbow books, 2010)
- Woimant, Georges-Pierre and others, *L'Oise: Carte archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres : Ministère de la Culture [etc.] : diff. Fondation Maison des sciences de l'homme, 1995)
- Wolfram, Herwig, *History of the Goths* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988)
- Wolfram, Herwig and Walter Pohl, eds., *Typen der Ethnogenese unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Bayern: Berichte des Symposions der Kommission für Frühmittelalterforschung, 27. bis 30. Oktober, 1986, Stift Zwettl, Niederösterreich* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990)
- Wood, Ian N., 'Continuity or Calamity?: The Constraints of Literary Models', in John F. Drinkwater and Hugh Elton, eds., *Fifth Century Gaul: a Crisis of Identity?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 9 – 18
- Wood, Ian N., *The Merovingian Kingdoms 450 – 751* (London: Longman, 1994)
- Wood, Ian N., 'Germanus, Alban and Auxerre,' *Bulletin du Centre d'Études Médiévales d'Auxerre BUCEMA*, 13 (2009), 123-129
- Wood, Jason, 'Le castrum de Tours: etude architectural du rempart du Bas-Empire', *Recherches sur Tours*, 2 (1983), 11 – 60
- Woolf, Greg, 'Monumental Writing and the Expansion of Roman Society in the Early Empire', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 86 (1996), 22-39
- Wozny, Luc, *Amiens, Saint-Germain, zone 1-zone 2 (80.021.017 AH), DFS de fouille de sauvetage, Amiens* (Amiens: SRA Picardie, 1996)
- Yuge, Toru, and Masaaki Doi, eds., *Forms of Control and subordination in Antiquity* (Leiden: Brill, 1988)
- Ziegler, Sébastien, 'Un Établissement Protohistorique et un Établissement Gallo-Romain a Neuville-Saint- Amand "La Vallée de Neuville" (Aisne)', *Revue Archéologique de Picardie*, 3 – 4 (2008), 135 - 162



## Appendix 1: forts in *Belgica II*

### C.1 “Litus Saxonicum”

Name/ Roman name	Periods of occupation <sup>784</sup>	Type	Size	Textual evidence	Archaeological Evidence
<i>Shore Forts</i>					
<b>Aardenburg</b>	III final period of occupation late 3 <sup>rd</sup> – early 4 <sup>th</sup> century  Abandoned early 4 <sup>th</sup> century	Fort	3ha		Numismatic data indicating there is a significant drop off at the end of the 3 <sup>rd</sup> century. <sup>785</sup> There is coinage from Constantine, Magnentius and period X (388 – 402).
<b>Bruges</b> <sup>786</sup>	Unknown	Fort (?)			Coinage from Diocletian and some pottery found.
<b>Oudenburg/</b> Portu Eptiaci <sup>787</sup>	IVa c.260 - 270 IVb c.270 – 280 Va c.320 – 340 Vb c. 370 – 400  Abandoned early 5 <sup>th</sup> century?	Fort	<b>2.4ha</b>	ND. Occ. XXXVII.9 <i>Tribunus militum Neruiorum, Portu Eptiaci</i>	IVa is dated by the large amount of Tetrician coinage (271 – 4). <sup>788</sup> There are parallels in the stone construction of the fort with developments across the channel in the Shore forts in <i>Britannia</i> which are dated to the “260s onwards.” <sup>789</sup> Pottery analysis has led to the belief that there was 2 phases of supply which are identified as IVa and IVb. There was also a large amount of pottery imported from Britain during the period IV, in terms of Black Burnished ware, which confirms the close links between

<sup>784</sup>This is focused on the late Roman period only.

<sup>785</sup>G. Besuijen, *Rodanum: A Study of the Roman Settlement at Aardenburg and Its Metal Finds* (Leiden, 2008), pp. 55 – 57.

<sup>786</sup>R. Brulet, *La Gaule Septentrionale au Bas-Empire* (Trier, 1990), p. 155.

<sup>787</sup>The original structuring of the fort was based on the excavations by J. Mertens which implied there were 3 stages of settlement I, II & III: J. Mertens and L. Van Impe, *Het Laat-romeins grafveld van Oudenburg* (Brussels, 1971); J. Mertens, *Het Laat-romeins castellum te Oudenburg* (Brussels, 1978); R. Brulet, *op. cit.*, (1990), pp. 118 – 122; J. Mertens, ‘Oudenburg,’ in M. Reddé, ed., *L’architecture de la Gaule romaine: les fortifications militaires* (Paris, 2006), pp. 362 – 364. This has been challenged by the recent excavations from 2000 – 2005 which has elaborated on the original periodization (see below for references.)

<sup>788</sup>S. Vanhoutte, ‘The Saxon Shore Fort at Oudenburg (Belgium): New Excavation Results,’ in Á. Morillo and others, eds., *Limes XX: XX congreso internacional de estudios sobre la frontera romana / XXth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*: vol. 3 (Madrid, 2009), pp. 1386 – 1388.

<sup>789</sup>A. Pearson, *The Roman Shore Forts* (Stroud, 2002), p. 65.

					<p>Oudenburg and Britain during this phase.<sup>790</sup></p> <p>From the coin evidence &amp; some wooden planks in the outside of the double well excavated in the southwest corner providing a cutting date of 319 – 322 it is speculated that the fort was reoccupied in the second quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>791</sup> The final phase is dated from several reconstructions – the internal part of the double well for example was constructed of wood which was cut in c. 379 – and the ‘military cemetery’.<sup>792</sup></p> <p>The excavated south-west corner seems to reveal that there was a large stone bath building with a hypocaust that dominated the area. Towards the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century the area was divided by wooden fences and a simple wooden building (possible a stable) was constructed. There was also a large oak basin, possibly for storing rain water.</p>
<b>Marquise</b> Identified as possible location for Marcis by name evidence	Late 3 <sup>rd</sup> century – early 5 <sup>th</sup> century?	<b>Fort</b>	?	ND. Occ. XXXVII.7 <i>Equites Dalmatae, Marcis in litore Saxonico.</i>	None
<b>Etaples*</b> Identified as possible site for locus Quartensus	Late 3 <sup>rd</sup> century – early 5 <sup>th</sup> century?	<b>Fort</b>	?	ND. Occ. XXXVII.8 <i>Praefectus classis Sambricae, in loco Quartensi siue Hornensi</i>	The medieval castle occupies a strategic position consistent with other fortifications sheltering in the estuary; roller stamped samian ware has been found and

<sup>790</sup> S. Vanhoutte, W. Dhaeze and W. De Clercq, ‘The pottery consumption c. AD 260 – 70 at the Roman coastal defence fort, Oudenburg, Northern Gaul’, *Journal of Roman Pottery Studies*, 14 (2009), 95 – 141.

<sup>791</sup> S. Vanhoutte, ‘The Saxon Shore Fort at Oudenburg (Belgium): New Excavation Results’, in Á. Morillo and others, eds., *Limes XX: XX congreso internacional de estudios sobre la frontera romana / XXth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, vol. 3 (Madrid, 2009), p. 1389.

<sup>792</sup> J. Mertens and L. Impe, *Het laat-romeins grafveld van Oudenburg* (Brussels, 1971).

					a small cemetery dating to the mid-4 <sup>th</sup> century. <sup>793</sup>
<b>Le Crotoy*</b> Identified as possible site for locus Quartensus	Late 3 <sup>rd</sup> century – early 5 <sup>th</sup> century?	<b>Fort</b>		ND. Occ. XXXVII.8 <i>Praefectus classis Sambricae, in loco Quartensi siue Hornensi</i>	None
<b>Cap Hornu*</b> Identified as possible site for locus Quartensus	Late 3 <sup>rd</sup> century – early 5 <sup>th</sup> century?	<b>Fort</b>		ND. Occ. XXXVII.8 <i>Praefectus classis Sambricae, in loco Quartensi siue Hornensi</i>	None

### 3.2: the so-called “Limes Belgicus”

<i>Bavai – Tongres Road</i>					
Name/ Roman name	Periods of occupation	Type	Size	Textual evidence	Archaeological Evidence
<b>Bavai</b> <sup>794</sup>	I c. 280 – c. 300  II c. 360 – 380  III? c. 380 – c. 430	<b>Fortress?</b>	<b>2ha – 4ha</b>	<b>CIL XIII 395</b>  <i>Hic depositus in p(ace) Lucinus/ Scrinar(ius) bene merens/ D(omino) Hon(orio) Aug VI C(o)ns(ule) Vixit Annos XXXVIII</i> (Chi-rho monogram)	There is intense disagreement over the precise status of Bavai in the late Empire and the role of the <i>castrum</i> . For some the whole site is indicative of a Roman fort. For others this is unsatisfactory. The most up to date assessment is that phase 1 saw a continued, small civilian population, while there was a change after the 370s and a military presence became clearer. <sup>795</sup> This was found in the eastern ‘ <i>castrum</i> ’ where a construction was created in the late 4 <sup>th</sup> century, and western half remained a civilian redoubt.  During the later 4 <sup>th</sup> century there is coin evidence for reoccupation of the forum with a series of pits in the

<sup>793</sup> G. Sennequier and M. Tuffreau-Libre, ‘Le cimetière gallo-romain á inhumations (Bas-Empire) du chateau d’Étaples (Pas de Calais)’, *Latomus*, 36 (1977), 933 – 41.

<sup>794</sup> R. Brulet and P. Thollard, ‘Bavay’, in R. Brulet and others, eds., *Forts Romains de la Route Bavay-Tongres* (Louvain, 1995), pp. 25 – 30; P. Thollard and C. Denimal, ‘Fouilles sur le forum de Bavay (1993 – 1998) II. Les Bas-Empire’, *Archéologie de la Picardie et du Nord de la France (Revue du Nord)*, 80 (1998), 153 – 221; F. Lorient, ‘Décadence Urbaine et Antiquité Tardive à Bagacum et dans la civitas camaracensium’, in A. Ferdière, ed., *Capitales éphémères: des capitales de cités perdent leur statut dans l’antiquité tardive : actes du colloque organisé par le Laboratoire archéologie et territoires, UMR CITERES, Tours, 6-8 mars 2003* (Tours, 2004), pp. 75 – 82; R. Delmaire, *Nord: Bavay, Carte Archeologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 2011), pp. 75 – 82.

<sup>795</sup> For the latest view arguing the site was fundamentally civilian see R. Delmaire, *op. cit.*, (2011), pp. 148 – 149 *contra* the ‘military’ view see F. Lorient, *op. cit.*, (2004), p. 80.

					<p>west part of the complex.</p> <p>11 crossbow brooches have been found.<sup>796</sup></p> <p>There is some evidence for wooden structures being built here which could be seen as barracks which seem to have been constructed and occupied until the end of the century.<sup>797</sup></p> <p>‘Germanic’ pottery and some cemeteries have been argued to testify to a military presence.<sup>798</sup></p>
<b>Givry</b> <sup>799</sup>	I c. 260 – c. 275 II c. 320 – c. 350	<b>Watch tower</b>	<b>0.14ha</b>		<p>The structure was built on a foundation of loose stones alternating with placed stone fixed without mortar. The suggestion is that the site was a monument, reused as a watchtower during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.</p> <p>Coinage seems to imply two phases: 34 coins from the Gallic Empire period (Gallienus – Tetricius II, with 7 imitations) and 5 from the Licinius – Constans/Constantius period, the latest being a 348-50 type <i>Fel Temp Reparatio</i>. A ditch next to the site also contains sculpted stone and material from the 4<sup>th</sup> century.</p>
<b>Morlanwelz</b> <sup>800</sup>	I c. 250 – 300		<b>0.16ha in total/ 0.057ha</b>		<p>Square building, with ditch and palisade, corresponding to a postal station. The</p>

<sup>796</sup> R. Delmaire, *op. cit.*, (2011), p. 95.

<sup>797</sup> R. Delmaire, J-C. Carmelez, F. Loridant and C. Louvion, *Le Nord, Bavay: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 2011), p. 149.

<sup>798</sup> F. Loridant, ‘Bavay-Bagacum’, in D. Bayard, J-L. Collart and N. Mahéo, eds., *La marque de Rome: Samarobriva et les villes du nord de la Gaule* (Amiens, 2006), p. 43.

<sup>799</sup> R. Brulet, *La Gaule Septentrionale au Bas-Empire* (Trier, 1990), pp. 122 – 125; R. Brulet, ‘Givry,’ in R. Brulet and others, eds., *Forts Romains de la Route Bavay-Tongres* (Louvain, 1995), pp. 31 – 32.

<sup>800</sup> R. Brulet, ‘Morlanwelz’, in M. Reddé, *L'architecture de la Gaule romaine: les fortifications militaires* (Paris, 2006), p. 276; R. Brulet, *La Gaule Septentrionale au Bas-Empire* (Trier, 1990), pp. 91 – 95; R. Brulet, ‘Morlanwelz I & II’, in R. Brulet and others, eds., *Forts Romains de la Route Bavay-Tongres* (Louvain, 1995), pp. 33 – 37.



					<p>coins found on the surface across the complex.<sup>802</sup></p> <p>A large fortified complex emerges 1400m to the west of the original fortification. The main structure is a quadrangular stone fortification (45 x 56.5m), with walls 2.8m high and circular towers. The interior of the fort has evidence for buildings constructed against the wall. The perimeter of the site is complex as there is evidence for a large ditch, which is interrupted on the north west side by a small palisaded ditch. There are two annexes to the fortification on the east side, which appear to be bath houses. On the west side there may be the remains of a wooden barracks structure.</p> <p>There is considerable controversy over why there is such a large gap between the ditch and the fort structure. The best explanation seems to be that the enclosed structure was built before the stone fort was constructed, thus giving phase IIa and IIb.</p> <p>The coinage is interesting of the 1081 coins 755 date from period V<sup>803</sup> (330 – 340). Again, the majority of these (472) are imitations. Period VI (340-48) has 178 coins (41 being imitations). There are small numbers of coins for later periods, with the last peak being period X (388 – 402) which has 52 coins (2 imitations) surviving.</p>
--	--	--	--	--	---

<sup>802</sup> R. Brulet, *ibid*, p. 108.

<sup>803</sup> Following the chronological scheme laid out in *RIC* VIII.

### 3.3 Other fortifications in Belgica II

Name/ Roman name	Periods of occupation	Type	Size	Textual evidence	Archaeological Evidence
Revelles <sup>804</sup>	I c. 260 – c. 275	Burgus	0.4ha		<p>8 miles to the southwest of Amiens. The fortification replaced a large funerary monument alongside the main antique road to Rouen.<sup>805</sup> The dating of the site comes from the 641 coins which all carry the effigy of the Gallic Emperors Postumus, Victorinus, Tetricius I and II which implies an occupation date of about 270. The site seems to be laid out in an orthogonal shape, estimated to be 70m x 65m, with a v-shaped ditch surrounding a set of internal structures. The entrance is protected by a <i>titulum</i> (19m in length).</p> <p>The current state of knowledge about internal buildings is vague, but there are a series of post-holes which could be huts or possibly extensions to a wall that would permit those inside a better vantage point (a <i>chemin de ronde</i> or suchlike).</p>
Famars <sup>806</sup>	I c. 320 – 350? II c. 360 – c. 450?	Fortress	1.8ha – 2.2ha	ND Occ XLII <i>Fano Martis Belgicae Secundae Praefectus Laetorum Nerviorum</i>	<p>4 javelin heads were excavated between 2008 and 2012; dated to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> or early 3<sup>rd</sup> century. No concrete evidence of whether they are to be associated with hunting or with soldiers. Clotuche argues that they are found in a ‘civilian’ context and no other military objects have been found but doesn’t say which side of the argument he would take.</p> <p>A coat of mail in a leather bag was found in 2008 in a trench associated with a house</p>

<sup>804</sup> F. Lemaire, ‘Revelles’, in M. Reddé, *op. cit.*, (2006), pp. 368 – 369.

<sup>805</sup> F. Lemaire, *ibid.*, pp. 368 - 9.

<sup>806</sup> R. Brulet, ‘Famars’, in M. Reddé, *op. cit.*, (2006); R. Brulet, *La Gaule Septentrionale au Bas-Empire* (Trier, 1990), pp. 126 – 129.

					<p>dismantled in the early 4<sup>th</sup> century. Another contemporary trench revealed an 'Alamannic' fibule imitating the <i>fibulae</i> of the 3<sup>rd</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> centuries – which is identified as a '<i>foederatus</i>' (on no basis whatsoever)!! Another <i>fibula</i> (early crossbow) was found which is dated 260 – 290 (?).</p> <p><i>Castrum</i> – <i>fibula</i> Keller-Pröttel 2A (dated to 300 – 340); found in an oven, was dated to 323 and thus linked to the construction. Attests the role of official supervision of construction. Sword found in 19<sup>th</sup> century, attested to the type used in late Antiquity, however one can't be more precise.</p> <p>Role of the <i>castellum</i> and its inhabitants are still largely unknown. Why was the site built when the rest of the city was dismantled? What was the relationship between Atrebates and Nervii? Why were the <i>laeti</i> here, and what was the origin of these soldiers?</p>
Kortrijk <sup>807</sup> (Courtrai)				<i>Vicus Cortoriacum</i> <i>Cortoriacenses?</i>	<p>The fort has not been excavated yet, though excavations have identified the Late Imperial zone and a ditch.</p> <p>Coinage of Julian and Valens has been found.</p>
Chatel-Chéhéry (Ardennes) <sup>808</sup>		Hillfort	2.5ha		<p>J-P. Lemant identified that the site was fortified in the Late Empire and dominated habitation on the east slope. Large amounts of 4<sup>th</sup> century pottery are found on the site. 110 coins were found across the</p>

<sup>807</sup> R. Brulet, *La Gaule Septentrionale au Bas-Empire* (Trier, 1990), p. 153.

<sup>808</sup>



					<p>area – from Hadrian to 388 – 402 phase. Evenly spread across the 4<sup>th</sup> century with some imitations. (p. 251)</p> <p>Large amount of pottery seems to have been produced at Chatel between end of the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries with Christian motifs rolled onto ceramic.</p>
<b>Omont (Ardennes)<sup>809</sup></b>	<b>4<sup>th</sup> century/5<sup>th</sup> century</b>	<b>Hillfort</b>	<b>?</b>		<p>Position of a blocked spur (éperon barré) which had a castle built onto it in 883 led to the theory that there was a fort here. Several tombs from the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> century were excavated here (using pottery) 9/10 being Argonne ware.</p> <p>6 tombs from the Late Empire have been discovered of which 2 had weapons (tomb no. 3 has a knife and no. 10 an axe) – which leads to the <i>laeti</i> theory.</p>
<b>Stonne (Ardennes)<sup>810</sup></b>	<b>3<sup>rd</sup> century</b>	<b>Fort routier</b>	<b>?</b>		<p>Underneath the medieval motte was a fortification built during the 260s that controlled the Reims-Trier road.</p>

<sup>809</sup> D. Nicolas, R. Chossenot, M. Chossenot and B. Lambot, *Ardennes: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 2012), pp. 365 – 66.

<sup>810</sup> D. Billion and J.-P. Lémant, 'Francs de Fer, Francs de Hauter', in Laurent Verslype, ed., *Villes et Campagnes en Neustrie: sociétés, économies, territoires, Christianisation* (Montagnac: Éditions Monique Mergoïl, 2007), pp. 45 - 52

## Appendix 2 - cities

### 1. Civitas Capitals

Name (Roman name)	Wall circuit (size)	Date	Textual Evidence for the Late Roman period	Summary of archaeological evidence for the Late Roman period	Military Evidence
<b>Amiens</b> <sup>811</sup> ( <i>Samarob riva/ Civitas Ambiani</i> )	20ha	Mid-4 <sup>th</sup> century (c. 350) <sup>812</sup>	<p><b>Ammianus Marcellinus</b> XV.11.10  <i>Huic (Belgicae primae) adnexa secunda est Belgica, qua Ambiani sunt, urbs inter alia eminens, et Catelauni et Remi.</i></p> <p>Next to this [Belgica I] is Belgica Secunda, where the Ambiani are, whose city is the most eminent of all, and the Catalauni (Chalons-sur-Marne) and the Remi (Reims).</p> <p><b>Ammianus Marcellinus</b> XXVII.8.1  <i>Profectus itaque ab Ambianis, Treverosque festinans, nuntio percellitur [Valentinianus] gravi, qui Britannias indicabat barbarica conspiratione ad ultimum vexata inopiam</i></p> <p>This was why, having left Amiens and while he was hastening towards Trier, [Valentinian] was alarmed by a new message, which indicated that Britain had been brought to its knees by a barbarian conspiracy</p> <p><b>Jerome Letter 123.14 Ad</b></p>	<p><b>The late Roman city:</b> It is quite common to find evidence of destruction levels in the final half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century in excavated areas of the Roman city. It is difficult to establish what the precise cause of these was: violence or accident. The early imperial city does not seem to have been able to use the whole of the urban area, so there one could argue that the troubles of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century provoked a period of urban decline.</p> <p><b>The castrum:</b> there are numerous debates regarding the nature of the <i>castrum</i>. Wozny's excavations in the <i>rue St Germain</i> on the section of wall opened in 1972, found some of the wooden posts used in the wall foundations. These were subjected to dendrochronological analysis: the majority appear to have been cut between the winter of 340 and the spring of 341, while one was apparently cut in 351.</p> <p>Another earlier wall has been theorised: a fortified wall dating to before the <i>castrum</i> was found in the same insula as before, but the wall seems to have been limited and did not extend to the south so this theory is currently dormant.<sup>813</sup></p>	Most of the evidence is textual. A small number of military artefacts, e.g. weapons and crossbow brooches have been found, but these were discovered in the 19 <sup>th</sup> century and thus have no secure provenance.

<sup>811</sup> The main reference works are B. Pichon, *Amiens: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 2009); D. Bayard, 'Samarobriva', in D. Bayard, J.-L. Collart and N. Mahéo, eds., *La marque de Rome: Samarobriva et les villes du nord de la Gaule* (Amiens, 2006), p. 31; D. Bayard, *Amiens Romain* (Amiens, 1983); E. Frézouls, *Les Villes Antiques de la France* (Strasbourg, 1982).

<sup>812</sup> This is based on the dendrochronological dating in L. Wozny, *Amiens, Saint-Germain, zone 1-zone 2 (80.021.017 AH)*, *DFS de fouille de sauvetage*, Amiens, SRA Picardie (1996) l'îlot Saint-Germain. Trente-trois pieux ont été débités pendant l'hiver 340 et le printemps 341 et un pieu a été fabriqué dix ans plus tard. This challenges the traditional dating picture which is drawn from the coins found in earlier excavations dating to the late 3rd century: F. Vasselle, 'L'enceinte urbaine du Bas-Empire de Samarobriva (Amiens, Somme). Description - Construction - Datation,' *Celticum*, 6 (1963), 323-342.

<sup>813</sup> B. Pichon, *op. cit.*, (2009), p.72.

		<p><i>Geruchiam</i> (c.AD 409)  <i>Innumerabiles et ferocissimae nationes universas Gallias occuparunt. Quidquid inter Alpes et Pyranaeum est, quod Oceano Rhenoque includitur, Quadus, Vandalus, Sarmata, Halani, Gepides, Heruli, Saxones, Burgundiones, Alemanni et o legunda respublica! Hostes Pannonii vastarunt... Remorum urbs praepotens, Ambiani, Atrabatae, "extemique hominum Morini" Tornacus, Nemetae, Argentoratus, translatae in Germaniam.</i></p> <p>Most savage tribes in countless numbers have overrun all parts of Gaul. The whole country between the Alps and the Pyrenees, between the Rhine and the Ocean, has been laid waste by hordes of Quadi, Vandals, Sarmatians, Alans, Gepids, Herules, Saxons, Burgundians, Allemanni and-alas! for the commonweal!-even Pannonians. The powerful city of Reims, the <i>Ambiani</i>, the <i>Atrabatae</i>, the <i>Morini</i> on the skirts of the world, Tournai, Speyer (?), and Strasbourg have fallen to Germany:</p> <p><b>Sulpicius Severus</b> <i>Vita S. Martini</i> III.1  <i>Quodam itaque tempore, cum iam nihil praetor arma et simplicem militia vestem haberet, media hieme quae solito asperior inhorruerat, adeo ut plerosque vis alogoris extingueret</i></p>	<p>Internal use of the <i>castrum</i> can be seen in 3 areas, where evidence for what has been interpreted as a series of public enterprises were found:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rue Saint-Germain</li> <li>• Halles du Befroi</li> <li>• Forum</li> </ul> <p>The second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century saw the destruction of the forum site and its replacement by an important building used for metalworking, which has been suggested to have served as the <i>fabrica</i> mentioned in the <i>Notitia</i>.<sup>814</sup></p> <p>Under Magnentius a mint was set up for a short time, probably because of Magnentius' association with the city.<sup>815</sup> The city seems to have retained significance in the textual evidence, as it was occasionally an imperial centre: this is best documented under Valentinian, and thus the urban fabric would have had to have been sufficient to maintain the <i>comitatus</i>.</p>	
--	--	--	---	--

<sup>814</sup> D. Bayard and D. Piton, 'Un bâtiment publique du Bas-Empire à Amiens: 1973 – 1978 six ans de recherche au Logis du Roy', *Cahiers Archéologique du Picardie*, 6 (1979), p. 164; B. Pichon *op. cit.*, p. 48.

<sup>815</sup> J. Bidez, 'Amiens, ville natale de l'empereur Magnence', *Revue des Études Anciennes*, 27 (1925), 312 – 318.

			<p><i>obvium habet in porta Ambianensium civitatis pauperem nudum.</i></p> <p><b>Panegyricus Constantio Caesari dictus</b> IV.21.1 (AD 297)</p> <p><i>Ita nunc per victorias tuas, Constanti Caesar invicte, quidquid infrequens Ambiano et Bellovaco et Tricassino solo Lingonicoque restabat, barbaro cultore revirescit.</i>  “Whatever land remained abandoned in the territory of the Ambiani, Bellovaci, Tricasses and Lingones turns green again under cultivation by the barbarian.”</p> <p><b>Notitia Dignitatum Occ. IX.39</b>  <i>(Fabricae infrascriptae) Ambianensis spatharia et scutaria</i></p> <p><b>Notitia Dignitatum Occ. XLII.67</b> <i>Praefectus Sarmatarum gentilium inter Remos et Ambianos provinciae Belgicae Secundae.</i></p> <p><b>CIL XIII 3492</b>  <i>D(is) [M(anibus) E(t)] M(emoriae)/ ... Ianuarius imagin(ifer) N(umeri) Ursarien(sium) Cives/ [Se]quan(i) vix(it) annos/ [...XX]VIII Severianus frat(er)/ Memor(iam) posuit.</i></p> <p>To the Manes and the memory of Ianuarius, <i>imaginifer</i>, of the regiment of Ursarienses, citizen of the Sequani who lived 29(?) years. Severianus, his brother, raised this memorial.</p> <p><b>CIL XIII 3493</b>  <i>Val(erius) Durio Circit(or) N(umeri)</i></p>	
--	--	--	--	--

			<p><i>Catafr(actariorum) vix(it) an(nos) XXX Valerius Durio, Circitor of the Cataphract Regiment lived for 30 years</i></p> <p><b>CIL XIII 3494</b>  D(is) M(anibus) E(t) M(emoriae) Val(erius) lustus/ [E]q(ues?) vix(it) ann(os) XXXI scola/ provincialum in/ [s]tituit  To the Manes and the memory of Valerius lustus, cavalryman, who lived 31 years. The <i>Schola</i> of the Provincials installed this.</p> <p><b>CIL XIII 3495</b>  [D(is)] M(anibus)/ E(t) M(emoriae) Val(erius) Zurdiginiu(s)/ De(curio) Ca[tafr(actatorium?)]  To the Manes and the memory of Valerius Zurdiginiu(s), Decurion of Cataphracts(?)</p>		
Arras <sup>816</sup> ( <i>Nemetacum/ Civitas Atrebatum</i> )	8ha	End of 3 <sup>rd</sup> century	<p><b>Notitia Dignitatum Occ. XLII.40</b> <i>Praefectus laetorum Batavorum Nemetacensium Atrabatis Belgicae secundae</i></p>	<p>The main excavation work has been at the Baudimont area of the city which has revealed several layers of occupation covering the whole imperial period. This evidence</p> <p><b>The “Germanic sanctuary”</b></p> <p>The most interesting site which may illustrate the complex relationship between the military and civilian population is at Arras. At some point around 375 a sanctuary site, which from the surviving cult objects and statuary seems to have been dedicated to Attis and Cybele, was destroyed.<sup>817</sup></p>	<p>The “Germanic sanctuary”<sup>818</sup> As discussed in the text, there is an argument to suggest that this structure is evidence of a unit of <i>foederati</i>, but there is no direct evidence associating this with a military context.</p> <p>The “Theodosian” barracks<sup>819</sup> are a very important set</p>

<sup>816</sup> R. Delmaire, A. Jacques, G. Leman-Delevre and C. Seillier, *Le Pas de Calais: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 1993); A. Jacques, ‘Arras – *Nemetacum*’, in D. Bayard ; J-L. Collart and N. Mahéo, eds., *La marque de Rome: Samarobriva et les villes du nord de la Gaule* (Amiens, 2006), pp. 36 – 39.

<sup>817</sup> A. Jacques and E. Belot, ‘Le complexe métrouaque d’Arras-Baudimont’, *Revue du Nord – Archéologie*, LXXIII (1991), 21 – 34.

<sup>818</sup> A. Jacques, ‘Le sanctuaire germanique d’Arras’, *Archéologica*, 270 (1991), 60 – 66; A. Jacques, ‘Le sanctuaire germanique d’Arras: les fouilles de rue Baudimont’, in R. Compatangelo-Soussignan and C.-G. Schwentzel, eds., *Étrangers dans la cité romaine : actes du colloque de Valenciennes (14-15 octobre 2005)* (Rennes, 2007), pp. 221 – 238.

				<p>In the next few years a new sanctuary was constructed, based on a rectangular pit measuring 3.25m by 2.6m with a depth of 1.4m. A small wall, 0.4m high, based on a foundation of chalk and packed tiles enclosed the pit. Postholes show that a shelter was erected over the pit in a second phase of construction, soon after the first. Several other constructions appear during the first phase – flat hearths, ditches, a channel and a rectangular structure (2.2m by 0.8m). Several other hearths and ditches were added during a second phase, but the stratigraphy hints at only a short period of time between the two phases.</p> <p>Various deposits were found across the site. The principal pit produced miscellaneous items such as a bowl, nails and various ceramics. Two human skulls were found placed upside down in the middle of the pit. The first was of a child, estimated at 5 years old, with a cow rib and limestone block wedged against it. The second was an adult, between 20 and 40 years of age, and was placed in a wreath of bronze that was encircled with iron that also contained traces of perishable tissue. The partial skull of a third individual, a child of around 7 years, was placed between the other skulls. The jawbone of a very young infant (between 1 – 2 years) lay on one side. A femur and a rib complete the list of human remains from this pit. The systematic disappearance of mandibles and cervical vertebrae from the skulls attest a post-mortem manipulation of the bodies for ritual deposition. Another smaller pit in the south-west of the complex contained the skeleton of a young girl (minus her skull) in her early teens, as well as other articles similar to the</p>	<p>of evidence for military occupation in a late Roman urban context. The name is due to an attribution of their construction to the aftermath of the defeat of Magnus Maximus by the excavator, Alain Jacques, but this is speculative.</p>
--	--	--	--	--	--

<sup>819</sup> A. Jacques, 'L'occupation militaire d'Arras au Bas-Empire', in F. Vallet and M. Kazanski, eds., *L'Armée Romaine et les Barbares du IIIe au VIIe siècle* (Rouen, 1993), pp. 197 – 99.

				<p>principal pit – ceramics, tiles and a harness pendant. The absence of the cervical vertebrae and mandibles implied to the excavators an intermediary stage between exhumation and secondary deposition. Traces of organic material (wood and other tissues) were found the main pit, but unfortunately they did not remain in a state where the original deposit could be understood. A large variety of deposits were found in the other pits across the site, including human and animal remains. The majority of these are pork (62%) but there are traces of other meats such as beef, chicken and shellfish. Traces of butcher cuts and signs of cooking indicate that these may have been consumed on the site, possibly as part of the rituals attached to the site.</p> <p><b>“Theodosian Barracks”</b></p> <p>These were constructed after the destruction of the sanctuary. In the late 380s/390s an intervallum of about 15m was created between the city wall and the new buildings. Building A was rectangular and measured 42m by 7.25m, being divided into a series of small rooms. Material from a rubbish dump attached to the site contained spear and javelin heads, an iron arrow with three flights, a fighting axe as well as various decorative items made from bronze. In addition the dump produced 40 pairs of studded, adult shoes, numerous ceramics and 600 bronze coins. Food remains contained large amounts of meat (beef and mutton) which are consistent with a military presence. The buildings are identified by the excavators as barracks, containing <i>contubernia</i>, with a <i>papillo</i> (common room) and an arms store. There is a second period of occupation in this stage, identified by the demolition of the room at the north end of barrack block A. This was replaced by an</p>	
--	--	--	--	---	--

				oven, used for baking bread, protected by a post-built shed (10m x 9m). The internal structure of the buildings was affected, with partitions dividing the rooms into smaller units, dotted with rectangular pits and silos. The internal structure of the buildings was also affected, with partitions dividing the rooms into smaller units, dotted with rectangular pits and silos. Given the remains of <i>amphorae</i> and <i>dolia</i> in these pits these were probably for storing foodstuffs. Finds from this period consist of many objects that suggest a female presence – bronze and silver rings, gold earrings, jet black bracelets and bronze brooches. A military occupation is still indicated by finds of a spur, buckles, daggers and lead <i>plumbatae</i> . Spears, pommels and bronze decorations are consistent with cavalry soldiers.	
Beauvais <sup>820</sup> ( <i>Caesaro magus/ Civitas Bellacorum</i> )	10.7ha <sup>821</sup> & ditch	Early 4 <sup>th</sup> century <sup>822</sup>	<b>Panegyricus Constantio Caesari dictus</b> <i>Ita nunc per victorias tuas, Constanti Caesar invicte, quidquid infrequens Ambiano et Bellovaco et Tricassino solo Lingonicoque restabat, barbaro cultore revirescit.</i> (IV.21.1 (AD 297)).  <i>Notitia Galliarum VI</i>	Very little is known about the material remains of the town during the late imperial period.  North cemetery revealed a large number of 4 <sup>th</sup> century graves with no military elements.  Cemetery found in north-east dates from 3 <sup>rd</sup> & 4 <sup>th</sup> centuries which has few grave goods and distinguishing features.  There are some indications of continued use of buildings within the <i>castrum</i> and some indications of continued use of suburban occupation too. Recent excavations on Rue Nully have found evidence of quite intensive occupation in the Late Empire	None.

<sup>820</sup> E. Frézouls, *Les Villes Antique de la France* (Strasbourg, 1982); G.-P. Woimant, *L'Oise: Carte archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 1995), pp. 127 – 161.

<sup>821</sup> G.-P. Woimant *op. cit.*, pp. 147 – 48; 3 levels of large blocks with bonded *petit appareil*.

<sup>822</sup> Dating based on finds of early 4<sup>th</sup> century coins Maximian Hercules (285) and Licinius (311) found in trenches underneath excavated section of the rampart during excavations from 1966 – 76 G.-P. Woimant, *op. cit.*, p. 140; B. Desachy, 'Le site archéologique de Beauvais (Oise): éléments de présentation topographique et chronologique', *Revue archéologique de Picardie*, 3. 3-4 (1991), p. 26.



				level, with carefully constructed structures made up or re-employed <i>spolia</i> and chalk. In the west of the site a room with under floor heating was discovered. There was also a large amount of pottery found. Sadly there doesn't seem to be any precise chronological information yet on this excavation. <sup>823</sup>	
<b>Boulogne</b> <sup>824</sup> <b>(Bononia – Gesoriocorum/civitas bononium)</b>	12.6ha	Late 3 <sup>rd</sup> century.		Boulogne seems to have remained as a major naval and military base during the late Empire. The settlement seems to have been based around the upper town citadel in the 4 <sup>th</sup> century. Two phases of barracks have been found that date to the 4 <sup>th</sup> and 5 <sup>th</sup> centuries.	The first barrack phase conform to normal Roman standards, but the last phase is more irregular, with Seillier arguing the hand turned pottery meaning that it was occupied by a 'federate' unit.
<b>Cambrai</b> <sup>825</sup> <b>(Camaracum/Civitas Camaracensium<sup>826</sup>)</b>	4.3ha (?) <sup>827</sup>	(?)	<i>Notitia Galliarum</i> "Civitas Camaracensium" shows that Cambrai had replaced Bavai as the Civitas Capital at some point in the 4 <sup>th</sup> century  Gregory of Tours <i>Historia Francorum</i> 2.9 (Clodio) Gregory of Tours <i>Historia Francorum</i> 2.42 (Ragnachar)	Very little is known about the material remains of the town. Excavations have produced late Roman coins and relatively large amounts of late pottery - particularly Argonne ware. Excavations at the lycée Fénélon have revealed compacted rubble and levelled ground which may have been the ancient <i>castrum</i> . <sup>828</sup>	A Frankish leader Clodio seems to have established some control over the city in the mid-5 <sup>th</sup> century. In the early 6 <sup>th</sup> century Ragnacharius a Frankish rival to Clovis apparently possessed a kingdom that was based on Cambrai. This implies that the city had some form of military

<sup>823</sup> C. Laurent and J-M. Fémolant, 'Beauvais,' *Archeologie de la France – Notifications: Gallia* (2006) N2006-PI-0086

<sup>824</sup> R. Delmaire, A. Jacques, G. Lemean-Delevre and C. Seillier *Le Pas de Calais: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 1993); C. Seillier 'La présence militaire à Boulogne-sur-Mer', in M. Lodewijckx, ed., *Archaeological and Historical Aspects of West-European Societies*, (Louvain, 1996), p. 237-244.

<sup>825</sup> R. Delmaire, *Le Nord: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 1996), pp. 155 – 167.

<sup>826</sup> Cambrai replaced Bavay as the civitas capital and the civitas changed its name from Civitas Nerviorum to Civitas Camaracensium (see *Notitia Galliarum*)

<sup>827</sup> This is a hypothetical estimate devised by M. Rouché, 'Topographie historique de Cambrai durant le haut Moyen Age (Ve – Xie siècle)', *Revue du Nord*, 58 (1976), 339 – 348, based on no physical evidence whatsoever (R. Delmaire, *Le Nord: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 1996), p. 156. The main reason for believing that there was an *enceinte* is the literary evidence from Gregory of Tours who says that Chilperic I took refuge at Cambrai while fighting Gontran (Gregory of Tours *Historia Francorum* 6.41) while a later church is referred to as being *extra muros* (Balderic *Chronicle of Arras and Cambrai* I.64). This isn't particularly convincing however.

<sup>828</sup> M. Barret and J-C. Routier, 'Cambrai. Les fouilles du lycée Fénélon: un habitat du Bas Empire', *Archéologia*, 360 (1999), 26 – 31.

					function, but it may have been as a secure site which became more important in a 5 <sup>th</sup> century context than as a late Roman military site relevant to the 4 <sup>th</sup> century.
<b>Vermand</b> <sup>829</sup> <b>(Augusta/Civitas Vermanduensium)</b>	16 – 20 ha	Late 3rd/4 <sup>th</sup> century <sup>830</sup>	None	<p>Oppidum wall which seems to date in origin to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (16 – 20 ha) – there does seem to have been some large reused blocks placed into service in the wall which may have been part of the late Roman circuit</p> <p>Very little is known of internal structures but there is a continuity of settlement in houses occupied in Rue des Troupes.<sup>831</sup></p> <p>The cemeteries are given a date for the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.</p>	<p>Six cemetery groups with several military burials. The most prominent is “Le tomb de chef,” the precise nature of which has caused considerable debate.<sup>832</sup></p> <p>There was a large civilian population too: Collart estimates 20% of the population were involved with the garrison.<sup>833</sup></p> <p>Collart compares the site with Buzenol and Jemelle in <i>Belgica</i> I.</p>
<b>Tournai</b> <sup>834</sup> <b>(Turnacu)</b>	12 – 15ha <sup>835</sup>	Late 3 <sup>rd</sup> /early	<b>Notitia Galliarum VI</b> Tournai was promoted to	There seems to be a considerable population in Tournai during the	The Childeric tomb in the late 5 <sup>th</sup>

<sup>829</sup> Vermand was promoted to replace St Quentin as the civitas capital during the 4<sup>th</sup> century: J.-L. Collart, ‘Vermand’, in J.-P. Petit and M. Mangin, eds., *Atlas des agglomérations secondaires de la Gaule Belgique et des Germanies* (Paris 1994), pp. 230 – 231; B. Pichon, *l’Aisne: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 2004), pp. 477 – 504.

<sup>830</sup> This dating is entirely hypothetical as the *enceinte* is so poorly understood. It could very well be that the structure surrounding the city as it is dates back to the La Tène period and it was maintained by later settlements see B. Pichon, *ibid.*, pp. 480 – 82.

<sup>831</sup> B. Pichon, *op. cit.*, (2004), p. 484.

<sup>832</sup> ‘Vermand Treasure: Belt Buckle and Three Mounts for Spear Shafts, The [Provincial Roman; Found in Vermand, France]’ (17.192.143-.146) In *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000–. <http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/17.192.143-.146>. (October 2006)

<sup>833</sup> J.-L. Collart, *op. cit.*, (1994), p. 231; D. Schorsch, ‘The Vermand Treasure: A Testimony to the Presence of the Sarmatians in the Western Roman Empire.’ *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, Vol. 21 (1986).

<sup>834</sup> R. Brulet and others, *Archéologie du quartier Saint-Brice à Tournai: exposition au Siège de Tournai, Tournai, mars 1986* (Louvain, 1986); R. Brulet, *La Gaule Septentrionale au Bas-Empire* (Trier, 1990), pp. 95 – 98; C. Bonnet and R. Brulet, ‘Les fouilles de la cathédrale de Tournai. Antiquité tardive et haut Moyen Âge. Données nouvelles et comparaisons’, in L. Verslype, ed., *Villes et campagnes en Neustrie: sociétés, économies, territoires, Christianisation* (Montagnac, 2007), pp. 305-31; R. Brulet, ‘Tournai, capitale du Bas-Empire et évolution au Haut Moyen-Âge’, R. Anaert, ed., *The very beginning of Europe? Early-Medieval Migration and Colonisation* (Brussels, 2012), pp. 125-134.

<i>m/ Civitas Turnacensium</i> )		4 <sup>th</sup> century <sup>836</sup>	<p><i>civitas</i> capital in the 3<sup>rd</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> century</p> <p><b>Notitia Dignitatum Occ.XI.57</b>  <i>Procurator gynaeicii Tornacensis, Belgicae Secundae</i>  The procurator of the weaving-house at Tournai  <i>Belgica secunda</i></p> <p><b>Notitia Dignitatum XXVIII.15</b>  <i>Comes litoris Saxonici per Britanniam praepositus Numerus Turnacensium Lemanis</i><sup>837</sup></p> <p><b>Jerome Letter 123</b>  (See entry in Amiens above)</p>	<p>late Roman period if the cemeteries are taken into account. There is also some large scale urban construction work in the Saint-Pierre area which is dated to the Constantinian period. There is also evidence of continued occupation in this area during the 5<sup>th</sup> century where evidence of artisan activity is mixed in with the 'dark earth' level.</p> <p>Excavations have also revealed developments in the cathedral area also have produced evidence for building activity in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> to the 5<sup>th</sup> century. A series of building reorganisations in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> century are clear in a <i>domus</i> which seems to have been turned into a basilica in the 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>838</sup> There is also another building here which was reorganised several times but in the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century this included a phase of being used as a bath house, and an adjacent room had a hypocaust.</p> <p>St. Brice has shown some material indications (pottery and coinage) of being occupied in the 4<sup>th</sup> century but there is little precise information on the state of internal organisation beyond that.</p>	century in the St Brice cemetery is the most notable development for military connections.
<b>Reims<sup>839</sup></b> ( <i>Durocortorum/Civitas Remorum</i> )	55ha	c. 330 - 350 <sup>840</sup>	<p><b>Notitia Dignitatum Occ. IX.36</b>  (Fabricae infrascriptae) Remensis spatharia</p> <p><b>Notitia Dignitatum Occ. XI.34</b>  <i>Praepositus thesaurorum</i></p>	<p>Several sites in Reims seem to hint at problems in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century as almost a dozen sites give evidence of abandonment and/or destruction in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>841</sup></p> <p>First half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century sees a</p>	There is some evidence for a military occupation in the sector the old sanctuary around 250 – 275, but this seems very short as the

<sup>835</sup> The full extent of the circuit is unknown as only fragments have been excavated e.g. at *La Loucherie* though there is no doubt that there was actually an enceinte see R. Brulet, 'Tournai et le genèse du Haut Moyen Age', in L. Verslype, ed., *op. cit.* (2007), p. 25; Gregory of Tours describes Chilperic taking refuge there with his wife and children in 573 (as at St Quentin) *Historia Francorum*, IV.50.

<sup>836</sup> R. Brulet, *La Gaule Septentrionale au Bas-Empire* (Trier, 1990), p. 98.

<sup>837</sup> Based in Lympe in Britain under the command of the Count of the Saxon Shore.

<sup>838</sup> R. Brulet, 'Tournai et le genèse du Haut Moyen Age', in L. Verslype, ed., *op. cit.* (2007), pp. 25 – 26.

<sup>839</sup> R. Chossenot, A. Estéban and R. Neiss, *Reims: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 2010).

<sup>840</sup> It seems fairly clear that the city wall was constructed under Constantine – as construction was preceded by a destruction of pre-existing buildings and money from 310 – 320 was found in this destruction layer as well as Argonne ware R. Chossenot, A. Estéban and R. Neiss, *op. cit.* (2010), p. 94.

<sup>841</sup> *Gallia Informations* (1998 – 1999, CD Rom).

		<p><i>Remorum</i> Treasury at Reims <b>Notitia Dignitatum Occ. XI.56</b> <i>Procurator gynaeicii Remensis, Belgicae Secundae</i> The procurator of the weaving-house at Reims in <i>Belgica Secunda</i></p> <p><b>Notitia Dignitatum Occ. XI.76</b> <i>Praepositus branbariciorum sive argentariorum Remensium</i></p> <p><b>Ammianus Marcellinus XV.2.8; XVII.2.1</b> (Julian assembles his forces at Reims in 356 &amp; 357)</p> <p><b>Ammianus Marcellinus XXVI.5.14; XXVII.2.1 – 10</b> (Valentinian mobilises an army at Reims in 366 – 67)</p> <p><b>Jerome Letter 123</b> (Quoted above)</p>	<p>period of calm and urban vitality in Reims – the best sign of this being the <i>enceinte</i>, which covered an impressive size in comparison to other cities in the province, and parallels in some ways the Augustan wall foundations. Two triumphal arches were incorporated into the wall as gates (<i>la Porte de Mars &amp; la Porte de Bazée</i>) probably for aesthetic reasons too as their decorative features were maintained.</p> <p>Many finds in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (especially glassware) imply that the city was an important centre of production, which is already indicated by the number of imperial production centres based at the city according to the <i>Notitia</i>.</p> <p>The wall enclosed the city but there is evidence of continued occupation of areas inside the city walls. The most striking are the baths which were excavated again in the cathedral area between 1993 and 1995 which revealed continuity of function between the 1<sup>st</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries, with a series of refurbishments, the most spectacular being the Constantinian refoundation (CIL XIII.3255). This was eventually incorporated into the ecclesiastical foundations of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. Coinage evidence also shows that the aqueduct was still working during the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.</p> <p>Some speculation that the forum retained a monumental function during the 4<sup>th</sup> century, and contained the palace of the <i>praeses</i>, which later became part of the ecclesiastical complex. Identifications of the <i>palatium</i> mentioned in later documents for the Merovingian era as well have been made in the documentary sources, but there is little positive archaeological support for this though some remains found underneath the foundations of the nave in 1997.</p>	<p>archaeological artefacts are limited.</p> <p>There is little evidence of any permanent occupation by soldiers.</p>
--	--	---	---	---

				Outside the walls the former monumental structures seem to have been used as a quarry, but there are enough finds to indicate a persistence in suburban use.	
<b>St Quentin</b> <sup>842</sup> (?)	?	?	None	Very little evidence of occupation during the 4 <sup>th</sup> century onwards – 4 <sup>th</sup> century coin of Licinius (316 – 317) found during excavations at house B in the embankment covering the last level of the road. This is the only indication of occupation in the 4 <sup>th</sup> century. <sup>843</sup> The site seems to have been moved to Vermand.	None
<b>Cassel</b> <sup>844</sup> ( <i>Castellum Menapiorum</i> )	? <sup>845</sup>	Late 3 <sup>rd</sup> century? <sup>846</sup>	None.	The city's importance seems to have derived from its proximity to salt flats, and when the sea levels increased in the 3 <sup>rd</sup> century (Dunkirk Marine Transgression) this probably explains its subsequent loss of importance.  The civitas capital seems to have moved to Tournai during the 4 <sup>th</sup> century – see Notitia Galliarum	None
<b>Soissons</b> <sup>847</sup> ( <i>Augusta/Civitas Suessionum</i> )	13ha	Unknown date 3 <sup>rd</sup> century (CAG, 456)	<b>Notitia Dignitatum Occ. IX.35 (Fabricae infrascriptae) Suessionis...</b> Syagrius/Clovis links (GT)	Wall: Excavated sections have revealed traditional 3rd/4 <sup>th</sup> century wall structures of recycled monumental masonry (456 - 457) c. 100 ha in Early Empire 4 <sup>th</sup> century burial in Soissons (coins from Postumus, Licinius & Constantine) CAG 02, 451 1897 – 1911 excavations <i>Longues Raies</i> found in a large cemetery dating from 1 <sup>st</sup> - 4 <sup>th</sup> centuries (500 inhumations) belt buckle set; bronze crossbow brooches (2); Sarcophagi found in 1970 revealed bronze coin of Constantine II and	None

<sup>842</sup> J.-L. Collart, 'Saint-Quentin', *Revue archéologique de Picardie. Numéro spécial*, 16 (1999), 67-128.

<sup>843</sup> C. Hosdez, C. Chaidron and A. Morel, 'Nouvelles données archéologiques sur la ville de Saint-Quentin: le diagnostic de la rue Émile Zola', *Revue Archeologique de Picardie*, 1 – 2 (2010), p. 180.

<sup>844</sup> R. Brulet, *La Gaule Septentrionale au Bas-Empire* (Trier, 1990), p. 99; R. Delmaire, ed., *Le Nord: Carte archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 1996), 172 – 178; F. Lorient, 'Cassel – Castellum Menapiorum', D. Bayard, J.-L. Collart and N. Mahéo, eds., *La marque de Rome: Samarobriva et les villes du nord de la Gaule* (Amiens, 2006), p. 49.

<sup>845</sup> A few sections are known but the size is uncertain.

<sup>846</sup> This is dated by a *terminus post quem* based on the find of a coin of Claudius II in the trench of a rampart R. Delmaire, ed., *Le Nord: Carte archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 1996), p. 174.

<sup>847</sup> B. Ancien and M. Tuffreau-Libre, *Soissons Gallo-Romaine Découvertes Anciennes et Recentes* (Soissons, 1980), pp. 31, 33 & 45; B. Pichon, *l'Aisne: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 2004), pp. 422 – 423; 456 – 459; D. Roussel, 'Soissons', *Revue archéologique de Picardie. Numéro spécial*, 16 (1999), 129-137.

				<p>short &amp; long swords with belt-buckle dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> century – coin misleading.</p> <p>Little is known of the city in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries archaeologically</p> <p>The urban organisation of the interior of the <i>castrum</i> is still detectable by a certain permanence, through analysis of the finds by the ancient road network. Unfortunately no building has yet been identified as no excavation has been carried out in the <i>intra-muros</i> zone on account of the intensely built up area.</p>	
<b>Therouanne</b> <sup>848</sup> ( <i>Civitas Morinorum</i> )	? <sup>849</sup>	?	<b>Jerome Letter 123</b> (Quoted above)	<p>Some evidence for destruction at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.</p> <p>There is very little evidence for a <i>castrum</i>. Some archaeologists have claimed to have found remains in the cathedral sector but these have not proved uncontroversial.</p>	
<b>Chalons-sur-Marne</b> <sup>850</sup> ( <i>Catellanos/ civitas Catuellanorum</i> )	Circuit wall seems to have been made of earth <sup>851</sup>	No evidence for the city wall	Ammianus Notitia Galliarum	<p>NB the early city is known very poorly in any detail, but the finds from the Late Empire outnumber/ are more important than the early period.</p>	<p>CIL XIII 3457 Esperandieu (1913) no. 3738 D(is) M(anibus)/Furius Antonin/us circ(itor) n(umeri) Dal(matarum) vixit (a)nnos XXVI (?) dies XV/ h(oras) III memorian (sic)/ ei coll(egium) (?) eius possuit (denariorum) V mil(ibus de suo denaria XXXVIIIICCC)</p> <p>CIL XIII 3458 Esperandieu no. 3744 Plaianus equis/ in</p>

<sup>848</sup> R. Delmaire, A. Jacques, G. Leman-Delevre and C. Seillier, *Pas de Calais: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 1993), pp. 83 – 98.

<sup>849</sup> There have been some claims that the late Roman rampart has been detected, but this has been disputed.

<sup>850</sup> R. Chossenot, J.-J. Charpy, M. Chossenot and S. Chossenot, *Marne: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 2004), pp. 285 – 319.

<sup>851</sup> R. Chossenot, J.-J. Charpy, M. Chossenot and S. Chossenot, *Marne: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 2004), p. 286.

					<p>vixelatione/Dalmatorum V/ vixxit annos X (?)/ impe(n)dium de su/ denaria XXXVIII/CCC</p> <p>The only military evidence are the two epitaphs which are 3<sup>rd</sup> century. CAG 51/1 (Marne), 291 argues this represents evidence for a garrison, but I'm not sure about that.</p> <p>Cruciform brooch found in 1879-80 in a tomb (CAG, 311)</p>
<p><sup>852</sup> <b>Senlis</b> (<i>Augusto magus/ Civitas Silvanectum</i>)</p>	<p>6.4 ha 28 towers</p>	<p>Early 4<sup>th</sup> century<sup>853</sup></p>	<p><b>ND Occ. 42.42 Praefectus Laetorum gentilium, Remos et Silvanectos</b> NG VI. 9</p>	<p>As with other cities there is a theory amongst archaeologists that settlement continued in the area of the early imperial city in the form of suburbs.<sup>854</sup></p>	<p>None</p>

## 2. Secondary urban settlements

Name (Roman name)	Wall circuit (size)	Date	Textual Evidence	Archaeological evidence	Military Evidence
<p><sup>855</sup> <b>Mouzon</b> (Ardennes)</p>	<p>Castrum (small site of about 12ha in early Empire)</p>	<p>c.370s</p>	<p><b>Notitia Dignitatum Occ. VII.105 Musmangenses (legio comitatenses)</b></p> <p>Vie de Saint Suzanne talks about a military officer in the town in 420</p>	<p>Sanctuary (<i>fanum</i>) continued to be used throughout the period.</p> <p>Dating based on wooden posts built into the foundations found in 1992 (2.5m wide). Dendrochronology dates</p>	<p>Montfort – fortification de hauteur &amp; the association with the Musmangenses are the main military forms of evidence.</p>

<sup>852</sup> G.-P. Woimant, *L'Oise: Carte archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 1995), pp. 449 – 451; M. Durand, 'Senlis', *Revue archéologique de Picardie. Numéro spécial*, 16 (1999), 179-185.

<sup>853</sup> Based on a comparison with Beauvais, which has better dating material see M. Durand, 'Senlis', *Revue archéologique de Picardie. Numéro spécial*, 16 (1999), p. 180.

<sup>854</sup> M. Roblin, 'Cités ou Citadelles? Les Enceintes Romaines du Bas-Empire d'après l'exemple de Senlis', *Revue des Études Anciennes*, 67.3 – 4 (1965), 368 – 391.

<sup>855</sup> D. Nicolas, R. Chossenot, M. Chossenot and B. Lambot, *Ardennes: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 2012), pp. 338 – 350; J.-P. Lemant, 'Mouzon (Ardennes).' in J.-P. Petit and M. Mangin, eds., *Atlas des agglomérations secondaires de la Gaule Belgique et des Germanies* (Paris, 1994), pp. 217 – 218.

				<p>the site to 367 – 68 based on 14 oaks and a maple tree. This parallels developments at Maastricht. Ceramics date from end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century to the 6<sup>th</sup> century Coins found include Constantine II Caesar (330 – 335) and Constans (344).</p> <p>There The site continued to be an important settlement into the Carolingian period and beyond.</p>	
<b>Noyon</b> <sup>856</sup> ( <i>Noviomagus</i> )	2.5ha <sup>857</sup>	End of 3 <sup>rd</sup> /early 4 <sup>th</sup> century <sup>858</sup>	<b>Notitia Dignitatum Occ. XLII.41</b> <i>Praefectus laetorum Batavorum Contragensium Noviomago Belgicae Secundae</i>	<p><i>Castrum</i> had four gates and towers. Walls formed in a similar way to other cities – reemployed sculptural attachments with the rubble mortar interior and faced with petit appareil, with lines of brick tiles every 3.5m or so. No dating information available.</p> <p>A hypocaust situated in the interior of the <i>castrum</i> was partially excavated in the <i>rue des Deux-Bornes</i> in 1980 which appears to have been used until the start of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.</p> <p>Outside of the <i>castrum</i> there is a break in occupation and organisation, as well as inside. At excavations in the interior at l'Îlot des Deux-Bornes remains of temporary buildings have been found dating to the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries. There is also evidence of metalwork taking place amongst some of the</p>	None

<sup>856</sup> G-P. Woimant, *L'Oise: Carte archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 1995), 340 – 351; B. Desachy, 'Noyon', *Revue archéologique de Picardie. Numéro special*, 16 (1999), 171-177

<sup>857</sup> Le mur s'apparente aux autres remparts urbains gallo-romains: élévation en maçonnerie de blocage parementée de moellons carrés de petit appareil, avec des arases intermédiaires de tuiles; puissantes fondations de grands blocs calcaire de réemploi. (Desachy, p. 172)

<sup>858</sup> This is done by comparing the walls with Beauvais and the other walls in the south of *Belgica II* – there is no direct dating evidence.



				structures of the Early Empire.	
<b>Laon</b> <sup>859</sup> (Aisne)	?	?	None	Very little evidence here at all for Late Empire though there is some evidence of occupation and later developments in the Early Middle Ages indicate that there was a fortification here in the upper city.	None
<b>Bavay</b> <sup>860</sup>	<b>2ha – 4ha</b>	I c. 280 – c. 300  II c. 360 – 380  III? c. 380 – c. 430	<b>None</b>	<p>There is a large amount of evidence that the outer suburbs of the city had already been abandoned by the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and during the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century. Excavations have shown buildings quite near the forum (e.g. in those at the Maison de la Rétraite) being systematically dismantled in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>861</sup></p> <p>There is little evidence for destruction at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century despite earlier theories explaining the erection of the <i>castrum</i> as a response to the barbarian invasions.<sup>862</sup> In fact there are a large number of coins found at the site, including treasures, dating to the last few decades of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century and the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>863</sup> This shows that</p>	<p>There is intense disagreement over the precise status of Bavay in the late Empire and the role of the <i>castrum</i>. For some the whole site is indicative of a Roman fort. For others this is unsatisfactory. The most up to date assessment is that phase 1 saw a continued, small civilian population, while there was a change after the 370s and a military presence became clearer.<sup>869</sup> This was found in the eastern '<i>castrum</i>' where a construction was created in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century, and western half remained a civilian redoubt.</p> <p>During the later 4<sup>th</sup> century there is coin evidence for reoccupation of the forum with a series of pits in the west part of the complex.</p>

<sup>859</sup> T. Ben Redjeb, 'Laon', in J.-P. Petit and M. Mangin, eds., *op. cit.* (1994), p. 227; J.-P. Jorrand, 'Laon', *Revue archéologique de Picardie. Numéro special*, 16 (1999), 61-66.

<sup>860</sup> R. Brulet and P. Thollard, 'Bavay' in R. Brulet and others, eds., *Forts Romains de la Route Bavay-Tongres* (1995), pp. 25 – 30; P. Thollard and C. Denimal, 'Fouilles sur le forum de Bavay (1993 – 1998) II. Les Bas-Empire', *Archeologie de la Picardie et du Nord de la France (Revue du Nord)*, 80 (1998), 153 – 221; F. Lorient, 'Décadence Urbaine et Antiquité Tardive à Bagacum et dans la civitas camaracensium', in A. Ferdière, ed., *Capitales éphémères: des capitales de cités perdent leur statut dans l'antiquité tardive : actes du colloque organisé par le Laboratoire archéologie et territoires, UMR CITERES, Tours, 6-8 mars 2003* (Tours, 2004); R. Delmaire and others, *Bavay: Carte Archeologique de la Gaule: Nord, Bavay* (Paris, 2011), pp. 75 – 82.

<sup>861</sup> F. Lorient, *ibid.*, p. 77.

<sup>862</sup> R. Delmaire, *op. cit.*, (2011), p. 94.

<sup>863</sup> R. Delmaire, *ibid.*, pp. 69 – 71: the treasures include: one found at Rue Jordanez in 1952 was made up of 22 denarii and 6637 antoninians dating from Gordian III to 287/90; a treasure of 19 Constantinian *nummi* was found in 1940 (but only 19 have been studied) and one with coins from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and imitations from the mid – late 4<sup>th</sup> century.

				<p>the <i>castrum</i> did not lead to the abandonment of the city completely. There is also a large amount of Argonne ware pottery still found <i>extra muros</i> and the coinage continues to be quite numerous until the Valentinianic period when it begins a marked decline, finishing with some coins in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century (and a gold Constantine III coin) though the provenance is unknown, and Delmaire doubts the attribution to Bavay.<sup>864</sup></p> <p>The complex chronology of the site has been the source of considerable debated. After excavations in the 1970s and 1980s, Carmelez argued that there were 3 phases of construction: an initial ditch and blocking of the forum structure; this was followed by the first wall at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century and then a second wall in the later Constantinian period.<sup>865</sup> Subsequent excavation lead to this theory being abandoned and the evidence now seems to indicate that the ditch and filling in of the forum walls was actually the preparation stage for the erection of the first wall. A ditch (8.5m wide x 3.5m deep) was dug 10m in front of the wall. During the second phase (the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century) the</p>	<p>11 crossbow brooches have been found.<sup>870</sup></p> <p>There is some evidence for wooden structures being built here which could be seen as barracks which seem to have been constructed and occupied until the end of the century.<sup>871</sup></p> <p>‘Germanic’ pottery and some cemeteries have been argued to testify to a military presence.<sup>872</sup></p>
--	--	--	--	---	--

<sup>869</sup> For the latest view arguing the site was fundamentally civilian see R. Delmaire, *op. cit.*, (2011), pp. 148 – 149 *contra* the ‘military’ view see F. Lorient, *op. cit.*, (2004), p.80.

<sup>864</sup> R. Delmaire, *op. cit.*, (2011), p. 71.

<sup>865</sup> J.-C. Carmelez, ‘L’évolution d’une capitale de civitas au Bas-Empire: le cas de Bavay (Nord). État de la question; données nouvelles d’après des études récentes’, *Revue Archéologique Sites*, 41 (1990), 3 – 24.

<sup>870</sup> R. Delmaire, *op. cit.*, (Paris, 2011), p. 95.

<sup>871</sup> R. Delmaire and others, *Bavay: Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 2011), p. 149.

<sup>872</sup> F. Lorient, ‘Bavay-Bagacum’, in D. Bayard, J.-L. Collart and N. Mahéo, eds., *La marque de Rome : Samarobriva et les villes du nord de la Gaule* (Amiens, 2006), p. 43.

				<p>ditch was filled up and the new wall was constructed to replace, or double up on, the first one. This wall was constructed in a methodical manner, with <i>petit appareil</i> and a tile brick course, in the manner of many late Roman fortification walls.<sup>866</sup> The dating has shifted too on the basis of coin and pottery finds in the foundation trenches of the different walls. Now the first phase has a terminus post quem of 280, and the second phase based the Alzey pottery that doesn't appear in other north-western cities until after the 350s, is put into the Valentinian period.<sup>867</sup></p> <p>Within the walls of the castrum there are elements of hypocausts and other remnants that have been found.<sup>868</sup></p>	
Famars <sup>873</sup>	1.8ha – 2.2ha	I c. 320 – 350?  II c. 360 – c. 450?	Notitia Dignitatum Occ. XLII.39 <i>Praefectus laetorum Nerviorum Fano Martis Belgicae secundae</i>	<p>The hypothesis that it was part of the Cologne – Bavay – Boulogne road network is moot. The site linked Bavay to Cambrai which could explain its link with the <i>Laeti</i>.<sup>874</sup> Its position on the road network would make it strategically useful too.</p> <p>Clotuche argues the parallels between Bavay and Famars are very strong</p>	4 javelin heads were excavated between 2008 and 2012; dated to the end of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> or early 3 <sup>rd</sup> century. No concrete evidence of whether they are to be associated with hunting or with soldiers. Clotuche argues that they are found in a 'civilian' context and no other military objects have been found but doesn't say

<sup>866</sup> P. Thollard and C. Denimal, 'Fouilles sur le forum de Bavay (1993 – 1998) II. Les Bas-Empire', *Archeologie de la Picardie et du Nord de la France (Revue du Nord)*, 80 (1998), 217 – 219.

<sup>867</sup> F. Lorient, 'Décadence Urbaine et Antiquité Tardive à Bagacum et dans la civitas camaracensium', in A. Ferdière, ed., *Capitales éphémères: des capitales de cités perdent leur statut dans l'antiquité tardive : actes du colloque organisé par le Laboratoire archéologie et territoires, UMR CITERES, Tours, 6-8 mars 2003* (Tours, 2004), pp. 75 – 82; R. Delmaire and others, *Bavay: Carte Archeologique de la Gaule* (Paris, 2011), pp. 78 – 80; 140.

<sup>868</sup> R. Delmaire *op. cit.* (2011), pp. 131 – 132.

<sup>873</sup> R. Brulet, 'Famars,' in M. Reddé, *L'architecture de la Gaule romaine: les fortifications militaires* (Paris, 2006); R. Brulet, *La Gaule Septentrionale au Bas-Empire* (Trier, 1990), 126 – 129; R. Clotuche, ed., *La Ville Antique de Famars* (Valenciennes, 2013).

<sup>874</sup> R. Clotuche, *op. cit.*, (2013) p. 37.

				<p>and suggests they should be seen as a similar site. Same surface area/same dates of construction etc.</p> <p>The <i>terminus post quem</i> for the site is 320 based on the dating of buildings that were dismantled for the new construction. There was a defensive ditch dug earlier apparently.</p> <p>The site has a pentagon structure, with a series of defensive ditches. There were apparently two states of construction.</p> <p>Graves of the 5<sup>th</sup> century were found 60m away from the fortification which are dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> century on the grounds that there were no grave goods. This is problematic (they could be Carolingian).</p> <p>The bath house and temples, as well as other workshops, were all dismantled and the stonework used in the fortification wall. 36000m<sup>2</sup> of material was used – 1.4m blocks. About 320 enormous ovens were constructed to cook the material.</p> <p>First phase saw the wall constructed 1m wide, and the dating is brought from coins in a hoard found in one of the ovens which shows 323 as the <i>terminus post quem</i>. Walls of the bath house are used in this phase. Only found on the northern and western sides. Towers were hollow. 1 ditch was linked to the first phase.</p> <p>Second phase dates after 353 thanks to a coin of Magnentius. The wall was</p>	<p>which side of the argument he would take.</p> <p>A coat of mail in a leather bag was found in 2008 in a trench associated with a house dismantled in the early 4<sup>th</sup> century. Another contemporary trench revealed an ‘Alamannic’ fibule imitating the <i>fibulae</i> of the 3<sup>rd</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> centuries – which is identified as a ‘<i>foederatus</i>’ (on no basis whatsoever)!! Another <i>fibula</i> (early crossbow) was found which is dated 260 – 290 (?).</p> <p><i>Castrum – fibula</i> Keller-Pröttel 2A (dated to 300 – 340); found in an oven, was dated to 323 and thus linked to the construction. Attests the role of official supervision of construction. Sword found in 19<sup>th</sup> century, attested to the type used in Late Antiquity, however one can’t be more precise.</p> <p>Role of the <i>castellum</i> and its inhabitants are still largely unknown. Why was the site built when the rest of the city was dismantled? What was the relationship between Atrebatas and Nervii? Why were the <i>laeti</i> here, and what was the origin of these soldiers?</p>
--	--	--	--	---	---

				<p>strengthened and broadened to 2.3m. Towers were filled. 2 ditches linked to this phase.</p> <p>There are lots of issues in identifying the series of levels here.</p> <p>Coin finds:</p> <p>Coin finds pre-excavation: Theodosius I – Valentinian III (solidus)</p> <p>Found <i>inter-muros</i>: Gallienus – Constantine Found outside the walls: Gallienus – Valentinian I</p> <p>Pottery found by the entrance dates from 350 – 500; e.g. Metz phase 2 (until AD 450) and Brulet 424 (AD 400 – 500)</p>	
--	--	--	--	--	--

### Appendix 3 – Gravestones from Amiens



Figure 1 CIL 3493 Valerius Durio



**Figure 2 CIL 3495 Valerius Zurdignius**



Figure 3 CIL 3494 Valerius Iustus