The Roman Remains of Northern and Eastern France

A GUIDEBOOK

JAMES BROMWICH

THE ROMAN REMAINS OF NORTHERN AND EASTERN FRANCE

The Roman Remains of Northern and Eastern France provides a thorough area by area companion to the wealth of the region's monuments, excavations and artefacts, from Paris and Boulogne to Lyon and Strasbourg. The author treats over ninety major and lesser sites, providing both a scholarly assessment of the area's extensive visible remains and a practical guide for visitors.

Precise instructions, carefully designed maps and numerous annotated illustrations ensure that readers will be able to find the places and things they wish to see. As well as guiding visitors to great sites like Lyon with its magnificent ruins, superb Roman museums and immense siphon aqueducts, the book encourages the search for hidden temples, brick kilns and Roman roads, often 'lost' in the forest. The book also offers a comprehensive examination of the area's Roman heritage, interpreting the varied surviving remains and exploring the lifestyles and environment of the Gallo-Roman people.

Comprehensively illustrated with photographs, maps and plans, *The Roman Remains of Northern and Eastern France* is therefore a single, unique resource both for academic study and for visitors interested in the region's archaeological and historical background.

James Bromwich was formerly Principal Lecturer at the London Guildhall University and is the author of *The Roman Remains of Southern France: A Guidebook*.

Frontispiece Magnentius, the Gallic usurper emperor 350–53, silver-bronze bust. Photograph: Louis Bonnamour, Musée Denon, Chalon-sur-Saône.

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CONTENTS

FIGURES

PLATES

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I wish to thank my patient publisher and my editor, Richard Stoneman, the helpful French museum curators and archaeologists – especially Roger Agache – and academic specialists like John Drinkwater. Edward Oliver has transformed many of my plans and maps. Above all my wife, Anne, has given more than anyone; her contribution has been crucial. Any mistakes are mine alone. I hope that this book helps stimulate others to explore the cities, small towns and hidden places of France and experience some of the pleasure that I did in France's Roman heritage.

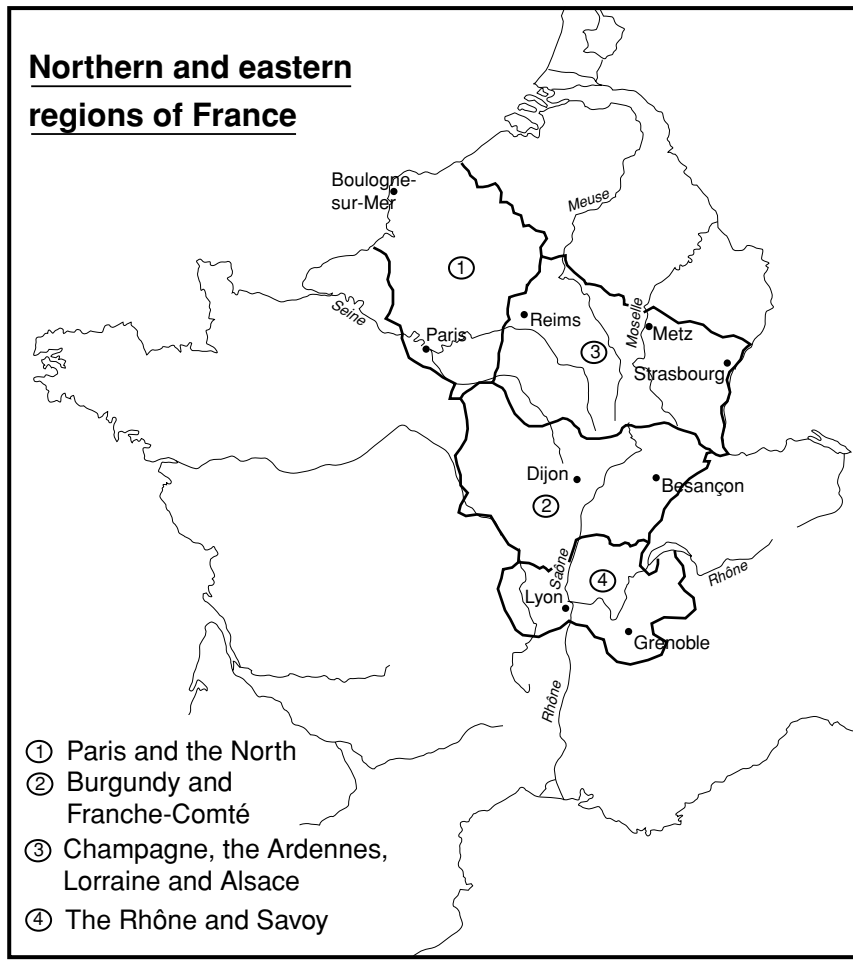

Figure 1 Eastern France: the regions

INTRODUCTION

The Roman archaeology of France

This book is inevitably a limited reflection of archaeology in France. This is not just the natural limitation of a summary approach to the work of hundreds of archaeologists, scientists and scholars who over time have built up the complex picture of the sites covered in this book. It is sure to include descriptions and interpretations that new work will prove to be quite wrong. There are further and unavoidable difficulties. A guidebook's purpose is to identify places where things can be seen, not read about, otherwise why go? But a great deal of Roman France cannot be seen.

Some areas have very few visible remains. This may be due to particular soil types, the wholesale destructive nature of later occupation, or they have simply been poorly researched: Champagne and the Jura have only a thin spread of sites and worthwhile museums (while Burgundy overflows!). A very high proportion of sites are 'rescue' digs. This is really a euphemism; they are actually destroyed: it is only the information derived from the excavation that is rescued. Sometimes, as in all countries, this has entailed the shameful destruction of major remains (as at Bourbonne-les-Bains, page 199). Yet it simply has to be accepted that many painful choices have to be made, that there is a real clash of priorities and that the best result is that skilled archaeologists have drawn as much as possible for posterity from their efforts. There is another type of site that cannot figure in this guide: a great deal may have been revealed but the structural remains are so slight that they are simply covered up again (see Gournay in The ROMANO-CELTIC SANCTUARY, pages 122). Some archaeologists have gone further and have deliberately only carried out partial digs and immediately filled in their excavations (see Ribemont-sur-Ancre, page 121 in the same section); they are trying to balance the demand to extend knowledge now with the certainty that future archaeologists will be able to get more from the material.

The wish to minimize destructive techniques has meant that non-intrusive methods have become more significant. Roger Agache's aerial photographs across the Somme revolutionized our knowledge of the chalk plain villas of

Picardy, not because they led to new excavation (only a handful he found have been dug), but because they made clear the close relationship of villas and road system, enabling new inferences about the market system in Roman Gaul. Other ways of mapping the past, such as field walking and geophysical surveys, are much more widely utilized than even a few years ago. Interesting deductions on land-use and population densities have been possible in the Aisne valley and elsewhere. Many finds are far too degraded ever to be displayed; the enormous expansion of what has been learnt about the environment is often only meaningful as a reflection of change across a number of sites: the antithesis of the site-by-site approach of a guidebook.

Yet this guidebook enables you to interact with the visible structures and many of the artefacts left behind by the Gallo-Roman world. It is written to help you find, observe, consider, analyse and make them part of your life as well. I hope I communicate the excitement that I still feel when I see an aqueduct arch sitting in the landscape: it is the truth in concrete form, raising for me dozens of questions about how and when it was built, why it was done, how it worked, who got the water, and many more. I shall never forget seeing the siphon towers and bridges on the Lyon aqueducts. How did they work? Were they efficient? Why was this technique chosen? I could almost see the water engineers and builders at work. The bronze figure of Epona, side-saddle on her horse, on her shelf in the museum case, may seem a distant and 'dead' goddess for us, but we know about trying to handle the unknown, trying to deal with the unexpected and the need to personalize spiritual feelings.

By seeing the objects and places the Gallo-Romans created we can go some way towards grasping their vision of the world. 'The past is a foreign country. They do things differently there.'[1] Yet it is not an alien environment: you will be seeing the works of fellow human beings and will have the pleasure of exploring how they did things differently. I hope I have provided enough answers in my text and illustrations to help expand your experience and encourage new questions leading you to many other sources.

The region

This book treats more than ninety sites in detail. The problem was where to draw the line. The eastern and south-eastern frontiers of France provide clear markers, even if on occasion I am forced to refer to sites beyond these borders. In the south, the boundary is that of the Midi, covered in my first book. The western limits were more difficult: the mountainous plateaux of the Massif Central forms a western flank in the south, but major geographical features are absent in the north-west. Here, the chosen borders were simply those of the modern French regions: Bourgogne, the Ile de France, Picardie and the Nord/Pas de Calais. How does my region relate to the Roman provincial structure? Not very closely. It clearly excludes nearly all

of Narbonensis (see in *The Roman Remains of Southern France*), but does deal with the territory inhabited by the Allobroges tribe, that is much of Savoy, except their capital Vienne, too important to miss out from the earlier guide. The heart of the Three Gauls, the city of Lyon, and the eastern areas of the province of Lugdunensis are included, but western Lugdunensis and Aquitania are excluded. Though much of Belgica is covered, its capital Trier in modern Germany is not; however, most of Germania Superior is taken in. As Europe evolves towards a new identity it may seem more appropriate to write a guidebook that ignores modern boundaries entirely.

Maps and town plans

I hope my maps and plans will help you find the museums and sites described here, but they are best used in conjunction with other sources. Since writing *The Roman Remains of Southern France*, it has become clear that much the easiest, and cheapest, way of finding places is to use a good general map and a detailed map book. Regional maps still have the benefit of lightness and are easy to carry while walking, but road atlases have a very real advantage: at least 9 out of 10 sites are listed in the index. Michelin's standard red maps, the 1/1,000,000 '989' or '916', and its *Road Atlas*, which brings together all the maps produced for the yellow 1/200,000 series, are widely available. The AA *Touring Atlas* uses an even bigger scale, and there are others produced by the Institut Géographique National (IGN), Blay-Foldex, Philips, and Geocenter's *EuroAtlas of France*.

Detailed references. For finding the less obvious **rural sites**, such as sections of aqueducts, temples and rock-cut goddesses hidden in woodland, in addition to my descriptions, maps and plans, there is nothing better than the IGN's large-scale local maps. I refer in the text to the *Série Bleue* or *Top 25*, produced at 1:25,000 (1cm to 250m), four numbers and one or two letters, the E and O standing for Est and Ouest. An orange 1:50,000 *Carte Topographique* would provide more detail, but local *Série Bleue* maps are sold very widely in the localities, while the former are not. Some sites are provided with specific co-ordinates. These use the blue numbers around the map frame; the horizontal (x) number is always followed by the vertical (y) co-ordinator. Note that the *Série Bleue* takes into account the curvature of the earth and the grid formed by these numbers slants to the east.

For **town sites**, Blay-Foldex town plans are comprehensive, usually the clearest, and have street indexes with a simple letter/number grid. Most tourist offices, often found in very small places, will provide free summary plans. Some of the small isolated rural sites can be most easily found by using the marked footpaths (signposted with a mix of crosses, triangles and circles in different colours). The tourist offices can provide details on local walks – and therefore often directions to the archaeological remains – and for more long-distance walks and detailed descriptions of places seen, including

archaeological material, consult organizations like the Club Vosgien, based in Strasbourg; its *Guide des Vosges 2, Le Plateau Lorrain et les Vosges du Nord*, is particularly useful for the area around Niederbrunn and Bitche.

Opening times and entry charges

Prices change too often to make them worth inclusion. Times are given, but these cannot be relied upon: I have been to places where the premises were proclaimed open, but were locked up, and others where the hours change annually, but no one seems to know beforehand what the change will be. Tuesday is widely a closing day for state and municipal museums, but where a town has a number of galleries and museums, other days may be used (generally Monday).

Books, journals and the internet

Anthony King's *Roman Gaul and Germany* (1990) remains the best introduction to Roman France, but *Romans, Celts and Germans* (2001) by Maureen Carroll updates material for some of the region. John Drinkwater's *Roman Gaul* (1983) continues to be an excellent description of the political development of Gaul to the 260s, but it does not cover the late empire. Edith Wightman's *Gallia Belgica* (1985) was brilliant and many of her ideas, particularly qualifications made to accepted opinion, have proved to be correct with the advances in archaeology since then. Despite the many biographies and modern historical studies, there is no substitute for reading Julius Caesar's *De bello Gallico*, and I think the best translation with accompanying maps, pictures and background information is that by Anne and Peter Wiseman (*The Battle for Gaul*, 1980).

There are numerous French journals that cover the various regions and localities dealt with in this guide (*Revue du Nord*, *Revue Archéologique de Picardie*, *Revue Archéologique de l'Est*, etc). *Gallia* is the top academic journal for the whole of France. For the general reader who wants to find out about the latest discoveries and see good colour photographs as well, there are now two widely available competing magazines: *Archéologia* and *L'Archéologue.* They are generally written by specialists and, despite their titles, they contain more material on Roman France than on any other period. *Archéologia* has a web-site www.faton.fr where brief summaries of articles can be consulted and journals ordered.

Museum curators and archaeologists are increasingly presenting material on the web. One of the most important websites for researching France is www.bham.ac.uk/ARGE, the Archaeological Resource Guide for Europe produced by Birmingham University. It takes you to Archdata, a French site listing all the major French organizations dealing with Roman archaeology. The website www.portail.culture.fr produced by the French Ministry of

Culture can be used to access both archaeological museums and heritage sites with Roman material. Other useful sites include www.paris.org/musees/ and www.archeologie-aerienne.culture.gouv.fr/. An informal guide to websites targeted on Roman Gaul is www.ukans.edu/history; it reveals that many of the websites are of variable quality.

Note

1 L.P. Hartley, *The Go-Between*.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

Change and identity

THE PRE-ROMAN INHABITANTS

Since the early twentieth century, western Europe's Iron Age has been divided into two broad cultural groups, the Hallstatt and La Tène, after type sites found in Austria and Switzerland. These terms have continued in use, although broken down both in their development over time and between different regions.

Hallstatt. The site itself shows a long phase of development before the Iron Age, but with Hallstatt C or I the distinctive widely found features emerge: a horse-riding warrior class wielding long swords (iron increasingly replacing bronze), using hill-forts for security, and carrying out inhumation

Table: Broad cultural groups of the Iron Age in western Europe

		Southern Germany	*Central France*	*Peoples and states*
1200/1150 BC	Final Bronze Age	Hallstatt A	Urnfields	**Celtic?**
		Hallstatt B		
800/700 BC	Iron Age I Early	Hallstatt C or **Hallstatt I**		**Celtic?**
625/600 BC		Hallstatt D or Hallstatt II		'Princedoms'
500/475 BC	Iron Age II Middle	**La Tène** A	La Tène I	**Celtic**
*c.*400 BC		La Tène B		Migrations
*c.*250 BC		La Tène C	La Tène II	Gallic tribal states emerging
*c.*120 BC	Iron Age III Late	La Tène D	La Tène III	Roman Transalpine Gaul

Source: Based on Collis (1984) *The European Iron Age.*

burials, at their grandest including four-wheel carts or wagons. At the end of the early Iron Age (Hallstatt D), some small hilltop sites, such as Vix overlooking the upper Seine in Burgundy, embodied features that suggest new extremes of wealth and status, leading to their characterization as 'princely' states. The burials reach a high level of magnificence: large wooden chambers constructed in the ground, the dead laid out on beds, accompanied by a wagon and rich metal goods, weapons and ornaments made of bronze and gold. The chamber was then covered by a large mound. Not only is there trade in products made by skilled local craftsmen, but also evidence of long-distance connections with the Greek world for whom the princedoms acted as intermediaries for the products of the north. These routes collapsed early in the fifth century BC, probably associated in some way with the Etruscans opening new routes to the north cutting out these middlemen and their Greek competitors. In addition, the northern 'periphery' areas that supplied the slaves and metals desired by the Mediterranean traders seem to have experienced destabilizing population growth.

La Tène. What emerged was an even more homogeneous culture, stretching from France to Hungary and, by the end of the Iron Age, through most of the British Isles as well. The decisive identification came with the work of Déchelette (see ROANNE) in 1908, showing common metalwork types ranging from the solid open-ended torc, the most distinctive of necklaces, to the characteristic flowing geometric-based designs, often using foliage or very stylized animal and human forms. It was a dynamic and aggressive society. Starting in the Hunsrück-Eifel area (see BLIESBRUCK), but spreading and flourishing in Champagne, its burial goods demonstrate a new division of wealth. Elite warriors – increasingly cremated rather than interred – were accompanied by weapons and two-wheel chariots, but without mounds; some 250 such burials are known in Champagne alone. Male followers were buried with lances, and others, presumably farmers, were only accompanied by pottery. At the same time migrations took bands of people, called Celts or Gauls by a horrified classical world, to seek their fortunes in the south. The Gallic sack of Rome in 390 BC became fixed in the Roman folk memory.

There followed a period of relative isolation until the second century BC. It was not static. Cremation now became the norm and chariots were first burnt, then disappeared from wealthy burials. Ditch and fence enclosures surrounded farms and distinct sanctuaries were being constructed; settlements with a craft/trade focus emerged. Groups seem to have been coalescing towards tribal structures. Transformed from one contending power to dominance in the Mediterranean, Rome exerted a growing influence. Its wealth and its needs entailed a massive rise in demand, and this, together with its ability to produce a surplus of sought-after wine, helped stimulate further interchange.

In many areas, families and clans drew together into tribes often led by elected kings; some of the larger and richer tribes – such as the Aedui or

the Sequani – began to develop states modelled on Roman magistracies. It is clear from Caesar's account of the Gallic wars that political power in all tribes still reflected the social structure of early La Tène: a warrior elite frequently in conflict both between itself and with other tribes, power in each tribe being concentrated in the hands of a few noble families. A mass of dependent farming families and artisans supplied their basic surplus while successful warfare brought new supporters, won slaves and increased wealth. A crucial social cement was the giving of gifts: coinage (gold and silver); craft products (such as the torc, a heavy necklace); beer (the barrel was reputedly a Gallic invention); and imported wine – amphorae in their thousands have been dredged from the Rhône and Saône.

The settlement archaeology of the late La Tène supports this evolving picture. Forests had been extensively cleared, agriculture was well developed and many rich upland soils were being exploited. Population was dense, communications good, farms widespread. Partly as a response to war, when larger concentrations of people possibly offered greater security, and partly because they enabled more social interaction, *oppida* emerge in many of the tribal territories. Research at many sites (see particularly MONT BEUVRAY) has made it abundantly clear that the open-ended Roman term for a settlement, *oppidum*, actually means a town. For Caesar they must have seemed primitive, only using stone in their ramparts and lacking the organized street pattern or distinctive buildings of the Mediterranean city; the enclosure of land for pasture and market gardening must have been confusing. Yet the ramparts were solid enough; there were large numbers of houses – some with distinctive Gallic cellars, linked by roads, even if they were not straight or especially well made. These towns were structured into separate quarters occupied by the houses of craft artisans, farmers and the wealthier. There were both open areas for meetings and religious enclosures, the latter often with a small wooden temple.

Celts, Gauls and Germans

While Hallstatt and La Tène are simply archaeological terms, pointing to how people had similar material styles of life, Celtic, Gallic and German are modern ethnic terms, deriving from past usage but not necessarily carrying the same meaning. From the fifth century BC onwards, Greek writers used 'Celt' to mean people to the north and west of them. Place-names and fragments of script, across central and western Europe, imply a common linguistic heritage as well. Most archaeologists and historians have long agreed that La Tène can be described as the material culture of these Celts; 'Gallus', or Gaul, was simply the Roman name for a Celt.

Yet modern archaeology has revised the traditional picture. There is no significant break from Hallstatt to La Tène, no great movements of people, nor, examining the era where only archaeology can contribute to the debate,

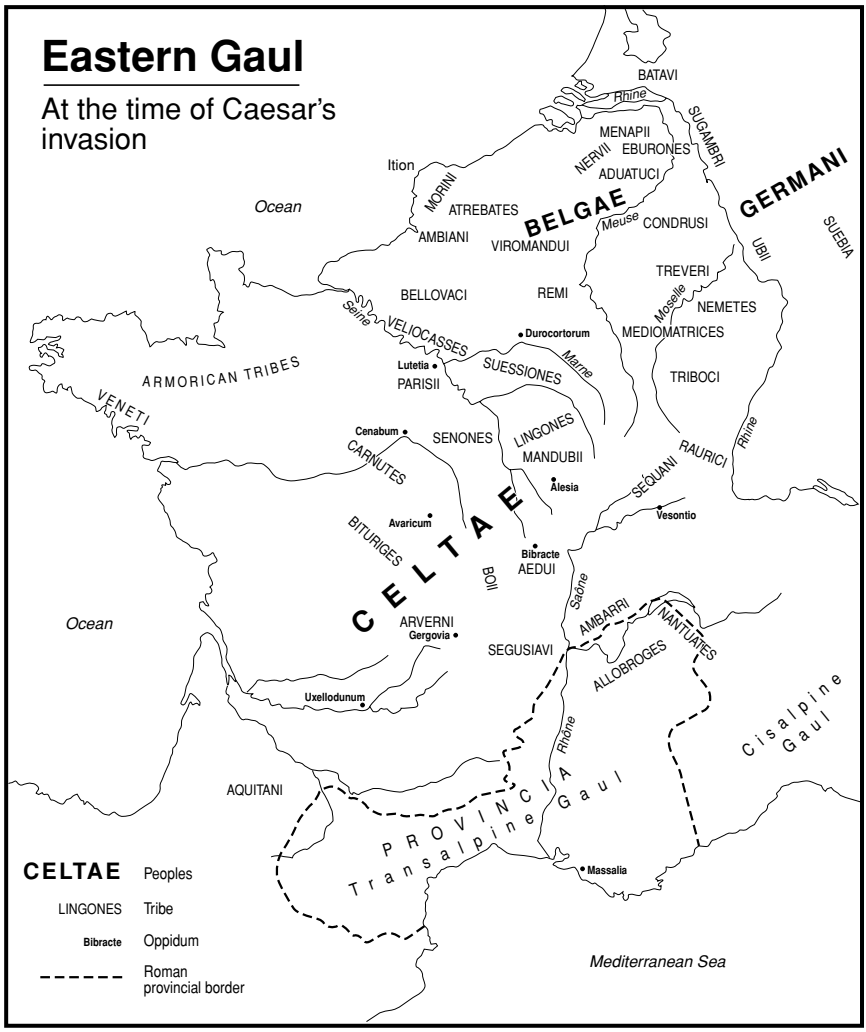

Figure 2 Eastern Gaul at the time of Caesar's invasion

can modern archaeologists see any break from the Bronze Age to Hallstatt. The significance of the absence of any signs of movement in the archaeological record also affects our vision of the extent of the Celtic world. It is clear that neither the British Isles nor Brittany were part of the core Celtic world, only taking on La Tène forms during the later Iron Age. Without evidence of mass migration, the 'Celtic world' is more likely to mean the spread of cultural attributes, both material and social, not the displacement of peoples.

Who then were Caesar's *Belgae* and *Germani*? Caesar was keen to assert that the Rhine was an ethnic division as it provided a clear limit for his conquests and evidence of his entering a new world by crossing it. However, there is no marked break here in La Tène, though there is the archaeological break between southern and northern Germany (La Tène/Jastorf)[1]; to what extent this reflects any meaningful ethnic difference is very difficult to know. Nor is this a sharp break. In northern Gaul stretching up to the Rhine, Caesar used the term 'Belgae' for the more western and settled, and 'German' for the more primitive warlike easterners on both sides of the lower Rhine. It could mean little more, then, than ethnic terminology for what were really contrasts in lifestyle.

Pre-Roman identity

If the terms 'Gaul' and 'German' were simply the crude labels used by Roman imperialists, on a par with 'Red Indian' for native American peoples, then how did these people identify themselves? A critical reading of Greek and Roman writers combined with archaeological research suggests that 'Galli' did have some real meaning: people of similar language(s) together with common cultural and religious beliefs, embodied most concretely in a priesthood of wise holy men, the Druids, recognized and revered throughout the region. For the Germans, it is probable that the term meant no more than the most generalized sense of origin in a particular part of the world; even when they encountered the Roman definition of themselves this failed to create a sharply felt sense of communal identity.

It is possible that people saw themselves as Belgae, but this may have had the same connotations as 'northerner' would have for English or Americans today. Certainly the Romans felt no need to reflect Caesar's pre-Roman tribal affiliations when the provincial boundaries were drawn and redrawn; both Belgica and Germania Superior were to contain German, Belgic and Celtic tribes. The strongest identity was probably the tribe: throughout the wars against (or for) Rome members were prepared to die for it. Even so, Caesar's commentaries are filled with nobles and their followers taking independent lines, and some would suggest that the clan or *pagus* could have been as strong. The Mandubii are seen as a clan or *pagus* who withdrew from one of the larger tribes in the north-west; other tribes, such as the Mediomatrices, are considered to be little more than federations of clans.

THE GALLIC WARS

Increasingly, from the later second century BC, Romans had become familiar figures in Gallic communities. Merchants came to trade and diplomats to make clear Rome's position on tribal disputes and migrations that might

Table: The Gallic wars

		Caesar's Gallic Wars	*Site reference*
60s BC	Allobrogian revolt in Transalpine Gaul crushed German Ariovistus defeats Aedui, allies of Rome		MONT BEUVRAY
59	Caesar made consul and obtains command of Transalpine Gallia (Provincia)		
58	Helvetii migration defeated; Ariovistus defeated	Book I	
57	Remi alliance formed; Caesar launches attack on Belgae; series of victories; north-west tribes concede.	Book II	REIMS BAVAY
56	Rising by north-west tribes and Belgae. Caesar crushes north-west (Venetii, etc.). Aquitani move defeated. Indecisive campaign against Belgae	Book III	
55	German campaign, Rhine crossing. First expedition to Britain Renewed resistance by Belgic coastal tribes	Book IV	
54	Second expedition to Britain. Intimidates Treveri. Winter rising leads to major Belgic revolt. Winters in Gaul to maintain position	Book V	MEAUX
53	Caesar devastates Belgic territories and Treveri. Moves to put down Senones and Carnutes	Book IV	SENS
52	Carnutes slaughter Romans. Vercingetorix of Arveni unites Gauls and has victory at Gergovia. Aedui join revolt, only Remi stay loyal. Alesia campaign and defeat of Vercingetorix and Gallic army	Book VII	ALESIA
51	No major resistance. Bellovaci crushed. Border campaigns in north-east near Rhine. Aquitani submit after defeat at Uxellodunum. Gaul 'at peace'	Book VIII	BEAUVAIS

threaten the stability of the region. Equally, leading figures amongst the Aedui must have gone to Rome as this tribe became Rome's closest 'friends' after 125 BC. Yet when it came, Caesar's invasion was a shattering experience that must have seared a generation.

For more than eight years, Julius Caesar used an army, never less than ten legions, that was two and a half times the size of that used later to conquer Britain, to defeat, ravage, crush and murder its way through Gaul. Brilliant, risk-taking and cool in action, manipulative and totally committed to winning power in Rome and even having the literary skills to produce a masterpiece of war reporting, Caesar, through victory in Gaul, won himself

the opportunity to take on Pompey and win absolute power in the Roman empire. For the Gauls, apart, that is, from the Aedui and Remi who were the most consistent of allies, final defeat (51 BC) was followed by a long period of desolation, a time when only the elite who worked for the Romans, often leading cavalry auxiliaries (as they had been forced to do in the Gallic wars), benefited and started to adopt Roman ways. Some historians see this phase as lasting until the middle years of Augustus (20–10s BC), others believe that recovery only came with the favours of Claudius in the middle years of the first century. I would favour the former. Too many places seem to show both investment and growth from the time of Augustus onwards, in both towns and countryside. Despite opportunities, few joined rebellions. A new Gallo-Roman world was emerging.

THE EARLY ROMAN EMPIRE

At first Gallia Comata was simply conquered territory, the Roman empire embodied in two things: Roman troops and the payment of tribute, with little effort made to change it. The road building, initiated by Agrippa in 39 BC, that turned Lugdunum (Lyon) into a virtual capital city, was, in the first instance, undertaken to speed up the movement of Roman armies. A formal **administrative framework** was created under Augustus. First, the three Gauls were established: Lugdunensis, Aquitania and Belgica (see map, Figure 54 p. 253), each province with its own imperial legate or governor;[2] second, tribes were identified as *civitates*, cities with their supporting countryside. Where oppida existed they had to be transformed, or, more commonly, new sites selected to create these *civitas* capitals with as many of the Roman defining elements as possible: made roads on a rectilinear grid, forums, theatres, amphitheatres, baths, temples, grand houses. These urban centres emerged only gradually. Most of Caesar's tribes survived, but changes were made to benefit some and weaken others as clans or *pagi* were transferred from one *civitas* to another (e.g. REIMS). The first census was taken (27 BC) and then repeated to allow more efficient taxation.

The German wars of Augustus, and the periodic campaigns of the first century AD by the Rhine legions, culminated in the formation during the 80s of the two German provinces of Germania Inferior (Lower) and Superior (Upper). Germania Inferior took in the Rhine delta and was governed from Cologne (Köln); Germania Superior took in a far more heterogeneous region. The core was still the old Rhineland with the legionary and Rhine naval base of Mainz as its capital, but it also embraced a large segment of trans-Rhine territory, the Agri Decumates, settled in part by Gallic colonists, and a very large segment of southern Belgica, including north-west Switzerland and not only Alsace but also much of the Lorraine plateau.

First-century events and second-century peace

Politically the German wars of Augustus had a mixed impact on Gaul. Gaul received more attention from the imperial family as the main centre for supplying and backing up the armies; it reinforced Lyon's key role for co-ordinating the military effort and for measures to ensure loyalty such as the foundation of the Condate altar dedicated to proclaiming the greatness of Rome (12 BC). A new priesthood was founded drawn from the leading families of Gaul, who made annual pilgrimages to Lyon to demonstrate their loyalty. While Romanization was hastened, the increase in taxation, and the indebtedness incurred by some of the nobility in their rush to adopt Roman modes of display, also led to some unrest. In AD 21 disaffection was widespread, but a revolt won no significant backing and was easily suppressed (see AUTUN).

The invasion of Britain (AD 43) did not create the same pressures. The military effort was never as great and both the British conquest and the Rhine frontiers were likely to have encouraged the production of surplus food and materials. Gallic *sigillata* pottery[3] replaced Italian; clothing became a major industry (see 'Dress and Appearance'); Gallic wine producers joined those of Italy and Spain. Demand from the army was coupled with that of the growing cities, and industries like quarrying, mining and timber were stimulated. Claudius, perhaps more sensitive to these changes because of his birth in Lyon, took a positive line. In 48, he granted Aeduan nobles the right to undertake careers that would lead to membership of the Senate, and his speech, recorded by Tacitus and on a plaque (see LYON, page 403) shows that he saw this as the beginning of the right of all wealthy Gauls to integration in the Roman aristocracy. While in Spain this led to great senatorial families generating Roman emperors like Trajan or Hadrian, the second century for Gaul was a political blank in which few of its leading men seem to have taken up any kind of career in Rome.

The civil wars that marked the death of Nero may have helped induce this effect though they in no way inhibited overall Romanization. The turmoil of four emperors in two years, ill-disciplined armies, uncertainty if not panic, led to Julius Civilis, a Batavian auxiliary commander, heading a revolt. Although there was some support in the Three Gauls, the main concentration was in the Rhineland and was easily put down. It still shook Roman opinion. For a time a legion was withdrawn from the frontier zone to the interior in Burgundy (see STRASBOURG). After this, Gallic and German troops were not normally kept in the region and their commanders were not locals.

The events of 68–9 did little to stop Gaul's increasing prosperity. Gaul was at peace for the next 120 years. The Flavian period (69–96) saw extensive new building in stone in many cities, a constant feature well into the second century. There was a rural transformation as well. Environmental studies

suggest that agriculture suffered badly for a number of years after the Gallic wars, particularly in the north and east of Gaul where land reverted to forest and pasture. It may be that the Gallic wars had an immediate impact on population levels. Excavations have shown that farms everywhere continued to be of an indigenous type (see ARCHEODROME). Recognizable *villas* start to emerge in the Rhône valley before the end of the first century BC, but they were only becoming widespread in eastern Gaul from mid-first century AD. In mountainous regions, like the Vosges, villas were always rare (see SAVERNE).

But the villa farms that by the second century dominated much of the landscape were never simply Roman transplants, even if some had non-Gallic owners. The Somme area in particular has revealed through aerial photography that many were built on or close to their indigenous predecessors and evolved in a distinct way with a central house and its gardens, then a yard with many subsidiary buildings, only some of which were farm buildings – others were smaller homes: they seem to reflect the social structure of the old elite and their dependants. Excavations have traditionally focused on the main living accommodation, revealing the increasingly romanized style of living with stone and painted plaster walls, tiled roofs, mosaic floors and bath systems (see JONVELLE), but at BLIESBRUCK the formal yard has a series of symmetrical houses, presumably the homes of dependent farmers (see also ST ULRICH). Some villa development must have been stimulated by the need to feed the troops on the Rhineland; the Somme villas built close to the main west–east road fall into this category. But by the second century many more villas will have been satisfying the needs of the flowering urban centres.

Another change in the landscape was the emergence of the small town: where inscriptions have survived they usually seem to have achieved the status of *vicus*. Although only meaning a simple type of self-government, this word has generally come to be used for a settlement clearly beyond hamlet size, but without the status of being a city. They range from isolated settlements (COMPIERRE) to major centres. Most of these evolved organically, often with only late attempts to give them any regularity (ALISE-STE-REINE and MALAIN). Occasionally they exceeded the size of provincial cities and had grand temples and theatres attached (MANDEURE).

The importance of *vici* has been underplayed in the past. Too many had been wrongly identified as simply rural sanctuaries. Certainly Arcenant, hidden in woods and obviously poor, was rural (see NUITS-ST-GEORGES). Indeed, even rich sanctuaries like the isolated VILLARDS-D'HERIA or the great complex at GRAND were never towns, but many others, it is now being recognized, formed part of a settlement and, in reality, the sanctuary might not even have been the dominant element. A very few sanctuaries were town substitutes, meeting places for religious and exchange ceremonies recalling the border area temple sites of pre-Roman Gaul (see GENAINVILLE). They are a reminder that the Gallic provinces developed their own distinctive

religious practices that accepted Roman and then eastern deities, but clung tenaciously to local Gallic beliefs and developed a distinctive temple design, the *fanum* (see THE ROMANO-CELTIC SANCTUARY).

Population estimates can only be of the broadest kind, based as they are on disputed assumptions about town densities, settlement frequencies, life expectancy data from better-known provinces, generalizations about tax levels, or historical analogy with later societies assumed to be at a similar stage of development. Yet some points are agreed. Most earlier estimates should be revised upwards. The population of Gaul was larger than in the Iron Age (then perhaps 8 million). It is also clear that settlement density in the countryside was much higher than previously assumed, even if town populations might have been smaller – but this tends to be balanced out by the recognition of the size and number of small towns. A recent estimate for the Three Gauls and Germany suggests 1 million or more lived in the small towns, cities and army camps.[4] Ten times more lived in the country: a total of *c.*11–12 million.

Gallo-Roman identity

For the first time, by writing commorative inscriptions, we have explicit statements by Gauls on how they saw themselves. The vast majority are in Latin; a very, very few are in Celtic, but written in Latin or Greek characters. The deceased were presented regularly with their *origo* (stock or origin) as a *civitas*; tribal identity continued to be relevant but it could no longer be fed by semi-permanent war as it had been before conquest. Equally interesting are their personal names. Studies suggest that initially, in the early first century AD, we find two main kinds of inscription: first, the straight Roman names, some with the classic *tria nomina*. These must be the incomers and those keen to demonstrate that they have obtained Roman citizenship: they are concentrated in major urban centres. There are also those families who are gradually adapting, where fathers give sons and daughters Roman rather than Gallic names. But from the mid-second century a new trend emerges, a return to single or double names and a mix of Gallic and Roman names. This is now seen not as a Celtic revival, anti-Roman in spirit, but as a sign that you could indeed carry layered loyalty: you could be Gallic (or German) *and* Roman. It is the same message given by the the distinctive provincial dress: there was no shame in being Gallo-Roman.

The third-century crisis

It is surprising that the Roman empire had not collapsed by the end of the third century: certainly the Gaul that emerged in the fourth century was part of a very different society. There is some debate on how early the problems began. On the German frontiers the 170s saw an upsurge in activity,

but the biggest threat faced the Danube provinces, where Marcus Aurelius fought a series of major campaigns to contain the Marcomanni. There is a hint of disorder amongst the Sequani, and Maternus, an army deserter, led a popular bandit movement over a number of years in the 180s. In 193, another year of four emperors, Clodius Albinus as a self-proclaimed Caesar ruled Britain and Gaul with his capital at Lyon, until destroyed in the battle of Lugdunensis by Septimius Severus (197). Lyon never recovered its leading role in Gaul. Yet, under the Severan dynasty (193–235), there is evidence of continued building in many of the cities, and there were no serious incursions across the Rhine.

Few among the generations who lived through the 240s to 270s could have avoided distress of some kind. Civil wars were frequent, usually inspired by army commanders; it was rare for the Rhine garrisons not to be involved. As troops marched across Gaul, looting was common and the frontier was left far less securely guarded. The Alamanni, first mentioned in 213, became frequent marauders from the 230s, and the Franks, first mentioned in 259, made massive and wide-ranging attacks in 259/60 and 275/6. Increased banditry is apparent in the need for *beneficii*, Roman soldiers on detachment as road police. Rewarding troops for their services, whether for being loyal or disloyal, led to the debasement of currency to make the coins go further: it became a period of rampant inflation. Archaeology has provided abundant evidence of the shock and pain: the dramatic rise in coin and treasure hoards after 250; the presence of extensive fire levels – the precise cause does not really matter, when these are so widespread; the pattern of ruined villas whether in Alsace, Picardy or the Rhône valley; the dramatic contraction of towns large and small, some even being totally abandoned (e.g. MALAIN); the decline of many sanctuaries.

Was the distress of the third century more than the interaction of civil war, barbarian invasion and a collapse of the market economy through currency debasement? The plagues that struck widely through the empire, particularly between 165 and 190 and again between 251 and 266, when thousands died every day,[5] would certainly have exacerbated the situation. But were these the products of a deeper malaise present in all pre-industrial economies: the threat of rising population and the inability to do more than push the margins of production? It has been argued that during the second half of the second century the limits had been reached and the surplus could no longer be raised or distributed quickly enough to maintain the standard of living and the needs of government. The numbers of poor would have increased, the poverty of their diet making them increasingly vulnerable to all diseases. So far, the consensus seems to be that plagues were simply an additional stress for people to endure rather than part of a population crisis.[6]

Crisis and identity

The key years were perhaps 260–74. The disorder and constant warfare of the 250s had led to the proclamation of a local military commander, Postumus, as emperor. His successors in Gaul were finally crushed by Aurelian. What was unusual was that the population (or at least its elite) seems to have been prepared to accept what was in practice a regional 'Roman' empire, one that has since been named the Gallic empire. It is the first real sign that being Roman could be separated from rule by Rome. It is equally important in showing that traditional tribal loyalties no longer especially mattered. Perhaps not surprisingly, when the new order of late antiquity emerged, the 'tribe' had become the shrunken city: the old Lutetia becomes Civitas Parisiorum. The multiple problems faced during the crisis were now seen through Gallo-Roman eyes: the interests of both the rich and poor crossed over the old boundaries. For the rich it was the preservation of a Roman lifestyle, for the poor preservation from the depredations of all armies and marauders.

LATE ANTIQUITY IN GAUL

The late Roman empire

That the empire did not disintegrate was the result of the measures taken by two determined and competent men, Diocletian (284–305) and Constantine (306–37). Maybe their least conscious decision concerned Rome itself. Emperors were frequently on the move to deal with the many problems that confronted them. During the fourth century the city stopped being the residence of emperors and therefore a significant political centre, though it remained the cultural and emotional heart. The preservation of Gaul and the German provinces – and with them much of the western half of the empire – focused on Trier (which developed all the features of an imperial capital). In the south, Vienne, and later Arles, provided similar facilities and great warehouses for supplies, linked in turn with the Italian capital at Milan. In our region, Metz maintained a significant role as a junction city.

Diocletian attempted to handle the sheer size of the empire in an era of permanent disarray by formalizing shared responsibilities. His 'tetrarchy' or four-man rule, entailing two full emperors (Augusti) and a supporter for each (Caesars), did not last. It was inherently unstable: strife between the men led back to one-man rule and the desire to perpetuate families led to periodic and usually short-lived child emperors. Usurpers did not disappear. Yet the underlying logic was that the empire was too much for one person; it became the norm for emperors to appoint Caesars as their deputies and an east–west split of responsibilities became common; from 395 it was automatic.

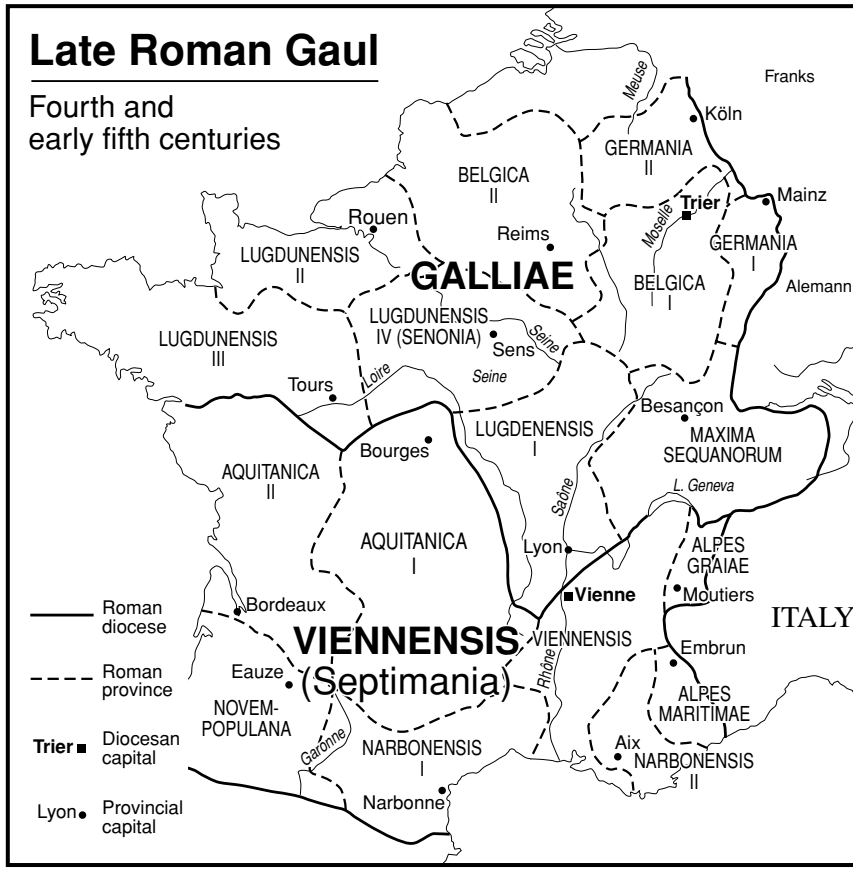

Figure 3 Late Roman eastern Gaul

A major administrative restructuring, aimed at increasing imperial control of the provinces, was undertaken, based on the concept of small provinces organized in large dioceses under 'vicars'. The new provinces were not only much smaller (see Figure 3), but their governors retained control simply of civilian administration, military forces coming under separate commands, led by a *dux* or *comes*.

The army, it is now recognized, was not dramatically changed, but had been evolving and continued to do so into a very different body of men. The need for a mobile force, which Augusti and Caesars could lead to deal with emergencies, had led to the field army or *comitatus*, particularly strong in cavalry. The old legions multiplied in number and frequently became part of the static frontier forces or *limitanei*. These legions were much smaller, *c.*1000+ men instead of the old *c.*5000. It was not perhaps a major change

because they had long fought in smaller units or vexillations, but it did reduce the difference between them and auxiliary units. Recruits, too, were different, drawn increasingly from less Romanized sources: Danubians had dominated in the third century; in the fourth Germans, and especially Franks, became the major source for the western armies. There were also more men in the army. The total during the second century is generally thought to have numbered 250–300,000; now there were perhaps as many as 400,000.

Late Roman Gaul, along with the other provinces, had somehow to bear the burden of this much larger army and a much enlarged government administration. It may be that the actual taxes, although more widely collected in kind, particularly to provide the army's *annona* or corn supply, were not raised significantly. However, Diocletian had made tax collection systematic, working out rates for in-kind payments based on a census, and increasingly these were collected through the large landowners as the most convenient method. Inevitably, there was a rise in the numbers of those seeking tax-avoidance, led by the high ranking. Emperors, keen to win loyalty among the elite, responded by increasing the number of senators, who no longer needed to be in Rome, and offering a wide variety of ranks granting tax exemption. Patronage, the norm in the early empire, now became divorced from responsibility. No one wanted the burdens of office – primarily because town councillors, the *decuriones*, had to make up shortfalls in taxes; corruption was rife. While the privileged avoided taxation, the poorest, those now tied to the land, were the prime taxpayers, liable to the harshest punishments for non-payment.

The market economy, even if this had never been an important feature of life for the majority, was severely contracted. The notable trends were to local production, for basic materials like pottery, clothing and daily metalware, and government-controlled production, primarily for the army and bureaucracy. Amiens manufactured shields and swords, Autun armour, others status-defining brooches and belts. The most obvious physical change were the dramatically reduced towns, hidden by their new ramparts, nearly all built upon foundations made from the public buildings and tombstones of the early empire citizens: the break with the past was brutal. Vici that revived were smaller, and where considered strategic, defended (see ANSE). In the countryside, the impact varied. The upland 'native' settlements in the Vosges were abandoned. The valley of the Aisne in northern France saw a decline in settlements – probably a mix of absolute decline in population and a move to larger places for security, both hamlets and larger villas. The Rhône saw a revival in villas. Undoubtedly some of the large landowners prospered. Even in the north-east, villas like those at Bliesbruck and St Ulrich show how a luxurious life on the Roman model could continue for the few.

Christianity only made significant inroads in central and northern Gaul during the fifth century (though martyrs are known in Lyon in the second century and toleration in 313 was quickly followed by active state support).

Few bishops are known and far fewer churches, the earliest notable remains coming at the very end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth centuries (see LYON and GRENOBLE). Pagan sanctuaries may have been less prosperous as a whole, but the economic and political environment is more likely to have been responsible. Destruction levels, such as that at Châteaubleau, have been blamed on Christians and in this case may be true, but barbarian looters, civil strife and accidental fire are likely to have been responsible more generally.

Though Roman Gaul was vulnerable in so many ways, it did surprisingly well at stemming barbarian attack. Perhaps until the 350s it faced lower intensity attacks from barbarians than previously, but when Magnentius, a Gallic usurper (349–52), stimulated a major civil war in the west, which in turn led to an influx of German warrior bands, the new Caesar, Julian, was able to campaign successfully and win a major victory at Strasbourg.[7] Even after Julian died, further German troubles were repressed by Valentinian with campaigns and new forts in Germany in the 360s. As recent work at Vireux-Molhain and at Arras has shown, even in the 380s and 390s both forts and barracks were being occupied by organized troops. Gradually, though, the enormity of the defeat of Valentinian's brother Valens at Adrianople in 378 emerged as the Visigoths ranged at will across the empire. To confront them troops had to be withdrawn widely in the west; this was never adequate to defeat the Visigoths, but it seriously weakened defences. Two major events marked a decisive downturn for Roman Gaul. First, in 406 a mass crossing of the Rhine by Vandals, Alans and Suevi followed by the Alamanni. The Franks remained largely loyal to Rome, though it made little difference as the invaders swept over Gaul and Spain. Second, the Visigoths, now in Italy, turned on Rome itself and sacked the city (410); the magnitude of the shock to the Roman world is reflected in all the literary sources. Whatever was to emerge from these disasters, it could not be Gallo-Roman.

The fifth and sixth centuries

Only briefly, during the 460s and 470s, when the cultured Gallic senator Sidonius Apollinaris produced his invaluable letters, are there dependable local sources for this period. What is certain is that military forces consistently recognizing the authority of Rome were in a minority. The Visigoths in Aquitania were settled as *feoderati*, and so were the Burgundians, who had followed the Vandals across the Rhine and were eventually established in Savoy and the Jura (Sapaudia) in 443. Although their treaty agreements bound them to fight for the empire, this could only be when there was an independent Roman force in Gaul strong enough to persuade them to do so. In the north, occupying Belgica I and a large part of Belgica II, were groups of Franks. In the north-west, Armorica was flooded by refugees fleeing the disorders in Britain. For a time in the 420s and 430s Aëtius, Master of the

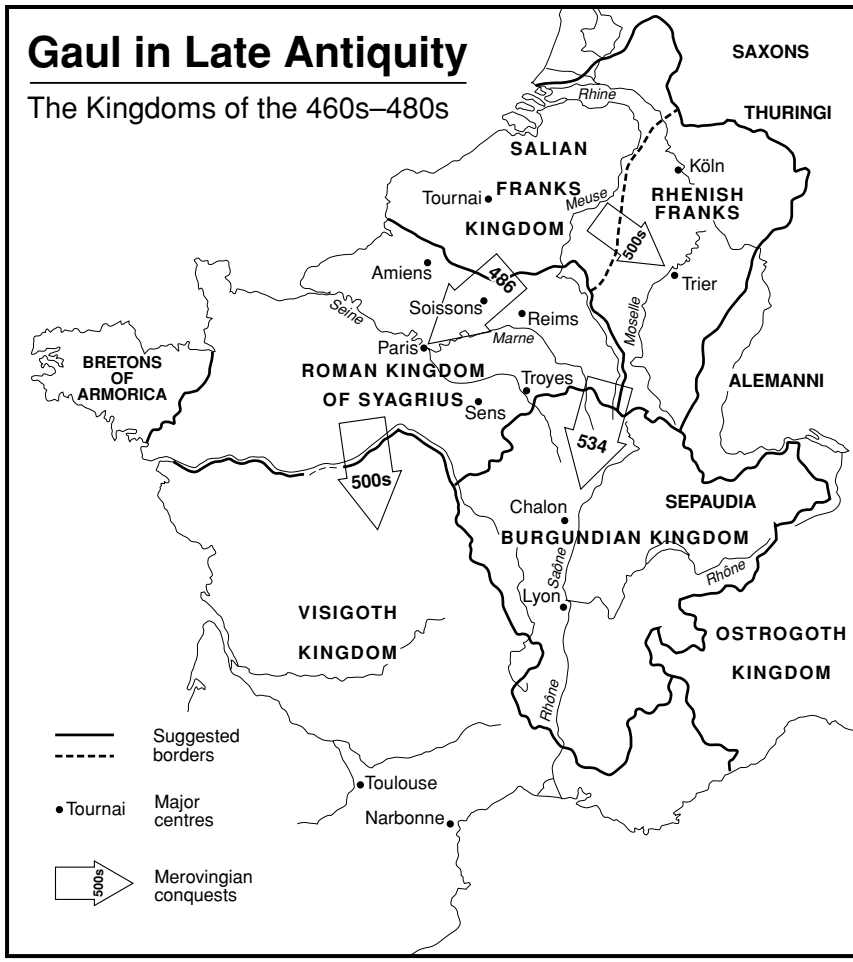

Figure 4 Eastern Gaul in late antiquity

Soldiers, brought up by the Huns and with Hunnish support, was able to assert recognition of the Roman imperial order. When the Huns and their tribal coalition decided to act on their own, crossed Germany and invaded Gaul, Aëtius led the force that defeated them (see TROYES), but his army was almost entirely drawn from the settler tribes of Gaul and his failure to control his friends discredited him for ever.

The last gasps of Roman authority quickly followed. The Visigoths hardened their control of the south-west and the Burgundians moved down into the Saône and Rhône valleys, taking Lyon (469). Further north, Aegidius and then Syagrius, generally considered local warlords rather than servants

of the Roman empire, held out briefly against Frankish pressure. Their authority began to crumble when the Merovingian family, led first by Childeric then by Clovis, gave leadership and coherence to the western or Salian Franks; the end came at the battle of Soissons (486). By then the Roman emperors of the west were so insignificant that the child emperor Romulus, 475–6, was retired without replacement – and allowed to live.

The only chance of any meaningful revival of Roman rule in Gaul now depended on the eastern Roman empire; could the west be reconquered? Until the 530s it had too many problems of its own, but Justinian (537–65) made the reconquest of 'remaining countries which the ancient Romans possessed to the limits of both oceans' (Novel 30)[8] a real imperial project. North Africa was regained easily and Italy followed after many years fighting, though soon lost to the Lombards after his death: the only meaningful link with Gaul was an alliance with the Franks to keep them from intervening in Italy. Following the battle of Soissons, Clovis (480–511) had murdered most of his relatives (echoing Roman practice) and turned on his neighbours, defeating fellow Franks to take the northern Rhineland (the Alamanni taking the southern Rhineland), pushed the Visigoths out of most of Aquitania and conquered the territories of the Burgundians. Despite Clovis dividing his state into parts for his sons, through a process of mutual slaughter it was reunited again by 561. The continuous history of France can be traced back to these Frankish founders.

Origins: Frank, Alamanni, Burgundian

'Frank' seems to have been a German term originally meaning 'the fierce', but came to mean 'the free'; it is the most nebulous group of all in the third to fifth centuries. It was first used by the Romans to refer to those Germans living to the north-east of the lower Rhine. Many were recruited to the Roman army to become its foot soldiers and its generals. They were particularly concentrated in north-east Gaul. The Alamanni were simply a federation called 'all peoples' by the Romans, who occupied land south of the Main. The Burgundian tribe may have come originally from Scandinavia via the north German Baltic coast to east of the middle Rhine, but many different tribes were absorbed on the way. Alamanni, Frank and Burgundian were not, then, ethnic identities, but blanket terms. It is not surprising that the Franks with their long experience of defending the empire were the most successful at state building.

The new world

By the mid-sixth century, the old Roman provinces of Gaul were governed by a variety of barbarian kings, some for more than a hundred years. In the south were the Visigoths; in the Jura, Savoy and the Rhône valley the Burgundian kingdom had come and gone; finally, the Regnum Francorum,

the kingdom of the Franks, had emerged in the north to take control of much of what would become France, Belgium, the Netherlands and western regions of Germany. The Germanic law codes, such as the later fifth century Burgundian *Liber Constitutionum* and the Frankish *Pactus Legis Salicae* of the early sixth century, have been taken to suggest a sharp divide between a privileged elite of Germans and subject peoples, yet modern research and interpretative framework suggests that the Merovingian world did not have such a simple ethnic divide.

For many Gallo-Romans the world must have seemed to change very little. Warfare was frequent, soldiers and their families settled and civilians relocated to fill depopulated areas (particularly in north-east Gaul): what was new? Governments claimed to rule with the approval of the Roman emperors, yet the difference between Aëtius in the 440s and Clovis, made Consul by Anastasius, must have seemed minimal. The taxes collected were the same as those of the fourth century, the laws that ran were late Roman, modified by royal decree, just as they had been by imperial edict, while petitioning to mollify the oppressiveness of the regime hardly differed. Even if the villas had fallen into ruin and some landowning families were replaced by Germans, the estates had not disappeared; tied labourers and slaves were still present, though they lived much more commonly in small hamlets (see MARLE). The move away from a market economy and low value coins had been continuous since at least the later 200s. Until 576, Frankish gold coins bore the head of the emperor, not the king. Latin was the written language of all educated people and forms of Gallo-Latin were still spoken by the majority; Germanic languages only made progress in the north and east of Gaul.

Identities

How did people perceive themselves in this world? Social class was one deep-seated division between people. The distinction between the *honestiores* – the honourable elite – and *humiliores* – the humble masses – remained. While Roman law was gradually modified in the new states, it did not change the fundamental position of the wealthy, ranking them as *honestiores* who could avoid torture and receive lesser forms of punishment. Given that the power of landlords and military men had not changed (though the holders of that power did), for the mass of 'Roman' inhabitants the strongest identity is likely to have been with family and locality. The study of human remains in rural cemeteries suggests that there may have been little mixing with outsiders. As Christianity spread, so some came to feel the need to assert that side of their identity quicker in the towns than in the country, quicker in the south than the north. Burials without any evidence of Christian belief continue well into the sixth century.

The landowning elite of late Roman Gaul had been gradually adjusting to fit new realities throughout the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries. Of course,

numbers were killed, others fled, but to survive as a group and retain as much wealth as possible – primarily their estates – lay in the redefinition of 'Roman'. During the fourth century they lost any realistic stake in military matters; during the fifth century they gradually learnt there was no future in a traditional Roman administrative or political career. The key to the retention of any power now lay in their cultural role. Rhetoric, literature and legal expertise were needed by the barbarian states and families could supply advisers, courtiers and lawyers, just as they once had to governors and emperors. More crucial, because it gave them a status less dependent on the whims and immediate needs of kings, was to adapt their control of communities by becoming bishops in the Christian Church. While the fourth-century bishops are shadowy figures or militants often from a low status background, in the fifth century the great landowners moved in: episcopal sanctity enhanced them as patron brokers between the people and the state. The best known example is Sidonius Apollinaris (432–*c.*480). Drawn from a senatorial family in Lyon, but with extensive estates, he made a career in Rome in the 450s and returned to Gaul as an administrator and then switched to the Church in the 470s. But others such as Germanus (see AUXERRE) had earlier shown the way; in the generation after Sidonius, Remigius (see REIMS) was to baptize Clovis. As the mass conversions of the fifth century were given a parochial structure in the sixth century, so their survival was ensured.

What of the Franks? With the world of Gallic late antiquity we are at the limits of current archaeology and history; identifying this group within the much wider population is especially difficult. Attempts to find them in distinctive clothes, names, language, burial rites, even weaponry, fail because it is clear that none of these can be tied to either a particular place or time. Most have a far wider spread, both chronologically and geographically, than the kingdom founded by Childeric and Clovis in the later fifth century. The Franks must, then, be seen in two ways. Many of the descendants of the German settlers and earlier warriors of the fourth century who had served in the army, *laeti* or *feoderati*, may well have considered themselves Roman by the late fifth and early sixth century when the Regnum Francorum was being established. The fifth-century people who called themselves Salians were a group driven by an ambitious family, the Merovingians, who, as they expanded, developed a new identity for themselves. As we know from contemporary experience, it is not what we wear or consider to be our kinds of goods, not the names we give ourselves and the language we speak, not the religion we follow and not a matter of physical being but ultimately a question of how we are perceived by others and how we perceive ourselves. These Merovingian Franks were the military and political leaders of the state who chose an ethnic label to distinguish themselves from others: they were who they were because they said so, and others accepted this.

Notes

1 In northern Germany and Scandinavia, where forests and a less settled agriculture prevailed, a distinctive middle and late Iron Age culture evolved, characterized by the Jastorf style of ornament.
2 Noting that Savoy was divided between the *civitas* of the Allobroges (part of the province of Narbonne), and the separate, small, Alpine provinces of Alpes Graiae and Poeninae.
3 A mass-produced red ware called Samian in Britain, but known as *sigillata* in continental Europe.
4 Anthony King 1990: 106–8.
5 The first was perhaps an early version of smallpox. The bubonic plague is not firmly identified until the plague of 542–3, but the black rats that carried the fleas with the bacillus are known in France in the second century.
6 The argument that there was a demographic crisis starting before the plagues has been put by Willem Jongman of Groningen University (2001, *Transformation of Economic Life under the Roman Empire*, Conference, Nottingham).
7 See the account of Julian's military career by the last great Roman historian, Ammianus Marcellinus.
8 The 'Novels' were a series of laws. Quoted by Richard Reece 1999: 170.

CHRONOLOGY

Roman Gaul and the Rhineland		*Site reference*	*Events elsewhere*	*Central government*
44 BC			Julius Caesar murdered Civil War	Republic
43	Lyon founded	LYON	Octavian wins West	
40	Octavian in Gaul			
39	Agrippa begins road network programme			
31			Octavian wins Actium	
27	Augustus visits Gaul Transalpine Gaul made Narbonensis Province Three Gauls organization begun		Augustus (Octavian)	Principate Augustus 27 BC–AD 14
22	Narbonensis made Senatorial province (no troops)			
16	Augustus in Gaul			
12 BC	Condate Altar founded at Lyon		German wars begin	
AD 9			Destruction of Varus	
14–17			Germanicus revenge campaigns	Tiberius 14–37
21	Rebellion of Florus and Sacrovir put down	AUTUN		
43	Invasion and conquest of Britain			Claudius 41–54
48	Claudian table	LYON		
68	Julius Vindex rebels and proclaims Galba		Civil wars 68–69	Nero's death
69	Julius Civilis and Gallic revolt crushed		Flavian emperors 69–96	Vespasian 69–79
85	Creation of German provinces	LANGRES STRASBOURG		Domitian 81–96
80s	Argentorate (Strasbourg) fortress built of stone 'An age without history'	STRASBOURG		Trajan 97–117 Hadrian 117–38 Antoninus Pius 138–161
160s			Empire-wide plague Marcomanni	Marcus Aurelius
170s			Wars on Danube	161–80

195	Albinus asserts rival claim to empire based on Lyon	LYON		Septimius Severus 193–211
197	Defeat and death of Albinus at battle of Lyon			
213	Caracalla grants citizenship to free in empire			Caracalla 211–17
	Caracalla's German campaign against Alamanni			
233	Alamanni incursions on frontier			
242	Alamanni troubles	STRASBOURG	Withdrawal from Agri Decumates	Short-lived emperors 235–60
254	Alamanni troubles			
259/260	Major incursions of Alamanni and Franks			
260–8	Postumus: Gallic empire			Gallienus 253–68
268–70	Victorinus: Gallic empire			
	Seige and sack of Autun	AUTUN		
273	Tetricus surrenders Gallic empire to Aurelian			Aurelian 270–75
276	Major incursion by Franks			Probus 276–82
280–2	First agreed settlement of Frankish group in empire			
286/7	Carausius, Boulogne fleet commander, sets up independent British empire	BOULOGNE	Diocletian appoints Maximian in West	Diocletian 284–305
296	Constantine Chlorus, Caesar in west, retakes London	ARRAS		
290s	Trier made capital of Galliae provinces	(see map)	Administrative and tax reforms	
	Successes against Alamanni			
310s	Free Franks contained		313 Edict of Milan: Christianity tolerated	Constantine 306–37
	Constantine campaigns in Germany			
349–352	The usurper Magnentius proclaimed at Autun. Wins Gaul and Britain; defeat at battle of Mursa			
355–360	Julian made Caesar and sent to Gaul to repel barbarians (Franks and Alamanni). Victories	STRASBOURG		
360	Julian proclaimed Augustus in Paris	PARIS		Julian 360–63
368	Valentian campaigns in Germany and builds new forts			Valentian (west) 364–75
378			Visigoths triumph at Adrianople	Valens (east) 364–78
392			Law against paganism	Theodosius 379–95

Roman Gaul and the Rhineland		*Site reference*	*Events elsewhere*	*Central government*
395	Trier abandoned as imperial capital. Troops being withdrawn from Gaul and Britain to fight elsewhere	ARRAS	Arles and Milan western capitals	Honorius (west) 395–423
406	Rhine crossing. Invasions by Vandals, Alans, Suevi;	BIESHEIM		
	Alamanni join them	CORA	410 Visigoths	
	Franks fight in name of Romans	VIRIEUX	sack Rome	
412/	Visigoths settle in Aquitania		Vandals leave Spain	
419	and then invade Spain		for Africa in 428	
420s–	Roman general Aëtius campaigns in Gaul:			
440s	Visigoths contained			
	Franks contained	CAMBRAI		
	Burgundians settled in Savoy and Jura			
451	Battle of Catalaunian Fields. Hun invasion defeated by	METZ + PARIS		
	Visigoths and Salian Franks	TROYES		
469	Burgundians take Lyon	LYON		
470s	Visigoths take Massif Central			
	Salian Franks established in most of Belgica			
450s–	Roman warlord territory in north-west: Aegidius and		Last emperor of west	Romulus Augustulus
486	then Syagrius			475–6
486	Clovis destroys Roman warlords	SOISSONS		
496?	Clovis baptized Christian (Catholic not Arian)	REIMS		
	Campaigns against Alamanni			
500	Campaigns against Burgundians			
508	Clovis makes Paris his capital	PARIS		
	Campaigns against Visigoths in Aquitania			
511	Campaigns against Ripuarian Franks (Cologne)			
	Clovis dies and kingdom divided			
530s	534 Merovingians take Burgundy			
	537 Merovingians take Provincia			
530s–	Regnum Francorum		Eastern Roman empire	Justinian
560s			reconquers Italy	527–65
			568 Lombards invade Italy	

1

THE SITES OF THE PARIS REGION AND NORTHERN FRANCE

ABBEVILLE, Somme

Museum site.
www.archéologie-aerienne.culture.gouv.fr

Musée Boucher de Perthes

Rue Gontier Patin
80100 Abbeville

Hours:	2 May–30 September	2–6p.m. Closed Tuesday
	1 October–30 April	Wednesday, Friday, Saturday only

This museum is dedicated to two great men. Its name recalls one of the most important founders of prehistory, the Abbeville customs officer, Jacques Boucher de Perthes (1788–1868), who began collecting what we now call Palaeolithic tool axes in the gravel pits of the Somme, and recognized that, as the new geology indicated, objects found in 'antediluvian', that is very old, deposits must be as old themselves. Further, these primitive tools were contemporaneous with his finds of elephant and rhinoceros bones, so man must have been living in a long distant past. It was a shattering combination of logic and evidence. In 1859, he received the recognition he deserved, initially from British scientists who came, saw – and photographed – hand axes in situ and were convinced.

The museum also commemorates the work of Roger Agache. His work as an aerial photographer revolutionized attitudes towards the potential of aerial photography as investigative archaeology. Perhaps his greatest work was demonstrating, at the beginning of the 1970s, that the Somme region had been covered with villas during the Roman period, many of them very large and imposing. He was able to bring out the significance of their discovery through his follow-up mapping, marking both these and their late Iron Age predecessors, pointing to the links between the two eras and the role played by the Roman roads (also revealed in his photographs), giving depth and

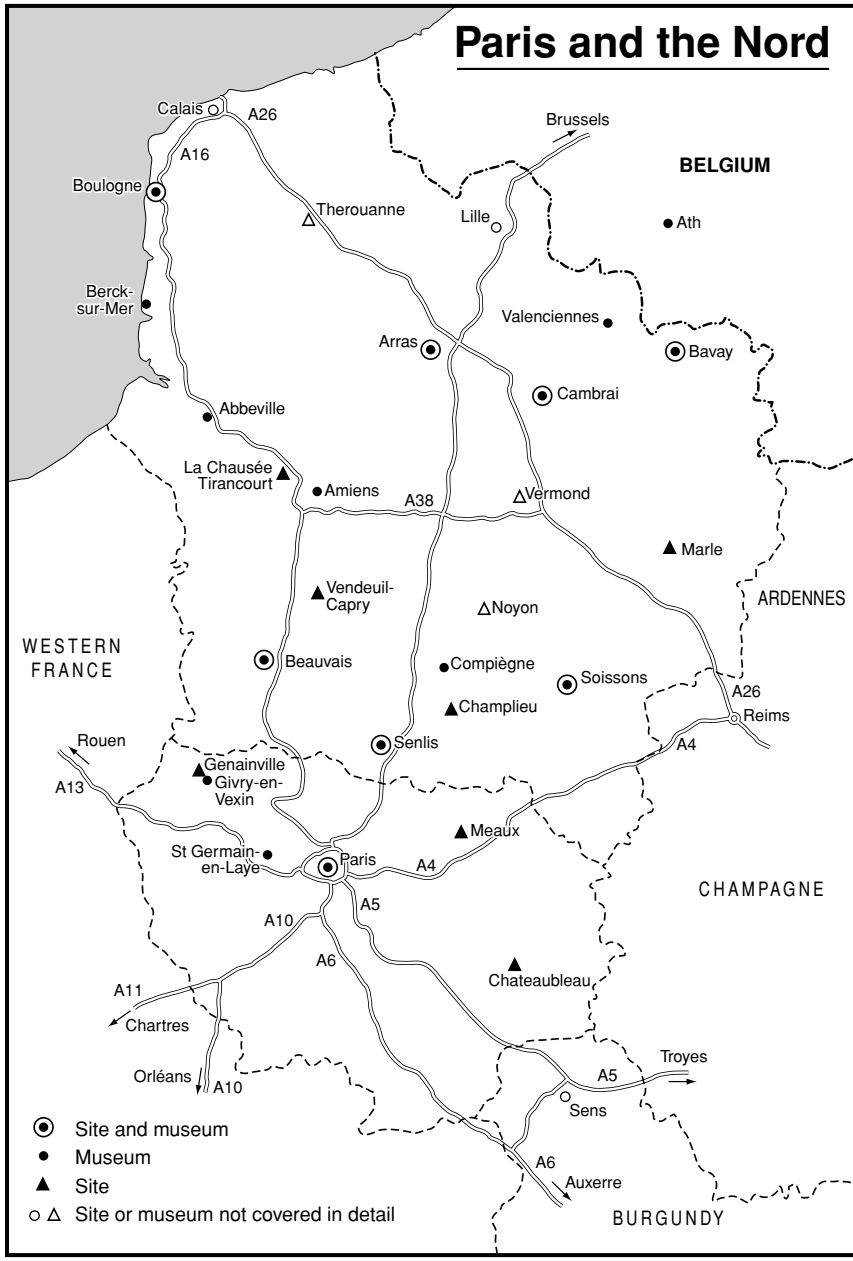

Figure 5 Regional map: Paris and the Nord

raising new questions concerning the relationship between the villas, new cities and long-distance military markets. Equally his work has helped push research in new directions through his photographs of known sites, showing unsuspected ditches and occupation (see LA CHAUSSEE TIRANCOURT). It is not simply that Agache has inspired aerial photographers everywhere, he has also consistently argued that archaeology should communicate, not just with other specialists, but with all people.

The collection

Agache's photographs of the late Iron Age and Gallo-Roman sites are featured in the entrance in a display roundel. Further photographs in the galleries show how his pictures demonstrate not only his superb skill in revealing hidden evidence but also a deep aesthetic sense of the environment.

Displays are periodically rotated between the public galleries and the reserve collection. They include older material such as the miniature flat figures of the late La Tène period suggesting phallic images, a form of male fertility imagery that may suggest Cernunnos, though he is more usually indicated by the addition of stag horns. While there is no evidence that there was any significant settlement at Abbeville during the Gallo-Roman period, isolated finds have been made here, including bronze jugs of high quality, one with a pair of finely wrought hands at the base of the handle. There is also an excellent lamp standard. More recent Gallo-Roman finds from outside Abbeville include an iron grill stand and a wine ladle, the latter found at Béhen, following the site's discovery in one of Agache's aerial surveys. Merovingian burials have provided typical examples of buckles and swords.

AMIENS, Somme

Museum site.

Amiens is frustrating. Well excavated for a number of years, yet there is nothing Gallo-Roman for the visitor to see outside the regional museum. Since the Second World War, local and regional governments have encouraged investigation – though not preservation – and the municipal archaeology service continues the meticulous work started by Vasselle, followed by Massy and Bayard. More has been discovered about the layout and development of the capital of the Ambiani tribe than about most other *civitas* capitals in northern France.

Samarabriva ('Samara crossing') was laid out in a classic grid pattern, on the southern bank of the Samara (Somme) river. No evidence of Gallic settlement has been found, though it is likely that there was a road here, as the gravel terraces would have made the naturally marshy river bed easier to

cross. Possibly Julius Caesar identified this as the key point to control the region, but the enigmatic evidence from LA CHAUSSEE TIRANCOURT suggests that military surveillance in the area was done from there, though there are hints of a military presence on the site of Samarabriva from *c.*20 BC, perhaps linked to the construction of the major Lyon–Boulogne road.

In the last years of Augustus' reign city streets were laid out in rectangular blocks, aligned to the slopes of the valley, leaving the road cutting through them at an angle. The new town developed slowly and the grid was changed to squares (385 Roman feet/160m) in the 50s, when it began to grow more rapidly and the *insulae* to fill up. The buildings were still largely wood and cob, but stone foundations were more widely adopted under the Flavians; the forum was finally completed in the 70s/80s, unusually taking up two insulae linking the *macellum*, or commercial market, to the political and business centre in an exceptionally long building. No temple has been identified here or anywhere else in the town.

Evidence of a massive fire towards the end of the first century has been found at many sites in Amiens, but the town was rapidly rebuilt on a grander scale with more stone and better drains. There was a large public baths system with hot and cold swimming pools and an aqueduct to supply it with running water (though only fragments of the latter have been found and its course is unknown). An amphitheatre was constructed, unusually sited at the centre of the town, flush against the forum. Perhaps, as Massy and Bayard suggested, the city council found land deserted and cheap after the fire. Excavating the foundations for the late nineteenth-century Hôtel de Ville revealed the defining oval and foundation walls. Fragments of rich houses that occupied other central insulae have been found decorated with mosaics and wall paintings (none providing very extensive remains) and further building took place, even in the marshy northern areas. Once again major fire struck. Extensive fire levels dated to the 170s were again followed by reconstruction. During the early third century new building still took place but on a smaller scale. By the 240s Samarabriva, like so many other cities in Gaul, was beginning to show signs of contraction. There were renewed fires. Rubbish filled some areas, some insulae reverted to gardens and cemeteries began to encroach on sites previously occupied by the living. The barbarian invasions of the late third century were only the culmination of a declining ability to maintain classical life in Amiens.

Samarabriva was a genuine crossroads site: a major north–south road artery and an important east–west river route. In addition tributary rivers (the Avre and Selle were only the nearest) and roads made Samarabriva a good focal point for the regional economy, which was of course agricultural. Agache's brilliant aerial photography (see ABBEVILLE) revealed the density of villa estates across the Picardy plains. Meat, leather and bones would have helped stimulate local business, but wheat production must have played the key role. The army was a significant market and while much wheat would have

gone east to the Rhineland frontier, some will have gone via Samarabriva to the Channel and either along the coast to Germany or more frequently to Britain. Equally, Samarabriva not only consumed the export goods from elsewhere, such as pottery, glass and wine, but must have been responsible for sending at least some of them down the Somme to St Valéry and to Britain; the discovery of both lead and tin ingots suggests that this also was a route for returning imports. There are hints, too, that it was a military transit point where troops perhaps rested when being moved from Britain to the Rhineland and back and that the surges in growth can be linked to the Claudian invasion and its follow-up (AD 43–70), the construction of Hadrian's Wall (120s), and the Severan campaigns in Scotland (early 200s).

It is also probable that what prosperity the late Roman 'city' had in the fourth century was based on the continuing military role of Samarabriva Ambianorum as a continuing link between Britain and the Rhine, as part of the defences against Saxon raiders, and for local control, for example in overseeing barbarians (e.g. Sarmatians) drafted in as settler-soldiers. It must have helped keep the regional villa economy going for a time as well.

Ambiani – as it was increasingly called – had an irregular rampart enclosing about 20ha. This was made with the usual hard-headed disdain for the buildings and funeral monuments of the earlier city. As at BAVAY, the forum walls were used to provide a basic structure and the amphitheatre became the core buttress. One part of the forum became a metal workshop, perhaps the shield and sword *fabrica Ambiensis* referred to in the *Notitia Dignitatum*. Written sources also suggest a Christian presence: an oratory dedicated to St Martin (*c.* 316–397) by one of the gates is mentioned by Gregory of Tours and the story of his conscientious objection here may well be true – he could have been part of the local garrison. However, no archaeological evidence has been found of any churches. During the fifth century, it is impossible to say at what point Ambiani was permanently lost to the empire – the 450s? the 460s? – not simply because the written sources do not tell us, but because whether it was ruled by a local Roman warlord or a Frankish king must have been almost irrelevant to the peasants who worked the land and who no longer had any use for the city.

Musée de Picardie

48 rue de la République
80000 Amiens
Hours: 10a.m.–12.30p.m., 2–6p.m. Closed Monday

Renovation has transformed the basement of this grandiose Victorian building into a modern, tasteful display area. Following collections of ancient Egyptian and Greek – especially Corinthian – material, there are three galleries devoted to the Gallo-Roman period. Here is the visible evidence not

only of Samarabriva and Ambiani, but also of other sites in Picardy, most important perhaps being Ribemont-sur-Ancre (see THE ROMANO-CELTIC SANCTUARY).

The most striking portrayal of Ribemont is the re-created ***headless burial***, with the original skeletal remains, bent swords and other weapons. A case shows the wide range of Gallic weaponry found surrounding the sanctuary. The high quality of the decorative stone sculpture on the later Roman temple is hinted at by the expressiveness of the faces.

The earliest material from Amiens is suggestive of a military presence. Arretine ware, *sigillata* from Arezzo in Italy, could indicate army use, and a ***dagger scabbard***, found in the same deposit, has been identified as typical of an Augustan auxiliary. Attractive British enamelled fibulae confirm the cross-Channel connection. There were also travellers and tourists. Someone came to Samarabriva with his or her souvenir **cup commemorating Hadrian's Wall**. It has a list of names enamelled round its rim: they record a number of western forts from MIAE (Bowness) to BANNA (Birdoswald). Perhaps a soldier in transit from the Wall to the German frontier was quartered here? Perhaps a retired man chose to settle in Samarabriva? The elegant carved **bone officer statuette**, which may have been a soldier's offering, was found at the fanum on the Somme *oppidum* of L'Etoile.

The Amiens area has no good clay and little local production. The creamy ***terracotta moulded statuettes***, produced in central France, are mostly simple and cheap representations of fertility and plenty, either classical Venuses or Gallic seated mother figures in their basket chairs, but Amiens has some splendid zoomorphic designs, especially a seated stag. **Glass** was imported as well, some as expensive tableware, some for perfumes and medicines and some as appropriate goods to accompany a person's burial. The collection, largely from the cemeteries, is a fine one, the best being the **chalice from the Rhineland**, with its blue-and-white snake décor.

There are only hints at the appearance of Samarabriva, for example the beautifully decorated column drums with hares, birds and figures surrounded by foliage, but the evidence found so far suggests that the larger houses were unimpressive. Dull geometric **mosaics** are representative of the small number found. Finds of **painted plaster** decorated with candelabra and griffins, discovered in the rue de Jacobins domus excavation, are better than many, but pale beside the sophistication of the section of wall-painting brought back from the Boscoreale villa (Italy). The broken **oscillum**, a marble plaque hung in a house or on a garden tree, is of high quality and shows Pan playing his pipes before a rural altar; it must have been imported. The **small bronzes** are also interesting. There is a strange cross-legged god whose right ear is that of an animal (see also BESANCON). Is the ear a stag's, in which case it might be a personification of Cernunnos, or is it a bull's, identified possibly with Jupiter, symbolizing virility? Another strange statuette is dedicated to the worship of Jupiter–Sabazius. It is a hand, fingers spread in benediction