

## CHURCH AND STATE IN THE *NOTITIA GALLIARUM* \*

By JILL HARRIES

Lists of provinces and cities of the Roman Empire were compiled and used for administrative or juridical purposes from as early as the time of Augustus, whose survey of Italy and the provinces formed the basis of the Elder Pliny's description of the Empire.<sup>1</sup> The late Roman period is especially rich in such survivals, the proliferation of which can be ascribed to two tendencies prevalent in the fourth century. The first was the increasing bureaucratization of the Empire, reflected in the most famous and comprehensive of all official lists, the *Notitia Dignitatum*. The second was the urge to store information on a wide variety of topics in an economical and accessible form.<sup>2</sup> Many lists, which may originally have had an official purpose, survive in literary forms alien to their inception, and which are the work of private individuals. Festus used such lists in the composition of his *Breviarium* for the use of the Emperor Valens c. 369 and Ammianus employed *Notitiae* now lost to supplement his personal observations in his history.<sup>3</sup> The *Laterculus* of Polemius Silvius, copied in Northern Gaul in 448, preserved, with minor and incomplete emendations, a list of all the provinces of the Empire of the late fourth century: the removal of Britain from its natural place in the Western section to the end of the whole is Polemius' only acknowledgement that the Roman Empire was not all that it had been.<sup>4</sup>

In an era when the reorganization of provinces was frequent,<sup>5</sup> such lists were a necessary record. A new *vicarius* or praetorian prefect—even a new emperor, such as Valens—needed to get his facts straight. But such lists might also be a response to an imperial initiative in provincial reorganization. Bury suggested that the Diocletianic reforms reflected in the Verona List of the early fourth century were largely a result of the emperor's personal presence in any given area.<sup>6</sup> Such changes might also result from the presence of an imperial official: the creation of a fifth province in Britain in 369 was due to the presence of the imperial representative, Count Theodosius.<sup>7</sup>

The *Notitia Galliarum*,<sup>8</sup> the text of which is given in the Appendix, appears to fit naturally into this administrative context. The document consists of a complete list of the seventeen provinces of Gaul, with their respective metropolitan cities and other *civitates* within each province described by their ethnic titles (e.g. *civitas Arvernorum* for Augustonemetum, Clermont), along with six (or seven) *castra* and a *portus* also listed under their respective provinces. The list is subdivided into two areas corresponding with the two Gallic dioceses of Galliae and the Quinque Provinciae. It is dated firmly, on internal

\* My thanks for various kinds of help go to Professor F. G. B. Millar, Miss Judith McClure, Dr. J. F. Matthews, Dr. J. S. Richardson, and Professor A. L. F. Rivet, and to Mr. J. B. Kenworthy, who drew the maps. They are not responsible for my conclusions or errors.

<sup>1</sup> A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*<sup>2</sup> (1971), App. 1, 503–8. Such lists, like so much of imperial documentation, were occasionally published and preserved on inscriptions: for one such, from Ephesus, listing cities under their ethnic titles (bar two) which are arranged under διοικήσεις (Latin *conventus*, assize districts), see C. Habicht, 'New Evidence on the Province of Asia', *JRS* LXV (1975), 64–91. The Late Roman *dioceses*, the sphere of authority of the *vicarius*, in whom authority over provincial governors and wide juridical powers were invested, were of course much larger than the previous *conventus*. Assizes under the Early Empire are fully discussed by G. P. Burton, *JRS* LXV (1975), 92–106.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. historical information in chronicles and epitomes, codification of laws, lists of bishops at councils, poetic catalogues and summaries of earlier works.

<sup>3</sup> On Gaul, see Festus, *Breviarium* 6 (ed. J. W. Eadie, 1967), and Amm. Marc. xv, 11, 7–15. Mommsen discussed the sources for Ammianus in *Hermes* XVI (1881), 602–36 (= *Ges. Schr.* VII, 393–425). In

his edition of the *Not. Gall.*, *MGH, Auct. Ant.* IX (1892), 553, he assumes Ammianus refers to a Gallic *Notitia* of the 380's, which differs in some entries from the *Not. Gall.*, but Ammianus's information could well derive from the period in which he was himself in Gaul (355–7): see below nn. 36 and 53. Note that, in Ammianus, Eauze, later metropolis of Novempopulana, is part of Narbonensis I, and Bourges, later metr. of Aquitania I, is listed under Lugdunensis I. Such fluidity might tend to devalue the status of a provincial secular metropolis.

<sup>4</sup> See J. B. Bury, 'The Provincial List of Verona', *JRS* XIII (1923), 149–51, and A. Chastagnol, 'Notes chronologiques sur l'Historia Augusta et le *Laterculus* de Polemius Silvius', *Historia* IV (1955), 176–80.

<sup>5</sup> On provincial reorganizations in Gaul, see A. H. M. Jones, 'The Date and Value of the Verona List', *JRS* XLIV (1954), 21–9, repr. in *The Roman Economy* (ed. P. A. Brunt, 1974), 263–79, and Eadie op. cit. 163–6, with Jones, *LRE* III (1964), App. III, 381–2.

<sup>6</sup> Bury, art. cit., 127–48.

<sup>7</sup> Amm. Marc. xxviii, 3, 7: 'et Valentia deinde vocaretur arbitrio principis'.

<sup>8</sup> Ed. Mommsen, *MGH Auct. Ant.* IX (1892), 552–612, and by O. Seeck, *Notitia Dignitatum* (1876), 261–74. The former is followed here.

evidence, to the last part of the fourth century, possibly the early fifth. The designation of Grenoble as the *civitas Gratianopolitana*, rather than Cularo, places the list after Valentinian's appointment of his son, Gratian, as Augustus in 367.<sup>9</sup> The *terminus ante* is probably 407, as the elevation of Arles to the status of imperial capital, replacing Trier, in that year<sup>10</sup> (or possibly in 398) is not reflected in the list of the cities of Viennensis. The replacement of Eauze by Auch as the capital of Novempopulana is also not recorded. This terminal date is confirmed by the more general consideration that the climate for the compiling of such a document would not have existed after the Germanic invasions of December 31, 406, had removed much of Gaul from Roman control.

In other crucial respects, however, the *Notitia* differs considerably from other such lists. It deals only with a single unit, Gaul. The selection of *castra* is peculiar, and appears to have no relation with the military realities of the time. Most important is the fact that in the Middle Ages the list was used as a record of bishoprics and the metropolitans to which they were subject, as can be seen both from the rubric, to be discussed below, and from the additions and emendations to later manuscripts. For the medieval church, the *Notitia* was an ecclesiastical document. But was it so originally, and, if not, when and how did the transformation take place? Reflections on the inclusion of the *castra* in the list, and an examination of possible inconsistencies between the listed *civitates* and the secular structure of fourth-century Gaul, have prompted Professor Rivet to revive Mommsen's argument that the *Notitia* was, from the start, a list of bishoprics.<sup>11</sup> If so, it cannot be used as evidence for the civic structure of the province. This runs counter to the assumption of A. H. M. Jones, which was never defended in detail, that we have 'an official register of the administrative units of the two dioceses of Gaul and the Seven Provinces', not a list of towns with bishops.<sup>12</sup>

Clearly such a divergence of view will affect approaches to the administrative and ecclesiastical history of Late Roman Gaul. If a document of the Church, the *Notitia* is decisive evidence for extensive church organization in a province to which, as the late-fourth-century biographer of St. Martin of Tours remarked, Christianity came late.<sup>13</sup> It would demonstrate the antiquity of several sees not otherwise attested before the late fifth, sixth or even seventh centuries, along with a few never mentioned elsewhere as bishoprics at all.<sup>14</sup> Proof of the secular origin of the list, on the other hand, would, by removing it from the category of ecclesiastical documents, undermine assumptions based on it as to the advanced state of episcopal organization at this stage. Furthermore, it would be valuable evidence for the status of individual *civitates* at this time, and for the evolution of the Gallic provincial administrative structure.

What follows will argue that the *Notitia* is secular in origin, but was adapted for ecclesiastical purposes, probably in the sixth century. There are points at which the *Notitia* conflicts with what is known or believed of Gallic ecclesiastical structure in the late fourth century, which must be set against the conflicts with secular structure suggested by Rivet.<sup>15</sup> These conflicts do not apply to the ecclesiastical set-up of the sixth century, which

<sup>9</sup> Amm. Marc. xxvii, 6, 4. The name Gratianopolis is first attested at the Council of Aquileia in 381.

<sup>10</sup> The date is controversial. See A. Chastagnol, 'Le repli sur Arles des services administratifs gaulois en l'an 407 de notre ère', *Rev. Hist.* ccxlix (1973), 34-40, *contra* Palanque's date of c. 398. The date is associated with that of the Council of Turin in 398 or 417, on which see E. Ch. Babut, *Le Concile de Turin* (1904) and, most recently, H. Chadwick, *Priscillian of Avila* (1976), 162-3, n. 4.

<sup>11</sup> A. L. F. Rivet, 'The *Notitia Galliarum*: some questions', *Aspects of the Notitia Dignitatum* (British Archaeological Reports (Suppl. series xv), 1976), 119-41. The issues raised by Professor Rivet's paper formed the initial inspiration for this paper.

<sup>12</sup> Jones, *LRE* II, 712.

<sup>13</sup> Sulp. Sev., *Chron.* II, 32: 'serius trans Alpes Dei religione suscepta'.

<sup>14</sup> cf. the compromise view of L. Duchesne, who does not commit himself to an ecclesiastical *Notitia*, but accepts the consequences of so doing, *Fastes*

*Episcopaux de l'ancienne Gaule* I (1894), 76: 'il est vraisemblable que, dès les dernières années du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle, chacune des cités existantes avait son évêque.'

<sup>15</sup> Rivet, *op. cit.* (n. 11), 122-4. He questions the omission of Carpentras, *colonia* with Latin rights under the early Empire, with a bishop by 442, the emergence of the minor city of Albi, and the surprising absence of *civitates* between Narbonne and the Pyrenees. On the secular view, Carpentras had lost *civitas* status by the late fourth century (or was omitted by accident): her possession of a bishop by 442 is not inconsistent with lack of *civitas* status, witness the presence of a bishop from the *castrum* Uzès. Other doubts are raised by the absence of the *civitas Caletum*, perhaps absorbed by Rouen, and the survival of the unimportant *civitas Diablintum*. These points deserve attention, but the inconsistencies with the fourth-century ecclesiastical structure appear to the present writer even harder to explain away (see below, pp. 29 f.).

also provides a promising home for the anomalous *castra*. This would suggest that the list, while basically fourth-century, is not homogeneous<sup>16</sup> but contains surreptitious revisions dating to a period before the earliest, probably seventh-century manuscript, aimed at bringing the list into line with the contemporary ecclesiastical situation. This line of thought is suggested, in the first instance, by the rubric.

#### THE RUBRIC

Although confined to the earliest manuscript and its derivatives, the rubric at the head of the list is unequivocal as to the ecclesiastical purpose of the document, as it then stood. The text (see Appendix) is corrupt (or illiterate) but its gist is clear enough:

A *Notitia*: the status or number of provinces named in the Gallic provinces or under the ten headings of Gaul: or to which metropolitan city the towns listed under each heading ought to refer back or to respond with relation to their stated position or place in the state—these, as the bishops request (*ut ordo exposcit pontificum*), shall be preserved or referred to in case of disputes, that the ancient order of things (*antiquitas*) may not be overturned by any eventuality.

The rubric would indicate that the document was compiled or published in response to a specific crisis concerning the status of metropolitan cities in relation to their respective provinces, and that the meaning of 'metropolitan' here is purely ecclesiastical, referring to the cities which were the seats of the bishops holding metropolitan rights in the provinces.

However, episcopal and secular status were closely linked, despite pronouncements of church leaders to the contrary,<sup>17</sup> and an elevation of any given town to the status of a provincial capital in the secular sphere tended to produce corresponding pretensions on the part of the relevant bishop, which were not always welcomed or accepted by his colleagues.<sup>18</sup> In Gaul, the transfer of the Gallic prefecture from Trier to Arles resulted almost immediately in assertions of ecclesiastical metropolitan supremacy from a series of primates from 412 down to the sixth century. Meanwhile other controversies persisted on a local basis. It is therefore impossible to isolate one incident which may have generated the rubric in the first place; the stresses within a church in the process of adjusting to Frankish or Burgundian domination provide as plausible a context as any event of the fifth century.

The clue to the real character of the rubric lies in the closing phrase, 'ut antiquitas nulla possit convelli condicione'. The object referred to as being in *antiquitas* is the state of affairs described in the list, the provincial and city structure of the late fourth century. Although this is consistent with ecclesiastical (and Roman) respect for precedent, an early-fifth-century writer (to take the latest possible date for the original list) would hardly use such terminology of a system set up at the most forty years before and still in operation. The rubric, therefore, was added at some point when the provincial structure of Gaul appeared to have existed in *antiquitas* and to be in danger of being forgotten.

The addition of the rubric, then, shows that the *Notitia*, in the form in which it survives, had already suffered modification since its original redaction in the late fourth (or very early fifth) century. There is a further implication, namely that the rubric cannot be used as evidence for the metropolitan cities in the original list, the secular or ecclesiastical character of which will depend on the original nature of the list itself.

In secular terms, a *metropolis* was a chief city, 'quae civitatum ceterarum gereret

<sup>16</sup> Later revisions or, conversely, failure of a compiler to use up-to-date information are an occupational hazard in the dating and use of Late Roman official lists in general. On anachronism in the Verona List see T. D. Barnes, 'The Unity of the Verona List', *ZPE* xv (1975), 275-8.

<sup>17</sup> Innoc., *Ep.* 2, of 15 Feb. 404 (*PLS* xx, col. 469), Seeck, *Regesten*, 306, that no ordination to take place 'extra conscientiam metropolitani episcopi', with *Ep.* 24 (to Alexander of Antioch) opposing the confusion of ecclesiastical with secular status, 'non vere visum est ad mobilitatem necessitatum mun-

danarum dei ecclesiam commutari'. The *De Septem Ordinibus Ecclesiae* (early fifth century) refers to the recent allocation of *episcopalis electio* to the metropolitan. For documentation on the hegemony of Arles, see the *Epistulae Arelatenses*, *MGH Epist.* III (1892), 1-83.

<sup>18</sup> cf. a letter of Ruricius of Limoges to Caesarius of Arles in 506 (*Rur.*, *Ep.* II, 33) protesting against this tendency: 'Quia, si aliis nomen urbium praestat auctoritas, nobis auctoritatem demere non debet urbis humilitas'.

principatum', as Augustine wrote of the wicked city of Babylon. In the Late Roman period, the word was applied, in the West as well as the East, to provincial capitals, the seats of the governors and of the imperial administration. With their administrative importance went a certain status, a point at times exploited by the unscrupulous, who plundered lesser cities in order (or so they claimed) to beautify the metropolis. Because of their status, *metropoleis* were the recipients of assorted privileges: in fourth-century Gaul, they were the centres for the selection of university professors, while, in the fifth century, their curial senates were graciously permitted to accept into their ranks the natural sons of decurions resident in Rome or Constantinople. On a higher level, a metropolis might also be the seat of the praetorian prefect: thus Arles, the Gallic capital in the fifth century, is described as the metropolitan city of the Seven Provinces in a law of Honorius of 418, which set up the Gallic provincial council there.<sup>19</sup>

Are these, then, the metropolitan cities of the fourth-century list? Owing to the almost total overlap of the secular provincial structure attested for the fourth century by the Verona List and other sources with the ecclesiastical provinces of the early Middle Ages, the existence of isolated inconsistencies between the two is the best that can be hoped for. Ideally, the proponent of an ecclesiastical *Notitia* should be able to demonstrate that every town, without exception, on the list had, or might well have had, a bishop at the time of the list, while, conversely, the advocate of the secular view should prove total consistency with the known secular structure of the province. The contribution of Rivet was to suggest inconsistency with the Gallic secular structure of the late fourth century. The aim of what follows is to show that the *Notitia* is even more seriously in conflict with the ecclesiastical structure of the time.

#### THE EVIDENCE

Investigation is often hindered rather than helped by the evidence, which is accidental, unsystematic and unevenly distributed. There survive council lists with named bishops with or without sees, papal letters to named bishops, letters of various kinds discussing matters of doctrine or patronage, literary works of other kinds, such as sermons and theological treatises, Lives and Passions of saints with name of author and dedicatee, and dedicatory or funerary inscriptions. There are also local traditions, which are usually discounted as deriving from the wish of a see to establish its antiquity by means of some attractive invention.

The evidence for some provinces only serves to underline the paucity of material. One bishop from the whole province of Novempopulana in the fifth century can be named, Orientius of Auch, a literary man.<sup>20</sup> In 475, Sidonius Apollinaris complained about the loss of bishops from some south-western towns owing to the anti-catholic policy of Euric, the Arian king of the Visigoths: among these were the Novempopulana towns of Eauze, Auch, St-Bertrand-de-Comminges and Bazas.<sup>21</sup> Of these, Eauze had a bishop in 314 at the Council of Arles and, although demoted from metropolitan status, may have kept him, and Bazas is given a bishop in a miracle-story of Gregory of Tours.<sup>22</sup> The *Notitia*, however, lists seven towns in addition to these. In 506, at the Council of Agde, the province produces seven hitherto unattested bishops from precisely these towns.<sup>23</sup> Yet the evidence to link the bishops of 506 with the towns of the list in the fourth century is non-existent.

Nor can the effects of the Germanic invasions from 406 onwards be lightly discounted, although no such drastic break can be detected as happened, for whatever reason, with the

<sup>19</sup> Aug., *Civ. Dei* xvi, 4. On status, Jer., *Ep.* 46, 3, 4, 'totius provinciae gloria metropoli vindicatur'. For corrupt *iudices*, see *CTh* xv, 1, 14 (of 365) and for further laws *CTh* xiii, 3, 11 (to the *PPO Galliarum*, 376), and *Novell. Theod.* 22, 1, 8 (of 442). For Arles see *MGH, Epist.* III (1892), *Epist. Arles.* 8, p. 14, 'in metropolytana, id est, in Arelatensi urbe, incipient Septem Provinciae habere concilium'.

<sup>20</sup> Author of a *Commonitorium*, *CSEL* xvi (1888), 205-43.

<sup>21</sup> Sid. Ap., *Ep.* vii, 6, 7.

<sup>22</sup> Greg. Tur., *Glor. mart.* 12. *Conc. Arles.* 1, *Concilia Galliae* I (A.D. 314-506), ed. Munier CC CLXVIII (1963), 3-25.

<sup>23</sup> Dax, Lectoure, St. Lizier, Pau, Aire, Bigorre, Oloron.

Lombards later in Italy.<sup>24</sup> However, some flourishing sees of the fourth century may have lost bishops in the early fifth, and, with the passage of time, all memory of their existence may have been lost and their see absorbed into some new unit. This would be particularly true of towns where church and bishop were a recent creation, as in the towns of Northern Gaul. In a letter to a Gallic correspondent in 409, Jerome lamented the fates of towns in Belgica II and the two Germaniae.<sup>25</sup> He cites the story of the massacre of thousands of people in the church at Mainz, metropolitan of Germania I, and the fall of Worms and Speier in the same province and of Tournai, Reims, Amiens, Arras and Théroutanne in Belgica II. The evidence of the episcopal lists collected by Duchesne accords with this in that all these towns show gaps for the fifth century,<sup>26</sup> with Amiens being the first to reappear with a bishop attested at a council in 511. The conspicuous exception to this is the metropolitan Reims, where Remigius was to assert himself over both fellow-bishops and Merovingian kings.

However, the effect of the invasions of the fifth century may also be exaggerated. The literary sources are eloquent on the subject of damage, impoverishment and depopulation,<sup>27</sup> but the continued survival of, for example, Trier, after four captures, or the apparent prosperity of Aquitaine despite the Visigoths are indications of the resilience of Gallic towns and individuals in face of invasion. In many places the change of masters may initially have made little practical difference. Thus widespread silence on the subject of bishops before the invasions may be due not to the interruption of records by the catastrophe, but to the absence of bishops to be recorded.

Four areas may illustrate the questions at issue and cast doubt on the ecclesiastical nature of the *Notitia*. The *civitates* of Belgica II require further discussion, as do those of the province of Tours, Lugdunensis III, where the list for the mid-fifth century is complete. Thirdly, we may consider the vexed little province of Alpes Graiae et Poeninae, also discussed by Rivet, and, finally, survey the provinces of the south-east and their concern with the expansionist activities not of the Visigoths or Burgundians, but of Hilary of Arles.

#### CASE STUDIES

##### (a) *Belgica II*

Twelve *civitates* are listed under this, the province of Reims. If bishoprics, they are evidence for a concentration of bishops never to be repeated. The province could have been organized at an early date, as the see of Reims itself dates from the early fourth century,<sup>28</sup> yet it may be that the situation was more analogous to that of Britain, where bishops were established early in prominent cities but continued to exist in comparative isolation.

The latter hypothesis is more plausible in the light of the late-fourth-century evidence for the evangelization of the province by a bishop from outside it, Victricius of Rouen, in the remoter areas round Théroutanne and Boulogne.<sup>29</sup> In face of this interference in the province of another, we might expect some reaction from the metropolitan of Reims and from the local bishops of two towns both named in the *Notitia*. The lack of it suggests that the area was still a sort of ecclesiastical no-man's-land which, although part of the secular province headed by Reims, was open to anyone who might take an interest. This would

<sup>24</sup> On Italian bishoprics of the sixth century and their survival in Byzantine and Lombard Italy, see L. Duchesne, 'Les évêchés d'Italie et l'invasion lombarde', *MEFR* xxiii (1903), 83-116, continued in *ibid.* xxv (1905), 365-99. He suggests that the Lombard invasions led indirectly to a multiplication of bishops owing to the ordination of some 'bishops in exile'. Many of his conclusions were, and are, controversial.

<sup>25</sup> Jer., *Ep.* 123, 15, 3.

<sup>26</sup> Duchesne, *Fastes* III, 161, 163, 114, 76, 122, 106 and 130.

<sup>27</sup> For details see P. Courcelle, *Histoire littéraire des grands invasions germaniques*<sup>3</sup> (1964), and, for an analysis of the distortions of literary evidence as applied to the devastations of the third century, see

C. R. Whittaker, 'Agri Deserti', in M. I. Finley (ed.), *Studies in Roman Property* (1976), 137-65.

<sup>28</sup> A bishop of Reims attended the Council of Arles in 314. See above, n. 22.

<sup>29</sup> Paul. Nol., *Ep.* 18, 4, designates the area as 'terra Morinorum situ orbis extrema' (Théroutanne, the *civitas Morinorum*) and 'in remotissimo Nervici litoris tractu' (Boulogne, possibly Bavai). On the accuracy of Paulinus, see E. de Moreau, 'St. Victrice de Rouen, apôtre de la Belgica Secunda,' *Rev. belge de phil. et d'hist.* v (1926), 71-9, and compare the activities of Martin of Tours outside his province, Sulp. Sev., *Vit. Mart.* 16-17 (Trier), 19, 3 (Vienne), 8, 1 (possibly Agen, see *ILS* 6117 and 6117a and below n. 56).

imply that there were no local bishops at Th erouanne and Boulogne to object or co-operate: had there been, they would have been suffragants of Reims, not of Rouen. This accords with the local traditions. St. Omer is the first bishop attested at Th erouanne, in the late sixth century.<sup>30</sup> Boulogne, the original *pagus Gesoriacensis* but a *civitas* by the late fourth century, is never known to have had a bishop at all and, by the seventh century, was officially under the authority of Th erouanne. It is therefore unlikely that two towns in an area of little interest to the ecclesiastical authorities would both have had bishops which they were to lose, totally forfeit, and never regain.

Arras and Cambrai are also of interest. A local tradition at Arras places the foundation of the see in the early fifth century, which might just coincide with the *Notitia*. This took place seventy-four years before the election of the first named bishop, Vedastus, towards the end of the century. Vedastus, according to the tradition, was bishop of both Arras and Cambrai 'propter locorum solitudinem' and the third bishop after him transferred the bishop's seat from Arras to Cambrai, but continued to preside over both sees. There is no independent episcopal tradition at Cambrai.<sup>31</sup>

Thus both pairs of towns discussed had, by the sixth century, acquired one bishop serving both towns. If the *Notitia* reflects numbers of bishops in the late fourth century, it would indicate a greater concentration than was to be considered necessary two centuries later, in a province which, according to other evidence, was still in the process of organization. A secular *Notitia* would obviate these difficulties.

The pairing of Arras and Cambrai in the sixth century is paralleled by the alternative bishop's seats of Avenches and Windisch, both given in the *Notitia* under Maxima Sequanorum, the former a *civitas*, the latter a *castrum*. Neither is attested as such before the sixth century and there is no certain evidence that this phenomenon existed earlier in Gaul.<sup>32</sup> A sixth-century ecclesiastical *Notitia* would preserve the towns of the fourth-century original, out of respect for tradition, even when the compiler knew that one bishop served two listed towns, as with Arras and Cambrai, and included Boulogne, which had no bishop at all, because of his veneration for the contents of the original list.

### (b) *Lugdunensis III*

In 453, a council of all the bishops of the province of Tours was held in Angers under the presidency of the metropolitan, Perpetuus. The list of bishops present, whose names are supplied but not their sees, is a complete account of the number of *civitates* subject to Tours at this time, and is confirmed by a further list, from Vannes, of c. 461. It totals one less than the number in the *Notitia*, and Duchesne singled out the *civitas Diablintum*, Jublains, as the missing city.<sup>33</sup> This small fortified settlement had a church of some kind, but not necessarily a bishop. A church implies the existence only of a Christian population large enough to warrant a centre for worship. If Jublains did have a bishop, he vanished without trace.

Although the secular province of *Lugdunensis III* was short-lived, the ecclesiastical province rose to great heights. The bishops of Tours could exploit both metropolitan status and the cult of St. Martin and they were themselves men of distinction, culminating in the sixth century in the senatorial and episcopal family of Gregory of Tours. If the episcopal dynasts had wished to pack their province with bishops, they could have done so. That they did not, if not a commentary on the Merovingians, is a sign that the fifth-century number was an acceptable maximum and, if not exceeded in the sixth century, is unlikely to have been so in the fourth.

<sup>30</sup> Duchesne, *Fastes III*, 130-7.

<sup>31</sup> Duchesne, *Fastes III*, 106-14. On the settlement of the Cambrai region before 406, see L. Chauvin and A. Tuffreau in *Rev. du Nord LI* (1969), 373-91.

<sup>32</sup> See H. Vettiers, 'Zum episcopus in castellis', *Anz.  st. Akad. Wiss.* cvI (1969), 75-93, on alternative seats and *castra*. I do not believe these can be shown to exist in the fifth century, *contra* Rivet, op. cit., (n. 11), 122. The presence of bishops from the

*castrum* of Uz s and from the *locus* of Toulon can be explained on political grounds: the sees were invented to pack the councils of the 440's by Hilary of Arles. For the imperial view of Hilary's activities see *Nov. Val.* 17 (of 445).

<sup>33</sup> Duchesne, *Fastes II*, 244-88. *Greg. Tur., Hist. Franc.* x, 31 on bishops of Tours. *Conc. Gall.*, 135-9 (Angers), 150-7 (Vannes).

(c) *Alpes Graiaae et Poeninae*

On any interpretation of the list, the absence of a metropolitan city in the province of Alpes Graiaae et Poeninae, which contains two *civitates*, poses problems. If the list is secular, why is no capital indicated? The province is small and mountainous and may have been an administrative anomaly, yet it had a *praeses*,<sup>34</sup> who must have resided somewhere. However, the problems raised by an ecclesiastical interpretation are even harder to resolve.

Rivet states that the list 'does seem to reflect the ecclesiastical situation, since the bishop of Tarantasia (here called by the tribal name of Ceutrones) was directly subordinate to the bishop of Vienne'.<sup>35</sup> This was certainly the case by 450, when Tarantasia was placed under the authority of Vienne by papal edict,<sup>36</sup> but the fact that a papal edict was necessary implies that the status of the bishopric had been controversial previously and that it was not under Vienne at the time of the original *Notitia*. Moreover, the separate listing of the province must, on Rivet's theory, reflect a separate and therefore independent ecclesiastical province—without a metropolitan. If the bishop of Vienne was exercising some unofficial supervision, it is surprising that this is acknowledged in the list to the extent of depriving the province of a metropolitan, but not of its status as a separate province.

The little that is known of the bishops of the province also tells against Rivet's theory. Of the two it is the second town which is first attested as a bishopric. Theodorus of the *civitas Vallensium*, Octoduro, took an active part in church affairs in the late fourth century, attending the Council of Aquileia in 381 and the Council of Milan in 390. His links are not with Vienne but with Lyon: he discovered and promoted the relics of the martyrs of Agaune, whose Passion was written up by Eucherius of Lyon and dedicated to Theodorus' successor, Salvius.<sup>37</sup>

The connection between Octoduro and Lyon lends some plausibility to a local tradition on the founding of the see of Tarantasia, which, although modest in its claims by contemporary standards, might not normally carry much weight. Eucherius was associated with the monastery on Lérins which had been founded by Honoratus, who became bishop of Arles in 427. According to the local tradition, it was Honoratus who, as bishop, sent out a former disciple of his on Lérins to convert the Ceutrones. This man became the first bishop of Tarantasia. If the tradition is credible, the founding of the see took place in 427–9 (Honoratus died in 429). Such local traditions are notoriously unreliable, but if the date remembered in it is approximately right, Tarantasia will have been founded as a see well after the latest possible date for the original *Notitia* and would have had little claim, as a see, to be listed ahead of Octoduro, which was not only the senior bishopric, but had had incumbents of some distinction—and certainly not any title to the status of metropolitan.

The absence of metropolitan title remains an anomaly and, if not a mistake, perhaps derives from some administrative oddity in the province. It may be relevant to note that Ammianus, who was in Gaul from late 355 to the autumn of 357, mentions only one town in connection with the province, namely Avenches, which, in the *Notitia*, is part of Maxima Sequanorum.<sup>38</sup> The rest are dismissed casually, 'exceptis obscurioribus'. If Ammianus, or his source, is right, the province may have suffered a loss of territory in the reorganization reflected in the *Notitia*, which left it without a definite secular capital.

(d) *The south-east*

The region comprises three provinces, Viennensis, Narbonensis II and Alpes Maritimae. In this sheltered area the effect of Germanic inroads was little felt before the 470's and the expansion and organization of the church could continue without interruption. Some increase in the number of known sees might, therefore, be expected during this period.

The council lists of Riez (439), Orange (441) and Vaison (442) supply valuable

<sup>34</sup> e.g. Pontius Asclepiodotus, *CIL* XII, 138, with *PLRE* I, 116. Pontius was *praeses* in 377. Seeck prints 'Metropolis' before *civitas Ceutronum* (268).

<sup>35</sup> Rivet, *op. cit.* (n. 11), 123.

<sup>36</sup> Leo, *Ep.* 66, *Lectio dilectionis vestrae* (PL LIV, col. 884); Seeck, *Regesten*, 384.

<sup>37</sup> For text of dedication, *CSEL* xxxi (ed. Wotke, 1894), 173. On the see, Duchesne, *Fastes* I, 238. On Tarantasia, *ibid.* 236–7.

<sup>38</sup> Amm. Marc. xv, 11, 12. Ammianus accompanied Ursicinus to Gaul to deal with Silvanus in late 355 (xv, 5, 22) and left with him in autumn, 357.

evidence.<sup>39</sup> Of these the Riez list is the most useful for present purposes, as it concerns what was in effect a provincial council of the three provinces most closely subject to Arles, excluding the northern part of Viennensis, which had been detached from Arles at the Council of Turin.<sup>40</sup> Although the Riez list supplies only the names of the bishops present, their sees can be ascertained by a comparison with the longer Orange list of two years later.

The Council of Riez was convened to settle a disciplinary matter, which threatened the metropolitan authority of Hilary of Arles: the bishop of Embrun, metropolitan city of Alpes Maritimae, had been ordained illegally, that is, without the consent of Hilary, nearly two years before. As the object of the council was to assert the authority of Hilary, that bishop would certainly have aimed at full attendance from the three relevant provinces, if only to prove the unanimity of his support. Thus towns listed in the *Notitia* but not represented at the council must either contain dissenting bishops or no bishops at all.

From Viennensis came the bishops of Die, Cavaillon, Vaison and Avignon, while the bishop of Carpentras (not in the *Notitia*) was represented by a priest; from Narbonensis II came the bishops of Apt and Fréjus, while Maximus of Riez, a former abbot of Lérins, who would have known Hilary from their monastic days together, acted as host; the towns of Alpes Maritimae represented were Vence, Cimiez, Castellane and Barcelonnette/Thorame.<sup>41</sup> On the other hand, five towns named in the *Notitia* fail in their attendance: Gap and Sisteron in Narbonensis II and, in Alpes Maritimae, Digne, Senez and Glandève, the last now no more than a small parish near Entrevaux. None of the five have bishops attested before 506 (although the foundation of Digne is earlier), and the silence on Glandève endures till 541.<sup>42</sup>

However, these five may have existed and cherished conscientious objections to the pretensions of Hilary. This would explain their absence from Riez, but not from the councils of 441 and 442, when the ambitions of the Arles bishop were not the main issue. Moreover, it is unlikely that the hypothetical bishops would have been the kind of men to dissent from Hilary, as they would have required the consent of Hilary or his predecessors for their own ordinations and the metropolitan issue had been a live one from the time of the ordination of Patroclus of Arles in 412, some thirty years before. Hilary's need of men to toe his party line may lie behind the sudden appearance of Castellane and Barcelonnette, two towns listed in the *Notitia* but not mentioned as bishoprics at any time other than these councils.<sup>43</sup>

Difficulties of travel, although cited as an excuse in other cases, may also be discounted. Gap and Sisteron command easy access to the south along the valley of the Durance, as does Digne along the valley of the Bléone, to the east and south of Sisteron. The bishops of Senez and Glandève would have had a harder time of it, with circuitous journeys through more precipitous river valleys, but their lack of enterprise would have been put to shame by the efforts that actually were made by the bishops of Castellane and Barcelonnette. The latter of these could follow the Ubaye valley westward, till it joins up with the Durance, a long but not impossible journey, but the former had to make his way across mountains or through narrow valleys, whichever route he chose to take.

We are therefore forced back to the explanation that the five did not attend the councils because they did not exist at the time of Hilary's attempts to drum up support. This does not exclude the possibility that all five did exist at the time of the original *Notitia* but were short-lived *ad hoc* creations. However, the creation of small-town bishops depends on a political context, normally of an ambitious metropolitan seeking to extend his influence. Such a context is hard to find in the south-east before the ordination of Patroclus in 412, and would have to be produced to justify any such hypothesis.

<sup>39</sup> *Conc. Gall.* 1, 61-75 (Riez), 76-93 (Orange), 94-104 (Vaison).

<sup>40</sup> *Conc. Taur.* canon 2.

<sup>41</sup> There is difficulty with the identification of the *civ. Rigomagensium*. Rivet accepts Barcelonnette, but see Duchesne, *Fastes* 1, 285, and E. Griffe, *La Gaule chrétienne* II (1966), 120-1.

<sup>42</sup> Duchesne, *Fastes* 1, 277-8 (bishop at Gap first attested at the Council of Epône, 517); 278-9

(Sisteron: first bishop, John, died in 509, see *Vit. Marii*, 1, 2 (PL 80, col. 27)); 282-3 (Pentadius of Digne at Conc. Agath. 506, but foundation earlier); 283 (Marcellus of Senez at Agde, 506); 283-4 (Glandève, bishop at Council of Orleans of 541).

<sup>43</sup> Duchesne, *Fastes* 1, 285.



## THE MISSING BISHOP

It has been suggested above that, for the list to be episcopal in origin, it must correspond exactly with what is known of sees in the late fourth century. The inconsistencies suggested so far are probable, but not certain. One contradiction, however, appears to be harder to explain away, the omission from the list of Nice, the *portus Nicaensis*.<sup>44</sup> The secular status of the town as a *portus* dependent on Marseille did not preclude her being represented at the Council of Arles in 314, and sending a bishop to the Council of Aquileia in 381, at the very time of composition of the *Notitia*. There can be little doubt that the see continued in existence throughout much of the fourth century and down into the mid-fifth, when an attempt to unite it with the neighbouring see of Cimiez, which had succeeded for a few years, was quashed by a rescript of Pope Hilary in 462.<sup>45</sup> It is most unlikely that the *Notitia* reflects some temporary eclipse of Nice in the late fourth century. The theory of alternative seats of bishops is also irrelevant here. The *Notitia* of the sixth century includes alternative seats without comment. Moreover, Cimiez, one possible alternative, did not have bishops attested before 439, while Marseille, the mother-city, had bishops of her own in 314 and 381.<sup>46</sup>

However, one crucial point tells against this argument. The see of Nice existed, if in a troubled state, at least down to 614. Unless our pontifical list is to be moved down to the seventh century, the omission of Nice is anomalous on both interpretations.

This dilemma draws attention to an aspect of the list which can no longer be ignored, the element of fallibility on the part of compiler or copyist. The omission of Nice is consistent with the fourth-century secular and the later seventh-century ecclesiastical situation. Other omissions, added in later manuscripts, contradict the known ecclesiastical situation of the sixth century, the time of the initiative of the *ordo pontificum*. Agde had a bishop by 506, Mâcon (*castrum Matisconense*) had one by 538, the *castrum* (or *vicus*) *Arisidensium* was given a bishop in 576. In the fifth century Carpentras had a bishop by 442. Whatever the date of the episcopal list, the information is incomplete. Isolated inconsistencies are not enough, then, to establish firm conclusions. However, there remains one aspect of the list, which was perceived, but not stressed, by Jones, which should conclusively establish the original secular character of the list.

## THE HEADINGS

The Church took over the administrative structure of the secular Roman province, and the metropolitan bishop had his secular equivalent in the provincial governor, while the metropolitans of Arles might have seen themselves as the church counterparts of the Roman governors of Gaul. But for one secular office there was no ecclesiastical equivalent, namely the *vicarii* of the two Gallic dioceses, Galliae and Viennensis, which had been merged into a single diocese of Seven Provinces by the time of the *Notitia Dignitatum*. It is precisely these early diocesan divisions which are preserved in the *Notitia Galliarum*. The list of seventeen provinces is divided into two sections by headings, the obscurity of which has perhaps distracted attention from their importance. The first group, of ten, headed IN PROVINCIIIS GALLICANIS DECEM QUAE CIVITATES SINT, corresponds to the diocese of Galliae in the Verona List, the second, of seven (ITEM DE PROVINCIIIS N. SEPTEM), to the diocese of Viennensis or the Five Provinces.<sup>47</sup> The inclusion of this exclusively secular division can have no meaning in ecclesiastical terms, and must therefore be part of an originally secular list.

<sup>44</sup> Duchesne, *Fastes* 1, 286 f.

<sup>45</sup> *Ep. Hilarii* 8, 3. Seeck, *Regesten* 410.

<sup>46</sup> At the Councils of Arles, 314, and Aquileia, 381. The quarrel of Marseille with Arles over the metropolitan rights of the latter lasted for much of the fifth century and underlies the attempt by Arles to replace Nice, the suffragan of Marseille, with Cimiez, friendly to Arles.

<sup>47</sup> The diocese of the Five Provinces could also,

alas, be known as the Seven Provinces, as on the heading of the Council of Nîmes of 394 or 396 addressed to bishops 'of Gaul and the Seven Provinces'. The Five Provinces still exist on 29 January 399 (*CTh* xvi, 10, 15, to the Vicar of the Five Provinces), but *may* have been united with Galliae by the time of *CTh* 1, 15, 15, to the praetorian prefect, Vincentius, instructing the Vicar of the Seven Provinces to collect tax arrears (18 June 400).

## THE CASTRA

By fourth-century standards, the group of *castra* are, as Rivet has shown, a far from uniform selection. While two of them feature in the *Notitia Dignitatum* as places still with some importance in the eyes of the imperial authorities, others were no longer in use. Nor can they even be united by a common military function. The meaning of the unusual singular, *castrum*, in the classical period and under the early Empire, was basically 'fortified post or settlement', and the memory of the military overtones of the word persisted into the Early Middle Ages, with Isidore of Seville recording that 'castrum antiqui oppidum vocabant in alto positum, cuius diminutio fuit castellum'. However, by the fifth century, a *castrum* need be no more than a sort of sub-*civitas*, a town without independent civic status, subject to the *civitas* in the territory of which it stood. In the Gallic context it was neither a tribal capital nor an original colonial foundation. Thus while some of the Gallic *castra*, such as those along the German *limes*, do have a military origin (although the Rhineland *castra* are far from being a complete list of the forts of the Roman *limes*), others, such as Uzès (*castrum Ucetiense*), do not appear ever to have been fortified settlements.<sup>48</sup>

It was largely because of their oddity therefore that Rivet envisaged them as fitting more happily into an ecclesiastical context. This view is (I think) substantially right, with the one important qualification that the ecclesiastical context is that of the sixth century, and that the inclusion of the *castra* derives from the same source and time as the rubric, the request of the *ordo pontificum*. The rubric was, as argued above, added to the original document of *antiquitas*, and other revisions may have accompanied it.

That the *castra* are all post-fourth-century additions is suggested by the individual provincial headings. The name of the province is given, followed by the number of *civitates* within it. Thus, for example, the ninth provincial heading reads 'Provincia Maxima Sequanorum: civitates N. IIII', and the names of four *civitates* duly follow. However, these four are in turn followed by an unheralded group of no less than five places, four *castra* and a *portus*, also contained in the province. Likewise the three previously announced *civitates* of Lugdunensis I are followed by the *castrum Cabillonense*, and the *castrum Ucetiense* appears equally unexpectedly at the end of the five *civitates* promised in the heading of Narbonensis I. A *castrum* name never appears before or between *civitas* names on the list, even where a close association of a *castrum* with a *civitas* exists, as, for example, with the *castrum Vindonissense* (Windisch, IX:15) and the *civitas Helvetiorum* (Avenches, IX:3). There is therefore nothing in the arrangement of the list to exclude the possibility of later additions, for ecclesiastical purposes.

Evidence from the individual *castra* offers nothing to contradict this conclusion, although it is far from complete. They are best surveyed under their provincial headings.

(a) *Lugdunensis I*

The episcopal history of the *castrum Cabillonense* (Châlon-s.-Saône, I:4) can be traced back to the mid-fifth century. The election of a bishop, who had at least one predecessor, is mentioned in a letter of Sidonius Apollinaris in the 470's and the atmosphere of the proceedings is lively, if not scandalous.<sup>49</sup> The succession of bishops appears to have continued without a break down through the sixth century. There is no evidence for a bishop at the time of the original *Notitia*.

(b) *Maxima Sequanorum*

The status of Windisch, the *castrum Vindonissense* (IX:5) fluctuated in the sixth century. A bishop Bubulcus at a council of 517 styled himself *episcopus civitatis Vindoninsis* and his

<sup>48</sup> The definitions of *castrum* and *castellum* are discussed, with references, by Rivet, op. cit. (n. 11), App. II, 134-5. For *castrum* not as a proper name, see Servius on *Aen.* VI, 775 ('castrum autem civitas est'); Nepos, *Alc.* 9, 3; Cic., *Tusc.* II, 10, 23; Livy XXXIV, 21, 2; *Dig.* XXVII, 1, 17. For the later recollection (with the proviso that memory is not the same as truth) see Isid., *Orig.* XV, 2, 13, with *ibid.* IX, 3, 'castra sunt ubi milites steterunt', and, for the sixth century *castrum Divionense*, Greg. Tur., *Glor. Conf.* 42; cf. the letter of Maurice to Gregory the Great

on a letter received from 'episcopus civitatum et castrorum, quos Langobardi tenere dinoscuntur'. For the elevation of a *vicus* to a *castrum* see Greg. Tur., *Hist. Franc.* v, 5 on the creation of a bishop 'apud Arisitensem vicum' in 576 (not on early MS of *Not. Gall.*) with an addition to an eighth-century MS from Albi of the *castrum Arisidensium*. For the military stations of the Rhine, see H. Schönberger, 'The Roman Frontier in Germany: An Archaeological Survey', *JRS* LIX (1969), 146-97.

<sup>49</sup> Sid. Ap., *Ep.* IV, 25. Duchesne, *Fastes* II, 190-5.

successor, Grammatius, used the same title in 541 and 549.<sup>50</sup> However, the same Grammatius at a council of 535 signed himself a bishop of the *ecclesiae Aventicae*, as did another bishop, Marius, in the late sixth century. The two towns were clearly rival capitals and alternative seats of the bishop, who used either titlature. The division was resolved at the end of the sixth century with the removal of the bishop's seat to Lausanne, where it remained.

Thus both Windisch and Avenches can be shown to have had a (shared) bishop in the sixth century. That they were so fortunate in the fourth century appears less likely. Apart from the lack of evidence for any bishop, Vindonissa had no obvious importance in the late fourth century, while Avenches was, in the mid-350's, an impressive ruin, 'desertam quidem civitatem, sed non ignobilem quondam, ut aedificia semiruta nunc quoque demonstrant'.<sup>51</sup>

There is no evidence for the ecclesiastical status of the other *castra* of the province in the sixth century, or at any other time before Charlemagne. However, Rivet has pointed out that special privileges granted to Horbourg (*castrum Argentariense*) in the twelfth century may indicate earlier episcopal status.<sup>52</sup>

(c) *Narbonensis I*

The earliest attested *castrum* see is that of Uzès (*castrum Uctiense*) which had a bishop at the time of the Council of Vaison in 442. This man, Constantius, had a certain pre-eminence, which he may have owed in part to his support of Hilary and the see of Arles. He signed a letter of Gallic bishops in support of Arles in 451 and, in 462, was invited to replace the bishop of Narbonne as metropolitan of the province.<sup>53</sup> Further incumbents of Uzès are attested at councils of 506, 546, 549 and 552.

(d) *Novempopulana*

The eleventh entry on the list reads 'Civitas Turba, ubi castrum Bogorra' (Turbes and Bigorre). Turbes never has a bishop attested, and the silence is significant because the list for Novempopulana at the Council of Agde in 506 appears to be complete. However, the council is attended by the *episcopus Bigorritanae civitatis*, showing that the *castrum* attached to the *civitas* did have a bishop by the early sixth century.<sup>54</sup> Again we can see the sixth-century venerator of *antiquitas* at work, preserving the *civitas* of the earlier list, which had no bishop, but bringing the entry up to date for the benefit of the *ordo pontificum* with the incorporation of the existing bishopric, the *castrum*.

Thus four, possibly five, of the *castra* can be shown to have been bishoprics in the sixth century, whereas none of them can be pushed back with any certainty to the fourth. If the inconsistencies between secular and ecclesiastical organization suggested above for the fourth century, together with the secular diocesan division and the provincial headings which take account of *civitates* but not *castra*, do show that the original *Notitia* was both secular and shorter, then the later introduction of the *castra* to satisfy the request of the *ordo pontificum* of the rubric can be seen as a reflection of an ecclesiastical situation in Merovingian Gaul, which had only a token link with the original, secular context of the fourth-century original. It was the sixth-century rubric and the episcopal *castra* which gave the list its ecclesiastical character to those who were to use it afterwards, for whom Roman and ecclesiastical provincial structure was the same. The take-over of a secular administrative document by the Church and its resultant survival into the Middle Ages, is a small symbol of the transformation of the Late Roman into the early medieval world.

#### THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE LATE FOURTH CENTURY

The *Notitia Galliarum* is the culmination of a series of Gallic provincial reorganizations, which are testified to in passages of Ammianus, Hilary of Poitiers and Festus, all of which

<sup>50</sup> 'Episcopus civitatis Vindonensium' (541), 'episcopus ecclesiae Vindoninsis' (549). See Duchesne, *Fastes* III, 219-23. The use of *civitas* here for the *castrum* of the *Notitia* illustrates the blurring of the distinction between the two by this date. Note that Ammianus xv, 11, 3, calls the civitas Constantia of the *Notitia* 'castra'.

<sup>51</sup> Amm. Marc. xv, 11, 12. The 'aedificia semiruta', which Ammianus may well have seen, count for more in his eyes than the other 'more obscure' cities of Alpes Graiae et Poeninae.

<sup>52</sup> Rivet, op. cit. (n. 11), 122.

<sup>53</sup> Duchesne, *Fastes* I, 303-5.

<sup>54</sup> Duchesne, *Fastes* II, 101-2.

are to be checked against the Verona List of the early fourth century.<sup>55</sup> The one substantial difference between the *Notitia* and all the evidence which precedes it is the introduction of two new provinces in the diocese of Galliae, Lugdunensis III and Lugdunensis Senonia, the original title of which, attested on an inscription, was Maxima Senonia.<sup>56</sup> The result was the creation of the two new metropolitan cities, Tours and Sens, to act as headquarters for the new *praeses*<sup>57</sup> and *consularis*.

In 1938, H. Nesselhauf<sup>58</sup> argued that the responsibility for the reorganization of the Gallic provinces reflected in the *Notitia* should rest with the usurper Magnus Maximus, who governed Gaul, Spain and Britain for five years (383–8). His main ground for this suggestion was that the provincial title of Maxima Senonia, later Lugdunensis Senonia, indicated that the province was his creation, and it would follow that Lugdunensis III was his likewise. The only other possible author of this innovation would be, on the British parallel of Valentia,<sup>59</sup> Valentinian I; but he would not have used the title 'Maxima'.

Other considerations may be adduced in support of this. The isolation of the *Notitia* suggests that it reflects a specific interest in Gaul rather than the empire as a whole, and for a Gallic usurper to increase the number of provinces would strengthen both the administrative machinery and his uncertain control. Moreover, an inscription in N-E Spain,<sup>60</sup> the crucial few letters of which are lost, suggests that Maximus was interested in provincial organization elsewhere. It was set up by a certain Antonius Maximinus, 'novae provinciae Ma . . . primus consularis e[nt] antea? praeses', and its aim was to commemorate his repair of roads damaged by flooding, on the orders of Magnus Maximus. The association with Maximus of a new province, which may well have been entitled Maxima, parallels the Gallic Maxima Senonia; and the *consularis* title of the Spanish governor is matched by that of Cl. Lupicinus, Maximus' *consularis* of Maxima Senonia. Maximus did not intend the governors of his eponymous provinces, the *primi consulares*, to lack for distinction.

The *Notitia*, then, was a record of the Gallic reorganization of Maximus, which could afterwards be used for any appropriate administrative purpose. The area under Maximus' control, Gaul, Spain and Britain, was equivalent to that of the Prefecture of the Gauls, and Maximus retained the office of Prefect under him, although the only activity of Maximus' prefects on record is their part in the trial of the Priscillianist heretics.<sup>61</sup> However, the one prefect named in Sulpicius Severus, Fl. Evodius, was also recognized as consul of 386 with Honorius in Italy, a recognition which is of a piece with the ambivalent nature of Maximus' relations with Valentinian II and Theodosius.<sup>62</sup> One *vicarius* of Maximus is known from a law delivered at Trier in 385, which limited duration of certain lawsuits to one year: <sup>63</sup> the law would have been enforced in all the provinces of the diocese under that vicar's jurisdiction, as recorded in the *Notitia*. The evidence on his provincial governors is limited to the inscriptions already cited, of which that of Antonius Maximinus is of most interest, as

<sup>55</sup> Amm. Marc. xv, 11, 6–16; Hilary, *De Synodis, proem.* (PL x, col. 479); Festus, *Brev.* 6. See n. 5 above. Changes in Viennensis/Quinque Provinciae are confined to the splitting of Aquitania (one province in Hilary and Ammianus, redivided by the time of Festus) and Narbonensis (still a single province in Festus, redivided by the time of the Council of Aquileia in 381). The term 'Five Provinces' refers to a time when both were undivided, but remained in use, even when the number was restored to the Seven of the Verona List.

<sup>56</sup> CIL xii, 921 a and b = ILS 6117 and 6117a: 'Cl. Lupicino v.c. consulari Maxime Senonie ob industria merita civitas Senonum patrono suo dedicavit'. The second is to the same effect, a dedication from Auxerre, also a city of Lugdunensis Senonia. See PLRE I, Cl. Lupicinus 5, p. 520. Perhaps to be identified with a client of Martin of Tours, Sulp. Sev., *Vit. Mart.* 8, 1; see John Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court, A.D. 364–425* (1975), 155, n. 8.

<sup>57</sup> A *praeses* of Lugdunensis III, Valerius Dalmatius, received a verse dedication, Mommsen, *Ges. Schr.* II, 150–4 = ILS 8987, set up near Mursa in

Pannonia. See PLRE I, Valerius Dalmatius p. 241. For the *consularis*, see previous note.

<sup>58</sup> H. Nesselhauf, 'Die spätrömische Verwaltung der gallisch-germanischen Länder', *Abhl. der Preuss. Akad. der Wiss.* (1938), 5–23, esp. 22 on the *Notitia* and provincial organization.

<sup>59</sup> See above n. 7.

<sup>60</sup> AE 1957, 311 = *Emerita* xxvii (1959), 372–374 (with photograph) = AE 1960, 158, suggesting that 'Ma . . .' should be restored to Ma[ur(etania)]. But see PLRE I, Antonius Maximinus 9, p. 578–9 supporting Ma[xima] . . . (?). The inscription was found near Jaca in NE Spain, a remote location for an inscription about Mauretania Tingitana.

<sup>61</sup> Sulp. Sev., *Chron.* II, 49, 7 (PLRE I Anonymous 7, p. 1005), and *ibid.* 50, 7, 'viro acri et severo' with *Vit. Mart.* 20, 4, 'praefectus idemque consul Evodius, vir quo nihil umquam iustius fuit'. (PLRE I, Fl. Evodius 2, p. 297).

<sup>62</sup> CIL xiv, 231, (at Ostia) *Fasti*, Rossi I, 359–64. On Maximus' diplomacy, see A. Piganiol, *L'Empire chrétien*<sup>2</sup> (1972), 266–9 and Matthews, *op. cit.* (n. 56), Chs. vi and vii.

<sup>63</sup> CTh ix, 36, 1.

showing Maximus' concern with the furthering and upkeep of communications into Spain, at a time when the Alpine passes into Italy were held against him. None of Maximus' provincial office-holders appears to have held office under other emperors; but one indication of Maximus' willingness to retain the services of experienced men is his employment of Nannienus, an experienced campaigner under Valentinian I and Gratian, as his *magister militum* on the Upper Rhine.<sup>64</sup>

As a record of Maximus' provincial reorganization, the inscriptions and, I suggest, the *Notitia* provide a valuable corrective to the Church-dominated picture of Maximus provided by the Christian literary sources, who praised his character but deplored his execution of Priscillian, although this action was itself out of keeping with Maximus' professed concern that bishops should manage their own affairs.<sup>65</sup> For Maximus, as self-proclaimed Augustus, the provinces were at least as important as the Church and far more his responsibility.

The subsequent career of both emperor and list have an ironic similarity. Maximus, if not the Maccen Wledig of the *Mabinogion*, was remembered only for his role in the execution of Priscillian, as perpetuated by Sulpicius Severus. His list, in time, became the property of bishops who, under the Merovingians, looked back to *antiquitas* with veneration and diligently attempted to preserve, for their own purposes, the form of the past, although what that past had meant in practice had long been forgotten.

University of St. Andrews

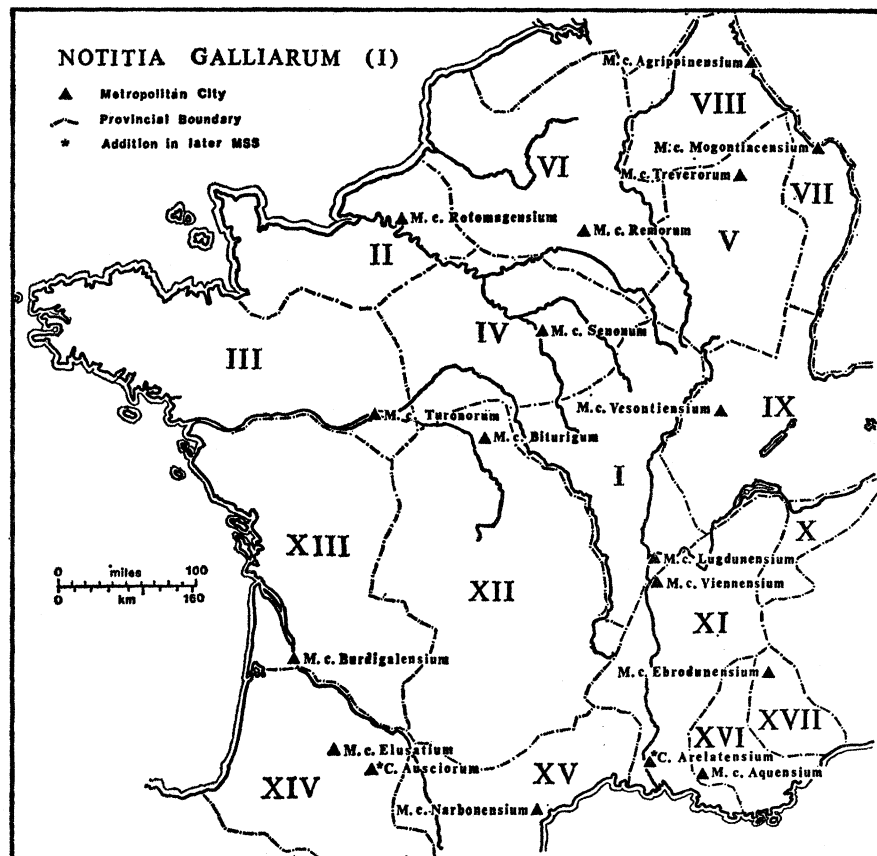


FIG. 1. PROVINCES AND METROPOLITAN CITIES OF GAUL  
Drawn by Mr. J. Kenworthy. Copyright reserved

<sup>64</sup> For his earlier service, Amm. Marc. xxviii, 5, 1 (of 370), and xxxi, 10, 6-10 (of 378). For his incompetence under Maximus see Greg. Tur., *Hist. Franc.* II, 9 (quoting Sulpicius Alexander).

<sup>65</sup> On Maximus and Priscillian, see Chadwick, *op. cit.* (n. 10), 111 f. On religious policy, his letters are preserved in *Coll. Avellana*, nos. 39 (to Valentinian

II) and 40 (to Pope Siricius). See also Sulp. Sev., *Vit. Mart.* 20, and *Chron.* II, 49-50. For his judgement of Maximus, a man, but for the fact of usurpation, 'omni vita merito praedicandus' see *Dial.* II, 6, 2, a judgement echoed by Oros. VII, 34, 'vir quidem strenuus et probus atque Augusto dignus, nisi contra sacramenti fidem per tyrannidem emersisset'.

## APPENDIX

THE *NOTITIA GALLIARUM* : EARLIEST PROBABLE TEXT AND RUBRIC

Rubric : Notitia in provinciis Galliarum vel Gallicanis decem titulis nominatae qualiter statutum aut quantae provinciae vel ad metropolim civitatem urbes per capitulum superius nuncupatae redire aut constitutionis designatae debeant respondere aut reipublicae, ut ordo exposcit pontificum, conserventur aut requirantur arbitrio, ut antiquitas nulla possit convelli condicione.

## IN PROVINCIIS GALLICANIS DECEM QUAE CIVITATES SINT

## I. PROVINCIA LUGDUNENSIS PRIMA : CIVITATES N. III.

- I:1 Metropolis civitas Lugdunensium (Lugdunum/Lyon)  
 I:2 Civitas Aeduorum (Augustodunum/Autun)  
 I:3 Civitas Lingonum (Andematunnum/Langres)  
 I:4 Castrum Cabillonense (Cabillonum/Châlon-sur-Saône)  
 Addition :  
 [I:5] Castrum Matisconense (Matisco/Mâcon)

## II. PROVINCIA LUGDUNENSIS SECUNDA : CIVITATES N. VII.

- II:1 Metropolis civitas Rotomagensium (Rotomagus/Rouen)  
 II:2 Civitas Baiocassium (Augustodorum/Bayeux)  
 II:3 Civitas Abrincatum (Ingena/Avranches)  
 II:4 Civitas Ebroicorum (Mediolanum/Evreux)  
 II:5 Civitas Saiorum (?/Sééz)  
 II:6 Civitas Lexoviorum (Noviomagus/Lisieux)  
 II:7 Civitas Constantia (Constantia/Coutances)

## III. PROVINCIA LUGDUNENSIS TERTIA : CIVITATES N. VIII.

- III:1 Metropolis civitas Turinorum (Caesarodunum/Tours)  
 III:2 Civitas Cenomannorum (Suindunum/Le Mans)  
 III:3 Civitas Redonum (Condate/Rennes)  
 III:4 Civitas Andecavorum (Iuliomagus/Angers)  
 III:5 Civitas Namnetum (Condivincum/Nantes)  
 III:6 Civitas Coriosolitu(m) (Fanum Martis/Corseul)  
 III:7 Civitas Venetum (Darioritu(m)/Vannes)  
 III:8 Civitas Osismorum (Vorgium/Carhaix)  
 III:9 Civitas Diablintum (Noviodunum/Jublains)

## IV. PROVINCIA LUGDUNENSIS SENONIA : CIVITATES N. VII.

- IV:1 Metropolis civitas Senonum (Agedincum/Sens)  
 IV:2 Civitas Carnotum (Autricum/Chartres)  
 IV:3 Civitas Autisiodorum (Autessiodurum/Auxerre)  
 IV:4 Civitas Tricassium (Augustobona/Troyes)  
 IV:5 Civitas Aurelianorum (Cenabum/Orléans)  
 IV:6 Civitas Parisiorum (Lutetia/Paris)  
 IV:7 Civitas Melduorum (Iatinum/Meaux)

## V. PROVINCIA BELGICA PRIMA : CIVITATES N. IIII.

- V:1 Metropolis civitas Treverorum (Augusta/Trier)  
 V:2 Civitas Mediomatricum (Divodurum/Metz)  
 V:3 Civitas Leucorum (Tullum/Toul)  
 V:4 Civitas Verodunensium (Virodunum/Verdun)

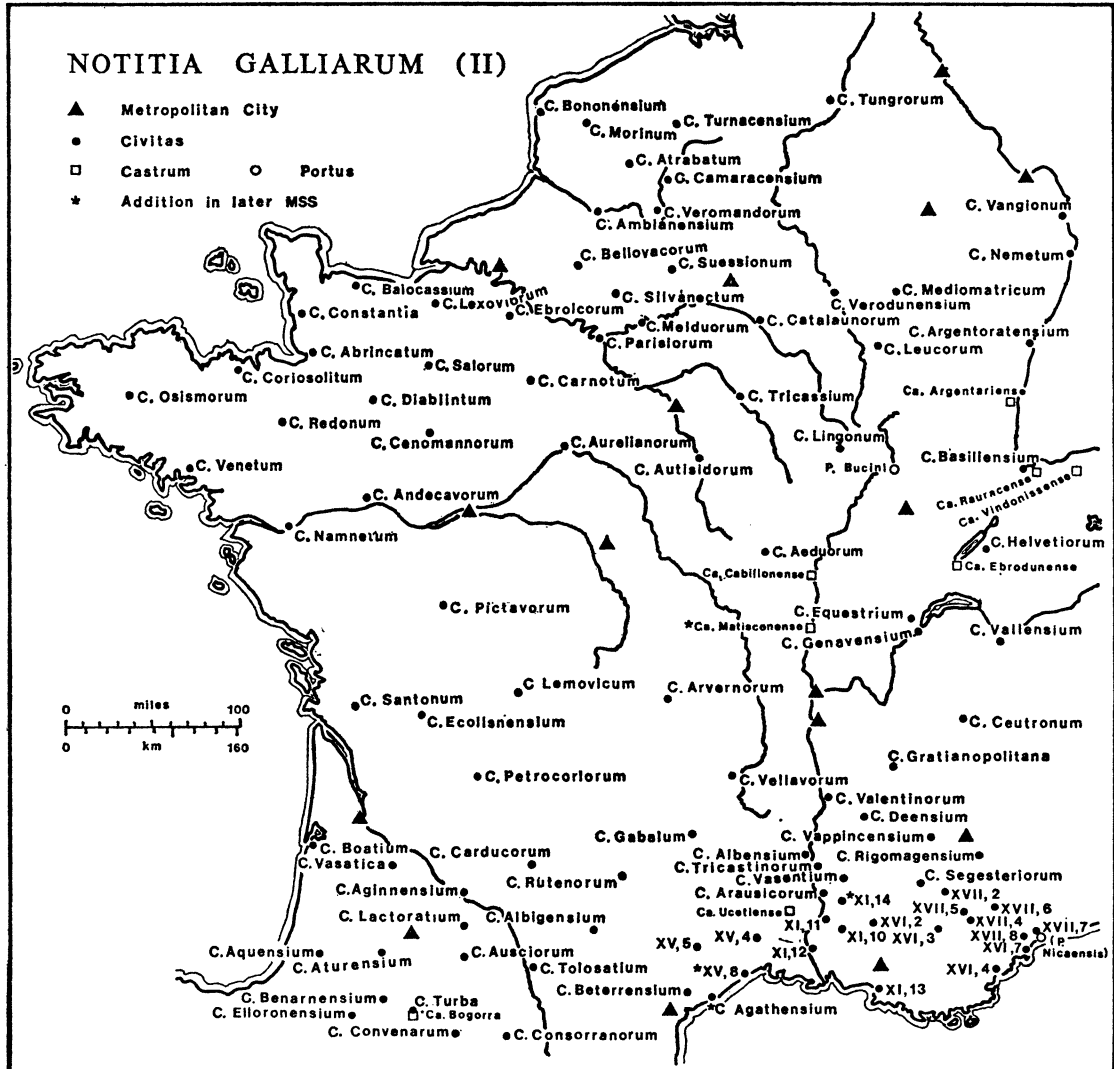


FIG. 2. METROPOLITAN CITIES, CIVITATES AND CASTRA  
*Drawn by Mr. J. Kenworthy. Copyright reserved*

*Key to numbered civitates:*

XI, 10 C. Cabellicorum	xv, 5 C. Lutevensium	xvii, 2 C. Diniensium
XI, 11 C. Avennicorum	*xv, 8 C. Magalonensium	xvii, 4 C. Saliniensium
XI, 12 C. Arelatensium	xvi, 2 C. Aptensium	xvii, 5 C. Sanitiensium
XI, 13 C. Massiliensium	xvi, 3 C. Regensium	xvii, 6 C. Glanatina
*XI, 14 C. Carpentoratensium	xvi, 4 C. Foroiuliensium	xvii, 7 C. Cemenensium
xv, 4 C. Nemausensium	xvi, 7 C. Antipolitana	xvii, 8 C. Vintiensium

VI. PROVINCIA BELGICA SECUNDA : CIVITATES N. XII.

VI:1	Metropolis civitas Remorum (Durocortorum/Rheims)
VI:2	Civitas Suessionum (Augusta/Soissons)
VI:3	Civitas Catalaunorum (Durocatalaunum/Chalons-sur-Marne)
VI:4	Civitas Veromandorum (Augusta/Vermand)
VI:5	Civitas Atrabatium (Nemetacum/Arras)
VI:6	Civitas Camaracensium (Camaracum/Cambrai)
VI:7	Civitas Turnacensium (Turnacum/Tournai)
VI:8	Civitas Silvanectum (Augustomagus/Senlis)
VI:9	Civitas Bellovacorum (Caesaromagus/Beauvais)

- VI:10 Civitas Ambianensium (Samarobriva/Amiens)  
 VI:11 Civitas Morinum (Tarvenna/Thérouanne)  
 VI:12 Civitas Bononensium (Bononia/Boulogne)

## VII. PROVINCIA GERMANIA PRIMA : CIVITATES N. IIII.

- VII:1 Metropolis civitas Mogontiacensium (Moguntiacum/Mainz)  
 VII:2 Civitas Argentoratensium (Argentorate/Strasbourg)  
 VII:3 Civitas Nemetum (Noviomagus/Speier)  
 VII:4 Civitas Vangionum (Borbetomagus/Wörms)

## VIII. PROVINCIA GERMANIA SECUNDA : CIVITATES N. II.

- VIII:1 Metropolis civitas Agrippinensium (Colonia Claudia Agrippinensis/Köln)  
 VIII:2 Civitas Tungrorum (Atuatuca/Tongres)

## IX. PROVINCIA MAXIMA SEQUANORUM : CIVITATES N. IIII.

- IX:1 Civitas Vesontiensium (Vesontio/Besançon)  
 IX:2 Civitas Equestrium (Noviodunum/Nyon)  
 IX:3 Civitas Helvetiorum (Aventicum/Avenches)  
 IX:4 Civitas Basiliensium (Basilia/Bâle)  
 IX:5 Castrum Vindonissense (Vindonissa/Windisch)  
 IX:6 Castrum Ebrodunense (Ebrodunum/Yverdon)  
 IX:7 Castrum Argentariense (Argentaria/Horbourg)  
 IX:8 Castrum Rauracense (Augusta Raurica/Augst)  
 IX:9 Portus Bucini (?/Port-sur-Saône?)

## X. PROVINCIA ALPIUM GRAIARUM ET POENINARUM : CIVITATES N. II.

- X:1 Civitas Ceutronum (Darantasia/Moutiers)  
 X:2 Civitas Vallensium (Octodurus/Martigny)

## ITEM DE PROVINCIIS N. SEPTEM

## XI. PROVINCIA VIENNENSIS : CIVITATES N. XIII.

- XI:1 Metropolis civitas Viennensium (Vienna/Vienne)  
 XI:2 Civitas Genavensium (Genava/Geneva)  
 XI:3 Civitas Gratianopolitana (Cularo-Gratianopolis/Grenoble)  
 XI:4 Civitas Albensium (Alba/Alba,ex-Aps)  
 XI:5 Civitas Deensium (Dea Augusta/Die)  
 XI:6 Civitas Valentinorum (Valentia/Valence)  
 XI:7 Civitas Tricastinorum (Augusta/St-Paul-Trois-Châteaux)  
 XI:8 Civitas Vasiensium (Vasio/Vaison)  
 XI:9 Civitas Arausicorum (Arausio/Orange)  
 XI:10 Civitas Cabellicorum (Cabellio/Cavillon)  
 XI:11 Civitas Avennicorum (Avennio/Avignon)  
 XI:12 Civitas Arelatensium (Arelate/Arles)  
 XI:13 Civitas Massiliensium (Massilia/Marseille)

Additions :

After civitas Arausicorum :

[XI:14] Civitas Carpentoratensium (Carpentorate/Carpentras)

Before or after civitas Arelatensium : metropolis (in later MSS only)

## XII. PROVINCIA AQUITANICA PRIMA : CIVITATES N. VIII.

- XII:1 Metropolis civitas Biturigum (Avaricum/Bourges)  
 XII:2 Civitas Arvernorum (Augustonemetum/Clermont Ferrand)  
 XII:3 Civitas Rutenorum (Segodunum/Rodez)  
 XII:4 Civitas Albigensium (Albiga/Albi)  
 XII:5 Civitas Cadurcorum (Divona/Cahors)  
 XII:6 Civitas Lemovicum (Augustoritum/Limoges)  
 XII:7 Civitas Gabalum (Anderitum/Javols)  
 XII:8 Civitas Vellavorum (Ruessio/S. Paulien)



## XIII. PROVINCIA AQUITANICA SECUNDA : CIVITATES N. VI.

XIII:1	Metropolis civitas Burdigalensium (Burdigala/Bordeaux)
XIII:2	Civitas Aginnensium (Aginum/Agen)
XIII:3	Civitas Ecolisnensium (Ecolisina/Angoulême)
XIII:4	Civitas Santonum (Mediolanum/Saintes)
XIII:5	Civitas Pictavorum (Limonum/Poitiers)
XIII:6	Civitas Petrocoriorum (Vesunna/Périgueux)

## XIV. PROVINCIA NOVENNIPULANA : CIVITATES N. XII.

XIV:1	Metropolis civitas Elusatum (Elusa/Eauze)
XIV:2	Civitas Ausciorum (Elimberrum/Auch)
XIV:3	Civitas Aquensium (Aqua/Dax)
XIV:4	Civitas Lactoratium (Lactora/Lectoure)
XIV:5	Civitas Convenarum (Lugdunum/S. Bertrand)
XIV:6	Civitas Consorannorum (Austria?/S. Lizier)
XIV:7	Civitas Boatium (?/La Teste de Buch)
XIV:8	Civitas Benarnensium (Benearnum/Pau)
XIV:9	Civitas Aturensium (Aturum/Aire)
XIV:10	Civitas Vasatica (Cossio/Bazas)
XIV:11	Civitas Turba, ubi castrum Bogorra (Turba & Begorra (xiv:13)/Turbes & Bigorre)
XIV:12	Civitas Elloronensium (Iloro/Oloron)
Addition : Civitas Ausciorum replaces civitas Elusatum as metropolis in most MSS.	

## XV. PROVINCIA NARBONENSIS PRIMA : CIVITATES N. V.

XV:1	Metropolis civitas Narbonensium (Narbo/Narbonne)
XV:2	Civitas Tolosatium (Tolosa/Toulouse)
XV:3	Civitas Beterrensium (Baeterrae/Béziers)
XV:4	Civitas Nemausensium (Nemausus/Nîmes)
XV:5	Civitas Lutevensium (Luteva/Lodève)
XV:6	Castrum Uctiense (Uctia/Uzès)

## Additions :

After Civitas Beterrensium :

[xv:7]	Civitas Agathensium (Agatha/Agde)
[xv:8]	Civitas Magalonensium (—/Maguelonne)

## XVI. PROVINCIA NARBONENSIS SECUNDA : CIVITATES N. VII.

XVI:1	Metropolis civitas Aquensium (Aqua Sextiae/Aix)
XVI:2	Civitas Aptensium (Apta Iulia/Apt)
XVI:3	Civitas Regensium (Reii Apollinares/Riez)
XVI:4	Civitas Foroiuliensium (Forum Iulii/Fréjus)
XVI:5	Civitas Vappincensium (Vappincum/Gap)
XVI:6	Civitas Segesteriorum (Segustero/Sisteron)
XVI:7	Civitas Antipolitana (Antipolis/Antibes)

## XVII. PROVINCIA ALPIUM MARITIMARUM : CIVITATES N. VIII.

XVII:1	Metropolis civitas Ebrodunensium (Ebrodunum/Embrun)
XVII:2	Civitas Diniensium (Dinia/Digne)
XVII:3	Civitas Rigomagensium (Rigomagus/Barcelonnette)
XVII:4	Civitas Saliniensium (Salinae/Castellane)
XVII:5	Civitas Sanitiensium (Sanitium/Senez)
XVII:6	Civitas Glanatina (Glannativa/Glandève)
XVII:7	Civitas Cemenelensium (Cemenelum/Cimiez)
XVII:8	Civitas Vintiensium (Vintium/Vence)

*Note*

The following are further qualified by their non-ethnic titles :

- v:2      civ. Mediomatricum, id est Mettis
- v:3      civ. Leucorum, id est Tullio
- ix:2     civ. Equestrium, id est Noviodunus
- ix:3     civ. Helvetiorum, id est Aventicus
- x:1      civ. Ceutronum, id est Tarantasia
- x:2      civ. Vallensium, id est Octoduro
- xi:4     civ. Albensium : nunc Vivarium

All these additions are unnecessary for a fourth-century list, which would employ names in current use and, again, may be part of the later revision for the benefit of the clergy.