Late Antique Cities in the Rhineland: A Comparative Study of Trier and Cologne in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries

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Abstract

This thesis exploits a range of textual, archaeological, and epigraphic sources to offer a comparative, inter-disciplinary study of Trier and Cologne in the fourth and fifth centuries. In the fourth century, the Rhineland was one of the foremost political and military hubs of the Western Roman Empire; Trier played host to the imperial court and Gallic praetorian prefecture, while the provincial capital of Cologne was a major base for the defence of the Rhine frontier. By the early fifth century, the institutions of central government were removed from Trier, and the Rhineland suffered from numerous barbarian attacks. This thesis begins by contextualising developments in Trier and Cologne in light of these political changes, focusing particularly upon the respective roles of barbarian agency and imperial decision-making in bringing them about. The systematic analysis of the impact of Christianisation on the cities that follows encompasses the nature of episcopal authority, the construction of churches, the emergence of saint cults, and the development of the epigraphic habit, and considers how far the new imperial religion was a vehicle for continuity, which helped Trier and Cologne to retain some of their importance into the post-Roman period. It draws upon documentary evidence provided by Christian writers and archaeological evidence recovered from numerous church sites to assess the extent to which the two cities were affected by the fifth-century barbarian attacks. Finally, an investigation of the topographical development of Trier and Cologne provides important indications of how far their built environments reflected political and social changes, and of the extent to which urban space was transformed or abandoned. This study therefore sheds light on Trier and Cologne specifically, but also looks to situate this evidence in the context of wider debates about urbanism, Christianisation, and the fall of the West.

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List of Abbreviations

AA SS Acta Sanctorum

ANF The Ante-Nicene Fathers

BHL Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis

CIL XIII Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum XIII

Collectio Avellana Epistulae Imperatorum Pontificum aliorum inde ab a. CCCLXVII

usque ad a. DLIII Datae: Avellana quae dicitur Collectio

CSEL Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum

CCSL Corpus Christianorum Series Latina

ILCV Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres

MGH Monumenta Germaniae Historica

____AA Auctores Antiquissimi

____ Conc. Concilia

____DD Diplomata

____ Epp. Epistulae

____ SS Scriptores

_____ SSRM Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum

NPNF A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the

Christian Church

PL Patrologia Latina [electronic database edition]

PLRE Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire

RICG Recueil des Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures à la

Renaissance Carolingienne

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Preface

The seeds for this PhD thesis were sown in the second year of my undergraduate degree at the University of Sheffield, when, in the course of completing a module on the 'Fall of the Roman Empire in the West', I received my first introduction to many of the issues I address here. Thereafter, following a short foray into modern history, my Master of Arts degree, also at this university, provided me with an opportunity to lay some of the groundwork for this project, through the completion of a dissertation on early Christian Trier. Throughout the course of my undergraduate and postgraduate studies, but particularly during the completion of this PhD thesis, my supervisor, Dr Simon Loseby, has been a constant source of support, advice, and guidance. I would like to take this opportunity to express my heartfelt gratitude to him, since without his encouragement and expertise, this project would not have been possible.

This project has, however, also benefited enormously from the advice and suggestions of numerous other individuals and groups mentioned below. I apologise to those concerned for any suggestions I have neglected to incorporate, and I would like to emphasise that any errors that remain within this work are entirely my own. First, I would like to thank several other members of the Department of History in Sheffield, who have, at various times, provided miscellaneous advice, suggested reading material, and offered feedback on my ideas: Dr Charles West; Dr Julia Hillner; Professor Martial Staub; and Dr Helena Carr. I am grateful to the University of Sheffield for providing me with financial support for my Master of Arts and PhD study, without which it would have been simply impossible for me to remain in full-time education.

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This project has also benefited immeasurably from insights and advice I have received from historians and archaeologists based in Trier and Cologne. In particular, I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Heinz Heinen of the University of Trier, who not only put me in touch with many of his colleagues, but also met with me on multiple occasions to discuss my work, offer advice, and suggest reading materials, despite suffering from ill health. This project has benefited enormously from his recommendations. I am also grateful to Dr Andrea Binsfeld of the University of Luxembourg, who shared her unparalleled knowledge of Trier's fourth-century cathedral graffiti and offered guidance with regard to specific literature. I would like to thank Professor Schäfer of the University of Trier for introducing me to his colleagues, and his colleagues for their friendly welcome. Professor Lukas Clemens provided me with copies of some of his work, which is not readily available in the UK, and I very much appreciated his generosity. Special thanks must go to Dr Hiltrud Merten for her advice and her interest in my work, and for giving me invaluable guided tours of the Cathedral museum and of the excavations under the church of St Maximin. Her expertise concerning Trier's epigraphic evidence is unparalleled, and I was extremely grateful for the many insights she shared with me. The library of the Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Trier provided a fantastic working environment when I was in the city, and I am grateful to its staff for making me welcome and offering their assistance.

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