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ROMANS CELTS AND GERMANS IN NORTHERN GAUL

It would be foolhardy and fruitless to try to cover in a few pages all the aspects of the development of Celtic civilization during the period of Roman domination. In effect, the civilizations involved were extremely heterogeneous, and the contacts among them highly complex. This pageant of transfer, mutation, amalgamation and revival stretched over more than half a millenium and varied significantly according to time and place. Only a superficial observer, judging from a few broad common characteristics, would be so bold as to speak of a unified Celto-Roman civilization. In reality, the Celtic territory subjugated by the Romans comprised a good number of well-differentiated provincial civilizations: the civilization of Roman Galicia is not the same as that of Brittany, the civilization of Provence differs considerably from that of Northern Gaul, and the Danubian provinces, in their turn, are distinguished by certain characteristics which cannot be confused with those of Galatia or Cisalpine Gaul. Yet all these regions were inhabited

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by Celtic tribes at the time of the Roman conquest; the cultural divergences can be accounted for by variations both in the pre-Celtic substrata of these areas and in the way in which their inhabitants reacted to the contact of Roman civilization.

For this reason, in order to avoid hasty generalizations and erroneous conclusions, we have taken the prudent course of limiting our discussion to Gaul, to the exclusion of the other regions inhabited by the Celts. Even within this relatively limited territory, we are struck by the difference in the development of Roman civilization in Southern France, Central Gaul and Northern Gaul. The South of France, the *Provincia* par excellence, had been open for centuries to Mediterranean influences, particularly Greek and Etruscan, and had been politically subjugated to Rome three fourths of a century before *Gallia Comata.* On the contrary, the "Belgian" tribes who dwelt in Northern France, although undeniably Celtic, were subject to strong Germanic influences and hostile to the great commercial and cultural currents which flowed from the south. As the ancient authors testify and archaeology confirms, the north was distinctly more backward and barbarous at the moment of the conquest.

We will dedicate the greatest part of our discussion to this last region, for here the contrast between the indigenous civilization and Latin culture was the greatest, the gulf which separated them the deepest. Here too we can follow with the least difficulty the great lines of the process of interpenetration of three civilizations whose cultural levels were, at the start, very different: the Roman, the Celtic and the Germanic. For we must not forget that an important Germanic element was added to the Celtic substratum a few years after the Roman conquest. We will come back to this in a minute.

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Let us first outline the psychological climate in which this process of interpenetration and assimilation took place. The circumstances must be propitious for a population to adopt a foreign civilization to the detriment of its own traditional culture, even if the intruding civilization is at a higher stage of technical

development. A transfer of civilization cannot be imposed by force, and the fact that this civilization is introduced by an enemy force will only heighten the psychological opposition of the occupied region.

What, then, happened in Gaul? The first period of the Roman domination was hardly of a nature to appease the spirits of the conquered. The conquest of Northern Gaul had been murderous in the extreme, and Caesar had resorted to a veritable genocide. Entire tribes, such as the Aduatuci and the Eburones, whose vast territory stretched from the Scheldt to the Rhine, had been exterminated or sold at auction and their names wiped from the pages of history. A few years later, under Augustus and with his agreement, these almost depopulated territories had been occupied by Trans-Rhenish tribes of Germanic extraction, the Batavi, the Tongri, the Taxandri, the Cugerni, the Ubbi, etc. In examining the problems of cultural interpenetration, we must clearly take into account the presence of this Germanic element alongside of the Celtic and Roman components.

There is a paucity of literary sources for the half century which followed the Roman conquest of Gaul, that is the last half century before the beginning of the Christian era: the historians are too busy recounting the vicissitudes of the civil wars to pay much attention to events in the new provinces. However, vague echoes of revolts reach us, particularly among the Morini and the Treviri. The Roman generals who squelched these uprisings received the honors of triumph, an unmistakable sign that the battles were bloody. The Roman yoke was heavy and the resistance stubborn.

Yet barely a century later, in 69 and 70 A.D., at the time of the great revolt of the Batavi under the leadership of Julius Civilis, the Gauls turned their backs on a unique opportunity to win back their liberty. While Civilis conjured up before their eyes the vision of an independent Gallic empire, the delegates of the Gallic tribes, meeting at Rheims, decided not to join Civilis' forces, but to remain on the side of the Romans. (This decision, moreover, had direct consequences for certain of the most northern tribes, such as the Morini and the Menapi, whose territories were ravaged by Batavian raids.) Thus not only had

the Gauls been appeased: they, or at least their ruling classes, had already acquired the sentiment of belonging to the Roman Empire. How did so total a transformation take place?

The primary reason should be sought, in our opinion, in the complete reorientation of Roman policy regarding the western provinces of the Empire. This change, whose roots can perhaps be traced to the reign of Augustus, was above all the work of two great emperors, Tiberius and Claudius. Although much maligned by ancient historiography, these rulers were the true artisans of the stability and durability of the Roman Empire.

The traditional Roman policy toward the conquered territories had been one of shameless exploitation and brutal colonization. Although it was the source of the financial power of the ruling classes, senators and *equites*, this practice could not have been carried on indefinitely without, in the long run, entraining the destruction of the entire Roman Empire. The excesses of the end of the republican epoch, described in the *Verrinae* Orations and the *Pro Fonteio* of Cicero, could still be supported under the reign of Augustus, although in a somewhat attenuated form. The exactions of the procurator Licinus in Gaul at this period have remained famous! Augustus was more anxious to beautify the State's capital than to balance its budget, and his sumptuous expenditures exhausted and bled the provinces. At his death, in 14 A.D., the Empire tottered on the brink of catastrophy. Resolutely, Tiberius set about retrenching the situation. Putting an end to the exactions of governors, procurators and publicans, he decreed that the provinces were no longer to be governed as conquered territories in which all forms of plunder were sanctioned. Instead, these regions were henceforth to be treated as integral parts of the Empire, whose interests should coincide with those of the Roman world as a whole. If I may be permitted a neologism, he replaced the republican "colonialism" with a regime of "Commonwealth" in which the primacy of Rome and of Italy waned progressively. In order to enforce a policy which clashed so thoroughly with the financial interests of the ancient Roman aristocracy, he built up a force of *homines novi.* A numer of these men had been recruited from among the elites of the most romanized provinces, like Spain and Southern Gaul, which had already been under Roman rule for

close to two centuries. The bloody conflicts between Tiberius and the ancient Roman aristocracy, whose echoes reach us through the pages of Tacitus and other historians, were probably at least partially the direct result of the ousting of the ancient "imperialist" classes and the installation of these new elites as administrators of the Empire. Under Claudius this policy of associating the provinces to the interests of the Empire was considerably amplified. Central and Northern Gaul won his particular solicitude. The famous discourse-program which he delivered in Lyon in 48 A.D., promising the admission of representatives of the elite of *Gallia comata* to the Roman Senate, reflects merely one aspect of this policy. Archaeology reveals many others. Among the most important was the network of roads which Claudius constructed in Northern Gaul. This initiative linked the region in direct communication with the other parts of the Empire, above all Italy, and as a result accelerated its economic development, facilitated the penetration of ideas and hastened the process of romanization.

The enlightened program of these two emperors found its most concrete reward in the new-found fidelity of its beneficiaries. Knit into the fabric of the Empire, Gaul abandoned its original attitude of bitter opposition to the Roman domination, of repugnance for the Latin culture, and of resistance to romanization.

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Let us now examine the various facets of the interpenetration of the three cultures which came into contact in Northern Gaul during the Roman epoch: the Celtic, the Roman and the Germanic. What was the setting of the phenomenon which we identify with the convenient but imprecise term "romanization"? In the first place, to what degree had the Roman domination affected the political, social and economic structure of Northern Gaul? It must be noted at the start that very few Roman and Italian civilians seem to have established their homes in Northern Gaul, whose cold, rainy climate was hardly a magnetic attraction. At the very most, the process of romanization was served by the presence of some few merchants, *mercatores*,

attracted by the hope of conquering a new market and finding new outlets for the products of the mother country. The military contingent was of greater consequence; but nonetheless, since the time of Augustus the Roman armies had been confined in camps along the frontier of the Rhine. Their possibilities of exercising a direct influence on the way of life of the indigenous population were thus highly limited. Moreover, the majority of this military element was composed of auxiliary troops recruited among the tribes which had capitulated to the Romans, and who were hardly more romanized than the inhabitants of the regions in which they were garrisoned. Only a small nucleus of officers and non-commissioned officers, seconded by a relatively limited group of civilian administrative functionaries, were able to promote the propagation of the Roman way of life. Thus the presence of Romans or Italians could not have played more than a secondary role in the romanization of Northern Gaul.

Prior to the Roman conquest, the political and social structure of the Celtic tribes was almost feudal (and the Germanic tribes who established themselves in Northern Gaul under Augustus hardly differed in this respect). Practically all of the power was in the hands of a small landed aristocracy, divided into small and quarrelsome clans. Each of these powerful aristocrats lived on his lands, surrounded by an armed guard formed of his "clients," and gave himself over to the hunt or to political intrigues while his lands were cultivated by farmers or slaves. Some of the tribes still had kings; elected by the aristocracy and non-hereditary, they exercised little real power. The Romans put an end to the small local wars waged incessantly by opposing tribes or by enemy clans within a tribe. But apart from this they did little to modify the social structure and they upheld the prerogatives of the aristocracy, which was composed primarily of large landowners. It was above all this indigenous nobility that the Romans consciously attempted to win over to their way of life. Tacitus (*Agricola*, chapt. 2) gives an excellent resumé of this policy, and his remarks with regard to the British aristocracy are equally true of its Gallic counterpart: *ut homines dispersi ac rudes eoque in bella faciles, quieti et otio per voluptates adsuescerent, hortari privatim, adjuvare publice ut templa, fora, domos exstruerent, laudando promptos*

et castigando segnes ut honoris aemulatio pro necessitate erat. The Romans thus encouraged the aristocrats to quit their agricultural estates and to take on municipal posts in the cities. For the greatest social and economic innovation which the Roman regime brought to Northern Gaul was the birth and the development of a relatively intense urban life. At the time of Caesar, Southern Gaul already boasted a number of settlements clearly urban in character (in the sense that they were simultaneously religious, military, administrative and economic centers). Yet Northern Gaul, with its almost exclusively agrarian economy, did not possess a single real city. The numerous *oppida* which Caesar mentions were merely fortified strongholds, most of them occupied only in time of war. Yet for the Romans, as for the Greeks, the preponderant form of political organization was the *civitas*, a political and administrative unit composed of an urban nucleus which dominated and directed the surrounding countryside. The Roman Empire was divided into provinces, and each province was made up of a number of such "cities." Each "city" constituted an administrative and, above all, a fiscal unit and enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy, at least with regard to its internal administration. Such an organization was easily set up in the areas of the Empire which were already urbanized at the time of the conquest. But in the regions where no real cities existed before the coming of the Romans, this system had to be built up from scratch, and the situation prevailing before the conquest had to be radically transformed. In Northern Gaul, this reorganization was the work of Augustus and was probably carried out between 16 and 13 B.C., when the emperor resided in Gaul. The new administrative divisions were, in general, based on the territories of the ancient tribes, with some modifications in certain regions which had been depopulated by Caesar and resettled under Augustus by tribes of Trans-Rhenish origin. Each of these territories became a *civitas*, and the principal village or *oppidum* was promoted to the rank of administrative capital of the city, *caput civitatis.* These capitals were reconstructed in the Roman fashion, very often at the expense of the Roman treasury, with a network of regularly laid-out streets and public buildings copied from those of the capital, all allowances being made. Where the economic circumstances

were favorable, these capitals progressively took on the character of true cities in the modern sense of the word, but where this stimulus was lacking they remained simple villages, purely administrative centers without the slightest economic importance. Alongside of these cities which the Romans built from scratch to satisfy their administrative needs, other cities sprang up and developed spontaneously. Their growth was a direct consequence of the economic vigor which visited Northern Gaul from the middle of the 1st century of our era (the reign of Claudius!) up to the middle of the 3rd and to which we will return later. To administer the cities, the Romans organized a system copied from that of Rome. Internal affairs were administered by a local Senate whose members, the "decurions," formed a privileged social order. The Senate, in turn, elected annual magistrates, the *duoviri* (who did not fail to preen themselves on their resemblance to the Roman consuls) and the ediles. The decurions were recruited among the members of the ancient aristocracy whom, as we have just seen, the Romans had encouraged and persuaded to move to the newly-created cities. These aristocrats thus retained the illusion of presiding over their fellow-citizens. Sparing no expense in their pursuit of civic honors, they embellished their cities with temples, amphitheaters, baths and luxurious private houses built at their expense. It was thus by appealing to their vanity, by entrusting them with municipal posts, by according them real participation in Roman citizenship that the Romans secured the loyalty of the indigenous aristocracy. Their reasoning was not inept, for the old traditions of patronage which linked the members of the lower classes to the Celtic aristocrats were still in force, and the loyalty of the nobles guaranteed that of the other classes of the population as well.

The romanization of the aristocracy was quickly accomplished, at least as far as way of life and language were concerned; their children were educated after the Roman fashion and the aristocrats soon abandoned their Celtic or Germanic dialects in favor of Latin. Their version of the Roman tongue was most likely still barbarous and incorrect, but it was amply sufficient to give those who spoke it the sentiment of belonging henceforth to the "seigneurial caste."

Although the members of the indigenous aristocracy had moved to the towns, they were still large landed proprietors, and agriculture continued to occupy a primordial position in the economy of Northern Gaul. The Celts, and the Germans who inhabited the territories which are now Northern France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Western Germany, were far more advanced than the Romans in the domain of agricultural technique. While the majority of the Italian peasants were still dependent on the primitive swing plough, the Celts and the Germans were already familiar with the use of the heavy plough equipped with wheels, ploughshare and mould-board, which enabled them to break up and cultivate the most stubborn ground. They improved their land not only with natural fertilizer but by scattering marl as well. They employed silos and during the Roman epoch they invented a mechanical reaper, the *vallus*, which is mentioned in a number of texts and depicted in a relief recently discovered at Buzenol, in Belgian Luxemburg. Agriculture is one of the domains in which the Romans were able to learn from the Celts and the Germans, in which contact with the Barbarians enriched Latin civilization. Pliny the Elder and other ancient authors do not hesitate to acknowledge this debt.

Large agricultural domains thus continued to dot the fertile regions of Northern Gaul. Administered by intendants or, occasionally, by the proprietor himself, they were exploited by dependent labor forces. These *fundi* received an extremely important impetus from the middle of the 1st century A.D. on, when the network of roads constructed by the Emperor Claudius facilitated long-distance communications. Their products—grains, livestock, draught-animals, horses—conquered new markets, particularly the armies, garrisoned along the frontier of the Rhine since the time of Augustus. It is no wonder, then, that the ancient farms of the Celtic epoch, built of wood and loam, were replaced by durable and luxurious Gallo-Roman villas which combined traditional features with Latin elements adapted to the local climate and comported all the very latest refinements and comforts of the epoch. Some of these villas boasted hundreds of rooms on the ground floor alone. Just like their comrades who had opted for the urban life, the gentlemen-farmers who

occupied these veritable manors had adopted the Roman way of life, and the veneer of Latin culture they had acquired must obviously have rubbed off on their immediate entourage. Yet the depth of this romanization, which could hardly have extended to the agricultural workers, is subject to doubt. As for the less fertile regions, where an intensive exportation-oriented agriculture was infeasible, the peasants who cultivated their miserable plots of land, the shepherds, the swineherds and the woodcutter continued to live, as in the past, in poor primitive huts. There they led the life of their ancestors, conserving the ways and customs, the language and the beliefs of the pre-Roman epoch. Only a few material details, like the improved technical quality of a tool or a bowl, testified to the Roman influence.

But let us leave the countryside and return to the villages and cities to meet another social class, that of the artisans, the industrialists and the merchants.

Roman influence had its most immediate effect in the domain of craftsmanship. From the first days of the Roman domination, the artisans of Northern Gaul were confronted with the concurrence of Italian products which the *mercatores* introduced into their region. These foreign products were better-made and technically superior to their own. The threat of bankruptcy thus forced them to adapt immediately to the new circumstances. We will limit ourselves to one example, the potters. Before the conquest, the potters were unfamiliar with the use of the wheel and fashioned their vases by hand. Moreover, their primitive ovens could not heat up to very high temperatures and their pots were poorly baked. Less than twenty years after the conquest, all the vases in the region—the pottery known as "Belgian"—were shaped on the wheel and baked in a fashion far superior to that of the previous epoch. With the aid of the new techniques borrowed from the Romans, the potters fabricated both vases conserving the traditional indigenous forms and vases imitating the pottery imported by the Italian merchants. These imitations were sometimes artful, sometimes awkward: a simple gloss replaced the glaze, a rather rudimentary ring served as a base, etc. As for the realm of decoration, here the indigenous traditions continued to hold sway. Similar observations could be

made with regard to other domains of handicraft technique, but we must limit our discussion.

Thanks to this flexible adaptation, the indigenous artisans not only survived but even expanded considerably, by winning the soldiers of the army of occupation as customers. In the most ancient archaeological levels of the military camps along the frontier of the Rhine, the products of indigenous workmanship far outnumber Italian products; for the distance between Italy and the Rhine was considerable and transportation costs significantly raised the selling prices of the Italian wares. Working simultaneously for an indigenous clientele accustomed to the traditional forms and for military customers, of whom at least the officers were of Italian origin, the Gallic artisans gradually developed a synthesis of Roman, Celtic and Germanic elements. For example, a given vase, fabricated according to techniques borrowed from the Romans, might garnish a Roman form with traditional indigenous decorations.

This would be the moment to trace the history of the industrialization of Gaul, but since our space is limited we must be satisfied with a resumé. In the first century before the Christian era, there existed in Italy, and especially in Tuscany, true industrial ateliers dating from the Etruscan epoch. With the aid of a dependent labor force, these workshops produced industrial quantities of bronze, metal and pottery wares (for example, the Arezzan vases in figured earthenware), etc. These industries found one of their principal markets in the legions and auxiliary troops garrisoned in the provinces and, since the time of Augustus, along the frontiers. Yet transportation expenses raised the price of these products considerably. Wily industrialists therefore moved their Italian ateliers towards the provinces, seeking to cut down on transportation costs by drawing closer to their markets. The figured earthenware industry in Southern Gaul, for example, was founded by this movement under the reign of Tiberius. This fledgling enterprise developed so rapidly that it soon conquered even the Italian market, as the articles found at Pompei and elsewhere testify, and put the Italian production out of business. Other ateliers fabricating figured earthenware vases were set up in Central Gaul under Claudius, and still others in Northern Gaul toward the end of

the first century. This Gallic figured earthenware is a rude caricature of the superb Arezzan vases which it tried to imitate, but it was probably better suited to the tastes of the less refined public which bought it. Certain highly sophisticated decorations which figure on the Arezzan chalices are rendered with shocking crudity on the Gallic earthenware. Moreover, the Gallic figured vases comport decorative elements of Celtic origin and forms derived directly from indigenous pottery. The laboratories of figured earthenware were not the only industrial establishments to emigrate from Italy to Gaul: ateliers of bronze-workers also left the penisula and set up shop in Central and Northern Gaul. Finally, during the course of the 2nd century, the superb glassware of Syria and Alexandria lost the market of all Western Europe to the products of glass-works established at Cologne and later in the Mosan valley.

Let us close the chapter on the industrialization of Northern Gaul by drawing attention to the great vigor which characterized the indigenous industries even before the conquest. Enamelling, invented by the Celts, underwent a considerable development both in Great Britain and in Northern Gaul—particularly in the area between the Sambre and the Meuse. Metallurgy (and e.g. the production of tinned bronzes), the production of construction materials (quarries, lime-kilns), and the textile industry were equally prosperous. Good routes enabled the Gallic merchants to export the products of Gallic industries to the other provinces of the Roman Empire (to cite only one example: enamelled buckles fashioned in Mosan ateliers have been found as far afield as Dura-Europos, on the Euphrates), and throughout all of Central and Northern Europe which was not subjected to the Romans. Various products of Northern Gaul: chalices, figured earthenware, buckles, silverware, jewels, have been found in places as distant as Sweden, Poland, and Russia.

Like the decurion aristocracy and the proprietors of great landed estates, the industrialists and merchants adopted the Roman customs. The middle class of small artisans and shop-owners in the cities and large towns most likely followed their example. The archaeological remains and the rare texts which enlighten us on this subject create a distinct impression that the degree to which the population of Northern Gaul became

romanized was clearly a function of social rank and riches: the greater the wealth, the higher the rank, the more profound was the process of romanization. There are good reasons to believe that, in the 2nd century of our era, Latin had become the habitual language of the nobles and the rich. Perhaps they still indulged in a few words of Celtic or Germanic so as to be able to give orders to the people of the lower classes. As for the middle classes, they had adopted all of the material advances of the Roman civilization, but on the intellectual plane their romanization must have been more superficial. Among these middle classes, a special place was accorded to the veterans of the auxiliary troops recruited from the tribes of Northern Gaul, who had received the *honesta missio* and Roman citizenship after twenty five or thirty years of loyal service in the army. This last privilege guaranteed them a certain prestige in the eyes of their compatriots when they returned home, provided with a small retirement bonus, to live out the rest of their lives. They had learned Latin in the army, and now, imbued with a thoroughly military patriotism, they "latinized" among their compatriots. These veterans undoubtedly contributed to the diffusion of vulgarized Latin. As for the lower classes, although the general prosperity which characterized the epoch of the *Pax Romana* raised their material situation, they nonetheless conserved their traditional customs and languages: in effect, they were romanized only in the sense that they profited from the technical progress of the Gallo-Roman civilization. According to Saint Jerome, the rural classes of the Treves region still spoke their traditional Celtic dialect in the 4th century.

Urbanization, industrialization, economic prosperity extending to agriculture, to industry, to craftsmanship and to commerce, technical progress: thus far we have dealt only with the social and economic aspects of the interpenetration of the Celtic, Germanic and Roman civilizations. Our discussion must now turn to the spiritual aspects of romanization. Here our task becomes more demanding, for the sources are few and their interpretation is delicate. Let us examine first the intellectual life, then the arts, and finally the religious domain.

As far as intellectual life is concerned, we are obliged to conclude that it hardly existed in Northern Gaul. At the

beginning of this article we emphasized the difference in the cultural levels of Southern and Northern Gaul at the time of the conquest. This discrepancy subsisted throughout the half millenium of the Roman occupation. Like Spain, Southern Gaul fathered Latin rhetoricians, poets, historians (let us remember that Tacitus had Gallic blood in his veins); no such contribution from Northern Gaul. When Treves became an imperial residence in the 4th century, the court was the scene of a certain intellectual activity. But it was animated by intellectuals whom the emperor summoned from elsewhere, like the poet Ausone from Bordeaux. The school scenes which we find on certain funerary reliefs in the city of the Treviri must not mislead us: these were primary schools, where the children of the well-off classes were taught reading, writing and arithmetic, where they received essentially practical and utilitarian instruction. Lofty intellectual speculation seems, thus, to have had little attraction for the inhabitants of Northern Gaul.

Let us go on to the arts. The influence of the classical and the persistence of the indigenous in the art of Roman Gaul is an exceedingly vast subject, whose exhaustive treatment would require several volumes. Just recently, the originality of the art of Roman Gaul and the persistence of indigenous elements in this art provided one of the principal themes for the Eighth International Congress of Classical Archaeology (Paris, September, 1963) and was treated in several communications. The scope of our brief essay permits only a highly superficial discussion of this subject.

It is first of all necessary to distinguish among the various categories of art represented in Northern Gaul.

In the realm of plastic arts, although we possess only a few minor fragments of mural frescoes which, moreover, shed no light on our subject (the frescoes found under the cathedral at Treves originally decorated the 4th century imperial palace and cannot be considered as representative of principal Gallo-Roman art) and a very few statues in high relief, we do have, on the contrary, a good number of reliefs from religious and funerary monuments. A sharp distinction must be made between the subjects of these works and their plastic form. Certain scholars have claimed that the formal characteristics of these reliefs attest

to the survival of a Celtic aesthetics. We find this a rather temerarious opinion, considering the almost total lack of examples of Celtic statuary in Northern Gaul—the Celtic statues of Southern France, strongly influenced, moreover, by the Greek statuary, can hardly serve to explain the stylistic characteristics of the statues and reliefs of the Roman epoch in the region of the Moselle and the Rhine. Only a very few sculptures (several tricephali, for example) still exhibit clearly defined characteristics deriving from the art of the second Iron Age. In the great majority of works, what certain authors take for Celtic holdovers (convention, stylization, taste for abstraction, rigidity, etc.) we see simply as the characteristics of provincial schools of sculpture, whose stiffness is more indicative of awkwardness and lack of tradition than of anything else. If certain sculptures, like the celebrated monument of the *nautae Parisiaci*, far outshine the other works in question, it is simply because they were fashioned by Italian artists who had come to work for an indigenous clientele. With regard to subject, some of these works recreate scenes from daily life while others depict funerary and religious designs, to which we will return when we take up the question of beliefs. Nor do the little bronze and terra cotta statuettes, most of which represent divinities, possess any formal characteristics which could be identified as Celtic or Germanic: they are copies, often stiff and awkward, of Greco-Roman models. Let us then simply conclude that the style and form of the plastic arts of Northern Gaul were of classical inspiration, but that they were most often rendered with a greater proportion of good will than of competence or talent.

The decorative and industrial arts present a different picture. Here the persistence of autochthonic elements is more salient. Although the designs which figure on certain figured earthenware vases are often merely crude copies or brutal imitations of Italian models, certain purely ornamental motifs, on the contrary, carry on the traditions of Celtic decorative art. Thus the interplay of spirals, scrolls and curves traced on certain enamelled jewels recalls the decorations which characterized the second Iron Age. The same is true of certain serrated or checkered patterns which we find on ceramic vases.

Finally, in the realm of architecture we have already empha-

sized the combination of indigenous and Latin elements in the construction of villas and town houses. In contrast, the large public buildings patterned after the edifices of Rome—forums, basilicas, curias, baths, theaters, amphitheaters, etc.—are entirely Roman and can be found, in almost identical form, in all the cities of the entire Roman Empire, from Great Britain to the Euphrates. One type of public building, however, presents an exception to this rule: the temples. Throughout all of Northern Gaul only one temple constructed on the Roman model has been found up to the present; all the others perpetuate the indigenous traditions of sanctuaries based on a square *cella* (occasionally hexagonal or round). During the second Iron Age these sanctuaries were built of wood and loam, while the later versions are constructed of durable materials. Yet the overall lay-out is unchanged; at the most, a *podium* or a peristyle of Roman inspiration was added. It is equally remarkable that the Germanic tribes of Northern Gaul also adopted the Celtic temple, as we learn from the remarkable *fanum* found at Elst in the Netherlands, at the center of the *insula Batavorum*, and which we have good reasons to identify as the great tribal sanctuary of the Batavi. There is nothing astonishing in the persistence of the Celtic tradition in religious architecture, for it was obviously in the domain of religion, taken in the largest sense of the word, that the ancestral traditions and beliefs had grown their deepest and their most tenacious roots.

The Celtic element in the Gallo-Roman religion is a well-explored subject which has been studied by many specialists in the history of religions. Once more we must be satisfied here with a brief outline of the principal elements.

The Celtic pantheon differed considerably from its Roman counterpart. Yet Caesar, in his *De Bello Gallico*, had not hesitated to affirm that the Gauls worshipped Mercury, Apollo, Mars, Jupiter and Minerva, blithely identifying the Celtic and Roman deities by reason of a superficial resemblance in their attributions.

With the romanization of the Gallic aristocracy, the nobles followed Caesar's example, and identified their ancestral gods with the Roman divinities. Having adopted the Roman way of life, they obviously found it more proper to worship Jupiter or

Mars than Taranis or Esus. The Roman authorities too encouraged this development, not by force but by various kinds of pressure. Their only direct intervention in the religious affairs of the Gauls were the measures which Claudius directed against the Druides, and above all against the ritual murders which they performed. In the epoch of independence the Druides had wielded political as well as religious authority, and could thus have constituted a menace for the Roman domination. The measures decreed by Claudius should be seen in this perspective. But none of the emperors laid a finger on the Gallic gods or dogmas. On the contrary, the Romans encouraged the *interpretatio Romana*, which little by little decked the Celtic divinities out with Roman names and classical exteriors. This masquerade should not fool us: the name and the dress had changed, but the divinity whom the faithful worshipped remained the same as before. An examination of inscriptions and figured monuments is revealing in this regard. In many dedicatory inscriptions, an indigenous epithet is hitched on to the Latin name of the divinity. When, for example, we find a *Mercurius Teutates* in one spot and a *Mars Teutates* in another we can be sure that it is the Celtic Teutates who is being celebrated, and not the Roman gods Mercury and Mars. Other indigenous divinities were identified sometimes with Mars and sometimes with Mercury: we meet with a *Mars Vellaunus* and a *Mercurius Vellaunus.* The figured monuments, for their part, are rife with divinities entirely foreign to the Roman pantheon: the divinity known as the god "in the Buddhic pose," the tricephalus, the god with the serpent, the god with the wheel, the horseman-god with the giant serpent's foot, the god with the mallet. And often, when a Celtic god has been duly invested with the name, the dress and the attributions of the Roman divinity to which he was to be assimilated, an absurd detail peeps out of his Roman wrappings to reveal his true identity. A bronze statuette found at Tongres depicts a Mercury crowned with a petasus and clutching his traditional attributions, the cock and the purse... but this Mercury is triphallic! The great Celtic mother-goddess was identified with Venus, with Minerva, and with Cybele. In short, the romanization of the Gallic gods was completely external; in reality they maintained a thorough grip on the souls of the inhabitants of Gaul.

Still later, when Christianity reached a portion of the urban population of Gaul, several Celtic gods underwent further avatars and were christianized. To the present day, the cults of certain saints veil ancient pre-Roman beliefs which have been perpetuated across the centuries.

Other forms of religious life as well bear witness to the persistence of indigenous beliefs. Chief among these are the funeral rites, closely linked, of course, with beliefs in the hereafter. The detailed examination of these funerary customs in Northern Gaul during the Roman epoch has revealed the survival of extremely ancient practices, certain of them purely Celtic (for example the custom of placing miniature andirons and cauldrons in the tombs, perpetuating the cult of the hearth) and others even pre-Celtic.

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Up to the 3rd century, the romanization of Northern Gaul was undoubtedly less profound than is generally supposed, for it affected only the upper classes of the population. In the 3rd century, however, it began to penetrate more deeply. In this period, indigenous elements are more prominent in the inscriptions and on figured monuments than they had been in the previous century. Yet this development in no way indicates a resurgence of Celtism or a recrudescence of romanization. The 2nd century monuments reflect the privileged classes alone, and perhaps the exigences of snobbery make them appear more romanized than their sponsors really were. In the 3rd century, social progress enabled men of lower stations as well to erect funeral monuments and to engrave inscriptions. Since these classes themselves were less romanized, the persistence of indigenous traditions is inevitably more prominent in their monuments.

There followed the invasions of the 3rd century, the pillage, the destruction, the ruins. There has been much discussion of the awakening of nationalities and of centrifugal forces which sapped the Empire from the time of the Severi. In effect, Gaul was momentarily autonomous, under the reign of Postumius, from 258 to 273. Yet this movement was designed above all to

protect *the Romanity* of Gaul from the barbarian attacks; it was an effort at self-defense undertaken at a time when the emperors of Rome were struggling against anarchy and were no longer able to protect the Western provinces of the Empire themselves. It was almost with relief that Gaul returned to the Empire in 273, under Aurelianus. We feel that it would be false to read into this momentary separation the expression of an awakening of Celtic nationalism. The destruction wreaked by the 3rd century invasions was so crippling that Northern Gaul was unable to revive itself. The economic and social stagnation of the Low Empire, the incertitude, the military raids put an end to the progress or romanization. And when, in the 5th century, Northern Gaul fell definitively into the hands of the barbarians, the Roman veneer cracked and the Merovingian epoch witnessed sometimes astonishing Celtic revivals. But these developments have brought us to the end of our discussion and the beginning of another.