
TRAC Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference

www.trac.org.uk

Paper Information:

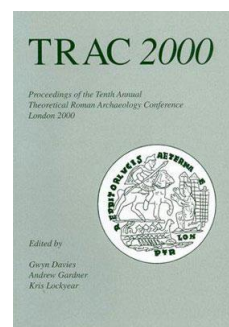
Title: Identities in the Late Roman Army: Material and Textual Perspectives

Author: Andrew Gardner

Pages: 35–47

DOI: http://doi.org/10.16995/TRAC2000_35_47

Publication Date: 29 March 2001



Volume Information:

Davies, G., Gardner, A., and Lockyear, K. (eds.) (2001) *TRAC 2000: Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, London 2000*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Copyright and Hardcopy Editions:

The following paper was originally published in print format by Oxbow Books for TRAC. Hard copy editions of this volume may still be available, and can be purchased direct from Oxbow at <http://www.oxbowbooks.com>.

TRAC has now made this paper available as Open Access through an agreement with the publisher. Copyright remains with TRAC and the individual author(s), and all use or quotation of this paper and/or its contents must be acknowledged. This paper was released in digital Open Access format in April 2013.

4

Identities in the Late Roman Army: Material and Textual Perspectives

Andrew Gardner

Institute of Archaeology, University College London

4.1 Introduction

The study of the Roman army, as with any other aspect of the Roman world, is inescapably an exercise in historical archaeology. Whether we accept or reject the detailed use of written sources in our interpretations, many of our concepts and chronologies are clearly structured by such sources at a very fundamental level. Simply to talk of Romans is to use an identity label of a kind unavailable to a Palaeolithic archaeologist. In this paper, I will use the archaeology of the late Roman military to problematise the whole concept of historical archaeology, a term which I use in a fairly loose sense as applying to any society with some kind of written culture (*cf.* Andr n 1998, p. 6; Funari *et al.* 1999b, pp. 1–3), and to give explicit thought to the relationship between written texts and material culture in Roman studies.

My argument that this is an issue requiring urgent attention is partly based on developments over the last 25 years in the philosophy of history (see Munslow 2000, for example). These, as with a number strands of general archaeological theory, have not been given as much attention as they deserve by many historical archaeologists (Johnson 1999b, pp. 25–8; *cf.* Morris 1997, 4–8). However, a new approach is also demanded by the complexities of the archaeological and historical data pertaining to the late Roman military, and their place in society. These require an interpretative framework which is highly sensitive to varying perspectives on social identities. I therefore hope to situate an understanding of particular aspects of the army within two overlapping contexts. One is the diverse spectrum of identity categories negotiated by various social groups in the Roman world. The other is the way in which different manifestations of these processes of negotiation have come to be separated by a disciplinary boundary in modern scholarship. While historical archaeologies have attempted to sit on this boundary, all too often they have merely fallen between theoretical stools.

4.2 Historical archaeologies of the Roman army

I will begin with a brief (and necessarily over-simplified) review of some previous approaches to using written and material sources, with particular reference to the study of the Roman army, but also linked in to wider paradigm shifts in archaeology. I will then offer an alternative framework, and explore this with a range of data. In more traditional forms of Roman archaeology, texts are commonly regarded as a substitute for theory, providing the narrative framework upon which to hang material culture as well as the normative categories with which to describe it (Frere 1988,

p. 36; *cf.* Johnson 1999b, p. 29). The most obvious manifestation of this in Roman army studies is the genre of military history (*e.g.*, Nicasie 1998). This can actually be difficult to separate from more mainstream histories of, for instance, Roman Britain, which often place a heavy emphasis on campaigns (*e.g.*, Frere 1987). Those Roman authors who were themselves interested in military narratives, such as Tacitus and Ammianus, typically form the basis for such accounts, with excavated camps or forts, equipment, and topographically-identified battle-sites employed as illustrative material. Certainly, the written sources are often amplified or even questioned on the basis of more archaeological information, and chronological narratives obviously have their uses. However, the perspectives and selections of so-called facts presented by a small number of ancient authors tend to become all-powerful in dictating the directions such narratives take (*cf.* Hingley 1989, pp. 2–3; Johnson 1999a, p. 154).

This kind of approach clearly has close links with traditional history, but different ways of using texts and material culture do obviously exist. Moving away from event-based narratives and more towards a model or hypothesis-oriented framework (Storey 1999, p. 206), the themes of military organisation and equipment are major areas of research involving documents and archaeological material of various kinds (including representations). Such work can, however, still be text-determined to a considerable degree. Examples include the rôles of inscriptions, a small number of literary sources and excavated fort plans in attempts to establish the structure of the army (*e.g.*, Webster 1985, 96–230), or more specifically, the pervasive influence of late Roman documents, particularly the *Notitia Dignitatum*, on the understanding of a variety of administrative aspects of the later army, again tied in to forts and other sites (*e.g.*, Coello 1996; Southern & Dixon 1996, 39–66). This kind of work is certainly not to be dismissed, and has considerable value. However, the epistemological problems, let alone the ontological ones, of using written and material cultures as evidence in an unstructured way are rarely considered.

More explicit testing of hypotheses generated by written sources, such as technical treatises, can be found in many equipment studies, particularly those involving reconstruction. These tend, however, to address mainly functional questions (*e.g.*, Hyland 1993; Peddie 1994, pp. 92–100; Zienkiewicz 1994, p. 13). In certain senses, some of this work moves in the direction of what can loosely be termed processual historical archaeology, with interests in testing, functionality and the ‘systemness’ of the army. However, much more developed processually-oriented uses of texts and material culture are evident in other areas of Roman studies, such as *Annales*-influenced landscape archaeology (Johnson 1999b, p. 29; Storey 1999, pp. 206–12). In the context of the military, the notion of testing one source against another all too often fails to expand the range of questions beyond those raised by the texts, or to escape the reductively descriptive and functional approach implicit in the commonly-held idea of a universal ‘military science’ (*cf.* Haynes 1999a, p. 8).

In contrast, perspectives which take a more social and contextual approach to Roman armies are increasingly common, linking in both to post-processual archaeology and to the New Cultural History (Johnson 1999a, p. 153; Morris 1997, pp. 6–8). In the broader discipline of archaeology, Hodder (1991, pp. 145–6) has referred to written sources as useful for constructing the contexts of ideas and meanings so important to deepening understanding of past human activity, just as Binford before him had advocated employing historical sources in constructing Middle Range Theories (Binford 1983, pp. 25–6). Several recent studies deploy a wide range of social theory to integrate written and material culture in the construction of social histories of Roman armies. Themes investigated in such work include the nature of the com-

munity of soldiers (James 1999), social dynamics within the *auxilia* (Haynes 1999b), and relations between soldiers and others in Egypt (Alston 1995). Issues of social and cultural identity are a prominent element in this kind of historical archaeology, and also feature in my own work on the late Roman military in Britain (Gardner 1999).

4.3 Texts, material culture and structuration

However, while pursuing this research, I have recently come to think that we need to look even more closely and critically at the relationship between texts and material culture, and not simply in terms of their relationship in the present as 'evidence'. Rather, we must attempt to generate complex interpretations of the rôles that written and non-written forms of discourse have played in the lives of past human agents. Obviously, this entails the integration of texts and material culture within a body of theory, rather than the opposition of texts to theory referred to above (Andr en 1998, pp. 3–4; Scott 1993, p. 19). This will not only enhance our understanding of the enormous diversity of experiences of the Roman world, but also speak to the concerns of the wider disciplines of archaeology and history. To achieve this we need to take on board what historians as well as archaeologists have been doing in the last ten years. Obviously there is no more unity in the philosophy of history than in archaeological theory, but the strand I would like to pick up on is post-modern or post-empiricist history (Berkhofer 1995; Jenkins 1991; Munslow 2000, pp. 9–20), following on from the 'linguistic turn' initiated primarily by Hayden White (1973).

This really undermines the whole historical project as traditionally conceived. Simply put, to say that history has taken a linguistic turn is to say that some historians have become more interested in the way historical knowledge and meaning is constituted and reproduced through language than in assembling facts. Indeed, the very nature of facts becomes problematic once the level of interpretation involved in creating history is acknowledged, and the traditionally distanced relationship of subject (historian) and object (past) undermined (Munslow 2000, pp. 11, 97–100, 151–3). This clearly resonates strongly with debates about objectivity and relativism that have taken place in archaeology (*e.g.*, Hodder 1999, pp. 23–4, 153–77; Wylie 1992), and below I will explain how uniting these convergent theoretical streams in history and archaeology actually allows us to resist a complete collapse of subject and object. The key thing to take from post-empiricist history, I think, is the reminder that written texts are in no way unproblematic or untheorised (*cf.* Johnson 1999b, pp. 29–32). Just as we would say for material culture, indeed as items of material culture themselves, texts represent partial perspectives on a world, created by human agents with particular objectives, which, at the same time, are capable of being read in many ways. We are thus forced to engage with multiple interpreted pasts, rather than attempt to represent a single true past (Berkhofer 1995, pp. 39–75).

However, in order to ground our attempts to understand these pasts and bring them within the scope of a present hermeneutic, or interpretative, exercise, we need to link these elements of historical theory with a particular approach to material culture, one which emphasises its meaning content as created in practical action (Hodder 1999, 74–9; Tilley 1999, 262–72). I would argue that historical archaeologies are in a unique position to make the most of this. By treating written texts and material culture as each possessing some of the qualities of the other, we can explore the diversity of meaningful discourses that shaped the Roman world. Writing is clearly a material practice (Johnson 1999b, pp. 31–2; Potter 1999, pp. 20–119), the significance of which

is all too easily lost in modern translation. Equally, the idea that material culture has textual qualities has some advantages, emphasising the importance of the meanings of things: how these fit in to systems of symbols, but may also be highly contextually variable. Like words, material signifiers are intrinsically polysemous — that is, having multiple meanings (Tilley 1991, pp. 16–23, 95–6). This ‘textual’ approach also has limitations, though, which are critical to the theoretical synthesis proposed here. Objects, including ones with writing on them, are unlike spoken language in their very materiality (Hodder 1995, pp. 201–12; Tilley 1999, pp. 262–72). They are bound up in the embodied, repetitive practices of human agents, which often act to solidify or reify the meanings attached to them.

Giddens’ structuration theory (1984) provides a useful way of understanding the nature of such practices, and therefore of underpinning the interpretation of written and non-written material culture as actively involved in the reproduction of the social world. Concerned with the relationship between the rules and resources of social structure, and individuals as knowledgeable actors or agents, structuration theory enables us to treat material culture and written or spoken language as equally important media of interaction between agents. This interaction, embedded in the routine practices of human agents, is critical to the generation and regeneration of social formations, including institutional organisations (Giddens 1984, pp. 5–92). As the various cross-cutting aspects of social identity — ethnicity, age, gender or occupation — are all profoundly implicated in this process, the negotiation of these identities will often involve material culture and writing as forms of meaningful discourse. Thus, structuration allows us to work with both written texts and material culture in a novel way, overcoming the divide between these as forms of evidence. It enables us to exploit the full potential of a historical archaeology concerned with different perspectives on past social identities and institutions, such as those surrounding the military organisation of the Roman state.

4.4 Material perspectives from late Roman Britain

I will now attempt to work through some of these ideas, using a variety of material and textual perspectives on the Roman military in the fourth and early fifth centuries AD. My research has been focused on Britain, and the comparison of a range of sites of different kinds has highlighted various patterns. It has not always proved easy to reconcile the published results from excavations conducted at very different times and in very different circumstances, but in looking at as many kinds of artefactual material as possible, as well as at structural sequences, it is possible to build up a multi-layered interpretation. The artefactual ambiguity of late Roman fort assemblages has always been an archaeological problem, resisting easy categorisation as either military or civilian (Esmonde Cleary 1989, pp. 51–63; James 1984, p. 168). From my comparisons between forts and other sites, this remains essentially true, demonstrating that not only do these categories overlap in terms of specific artefacts, but also as levels of social identification.

Artefacts commonly given particular military significance, such as crossbow brooches and belt-fittings, occur on a range of sites, including towns and villas. It is to be expected that soldiers moved around (*cf.* Bishop 1991; Esmonde Cleary 1989, pp. 54–6), and there is a woeful lack of fort cemetery excavation in Britain to permit associations with individuals rather than places, but it is equally likely that such symbols had wider currency amongst state officials (Reece 1999, pp. 156–7). In other

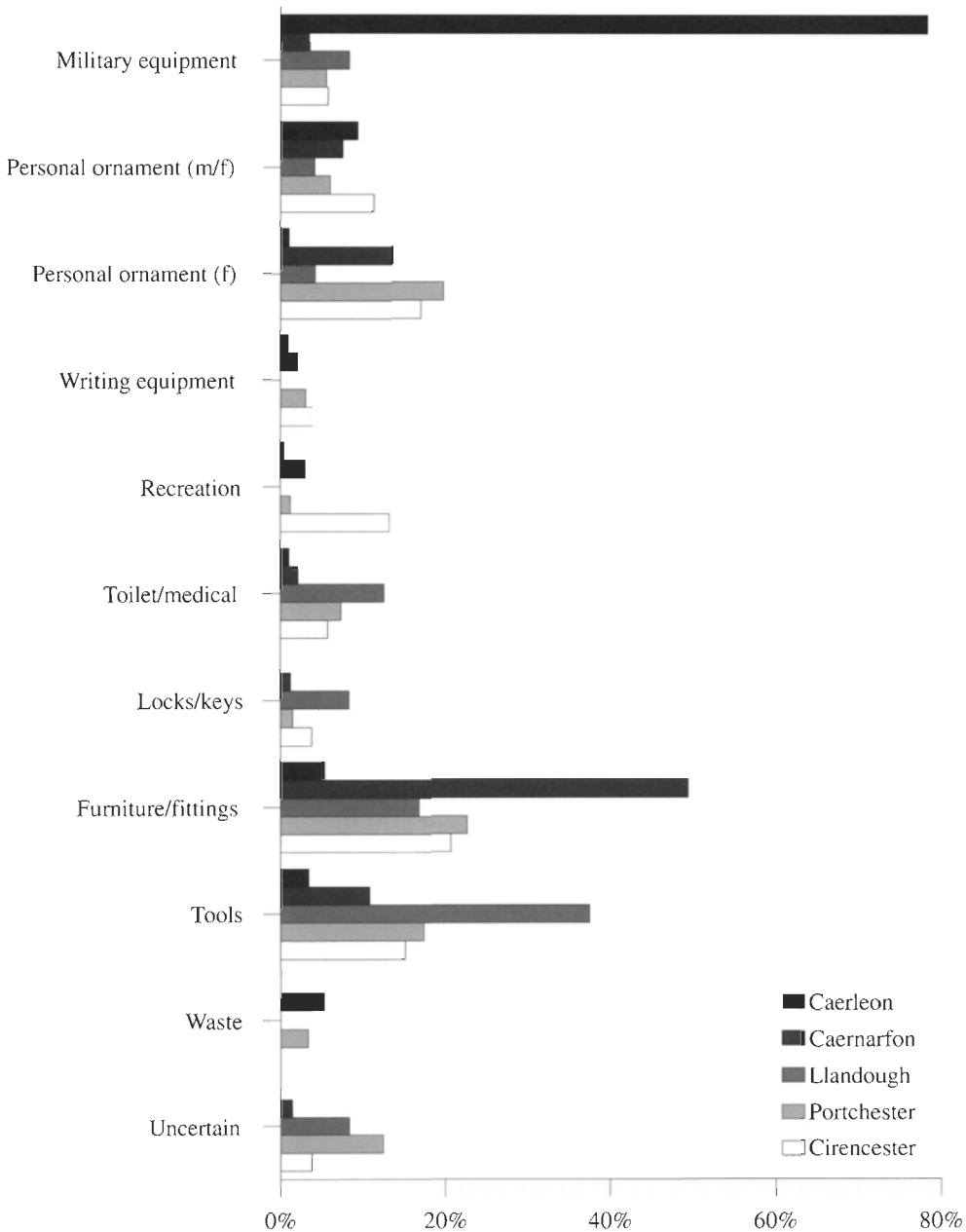


Figure 4.1: Percentages of Roman-period small finds, by category, from selected sites. Categories based on Cool *et al.* (1995, pp. 1626–47); data from Cool *et al.* (1995, pp. 1635–6) and reports in Casey *et al.* (1993); Owen-John (1988); Cunliffe (1975); Rennie (1971).

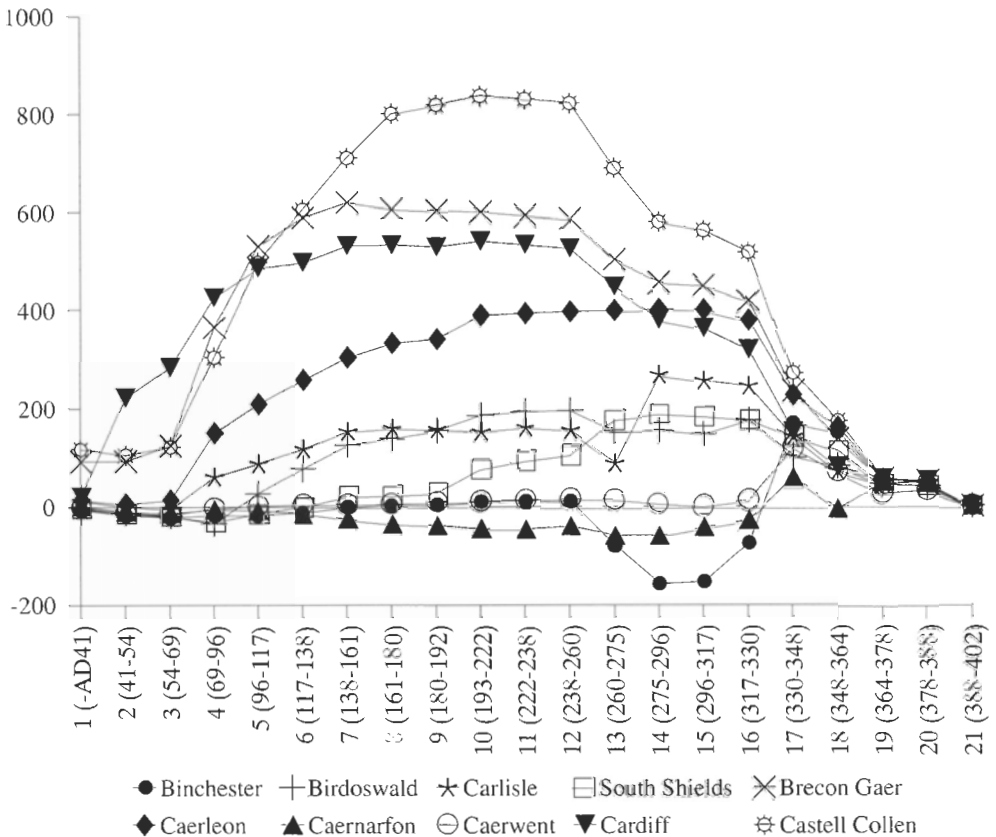


Figure 4.2: Coin-loss patterns for various sites in Wales and the north. Method after Reece (1995); for data see Gardner (1997, forthcoming).

respects, small finds assemblages show considerable variation throughout the Roman period (Fig. 4.1), and while some sites like Caerleon's Prysg field stand out with a great quantity of early military material, there is no reason to suppose that fourth century forts were not inhabited by a similarly mixed community of men and women as any other sizeable settlement (*cf.* van Driel-Murray 1995). In terms of faunal assemblages, a brief look at the dominant species in the fourth century reveals cattle to be in the majority at most sites regardless of type (*e.g.*, O'Connor 1986; Rackham 1995; Scott 1999; Wilson 1986) though pig tends to crop up more often as the second-most abundant on fort sites. Unfortunately many key sites lack well-published assemblages of this kind of material.

There is a considerable range of coinage patterns from sites of different types, and geographical or chronological factors are as likely to affect this as any characteristic kinds of coin-using activity. For instance, the forts of Wales hang together as a group more than those of the north (Fig. 4.2; see also Gardner 1999, pp. 411–12), which have a greater range of foundation dates. Some of the town sites in each area show similar trends to certain forts. It is true that many forts decline in coin-use in the fourth century, but this is far from a unique feature which can be ascribed purely, for instance, to the *annona militaris* (*cf.* Casey 1974, pp. 48–50), and there are some exceptions which reflect a considerable degree of local variation in loss patterns.

Pottery assemblages are considerably more difficult to compare than coinage, but a coarse-grained analysis of different wares present at various sites through their occupation does not suggest any distinctive 'military' patterns in the fourth century.

There are more signs of distinctiveness to be gleaned in some cases from architectural features in forts, though again localised variation becomes more common through the fourth century (even beyond that which is actually a feature of military sites in the Principate). South Shields stands out as a fort with a fourth century plan of a particular type (Fig. 4.3), with a large new courtyard house, barracks and a principia arranged in a cruciform pattern also identified by the excavators at certain contemporary forts in other parts of the Empire (Bidwell & Speak 1994, pp. 40–2). However, at other sites there are significant changes in the use of space, with structures being used for purposes other than that for which they were apparently built, particularly rubbish disposal. The most obvious example is the use of the stores at Birdoswald for just this activity (Wilmott 1997, pp. 203–9). Similar changes can be observed in other kinds of site, such as at the Marlowe Car Park baths in Canterbury (Blockley *et al.* 1995, 171–210), and even in the less well-understood later fourth century phases back at South Shields (Bidwell & Speak 1994, pp. 43–6).

4.5 Literary and documentary perspectives

These material patterns can be interpreted as offering a range of different perspectives on identification, with different kinds of material culture used in different ways at a variety of local and wider scales. All are involved to at least some degree in the creation of meanings in the social world of those using them, simply by virtue of being involved in the practices of daily life. Before discussing these further, comparison can be made with certain other perspectives materialised in a different way — writing. The narrative account of military and state affairs provided by Ammianus Marcellinus has had a profound influence on modern studies of the fourth century, particularly of the army and its campaigns (*e.g.*, Jones 1964, pp. 115–54, 607; Nicasie 1998). As such, and because written discourses are so often treated as unproblematic compared to material ones in the historical archaeology of this period (*cf.* Johnson 1999b, pp. 29–30), the things that Ammianus says have been generalised beyond what I would prefer to take as just another partial perspective.

To keep Ammianus in his place, we need to think about the how and why as well as the what of his writings — addressing issues of form as well as content (Munslow 2000, pp. 100–6). He describes the social formation of the army as he sees it, from the point of view of a relatively high-status individual with literary aspirations (Barnes 1998, pp. 54–66; Wallace-Hadrill 1986, pp. 14–15). Thus, while soldiers and civilians are generally quite clearly separated in the narrative, and Ammianus certainly places military activity at the heart of state interests (as well as making a point of describing himself as 'a former soldier'), ordinary *milites* are often portrayed as brutish, greedy and fickle, and battles are often described in formulaic fashion (*e.g.*, XIV.10, XIX.8, XX.4, XXVI.2, *cf.* XXXI.16; Wallace-Hadrill 1986, pp. 22–35). If we focus on these aspects of this particular written source, we begin to see how one individual could perceive and present the military in a complex and ambiguous way. Such a perception is bound up with Ammianus' other cultural preconceptions (such as those regarding Roman identity), and these are all filtered through the text he has written with certain literary goals (Barnes 1998, pp. 187–98). This is no transparent rendering of

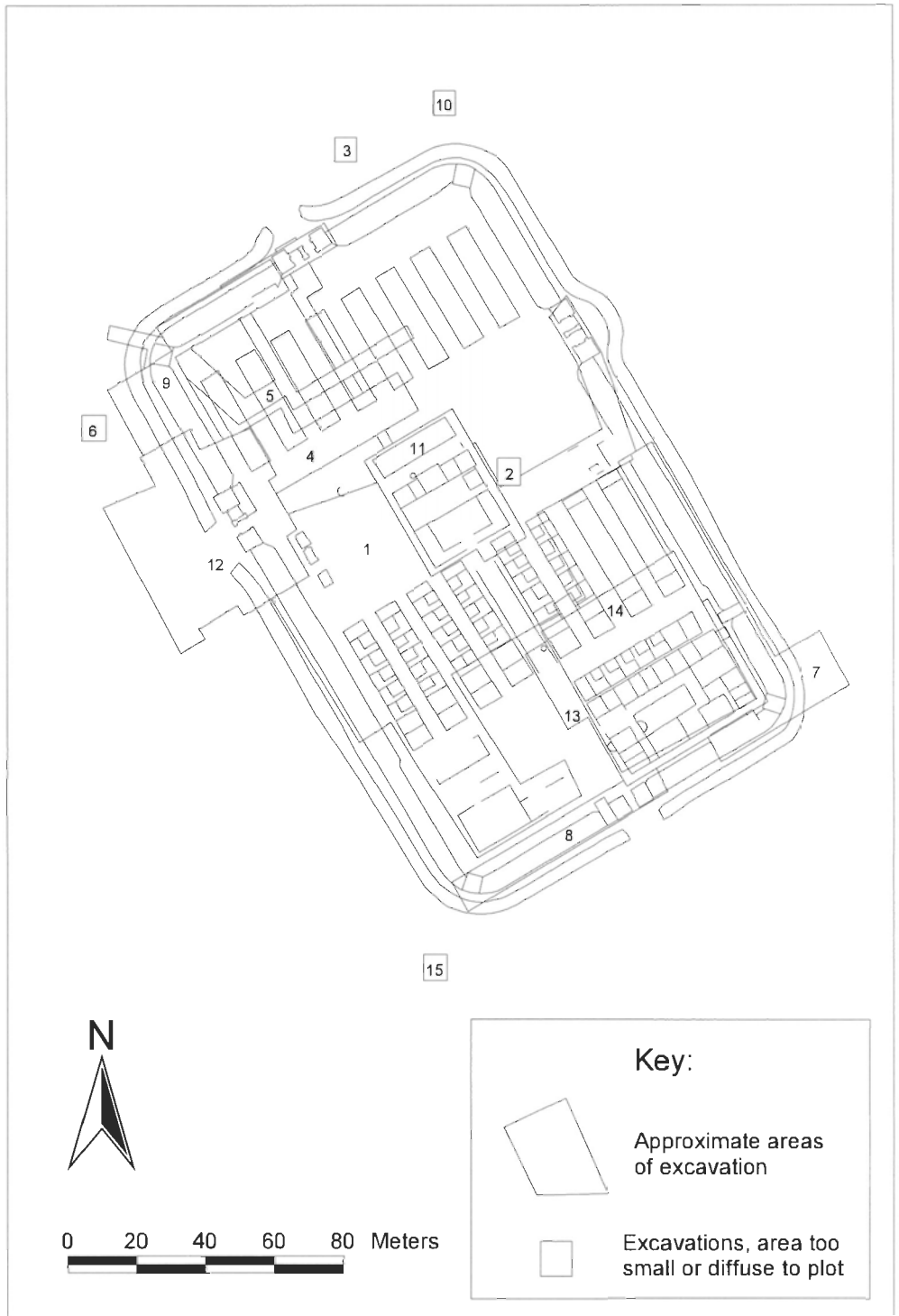


Figure 4.3: Plan of South Shields in the fourth century AD, with excavated areas shaded and numbered in chronological order. Plan after Bidwell & Speak (1994, p. 34).

an objective reality, but an unavoidably subjective arrangement of material of varying degrees of facticity.

Another significant body of (mostly Greek) written material is the so-called Abinnaeus Archive, a collection of letters apparently belonging to an officer at the fort of Dionysias in Egypt in the mid-fourth century (Bell *et al.* 1962). Clearly, this is different in kind to Ammianus' history, reinforcing the obvious point that to lump written sources into one category, contrasted with material culture, is not only unhelpful for the theoretical reasons outlined above, but also because there is great variation between different kinds of written discourse, and the meanings that might be conveyed in them (Johnson 1999b, p. 30). This does not make Abinnaeus' letters any less partial than Ammianus' literature, however, they are simply partial in different ways. Featured in some of the correspondence are complaints from villagers (many actually written by a third party) against misbehaving soldiers, which resonate with some of Ammianus' attitudes, and with some separation of identities (*e.g.*, Texts 18, 28, 48). At the same time, the letters indicate that the soldiers of Dionysias were deeply involved in the lives of those living in the vicinity of the fort in various social and economic interactions, so the separation only works on some levels (*e.g.*, Texts 3, 13, 21, 27, 46). Of course, the most obvious way in which this source might be described as partial is in its geographical particularity — did similar situations occur across the Empire or only in this small part of Egypt? Once again, it is vital to keep this in its place as one of several possible viewpoints on the military, not the whole story.

4.6 Multiple perspectives, multiple identities

In attempting to write a multi-vocal historical archaeology of the late Roman army, this range of viewpoints must be retained. I have tried to demonstrate in the second half of this paper that such a range does exist, and may be related to the different levels of identification negotiated in various ways by members of the military and other social groups in the Roman world. To return to the material I discussed from Britain, the essential ambiguity of artefactual assemblages from many sites clearly suggests that quite a number of the routine activities of people living in or around forts relate to interactions structured not upon the axis of soldiers and civilians, but upon other levels of identification, such as gender or family relations.

Other aspects of the archaeological patterning do, however, relate to military identities, though again of potentially diverse character (varying between ranks and units, and sometimes embracing all officials; Reece 1999, pp. 156–7). The architecture of South Shields, for instance, reflects well the institutional aspects of military life (*cf.* James 1999, 16–21). The regulation of space, and therefore of the routines of individuals moving in that space, is clearly a key part of the reproduction of institutional arrangements through repetitive practices (Giddens 1984, pp. 16–37, 60–73). That this regulation may be changing at a number of sites in the fourth century would imply a lessening of over-arching institutional control, even at a site like South Shields, which hitherto had maintained greater external contacts than inland forts.

The important point to make is that these different levels of identification, which may seem to be pulling in different directions, actually overlap. The military community of the Roman world was not a 'total institution' which cut its members off and turned them into automata (*contra* Pollard 1996; *cf.* Giddens 1984, pp. 145–58). Rather, it was a complex institution which co-existed and interacted with other social groups in the Roman world, through its members who were part of such groups at

the same time as being soldiers. These relationships were dynamic across time and space, and we can certainly see them changing in the fourth century in different parts of Britain. If the perspectives of the written sources from other parts of the Empire that have been discussed above are partial, they are nonetheless consistent with such a degree of complexity and potential ambiguity.

4.7 Conclusions

In conclusion, it must be stressed that Roman military archaeology simply cannot be cut off either from the broad and enormously complex social patterns of the Roman world, or from the theoretical issues that we confront in trying to understand those patterns. The issue that I have focused on in this paper has been the relationship, in the past and in the present, between those forms of material culture that bear writing, and those that do not. This is a central issue, not just to Roman archaeology, as a form of historical archaeology, but also to the disciplines of history and archaeology as a whole. Consequently, this is one area where significant contributions can be made by Romanists to wider debates. It is, moreover, just one of many ways forward that I think we can open up by placing the archaeology of the military in its empirical and theoretical context in the present, and thus firmly in its social context in the past.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisors Mark Hassall, Stephen Shennan and Richard Reece for their continuing guidance in the research (funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Board) upon which this paper is based. I am also grateful to Koji Mizoguchi, Jeremy Tanner, Steve Townend and the anonymous referee for useful comments, and to Paul Bidwell for consent to redraw the South Shields plan.

Original sources

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS *The Later Roman Empire (AD 354-378)*. Translated by W. Hamilton, with an introduction by A. Wallace-Hadrill, 1986. Penguin, Harmondsworth.

References

- ALSTON, R. 1995. *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt: a Social History*. Routledge, London.
- ANDRÉN, A. 1998. *Between Artifacts and Texts: Historical Archaeology in Global Perspective*. Plenum Press, New York. Translated by A. Crozier.
- BARNES, T. D. 1998. *Ammianus Marcellinus and the Representation of Historical Reality*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca.
- BELL, H. I., V. MARTIN, TURNER, E. G. & D. VAN BERCHEM (eds.) 1962. *The Abinnaeus Archive: Papers of a Roman Officer in the Reign of Constantius II*. Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- BERKHOFER, R. F. 1995. *Beyond the Great Story: History as Text and Discourse*. The Belknap Press (Harvard University Press), Cambridge, Mass.

- BIDWELL, P. & S. SPEAK 1994. *Excavations at South Shields Roman Fort: Volume*. Monograph Series 4. Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne with Tyne and Wear Museums, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
- BINFORD, L. R. 1983. *In Pursuit of the Past*. Thames and Hudson, London.
- BISHOP, M. C. 1991. 'Soldiers and military equipment in the towns of Roman Britain.' In V. A. Maxfield & M. J. Dobson (eds.), *Roman Frontier Studies 1989. Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, pp. 21-7. University of Exeter Press, Exeter.
- BLOCKLEY, K., M. BLOCKLEY, P. BLOCKLEY, S. S. FRERE & S. STOW 1995. *Excavations in the Marlowe Car Park and Surrounding Areas: Part I: the Excavated Sites*. The Archaeology of Canterbury, Volume V. Canterbury Archaeological Trust, Canterbury.
- CASEY, P. J. 1974. 'The interpretation of Romano-British site finds.' In P. J. Casey & R. Reece (eds.), *Coins and the Archaeologist*, pp. 37-51. British Archaeological Reports British Series 4, Oxford.
- CASEY, P. J., J. L. DAVIES & J. EVANS (eds.) 1993. *Excavations at Segontium (Caernarfon) Roman Fort, 1975-1979*. CBA Research Report 90. Council for British Archaeology, London.
- COELLO, T. 1996. *Unit Sizes in the Late Roman Army*. British Archaeological Reports International Series 645, Oxford.
- COOL, H. E. M., G. LLOYD-MORGAN & A. D. HOOLEY 1995. *The Archaeology of York 17/10: The Small Finds. Finds from the Fortress*. York Archaeological Trust for Excavation and Research and the Council for British Archaeology, York.
- CUNLIFFE, B. (ed.) 1975. *Excavations at Portchester Castle I: Roman*. Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, XXXII. Society of Antiquaries, London.
- ESMONDE CLEARY, A. S. 1989. *The Ending of Roman Britain*. Batsford, London.
- FRERE, S. S. 1987. *Britannia: a History of Roman Britain*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, third edition.
- FRERE, S. S. 1988. 'Roman Britain since Haverfield and Richmond.' *History and Archaeology Review* 3: 31-6.
- FUNARI, P. P. A., M. HALL & S. JONES (eds.) 1999a. *Historical Archaeology: Back from the Edge*. One World Archaeology Series 31. Routledge, London.
- FUNARI, P. P. A., S. JONES & M. HALL 1999b. 'Introduction: archaeology in history.' In Funari *et al.* (1999a), pp. 1-20.
- GARDNER, A. N. 1997. *The Nature and Extent of Fourth Century Occupation in the Roman Fortress of Caerleon*. Master's thesis, Institute of Archaeology, University College London.
- GARDNER, A. N. 1999. 'Military Identities in Late Roman Britain.' *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 18(4): 403-18.
- GARDNER, A. N. forthcoming. *The Army in Late Roman Britain: Archaeology and Identity*. Ph.D. thesis, Institute of Archaeology, University College London.
- GIDDENS, A. 1984. *The Constitution of Society*. Polity Press, Cambridge.

- GOLDSWORTHY, A. & I. HAYNES (eds.) 1999. *The Roman Army as a Community*. JRA Supplementary Series 34. Journal of Roman Archaeology, Portsmouth, R.I.
- HAYNES, I. 1999a. 'Introduction: the Roman army as a community.' In Goldsworthy & Haynes (1999), pp. 7-14.
- HAYNES, I. 1999b. 'Military service and cultural identity in the *auxilia*.' In Goldsworthy & Haynes (1999), pp. 165-74.
- HINGLEY, R. 1989. *Rural Settlement in Roman Britain*. Seaby, London.
- HODDER, I. 1991. *Reading the Past*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, second edition.
- HODDER, I. 1995. *Theory and Practice in Archaeology*. Routledge, London.
- HODDER, I. 1999. *The Archaeological Process: an Introduction*. Blackwell, Oxford.
- HYLAND, A. 1993. *Training the Roman Cavalry, from Arrian's Ars Tactica*. Sutton, Stroud.
- JAMES, S. 1984. 'Britain and the late Roman army.' In T. F. C. Blagg & A. C. King (eds.), *Military and Civilian in Roman Britain: cultural relationships in a frontier province*, pp. 161-86. British Archaeological Reports British Series 136, Oxford.
- JAMES, S. 1999. 'The Community of the Soldiers: a major identity and centre of power in the Roman empire.' In P. Baker, C. Forcey, S. Jundi & R. Witcher (eds.), *TRAC 98. Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference Leicester 1998*, pp. 14-25. Oxbow, Oxford.
- JENKINS, K. 1991. *Re-thinking History*. Routledge, London.
- JOHNSON, M. 1999a. *Archaeological Theory: an Introduction*. Blackwell, Oxford.
- JOHNSON, M. H. 1999b. 'Rethinking historical archaeology.' In Funari *et al.* (1999a), pp. 23-36.
- JONES, A. H. M. 1964. *The Later Roman Empire, 284-602*. Blackwell, Oxford.
- MORRIS, I. 1997. 'Archaeology as cultural history.' *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 14(1): 3-16.
- MUNSLow, A. 2000. *The Routledge Companion to Historical Studies*. Routledge, London.
- NICASIE, M. J. 1998. *Twilight of Empire: the Roman Army from the Reign of Diocletian until the Battle of Adrianople*. J. C. Gieben, Amsterdam.
- O'CONNOR, T. P. 1986. 'Animal bone.' In J. D. Zienkiewicz (ed.), *The Legionary Fortress Baths at Caerleon, II: the Finds*, pp. 225-43. Cadw and the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff.
- OWEN-JOHN, H. S. 1988. 'Llandough: the rescue excavation of a multi-period site near Cardiff, South Glamorgan.' In D. M. Robinson (ed.), *Biglis, Caldicot and Llandough: three Iron Age and Romano-British sites in South East Wales*, pp. 123-78. British Archaeological Reports British Series 188, Oxford.
- PEDDIE, J. 1994. *The Roman War Machine*. Alan Sutton, Stroud.
- POLLARD, N. 1996. 'The Roman army as 'total institution' in the Near East? Dura-Europos as a case study.' In D. L. Kennedy (ed.), *The Roman Army in the East*, JRA Supplementary Series 18, pp. 211-27. Journal of Roman Archaeology, Ann Arbor.
- POTTER, D. S. 1999. *Literary Texts and the Roman Historian*. Routledge, London.

- RACKHAM, D. J. 1995. 'Animal bone from post-roman contexts.' In D. Phillips & B. Heywood (eds.), *Excavations at York Minster. Volume I: from Roman Fortress to Norman Cathedral; Part II: the Finds*, pp. 533–56. Royal Commission on Historic and Ancient Monuments for England, Swindon.
- REECE, R. 1995. 'Site-finds in Roman Britain.' *Britannia* 26: 179–206.
- REECE, R. 1999. *The Later Roman Empire: an Archaeology AD 150–600*. Tempus, Stroud.
- RENNIE, D. M. 1971. 'Excavations in the Parsonage Field, Cirencester, 1958.' *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society* 90: 64–94.
- SCOTT, E. 1993. 'Writing the Roman empire.' In E. Scott (ed.), *Theoretical Roman Archaeology: First Conference Proceedings*, Worldwide Archaeology Series 4, pp. 5–22. Avebury, Aldershot.
- SCOTT, S. 1999. 'Animal bones.' In C. Colyer, B. J. J. Gilmour & M. J. Jones (eds.), *The Defences of the Lower City*, CBA Research Report 114, pp. 169–78. Council for British Archaeology, York.
- SOUTHERN, P. & K. R. DIXON 1996. *The Late Roman Army*. Batsford, London.
- STOREY, G. R. 1999. 'Archaeology and Roman society: integrating textual and archaeological data.' *Journal of Archaeological Research* 7(3): 203–48.
- TILLEY, C. 1991. *Material Culture and Text: the Art of Ambiguity*. Routledge, London.
- TILLEY, C. 1999. *Metaphor and Material Culture*. Blackwell, Oxford.
- VAN DRIEL-MURRAY, C. 1995. 'Gender in question.' In P. Rush (ed.), *Theoretical Roman Archaeology: Second Conference Proceedings*, Worldwide Archaeology Series 14, pp. 3–21. Avebury, Aldershot.
- WALLACE-HADRILL, A. 1986. 'Introduction.' In *Ammianus Marcellinus. The Later Roman Empire (A.D. 354–378)*, pp. 13–35. Penguin, Harmondsworth. Translated by W. Hamilton.
- WEBSTER, G. 1985. *The Roman Imperial Army*. A & C Black, London, third edition.
- WHITE, H. 1973. *Metahistory: the historical imagination in nineteenth-century Europe*. John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.
- WILMOTT, T. (ed.) 1997. *Birdoswald: Excavations of a Roman fort on Hadrian's Wall and its successor settlements: 1987–92*. English Heritage Archaeological Report 14. English Heritage, London.
- WILSON, B. 1986. 'Faunal remains: animals and marine shells.' In D. Miles (ed.), *Archaeology at Barton Court Farm, Abingdon, Oxon.*, OAU Report 3, CBA Research Report 50, p. Fiche 8. Oxford Archaeological Unit and Council for British Archaeology, Oxford and London.
- WYLIE, A. 1992. 'The interplay of evidential constraints and political interests: recent archaeological research on gender.' *American Antiquity* 57(1): 15–35.
- ZIENKIEWICZ, D. 1994. *Roman Legion*. National Museum of Wales and the Ermine Street Guard, Cardiff.

Andrew Gardner
Institute of Archaeology, University College London
31-4 Gordon Square
London WC1H 0PY
tcrnang@ucl.ac.uk