

ALEXANDER K. NEFEDKIN

GOTHS ON CAMPAIGN FROM THE MID-THIRD TO THE MID-SIXTH CENTURIES A.D.¹

On campaign only a small amount of time is taken up by pitched battles and other military engagements, whereas the majority of time is taken up by the movement of armies or by sieges. Marches especially take up the largest amount of time. Our sources, however, hardly deal with these events at all. This applies to the Goths too. Information about the campaigns of the Goths is scattered throughout *The History* of Ammianus Marcellinus, in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, and in particular in the biographies of the Emperors Gallienus and Claudius, in fragments of the rhetorician Malchus of Philadelphia, and in *The Wars* of the famous historian Procopius of Caesarea. The aim of this paper is to gather together the information on the subject, scattering as it is among numerous authors. The information which can be gathered from the sources gives us a generally concise, incomplete, and frequently fragmentary picture of a Gothic campaign. Archaeological evidence can sometimes be used to fill out the picture. For example, the arrangement of houses in a settlement could partly be replicated in the plan of a camp, and a detailed knowledge of the wagons used would tell us something about their construction.

There is a little information about the Gothic column of march. We have an account of the column of march of the Ostrogothic leader Theodoric Strabo in Epeiros in A.D. 479. The cavalry was in front of the main body, acting as scouts and also destroying any enemy advanced forces. The commander-in-chief was stationed with the vanguard in front of the main body. The centre and rear-guard had their own commanders too. It would seem that most of the camp followers were placed in the middle of the column, and the larger part of wagons brought up the end of

it.² During a campaign, the baggage was carried on the wagons, which also carried the women and children.³ The weapons, with their points facing outermost, were carried in the wagons too.⁴ On campaign, one part of the people would accompany the wagons on foot, while the other part rested, travelling on the wagons at the same time.⁵ Malchus mentions that the camp-followers travelled in the Ostrogothic column of march, some travelling on foot and other travelling in the wagons.⁶

On the whole, the systems for guarding the march formation and for scouting were not organised well,⁷ and special formations were adopted for these tasks.⁸ When an attack of enemy was expected or ambushes were suspected, the Goths formed an *agmen quadratum*.⁹ Ammianus Marcellinus used these words with reference to the Roman army in all other cases, where it means a march formation in three columns with an advance- and rear-guard,¹⁰ or the disposition of the whole army in a square.¹¹ Both formations were similar:

² Malch. frg., 18 – *Malchi fragmenta* [in:] *Historici Graeci minore*, ed. L. Dindorfius, vol. I, Lipsiae 1870, pp. 383-424.

³ Procop., *Bel. Goth.*, I. 1. 12.

⁴ Marcel. Com., a. 481, 1.

⁵ Zosim., IV. 25. 3.

⁶ March. frg., 20: τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἁμαξῶν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις σκευοφόροις.

⁷ Mauric., *Strat.* XI. 3. 12; cf. XI. 3. 7 – *Mauricius. Arta militară*, editie critica, traducere și introducere de H. Mihaescu, *Scriptores Byzantini*, VI, București 1970.

⁸ Cf. Amm. XXXI. 3. 5; also see H. G. Gundel, *Untersuchungen zur Taktik und Strategie der Germanen nach den antiken Quellen. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der Philosophischen Fakultät der Philipps-Universität zu Marburg*, Marburg, 1937, p. 24.

⁹ Amm. XXXI. 16. 4: formas quadratorum agminum insidiarum metu servantes.

¹⁰ Amm. XXIV. 1. 2; cf. XXV. 3. 2; XXVII. 10. 6.

¹¹ Amm. XXVII. 2. 8; cf. XXIX. 5. 39; XXXI. 12. 4; I. Viansino, *Ammiani Marcellini rerum gestarum Lexicon*, part I, "Alpha – Omega", serie A, LXXIX, Hildesheim-Zürich-New York 1985, p. 405, s. v. Quadratus B.

¹ The work was supported by the Group Research Support Scheme Grant # 1720 / 841 / 1998.

the former was a square with a column in the middle, the latter was a square without the middle column. It is difficult to understand precisely which Visigothic march formation Ammianus could have had in mind, because both types of square were used against surprise attacks and ambushes.¹² As in the first case Ammianus (XXIV, 1,2) uses the plural, and in the case (XXVII, 2,8) the singular, it is most probable that Ammianus has in mind a march formation of three columns with a van- and rear-guard. It is not clear, however, whether the wagons were grouped with the flank columns, the central column, or all three. Probably, the larger part of train was stationed in the central column, while the troops were stationed in the two flanking columns. Naturally, a mobile group, if necessary, could be picked from the whole formation, in which case it would have an in-dependent tactical function. Thus in A.D. 479 Theodoric Strabo picked out such a group of 6,000 warriors.¹³

All humans aspire to defend their location from danger, especially if operating in hostile territory. This is especially important when men are moving along with their families. The Germans did not normally erect fortifications around their camp: instead they began to use the *Wagenburg* as a field fortification.

During the period of their wanderings at the end of the second century BC the Cimbri and Teutones formed their wagons into a *Wagenburg*. When the Cimbri were defeated by the Romans at the battle of Vercellae (101 B.C.), and the latter came up to the camp, the Cimbrian women defended the *laager*, forming the wagons into a circle and standing on top of them.¹⁴ In 55 B.C. the Usipetes and Tencteri did not form their camp in a circle. When the Romans burst into the German camp they fought among the wagons in the train.¹⁵ In 58 B.C. the Germans led by Ariovistus constructed a camp from a *laager* of two different kinds of wagons, where the women were placed during the battle.¹⁶ The

methods of warfare employed by the Celtic Helvetii were probably in a transitive stage towards the use of wagons as field fortifications. Caesar tells us about the way in which they defended their camp. "The fight was carried on also at the baggage train until late in the night, for they had set wagons in the way as a rampart (*pro vallo carros obiecerunt*), and from the higher ground kept throwing weapons upon our men, as they came on, and some from between the wagons and the wheels kept darting their lances and javelins from beneath, and wounding our men."¹⁷ So, some vehicles stood ahead of the train, and, probably, the flanks of the rampart were defended by natural obstacles.

It is obvious that in the third quarter of the third century A.D. the Goths were already used the *Wagenburg* during their invasions. In A.D. 268 the Goths were defeated by Gallienus and tried to escape, "forming a huge *carrago*."¹⁸ After the battle of Naissus (A.D. 269) Claudius II seized "a huge *carrago*" of the Goths.¹⁹ The latter, protected by "the exposed forward wagons", retreated towards Macedonia.²⁰

One notes that the emperor's biographer Tribellius Pollionus uses the technical term *carrago* (a *Wagenburg* formed by a circle of wagons) during his account of the events of the third century. Ammianus Marcellinus explains that the word is Gothic.²¹ We are not certain whether the former author, working in the late fourth and the early fifth centuries, is using a contemporary term to describe an earlier phenomenon,²² or is using a term which was already in use then. In any case the Goths were already using a *Wagenburg* by the third century. The Goths used it mainly for protection against the Roman cavalry, which raided them during their retreat. Therefore we might assume that the Gothic columns of march were protected by rows of vehicles, as in the Late Middle

¹⁷ Caes., *BG* I. 26, translated by W. A. McDevitte and W. S. Bohn.

¹⁸ *SHA* XXIII. 13. 9: Quo comperto Scythae facta carragine per montem Gessacem fugere sunt conati; see: Masqueler, *Carrago* [in:] Ch. Daremberg, E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments*, vol. I, part 2, Paris 1886, pp. 927-928.

¹⁹ *SHA* XXV. 8. 5: ingens carrago; cf. *SHA* XXVI. 11. 6.

²⁰ Zosim. I. 45. 1: προβαλλόμενοι τὰς ἀμάξας.

²¹ Amm. XXXI. 7. 7: ad carraginem - quam ita ipsi appellant ... regressae.

²² Paschoud n. 73 ad Zosim. I. 45. 1 - Zosime, *Histoire nouvelle*, texte établi et traduit par F. Paschoud, vol. I, Paris 1971, p. 161.

¹² Amm. XXIV. 1. 2; XXVII. 2. 8.

¹³ Malch. frg. 18.

¹⁴ Flor. I. 38. 16: cum obiectis undique plaustris atque carpentis altae desuper quasi e turribus lanceis contisque pugnarent; Oros., *Hist.* V. 16, 17: Mulieres ... plaustris in modum castrorum circumstructis, ipsae autem desuper propugnantes; cf. Plut., *Marius* XXVII; Plin., *HN* VIII. 143; see also: R. Much, *Die germanischen Frauen in der Schlacht* [in:] *Mitteilungen der Athropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, vol. 39, 1909, p. 157.

¹⁵ Caes., *BG* IV. 14: inter carros impedimentaue.

¹⁶ Caes., *BG* I. 51: omnemque aciem suam raedis et carris circumdederunt.

Age, when an army column was covered on both sides by a row of wagons (Fig. 1).²³ However such a march formation required a well disciplined army. It is doubtful whether the Gothic horde moved along in such a disciplined column. Probably the *Wagenburg* mentioned in the biography of Gallienus is simply a mobile fortified camp.

A *carrago* of this type was also in use during the last third of the fourth century. Ammianus Marcellinus tells us that the Gothic *Wagenburg* was formed from wagons drawn up in a circle.²⁴ On campaign its main function was as a mobile *laager*.²⁵ It constituted a focal point, from which the Goths went on to storm cities,²⁶ to where the plunder was brought,²⁷ where all groups, scattered about the countryside, could gather together if threatened by a strong opponent,²⁸ and from where, on the contrary, raiding bands could be sent out to gather plunder.²⁹ As one would naturally expect the Goths would use the *Wagenburg* to defend themselves. The battle of Adrianople is the prime example of this.³⁰ The camp was usually located at a safe place on high ground.³¹ As Ammianus does not specify how the *Wagenburg* was defended, we may use the passage from Caesar mentioned above to clarify this point.³² When the Romans approached some of the Helvetii climbed onto the wagons and threw down their missiles from above, while others positioned themselves on the ground between the vehicles and also threw their spears. The families of Gothic warriors sheltered inside the *laager*.³³ Here sacred rites were carried out,³⁴ because sacred objects were carried inside the *laager* on campaign. Thus Eunapius mentions of the Goths that "each tribe has taken from their houses their paternal

sacred objects and their priests and priestesses".³⁵ Inside the camp the Goths lived in tents,³⁶ which were pitched inside the *Wagenburg*.³⁷ Hence the wagons were not of a type resembling yurts, for they were only used to transport the families and their property, whereas the people spent their time in tents when the wagons were stationary. The sacred objects were kept in special tents. Hieronymus tells us that "the red and light-brown haired troops of the *Gethae* [i.e. the Goths] carry churches in their tents."³⁸ The king also had his own marquee.³⁹ His lance was set up near to it, and in front of the marquee was an open space on which he could exercise his horse.⁴⁰ The Goths were probably not stationed in any special military order in camp, but kinsmen were rather located alongside one another.⁴¹

Sometimes natural obstacles alone were insufficient for the defence of the Gothic *laager*, in the face of a major enemy threat. In such case the Goths would fortify their camp. Thus in A.D. 395 the Visigoths of Alaric fortified their *Wagenburg* with a double fosse and a palisade when the Roman army of Stilicho threatened them in Thessaly.⁴² Later on, probably in A.D. 439, massed Visigoths are to be found inside a fortified camp in the environs of Toulouse.⁴³ The camp, forming from several parts, was located on a hill and was fortified with high wall and apparently also with towers. According to the evidence of the panegyrist Flavius Merobaudes, the Romans constructed siege towers to overlook the wall which the Goths, protected by their shields, defended with spears, swords, and arrows. As the author figuratively notes the barbarians had learned to erect such fortifications from the Romans.⁴⁴ The other German peoples also gradually developed the concept of fortifying the *Wagenburg*. In A.D. 554 the Franks eliminated the vulnerable spots in their

²³ A. A g a p e e v, *Opyt istorii razvitija strategii i taktiki najomnykh i postojanykh armij novykh gosudarstv*, part 1, Sankt-Peterburg 1902, table VII, no 23.

²⁴ Amm. XXXI. 12. 11: hostium carpenta cernuntur, quae ad speciem rotunditatis detornata; 15,5: reversique ad vallum dimensum tereti figura plaustorum.

²⁵ Amm. XXXI. 8. 1; cf. XXXI. 7. 6.

²⁶ Amm. XXXI. 15. 5.

²⁷ Amm. XXXI. 7. 5.

²⁸ Claud., *In Ruf.* II. 124-126; Theodoret. V. 5. 2.

²⁹ Amm. XXXI. 7. 7.

³⁰ Amm. XXXI. 12. 8-13, 7.

³¹ Claud., *De VI cons. Honor.* 238-249; Merob., *Paneg.* II. 154-155, 162-163; Sidon. Apol. I, *Epist.* III. 3. 5; Malch. frg. 15; Sozom. VI. 40. 2; cf. Isid., *Hist. Goth.*, 14; T. S. Burns, *The Battle of Adrianople: A Reconsideration* [in:] *Historia*, vol. XXII, 1973, fasc. 2, p. 342, n. 41.

³² Caes., *BG* I. 26.

³³ Zosim. IV 25. 3.

³⁴ Amm. XXXI. 7. 8; 8. 1.

³⁵ Eunap. frg. 55, *Eunapii fragmenta* [in:] *Historici Graeci minores*, ed. L. Dindorfius, vol. I, Lipsiae 1870, pp. 205-274.

³⁶ Amm. XXXI. 7. 15; 15. 15: tentoria; Zosim., V. 29. 1; Sozom. IX. 7: σκηναί.

³⁷ Amm. XXXI. 7. 15; cf. XXXI. 7. 8.

³⁸ Hieronym., *Epist.* 107. 2. 3.

³⁹ Sozom. IX. 7; Euarg., *Hist. Eccl.* III. 25.

⁴⁰ Euarg., *Hist. Eccl.* III. 25.

⁴¹ Cf. Mauric., *Strat.* XI. 3. 14.

⁴² Claud., *In Ruf.* II. 125-129.

⁴³ F. M. C l o v e r, *Flavius Merobaudes. A Translation and Historical Commentary*, (Transactions of American Philosophical Society. N. S., vol. 61, part 1), Philadelphia 1971, pp. 51, 58-59.

⁴⁴ Merob., *Paneg.* II. 150-183.



Fig. 1. The formation of an European army on the march at the middle of the sixteenth century. Note the column is defended along its flanks with ammunition wagons, cannons, and battle carts armed with spears. The illustration is taken from Fronsperger's *Kriegsbuch* (1566).

wagon *laager*. They dug the bottom halves of the wagons' wheels into the ground and strengthened any weak places with a palisade, leaving only one place of departure.⁴⁵ Therefore it was not necessary to take precautions against anyone creeping under the wagons or to protect the weak points between the vehicles.⁴⁶

The construction of the Gothic wagons is obscure. The Latin authors call the Gothic wagons *plaustra*,⁴⁷ *carpenta*,⁴⁸ or *carri*,⁴⁹ rarely – *vehicula*,⁵⁰ the Greek sources – ἀμάξαι.⁵¹ The two first terms are synonyms in *The Chronicle* of Marcellinus Comes and in *The Getica* of Jordanes. It is difficult to imagine the construction of the wagons solely from their names. The usual Greek name for wagons was ἀμάξαι, which corresponds to the Latin *carri* or *plaustra*. E. Saglio notes that the ἀμάξαι and *carri* could have either two or four wheels.⁵² The *plaustrum* was a baggage vehicle sometimes covered with hood. It had two or four disc wheels.⁵³ *Carpenta* were the standard Gallic or Roman baggage or passenger vehicles.⁵⁴ The Gothic wagon probably had four wheels (Fig. 2), as a large wagon is more convenient for the transportation of large items of baggage. The wheels were massive. The Ostrogoths rolled them downhill against the Byzantines advancing up the slope.⁵⁵ It is not clear whether the Gothic wagons had a pitched roof. The wagons of the Cimbri had them in the later second century B.C.,⁵⁶ for Pliny

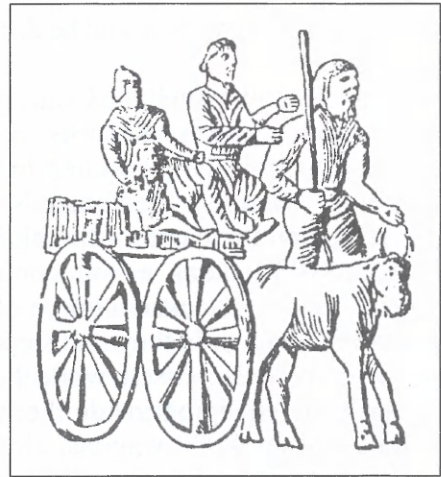


Fig. 2. Barbarians on campaign. After a relief from the *Tropaeum Traiani* at Adamclisi (Romania), the early second century A.D.

describes the Cimbri's vehicles as "houses placed on wagons", i.e. as vans.⁵⁷ The late fourth century poet Claudian seemingly mentions Visigothic wagons covered with skins or pelts of young bulls.⁵⁸

Had the Goths special battlewagons? The *Chronicle* of Marcellinus Comes describes the death of the Ostrogothic leader Theodoric Strabo (481 A.D.) with the following words: "As he proceeded among his own moving wagons he was run through by the point of a weapon set above one of his own carriages, carried onto it by the weight of his frightened horse, and died."⁵⁹ Hence, Theodoric, riding among the moving train, had not noticed the point of a spear which was protruding obliquely from one of the wagons. When the ruler stumbled onto the spearhead, his horse reared and lunged forward, and the spear pierced him through. Note that the spear did not break off. Hence it was firmly attached to the wagon. However this wagon was not a special one prepared for battle like the medieval battle carts and wagons armed with spikes,⁶⁰ for Theodoric would have paid especial attention to a battlewagon furnished with spears. Moreover one

⁴⁵ Agath. I. 4.

⁴⁶ M. J a h n s, *Handbuch einer Geschichte des Kriegswesens von der Urzeit bis zur Renaissance*, Leipzig 1880, p. 448.

⁴⁷ Ambros., *Epist.* 20. 12; Amm. XXXI. 12. 11; 13. 2; 15. 5; Claud., *In Ruf.* II. 129; *Paneg. IV cons. Honor.* 53; *De cons. Stilich.* I. 94; *De bel. Goth.* 605; Sidon. Apoll., *Epist.* III. 3. 8; Marcel., *Com. a. 481.* 1; Jord., *Rom.* 346; Julian., *Hist. Wamb.* 27; cf. Jord., *Get.* 55; 280.

⁴⁸ Marcel., *Com. a. 481.* 1; Jord., *Rom.* 346.

⁴⁹ Veget. III. 10.

⁵⁰ Amm. XXXI. 8. 1.

⁵¹ Zosim. I. 35. 2; 45. 1; IV. 25. 3; Malch. frg., 18; Procop., *Bel. Goth.* I. 1. 12; II. 23, 19-20; cf. Plut., *Marius* XII. 8.

⁵² E. S a g l i o, *Carrus* [in:] Ch. Daremberg, E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments*, vol. I, part 2, Paris 1886, pp. 928-929.

⁵³ G. L a f a y e, *Plaustrum* [in:] Ch. Daremberg, E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments*, vol. IV, part 1, Paris 1909, pp. 504-506.

⁵⁴ E. S a g l i o, *Carpentum* [in:] Ch. Daremberg, E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments*, vol. I, part 2, Paris 1886, pp. 926-927.

⁵⁵ Procop., *Bel. Goth.* II. 23. 19-20.

⁵⁶ Strab. VII. 2. 3.

⁵⁷ Plin., *HN* VIII. 143

⁵⁸ Claud., *In Ruf.* II. 129: ... caesis obtendit plaustra iuencis.

⁵⁹ Marc., *Com. a. 481.* 1 (translated by B. Croke); cf. Jord., *Rom.* 346. However, Evagrius (*Hist. Eccl.* III. 25) tells that Theodoric, breaking in horse, was casual come on a spear.

⁶⁰ See, for example, the figures from the manuscript *Bellifortis* by Konrad Kyeser of Eichstädt (1395-1405): M. Berthelot, *Histoire des machines de guerre et des arts mécaniques au Moyen Âge* [in:] *Annales de chimie et de physique*, serie 7, vol. 19, 1900, pp. 300-301, figs. 5-6; pp. 304-307, figs. 8-11; pp. 420, fig. 123.

would imagine that the spikes would be dismantled during the march.

The attention with which the Goths guarded their encampments was unsatisfactory. A sudden attack on their camp usually resulted in victory for their enemy.⁶¹ Maurice recommends a night attack by archers on the camp of the blond peoples.⁶² In A.D. 379 Modares, a Goth commander in the Roman service, attacked a horde of Goths not long before dawn while they still slept, probably outside the *Wagenburg* itself, while their families were probably sleeping inside the wagons. Zosimus tells us that 4,000 wagons, along with captives, were seized by the Romans.⁶³ The number of the captured vehicles mentioned allows us to assess the size of the Gothic *Wagenburg*, as we may presume that all or most of the wagons was captured. The wagons were probably drawn up close to one another to form the edges of the *Wagenburg*. Thus the diameter of the *laager* could be increased if necessary and the enemy could not easily drag the wagons downhill. If each wagon had a length of 2m the wagons would have formed a circle with a diameter of *ca.* 2.5 km. On the basis of the diagram of the battle of Adrianople contained in A. Ferrill's book, Z. Żygulski has suggested that the Gothic *Wagenburg* must have consisted of two rows of wagons.⁶⁴ This is possible, though there is no evidence for it in the sources. In A.D. 1620, for example, the Poles formed a *Wagenburg* against the Turks and Tartars from six rows of wagons.⁶⁵ If the 4,000 wagons captured in A.D. 379 had been drawn up in two rows, then the diameter of the Gothic *laager* would have been about 1.7 km. Of course the perimeter of a *laager* of this size needed to be guarded effectively, but efficient guarding was not something at which the Goths excelled.⁶⁶

One can approximately assess the proportion of persons to wagons in the camp from a further statistic preserved in the sources. The Romans, after breaking and putting to flight an Ostrogothic army at a battle fought near Mount Candavia in A.D. 479, captured 5,000 captives and

2,000 wagons from the camp.⁶⁷ Hence one supposes that there were a minimum of two to three persons per wagon. Probably one family travelled in each wagon.⁶⁸ Of course, some families could possess several vehicles, while the poorest Goths perhaps did not have even one.

In the latter part of the fifth century into the second quarter of the sixth the Goths did not use the *Wagenburg*. In A.D. 490-493 the Ostrogoths under King Theodoric the Great laid siege to Ravenna inside which the Italian ruler Odoacer was sheltering. The Ostrogoths constructed a camp with fosse and rampart at Pineta near the city.⁶⁹ In A.D. 537 they built a camp and fortified it with a deep ditch, an earthen rampart, and a palisade.⁷⁰ Later still, in A.D. 673, the Visigoths quickly fortified their camp pitched on a plain with a wall.⁷¹ In camp the Goths lived in tents.⁷² However these fortified camp were not inaccessible: a horseman, holding his horse by the bridle, was able to penetrate through the fortifications into the camp.⁷³

Was the *Wagenburg* borrowed by the Goths from other peoples? On the one hand, the Germans knew it earlier, but, on the other, the Goths might have borrowed it from one of their steppe neighbours. The Huns are sometimes suggested in this context.⁷⁴ The chronology does not support such a suggestion, however, for the *Wagenburg* was already being used by the Goths by the middle of the third century, when they appeared on the historical arena for the first time. It is my opinion that in all probability the mobile fortified camp is a military expedient that arises spontaneously under similar circumstances. During their invasions the Goths did not know where in the local terrain they could seek refuge, and the enemy cavalry dominated the plains. In such circumstances the Goths would have been forced to form a camp

⁶⁸ Cf. Ambros., *Epist.* 20. 12: Quocumque femina ista processerit, secum suos omnes coetus vehit.

⁶⁹ *Continuatio Hauniensis Prosperi* a. 491; Anon. Vales., 11. 53; cf. Jord., *Get.* 293-294.

⁷⁰ Procop., *Bel. Goth.* I. 19. 11; II. 5. 17.

⁷¹ Julian., *Hist. Wamb.* 27.

⁷² Procop., *Bel. Goth.* IV. 32. 1.

⁷³ Procop., *Bel. Goth.* II. 5. 17; cf. III. 18. 9-10.

⁷⁴ S. V. B e l o u s o v, *Voennoe iskusstvo germanskikh narodov IV-VI vv. n. e. Avtoferat dissertatsii na soiskanie uchennoj stepeni kandidata istoricheskikh nauk*, Moskva 1995, p. 14.

⁷⁵ Cf. the Slavs, who, carrying a large amount of booty, formed a *Wagenburg*, when they were threatened by an attack from the Byzantine cavalry: Theoph. Sim., VII. 2. 2-9; P. V. G o l u b o v s k i j, *S kakogo vremeni možno prosl-edit' na jube Rossii sposob zashchity taborom* [in:] *Trudy Odin-nadtsatogo arkheologicheskogo s'ezda v Kieve*, vol. II, Moskva 1902, p. 73.

⁶¹ Amm. XXXI. 3. 6-7; 11. 5; Merob., *Paneg.* I. frg. II. B, ll. 16-18.

⁶² Mauric., *Strat.* XI. 3. 14.

⁶³ Zosim. IV. 25. 3.

⁶⁴ Z. Żygulski, *The Wagon Laager* [in:] *Fasciculi archaeologiae historicae*, fasc. VII, 1994, p. 15; A. Ferrill, *The Fall of the Roman Empire. The Military Explanation*, London 1990, p. 61.

⁶⁵ Z. Żygulski, *The Wagon Laager ...*, p. 20.

⁶⁶ Cf. Mauric., *Strat.* XI. 3. 7; 14.

⁶⁷ Malch. frg. 18.

from the wagons they had, or from any other convenient means.⁷⁵ In a similar way both the Boers and the Americans during their settlement of the West made use of a *Wagenburg* of their vehicles, the Eastern Siberian Cossacks used their sledges in a similar way, and the Mauri formed a barrier from twelve rows of standing camels. Notwithstanding general military practice, it is quite probable that the Goths maintained the old German tradition of making a fortification out of their wagons.

Undoubtedly, Gothic marching formations had an influence on Roman military practice thanks to the heavy Germanization of the imperi-

al troops. In the later quarter of the fourth century, Vegetius tells us that a camp of wagons (*carri*) was the most usual type of barbarian field fortification, which the Romans was not yet adopted.⁷⁶ In A.D. 499, however, Aristus, the *magister militum per Illyricum*, went out on campaign against the Bulgars with 50,000 soldiers and 520 wagons (*plaustra*) carrying their arms.⁷⁷ Later, in A.D. 505, the consul and *magister militum per Illyricum* Sabinianus advanced against the Gepids with 10,000 troops and wagons, weighed down with arms and foodstuffs.⁷⁸ The Romans probably formed a *Wagenburg* from the wagons. While on campaign in Italy in A.D. 537 the Byzantines, when the circumstances dictated it, made a mobile camp from their ration wagons.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Veget. III. 10. I accept the date for Vegetius' treatise proposed by C. Zuckerman in C. Zuckerman, *Sur la date du traité militaire de Végèce et son destinataire Valentinien II* [in:] *Scripta classica Israelica*, vol. XIII, 1994, pp. 67-74. Theodosius II and Valentinian III are proposed as the other two emperors for whom Vegetius produced his treatise. The *terminus* dates for the writing of the treatise is established by the death of Gratianus (A.D. 483) and by a reference to the work by a certain Flavius Eutropius in 450; *ibidem*, p. 67. Therefore W. Goffard considers the work to have been written during the reign of Valentinian III (A.D. 425-455). See W. Goffard, *The Date and Purpose of Vegetius' "De re militari"* [in:] *Traditio*, vol. 33, 1977, pp. 65-100.

⁷⁷ Marcel., *Com.* a. 499, 1.

⁷⁸ Marcel., *Com.* a. 505.

⁷⁹ Procop., *Bel. Goth.* II. 5. 3.

of property in the first quarter of the fourth century. Vegetius tells us that a couple of weeks before the main assault on the city, the soldiers were ordered to bring their own provisions, which the Romans were not allowed to do. In A.D. 467, however, during the siege of the city, the Roman army was ordered to bring their own provisions, which the Romans were not allowed to do. In A.D. 467, however, during the siege of the city, the Roman army was ordered to bring their own provisions, which the Romans were not allowed to do.

...the Roman army was ordered to bring their own provisions, which the Romans were not allowed to do. In A.D. 467, however, during the siege of the city, the Roman army was ordered to bring their own provisions, which the Romans were not allowed to do. In A.D. 467, however, during the siege of the city, the Roman army was ordered to bring their own provisions, which the Romans were not allowed to do.

1. ...the Roman army was ordered to bring their own provisions, which the Romans were not allowed to do. In A.D. 467, however, during the siege of the city, the Roman army was ordered to bring their own provisions, which the Romans were not allowed to do.

...the Roman army was ordered to bring their own provisions, which the Romans were not allowed to do. In A.D. 467, however, during the siege of the city, the Roman army was ordered to bring their own provisions, which the Romans were not allowed to do.

...the Roman army was ordered to bring their own provisions, which the Romans were not allowed to do. In A.D. 467, however, during the siege of the city, the Roman army was ordered to bring their own provisions, which the Romans were not allowed to do.

1. ...the Roman army was ordered to bring their own provisions, which the Romans were not allowed to do. In A.D. 467, however, during the siege of the city, the Roman army was ordered to bring their own provisions, which the Romans were not allowed to do.