The urbanization of the North-Western provinces of the Roman Empire : a juridical and functional approach to town life in Roman Gaul, Germania inferior and Britain
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CHAPTER 3: THE INTEGRATION OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES INTO THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Introduction

In this chapter, we will look more specifically at the policies implemented by Rome to efficiently exploit, control, and administer and integrate the north-western provinces of the Roman Empire. Before we start, I should clarify a fundamental premise on which this study rests. The duality between *urbs-rus*, cities and territories, self-governing centres and secondary agglomerations will often recur in this work, both because of methodological and illustrative purposes, and because it echoes important socio-economic structures of the Roman world, such as its fiscal and administrative systems.

Some of the earliest attempts made by historians and archaeologists to look at ancient urbanism were based on the analysis of the self-governing cities alone, and urban hierarchies were explored through the lens of their juridical status.[291] As we will soon see, however, this approach may not be applied with the same results to all regions, but it is nonetheless a valid starting point.[292]

Given these premises, a first approach to characterize Roman urbanism will be to consider cities in juridical terms. Thus, we will distinguish two types of agglomerations: those that enjoy some form of local autonomy[293] (i.e. headquarters of civic and political institutions) and those that lay within their territory and are politically dependent on them.[294] We will describe the most common juridical status the cities in the North-West could hold. Then, we will look at the epigraphic attestations of cities' juridical statuses province by province.[295] We need to contextualize these sources in their historical and political settings. It will become clear as we move along in our study that the large differences in the implementation of integration policies, political choices, cultural and epigraphic habits hinder any meaningful inter-provincial comparisons. While this approach has major limitations when employed on the macro-scale level, it can be very valuable when adopted on a provincial scale. We will then proceed to analyse the relationship between city status and its size in each province and present the different patterns we are able to distinguish. At the end of the chapter, we will conclude by

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[291] The works of Pounds 1969 and Bekker-Nielsen 1989 dealt only with the self-governing cities. Juridical status is the starting point of Wacher's significant 'The towns of Roman Britain' (Wacher 1975). Other examples come from the Anglo-Saxon literature, which for a long time dealt separately with the study of the self-governing cities and 'small cities' of Roman Britain. Also see Reid 1913; and Millar 1992.

[292] This paradigm is not exempt from exceptions, and while it is relatively robust for the north-western provinces, it would be less so if we were looking at Roman Italy (e.g. a few examples are known from Apulia) or Spain, where it was more common for a *civitas* to be devoid of an *urbs* ('*civitas sine urbe*' or 'dispersed *civitas*'). See Guzmán 2011; and 2014; Houten 2018.

[293] For a list of the self-governing cities of the north-western Empire on the basis of Ptolemy's lists and epigraphic grounds, see Appendix A.

[294] Nonetheless, they may enjoy monumental buildings whose functions are usually related to the religious or entertainment spheres.

[295] Literary sources are not as reliable as inscriptions, as will be discussed later in the chapter.

discussing a number of issues that undermine the validity of such an approach when applied on a macro-scale level.

3.1 The Romans and the political integration of cities

3.1.1 The *'civitas'*

The Latin word *'civitas'*, as it is understood in the Early Empire, is a complex and polysemantic word. The primary meaning is not territorial, rather juridical. It refers to the 'citizen body' (of a community).[296] Amongst the different meanings it may take, it also defines a political unit of delimited space or territory, inclusive of its population and institutions appointed for the administration and government of the whole of its territory.[297] In most cases, institutions, and magistrates reside in its main centre *(urbs)*. In the *territoria* of the *civitates,* small villages and rural sites are typical. In the case of the north-western provinces, however, the *territoria* of the *civitates* are so extensive that they very often include large agglomerations which - no matter their size or level of monumentality - are nonetheless politically dependent on the *civitas*' administrative centre (which scholars refer to as *civitas* capital).

The expansion of Rome, from an early phase, was based on the predominance of the *civitas* of Rome over all the others. To receive the *ius civitatis* (here the right to govern itself as a self-governing city) was indeed very advantageous for a city.[298] The acquired sovereignty meant that it could elect its own *ordo decurionum*, magistrates and manage its own affairs. Above all, as the *Lex Irnitana* attests, it was associated with the *fines, agri, vectigalia*, meaning that the *civitas* could levy taxes and collect income from the public land within its boundaries.[299]

The relationship between the *civitas* of Rome and the rest of the *civitates* could take different forms. In the Western Empire, loyal allies like the Remi, Lingones, and Ubii received the privileged federate status of *civitates foederatae*, meaning that they had separate treaties with Rome.[300] Others, (e.g. the *civitates* of the Treveri, Petrucores, Vellavi, Turoni, and Viducassi)

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[296] This is also the meaning in the Digest, see Heumann and Seckel 1958 (9th edition): 71: the term often means 'civic community/municipality' (in German '*Stadtgemeinde*', because most communities had an urban centre), e.g. *civitas* Antiochensium (D. 42.5.37) or *civitas* Tyriorum (D. 50.15.8.4). In D. 50.1.1.1 we find '*recepti in civitatem*', 'admitted to the (Roman) citizen community'.

[297] The political meaning of the term *civitas* can be found in Cicero's works: *'[...] Omnis ergo populus, qui est talis coetus multitudinis qualem exposui, omnis civitas, quae est constitutio populi, omnis res publica, quae ut dixi populi res est, consilio quodam regenda est, ut diuturna sit. id autem consilium primum semper ad eam causam referendum est quae causa genuit civitatem'* (Cicero, De Re Publica I, 25-26). 'Therefore every people, which is such a gathering of large numbers as I have described, every city, which is an orderly settlement of a people, every commonwealth, which, as I said, is "the property of a people," must be governed by some deliberative body if it is to be permanent.' Trad. Loeb Classical Library.

[298] See ILS 6090, where the village of Tymandus, in Pisidia, tried to obtain the status of *civitas*.

[299] A fragment of the pledge addressed to Constantine and the two Caesars (AD 323-326) attests to the aspiration of the secondary agglomeration of Orcistos (Phrygia) to receive the status of *civitas* (Corbier 1991a).

[300] Sánchez 2016 recently argued the status *civitas foederata* could be granted to a *colonia*. He writes that the idea of a *'colonia foederata'* is not a *'monstruosité juridique' contra* Beloch 1926: 195: *'Aber mit seinen eigenen Colonien konnte Rom doch kein foedus abschliessen, denn deren Existenz beruhte ja nur auf Beschlüssen des römischen Volkes, und eine colonia foederata wäre eine staatsrechtliche Ungeheuerlichkeit.'*

were free *civitates (liberae),* meaning that they were exempted from interference by the provincial governor; others could have been *immunes*, that is immune from taxes. When literary and epigraphic sources fall silent on the type of relationship that linked a *civitas* to Rome, scholars tend to interpret it as a sign of a *civitas stipendiaria*, that is subject to tribute.[301] Other *civitates* could be granted the status of *coloniae* and *municipia*, and in the 'Marble of Torigny' we see that the words *colonia*, *civitas,* and *civitas libera* were interchangeable and used as synonyms. It happens very often that a colony calls itself *civitas*, even within the same inscription, precisely because it simply means 'community' (of citizens).[302]

3.1.2 Colonies

In the Western provinces, we can distinguish between the Roman veteran colonies, the 'Latin' (i.e. non-veteran) colonies, and the Roman 'honorary'' colonies.

The Roman veteran colonies were founded to settle discharged veterans who held Roman citizenship. Within our study area, they can be found only in areas that had been at one point frontier regions and *theatres of prolonged conflicts*. The presence of veterans was meant to be a deterrent against new conflicts and potential revolts, as well as a source of support for the continuing pacification process.[303] Therefore, they were *instrumental* in strengthening the Roman *grip* on a hostile environment.[304] Security enhancement of this sort was particularly needed in areas which had geographically *strategic* meaning for *military* reasons, i.e. close to the coastline and major rivers. These places were crucial points *within the transport system and were of major importance regarding military supplies and* threats coming from communities across the border. For these reasons they can be found only in Gallia Narbonesis (Narbonne and Béziers, Arles, Aix, Fréjus, Orange, and Valence),[305] the Germanic *limes* (Cologne, Xanten), and in Britannia (Colchester, Gloucester[306]). Given how colonies always involved the confiscation and redistribution of the indigenous population's land to the discharged soldiers, they might have been punitive measures in the case of Narbonne, *Béziers,* and Colchester.[307]

Latin colonies were a phenomenon circumscribed to the late Republic and Early Imperial times. They were pre-existing indigenous communities which, at the time of the award, largely

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[301] Soraci 2010: the word *'stipendiarii'* originally designated the populations conquered by the Romans and subject to the payment of the *'stipendium'*. Later, it could also indicate other types of contributors such as *foederatae*, *liberae* etc. (see Cicero; Livy; and Velleius Paterculus).

[302] See Appendix A.

[303] Ironically, however, this was not always the case. Allegedly, it was the discriminations against the *incolae* (indigenous people living within the colony) by the Roman settlers that contributed to the outbreak of the Boudiccan revolt (Tacitus, Annales, XIV, 31).

[304] Laffi 2007: 34. This is in line with Tacitus' narrative that 'a colony was settled on conquered lands at Camulodunum by a strong detachment of veterans, who were to serve as a bulwark against revolt and to habituate the friendly natives to legal obligations' (Tacitus, Annales, 12.32).

[305] Narbonne and Béziers are known to have sided with Hannibal against Rome, and the Catuvellauni (whose capital was Colchester) had been Rome's strongest enemy.

[306] The status of colony is not epigraphycally attested for the case of Lincoln. However, in the secondaty literature it is often argued that the legionary fortress become a veteran colony after the departure of the legio II Adiutrix in 86 AD (Jones 2004: 166; and Wilson 2006: 5).

[307] Also see Mattingly 2006a: 261-262.

consisted of people who did not hold Roman citizenship. This form of 'colonization without colonists' meant that the territory could go through a reorganization but remained under the authority of the indigenous community that was granted this status.[308] In the north-western provinces this practice was mostly confined to Gaul Narbonensis, where it was widely employed during the Late Republic and Augustan times, as we will see later in the chapter. Finally, the title of Roman honorary colony was very rare in this part of the Empire. It was bestowed only on a few among the largest, richest, and most important cities (e.g. Trier, Vienne, York, etc.).[309] It is possible that a pre-condition for this award was a direct line with Rome (possibly with a senator as an intermediary).[310]

3.1.3 Municipia

A *municipium* was a chartered town. According to Chastagnol, *municipia* with Roman rights ceased to be founded when Claudius came to power; *municipia* founded at a later time all enjoyed Latin rights.[311] He argued that neither Strabo nor Pliny ever used the expression '*municipium latinum*' or, more generally, '*municipium*' when they were talking about a community that had Latin rights. Saumagne, on the other hand, believes that this new juridical twist was introduced starting from Claudius's censorship in AD 47-48. Le Roux, who thoroughly examined the evidence from Roman Spain, believes that the appearance of the *municipium Latinum* can be dated to AD 73-74, the year of the conjoined censorship of Vespasian and his son Titus and of the extension of the *ius Latii* to all of Spain.[312] Regardless of when this innovation was first introduced in the north-western provinces, this title is very rarely attested in the epigraphic record (it can be found only in the Alpine provinces and Germania Inferior).

3.1.4 Political integration in the Roman Empire: the *ius Latii*

The political integration of allied or conquered communities in the western provinces in Late Republican and Early Imperial times has been a matter of debate for a very long time. Despite all the ink spilt, many aspects remain unclear, and, given the few sources at our disposal and their often contradictory character, it is likely that they will never be settled.[313] The endless discussion over the nature of the so-called 'Latin *oppida* mentioned by Pliny is

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[308] Traces of centuriation have been found around the non-veteran colonies of Avennio and Cabellio.

[309] Several of these colonies (e.g. Vienne) were also granted the *ius Italicum*, which was a very rare privilege and 'conferred the concrete privilege of exemption from *tributum* and also elevated the recipient town in prestige by emphasizing its close ties to the homeland of the Roman people' (Watkins 1988-1989: 117).

[310] E.g. the senators Decimus Valerius Asiaticus (Vienne) and Titus Sennius Sollemnis (a friend of Tiberius Claudius Paulinus, the imperial propraetorial legate of Gallia Lugdunensis) for Vieux.

[311] Chastagnol 1995d.

[312] As Chastagnol pointed out, the case of Sicily teaches us we should be careful and critical when we hear of an emperor who grants *ius Latii* to a whole province. Cicero in a letter writes that Antonius has granted Roman rights to the whole province in 44 BC. However, in Pliny's list there are still *oppida peregrini* and *popoli* with Latin rights. Either he was using a Caesarian source, or these statements were generalizations.

[313] Much ink has been spilt over the origin of the *ius Latii*. The origin of the 'Latin rights' can be traced back to the regal period or to the early years of the Republic. It has often been claimed that its foundations concurred with the stipulation of the Foedus Cassianum (493 BC) (most recently this thesis has been endorsed by Kremer 2007). However, this is a bit of a stretch since the Foedus Cassianum (as transmitted through literary sources) does not make any direct reference to the Latin rights.

exemplary. Here we are not interested in discussing these juridical aspects in great detail. We will be satisfied with a broad view of the issue. Nonetheless, it is undeniable that the bestowal of Latin rights played an important role in the political integration of foreign communities in the Roman Empire.[314] In any case, by the time the *ius Latii* was introduced into the *civitates* of the Western provinces, it had gone through some changes. Most notably, the *ius adipiscendae civitatis per magistratum*, that is the right to acquire Roman citizenship through the holding of municipal office, had been introduced.[315]

All in all, Latin rights were a powerful instrument for the integration of the Italian and, later, provincial populations. Originally conceived as a way of regulating relationships between the communities of Latium, it was later used for colonies. This is the case of the *municipium*, a chartered town, which according to Chastagnol, ceased to have Roman rights after Claudius came to power; *municipia* founded at a later time, he believed, all had Latin rights.[316] Although the *ius Latii* is not yet completely understood and doubts remain over its origin and evolution, it is clear that it was always based on one guiding principle: the promotion and assimilation of the elite and, in general, of the communities that were annexed to the Empire.[317] Whether or not Carteia was the first provincial city enjoying Latin rights, the *ius Latii* started to spread in the north-western provinces started from - at the earliest - Caesarian times or at the time of the second triumvirate.[318] On the basis of epigraphic, numismatic and literary sources we also know that several *oppida Latina* were granted colonial status (e.g. Nîmes, Cavaillon, Carcassone, Die, Digne, and Riez).

3.2 A new administrative system

The starting point of this section will be the examination of the administrative structures imposed by the Romans in the north-western provinces *(civitates)*. We will discuss the extent to which they were based on pre-existing boundaries established during the Late Iron Age. We

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[314] Astin *et al.* eds 1990: 362.

[315] The *ius migrandi*, that is the right to go to Rome and acquire Roman citizenship (if it ever existed), had disappeared by this time.

[316] Chastagnol 1995d. The matter is still controversial. Le Roux thinks *municipia* with Latin rights spread from Flavian times onwards. Letta, Mommsen and others (see footnote 361) believed they started to exist already in Augustan times. The change of magistrates from *quattuorviri* to *duumviri* after the Julio-Claudian period suggests that the city received Roman rights, becoming either a Roman or a Latin colony (Gascou 1997: 123-124); for a different opinion see Letta 2007b.

[317] This argument is not affected by the distinction between the so-called *'Latium maius'*, which made all of the councillors in communities Roman citizens, and the *'Latium minus'*, which made Roman citizens only the councillors who held magistracy. On this distinction see Sherwin-White 1973: 255; and Millar 1992: 405-406.

[318] According to Chastagnol, Carteia was a Latin colony in the sense that it hosted people with a Latin background and it did not mean that its citizens enjoyed Latin rights. He believed that Nîmes was the first provincial city to be a 'proper' Latin city in the sense that it had *ius Latii* because it was just after having introduced Nîmes that Strabo felt the need to explain what the *ius Latii* was. Strabo, at that point writes that the *ius Latii* allowed people who had held a local magistrature to automatically be granted Roman citizenship. It might be a coincidence, but as Chastagnol has noticed, Nîmes' coin *'Nem(ausius) col(onia)'* is dated to 42 BC; in the same year in northern Italy the *ius Latii* disappeared. When the *ius Latii* ceased to be used in Italy, it was - he believes - exported into the provinces (Chastagnol 1995e).

will also make a few observations about their sizes and number. When the Romans conquered these provinces, customarily they divided the conquered territory into different *civitates*.[319] They did so for administrative, but perhaps most importantly fiscal purposes.[320]

The first observation we can make is that several of these political entities had a huge territory in comparison to others (Figure 29). The reason behind this, according to Collis, lies in the substantial differences in the nature of urbanization in temperate and Mediterranean Europe. The Mediterranean world was characterised by city-states (*poleis*) whose territories, apart from a few exceptions, were quite modest (around 100 square km). In temperate Europe, on the other hand, he believes communities were organized in a way that was more pertinent to larger communities ('tribal states'). However, this did not have to be necessarily the case, since large, politically centralized, multi-polar entities (or *ethne*) also existed in the Mediterranean world, for example, the communities of the Samnites or the Etruscans. The latter, for example, according to Livy, consisted of a confederation of 12 *city*-states (*duodecim populi*) which met once a year at the Fanum Voltumnae at Volsinii to elect a representative.[321] The differences in size perceived by modern scholars between the *'ethne'* of temperate and Mediterranean Europe therefore, might stem from semantic issues, as well as reflect the differences in the number of *written sources* and third-party observations *available*.

Part of the problem, in this sense, has its roots in the difficulty of distinguishing and understanding the nature of the different political systems of the ancient civilizations that were to be conquered by Rome. Scholars still refer to the pre-Roman communities of the north-western provinces as 'tribes', lumping them all together, even if this practice has been severely criticized.[322] For example, Sastre recently observed that scholars have been naively using: 'one of the most maligned concepts of traditional anthropology […] that of the "tribe", because of the ideological connotations associated with it through colonialism tribes are considered to be a strictly contemporary phenomenon linked with European expansion.'[323]

If we look more closely at the *civitates* of Gaul (Figure 29), we see that they diverge in size. Those in the south and in the north-west look smaller, while those in central and north-east Gaul are indeed larger. The question arises spontaneously: is there a correlation between the size of a community, the level of centralization reached in pre-Roman times and its relationship with Rome around the time of its annexation into the empire?

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[319] The following discussion will deal only with the *civitates* of Gaul, the reason being that in Gaul the borders have been reconstructed through a 'regressive' method on the basis of the Medieval ecclesiastical sources (e.g. French Ancien Régime, Roman Catholic dioceses), epigraphic evidence (boundary stones), *analysis of place names* (e.g. record of words such as '*fines*', etc.)

[320] They will also play a decisive role in conveying a sense of community to later creations, such as the Batavi (Roymans 2004).

[321] See Livy 1.8.3; 4.23.5; 4.61.2; 5.1.5; 5.33.9-10.

[322] Moore 2011.

[323] Sastre 2011: 272-273; also see Fried 1968; Ferguson and Whitehead eds. 1992. In fact, she writes that the concept of tribalization has mostly been interpreted as the process of the construction of regional and collective entities (often referred to as 'chiefdoms') with a specific character, territory, cultural or linguistic tradition etc. However, this is only one side of the coin, since it is known from anthropology that tribalization can also express itself as the atomization of social groups (Fowles 2002).

84

Twenty or thirty years ago, it was customary to see Roman *civitates* as a legacy of the pre-Roman world.[324] This error was also due to a misunderstanding of the word *'civitas'*, which Caesar often uses quite often (182 times) in his *Commentarium De Bello Gallico*. This word, in his book, can bear different meanings.[325] Most of the times, he used it to refer to a 'community of people', without any further geographical indication of their territory, which suggests that - in most cases at least – their boundaries were not fixed (unlike Roman *civitates*, whose *fines* were clearly defined). When this word was employed by ancient authors with regard to Roman Italy, it always indicated a 'community of citizens' and had a clear juridical meaning.[326] This is not the case for Gaul, and Caesar, in his book, only rarely used it in this respect (*c.* 20 times, for example when implying they were a political entity led by a political figure or assembly).

Figure 29: The *civitates* of Roman Gaul and Germania Inferior.

Thanks to new archaeological discoveries, a more critical approach, and the decline in ideological and chauvinistic attitudes, these supposed truisms have begun to be questioned.[327] The traditional idea that Rome conquered the north-western provinces and respectfully kept

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[324] E.g. Chastagnol 1995g wrote that the Roman *civitates* reflected the pre-Roman circumscriptions which dated to the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC and which became the basis of the Roman administrative system. Others went so far as to argue that the pre-Roman territorial divisions in Britain persisted in Roman times and in the Early Medieval kingdoms (Yeates 2008; and Karl 2011).

[325] see Fichtl 2004: 14-21.

[326] Cicero, Pro Sestio 91

[327] See Tarpin 2006: 31; Moore 2011.

old territorial borders and local traditions is being challenged.[328] At this time all the previous relationships and hierarchical bonds were disrupted, and, as Caesar claimed, communities were allowed to have only one interlocutor: Rome.[329]

In most cases, continuity between the Iron Age communities and Roman *civitates*[330] is illusory and indemonstrable. For a long time, Classical sources have been the main instrument for reconstructing the pre-Roman political geography of these provinces. However, because of the complexity and subjectivity of these sources, scholars often confront severe contradictions and ambiguities.[331] For example, in Gallia Narbonensis we notice a difference between the number of communities that were mentioned before Augustus and the number of those that survived in the names of the *civitates* at the time of the *formula provinciae* (before 16-14 BC). Some of the communities that did not develop into *civitates* are attested as *pagi* (for example, the Condrusti might have given their name to the *'pagus Condrustis'* located in the *civitas* of the Tungri).[332] At most, we can deduce that at times pre-Roman territorial divisions made their mark and were fossilized into Roman territorial institutions.[333] In the Three Gauls some communities known to Caesar disappeared before Augustan times (e.g. Tulinges, Latobices and Ambarres), while others instead appeared out of nowhere (e.g. Silvanecti). Similarly, in Britain, the Segontiaci, Ancalities, Bibroci and Cassi are mentioned by Caesar but ignored by Ptolemy.[334]

These discrepancies have often been explained with reference to their process of formation: for example, by the emergence of a larger community originating from the joining of several smaller ones. This is, of course, reasonable, and it is possible that several were probably simply not significant enough to pass down through the generations after the merger. However, given how these communities developed in an unstable, fluid context, it is difficult to determine how

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[328] Also provincial borders are more indicative of Roman imperialism than cultural areas. Narbonensis, for example, was founded in order to control two main axes: the way to Spain and the Rhône-*Saône* axis. For this reason the territories of the Arverni and of the Ruteni were not annexed. Thus, Tarpin concludes, it is the act of conquest that gives coherence to the province of Narbonensis.

Caesar explains his sub-division into three provinces of Gallia Comata by citing how they differ from each other in terms of language, costumes and laws, although every province is delimited by a river (*De Bello Gallico* 1, 2). However, he was criticized by Strabo (Geography, 4,1,1), who was sceptical of Caesar's comments and wrote that except for the Aquitani - who shared some traits with the Iberi - the rest of Gallia Celtica was ethnically homogenous and differed only in nuances. Goudineau insists on the difficulty of distinguishing between the Belgae and the Gauls; he just sees a chronological difference and not a cultural one - the Belgae arrived later, around the 3rd century BC (Goudineau 2004: 966-67; Thollard 2009: 117-123).

The fact that some territories could be interchangeable and move from being part of one province to another also seems to collide with the idea that provinces mirrored cultural identities, e.g. the Alpes Poeninae were initially included into the province of Raetia and later annexed to the Alpes Graiae (Wiblé 1998a; 1998b).

[329] See Tarpin 2006: 35.

[330] Reference to *civitates*: De Coulanges 1922: chap. 5; Jullian 1920 t. II p. 3-36, 54-63, 449-542, t. IV: chap. 3; Bloch 1993: 187-203, 334-335, 252-356; Grenier 1931: chaps. 4 and 5. Names and location are known from Caesar, Strabo, Ptolemy, Pliny, Notitia Galliorum.

[331] See Woolf 2011 for a recent and comprehensive study of how Classical authors wrote about the barbarians living in the West.

[332] Dondin-Payre 1999. *Pagi* and *vici* do not stand out for having an 'indigenous' character.

[333] Tarpin 2002b.

[334] *De Bello Gallico* V, 21

they formed and what changes they went through. Moreover, some of these names appear to be catch-all phrases potentially eligible to indicate different groups and not necessarily a specific, unified ethnic or political group. For example, the name 'Brigantes' can be translated 'Upland People' or 'Hill People,[335] and might have been used by the Romans to designate people they were not acquainted with, regardless of their social and economic background.[336] However, it is possible that the Romans did not mean that this group was a coherent 'politie'. The probable late-1st-century-BC source used by the Alexandrian geographer Ptolemy when compiling his Geography, implies that Cumbria and Lancashire belonged to the Brigantes, but did such a territorial arrangement exist? And was it an ancient accomplishment or an innovation introduced by the Roman provincial government?

The analysis of those aspects within the material culture which could potentially be used as indicators of strong group identities - e.g. self-conscious, politicized statements of identity (such as defence systems), or even only coherent unities of burials, *housing*, *eating*, and *drinking* patterns - indicate that the communities within northern Britain (regarded as Brigantian territory) most likely do not qualify as a unified political unity. Similarly, the archaeological evidence does not support the existence of a people known as the Cornovii in the area of Cheshire, Shropshire, north Staffordshire, and north Herefordshire or that of the Setantii in Lancashire in the Iron Age.[337]

Civitates are, therefore, Roman creations. However, it is also true that some of the Gaulish and British *civitates* mentioned by Caesar did become *civitates*. We have already highlighted how considerable regional differences existed within our research area in pre-Roman times. We have discussed how in the West the introduction of centralized political entities progressed at different paces in different parts of our research area. In western Gaul, northern Germania Inferior, Wales and northern England, the pace was low and slow when compared to central and north-eastern France or south-central Britain. Therefore, whilst we have evidence that several Roman *civitates* may have crystallized some pre-existing unities (e.g. as happened in the case of the Mediomatrici and Leuci in Belgica), this assertion cannot be maintained for the whole study area.

3.2.1 A political explanation

In Narbonensis, the *Salluvii* practically disappeared after their defeat. Their territory was divided into at least three different *civitates*: the Latin colony of Aquae Sextiae and the Roman colonies of Fréjus and Arles. Other groups who had been hostile to Rome (e.g. the *civitates* of the Alps, the Vocontii, and the Allobroges) survived. Even Marseille, which famously sided with Pompey against Caesar, kept part of its territory. The map of the *civitates* of Narbonensis

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[335] Moore 2011: 347; Rivet and Smith 1979: 279. Similarly, the name '*Volcae*' might derive from the Latin word 'vulgus' ('people') *(*Moret 2002: 83). The most common interpretation of the etymology of the names Volcae, Volcae Tectosages and Tektosages (found between Gaul and Anatolia) assumes they derive from the Gaulish '*volca*', which originally meant 'falcon' (Delamarre 2003: 327). Later they might have assumed a new meaning, that of 'warrior' (Rübekeil 1992: 61).

[336] And this would explain why the Romans used the same name to indicate a group of people in Ireland.

[337] Wigley 2001: 9 and more recently the project on the Roman rural settlements. For a similar argument about the Silures see Gwilt 2007.

in Augustan times suggests that the mark of Rome could be capricious and deeply radical.[338] The *civitates* of Narbonensis were numerous and dramatically differed in size. They were large in Provence, Languedoc, and in the sub-alpine region. On the other hand, the ones stretching along strategic areas such as the Rhône axis, the *'isthmus gallicus'*, and the coastal route were smaller.[339] In fact, as we have discussed in chapter 2, from the end of the 2nd century BC the Romans scattered Roman foundations along these axes. This allowed Rome to use to her economic advantage on these main trade routes while also ensuring these routes could not be used against them (Hannibal, in his attempt to conquer Rome, had already used the route connecting Italy and Gaul). Moreover, they were strategic not only should Rome need to defend herself from the communities living across the border but also in case it wanted to attack them.

The *civitates* of the Three Gauls and Germania Inferior may be compared to 'ideal territories' which can be calculated on the basis of the linear distance between the self-governing cities. This technique allows us to look at the discrepancy between the model and reality. This, however, poses immediate problems for further research.[340] The reason why we drew the map below (Figure 30) - where we superimposed the territories of the *civitates* as predicted by Thiessen polygons (in black) on the territories of the Roman *civitates* of Gaul and Germania Inferior as reconstructed by scholars on the basis of Medieval ecclesiastical sources (French Ancien Régime, Roman Catholic dioceses) and epigraphic evidence - shown in red- is precisely to identify discrepancies and/or anomalies and to suggest, whenever possible, a historical explanation.[341]

The picture below shows how the Thiessen polygons, in spite of being a very deterministic ideal model, are not completely out of touch with reality. Some of the most evident discrepancies between the two maps have a historical explanation.[342] For example, the *civitas* of the Namnetes and that of its southern neighbours, the Pictones, differed significantly from the pattern predicted by geography. According to the Thiessen polygons, the *civitas* of the Namnetes should have been larger than it actually was, while that of the Pictones might have been only half its size. However, we know from literary sources that the Romans decided on an exemplary punishment for the Namnetes, who were deprived of all their possessions south of the river Loire to the advantage of the Pictones, who, in turn, might have doubled the size of their territory. Several Roman allies (e.g. Remi, Aedui, Tungri) might have been granted a territory larger than that which geography alone would have assigned them. Only in the case

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[338] It is difficult to date certain decisions concerning the re-organization of provinces. Here we are not interested in looking at what happens in later periods, so we will not discuss the problem of those self-governing cities that lost their independence in the High Empire, such as Ruscino, Glanum, and Carcassone.

[339] The valley of the *Hérault*, for example, was divided into three different *civitates* (*Béziers*, Lodève, and Nîmes).

[340] Thiessen polygons (also known as Voronoi polygons or Voronoi diagrams) are generated around a set of points in a given space by assigning all locations in that space to the closest member of the point set. The boundaries of the polygons are mathematically defined by the perpendicular bisectors of the lines between all points. Diagrams that resembled the Voronoi diagram can be found in the work of French philosopher and mathematician René Descartes (1596 - 1650). Thiessen 1911 is one of the first examples of using the Voronoi diagram for spatial interpolation. (Yamada 2016, Thiessen 1911). Also see Fichtl 2004: 45 who used a similar method.

[341] For an example of how the territory of a *civitas* can be reconstructed using these sources see Féliu 2014.

[342] See Bintliff and Snodgrass 1985.

of the Tungri do we have literary sources that speak of a Roman political strategy: Rome intentionally allowed them to occupy the land that belonged to the Eburones, a tribe that had been severely punished by Caesar and whose name would be relegated to oblivion.[343] The importance of the Iron Age legacy is preponderant in the case of the *civitates* of the Ruteni, Gabali and Vellavi, which in pre-Roman times were already subjugated to the powerful tribe of the Arverni and whose *civitates* were smaller than the Thiessen polygon analysis would have predicted. Similarly, some of the largest territories are found in central Gaul (e.g. Lemovici, Aedui, Bituriges Cubi) and in north-western Gaul (e.g. Remi, Treveri, Mediomatrici, Leuci). These are the areas where we have seen the earliest signs of centralization appear in Gaul.

Figure 30: The territory of the *civitates* of Gaul and Germania Inferior. In red: the territory of the *civitates* as reconstructed by scholars on the basis of historical and epigraphic evidence; in black: the territory of the *civitas* as predicted by the Thiessen polygons.

In Britain, our knowledge of the *civitates'* boundaries is much less solid. It is possible that Togidubnus, the client-king of the Regni, because he sided against Boudicca, was rewarded with land that previously belonged to the Atrebates and the Belgae.[344] An interesting hypothesis but, yet again, impossible to prove, is that part of the territory of the Silures was annexed to that of the Dobunni, allies of the Romans, whose territory - as reconstructed by the majority of modern scholars - appears to have been very large.[345]

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[343] Tacitus, Germania, II, 2.

[344] Cunliffe 2012: 373.

[345] Jones and Mattingly 2002: 61.

3.3. The juridical status in the north-western provinces

3.3.1 Gallia Narbonensis

From 125 BC onwards, following a request for help from the Greek colony of Massalia, which was threatened by the powerful Gallic tribes to the north, the presence of Rome in this region became permanent. It became a Roman province, originally under the name Gallia Transalpina ('on the far side of the *Alps*').[346] Military campaigns were carried out on the right side of the Rhône between 125 and 121 BC and probably ended with the stipulation of different *foedera* for the defeated tribes. These tribes are likely to have kept their autonomy but were forced to render several services to Rome, such as the duty to supply auxiliary troops and the payment of a *stipendium*.

Cicero's speech *'pro Fonteio'*, written around 70 BC, gives us some interesting insights into the status of Gallia Transpadana before Caesar's intervention.[347] From Cicero we learn two main things: i. the province was not yet politically integrated (the only Roman citizens living there were *'publicani, pecuarii, ceteri negotiatores'*[348]); ii. they were living in complete isolation in the only colony they had founded in 118 BC, Narbo. In fact, the colony of Narbo is described as being surrounded only by enemies (*'colonia nostrorum civium, specula populi romani ac propugnaculum istis ipsis nationibus oppositum et objectum'*[349]), except for the allied city of Marseille (*'urbs Massilia, fortissimorum fidelissimorumque sociorum'*).[350]

Prior to Caesar's colonization scheme, the Romans had established two other military sites (Aquae Sextiae, Tolosa), three *fora* (Forum Iulii, Forum Vocontii, Forum Domitii), and a Pompeian foundation (Lugdunum Convenarum). All these settlements were strategically positioned along the route to Spain. We also know of the existence of a number of cities within the territory of Marseille or close to it. These centres were politically linked to the Greek city, and they issued silver and bronze coinage with Greek legends. However, it is difficult to establish the extent to which they were autonomous, and the whole inventory cannot be exhaustive.[351]

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[346] The province of Gallia Transalpina was renamed Gallia Narbonensis in 118 BC, after its newly established capital of Colonia Narbo Martius.

[347] Christol 1999.

[348] Cicero, Pro Fonteio 21.46: 'Tax-collectors, farmers, stock-raisers, and traders' (trad. Loeb Classical Library).

[349] Cicero, Pro Fonteio 5.13: 'A citizen-colony, which stands as a watch-tower and bulwark of the Roman people, and a barrier of defence against these tribes' (trad. Loeb Classical Library).

[350] Cicero, Pro Fonteio 5.13: 'Inhabited by brave and faithful allies' (trad. Loeb Classical Library). The idea that Aix was founded as a Latin colony in 122 BC has been put forward but never found confirmation (Strabo mentioned the presence of a garrison, whilst Livy talks of a foundation of the *Salluvii*). It is possible that Pompey or Fonteius might have started a new wave of occupation of '*italici*', and perhaps traces of this occupation can be found in the pre-colonial *cadastre* of Béziers, so-called Béziers B and others discovered around Narbo, Arausio, Avennio, and Cabellio. Nonetheless, what is striking is that in this period there was neither thorough political organization nor integration.

[351] Christol 1999.

Figure 31: Cities' juridical status in Narbonensis.

Caesar was the first Roman statesman to take a personal interest in the political integration of this province. For strategic reasons, after having conquered Gallia Comata, he was committed to re-organizing the adjacent province of Gallia Narbonensis. Following Marseille's betrayal in 49 BC and the defeat of Pompey, he also had to take care of its confiscated territory. Thus, while in power, Caesar set out to organize this province by establishing Roman colonies. We know from Suetonius that Caesar sent Tiberius Claudius (father of the future emperor Tiberius) to establish colonies in Narbonensis. Unfortunately, he does not specify how many. He only mentions two of the several colonies that were part of his colonial programme: the re-founded Narbonne and Arles. Scholars have discussed at length which other colonies might have been Caesarian foundations, and possible candidates are Nîmes, Béziers, Orange, and Fréjus.[352]

As Leveau suggests, it may be possible that at first (Caesarian -Augustan period) Rome focused on managing its own colonial foundations (both veterans and honorary). At a later date – probably not later than Flavian times – there is a renewed interest in organizing the rest of the territory, and the already established, extensive *civitates* of Nîmes and Vienne were used as models. This would explain why between the end of the 1st century BC and the early 1st

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[352] Svetonius, Tib., 4, 2. The issue has not yet been resolved. Bowman, Champlin and Lintott 1990 suggest Nîmes, Valence, and Vienne might have become colonies under Caesar. Goudineau, Février, and Fixot thought of Béziers and Nyon (but not Fréjus and Orange which, they believed, were founded at a later stage) (Goudineau *et al.* 1980). Chastagnol 1995b suggested Nîmes (whose archaeological traces belonging to the early phase of the city may have been found, see Christol and Goudineau 1987: 92). Other possible Caesarian colonies could be Béziers, Orange and Fréjus (Le Roux 2014: 444-445).

century AD some previously autonomous centres (like Ruscino and perhaps Glanum) as well as other centres such as Tarascon, Cessero, and Pézenas were attached to larger neighbouring *civitates*, in these cases, those of Narbonne, Arles, and Béziers.[353]

3.3.2 The 'redactio in formam provinciae'

The map of the world (or a list of place names and the distances between them, as argued by Brodersen) supposedly engraved in marble and displayed in the Porticus Vipsania (Campus Martius**)** divided the world into 24 regions, 17 of which were provinces.[354] At the time of formalizing the conquered territory's status as a province, it was necessary to fix its territorial borders and to establish its form of government. For this purpose, sets of laws written specifically for each province (*lex provincialis*) and the so-called *formula provinciae* were issued. The *formula provinciae* determined the extent of the province and listed all the cities that, from that moment onwards, fell within the jurisdiction of a Proconsular governor. Unfortunately, none of these documents has survived, but they are generally assumed to have been read by Pliny the Elder.[355] In his geographical section of the Naturalis Historia (books III to VI), he is likely to have made extensive use of this source.[356] In his books, Pliny proceeds according to Roman provincial divisions, and he lists the subjected *civitates* (*civitates peregrinae*), colonies and *municipia* within a province.

We can have a grasp of the *formula provinciae* of Gallia Narbonensis by looking at Pliny's work (Nat. Hist. III, 31-37). Pliny's main source for compiling his lists probably dated to the beginning of the Augustan period (27-15 BC).[357] In a brief introduction, the author praises the province, described as 'not so much a province as a part of Italy'.[358] After having briefly illustrated his geography, he starts by describing the regions on the coast *(in ora)*.[359] He mentions the colony of Narbo, Castel Roussillon (which had Latin rights), and the federated city of Marseilles with its colony Agde. Then he changes his method and source and proceeds to look at the hinterland *(in mediterraneo)*. He lists the people and cities, which he divides into

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[353] Leveau 1993b: 298-299.

[354] It was prepared by Agrippa (Pliny, Nat. Hist. III.17) and finished by Augustus (Cass. Dio. LV 8.3-4). Brodersen argues that the expression *'orbem terrarum urbi spectandum'* ('to set before the eyes of Rome a survey of the world'. Trad. *Loeb Classical* Library) refers to a text and not a map as it usually does in Pliny's works (Brodersen 1995: 269-70).

[355] Pallu de Lessert 1909.

[356] Nicolet 1989.

[357] *Terminus post quem*: the list follows alphabetical order; and the first city mentioned is Augusta Tricastinorum, which was founded not earlier than 27 BC. *Terminus ante quem*: the *civitas* of Nîmes changed its structure in 16-15 BC, or perhaps in 22 BC. This means that the formula must date earlier than that (Christol 1999). Most scholars believe it dated to 27 BC, the year when Augustus was in Gaul.

[358] Pliny, Nat. Hist. III, 32: *'Agrorum cultu, virorum morumque dignatione, amplitudine opum nulli provinciarum postferenda breviterque Italia verius quam provincia.'* 'Its agriculture, the high repute of its men and manners and the vastness of its wealth make it the equal of any other province: it is, in a word, not so much a province as a part of Italy' (Trad. *Loeb Classical* Library).

[359] Only a few names of the people mentioned by Pliny will recur in the names of the Roman *civitates* of Gaul: the Volcae Tectosages, the Vocontii, and the Allobroges. He lists towns that he qualified as either small or declined in splendour (e.g. Elne, Rhoda etc.). Around a dozen of people's names mentioned by him did not survive into the Roman system of *civitates* (e.g. the Sordones, Consuarani, etc.).

92

three different categories: colonies, *oppida Latina* and allied states (Marseille and the Vocontii). His list of colonies possibly follows a chronological order: Arles, Béziers, Orange, Valence (all of which are veteran colonies), and Vienne (which became an honorary colony possibly under Caligula).[360] He then lists just under 30 *oppida Latina* (Aix, Avignon, Apt, Glanum, Nîmes etc.), the *'oppida ignobilia XIX'* and the *'XXIV Nemausensibus adtributa'*, whose interpretation is still controversial, but could be translated as 'the unimportant towns to the number of nineteen, as well as twenty-four assigned to the people of Nîmes'.[361] He ends his catalogue by mentioning the confederate state of the Vocontii with its two cities (Vasio and Lucus Augusti) and by saying that the 'emperor Galba added to the list two peoples dwelling in the Alps, the people of Avançon and the Bodiontici, whose town is Dinia.'[362]

On the other hand, the organization of the Three Gauls was completed later, around 12-10 BC, with the division into *civitates,* the establishment of the altar of the Three Gauls, and the introduction of the *sacerdos Romae et Augusti* in its capital, Lyon.[363] In Pliny, we find a

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[360] Pliny, Nat. Hist. III, 36:*'In mediterraneo coloniae Arelate sextanorum, Baeterrae septimanorum, Arausio secundanorum, in agro Cavarum Valentia, Vienna Allobrogum'* 'The colonies in the interior are: Arles, the station of the sixth legion, Béziers of the seventh, Orange of the second, Valence in the territory of the Cavares, and Vienne in that of the Allobroges' (Trad. Loeb Classical Library).

[361] Trad. Loeb Classical Library.
The *oppidum latinum* was 1) a *municipium latinum* according to Mommsen, Espinosa, Andreau, Letta, Garcia *Fernández*; 2) a *colonia latina* according to Le Roux and Chastagnol; 3) something in between an *oppidum stipendiarium* and a *municipium latinum* according to Kremer 2006. Mommsen, Letta, Espinosa, Andreau and Garcia *Fernández* believe that the earliest Latin *municipia* were founded already in Augustan times. Saumagne, on the other hand, believes that this new juridical twist was introduced starting from Claudius's censorship in AD 47-48. Le Roux, who thoroughly examined the evidence from Roman Spain, believes that the appearance of the *municipium latinum* can be fixed to AD 73-74, the year of the conjoined censorship of Vespasian and his son Titus and of the extension of the *ius Latii* to all of Spain. In the case of Sicily, Antonius granted the *ius Latii* to the whole province in 44 BC, but it was soon withdrawn by Octavian. In Pliny's list, therefore, there are still *oppida peregrini* and *populi* with Latin rights.
According to Chastagnol, the *oppida ignobilia* were communities which used to be independent. At a certain point, they are 'attributed' to other communities, whether Roman or Latin. The inhabitants of such *oppida* could not hold any public office in their own community (which was not self-governing). They only could do so in the community to which they were subjected. Pliny mentions the *'adtributio'* when referring to some Alpine communities. Because of the *Lex Pompeia*, they are attributed to the neighbouring *municipium* (see *'Tabula Clesiana'*) (Chastagnol 1995d). Chastagnol defines this kind of status as 'subordinated Latin rights', see Chastagnol 1995e. However, it could also be that those *oppida* were never self-governing. Mommsen and other scholars thought the *Lex Pompeia de Transpadanis* was issued in 89 BC, while Luraschi, (reconsidering a hypothesis put forward first by Savigny), argued in favour of the existence of a *Lex Pompeia de adtributione* that dated to around 41 BC (Luraschi 1988: 68-70; Savigny 1968).

[362] Pliny, Nat. Hist. III, 37: *'Galba imperator ex Inalpinis Avanticos atque Bodionticos, quorum oppidum Dinia'* (Trad. Loeb Classical Library).

[363] We know the number of tribes in Gaul thanks to three different ancient sources:
Strabo, Geography, 4, 3, 2: 'Lugdunum itself, situated on a hill, at the confluence of the Saône and the Rhône, belongs to the Romans. It is the most populous city after Narbonne. It carries on a great commerce, and the Roman prefects here coin both gold and silver money. Before this city, at the confluence of the rivers, is situated the temple dedicated by all the Galatæ in common to Cæsar Augustus. The altar is splendid and has inscribed on it the names of sixty tribes, and images of them, one for each, and also another great altar'.
Ptolemy, Geography, 2, chap. 8, 9, 10: lists of tribes and of their cities.

description of the Three Gauls (*Gallia Comata*) and its subdivision into the three provinces of Belgica, Lugdunensis, and Aquitania.[364] The *civitates* Pliny refers to are intended as *peregrinae* (when nothing else is specified). Province by province, starting with Belgica, he lists its *civitates*, four of which were *liberae* (Nervii, *Suessones*, Ulmanectes, Leuci), two were *foederatae* (Lingones[365] and Remi), one was formerly a free *civitas* (Treveri).[366] The three colonies were Nyon and Augst - which would be annexed to Germania Superior in Flavian times - and Cologne, which would become the capital of Germania Inferior. He then lists the name of the *civitates* of Lugdunensis, two of which were *liberae* (Neldi, Secusiani), two were *foederatae* (Carnuteni, Aedui), and one was a colony (Lyon). In Aquitania, he does the same, and he specifies which ones were *liberae* (Santones, Vivisci, Cubi, Arverni).

3.3.3 The introduction of the *ius Latii* in Gaul

The questions of when and by whom the first *oppida Latina* were created and what the *ius Latii* remain unanswered. The idea that it was introduced at the time of the *Lex Pompeia* (89 BC) - the same act that granted the *ius Latii* to the cities of Cisalpina - has been ruled out. Two different scenarios are envisaged: i. the *ius Latii* was granted by Caesar or his successors (52-40 BC); ii. it was granted by Augustus in 27 BC or during the process of establishing the *formula provinciae* (*c*. 27-22 BC). The first hypothesis is supported by the fact that it was Caesar who established the Voltina tribe in Gaul, to which all Latin colonies were assigned. It is also well known that Caesar, in those years, was very concerned with increasing his *clientela*. Whether the *ius Latii* was extended to the whole province of Narbonensis or to individual cities one at the time (as happened, according to Strabo, in Aquitania), is also a matter of debate. Chastagnol did not rule out the possibility that Pliny's source could be *Caesarian* and it could have been Caesar who granted the whole province the *ius Latii* in 52-48 BC. This - assuming that Pliny's source was Caesarian - would explain the large number of *oppida Latina* (75) mentioned by Pliny, then reduced by Augustus to 32.[367]

As mentioned earlier, the triumviral and Augustan periods were also key moments for the organization of the province. When the brief war of Modena ended in 43 BC, a large number of soldiers, along with those soldiers who mutinied, had to be dismissed. Some of them were sent to colonize southern Gaul:[368] in 36-35 BC the colonies of Béziers and Orange were

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Tacitus, Annales 3, 44: 'At Rome meanwhile people said that it was not only the Treveri and Aedui who had revolted, but sixty-four states of Gaul (= *"quattuor et sexaginta Galliarum civitates"*) with the Germans in alliance, while Spain too was disaffected; anything in fact was believed, with rumor's usual exaggeration.'
Sometimes a tribe covers more than one city. It is difficult to understand if he is talking about a tribe or a city, so different scholars have come up with different figures. However, most scholars agree with Fustel de Coulanges, who counts 17 tribes in Aquitania, 25 in Lugdunensis, 22 in Belgica = 64 tribes in the three Gauls (De Coulanges 1922: chap. 5)

[364] Nat. Hist. IV, 17-19.

[365] Later it becomes part of Germania Superior.

[366] It became a colony sometime between Augustan times and mid-1st century AD.

[367] During the Augustan period 43 *oppida* out of 75 lost their autonomy and were integrated into neighbouring communities, for example, 24 were attached to Nîmes (*oppida ignobilia*). Strabo confirms this and writes they had to pay tribute to Nîmes (Chastagnol 1995b). The same opinion is shared by Christol and Goudineau (1987; 90) who also believe it is realistic to conclude that the *ius Latii* was introduced between 52 and 48 BC. Chastagnol also argues that Caesar might have used for Narbonensis the same approach he had previously used for Cisalpina. It is reflected - he adds - in the similar organization that the *civitates* of Narbonensis and Cisalpina shared.

[368] Dio Cassius, 56, 3.

established, and shortly after 27 BC the colony of Fréjus was founded. As for the Three Gauls, we suffer from the lack of ancient sources dealing with this issue. The epigraphic evidence is, unfortunately, less common here than in southern Gaul. Nonetheless, a few observations can be made. Among all these provinces, the *civitates* of Aquitania appear to be among the first to introduce local Roman magistracies. Strabo clearly states that a few Aquitanian *civitates* were granted the *ius Latii* (Conveni, Ausci); the relatively large number of inscriptions attesting magistrates seems to agree with this thesis.[369]

Camille Jullian already noticed that from the reign of Claudius onwards, all magistrates of the Three Gauls had a Roman nomenclature which is characteristic of Latin rights[370], and starting from the middle/late 1st century AD, the number of inscriptions mentioning magistrates increased. We may conclude that the *ius Latii* was extended to the majority of the *civitates* of the Three Gauls during the 1st century AD, but again, we do not have any conclusive evidence that could help us clarify whether this right was given to whole provinces all at once. We know that, according to Tacitus, the Alpes Maritimae were given the *ius Latii* under Nero, the same as Vespasian did for Spain. The idea that the *ius Latii* was granted all at once has been seen as reasonable by different scholars, and a few emperors have been thought of as potential promoters: Claudius, Vespasian, Galba or Hadrian. According to Pliny, Galba had legislated on the status of Digne and of other Alpine districts. Tacitus, in his *Historiae*, writes that Galba, in order to reward the Gauls for supporting him at the time of the civil war, granted them citizenship:

> The Gallic provinces were held to their allegiance, not only by their memory of the failure of Vindex, but also by the recent gift of Roman citizenship, and by the reduction of their taxes for the future; yet the Gallic tribes nearest the armies of Germany had not been treated with the same honour as the rest; some had actually had their lands taken from them, so that they felt equal irritation whether they reckoned up their neighbours' gains or counted their own wrongs.[371]

The same idea is conveyed by a passage of Plutarch, who writes:

> After this, even the reasonable measures of the emperor fell under censure, as, for instance, his treatment of the Gauls who had conspired with Vindex. For they were thought to have obtained their remission of tribute and their civil rights, not through the kindness of the emperor, but by purchase from Vinius.[372]

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[369] Not only would it be the first of the three provinces to adopt Roman institutions, but also several elements peculiar to Roman urbanism (such as *fora*, *basilica* and aqueducts). Some scholars have also tried to imagine which other *civitates* might have enjoyed the *ius* from a very early stage. Both Camille Jullian and Louis Maurin have named the *civitas* of the Santones, which was the capital of the Aquitania, but this is only a speculative hypothesis (Jullian 1920; Maurin 1978).

[370] He encountered only two exceptional inscriptions, which are difficult to date (one concerning a *quaestor* and another a *vergobret*) and are thought to be earlier.

[371] Tacitus, *Historiae*, I, 8.

[372] Plutarch, Life of Galba, 18, 1.

However, the validity of this thesis is still a matter of debate. Another emperor who could have given the *ius Latii* to the Three Gauls is Claudius, who is also known for having granted the elite the possibility of entering the Roman senate.[373]

Figure 32: Cities' juridical status in the Three Gauls in AD 212.

Thus, the evidence we have is contradictory. The questions of whether all the *civitates* of Gaul received the *ius Latii* and whether that happened all in one wave are far from settled. However, when we look at the map of the distribution of inscriptions that mention local magistrates, we see that overall all of Gaul was politically integrated. From Claudius onwards, we also see the spread of Roman 'honorary colonies' in the Three Gauls (Vellavi, Treviri, Helvetii, Segusiavi). Some scholars have thought of Autun as a possible honorary colony, but the only reference we have is a late source.[374]

3.3.4 Status in the Alpine provinces

Before Augustus was able to finally annex the Alpine regions straddling the Alps between modern France and Italy, the Roman presence in this area had been only sporadic and limited to military campaigns, like the one led by Appius Claudius Pulcher in 143 BC, which

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[373] CIL XIII 1668 (Lyon Tablet); and Tacitus, Annales, II, 23-24. Tacitus' passage suggests that before Claudius' speech some *civitates* of the Gallia Comata might already have been juridically integrated within the Roman state (through *foedera*, for example). Claudius is also known to have been a meticulous administrator. For example, he found the solutions to different bureaucratic issues (see, for example, the *'Tabula Claudiana'* found at Cles, Italy, where he resolves *'veteres controversiae'* that had lasted since the reign of Tiberius). The role he played in extending citizenship is also recalled by the anonymous author of the *'Apokolokyntosis'*, section 3.
[374] Eumenius, Paneg. Lat. V(IX), 5.

essentially aimed at exploiting gold mines.[375] Caesar recognized the strategic importance of the Alpine passes, and he attempted the military occupation of the Gran San Bernardo. His legate Galba failed,[376] and Caesar's intentions were to be realized by Augustus[377]. After his victory against the *'gentes Alpinae devictae'* the Tropaeum Alpium was erected in 7-6 BC at La Turbie on the border between Narbonensis and Italy. In order to administer this newly annexed territory, this area was divided into four provinces (Alpes Maritimae, Alpes Poeninae, Alpes Cottiae and Alpes Graiae). Originally they were small, not significantly urbanized and poorly connected. Many efforts were made, and a functional road system was extended and improved by Claudius (the earliest milestone along the road through the Great St. Bernard Pass dates to AD 47).

At first, these areas were administrated by *praefecti*. These *praefecti*, who had military functions, also performed important administrative duties. In fact, it was under the *praefectura* that the territory of the Alpes Maritimae, for example, was divided into *civitates*. At the same time, the first Roman citizens made their appearance, together with the first voting tribes.[378] However, the creation and the administration of these regions, together with the juridical status of their *civitates* are still not sufficiently understood. Due to the few, fragmented and inadequate surviving pieces of evidence, it is necessary to resort to speculation and inferences in order to 'fill in the gaps' when reconstructing these aspects.[379]

Tacitus informs us that in AD 63 *'Caesar nationes Alpium maritimarum in ius Latii transtulit.*[380] The Alpes Graiae's privileged relationship with the emperor Claudius seems to be reflected in the name of its capital city (Forum Claudii Ceutronum).[381] For the Alpes Poeninae, the situation is very unclear since the evidence is contradictory and ambiguous. Initially, the *'vallis Poenina'* was under the jurisdiction of Raetia. We also know that it was first governed by a *praefectus* and later by a *procurator*. Scholars have suggested that Claudius created the province and also changed the name of its capital from Octodurus to Forum Claudii Valliensium, and possibly granted the *ius Latii* to the whole province.[382] However, an inscription dating to the reign of Claudius attests that at the time the *'vallis Poenina'* was still under the authority of the *procurator* of Raetia.[383] Finally, the Alpes Cottiae became a procuratorial province in AD 63, after the death of the last 'client-king' Cottius II, who died

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[375] Strabo, Geography 4, 6 cfr.; *Cassius Dio* 22, fr. 74, 1-2; Oros. 5, 4, 7.

[376] Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, I, 10, 3-5.

[377] Walser 1994.

[378] Lautier and Rothé 2010.

[379] The juridical history of these provinces is also complicated by the fact that their borders changed over time. Strabo also writes that the coastal area of the Var (e.g. Cimiez) was considered *'italiota'*, a term that may refer to the *ius Latii* (Chastagnol 1995f).

[380] Tacitus, Annales XV, 32. The district of the Alpes Maritimae (Tacitus does not refer to them as a nation, nor as a province) was certainly created before AD 69, since Tacitus mentions Marius Maturus, the *procurator Alpium maritimarum* in AD 69 (Tacitus, *Historiae* III, 42, 2-4).

[381] Letta 2006; Letta 2007a; Pliny, Nat. Hist. III, 24, 135. The first *procurator Alpium Graiarum* known in this province dates to the years AD 85-90 (CIL VI, 3720 = ILS 1418).

[382] Pliny, Nat. Hist III, 24, 135.

[383] CIL V 3936 = ILS 1348.

without heirs.[384] Thus, there is general agreement that the Julio-Claudian dynasty was closely involved in the re-organization and municipalization of several of these provinces.

Some disagreements remain. Cesare Letta, and Theodor Mommsen before him, argued that the *ius Latiii* was granted to the Alpes Cottiae already under the reign of Augustus, when - according to them - Susa became a Latin *municipium*. Letta's interpretation of the decorations engraved on the arch erected by Cottius in Susa in 9-8 BC in honour of Augustus goes in that direction.[385] Finally, although it is difficult to grasp the details of this process, it is clear that by the 2nd century AD this area was fully politically integrated into the Roman Empire.

3.3.5 Germania Inferior

The province of Germania Inferior was officially created under the reign of Domitian, and at that moment its territory was probably divided among three legionary camps (Noviomagus, Vetera, Ara Ubiorum) and four different *civitates* (Tungri, Batavi, Cannanefates, Frisiavones). The three legionary fortresses were artificial creations while Cologne (Ara Ubiorum), the provincial capital, was the earliest to develop into a civic urban centre. In AD 50, a veteran colony (whose name - Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium - honoured his wife's birthplace) was founded by Claudius. During Claudius' reign, a chain of forts was erected along the lower Rhine, and the last remaining gaps would be filled by Vespasian. By then, the frontier was guarded by four legionary forts, a fleet base, and 27 auxiliary forts. Castra Vetera became a veteran colony in AD 98,[386] while Noviomagus became a *municipium* either before or at the same time it received the attribute 'Ulpia' (AD 102-104).[387]

It is possible that in Augustan times there was only one large *civitas* - the *civitas* of the Batavi (mentioned by Tacitus) - which included the territory of the Cannanefates and the Frisiavones. This would explain the toponym of Lugdunum Batavorum (Katwijk) and the fact that Ptolemy did not mention the Batavi north of Xanten in his 'Geography'. In Claudian times, two other *civitates* were founded: those of the Cannanefates, Forum Hadriani (*municipium* in AD 162 but probably from at least Hadrian's reign given that its name bears the name of that emperor). Its municipalization was a gradual process, and, together with Tongeren, it is the only self-governing city in Germania Inferior which did not appear to have had a military origin. This

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[384] Braund 2014.

[385] On the northern side, the *suovetaurilia* offered by the *legatus Augusti* in the presence of the king and his heir to Jupiter Optimus Maximus was meant, he believes, to celebrate the annexation of the fourteen *civitates Cottianae* into the Empire and the promotion of Cottius to *praefectus*. On the western side, a similar scene depicts 14 *men wearing togas,* who hold either *volumina* (signs of the Roman rights just acquired) or *tabellae* (Latin rights). Both Cottius and the *legatus Augusti* hold a document, which he believes is the *edictum* issued by Augustus, where it was indicated which right was given to which *civitas*. The same edict is held in the right hand of the scribe, who is delivering the documents (Letta 2007b).

[386] Crummy, on the other hand, believes it was promoted in AD 105 (Crummy 2003: 51).

[387] Van Enckervort and Thijssen 2003: 60.

city was a more recent creation, and its development was possible thanks to the flourishing economy spurred by its harbour.[388]
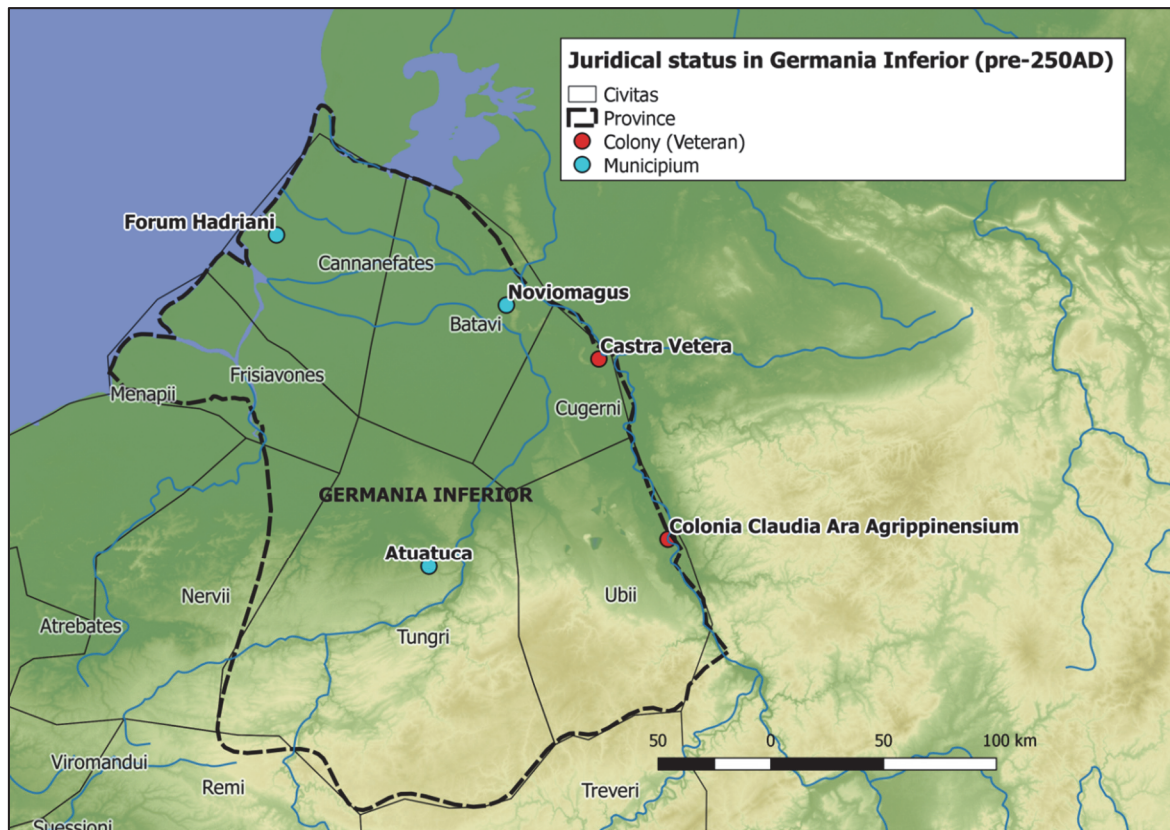

Figure 33: Cities' juridical status in Germania Inferior.

The *civitas* of the Frisiavones is the least known. In the first half of the 2nd century AD, or in the mid-2nd century AD, three out of the four *civitates* in Germania had been promoted to *municipia*, The date of foundation of the *civitas* of the Tungri is uncertain as are its borders. The capital (Atuatuca) dates back to Augustan time. The *civitas* of the Batavi has been long thought of as a client state, but this assertion is controversial. Its capital, Ulpia Noviomagus, dates to Augustan times.

We have no inscriptions attesting the *civitas* of the Frisiavones, and an inscription dating to Marcus Aurelius refers to it only as a *'regio'*.[389] Although these people were not mentioned by Ptolemy, they were included in Pliny's list. Its capital is also unknown,[390] and it has been suggested that the Frisiavoni were, in fact, the Frisii, on whom Corbulo imposed Roman institutions (a *senatus*, *magistratus* and *leges*) after giving them the land to settle in.[391]

Except for the *'regio'* of the Frisiavones, all *civitates* of Germania Inferior were granted the status of either *colonia* or *municipium*. This contrast with neighbouring Gallia Belgica is also

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[388] The earliest traces of habitation on the site of Voorburg/Forum Hadriani date to the middle of the 1st century AD. Little is known about the nature of the habitation in this early phase (Roymans 2004: 208).

[389] AE 1962 183.

[390] Bogaers thought it might have been Ganuenta (cfr. Bogaers and Gysseling 1972).

[391] Raepsaet-Charlier 1999.

one of the reasons why scholars tend to believe that the *civitas* of the Tungri (whose capital was a *municipium*) was part of Germania Inferior.[392]

3.3.6 Britannia

In AD 43, Claudius' general Aulus Plautius was given the command of four legions and other additional auxiliary troops. Along with 40,000 men, he invaded Britain and soon captured the capital of one of the strongest tribes, the Catuvellauni. Rapidly, all south-western Britain and the Midlands were subjugated, and thereupon Claudius' triumph was celebrated.[393] The newly conquered province was maintained under the supervision of a *legatus Augusti pro praetore*, and the first veteran colony - Camulodunum - was founded in AD 49. By AD 51, the south-western peninsula and much of Wales was pacified, and the foundation of two more veteran colonies at the end of the 1st century AD, on the site of two earlier legionary fortresses, is a testament to the fact that by this time these regions had been completely demilitarized. After the advance of the army, new legionary fortresses were established on the island further north and west, namely at Caerleon, Chester, and York. The last named would become an honorary colony before AD 237, as attested by an inscription from York recording the dedication of a Temple of Serapis by the legate of the VI legion, Claudius Hieronymianus.

Epigraphy tells us that southern England and the Midlands were divided into *civitates*, although their form of government is unknown (Figure 34). Several inscriptions are quite late, such as the one mentioning the *civitas* of the Brigantes (AD 369), thus making it difficult to make a judgment on the status they held in Early Imperial times. The scanty evidence for municipal magistrates is not of much help, either: the only ones known are from colonies.[394]

According to Tacitus, Verulamium was a *municipium* at the time of the Boudiccan rebellion (AD 60).[395] His statement led Frere and many other scholars to believe that Verulamium had been promoted to a *municipium* under Claudius. However, Gascou and Chastagnol, faced with a similar assertion that Luc and Antibes were *municipia*, both agreed that this could have been a genuine mistake caused by a *'traduction de l'archaïsme que pouvait représenter [à l'époque de Tacite] une colonie latine.*[396] However, it cannot be excluded that, in certain contexts, the word *'municipium'* might have taken on a more general, neutral meaning (i.e. 'municipality', as pointed out by Millar).[397]

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[392] According to Raepsaet-Charlier 1999: 187, the fact that the city was granted the status of *municipium* suggests that it was annexed to the province of Germania Inferior, where more cities with a juridical status have been found so far. The discussion over whether Tongeren was annexed in AD 85 to the province of Germania Inferior or whether it remained in the province of Gallia Belgica is still open. AE 1994 A279 (second half of the 2nd century AD) *mun(icipium) Tungr(orum)*. However, it is interesting that on the German *limes* cities were more likely to have a municipal or colonial status, while the same did not happen in Britannia.

[393] CIL VI 920 = ILS 216.

[394] A monumental, possibly an imperial dedication, inscription found at Cirencester reads '[...]vir[...]' (RIB III 3058). It could refer to the office of *sevir*, and not to the one of the *duumvir*. Inscription of *sevires* are attested in *civitates peregrinae* (see Bituriges ILS 197; and Mattiaci CIL XIII 7271 = ILS 7092)

[395] Tacitus, Annales XIV, 21-3.

[396] Gascou 1997 on Tacitus, Historiae II, 15, 5; Chastagnol 1990: 363, n. 57; and Goudineau 1979: 267, n. 144.

[397] Millar 1992: 398-400 and 403-407.

Unfortunately, given the meagre data available, any assumptions about the urban administration of the cities (except for colonies) within this province can only be speculative in nature. However, if we compare the epigraphic evidence from Britain with that from other north-western provinces, we see that this province is not under-represented at all levels. For example, Table 1 shows all the epigraphic attestations of the word *'civitas'* found in each province (in all its declinations and abbreviations).

Figure 34: Cities' juridical status in Roman Britain.

We notice that in Britain the number and density of *civitates* are not less (in proportion) than in the Three Gauls,[398] and it is no less represented in terms of epigraphic record than most of the other north-western provinces. It is actually better represented than Gallia Lugdunensis, even though the latter was annexed a century earlier. So far, the evidence we have concerning the administration of south-eastern England in Roman times suggests that, like Gaul, it was divided into continuous *civitates*. Mattingly had suggested that some very large (and often very rich in natural resources) regions within south-eastern England (i.e. the Fens, Cornwall, and Somerset) were designated as *ager publicus* or imperial property and therefore remained

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[398] Brindle 2016: 149.

outside the control of the *civitas*.[399] While there is no evidence that this was true, this does not necessarily mean that the Roman state did not actively exploit the land and resources and override the local elite when deemed convenient.[400] The same is more debatable for Wales, north-eastern England and, more generally, northern England, where epigraphic evidence concerning urban administration is lacking (although the epigraphic record, possibly because of the huge military presence, was extensive throughout the whole Roman period).[401]

Provinces	N. of *civitates* epigraphically attested	%
Belgica (13 civ.)	9	69.23%
Narbonensis (24 civ.)	16	66.67%
Aquitania (19 civ.)	12	63.16%
Lugdunensis (25 civ.)	12	48.00%
Germ. Inf. (4 civ.)	3	75.00%
Britannia (20 civ.)	13	65.00%

Table 1: Number of attestations of the words '*civitas*' per province.

3.4 Juridical status and city rank

Having discussed the juridical statuses of cities and their distribution, we will now turn our attention to the relationship between the above-mentioned juridical statuses and cities' rank within the settlement hierarchy. Commonly in the north-western provinces, self-governing cities are larger than the subordinate central places, and therefore when sizes are plotted on a graph, they tend to lie in the upper tail.[402] However, this relationship significantly changes according to province. Let us proceed in chronological order and start by looking at the province of Narbonensis (Figure 35).

Narbonensis's settlement hierarchy has a peculiar structure, which resembles that of Roman Spain.[403] In the 2nd century AD, some of the smallest agglomerations had been granted the title of honorary colonies (non-veteran). This peculiarity has its roots in the huge wave of colonization that hit this province in Triumviral-Caesarian-Augustan times. While the non-veteran colonies can take different sizes (ranging from a maximum of 200 to a minimum of 3 ha), veteran colonies commonly measure between 60 ha (the size of Cologne in Neronian times, that is, soon after it was promoted to colony by Claudius) and 30 ha. This condition was probably dictated by the practical issues related to the allotment of land to the veterans.

In Aquitania (Figure 36) self-governing cities - with only a few exceptions - all cluster in the upper half of the graph, and the largest cities are *civitas* capitals. However, the fifth largest city in this province was a secondary settlement, and it was followed by many others that stand out

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[399] For the Fenlands in particular, this idea was articulated by Salway 1970 and accepted by Jackson and Potter 1996; Malim 2005; Mattingly 2006a: 263. On the other hand, it was criticized by Millett 1990: 120; Taylor 2000; Fincham 2002.

[400] Brindle 2016: 194.

[401] MacMullen 1982.

[402] See Appendix C for the estimated size of the self-governing cities of the north-western provinces. The table will also specify whether the figures refer to the actual built-up surface or to the walled area.

[403] Cfr. Houten's PhD dissertation (forthcoming).

102

for their dimensions and opulence. Non-veteran colonies, as in Narbonensis, did not necessarily reach a particularly extensive size, measuring between 70 and 35 ha, and most of the smallest agglomerations were secondary agglomerations (this would be the case everywhere except for Narbonensis, where non-veteran colonies could be very small).
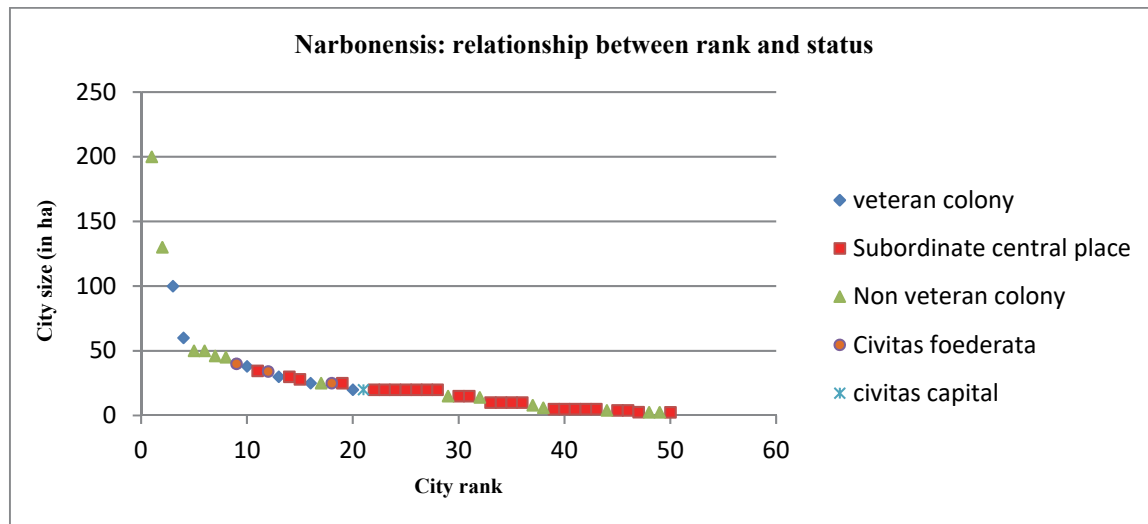

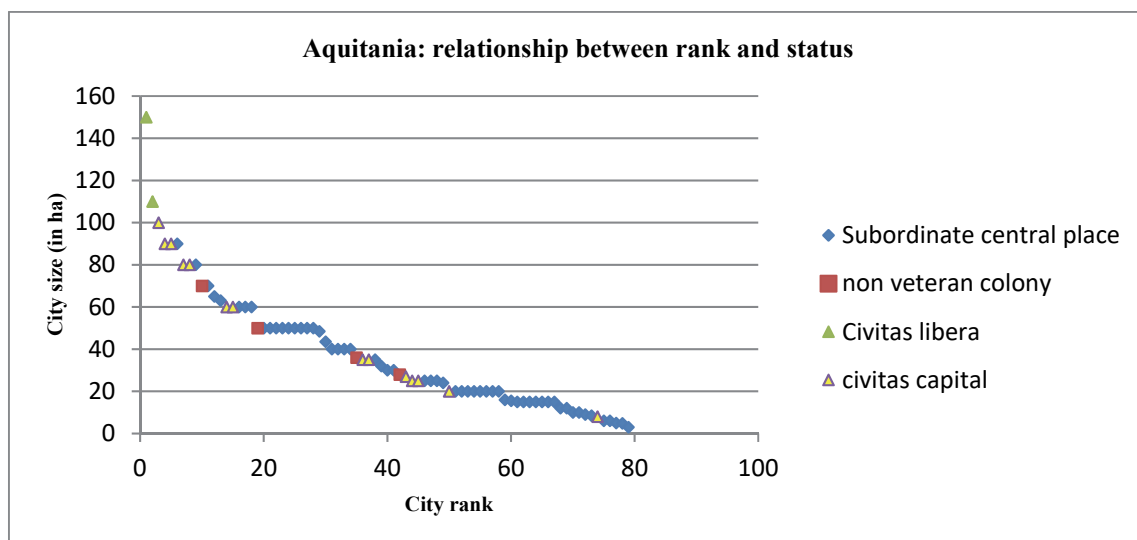**Figure 35: The relationship between a city's status and its rank within the settlement hierarchy in Narbonensis.**

Figure 36: The relationship between a city's status and its rank within the settlement hierarchy in Aquitania.

In Belgica (Figure 37), as in Lugdunensis, at the very top of the hierarchy we find an honorary colony followed by two *civitates* (one *libera* and one *foederata*). The fourth largest settlement is a secondary agglomeration. However, compared to Aquitania, the number of exceptionally large secondary agglomerations is lower. All of the agglomerations lying in the lower tail of the histogram are smaller than 30 ha and are secondary agglomerations.

Finally, if we look at the settlement hierarchy of the province of Lugdunensis (Figure 38), we see that the three largest cities had a high juridical status (that is, one is a non-veteran colony and the other two are *civitates foederatae*).
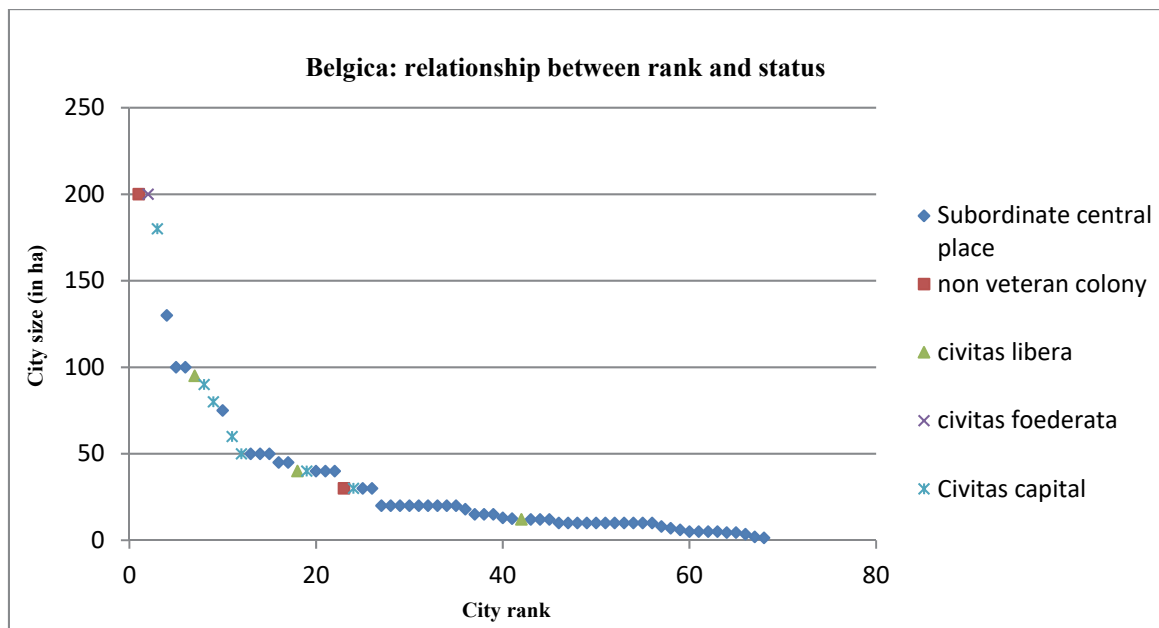
Figure 37: The relationship between a city's status and its rank within the settlement hierarchy in Belgica.
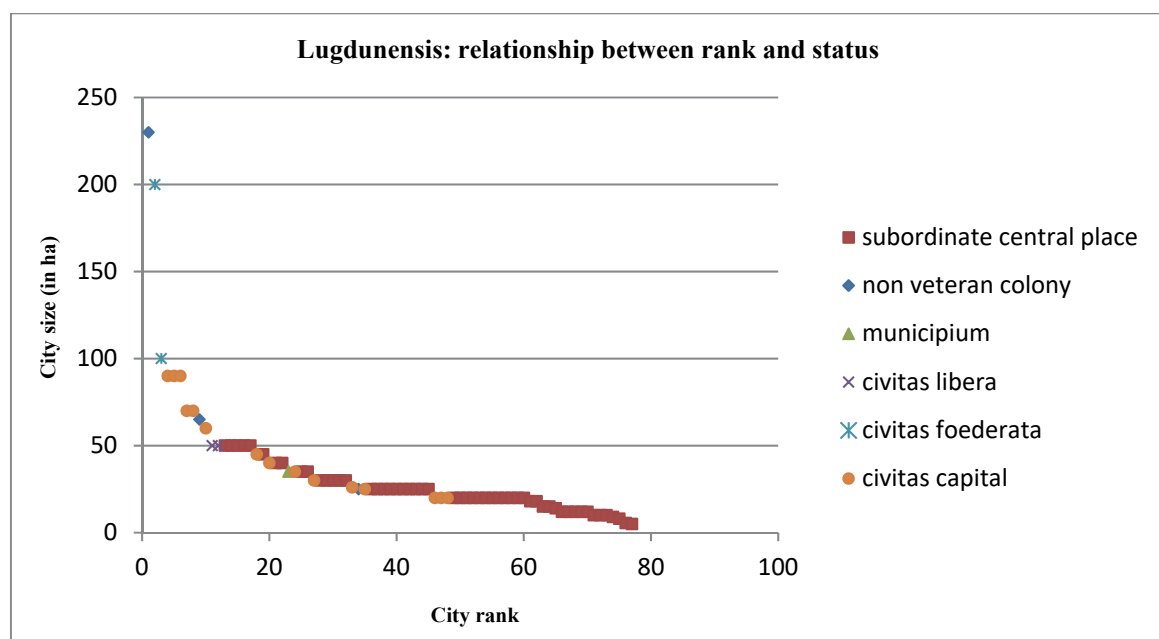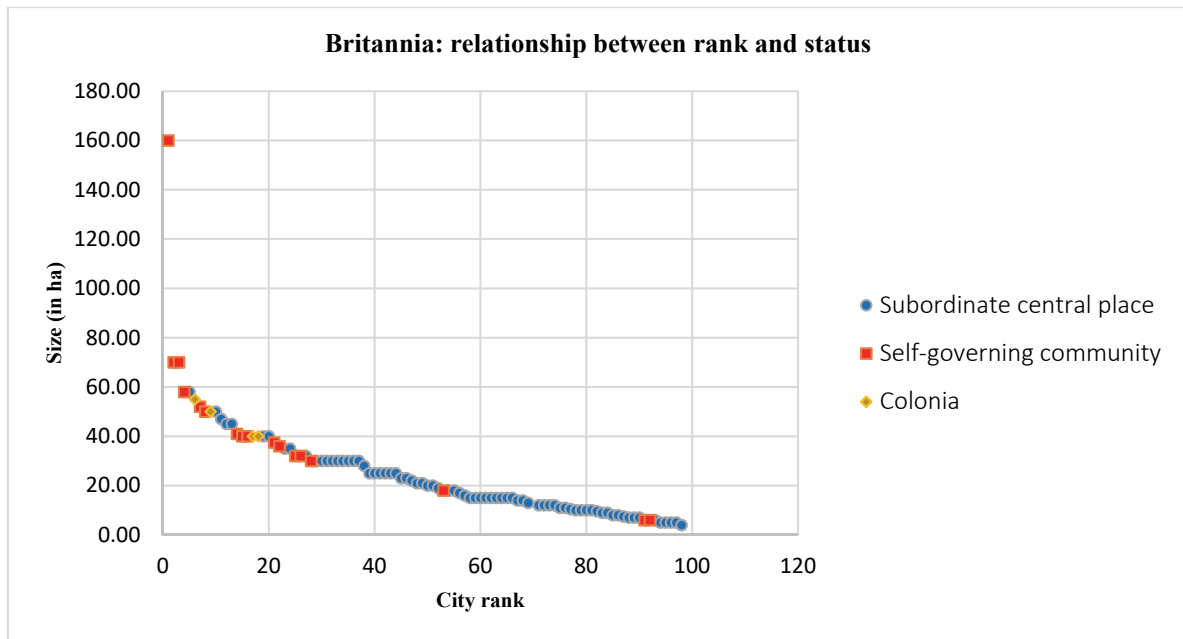

Figure 38: The relationship between a city's status and its rank within the settlement hierarchy in Lugdunensis.

Secondary agglomerations appear to be always smaller than 50 ha, and the majority may be smaller than 30 ha. Several *civitas* capitals can also be relatively small, notably those lying in Normandy, which is known for its acidic soil. This region is also less well documented than the rest of Gaul, and the lack of evidence might distort the picture.

In Britannia (Figure 39), the majority of cities larger than 20 ha are self-governing, although there are a few exceptions, such as the legionary fortresses at Chester (50 ha) and Caerleon (45 ha), Worcester (50 ha) in the East Midlands and other secondary settlements lying in the Belt

regions, such as Horncastle, Higham Ferrer, Dorchester-on-Thames, and Bath (all measuring between 60 and 35 ha).

Figure 39: The relationship between a city's status and its rank within the settlement hierarchy in Britannia.

With the exception of Narbonensis – where, during the 2nd century AD, non-veteran colonies could be extremely small, in all other provinces cities with a high juridical status usually fall into the upper part of the graphs, meaning that there was a correlation between a city's size and its status. Table 2 shows the average size (in ha) of self-governing cities and subordinate ones by province.

Status	Narbonensis	Lugdunensis	Aquitania	Belgica	Germania Inferior	Britannia
Self-governing city	41.25	57.09	58.95	85.15	59.6	45.88
Subordinate settlement	14.06	27.5	48.44	23.57	8.27	19.79

Table 2: The average size (expressed in hectares) of self-governing cities and subordinate ones.

The province that stands out from the rest is Aquitania, whose self-governing cities were on average only 20% larger than their subordinates. On the other hand, in Germania Inferior self-governing cities were seven times larger than the secondary settlements, which signals the preponderant presence of a primate urban system in this province.[404] In the remaining provinces (Narbonensis, Belgica, and Lugdunensis), self-governing cities were around two or three times larger their subordinates.

The distribution of juridical statutes (directly attested by ancient inscriptions) is unequal. In particular, we observe that veteran colonies can be found only in regions that at some point had

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[404] The urban system of this province is characterized by very large capitals and very small secondary settlements, with almost no intermediate urban settlements.

been at the edge of the Roman Empire: Narbonensis (6), Germania Inferior (2) and Britain (4). Non-veteran (Latin) colonies, on the other hand, were mainly clustered in southern Gaul and along the Rhône axis. *Municipia* were extremely rare, and they were mainly located in the Alpine valleys and Germania Inferior. *Civitates foederatae* are found on the north-south line that connects Calais with the delta of the Rhône, and the *civitates liberae* are mostly concentrated in Aquitania and Belgica. These statuses were reserved for *civitates* that had built a good relationship with Rome in the early days of these provinces.

3.4.1 The limitations of the juridical approach

In the previous section, we touched upon the overall lamentable quality and unequal distribution of the evidence relating to the juridical status of cities in the north-western provinces. We also observed how the relationship between the juridical status of a city and its rank within the urban hierarchy differs according to province and has its roots in the historical and cultural contexts in which these cities developed.

If we look at the ancient sources, we sense how much importance was attributed to these juridical statuses, by at least some ancient observers. For example, Tacitus refers to London with the anticipation that it will soon be raised to the status of a colony because of its wealth and its lively economic and social life, suggesting that the status of colony had to be valuable.[405] Gregory of Tours, writing in the 6th century, was appalled that Dijon was not officially the capital of the *civitas* it belonged to.[406] An emblematic passage written by Aulus Gellius records the reaction of the emperor Hadrian to the several *municipia* which had petitioned to have their status raised from *municipium* to *colonia*.[407] In the emperor's opinion, the differences in juridical statuses, together with the rights and obligations they entailed, were not completely understood by the very people who were petitioning to acquire them. For example, he argued, colonies did not really benefit from a *'melior conditio'* when compared to *municipia*.[408] Now, whether this was correct or not (and it was probably incorrect, given that differences between cities' constitutions in the Roman world still persisted[409]) to a great extent these requests were made because a large number of local communities had recently received municipal statuses, leading those who already held that privilege to ask for a promotion.

If we compare the Republican town charters of Italy[410] to those found in southern Spain, dating both to the Caesarian period (e.g. *Lex Colonia Genitiva Urso* composed in 44 BC) and to Flavian times,[411] it appears that by the end of the 1st century AD there were few constitutional

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[405] Laurence *et al.* 2011: 66.
[406] Boatwright 2003 p. 36.
[407] Gell. NA 16.13.1-9.
[408] Gell. NA 16.13.3.
[409] see Garnsey and Saller 2015: 41.
[410] Lex Tarantina: CIL I² 590 = ILS 6086 = Abbott and Johnson 1926, #20: 282-84 = Lewis and Reinhold 1990, I:#162: 446-48 = Crawford 1996, #15: 301-12; Tabula Heracleensis: CIL I² 593 = ILS 6085 = Abbott and Johnson 1926, #24: 288-98 = Lewis and Raynhold 1990, I:# 162m: 449-53 = Crawford 1996, #24: 355-91.
[411] Lex Salpensana: CIL II 1963 = ILS 6088 = Abbott and Johnson 1926, #64,: 369-74; lex Malacitana: CIL II 1964 = ILS 6089 = Abbott and Johnson 1926, #65: 374-81 = Lewis and Reinhold 1990, II:#64.

differences among individual *municipia* or between *municipia* and *coloniae*.[412] Inscriptions from Hadrianic municipalities and colonies reveal similar magistracies and socio-political groups, and the fragmentary charter of the *municipium* of Lauriacum (in Noricum) dated to the 3rd century AD, for example, also strongly resembled the Flavian municipal laws.[413] This trend appears to be clear and in compliance with what Menander of Laodicea wrote around AD 270, namely that all cities were governed according to the common laws of Rome, correctly reflecting the principate's gradual assimilation of local law to that of Rome.[414]
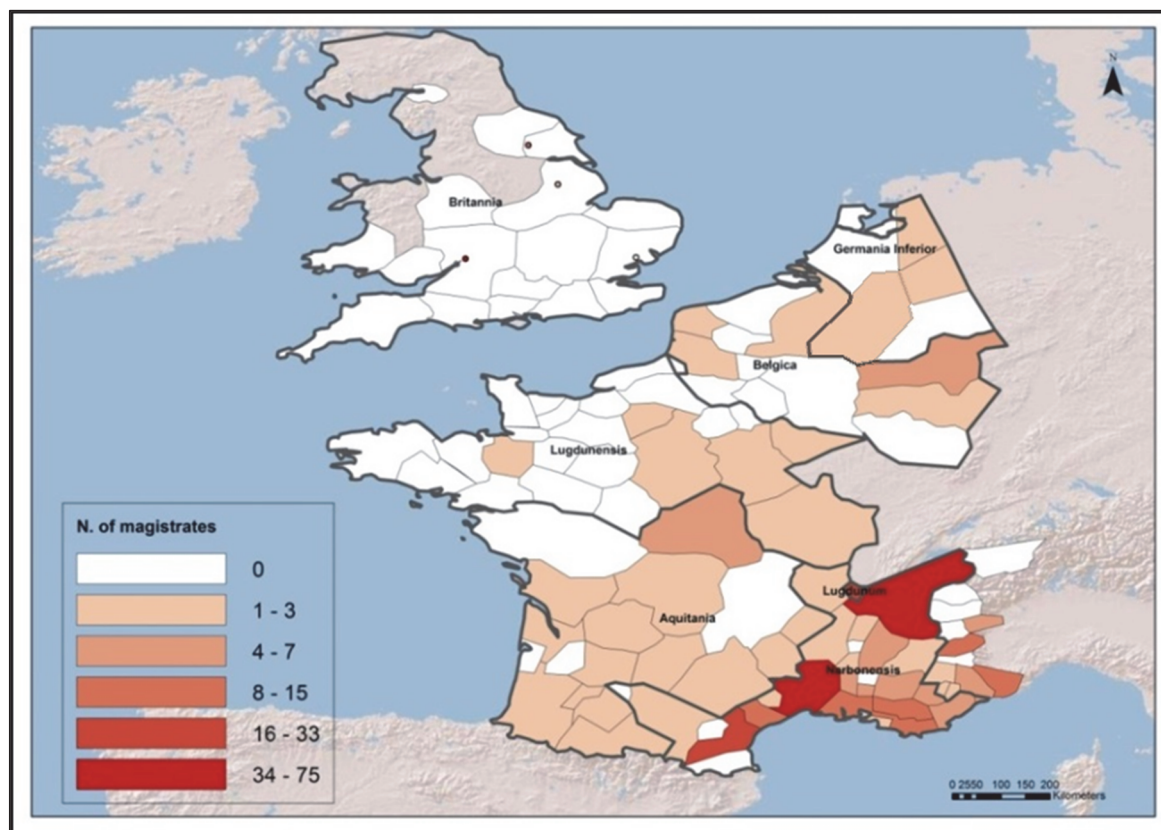

Figure 40: The distribution of inscriptions mentioning local magistrates in the north-western provinces.[415]

Therefore, it is likely that the evidence we have about the juridical statuses of the cities in the north-west is likely to reflect the importance attached by a part (and most probably a minority) of the citizenship body. This means that the analysis of the occurrences of juridical statuses

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[412] In agreement with Crawford 1988: 128.

[413] Bormann, RLÖ 11, 1910, 155 ff.

[414] Cf. Men. Rhet. 202, 205.

[415] Any attestation of the following magistrates, including abbreviations, have been taken into account: *duumvir* (e.g. *iure dicundo, ab aerario, sine sorte, designatus,* son of *IIvir, duumviralis* etc.); *quattuorvir* (e.g. *praetor IIIIvir etc.*); *aedilis* (only of *civitas*), such as *magister quaestor civitatis or aedil(is) col(onia)*. When nothing is specified, it is assumed that it is a magistrate of the *civitas* (*aediles vici* are therefore excluded); *quaestor* (only of *civitas*, *quaestor pagi* and military offices are not included; thus the *aedilis vici Petu[ar(iensis)* mentioned in RIB 707 does not appear on the map); *ordo decurionum* (only through attestations of '*decuriones*' and '*ordo*', i.e. attestations of *d.d., senatus, curia, d.s.* are excluded). Time constraints have prevented a detailed analysis of all the evidence available, thus other references to magistrates - such as the *[s]ummus magistra(tus) / [c]ivitatis Batavor(um)* (CIL XIII, 8771) or the *senator in civitate Carvetiorum* (RIB 933) have also been excluded.

within the epigraphic record, for example, is better suited to a study of competition for status (and prestige) between cities, rather than their actual administration. As a matter of fact, those provinces that were integrated earliest into the Roman Empire, i.e. Narbonensis and Aquitania, appear to have shown more pride in declaring their status or in the political careers of their elite (Figure 40). Narbonensis had a tradition of civil autonomy, and it showed an ancient familiarity with municipal offices, due also to the influence of its Greek background. Similarly, Aquitania showed an early interest in public offices. Significantly, all the inscriptions mentioning the ancient Gaulish magistracy of *vergobret* come from communities living within this province, notably from those of the Santones, Bituriges Cubi, Lemovices, and Vellavi.[416]

If we look at the distribution of the inscriptions that commemorate municipal magistrates (Figure 40), we see that Gallia Narbonensis is the province that enjoys the largest (and oldest) epigraphic record. There, all levels of magistratures are well represented (Figure 41).[417] However, within Narbonensis, not all *civitates* are equally represented. In the *civitas* of Narbonne, Nîmes, and Vienne a large record of magistrates is attested, while in others, such as the colonies of Lodève and Carpentras, none have been found.[418] In addition, offices are unequally represented: for example, the *quaestores* are completely missing in Orange, Avignon, and Arles, where epigraphic records are otherwise very abundant. In other cities, they are attested, although their position within the *cursus honorum* is uncertain.[419]

With regard to the Three Gauls, we observe different patterns. In Aquitania, which was the earliest of the three provinces to adopt Roman institutions, the largest number of magistrates is found. All the main offices are well represented here. This suggests a certain level of dynamism within the political arena and, more importantly, a preference on the part of candidates from certain distinguished families to express their power and nobility by means of Roman

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[416] The coinage of the Loxoviens (Lugdunensis) mentioning this office dates to the second half of the 1st century BC. However, the body of inscriptions mentioning it dates to *c.* the first half of the 1st century AD. Caesar (*De Bello Gallico* VII, 32) writes of this individual (i.e. not collegial) office when writing about the Aedui (Lugdunensis), and he describes it as an ancient magistracy (Lamoine 2003: 99-108).

[417] For the list of epigraphic sources used to create this map, see Appendix B.

[418] There are no proofs that the *aediles* were a step above the *quaestores* (Christol 1999). Here we are not interested in the sequence of religious offices. Only as a mean of example, in Gaul Narbonensis the *flaminate* is not always the culmination of a religious career. In Vienne the highest religious office is the pontificate, while the *flaminate* is covered at the beginning of the career (Chastagnol 1995b).

[419] In Roman administrative history, scholars define as 'magistrates' those individuals who held one of the offices within the *cursus honorum.* For a long time it has been assumed that, at least in Italy, all the sequential steps of public offices had to be held by magistrates who aspired to the highest office. Dondin Payre already noticed that in this regard the epigraphic record of the Three Gauls was ambiguous. She also suggested caution in drawing conclusions about these offices, especially because *quaestores* and *aediles* in this region appeared to be equivalent, as they both seemed to have been early stages of the municipal career (Dondin-Payre 1999: 148). Scholars had already remarked that in Irni, according to the *lex Irnitana*, *aediles* had powers of jurisdiction equal to those of *duovirs* (see Gonzáles 1986: 200-202; Galsterer 1988: 80-81; Liebenam 1900: 263-65). Elisabetta Folcando in her paper 'Cronologia del cursus honorum municipale' convincingly argued that such a *cursus* was not as strictly regulated as previously thought. Candidates, she writes, did not have to follow a specific *'ordo magistratum'*, at least not until the reign of Antoninus Pius (AD 138 -161). As evidence, she brings together sources of various kinds such as the ancient works of Callistratus and Modestinus, the fragmentary legal codes that come down to us, the evidence of the Fasti and funerary inscriptions of the *colonia* of Venosa (Folcando 1999).

magistracies and priestly offices. In Lugdunensis two different patterns can be discerned: in the south-eastern part of this province magistrates are relatively well represented (e.g. *civitas* of the Aedui), while the northern and north-western parts lack inscriptions of this sort. In Gallia Belgica and Germania Inferior magistrates are less represented: only a few offices are mentioned (*duumviri* and *quaestores* in Belgica, an *aedilis* and two *decuriones* in Germania Inferior).[420] Lower magistrates, such as *aediles* (Figure 42), are more frequently attested in Narbonensis and Aquitania, whilst they are less so in the rest of Gaul, suggesting either a lower level of social dynamism and political competition, a weaker interest in the Roman political traditional, or both.

However, the presence of upper magistrates such as the *duumviri*, as well as the individuals who have completed the *cursus honorum*, is relatively widespread, suggesting that the process of municipalization and political integration had reached at least a large part of the Gaulish provinces (Figure 43 and Figure 44).

It would be wrong to assume that there is a correlation between the number of inscriptions mentioning magistrates and the size of the city (Figure 45).
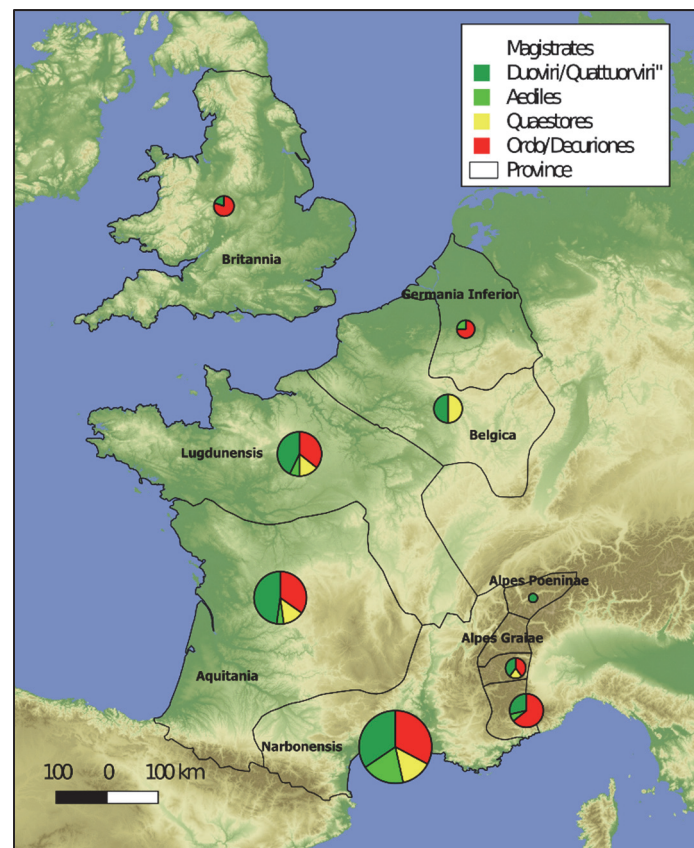

Figure 41: Pie charts showing the proportion of the different offices attested in the north-western provinces and in the capital Lugdunum.

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[420] Demougin 1999, based on epigraphic evidence (e.g. in Cologne, out of the 24 veterans known, none of them are known to have started a political career, not even holding the lowest offices).

Figure 42: The distribution of epigraphically attested *aediles*.

Figure 43: The distribution of *duumvires* epigraphically attested.

Figure 44: The distribution of individuals who had completed their *cursus honorum*; e.g. *‘omnibus honoribus’* or *‘omnibus honoribus apud suos (or inter eos) functus’*.
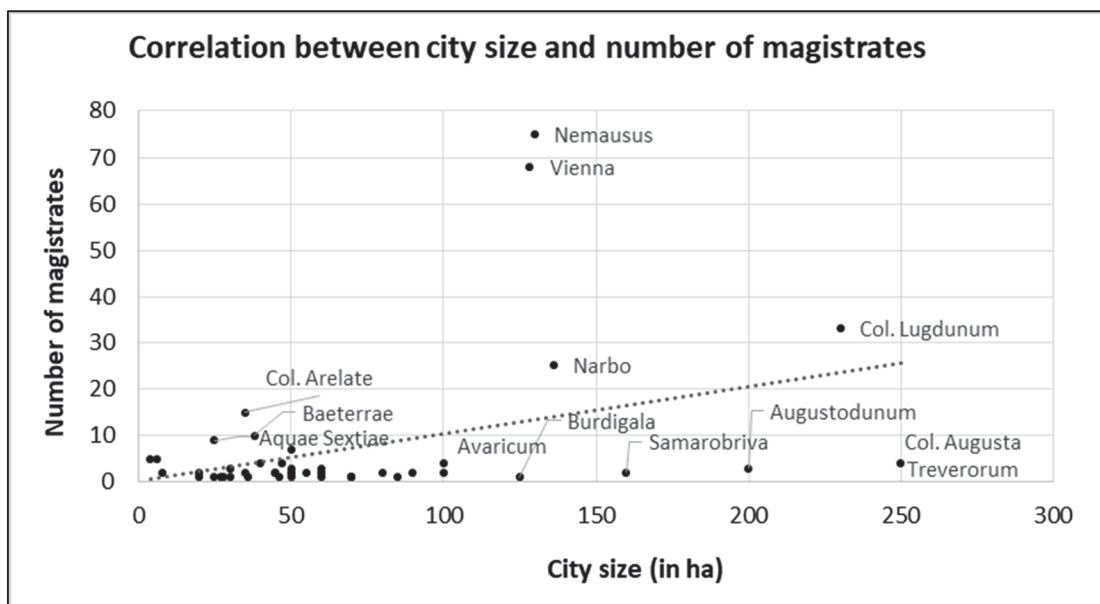

Figure 45: Scatterplot showing the correlation between city size and status.

In this chapter, we have seen how cities’ juridical status and the epigraphic sources we are dependent on when dealing with it are strongly biased by cultural and epigraphic habits.[421] We have also argued that there is no correlation between the size and the rank of a city or the number of a city’s magistrates recorded in the inscriptions. Since it is virtually impossible to

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[421] See MacMullen 1982; and Meyer 1990.

define which cities have been *coloniae* and which, for example, *municipia* only by looking at their archaeological remains, in the next chapter we will discuss the self-governing cities as a whole, making references to their juridical status only when meaningful conclusions can be drawn as a result of comparison.[422]

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[422] Hence, the approach used here is different from the one employed by Wacher in his 'The Towns of Roman Britain' (Wacher 1975), who divided cities according to their juridical status. He started by describing London, the possible provincial capital. He proceeded to discuss the colonies (in order of foundation): Colchester, Lincoln, Gloucester, and York. He later turned his attention to what he called 'the earliest civitas-capitals' (Canterbury, Verulamium, and Chelmsford etc.), followed by what he described as the client-states (Caistor-by-Norwich, Chichester, Silchester, and Winchester), the centres that were created during the Flavian expansion (Cirencester, Dorchester, Exeter, Leicester, and Wroxeter) and during the Hadrianic stimulation (Caerwent, Carmarthen, Brough-on-Humber, and Aldborough). Finally, he characterizes some exceptions and late developments (Carlisle, Ilchester, and Water Newton).

Although there are several elements of urbanism, such as the stone circuit walls, that - at least in the Early Empire - are tightly associated with juridical statuses. It is possible that some lesser towns that were later fortified had claimed a local status, although more data about their chronology would be desireable.