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**Between mountains and frontiers: the Roman settlement system in the provinces of Germania Superior, Raetia and Noricum**  
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## 2. Self-governing centres and legionary forts: the top layer of the settlement system

We have seen that soon after the conquest the Romans created a few administrative posts, but real measures relating to the organisation of the region were only taken during the first half of the first century, with the creation of the provinces and the first self-governing towns.

This chapter compiles a list of the known self-governing towns in the northern Alpine region with the aim of gaining a better understanding of the regional differences in municipalisation. There are different kinds of evidence that can inform us about the municipal rights of communities during the Roman period. In the first section, the focus lies on the municipal status or titles included in the name of a place. Such elements can reveal directly, or indirectly, some of the inner organisation of the town. Epigraphic and literary sources will be used to give a chronological overview of the processes of municipalisation in this specific area. A second section focuses on the presence of certain types of civic magistracies, which also reveal information about a settlement's level of autonomy. The epigraphic evidence for these magistracies will be discussed to complete the overview of self-governing towns in the northern Alpine region. The nature of these self-governing centres, including their origin and appearance, forms the theme of a third and final section. Alongside the self-governing civic centres, attention will also be paid to the legionary bases and the civic centres developing in their immediate vicinity. Table 2.2 and Table 2.3, included at the end of the chapter, contain an overview of the epigraphic evidence used in this chapter.

### Sources

In general, the ancient texts concerning Roman towns in the north-western Alpine region are limited. Regarding the northern Alpine region, ancient authors only sporadically mention town names and rarely leave us information about juridical status or municipal institutions. No equivalent for the lists of Roman towns in Spain and northern Africa provided by Pliny exists. Pliny does, however, mention five *oppida* in Noricum,<sup>198</sup> and *Brigantium* and *Cambodunum* in Raetia are named as *poleis* by Strabo.<sup>199</sup> The epigraphic data is thus crucial in revealing to us which communities were considered as self-governing by the Roman administration and what status or kind of citizen rights they were given. Unfortunately, there are fewer epigraphic remains in the northern Alpine region compared to other parts of the Empire, such as North Africa and Spain. This is due in part to a rather modest epigraphic tradition, and the presence of soft stone subject to a high degree of weathering.<sup>200</sup>

Much academic effort has already been put into the work of identifying Roman self-governing towns. With the exception of J. W. Hanson's account, which attempts coverage of the entire Roman Empire, most of the information about the status of towns is only available in narrower regional studies.<sup>201</sup> There are nevertheless important publications with a regional focus on the northern Alpine region concerning the Roman municipal network. M. Klee in her book on Germania Superior gives an overview of the autonomous Roman towns, although a detailed discussion of the source material is lacking.<sup>202</sup> The same is true for the recent publication by T. Schmidts, who discusses the towns in both the Germanic provinces.<sup>203</sup> The study by G. Rupprecht, and the more recent publication by M.-T.

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<sup>198</sup> Pliny, Natural History 3.27.

<sup>199</sup> Strabo, Geography 4. 206.

<sup>200</sup> Haeussler 1994, 46.

<sup>201</sup> Hanson 2016, 3 ff. As will appear from this and the following chapters, the places I consider as towns or urban-like centres differ from J. W. Hanson's list. This difference is caused by different approaches and by critical reflection of the primary sources and secondary literature.

<sup>202</sup> Klee 2013, 87.

<sup>203</sup> Schmidts 2014, 43-48.

Raepsaet-Charlier in particular are by contrast two very valuable corpora concerning the epigraphic evidence for every possible Roman town in Germania Superior.<sup>204</sup> With regard to the autonomous towns of Noricum, the book by M. Šašel Kos and P. Scherrer is of high interest, but again the literary and epigraphic evidence that proves the status of these centres is not explicitly mentioned.<sup>205</sup> The book by R. Wedenig is a very useful source, in which most of the known inscriptions related to the internal organisation of the Roman cities in Noricum are listed and discussed separately for each place.<sup>206</sup> Regional studies concerning Raetia generally deal with the wider settlement system, since there was – as far as has been proven – only one self-governing town in the entire province.<sup>207</sup> Tables 2.2 and 2.3 therefore list as much of the primary source material as possible regarding the municipal status of centres in the northern Alpine region.

## 2.1 Local municipal developments: evidence from status and titles

The imperial administration relied on a system of local self-government.<sup>208</sup> A self-governing community of which membership depended on descent, and which controlled a certain territory, can be called a town.<sup>209</sup> These towns and their local civic elite were focal points in many vital aspects ranging from tax collection, to the organisation of jurisdiction or the imperial cult.<sup>210</sup>

In addition to economic and tertiary aspects, a Roman town was from an administrative point of view a place that was granted a juridical status.<sup>211</sup> Such a municipal status bestowed municipal rights and rights for citizens. It embodied information about the community's relation with Rome and above all implied a certain degree of politico-administrative independence. A self-governing community occupied a defined area of land and could extract resources from that territory for all kinds of purposes including state or cult taxes.<sup>212</sup> During the Republican period, Roman towns were founded as *coloniae* from Rome itself or incorporated as *municipia*, but under the rule of the Roman emperors existing centres could be granted various privileged municipal statuses. Such a promotion was often a reward for loyalty, but over time numerous other reasons were used.<sup>213</sup>

### 2.1.1 Municipal status and citizens' rights

Generally, within the modern literature, four kinds of statuses are distinguished within the hierarchy of Roman towns, involving from top to bottom the veteran *colonia*, the honorary *colonia*, the *municipium* and the *civitas*.

During the Imperial period, veteran *coloniae* were the most prestigious Roman towns in the provinces. Their independence in local government was subjected to clear regulation, but these communities enjoyed many benefits concerning civic privileges, as well as obligations, such as

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<sup>204</sup> Rupprecht 1975, 209; Raepsaet-Charlier 1999, 371 ff.

<sup>205</sup> Šašel Kos and Scherrer 2002.

<sup>206</sup> Wedenig 1997.

<sup>207</sup> Raetia's only autonomous town was *Augusta Vindelicum*: Rupprecht 1975, 234. A discussion of the wider settlement system in Raetia can be found in Czysz 2013, 342 ff.

<sup>208</sup> Braund 1988, 1; Garsney and Saller 1987, 20 ff.

<sup>209</sup> Jones 1974, 4.

<sup>210</sup> Edmondson 2006, 254-255.

<sup>211</sup> Pounds 1973, 116-140; Jones 1974, 4; Millar 1977, 395; Pferdehirt 2014, 29.

<sup>212</sup> Corbier 1991, 219-220.

<sup>213</sup> Sherwin-White 1973, 244. Reynolds 1988, 19; Kolb 1993, 334-339. In the case of Orchistos (Phrygia, Asia Minor) a Constantinian inscription (MAMA VII 1956, 69 ff., text with translation: Kolb 1993, 326-330.) gives multiple reasons why the community deserved municipal independence. In her interpretation J. Reynolds stays close to the elements listed in the actual inscription. She believes that the local community considered itself a town, which came along with a large population, public infrastructure and a previous municipal status, and wanted it to be officially confirmed in order to enjoy the benefits. F. Kolb has suggested a more religious background for the municipal promotion.

taxation. Originally it was Roman citizens themselves who inhabited these often *ex novo* founded *coloniae* that were established in newly conquered territories. Both the original settlers and their descendants were considered as Roman citizens. They enjoyed Roman rights and were therefore on the same footing with the citizens of Rome. Later on, the title of *colonia* could be granted to an already existing town. When over time *colonia* became an honorary title, it was no longer equated with Roman citizenship. The inhabitants of an honorary colony generally gained Latin rights and could only become Roman citizens by personal achievements. The custom of granting the honorary title of *colonia* came into use during the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, but can be considered as normal practice from the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian.<sup>214</sup>

A *municipium* was in the Roman West equally a fully recognised Roman town, although certain privileges towards taxes for example were probably less beneficial than in *coloniae*.<sup>215</sup> It is generally accepted that during the imperial period the inhabitants of a *municipium* were more likely to have gained *ius Latii* rather than Roman citizenship.<sup>216</sup> The creation of new *municipia civium Romanorum* is disputed from the time of Augustus onwards.<sup>217</sup> Nevertheless, it was also possible for the inhabitants of a *municipium Latinum* to become Roman citizens through personal achievement. After fulfilling a one-year magistracy in a town, a magistrate became a Roman citizen. With the introduction of the *Latium maius*, whereby not only the magistrates but also the members of the town council (*ordo decurionum*), as well as their families, were granted Roman citizen rights, more and more people could join this more prestigious type of citizenship.<sup>218</sup> It should, however, be borne in mind that, in order to be introduced as a magistrate, one had to have sufficient funds to be able to pay for the duties related to the particular function, about which more later on. The size of these councils was strictly controlled.

On the lowest stage of the municipal ladder one can distinguish the *civitas*, a self-governing unit but with fewer privileges. The inhabitants of the majority of *civitates* never gained citizenship before AD 212, and remained peregrine. These *civitates peregrinae* were allowed their own legal system, in contrast to the promoted towns that were subjected to the Roman jurisdiction.<sup>219</sup> However, some communities received a special agreement, such as *foederati* or did gain Latin rights. Unlike a *colonia* or a *municipium* a *civitas* was generally not allowed the appointment of certain magistracies, as will be discussed later. Furthermore whilst a promoted town was designated to control a territory and the agglomerations within that defined area, a *civitas* often involved a community that lived in a certain area but was dispersed in different centres or agglomerations. The borders of the *civitates* in the northwestern Alpine region are very poorly known. Data from Medieval times which can be used to deduce such territories are rarer than in the case of Gaul. It is assumed that every *civitas* had at least one main centre where the community's administration and jurisdiction were carried out and where markets were held.<sup>220</sup> In what follows the *civitas* will sometimes be equated to that centre, which in the academic literature is regularly referred to as 'civitas capital'. However, this term is a modern invention dating back to the 1960s and does not rely on any Latin equivalent.<sup>221</sup> I prefer to

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<sup>214</sup> Langhammer 1973, 12-14; 16-17; Pounds 1973, 116-140; Sherwin-White 1973, 263; Miglbauer 2006, 2-3; Thiel 2008, 59; Pferdehirt 2014, 29-31.

<sup>215</sup> Garsney and Saller 1987, 27.

<sup>216</sup> Langhammer 1973, 7-12; 15-16; Pferdehirt 2014, 32.

<sup>217</sup> Galsterer 1972, 37-40; 43.

<sup>218</sup> Sherwin-White 1973, 255. The *Latium maius* was probably introduced under the reign of Hadrian. In Latin communities one sees in the epigraphic evidence that people only engaged themselves in a single annual magistracy, after which they became a Roman citizen. In contrast, the full range of municipal offices, is rarely attested. By fulfilling short-term magistracies, more people could apply and eventually become a Roman citizen. See: Pferdehirt 2014, 33-34.

<sup>219</sup> Jacques 1990, 19-22.

<sup>220</sup> Pounds 1973, 116-140.

<sup>221</sup> Rogers 2011, 3; Rivet 1966, 104; Rogers 2014, 52-53.

call these places *civitas* centres. Often the identification of a site as the centre of a *civitas* relies on the appearance of its name as *caput viae* on milestones, since towns were responsible for the maintenance of the roads. Also a relatively well-developed urbanised lay-out compared to surrounding places has led to the identification of *civitas* centres. It is, however, not possible to identify the centres of all *civitates* with certainty.

Some scholars recognise one further layer within the Roman town hierarchy, namely the *vici*. Nevertheless, the urban entity of *vici*, which is most accurately translated as villages, is almost a *contradictio in terminis*.<sup>222</sup> Some of the *civitas* centres are identified as *vici*. Although the term might imply a certain level of local organisation, the offices of a *vicus* did not correspond with those of promoted towns. Since the meaning of the term *vicus* is unclear, this status will play a limited role in this manuscript. The *vici* in the northern Alpine region will be discussed more elaborately in chapter three, which deals with subordinate places and their role within the wider settlement system. In order to understand of what importance these subordinate centres were for the overall urban network, it will be useful to first look at the chronological development of the municipal organisation in the entire region and to look at the pattern of self-governing centres (i.e. *coloniae*, *municipia* and *civitates*).

## 2.1.2 Historical overview of municipalisation

### *The Late Republic up to the reign of Tiberius*

The evidence for the earliest Roman self-governing towns takes us back to the time of Caesar and Augustus and to the southern area of what later became the province of Germania Superior, when it still belonged to the territory of Gaul.

The *coloniae* of *Augusta Raurica*/Augst and *Julia Equestris*/Nyon were already mentioned in the previous chapter as some of the first centres created by the Romans in the northern Alpine region, most likely for administrative and logistical reasons. The high number of finds related to the Roman army and their additional names, such as *Equestris*, suggest that both towns may have been veteran *coloniae*. The foundation of these two *coloniae* and the *colonia Lugdunum*/Lyon in *Gallia Lugdunensis* has traditionally been seen as part of one strategic move, planned by Caesar and completed by Augustus. Based on their location between the rivers Rhine and Rhône it was thought that with the presence of veterans in this particularly turbulent region Rome was endeavouring to increase its power. A re-evaluation of the written and archaeological remains shows, however, that there is only little evidence in the sources to support a Caesarian *ex-novo* foundation in the case of both *Julia Equestris* and *Augusta Raurica*.<sup>223</sup>

Let us examine the evidence in a little more detail. The Roman site in Nyon has been identified since the 18<sup>th</sup> century as the location of the *Colonia Julia Equestris*.<sup>224</sup> T. Mommsen suggested *Noviodunum* as an alternative name for *Julia Equestris*. He indicated that the *colonia* was a new centre that replaced an existing pre-Roman settlement. The site of Geneva has been suggested as a candidate for this settlement, but all this remains speculative without further epigraphic or archaeological proof.<sup>225</sup> No consensus on the precise creation date of the town has been reached. The only clues are hidden in its names. *Julia* refers to the Julian dynasty. Traditionally and based on the political and geographical context Caesar, has been designated as founder.<sup>226</sup> In contrast B. Galsterer-Kröll, amongst others, holds Octavian responsible for the foundation of the *colonia*, because of the name

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<sup>222</sup> Broise 1972, 602.

<sup>223</sup> Poux 2005, 11-12.

<sup>224</sup> Brunetti 2005, 57. CIL 13, 5013, 5534, 2607, 2606, 2614, 9058; CIL 3 11895 and Pliny, *Natural History* 4.106.

<sup>225</sup> Frei-Stolba 1999, 36-37; Brunetti 2005, 57.

<sup>226</sup> Drack and Fellmann 1988; Frei-Stolba 1999, 30-32; Flutsch, Niffeler and Rossi 2002, 389.

*Equestris* which appears to be rather typical for his reign before he became Augustus.<sup>227</sup> Although occupation of the site from the time of Caesar has been attested by sherds of some Campanian ware, Dressel 1 amphorae and other small finds, the first urban infrastructures can only be attributed to the reign of Augustus.<sup>228</sup> The creation date for the *colonia Julia Equestris* is thus generally situated somewhere between 50/49 BC and 27 BC at the latest.

The *colonia Augusta Raurica*, nowadays located underneath modern Augst, was founded around the same time. An inscription on the mausoleum of L. Munatius Plancus, who was appointed governor of Gaul after Caesar's death, states that he founded the *coloniae Lugdunum* and *Raurica*.<sup>229</sup> Although this inscription has often been used in favour of a foundation date for Roman Augst under Caesar, the *Colonia Munatia Felix Raurica* could equally have been created during the other 30 years of Plancus' career.<sup>230</sup> A bronze inscription belonging to the base of a statue that may have stood on the *forum* of the *colonia* commemorates the inauguration ceremony of the town. The name of the *colonia* includes titles, such as *Apollinaris*, which refers to Augustus' ideology and so suggests a foundation date during his reign.<sup>231</sup> There is also some speculation about the location where Plancus founded the *colonia*. Some scholars have suggested that the *colonia* might have been constructed on the Late Iron Age site of Basel-Münsterhügel, but no clear Roman structures have been found there.<sup>232</sup> If Plancus did found the *colonia* in Augst, one might wonder why the oldest Roman remains do not confirm that possibility. Approximately 70 percent of the Roman town in Augst has been excavated and the oldest structures can be dated no earlier than 15 to 20 BC.<sup>233</sup> It is of course plausible that there was a time difference between the foundation of the town *de iure* and the start of the first actual physical building phases.<sup>234</sup> One can conclude that the evidence suggests a foundation date for the *colonia Augusta Raurica* somewhere soon after Caesar's death, during the reign of Augustus.<sup>235</sup>

Augustus is generally well known for his administrative reorganisations in newly conquered territories. For example, he created new administrative units, *civitates* in Spain and in the region which was then still known as Gallia. There is evidence for three such early *civitates* within the northern Alpine region. A first instance is mentioned by Pliny, who reports in his *Historia Naturalis* that the tribe of the Lingones enjoyed the status of *foederati*.<sup>236</sup> They most likely gained this position from Caesar for their support during the *Bellum Gallicum*. It is assumed that *Andemantunnum*/Langres functioned as the main centre of the *civitas Lingonum*. Recent excavations of the site have revealed clear investments and changes in the lay-out of the centre which could be dated to the reign of Augustus and can therefore indeed be related to the installation of a new administrative organisation.<sup>237</sup> Another example is the *civitas Helvetiorum*, created after Augustus conquered the *Helveti* in around 12 BC. Due to their rebellious behavior, they did not become

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<sup>227</sup> Galsterer-Kröll 1972, 55; 94.

<sup>228</sup> Brunetti 2005, 59.

<sup>229</sup> Schwarz 1988, 4; Martin-Kilcher 2005, 51; Poux 2005, 9.

<sup>230</sup> 2005-17.

<sup>231</sup> EDCS: 09401124. Martin-Kilcher 2005, 51; Poux 2005, 16.

<sup>232</sup> Frei-Stolba 1999, 54-61; Deschler-Erb 2001, 204-206; Martin-Kilcher 2005, 53-54; Poux 2005, 17.

<sup>233</sup> 2005, 15.

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid.*, 16; Martin-Kilcher 2005, 54.

<sup>235</sup> 2005, 51.

<sup>236</sup> Pliny Natural History 4, 17: a Scaldi incolunt [texero] Texuandri pluribus nominibus, dein Menapi, Morini ora Marsacis iuncti pago qui Gesoriacus vocatur, Britanni, Ambiani, Bellovaci, Bassi. introrsus Catoslugi, Atrebates, Nervi liberi, Veromandui, Suaeuconi, Suessiones liberi, Ulmanectes liberi, Tungri, Sunuci, Frisiavones, Baetaci, Leuci liberi, Treveri liberi antea et Lingones foederati, Remi foederati, Mediomatrici, Sequani, Raurici, Helveti, coloniae Equestris et Raurica. Rhenum autem accolentes Germaniae gentium in eadem provincia Nemetes, Triboci, Vangiones, in Ubis colonia Agrippinensis, Guberni, Batavi et quos in insulis diximus Rheni: (Joly 2003, 232.).

<sup>237</sup> Barral *et al.* 2014, 365.

*foederati* but *stipendiarii* and had to pay taxes. It is believed that after the reign of Tiberius *Aventicum/Avenches* was appointed as the centre of the *civitas Helvetiorum*. Similar to in Langres, the archaeological remains in *Aventicum* reveal urban development soon after the establishment of the *civitas*.<sup>238</sup> Despite the lack of any evidence, the *civitas Vangionum*, located around modern Worms, is considered to be a third example of such an early administrative centre. Under Augustus this part of the Rhine had become militarily organised. It is likely that the Vangiones had already been pacified by Caesar and that they were forced to surrender control over their territory. There is no further certainty as to whether or not the place gained any (municipal) privileges. M.-T. Raesaet-Charlier suggested that the inhabitants were subject to the *ius Latii*, while others have assumed a *civitas peregrine*, in which case the Vangiones were considered foreigners without access to Roman citizenship.<sup>239</sup> Taking into account their contribution to Celtic revolts, such as that one in AD 69, the latter seems more likely.<sup>240</sup>

So far it seems that the first major administrative developments and the earliest self-governing centres created during the Julian dynasty were situated in the south-western part of the northern Alpine region (Fig. 2.1). This is of course related to its relatively early conquest during the Gallic war. Nevertheless, as discussed previously, Roman centres and emporia were established during this period, such as *Damasia/Auerberg* and *Cambodunum/Kempten* in Raetia or the site on the Magdalensberg in Noricum. Despite past claims to this effect, no source has proven that *Cambodunum* was a self-governing Roman town.<sup>241</sup>

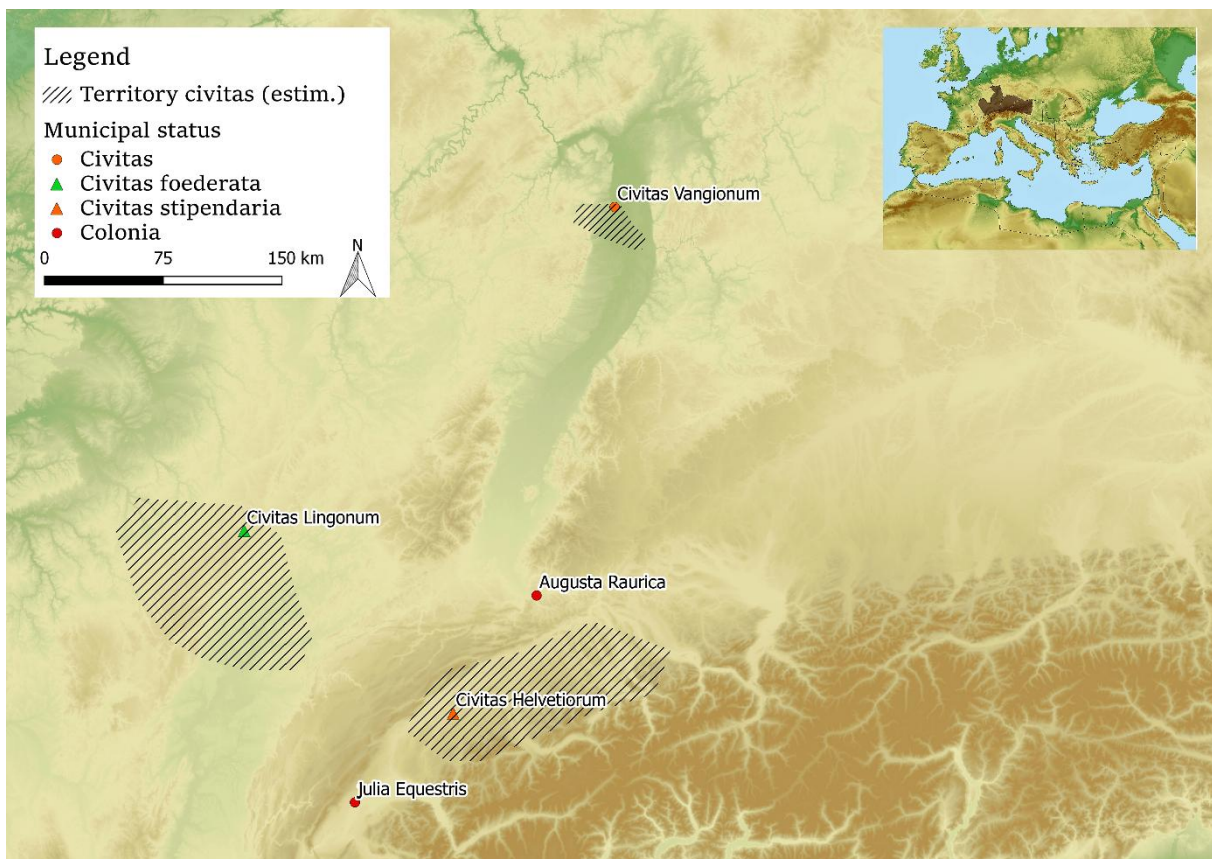


Fig. 2.1: Map of the municipal developments during the reigns of Caesar, Augustus and Tiberius

<sup>238</sup> Reynolds 1964, 338; Frei-Stolba 1976a, 384-389.

<sup>239</sup> Haeussler 1994, 44; Raepsaet-Charlier 1999, 292-293.

<sup>240</sup> Haeussler 1994, 44-45.

<sup>241</sup> Heuberger 1932, 100-118; Weber 2000; Weber 2001, 191-200.

### The reign of Claudius

It was under the reign of Claudius that a first real wave of municipalisation can be observed. A combination of a passage in Pliny's *Historia Naturalis* and epigraphic evidence allows us to identify five *municipia* in the territory of the former Norican kingdom which were most likely founded under Claudius.

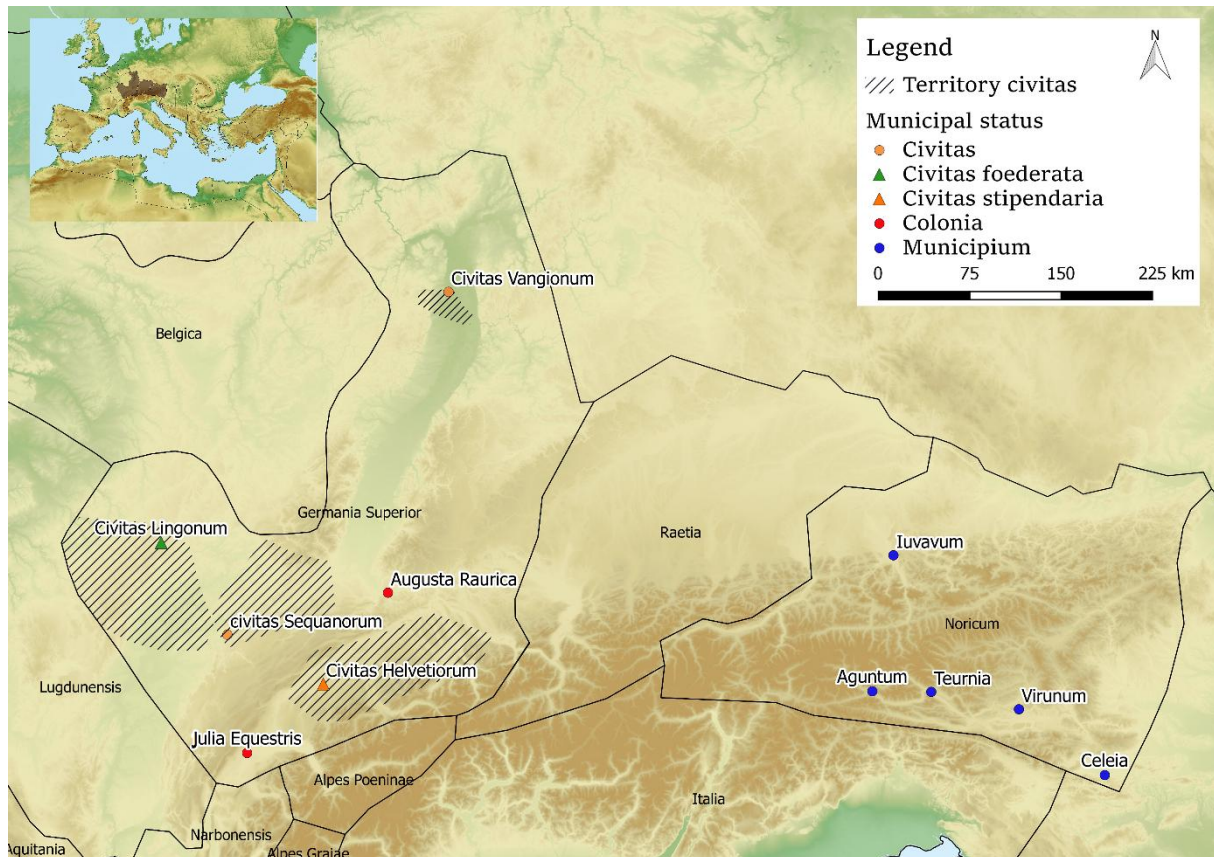


Fig 2.2: Map of the municipal developments during the reign of Claudius

Pliny lists five *oppida*: *Aguntum*/near Lienz, *Celeia*/Celje, *Teurnia*/St Peter in Holz, *Virunum*/Zollfeld and *Iuvavum*/Salzburg. The first four were all located south of the Alps while *Iuvavum* was the only one mentioned which was situated north of the mountain range (Fig. 2.2).<sup>242</sup> Pliny used the generic term *oppida* to refer to these urban centres and so the text does not allow us to find out anything about their status or the rights afforded to their inhabitants. For all five places epigraphic evidence proves nevertheless that they were *municipia*.<sup>243</sup> Since the gentilicium *Claudia* appears in their names, one can assume that certain civic privileges were granted to these communities by Claudius, probably their municipal status.<sup>244</sup> Notwithstanding this evidence, G. Thüry has suggested a different

<sup>242</sup> Pliny: *Natural History* 3, 24: *A tergo Carnorum et Iapudum, qua se fert magnus Hister, Raetis iunguntur Norici. oppida eorum Virunum, Celeia, Teurnia, Aguntum, Iuvaum, omnia Claudia, Flavium Solvense. Noricis iunguntur lacus Pelso, deserta Boiorum; iam tamen colonia Divi Claudii Savaria et oppido Scarabantia Iulia habitantur.*

<sup>243</sup> Aguntum: CIL 3, 11485 Celeia: CIL 3, 5227 Iuvavum: CIL 3, 5591 Teurnia: CIL 3, 5462 Virunum: EDCS 14400206, HD 11277.

<sup>244</sup> Claudium Aguntum: CIL 5, 708 Claudia Celeia: CIL 3, 15205 Claudium Iuvavum: CIL 3, 5591 Claudia Teurnia: CIL 3, 5462 Claudium Virunum: CIL 3, 4484, 11555 and Galsterer-Kröll 1972, 97 (nr. 2).

foundation date for the *municipium Iuvavum*, somewhere during the reign of Nero.<sup>245</sup> The inhabitants of these five *municipia* probably enjoyed Latin rights, since that was most common from the time of Claudius onwards. E. Weber goes much further than this. He suggested that Claudius might have granted the whole Norican province *ius Latii*. His argument therefore is two-sided. On the one hand he mentions the long and good relationship between Rome and the Norican kingdom. On the other hand, he thinks that there was a strong need for citizens who could take up offices in these new towns.<sup>246</sup> Nevertheless, the fact that Vespasian gave to the people of the Iberian Peninsula this favor is an insufficient ground for posing similar acts by other emperors without hard evidence.

It is further assumed that tribes in Gaul also obtained Latin rights from Claudius, amongst which the *Sequani*. There is no solid proof in the literary sources for this assumption about the municipal titles, but the public infrastructure in the centre of the *civitas Sequanorum*, *Vesontio*/Besonçon, became monumentalised and more elite houses were built after the reign of Tiberius.<sup>247</sup> This urban development has been used as indication for municipal upgrading within the Roman administrative system.

### *The Year of the four emperors and the Flavian period*

Several usurpers tried to claim power during the civil war that followed Nero's death. The attempts of Otho, Galba and Vitellius failed and it was Vespasian who realised the establishment of a new era of relative peace under the Flavian Dynasty. This political unrest had repercussions for the municipal organisation of the region (Fig. 2.3). The following passages from Tacitus' *Historiae* give a good impression of the developments which took place in AD 68.

*"By similar bounty Otho sought to win the affections of the cities and provinces. He bestowed on the colonies of Hispalis and Emerita some additional families, on the entire people of the Lingones the privileges of Roman citizenship; to the province of Bætica he joined the states of Mauritania, and granted to Cappadocia and Africa new rights, more for display than for permanent utility."*<sup>248</sup>

*"Gaul, besides remembering Vindex (and his revolt against Nero), was bound to Galba by the recently conceded privileges of (Roman) citizenship, and by the diminution of its future tribute."*<sup>249</sup>

The texts narrate that the inhabitants of the *civitas Lingonum* were granted Roman citizenship by Otho, but that Galba made all people in Gaul Roman citizens. It is strongly questioned though whether Vespasian even recognized the generosity of these *princeps* and whether he did not repeal them.<sup>250</sup> Vespasian is nevertheless known to have re-evaluated certain city rights after this year of upheaval and civil war.<sup>251</sup> For both the centre of the *civitas* of the Lingones and the *Sequani* inscriptions have been found which mention respectively the *colonia Lingonum* and *colonia Sequanorum*. It seems more likely though that these communities did not keep their Roman citizenship, but that Vespasian only granted them Latin rights. As explained earlier, the boundaries of these *civitates* are not well known, but judging from the epigraphic evidence, it seems that the towns of Alesia, Dijon and Vertault belonged to the *civitas Lingonum* and that the centres of *Epamanduodurum*/ Mandeure and Villards d'Heria belonged to the territory of the *civitas Sequanorum* with *Vesontio*/Besonçon as the administrative centre.

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<sup>245</sup> Thüry 2014a, 55-58.

<sup>246</sup> Weber 1999, 12-13.

<sup>247</sup> Caesar De Bello Gallico: I, 38-39. Dondin-Payre and Raepsaet-Charlier 1999, 289-291; Barçon 2006, 71-73.

<sup>248</sup> Tacitus, Natural History 1. 78. 1.

<sup>249</sup> Tacitus, Natural History 1, 8.

<sup>250</sup> Raepsaet-Charlier 1999, 287-289.

<sup>251</sup> Suetonius, Life of Vespasian 8.4.

Based on the element *Flavia* in their names, it is probable that four more towns in the northern Alpine region were Flavian foundations. The centre of the *civitas Helvetiorum*, for example, most likely became a *colonia* during the reign of Vespasian. Reasons for this honour can be found in the emperor's affinity with the region as well as the loyalty shown by the *Helvetii* during AD 68-69. It is generally assumed that the citizens enjoyed Latin rights.<sup>252</sup> The *colonia's* full name *Aventicum Pia Flavia Constans Emerita Helvetiorum Foederata* contains titles which according to some scholars can be associated with veterans.<sup>253</sup> The element *Emerita*, for example, appears in the full name of several Roman towns, such as *Ammaedara* (Tunisia), *Deultum* (Bulgaria) and *Madauros* (Algeria). Since archaeological research proved the presence of veterans in these places, *Emerita* became an indication for the presence of veterans among the population. Whether or not *Pia* and *Constans* also refer to army units or to the character of the community is debatable. Of particular interest is the addition of *foederata*. This clearly stresses the change between the *civitas Helvetiorum* as a community of *stipendiarii* since the reign of Augustus and its new Flavian municipal status.<sup>254</sup>

There were probably two *municipia* founded under the Flavian dynasty. It is assumed that Vespasian also founded the *municipium Flavia Solva/Wagna* in Noricum, expanding Claudius's organisation of the province. Pliny names this place together with the five Claudian *municipia* and therefore a similar municipal status is hypothesised for *Solva*.<sup>255</sup> Excavations have proven that the place was already occupied from the Augustan period onwards, but the name strongly indicates a Flavian date for the granting of municipal status.<sup>256</sup> The other Flavian *municipium* is *Arae Flaviae/Rottweil* in Germania Superior. An inscription proves that the *Municipium Arae Flaviae* existed in AD 186.<sup>257</sup> Nevertheless, scholars have generally dated its foundation around the Flavian period. The title *Flavia* does not allow a precise date but historical and archaeological facts indicate a foundation probably under Domitian. It was under this emperor that the new provinces of Germania Inferior and Superior were established, and that the military occupation made space for civic development. The archaeology shows clear urban reorganisation and rebuilding activities during this period in Roman Rottweil.<sup>258</sup> C.S. Sommer suggested that for Domitian the creation of a Roman town was the final manifestation of his *Germania Capta*.<sup>259</sup> It was the first, and possibly remained the only, self-governing Roman town in the northern areas of the province of Germania Superior. Why the foundation of this town remained such an isolated case cannot be answered or clarified by inscriptions or by the archaeological data. The presence of a Flavian altar in *Arae Flaviae* is suggested in the name and therefore generally accepted, but is archaeologically not attested.<sup>260</sup>

A last municipal concern that can be ascribed to the Flavians was the creation of the *civitas Nemetum* with *Flavia Noviomagus/Speyer* as its administrative centre. A precise date or allocation to a specific emperor is not possible, since the only hint comes from the element *Flavia* in a third-century inscription.<sup>261</sup> There are two inscriptions which mention *colonia* in association with this place, but this status was probably gained under the Gallic Empire and never recognised by the Roman emperor.<sup>262</sup> M.-T. Raepsaet-Charlier therefore assumes Latin rights for this community.<sup>263</sup>

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<sup>252</sup> Reynolds 1964, 388.

<sup>253</sup> CIL 13, 05089 and 05093: [colonia Pia Flavi]a Constans Emerita / [Helvetiorum] foederati.

<sup>254</sup> Frei 1969, 391-396. Galsterer-Kröll 1972, 75; Frei-Stolba 1999, 73-81.

<sup>255</sup> Pliny: Natural History 3, 24 (146).

<sup>256</sup> Groh 1999; Fischer 2002, 84 ff; Hodeczek 2002, 203.

<sup>257</sup> EDCS 13302673.

<sup>258</sup> Fischer 1999, 78-79; Sommer 1999b; Meyr 2014, 233-236.

<sup>259</sup> Sommer gives an overview of all the different interpretations for the foundation date of the *municipium*.

The date of Domitian goes back to D. Planck (Sommer 1992b, 287-288.).

<sup>260</sup> Ibid., 289; Meyr 2014, 236.

<sup>261</sup> CIL 13, 6659.

<sup>262</sup> Raepsaet-Charlier 1999, 334 (4. Némètes).

<sup>263</sup> Colonia: CIL 17, 605 and 615. (ibid., 295.).

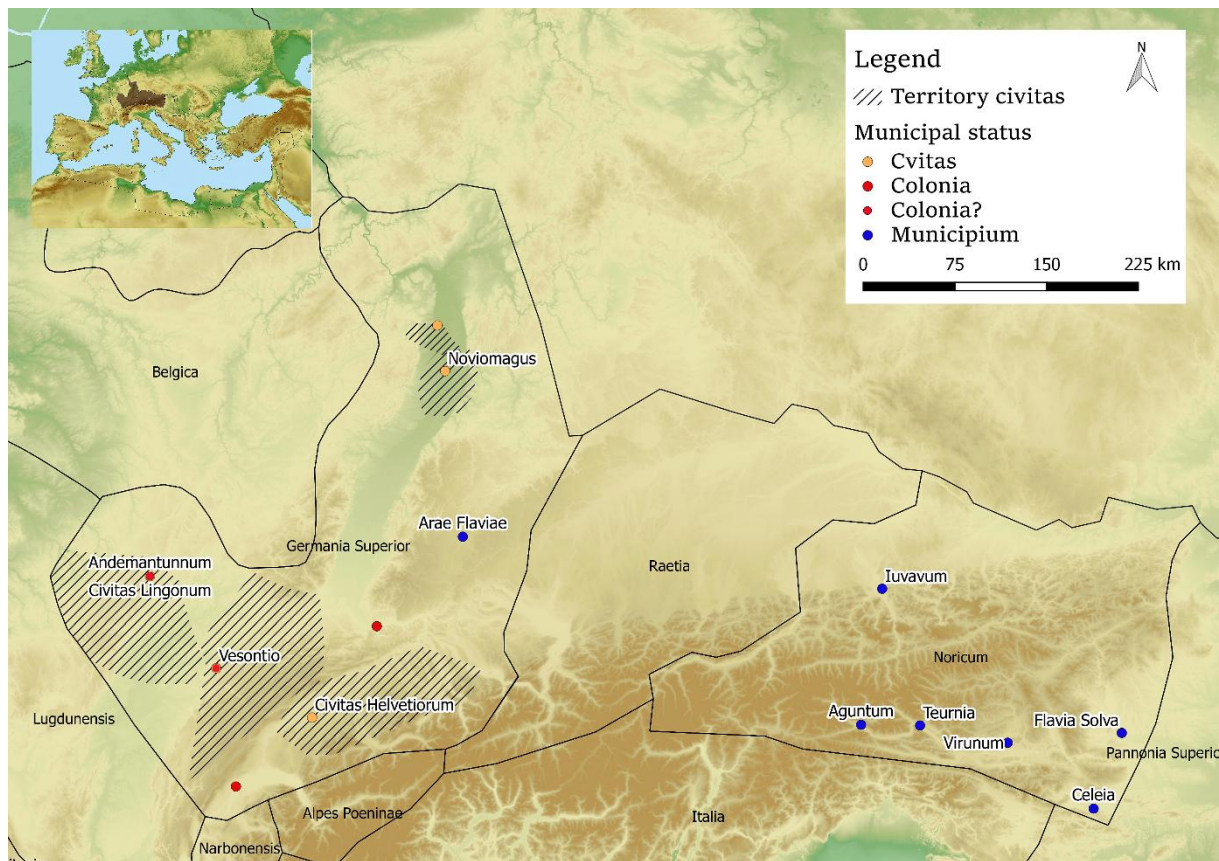


Fig. 2.3: Map of the municipal developments during the Flavian period

### *The adoptive emperors and the Antonine period*

#### *Trajan*

Based on the element *Ulpia* in their names and the date of the demilitarisation of the occupation alongside clear urban developments, three more *civitates* can be ascribed to the reign of Trajan. These were the *civitates Ulpia Sueborum Nicrensium*, *Ulpia Taunensis* and *Ulpia Mattiacorum* (Fig. 2.4). There is no definitive evidence suggesting that the inhabitants of one of these communities gained civic privileges, and all three are therefore considered peregrine. Respectively *Lopodunum/Langres*, *Nida/Frankfurt-Heddernheim* and *Aqua Mattiacorum/Wiesbaden* are identified as the centres of these *civitates*. All three centres developed from a military base camp that was most likely abandoned around the time of the installation of these *civitates* and are attested as *vici* in the epigraphic record (Table 2.1).<sup>264</sup> The *civitas Mattiacorum* is a good example of the complex relationship between civil territory and military domain. The independence of the *civitas* and of its centre *Aquae Mattiacorum* from the legionary town of *Mogontiacum/Mainz* appears so strong that both should be considered as separate entities.<sup>265</sup> The *civitas* as a whole was never granted citizen rights, despite the many veterans of the legionary camp of Mainz who came to live there.<sup>266</sup>

#### *Hadrian*

A different wind began to blow under the reign of Hadrian. The emperor is generally well known for the granting of municipal rights to many places all over the Empire.<sup>267</sup> A total of three *municipia* in

<sup>264</sup> On the *civitas Ulpia Sueborum Nicrensium*: Galsterer-Kröll 1972, 116; Raepsaet-Charlier 1999, 303; Thiel 2008, 55.; on the *civitas Ulpia Taunensis*: Raepsaet-Charlier 1999, 300-301; 338-339; Kortüm 2005, 156-159.; on the *civitas Ulpia Mattiacorum*: Baatz and Herrmann 1982, 458-491.

<sup>265</sup> Indications for a separate administration: CIL 13, 6740a, 7301, 7302, 11804.

<sup>266</sup> Peregrine community: Galsterer-Kröll 1972, 116; Raepsaet-Charlier 1999, 297-300.

<sup>267</sup> For an overview of Hadrian's new town foundations see: Boatwright 2000, 39-40.

Raetia and Noricum can be allocated to him based on the element *Aelia* in their names (Fig.2.4). A first is *Aelia Augusta*, the *municipium* underneath modern Augsburg also known as *Augusta Vindelicum*.<sup>268</sup> The place had been a fort from the time of Tiberius onwards and had remained a garrison settlement until 90 AD. It eventually grew into a Roman town. It must have been granted municipal rights, judging by its title *Aelia*, under the reign of Hadrian.<sup>269</sup> *Aelia Augusta* must have hosted the governor's seat and remains up until today the only attested self-governing Roman town in *Raetia*.<sup>270</sup> The foundations of the *Municipia Ovilavis/Wels* and *Cetium/St Pölten* in northern Noricum are presumably related to Hadrian's travels to the Danubian region in the year AD 122.<sup>271</sup>

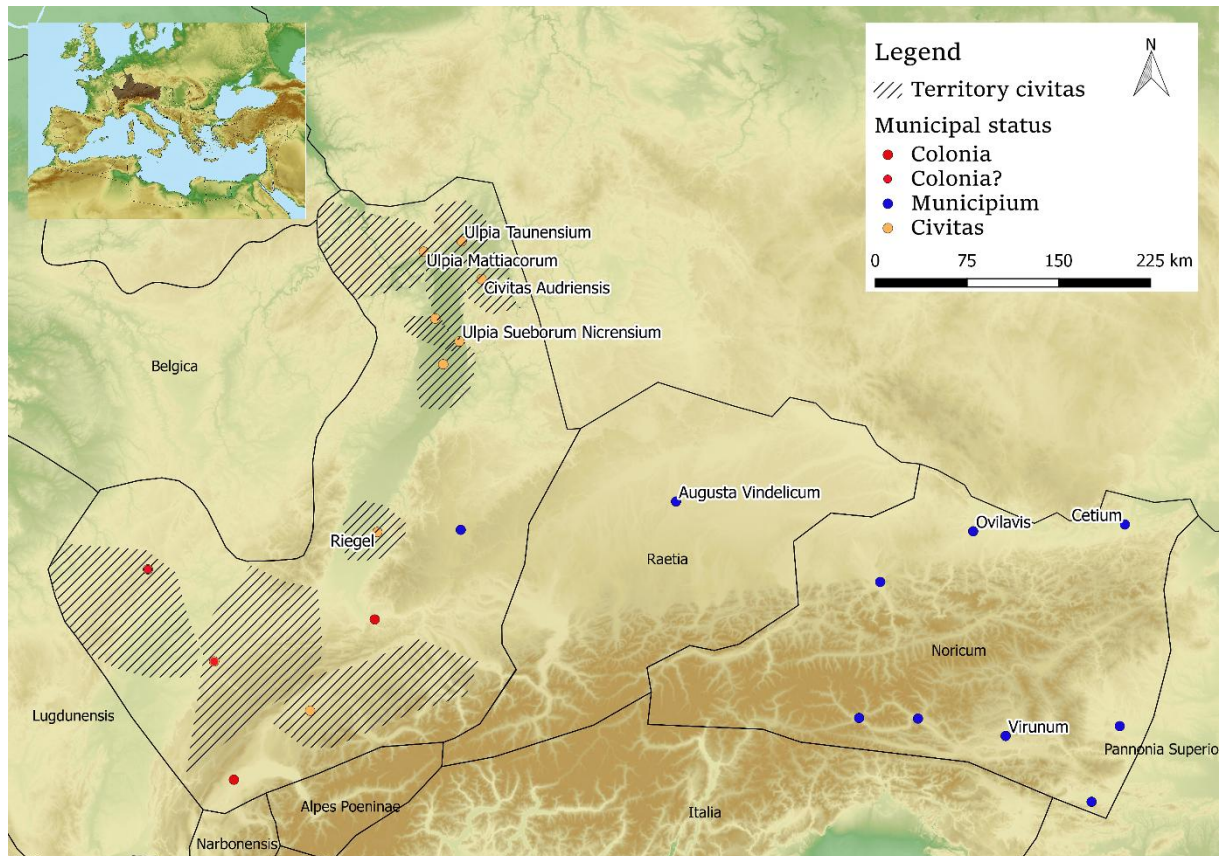


Fig.2.4: Map of the municipal developments during the adoptive emperors

There are a few more municipal changes which are difficult to assign to a specific emperor, but for which the promotion is generally attributed to one of the adoptive emperors (Fig. 2.4). The *civitas Audriensis*, for example, was probably part of Trajan's reorganisation. The *civitas* belonged to the same region as the *civitates Ulpia Sueborum Nicrensium*, *Ulpia Taunensis* and *Ulpia Mattiacorum*. The place *Med(...)*, mentioned as *caput viae*, has been identified with modern Dieburg and appointed as its administrative centre.<sup>272</sup> Another *civitas*, around the centre of Riegel, is assumed, although neither the ancient name of Riegel (*Rigola?*), nor the name of the *civitas* is preserved. Nevertheless, just as in the case of *Nida/Hedderheim* and *Lopodunum/Ladenburg*, the departure of the army around the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century is used here as an indication for its (Trajanic) foundation date.<sup>273</sup> Finally, the centre of Eisenberg is often considered to be a second centre within the *civitas*

<sup>268</sup> CIL 3, 5800, HD008661, 047105.

<sup>269</sup> Czysz 1995, 419; Bakker 2000, 88-94; Weber 2000, 52; Fischer 2002, 79.

<sup>270</sup> Czysz 1995, 419; Roeck 2005, 15-18; Gairhos 2016, 113.

<sup>271</sup> Halfmann 1986, 190. Wedenig 1997, 47; 53-54. According to Wedenig *Ovilava* is a name used by modern scholars, based on the ancient name *Ovilavis*, which is an abbreviation of its full name *Aelium Ovilavis*.

<sup>272</sup> Raepsaet-Charlier 1999, 302-303.

<sup>273</sup> Website: Transformation.

*Vangionum* based on its public infrastructure<sup>274</sup>, but two inscriptions found at the site mention a *civitas St(...)*, which cannot be identified with any of the neighbouring towns and is further not identified or located.<sup>275</sup> It seems likely from the epigraphic record that Roman Eisenberg may have been the centre of a further unknown community.

### *Antonine period*

In accordance with the organisational work done by his predecessor, Marcus Aurelius presumably continued with the expansion of the municipal network in northern Germania Superior since possibly five or six more *civitates* have been dated to his reign (Fig. 2.5).<sup>276</sup>

Based on the name *Aurelia*, the *civitas Aurelia G.* of which neither the full name of the *civitas*, nor a centre can be derived from any (mile-stone) inscription, is one of them. Previously, both Bad Cannstatt and Öhringen have been proposed as the administrative centre, but more recent investigation makes Neuenstadt am Kocher a possibility.<sup>277</sup> Also ancient Pforzheim is considered as a possible administrative centre of an unknown *civitas*. This assumption relies on a milestone which mentions the name Port(us) (Antiensis?), and taking the other administrative changes in the region into account a creation under Marcus Aurelius is proposed.<sup>278</sup>

More details have survived of the three other Antonine *civitates*. *Sumelocenna/Rottenburg* is mentioned as *caput viae* and is therefore identified as the centre of the *civitas Sumelocennensis*. The difficulty here is that a *saltus* is mentioned, and that the relation between this imperial domain and the *civitas* is not completely clear.<sup>279</sup>

Also a *civitas 'Alisinensium'* around the centre of Bad Wimpfen was found somewhere after the departure of the military units in the mid- 2<sup>nd</sup> century. A foundation date under Marcus Aurelius' reign is therefore likely.<sup>280</sup> Based on epigraphic evidence it is assumed that the *civitas Aurelia Aquensis* was founded at some time between AD 100 and AD 197.<sup>281</sup> The element *Aurelia* might be an indication of the emperor who founded the community, but it can equally be a later addition to distinguish the place from *Aquae Mattiacorum/Wiesbaden* and *Aquae Helveticae/Baden*.<sup>282</sup> The indication of *Aquae/Baden-Baden* as its main centre is generally accepted and is again based on the evidence of milestones. Although there is no clear indication of when the *civitas Tribocorum-Argentoratensium* was created, its vicinity to other Antonine municipal creations makes it very likely that the *civitas* was founded around this time. Presumably, first *Brumath/Brucomagus* functioned as its main centre and later *Argentorate/Strassbourg*.<sup>283</sup>

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<sup>274</sup> Bernhard *et al.* 2007, 54-55.

<sup>275</sup> CIL 13, 11696, 11698: c(ivitatis)St().

<sup>276</sup> M. Klee has also mentioned *Iuliomagus/Schlietheim* as a centre of an unknown *civitas*, but this suggestion is not widely supported and is therefore not included in this overview (Klee 2013, 87.).

<sup>277</sup> Raepsaet-Charlier 1999, 305-306. K. Kortüm uses the level of urban development, the presence of stone buildings and a central cult complex to argue in favour of Neuenstadt am Kocher as the *civitas* centre (Kortüm 2014, 258-260.).

<sup>278</sup> Raepsaet-Charlier 1999, 315-316.

<sup>279</sup> *Ibid.*, 308-309.

<sup>280</sup> *Ibid.*, 304-305.

<sup>281</sup> For more explicit information on the date see: *ibid.*, 306-307.

<sup>282</sup> Filtzinger, Plack and Cremer 1976, 215-223; Baatz 2000, 67; Rabold 2005, 98.

<sup>283</sup> Bedon 2001, 127; Kortüm 2005, 155. Elsewhere, one finds foundation dates for the *civitas Tribocorum* is early as the Augustan period and the 1<sup>st</sup> century, see: Website: Transformation.

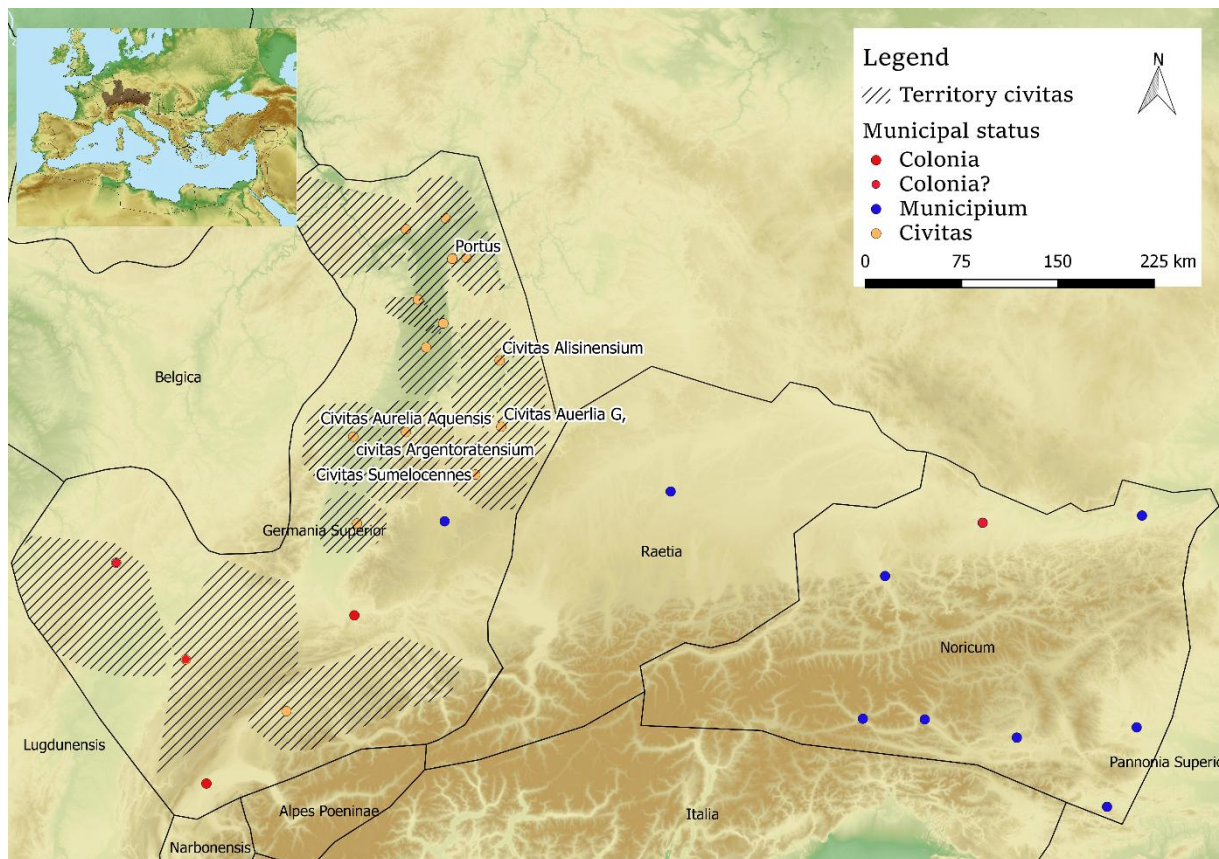


Fig.2.5: Map of the municipal developments during the Antonine and Severan period

### *The Severan period*

The Antonine period can be considered as the time of the last considerable changes within the municipal system of the northern Alpine region. Only a few alterations can be dated to the Severan period. When Caracalla issued the *Constitutio Antoninia* in AD 212 offering Roman citizenship to all free inhabitants within the Empire, it did not eliminate the importance, or the ambition, of communities to receive municipal rights.<sup>284</sup> It still made a difference for a community to gain a municipal status and organise itself as a town.

One of the few changes within the municipal organisation of these provinces during the third century, was the promotion of the *municipium* of *Ovilavis/Wels* into the (honorary) *colonia Aurelia Antoniniana Ovilavensium*.<sup>285</sup> It is not clear whether Marcus Aurelius or Caracalla was the founder, but the promotion is generally dated to the Severan dynasty.<sup>286</sup> Several explanations have been suggested for the change in municipal rights. The two most likely motives are on the one hand the presence of many veterans from the surrounding forts and on the other hand *Ovilavis'* central role in the provincial administration.<sup>287</sup> The presence of the governor's chair in *Ovilavis*, as suggested by G. Winkler and E. Weber, is not fully accepted and can not be supported archaeologically. It has been suggested that the neighbouring *municipium*, *Aelium Cetium/St. Pölten*, may also have had *colonia* status around the same time, but no inscription or other literary source has so far proven that.<sup>288</sup> The

<sup>284</sup> Sherwin-White 1973, 381-387; Garsney 2004, 140-147.

<sup>285</sup> CIL 3, 5630 and Supl. 5603.

<sup>286</sup> Weber 1999, 13; Fischer 2002; Miglbauer 2002; Miglbauer 2006, 14-15.

<sup>287</sup> 2006, 15.

<sup>288</sup> The inscription CIL 3, 5652 mentions the *colonia Ovilavis* together with *Cetium*. Nonetheless, the inscription does not confirm colonial status for *Cetium*. Both centres are clearly mentioned separately from one another. Wedenig 1997, 52-53. *Cetium* considered as *colonia* see Weber 1972, 182-183; 1999, 13.

discussion about the reasons behind the promotion of *Ovilavis*/Wels and *Cetium*/St. Pölten has also been fed by the controversy around the city rights of the garrison town of *Lauriacum*/Enns. If indeed *Lauriacum* was founded as a new town, both *municipia* might have lost territory and then been compensated with greater civic privileges and citizen's rights. We will cover the widely discussed city rights of *Lauriacum* again later.

## 2.2 Self-government and magistracies

The grant of municipal status meant that a community was recognised as a town that was organised following the example of Rome. This implied the institution of certain offices and magistracies. The presence of these magistracies can be taken as evidence of a town's official status in cases where we are otherwise ignorant of its municipal organisation.<sup>289</sup> G. Rupprecht's description of a Roman town serves as a good example:

*... ist der Terminus 'Stadt' im folgenden so zu verstehen:*

*Ein lokal konzentriertes Gemeinwesen, das als Glied des römischen Reiches im Rahmen eines 'ordo decurionum' mit leitenden 'Ilvir' oder 'Illvir' an der Spitze zwar selbst bestimmen und verwalten konnte, aber trotzdem der Herrschaft des Staates unterlag. Es besass die innere Autonomie, aber nicht die äussere, die zugunsten staatlicher Gesamtherrschaft aufgegeben werden musste oder gar nicht erst verliehen wurde.*<sup>290</sup> (underlinings by author)

A Roman town was thus administered by an *ordo decurionum*, comparable with the senate in Rome or a modern town council, which was chaired by *duoviri* or *quattuorviri* who held the highest magistracies within the municipal organisation.<sup>291</sup> When the presence of such a local board is attested, full municipal status for that community can be accepted.

### 2.2.1 The inner-organisation of a Roman town

The preservation of bronze tablets on which the municipal charter of specific self-governing towns was written has allowed us a better understanding of the inner-organisation of Roman towns and the function of the related municipal offices. Parts of several of such *leges municipales* have been found in southern Spain, more specifically in Malaga and the region of Seville.<sup>292</sup> Some bronze fragments found in *Lauriacum*/Enns in Noricum have also been identified as parts of a municipal charter, although it is disputed to which town it belonged.<sup>293</sup> More recently bronze tablets of the Roman towns of *Troesmis* in *Moesia inferior* and *Ratiariae* in *Dacia* have been identified as parts of their municipal legislation.<sup>294</sup> The finding of these municipal charters remains a rarity, despite the high number of self-governing towns that existed in the entire Roman Empire. Bronze was, of course, an expensive material that could be melted down and recycled. This possibility of reuse of the material in later times might explain the small number of surviving town charters. Equally, scholars have argued that not every town's charter was necessarily written on bronze tablets and that less durable material, such as wood, could also have been used.<sup>295</sup>

These municipal charters are valuable documents regarding our understanding of the practicality of the everyday government of a Roman town. As has already been stated, a town was ruled by a council, which was headed by two *duoviri* assisted by two *aediles* who were annually elected by the

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<sup>289</sup> Tarpin 1999, 1. M. Tarpin list also Le Roux 1992, 183-200; Laffi 1988, Brown 1980, 16, 25, 31, 38-39. Jones 1974, 12-14.

<sup>290</sup> Rupprecht 1975, 33-34.

<sup>291</sup> Langhammer 1973, 188-189; Rupprecht 1975, 52-55.

<sup>292</sup> Lex Malacitana, *Leges Irnitana, Salpense and Ursonensis*. González 1986, 147-243.

<sup>293</sup> Bormann 1906; Galsterer-Kröll 1971; Weber 1972; Vettters 1991.

<sup>294</sup> Troesmensium: Eck 2015, 11-18; 2016a, 565-606. Ratiaria: 2016b, 538-544.

<sup>295</sup> Reynolds 1988, 16-17.

assembly of male citizens.<sup>296</sup> The term *quattuorviri* was sometimes used to refer to acts decided upon by all four magistrates together.<sup>297</sup> The *duoviri*, were the two highest ranked magistrates in a Roman town. They were responsible for the council meetings and the local juridical affairs and jurisdiction (*duoviri iure dicundo*). They bore the ultimate responsibility for the decisions made by the local government. The *duoviri* were assisted by two *aediles* who were in charge of the public order and of the implementation of public works in general, including the construction and maintenance of roads and public infrastructure as well as the organisation of theatrical shows. The finances, including collecting, safeguarding and spending public funds, belonged also to the duties of the *aediles* when no *quaestores* were appointed.<sup>298</sup>

These offices received support from the *ordo decurionum*, the council of 100 men. There is evidence to suggest that not every town had enough wealthy citizens to support a town council of 100 *decurions*.<sup>299</sup> Membership of the *ordo* was for life and was obtained after fulfilling a magistracy, although there is some uncertainty about the election of the *decuriones*. Councilors enjoyed great respect since they not only had a major influence on the overall government of the town, but they were also known for their financial capacity and their contribution to the public benefits evoked via the *munera*.<sup>300</sup> Many of these magistrates emphasised that they held this position either in private inscriptions or in inscriptions related to public works. A person who had held office in a succession of these magistracies would refer to his career using the phrase *omnibus honoribus functus*. The attestation of *duovir*, *aedilis*, *quatuoviri*, *omnibus honoribus functus* or *ordo decurionum* (*decurio*) is therefore informative for the compilation of a list of self-governing and chartered Roman towns.

### 2.2.2 Towns with magistracies in the northern Alpine region

A short investigation of the epigraphic sources quickly confirms that the administration of the towns in the northern Alpine region followed the organisation explained above (Table 2.2). For all eight self-governing towns in Noricum, inscriptions could be found attesting the presence of a complete town council (Fig. 2.6). In addition to the offices of *duovir* and *aedilis*, the post of *quaestor* could also be attested in all towns, except for *Aguntum*. *Lauriacum* is the only other centre in Noricum for which a municipal magistrate was found in its epigraphic record. Whether the office of *aedilis* proves a municipal status for Roman Enns or not, is matter of debate.<sup>301</sup>

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<sup>296</sup> Jacques 1990, 87-90; Du Plessis, Ando and Tuori 2016, 126. F. Jacques lists and discusses plural examples of the great corpus of propaganda concerning the election of magistrates that survived from Pompei.

<sup>297</sup> It has been debated in the past that the use of either *duoviri* or *quatuoviri* could be associated with a specific municipal status. There is, however, no evidence to assume that *duoviri* were appointed in *coloniae* or that the term *quatuoviri* was only applied in legislation related to honorary *coloniae* or *municipia*. It is generally accepted today that *quatuoviri* refers to the combined offices of the *duoviri* and the *aediles*. For more details see: Gasco 1991, 547-563; Du Plessis, Ando and Tuori 2016, 126.

<sup>298</sup> 2016, 126-128.

<sup>299</sup> Reynolds 1988, 25.

<sup>300</sup> Miglbauer 2006, 6-7; Pferdehirt 2014, 33-35; Du Plessis, Ando and Tuori 2016, 128-129.

<sup>301</sup> Galsterer-Kröll 1971, 339-340; Weber 1972, 187-189.

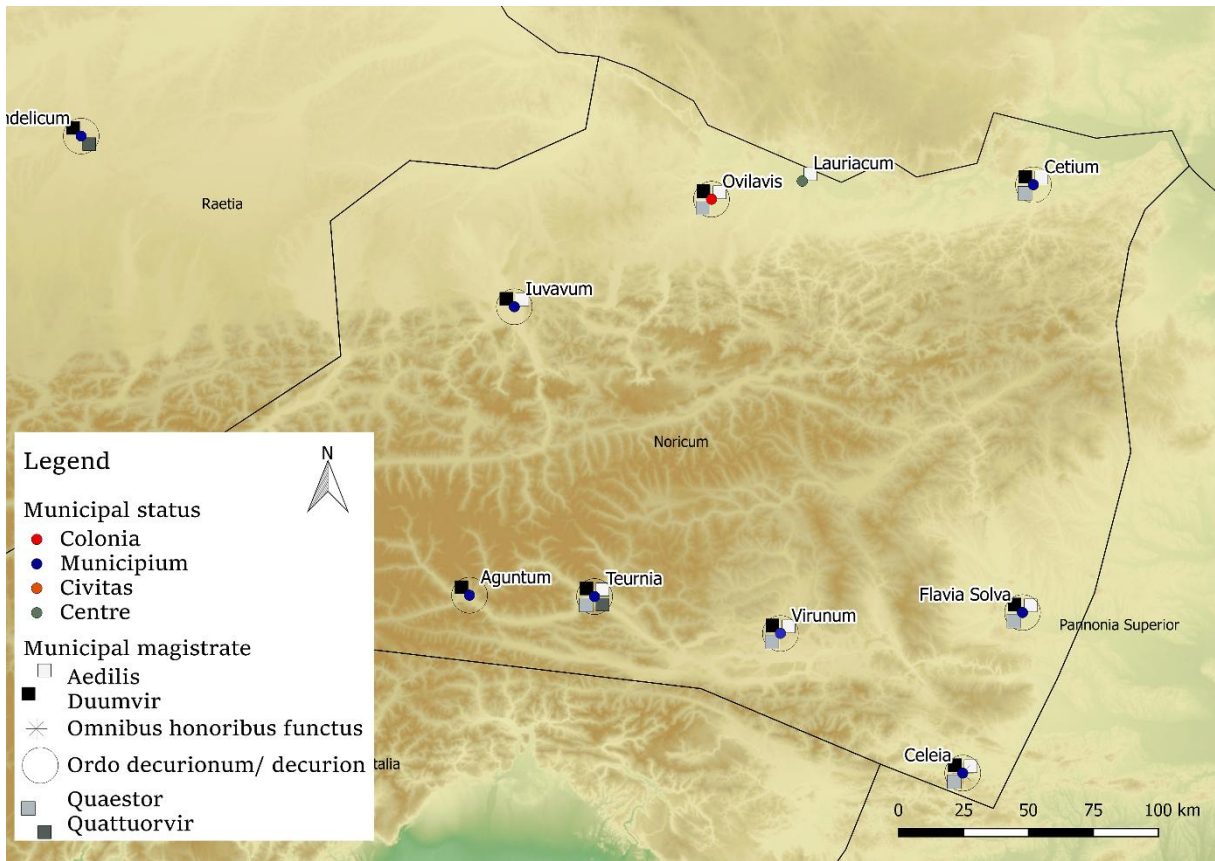


Fig. 2.6: Municipal magistracies in Noricum

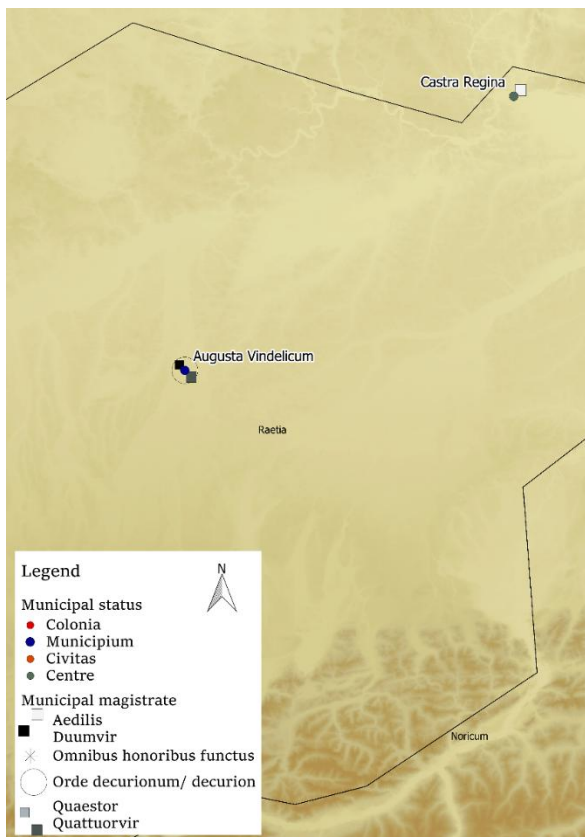


Fig. 2.7: Municipal magistracies in Raetia

In the entire province of Raetia only one place is known to have been granted municipal rights, more specifically the *municipium Augusta Vindelicum*. The offices of *duovir* and *aedilis* are attested in inscriptions, as well as an *ordo decurionum* (Table. 2.3 and Fig. 2.7). As is also the case in the province of Noricum, the only other centre where a municipal magistrate is mentioned in the epigraphy a legionary base, *Castra Regina*/Regensburg. Also here the magistracy of *aedilis* was recorded in stone.

The historical and epigraphic sources discussed in the chronological overview on municipal development could only prove the existence of three *coloniae* in the southern area of Germania Superior, more specifically the early colonies of *Augusta Raurica*/Augst and *Julia Equestris*/Nyon founded under Caesar or Augustus and the Flavian *colonia Aventicum*/Avenches. The presence of *duoviri* and other municipal posts further confirms that these were recognised self-governing towns in possession of a Romanised town charter (Fig. 2.8).

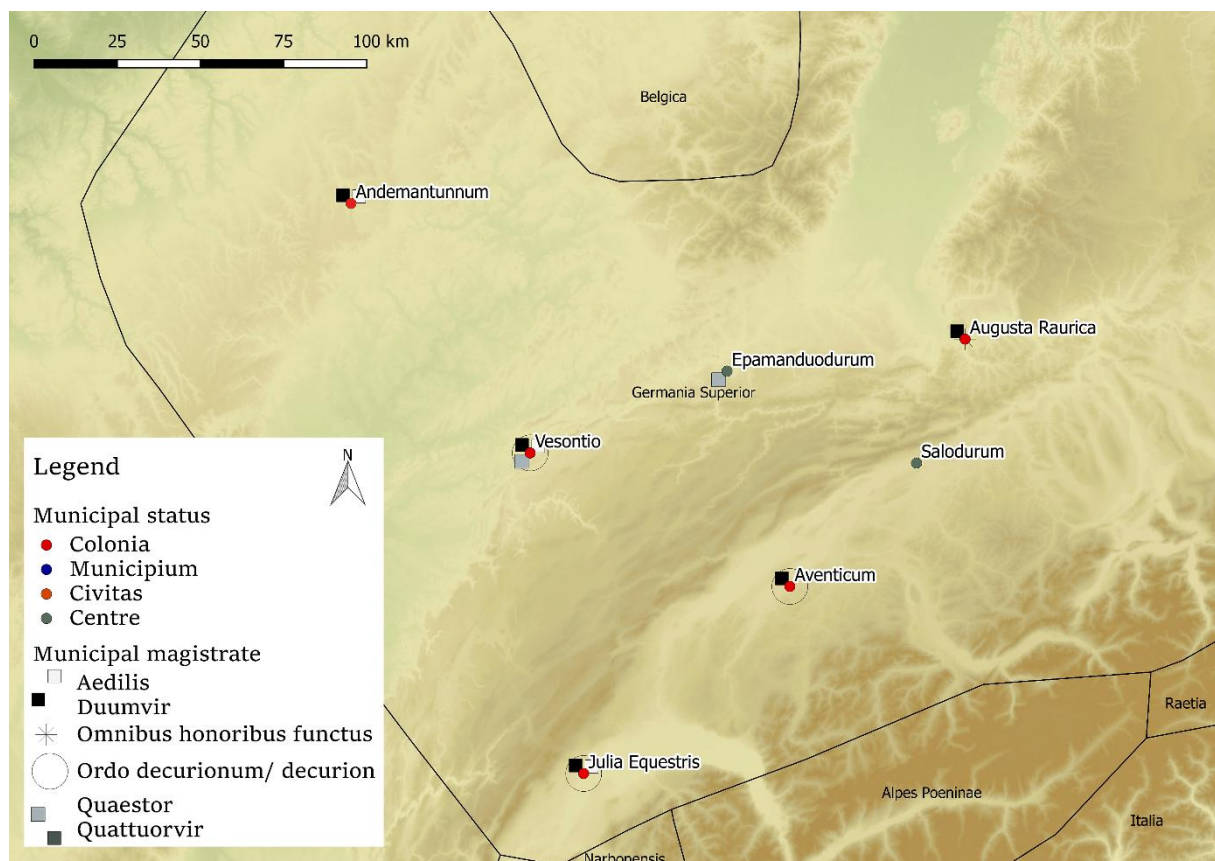


Fig. 2.8: Municipal magistracies in southern Germania Superior

While neither the term *colonia* nor the designation *municipium* has been found associated with *Andemantunnum*/Langres and *Vesontio*/Besançon the presence of Roman magistrates in their epigraphy indicates a promotion. At both places the highest municipal offices are attested, including *duoviri* and *aedilis*. The presence of such official magistrates indicates that these communities enjoyed the rights to organize themselves as self-governing towns with Roman town charters, therefore: *municipia* or *coloniae*.

The map in Figure 2.9 illustrates nicely that the northern area of Germania Superior stood apart in the way that the region was administered. In contrast to the high number of promoted centres in Noricum or in southern Germania Superior, there were almost none in this region, with the exception of the *municipium Arae Flaviae*/Rottweil, although no magistrates are known from this town. Many communities however were organised in *civitates*, mainly during the late 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> century. As explained before, a *civitas* stood at the bottom of the municipal hierarchy, which expresses itself for

example in the absence of high official municipal magistracies, such as *duovir* or *aedilis* which are indicators of chartered towns.

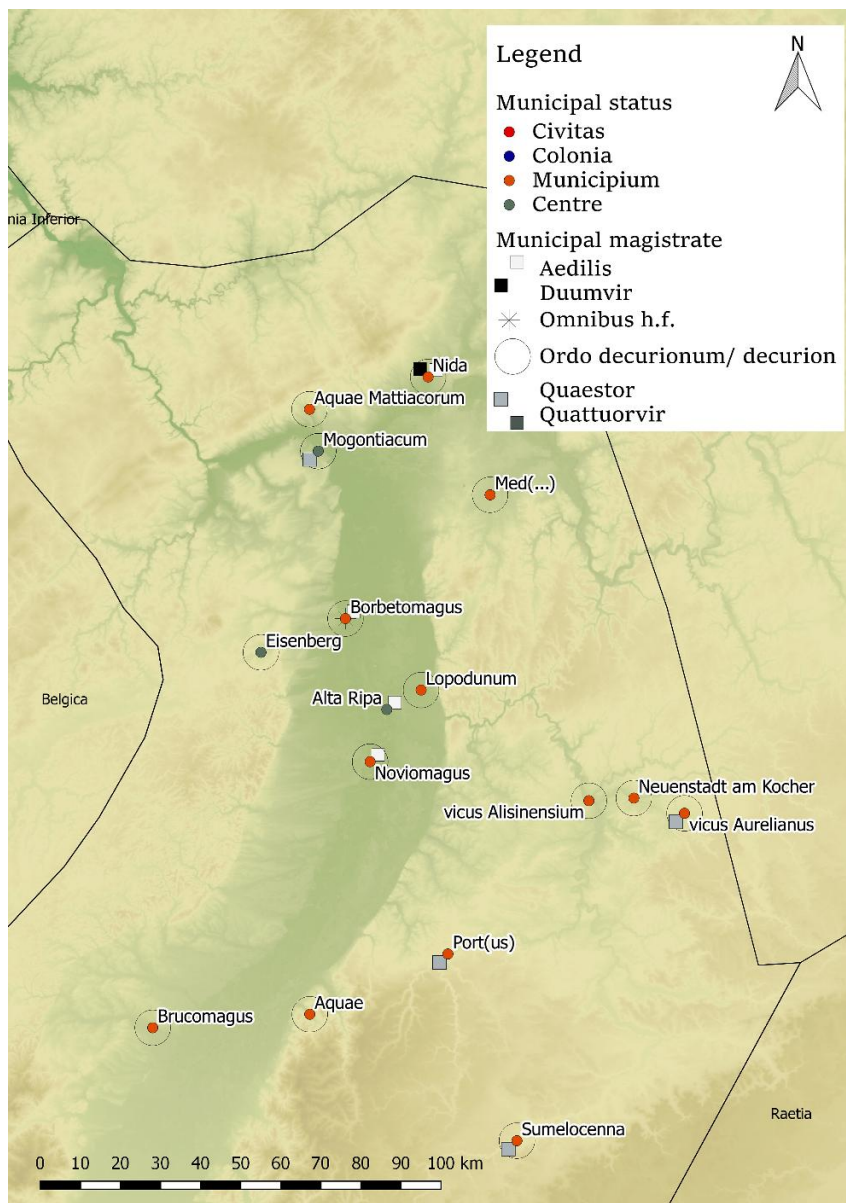


Fig. 2.9: Municipal magistracies in northern Germania Superior

The inscriptions of these administrative units mainly prove the actions of their councils and council members, with the exception of the *civitates Taunensium* (*Nida*) and *Vangionum* (*Borbetumagus*). These two *civitates* have left epigraphic proof of not only *decuriones* but also of higher municipal offices. In the case of *Nida*/Frankfurt-Heddernheim a *duovir* of specifically the *civitas Taunensium* is mentioned (CIL 13, 7265).<sup>302</sup> Another inscription (CIL 13, 6244) relates to a magistrate of the *civitas Vangionum* who fulfilled multiple offices.<sup>303</sup> An inscription found in *Alta Ripa*/Altrip mentions the office of *aedilis*. It is assumed that this magistrate also belonged to the government of the *civitas Vangionum*.<sup>304</sup> The attestation of such official municipal offices may suggest a promotion of these

<sup>302</sup> Nida: CIL 13, 7265: Ilv(ir) c. T.

<sup>303</sup> Borbetumagus: CIL 13, 6244 : omnib. hon. f., de[ecurio ci]vitat[is] Vang.

<sup>304</sup> Nesselhauf 1937, 77.

specific communities. The possibility that *Borbetomagus* was a *colonia* was mentioned earlier, but dismissed as invalid. M.-T. Raepsaet-Charlier thinks that there is no doubt that the community of *Vangiones* was promoted to a *municipium*.<sup>305</sup> Broader, similar paths to municipal promotion are known from Gaul. It has been suggested by scholars, such as H. Wolff, that *civitates* in Gaul should be considered *municipia* or *coloniae*, because although we do not have strong evidence for their use of these titles, they appear to have functioned in the same way.<sup>306</sup>

### 2.3 The number of self-governing towns

The combination of the epigraphic data for magistracies in addition to that of statuses leads to a list of about 30 self-governing towns (Table 2.4). Seventeen promoted self-governing towns, including both *coloniae* and *municipia* within the entire northern Alpine region could be identified. In addition eight to possibly thirteen places could be classified as *civitas* centres based on the written sources.<sup>307</sup> These self-governing towns were unevenly distributed over the three provinces. In the entire Raetian province only one self-governing town is known. The territory of Noricum seems to have had a relatively high number of chartered towns with the existence of at least seven *municipia* and one *colonia*. This is comparable to the municipal structure in southern Germania Superior, although the communities here mainly received the status of *colonia*. In addition to the two veteran *coloniae* of *Iulia Equestris*/Nyon and *Augusta Raurica*/Augst, the centres of *Andemantunnum*/Langres, *Aventicum*/Avenches and *Vesontio*/Besançon were promoted during the Flavian period, although the evidence is not as clear. The recognition of *Arae Flaviae*/Rottweil as an official town relies only on the inscribed tablet mentioning its municipal status, because no evidence for any magistracy has been found. It might nevertheless not have been the only promoted centre in northern Germania Superior. Although this northern region's administration was strongly characterised by a *civitas* - structure, the evidence for the municipal organisation of both *Borbetomagus* and *Nida* suggests a municipal promotion. The sources discussed in the previous sections leave room for speculation about the municipal status of some places, more specifically of a few legionary towns.

### 2.4 The status of legionary towns

The army administered all communities that lived on military territory, including both those living in the military fort and the civilian settlements. After the pacification of conquered land and the movement of the Empire's frontier, the land was released and civilian centres were often assigned administrative tasks to replace the military control. Several *civitas* centres, such as *Lopodunum* and *Nida*, started to develop shortly after the departure of the army.

Likewise, the civil nuclei that developed in the immediate surroundings of a legionary fort, also known as *canabae*, could not be given any municipal autonomy. For a long time it was believed that some of these communities that belonged to legionary camps along the Danube, such as *Aquincum*/Budapest and *Carnuntum*/Petronell, gained the status of *municipium*.<sup>308</sup> A revision of this specific phenomenon resulted in the recognition that not one but multiple civil centres developed around these legionary bases and that not all were built on land owned by the military. It is now assumed that municipal rights were only granted to civil communities living beyond the territory owned by the army.<sup>309</sup> This means that several separate administrative units were operating within a

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<sup>305</sup> Raepsaet-Charlier 1999, 293.

<sup>306</sup> Wolff 1989, 269.

<sup>307</sup> Other scholars identified twelve to sixteen *civitates*. Raepsaet-Charlier 1999, 272-352: 14 *civitates*; Thiel 2008, 59: 12 *civitates*; Klee 2013, 87: 16 *civitates*.

<sup>308</sup> Vittinghoff 1982, 132-135; 142.

<sup>309</sup> Móscy 2014, 139-140.

small region, because the legion remained in charge of all land *ad legionem*. There is also some debate about the municipal status of some centres around certain legionary camps in the northern Alpine region, more specifically of Lauriacum/Enns, *Castra Regina*/Regensburg and Mogontiacum/Mainz.

### *Lauriacum*

Whether or not *Lauriacum*/Enns ever gained municipal rights has been a matter of debate for over forty years. Scholars are still divided. Ubl wrote in 2002 that the city rights for *Lauriacum* are generally accepted these days, but others remain sceptical.<sup>310</sup>

It all started with the discovery of several fragments of inscribed bronze tablets during excavations in the garrison settlement of Enns at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In 1906 E. Bormann identified these tablets as parts of a municipal charter. His argument was based on similarities with the then already known *Lex Rubrica* and *Lex Salpensana*. No place name was mentioned in the fragmented text, but E. Borman was able to restore parts of the imperial titles of Caracalla. This implies that it concerned a Severan municipal promotion.<sup>311</sup> H. Galsterer and B. Galsterer-Kröll who stated in their article of 1971 that these tablets did not prove that *Lauriacum* had become a Roman *municipium*.<sup>312</sup> Since then more bronze fragments possibly belonging to the same charter were found and scholars have tried to prove the opposite.

The main arguments used in the discussion include the context in which the tablets were found as well as the municipal developments of the wider region. Some of these fragmented tablets were found in a treasure pit together with a life-sized bronze statue, 325 coins and a golden necklace. In contrast to H. Galsterer and B. Galstere-Kröll who assumed that the bronze tablets came from a context that contained old metals ready to be reused, H. Vettters considered it an intentional deposit of valuable objects. This was a perfectly normal action considering the unrest of the 3rd century.<sup>313</sup> Also according to G. Alföldy, the municipal charter most likely belonged to *Lauriacum*. His argument is twofold. Firstly, the other Norican towns to which the charter could have belonged gained the status of *municipium* long before Caracalla. *Ovilavis*, the neighbouring town which has been suggested as an alternative, for example, was promoted by Caracalla to *colonia*.<sup>314</sup> Secondly, G. Alföldy's reading of CIL 3, 41216 lists *Lauriacum* as a self-governing community alongside the other eight Norican towns, but this interpretation can be questioned.<sup>315</sup> In addition, E. Weber found support in the epigraphic evidence for the municipal promotion of *Lauriacum*. Inscriptions prove the existence of a *collegium iuvenum* and two *aediles*. H. Galsterer and B. Galsterer-Kröll did not consider this evidence as proof of anything, since a *collegium* also existed in Roman Mainz and Benningen, two garrison settlements that did not have municipal rights.<sup>316</sup> Furthermore, E. Weber suggested that the broader regional context should be taken into account. According to him, we should accept

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<sup>310</sup> It is generally accepted that *Lauriacum* had become a *municipium* under Caracalla according to Ubl 2002, 271. During the Römer Tagung in Erfurt 2015 Dr. Stefan Traxler and Dr. Felix Lang informed me that they are not convinced by the current evidence. Likewise, Dr. Renate Miglbauer remains cautious about considering *Lauriacum* as one of the official Norican Roman towns. Nevertheless, the following list of scholars illustrates the general acceptance: Haider 1987, 19; Kandler and Vettters 1986, 92; Zabehlicky 1999, 16.

<sup>311</sup> Bormann 1906, 316-317.

<sup>312</sup> Galsterer-Kröll 1971. The authors did not accept the municipal rights of *Lauriacum* since none of the fragments mentioned the place the municipal charter was intended for. Furthermore, the tablets were found in a depot for remelting metal, in the *fabrica* of the Roman fort and could have been collected anywhere.

<sup>313</sup> Vettters 1991, 53-57.

<sup>314</sup> Alföldy 1974, 273.

<sup>315</sup> Alföldy 1998, 1-6. CIL 3, 41216: aed(ili) cur(uli) civitates I[X] / [V]irunenses Celeienses [Teur]/nenses Ov[ilavenses] / [Lau]r[iacenses Solvenses] / Aguntense[s Iuvavenses] / [Ce]tienses [patrono fec(erunt)?] The inscription clearly lists seven of the eight Roman *municipia*: *Virunum*, *Celeia*, *Teurnia*, *Ovilavis*, *Aguntum*, (*Iuvavum*), and *Cetium*. Alföldy's reading of *Lauriacum* nevertheless relies only on one single 'r'.

<sup>316</sup> Galsterer-Kröll 1971, 339-340; Weber 1972, 187-189.

*Lauriacum*'s possession of city rights since many other legionary towns along the Pannonian Danube gained municipal rights under the Severan dynasty, such as *Carnuntum*/Petronell and *Vindabona*/Vienna.<sup>317</sup>

But should events that occurred west of *Lauriacum* not also be considered as a broader regional context? For both the towns around the legionary camps of *Castra Regina*/Regensburg and *Mogontiacum*/Mainz municipal rights have been suggested but not proven.

### *Castra Regina*

CIL 3, 14370, found in the legionary fort of *Castra Regina*/Regensburg, mentions that the *aedilis* Artissius erected an altar dedicated to *Vulkanus*. Whether *aedilis* here should be understood as the municipal magistracy or as part of the military governance remains unclear. According to G. Alföldy, it is most likely that the inscription belonged to the *canabae*. In that case, this aedileship cannot be considered as evidence for a self-governing town in Regensburg, since the *canabae* would have fallen under military control, thus excluding a municipal promotion.<sup>318</sup>

### *Mogontiacum*

*Mogontiacum*/Mainz was home to a double legionary fort, housed the seat of the governor, and was the administrative centre of the province of Germania Superior. The absence of a civil centre here therefore seems at least peculiar, but whether or not *Mogontiacum* possessed a municipal status remains disputed. The earliest attestation of an administrative organisation of *Mogontiacum* dates to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century and is an inscription in which the *civitas Mogontiacensis* is mentioned.<sup>319</sup> Before that there is no *civitas* known in the region of the *Treveri* or in the territory of the *Vangiones*. How the area was organised or how the administration was carried out, remains unclear. Either the region remained military territory and fell immediately under the supervision of the provincial governor or the existence of an unknown *civitas* should be accepted, of which *Mogontiacum* might have been the administrative centre.<sup>320</sup>

Even if the *civitas Mogontiacensis* was established before the third century, there is no evidence of promotion to municipal status,<sup>321</sup> especially not since most surrounding communities were *civitates peregrinae*. The organisation of *cives Romani* known from *Mogontiacum*/Mainz was most likely an institution of the *canabae* or a *conventus*-like body of veterans or traders. There are similar examples from the regions which demonstrate that Roman citizens needed legal organisation in the absence of municipal autonomy.<sup>322</sup>

## 2.5 The nature of self-governing centres

### 2.5.1 The background of Roman self-governing centres

It has been mentioned several times that some self-governing Roman towns were the successors of Roman military forts, although no proof exists of self-governing towns developing from the civil communities near legionary forts in the northern Alpine region. The fact that the remains of a military fort have often been found underneath, or close to, known Roman towns has nevertheless stimulated the idea that a strong relationship existed between the army and the establishment of towns.

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<sup>317</sup> 1972, 182-183; 187-189.

<sup>318</sup> Dušanić 2000, 360.

<sup>319</sup> CIL 13, 6727:civitas Mog[ontiac(ensis)].

<sup>320</sup> Raepsaet-Charlier 1999, 311.

<sup>321</sup> Contra T. Bekker-Nielsen, who states that under Diocletian *Mogontiacum* had finally become a *municipium*.

Unfortunately he does not refer to hard evidence to support this statement: Bekker-Nielsen 1989, 38.

<sup>322</sup> Rupprecht 1975, 232-233.

The chart in Fig. 2.10 shows that at least half of the self-governing Roman towns in the northern Alpine region had a military background. Figure 2.12 illustrates clearly that most of these towns were located in northern Germania Superior, with the exception of the governor's seats in Raetia and Noricum: *Augusta Vindelicum* and *Virunum*. In a certain way the foundation of the veteran colonies of *Augusta Raurica* and *Julia Equestris* was also embedded in a military context. The vast majority, however, were *civitas* centres (Fig. 2.11) that made the transition from military post to civil administrative centre. In the case of *Aquae* and *Sumelocenna* the evidence for a predecessor fort is indirect and relies only on finds, including stamped tiles and associated infrastructure such as a military bathhouse.<sup>323</sup> All this might imply a fairly intrusive Roman reorganisation of the land in which they showed little respect for the indigenous structures.

Although, as has already been mentioned in chapter 1, Roman forts were more often than previously assumed constructed in the vicinity of indigenous centres and although there is little evidence of continued occupation, in many cases self-governing towns developed nearby (Fig. 2.12). The depth of stratigraphy at these sites makes it difficult to reach the early layers that could reveal something about the nature and date of their origin.

Regarding the *civitates* in northern Germania Superior, the link between the Late Iron Age occupation and the Roman centre exists mainly in the name of the tribe which was often kept in the denomination of the *civitas*, i.e. the *Mattiaci*, *Nemeti*, *Triboci*, *Vangones*. The *civitas Taunensis*, however, suggests that occasionally complete new districts were created, since its name refers not to a tribe but to a topographical feature, namely the river Taunus.<sup>324</sup>

Pre-Roman inhabitation has been proven around the five Claudian *municipia* in the former territory of the Norican kingdom. In the case of *Aguntum* and *Teurnia* remains of Iron Age sanctuaries have been found on the neighbouring hills, but the actual settlements remain unlocated.<sup>325</sup> Remains of such Late Iron Age settlements were excavated on the Magdalensberg, the Hemmaberg and in *Iuenna*/Globasnitz, all prior to the *municipium Virinum*.<sup>326</sup> The hills around Salzburg too have revealed many traces of pre-Roman occupation.<sup>327</sup> Likewise, remains of Late Iron Age occupation have been found on the Frauenberg, near the Flavian town of *Flavia Solva*.<sup>328</sup> In Noricum a clear transition from Late Iron Age sites located in higher places to Roman centres in the valleys can be observed and one might refer here to a clear reorganisation of the centres. This contrasts with self-governing towns in southern Germania Superior which were often successors of pre-existing centres. Due to exceptional and relatively recent excavations, the transition from the Late Iron Age centres of Avenches, Langres and Besançon into Roman towns could be observed.<sup>329</sup> It has been suggested recently that even the veteran colonies of *Augusta Raurica* and *Julia Equestris* were not created *ex nihilo*, but might have existed already. The tribes in Gaul were generally organised around centres and the Romans presumably made use of the available infrastructure to impose their military and administrative structures.<sup>330</sup> We are led to the conclusion that the Romans used different approaches towards the foundation of self-governing centres which appear to be regionally distinct.

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<sup>323</sup> Filtzinger, Plack and Cremer 1976, 475; Kortüm 2005, 155.

<sup>324</sup> Reynolds 1966, 70; Schmidts 2014, 43-48. T. Schmidts suggested that the origin of the *civitates* on the left bank of the Rhine find their origin in tribal districts, but that the ones on the right bank are more likely to be Roman creations, detached from any ethnical context, with the exception of the *civitates Ulpia Sueborum Nicretum* and the *civitas Mattiacorum*.

<sup>325</sup> Alzinger 1977, 384; Gugl 2001, 307.

<sup>326</sup> Glaser 1982, 10-12; Gleirscher 2007, 105-106.

<sup>327</sup> Dopsch 2010, 10-13.

<sup>328</sup> Hinker 2010, 11.

<sup>329</sup> Avenches: website Aventicum.; Langres: Barral *et al.* 2014, 367-369.; Besançon: Vaxelaire and Barral 2007, 31; Barral, Gaston and Vaxelaire 2011, 91-103.

<sup>330</sup> Millett 1990, 75; Poux 2005, 14.

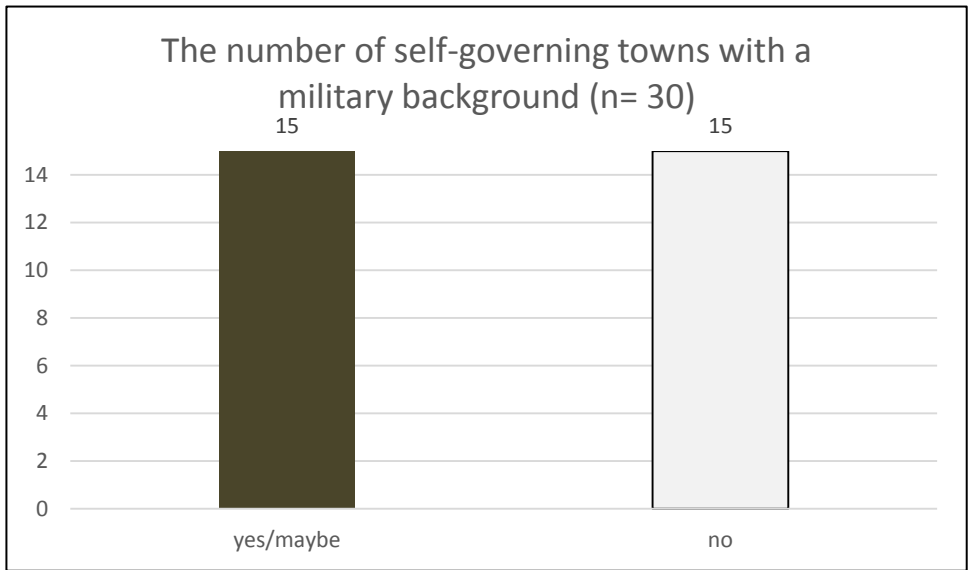


Fig. 2.10: Half of the self-governing towns possibly developed from a military base

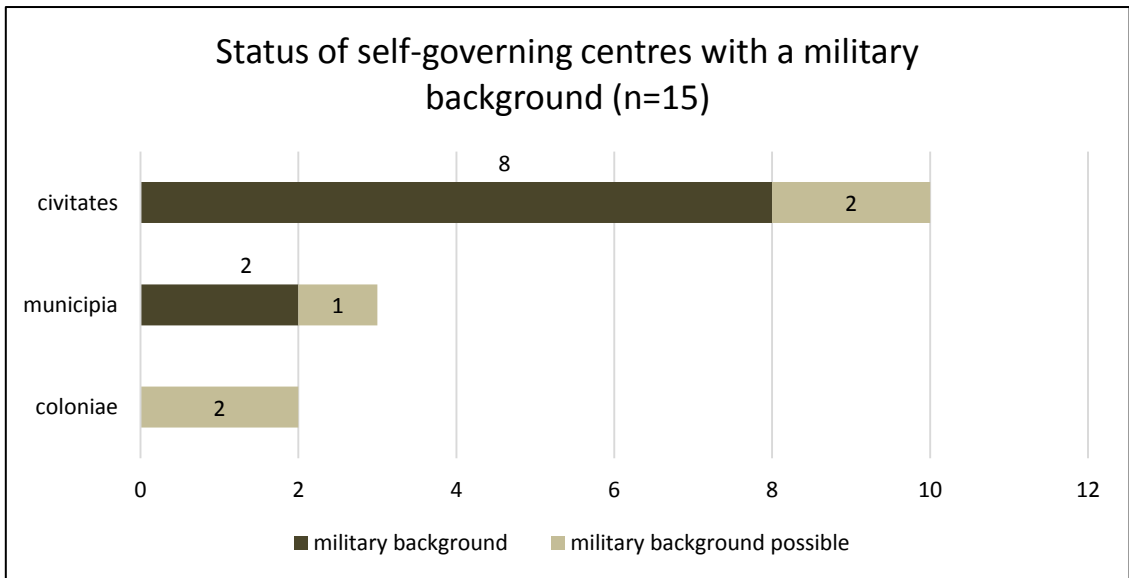


Fig. 2.11: The number of self-governing towns with possible military association grouped per status

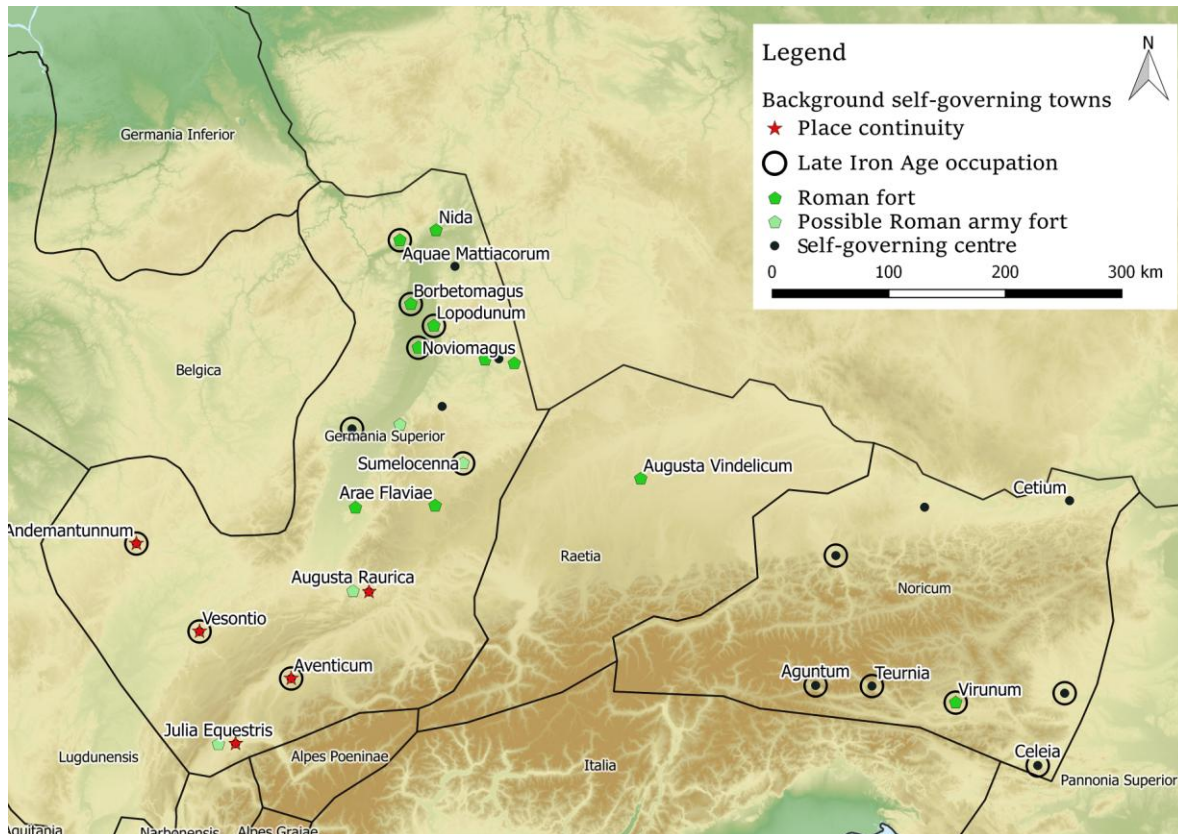


Fig. 2.12: The distribution of the self-governing towns and their background

### 2.3.2 The size of Roman self-governing centres and legionary bases

Regardless of their origin, self-governing towns not only fulfilled an administrative role, but also provided the location for all kinds of secondary and tertiary services or practices and businesses. The size that these self-governing towns grew to can give us an idea of their attraction and importance for a wider area.

It is nevertheless rare for the size of a Roman town to be known precisely, mainly due to the many factors impeding the recording of the archaeological structures. One such factor involves continuous occupation. Many of the Roman self-governing towns became the predecessor of Medieval and Early Modern cities.<sup>331</sup> Augst, Nyon and Rottweil in the territory of Roman Germania Superior, Augsburg in Raetia and Salzburg in Noricum are just a few examples. Also Roman garrison settlements, including the legionary ones, proved to be fruitful foundations for further town development. Because of the overbuilding of the Roman layers, these Roman centres only reveal their size and appearance gradually and often through accidental discoveries. Today the Roman structures in Enns, Mainz and Regensburg are largely overbuilt. Parts of the legionary camp of *castra Regina*, such as the wall and the *porta praetoria*, were only recently rediscovered in the streets of Regensburg during renovation works.<sup>332</sup> The Roman theatre of Mainz was discovered as a result of the construction of the railway at the beginning of the last century.

<sup>331</sup> Schmidts 2014, 43.

<sup>332</sup> For illustrations of the wall of the legionary fortress appearing after renovation works: Fischer and Sulk 2015, 193.

Additionally, some quarters of Roman towns may have been destroyed before they could be researched, due either to construction works or to natural processes. Rivers are an example of such a natural destructive force. The river Lech may have eroded 10 to 18 ha of the Roman town of Augsburg.<sup>333</sup> Another complicating factor is the perishable materials that were used for the construction of many town districts in the Roman period and which are far less visible in the archaeological layers than the stone-built equivalents. In earlier days in particular, timber structures escaped archaeological investigation.<sup>334</sup>

A further complication is that the size of most Roman towns fluctuated over time. The estimations concerning the size of *Celeia/Celje* range from 36 ha during the 1<sup>st</sup> century up to 65 ha a century later.<sup>335</sup> When collecting size data across a wide area, it is important to keep in mind the use of synchronic estimations. However, the archaeological reality of most sites does not allow a nuanced chronological overview of their dimensions. The accuracy of the size estimation of a Roman town depends on the archaeological visibility, the state of preservation and the level of coverage by later constructions. It will often rely on an overall image based on the distribution of finds spots and will only be representative of the size of the Roman town at the time of its greatest expansion.

Several self-governing towns were provided with a wall. Although these walled areas could give us a size indication, they are less clear and helpful for measuring the built-up area than they might at first appear. The development of living quarters outside the city wall or the inclusion of open space within the walled area obviously has an impact on the size of the built-up area of a town. The sizes of the self-governing towns and legionary bases that will be analysed here only represent their built-up area for the period between the late 1<sup>st</sup> century AD and the late 2<sup>nd</sup> or early 3<sup>rd</sup> century.

The chart in Fig. 2.13 displays the size of self-governing and legionary centres in the northern Alpine region for which an estimation could be found, divided over six size categories. The graph allows a few conclusions. The majority of the self-governing towns (79%) remained modest in size and did not extend beyond 60 ha. The size of *civitas* centres remained generally modest in this region, since the majority did not exceed the threshold of 40 ha. In terms of geographical distribution, the centres in southern Germania Superior generally expanded to become relatively large urban nuclei (fig. 2.14). The *coloniae* of *Augusta Raurica* and *Vesontio* expanded to 100 ha and are therefore the largest self-governing towns in the entire region.<sup>336</sup> Despite the wall surrounding the *colonia Aventicum*, enclosing a total of about 231 ha, the occupied zone was only one-third of the total area, about 80 ha.<sup>337</sup> The Roman colony of *Iulia Equestris* seems, with its 40 ha, seems rather small, although the centre may have been bigger.<sup>338</sup> The expansion of the modern town of Nyon makes the investigation of its Roman predecessor difficult. Centres of similar size can be found in proximity to the frontier. The legionary centres of *Mogontiacum* and *Lauriacum* grew as big as the largest self-governing towns, including both their military and the civilian structures.<sup>339</sup> Also, the town of *Ovilavis* easily reached 80 to 90 ha.<sup>340</sup> If its large expansion is related to its nomination as the provincial capital of Noricum Ripense under Diocletian's administrative reorganisation is questionable.<sup>341</sup> Towns where

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<sup>333</sup> Roeck 2005, 15-18; Gairhos 2016, 114-115.

<sup>334</sup> During recent excavation in Bregenz archaeologists witnessed that wood-built structures belonging to the Roman site of *Brigantium* were not observed during earlier investigations (Kopf and Oberhofen 2012, 18.).

<sup>335</sup> Lazar 2002, 75.

<sup>336</sup> *Augusta Raurica*: Wendt and Zimmermann 2008, 209. *Vesontio*: Barçon 2006, 71-73.

<sup>337</sup> Esmonde Cleary 2003a, 77.

<sup>338</sup> Grenier 1931, 336.

<sup>339</sup> The size of only the civilian quarters of these legionary bases measured around 81 ha in the case of *Lauriacum* and 90 to 100 ha for the Roman centre in Mainz.

<sup>340</sup> Miglbauer 1999, 44.

<sup>341</sup> Fischer 2002.

provincial governors resided or which played a role in the provincial administration tended to grow to a relatively large size, such as *Augusta Vindelicum*, *Virunum* and *Celeia*.<sup>342</sup>

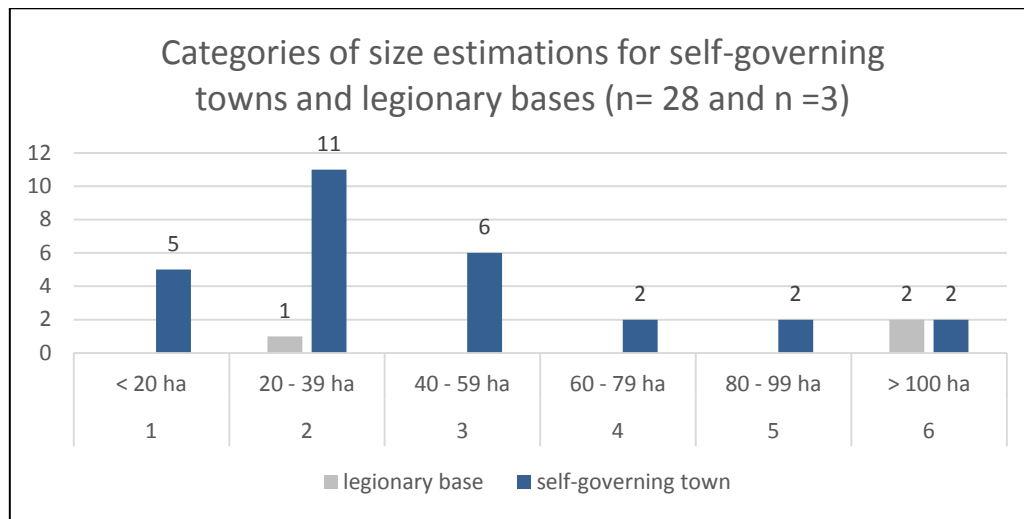


Fig. 2.13: The size of self-governing towns and legionary settlements

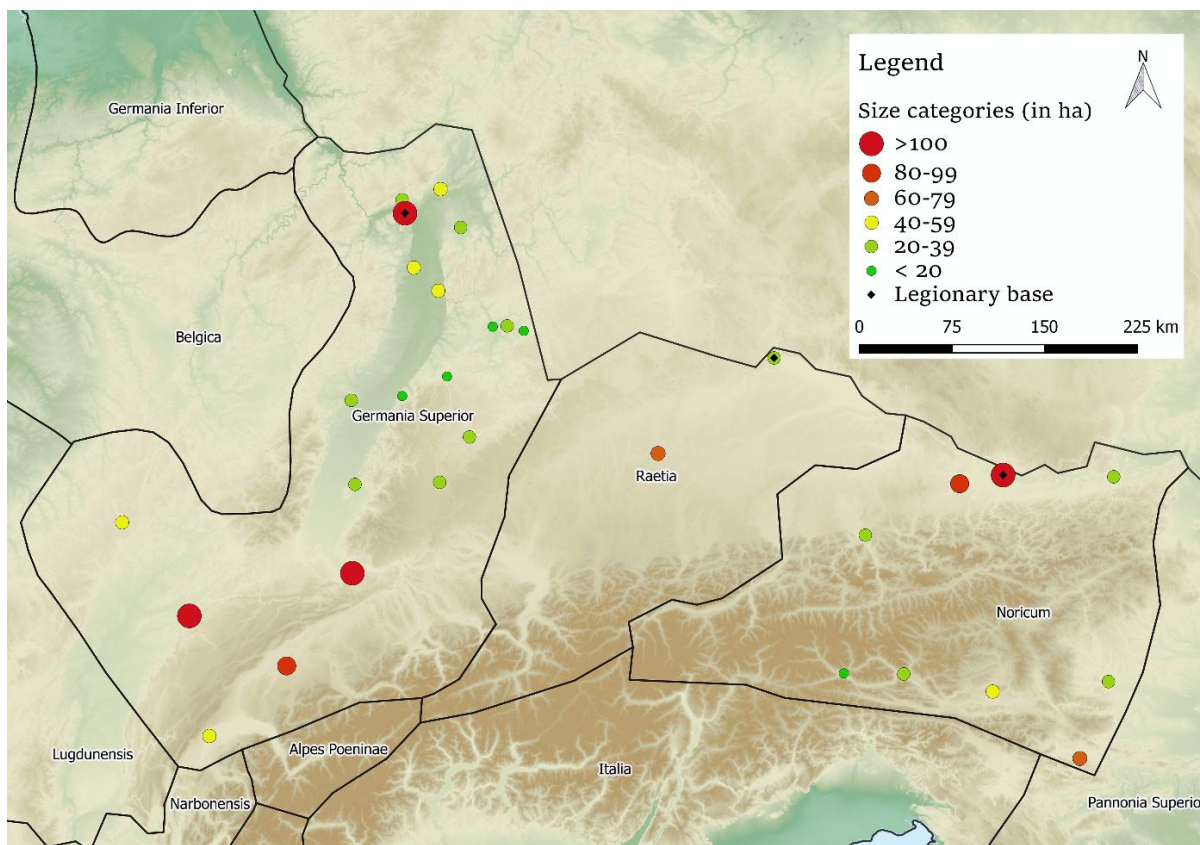


Fig. 2.14: Map showing the size of self-governing towns and legionary settlements

<sup>342</sup> That the governor's seat of the relevant provinces was located in *Augusta Vindelicum* and *Virunum* has been mentioned before. For the administrative importance of *Celeia* see: Visocnik 2008, 351.

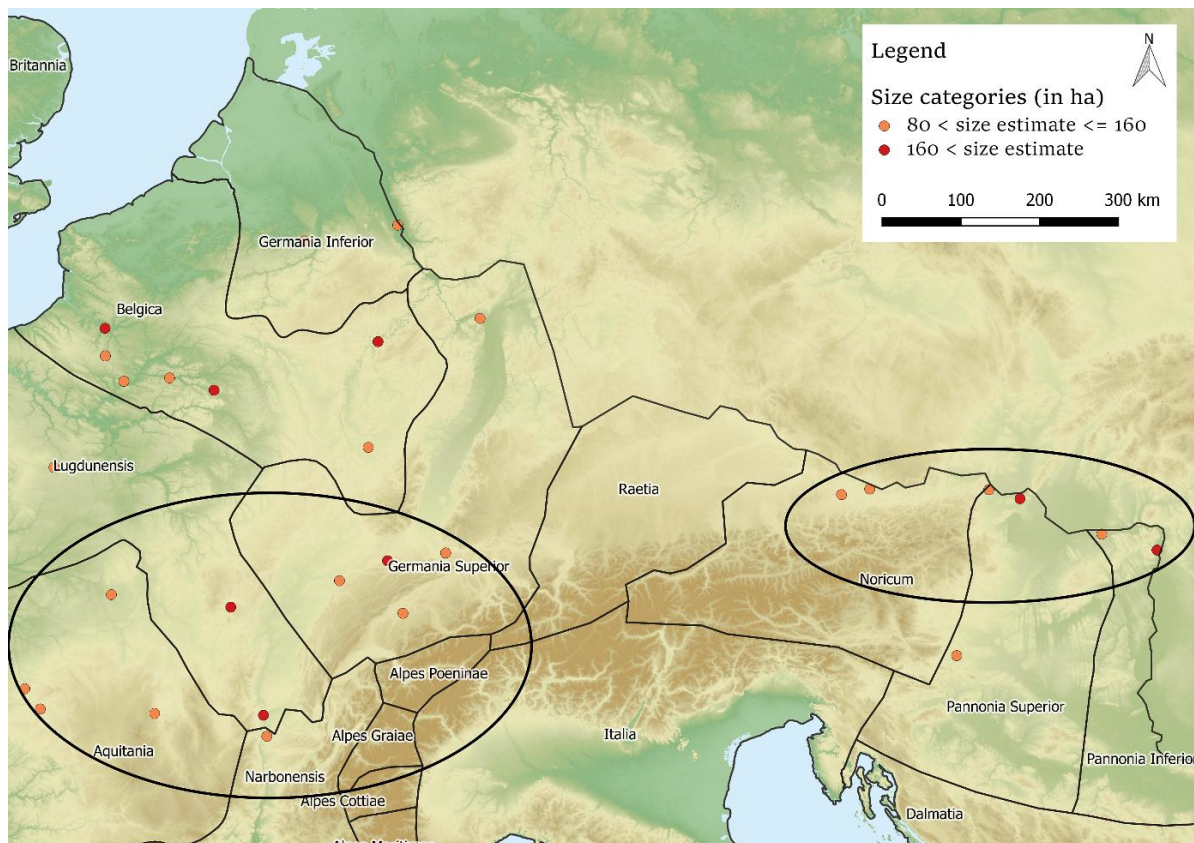


Fig 2.15: The largest towns in Gaul, the Rhine and Danube provinces (Data derived from the Empire of 2000 cities project database)

The distribution of the larger self-governing centres in the northern Alpine region seems to correspond with wider regional tendencies. The map in fig 2.15 shows places in the northern areas of the Empire that were at least 80 ha or more. It becomes clear here that the large centres in southern Germania Superior relate to the development of the towns in Gallia Lugdunensis, their original regional context. Equally it illustrates that also in Pannonia the centres along the Danube frontier developed into large towns, a phenomenon that we may also catch a glimpse of in Noricum.

## 2.6 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to compile a list of the self-governing towns in the northern Alpine region and to compare regional differences.

About thirty self-governing towns were identified based on the evidence from titles, including *colonia*, *municipium* and *civitas*, and municipal magistracies, such as *duovir*, *aedilis* or *decurio*. The granting of these municipal rights appears to have happened in several stages. Following the events of the Gallic war the southern half of the territory of the later province of Germania Superior became divided into municipal districts under the direction of first Caesar and then Augustus. A first real wave of municipalisation happened under the reign of Claudius with the foundation of five *municipia* within the former territory of the Norican kingdom. After the chaos that was left behind by Nero, the Flavian dynasty brought peace to the region and with the exception of the creation of the German provinces and the inauguration of a few *municipia* the municipal landscape remained the same. A second important phase began under the reign of Trajan, who installed several *civitates* in the northern area of the newly pacified province of Germania Superior. In combination with the completion of the frontier, his successors Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius continued to elaborate the municipal organisation of this particular region. With the Antonine period, the municipal developments had reached their final stage as far as the imperial period. The *constitutio Antoniniana*

did not change the general administrative network. It is only in northern Noricum that we find indications that three communities might have enjoyed a promotion permitted by Caracalla. Nevertheless, only the upgrade of the *municipium Ovilavis* to *colonia* is confirmed epigraphically. The promotion of the *municipium Cetium* and the *legionary settlement of Lauriacum* remain for the time being tantalising enigmas.

The distribution of these self-governing towns over the three provinces seems to fall into four different zones, each with its own particular municipal development.

A first zone concerns the entire province of Raetia, which remained a municipal vacuum with the exception of the only known self-governing town of *Augusta Vindelicum*. In this chapter, written sources were used as the predominant type of evidence. In chapter four we will see that the archaeological record somewhat nuances this rigid image.

The concentration of *civitates* in northern Germania Superior formed another unique cluster within the overall municipal organisation of the wider region. Their main centres often developed from Roman military forts and garrison settlements and appear never to have grown into larger settlements. Indeed, the majority of *civitas* centres never grew to a size of more than 40 ha. That there was some Late Iron age occupation in the vicinity before the construction of these Roman centres is often assumed, but clear evidence remains absent. In general, it was an area that did not have any promoted towns, although the presence of municipal magistrates in *Nida*/Frankfurt-Heddernheim and *Borbetumagus*/Worms might suggest municipal privileges for these communities. The provincial administrative seat was in *Mogontiacum*/Mainz, but this community most likely stayed under military control and was never given any municipal autonomy.

In contrast, the southern half of the province of Germania Superior had a relatively dense concentration of chartered towns. It seems the only area in the entire northern Alpine region where one can speak of place continuity between the pre-Roman and Roman centres. Furthermore, the majority of all *coloniae* that existed in the entire northern Alpine region were located here. We are generally dealing with large Roman towns, varying between 50 and 100 ha. The only other centres within the municipal hierarchy that grew to this size were the legionary settlements of Mainz and Enns. Excavations have proven that early Roman alterations were made to the street network of the Late Iron Age predecessors of these towns in southern Germania Superior.

A final zone relates to the province of Noricum, a large part of whose territory was divided between eight *municipia*.<sup>343</sup> The municipal organisation of the province is remarkable for its uniformity, if the 3<sup>rd</sup> century promotion of *Ovilavis* is excluded. A clear sign of the Roman administrative organisation of the province was the firm break with the Late-Iron Age centres, which were often located on elevated places in the landscape. Such a clear disruption with pre-existing occupation could not be attested in northern Germania Superior and is in strong contrast to the continuous use of late Iron Age centres in southern Germania Superior.

This four-part pattern evokes a question about the processes that influenced the development of this specific municipal division. One obvious factor is the attitude of the conquered people towards domination by Rome, on the one hand, and their previous relationship with Rome on the other. The strong trade connections between the Noricans and Rome, and their cooperative attitude, probably gave the Noricans their municipal autonomy, despite the overthrow of the indigenous organisation.

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<sup>343</sup> G. Alföldy has shown that certain areas were not subjugated to one of the Norican towns, but belonged to imperial estates. He used mainly military inscriptions. He noticed that some soldiers only used the name of the province while others mentioned the name of the town to indicate their origin. Alföldy concludes that the central area of the Norican province belonged to the emperor, including all the important places for natural resources, such as iron (Tiffen, Feldkirchen, Hohenstein, Hüttenberg, Friesach, Neumarkt, Eisenerz) and salt (Hallstatt): Alföldy 1970, 163-176.

The location where the Norican tribes had chosen to live clearly did not correspond with the Roman vision of what the urban network should look like. The figures in M. Millett’s 1990 publication illustrate well the different possible processes taking place behind the various municipal constellations within the province of Germania Superior (Fig. 2.16). The late Iron Age centres in Gaul presumably provided a good base for the administrative organisation, which might explain why they developed further during the Roman period (Fig. 2.16, right). The difficult conquest of the Main and Neckar region and the many revolts by the Germanic tribes might reflect in the low number of municipal promotions in that region. The military forts erected in the area either replaced indigenous places or attracted the growth of the first centres (Fig. 2.16, left).

The northern Alpine region, far from possessing homogeneity, counts as a textbook example of how the Roman administration dealt differently with the various peoples and existing situations that it encountered. Furthermore, when set in a broader geographical context, it is easy to see how the situation in southern Germania Superior had much in common with parts of Gaul, and Noricum with the adjacent provinces to the east. The large towns in southern Germania Superior belong to a wider phenomenon that stretched out over the rest of Gallia Lugdunensis. The lack of a high number of promoted communities in the northern part of the same province reflects the administrative organisation of the provinces of Gallia Belgica and Germania Inferior. The larger towns that developed along the frontier in Noricum seem to be only the tip of a much longer strip of large self-governing towns located farther east along the Danube river.

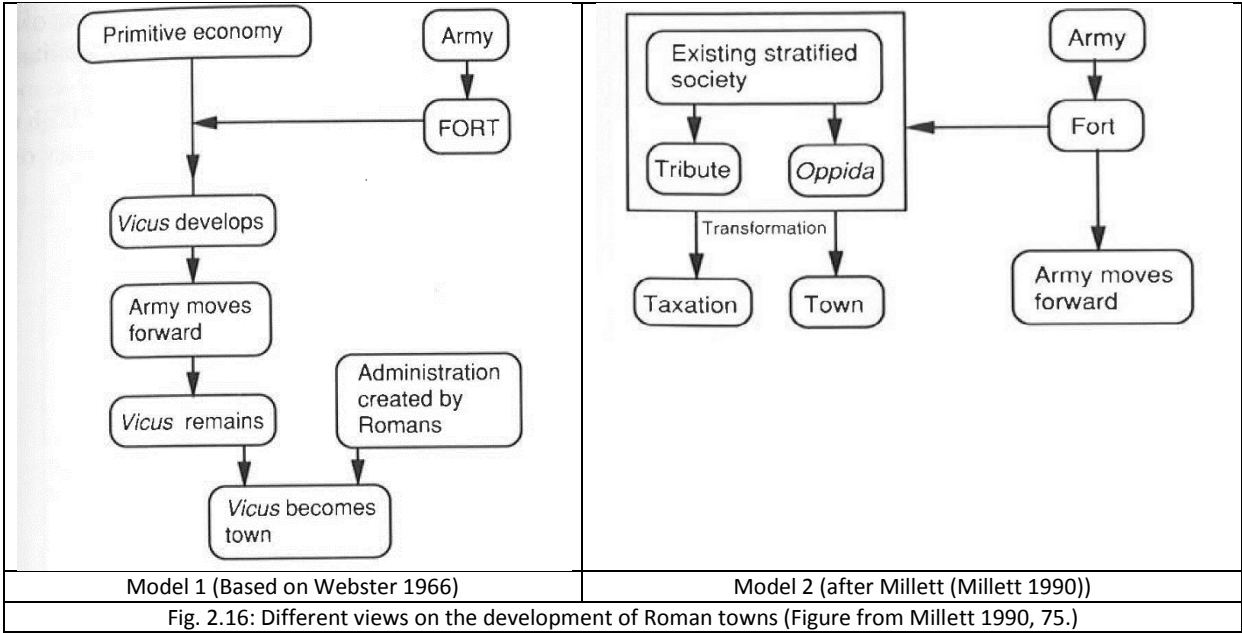


Fig. 2.16: Different views on the development of Roman towns (Figure from Millett 1990, 75.)

Province	Provincial Territory in km <sup>2</sup>	Self-governing centres (min) and legionary forts	Town territory in km <sup>2</sup>
Germania S	93,500	22 + 1	4,065
Raetia	80,000	1 + 1	40,000
Noricum	62,000	8 + 1	6,888

### *The urban network*

So far only the known self-governing places and legionary forts have been taken into account. The question of whether subordinated centres, villages, rural habitation or military posts were of any importance for the urban network might become clear from the following simple calculation.

Following Fischer's estimations of the territory of the three provinces, the entire northwestern Alpine region covered a total of around 235,500 km<sup>2</sup> of land. Germania Superior at approximately 93,500 km<sup>2</sup>, Raetia 80,000 km<sup>2</sup> and Noricum, being even smaller, with circa 62,000 km<sup>2</sup>, makes them some of the smallest provinces within the Empire.<sup>344</sup>

When the assumed territories of these provinces are divided by their possible number of self-governing centres, the exercise results in very large city territories (Table 2.1). Even when we subtract from this area the known imperial estates, mines or *saltes* and mountain ridges, it is clear that territories ranging from 4,065 km<sup>2</sup> to 40,000 km<sup>2</sup> are of unbelievable dimensions. Therefore, the quest for a better understanding of the settlement system in Roman times should not stop at the self-governing towns. In the following chapters other criteria will be considered in order to identify more centres which contributed to the settlement system either in an administrative, logistical or economic way.

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<sup>344</sup> Fischer 2002, 18.

Table 2.2: Epigraphic evidence and literary sources concerning municipal status		
Town	Status	source
Aguntum	Municipium	CIL 3, 11485 Pliny, NH 3 24. 146
Civitas Lingonum Andemantunnum	Civitas (Foederata)	CIL 13, 05708 CIL 13, 05681 Pliny HN 4, 106
Andemantunnum	Colonia (Honorary)	Tacitus 1,78,1 CIL 13, 05693
Aquae	Civitas Peregrina	CIL 13 9113 CIL 13 9116 CIL 13 9117
Aquae	Vicus	CIL 13, 6315
Civitas Ulpia Mattiacorum (Aquae Mattiacorum)	Civitas	CIL 13, 7587 CIL 13, 7061 CIL 13, 7062/7062a
Aquae Mattiacorum	Vicus	CIL 13, 7566a
Arae Flaviae	Municipium Latinum	EDCS 13302673
Argentorate	Vicus	CIL 13, 5967
Augusta Raurica	Colonia	EDCS 09401124 HD 047777 HD055396 HD 011148
Aelium Augustum (Augusta Vindelicum)	Municipium	CIL 3, 05800 HD 008661 HD 047105
Civitas Helvetiorum (Aventicum)	Civitas Stipendiaria	CIL 13, 5092
Civitas Vangionum (Borbetomagus)	Civitas	CIL 13, 06244
Aventicum	Colonia (Honorary)	CIL 13, 05102
Celeia	Municipium	CIL 3, 05227 Pliny HN 3,24,146.
Aelium Cetium	Municipium	CIL 3, 5663 CIL 3,5658 CIL 3, 5652 CIL 3, 3979
Flavia Solva	Municipium	Pliny: HN 3, 24.146
Iulia Equestris	Colonia	CIL 13, 05011 CIL 13, 05012 EDCS 11801067 EDCS 09200396
Iuvavum	Municipium	CIL 3, 5591 EDCS 14400454 Pliny, NH 3, 146
Civitas Ulpia Sueborum Nicrensium (Lopodunum)	Civitas	CIL 13, 09099 CIL 13, 06421 CIL 13, 06420
Lopodunum	Vicus	CIL 13, 06421
Civitas Audriensis (Med.)	Civitas	CIL 13, 7353
Civitas Ulpia Taunensium (Nida)	Civitas	CIL 13, 7352 CIL 13, 7386 CIL 13, 7370
Nida	Vicus	CIL 13, 7336 CIL 13, 7335 EDCS 10700471
Flavia Noviomagus	Civitas	CIL 13, 06106 CIL 13, 06659
Ovilavis	Colonia (Honorary)	CIL 3, 5630 HD035584

Port(us)	Civitas?	CIL 17, 653c Port(us) (Antiensis?)
Civitas Sumelocennensis (Sumelocenna)	Civitas	CIL 13, 06358 CIL 13, 06365 (saltus)
Sumelocenna	Vicus	CIL 13 6365
Teurnia	Municipium	CIL 3, 5462 Pliny, NH 3.24.146
Civitas Sequanorum (Vesotio)	Civitas	CIL 1674,1675
Vesontio	Colony (Honorary)	RIS 35
Civitas Alisinenses (vicus Alisinsium)	Civitas	CIL 13, 6482
Civitas Aurelia G	Civitas	CIL 13, 6462 EDCS 11202225
vicus Aurelianus	Civitas Peregrina	
Virunum	Municipium	EDCS 144400206 HD011277 Pliny, NH 3.24.146

Table 2.3: Epigraphic evidence and literary sources concerning municipal magistrates		
Place	Magistracy	Source
Germania Superior		
Alta Ripa	Aedilis	Nesselhauf 1937, 77
Andemantunnum	Aedilis	CIL 13, 05682
	Duumvir	CIL 13, 05689 CIL 13, 05690
Aquae	Decurion	CIL 13, 6339 CIL 13, 6323 Nesselhauf-Lieb 1957, 121
Aquae Mattiacorum	Decurion	CIL 13, 7062a
Augusta Raurica	Duumvir	ISchweiz 342
	Omnibus honoribus functus	ISchweiz 343
Aventicum	Duumvir	CIL 13, 05102 CIL 13, 05104
	Ordo decurionum	CIL 13, 05098
Borbetomagus	Aedilis	HD023931
	Decurion	CIL 13, 06244 CIL 13, 06225
	Omnibus honoribus functus	CIL 13, 6244
Brucomagus	Decurion	CIL 13, 7266 CIL 13, 7062 CIL 13, 7263
Eisenberg	Decurion	CIL 13 11698 CIL 13, 11696 CIL 13, 11697
Epamanduodurum	Quaestor	CIL 13, 5415 (aedilie quaestor??)
Julia Equestris	Aedilis	RISch-02, 00247 = AE 1978, 00567 = AE 1994,+ 01288 = AE 2003, +00080; CIL 12, 02614
	Decurion	CIL 13, 05005 EDCS-09200396 EDCS-11801067 RISch-02, 00247
	Duumvir	CIL 13, 05009 CIL 13, 05010 CIL 13, 05013
Lopodunum	Decurion	CIL 13, 6420a CIL 13, 6404 CIL 13, 6399
Med(...)	Decurion	Finke 1927, 183

Mogontiacum	Decurion	CIL 13, 6733 CIL 13, 6770
	Ordo decurionum	CIL 13, 6769
	Quaestor	CIL 13, 7222 CIL 13, 6676 CIL 13, 6775
Neuenstadt am Kocher	Decurion	CIL 13, 6462
Nida	Aedilis	CIL 13, 07370
	Decurion	CIL 13, 07352 CIL 13, 07357 CIL 13, 07386 CIL 13, 11810 (from Mayence)
	Duumvir	CIL 13, 7265
Noviomagus	Aedilis	Nesselhauf 1937, 77.
	Decurion	CIL 13, 06106 CIL 13, 06404
	Ordo decurionum	Nesselhauf 1937, 71-72.
Port(us)	Quaestor	CIL 13, 11721
Salodurum	Magistratus	EDCS-13900607
Sumelocenna	Decurion	CIL 13, 6384
	Quaestor	CIL 13, 6669
Vesontio	Aedilis	CIL 13, 11554 CIL 13, 11553 CIL 13, 05415
	Duumvir	CIL 13, 05367 CIL 13, 05343 CIL 13, 11554
	Ordo decurionum	CIL 13, 05451
	Quaestor	CIL 13, 05415
vicus Alisinensium	Decurion	CIL 13, 6482
vicus Aurelianus	Decurion	CIL 13, 6447 CIL 13, 6462
	Quaestor	CIL 13, 6541
Noricum		
Aguntum	Decurion	CIL 708
	Duumvir	CIL 3, 5583 CIL 5, 708 Wedenig (A6 - A7)
	Ordo decurionum	Wedenig (A4 and A5)
	Praefectus iure dicundo	CIL 3, 5583 Wedenig (A6 - A7)
Celeia	Aedilis	CIL 3, 5079, Wedenig (C1); CIL 3, 5143, Wedenig (C5); CIL 3, 5225, Wedening (C15, 35)
	Decurion	CIL 3, 5127, Wedenig (C6) CIL 3, 5194, Wedenig (C11) CIL 3, 5226:, Wedening (C16) CIL 3, 5236, Wedening (C22) CIL 3, 15205(3): dec(urio) municipi(i) Cla(udii) Celeiae, Wedening (C27)
	Duumvir	CIL 3, 5116 CIL 3, 5183 CIL 3, 5194 ; Wedenig (3 -9-11) CIL 3, 5237, Weding (C23) CIL 3, 5302, Wedning (C25, 28, 31, 32, 34, 37, 39?, 40?)
	Omnibus honoribus functus	CIL 3, 5111, Wedenig (C2)
	Ordo decurionum	CIL 3, 5159 CIL 3, 5205 Wedenig (C8-14)
	Quaestor	CIL 3, 5143, Wedenig (C5) CIL 3, 5229, Wedening (C19)

Cetium	Aedilis	CIL 3, 5663 Wedenig (Cet 5)
	Decurion	CIL 3, 5652 Wedenig (Cet 1)
	Duumvir	CIL 3, 5652 Wedenig (Cet 1) CIL 3, 5658 Wedenig (Cet 3)
	Quaestor	CIL 3, 5663 Wedenig (Cet 5)
Flavia Solva	Aedilis	CIL 3, 5309 Wedenig (S1) CIL 3, 5343 Wedenig (S10) CIL 3, 5344 5345 Wedenig (S11-12) CIL 3, 5430 Wedenig (S16) CIL 3, 11718? Wedenig (S22, 26)
	Decurion	CIL 3, 5323? Wedenig (S3) CIL 3, 5324 Wedenig (S4) CIL 3,5331 Wedenig (S7) CIL 3, 5435 Wedenig (S17) CIL 3, 11829 Wedenig (S23)
	Duumvir	CIL 3, 5324 Wedenig (S4) CIL 3, 5336 Wedenig (S9) CIL 3, 5457 Wedenig (S19) CIL 3, 5561 Wedenig (S20)
	Ordo decurionum	CIL 3, 5327 Wedenig (S6) CIL 3, 5334 Wedenig (S8) CIL 3, 5346 Wedenig (S13, 24)
	Quaestor	Wedenig (S 20)
Iuvavum	Aedilis	CIL 3, 5527, Wedenig I1
	Decurion	CIL 3, 5589 Wedenig (I11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 20)
	Duumvir	CIL 3, 5572 Wedenig (I6,8, 9,10) CIL 3 5589 Wedenig (I11, 12, 13, 14, 15) CIL 3, 11777-11778 Wedenig (I 16, 17, 19, 20)
	Ordo decurionum	CIL 3, 5536 Wedenig (I3)
Lauriacum	Aedilis	CIL 3, 5678 Wedenig (L1)
Ovilavis	Aedilis	CIL 3, 5606 Wedenig (O1)
	Duumvir	HD035584 CIL 3, 5630 Wedenig (O8)
	Decurion	CIL 3, 5606 Wedenig (O1) CIL 3, 5630, Wedenig (O2)
	Quaestor	Wedenig (O6)
	Ordo decurionum	Miglbauer 2006, 8.
Teurnia	Aedilis	CIL 3, 471 Wedenig (T1) CIL 3, 5569 Wedenig (T9, 12)
	Decurion	CIL 3, 5462 Wedenig (T7)
	Duumvir	CIL 3, 5568 Wedenig (T8, 10)
	Ordo decurionum	CIL 3, 4741 Wedenig (T4, 11)
	Praefectus iure dicundo	CIL 3, 5568 Wedenig (T8, 10)
	Quattuorvir	CIL 3, 471 Wedenig (T) CIL 3, 4724 Wedenig (T2)
	Quaestor	CIL 3, 4727 Wedenig (T3,T13)
Virunum	Aedilis	CIL 3, 4838 Wedenig (V12 CIL 3, 4864 Wedenig (V14 CIL 3, 4867 Wedenig (V17 CIL 3, 5073 Wedenig (V23 CIL 3, 5074 Wedenig (V24, 32-40-41-43)
	Decurion	CIL 3, 5031 Wedenig (V21) CIL 3, 11555 Wedenig (V27,35-44)
	Duumvir	CIL 3, 4859 Wedenig V13 CIL 3, 4865 Wedenig (V15) CIL 3, 4866 Wedenig (V16) CIL 3, 11673

		Wedenig (V28,35-42-45)
	Quaestor	CIL 3, 5092 Wedenig (V25)
Raetia		
Augusta Vindelicum	Decurion	CIL 3, 05787 CIL 3, 05826 CIL 3, 05800 CIL 3, 05825 CIL 3, 14370 CIL 3, 05828 EDCS 08900496 EDCS 11801091
Augusta Vindelicum	Duumvir quinquennalis	CIL 3, 5826
Augusta Vindelicum	Quattorvir	CIL 3, 05825
Castra Regina	Aedilis	CIL 3, 14370, 10
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum	
EDCS	Epigraphik-Datenbank Claus/Slaby	
HD	Heidelberg Datenbank	
Nesselhauf	Neue Inschriften aus dem römischen Germanien und den angrenzenden Gebieten (1937)	
Wedenig	Epigrafische Quellen zur Städtischen Administration in Noricum (1997)	

Table 2.4: Self-governing towns

	NAME	PROMOTED STATUS	CIVITAS CENTRE	IIVIR	AEDILIS	(ORDO) DECURION	QUAESTOR
<b>Raetia</b>							
	Augusta Vindelicum	MUN	-	X (Quattuorvir)	x (Quattuorvir)	x	-
<b>Noricum</b>							
1	Aguntum	MUN	-	x	-	x	-
2	Celeia	MUN	-	x	x	X	X
3	Cetium	MUN	-	X	x	X	X
4	Flavia Solva	MUN	-	x	x	X	X
5	Iuvavum	MUN	-	X	x	X	-
6	Ovilavis	MUN/COL	-	x	x	X	X
7	Teurnia	MUN	-	X	x	x	X
8	Virunum	MUN	-	x	x	x	X
<b>Southern Germania Superior</b>							
9	Augusta Raurica	COL	-	X (c.omn. f.)	- (c.omn. f.)	- (c.omn. f.)	-
10	Andemantunnum	COL?	x	x	x	-	-
11	Aventicum	COL	-	x	-	x	-
12	Iulia Equestris	COL	-	x	x	x	-
13	Vesontio	COL?	x	x	x	x	X
<b>Mid and Northern Germania Superior</b>							
14	Arae Flaviae	MUN	-	-	-	-	-
15	Aquae	-	X	-	-	x	-
16	Aquae Mattiacorum	-	X	-	-	x	-
17	Borbetumagus	?	X	? (c. omn. f.)	x	x	-
18	Brucomagus	-	X	-	-	x	-
19	Eisenberg	-	?	-	-	X	-
20	Lopodunum	-	X	-	-	x	-
21	Med ...	-	?	-	-	x	-
22	Neuenstadt am Kocher	-	?	-	-	x	-
23	Nida	?	X	x	x	x	-
24	Noviomagus	-	X	-	x	x	-
25	Portus ...	-	?	-	-	-	X

26	Riegel	-	?	-	-	-	-
27	Sumelocenna	-	X	-	-	x	X
28	Vicus Alisinensium	-	X	-	-	x	-
29	Vicus Aurelianus	-	x	-	-	x	X