

# Roma e le province del Danubio

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# *The early urbanization of Noricum and Pannonia*

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## *Aquileia and its hinterland*

As is generally known, urbanization is an important feature of ‘Romanization’<sup>1</sup>, which is closely related to the creation of a province with stable borders. In the case of Noricum and Pannonia, these borders were both external and internal, since their large sections along the Danube coincided with the frontiers of the Empire. Both provinces also bordered on Italy and on each other, as well as on other provinces, Noricum on Raetia, Pannonia on Dalmatia and Moesia<sup>2</sup>. In addition, both provinces must have had well defined internal boundaries between various territories, public and private. The founding of a Latin colony at Aquileia in 181 BC was of decisive significance for the Norican kingdom and Pannonian regions, since this important Cisalpine emporium, which soon developed into a flourishing commercial and production city with a large agricultural and stock breeding territory, was a starting point in establishing contacts with hinterland regions across the Alps<sup>3</sup>. Wars, conquests, and the inevitable spread of Roman influence went hand in hand. One main direction led towards Virunum at Magdalensberg<sup>4</sup>, where a Roman emporium developed during the proconsulship of Caesar, if not earlier<sup>5</sup>. The immigrants from Italy, who had come to settle there – some on a permanent basis, some temporarily – were mainly exploiting the famous Norican iron<sup>6</sup>, partly no doubt needed for Cae-

<sup>1</sup> Alföldy 2005; Bandelli 2009.

<sup>2</sup> Alföldy 1974 and Mócsy 1974 are still the basic reference books for these provinces. Also important are *Noricum*, 2002; *Pannonia I*, 2003; *Pannonia II*, 2004; Gassner, Jilek, Ladstätter 2002; Bandelli 2009a.

<sup>3</sup> Cuscito (ed.), 2003.

<sup>4</sup> Piccottini 2003; Dolenz 2008; for the name Virunum: Dobesch 1997.

<sup>5</sup> See, for chronology, Božič 2008, 123 ff., with the relevant literature cited. See also Sedlmayer 2009.

<sup>6</sup> Straube 1996; Dolenz 1998.

sar's Gallic wars. Caesar's headquarters were then often at Aquileia<sup>7</sup>, and in the second half of the first century BC the importance of the town-like agglomerations at Concordia<sup>8</sup>, Forum Iulii<sup>9</sup>, and Iulium Carnicum<sup>10</sup> greatly increased, and other settlements in this part of Carnia also flourished.

Another important road crossed the Alps at Odra Pass (Razdrto) below Mt. Odra (Nanos), where a small Roman road station has been discovered from the end of the second century BC<sup>11</sup>. This road led to Nauportus, called a Tauriscan settlement by Strabo (written in accusative as Pamporton and Nauponton)<sup>12</sup>, at which, or, better, next to which a large vicus belonging to Aquileia was founded, and it developed into a fortified Roman emporium<sup>13</sup>. It must have been so well-urbanized that in the words of Tacitus it resembled a small town<sup>14</sup>. Nauportus was located on the navigable Nauportus River (the Ljubljanica) and represented an important reloading station on the way from Aquileia to Pannonian-Celtic Segestica (next to Siscia, modern Sisak) at the confluence of the Savus (the Sava) and *Colapis* (the Kolpa/Kupa) Rivers. At Nauportus the cargoes were transferred from wagons to boats and conveyed to Segestica, from where they were further transported on boats along the Savus to the Danubius (Danube) at Singidunum and the Scordisci<sup>15</sup>. It has recently been shown that the urbanization of Nauportus was quite remarkable: a large fortified area with a forum, a sanctuary, and extensive storehouses, and a part of the settlement that a generation later developed on the opposite side of the river<sup>16</sup>. The significance of the emporium was well reflected in the myth about the return of the Argonauts from the Black Sea along the Danubius, Savus, and Nauportus<sup>17</sup>. Recently, remains of the prehistoric Nauportus have been discovered, although not from the Late Iron Age<sup>18</sup>.

The next significant station and emporium along the Nauportus River was Emona. It, too, belonged to Italy, since the Nauportus-Emona basin was the key area to protect the entrance to Italy, by securing or preventing passage through

<sup>7</sup> Rossi 1981; Šašel Kos 2000.

<sup>8</sup> Zaccaria 1995.

<sup>9</sup> Vedaldi Iasbez 2000.

<sup>10</sup> Mainardis 2008.

<sup>11</sup> Horvat, Bavdek 2009.

<sup>12</sup> 7. 5. 2 C 314; the name *Nauportus* may well have been a Latinized form of an epichoric toponym.

<sup>13</sup> Horvat 1990; Horvat, Mušič 2007.

<sup>14</sup> *Ann.* 1. 20. 1; cf. Šašel Kos 1990.

<sup>15</sup> Described and commented in the literature cited in the preceding footnotes.

<sup>16</sup> Mušič, Horvat 2007.

<sup>17</sup> Šašel Kos 2006.

<sup>18</sup> Gaspari, Masaryk 2009.

the most convenient pass leading from Illyricum to Italy at Postojna<sup>19</sup>. For this reason it was also a good starting point for any military actions that were intended to conquer Lower Illyricum (later Pannonia) and parts of Dalmatia, as, for example, some areas inhabited by the Colapiani and Iapodes. Nauportus and Emona were not only important temporary military posts during various wars of conquest, they also played a significant role in Romanizing Noricum and Pannonia, i.e. in spreading Roman cultural, economic, and political influence in provincial territories, where Roman civilization was in turn modified by local cultures.

## Noricum

The former regnum Noricum was possibly organized as a procuratorial province during the reign of Caligula<sup>20</sup>, in whose name gold bars were produced at Virunum on Magdalensberg<sup>21</sup>, or, better, under Claudius<sup>22</sup>, but other suggestions have also been advanced recently. Some claim that the province had been founded under Tiberius, basing their opinion variously on literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence<sup>23</sup>. An important argument in favour of this thesis is the known passage in the Roman History of Velleius Paterculus, in which he stated, referring to several wars Tiberius had successfully conducted under Augustus, that “*Raetia, the Vindelici and the Norici, as well as Pannonia and the Scordisci, had been annexed to the Roman Empire as new provinces by Tiberius*”<sup>24</sup>.

However, as has rightly been pointed out by Géza Alföldy, perhaps unjustified weight was attached to Velleius’ use of terminology, and the passage may have been misunderstood by modern scholarship, since within a later context, referring to Tiberius’ preparations for the war against the kingdom of Maroboduus in AD 6, Velleius mentioned that the winter camp of the Roman army was located at Carnuntum in the Norican kingdom<sup>25</sup>. Recently Herbert Grassl proposed that Velleius’ first passage actually referred to the Augustan period and

<sup>19</sup> Šašel Kos 2003.

<sup>20</sup> Barrett 1989, 224.

<sup>21</sup> Piccottini 1994: (*aurum*) *C(aii) Caesaris Aug(usti) Germanici imp(eratoris) ex Noric(is) metallis*).

<sup>22</sup> Weber 1988, 611 ff.; Weber 2008.

<sup>23</sup> Schaub 2001; Rollinger 2001, 281 ff.; cf. Šašel Kos 2005, 486 ff.

<sup>24</sup> 2.39.3: *At Ti. Caesar, quam certam Hispanis parendi confessionem extorserat parens, Illyriis Delmatisque extorsit. Raetiam autem et Vindelicos ac Noricos Pannoniamque et Scordiscos novas imperio nostro subiunxit provincias.*

<sup>25</sup> 2.109.5; Alföldy 1974, 62.

the conquest of the Alpine peoples under Drusus and Tiberius in 15 BC<sup>26</sup>. A small part of Noricum had partly been conquered at that time (the Ambisontes at least, regardless of where exactly they had been settled, see *infra*), but most of all the kingdom was then annexed to the Roman state. In the eyes of Velleius, Noricum was a province, since the Latin word *provincia* has several meanings<sup>27</sup>, one of which adequately corresponded to the actual position of Noricum at that time.

It seems almost inevitable that the annexation of Noricum also included those northern and western Pannonian regions around Savaria and Scarbantia that had earlier been more or less dependent on the kingdom, or under strong influence of the Norican king. As has been emphasized by Jenő Fitz, these areas were Celtic and in terms of ethnicity cannot be regarded as Pannonian<sup>28</sup>. Alföldy suggested that Noricum would have been at first governed or supervised by a *praefectus*, meaning that it would have been organized as a military district in a similar way as Raetia and Vindelicia<sup>29</sup>. No doubt it was under protection of the Pannonian army. Indeed, a small vexillation of the Pannonian legion VIII Augusta, which was stationed in Poetovio, was detached during the Augustan period to Virunum at Magdalensberg<sup>30</sup>, where a part of the *cohors Montanorum prima* also had a garrison; this unit had probably been recruited in Noricum under Augustus<sup>31</sup>. Roman soldiers have been documented elsewhere in Noricum at that time<sup>32</sup>.

Opinion prevails that Noricum became a province governed by a presidial procurator at the latest under Claudius, when C. Baebius Atticus is attested as a procurator (Fig. 1)<sup>33</sup>. However, it is not quite certain whether he was a governor of the province or a financial procurator under Claudius, responsible for the imperial *patrimonium*<sup>34</sup>. In any case, five important Celtic oppida became Roman *municipia Claudia* under Claudius: Celeia, Virunum, Teurnia, Aguntum, and Iuvavum (Fig. 2), enrolled in the voting tribe Claudia<sup>35</sup>. This makes it clear that important administrative changes occurred in Noricum under this

<sup>26</sup> Graßl 2008.

<sup>27</sup> Wesch-Klein 2008, 5-7.

<sup>28</sup> Pannonian: Mócsy 1979, 185; Celtic: Fitz 1993, 14; see also *id.*, 1989-1990.

<sup>29</sup> Alföldy 1998, 13.

<sup>30</sup> *CIL* III 4858 = *ILS* 2466.

<sup>31</sup> *CIL* III 4847; Šašel 1986 (1992).

<sup>32</sup> Alföldy 1974, 64-66.

<sup>33</sup> Alföldy 1974, 62-63; 78-81; Šašel Kos 1997, 32-33; Weber 2008; for a different opinion, see Scherrer 2002, 17.

<sup>34</sup> Zaccaria 2001, 146-148; Mainardis 2008, 138-139.

<sup>35</sup> Pliny, *N. h.* 3. 146; see on these towns Lazar 2002; Piccottini et al. 2002; Glaser 2002; Walde 2002; Kovacsovics 2002. Briefly also Gassner, Jilek, in: Gassner, Jilek, Ladstätter 2002, 107 ff. For the town magistrates and municipal administration in general, see Wedenig 1997.

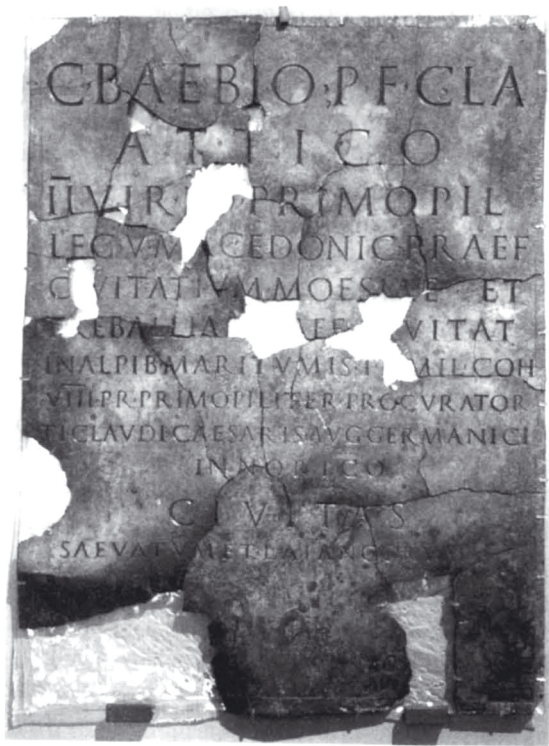


Fig. 1 – Fragment of a bronze tablet containing the honorific inscription for C. Baebius Atticus, found in Iulium Carnicum (modern Zuglio). From Mainardis 2008, no. 39, fig. p. 136.

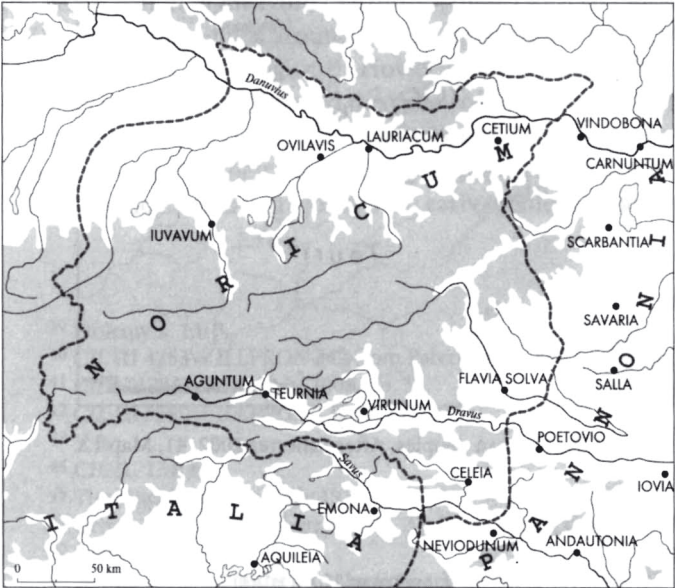


Fig. 2 – Towns in Noricum. From: Noricum, 2002, pp. 8-9.



emperor, plausibly suggesting that the administrative status of the former kingdom had also been reorganized at the same time. The native *Claudii* are documented in those parts of southern Noricum that were hitherto poorly Romanized, such as north of Zollfeld, in the upper Mur valley, and sporadically even north of the Alps. Those native inhabitants who were not awarded Roman citizenship or did not become *cives* possessing Latin rights (*Latium minus*) – and these were no doubt the majority – were organized in *civitates peregrinae*, of which nine are known by name: the Norici, Ambilini, Ambidravi, Uperaci, Saevates, Laianci, Ambisontes, Elveti, Alauni. An interesting suggestion has been put forward that eight Norican peoples, mentioned as dedicators in the inscriptions erected at Virunum on Magdalensberg around 10/9 BC in honour of Augustus' wife Livia, his daughter Iulia, and his granddaughter of the same name<sup>36</sup>, would approximately coincide with the territories of the five Claudian *municipia*<sup>37</sup>. These peoples would have been all those just mentioned except the Alauni.

An attempt at locating the Norican peoples was made by Alföldy and supplemented by Peter Scherrer (Fig. 3)<sup>38</sup>. According to the latter, two *civitates*

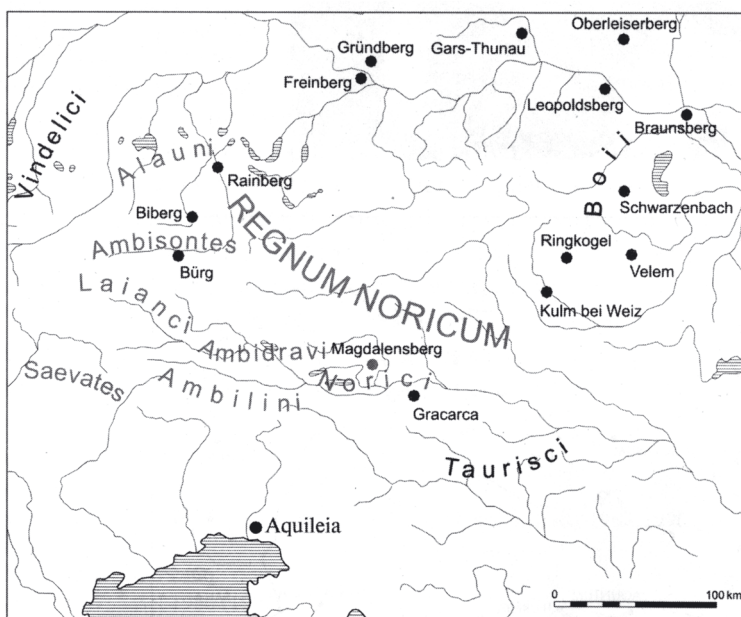


Fig. 3 – (Hypothetic) location of the Norican peoples. After Scherrer 2002, 41, Map 12.

<sup>36</sup> Šašel 1967 (1992); Piccottini 2005.

<sup>37</sup> Scherrer 2002, 32 ff.

<sup>38</sup> Alföldy 1974, 66–69; Scherrer 2002, 32 ff. and map 12 on p. 41.



would have been attributed to each *municipium*. Thus the Norici (settled between Santicum and Iuenna) and the Ambilini (dwelling in the Gail valley in the region of Gurina, perhaps Ptolemy's Ilounon<sup>39</sup>) would have belonged to Virunum. The Ambidravi would have been located along the Drava, with their centre at Teurnia; as an argument in favour of this location, the funerary inscription of an auxiliary soldier from this area may be cited, whose name was Ambidrabus<sup>40</sup>. Another people attributed to Teurnia would presumably have been the Elveti, although there are no arguments for their location. The Laianci and the Saevates south of them would have belonged to Aguntum; the name 'Saevates' is reflected in the toponym Sebatum (Säben) in southern Tirol. These two peoples, who were indeed united in one *civitas*, had a bronze plate erected to the *procurator* in Noricum, C. Baebius Atticus in his native Iulium Carnicum<sup>41</sup>. The Uperaci and the hypothesized *Ambisavi* would have belonged to *Celeia*. However, a name *Uperacus*, which appears in a funerary inscription at Solva<sup>42</sup>, would – in an analogous way to the mentioned Ambidrabus – rather point to the location of the people in the region of Solva. It is not at all certain that Upellis from the *Tabula Peutingeriana*<sup>43</sup>, the name of a settlement in the territory of *Celeia*, along the road *Celeia*–Virunum (Stara vas pri Velenju), could indeed be related to the Uperaci. On the other hand, the name *Ambisavus* from Sevnica at the Sava River (the territory of *Celeia*)<sup>44</sup>, on the basis of which the existence of the *Ambisavi* has been inferred<sup>45</sup>, would actually well accord with their suggested location.

Austrian scholars locate the *Ambisontes* in the Salzach valley and Pinzgau in the broad region of Iuvavum (Salzburg); these Norican people, as well as the *Alauni* (living in the regions around the Chiemsee Lake), would have been attributed to the territory of Iuvavum<sup>46</sup>. However, according to Jaroslav Šašel, the *Ambisontes* would have inhabited the valley of the Aesontius (the Soča/Isonzo), particularly around Kobarid, Most na Soči, and Idrija, where prehistoric settlement is well attested<sup>47</sup>. Their location is controversial because in the region of the Salzach, which was called Igonta in an early medieval source<sup>48</sup>, Norican settlement

<sup>39</sup> Ptolemy 2. 13. 3.

<sup>40</sup> *CIL* III 4753 = *ILLPRON* 342 from Paternion.

<sup>41</sup> *CIL* V 1838 = Mainardis 2008, no. 39.

<sup>42</sup> *CIL* III 5390 = *ILLPRON* 1360 = *RIS* 213.

<sup>43</sup> V 2.

<sup>44</sup> *CIL* III 13406.

<sup>45</sup> Thus ingeniously Alföldy 1974, 60.

<sup>46</sup> Urban 2000, 346 f.; Scherrer 2002, 32; Kovacovics 2002, 166–167.

<sup>47</sup> Šašel 1972 (1992).

<sup>48</sup> *Notitia Arnonis*, in the introduction; see Šašel 1972, 140 (1992, 293).

has also been well documented<sup>49</sup>. In 16 BC some Norici and Pannonians had invaded Histria, but were repulsed by the proconsul of Illyricum, P. Silius Nerva<sup>50</sup>. His military actions, also directed against certain peoples in the Alps, preceded the Alpine campaigns of Drusus and Tiberius in 15 BC, no doubt contributing a great deal towards their great success<sup>51</sup>. In the case Šašel's hypothesis is accepted, the invading Norici may well have been the Ambisontes, which would make it understandable that they appeared on the *Tropaeum Alpium* at La Turbie as the only defeated Norican people.

In Scherrer's opinion the Aesontius valley and the surrounding area would have been too far south from the centre of the Norican kingdom, and also too small, so that a people living there could hardly have opposed the Roman state<sup>52</sup>. However, both arguments can be countered. If Iulium Carnicum and Upper Carniola had once been in the Norican kingdom, then why could not the Kobarid – Most na Soči area? And if in fact Mt. Odra represented the boundary between Italy and Noricum, as is stated in Ptolemy<sup>53</sup>, then this area actually was part of the kingdom. Strabo, too, noted that some of the Norici and the Carni were settled as far to the southwest as the Adriatic and Aquileia<sup>54</sup>. Most probably this was the region from where the *Galli Transalpini* descended into the Aquileian plain in 186 BC to found a town<sup>55</sup>. And it should be added that these *Galli* are usually regarded as having belonged to the Norican kingdom<sup>56</sup>. And most of all, there, too, hoards and coins such as those coined in the kingdom and among the Taurisci have been found in not negligible quantities<sup>57</sup>.

And the second argument: any place could resist Roman rule and revolt, or even invade a neighbouring territory, if the need arose; thus for example Castellum Larignum in Cisalpina revolted under *Caesar*. Needless to say, any such rebellion or incursion was instantly put down by the Romans. It may be concluded that the location of the Ambisontes still remains open, but the scale seems to be tipping to the Soča/Isonzo valley. As has been seen, the location of some of the Norican peoples is far from certain, and consequently also the thesis of

<sup>49</sup> Moosleitner 2004; Höglinger 2004; the latter interestingly noted that on the three hillfort settlements, presented by him, no traces of destruction could be observed. Reinhold Wedenig kindly drew my attention to these two articles.

<sup>50</sup> Cassius Dio, 54.20.1-2.

<sup>51</sup> Šašel Kos, 2005, 484-485.

<sup>52</sup> Scherrer 2002, 32.

<sup>53</sup> 3. 1. 1.

<sup>54</sup> 4. 6. 9 C 206.

<sup>55</sup> Šašel Kos 1997, 21 ff.; thus already Càssola 1979 (1994, 294-295).

<sup>56</sup> Alföldy 1974, 28 ff.; Dobesch 1980.

<sup>57</sup> Kos, Žbena Trkman 2009.

two peoples having been attributed to each of the Claudian *municipia* must remain hypothetical<sup>58</sup>.

Mention should be made of the *pag(i) mag(istri)*, who are known from a dedication to Maromogius, discovered in the sanctuary of Latobius at Burgstall near St. Margarethen in Lavanttal in eastern Carinthia, within the territory of Virunum<sup>59</sup>. These were chief magistrates of a group of hamlets composing a village-like community, a *pagus*, as opposed to the *vicus*, a village as a central settlement. The institution of the *pagi* or *vici magistri* is most probably Roman; *vici magistri* are known from Iulium Carnicum, probably dating to the period of Caesar, before Iulium Carnicum developed into a Roman city, and when it may still have been close to Noricum. *Magistri vici* are also documented in Nauportus, a village of Aquileia, probably from the same time. The sanctuary, however, and the settlement in the St. Margarethen area no doubt reflect a prehistoric settlement pattern<sup>60</sup>.

An interesting case is Savaria, since this town, too, was a Claudian foundation, a *colonia Claudia*; perhaps the town had at that time still been in Noricum and was then transferred to Pannonia (see *infra*). Solva became a *municipium* under Vespasian, while northern Noricum was not urbanized at all in the first century AD. There, less intensive Romanization is well reflected also in the lack of the so-called epigraphic habit<sup>61</sup>. Ovilavis and Cetium became autonomous towns as late as under Hadrian (*municipia Aelia*), and the process of urbanization came to an end under Caracalla, when the civil settlement outside the legionary fortress of Lauriacum was raised to municipal rank, and Ovilavis became a Roman colony<sup>62</sup>. With the *constitutio Antoniniana* under the same emperor the process of urbanization, as it had been conceived in the Augustan age, partly came to an end throughout the Roman Empire.

## Pannonia

It has long been erroneously believed that urbanization in Pannonia began under Tiberius, who would have founded *colonia Iulia Emona*, whose inhabitants were inscribed in the voting tribe *Claudia*<sup>63</sup>. However, the city can in all respects, notably geographical, political, and administrative, be regarded as a

<sup>58</sup> See also Wesch-Klein 2008, 252–253.

<sup>59</sup> Weber 1985, 652–655; Piccottini et al. 2002, 112; Groh, Sedlmayer 2007.

<sup>60</sup> See the preceding footnote.

<sup>61</sup> Alföldy 2005, 26–27.

<sup>62</sup> See on these towns the contributions of Hudeczek 2002; Scherrer 2002; Miglbauer 2002; Ubl 2002.

<sup>63</sup> Saria 1938; cf. Šašel, Weiler 1963–1964 (1992). See Fitz 2003.

border town between Italy on the one side and Noricum and Pannonia on the other, and this specific position was emphasized by Ptolemy. According to him, Emona was located “*between Italy and Pannonia, below Noricum*”, or: “*between (that part of) Italy (which is situated) below Noricum, and Pannonia*”<sup>64</sup>. That it administratively belonged to Pannonia was soon doubted, and it has been hypothesized that Emona had been part of Italy much earlier than the second century AD, when this is actually confirmed in the sources<sup>65</sup>. Nonetheless, it has generally been believed that the city belonged to Pannonia<sup>66</sup>. Recently, the previously expressed doubts proved thoroughly justified, when a boundary stone between Aquileia and Emona was found in the Ljubljanica River (the Nauportus) near Bevke, some 13 km to the southwest of Ljubljana, confirming that Emona had belonged to the Tenth Italian Region already in the Augustan age, and had most probably never been part of Illyricum or later Pannonia<sup>67</sup>. But regardless of the discovery of the boundary stone, which offered undisputable proof for this, enough arguments had earlier been collected in favour of Emona having belonged to Italy from its existence as a Roman colony onwards, i.e. early under Augustus or even soon after the battle at Actium in 31 BC<sup>68</sup>.

The urbanization of Pannonia (formerly Illyricum, and since the end of the Pannonian-Dalmatian rebellion most probably called Lower Illyricum)<sup>69</sup> had not begun before Vespasian, who founded the first *municipia* and colonies. He may have done this as a reward for political and logistic, and possibly even military support of these communities in the course of his struggle for power<sup>70</sup>, although in the case of Noricum and Pannonia this does not seem so obvious. On the other hand, however, the fact that Vespasian founded colonies and awarded municipal rights to the towns in Pannonia certainly represented the first important phase of urbanization, which was ultimately expected to occur after an interval of three generations had passed since the Augustan conquest<sup>71</sup>. Whereas the urbanization of southern Noricum was carried out by Claudius three generations after the annexation of the kingdom in 15 BC, this same process correspondingly took place in Pannonia a generation later, counting

<sup>64</sup> 1.16; 2.14.5; 8.7.6 (ed. Nobbe). The cited sentence is from the last passage. The second version of the translation is favoured by Graßl 1994, 519.

<sup>65</sup> Thus already Th. Mommsen, *CIL* III, p. 483; Šašel 1968, 564–565; 573 (1992, 572–573; 577); id. 1989 (1992), where earlier literature is cited; Šašel Kos 2003.

<sup>66</sup> See Šašel Kos 2003, with the literature cited.

<sup>67</sup> Šašel Kos 2002a; ead. 2002b.

<sup>68</sup> Šašel 1989 (1992); Šašel Kos 2003.

<sup>69</sup> See, for slightly differing opinions, Nagy 1970; Šašel 1989 (1992); Fitz 1996; Kovács 2008.

<sup>70</sup> Šašel 1983 (1992).

<sup>71</sup> Šašel 1980 (1992).

from AD 9, when Tiberius ended the great Pannonian-Dalmatian rebellion after four years of war. Whether or not the process would have been hastened by the loyalty of these communities to the *partes Flavianae* is open to conjecture.

The Flavian towns in Pannonia had all grown out of the settlements along the two main routes, the ancient Amber Route and the main road across Illyricum, connecting the Apennine with the Balkan peninsulas<sup>72</sup>. The first led from the Baltic regions rich in amber across *barbaricum* to Carnuntum, Poetovio, and Celeia to Emona, where it merged with the other route that ran parallel to the river route along the Danube, Sava, and Ljubljanska, and was linked to the legend of the Argonauts. From Emona the road led further to Italy through the geographically most convenient 'gate' between the two peninsulas (the Balkan and the Apennine) at Postojna. The Flavian towns along the so-called route of the Argonauts were Neviodunum, Andautonia, Siscia, Sirmium, their voting tribe having been *Quirina*. The first two were *municipia*, the other two colonies (Fig. 4). It should be noted, however, that Andautonia was indeed situated along the Sava River, but not on the same main road as Neviodunum and Siscia; rather, it was located along the road connecting Siscia with Poetovio<sup>73</sup>.



Fig. 4 – Towns in Pannonia. From: Pannonia I, 2003, pp. 8–9.

<sup>72</sup> Šašel Kos 1997, 34 ff.

<sup>73</sup> See on the town Šašel 1970 (1992); Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2003.



Scarbantia, which was also a Flavian *municipium*, and whose inhabitants, too, were inscribed in the same voting tribe, was situated along the Amber Route. This town developed in a different way from the others, since it may have belonged, like Savaria, to the Norican kingdom until Claudius<sup>74</sup>, or was at least close to the kingdom and within its sphere of influence. Many Roman colonists, mainly merchants and craftsmen from northern Italy, had settled in the town before Claudius. Pliny the Elder called it *oppidum Scarbantia Iulia*, in a passage in which he mentioned that Noricum extended as far as Pelso Lake (Balaton), the deserted regions of the *Boii*, the colony of *divus* Claudius, Savaria, and Scarbantia<sup>75</sup>.

Jenő Fitz hypothesized that the *municipia* Neviodunum and Andautonia had developed out of former auxiliary camps<sup>76</sup>; in any case both towns must have been most important as fluvial harbours, and in war-time also as ports for the Roman navy. They must have played a significant role during the first phase of Octavian's Illyrian Wars, directed against the *Iapodes* and *Segestani*. And both were no less important during Tiberius' Pannonian war and the Pannonian-Dalmatian rebellion<sup>77</sup>. On the other hand, there is evidence that military camps preceded the foundations of *colonia Flavia* Siscia and *colonia Flavia* Sirmium. Octavian, after having captured Segesta/Siscia in 34 BC, left two and a half legions there<sup>78</sup>, and the town was a military camp during Tiberius' Pannonian war; during the great rebellion, however, it was a huge military base, as well as Tiberius' headquarters, where at one point ten legions, more than seventy cohorts, ten *alae*, and over ten thousand veterans, in addition to a great number of volunteers and Thracian cavalry, were stationed<sup>79</sup>. Sirmium, too, was a well fortified Roman stronghold, which could not have been captured by the enemy during the revolt of both Batos<sup>80</sup>. Both Siscia and Sirmium were the two early fortresses in Illyricum that were of key strategic significance to the Romans, and also the only two mentioned in this part of Pannonia by Strabo<sup>81</sup>.

It may be supposed with great probability that the province of Pannonia, based on civil self-government, was established as late as the reign of Vespasian<sup>82</sup>. Until then Pannonia seems to have been a province rather in terms of

<sup>74</sup> Differently Kovács 2008, 238-239.

<sup>75</sup> *N. h.* 3. 146.

<sup>76</sup> Fitz 2003, 50.

<sup>77</sup> Šašel 1970, 74 (1992, 581).

<sup>78</sup> Šašel Kos 2005, 441-442.

<sup>79</sup> Vell. Pat. 2. 113. 1.

<sup>80</sup> See now on the revolt Šašel Kos 2009.

<sup>81</sup> 7. 5. 2 C 314; see on these two towns, Lolić 2003; Mirković 2004.

<sup>82</sup> Tóth 1980; Šašel 1989, 57-60 (1992, 690-693); *contra* Fitz 1993, 126, basing his opinion on incorrect premises; and recently also Kovács 2008.

a military district (Lower Illyricum), known in official texts under the name of Illyricum, and placed under the command of a *legatus exercitus*. The division into an upper and – consequently – a lower province is confirmed by a honorific inscription from Epidaurum, erected to the governor in the Dalmatian part of Illyricum under Tiberius, P. Cornelius Dolabella<sup>83</sup>, while the denomination ‘Dalmatia’ and ‘Pannonia’ seems to have been informal. However, it was in use ever since the end of the Pannonian-Dalmatian rebellion; this is well confirmed by Velleius Paterculus, who acted as Tiberius’ officer during this war. In the last year of the uprising, in AD 9, when he mentioned the military successes of Germanicus and C. Vibius Postumus in the Dalmatian part of Illyricum, he referred to Postumus as *praepositus* of Dalmatia<sup>84</sup>.

If only a few documents are cited in which the province is called Illyricum after AD 9, it may be concluded that Illyricum was its official name, both in cases when the entire province was meant, and also when only Dalmatia or Pannonia were actually referred to. Only some years after the great rebellion had been quelled, when Augustus composed the text commemorating his deeds (*res gestae*), he claimed that he had subdued to the Roman rule, through Tiberius Nero who was then his stepson and legate, certain Pannonian peoples that had not been reached yet by a Roman army. In the course of the war against the Pannonians, he “*extended the frontier of Illyricum as far as the Danube*”<sup>85</sup>. By his words, “*protulique fines Illyrici ad ripam fluminis Danuvii*”, probably the course of the river near the confluence of the Sava and the Danube should be understood, since the entire Pannonia had not yet been conquered.

In the *senatus consultum* about Cn. Calpurnius Piso pater, of December 10, AD 20, his estate in Illyricum is mentioned; on his way back from Asia to Italy he actually stopped in Dalmatia, hoping to come into personal contact with Drusus, who was in Illyricum in the years between 17 and 20, on his second mission after the fall of Maroboduus<sup>86</sup>. Some time during the reign of Claudius, ca. 43-51 AD, a governor was designated as *legatus Augusti pro praetore* in Illyricum<sup>87</sup>. But when Tacitus, writing about the Suebian king Vannius, mentioned that Claudius contacted Sex. Palpellius Hister, who governed Pannonia (“*Pannoniam praesidebat*”)<sup>88</sup>, he used the names Pannonia and Dalmatia in the same informal manner as did Velleius Paterculus even for a much earlier period. Palpellius Hister was *legatus exercitus* in Lower Illyricum.

<sup>83</sup> CIL III 1741 = ILS 938: *civitates superioris provinciae Illyrici*. See Bojanovski 1988; Glavičić 2008, 45-48, fig. 1 on p. 46.

<sup>84</sup> Vell. Pat. 2. 116. 2.

<sup>85</sup> Mon. Ancyr. 30; Tóth 1977.

<sup>86</sup> Caballos, Eck, Fernández 1996, 130.

<sup>87</sup> CIL X 5182 = ILS 972: *leg. divi Claudii in Illyrico*.

<sup>88</sup> Ann. 12. 29. 2.



It is also true that historians notoriously used contemporary terminology. But perhaps the province of Pannonia, too, was organized at the same time as Noricum, that is, under Claudius<sup>89</sup>. However, even as late as in a military diploma recently discovered in Vukovar (Cornacum), of July 2, AD 61, auxiliary units are mentioned as having been stationed in Illyricum under L. Salvidienus Salvianus Rufus, who was actually the governor in Pannonia<sup>90</sup>, and on other diplomas from the same time the province is also named Illyricum<sup>91</sup>.

The first Roman municipal foundation was Savaria, which became a colony under Claudius, no doubt at the same time when the Norican *oppida* became the Claudian *municipia*. The town had almost certainly still belonged to Noricum at the time when it was awarded colonial rights, as had very likely some other settlements along the Amber Route. Since Carnuntum is known to have still been in the Norican kingdom in AD 9, there would have been two suitable occasions for the transfer of some Norican towns along the Amber Route to Pannonia. This must have happened either under Claudius, when Noricum was urbanized and probably also became a procuratorial province<sup>92</sup>, or, less likely, under Vespasian, when southwestern Pannonia was urbanized<sup>93</sup>. The former occasion seems in fact the only possible one, since military logic played a role in the decision to make Noricum an *inermis provincia*, while the legions were all stationed in Pannonia, including the legionary camp at Carnuntum, which was in Pannonia at the latest in AD 50. When mentioning the *regnum Vannianum* in Suebia, Pliny the Elder referred to the legionary winter camp at Carnuntum in Pannonia<sup>94</sup>. This section of the Amber Route was in *Pannonia* and was supervised by the Pannonian army<sup>95</sup>. Thus Savaria may be regarded as the oldest autonomous city in Pannonia, where mainly the veterans of the legion *XV Apollinaris* were settled.

Under Trajan, Poetovio ceased to be a legionary fortress of the *XIII Gemina* and became a *colonia Ulpia*; the legion was transferred to Vindobona<sup>96</sup>. The province was divided into Upper and Lower Pannonia. Under Hadrian, Salla became a *municipium*<sup>97</sup>, and Mursa a colony<sup>98</sup>, both having developed out of previous military

<sup>89</sup> Fitz 2003, 48–49.

<sup>90</sup> Dušanić 1998, 51 ff.; Reidinger 1956, 42 no. 10.

<sup>91</sup> *CIL* XVI 2 and 4; it should be placed in AD 61 instead of 60, since it is of the same date of issue as the diploma from Vukovar, cf. *RMD* IV, pp. 390–391.

<sup>92</sup> Fitz 1993, 16–19; see lastly Scherrer 2003, 53.

<sup>93</sup> Tóth 1980.

<sup>94</sup> *N. h.* 4. 80–81.

<sup>95</sup> Ubl 2008.

<sup>96</sup> Horvat et al. 2003. See briefly on Pannonian urbanization also Šašel 1989 (1992) and Fitz 2003.

<sup>97</sup> Redő 2003.

<sup>98</sup> Filipović 2004.

camps, as was often the case in Pannonia. Carnuntum and Aquincum were also Aelian foundations, which were formerly settlements of the Boii and Eravisci respectively, and then became *municipia*<sup>99</sup>. This is less likely for Brigetio, which was most probably a *municipium* under Caracalla<sup>100</sup>. Carnuntum and Aquincum were seats of the governor and they became colonies under Septimius Severus, whom they supported during his struggle for imperial power. Mogetiana was a Hadrianic *municipium*, while this is not so certain for Mursella and Cibalae<sup>101</sup>; however, the latter was surely a colony under the *Severi*. The town of Aquae Balizae, which was also called *Municipium Iasorum*, perhaps became a *municipium* under Hadrian<sup>102</sup>. Some settlements in Pannonia became autonomous cities late under the Severan dynasty, such as Bassianae, which became a colony under Caracalla<sup>103</sup>. There are towns which were *municipia*, but cannot be located, as for example Faustinianum and Volg(-), and towns whose status is not entirely certain, such as Vindobona<sup>104</sup>, Sopianae, which was a very important town and early Christian centre in the late Roman period<sup>105</sup>, *civitas* Iovia (Botivo), and Gorsium<sup>106</sup>. The late urbanization of this part of Pannonia, particularly along the Danube, also meant its late 'Romanization', which experienced the heyday of prosperity during the Severan dynasty<sup>107</sup>.

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<sup>99</sup> Kandler et al. 2004; Zsidi 2004; in general on Hadrian and cities: Boatwright 2000.

<sup>100</sup> Borhy et al. 2004.

<sup>101</sup> Nagy 2004 (Mogetiana); Szőnyi 2004 (Mursella); Iskra-Janošić 2004 (Cibalae).

<sup>102</sup> Schejbal 2004.

<sup>103</sup> Milin 2004.

<sup>104</sup> Mader 2004.

<sup>105</sup> Kárpáti et al. 2004, 270-271.

<sup>106</sup> Gregl, Migotti 2004 (Iovia); Fitz 2004 (Gorsium).

<sup>107</sup> Alföldy 2005, 27-31.

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