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The End of the Norican Kingdom and the Formation of the Provinces of Noricum and Pannonia

Marjeta Šašel Kos

The *Chronicle of the Counts of Celje* was written in the second half of the 15th century.[1] A few sentences in the first chapter concerning the ancient remains of Celeia may be of interest to scholars studying Norican stone monuments: »... *It may even nowadays be seen from the powerful walls and huge pieces of marble how very mighty the town of Celje had been at that time. These were found especially at the public well where a hall was once located. If such a large piece of stone could have been discovered at that place, which could not be transported on any wooden cart, as has already been the case, this certainly indicates how much power and wealth was involved. These people wanted to create an eternal memory of themselves by having their signs and their names carved in the hard marble with large letters. However, these people will be entirely and utterly forgotten when the few still legible stones are broken to pieces; yet nonetheless, no one knows anything about these people.*« (Translation of the text of the Chronicle published by Krones [n. 1], p. 62-63). To continue in the words of the *Chronicle*, there was actually much wealth in Celeia, as well as in other Norican towns, and it was their wealth, particularly in minerals, which mainly caused the Romans to establish the legendary friendly relationship with the Norican kingdom. There are enormous gaps in our knowledge of the development of this relationship and about the subsequent history of the provinces of Noricum and Pannonia, yet we may feel more confident in terms of the possibilities of reconstructing the history of the towns and some of their inhabitants than the writer of the *Chronicle* did; however, any such attempt is bound to remain largely incomplete.

The beginnings of the known history of the Norican kingdom coincide with the decision, taken in 183 BC, to found Aquileia, which was a reaction to an attempt of the *Galli transalpini* three years earlier to build an *oppidum* in the future Aquileian region. Livy reported, in three often cited passages, that in 186 BC certain *Galli transalpini* (12,000 armed men, Livy 39 54. 3; cf. Dio 19, Zon. 9. 21. 6 [Boiss. I 293]: Γαλάται τινες) peacefully crossed over to Venetia, with no intention of plundering or waging war (*sine populatione aut bello*, Livy 39. 22. 6), to found an *oppidum* in the region of the future Aquileian territory. Livy added that they had descended along hitherto unknown paths leading through narrow mountainous and wooded passages (*per saltus ignotae antea viae,* 39. 45. 6). Pliny (*N. h.* III 131, citing the author of the *Annales* Piso) additionally noted that the site of the *oppidum* was located 12 miles from the future Aquileia, and briefly stated that it was destroyed on the orders of M. Claudius Marcellus, against the will of the Senate

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[1] Franz KRONES/R. v. MARCHLAND, *Die Freien von Saneck und ihre Chronik als Grafen von Cilli.* II. Teil: *Die Cillier Chronik* (Graz 1883).

(*etiam invito senatu*). These last words probably refer only to Marcellus' too harsh treatment of the Gauls, whose property was given over to the consul's soldiers to plunder, although Dobesch noted that Pliny's statement does not correspond to the known course of events, since it cannot be denied that the Senate did not want the Celtic *oppidum* to exist.[2] Pliny must no doubt have distorted the meaning of the original text by having drastically shortened it.

An embassy was sent by the Senate across the Alps, and received the answer that the emigrants had gone to Italy without the permission or knowledge of the tribal leaders (... *neque profectos ex auctoritate gentis* ... Livy 39. 22. 7).[3] In 183 BC, at least two Roman legions were sent to Venetia by orders of M. Claudius Marcellus,[4] one under the proconsul L. Porcius Licinus,[5] who destroyed the *oppidum* of the Gauls and confiscated their arms along with other property, although the Gauls had surrendered upon the legions' arrival (39. 54. 2-4). The Gauls complained in the Senate through the mediation of the *praetor peregrinus* C. Valerius Flaccus, explaining that they had left their country because of overpopulation and scarcity of farming land, and intended to settle in a desolate region without causing any harm to anyone. The Senate made clear to them that it had been an error to settle in a foreign land without asking permission of the Roman magistrate in charge of the province (... *cum in Italiam venerint oppidumque in alieno agro, nullius Romani magistratus, qui ei provinciae praeesset, permissu aedificare conati sint* ..., 39. 54. 10). To what extent the Roman state was juridically justified in claiming a right over the region in question may partly be indicated by the fact that the Senate ordered the property of the Gauls to be restored under the supervision of a prestigious embassy of two ex-consuls, L. Furius Purpurio and Q. Minucius Rufus, as well as a former praetor, L. Manlius Acidinus Fulvianus, who had military and diplomatic experience in the Celtic world.[6] In Càssola's opinion, the land was most probably »una terra di nessuno«,[7] but it was certainly controlled by the Romans.[8] The same embassy further accompanied the Gauls back to their homeland, where it was hospitably received by the »elders« (= *seniores*), who showed surprise (perhaps feigned ?) upon hearing how mildly the Romans had treated the secessionists of a Celtic tribe under the authority of the »elders«. Exchanging gifts, both parties agreed that the Alps should be regarded as a barrier not to be penetrated (... *Alpes prope inexsuperabilem finem in medio esse* ... 39. 54. 12: the formulation is that of the Senate's answer to the Gauls in Rome). No king is mentioned in this context, which does not necessarily mean that he did not exist;[9] it may merely signify that his role within society had not yet been sufficiently distinguished.[10]

Although Livy noted several details of this story, which in broad outline hardly presents any difficulties in explanation, he did not define these *Galli transalpini* more precisely — obviously their name was not cited in his sources — which has resulted in several hypotheses about their identity. One of the widely accepted ones was formulated by Sartori, who argued that these *Galli* had actually been the Taurisci settled in present-day Slovenia, who wished to dominate trade across the Ocra pass on both sides of the Alps.[11] Zippel, too, considered the Taurisci, although he

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[2] G. DOBESCH, *Die Kelten in Österreich nach den ältesten Berichten der Antike* (Wien, Köln, Graz 1980) 76-78.

[3] For the problem *populi/gens* see DOBESCH (n. 2) 52-57; in his study he examined all the details of Livy's passages and set the episode in a broad historical context, 14-80; 367-370.

[4] T. R. S. BROUGHTON, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic* I (New York 1951) 378.

[5] BROUGHTON (n. 4) 379.

[6] BROUGHTON (n. 4) 379; G. ZIPPEL, *Die römische Herrschaft in Illyrien bis auf Augustus* (Leipzig 1877) 110-111.

[7] F. CÀSSOLA, La politica romana nell'alto Adriatico in: *Aquileia e l'alto Adriatico.* Antichità Altoadr. 2 (Udine 1972) 56. For the Romanization of this area and Histria see also R. F. ROSSI, La romanizzazione dell'Istria in: *Aquileia e l'alto Adriatico*, *ib.*, 65 ff.

[8] F. SARTORI, Galli transalpini transgressi in Venetiam, *Aquileia nostra* 31, 1960, 12; cf. 17 (reprinted in: *Dall'Italia all'Italia* II [Padova 1993] 3-37). See also C. ZACCARIA, L'arco alpino orientale nell'età romana, in: *Castelraimondo - Scavi 1988 - 1990. I - Lo scavo* (Cataloghi e Monografie dei Musei Civici di Udine 2) (Roma 1992) 75ff.

[9] Thus DOBESCH (n. 2) 182-236, *passim*.

[10] Cf. also G. ALFÖLDY, *Noricum* (London, Boston 1974) 31.

[11] SARTORI (n. 8), 1-40. See ALFÖLDY (n. 10) 28-38; cf. J. ŠAŠEL, Keltisches *portorium* in den Ostalpen (zu Plin.

ascribed to the Tauriscan tribal federation — in accordance with earlier opinions —[12] a greater ethnic and geographic significance than it had ever actually had, as well as a leading role in the Norican kingdom.[13]

It is a general assumption that the Senate's negotiations with the »elders« of a transalpine people reflect the first contacts between the Roman state and the *Regnum Noricum*. Dobesch, who exhaustively analyzed various possibilities concerning the homeland of the *Galli*,[14] returned to an earlier thesis of Egger — which the latter retracted at a later date in favour of the Taurisci in Slovenia —[15] to seek it in Carinthia. The Alps, defined in Livy as an almost inaccessible barrier, would in Dobesch's opinion best suit the Carnic Alps and the Karavanke Mts., while the unknown, or rather, less known passes would have either been Plöckenpaß, or the road through Pontebba and Tarvisio. Dobesch interpreted the emigrants of the *Galli* sociologically, i.e. as representing a kind of antagonism between the *seniores* and younger men of the *gens*,[16] rather than in terms of different peoples living in loose confederation, with possible antagonism among various tribes, yet the latter explanation seems to me to fit better the known data in Livy's narrative. It could hardly be imagined how the »elders« of a *gens*, settled somewhere in Carinthia, could have denied any knowledge of the emigration of a large number of their people, politically organized in one and the same unit. A more likely explanation may be that the emigrants belonged to one or several of the tribes of a people living at the edge of the postulated confederation, which may have been represented by a council of noblemen, probably of several tribes of the leading people, as well as of minor dynasts of other peoples included in the confederation, perhaps headed by a king, despite the fact that such is not mentioned in the sources.

Livy's text certainly suggests that the *Galli* did not come from very far away and it may further be deduced that they were rather well acquainted with the political and military situation of the Roman state, and had made a correct estimate of its potential force and acknowledged its geo-political aspirations. A certain degree of diplomacy and acculturation may be indicated by the fact that they surrendered without resistance, pleaded their cause in the Senate, and retreated, although they were 12,000 armed men who could have attempted to fight for their rights. Overpopulation and a scarcity of fertile land, given as the main reason for their crossing, could correspond to the regions of several tribes living in the hinterland of Aquileia, yet the unknown roads along which they descended to Italy — unless they should be understood in terms of microtopography — could hardly refer to the Taurisci, who dominated trade along the Sava and Ljubljanica rivers via Nauportus in the direction of the Carnic village of Tergeste (Strabo VII 5. 2 C 314). Accepting the localization of the Ambisontes along the valley of the river Aesontius (the present-day Soča or Isonzo),[17] a hypothesis may be ventured that the *Galli transalpini transgressi in Venetiam* could have been the Ambisontes (Fig. 1). This would be well in accordance with the

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n.h. III 128). In: *Corolla memoriae Erich Swoboda dedicata* (Graz, Köln 1966) 199 and n. 3 (= *Opera selecta*. 501); G. WINKLER, Noricum und Rom in: ANRW II 6 (Berlin, New York 1977), 183-187, who did not identify the tribe; M. ŠAŠEL KOS, *Zgodovinska podoba prostora med Akvilejo, Jadranom in Sirmijem pri Kasiju Dionu in Herodijanu. A Historical Outline of the Region between Aquileia, the Adriatic, and Sirmium in Cassius Dio and Herodian* (Ljubljana 1986) 96.

[12] But see also G. ALFÖLDY, Taurisci und Norici. *Historia* 15, 1966, 224-241; cf. ALFÖLDY, *Noricum* (n. 10) 25-27.

[13] ZIPPEL (n. 6) 113 ff.; 121; cf. 110.

[14] DOBESCH (n. 2) 57-73.

[15] R. EGGER, Ricerche di storia sul Friuli preromano e romano, *Atti Accad. Sci. Lett. Arti Udine* 13, 1954-1957, 385-388.

[16] DOBESCH (n. 2) 52 ff.

[17] J. ŠAŠEL, Zur Erklärung der Inschrift am Tropaeum Alpium (Plin. *n.h.* 3, 136-137. *CIL* V 7817). *Živa antika* 22, 1972, 140-144 (= *Opera selecta*. 293-297); accepted as a possibility by G. DOBESCH, Die Okkupation des Regnum Noricum durch Rom. In: *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms III. Vorträge des 13. Internat. Limeskongresses, Aalen 1983* = Forsch. Ber. Vor- Frühgesch. Baden-Württemberg 20 (Stuttgart 1986) 314 n. 15; cf. E. WEBER, Noricum und die »Verleihung des Provinzialstatus«. In: *Recht und Geschichte. Festschrift Hermann Baltl zum 70. Geburtstag.* Ed. H. Valentinitsch (Graz 1988) 613 n. 10; G. ALFÖLDY, Die regionale Gliederung in der römischen Provinz Noricum.

known facts of their history and would particularly well match the suggestion that the *seniores,* mentioned by Livy as having received the senatorial embassy, would represent the nucleus of the Norican kingdom beyond the Karavanke Mts. In the Augustan period the Ambisontes, who are archaeologically defined by the La Tène period Idrija Culture, are known to have been one of the rebellious Alpine tribes, and they are the only hostile Norican tribe mentioned on the inscription at La Turbie among the *gentes Alpinae devictae.*[18] They are the only people for whom it is expressly known that they had opposed the central authority of the Norican king; they are mentioned among the eight Norican peoples on the inscription from Magdalensberg honouring Livia and both Iulias, Augustus' daughter and granddaughter,[19] as well as in Ptolemaeus (*Geogr.* II 13. 2), who placed them in the south of the province (Κατέχουσι δὲ τὰ μὲν δυσμικώτερα τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἀπ'ἄρκτων ἀρχομένοις Σεούακες καὶ 'Αλαυνοὶ καὶ 'Αμβισόντιοι, τὰ δ' ἀνατολικώτερα Νωρικοί, καὶ 'Αμβιδραυοί καὶ 'Αμβιλικοί). Their hostility to the central Norican authority which, given the inaccessibility and difficulty of communication between most of the Norican regions, must have always been a more or less loosely cohesive power, could perhaps be projected well back to the first half of the 2nd century BC. It may further be supposed that the relative proximity of Italy and its economic resources, different from those on which central Noricum based its power, may have conditioned the relations of the Ambisontes with the Roman state in a different way that cannot be compared to the relations formed between the Romans and the central Norican kingdom. If, however, the identification with the Ambisontes is not accepted, these *Galli* may well have been those

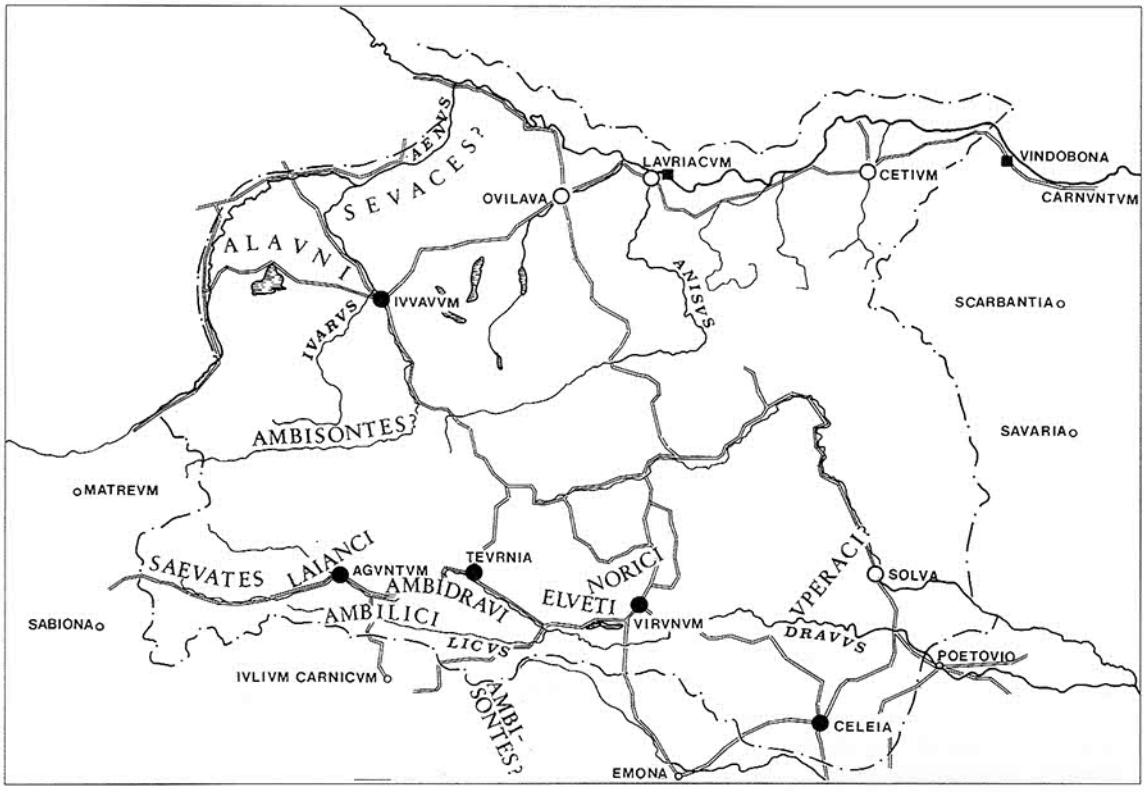

Fig. 1 Norican tribes and towns. Black dots denote Claudian foundations.

In: *Raumordnung im Römischen Reich. Zur regionalen Gliederung in den gallischen Provinzen, in Räetien, Noricum und Pannonien.* Ed. G. Gottlieb (München 1989) 41.

[18] ŠAŠEL (n. 17), 135 (= *Opera selecta.* 288).

[19] J. ŠAŠEL, Huldigung norischer Stämme am Magdalensberg in Kärnten. Ein Klärungsversuch. *Historia* 16, 1967, 70-74 (= *Opera selecta.* 280-284).

Norici who, according to Strabo (IV 6. 8-9 C 206), were settled in the hinterland of the northern Adriatic.

II

The relationship between the Norici and Taurisci, however, is far less well defined and it is not at all clear how to explain it within and/or outside the Norican kingdom, despite several more or less recent studies and attempts to define the Taurisci geographically and chronologically.[20] The Taurisci must be located where the literary sources in which they are mentioned situate them. These few data would indicate the regions of their settlement as mainly present-day Slovenia, notably the valleys of the Ljubljanica and Sava rivers, parts of Upper Carniola, Lower Carniola, and southern Styria, extending in the period of their expansion within the coalition with the Boii as far as western Croatia and Lake Balaton. Archaeologically they seem to be well defined by the La Tčne period Mokronog Culture.[21] Their relations both to the Norici and to the Romans seem to have been antagonistic, which is well illustrated by the episode of gold having been discovered in their region in Polybius' time (Strabo IV 6. 12 C 208: 'Ετι φησὶ Πολύβιος ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ κατ' 'Ακυλήιαν μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς Ταυρίσκοις τοῖς Νωρικοῖς εὑρεθῆναι χρυσεῖον οὕτως εὐφυές ...).[22] Gold was extracted first in collaboration with the Roman entrepreneurs in such large quantities that its price dropped by one third throughout Italy. The Romans were consequently expelled by the Taurisci, who wanted to monopolize the extraction and processing of gold, as well as trade in it. It is questionable whether in the 2nd century and in the first part of the 1st century BC they at all recognized the authority of the Norican king, although undoubtedly the Norican kingdom had always endeavoured to gain influence over the regions of the Taurisci.

Aquileia was founded as a Latin colony in 181 BC, two years after the departure of the *Galli transalpini*. Although it was founded within the Venetic region, the site of the city itself was not actually Venetic, as is expressly emphasized by Strabo (V 1. 8 C 214: 'Εξω δ' ἐστὶ τῶν Ἑνετικῶν ὅρων ἡ 'Ακυληία). The Celts living north and northeast of the Adriatic were influenced by the proximity of the Veneti, with whom they must have undoubtedly had trade connections; individual Roman merchants, too, had certainly been exploring the possibilities of Celtic markets even before Aquileia was founded, thus it is understandable that the Celts, especially tribes living in the less fertile Alpine valleys, were attracted to the south. The *Galli transalpini* are mentioned again by Livy in 179 BC in circumstances similar to those in 186. 3000 men had crossed over to Italy to ask the consuls and the Senate for permission to settle on Roman soil, under Roman authority (... *sub imperio populi Romani* ..., 40. 53. 5-6). However, they were banished from the country under the consul Q. Fulvius Flaccus, who punished the instigators of the movement. Analysing the similarity of the situation, Dobesch came to the conclusion that they may well have been the same people who had been expelled from the Aquileian area five years earlier.[23] Most probably the mentioned Celts were not actually the same people who had been expressly denied the possibility to settle in Italy, but certainly they must have come from — roughly speaking — the same milieu, from a Celtic area close to Italy, since their having asked for permission to settle on

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[20] ALFÖLDY (n. 12); SARTORI (n. 8); P. PETRU, Die ostalpinen Taurisker und Latobiker in: ANRW II 6, (Berlin, New York 1977) 473-499; cf. J. ŠAŠEL, Lineamenti dell'espansione romana nelle Alpi Orientali e nei Balcani occidentali in: *Aquileia e l'arco alpino orientale*. Antichità Altoadr. 9 (Udine 1976) 78-81 (= *Opera selecta*. 415-422); P. W. HEIDER, Zu den »norischen Tauriskern«. Eine quellen- und literaturkritische Studie. In: *Hochalpine Altstrassen im Raum Badgastein-Mallnitz*. Böcksteiner Montana 10 (Wien 1993) 219-271 (not reliable for all details).

[21] D. BOŽIČ, Keltska kultura u Jugoslaviji. Zapadna grupa. The Celtic Culture in Yugoslavia. The Western Group. In: *Praist. jugosl. zem.* 5 (Sarajevo 1987) 855-897.

[22] Commented on by J. ŠAŠEL, Miniera aurifera nelle Alpi Orientali. *Aquileia Nostra* 45/46, 1974/75, 148-152 (= *Opera selecta*. 538-540).

[23] DOBESCH (n. 2), 91-97.

Italic soil would indicate that they were acquainted with the situation which had occurred in the previous years. The opinion of Zippel and Alföldy holding that the mention of these Celts referred to the Ligurian Alps seems less likely.[24]

III

Three Celtic royal names, reported by Livy, are generally connected to the eastern Alpine regions,[25] or even more specifically to the Norican kingdom,[26] although the name of the Norici itself is not (yet) mentioned. In 178 BC, Catmelus, who commanded troops instead of a king, fought at the head of 3000 Celtic soldiers on the side of the Roman consul against the Histri, who were subdued in 177 (*Ab eadem regione mille ferme passuum castra erant Gallorum; Catmelus pro regulo erat tribus haud amplius milibus armatorum* ..., Livy 41. 1. 8). It is somewhat interesting that in this passage Livy does not speak of the *Galli transalpini*, but only of the *Galli*. These may well have been Celtic tribes who were directly affected by the Histrian war, such as the Carni, as proposed by Dobesch,[27] of whom it is further known that in 171 BC they had already been involved with the Romans in some kind of agreement, since they complained in the Senate against the criminal conduct of the consul C. Cassius Longinus (Livy 43. 5. 3), expecting due justice.

The kingdom of Cincibilus and his brother (171-170) may well be identified with the Norican kingdom,[28] although Cincibilus is termed only as *rex Gallorum* (Livy 43. 5. 1). His brother, who is not named, intervened in the Senate in 170 BC as his ambassador on behalf of his *socii*, the Alpine peoples (*Alpini populi, ib.* 2), who were treated like enemies by the consular army of C. Cassius Longinus, no less than the Carni, Histri and Iapodes, who in their turn sent envoys to the Senate about the same matter. A year earlier, after the outbreak of the Macedonian war under Perseus, command in Macedonia was assigned by lot to P. Licinius Crassus, while C. Cassius Longinus, against his expectations and wishes, received Italy with Cisalpina, where he saw no possibilities of glory and enrichment. Having arrived in northern Italy, he nonetheless decided to leave without the Senate's permission for Macedonia across Illyricum. The story is highly interesting both for the history of the Celtic transalpine kingdoms and for the Balkans and southeastern Alpine region and their contacts with the Romans, as it illuminates from different angles the strategic and geo-political significance of the regions along the ancient trade route related to the legend of the Argonauts. Obviously the point of departure of C. Cassius Longinus was Aquileia, which he left unprotected, taking provisions for 30 days for his legions, as well as demanding guides who knew the roads leading from Italy to Macedonia, whom he had ordered to be sought out among the natives, the Carni, Histri, and Iapodes (cf. Livy 43. 5. 3). The Senate was informed about his departure by the envoys from Aquileia who diplomatically explained that their colony had remained insufficiently protected against possible attacks of the hostile Histrian and Illyrian nations, not daring to directly accuse the consul. The senators referred them to the latter and could hardly believe that he had left his province, assuming that he might have decided for a campaign against the Carni or Histri. The interesting detail that the Aquileians feared the incursions of the Histri and Illyrians should be noted, while the Senate — at a certain distance and perhaps less well acquainted with the changing current situation — would have expected a war against the Histri or Carni (Livy 43. 1. 7-8), which may, however, also mean that some of the Carnic tribes (those

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[24] ZIPPEL (n. 6) 109; ALFÖLDY (n. 10) 30.
[25] WINKLER (n. 11) 188-190.
[26] ALFÖLDY (n. 10) 31-35.
[27] DOBESCH (n. 2) 98-108.
[28] ZIPPEL (n. 6) 108 ff.; ALFÖLDY (n. 10) 32; WINKLER (n. 11) 188-189; S. L. DYSON, *The Creation of the Roman Frontier* (Princeton 1985) 69-72; DOBESCH (n. 2) 108-157.

around Carnium? — if they ever existed)[29] were hostile to the Romans. Three senatorial envoys were dispatched on the same day to pursue the consul and stop him from starting war against any nation without the decision of the Senate. Any measures to protect Aquileia were postponed for fear of what might happen to the consul and the army. Thus Livy (*ib.*, 12).

The Senate's fears were more than justified since at the time Illyricum was to a large extent a *terra incognita*. Not only did Longinus march through rough and barely passable areas, he had plunged himself and the army in the midst of unknown nations and tribes whose reactions could not have been forseen, and may have well been hostile. Further fears were no less justified: by acting thus Cassius Longinus might disclose the way to Italy to all the peoples settled along his line of march (... *viam tot nationibus in Italiam aperiret*, Livy 43. 1. 9). Trade routes which combined tracks and river traffic had functioned for centuries, and goods as well as information may have travelled with a perhaps unexpected velocity. This is well illustrated by a story of how an embassy of the Celts living in the Adriatic area (perhaps the northern Adriatic) came in 335 BC to Alexander the Great, when he was waging war against the Triballi, to offer him their friendship because of his great glory (Ptolem., *FGrHist* 138 F 2 = Strabo VII 3. 8 C 301 f.; cf. Arr. I 4. 6-8; Ptolemaeus [in Strabo] called them Κελτοὺς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀδρίαν; Arr.: παρὰ Κελτῶν δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ ᾠκισμένων; and in any case πόρρω ... ᾠκισμένοι Ἀλεξάνδρου). The data are too scarce to allow an identification of these Celts, but it is implied in the story that they must have been informed of Alexander's war against the Triballi surprisingly quickly. However, these routes functioned on a more or less individual basis: individual merchants only, and/or small caravans of merchants travelled along them for long distances. The traffic on shorter distances, along shorter sections of the long route connecting the Black Sea coast with Italy, must have been more lively. Thus in terms of broad geographical orientation these huge distances seem not to have been estimated correctly. Philip V sought allies among the barbaric nations settled along the Danube with the intention of persuading them to invade Italy (Livy 39. 35. 4: ... *missis ad accolas Histri fluminis barbaros, ut in Italiam irrumperent, sollicitandos*), probably the Bastarnae (cf. 40. 57. 6-7; Pomp. Trog. (Iust.) *prolog.* 32: ... *concitatique ab eo Basternae transire conati in Italiam*), to which Livy elsewhere added that it is only possible to lead an army to Italy across the region of the Scordisci (40. 57. 7: *per Scordiscos iter esse* [from Dardania] *ad mare Hadriaticum Italiamque; alia via traduci exercitum non posse*). But how erroneous Philip's conception of the length of Illyricum actually was, is indicated by the story that in the region of the Maedi he climbed to the top of Mount Haemus in order to see at the same time the Black Sea, the Adriatic, the Danube and the Alps, which would be of great help to him in planning the war against the Romans (Livy 40. 21. 2: ... *quia vulgatae opinioni crediderat Ponticum simul et Hadriaticum mare et Histrum amnem et Alpes conspici posse: subiecta oculis ea haud parvi sibi momenti futura ad cogitationem Romani belli*). This, however, was a general estimation of the distance, noted also by Polybius (24. 4), and criticised by Strabo (VII 5. 1 C 313: Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τῷ Πόντῳ τὸ Αἷμόν ἐστιν ὄρος, μέγιστον τῶν ταύτῃ καὶ ὑψηλότατον, μέσην πως διαιροῦν τὴν Θρᾴκην· ἀφ' οὗ φησι Πολύβιος ἀμφοτέρας καθορᾶσθαι τὰς θαλάττας, οὐκ ἀληθῆ λέγων· καὶ γὰρ τὸ διάστημα μέγα τὸ πρὸς τὸν Ἀδρίαν καὶ τὰ ἐπισκοτοῦντα πολλά; cf. Pomp. Mela, II 2. 17-18· *e quis Haemos in tantum altitudinis abit, ut Euxinum et Hadrian ex summo vertice ostendat*). Perseus may have not entirely abandoned the plans of attacking the Romans,[30] of which the Senate was informed by Eumenes of Pergamum (42. 11. 2 ff.; 42. 11. 4: *Bastarnarum gentem excitam sedibus suis, quorum auxiliis fretus in Italiam transiret*; cf. Livy 40. 5. 9-10; 44. 26. 2: ... *et tum Gallorum effusorum per Illyricum ingens oblatum <auxilium> avaritia dimissum est,* meaning the Bastarnae; Plutarch, *Aemil.* IX 7). Possible attacks across Illyricum were also planned by Hannibal and Antiochus of

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[29] V. VEDALDI IASBEZ, *La Venetia orientale e l'Histria. Le fonti letterarie greche e latine fino alla caduta dell'Impero Romano d'Occidente*. Studi e ricerche sulla Gallia cisalpina 5 (Roma 1994) 229-239.

[30] See F. PAPAZOGLU, *The Central Balkan Tribes in Pre-Roman Times. Triballi, Autariatae, Dardanians, Scordisci and Moesians* (Amsterdam 1978) 281-282.

Syria towards the end of Hannibal's life (Livy 34. 60; App., *Syr.* 7; Iust. 31. 3. 5-10), as well as by Mithridates VI Eupator in 64 BC (App., *Mithr.* 109; Plut., *Pomp.* 41. 2; Strabo VII 4. 3; Dio 37. 11).[31]

Although the southeastern Alpine region was strategically highly important for Italy, since across the Ocra pass the route to the Apennine peninsula was easily crossable and totally unprotected, at the time it was not yet — and not in the least — controlled by the Romans. This is confirmed by the fact that the army of C. Cassius Longinus had to be led by foreign guides. It is questionable how far the consul managed to get, but most probably he did not reach the Pannonian regions beyond Siscia. Upon his recall, he devastated on his way back various regions of the Iapodes, Histri, and Carni, as well as those of the Alpine peoples, taking large numbers of slaves, which was one of the main accusations of Cincibilus' brother. The Alpine peoples must most probably be identified with the various Tauriscan tribes, and it is known from other sources that the transalpine Celtic kingdom, i.e. most probably the Norican kingdom, had endeavoured to gain authority over them; some of the Tauriscan peoples must obviously have been in some kind of dependence on the kingdom of Cincibilus. His brother could achieve no restitution of any kind for damage done to his *socii*, since the Senate did not want to condemn Cassius (who at the time was acting in the inferior capacity of a *tribunus militum* under A. Hostilius Mancinus in Macedonia) in his absence. The envoys of the other three injured nations also had no success. Envoys were sent by the Senate to inform them of its decision. Cincibilus' kingdom was the only party to gain advantage from the tragic affair. In order to silence them, the Senate sent to Cincibilus and his brother an embassy of two consular diplomats of the highest esteem and experience, C. Laelius, a friend of Scipio Africanus (cos. 190), proconsul in 189 with command over the Cisalpina, and M. Aemilius Lepidus, one of the most important senators of his time, twice consul, both times in Liguria, with great experience in dealing with Celtic affairs, founding colonies, the division of the Ligurian lands, and restoring relations with the Cenomani after they had been illegally disarmed by M. Furius Crassipes.[32] They bestowed upon the royal brothers princely gifts of the highest value, including the right to export horses.[33] Economic and political interests at the highest level were mutual, and Rome wanted to maintain the best possible contacts with the kingdom across the Alps, which were at the time regarded as the most opportune frontier to protect Italy. The economically prosperous kingdom, which may have been organized under the leadership of two kings-brothers: *duo fratres reguli* (Livy 43. 5. 8),[34] was situated suitably outside the main communication routes which connected the Apennine and Balkan peninsulas. *Hospitium publicum*, which is known to have existed between Rome and Noricum in the time of the Cimbric invasion (App., *Kelt.* 13. 2), may well have dated from the reign of Cincibilus.[35]

There may have been several other small kingdoms besides this one which was of greater significance,[36] and which was represented first by the *seniores*, and later by Cincibilus.[37] One of the minor kings was perhaps Balanos who sent envoys to Rome in 169 BC to offer military aid for the Macedonian war (Livy 44. 14. 1: *dum bellum in Macedonia geritur, legati transalpini*

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[31] Cf. PATSCH, *Beiträge zur Völkerkunde von Südosteuropa. In: Aus 500 Jahren vorrömischer und römischer Geschichte Südosteuropas*, 1. Teil: *Bis zur Festsetzung der Römer in Transdanuvien* = Sitzber. Akad. Wien Phil. Hist. Kl. 214, 1 (Wien 1932) 32-33.

[32] ZIPPEL (n. 6) 111; H. VETTERS, Zur ältesten Geschichte der Ostalpenländer. *Jahresh. Österr. Arch. Inst.* 46, 1961-1963, 208 f.; BROUGHTON (n. 4) 421.

[33] Analyses and comparative material for gifts of similar kind in DOBESCH (n. 2) 137-146.

[34] See DOBESCH (n. 2) 146-151.

[35] G. DOBESCH, Zum hospitium publicum zwischen Rom und dem Regnum Noricum. *Römisches Österreich* 4, 1976, 17-37; *idem* (n. 2) 285 ff.

[36] Cf. R. GÖBL, *Typologie und Chronologie der keltischen Münzprägung in Noricum.* Österr. Akad. Wiss. Phil. Hist. Kl. Denkschr. 113 (Wien 1973), especially 53-66, who postulated the existence of more or less independent mint-masters, an alliance of kings.

[37] DOBESCH (n. 2) 179.

ab regulo Gallorum — Balanos ipsius traditur nomen, gentis ex qua fuerit, non traditur — Romam venerunt pollicentes ad Macedonicum bellum auxilia). The Senate, however, did not accept the king's offer, although the latter was highly rewarded with costly gifts. The mere one year difference between Cincibilus and Balanos would indicate the existence of another small kingdom, rather than suggest that Balanos would have been the successor of Cincibilus.[38] An additional indication of two different political structures could be Livy's claim that the name of Balanos' *gens* had not been recorded — as if he wanted to say that these were not the usual well-known *Galli transalpini*.

IV

It may or may not be claimed that the hundred and fifty years of Roman occupation in the Venetic-Carnic area prior to Caesar should be considered primarily as social history,[39] and it is questionable to what extent this was »the story of a rapid Romanization taking place behind a relatively calm frontier«.[40] Much more fighting must have been involved in conquering new lands and gradually extending the northeastern frontiers of the Cisalpina than is reflected in the extant sources. The evidence is scattered, scarce, and indecisive. Dyson wrongly noted that in 156 BC, C. Marcius Figulus set out from Aquileia for his campaign against the Pannonians.[41] He is known to have fought against the Delmatae and no doubt led his army to Dalmatia across the sea. There is also the mysterious Cornelius, briefly mentioned by Appian (*Illyr.* 14) — and only by him — as having unsuccessfully fought against the Pannonians. His total defeat echoed throughout Italy and spread such fear of the Pannonians among the Italians that in future no consul dared start a campaign in Pannonia. Zippel identified him as Cn. Dolabella (cos. 159), or L. Lentulus Lupus (cos. 156), as the only two Cornelii who could have possibly fought in Pannonia before 119 BC,[42] the date of the campaign against the Segestani of L. Metellus and L. Aurelius Cotta (App., *Illyr.* 10. 30),[43] although there is no mention in their careers of any such action. The year 156 is usually noted as the first encounter of the Romans with the Pannonians, which would have occured in the context of the Roman war with the Scordisci.[44] Dobiáš supposed that Appian used a Greek source for this episode, since an utter defeat of the Romans was admitted without being veiled, and the consul was only noted by his family name; in his opinion it is impossible to date it.[45] Although in strictly linguistic terms the text does not say that Cornelius was a consul, the internal logic of the sentence seems to suggest that Appian's Cornelius was a consul. Gwyn Morgan's tentative proposals to identify him with the *praetor* in Macedonia, P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Serapio, and the Pannonians with the Scordisci, are based entirely on hypothetical premises; thus his study cannot offer sound historical conclusions. It could hardly be argued that Appian would name the Scordisci as Pannonians, since he specifically distinguished between these two peoples. If anything, Appian would have used for the Scordisci the general name of the Illyrians, and the only nation with which they could theoretically have been confused would have been the Thracians.[46]

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[38] DOBESCH (n. 2) 158-165.

[39] G. A. MANSUELLI, *I Cisalpini* (Firenze 1963) 57. Cf. for various aspects of Romanization F. SARTORI, La Cisalpina nell'ultimo secolo della repubblica. In: *Catullo e Sirmione. Società e cultura della Cisalpina alle soglie dell'impero.* Ed. N. Criniti (Brescia 1994) 9-25.

[40] DYSON (n. 28) 74.

[41] DYSON (n. 28) 74, citing *MRR* I 447.

[42] ZIPPEL (n. 6) 133 ff.

[43] M. GWYN MORGAN, »Lucius Cotta and Metellus«: Roman Campaigns in Illyria during the late second century. *Athenaeum* 49, 1971, 271-301, who identified L. Metellus not as cos. 119, but 117.

[44] A. MÓCSY, Pannonia in: RE *Suppl.* IX (1962) 527-528.

[45] J. DOBIÁŠ, *Studie k Appianové knize illyrské. Études sur le livre illyrien d'Appien* (Pragae 1930) 176-178 (285).

[46] PAPAZOGLU (n. 30) 345-354.

Thus 119 BC remains the first certain date in the history of the conquest of Pannonia, although Appian reported — the data derived from Augustus' Memoirs — that twice before Octavian the Romans had fought against the Segestani (*Illyr.* 22). It should be noted in passing that the unidentified military action in the territory of the Segestani, possibly under a Cornelius, may perhaps be identified with a war against the Pannonians mentioned by Polybius in his frg. 64, which is unfortunately preserved without context, and in which, however, the Romans are not explicitly named. Aquileia, whose inhabitants must have been very much interested in gaining influence and creating a stable situation in their hinterland, must have been a starting point for any military actions in the direction of Siscia. It is therefore not surprising to hear of earlier military campaigns against the Taurisci, Carni, Histri and Iapodes in 129 BC under C. Sempronius Tuditanus,[47] and in 115 BC against the Carni under Aemilius Scaurus (*CIL* I, 1, 2nd ed. p. 49 = *In. It.* 13, 1, p. 84-85 frg. 36).[48]

In the hundred years before the accession of Caesar, the economic development of the Norican kingdom and its strategic role as a protector of Roman interests in the Alpine and Transalpine regions were only briefly troubled by the invasion of the Cimbri in 113 BC. The general prosperity and economic importance of the Norican kingdom is best reflected in the growth of the *oppidum* at Magdalensberg, which in the late 2nd century BC became the most important native centre and Roman trading settlement, compared — *mutatis mutandis* — to the settlement of Italian merchants on Delos.[49] Interesting light is shed by such scattered evidence as the tombstone of Popaius Senator, if it is both genuine and correctly dated to ca. 100 BC.[50]

During the Republic, the Romans were not at all interested in conquering the Norican kingdom, rather it was convenient for them to control it by maintaining a good relationship with the Norican king. However, it was vital for them to closely supervise and gradually subdue the dangerous transitional area which connected the Balkans with Italy and led through the Emona basin and Nauportus across the Ocra pass to Tergeste and Aquileia. There are several indications to suggest that Cisalpina (a province from 89? to 42 BC, afterwards part of Italy, App., *Bell. civ.* V 3; 22; III 30; Dio 48. 12),[51] gradually extended over the Ocra pass to include not only the Karst hinterland of Tergeste, but also the Postojna gates and Nauportus with the Emona basin.[52] By the time of Caesar's proconsulate in Gallia Cisalpina and Illyricum (the provinces were assigned to him in 59 BC), Nauportus was organized as a Roman *vicus* governed by two *magistri vici*, of whom four are known by name, all four being freedmen, most probably of trading families from Aquileia (the Annaei, Fabii, Petronii, and Fulginates, whose ultimate provenience is not quite clear, probably Fulginae).[53] In Emona, too, Italian settlers are documented as early as perhaps the

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[47] G. BANDELLI, Contributo all'interpretazione del cosiddetto *elogium* di C. Sempronio Tuditano. In: *Aquileia repubblicana e imperiale.* Antichità Altoadr. 35 (Udine 1989) 111-131.

[48] For both campaigns also see ŠAŠEL (n. 20) 79-81 (= 416-422).

[49] R. EGGER, *Die Stadt auf dem Magdalensberg - ein Grosshandelsplatz.* Österr. Akad. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl., Denkschr. 79 (Wien 1961); G. PICCOTTINI, Die Stadt auf dem Magdalensberg - ein spätkeltisches und frührömisches Zentrum im südlichen Noricum in: ANRW II 6 (Berlin, New York 1977), 263-301.

[50] E. WEBER, Zur lateinischen Epigraphik in Österreich 1902-1975. *Römisches Österreich* 3, 1975, 281-283; see also G. SUSINI, Popaius Senator. In: *Scritti storico-epigrafici in memoria di Marcello Zambelli* = Università di Macerata. Publ. Fac. lett. fil. 5 (Roma 1978) 343-353.

[51] For different opinions on dates see J. FITZ, *Die Verwaltung Pannoniens in der Römerzeit* I (Budapest 1993) 23-25, and especially F. SARTORI, La Cisalpina nell'ultimo secolo della repubblica. In: *Catullo e Sirmione. Società e cultura della Cisalpina alle soglie dell'impero.* Ed. N. Criniti (Brescia 1994) 16 ff.

[52] ŠAŠEL (n. 20) 81 (= 422); *idem*, Zur Frühgeschichte der XV. Legion und zur Nordostgrenze der Cisalpina zur Zeit Caesars in: *Römische Geschichte, Altertumskunde und Epigraphik. Festschrift für Artur Betz zur Vollendung seines 80. Lebensjahres* = Archäologisch-epigraphische Studien 1 (Wien 1985) 547-555 (= *Opera selecta*, 469-477); neutrally considered by FITZ (n. 51) 11-12, but ultimately not accepted, see p. 19.

[53] M. ŠAŠEL KOS, Nauportus: Antični literarni in epigrafski viri. Nauportus: Literary and Epigraphical Sources. In: J. HORVAT, *Nauportus (Vrhnika)* (Ljubljana 1990) 28 (pp. 154-155).

period of Caesar (the Caesernii).[54] It is difficult to say to what extent this area had been occupied in the course of Caesar's proconsulate, as some of it may have been controlled and/or conquered even earlier. There is no doubt, however, that Caesar planned to campaign against the Dacian state ruled by Burebista, who had dangerously extended it as far as the later Pannonia, and by having crushed the coalition of the Boii and the Taurisci, seriously threatened both the Norican kingdom and the Roman state.[55]

The Roman extension of Cisalpina in the northeastern direction is also well documented archaeologically. The earliest finds of Graeco-Roman amphorae of the 2nd century BC were discovered at Sermin (the region of Capris, present-day Koper/Capodistria), an important settlement in northern Histria not far from Tergeste. Towards the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 1st centuries BC, up to the Augustan period, Italic black slipped pottery and amphorae of Lamboglia 2 type were further found in the Razdrto area (Mandrga and Preval), in the region of the Ocra pass. Italic pottery typical of the mid 1st century BC was discovered together with native La Tène pottery at Nauportus and Emona.[56]

V

Octavian's military campaigns in Illyricum may be considered as the next, and perhaps decisive, phase in the conquest of the future provinces of Pannonia and Dalmatia, decisive not so much in the sense of conquering extensive new territories, such as the Pannonian hinterland of the future province of Dalmatia, the regions of the Daesitiatae, Maezaei, Ditiones, Breuci, and others, but rather more in the sense of a continuation of Caesar's frontier policy in Cisalpina and Illyricum, the protection of northern Italy, and perhaps already in the sense of a systematic conquest of Illyricum. Important and major Pannonian peoples had most probably not been directly attacked and conquered at that time, despite the analyses of Swoboda and Vulić, who ascribed to Octavian the military conquest of much of present-day Bosnia.[57]

It is not entirely clear how to assess correctly Octavian's achievements in Illyricum because it is not known to what extent the military conquest should be ascribed to Octavian and how much was achieved by Tiberius during his Pannonian war (12-9 BC, although the uprisings had already begun in 14 BC), after which most of the territory of the subsequent provinces of Pannonia and Dalmatia came under Roman authority, and Illyricum (then the name of the province governed by a *legatus Augusti pro praetore*, commanding five legions) extended as far as the Danube (*Mon. Ancyr.* 30: *Pannoniorum gentes, qua[s a]nte me principem populi Romani exercitus nunquam adit, devictas per Ti. [Ne]ronem, qui tum erat privignus et legatus meus, imperio populi*

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[54] M. ŠAŠEL KOS, The 15th legion at Emona - Some Thoughts. *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 109, 1995, 235-236.

[55] G. DOBESCH, Zur Chronologie des Dakerkönigs Burebista. In: R. GÖBL, *Die Hexadrachmenprägung der Gross-Boier. Ablauf, Chronologie und historische Relevanz für Noricum und Nachbargebiete* (Wien 1994) 51-68.

[56] J. HORVAT, Ausbreitung römischer Einflüsse auf das Südostalpengebiet in voraugusteischer Zeit. In: *Provinzialrömische Forschungen. Festschrift für Günter Ulbert zum 65. Geburtstag*. Espelkamp 1995, 25-40; see also V. VIDRIH PERKO, Il quadro della romanizzazione nei territori dell'attuale Slovenia secondo gli scavi degli ultimi cinque anni e le più recenti indagini sui materiali. In: *Lungo la via dell'Ambra. Apporti altoadriatici alla romanizzazione dei territori del Medio Danubio (I sec. a.C. - I sec. d.C.)* (Atti del Convegno di Studio, Udine-Aquileia 16-17 settembre 1994, ed. M. Buora) (Udine 1996), 313-326 (this reference was added immediately prior to press).

[57] E. SWOBODA, *Octavian und Illyricum* (Parerga 1) (Wien 1932); N. VULIĆ, The Illyrian War of Octavian. *Journal Roman Stud.* 24, 1934, 163-167; cf. also S. JOSIFOVIČ, Oktavijanovo ratovanje u Iliriku. Der illyrische Feldzug Octavians. *Živa antika* 6, 1956, 138-165; opinions *pro* and *contra* are cited by W. SCHMITTHENNER in his basic study of Octavian's wars in Illyricum: Octavians militärische Unternehmungen in den Jahren 35-33 v. Chr. *Historia* 7, 1958, 189-236; cf. ŠAŠEL KOS (n. 11) 128-145; T. NAGY, Die Okkupation Pannoniens durch die Römer in der Zeit des Augustus. *Acta Arch. Acad. Scien. Hungaricae* 43, 1991, 57-85 (some of his reconstructions of historical events are based on too hypothetical premises and are therefore not necessarily correct).

Romani s[ubie]ci protulique fines Illyrici ad ripam fluminis Danuvii).[58] The text may imply that there were some Pannonian peoples which had not been conquered before Tiberius.

Just before the outbreak of the Pannonian war, Dio reported for the year 16 BC that »the Pannonians together with the Norici invaded Histria and were subdued by Silius and his legates« (P. Silius Nerva, cos. 20 BC, proconsul of Illyricum in 17 and 16 BC, cf. *CIL* III 2973 from Aenona in which he is called *patronus*), adding that the Pannonian incursion caused the Norici to fall into the same dependence that had earlier overtaken the Pannonians (... καὶ τοῖς Νωρίκοις αἴτιοι τῆς αὐτῆς δουλείας ἐγένοντο: 54. 20. 2). Appian, who must have overlooked these data in the historical literature he used, or possibly did not use the right sources, stated that in his opinion the Raeti and Norici were conquered either by Julius Caesar in the course of his Gallic wars, or else by Augustus during the war against the Pannonians, since they are situated between the two. He could find no information concerning separate campaigns against the two mentioned peoples (29. 84: Ῥαιτοὺς μὲν οὖν καὶ Νωρικοὺς ἡγοῦμαι Γάιον Καίσαρα πολεμοῦντα Κελτοῖς ἐπιλαβεῖν, ἢ τὸν Σεβαστὸν χειρούμενον Παίονας· ἐν μέσῳ γάρ εἰσιν ἀμφοτέρων, καὶ οὐδὲν ἦρον ἴδιον ἐς Ῥαιτοὺς ἢ Νωρικοὺς γενόμενον·). The data in Dio and Appian are supplemented by Strabo (IV 6. 8-9 C 206), who mentioned among several other peoples certain Norici who dwelt in the districts round about Aquileia, and the Taurisci, who also belonged to the Norici; these were all stopped by Tiberius and Drusus from making incursions into Italy. Velleius, too, specifically stated that Tiberius subdued the Norici in addition to the Raeti, Vindelici, Pannonians, and Scordisci (II 39. 3: *Raetiam autem et Vindelicos ac Noricos Pannoniamque et Scordiscos novas imperio nostro subiunxit provincias* ...; but see II 104. 5; II 95. 2, where the Norici are not mentioned; cf. also Festus, *brev.* 7: *sub Iulio Octaviano Caesare Augusto per Alpes iter factum est, Alpinis omnibus victis Noricorum provinciae accesserunt*; Florus' account of the *bellum Noricum* in which he described the subjugation of Raetia and the Vindelici, II 22 [IV 22]). These data combined with scattered evidence from other ancient sources make it perfectly clear that on the one hand the formerly independent Norican kingdom lost its independence, and on the other that this most probably occurred without war having been waged against it, but rather in a form of annexation which should most probably be dated to 15 BC.[59] The invading Norici must have been a people who were settled in close proximity to Histria, most probably the Ambisontes — if their location along the Aesontius is accepted —[60] which figured as the only one of the Norican peoples among the *gentes Alpinae devictae* on the inscription of La Turbie, set up in 7 or 6 BC,[61] probably offering a welcome pretext to the Romans for the annexation of the kingdom in its entirety. Independent minting of Norican tetradrachmas ended ca. 16-15 BC.[62] A kind of annexation may also be assumed for those districts of northern and western Pannonia which were more or less dependent on the Norican kingdom, or under its strong influence after the defeat inflicted upon the Boii and Taurisci by the Dacians. Fitz has very plausibly argued that these areas could not have been considered as being inhabited by »Pannonians in the broad sense of the word«,[63] but were actually Celtic.[64]

The arguments of Kneissl, who attempted to elaborate an old thesis of Zippel's and prove that the kingdom had remained more or less independent until it was organized as a province

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[58] E. TÓTH, »... protulique fines Illyrici ad ripam fluminis Danuvii.«. *Arh. Vestnik* 28, 1977, 278-287; on the purpose of the »Res gestae«, see E. S. RAMAGE, *The nature and purpose of Augustus' »Res gestae«*. Hist. Einzelschr. 54 (Stuttgart 1987).

[59] DOBESCH (n. 17).

[60] See n. 17.

[61] ŠAŠEL (n. 17).

[62] GÖBL (n. 36) 63; P. KOS, *Keltski novci Slovenije. Keltische Münzen Sloweniens* = Situla 18 (Ljubljana 1977) 20.

[63] Thus A. MÓCSY, Illyricum északi határa Claudius előtt. Die Nordgrenze Illyricums vor Claudius. *Arch. Ért.* 106, 1979, 185.

[64] FITZ (n. 51) 14; see also *idem,* Noricum und Pannonien zur Zeit der römischen Okkupation. *Röm. Österreich* 17-18, 1989-1990, 79-86.

under Claudius, are untenable, being contradicted by the extant literary evidence, strategic reasons, as well as epigraphic data. *Immunitas*, awarded to C. Iulius Vepo from Celeia along with citizenship (*CIL* III 5232), no doubt for special merits during the Augustan conquest of the south-eastern Alpine area, would not have had much sense in an independent Norican kingdom. His tombstone, erected by himself during his lifetime in an entirely Romanized manner, presupposes the existence of a stonecarving workshop, an already developed stone-cutting craft and sufficient knowledge and distribution of Latin. It can further be concluded that measured grave parcels existed outside the town of Celeia, which would require some organization to provide such services, i.e. a local government that oversaw the affairs of the already Romanized society, »who respected privileges and knew how to appreciate them«.[65]

Furthermore, a small vexillation of the Pannonian legion VIII Augusta was stationed in the Augustan period at Magdalensberg (*CIL* III 4858 = *ILS* 2466) which, together with a detachment of the *cohors Montanorum prima* (*CIL* III 4847; R. Egger, *Carinthia* I 143, 1953, 928-929, probably raised in Noricum under Augustus),[66] constituted perhaps the most important garrison in the country; the presence of Roman soldiers is attested elsewhere in Noricum.[67] Evidence proving beyond all doubt that Noricum had actually been annexed before Claudius, i.e. most probably under Augustus, are the two moulds recently discovered at Magdalensberg, carved into two marble slabs, large enough to produce gold bars weighing 5.60 and 14.50 kgs (17 and 44 *librae* respectively), manufactured in the name of Caius Caesar (Caligula: *(aurum) C(aii) Caesaris Aug(usti) Germanici imp(eratoris) ex Noric(is metallis)*).[68]

VI

In AD 6-9, the great Pannonian-Dalmatian rebellion once again totally shattered Roman authority in Illyricum. It was quelled by Tiberius and it seems not at all to have affected Noricum, except perhaps some of those parts which were later attached to Pannonia. While life in Noricum developed in tranquility, Illyricum was a devastated land which had to recover under massive military supervision. However, both Noricum and the Pannonian part of Illyricum (the future province of Dalmatia will not be considered in this study) were more or less densely settled prior to the arrival of the Romans. How old and how important were the pre-existing settlements and which of them deserved the designation of a town, cannot be established with certainty, since many factors played a role in the more or less successful development of a settlement. Besides the obvious economic conditions, there were extraordinary factors which are only rarely taken into account, such as various natural catastrophes and epidemics. The latter may have enormously affected either animals or people, or both, and may have caused major depopulations not unlike the devastations due to pestilence in the middle ages. The *deserta regna pastorum* mentioned by Virgil (*Georg.* 470-481) may be interpreted as large deserted areas within some of the Norican eastern Alpine regions in the hinterland of the Timavus, caused by an (animal) plague at the end of the 5th or in the 4th centuries BC.[69] This is further confirmed by a total lack of pre-Celtic names in

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[65] J. ŠAŠEL, C. Iulius Vepo (*CIL* III 5232 Celeia, Nor.). *Živa antika* 4, 1954, 346-363 (= *Opera selecta*. 31-43); quotation *ib.*, 43.

[66] J. ŠAŠEL, Cohors I Montanorum. *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms III* = Forsch. Ber. Vor- u. Frühgesch. Baden-Württemberg 20 (Stuttgart 1986) 782-786 (= *Opera selecta*. 478-482).

[67] ALFÖLDY (n. 10) 64-66.

[68] G. PICCOTTINI, Gold und Kristall am Magdalensberg. *Germania* 72, 1994, 467-477.

[69] J. ŠAŠEL, Deserta regna pastorum (Verg., *Georg.* 3.476-477). *Gabrovčev zbornik* = Situla 20-21 (Ljubljana1980) 421-430 (= *Opera selecta*. 514-521); explained largely as fictitious by H. GRASSL, Zur »norischen Viehseuche« bei Vergil. *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 125, 1982, 67-77; however, an outbreak of a devastating plague may well be postulated for the prehistoric period, even if it cannot be identified with the desease mentioned by Virgil.

certain areas where these could be expected, such as Upper Carniola, several areas in the region of the Norici and their neighbours, the Taurisci (Poetovio), in the region of Savaria, the Latobici, Colapiani, and others.[70] A desolation could have also been caused by wars, such as was the case of *deserta Boiorum*.

Factors of an economic nature, related to the exploitation of natural resources and to trade, were undoubtedly the most important for the development of settlements, as well as those of a geo-political nature, determining the location of a settlement at an important crossroads, at a confluence of two rivers, or only along an ancient trade route or a navigable river, or both. Roads and caravan tracks that were important at an earlier period may have lost their significance in changed political situation, but certain vital lines of communication retained their importance throughout antiquity. One such was undoubtedly the route across Illyricum, connecting the Black Sea regions with Italy, which was largely a riparian route along the rivers Danube, Sava and Ljubljanica — and thence by land to Histria and Italy — mentioned by Strabo (IV 6. 10 C 207) and reflected in the legend of the Argonauts (Pliny, *N. h.* III 128). The prehistoric trade along these rivers may certainly be regarded as the historical kernel of the legend.

Settlements along these rivers, such as Sirmium, Siscia, Andautonia, Emona, and Nauportus, had all been ancient prehistoric settlements, as is indicated by their names, even if the archaeological finds do not always directly confirm their importance (Fig. 2). Sirmium lay at the confluence of the rivers Savus (Sava) and Bacuntius (= Bosut, Plin., *N. h.* III 148: *Alter amnis Bacuntius in Savum Sirmio oppido influit, ubi civitas Sirmiensium et Amantinorum*. Bacuntius may be a corrupted reading: perhaps more correctly *Bas(s)untius*?).[71] Graf wrongly noted a legend allegedly reported by Plutarch (*Alex.* 11) that Sirmium received its name from the Triballian king Syrmos,[72] who would have had it built. Actually Plutarch (*ib.*, 11.5) only mentioned Alexander's campaign agains Syrmos, whom Alexander defeated at the Danube. It seems that nothing remained of the story but the coincidental similarity of both names, which, however, may not be totally coincidental. The epichoric village of Sirmium must have borne an ancient name, defined as Illyrian by Mayer,[73] but it may well be Thracian, since a toponym Sermulia is undoubtedly attested in Thrace,[74] as is in general the well documented element *ser- / sir-*.[75] Its prehistoric phase is not well defined archaeologically.[76] A larger prehistoric settlement for which Sirmium would have been a port and a trade station may have been situated at an elevated, better protected locality. By the time of the Pannonian-Dalmatian revolt Sirmium was already an important Roman stronghold (Cass. Dio 55. 29. 3: καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ Βρεῦκοι Παννονικὸν ἔθνος, Βάτωνα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἕτερον προστησάμενοι, ἐπί τε τὸ Σίρμιον καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ Ῥωμαίους ὥρμησαν. ...), which is surprising since it could be expected that the insurgent military headquarters would have been based in it. It is an indication of how limited our knowledge is, since the military and political events that had led to such a historical situation are entirely unknown to us.

Siscia = Segest(ic)a was one of the most important Hallstatt period and Celtic trading centres and harbours, as it was located at the confluence of the rivers Savus (Sava) and Colapis (Kupa). It was the centre of the region of the Segestani, also known as Sisciani, and closely connected with the Colapiani, who must have extended west of Siscia.[77] The name Segestica, which is

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[70] ŠAŠEL, *ib.*

[71] Thus RE, *s.v.*, and linguists in general.

[72] A. GRAF, *Übersicht der antiken Geographie von Pannonien.* Diss. Pann. ser. I, 5 (Budapest 1936) 55; he noted the name erroneously as Syrmios.

[73] A. MAYER, *Die Sprache der alten Illyrier* I (Wien 1957); 307; II (Wien 1959) 103-104; cf. GRAF (n. 72).

[74] I am indebted to Dr. R. Matasović, who drew my attention to it; see D. DETSCHEW, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste* = Schr. Balkankomm., Ling. Abt. 14 (Wien 1957) 432-433.

[75] DETSCHEW (n. 74) 448-449; cf. R. KATIČIĆ, *Ancient Languages of the Balkans* I = Trends in Linguistics State-of-the Art Reports 4 (The Hague, Paris 1976) 144.

[76] M. MIRKOVIĆ, Sirmium - its History from the I Century A.D. to 582 A.D. In: *Sirmium* I (Beograd 1971) 6, 8-10.

[77] A. MÓCSY, *Die Bevölkerung von Pannonien bis zu den Markomannenkriegen* (Budapest 1959) 24-26; J. Šašel, Siscia. In: RE *Suppl.* XIV (1974), 702 ff. (= *Opera selecta*. 600 ff.).

the adjective derived from Segesta, has been variously defined as Illyrian,[78] Latin,[79] and Celtic (or Ligurian),[80] of which the last mentioned option seems to me to correspond better than the other two to the historical development. The ancient »Illyrian« (that is to say: Pannonian) settlement may have developed at Pogorelec on the river Colapis where Hallstatt period remains have recently been discovered,[81] but it must have mainly flourished during the La Tène period, while Siscia may be a Pannonian or a Celtic toponym,[82] referring to a different site within the same area; this latter name was directly taken over by the Romans and later by the Slavs. Šašel placed the original Siscia closer to the river Sava, where it developed as a settlement that was conditioned by the ancient river traffic along this river.[83] Strabo's text, however, may be misleading since it is implied in it that both settlements lay at a certain distance from one another (VII 5. 2 C 314: 'Εγγὺς δὲ τῆς Σεγεστικῆς ἐστι καὶ ἡ Σισκία φρούριον καὶ Σίρμιον, ἐν ὁδῷ κείμεναι τῇ εἰς 'Ιταλίαν).

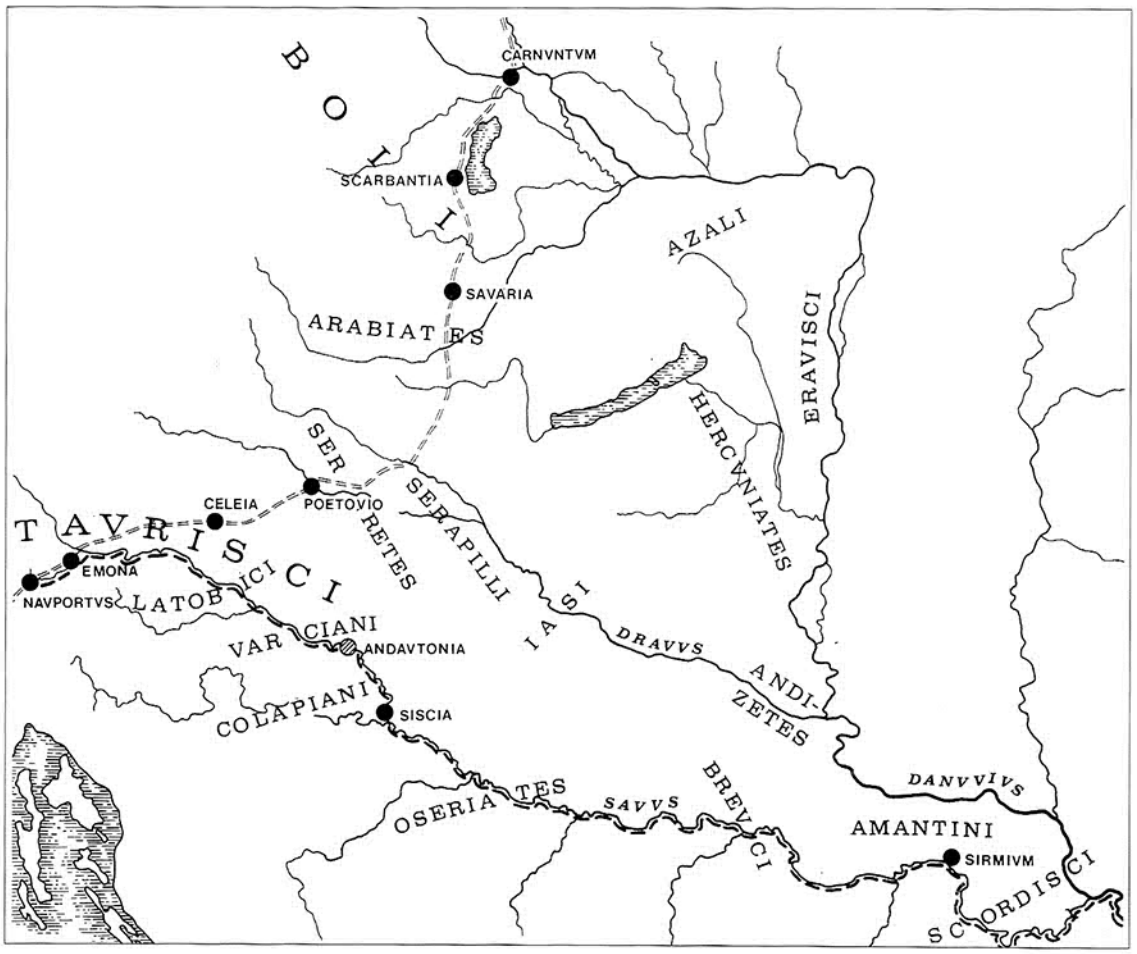

Fig. 2 Pannonian tribes and peoples, and towns situated along the Amber Route and the route along the Savus and Emona Rivers.

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[78] MAYER (n. 73) I 308.

[79] A. ERNOUT/A. MEILLET, *Dictionnaire étimologique de la langue latine* (Paris 1932) 880, *s.v.* seges.

[80] A. HOLDER, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* II (Leipzig 1904; repr. 1962) 1439-1440.

[81] A. DURMAN, O geostrateškom položaju Siscije. On Geostrategic Location of Siscia. *Opuscula archaeologica* 16, 1992, 120.

[82] MAYER (n. 78); HOLDER (n. 80) II 1584-1587, s.v.

[83] ŠAŠEL (n. 77) 704-707: in his opinion the linguistic interpretation of both names should be exactly the opposite.

Andautonia (present-day Ščitarjevo) was a less important settlement, a harbour, reloading and raft-station on the Sava, situated on the road connecting Siscia with Poetovio and not on the land route Sirmium - Emona. It must have undoubtedly been at least of a limited significance in the prehistoric period, as is testified by its name and location, although this does not seem to be confirmed by the archaeological finds. A prehistoric Andautonia, a centre of the Varciani,[84] must have been located elsewhere, less exposed to inundations, but no such site has so far been discovered. Its name is noted in *It. Ant.* (266. 2) as Dautonia, but the given distances correspond well to Ščitarjevo and the possibility of the existence of two settlements, situated one opposite the other on the two banks of the Sava has rightly been rejected.[85] The name may be Pannonian, pre-Celtic (cf. Andetrium near Salonae, the Andizetes?); it was defined as Illyrian by Mayer,[86] but it is listed as Celtic by Holder.[87] A hypothesis has cautiously been put forward that the name may have been Venetic;[88] personal names with the element *and-* are actually attested in the Venetic regions.[89]

Emona was an important settlement from the period of the Urnfield Culture onwards, as is indicated by a large cemetery in the courtyard of the Academy of Sciences and Arts. The corresponding settlement was discovered some years ago on Castle Hill, and traces of the subsequent La Tčne settlement have recently been excavated in the area of Gornji trg (Upper Market) on the right bank of the Ljubljanica River (the ancient name of this river was either Emona or Nauportus), opposite the site of the later Roman city. Its name is of a northern Adriatic type, such as the names of towns with the suffix *-ona*, like Verona, Cremona, Flanona, Alvona, Promona (but also Narona and Salonae further south).[90] Its La Tčne period settlers must have been the Taurisci, as was the case at Nauportus, which as late as the Augustan period was a much more important settlement in the region, almost at the level of a town (*municipii instar*, Tac., *Ann.* I 20. 1). The *variae lectiones* of its name, preserved in the different Strabonic manuscripts are *Pamporton* and *Nauponton*: they may indicate that the name Nauportus had not been accurately taken over by the Romans; they seem to have partly adapted the pre-Celtic name according to their linguistic feeling, as is seen in the second part of the word, *portus*. The settlement, which gained its fame as a reloading station (goods coming from Aquileia on wagons were reloaded there onto boats and transported to the Danubian regions: Strabo IV 6. 10 C 207), and may have been a Tauriscan customs post,[91] was expressly mentioned in a late version of the Argonauts' legend reported by Pliny (*N. h.* III 128).[92] The importance of both Emona and Nauportus in the prehistoric period is further reflected in the worship of the local goddess Aequorna, who may have been of Etruscan origin.[93]

All the mentioned settlements along the Savus and Emona Rivers retained their importance during the Roman Empire, with the exception of Nauportus which was entirely overshadowed by the proximity of Emona, probably also due to the fact that the latter was included within Italy, additionally diminishing the significance of the geo-political position of Nauportus.

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[84] MÓCSY (n. 77) 21-24; ŠAŠEL, Andautonia. In: RE *Suppl.* XII (1970), 71-75 (= *Opera selecta*. 580-582).

[85] ŠAŠEL (n. 84) 73; cf., however, GRAF (n. 72) 62.

[86] MAYER (n. 73) I 43; II 36: interpreted from the root *daut-* with the meaning of a stream, a river, to flow, which, however, is highly hypothetical.

[87] HOLDER (n. 80) I 139; R. MATASOVIĆ (in a letter) would also suggest a Celtic origin of the name.

[88] ŠAŠEL (n. 84) 72.

[89] J. UNTERMANN, *Die venetischen Personennamen* (Wiesbaden 1961) § 167, and n. 201; § 197; § 208; Virgil's birthplace Andes?

[90] A. DEGRASSI, *Il confine nord-orientale dell'Italia romana.* Diss. Bernenses 1, 6, 1954, 109.

[91] ŠAŠEL (n. 11).

[92] Cf. ŠAŠEL KOS (n. 53) 143-148.

[93] M. ŠAŠEL KOS, Boginja Ekorna v Emoni. The Goddess Aecorna in Emona. *Zgod. čas.* 46, 1992, 5-12.

VII

Another internationally important — if we may say so — prehistoric trade communication was the old Amber Route along which, again, Nauportus and Emona were stations of some importance, and which further led through Celeia, Poetovio, Savaria, and Scarbantia to Carnuntum, and across the Danube further to the north (Fig. 2).[94] These settlements must have originally all belonged to the Norican kingdom: that Carnuntum belonged to Noricum is specifically attested by Velleius Paterculus (II 109. 5: *A Carnunto, qui locus Norici regni ...*). For Poetovio this is assumed indirectly, since after the reforms of Diocletian it belonged administratively to Noricum Mediterraneum; for Savaria and Scarbantia, however, it has been assumed on the basis of Pliny's formulation: *Noricis iunguntur lacus Peiso, deserta Boiorum, iam tamen colonia divi Claudi Sabaria et oppido Scarabantia Iulia habitantur* (*N. h.* III 146).[95] They all retained their importance under the Empire. Celeia, its name being almost certainly pre-Celtic,[96] like Noreia, had been one of the centres of the Norican kingdom, with its own mint,[97] most probably situated at Miklavški hrib. Poetovio, too, bears a pre-Celtic name, like other »Illyrian« toponyms ending in *-avio*,[98] while Holder's classification of the name among Celtic toponyms seems less likely.[99] In the La Tčne period it must have been a Tauriscan settlement,[100] probably situated at Panorama and Grajski grič, since many Norican settlements were located on elevated positions (*Norica ... castella in tumulis*, Virg., *Georg.* III 474-475); the names of its known epichoric inhabitants, however, are mainly Celtic.[101] Whether or not Poetovio was located in the region of the Serretes and Sirapilli, for whom it is only known that they were settled along the river Dravus (Pliny, *N. h.* III 147), remains uncertain.

The name of Savaria is listed as »Illyrian« (i.e. pre-Celtic) by Mayer,[102] and related to the names of the rivers Savus and Saouarias, the latter mentioned by Ptolemaeus (II 15. 1) as the name of the river which flows past Savaria. The name of a village known from the Savaria region, Voleucini (*CIL* VI 3300 = Speidel, *Die Denkmäler der Kaiserreiter — Equites singulares Augusti*, 1994, no. 658),[103] may also indicate a former pre-Celtic settlement of the region which is archaeologically best defined by the Hallstatt period settlement at Velem-Szentvid, a flourishing Celtic *oppidum* with its own mint in the first three centuries BC.[104] Part of the region was settled by the Boii;[105] its development was greatly advanced by the alliance between them and the Taurisci, under the leadership of the former.[106] Archaeological investigations have not revealed any traces

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[94] *Lungo la via dell'Ambra. Apporti altoadriatici alla romanizzazione dei territori del Medio Danubio (I sec. a.C. - I sec. d.C.)* Atti del Convegno di Studio, Udine-Aquileia 16-17 settembre 1994, ed. M. Buora (Udine 1996). This reference has been added just before the article went to press.

[95] See A. ALFÖLDY, *CAH* XI, 540-541, where Savaria and Scarbantia are also noted; and FITZ, *Röm. Österreich* (n. 63) 82-84.

[96] ŠAŠEL, Celeia. In: RE *Suppl.* XII (1970) 139 (= *Opera selecta*. 583).

[97] KOS (n. 62), 35 ff.

[98] Thus according to H. KRAHE, *Die alten balkanillyrischen geographischen Namen* (Heidelberg 1925) 75, and MAYER (n. 73) I 277; cf. GRAF (n. 72) 60.

[99] HOLDER (n. 80) II 1026; cf. SARIA, RE XXI 1, 1168.

[100] D. BOŽIČ, O latenskih najdbah na območju Ptuja. Concerning the La Tène Finds in the Ptuj Area. In: *Ptujski arheološki zbornik* (Ptuj 1993) 189-204.

[101] M. LOVENJAK, *Arh. Vestnik* 45, 1994, 139-140.

[102] MAYER (n. 73) I 296-297; II 101-102.

[103] MAYER (n. 73) I 361.

[104] K. v. MISKE, *Die prähistorische Ansiedelung Velem St. Vid* (Wien 1908); M. SZABÓ/J. P. GUILLAUMET/V. CSERMÉNY, Fouilles franco-hongroises à Velem-Szentvid: recherches sur la fortification laténienne. *Acta Arch. Acad. Scien. Hungaricae* 46, 1994, 107-126.

[105] MÓCSY (n. 77) 31-39.

[106] R. GÖBL, *Die Hexadrachmenprägung der Gross-Boier. Ablauf, Chronologie und historische Relevanz für Noricum und Nachbargebiete* (Wien 1994).

of a previous Celtic settlement at the site of the Roman Savaria; nonetheless the Roman town retained the earlier name of one of the nearby epichoric settlements. Romanization must have already progressed rather quickly during the late Augustan and early Tiberian periods, since the more distant Scarbantia bore the title *Iulia*, testifying to a colonization of veterans at the latest under Tiberius. In Savaria itself, the *Emonienses qui consistunt finibus Savariae* (*Die röm. Steindenkmäler von Savaria*, 70; cf. nos. 107 and 109) most probably settled in the town before it was elevated to the rank of a Roman colony under Claudius.

The name of Scarbantia was defined as »Illyrian« by Krahe,[107] containing the root *bant-*, such as Bantia in Lucania and Arribantion in Dardania.[108] The Celtic word *scara* (with presumed meanings of »scattered« or »separate« — a »scattered« or a »separate« settlement?) would have been added later;[109] however, the explanation of the toponym is quite uncertain. Recent excavations have revealed that the pre-Roman Celtic *oppidum* which must have borne the name of Scarbantia had been located two km southeast of the Celtic village, on the hills between the Ikva and Bánfalvi streams, surrounded by marshes.[110]

The name Carnuntum may well have been pre-Celtic, defined as »Illyrian« by Krahe and Mayer.[111] It is explained as being derived from the root *kar-* (a stone, a rock, rough), and the suffix *-nt-*,[112] such as is also observed in the name of Aguntum and which is characteristic of the earliest attested toponyms in the Balkans (cf. *Carnuntem munitam urbem* in Illyria, Liv. 47. 1. 2). Less likely are the explanations according to which the name would be related to the Carni who are noted uniquely by the *Dimensuratio provinciarum* to have been settled next to the Boii in the neighbourhood of Carnuntum ([Hieronymi Presbyteri] 18 in: *Geogr. Lat. min.*, ed. Riese, p. 12: *Illyricum et Panonia <finitur> ab oriente flumine Drino, ab occidente desertis, in quibus habitabant Boi et Carni, a septentrione flumine Danubio, a meridie mari Adriatico.*). The toponym may have been taken over from a prehistoric settlement at Braunsberg near Hainburg, or, more probably, from Devín across the Danube. As is indicated by the archaeological evidence, Braunsberg was destroyed in the course of the war between the Boii and Dacians ca. 40 BC; it is not entirely clear how to interpret the presumed discontinuity.[113] In 6 AD the site of Carnuntum was adopted as a military base by Tiberius, who had the first military camp built there during his preparations for the war against Maroboduus (Vell. Pat. II 109; 110. 1).[114]

As has just been shown, a number of toponyms and hydronyms seem to be pre-Celtic, notably all those situated along the ancient route along the rivers Savus and Emona — with the exception of Andautonia, the name of which may have also been Celtic — as well as those along the Amber Route. Another two that may be considered among towns with administrative autonomy (since research has been limited to these only) as being pre-Celtic in the province of Noricum are Aguntum and Noreia, the latter included here on account of its importance for denot-

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[107] KRAHE (n. 98) 82, 111.

[108] See also MAYER (n. 73) I 309-310.

[109] Z. MÁDY, Zwei pannonische Ortsnamen. *Acta Ant. Acad. Sc. Hung.* 14, 1966, 202-210; cf. HOLDER (n. 80) II 1395; GRAF (n. 72) 72-73.

[110] Cf. K. PÓCZY, Pannonian Cities. In: *The Archaeology of Roman Pannonia.* Ed. A. Lengyel/G. T. B. Radan (Lexington, Budapest 1980) 266; J. GÖMÖRI, Municipium Flavium Scarbantia. Nuovi scavi in una città commerciale situata lungo la via dell'ambra. In: *La Venetia nell'area padano-danubiana. Le vie di comunicazione. Convegno intern. Venezia 6-10 aprile 1988* (Padova 1990) 401-405.

[111] KRAHE (n. 98) 89; MAYER (n. 73) I 179-180; II 57-58.

[112] Opinions summarized by H. STIGLITZ in: H. STIGLITZ/M. KANDLER/W. JOBST, Carnuntum. In: ANRW II 6 (Berlin, New York 1977) 586; *eadem*, RE *Suppl.* XII (1970) 1575-1576.

[113] O. H. URBAN, *Keltische Höhensiedlungen an der mittleren Donau vom Linzer Becken bis zur Porta Hungarica.* 2. *Der Braunsberg* = Linzer Arch. Forsch. 23 (Linz 1995) 516; for the Boii in the Carnuntum area see E. SWOBODA, *Carnuntum. Seine Geschichte und seine Denkmäler* (Graz, Köln 1964[4]) 21-31; MÓCSY (n. 77) 49-52.

[114] D. GABLER, Zum Anfangsdatum des römischen Carnuntum. *Mitt. Ges. Freunde Carnuntums* 3, 1981, 2-32.

ing the kingdom and its inhabitants. The Celtic *oppidum* of Aguntum, which was founded in the region of the Laianci, is probably located at Breitegg, north of the church in Unternußdorf.[115] Certain names in the Lavant region, such as Clevvo, Veitor, Voltisema, Volusia (A. Gerstl, *Supplementum epigraphicum zu CIL III für Kärnten und Osttirol, 1902-1961*, 301; E. Weber, *Römisches Österreich* 3, 1975, 280-281; cf. *ILLPRON Indices, s.v.*), may indicate Venetic influence; certainly they belong to the northern Adriatic group of personal names as defined by Katičić.[116]

In the province of Noricum, however, the Celtic element is well attested not merely among personal names, but also in the toponymy. Among the towns with administrative autonomy, only Celeia and Aguntum may be classified as pre-Celtic, while all the others may be attributed to the Celtic newcomers, thus Teurnia, Virunum, Solva, Iuvavum, Ovilava, Lauriacum, and Cetium. None of the autonomous towns bore a Latin name.

Despite the fact that Noreia (as the toponym and the name of a deity) is listed among Celtic names by Holder,[117] and is not included by Mayer, it should rather be classified as pre-Celtic. Problems connected with the location of the main settlement thus named are complicated.[118] It should only be remarked in passing that the few references we have concerning its geographic position (Strabo V 1. 8 C 214, who mentioned a navigable river flowing from Aquileia to Noreia where the battle of Cn. Papirius Carbo against the Cimbri took place: he may well have had in mind the ancient river trade route on the Ljubljanica, Sava, and Danube, always associated with Aquileia; Pliny, *N. h.* III 131, who noted that among the Taurisci, Noreia had fallen to ruins; Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* I 5. 4, who mentioned that the Boii had besieged Noreia; cf. Sempronius Asellio V frg. 9, *HRR*, ed. Peter, p. 183) indicate that the eponymous *oppidum* should not be sought in Carinthia, but in the teritory of the Taurisci south of the Norici. It seems highly unlikely that Magdalensberg would have borne this name; if the *oppidum* had ceased to exist at the time when Virunum was newly built in the area of Zollfeld where no previous site has been attested, the natural conclusion would be that the name of the *oppidum* was transferred to the new town in the plain.[119] Minor or major shifts of settlement have been observed for almost all the Roman towns so far discussed in both provinces.

Towns with pre-Celtic names predominate in the province of Pannonia. From among those with municipal autonomy that have not yet been mentioned Salla, Aquae Balizae, Sopianae,[120] Cibalae,[121] Mursa and Mursella,[122] as well as Bassianae,[123] seem to have been pre-Celtic foundations, and probably also Aquincum,[124] and perhaps Iovia,[125] which, however, may also be Celtic. The name of Iovia, refering to another locality (= possibly the raft station of Kapos near Tüskepuszta or Kapospula - Heténypuszta),[126] has been interpreted as indicating an eventual renaming of the town in the Tetrarchic period,[127] yet several further similar place-names, which may have been

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[115] The name contains the ancient *-nt-* suffix, cf. W. ALZINGER, Das Municipium Claudium Aguntum. Vom keltischen Oppidum zum frühchristlichen Bischofssitz. In: ANRW II 6 (Berlin, New York 1977) 381-382; on the location of the *oppidum*, see *ib.*, 385.

[116] R. KATIČIĆ, *Ancient Languages of the Balkans* I = Trends in Linguistics State-of-the Art Reports 4 (The Hague, Paris 1976) 179.

[117] HOLDER (n. 80) II 760-761, citing the opinion of Zeuß.

[118] ALFÖLDY (n. 10) 47-51; a smaller road-station named Noreia is also documented between Matucaium and Ad Pontem in St Margarethen am Silberberg.

[119] H. KENNER, Zu namenlosen Göttern und einer namenlosen Stadt der Austria Romana. *Röm. Österreich* 3, 1975, 127-142; H. VETTERS, Virunum. In: ANRW II 6 (Berlin, New York 1977) 302-305.

[120] MAYER (n. 73) I 290 (Salla); I 74 (Aquae Balizae); I 318 (Sopianae).

[121] MAYER (n. 73) I 188-189; II 60-61, from **kebala*, head, designating small elevations above the level of a marshland.

[122] MAYER (n. 73) I 235-236; II 80-81, from **murs-*, marshes.

[123] MAYER (n. 73) I 79; II 22-23, from **baz-*, to flow.

[124] The territory of the Eravisci, MAYER (n. 73) I 54.

[125] MAYER (n. 73) I 173-174; II 54-55.

[126] I thank Dr. D. GABLER for the identification.

[127] FITZ, RE *Suppl.* IX, 104.

related in meaning to one another (the root **iov-* meaning young, new),[128] must be noted. The same element **iov-* with the same meaning, however, is also well attested in Celtic languages, thus the problem of the linguistic identity of these toponyms must remain unsolved.[129] There is another Iovia on the Mursa - Aqua Viva road, for which the name Botivo (abl.) is attested on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and in the Anonymous Geographer of Ravenna, and further Iovista (also classified as an "Illyrian" name in Krahe),[130] and Iovalia, all of which may belong to autochthonous toponymy.

The name of Bassianae is most probably »Illyrian« (better Pannonian),[131] since it has parallels in Illyricum, such as the river Basuntius and a place-name south of Lissus, Bassania. Much less convincing is the hypothesis suggesting that this toponym would be derived from the personal name Bassius or Bassus and would presuppose an appellative such as *villae*.[132] Aquae Balizae, another name for the *municipium Iasorum* (present-day Daruvar), bear an "Illyrian" (= Pannonian) name, which is further indicated by the epichoric toponyms Iovista, a *pagus* in its territory, and Cocconae, one of the *vici* of Iovista, both attested on an inscription from Rome of an *eques singularis* Ulpius Cocceius (*CIL* VI 3297 = Speidel, *Die Denkmäler der Kaiserreiter — Equites singulares Augusti*, 1994, no. 657).[133]

Brigetio,[134] Lussonium, Moge(n)tiana, Neviodunum, and Vindobona may be classified as Celtic names.[135] The name of Mogetiana (less correctly Mogentiana) is derived from the Celtic gentilicium Mogetius, which in its turn may be a theophoric name, formed from the name of the Celtic deity Marmogius, identified with Mars. Neviodunum is an older formation derived from *nevio-*, new, and not from the more recent *novio-*;[136] it may be possible that the first element of the name would have been pre-Celtic, such as in Singi-dunum.[137]

Only one Pannonian *municipium* bears a Latin name, namely *municipium Faustinianum*, which clearly indicates that in terms of towns with municipal status in both provinces, the Romans barely influenced the settlement pattern. Their intervention was limited on one side to the *limes* areas and their immediate hinterland where they established a number of new fortresses that at a later date developed into small towns, and on the other to the main roads along which several new road-stations were built to facilitate traffic in all its aspects.

VIII

The founding of towns and the creation of provinces went hand in hand. The former *regnum* was possibly organized as a procuratorial province during the reign of Caligula,[138] but most probably under Claudius,[139] and five important Celtic *oppida* became Roman *municipia Claudia*: Celeia, Virunum, Teurnia, Aguntum, and Iuvavum (Pliny, *N. h.* III 146; see Fig. 1),

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[128] MAYER (n. 73) II 54-55.

[129] I am indebted to Dr. R. Matasović for this observation; cf. HOLDER (n. 80) II 68-69.

[130] KRAHE (n. 98) 70; 110.

[131] MAYER (n. 123).

[132] S. DUŠANIĆ, Bassianae and Its Territory. *Arch. Iugoslavica* 8, 1967, 70.

[133] MAYER, I 73 (Iovista); I 194 (Cocconae); the text of the inscription: *Ulpius Cocceius eq(ues) s(ingularis) d(omini) n(ostri), castris nov(is), t(urma) Kasti, ex Pan(nonia) sup(eriore) natus ad Aquas Balizas, pago Iovista, vic(o) Coc[co]netibus.*

[134] HOLDER (n. 80) I 540-541; from *brig-*, a mountain, a hill, 533-534.

[135] HOLDER (n. 80) II 351 (Lussonium); II 608 (Mogetiana); 740 (Neviodunum); III 344-345 (Vindobona).

[136] HOLDER (n. 80) II 740; cf. GRAF (n. 72) 47.

[137] F. PAPAZOGLOU, Prilozi istoriji Singidunuma i srednjeg Podunavlja u antičko doba. Contributions à l'histoire de Singidunum et des régions voisines dans l'antiquité. *Istorijski časopis* 7, 1957, 303-321, especially the 2nd chapter: II. O plemenu Singa i imenu Singidunum. Les Singoi et le nom de Singidunum. 307-312.

[138] A. A. BARRETT, *Caligula. The Corruption of Power* (London 1989) 224.

[139] See, however, WEBER (n. 17) 611 ff.

enrolled in the tribe *Claudia*. The native Claudii are attested in the hitherto poorly Romanized areas such as north of Zollfeld, in the upper Mur valley, and even north of the Alps. Solva became a *municipium* under Vespasian, Ovilava and Cetium under Hadrian (*municipia Aelia*); the process of urbanization was finished under Caracalla, under whom the civil settlement outside the legionary fortress of Lauriacum was raised to municipal rank, and Ovilava to the status of a Roman colony. *Pag(i) mag(istri)* are known from the sanctuary of Latobius near St. Margarethen in Lavanttal in eastern Carinthia, probably within the territory of Virunum.[140] Norican mines seem to have been in imperial possession ever since Augustus.[141] Native inhabitants were partly organized in *civitates peregrinae*, of which nine are known by names (the Norici, Ambilini, Ambidravi, Uperaci, Saevates, Laianci, Ambisontes, Elveti, Alauni).

Urbanization in Pannonia began under Vespasian, who founded the first *municipia*, which all coincide — as expected — with settlements along the two main communication lines, the old Amber Route and the river route across Illyricum, connected with the legend of the Argonauts (Neviodunum, Andautonia, Siscia, Sirmium, Scarbantia, see Fig. 3). It may be assumed that the

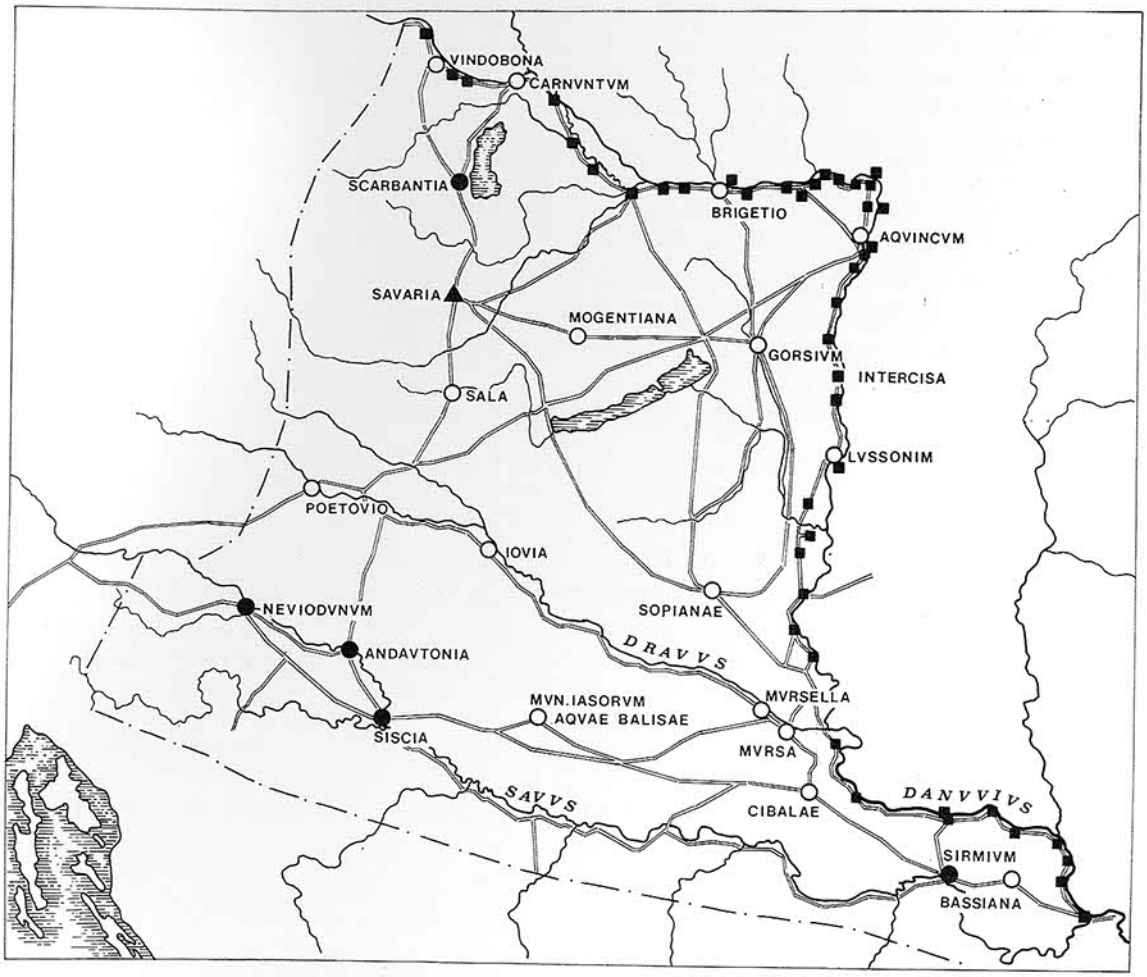

Fig. 3 Roman towns and fortresses in the province of Pannonia. Black dots denote Flavian foundations.

[140] E. WEBER, Drei Inschriften aus dem Bereich der Austria Romana. In: *Römische Geschichte, Altertumskunde und Epigraphik. Festschrift für Artur Betz zur Vollendung seines 80. Lebensjahres* = Archäologisch-epigraphische Studien 1 (Wien 1985) 652-655.

[141] ALFÖLDY (n. 17) 50-54.

province of Pannonia, based on civil self-government, was not established earlier than the reign of Vespasian.[142] Until then Pannonia seems to have been a province in terms of a military district, known in official texts under the name of Illyricum (Agrippa, *Dimens.* 18; *Mon. Ancyr.* 30; *CIL* X 5182 = *ILS* 972: *leg. divi Claudi in Ill. ex s.c.*, ca. 43-51 AD; *CIL* XVI 2 and 4, even as late as ca. 60 AD), and placed under the command of a military legate. The first Roman municipal foundation was Savaria, which became a colony under Claudius, no doubt at the same time when the Norican *oppida* became Claudian *municipia*. It should perhaps not be excluded that the town had still belonged to Noricum at the time when it was awarded colonial rights, as may be true of other settlements along the section of the Amber Route between Savaria and Carnuntum, which would have been detached from Noricum under Vespasian to be included in the newly organized province of Pannonia.

[142] E. TÓTH, Die Entstehung der gemeinsamen Grenzen zwischen Pannonien und Noricum. *Arh. Vestnik* 31, 1980, 80-88; J. ŠAŠEL, Die regionale Gliederung in Pannonien in: *Raumordnung im Römischen Reich. Zur regionalen Gliederung in den gallischen Provinzen, in Räetien, Noricum und Pannonien*. Ed. G. Gottlieb (München 1989) 57-60 (= *Opera selecta*. 690-693); *contra* FITZ (n. 51) 126, basing his opinion on incorrect premises.