Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle http://hdl.handle.net/1887/73849 holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Pazmany, K.

Title: Between mountains and frontiers: the Roman settlement system in the provinces of

Germania Superior, Raetia and Noricum

Issue Date: 2019-06-06

Between Mountains and Frontiers

The Roman settlement system in the provinces of Germania Superior, Raetia and Noricum

Proefschrift
ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van Rector Magnificus prof.mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker,
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op 06.06.2019
klokke 11.15 uur

door

Karolien Pazmany

geboren te Lier, België, in 1990

Promotores:

Prof. dr. J.L. Bintliff

Prof. dr. L. de Ligt

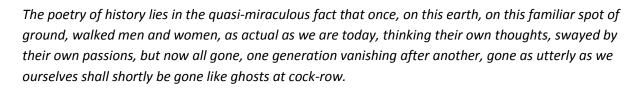
Promotiecommissie:

Prof. dr. L.A.C.J. Lucassen (Universiteit Leiden)

Prof. dr. C.S. Sommer (Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg)

Dr. T.D. Stek (Universiteit Leiden)

Dr. K. Beerden (Universiteit Leiden)



G.M. Trevelyan



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Long before the finalisation of this thesis, I started my preparations to write these words of thanks, because I did not want to forget those who supported me during this challenging work. As so often, my father was right when, now four years ago, he assured me that no one can get through such a writing process without help from others. This will be apparent from the list of people to whom I want to express my gratitude, either for their help and support or for their presence over the past four years.

First of all, I want to thank my two supervisors Luuk de Ligt and John Bintliff for their guidance and critical vision. I appreciate very much the understanding they showed at times when it was difficult. The advice that stayed with me most, was Luuk's concern that I should also enjoy these years. Now I can only try to find peace with not having taken those words more seriously. Of equal importance was the support and company I received from my direct colleagues who were on similar journeys to my own: Frida, Stefan, Paul, Matthew and Rinse. I want to thank in particular my 'office siblings' Shanshan, Pieter, Damjan and Bart, for all the time we spent together: helping me, working hard, or talking loudly. I have appreciated it all. Further debts are owed to the staff of the University of Leiden and of the History Departement in particular for creating a comfortable work environment.

Archaeologists can learn about sites by reading reports and articles, but the experience of being there adds something intangible yet important to one's understanding (Smith 2014, foreword.). I am indeed very thankful for all the opportunities I was given to visit my study area and to meet researchers interested in the same, or related, topics. I would like to mention Professor C. Sebastian Sommer in particular for his interest in my work and for the enlightening conversations we had. Attending workshops and conferences also led to site visits and even to some field work. I will never forget the heart-warming way Alexander Reis and his family welcomed me at the excavation in Obernburg (Germany) and at their home. Because of the invitation from Dr. Stefan Traxler and Dr. Felix Lang to visit the University of Salzburg, I gained not only a better acquaintance with the Roman remains in Austria, but also got to know many enthusiastic and dedicated researchers. I am grateful for their help and hospitality. The Limes Congress 2015 was another unforgettable experience. Winning 'the prize for best presentation given by a participant aged under 35' has been a source of encouragement for me ever since, especially when times were tough. Of even greater value are the people I met at this and other conferences and on whom I have regularly been able to call for help: amongst many others are Dr. Martina Meyr, Matthias Flück and Andreas Schaflitzl.

That even Agricola *completely dropped his official air, when duty had been discharged* (Tacitus, *Agricola* 9), helped me in giving in to the call of friends who were so kind as to not forget me and who helped to distract me on a regular basis from my concerns regarding my dissertation. In the first place, the friends in Leiden: Olivier, Mark, Roel, Mathilde, Aleksandra, Vivi and Ana, for the many happy times and the family feeling. I want to thank also Suzanna, Valerie, Dries, Stijn and Charlotte for their regular visits to the Netherlands. To Marieke, Vicky, Alexander, Gabriel, Jan and Pim, I want to say that our gatherings still fill me with joy, almost ten years after we met for the first time in the student restaurant in Leuven. Some friendships are just there forever. Ellen and Cedric, I consider ours to be such a relationschip. Dear friends, my gratitude for your presence cannot be expressed in words.

I self-evidently want to thank my family and extended family, because their love and support are exceptional. Thanks to them I will never feel alone. I treasure the messages, the calls and the visits by my sisters and brother enormously. I do regret not having spent more time with them and their lovely children, who are growing up so fast. With emphasis I want to thank my parents, for their never-ending love and support. At any time of the day and night, I can always count on them, for advice, for a good chat, for a safe shelter or a delicious home cooked meal. That has always been so, and I know it will never change.

Finally, I have to admit that without his help, without his encouragement, care and love, I would not have persevered. For this, Matthew, I want to thank you, but even more because I am so happy at your side. May it always be just so.

Karolien, December 2017

... or may it be even better now we have our own little family.

He is so little and yet I am so very grateful to him. Dearest little Lander Jozef Hobson, it is you who taught me how to worry less whilst finalizing this work and about the art of putting things into perspective. You are a ray of sunshine, a real treasure. I am so proud to be your mama.

Karolien, April 2019

Contents table

Contents table	i
List of figures	vi
List of tables	viii
General introduction	1
The aims of this book	1
Sources and methodological problems	3
Geographical introduction to the northern Alpine region: the provinces	4
Access and climate	11
1. The northern Alpine Region on the eve of the Roman conquest	13
1.1 The Pre-Roman urban settlement pattern	13
1.1.1 The Late Iron Age: La Tène Period	13
1.1.2 New perspectives on Late Iron Age settlement dynamics	13
Oppida: a problematic term and an outdated approach	13
The size and fortification of oppida in perspective	15
A more complex settlement system in the La Tène period	16
Central places	20
Medium settlements	21
Farmsteads or rural foci	21
1.1.3 Contacts across the Alps	22
1.2 The Roman conquest	25
1.2.1 Caesar and the Gallic War	26
1.2.2 The incorporation of the northern Alpine land during the late 1st century BC	26
1.2.3 Expansions along the Rhine from the time of Augustus to Domitian	27
1.3 A gap of 50 years? New indications for continuity with the Roman period	28
1.3.1 The site of Manching and villae as evidence for continuity	29
1.3.2 Necropoleis and early Roman forts as evidence of continuity	30
1.3.3 The uninterrupted use of Late Iron Age sanctuaries	31
1.4 The first Roman centres	32
1.4.1 Veteran colonies	33
1.4.2 The first administrative centres?	33
1.4.3 Legionary and other military posts	35
1.5 The creation of the Roman provinces of Noricum, Raetia and Germania Superior.	36
1.5.1 Raetia	37

1.5.2 Noricum	38
1.5.3 Germania Superior	40
1.6 Conclusion	40
2. Self-governing centres and legionary forts: the top layer of the settlement sy	stem 42
Sources	42
2.1 Local municipal developments: evidence from status and titles	43
2.1.1 Municipal status and citizens' rights	43
2.1.2 Historical overview of municipalisation	45
The Late Republic up to the reign of Tiberius	45
The reign of Claudius	48
The Year of the four emperors and the Flavian period	49
The adoptive emperors and the Antonine period	51
Trajan	51
Hadrian	51
Antonine period	53
The Severan period	54
2.2 Self-government and magistracies	55
2.2.1 The inner-organisation of a Roman town	55
2.2.2 Towns with magistracies in the northern Alpine region	56
2.3 The number of self-governing towns	60
2.4 The status of legionary towns	60
Lauriacum	61
Castra Regina	62
Mogontiacum	62
2.5 The nature of self-governing centres	62
2.5.1 The background of Roman self-governing centres	62
2.3.2 The size of Roman self-governing centres and legionary bases	65
2.6 Conclusion	68
The urban network	71
3. Different kinds of centres: the deeper layers of the settlement system	78
3.1 Subordinate centres, Kleinstädte or vici?	78
Vicus, a pseudo-status	79
3.2 From garrison settlement to civilian centre	82
3.2.1 The inhabitants of garrison settlements	82

3.3.2 Local market spots	83
3.3.3 The development of garrison settlements during and after the military occupation	84
3.3 Specialised production centres	
3.3.1 Terra Sigillata production centres	88
The terra sigillata centres of the northern Alpine region	88
Rheinzabern, the most important terra sigillata workshop in the region	
The army as a consumer not as a producer	
3.3.2 Production centres of different ceramic wares	92
3.3.3 Centres with other kinds of specialised production	93
3.4 Secondary centres with a specific cultural or religious function	94
3.4.1 Hot springs and spas	94
Spas for the soldiers?	96
3.4.2 Sanctuary sites	96
The location of sanctuary sites	97
Sanctuary sites and continuation (II)	98
The general appearance of sanctuary sites	100
Urban benefactors	100
3.4.3 Road stations	101
Reconstructing the road network and its stations	102
The general appearance of road stations and activities	103
3.5 The nature and size of subordinate centres and garrison settlements	106
3.6 Conclusion	109
4. Public buildings: urbanity through monumentality	111
4.1 Public monuments: the threshold of a Roman urban centre	111
4.2 Forum-basilica complexes	112
4.2.1 Different kinds of centres with different kinds of fora	113
4.2.2 The chronology and size of forum-basilica complexes	117
4.3 Spectacle buildings	120
4.3.1 Different kinds of centres with different spectacle buildings	121
4.3.2 The chronology and size of spectacle buildings	125
4.4 Aqueducts and baths	128
4.5 Wall circuits	132
4.6 Conclusion	135

5. Beyond urban dynamics	137
5.1 From individual centres to settlement systems	137
5.1.1 The Roman settlement system: geographical determination or histori influence?	
5.2 The rural settlements	145
5.3 Case study 1: Rural life in Raetia. The countryside around <i>Castra Regina</i> /Regensburg	149
5.3.1 The legionary base and rural occupation	150
5.3.2 Food for the army	152
5.4 Case study 2: Rural life in northern Germania Superior. The region of May stone quarries	
5.4.1 The production centre of Mayen and its surroundings	154
A prosperous estate: Lungenkärchen-Mendig	155
5.4.2 State business?	157
5.5 Case study 3: Rural life in north-west Noricum. A combination of Roman c	
5.5.1 The rural sites in north-west <i>Noricum</i> , their appearance and their pro	duction
	159
The character of rural inhabitation	
Rural production	
5.5.2 The army as an incentive for rural and urban success	
5.6 Conclusion	
6. The Roman centres in the northern Alpine region today	
6.1 Short introduction to the current heritage debate: the influence of critical	theory 173
6.1.1 Developments within the heritage field	
6.1.2 A critical archaeological discourse	174
6.2 What remains of the Roman centres	175
6.2.1 Data collection on the preservation and presentation of physical remarks Roman urban monumentality	
6.2.2 Data collection on museum exhibitions of Roman centres	179
6.3 An overly passive role for heritage	183
6.4 An overly passive role for the public	186
6.5 An UNESCO World Heritage Site: Frontiers of the Roman Empire	188
6.5.1. What did the Frontiers of the Roman Empire project entail?	188
6.5.2 The Upper German-Raetian Limes	190
6.5.3 The realisations of public outreach on the Roman Frontiers	191

6.5.4 Influence of the World Heritage Site label	193
6.6 Conclusion and critical reflection	194
7. Concluding thoughts: A settlement system with different regional patterns	197
The influence of the Roman army on the urban developments	201
The present and future of Roman urbanism	202
Bibliography	204
Classical texts	227
Websites	228

List of figures

- Fig. A: Diagram of different Roman settlements
- Fig. B: The modern countries within the study area of the northern Alpine region
- Fig. C: The modern countries and regions within the borders of Germania Superior
- Fig. D: Landscape and relief features in Germania Superior
- Fig. E: The modern countries and regions within the borders of Raetia and Noricum
- Fig. F: Landscape and relief features in Raetia and Noricum
- Fig. G: Rough situation of Alpine passes and Alpine tribes mentioned in the text
- Fig. 1.1: Overview of sites in the northern Alpine region referred to as oppida (n=57)
- Fig. 1.2: Chart showing the division of size of oppida in the northern Alpine region
- Fig. 1.3: Late Iron Age sites mentioned in the text, surrounded by a selection of many more contemporaneous sites, including the previously mentioned oppida
- Fig. 1.4: Map of the farmstead of Didenheim
- Fig. 1.5: Late Iron Age sites with evidence of trade contacts with the Italian Peninsula
- Fig. 1.6: Some important Roman (military) bases during the years of the conquest
- Fig. 1.7: Sites with indications for continuity between the Late Iron Age and the early Roman Period
- Fig. 1.8: Different kind of early Roman centres in the northern Alpine region
- Fig. 1.9: Ground plan of the emporium at Magdalensberg
- Fig. 1.10: Ground plan of the Roman site at Waldgirmes
- Fig. 1.11: Some find spots of Pre-Roman settlements in the vicinity of Salzburg
- Fig. 2.1: Map of the municipal developments during the reigns of Caesar, Augustus and Tiberius
- Fig. 2.2: Map of the municipal developments during the reign of Claudius
- Fig. 2.3: Map of the municipal developments during the Flavian period
- Fig. 2.4: Map of the municipal developments during the adoptive emperors
- Fig. 2.5: Map of the municipal developments during the Antonine and Severan period
- Fig. 2.6: Municipal magistracies in Noricum
- Fig. 2.7: Municipal magistracies in Raetia
- Fig. 2.8: Municipal magistracies in southern Germania Superior
- Fig. 2.9: Municipal magistracies in northern Germania Superior
- Fig. 2.10: Half of the self-governing towns possibly developed from a military base
- Fig. 2.11: The number of self-governing towns with possible military association grouped per status
- Fig. 2.12: The distribution of the self-governing towns and their background
- Fig. 2.13: The size of self-governing towns and legionary settlements
- Fig. 2.14: Map showing the size of self-governing towns and legionary settlements
- Fig. 2.15: The largest towns in the largest towns in Gaul, the Rhine and Danube provinces
- Fig. 2.16: Different views on the development of Roman towns
- Fig. 3.1: The distribution of vicus-inscriptions in Germania Superior and Raetia
- Fig. 3.2: Garrison settlements that continued in occupation after the retreat of the army unit
- Fig. 3.3: Map showing the movements of terra sigillata potters, based on the analysis of stamps
- Fig. 3.4: Map with production centres of terra sigillata and other ceramic wares mentioned in the text
- Fig. 3.5: Spas in the northern Alpine region
- Fig. 3.6: Map with sanctuaries and temple sites
- Fig. 3.7: Overview of road stations in the northern Alpine region
- Fig. 3.8: Examples of a road station

- Fig. 3.9: Strip houses allocated with the small side towards the streets gave a similar lay-out to garrison settlements and civilian centres
- Fig. 3.10: Size categories of the subordinate centres and the garrison settlements
- Fig. 4.1: Overview of public squares and forum-basilica complexes
- Fig. 4.2: Squares and forum-complexes in different kinds of centres
- Fig. 4.3: Results of the geophysical surveys in Arnsburg (left) and Theilenhofen (right)
- Fig. 4.4: Dates of fora
- Fig. 4.5: The size of forum-basilica complexes
- Fig. 4.6: The distribution of Roman spectacle buildings
- Fig. 4.7: Spectacle buildings in different centres
- Fig. 4.8: Building materials used for Roman theatres
- Fig. 4.9: Building materials used for Roman amphitheatres
- Fig. 4.10: Chronological overview of spectacle buildings
- Fig. 4.11: Size of Roman amphitheatres
- Fig. 4.12: Size of Roman theatres
- Fig. 4.13: Distance over which water was transported to Roman centres
- Fig. 4.14: Chronological overview of the construction of circuit walls
- Fig. 4.15: Circuit walls in different kinds of centres
- Fig. 4.16: Late 2nd and 3rd century walls reduced the urban core of many centres
- Fig. 5.1a: The Roman settlement system in the northern Alpine region
- Fig. 5.1b: The interconnectedness of the Roman settlement system in the northern Alpine region
- Fig. 5.2: Archaeological sites of rural settlements in the frontier regions of Germania Superior, Raetia and Noricum
- Fig. 5.3: Distribution of villa-sites and rural settlements north of the Alps in Raetia
- Fig. 5.4: The region between Andernach and Mayen
- Fig. 5.5: Archaeological sites (in orange) of millstones from Mayen (in red)
- Fig. 5.6: Site plan of the *villa* in Lungenkärchen (Mendig)
- Fig. 5.7: Overview of all sites included related to case study 3
- Fig. 5.8: Number of residences on a villa domain
- Fig. 5.9: Sites with indications of agricultural activity
- Fig. 5.10: Sites with indications of storage of agrarian products and other goods
- Fig. 5.11: Sites with indications of metal processing
- Fig. 5.12: Sites with indications of the production of building ceramics
- Fig. 5.13: Sites with indications of ceramic production
- Fig. 5.14: The origin of table ware found in north-western Noricum
- Fig. 5.15: Settlement system with rural sites
- Fig. 6.1: Map showing all sites and museums included in the analysis of the preservation and presentation of ancient Roman remains
- Fig. 6.2: Map showing the Roman buildings of monumental architecture with extant remains
- Fig. 6.3: Chart showing the themes present in museum exhibitions (n= 38) of Roman urban centres
- Fig. 6.4: Detail of map 2 of the Upper German-Raetian Limes as protected WHS
- Fig. 6.5: Photos of the LIMESUEM and the archaeological park in Ruffenhofen

List of tables

- Table 1.1: Criteria for the categories of Central Place, Medium settlement and Farmstead
- Table 1.2: Sašel Kos' interpretation of the Norican tribes supervised by the Roman towns from the time of Claudius
- Table 2.1: Town territories
- Table 2.2: Epigraphic evidence and literary sources concerning municipal status
- Table 2.3: Epigraphic evidence and literary sources concerning municipal magistrates
- Table 2.4: Self-governing towns
- Table 3.1: Overview of the epigraphic evidence for *vici* in the provinces of Germania Superior and Raetia
- Table 3.2: Overview of the continued use of Roman fort sites
- Table 3.3: Approximate start-up dates of the terra sigillata workshops
- Table 3.4: Export areas of the different terra sigillata workshops
- Table 3.5: General appearance of a sanctuary site
- Table 3.6: Overview of the dimensions of guest houses
- Table 3.7: Overview of the total size of the domains of road stations
- Table 4.1: Overview of foundation dates of fora
- Table 5.1: Explanation of tiers
- Table 5.2: Comparison of the two residences at certain *villa*-sites
- Table 6.1: Archaeological sites included in the analysis of the preservation and presentation of the different types of Roman urban monumentality
- Table 6.2: The differences in quality of preservation of Roman city walls
- Table 6.3: Museums related to Roman centres
- Table 6.4: Modern markings and reconstructions of Roman monumental buildings
- Table 6.5: The current different functions of Roman urban monuments