The Romanisation of the
Civitas Vangionum

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INTRODUCTION

With the arrival of the Romans in Northern Gaul, the effects of Romanisation can almost immediately be detected in what was to become the Northern Provinces which include the territory of the *Vangiones* under consideration here. The typical remains of Roman culture – well known from the Mediterranean world – now appear in large quantities; for example, we find Latin epigraphy and Roman-style pottery, especially *terra sigillata*, and also roads, and architecture incorporating Roman building techniques. The few typical artefacts of pre-Roman culture are often dated to pre-Roman times (i.e. La Tène DT[1]) because of difficulties of dating non-Romanized sites into the Roman period. In addition, there seem to be hardly any archaeological contexts where La Tène and Roman artefacts are found together.[2]

Only in certain periods of German historiography,[3] when a German(ic) omnipresence was being stressed for nationalistic reasons, was the Roman era described as a time of occupation with an emphasis on the continuity and resistance of the Germanic tribes. Hence, F.M. Illert's statement in the 1936 guide to the Worms Archaeological Museum:[4]

> Wenn es auch scheint, als ob der Vangione völlig zum Römer geworden wäre und als ob die stolze Haltung des römischen Reiters, zu dessen Füßen die Gestalt des besiegten Germanen kauert ... der eigentliche Ausdruck des endgültigen Sieges der Römer sei, so war diese Zeit doch schließlich nur ein Durchgang durch die übermächtige Gewalt und Herrlichkeit des Weltreiches.

In concluding he suggests that this period presented the Germanic tribes with the possibility of making themselves lords over that Empire:

> Wir tun gut daran, sie nicht als einen Irrweg oder gar als Schuld zu verleugnen, sondern als Schicksal zu bejahen, weil sie letzten Endes die ungeheuren Kräfte weckte, die die germanischen Stamme befähigten, sich selbst zum Herrn dieses Weltreichs zu machen.

Even this ideological approach, quick to discover 'resistance' in any pre-Roman survival, does not manage to describe the 'acculturation' processes at work in indigenous and Roman culture.

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There was neither resistance to Rome, nor instant Romanisation. Roman imperialism amounted to rule through local élites since the Roman 'state' did not possess the logistics for direct rule.[5] Hence the success of Roman imperialism. No direct intervention in the native societies was embarked upon, except where such societies challenged the Roman authorities, peace or the social order. Rome rarely forced peoples to change their way of life or to accept the Latin language or deities. Initially, the major *indirect*[6] impact on the society was of a primarily military kind, beginning some forty years after Caesar's conquest with the end of the Civil Wars and the reconsolidation of the Roman Empire under Augustus. A large number of Roman soldiers were then advanced into the Rhine area to secure territory, and these continued to advance into free *Germania* as can be seen by the various campaigns of Drusus and his successors.

Consequently, the contact between the indigenous population of the later *civitas Vangionum* and the Romans would have been minimal, and was probably confined to the local aristocracy who worked together with the Roman administration; and to those fighting as Roman auxiliaries.[7] The majority of locals may have been unaffected by Roman conquest for several decades, especially those in the countryside; Celtic *oppida* like the Titelberg had their heyday after the Gallic War,[8] although they declined rapidly thereafter.

This work sets out to describe the effect of the Roman conquest and the subsequent integration of the *Vangiones* into the Roman Empire. This integration was comprised of processes of interaction between the two cultures, which had an impact on the local economy, epigraphy, technology, culture, religion, and so on.[9] Changes in material culture are seen as a reflection of social and political changes taking place during the first centuries of Roman rule. Concentrating on one *civitas* only allows for detailed studies of, for example, the development of the regional settlement pattern or the epigraphic habit.

Several problems require consideration. One, of a general kind, is the state of publication of the archaeological record, which is scattered, out of date, dependent on political borders, and usually not concerned with the problematic nature of 'Romanisation'. Furthermore, there are problems with dating, even for major architectural structures (like villas, *basilicae,* etc.), and the fine dating necessary for work on the transition period from La Tène to Roman times is not available. This is particularly obvious in the publication of the coinage of this area in *Fundmünzen (FMRD).* A haphazard recording of coin-finds hinders statistical analysis.

In Quest of the Vangiones

It is uncertain whether the *Vangiones* were a Celtic or Germanic people – if indeed, this division can be made at all. While the literary sources describe them as Germanic,[10] the material evidence and epigraphy indicate that they were a Celtic people.

Stümpel notes a possible division of the later *civitas* into two distinct cultural groups around the eve of the Roman conquest.[11] In the north-east, rough handmade pottery and urn-burials dominate, giving way towards the south and the west, including *Borbetomagus,* to an indubitably Celtic culture with painted late La Tène wheel-thrown pottery and cremations *(Leichenbrand),* aspects which can be found in the north-east only rarely. If one agrees on the

concept of two culturally different areas,[12] then it appears that, while the south-west was Celtic and probably populated by either *Mediomatrici* or *Treveri*,[13] the culture of the northeast was more likely to be Germanic and therefore Vangionic; a hypothetical process of 'Celticisation' is needed to explain the atypical 'Germanic' culture in the north-east. This causes another problem for Stümpel's hypothesis because the later capital of his 'Germanic' *civitas Vangionum* was – at that time – the 'Celtic'-dominated city *Borbetomagus;* a puzzle he solved by assuming a further, peaceful movement of the '*Vangiones*' southwards before the creation of the *civitas* by the Romans. And yet, it is striking that his 'Vangionic' territory became the military district of *Mogontiacum,* while his 'Celtic' regions in the south and west the *civitas Vangionum.*

Recently, the Germanic origin of the *Vangiones* has been questioned, owing to the typically Celtic nature of the material evidence.[14] The dubious literary evidence on ethnic origin can be ignored, for example, the statement 'ipsam Rheni ripam haud dubie Germanorum populi colunt, Vangiones Triboci Nemetes'[15] of Tacitus who tells that even the *Treveri* – for us a Celtic people – claimed a Germanic origin. The modern division between Celtic and Germanic derives from the material evidence; the comments of ancient authors were presumably based on political or ethnological concepts. The name *Vangiones,* as pointed out by Bannert,[16] could derive either from the Germanic *wanga* or the old-Celtic *vanga*.[17] The Celtic origin of the neighbouring *Nemetes* and *Triboci* has been proved in the meantime.[18]

Due to the supposed Germanic origin of the *Vangiones,* held until recently, severe problems of interpretation have been raised. The greatest concern has been to find a suitable date for this 'Germanic' tribe's crossing of the Rhine. Speculations have ranged from the time before Caesar under Ariovist,[19] up to the middle of the first century AD since it is argued that Caesar had not allowed 'Germanic' tribes to settle on the left bank.[20] Two questions arose from such an extrapolation. Firstly, where did the *Vangiones* come from? Schmidt[21] suggests the Wetterau (for an East-Germanic or Suebian origin see Nierhaus who convincingly proves that it should be rejected[22]). Secondly, there is the question of which peoples previously inhabited the region. Despite the traditional view (*Treveri*[23]), the *Mediomatrici* seem the most likely choice. This debate was used to disregard the archaeological evidence. Hommel wrote, for example, that 'despite of prevailing Celtic commodities, one should not conclude that the population of these territories was in the first centuries of our era substantially Celtic. Instead, as is natural, Celts (who still lived here) and left-bank workshops delivered the Germanic newcomers.'[24] This style of free re-interpretation resulted occasionally in rather obscure statements, for example Nierhaus's comment on the absence of Germanic names on inscriptions in *Germania Superior,* and that we find only 'gallo-römische Namensformen, die über das Namensgut ihrer Träger gar nichts aussagen. Von Germanentum keine Spur mehr!'[25] The obvious solution is that the population was not Germanic at all. We should therefore reject several former interpretations and I will refer to this, at the very least Celticised people as the *Vangiones,* Celts or Gauls operative within a wider Gallic and Celtic cultural background.

The territory of the *civitas Vangionum* cannot be determined precisely. As can be seen from Fig. 1, I take into consideration roughly the territory of the later bishopric of Worms as far as

the river Glan in the west and the river Rhine to the east[26] *(civitates* becoming bishoprics with Christianity), together with all of Rheinhessen;[27] but I exclude the military post *Mogontiacum* because it was not a part of the administrative unit of the *civitas*[28] and because its material culture was strongly influenced by the army.

THE FIRST ONE HUNDRED YEARS

In the first decades of Roman occupation, Roman influence came primarily from the army, an army which had probably moved from inner Gaul to the Rhine in preparation for Drusus' campaigns against free *Germania* after 20 BC. Previously, the defeated and allied Gallic peoples,[29] left alone by Caesar, remained pacific. Rome was far away and disrupted by civil war,[30] while the peace in Gaul made an economic recovery in the region possible. This peace was needed as the enormous and excessive battles of the Gallic War must have had a disastrous effect on the Gallic economy for decades.[31] Trade with Rome could now be extended. Roman merchants are attested at a very early date even on the (non-Roman) right bank of the Rhine, where some of them were killed, forcing the governor Marcus Vinicius to interfere in 25 BC.[32]

With Augustus, a man came into power who wanted a reorganisation of the Roman Empire. This intention also affected the land along the Rhine which now became a military deployment area. The Emperor Augustus stayed in the region from 16 to 13 BC. When he left, seven legions were stationed along the Rhine, two of them on Vangionic territory in *Mogontiacum;* in some periods, up to twenty-four thousand legionaries plus various *auxilia* units had to live off the land of the *Vangiones*.[33] Some of the legions also remained for some time in *Borbetomagus* or had detachments there.[34]

This was perhaps the time when the inhabitants of the later *civitas Vangionum* felt the presence of Rome in the form of road-building, occupation of land, and through requisitions of timber and food for the army, since this number of legionaries (as many as based in the whole of Britain) would have consumed about two hundred and sixty-five thousand bushels of wheat every year.[35]

The land was now owned by Rome, as was common in *civitates peregrinae,* though leased to the former owners who now had to pay rent.[36] Furthermore, troops under the command of native nobles, and organized after the pattern of Roman *auxilia* units, had to be supplied by the various tribes, i.e. as non-Roman citizens the people were forcibly conscripted, and not paid by Rome.[37] For the *Vangiones* a *cohors I Vangionum milliaria equitata* is attested.[38] Around the year AD 50, *Vangiones,* together with an *auxilia* unit of the neighbouring *Nemetes,* had to fight against the invading *Chatti;* for their victory the Roman general in Mainz received triumphal insignia.

Realising that they were no longer masters in their own country, Celtic *nobiles* organised an open rebellion against Roman rule. Already in AD 21, the neighbouring *Treveri* had rebelled against excessive taxes and tribute, but they could allow themselves to be more subversive since there were no legions based in their territory, while the *Vangiones* had to live with from

two to four Roman legions, whilst having an enemy (the *Chatti*) on the other side of the Rhine – a fact which might explain their action in the Batavian revolt.

The Batavian revolt began in AD 69 in *Germania Inferior,* then expanded to the *Treveri* and *Lingones* who fought for an independent Gallic kingdom,[39] and ended between Mainz and Worms where the Treverian Tutor, supported by *Vangiones* and *Triboci,* fought against the 22nd legion. Faced by the prospect of battle with a Roman legion, the *Vangiones* and *Nemetes* deserted and eventually the rebels lost. The Treverian commanders Tutor and Cranicus are said to have emigrated, together with 113 councillors, into so-called 'free Germany', which probably amounted to the complete loss of the tribal aristocracy for the *Treveri*.[40]

Resistance against the Romans failed. After the Batavian revolt, national *auxilia* units were no longer under local command,[41] and in addition local troops were moved around, in order to destroy the relationship between the soldiers and their regions. Some years later, the part-mounted Vangion-cohort mentioned above would be found at Hadrian's Wall.[42]
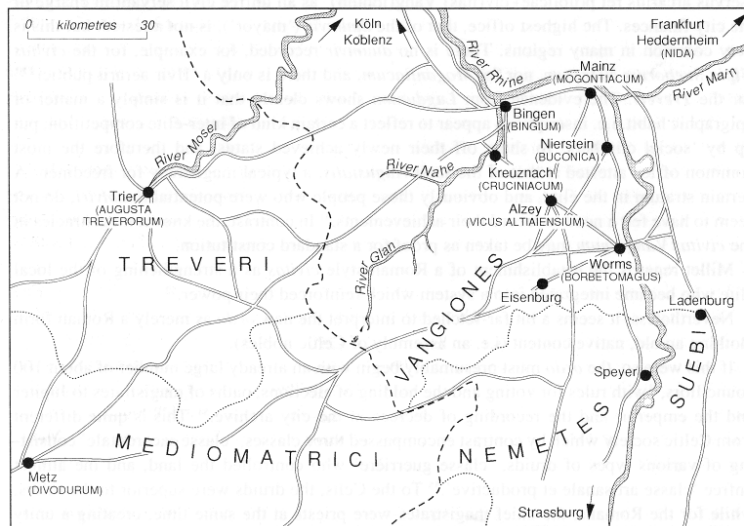

Fig. 1 The assumed territory of the *civitas Vangionum,* based on Bannert (1978), Cüppers (1990), Zangemeister (1905), *CIL* XIII, p. 178, Bernhard (1979), including the neighbouring peoples, some major sites and Roman roads.

The province *Germania Superior* was created at the end of the first century AD. The name *Germania* was taken, although most of the population (like the *Helvetii* or *Sequani)* were undoubtedly Gauls. This action effectively separated inner Gaul from a military deployment zone, from where a conquest of the Germanic territories beyond the Rhine could be launched.

Probably from this time on, the territory of the *Vangiones* was organized with a self-governing body and constitution in a Roman pattern. While the pre-Roman society of the *Vangiones* did not seem to know 'towns' as administrative centres,[43] from now on the society was to be organized principally like *a polis* or *civitas* consisting of a city, *Borbetomagus,* together with its territory. This effected a break with traditional tribal organization.

From this time on, the leadership of the *civitas* seems to have consisted of annually elected *duoviri iuredicundo,* assisted by *aediles* and other magistrates, and with the *ordo* as council.[44] The 'noble *equites*' were converted into *decuriones* (councillors).[45]

For the *civitas Vangionum* several councillors are attested: Lucius or Titus Romanius Respectus,[46] Marcus Adiutorius Memor,[47] and especially Gaius Lucius Victor who had held all magistracies 'omnibus honoribus functus' and built a (perhaps honorary) arch for his home-town.[48] Gains Candidus Martinus was in charge of the imperial cult as 'IIIIIIIvir Augustali c[orporis]I senio[rum]',[49] and as such was not *a decurion.* We might describe the 'servus arcarius rei p(ublicae) civ(itas) Vang(ionum)' as an unfree civil servant in charge of the city finances. The highest office, that of the *duumvir* ('mayor'), is not attested, but this is very common in many regions. There is no *duumvir* recorded, for example, for the *civitas Ulpia Sueborum Nicretum,* nor for *Mogontiacum,* and there is only a 'IIvir aerarii publici'[50] for the *Treveri.* The evidence from *Lugdunum* shows clearly that it is simply a matter of epigraphic habit, i.e. inscriptions appear to reflect a certain kind of inter-élite competition, put up by 'social climbers' to show off their newly achieved status, and therefore the most common office attested is that of the *sevir Augustalis,* a typical magistracy for freedmen. A certain stratum in the élite, and obviously those people who were potential *duumviri,* do not seem to have felt a need to record their achievements.[51] In contrast, the known magistracies in the *civitas Vangionum* may be taken as proof for a standard constitution.

Millet regards the establishment of a Roman-style *civitas* as a strengthening of the local élite who became integrated into a system which reinforced their power.[52]

Nevertheless, it seems a bit far-fetched to interpret the new *ordo* as merely a Roman form clothing an old, native content (i.e. an assembly of Celtic nobles).

If this were so, the *ordo* must presumably begin with an already large number of about 100 councillors,[53] with rules for voting and the holding of elections, oaths of magistrates to Jupiter and the emperor, and the recording of decrees in the city archive.[54] This is quite different from Celtic society which by contrast encompassed three classes, 'classe sacerdotale' consisting of various types of druids, 'classe guerriere' who controlled the land, and the almost unfree 'classe artisanale et productive'.[55] To the Celts, the druids were superior to the rulers, while for the Romans, the chief magistrates were priests at the same time, creating a unity between religious and political spheres;[56] a system which was part of the Roman constitution of the *civitas* because imperial cult, *flamines* and *haruspices* were municipal magistrates, like the *sevir Augustalis* mentioned above. The practices of the druids were forbidden in the reigns

of Tiberius and again by Claudius due to rites involving human sacrifice and their presumed 'nationalistic', anti-Roman intentions – and one can only speculate that these same men may later be found as *sevir Augustaliss*[57] or as *doctor artis calculaturae*.[58]

Moreover, it is significant that only administrative functions remained with the *decuriones* with the creation of the *civitas,* now dependent on the provincial governor and on Rome but without real statesmanship;[59] the last initiative for independence had been punished after the Batavian revolt.

In addition, the *decuriones* were responsible for the collection of *tributum* (taxes).[60] This was not only a burdensome obligation;[61] *tributum* was also a symbol of subservience, and Roman tax collectors had previously undertaken this work. Hence it must have been a rather unpopular office, made worse by the enormous expenses involved in the post which are stated in 'standard constitutions'[62] where expenses of at least 2,000 sesterces per year needed to be undertaken by magistrates, in addition to their admission fees for becoming a councillor.

In pre-Roman times a system of bondings between aristocrats and clients existed. Constitutional changes reduced the personal power of an aristocrat over his subjects to the duties entailed in public office, and replaced élite competition with discussions in the *curia*. This, together with military recruitment dominated and organized by Rome, at the very least weakened the traditional Celtic relationship between nobleman and client. If some *nobiles* emigrated across the Rhine, as the *Treveri* did after the failed Batavian revolt (see above), the old system of personal bondings would probably have been radically disrupted or destroyed, precipitating a chaotic situation, so that the constitutional reorganisation introduced by the Romans would probably have been welcomed, as it would have allowed Rome-friendly newcomers to gain a high status in the municipal administration without having previously possessed any significant social status within the tribal context.[63]

From all this one cannot conclude that there was a strengthening of the local élite, as Millett has done, but rather a profound break in social structure in which the members of the élite changed both their environment and the functioning of traditional methods of élite competition.

THE SETTLEMENT PATTERN

Some changes in the settlement pattern are obvious. The typical hill-towns *(oppida)* of Caesar's time declined, Romanised cities and villages along the Roman roads grew, and the countryside became Roman in appearance, with typical Roman *villae* replacing native farmsteads.

The countryside of the *Vangiones* during La Tène D is difficult to assess. A very large number of possible settlements have been recognized which might be described as 'hamlets',[64] together with a few larger settlements, probably *oppida,* like Bingen, Alzey, Worms, or Donnersberg.
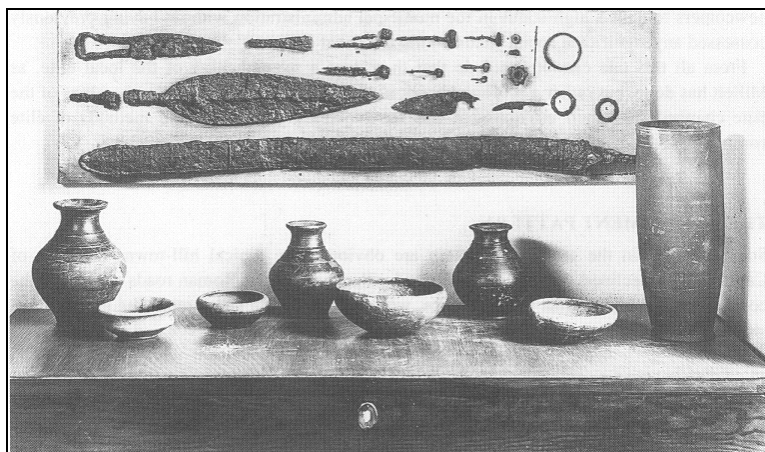
Since this was the society of an equestrian élite, where display of warrior status, or of having trade connections with the Mediterranean world was important,[65] a distribution map

of the graves of warriors (Pl. 1) or of those containing *amphorae* and other prestigious goods might indicate the homesteads of the Celtic élite, though not of lords or kings as there were no *Fiirstengräber* at that time. Figure 2 shows the widespread nature of such finds across the territory suggesting that centralization is unlikely. Even a large settlement like the *oppidum* Donnersberg was just a local 'hill-fort'[66] and did not function as a capital,[67] as *Borbetomagus* would by the end of the first century AD, contrary to the traditional pattern.

The decline of hill-towns

Caesar mentions several categories of Celtic settlement which he describes as *oppida* (towns), *vici* (townships), *aedificia* (farmsteads) or *castelli.* The *oppida* Caesar was mostly concerned with were Celtic cities on hilltops, although he mentions other possible locations, for example on plains, protected by rivers at a ford.[68]

The Donnersberge[69] was one such Celtic *oppidum* in the territory of the *Vangiones,* approximately thirty kilometres west of *Borbetomagus,* on a 687 m high mountain, overlooking the Rhine valley to the east. It covered some two hundred and forty hectares, had typically Celtic late La Tène *Zangentore,*[70] and contained *a temenos.* The *oppidum* dates to the late La Tène period, except for a much later cross-wall which can be dated more precisely by the presence of Italic amphorae to the middle or third quarter of the first century BC. It seems that 'a further fortification was built here during the, nominally, Roman period'[71] some time after Caesar's conquest.

Pl. 1 La Tène grave goods of a warrior (sword, scissors, lance-blade, etc.) in the Museum of the City of Worms in St Andrews (courtesy of Stadtarchiv Worms).
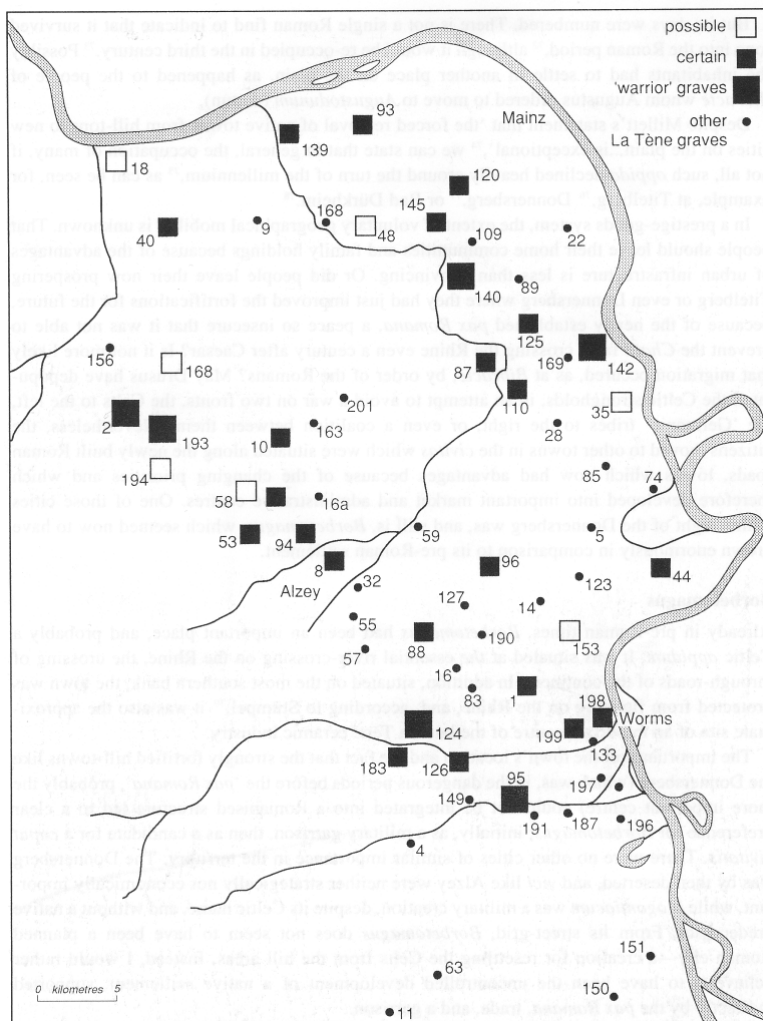
Fig. 2 The distribution of élite graves, either warrior graves, or graves containing amphorae, etc. and of late La Tène cemeteries in general (after Appendix I).

But its days were numbered. There is not a single Roman find to indicate that it survived long into the Roman period,[72] although it would be re-occupied in the third century.[73] Possibly the inhabitants had to settle in another place on the plain, as happened to the people of *Bibracte* who moved to *Augustodunum* (Autun).

Despite Millett's statement that 'the forced removal of native towns from hill-tops to new cities on the plain ... is exceptional',[74] we can state that in general, the occupation of many, if not all, such *oppida* declined heavily around the turn of the millennium,[75] as can be seen, for example, at Titelberg,[76] Donnersberg,[77] or Bad Dürkheim.[78]

In a prestige-goods system, the extent of voluntary geographical mobility is unknown. That people should leave their home communities and family holdings because of the advantages of urban infrastructure is less than convincing. Or did people leave their now prospering Titelberg or even Donnersberg where they had just improved the fortifications for the future, because of the newly established *pax Romana,* a peace so insecure that it was not able to prevent the *Chatti* from crossing the Rhine even a century after Caesar? Is it not more likely that migration occurred, as at *Bibracte,* by order of the Romans? May Drusus have depopulated the Celtic strongholds, in an attempt to avoid a war on two fronts, the Celts to the left, the 'Germanic' tribes to the right, or even a coalition between them? Nevertheless, the citizens moved to other towns in the *civitas* which were situated along the newly built Roman roads, towns which now had advantages because of the changing priorities and which therefore developed into important market and administrative centres. One of those cities within sight of the Donnersberg was, and still is, *Borbetomagus,* which seemed now to have grown enormously in comparison to its pre-Roman settlement.

Borbetomagus

Already in pre-Roman times, *Borbetomagus* had been an important place, and probably a Celtic *oppidum.* It was situated at *the* essential river-crossing on the Rhine, the crossing of through-roads of the continent. In addition, situated on the most southern bank, the town was protected from flooding on the Rhine, and, according to Stumpel,[79] it was also the approximate site of an important centre of the late La Tène ceramic industry.

The importance of the town's location and the fact that the strongly fortified hill-towns like the Donnersberg (which was, in the dangerous periods before the '*pax Romana*', probably the more important centre) could not be integrated into a Romanised structure led to a clear preference for *Borbetomagus;* initially, as a military garrison, then as a candidate for a *caput civitatis*. There were no other cities of similar importance in the territory. The Donnersberg was by then deserted, and *vici* like Alzey were neither strategically nor economically important, while *Mogontiacum* was a military creation, despite its Celtic name, and without a native predecessor. From its street-grid, *Borbetomagus* does not seem to have been a planned Roman city – a creation for resettling the Celts from the hill areas. Instead, I would rather believe it to have been the uncontrolled development of a native settlement, supported indirectly by the *pax Romana,* trade, and a garrison.

It is difficult to explain what factors caused the inhabitants of sites approximately two miles north and south of *Borbetomagus,* Rheingewann and Adlerberg, both occupied since

the Neolithic, to abandon their homes, though this occurs at approximately the time when *Borbetomagus* shows the beginning of strong occupation, at around the middle of the first century according to the distribution of coins (see Appendix III), *fibulae,* and *terra sigillata*.[80]

From the beginning of the Roman occupation, *Borbetomagus* was a military post. Until AD 69 eight auxiliary units were based there, plus various legions or detachments.[81] Roman roads led along the Rhine north to Mainz, south to Strasbourg, north-west to Bingen, Köln, and Trier, west to Metz, one via Eisenberg, another via Pfeddersheim, and across the Rhine to Ladenburg, to the Wetterau and the Odenwald, and into free Germany.

Because of the lack of evidence, it is difficult to decide whether the army was based here solely because of the town's strategic importance on the Rhine or because of political factors, to oversee the septs of a tribe based here.[82]

The Roman fort together with the *canabae* around it did not comprise the foundation of the later *caput civitatis.* Instead, the existing native settlement, stimulated by the Roman garrison and a growing market, became an administrative centre, a place of residence for the élite, and eventually a Roman town.[83] The town, both administrative centre and garrison, and the 'higher social prestige of the town-dweller'[84] promoted contact with the Romans, and stimulated the Romanisation of the native élite; urbanisation could be described as 'Motor der Romanisierung der eroberten Gebiete'[85] – the Roman appearance of the towns is one consequence of the process.

As the administrative and religious centre, the capital of the *Vangiones, Borbetomagus,* would have been 'nicely' decorated in the following centuries in competition with the neighbouring tribes, as can be seen by the triumphal arch or city-gate, *porta,* built by the decurion Lucius Victor 'ob amorem patri[a]e et civium'.[86] It was the custom everywhere in the Graeco-Roman world for councillors to spend money on public buildings.

Certain public buildings indicate the city's self-government. The most typical Roman-style import, the *basilica* (now underneath the cathedral of St Peter), together with the *forum* and Jupiter-temple, perhaps *capitolium,* constituted the centre of the municipality. Here, the *ordo* met, justice was administered, and Roman state gods were worshipped by the magistrates.

Public baths and a(n amphi)theatre can be assumed. Mediterranean peristyle-houses, other stone-houses with *hypocaustum* and wall-plaster, bridges and urban defences have also been found. A Rhine harbour can be assumed from its early mention in medieval sources of AD 858[87] (see Fig. 3).

Unfortunately, we possess only dedications to gods as indicators of temples. There appears to have been at least one temple for *Mars Loucetius,* one for Jupiter or probably for the Capitoline triad (the typical Roman state trinity), and at least an altar for the imperial cult. Since the actual buildings have not so far been found, we cannot know whether the temples were built in a Roman style (as can be assumed for the Jupiter-temple) or as native Gallo-Roman *Umgangstempel* (as would have been likely for *Mars Loucetius).*

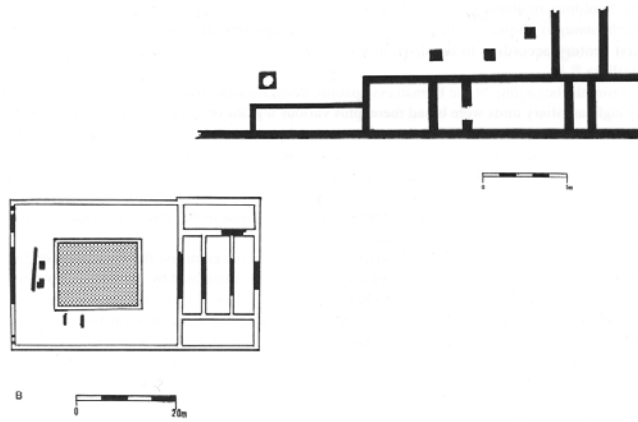The Roman architectural appearance of the city was completed by paved streets which

Fig. 3 Plan of a peristyle-house and of the *basilica* in *Borbetomagus,* re-drawn after Weckerling (1887) and Grünewald (1986).
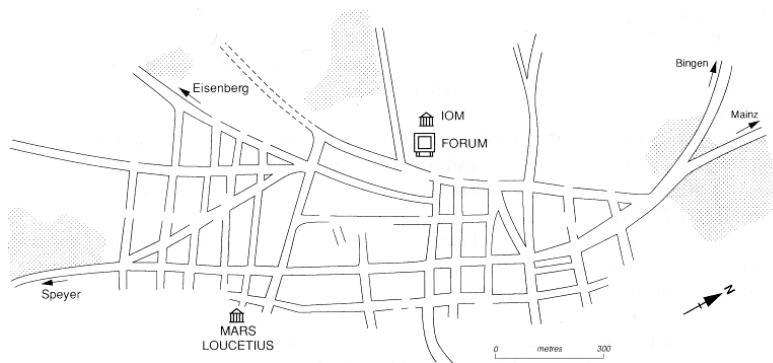

Fig. 4 *Borbetomagus*, the capital of the *civitas Vangionum*. Streets according to Weckerling, cf. Grünewald (1986), based on a map by G. Illert (1950).

have been traced to a large extent (cf. Fig. 4). Mention has already been made of the very irregular arrangement of the town, which could be taken as proof that the city was not founded by Rome (as was Trier for example). Instead there seems to have been an older foundation dictating the course of the streets, probably that of the Celtic settlement, giving the city a more indigenous element in appearance, while a more regular extension may be *seen in* the southern part where more elaborate residences have been discovered.

This growing city, a relatively large *municipium*[88] covering approximately seventy-five hectares inside the *pomerium* as indicated by the cemeteries in the north, west, and south as well as the rivers to the east, increasingly relied on an efficient exploitation of the hinterland.

The Countryside

The countryside was fundamental to the settlement pattern, to the organisation of society and its political structuring because the essence of *civitas* is, in the words of M. Millett, the encompassing of town and country 'within the same administrative unit derived from LPRIA tribal group'.[89] A new element in the countryside was the *villa rustica,* defined by Rivet as the 'rural seat of one who needed land to hold power in the civitas'.[90]

Around *Borbetomagus* there were a very large number of these *villae rusticae,* three in Osthofen on the road towards *Mogontiacum,* five in Abenheim on the road towards Bingen, one each in Weinsheim, Heppenheim, and at Horchheim on the road to Metz. A similar distribution can be found around the *vici* Alzey, Bingen, and Mainz. But despite this, villas were ubiquitous in the region, except for the less accessible western areas, around Donnersberg and the Rheinhessische Schweiz (Fig. 5).

Regarding their function, we can see from the few excavated villas that they were indeed noble seats, with baths and *hypocausta,* splendidly decorated with wall-plasters and mosaics (Pl. 2).

The fact that so few *villae* in the area have been excavated prevents us from establishing the necessary chronology for the development of the countryside.

Aerial photography has revealed a rough plan of a typical *villa rustica* just outside *Borbetomagus* (Fig. 6), similar to examples from Grünstadt and Bad Dürkheim-Ungstein. Known examples of *villae rusticae* are in the main typical of the Gallo-Roman type of villas with U-shaped halls and porticos; this concept of a 'hall'-type villa has been thought to have originated in Celto-Germanic society,[91] which suggests that the occupants, the Celtic élite, remained attached to older forms, while desiring 'palaces', with all the amenities of Roman civilization, such as baths, wall-paintings, mosaics, or – very useful in this climate – *hypocausta.* Most of the earlier examples seem to date to the second century, a period of economic prosperity and peace as, with the *limes* securing the country, the army could now live from the newly incorporated territories on the right Rhine-bank, allowing a certain degree of surplus production, and thus prosperity on the left bank.[93] Some of the excavated examples show evidence of earlier, and sometimes even of late La Tène buildings, or more frequently of La Tène finds and graves, which indicate continuity in settlement (cf. Appendix I, columns B-D).

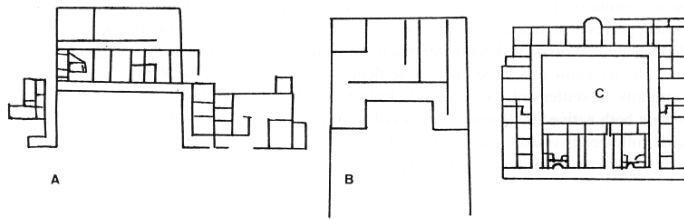Fig. 5 Villas in the *civitas Vangionum* (after Appendix I).

Fig. 6 An outline of *villae rusticae* in (A) Bad Dürkheim-Ungstein, (B) Worms-Weinsheim, and (C) Bad Kreuznach. Bad Durkheim and Bad Kreuznach re-drawn after Cüppers (1990), Worms-Weinsheim after an aerial photo in Grünewald (1986: 50, fig. 32).

Pl. 2 The villa of Wachenheim during excavation, around 1900 (courtesy of Stadtarchiv Worms).

Not only the *villae rusticae,* but many places, villages, farmsteads and other sites seem to show continuity. La Tène graves and cemeteries, indicators of settlement, are found near Roman graves or settlements. Sometimes they overlap. A few striking examples are Abenheim, Heppenheim, Wörrstadt, Kleinwinternheim or Selzen, Nieder-Olm. In Worms-Wiesopenheim, for example, we know of a large La Tène settlement where graves of the Roman period suggest continuity in settlement. Grave goods from the cemeteries of Badenheim and Sponsheim contain both native and Roman ware. Furthermore, Stümpel[93] shows that in Nieder-Olm two villas followed two settlements indicated by the presence of La Tène D cemeteries; similarly in Ober-Olm. In Worms-Leiselheim La Tène D *Trichtergruben* were found next to a Roman villa.[94]

The pattern of settlement also appears to be similar. In La Tène D small hamlets or single farmsteads (Caesar's *aedificia)* seem to be the rule, as can be clearly seen from the territory of Ober- and Niederolm with five separate cemeteries. As Stümpel has pointed out, the Roman settlement pattern of individual *villae rusticae* does not mean a change from the La Tène pattern.[95] Moreover, one can observe the regular appearance of several villas together, three in Osthofen, four in Abenheim, six each in Engelstadt and Großwinternheim, indicating a more La Tène-style 'hamlet' arrangement than a large Roman-style *latifundium.*

Discontinuity, on the other hand, can be noticed in only a few examples, e.g. in Wonsheim where hardly any Roman finds followed an intensive La Tène D settlement, while a few sites in the fertile Rheinhessen were newly settled in the Roman period. A few new *villae rusticae* developed, especially around towns, and new *vici,* primarily Eisenberg where *a vicus* grew around a newly opened mining estate (see below), while the other *vici,* like Oggersheim, Alzey, Bingen, perhaps Nierstein, seem to have been of importance already in pre-Roman times.

In summarising, one may suggest a slight but systematic shift from less accessible areas to those territories in the plains and along Roman roads. This does not mean that all people moved, but that in those areas there was no élite desiring the display of their wealth in the form of *villae rusticae*. But in general we can state that there appears to be strong continuity in the pattern of settlement (hamlets and single farmsteads) and in the sites occupied. More striking is the quantity of villas already discovered in this territory. Since *a villa rustica is a* form of élite wealth-display,[96] one might suggest that there must have been relatively more people of wealth in the region than are indicated for the pre-Roman period by warrior-graves. From this, it could be speculated that the Roman Empire gave the population the impetus for upward social mobility; this impression recurs in relation to grave goods and epigraphy.

THE POPULATION PATTERN

In relation to funeral practices, we gain a strong impression of Romanisation. Instead of *Leichenbrand* and grave-gardens,[97] the local population of the Roman period used urns,[98] erected monuments and tombstones, set up testamentary obligations, but retained the habit of burning the property of the dead.[99] Many inhumed objects were first damaged, for example an axe found with a bent handle or a knife with a broken blade.[100] This is a habit not noted previously in Roman graves,[101] while it was a very common phenomenon in Celtic warrior burials.[102] It is not improbable to assume the survival of a Celtic ritual here.[103]

Religion

Celtic deities survived, as did Celtic culture in general, though strongly influenced by Roman ideas. The evidence – inscriptions, statues, reliefs – is of Roman origin, but the Celts adopted these styles along with the foreign deities, to express their own religious beliefs.

We must therefore distinguish between two different types of deities. On the one hand, and more likely to be found in an administrative centre like the *caput civitatis,* were those deities representing Roman state religion (e.g. the imperial cult or members of the Capitolinian trias) who were introduced by representatives of the Roman state, as well as other Graeco-Roman cults and foreign gods introduced by soldiers from all over the Empire. On the other hand, there were the numerous native deities for which the Roman style of statues or dedications on inscriptions, sometimes even a Latin name and representation, was adopted, both by natives (probably from the Romanized upper-classes who wanted to express their beliefs in a Roman style) and by people of foreign origin, like veterans who felt a need for the help of a local god. If there had been any unbroken continuity of Celtic traditions in a non-Romanized style – e.g. in a grove or with wooden statues-it would prove difficult to trace archaeologically if not associated with artefacts dating to the Roman period.

We know that the imperial cult was observed from an inscription of Gaius Candidius Martinus who was *sevir Augustalis* in the *civitas capital.*[104]

Few dedications to deities of personified abstracta can be found. There is a dedication to *Victoria* by the councillor Lucius or Titus Romanius Respectus,[105] a second to *Mars* and *Victoria* by someone bearing a Celtic name from Eisenberg,[106] a third to *Fortuna* by Lucius Gnatius Mascellius;[107] i.e. two dedicants were Roman citizens, two bear Celtic names. The female companion of *Mars* is usually the Celtic goddess *Nemetona* with whom he even shared the same temple, for example, in Klein-Winternheim, Worms and Trier. Thus, the combination of *Mars* and *Victoria* on a dedication by a person with a Celtic name might indicate that *Victoria* represents *Nemetona.*[108]

Almost two thousand years of continuity are represented by the medieval St Nicolas' church in Worms, where a Roman altar for St Nicolas' pagan counterpart, Neptune, was found. This not only indicates a commons strong belief in this type of 'god/saint', but it also makes us aware that Neptune in this case was not necessarily the 'God of the Sea' since the nearest sea was about four hundred kilometres distant. Neptune rather represents the god of the fishermen or may even be a river-god.[109] We are not aware of a possible Celtic parallel, although one may think of a 'personified' river Rhine.

It was Jupiter however, the Roman state god, who was most dominant in the *caput civitatis.* There are nine known inscriptions of him, usually as '*Iupiter Optimus Maximus*' (LO.M.), and *Iuno Regina,*[110] in *Borbetomagus,* which suggest the existence of a temple, if not a *capitolium* for the whole Capitoline triad, near the assumed *forum-basilica* complex underneath the medieval cathedral.

Early dedicants to Jupiter were on one hand Roman citizens and officials, like the *praefectus* of the *Ala Scubulorum* Gains Barburius Festus from *Arretium*[111] or the prefect Lucius

Octavius.[112] The majority (approximately seventy-five per cent) of dedications to *I.O.M.* in *Borbetomagus* were made by natives-representatives with typical Celtic names (see Appendix II), like Maianus[113] and Mallius. Therefore it may follow that they took *Jupiter Optimus Maximus* as equivalent to the Celtic *Taranis,*[114] an equation about which we can be quite certain. An inscription from Chester mentions the *I(uppiter) O(ptimus) M(aximus) Tanarus*[115] and a commentary on Lucanus also equates Jupiter with *Taranus.*[116]

The location on the cathedral mount, as the highest elevation, could suggest a pre-Roman sanctuary *(Viereckschanze)* of this major Celtic god existed, now replaced by a stone building. Continuity can also be seen in the now abandoned Donnersberg *oppidum,* always identified with the weather-gods *Taranis, Donar,* Jupiter.[117] And as 'god of lightning' *Taranis, I.O.M.,* and occasionally even *Iuno,* are represented on reliefs with wheel and thunderbolt.[118]

It has already been pointed out by von Kienle that the cult of Jupiter and Juno Regina was a local characteristic of the Upper Rhine valley, found in larger towns, but atypical for any other Gallic *civitas,* and definitely not of Roman origin where the pair *I.O.M.* and Juno never had this importance.[119] While his conclusion was to recognize Suebian deities, because *Triboci, Nemetes,* and *Vangiones* were believed in the 1930s to be of Suebian origin, it seems to me of more importance to stress both the Celtic idea of putting a female companion at a god's side (like *Mercurius* and *Rosmerta, Apollo* and *Sirona* (see below), or *Mars* and *Nemetona)* and the mainly Celtic names of the dedicants. It seems that the Capitoline triad was of importance and represented a fusion of Celtic and Roman ideas, stimulated by a suggested early replacement of an important Gallic sanctuary for *Taranis* by a Roman-style temple for *I.O.M.* on the cathedral mount.

No other religious monument seems to have been erected so often in *Germania Superior* during the second and third century AD than the so-called *Jupitergigantensäulen;* the representation of *I.O.M.* as *'Gigantenreiter'* can give more information about the character of the Romano-Celtic *Iupiter-Taranis.* The monuments consist of a *Viergotterstein* (of which around three hundred examples are known[120]), i.e. a four-sided relief usually showing *Iuno, Minerva, Hercules,* and *Mercurius,* a column with scale pattern, and Jupiter riding on a horse above the giant (Pl. 3). Various examples, of either complete monuments or typical parts of it (like, for example, the *Viergötterstein),* have been found. Several examples were found at the site of the *forum* (cathedral) of the *civitas* capital *Borbetomagus* (Worms) and there is a recycled piece from the south cemetery of the Roman city. Other *Jupitergigantensäulen* were found in the suburbs Hochheim and Weinsheim, as well as in Alzey, Armsheim, Biebelnheim, Bingen, Eimsheim, Eisenberg, Frettenheim, Ingelheim, Kerzenheim, Planig, Udenheim, and Westhofen (see Fig. 7).[121]

The idea of the *Jupitergigantensäule* may have originated in the worship of Celtic gods in the form of trees, but the design is completely Roman in tradition (inspired by the Jupiter column of Mainz).[122] The riding god defeating the giant is a concept which must derive from Celtic mythology. If we accept Bauchhenß' interpretation, the riding god (rather than the god driving a chariot) seems to represent the god of heaven; his fight against the giant illustrates the fight between good and evil. His attributes, 'wheel' and 'thunder' identify him as the god of light, a quality which Jupiter has only partially retained.

The Celtic character of *Iupiter Optimus Maximus* is obvious,[123] although his artistic representation is Roman in style. As to dedications to 'actual' Roman deities, we are left with the imperial cult and two private inscriptions to *Fortuna* and *Victoria,* while *Victoria* in combination with *Mars* may be identified as the Celtic *Nemetona.*

Some deities show in their names an obvious Celtic origin, and were either called by their Celtic names or by a combination of Celtic and Roman names.

In *Borbetomagus,* a temple, perhaps a Gallo-Roman *Umgangstempel,* can be assumed for the Celtic *Leucetius,* unified with the Roman *Mars.*[124] The importance of *Mars-Leucetius* in the whole *civitas Vangionum* seems obvious considering the number of inscriptions and reliefs found,[125] including a sanctuary in Ober-Olm which was in use from pre-Roman times up to late antiquity.

Of even more importance seems to have been the Celtic or Celticised Mercury, with *deo* often placed in front of his name, emphasising his non-Roman character.[126] According to Caesar the Gauls 'deorum maxime Mercurium colunt',[127] but, in contrast to *Mars Leucetius* only occasionally as in Neustadt and Speyer do we find one of the 14 possible Gallic epithets added to his name.[128] Inscriptions to him can be found all over the *civitas Vangionum* and the neighbouring *civitates* (Fig. 7). The Celtic goddess *Rosmerta,*[129] sometimes *Maia,*[130] was often set beside him. Dedicants were of a native background, with Celtic names like Vitalius Pelto.[131] The sanctuary of Mercury in Bechterbach-Gangloff was probably already situated outside the *civitas.*

Another Celtic goddess was *Epona,* already accepted as a deity by the Romans in Republican times; on a statue, which has been proved to be made in *Borbetomagus,*[132] she is surrounded by horses. Relatively rare were *Sucellus,*[133] whose Roman equivalent *Vulcanus* is depicted together with Mercury and Minerva (the Celtic *Nemetona)* on a stone from Worms, and *Silvanus.*[134] The latter received a dedication from someone with the Celtic name Lucios Cinnonis.

Pl. 3. *Jupitergigantensäule,* reconstructed from various pieces of column found in Worms (courtesy of Stadtarchiv Worms).

A dedication to the three Celtic goddesses (the matrons who find their continuity up to the present in Embede, Warbede, and Umbede) in the form of the *Parcae* comes from Worms-Wiesoppenheim.[135]

Sirona was the female equivalent to *Granus* who himself became assimilated to the Roman Apollo. A sanctuary like that of Hochscheid has not been found in this *civitas,* but there was an important sulphur spring at *Buconica* (Nierstein) 11 *leugae* north of Worms. It was

Fig. 7 The distribution of dedications to various deities (after Appendix I and *CIL*)

dedicated to Apollo *Granus* and *Sirona*.[136] Coins and other votive-objects date its usage from the first to the third centuries.

A dedication to the *Nymphae* by the *vicani* of Alzey, bearing Celtic names, is one of the few dated inscriptions.[137]

The distribution pattern of inscribed dedications (Figs. 7 and 8) clearly indicates their use in the larger centres of the region, like *Borbetomagus, Mogontiacum, Altiaiensium, Buconica,*

Fig. 8 The distribution of dedications to various deities, except Mainz (after Appendix I and *CIL*).

or Eisenberg, while reliefs carved in stone are more widespread, showing a different degree of Romanisation in towns as compared to the countryside.

Celtic Onomastics

The Celts used writing, borrowed from the Romans and Greeks, only sporadically. It was as part of the 'acculturation' process that some adopted the habit of erecting tombstones in a Roman manner with *'Dis Manibus'* on the top and the name of the commemorator at the bottom, or inscribed dedications with typical Roman formula like *'V.S.L.L.M.'*, or took Latin(ised) names.

Altogether around two hundred and sixty inscriptions have been found inside the *civitas Vangionum* (excluding Mainz) recording approximately two hundred names, many of them belonging to the native population.[138] An analysis of this material shows its similarity to epigraphy in other Gaulish regions, e.g. *Gallia Lugdunensis*,[139] regarding the (Celtic and Roman) names used and the way in which Celtic names became Latinised, as the following short survey illustrates.

Beginning with *the gentilicium,* we can notice the same phenomenon as in the other Gaulish provinces. It was not usual for new Roman citizens to take the name of the emperor, so that we can find only five Aurelii[140] who are all soldiers, three of them from Thrace, two Valerii,[141] and one F'lavius[142] out of two hundred people, i.e. the *gentilicium* of the emperor was probably taken only by those who were actual members of that *gens*[143] or had moved, for example from the eastern provinces.

Otherwise, the *gentilicium* was formed from the father's name, creating so-called *'pseudo-gentilicia'* based on local Celtic names, like Mallius.[144] Another possibility was the adoption of Latin *cognomina,* a habit which seems to be widespread in the *civitas Vangionum;* for example Acceptus became Acceptius,[145] – similarily Candidius,[146] Romanius, [147] and Victorius.[148] Some *pseudo-gentilicia* like Candidius or Acceptius are, according to Szabo,[149] so typical that they would even show the Gallic origin of the bearer if found outside the Gallo-Germanic provinces.

A few examples show an artificial creation, as in *CIL* 6244, when Victorinus' brother took the name Victorius Florentinus; i.e. the *gentilicium* seems to derive from the brother's name.

When looking at single names or *cognomina,* we find a large number of typical Celtic names, e.g. Mallius, Maianus, Seccus, Carantus, Smertullianus, Bellicus.[150]

Other names showed an 'interaction between Roman and Celtic elements', [151] like Saturnina, Saturninus resembling Celtic names beginning with *satto-,* Marcellina those with *marc-/ merc-,* Decimus, Secundus, Secundinus, those beginning with *Þec-* (s,d=Þ), and Senecianus those with *senn-.*[752]

Many of the names of Latin origin, like Servandus and Senecio or Senecianus,[153] were characteristic of Gaul. Names which are hardly attested outside the Gaulish provinces came into use, so that, for example, Sollemnis is limited to Gaul, while names like Secundus or Severus came with soldiers into the provinces.[154] These 'provincial' names like Saturninus or Victorinus were relatively rare in Italy.[155]

A large number of names appear to have been artificial creations with alliteration, if not deriving from a filiation as *gentilicium,* e.g. Faustinius Faustinus, Lupulius Lupianus, Spectatia Spectata, Severia Severa, Victorius Victor.[156]

Regarding the 'degree' of Romanisation, the Roman *tria nomina* rarely appears, but when it does, filiation and *tribus* are frequently missing. *Praenomina* are hardly used, instead we find *gentilicium* and *cognomen* alone, or with a filiation at the end of the nomenclature; Celtic-style single names were still common.

What is important is not the survival of Celtic onomastic in a world dominated by Rome, but that Romanised names and Roman ways of name-giving were incorporated into the Celtic tradition, creating an enriched source of names. In this Szabo should be followed,[157] in that we should not interpret the survival of Celtic onomastics as an opposition to Roman culture,[158] but allow that

> it was possible for a society to come about with a culture in which Celtic and Roman elements were not in opposition ... they adjusted the custom of using family names, which was some-thing new to them and which they had taken over from the Romans, to their own tribal traditions, by bearing the family name formed from the father's name. As for the *cognomen,* they either retained their Celtic name or chose a Latin name that was akin to it. This last they did so often that the Celtic and Latin elements became inseparably fused in the name.

The Use of Epigraphy

A considerable increase in the use of epigraphy from the first to the second century can be traced (Fig. 9).[159]

In the first century, it is primarily soldiers and generals who make use of inscriptions (Pl. 4). One exception is the tombstone of a civilian who was, or had become, a Roman citizen, Quintus Celius Firmus.[160]

Only in the second century, did the native population widely accept epigraphy for tomb-stones or dedications, and instead of soldiers' memorials,[161] we find inscriptions for members of the local élite like decurions, teachers, doctors, traders, and many of unknown profession. This increase runs parallel with developments in other western provinces.[162] A few people wanted to show, by their use of the *tria nomina,* the possession of the precious Roman citizenship.[163] For the same reason, it was usual to state the name of the commemorator, together with expressions like 'faciendum curavit'[164] or 'frater et heres',[165] because the typical Roman institution of a 'will' including a testamentary obligation needed at least the *ius Latii* and therefore this must have been seen as an expression of status.[166]

Romanitas was also demonstrated where children had Roman names while their parents retained their Celtic names, or when we find a mixture of Roman and indigenous costumes and hair-styles on reliefs (Pl. 5).

Typical of the second and early third centuries are tombstones like that of a trader from Worms-Weinsheim, similar to the *Igelsäule* of Trier, emphasising social function; such displays of wealth took place in Italy already in the first centuries BC /AD.[167]

Pl. 4 The tombstone of the Celtic soldier Argiotalus, son of Smertulitanus (courtesy of Stadtarchiv

Worms).

Pl. 5 Tombstone (Archaeology Museum, Worms).

The third century still saw quite a widespread use of epigraphy, and we now find inscriptions more frequently in the countryside.[168] The fact that many names appear to be 'gekünstelt' and 'primitiv' could, if we accepted Scharf's view,[169] indicate the use of epigraphy by people who were less Romanised than the representatives of the élite of the second century. In Nierhaus' interpretation there was an impoverishment of the old wealthier citizens, while the poorer, less Romanised social strata rose quickly.[170] This might also be assumed from the distribution pattern of villas and the widespread wealth of grave goods which may suggest a relatively larger stratum in society of wealthy people than existed in preRoman times; but we then have to consider that firstly, most sites of so-called villas have not yet been excavated, are therefore not dated and thus cannot provide a chronological development, and secondly, that the late pre-Roman Iron Age of the region under consideration was indeed a period of poor grave goods.

If epigraphy was used mainly by upper-class people to show their *Romanitas,* as suggested above, and the use of epigraphy had been as widespread as the adoption of the *villa rustica-*building type, then the distribution of inscriptions may indicate the location of their residences. Instead, as can be clearly seen in Figure 10, inscriptions seem to be concentrated in larger settlements and along major roads, while there are many elaborate villas without inscriptions. This is due to the epigraphic habit, as already mentioned, with epigraphy mainly reflecting the inner-élite competition of larger settlements, such as *Borbetomagus* and *Mogontiacum,* and also Alzey, Bingen, Eisenberg, and Altrip. The fact that in the third century more inscriptions come from the countryside, even some from relatively remote areas, could indeed suggest social change such as a disintegration of the *civitas.*

From the epigraphy, it seems possible to distinguish various social layers within the *Vangiones* in relation to the 'degree' of Romanisation. We find a 'Romanised' élite who gained the *civitas Romana* mostly by holding office, and which decorates itself with Roman-style names, quality inscriptions and reliefs. Another less Romanised stratum attempts to

Fig. 9 The use of epigraphy in the *civitas Vangionum* and the origin of names in Worms and Alzey. (A) number of names of natives and (B) number of inscriptions (white = military personnel) in the first, second and third centuries, in the *civitas Vangionum* (Scharf, 1938: 94 ff.). For Worms (C) and Alzey (D), number of names of Roman origin (dark = natives, shaded = relatives bearing Celtic names, white = soldiers) possible Celtic origin and Celtic origin (dark = the full name of Celtic origin, white = at least one Celtic element).

Pl. 6 The tombstone of the Valerius Maxantius
(courtesy of Stadtarchiv Worms).

Pl. 7 The tombstone of Fausta, museum Worms (courtesy of Stadtarchiv Worms).

copy Latin names. Then there are some with a Celtic cognomen, and others have just one Celtic name. Good quality stone and reliefs tended to be used by people bearing proper Latin names (Pl. 6), often with *tria nomina,* while some poor quality works (like that of Fausta (Pl. 7)) often belonged to those whose names suggest a less Romanised background.

   Regional variations are also recognizable. From the epigraphy, the *vici* Alzey and Eisenberg appear to have been relatively Celtic, and similarly in the hilly area west of the *civitas* (e.g. in Landstuhl, Wolfstein, or St Julian), while in the *civitas* capital most people adopted Latin(ised) names in one way or another (Fig. 10).

Fig. 10 The distribution of inscriptions in the *civitas Vangionum,* including Mainz, (after *CIL, Fundmünzen* and Appendix I, column H).

Mobility

The Roman Empire of the Principate brought the possibility of a mobility not conceived of in a La Tène society with its system of personal bondings. The army seems to be the major motivating force of social change. The epitaphs of most foreigners are those of soldiers, from units first recruited in *Hispania, Gallia, Belgica,* or on the Danube, who often died during their duty, or as veterans after their period of service. Many of them came from other Celtic regions, like Tartus *'natione Treveri'* or the *'Helvetius'* Licinus from Nantes, but there were also Thracians, like Aurelius Dizza and his companions.[171] There were officials from Arezzo, civilians from Monetium, Texander, and Termes.

The evidence from the funerary record supports this view of increasing mobility (Fig. 11). Burials indicate, for example, the occasional deceased of British or Marcomannian origin,[172] while the majority of grave goods, especially *fibulae,* show the region's strong relation to central Gaulish areas.[173]

On the other hand we can find *Vangiones* outside their *civitas,* like the mounted cohort on Hadrian's Wall in Britain, and Candida – a common *Vangiones* name – who was stationed at fort Niedernberg upon the Rhine.[174]

Fig. 11 The movement of people and military units into and out of Borbetomagus according to inscriptions and grave goods.

THE ECONOMIC CHANGES

Few details are known about the organization of the La Tène D economy. The Celtic economy had long advanced beyond the subsistence level of the early Iron Age and at the eve of Caesar's conquest efficient production of surplus was necessary to enable the exchange of prestigious goods. In *oppida* like Manching large quarters for craftsmen have been found[175] and 'non productive classes'[176] had developed. Coinage (see below) was introduced and efficient agricultural exploitation made possible.[177] The Gallic War of 58-50 BC, however, seemed to have disrupted the economy of Eastern Gaul for approximately a century.[178]

Although the Celts had long-established trade contacts with the Mediterranean world, access to prestige goods was controlled by the aristocracy;[179] finds from the Mediterranean were extremely rare in the territory of late La Tène *Vangiones*. In Roman times, imports increase enormously, with Roman traders finding a new market there as early as the twenties BC.[180] But prestigious goods, like terra sigillata or wine, lost their value with the coming of the army a decade later, owing to the subsequent abundance of these goods, and eventually their local production. In order to appear to keep up a 'Roman way of life', oil, ointments, perfumes, fish paste, etc. were imported to the Rhine throughout the following centuries.

Locals, too, got involved in the wider and more market orientated Roman economy, so that, for example, a trader,[181] *a negotiator* and a 'river-shipper' can be found in *Borbetomagus.*[182] Despite flourishing trade and craft production, the region remained dependent on agriculture, and except for the examples mentioned, wealth was still mainly attributed to the possession of land.

Villae demonstrate the relationship between town and country. They were the residences of *decuriones,* elaborately decorated with wall-plaster, mosaics, and baths. The proximity of villas to Roman roads and towns shows the need for transport and perhaps an orientation towards a market economy.[183] The density of villas spatially does not allow for the existence of large *latifundia* farmed by slaves; large-scale production for export to Rome, as in North Africa, also seems to have been unlikely because of the tremendous costs of transporting goods across the Alps.

Changes in the types of crops grown cannot be proved, except for the introduction of vines which is suggested by numerous installations of wine-presses and associated tools. An increase in the production of cereals has to be assumed, in order to supply the cities and armies,[184] but very extensive agricultural exploitation had already been possible.[185]

In the Roman period, the centre of iron-mining in the region became Eisenberg, *a vicus* on the road from Metz to Worms dating to the first century AD. The major occupation of its inhabitants was the iron production industry. The smelting furnaces were simple constructions. In the early period, iron bars were still made in the pre-Roman form of doublepyramids. In Göllheim, further west, a copper-mine with 12 shafts and evidence for Roman surface mining have been found, that was probably in use during the second and third centuries AD.[186] Despite the pre-Roman double-pyramid bars, only mines opened during the Roman period have been found. Army management for the mines has been suggested on the basis of a dedication of an active legionary to *Mars,*[187] but the fact that native techniques were

employed rather indicates native exploitation. In contrast, the quarry at Bad Dürkheim, *Krimhildenstuhl,* exploited only shortly after AD 200, was worked by the 22nd legion.

There was a complete break in the style of pottery. Not that new techniques were introduced-the potter's wheel had already long been in use. But virtually no single grave with mixed La Tène and Roman ceramics has been found. Stümpel explains that a quick change in production was possible because the La Tène pottery industry, which used standardized forms and patterns, was based in two centres around Worms and Kreuznach supplying Rheinhessen and Nordpfalz with fine ceramics, and also with painted ware, so that the change had only to occur in those two centres.[188] On the other hand, one could speculate that the new and 'fashionable' Roman pottery was now favoured for use in funerary contexts over the colourfully painted late La Tène ceramics.

Many pottery kilns suggest a continous pottery production in *Borbetomagus,* but, like the *Gesichtskrüge* (face-jugs) of the later Empire, the Worms pottery shows only local distribution, while imports of pottery came mainly from nearby Rheinzabern.

While traditional Celtic crafts like carpentry or metalworking declined, other crafts were introduced, for example, stone carving and glass-blowing.

The Celts had their own coinage, but they were not accustomed to a monetarized economy. Instead, coins seem to have been used more as political symbols, enabling tribe and kings to demonstrate their importance.[189] There are coins attributed to the *Vangiones*,[190] but, as has been already pointed out by Bannert,[191] relatively few of them were actually found inside the *civitas Vangionum* and they may well have been minted elsewhere. The coins found there originate from all over the Celtic world. Coins from the *Catalauni* and *Leuci* seem to be especially common, while those of the neighbouring *Treveri* and *Mediomatrici* are relatively rare (see Appendix I, column N), probably indicating that these two tribes never played any dominant rôle in the Vangionic region. Indeed, this distribution shows no clear dominance by any coinage, suggesting that there was probably no mint in the territory. It could also demonstrate trade contacts or the mobility of individuals, so that the concentration of coins in camps at *Mogontiacum* could have been due to Celtic auxiliary soldiers of various origins being assembled there. Finds of scales *(Schnellwagen)*[192] suggest that the weight of precious metal – and also of coins, rather than their face value – was of importance.

The minting of Celtic coinage continued during the reign of Augustus even in military contexts,[193] as seen in Mainz legionary fortress.[194] But then, with the end of the Celtic coinage and mints, came the end of independence, too. The Roman coinage, which had circulated in large quantities since Augustus' reign (see Fig. 12), corresponding with the appearance of soldiers along the Rhine, caused the gradual spread of coin use, first in the early and large military site of Mainz, then, in the later towns affected by the army, e.g. Worms and Alzey.

Less so in the countryside. Finds of coins are widespread, but only in small numbers. Since, unfortunately, there is little documented in *Fundmünzen (FMRD),* the ratio between coin finds in towns and the countryside cannot be examined, but we can state that hoards have primarily been found in larger settlements (Appendix I, column M).

Fig. 12 The distribution of coin loss for Worms, Alzey, Mainz and Bingen, percentages compiled according to the information given in Fundmünzen. (A) distributions set against the average (after Appendix III).

The 12,000 to 24,000 legionaries stationed inside the civitas, each earning 10 asses per day[195] or 228 *denarii* per year[196] (making an allowance for clothing, food, subscriptions, etc. of approximately twenty per cent), caused between 2.5 to 5 million *denarii* to flow into the *civitas* every year, paid to locals on regular visits to local markets, and for food and drinks.[197]

This, together with a taxation system based on coinage, forced the provincial inhabitants to use Roman coins. The development would only have been delayed if we assume that the local aristocracy initially collected goods in kind from their 'subjects' and clients, and paid Rome in cash, which they got, for example, from transactions with the Roman army.

A more monetarized economy[198] would have allowed land to be sold and veterans to buy land. Traditionally, all land was owned by the tribe and controlled by the nobles who could not sell it, but gave it to 'clients'. Monetarisation and taxation on all land eventually replaced the patron-client relationship with that between landlord and tenant;[199] a veteran and Roman citizen who bought a plot of land could hardly become a client of a Celtic nobleman.

SUMMARY

The Romans brought about elementary changes in society. The La Tène social structure and bonding system disintegrated, not through a conscious policy of Romanisation, but as a consequence of the Roman imperial policy to secure peace. The carrying of weapons, symbolic of Celtic aristocracy, was forbidden, druids were prosecuted, a new mobility destroyed traditional relationships, and since Rome organized the recruitment of the natives for the auxilia, the concept of 'warrior' was replaced (from the end of the first century) by that

of a soldier serving 25 years abroad and often never returning. In this way, the Celtic concept of the 'warrior' split into those of 'soldier' and 'councillor'.

This, together with the monetarization of the economy, the possibility of avoiding the local hierarchy by calling on the Roman governor, and the development of a 'Handwerks- und Dienstleistungsgruppe' (manufacturing and service-trades groups[200]) which removed members of the lower classes from their social bondings,[202] caused a re-structuring of Celtic society, bringing an increased independence in the choice of profession, and the possibility of social mobility to lower stratas, while reshaping the influence of the élite, with their dominance shifting from personal to more formal relationships.

With more prosperous times, there was even an increase in the numbers of the élite, which was now based on wealth, members serving in the *ordo,* wearing the Roman toga, bearing Latin names, and attempting to gain the precious Roman citizenship. In contrast to the few La Tène warrior graves, it took a much larger élite to built Gallo-Roman villas. Limited La Tène grave goods such as mirrors become increasingly common. The epigraphy may suggest that the Romanised second-century élite gave way to less Romanised layers in the third century. But it is not only the élite who became `Roman', the lower classes did so too.

People accepted various elements of the Roman culture because this meant higher living standards (theatres, baths, water supplies, Roman stone houses with under floor heating, etc.). The aspiration towards the precious Roman citizenship – Rome's *'Lockmittel'* for the native élite[202] – is reflected in the archaeology: locals accepted Roman funeral practices (the use of urns and the Charon-coins), Roman cuisine (use of *mortaria,* imports of oils and fish sauce), Latin(ised) names and epigraphy (mainly as an expression of Roman citizenship). On reliefs, they tend to appear usually in Roman, or at least mixed Celtic and Roman costume.[203] Since the provincial élite acquired a Graeco-Roman education, Latinisation came automatically, a factor which of course did not apply as strongly to people of lower social standing, especially those outside an urban environment.[204]

Various distribution patterns show strong regional variations, with usually a contrast between 'town' and 'countryside'. Epigraphy, for example, is very common only in towns, can also be found along major roads, but rarely appears anywhere else. Typical Roman cults, like $I.O.M.,$ and concepts such as the inscribing of dedications are again found primarily in larger towns. Celtic onomastics were less influenced by Latin names in more remote areas in the west, while, especially in *Borbetomagus,* names tended to become Latinised. Villas seem to be extremely widespread, though usually close to a Roman road, except in the western half of the *civitas.*

Thus, it seems that Roman culture was strong in the cities of Worms and Mainz where a strong contact with the Romans created an atmosphere of 'acculturation' and 'self-assimilation'; to a lesser degree, this is also the case for Alzey and Bingen. And from the towns, Roman culture spread out into the countryside.

Abstract

This is a study of the process of integration of the Vangiones *into the Roman Empire from the first century* BC *to the third century* AD. *These were a Celtic people, as will be shown, on the left bank of the Rhine. Changes in settlement patterns from La Tène to Roman times are analysed in detail, like the decline of* oppida *on hilltops, the form and function of* villae *and the urbanisation as seen in the* civitas *capital* Borbetomagus *(Worms). The various changes in society are investigated through a detailed study of Celtic onomastics, the use of epigraphy, comparison of élite residences in pre-Roman and Roman times, etc. The influence of urban settlements and the army (which was based in the provincial capital* Mogontiacum *on the land of the* Vangiones) *on the Romanisation process are mentioned, as well as economic developments, especially the introduction of coinage. Three appendices give information of over more than two hundred sites in the* civitas, *listing names, deities, and titles found on the over two hundred and sixty inscriptions, and produce a statistic for coin use of some sample sites.*

Appendix I

List of sites

The following list gives the information for the various distribution pattern maps. It has been compiled using the information given in Franke (1960), Chantraine (1965), Behrens (1923), Kühne (1942), Kofler (1888), updated with Stümpel (1955, 1956, 1959, 1967a, 1967b, 1969, 1978, 1986, 1991), Grünewald (1986, 1989a, 1989b, 1990), Bittel (1981), Engels (1967), Kriesel (1978: Karte 16-17).

Explanations

ad column f: 'graves of the La Tène élite'

a	grave with Italian amphora	sr	string-ring, indicating a warrior grave
w	grave with military content	k	knife
W	more than one 'warrior grave'		

ad column k: 'settlement'

CC	*Caput Civitate*	V/VC	*Villa* or *Vicus*
VR	*Villa Rustica*	B	'Road Post'
VC	*Vicus*	*?*	not certain
x	traces of settlement		

ad column n: `Celtic coins'

A	Senones	M	Bellovaces
B	Leuci	N	Hermunduri
C	Treveri	O	Carnuti
D	Aduatuci	P	Helvetii
E	Nemesi	Q	Caleti
F	Catalani	R	East Celts
G	Vangiones	S	Baiocasses
H	Mediomatrici	T	Veliocasses
I	Boii	U	Avernei
K	Sequani	V	Haedui
L	Ambiani	W	Iceni

hrd   coin hoard of unknown denominations

(a number in front of a letter indicates the number of coins found)

Appendix I: Sites

		La Tène			graves of the elite	Roman						Coins	
		finds	graves	settlement		finds	inscriptions	graves	villae	settlement	continuity	coin hoards	Celtic coins
no.	Place												
a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n
62.	*Freilaubenhm*	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-		-	-	-
63.	*Freinsheim*	x-	x	?	-	x	1	x	-	.	=	-	-
64.	*Frettenheim*	-	-	-	-	x	-	x	1	VC&VR	++	-	-
65.	*Friesenheim*	-	1	-	-	x	-	-	-	.	.	-	-
66.	*Fürfeld*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	VR	++	-	-
67.	*Fußgönnheim*	x	x	x	-	x	>2	x	-	?	=	-	-
68.	*Gabsheim*	x	-	x	-	-	-	x	1	VR	=	-	-
69.	*Gaualgesheim*	x	x	-	-	x	-	x	l?	VR?	=	-	-
70.	*Gaubickelhm*	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	2-4?	VR	+	-	-
70a.	*Gaubischofshm*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2-3?	VR	++	-	-
70b.	*Gauheppenhm*	-	-	-	-	x	-	x	1-2	VR	++	-	-
71.	*Gaulsheim*	-	-	-	-	x	1	x	-	.	+	-	-
72.	*Gauweinheim*	x	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	.	.	-	-
73.	*Gensingen*	x	1?	-	-	x	-	x	-	VR	++	-	-
74.	*Gimbsheim*	x	x	-	-	x	1	1	-	?		-	-
75.	*Gimmeldingen*	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	VR	++	-	-
76.	*Göllheim*	-	-	-	-	x	-	x	1	VR	++	-	-
77.	*Gönnheim*	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	.	+	.	.
78.	*Grolsheim*	?	-	-	-	x	-	x	-	.	.	.	-
79.	*GrBockenheim*	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	.	.	-	C
80.	*GrNiedersheim*	-	-	-	-	x	x	-	-	.	+	-	-
81.	*GrWinternhm*	x	x	x		x	-	x	3-6?	VR	=	1	I
82.	*Grünstadt*	x	-	-	-	x	-	x	?	V/VC	++	-	F,H
83.	*Gundheim*	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	1	VR	=	-	-
84.	*Gundersheim*	x	-	-	-	-	-	x	1?	VR?	++	-	-
85.	*Guntersblum*	-	x	-	-	x	-	x	-	x		-	-
86.	*Hackenheim*	-	x	-	-	x	-	x	-	x		-	-
87.	*Hahnheim*	x	x	x	w	x	-	-	1-3?	VR	=	1	-
87a.	*Hamm*	x	?	-	-	-	-	l	-	.	.	-	-
88.	*Hangenweishm*	x	x	-	w	x	-	-	l	VR	=	-	-
89.	*Harxheim*	x	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	--	-	-
90.	*Haßloch*	-	x	-	-	x	-	x	.	.	=	-	-
91.	*Haßloch (NW)*	-	-	-	-	x	-	x	-	x	++	-	-
92.	*Hechtsheim*	-	-	-	-	x	I	x	1	VR	++	-	-
93.	*Heidesheim*	x	x	-	w	x	-	x	2	VR	=	-	-
94.	*Heimersheim*	x	x	-	w	x	4	x	?	?	=	-	-

Appendix I: Sites

No. a	Place b	La Tène			Roman						continuity l	Coins	
		finds c	graves d	settlement e	graves of the elite f	finds g	inscriptions h	graves i	villae j	settlement k		coin hoards m	Celtic coins n
95.	*Heppenhm (Ws)*	x	x	-	W	x	4	x	>1	VR	=	-	-
96.	*Heßloch*	-	x	-	w	x	-	x	-	x	=	-	-
96a.	*Hettenleidelhm*	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	--	-	-
97.	*Heuchelheim*	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	.	+		
98.	*Hillesheim*	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	?	.	-	-
98a.	*Hochborn*	x	x	-	-	-	1	-	-	.	-	-	-
99.	*Hohensülzen*	x	?	-	-	x	-	x	-	x?	+	-	-
100.	*Horchhm (Ws)*	x	x	-	-	x	1	x	1?	VR?	=	-	-
101.	*Horrweiler*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	VR	++	-	-
102.	*Iggelheim*	-	-	-	-	-	x?	-	-	.	.	-	-
102a.	*Ilbesheim*	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	.	-	-
103.	*Ingelheim*	-	-	-	w	x	1	X	3	VR	++	-	-
104.	*Jakobsweiler*	-	-	-	-	x	-	x	-	.	++		
105.	*Kallstadt*	-	-	-	-	x	X	-	-	.	+		
106.	*Kempten*	x	-	-	-	x	-	x	1-2	VR	++	1	-
107.	*Kirchheim*	-	-	-	-	-	2	x	-	.	++		
108.	*Kirchhm-Bol.*	-	-	-	-	X	-	x	-	.	++	-	-
109.	*Kl-Winternhm*	x	x	?	-	X	>10	x	2	V&VC?	=	-	-
110.	*Kongernhcim*	x	x	-	w	-	-	-	1?	VR?	.	-	-
110a.	*Kreuznach*	-	-	-	-	x	x	x	1	V&VR	.	-	-
111.	*Kriegsheim*	x	x	-	-	x	-	x	-	x	=	-	-
112.	*LachenSpeyerd.*	x	x	x	-	-	-	x	x	.	-	-	P
113.	*Lambsheim*	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	.	++	-	-
114.	*Laubenheirn*	-	-	-	-	-	6	x	3	VR	++	-	-
115.	*Leistadt*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	QU		-	-
116.	*Leiselhm (Ws)*	x	-	x	-	-	-	x	-	VR	=	-	-
117.	*Lonsheim*	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	.	.	-
117a.	*Lorzweiler*	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	>1?	VR?	++	-	-
118.	*Mainz*	-	-	-	-	x	x	-	-	V C	++	>10	2B 3C 8D2E 3FGHLNO PQR 2S2T
119.	*Marnheim*	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	.	.	-	-
120.	*Marienhorn*	x	?	-	w	x	1	x	1?	VR?	+	-	F
121.	*Maudach, Lu*	-	-	-	-	x	2	x	-	x	++	-	-
122.	*Meckenheim*	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	.	+	-	-
123.	*Mettenheim*	x	x	x	sr	x	3	x	-	x	=	-	-

Appendix I: Sites

No.	Place	La Tène			Roman							Coins	
		finds	graves	settlement	graves of the elite	finds	inscriptions	graves	villae	settlement	continuity	coin hoards	Celtic coins
a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n
124.	*Mölsheim*	-	x	-	W	-	-	-	-	x	=	-	-
125.	*Mommenheim*	x	x	-	w	x	2	-	1?	VR?	=	-	-
126	*Monsheim*	-	x	-	w	x	1	x	-	x	+	-	-
127.	*Monzernheim*	x	1	-	-	-	-	-x	1?	VR	=	-	-
128.	*Mörstadt*	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	.	-	-
129.	*Mußbach*	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	2	VR	++	-	-
130.	*Mutterstadt*	-	-	-	-	x	1	x	-	VC?	++	-	D
131.	*Nackenheim*	x	x	-	-	x	-	x	1-2	VR	=	-	-
132.	*Neubamberg*	x	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	x?	.	-	-
133.	*Neuhsn (Ws)*	-	x	-	-	x	2	x	-	.	=	-	-
134.	*Neuhofen*	-	-	-	-	x	-	x	-	?	.	1	-
135.	*Neuleiningen*	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	.	++	-	-
136.	*Neustadt/W*	-	-	-	-	-	5	x	-	-	++	1	-
137.	*Ndrflörshm*	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	.	-	-
138.	*Ndrhilbershm*	-	-	-	-	x	-	x	2	VR	++	-	-
139.	*Ndr-Ingelheim*	x	x	x	w	x	6	x	3?	VCVR	=	3	-
140.	*Nieder-Olm*	x	x	x	W	x	>10	x	x	VR	=	-	-
141,	*Niederwiesen*	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	.	.	-	-
142.	*Nierstein*	x	x	x	W	x	9	x	4	V&VC	=	-	-
143.	*Oberflörshm*	-	-	-	-	x	-	x	-	-	++	-	-
143a.	*Oberhilbeshm*	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	.	.	-	-
144.	*OberIngelheim*	x	x	-	-	x	x	x	?	VR?	=	-	-
145.	*Ober-Olm*	x	x	-	-	x	4	x	1?	VR?	=	-	-
146.	*Obrigheim*	x	x	x	-	x	-	x	2?	VR?	=	-	F
147.	*Ockenheim*	-	-	-	-	x	-	x	x?	VR?	++	-	-
148.	*Offenheim*	-	-	-	-	x	-	x	1	VR	++	-	-
149.	*Offstein*	x	x	-	-	x	2	x	-	?	=	-	-
150.	*Oggershm, Lu*	x	x	x	-	x	2	x	-	VC?	=	-	-
151.	*Oppau*	-	x	-	-	-	-	x	-	.	=	-	-
152.	*Oppenheim*	-	-	-	-	x	6	x	1	VR	++	-	-
153.	*Osthofen*	x	x	-	k	x	4	x	3	VR	=	-	C
153a.	*Partenheim*	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	5(?)	VR	++	-	-
154.	*Pfeddershm, Ws*	x	x	-	-	-	-	x	1?	VR?	=	-	-
155.	*Pfifflighm, Ws*	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	.	+	-	-
156.	*Planig*	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	VR	=	-	-
157.	*Pleitersheim*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	> 1?	VR	++	-	-

Appendix I: Sites

		La Tène				Roman						Coins	
		finds	graves	settlement	graves of the elite	finds	inscriptions	graves	villae	settlement	continuity	coin hoards	Celtic coins
No.	Place												
a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	I	j	k	I	m	n
158.	*Quirnheim*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	VR	++	-	-
159.	*Ramsen*	x	1	x	-	-	1	-	-	-	.	1	F
160.	*Rh'dürkhm, Ws*	-	x	-	-	-	3	x	-	.	=+	-	-
161.	*Rh'gönnhm, Lu*	-	-	-	-	x	3	x	-	x	++	1	2B,W
162.	*Rockenhausen*	x	-	-	-	x	>3	x	1	VR	.	-	-
163.	*Rommersheim*	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	.	-	-
164.	*Roxheim*	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	.	.	-	-
165.	*Ruppertsberg*	-	-	x	-	x	8	x	?	?	=	-	F
165a.	*StJohann*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1?	VR?	++?	-	-
166.	*Sausenheim*	-	-	x?	-	X	1	x	1?	VR?	=?	-	U
167.	*Schimsheim*	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	VR	+	-	-
168.	*Schwabenheim*	x	x	-	k?	x	-	x	1	VR	-	-	-
169.	*Schwabsburg*	-	x	-	-	x	-	-	2	VR	+	-	-
170.	*Selzen*	x	x	-	-	x	1	x	x	V/VC	-	-	-
171.	*Siefernheim*	x	x	-	k	x	-	-	x?	x	=	-	K,L
172.	*Sorgenloch*	x	x	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	.	-	-
172a.	*Spiesheim*	x?	-	-	-	X?	-	-	-	.	.	-	-
173.	*Sponsheim*	-	x	-	-	x	1	x	-	.	=	-	A
174.	*Sporkenheim*	-	-	-	-	x	-	x	-	.	+	-	-
175.	*Sprendlingen*	-	-	-	-	x	-	x	1-2	VR	++	-	-
176.	*Steinbockenhm*	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	.	.	-	-
176a.	*Sulzheim*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1?	VR?	++?	-	-
177.	*Udenheim*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x?	.	.	-	-
177a.	*Uelvershm*	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-
178.	*Uffhosen*	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	.	-	L
179.	*Undenheim*	x	-	-	-	x	-	-	1-3?	VR	+	-	-
180.	*Ungstein*	-	-	-	-	x	2	x	1	VR	++	1?	-
181.	*Unterinterstg*	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	.	.	-	-
182.	*Volxheim*	-	x	-	W	x	-	x	-	.	=	-	-
183.	*Wachenheim*	-	x	-	w	-	-	-	1	VR	=	1	-
184.	*Wahlheim*	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	.	+	-	-
185.	*Wallertheim*	x	x	-	-	x	-	x	-	.	=	-	-
186.	*Weinheim (AZ)*	x	x	-	-	-	-	x	1?	VR?	=	-	-
187.	*Weinsheim, Ws*	-	x	-	-	x	1	x	1	VR	=+	-	-
188.	*Weisenhm/Sand*	-	-	-	-	-	1	x	-	.	++	-	PV
189.	*Wendelsheim*	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	.	.	-	-

Appendix I: Sites

No.	Place	La Tène			graves of the elite	Roman					continuity	Coins	Celtic coins
		finds	graves	settlement		finds	inscriptions	graves	villae	settlement		coin hoards	
a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	I	m	n
190.	*Westhofen*	x	x?	-	-	x	-	1	-	Sanctuary	.	-	-
191.	*Wiesoppenhm, Ws*	x	x	x	-	x	1	x	1?	VR?	=	-	K,3Q
192.	*Wolfsheim*	x	x	-	w?	x	-	x	1	VR	=	-	-
193.	*Wöllstein*	x	x	-	W	-	1	x	1	VR	=	-	-
194.	*Wonsheim*	x	x	?	k	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	E
195.	*Worms-Centre*	x	x	-	-	x	x	x	x	CC	=	3	F3G, 3H
196.	*Ws-Adlerberg*	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
197.	*Ws-Liebenau*	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	?	VR?	=?	-	-
198.	*Ws-Rheingewann*	x	x	-	k	-	-	-	-	.	.	-	-
199.	*Ws-Herrnsheim*	x	x	-	w	-	-	-	-	.	.	-	-
200.	*Ws-Hochheim*	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	.	.	-	-
201.	*Wörrstadt*	x	-	-	-	x	-	x	3-5	VR	=	-	2F
202.	*Zell*	-		-	-	-	-	x	-	.	+	-	-

Appendix II

Prosopography of the *Civitas Vangionum*

This appendix lists names from the *Civitas Vangionum,* together with profession, origin and, if part of a dedication, the name of the deity. Underlining indicates a name of Celtic origin or of possible Celtic origin according to Holder (1896) (volume and page number in brackets), or if a suffix is listed as Celtic in Schmidt (1957) (S41 for page 41).

place	name	*CIL*	Holder I-III S=Schmidt (1957)	comment
				to *dea Fortuna*
Alzey				
	L. Gnatius Mascellio	6262	I2030, II450	
	[Se]cundius ...	6263	-	to Mercury and *Rosmertsa*
	Vitalinius Secundinus	6264	III410, S41	to *dea Minerva*
	Octonius Tertius	6265	II832, II1800	*deae nymphis*
	- Castonius Cassius		III1141 (I832f)	*vicani* of Alzey
	Attonius Lucanu[s]	6266	I 276	to *dea Sul*
	Victorius Victor	6267/8	(cf III 283)	to Mercury
Alsheim				
	Faustinius Faustinus	6270	II 1478,S41	*Coh I F(lavia) D(amascenorum)*
	- Senaucus Florionus		.	
	- Gemellinia Faustina mat(er)		S41	
	- Faustinia Potentina (soror)		S41	
Gimbsheim				
	L. Herenni	6271	(II 120)	
Oppenheim				
	Felicius	6275	-	to Mercury
	- Seccus, *pater*		II 1424f	
Nierstein				
	Iulia Frontina	6272	(I 1500) S41	to *Sirona*
	Tertia	6282	-	
	- Venusti		-	
	- Gemelli		-	
	- Serotine Primia		(II 1523)	
	- Amilla		I 129f, S41	
	…	6276		to Mercuri
	Fabricius	6280		
	- Acceptius	6280	-	
	- Paternia Priscilla	6280	S41	
	Lucania Victorina coniugi	6279	-	
	- Pervincius Romulus	6279	-	

Appendix II: Prosopography

place	name	*CIL*	Holder S=Schmidt (1957)	comment
	...orius iii??	6278	-	*CohIltuariorum*
Dienheim				
	Silius, <u>Attonis</u>	6277	(II 1548) I 276	*Ala Picent.*
Erpolzheim/Isenach				
	(soldier)	6143	-	
-	Prudentia <u>Favorina</u>		S41	
Eisenberg				
	Paterni <u>(G)ratinus</u>	6144	(cf II 954) S41	to *I.O.M.*
-	Clemens		-	
	<u>Giamonius Statutus</u>	6145	I 2019 (TI1636)	to *Mars* and *Victoria*
	<u>Lucios Cinonis</u>	6146	II 300f I 1020	to *Silvanus*
	M. Adiutorius Memor	11696	(cf III 507f)	to Mercury and *Rosmerta*
	M. Adiutorius Memor	11698	(cf III 507f)	
	L. Maximin, v[eteranus]	11697	-	to *Me[rcurius]*
-	L. Felicius. v[eteranus]		-	
-	L. Leontius		-	
Kirchheim				
	L. Septimius <u>Florentinus</u>	6147	S41	to *I.O.M.*
	Sep[timia <u>At]uqua</u>	11700	III 741	
Donnersberg				
		6148		*to I.O.M.*
Rockenhausen				
	<u>Vitaliu[sl Pe[llto</u>	6149	(III 410)II 964	to Mercury
	...olisa	6150	-	
-	Iustius Liaeniui Ma...	6150	(cf II 214)	
towards Dörrenbach:				
	<u>Maturio</u> (,) <u>Serroni</u>	6151	II 482f II 1525	
-	<u>Manatiae</u>(,)<u>Vicerinae</u>	6151	II 401 III 277	
	Secund[ini]	11708	(cf II 427)	
Landstuhl				
	Diss. Cassibu. <u>Matunus</u>	6153	II 481f	dedication
	<u>Cacirus D[elgeddus</u>	6154	III 1028	
-	<u>Billiccedna</u>	6154	I 421	
-	Magissa	6154	II 378, pannonisch, S41	
	<u>Melausus</u>	11531f	-	
	<u>Diddignatus</u>	11701	missing in Holder, S41	
Becherbach, Roßberg				
	<u>Massuinnus</u>	6156	(II 455)S41	to Mercury; *custus armorum*
-	<u>Irdutus,</u> *pater*		II 70	
	Q. Seius Postumus	6157	-	to Mercury and *Maia*
Becherbach				
	Sollemnia Iuste	6158	-	
-	Honoratius Sanctus	6158	-	
-	S[oll]e[m]nia <u>Iustina</u>	6158	S41	

Appendix II: Prosopography

place	name	*CIL*	Holder S=Schmidt (1957)	comment
Odenbach				
	Bellius	6159	I 391	
-	Suavis, *pater*	6159	II 1659:Suausia	
-	Novia Postumus, *uxor*	6159	-	
Heidenburg				
	April(a)	6162	I 167,S41	
	Quin...	6163	-	
-	Lu[p]ul(a)c		S41	
	Poppausius Cossteioni	11703	II 1036	
Wolfstein				
	Attonia Selma	6175	I 276	
-	Nicco Attonis filio		I 276	
-	Quintus		-	
-	Saturnina		S41	
-	Carantus		I 770f	
	...ianonis...	6176a	-	
	Caran(tus)	6176a	I 770f	
	...ometius	6176a	-	
St Julian				
	Oclatius Maritus	6177	(cf II 830)	
-	Lucius		-	
-	Rundo		III 247	
-	Materna		II460.468	
	Sextus	6178	(III 534ff)	
-	Perpetuia		-	
	Sextino	6179	(III 534ff),S41	
	Sextino	11706	(III 534ff),S41	
-	Sextus		(III 534ff)	
-	Perpetuia		-	
Oberstaufenbach, Heidenburg				
	Axsinia Ammula	6184	S41	
-	Mariano		-	
	Cacirus	6185	I 670:Cacuros	
-	[Ia]nutria	6185	-	
	...aiaus	6187	-	
-	Visionius Iasus	6190	-	
Rehweiler				
	Sex(tus) Cottius Tasgillus	6194	I 1144ff.II 1749f	to Mercury
Kusel				
	Val. Ambii...	6195	-	
	Domitianus	6195	-	
	[T]ib(erius) Candidiannius Tacitus	6197	Candidus:1733	
-	Tib Candidianius Iunianus, *frater*		Candidus:1733	
	Catullini Iusti Uppilii...	6198	I 850ff	

Appendix II: Prosopography

place	name	*CIL*	Holder I-III S=Schmidt (1957)	comment
Schwarzerden				
	Cinnene	6201	-	
-	Tertius Tertinus	6201	S41	
	Iaretio Losunio patri	6202	II 13	
Lichtenberg, St Wendel				
	Matutinus	6204	S41	to *I.O.M.*
-	Victor		-	
Kefersheim, St Wendel				
	[Me]rcator	6205	-	dedication
Idar, Birkenfeld				
	M. Aventinius Honoratus	6208	-	
-	Av[entini]a Victorina M[...		S41	
Dhaun				
	M. Pannonius Solu(tus)	6211	-	*praefectus*
Ober-Olm				
	Securius Carantus, leg XXII	7248	(II 1427) I 770f	to *I.O.M.* and *ceteri di deaque*
	L. Bittius Paulinus	7249	I 430 (II 959)	to *Mars* and *Victoria*
	...	7250		to *Mars Leucetius*
	Aur(?) Candidus	7250	I 733	*cornicularius*
Klein-Winternheim				
	L. Iulius B...	7252	-	*Mars-Leucetius* temple
	A. Didius Gallus	7253	-	to *dea Nemetona*
	P. Flavoleius P.F. Poinutina Corpus	7255	-	*mil leg XIV*
-	C. Vibennius L.F.	7255	-	
	Primanius Primlulus, leg XXII	7256	(cf II 1043f), S41 -	Augustalinia Afre
-	Lucania Summula		S41	
-	Augustalinus Afer		S41	
-	Primania Primula		S41	
	Marcellina Marcella	7257	S41	
-	Iul Paterninus, dec ala Ind		(cf II 952f), S41	
Ebersheim				
	Lindis; (Velandu); Thudelindi	7260	-	
Borbetomagus				
	C. Barburius Festus, praef	6212	-	to *I.O.M.*
	L. Octavius Celer, praef	6213	-	to *I.O.M.*
	Pistillus	6214	II 1009, S41	to *I.O.M.*
-	Quintus		-	
-	Maianus		II 388	
	Q. Vinilius Pervincus	6215	notCeltic:II 352	to *I.O.M.*
	...	11708c	-	to *IO.M.*
Intamelus Eburo		6216	I 1402	to *I.O.M.* and *Iuno*
-	Firmia Lucia		-	

Appendix II Prosopography

place	name	CIL	Holder I-III S=Schmidt (1957)	comment
Mallius Sofio		6217	Mallo:II 397	to *I.O.M.* and *Iuno*
Novia Prisc(a)		6218	Prisciaca:II 1044f	to *I.O.M.* and *Iuno*
Victorina Primitiva		6219	S41,Primi-: II 1043f	to *I.O.M.* and *Iuno*
...		6220	-	to *I.O.M.* and *Iuno*
Amandus		6221	-	to *Mars Leucetius* from Deva
-	Velugnus		III 155	
L. Servandius Quietus		6222	-	to Mercury and Rosmerta
Caesonius Liberalis, veteran		6223	-	to the *Parcae*
Ti... G...		6224	-	to *Deus Sucellus* and *Silvanus*
L/T Romanius Respectus		6225	-	to *Victoria*
		6226f	-	dedication
Argiotalus		6230	I213f	from Nantes, *ala Indiana*
-	Smertulitanus	6230	III 593f	
Aur Dizza		6231	Thracian	*leg II Parth*, from Thrace
-	(Aur?) Muc...		-	
-	Aurel Pyrr(us)		-	
Aurelius Vapinus		6232	III 102, S41	*circitori*
-	Aurel Flavinus, *contubernali*		(cf II 496f) S41	
Q Carminio Ingenuo		6233	Etruscan?	*Ala Hisp.*
-	Sacer Iulius...		-	
Licinus		6234	-	*Helvetius*; *Ala Hisp.*
-	Clossi		I 1046	
-	Tib Iul Capito		-	
Partus, *natione Treveri*		6235	II 950	*Ala Agrippiana*
-	Mutius		II 665	
M. Sempronius L.F. Domo Termestinus		6236	-	*Ala Sebos.*
Val Maxantius		6238	-	*numer. kata[fract.]*
-	Val Dacus Fr		-	
Val Rom...		6239	-	*ci(ves) Te(xander)* ?
Veiagertus, Sisgi f, *natus Monet(ium)*		6240	?	*coh Raeto*
C. Vibius C.F. Volt Virillus		6241	III 383ff, S41	*leg XV*
Vindol F., *coh raetor*		6242	-	
Leubius Claupi F.		11709	-	*ala Sebosiana*
-	Claupus		-	
-	Gratus		-	
C. Candid(i)us Martinus		6243	I 733, S41	*sevir Augustali*
-	Severia Severa, *coniux*		(Seva:II 1531)	
-	Candida Martinia Dignilla		(II 4466ff)	
C. Lucius Victor		6244	-	*dec civ. Vang*
-	Victor Florentinus		(cf. I 497)	
-	Victorinus		S41	
Fausta		6245	-	
Q. Cellius Firmus		6246	(cf. I 887) -	Iulia, *uxor*

Appendix II: Prosopography

place	name	*CIL*	Holder S=Schmidt (1957)	comment
-	Victor		-	
Oclavia		6249	II 829	
-	Amanda		-	
-	Lasionius Firminus		II 149: Lassonius, S41	
Seve(rius) Lupulus		6250	(cf: II 349f), S41	
-	Severius Florentins *frater*		(Seva-: III 531), S41	
-	Licontius		II 212	
Spectatia Peregrine		6251	-	
-	Servandius Sollemnis,.filius		(cf. II 1608)	
-	Servandia Serranda		-	
Spectatia Spectata		6252	-	
-	Luttonius Lupulus		II 355, S41	
T. Flavius Respectus		10021,69		
Viatorius Quintianus		11709a (cf. II 1063)		
-	Felicia Felicula		S41	
Maternus		11708d (cf II 460)		
S. Senecianus Micio		NT 115 II 1473 II 583		
-	Pacata		-	
...]ania Delibria		NT117	-	
-	...ridia, *mater*		-	
Aldvalvhi, Ludino, Rutillo		6254ff		
Worms-Neuhausen				
Lupulius Lupercus, *Dr Art Calc*		6247	-	
-	Novionia Motuca, *mater*		II 793, II 647	
-	Lupulius Lupianus		-	
Martia Marcellina		6248	(cf. II 446), S41	
Worms-Weinsheim				
T. Tummoni		6237	II 1985	
-	Albisia, *coniugi*		I 86, S41	
-	T. Restitutus		(cf. II 1178)	*mil leg XXII*
Ingelheim				
L. Antonius L.F.		7499	-	
Septiminiu[s		7501	-	
?, *coh III Aquit.*		11959		to *I.O.M.*
Bingen, Bingerbrück				
Patron[i]us Patrinus		7502	(cf 11955?)	to *I.O.M.*
		7503		to *I.O.M.*
C. Hostilius Saturninus		7504	(cf II 1376ff), S41	
-	Hostilia Alpina		S41	
Primia Accepta		7505	-	to *I.O.M.*
-	Privati Secund[i]nus		S41	
-	Tertinus		II 1799, S41	
-	Con[...]nis		(cf I 1089ff)	
L. Fabius L.F. Galeria Fabius		7506	-	*leg IV Mac*
-	Anicius Modestus		-	

Appendix II: Prosopography

place	name	*CIL*	Holder S=Schmidt (1957)	comment
	Annaius Daverzus, *coh III delmat*	7507	III628:Illyr.; cf. I 1244	
-	Pravaius		II 1041	
	Batus, *natione Ditio*	7508	(cf I 360)	*coh IIII delmat*
-	Dasantus		-	
	Beusas	11962	-	*coh IIII delmat*
-	Suttus	=7509	II 1683	
	Breucus, *natione Breucus*	7510	-	*coh I Pan.*
-	Blaedarus		I 443	
	Scenus	7511	(II 1397?)	*coh I Pan.*
-	Assenio		I 443	
	Biddu[...	7512	-	
-	...]astor		-	
	Hyperanor	7513	-	*coh 1 Sag.*
-	Hyporanor		-	
	Tiberius Iulius Abdes	7514	-	*coh I Sag.*
	C. Iulius Hastaius	7515	-	*coh Sag.*
	Deccavi	7516a	?	
	L. Cominis Q. F. Pollentinus	7517	(I 1073?), S41	
	Ma]crina	7518	S41	
	Focuronia	7519	I 1499	
-	Patta		II 956	
-	Lutoria Bodic[cal		II 354, I 457	
	Iulia Quintia	7520	-	
-	Tib Iul Severus		-	
-	Tib Iul Eunus		(cf. I 1483)	
	C. Vescius	7521	-	
-	C. Vescius C. F. Sevrus-		-	
-	Peregrina		S41	
-	G. Vescius G. Lib. Varrus		-	
Kreuznach				
-		7528		to *I.O.M.*
-		7529		to *I.O.M.*
-		7530		*Iuno, Mercurius, Hercules, Fortuna*
	Caluisia Secundina	7531	S41	to *Mars*
	Masclius Sattus	7532	(cfTI452),II1378	to Mercury and *Maia*
-		7533		to Mercury and *M[aia]*
	M. Cirrius Secundius	7534	-	
	Claudia Accepta Socra	7535°	-	
-	Iulius Spectatus		-	*leg XXII*
-	- Solemnia Severa		-	
	M. Adiutorinius Adiut	7535b	(cf. III 508)	
	Sacerille Luculla	7536	II 1277, S41	

Appendix III
Coinage

The following table, that forms the basis for Figure 12, was compiled using the information given in *Fundmünzen.*

The 'average' is compiled from the total number of coins found at Worms, Alzey, Mainz, Bingen, Köln, Speyer, Rheinzabern, and Dalheim. In comparing the average with the distribution of coin loss of a specific site, that site does not contribute to the average.

Although the general approach was inspired by R. Reece (e.g. 1972) various changes were necessary because in this case the beginning of Roman occupation, rather than its end, had to be analysed; this especially affects the division of the periods, which needed a further subdivision in the earlier centuries.

Longer periods are possible from the middle of the third century onwards, resulting in the following:

Ia	pre-Augustan (not used in the statistics)	VIIb	AD 180-193
Ib	Augustus and Tiberius	VIII	AD 193-222
Ic	Caligula	IXa	AD 222-238
II	AD 41-69	IXb	AD 238-275
III	AD 69-96	XII'	AD 275-306
IV	no 96-117	XIII'	AD 306-337
V	AD 117-138	XIV'	AD 337-364
VI	AD 138-161	XVb	AD 364-388
VIIa	AD 161-180	XVI	AD 388-402

There were certain problems, especially with the entry 'Worms. Stadtkreis' in *Fundmünzen,* where coins from sites outside the city district or from hoards could not be separated from the individual finds, causing, for example, almost 54 per cent of all coins to date to AD 238-275. This would have distorted the statistics if I had not separated it by making a division before and after AD 238. For similar reasons, the pre-Augustan coins, especially those from the Greek world, had to be ignored as it is unknown how many of them were actually purchased and not found.

The number and origin of the Celtic coins are given in Appendix I.

Appendix III: Coinage

		Wormsgau		Mainz		Alzey	
Ia	pre-Aug	(277	*17.14°Io)*	(93	*5.90%)*	(13	*5.96%)*
Ib	Aug+Tib	167	12.69	570	38.46%	33	16.10%
Ic	Caligula	24	1.82	69	4.66%	3	1.46%
I	pre-AD41	191	14.51%	639	43.11%	36	17.56%
II	41-69	71	5.39%	204	13.77%	16	7.80%
III	69-96	169	12.84%	164	11.07%	24	11.71%
IV	96-117	133	10.11%	101	6.82%	29	14.15%
V	117-138	133	10.11%	64	4.32%	17	8.29%
VI	138-161	109	8.28%	75	5.06%	30	14.63%
VIIa	161-180	143	10.87%	74	4.99%	23	11.22%
VIIb	180-193	37	2.81%	16	1.08%	9	4.39%
VIII	193-222	166	12.61%	94	6.34%	12	5.85%
IXa	222-238	164	12.46%	51	3.44%	9	4.39%
		(total: 1316)		(total: 1482)		(total:205)	
IXb	238						
X	-275	3884	53.62%	295	13.22%	157	15.37%
XI	275						
XII'	-306	253	3.49%	85	3.81%	35	3.43%
XII	294						
XIIIa	317						
XIII'	-337	644	8.89%	178	7.97%	233	22.82%
XIIIb	330						
XIV	348						
XIV'	-364	610	8.42%	137	6.14%	119	11.66%
XVa	364					272	26.64%
XVb	-388	397	5.48%	51	2.28%		
XVI	388-402	139	1.92%	4	0.01%		
		(total: 7,243	100%)	(total: 2,232	100%)	(total: 1,021	100%)

Appendix III: Coinage

		Bingen *(castra/vicus)*		Speyer		Rheinzabern	
Ia	pre-Aug	*6*	*(1.99%)*	22	(5.67)	11	(2.21)
Ib	Aug+Tib	78	26.35%	91	24.86%	58	11.96%
Ic	Caligula	16	5.41%	16	4.37%	14	2.89%
I	pre-AD 41	94	31.76%	107	29.23%	72	14.85%
11	41-69	28	9.46%	37	10.11%	44	9.07%
III	69-96	56	18.92%	34	9.29%	55	11.34%
IV	96-117	38	12.84%	31	8.47%	52	10.72%
V	117-138	24	8.11%	27	7.38%	40	8.25%
VI	138-161	21	7.09%	42	11.48%	59	12.16%
Vlla	161-180	16	5.41%	45	12.30%	60	12.37%
VIIb	180-193	4	1.35%	10	2.73%	13	2.68%
VIII	193-222	*9*	3.04%	14	3.83%	51	10.52%
IXa	222-238	6	2.03%	19	5.19%	39	8.04%
			(total: 296)		(total: 366)		(total: 485)
IXb	238-275	116	20.68%	85	10.49%	58	7.06%
XII'	275-306	32	5.70%	40	4.94%	15	1.83%
XIII'	306-337	51	9.09%	184	22.72%	119	14.49%
XIV'	337-364	38	6.77%	53	6.54%	87	10.60%
XVb	378-388	22	3.92%	82	10.12%	57	6.94%
XVI	388-402	6	1.07%				
			(total: 561)		(total: 810)		(total: 821)

Appendix III: Coinage

		Köln		Dalheim -Ricciacus		Nida - Vicus	
0	Celtic	11		2l		3	
Ia	pre-Aug	11		12		13	
Ib	Aug+Tib	73	35.44%	39	10.00%	27	2.91%
Ic	Caligula	17	8.25%	3	0.77%	2	0.22%
I	pre AD 41	90	43.69%	42	10.77%	29	3. 13%
II	41-69	22	10.68%	25	6.41%	23	2.48%
III	69-96	23	11.17%	39	10.00%	209	22.55%
IV	96-117	14	6.80%	32	8.21%	161	17.37%
V	117-138	10	4.85%	33	8.46%	101	10.90%
VI	138-161	14	6.80%	51	13.08%	134	14.46%
VIIa	161-180	13	6.31%	51	13.08%	87	9.39%
VIIb	180-193	6	2.91%	I S	3.85%	33	3.56%
VIII	193-222	7	3.40%	59	15.13%	98	10.57%
IXa	222-238	7	3.40%	43	11.03%	52	5.61%
		(total: 206)		(total: 390)		(total: 927)	
IXb	238-275	204	19.94%	412	15.60%	49	5.01%
XII'	275-306	11	1.08%	128	4.85%	1	0.10%
XIIl'	306-337	197	10.75%	445	16.85%	1	0.10%
XIV'	337-364	194	18.96%	570	21.58%	0	0.00%
XVb	378-388	211	20.63%	696	26.35%	0	0.00%
		(total: 1023)		(total: 2641)		(total: 978)	

Appendix III: Coinage

		average from all sites (excl. *Nida*)		(average\[Worms]) and (average-[Worms])		(average\[Alzey]) and (average-[Alzey])	
Ib	Aug+Tib	1109	23.37%	27.57%	- 14.88	23.7%	-7.60
Ic	Caligula	162	3.41%	4.02%	- 1.59	3.5%	-2.04
II	41-69	447	9.42%	10.95%	-5.56	9.49%	- 1.69
III	69-96	564	11.88%	11.50%	+ 1.34	11.89%	-0.18
IV	96-117	430	9.06%	8.65%	+ 1.46	8.83%	+ 5.32
V	117-138	348	7.33%	6.26%	+ 3.85	7.29%	+ 1.00
VI	138-161	401	8.45%	8.50%	+ 0.22	8.17%	+ 6.46
VIIa	161-180	425	8.95%	8.21%	+ 2.47	8.85%	+ 2.37
VIIb	180-193	110	2.32%	2.13%	+ 0.68	2.22%	+ 2.17
VIII	193-222	412	8.68%	7.16%	+ 5.45	8.81%	-2.96
IXa	222-238	338	7.12%	5.07%	+ 7.44	7.25%	-2.86
		(=4746)					

		(average\[Mainz]) and (average-\ [Mainz])		(average\ [Bingen]) and (average-\ [Bingen])		(average\ [Köln]) and (average-\ [Köln])	
Ib	Aug+Tib	16.51%	+ 21.95	23.17%	+ 3.18	22.82%	+ 12.62
Ic	Caligula	2.85%	+ 1.81	3.28%	+ 2.13	3.19%	+ 5.06
II	41-69	7.44%	+ 6.33	9.42%	+ 0.04	9.36%	+ 1.32
III	69-96	12.25%	- 1.18	11.42%	+ 7.50	11.92%	-0.75
IV	96-117	10.08%	-3.26	8.81%	+ 4.03	9.16%	-2.36
V	117-138	8.70%	-4.38	7.28%	+ 0.83	7.44%	-2.59
VI	138-161	9.99%	-4.93	8.54%	- 1.45	8.52%	- 1.72
VIIa	161-180	10.75%	-5.76	9.19%	- 3.78	9.07%	-2.76
VIIb	180-193	2.88%	- 1.80	2.38%	- 1.03	2.29%	-0.62
VIII	193-222	9.71%	-3.40	9.06%	- 6.02	8.92%	-5.52
IXa	222-238	8.79%	-5.35	7.46%	- 5.43	7.29%	-3.89

Notes

1   La Tène chronology follows Polenz (1971).

2   Cf. Stümpel (1955), but cf. Heinzel (1971) for the more recent excavation of a Romano-
    Celtic settlement near *Mogontiacum.*

3   Reche (1934) is an extreme representative of such a period.

4   F.M. Illert (1936: 29).

5   Cf. Millett (1990: 7 f.).

6   Millet (1990: 57-9).

7   Cf. Tac. *Ann. XII,* 27.

8   Bernhard (1990a: 49).

9   Also cf. Bloemers (1983: 159), Roymans (1990: 3), Okun (1989) for concepts on assimilation,
    'acculturation' and processes of interaction.

10 Tac. *Germ. 28.*

11   (1955).

12 This concept is heavily rejected by Nierhaus (1966).

13 Traditionally the *Treveri* are regarded as the founders of *Borbetomagus,* cf. Zorn (1570: 1 ff.).

14 Cf. Nierhaus (1966).

15 Tac. *Germ.* 28.

16 *RE SXV,* 661.

17 Holder 111: 99.

18 Schmidt (1957: 151; 1958).

19 Nierhaus (1966: 4 ff.).

20 Nierhaus (1966: 219).

21 (1938: 132).

22 (1953).

23 Cf. n. 13.

24 Hommel (1940: 157).

25 Nierhaus (1939: 10).

26 Zangenmeister decided to exclude the area of Bingen and Bad Kreuznach from the *civitas Vangionum,*
    although he could not assign it to any other *civitas (CIL* XIII, 178 f.).

27 This follows Bernhard (1990a: 108) and Bannert (1978: 654).

28 But cf. Arnold (1854: 9): Mainz, although archbishopric at that time, was even part of the
    Wormsgau as late as AD 822. Approximately seventy-five per cent of all Roman inscriptions
    from Mainz (as published in *CIL),* and an even higher percentage for its hinterland, are related to
    military personnel who originated from all over the Roman Empire and thus cannot provide us with
    data on the native society.

29 Amongst the latter we could count the *Vangiones* who had already fought together with
    Caesar at Pharsalus, if we can believe Lucan. *Phars. I* 430 f.

30 Cf. Drinkwater (1983: 108).

31 Cf. also Bernhard (1990a: 46).

32 Cf. Bernhard (1990a: 52).

33 Cf. Stein (1932: 288 f.). Legions based in Mainz and Mainz-Weisenau. From 13 BC : *leg XIV
    Gemina, XVI (Gallica);* from no 9 to AD 17 in addition: *11 Augusta, XIII Gemina;* from AD
    39/40 in addition to the 14th and 16th legion: IV *Macedonica, XV Primigenia.* Since AD 43: XXII
    Primigenia and *IV Macedonica;* from AD *71: XIV Gemina* and *I Adiiitrix,* enforced from AD 83
    by *XXI Rapax.* Since AD *92 XXII Primigenia* only.

34 *CIL* 6231. 6237. 6241; to the tile stamp *'leg XXII C.V.',* indicating a base in the *civitas,* cf.
    Ritterling (1924/5: 1809-10).

35 Polyb. 6, 39, 13; Rivet (1969: 195 f.).

36 Cf. Bernhard (1990a: 19).

37 Cf. Kromayer-Veith (1928: 495.S10 f.).

38 *CIL VII:* 1193. 1195.

39 Bernhard (1990: 68).

40 Cf. Bernhard (1990a: 69).

41 Kromayer-Veith (1928: 510 f.).

42 *CIL VII,* 588. 1002. 1003. 1193. 1195.

43 Cf. ch. 6 and Bittel et al (1981: 81)

44 Cf. e.g. Bernhard (1990a: 105 f.).

45 Rivet (1969: 204).

46 *CIL* 6225.

47 *CIL* 11696/8.

48 *CIL* 6244.

49 *CIL* 6243.

50 *CIL* 3693.

51 Among that vast amount of inscriptions of *Lugdunum,* as published in *CIL XIII,* there are five occurences of *aedilis,* four of *quaestores,* and around sixty of *seviri Augustalis,* but only four of *duumviri.*

52 (1990: 66 f.).

53 The size of the *ordo is* taken from known constitutions. The relatively large number can be argued for because firstly, the more *decuriones* the more income a city had (admissions fee for council and philanthropy), secondly, a large *ordo* had the advantage of accepting (Rome friendly) 'new comers' in the élite, and perhaps, the number of (known) *villae rusticae* in this *civitas* might reflect a large number of councillors.

54 Cf. *e.g. Lex Irnitana* ch. 19 ff., 26 f., B, C.

55 LeRoux and Guyonvarch (1990: 201), Dumezil (1958: 11); Marti (1959: 10); Caes. *BG 6,* 13, 1.

56 LeRoux and Guyonvarch (1990: 187 f.); Schmidt (1991: 426).

57 *CIL* 6243.

58 *CIL* 6247.

59 A similar situation occured in the Greek *poleis,* although their constitutions usually remained unchanged, so that there were fewer direct changes except for the introduction of a provincial governor and the emperor. And yet Plutarch tells us that '...the entire local government loses its authority' *(praec rei publ ger* 815a).

60 Cf. Pekary (1968).

61 Cf. e.g. Loewenstein (1973: 377 f.).

62 Such as the constitution of *Urso,* the so-called *lex coloniae Genetivae Iuliae* or *lex Ursonensis* (44 BC) (ch. 70), cf. *CIL* II, 5439; *Diz. Epigr. 4,* 1957, 727-8.

63 For Aosta, Walser describes the rise from slave to *duumvir* and member of a senatorial family in just three generations (1989: 70 ff.).

64 Stümpel (1967b: 347); cf. Rivet (1969: 203); von Petrikovits (1980: 41).

65 Millett (1990: 20 ff. 35).

66 Cf. Rivet (1969: 184).

67 Bittel et al (1981: 81).

68 Dehn (1951); Bittel (1981: 6 f.).

69 For the following cf. Bittel (1981).

70 Dehn (1961).

71 Bittel (1981: 14.21).

72   Bittel (1981: 21).

73   Bittel (1981: 18).

74   Millet (1990: 66).

75   Cf. also Bittel et al (1981: 82).

76   Cf. Bernhard (1990a: 42).

77   Cf. Bittel (1981: 21).

78   Cf. Chantraine (1965: 570).

79   (1955).

80   Also M. Grünewald, pers. comm.

81   Cf. Oldenstein-Pferdehirt (1983: 304).

82   Cf. Millett (1990: 50 f.).

83   Cf. also Grünewald (1986: 25).

84   Frenz (1990: 206).

85   Cf. Frenz (1990: 206 f.).

86   *CIL* XIII, 6244.

87   Arnold (1854: 11).

88   Amm. Marc. XV 11, 8.

89   (1990: 91). 'LPRIA', abbr. for Late Pre-Roman Iron Age.

90   Rivet (1958).

91   Percival (1976: 135).

92   Also cf. Rivet (1969: 199).

93   (1967b: 340 ff.).

94   Stümpel (1978).

95   (1967b: 347).

96   Millett (1990: 91 f.).

97   Cf. Stümpel (1986: 1990).

98   With so-called 'soul-holes' in the bottom; cf. Grünewald (1990: 28l).

99   Cf. Haffner (1989a: 114 ff.).

100 Cf. Grünewald (1990: 38. 118 ff. 281).

101 Grünewald (1990: 38). But it is a common phenomenon in Etruscan burials.

102 Haffner (1989b-c).

103 Cf. Haffner (1989a: 118).

104 *CIL XIII,* 6243.

105 *CIL XIII,* 6225.

106 *CIL* XIII, 6145.

107 *CIL* XIII, 6252.

108 Cf. also Heichelheim (1932: 2385 f.).

109 Cf. also Weinstock (1935: 2535).

110 *CIL* XIII, 6212-6220.

111 *CIL XIII,* 6212.

112 *CIL XIII,* 6213.

113 *CIL* XIII, 6214; *CIL* XIII, 6217.

114 Cf. Ziegler (1979), Heichelheim (1932: 2274): *I.O.M. Tanaro* from Chester.

115 *CIL VII,* 168 *(= RIB 452);* cf. also *CIL* III, 280*4: Iuppiter Taranucus.*

116 Cf. Usener (1869: 32).

117 Cf. *CIL* XIII, 6148.

118 Cf. Heichelheim (1932: 2279 f.).

119 von Kienle (1938: 276 ff.).

120 Haug (1924: 689); cf. Heichelheim (1940: 220-2) and especially Bauchhenß and Noelke (1981:83).

121 Cf. Bauchhenß and Noelke (1981: Karte 1).

122 Cf. Bauchhenß and Noelke (1981: 83).

123 Even Hommel accepts this (1940: 162).

124 *CIL* XIII, 6221. 6221a.

125 Cf. Cuppers (1979).

126 Cf. Stahelin (1931: 499 f.).

127 *BG* 6,17.

128 *CIL XIII,* 6118. 6347.

129 *CIL XIII,* 6222. 6263. 11696.

130 *CIL XIII,* 7532.

131 *CIL XIII,* 6149.

132 Grünewald (1986: 58).

133 *CIL XIII,* 6224.

134 *CIL XIII,* 6224. 6146.

135 *CLL XIII,* 6223.

136 *CIL XIII,* 6272.

137 From the 22nd November AD *223; CIL XIII,* 6265.

138 'Celtic' and 'indigenous' for Scharf (1938: 106 ff.), since many of his non-Celtic, 'Germanic' names can be proved to be typically Celtic, if we follow Szabò (1983).

139 Cf. Szabò (1983).

140 *CIL XIII,* 6231 f.

141 *CIL XIII,* 6238. 6239.

142 *CIL XIII,* 10021,69.

143 Cf. also Szabo (1983: 12).

144 *CIL XIII,* 6217.

145 *ClL XIII,* 6280.

146 *CIL XIII,* 6243, also 6197.

147 *CIL XIII,* 6225.

148 *CIL XIII,* 6244. 149 (1983: 9).

150 In order of appearance: *CIL XIII,* 6217. 6214. 6275. 6175. 6230. 6214.

151 Szabò (1983: 19).

152 *CIL XIII,* 6175. 6248. 7257. 6263. 6264; NTl 15; cf. Szabò (1983: 16-19).

153 *CIL* XIII, 6251; NT 115.

154 Cf. Szabò (1983: 16. 19); *CIL XIII,* 6215. 6158. 6264.

155 *CIL* XIII, 6244; cf. Szabo (1983: 16).

156 *CIL XIII,* 6270. 6247. 6265. 6243. 6267. 6268.

157 (1983: 28 f.).

158 As Benabou did for North Africa (1976: 533 ff.).

159 The dating follows Scharf (1938) who provides a rough date for a relatively large amount of inscriptions, although he leaves out some with, in his opinion, typically non-Germanic names.

160 *CIL XIII,* 6246.

161 In the second century, approximately seven per cent soldiers, as seen from Fig. 9.

162 Cf. Meyer (1990: 79 f.).

163 In the *civitas Vangionum,* for example, *CIL XIII,* 6147. 6157. 6194. 6197. 6208. 6215. 6222. 6225. 6233. 6243. 6244. 6246. 6262. 7249. 7250.

164 *E.g. CIL XIII,* 6143. 6154. 6187. 6192. 6243. 6251. 6252.

165 *CIL* XIII, 6197.

166 On the epigraphic habit cf. Meyer (1990: 79 f.).

167 Künzel (1990: 194-5).

168 Cf. examples in Scharf (1938).

169 (1938: 109).

170 Cf. Nierhaus (1939: 94).

171 *CIL XIII,* 6235. 6234. 6231.

172 Cf. Grünewald (1990: 49).

173 Cf. Bohme-Schonberger (1990: 54-9).

174 Cf. Nuber (1972).

175 Bittel et al (1981: 79).

176 Rivet (1969: 185).

177 Millett (1990: 98); Rivet (196: 188 f.).

178 Bernhard (1990a: 46); Haffner (1989d: 75-6).

179 Cf. Frankenstein-Rowlands (1978: 76).

180 Cf. Rivet (1969: 200); Bernhard (1990a: 25).

181 Cf. Weckerling (1919).

182 *CIL* XIII, 6250.

183 Cf. Rivet (1969: 177 f.).

184 Cf. Groenman van Waatering (1983: 147 f.).

185 Millett (1990: 98).

186 Cf. Bernhard (1990b).

187 Cf. Bernhard (1990b: 361).

188 Stümpel (1991: 153).

189 Cf. Allen (1980).

190 Forrer (1908: 183 ff. figg. 351 ff.).

191 (1978: 662).

192 Cf. Haffner (1989c: 183 f.).

193 Scheers (1977: 179 ff.).

194 Cf. Franke (1960: 205, N°1148).

195 Tac. *ann. I* 17, 4.

196 Kromayer and Veith (1928: 525).

197 Cf. also Wierschowski (1984: 112-15).

198 But cf. Crawford (1970).

199 Cf. Rivet (1969: 182-4).

200 Translation by Prof. J. Wilkes, Institute of Archaeology, London.

201 Cf. von Petrikovits (1980: 62).

202 Cf. von Petrikovits (1980: 61).

203 Cf. Grünewald (1986: fig. 52).

204 Cf. Heger (1980: 49).

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