

SUZANA MATEŠIĆ

## A RECORD OF THE 23<sup>RD</sup> CONGRESS OF ROMAN FRONTIER STUDIES

### PREFACE

More than 30 years after the 13<sup>th</sup> Limes Congress was held in 1983 in Aalen, with the 23<sup>rd</sup> International Limes Congress in Ingolstadt the traditional event again took place in Germany, organized by the Bavarian State Office for Monument Protection (Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege [BLfD]) and the German Limes Commission (Deutsche Limeskommission [DLK]).

From the 14<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> September 2015 some 370 academics from 30 countries gathered in the Technical University of Ingolstadt (THI) in order to grapple with the numerous, interdisciplinary themes concerning the Limes. The scope of the sessions' subjects ranged, among others, from feeding the military, rubbish and the knowledge gained from it, the management of civilian settlements attached to forts, construction materials for camps, the consideration of the timber phases of forts, via Roman soldiers, their religion and sexuality on the frontiers, to open and closed borders and frontier systems affecting the interiors. On four days some 210 lectures were held in four sessions running concurrently. A valuable addition was provided by roughly 50 posters, which were extensively discussed during a separate poster session. A high point was the presentation of a festschrift to Bill Hanson as well as of the congress papers of the previous Congress 2012 in Ruse, Bulgaria.

A special edition of the "Berichte der Bayerischen Bodendenkmalpflege" (56, 2015) and a guidebook published for the Limes Congress 2015 were issued to all conference delegates, the latter optionally in English or German:

S. Matešić/C. S. Sommer (eds.), *At the Edge of the Roman Empire. Tours along the Limes in Southern Germany. World Heritage Site Limes Special volume 3* (Bad Homburg v. d. H., Munich 2015).

S. Matešić/C. S. Sommer (Hrsg.), *Am Rande des Römischen Reiches. Ausflüge zum Limes in Süddeutschland. Beiträge zum Welterbe Limes Sonderband 3* (Bad Homburg v. d. H., München 2015).

### THE PRE-CONGRESS EXCURSION

#### SATURDAY 12<sup>TH</sup> AND SUNDAY 13<sup>TH</sup> SEPTEMBER 2015

Around 70 delegates took part in the Pre-Congress Excursion from Passau to Ingolstadt. The starting point was at Munich Central Station with the collection of the delegates. On the first day the museum and wooden amphitheatre in Künzing as well as the Römermuseum Boiotro in Passau were visited. After an overnight stay in Passau, the Gäubodenmuseum and St. Peter's Church in Straubing and the Walhalla in Donaustauf were visited including a picnic at the "Greek Temple" constructed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. At Ingolstadt they were joined by all the other delegates who had the possibility of an informal dinner.

### THE 23<sup>RD</sup> INTERNATIONAL LIMES CONGRESS 2015

#### MONDAY 14<sup>TH</sup> SEPTEMBER 2015

The opening ceremony of the congress was held at 10 a.m. followed by the plenary session on Raetia and lectures in four parallel sessions. All sessions were held at the Technical University of Ingolstadt. In the evening a poster session and a welcome reception was organized at which Professor William Hanson was presented with a festschrift in his honour (D. J. Breeze, R. H. Jones and I. A. Oltean [eds.], *Understanding Roman Frontiers. Papers offered to Professor Bill Hanson on the occasion of his retirement [Festschrift William Hanson]* [Edinburgh 2015]). To all authors the

proceedings of the Limes Congress in Ruse were presented (L. Vagalinski/N. Sharankov [eds.], *Limes XXII. Proceedings of the 22<sup>nd</sup> International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, Ruse, Bulgaria, September 2012* [Sofia 2015]). In the evening a concert and presentation was held by *Musica Romana*.

#### TUESDAY, 15<sup>TH</sup> SEPTEMBER 2015

Five parallel tours to the central section of the Raetian Limes were offered. Four of them joined together at Ruffenhoffen for a traditional German lunch (Frühschoppen) and a visit to the museum LIMESSEUM. The fifth tour skipped Ruffenhofen and had a barbeque instead.

##### Tour 1

Dambach, topographical overview and amphitheatre – Hesselberg.

##### Tour 2

Oberhochstatt, auxiliary fort and Jurassic outcrop – Theilenhofen, bathhouse and topographical overview.

##### Tour 3

Burgsalach, burgus – Oberhochstatt, auxiliary fort and Jurassic outcrop.

##### Tour 4

Moderate hiking tour from the Schlossbuck to the ford across the Altmühl at Gunzenhausen.

##### Tour 5

Ambitious hiking tour from the fortlet of Biebig to Erkertshofen.

In the afternoon the historic centre, the auxiliary fort and bathhouse of Weißenburg i. Bay. were visited. In the evening a reception was hosted by the town of Weißenburg in the former church of the Carmelite monastery with a welcome by the Lord Mayor (Oberbürgermeister), Jürgen Schröppel.

#### WEDNESDAY 16<sup>TH</sup> SEPTEMBER 2015

A full day of sessions was followed by a reception of the State of Bavaria at the City Theatre of Ingolstadt, hosted by the Undersecretary of State at the Ministry of Education and Culture, Research and the Arts, Bernd Sibler.

#### THURSDAY, 17<sup>TH</sup> SEPTEMBER 2015

Around 270 delegates and guides started at 8.00 a.m. in Ingolstadt to visit the auxiliary fort at Eining. Lunch was held at the Weltenburg Monastery, famous for its beer. There followed a boat trip on the Danube passing through the Danube Gorge at the Weltenburg Narrows. In Regensburg there were guided city tours which included the *porta praetoria*, the original remains of the fortress wall and St. Peter's Cathedral. A small group had the possibility to visit an ongoing excavation of the Late Roman cemetery directed by the Bavarian State Office for Monument Protection. In the evening a reception was hosted by the City of Regensburg in the Historical Museum, with the mayor, Gertrud Maltz-Schwarzfischer, as host.

**FRIDAY, 18<sup>TH</sup> SEPTEMBER 2015**

A morning of sessions was followed in the afternoon by a choice of exhibitions in Ingolstadt:

- National Exhibition „Napoleon and Bavaria“
- Anniversary Exhibition „Edge of the Empire – Between the Limes and the Danube“ in the City Museum
- Historical Medicine Museum.

In the evening a reception was held by the City of Ingolstadt in the VIP-Lounge of the Saturn Arena, attended and hosted by the Lord Mayor, Christian Lösel.

**SATURDAY, 19<sup>TH</sup> SEPTEMBER 2015**

Two parallel tours were held to the eastern part of the Raetian Limes:

**Tour 1**

Pfünz, auxiliary fort – Böhming, auxiliary fort – Zandt, watchtower site – excavation of the Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg.

**Tour 2**

Hienheim, rebuilt watchtower, end of the Raetian Limes – excavation of the Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg – Pförring, topography of the auxiliary fort, visualization of the gate.

At Manching the tours joined, followed by visits to the archaeological site of Oberstimm as well as the Celtic oppidum and museum. A reception was hosted by the Kelten Römer Museum Manching with greetings by the mayor, Herbert Nerb.

**SUNDAY 20<sup>TH</sup> SEPTEMBER 2015**

A day of sessions was followed by the closing ceremony of the Congress at 4 p.m. The post-congress dinner was hosted by the Bavarian State Office for Monument Protection in the “Schanzer Rutschn”.

**THE POST-CONGRESS EXCURSION**

Around 45 delegates started from Ingolstadt to visit the Raetian Limes and the Upper German Limes in Baden-Württemberg with the following itinerary:

**MONDAY, 21<sup>ST</sup> SEPTEMBER 2015**

Rainau-Buch, the auxiliary fort, vicus and rebuilt watchtower – Dalkingen, the Limes gate – Aalen, Limesmuseum and archaeological park – overnight stay in Aalen.

**TUESDAY, 22<sup>ND</sup> SEPTEMBER 2015**

Schwäbisch-Gmünd, border between the provinces of Germania superior and Raetia – Mainhardt, auxiliary fort – Pfahldöbel, visible remains of the Upper German Limes – Grab, rebuilt watchtower – overnight stay in Öhringen.

**WEDNESDAY, 23<sup>RD</sup> SEPTEMBER 2015**

Osterburken, auxiliary fort, reconstructed watchtower and museum – Aschaffenburg, Pompejanum – Departure from Aschaffenburg (via Aschaffenburg main station) to Ingolstadt.

**ORGANIZING COMMITTEE**

- *Prof. Dr. C. Sebastian Sommer* (BLfD)
- *Dr. Suzana Matešić* (DLK)
- *Dr. Jürgen Obmann* (BLfD)
- *Dr. Christof Flügel* (Landesstelle für die Nichtstaatlichen Museen in Bayern)
- *Dr. Stephan Bender* (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Baden-Württemberg im Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart)
- *Lisa Böhres-Rübeling M.A.* (DLK)
- *Simon Sulk M.A.* (DLK)
- *Yvonne Völlmecke M.A.* (DLK)
- *Veronika Fischer M.A.* (BLfD)
- *Sophie Hüdepohl M.A.* (BLfD)
- *Frederik Kirch M.A.* (BLfD)
- *Katharina Ramstetter M.A.* (BLfD)
- *Andreas Schafnitzl M.A.* (BLfD)
- *Dr. Mario Bloier* (Museen der Stadt Weißenburg)
- *Dr. Peter Henrich* (Generaldirektion Kulturelles Erbe, Direktion Landesarchäologie, Koblenz)
- *Dr. Claus-Michael Hüssen* (Römisch-Germanische Kommission)
- *Dr. Gerd Riedel* (Stadtmuseum Ingolstadt)
- *Edgar Weinlich M.A.* (Bezirk Mittelfranken)

**WE THANK ALL OUR SUPPORTERS****(IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER)**

- Deutsches Medizinhistorisches Museum (Ingolstadt)
- Edith-Haberland-Wagner Stiftung München
- Gäubodenmuseum Straubing
- Gemeinde Walting (Landkreis Eichstätt)
- Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte and Bayerisches Armeemuseum in co-operation with the Stadt Ingolstadt
- LIMESEUM and Römerpark Ruffenhofen
- Limes-Informationszentrum Baden-Württemberg
- Markt Manching (Landkreis Pfaffenhofen an der Ilm) and Kelten Römer Museum Manching
- Marktgemeinde Titting (Landkreis Eichstätt)
- Museum Quintana – Archäologie in Künzing
- RömerMuseum Kastell Boiotro (Passau)
- Schloss- und Gartenverwaltung Aschaffenburg
- Staatliches Bauamt Regensburg
- Stadt Aalen and Limesmuseum Aalen
- Stadt and Historisches Museum Regensburg
- Stadt and Museen Weißenburg in Bayern
- Stadtmuseum Ingolstadt and Historischer Verein Ingolstadt e. V.
- Stadt Osterburken and Römermuseum Osterburken

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# LIMES

23. INTERNATIONAL  
LIMES CONGRESS  
INGOLSTADT\2015

## Impressionen – *Limes Congress Ingolstadt/2015*









# 1

## Session 14 – Recent Research on the Raetian Limes *Chair: C. Sebastian Sommer*

The Limes XXIII Congress took place in the State of Bavaria, which in Roman times mostly belonged to the province of Raetia. For this reason the organizers of the Limes XXIII Congress arranged a plenary session on the Raetian Limes, in order to provide an update for the conference delegates. In two papers Limes specialists presented the then-state of research to the public.

C. SEBASTIAN SOMMER

Raetia – Rise and Development of the  
Military Province from the First to the  
Third Century AD

MICHAEL MACKENSEN

Organization and Development of the  
Late Roman Frontier in the Provinces of  
Raetia prima et secunda (ca. AD  
270/300–450)

C. SEBASTIAN SOMMER

# Raetia – Rise and Development of the Military Province from the First to the Third Century AD

## ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die Entwicklung der Provinz Raetien nördlich der Alpen ist von dem stufenweisen Vordringen der Römer gekennzeichnet. Nach dem Alpenfeldzug 15 v. Chr. wurden erste, meist kleinere Stationen im Alpenvorland angelegt, wobei anfänglich Kempten als Hauptort und nach der Varuskatastrophe die ungewöhnliche Siedlung auf dem mehr als 1000 m hohen Auerberg als Hauptstadt der jungen Provinz Raetien gedient zu haben scheint. Bis weit ins 1. Jahrhundert bildete Augsburg das militärische Zentrum, auch noch, als unter Caligula oder Claudius eine Kette von Kastellen am südlichen Donauufer angelegt war. Unter den Flaviern wurden diese Kastelle ausgebaut, vor allem auch donauabwärts jenseits von Oberstimm. Was zur Aufgabe eines Versuchs führte, unter Titus auf das nördliche Donauufer zwischen Eining und Burgheim auszugreifen, ist unklar.

Die konsequente Einbeziehung der Regionen nördlich der Donau erfolgte spät unter Trajan, vermutlich gleichzeitig mit der Anlage von Odenwald- und Neckarlimes. Nach kleineren Adaptionen kam es erst um 160 n. Chr. zur Einrichtung des eigentlichen Limes als linearer, bald auch physischer Anlage, vielleicht wegen beginnender Unruhen, die später in den Markomannenkriegen mündeten. Im mittleren Bereich des Limes wurde die kontinuierliche Kette von Holztürmen so weit jenseits existierender Kastelle errichtet, dass gerade noch Sichtkontakt zu den neuen Wachttürmen bestand. Im Westen und Osten hatten die Linien mit neuen Kastellen keine Bezüge.

Die Entwicklung des Limes von einer überwachten Linie zur Verstärkung mit Palisade, später Mauer, bis hin zu einer zurückgenommenen Linie im Osten stellt sich heute sehr viel differenzierter dar als bisher angenommen. Das Ende des Raetischen Limes wird mittlerweile schon 254 n. Chr. gesehen. In der Zeit des Gallischen Sonderreichs fungierte das aufgegebene Limesgebiet als eine Art Pufferzone zwischen den reduzierten römischen Teilreichen, wobei in Teilen des ehemaligen Obergermaniens anscheinend gezielt germanische Gruppen angesiedelt wurden.

## INTRODUCTION

Raetia appears as a “strange” province. Not only did it lose fairly early in its history its south-westernmost part, the Alpes Graiae et Poeninae, but also its north-western parts were given up later on. Additionally, halfway through its history a part of its name, *Vindelicia*, is dropped (originally *Raetis Vindolicis vallis Poeninae*; CIL IX 3044)<sup>1</sup>. If we look at the province’s form, it becomes evident that its southern part was shaped in a way to include the uppermost parts of the Rhine and Inn valleys and all the impor-

tant Central Alpine passes connected with them (Fig. 1)<sup>2</sup>. The settlement patterns in the developed province equally appear strange: Its backbone was a chain of forts on the southern bank of the Danube in the east, followed by forts more or less linked by the Limes in the west (Fig. 2). Additionally, although we cannot make out particular topographical or geological reasons, large parts of the province north of the Alps were only thinly settled or appear even (archaeologically) empty prior to the Roman conquest and during the history of the province. Almost half of the known *villae rusticae* and other agrarian settlements are concentrated in the immediate hinterland of the forts (Fig. 2)<sup>3</sup>.

A summary of the underlying reasons and the development towards that picture is the goal of the following<sup>4</sup>. I shall start with the beginning of the province, scan through the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, explain the occupation beyond the Danube and subsequently come to the Raetian Limes as the northern limit of the Roman occupation in Central Europe. The various steps of the Limes’ development with its forts<sup>5</sup> will play a role, as well as its end. The development after that, i. e. from the last third of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century onwards, will be treated by M. Mackensen<sup>6</sup>. I cannot, however, discuss aspects of our frontier as part of the World Heritage Site “Frontiers of the Roman Empire” and the plans for its extension here<sup>7</sup>. But I should mention that, in the aftermath of the declaration of the Upper German-Raetian Limes as a UNESCO-World Heritage Site, we managed to get geophysical surveys of almost all the accessible forts and their vici on the Limes. We also received funds for a high resolution airborne laser scan (ALS) of the whole of the line in Bavaria with partially amazing results<sup>8</sup>.

Due to the limits of my knowledge, I shall deal only with the militarized parts of the province north of the Alps<sup>9</sup>. Additionally, in respect to the limited space within this publication, I can only touch upon most subjects. For details, I suggest the reading of various papers in this volume and the guidebook to the conference with its bibliography to many of the sites mentioned here<sup>10</sup>. I shall also not deal with the garrisons of all the forts and the discussions around them. Recently, this has been done intensively in the voluminous study of I. Farkas on the history of the military units stationed in Raetia, based on a comprehensive gazetteer of all military sites in the province and a presentation of the most relevant inscriptions. As his



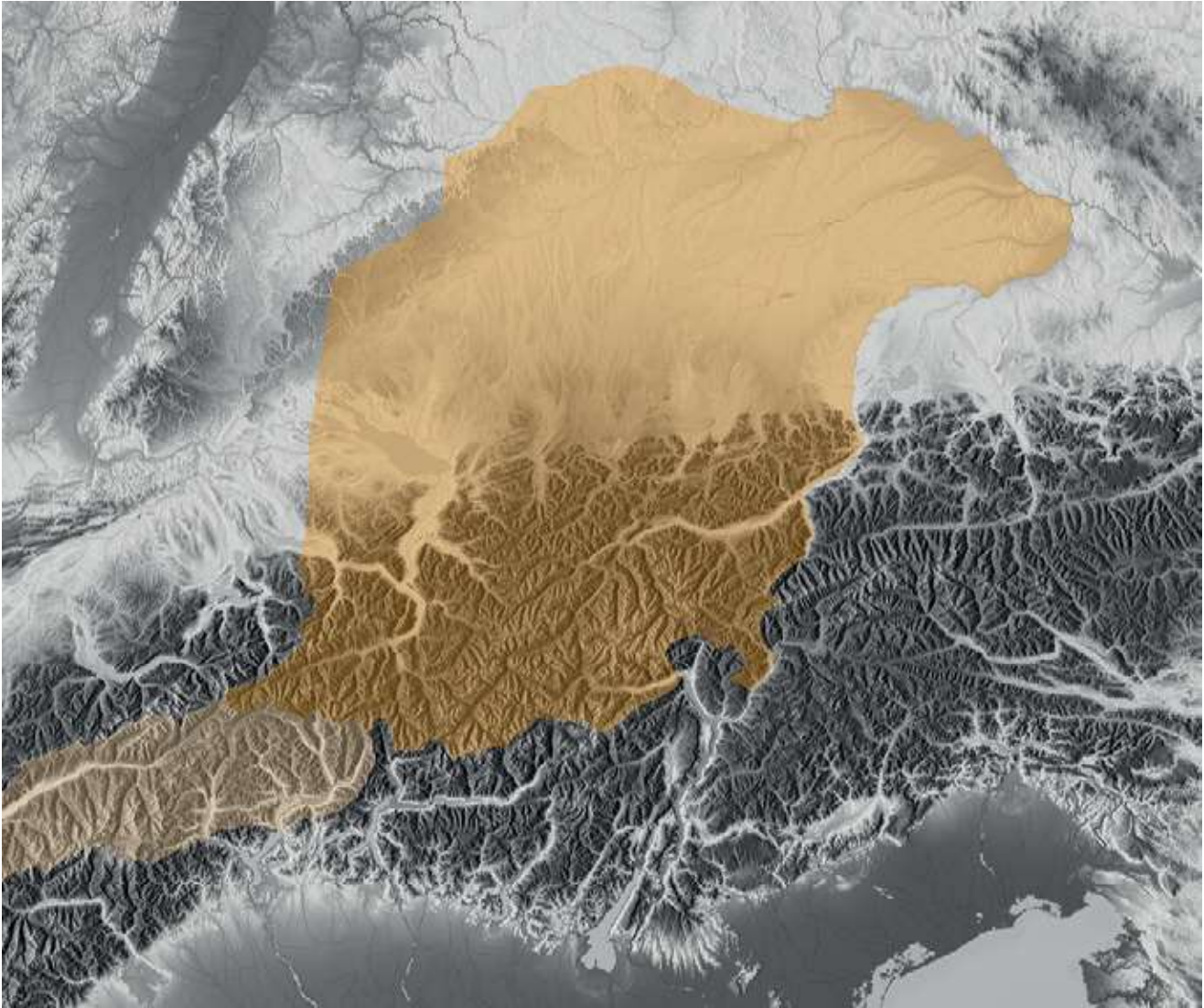


Fig. 1: Raetia within the surrounding Roman provinces (G. Grabherr).

work is structured very systematically and almost every military site in Raetia has its entry, I shall not quote it regularly<sup>11</sup>. It should be seen in connection with a new appraisal of the now 74 military diplomas from Raetia by B. Steidl<sup>12</sup>. Perhaps the only aspect which has to be mentioned here is the lack of proof for *numeri* in Raetia<sup>13</sup>, therefore, one has to be careful with the use of the term “*numerus fort*”. And finally, not to forget, I would like to express thanks to all the colleagues who provided me knowingly and unknowingly with pictures and ideas.

#### CONQUEST AND THE BEGINNINGS

Without question the summer campaign of 15 BC (“Alpenfeldzug”) is the beginning of direct Roman influence on the region north of the Alps east of the Rhine. I shall spare you another summary of the most likely events<sup>14</sup>. Nevertheless, one has to point out the particular importance of the Döttenbichl at the very edge of the high mountains as the only substantial place in the area under discussion for which there is a certain date during the campaign. It appears as a site of continuing Raetian worship and, as W. Zanier explains, where some kind of battle between the Romans and some indigenous people gathering there happened<sup>15</sup>. The 19<sup>th</sup> legion must have been involved<sup>16</sup>, but

there are still questions about the effect of this action. North of the line between the Döttenbichl and some small places in its surroundings and the legionary fortress of Dangstetten in the west on the Rhine<sup>17</sup> there are almost no find-spots which can be dated definitely to the middle Augustan period. Slightly later exceptions are Epfach<sup>18</sup> and Augsburg-Oberhausen<sup>19</sup> along the later *Via Claudia Augusta* leading north.

This picture of a scarcity of sites connected with the Alpine conquest and the immediate subsequent phase corresponds with something which is bothering researchers more and more, i. e. an archaeological lack of sites and people in Southern Germany between the late La Tène period and the first Roman settlements<sup>20</sup>. Surprisingly, we are still searching for the last Gallic/Celtic village in our area.

The assumed area of the *Vindelici* in the area north of the Alps was not “vacated” or rather cannot be “filled” neither by the known Augustan *cohortes Raetorum et Vindelicorum* nor by the few references to tribes associated with them, mostly of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century<sup>21</sup>, nor by a series of “Brandopferplätze” in Southern Germany<sup>22</sup>, nor by the few very small settlements and finds of the so-called Southeast Bavarian Group, often connected with fibulae of the type

Beltz variant J<sup>23</sup>. Archaeologically it appears that the Romans came into an empty countryside. Additionally, occupation and development at the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD can only be traced within a triangle between Bregenz at the eastern shore of Lake Constance, Augsburg-Oberhausen in the north and the area where the River Inn leaves the Alps (Fig. 3)<sup>24</sup>.

Except for a few possible small military stations and an early fort at Bregenz<sup>25</sup> larger military forces seem to have been considered necessary for security only at the tip of this triangle, at Augsburg-Oberhausen. Whether there were plans to start campaigns from here towards the north (e. g. towards Marktbreit<sup>26</sup>) is a matter for discussion. But, when the troops at Augsburg were moved from Oberhausen north of the Wertach to the flood-free area between the rivers Lech and Wertach perhaps around AD 10<sup>27</sup>, this option was no longer relevant. Of course, the background for this new approach was the lost battle in the Teutoburgian Forest.

Contrary to her earlier published works<sup>28</sup>, M. Sieler now proposes that *Cambodunum*/Kempton started as a civil settlement already in the first years AD<sup>29</sup>, finally connecting chronologically an inscription for the stepsons of Augustus to the other early archaeological material<sup>30</sup>. However, within a few years Kempton seems to have lost its (intended) importance within the area in favour of the Auerberg, the possible *Damasia* of Strabon<sup>31</sup>. Erected above 1,000 m on an almost free-standing mountain fairly cen-

tral in the triangle mentioned above, the Romans fortified the place with an earth-and-timber bank and a ditch with a total length of over 3 km surrounding approximately 20 ha. Of those, at least 10 ha were densely settled on artificial terraces (Fig. 4)<sup>32</sup>. Recent dendrochronological dates prove the beginning of the construction work there in May AD 13, exploiting primarily 200 year old fir trees of virgin forests<sup>33</sup>. I believe that this somewhat strangely located settlement covering three times the area of the settled part of Waldgirmes<sup>34</sup> was founded during Tiberius' time on the Rhine (and Raetia?) in reaction to the events of AD 9, most likely as capital of the province of Raetia<sup>35</sup>. The decision to build the centre of the province on a naturally protected site is most likely related to the actual founding of the province, despite K. Strobel's and H. Graßl's recent arguments for "[...] *reductio in formam provinciae*" immediately after 15 BC<sup>36</sup>. Rather, the occasion for the founding of the province was more likely Tiberius' triumph after his return from the north to Rome late in AD 12. Constructions on the Auerberg would have begun immediately after the snow had melted in the spring of the following year. Whether the soldiers and veterans from the Rhine legions, who had rebelled after Augustus' death in AD 14 and who apparently were sent to Raetia<sup>37</sup>, built the defensive wall a little later, produced catapults<sup>38</sup> and settled on the Auerberg, giving the reason for a *splendidissima Raetiae provinciae colonia* mentioned in Tacitus' writing on Raetia<sup>39</sup>, remains an open question. *Sextus Pedius Lu-*

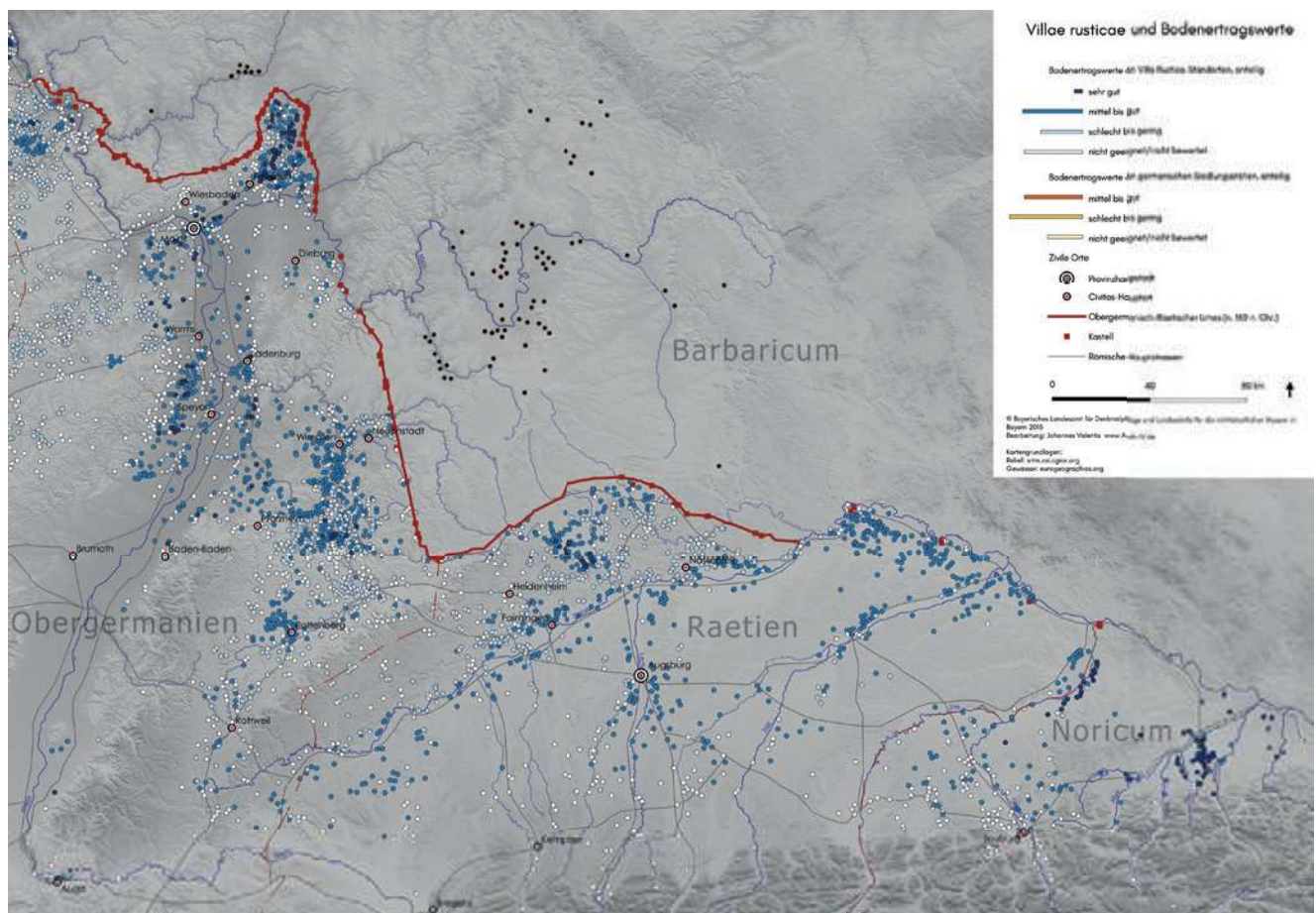


Fig. 2: Civil settlements and forts in Upper Germany and Raetia (Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege; Flügel/Valenta 2016, 22 with added forts).

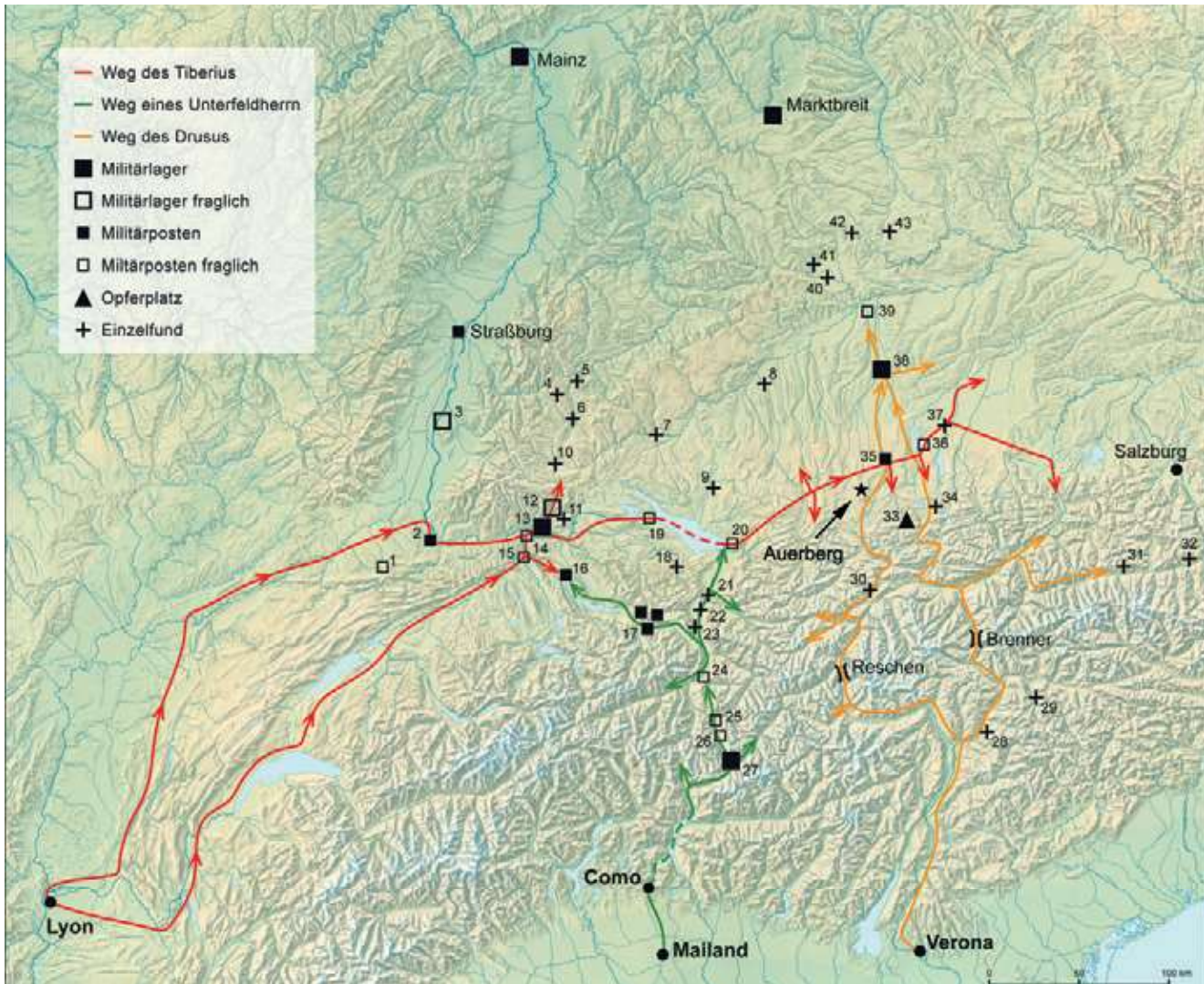


Fig. 3: Earliest sites north of the Alps (W. Zanier/Sommer 2015a, 505, Abb. 9).

*sianus Hirrutus as praefectus Raetis Vindolicis vallis Poeninae et levis armaturae*<sup>40</sup> may have been the first governor of the new province. He would have been responsible for the layout and settlement of the Auerberg with people from far away<sup>41</sup>.

Kempton, Auerberg and the military installations at Augsburg seem to have been the spring-board for the placement of new settlements between the Alps and the Danube (Fig. 3). In the east a group of people defined at Heimstetten through their graves played an important role. Their origin is disputed. Some consider them as immigrants with various origins. Others see them as survivors from the La Tène period, redefining themselves in some kind of opposition against the Roman occupation, known as nativistic or revivalistic behaviour<sup>42</sup>. Due to the large-scale excavations in the past years we know now the relation of some of the graves of the Heimstetten people to their extensive settlements. We also retrieved a number of secure dates from wells: None of them, however, provided timbers felled earlier than around AD 30, all coming from more than 100 year old trees in the vicinity, most likely from almost untouched forests<sup>43</sup>. Farkas pointed out the almost missing historical evidence for the *Vindelici* in this and later periods, calling the related problems the *Raetia-Vindelicia* dichotomy, apparently supporting the

archaeological evidence<sup>44</sup>.

In the western part, mostly along the main roads, we know a number of early “proper Roman” settlements. One of them, Langweid, has surprised us in recent years with an enormous amount of Early Roman finds which will be studied just like the Heimstetten settlements within the large research project “Transalpine mobility and culture transfer” by B. Steidl, M. Gschwind, J. Peters and S. Trixl<sup>45</sup>. Settlements with similarly rich finds assemblages from Tiberian times onwards appear in the vicinity of Augsburg and not necessarily connected with major roads<sup>46</sup>. This, the early date of a large aqueduct from the south<sup>47</sup> and the discovery of parts of monumental stone buildings dating to the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD<sup>48</sup> may shed doubt on the interpretation that Augsburg was just a military place in its early years.

#### OCCUPATION OF THE SOUTHERN BANK OF THE DANUBE

Approximately around AD 40 the development on the Auerberg came to a sudden halt. The inconvenient location was abandoned for Kempton, which experienced a change in the layout together with a first forum built in stone soon afterwards<sup>49</sup>. At the Auerberg, except for a speculative temple under the present church on its summit, there seems to have been no continuation whatsoever.



Fig. 4: Central part of the fortified settlement on the Auerberg (Sommer 2015a, 495, fig. 7).

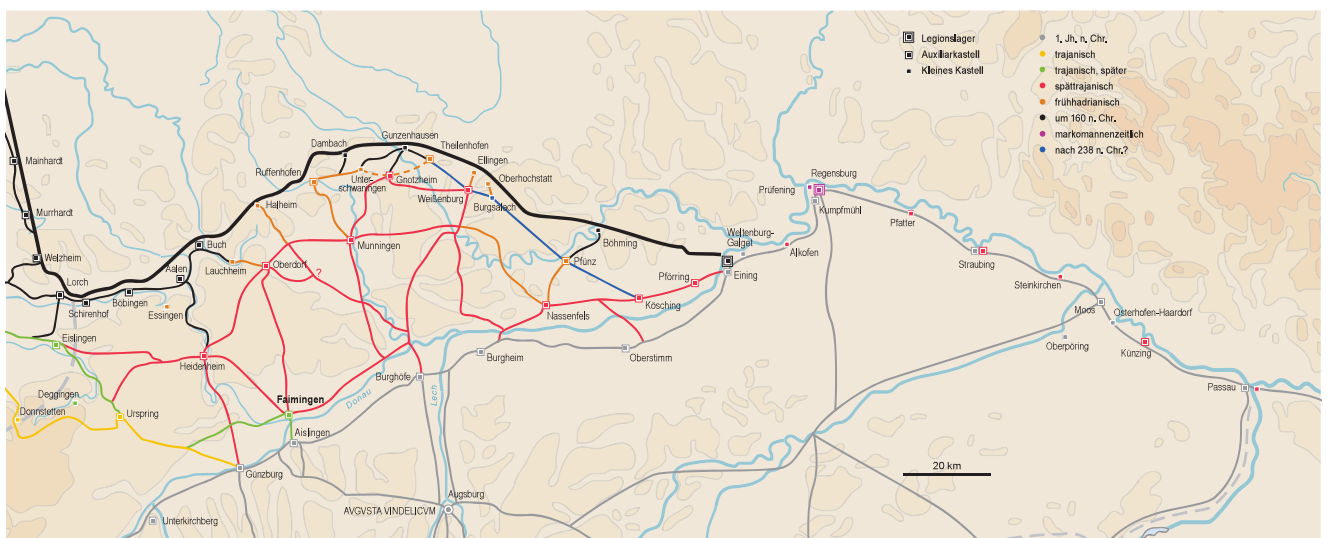


Fig. 5: Map of northern Raetia with indication of the founding dates of the forts (Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege; after Sommer 2011, 175, fig. 22; C. S. Sommer/S. Scherff).

er. As there are no traces of destruction, its abandonment and the quick move of the people to Kempten must have been triggered by a strong political will<sup>50</sup>.

Approximately contemporary was the erection of forts along the southern bank of the Danube<sup>51</sup> and a road across the southern Black Forest<sup>52</sup> providing for the first time a proper connection between the Upper Rhine and the Danube. The chain of forts from Hüfingen<sup>53</sup> via Tuttlingen

(?)<sup>54</sup>, Emerkingen<sup>55</sup>, Ehingen-RiBstissen<sup>56</sup>, Illerkirchberg-Unterkirchberg<sup>57</sup>, Aislingen<sup>58</sup> and Burghöfe<sup>59</sup> down to Oberstimm<sup>60</sup> has become denser over the past decades with the discovery of an early fort at Mengen-Ennetach<sup>61</sup>. Most likely there was an additional fort at Unterthürheim<sup>62</sup> at a position similar to Aislingen and Burghöfe on a promontory above the Danube flats between the two. Based on Digital Terrain Models there seems to be at