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CAMUNNI: AN ALPINE POPULATION TO THE BORDERS OF ITALY

During the third century BC the Roman legions entered the Po Valley starting a series of wars against the Gauls, or Celts, in order to subdue those warlike populations, occupy their fertile lands and, certainly, to avenge the sack of Rome occurred in 390 BC.

The subjugation of Cisalpine Gaul was not quick and it was slowed by the events of the Second Punic War, which began precisely with Hannibal's crossing of the Alps, in 218 BC. Only in the second century BC, with the defeat of Carthage and the Celtic population of *Insubri*, *Boi*, *Cenomani*, Rome succeeded in strengthening its own domination on the Po valley².

But the Roman rule also extended beyond the Alps, where in 121 BC the province of Transalpine Gaul was established, later renamed *Narbonense* following the deduction of the homonymous colony.

After the Social War which devastated the Italic countries in the first part of the first century BC, Rome continued the subjugation of the territories beyond the Alps: the Roman armies, led by Caesar, concluded the conquest of Gaul in 49 BC .

In the same year the *Lex Roscia* granted Roman citizenship to the peoples of the Cisalpine province, according to an integration policy of the inhabitants of the peninsula that continued what the *Lex Pompeia de Gallia Citerioris* had already begun forty years before, ensuring those inhabitants the Latin right³.

But the over forty populations of the Alps were excluded both from the granting of rights and from the subjugation of the territories, at least until the establishment of the Principate, when, at the behest of Augustus, even those lands were conquered.

In this context also Valle Camonica (Camonica Valley), alpine valley located along the river Oglio, between the Tonale pass (1,883 meters above sea level) and the shores of Lake Iseo (about 180 meters

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² Denti, 1991, pp. 32-33.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 46.

above sea level), bordering the one which would become the province of *Raetia* to the north, the territory of *Bergomum* valleys to the west, to the east with those of *Tridentum* and to the south with *Brixia*, at the end of the first century was annexed to the Roman Empire.

ANCIENT SOURCES

Valle Camonica draws its name from the Camunni, people who lived in that place, whose name can be found both in the epigraphic sources and in some classical authors.

The oldest mention dates back to Cato the Censor, which name them in the *Origines*, indicating the Camunni among the "populations of the Euganei with latin right"⁴. The Euganei were an ethnic group formerly stationed in the Po valley which, according to Livy, had been forced to retreat from the Alps after the arrival of people migrated from the east, after the fall of Troy⁵.

A later author, Strabo, connected the Camunni to the Raeti, an ethnic group that extended "on the part of Italy that is over Verona and Como"⁶.

Also according to Livy the Raeti were in the origin Etruscan, but after the Gauls invasion of the Cispadana were pushed on the mountains, where they became so wild as the nature of those places and of "the ancient identity only retain the pronunciation, and even not that uncorrupted"⁷.

In both cases, neither of these Alpine populations had good reputation among the Romans. The Stoni, a subgroup the Euganei that were subdued by Quintus Marcius Re in 118 BC⁸, were described as poor and addicted to brigandage⁹.

The Raeti however, according to Dio Cassius, were used to the practice of looting and were so cruel to kill the male prisoners "not only those already born, but also who were still in the womb of women, discovering sex based on oracular responses"¹⁰.

Contemporary scholars associate *Camunni* to the Rhaetian area, also if they emphasizing an own specific *facies* formed mainly during the Iron Age, linked to an internal cultural cohesion that emerges in a particularly widespread form of art: the rock engraving¹¹.

THE ROMAN CONQUEST

⁴ The work of Cato has not survived, but the comment was transcribed by Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia*, III, 133.

⁵ Livio, *Ab Urbe Condita*, I, 1.

⁶ Strabo, *Geography*, IV, 6.8.

⁷ Livio, *Ab Urbe Condita*, V, 33.

⁸ *Fasti triumphales* (InscrIt 13-01, 1b).

⁹ Strabo, *Geography*, IV, 6.6.

¹⁰ Cassio Dio, *Roman history*, LIV, 22, 1-2.

¹¹ De Marinis, 1988, pp. 142-154. From 1909 in Valle Camonica more than two thousand rock surfaces and thousands carvings with various themes were found: objects, animals, daily life representations, mystical symbols and others today not yet fully deciphered. The rock art of the Valle Camonica, the first UNESCO site of Italy, is dated at least from the IV - III millennium BC - Period of the great megalithic sanctuaries (Poggiani Keller, 2009, p. 203) - to the contemporary period, with the apex of the culture in the Iron Age (Poggiani Keller-Liborio-Ruggiero, 2009, p. 240).

At the end of the first century BC the Roman territorial situation did not guarantee a secure and smooth border, cause the great conquests of the last phase of the Republic and those that occurred during the Civil Wars.

In particular, to the north of the peninsula, the chain of the Alps was still independent, surrounded by the fully Romanized areas of Gaul *Cisalpina* and *Transalpina*.

Augustus, after the consolidation of his power, took up the problem starting the operations of conquest of the western side of the Alps around 26-25 BC, where were located some strategic mountain passes that connected the Valais with the Valle d'Aosta.

In this valley there were the Salassi that, after a strength opposition to the Roman advance, were forced to capitulate: Aulo Terenzio Varrone implemented a harsh crackdown by selling all those who were fit for military service and their lands and by founding in the heart of the territory the walled city of *Augusta Pretoria Salassorum* (Aosta)¹².

A different situation was in the south-west of the Alps, where the relations between Rome and the Alpine people were consolidated: the easy Montgenevre pass, towards Gaul, was secured by King Donnus, already a friend of Julius Caesar, who transmitted his good disposition towards the Romans to his son Cottius¹³.

The conquest of the Central and Eastern Alps took place between 16 and 15 BC, when Augustus began the military campaign sending the brothers Tiberius - future emperor - and Drusus to subdue the Raeti and the Vindelici¹⁴.

The mission was accomplished with the "conquest of many cities and fortified centers", although those two" populations were very well defended by the nature of the place, very hard to track down, numerically impressive, wild and fierce, with enormous bloodshed for them, exposing instead the Roman army more to risk than to real losses"¹⁵.

On that occasion, in the central Alps the "Camunni and the Venni, Alpine populations, took up arms and, after being defeated by Publius Silius¹⁶, were subdued"¹⁷.

The conquest of the entire Alpine area was celebrated by the Senate with the erection of a monument at the modern town La Turbie: the *Tropaeum Alpium*, which reported on one side a long inscription with the names of more than forty subjected populations.

¹² Cassius Dio, *Roman history*, LIII, 25-26; Strabo, *Geography*, IV, 6.7.

¹³ The son Cozio renewed the alliance with Augustus and, at the end of the Alpine conquest, latinized his name to *Marcus Iulius Cottius*, accepted the appointment of *praefectus* and built a triumphal arch at *Segesium* (Susa): the Cottian Alps take their name from him.

¹⁴ The Vindelici were divided in *quatuor gentes* (Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia*, III, 136-137).

¹⁵ Velleius Paterculus, *Historiae romanae*, II, 95.

¹⁶ *Publius Silius Nerva* in that period was proconsul of *Illiryum*.

¹⁷ Cassius Dio, *Roman history*, LIV, 20.

The list of *gentes alpinae devictae* began with *Trumplini*, the inhabitants of Trompia Valley, and continued with *Camunni*, the inhabitants of the Camonica Valley¹⁸.

Initially *Camunni* were *adtributi* and aggregated to a neighboring municipality, probably Brixia, differently to what instead happened to *Trumplini*, who were sold with their land¹⁹.

The process of Romanization of *Camunni* began with the acquisition of the *ius latii*²⁰. It is not known when it happened, but two dedicatory inscriptions, one to Drusus minor, son of Tiberius, the other to Drusus Caesar, son of Germanicus, who died in 33 AD, emphasize a particular respect of this Alpine population for the Julio-Claudian dynasty, that could refer to gratitude for a political concession²¹.

Probably after the middle of the first century A.D. the *Camunni* obtained Roman citizenship, acquiring their own tribe, the *Quirina*, different from that of Brescia (*Fabia*) and Bergamo (*Voturina*)²².

The numerous epigraphic name formulas formed by *duo* or *tria nomina*, compared to the low presence of indigenous names, suggesting the early acquisition of Roman citizenship²³.

It does not seem that the *Camunni* have been guilty of improper encroachments, as the nearby Alpine populations of *Anauni*, *Sinduni* and *Tuliasses* did under Claudius, who began to use the Roman naming conventions even if they didn't have the rights²⁴.

Since the end of the first century A.D. the reference to *res publica Camunorum* appears on epigraphs, indicating the achievement by *Camunni* of the full Romanization and of a certain autonomy²⁵.

The main center of the valley was the city of Cividate Camuno: here the presence of the usual political, legal and administrative orders of *duumviri iure dicundo*, the *aediles* and the *ordo decurionum* is evidenced²⁶.

CIVIDATE CAMUNO

The Roman town of Cividate Camuno²⁷ arose on the eastern bank of the river Oglio, on the edge between the middle and the lower Valle Camonica, in a place where supposedly an intersection of roads

¹⁸ Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia*, III, 136.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, 134.

²⁰ The Latin right granted the possibility to reside in Rome, to mate and trade with individuals of Roman law, and the *ius adipiscendae civitatis Romanae per magistratum*, a right which gave the possibility of the access to the Roman citizenship after having held public magistracy (Asconius Pedianus, *Argumentum in M. Tullii Ciceronis orationem Pisonianam*, 2-3).

²¹ Rogno: *Druso [Caesari] / Ti(beri) Aug(usti) f(ilio) d(ivi) Aug(usti) n(epoti) / divi Iuli pr[on(epoti) pontif(ici)] / sodal(i) Augu[st(ali) co(n)s(uli) II trib(unicia)] / pot(estate) II XVvir(o) [sacr(is) fac(iundis)] / civit(as) C[amunn(orum)]* (CIL V, 4954); Biengo: *Dis Manibus / Drusi Caesaris Germ[anici] f(ili) (CIL V, 4953).*

²² The *Quirina* name has stimulated the hypothesis that Roman Citizenship were granted to *Camunni* during the Flavian dynasty, perhaps by Vespasian, who was born in Rieti, a city that was recorded with the same tribe.

²³ Gregori, 2004, p. 23.

²⁴ The usurpers even risked the death penalty: *Peregrinae condicionis homines vetuit usurpare Romana nomina dum taxat gentilitia. Civitatem R. usurpantes in campo Esquilino securi percussit* (Suetonius, *Vita divi Claudii*, 25).

²⁵ The period shall be deducted by the epigraph of *C(aius) Pladicius Casdianus* in which appears the terms *trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) X / G(eminiae) P(iae) F(idelis) / a re p(ublica) Camunnor(um)* (CIL V, 4957). As a reference point it could be indicated that the Legio X was awarded by the title of Pia Fidelis in 89 A.D. when it fought against the rebel Saturninus, governor of *Germania Superior*, siding beside the emperor Domitian.

²⁶ No *questori* are certificated, probably their functions were attributed to the *duumviri* (Gregori, 2004, p. 22).

²⁷ The name *Civitas Camunorum* that appears in the oldest inscriptions is considered typical meaning used for the Gaul and the Germany, which does not indicate much an urban center (*urbis*), but the presence of a spread population in *oppida*,

leading to the east towards Trentino and Lake Garda, and west, crossed a bridge²⁸, towards Bergamo area, converged²⁹.

Unfortunately it is not known the road network that from the city connected with the other hamlets of the valley and, in the same way, there is also no evidence about the presence of a boat service on Lake Iseo who could connect the territory of Valle Camonica with the Brescia area³⁰.

The town of Cividate Camuno had a regular square shape, with perpendicular streets indicating a precise urban planning. The city was protected to the north by a rock wall and west from the river bank, while to the south and east have not been found traces of walls, but only areas for the burial.

The houses stretched on the southern quadrant, in the direction of the fields, where some scholars speculate traces of land division. The public baths were located in the center of the city, while the Forum, rectangular-shaped and paved, was located in the northwest corner, adjacent to the river Oglio³¹.

The opposite corner, to the northeast, in the Flavian period was intended for amusement area: here a theater and an amphitheater were built, demolishing some *domus* that had been built in earlier times.

The monumental size of the area lead us to believe that the site would serve as a reference point not only for the inhabitants of the valley, but also from the surrounding areas, who met in Cividate during feast days of the calendar or to celebrate political events.

The theater, now visible for about a third of its size, had a large auditorium (cavea), placed on the mountainside, which could hold up to 1,700 people.

Organized on different levels, the scene and the service rooms reached a long porch, opened on a square. Beside there was the amphitheater a building in solid structure whose northern arch was directly dug into the side of the mountain.

The dimensions were equal to 160x130 Roman feet (73,20x63,60 m.), and had a seating capacity of about 5,500 spectators.

A dedicated lateral gate allowed to introduce, from outside to inside of the building, animals without a direct contact with the servants: those beasts pushed into a tunnel, were blocked by a temporary cage

vici and pagi (Abelli Condina, 2004, p. 59, n. 1). Cividate Camuno assumed his name in recent times. Called only Cividate in medieval sources it changed its name to Cividate Alpino from 1863 until 1887. After the city took its current name to better distinguish itself from Cividate al Piano. On the presumed links between Vannia and Cividate Camuno, see SIGNAROLI, 2012, p. 1071.

²⁸ Historical documents recall the presence of several bridges in Cividate Camuno, some in stone, others of wood, that have taken place during the centuries.

²⁹ Other buildings linked to the Roman era in Valle Camonica were found in Capo di Ponte, Borno and Berzo Demo..

³⁰ Boat services were reported on the lakes Garda and Como: epigraphs from Arco (InscrIt-10-05, 1070) and Riva del Garda (InscrIt-10-05, 1065) remembers the *Collegium n(autarum) B(rixianorum)*, while similarly in Como (CIL V, 5295) there was the *collegium nautarum Comens(ium)*.

³¹ The location of the Forum is confirmed both by the ancient toponymy of the place (SINA, 1935, p. 58), both by the discovery of architectural materials and a marble statue (SACCHI 2004, p. 49). It is presumed that in Roman times the Oglio river served as transport artery in the direction to the Lake Iseo, as it was used until the nineteenth century.

formed by sliding stakes. When the moment arrived, then the stakes were pulled out and the animal, pressed behind, entered spectacularly in the arena³².

In addition to *venationes* there were also gladiatorial shows. Few kilometers away from Cividate Camuno it was found a grave stone in memory of *retiarius Rutumanna* and dedicated by his wife for who died undefeated after twenty-three *pugnae*³³, the second gladiator in Cisalpine by number of meetings after *Generosus*, that survived twenty-seven battles³⁴.

ECONOMY, SOCIETY AND RELIGION

Valle Camonica is described in medieval and early modern era chronicles as a country rich of iron mines.

Although there is no information for most ancient periods, many iron artifacts dating to the Roman period emerged from the necropolis of Borno and Cividate Camuno. It is possible to argue that even at that time part of the local economy already gravitated around the extraction and working of iron.

Another widespread activity was that of the brick production, and in particular the one of roof tiles. Many tiles have stamps³⁵ or inscriptions, including some in camunian alphabet, still used in the first romanization and after abandoned in favor of the Latin alphabet³⁶.

Among the *Camunni* the only attested professional colleges are those of *fabri* (carpenters) and *centonarii* (blankets manufacturers), two of the most common *collegia* that often collaborated on the occasion of fires³⁷.

There are no news about senators from Valle Camonica, but this absence is shared with other Alpine communities of *Transpadana*.

There were however three people who were able, thanks to their possessions, to reach the equestrian rank between the late first and early second century d.C.: *Caius Pladicus C. f. Casdianus*, *Laronius T. f. Quir [Octavianus] e M. Tendicius M. f. Quir. Verus*³⁸.

Special attention deserves the figure of Gaius Pladicus Casdianus: an epigraph in his honor indicates that he covered the highest public roles both in the *res publica Camunnorum*, than in Brixia, where he was

³² Mariotti, 2004, p. 85 e segg.

³³ Capo di Ponte: *D(is) M(anibus) / Rutumanne / ret(iario) pugnarum / XXIII invicto / uxor bene mer(e)nt(i)* (AE 1991, 851).

³⁴ Verona: *D(is) M(anibus) / Genero/so retiari/o invicto / pugnarum / XXVII n(atione) Ale/xandrin(o) qui / pugnavit vir/ [tute sua]* (CIL V, 3465).

³⁵ They have been cataloged at least fifty different kinds of stamps (Abelli Condina, 2010, p. 385).

³⁶ The camunian alphabet came from a north Etruscan matrix. It was already used in Valle Camonica during the proto-historic period, and many of the inscriptions are found on the rocky surfaces. At the moment about three hundred words, composed primarily of initials, names and alphabetic series are known.

³⁷ Cividate Camuno: *Mem(oriae) / Medi / Crescent(is) / col(legia) fabr(orum) / et cent(onariorum) / p(edes) X* (AE 1959, 93).

³⁸ CIL V, 4957; CIL V, 8891; AE 2002, 572.

admitted among the judges, he achieved the equestrian rank and worked as prefect of the cohort and military tribune³⁹.

On the contrary it does not appear that, at administrative level, there were any interference by the Brixia leadership in the administration of local *res publica*, which remained a matter for the families of the Valle Camonica.

A example of local evergetism is on an inscription in memory of a work, unfortunately unknown, paid by *C[aius] Claudius Sassi f.*, *Sevir augustalis*, that the *res publica* completed by adding a *tribunal* and redoing a column⁴⁰.

There were many people of the priestly class related to the imperial cults. Among them a *sacerdos Caesaris*⁴¹, a late-republican loyalist with still a *peregrine* name, and four *sacerdotes Augusti*: *sacerdotes Augusti: C(aius) Claudius Sassi f. Quir*⁴², *N]aevius Martiali[s]*⁴³, a third with an indecipherable name⁴⁴ and *Ti(berio) Claudio Quir(ina)*⁴⁵. It seems evident a particular devotion of *Camunni* to the first emperor⁴⁶.

A religious characteristic of Valle Camonica is to dedicate to the gods parallelepiped-shaped stone tables, with dedicatory texts on the sides⁴⁷.

Among the local cults is attested a special devotion to Minerva. There are also references to eastern religions: *Cautopates*, assistant of Mithra⁴⁸, some invocations to *Isis*⁴⁹ and an inscription to *Sol Divinus*, walled on one side of the parish church of Breno⁵⁰. It is possible to add some names of native deities to the imported cults: *Aburnus et Aburna* and *Alantedoba*⁵¹.

³⁹ Cividate Camuno: *C(aius) Pladicus C(ai) filius / Quir(ina) Casdianus / I]vir i(ure) d(icundo) / Camunnis / aed(ilis) quaest(or) / praef(ectus) i(ure) d(icundo) Brix(iae) / index ex V dec(ur)is equo p(ublico) / praef(ectus) coh(ortis) I / Thrac(um) equit(atae) / trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) X / G(eminae) P(iae) F(idelis) / a re p(ublica) Camunnor(um) / cui in hoc / pecuniam legavit / t(estamento) p(oni) i(n)ussit* (CIL V, 4957). The presence of members of the Placidii family, that originates from Valle Camonica, in Brixia, is also confirmed by some inscriptions, although we must consider the possibility that the stones, reported in Brescia in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, were in the city not because here discovered, but because they arrived in the city as parts of a collection.

⁴⁰ Cividate Camuno: *C(aius) Claudius / Sassi filius Quir(ina) / sacerdos Augusti / d(e) p(ecunia) s(ua) / res p(ublica) tribunal / fecit et columnam / mutavit* (CIL V, 4960).

⁴¹ Walled at the top of the bell tower in Rogno: *Reae Triumi filio / sacerdoti / Caesaris / et Ennae Tresi filiae / uxori* (CIL V, 4966).

⁴² Before quoted: CIL V, 4960.

⁴³ Losine (dispersa): *]ae /]aevius / Martiali[s] / sacerdos Augusti / [v(otum) s(olvit)] l(ibens) m(erito)* (CIL V, 4950).

⁴⁴ Cividate Camuno: *]aetus Hostil[/ sacerdos [Augusti?] / d(e) p(ecunia) [s(ua)]* (CIL V, 4965).

⁴⁵ Pisogne: *Ti(berio) Claudio Quir(ina) / Numai / sacerdoti divi Augusti / immunitate donato / ab eodem et / Claudii Secundai* (AE 2001, 1069).

⁴⁶ There are no inscriptions referring to *seviri Augustales*, reported instead in Brixia, while are attested *seviri Flaviali*, very rare in northern Italy. Ossimo: *P(ublius) Valerius / Crispinus / [I]IIII]vir Flavia[l(is)] / sibi et / Sextiae / Sexti fil(iae) / Secunda uxori et / P(ublio) Valerio Numisio filio* (CIL V, 4968).

⁴⁷ It is significant that the sacred dedications in the alpine areas of the province of Brescia reach 30% of the epigraphic *corpus* (Gregori, 2004, p. 31).

⁴⁸ Found in Sale Marasino, on the east shore of Lake Iseo, midway between the Valle Camonica and the Brescia area. The devotes *C(aius) Munatius* and *C(aius) Munatius Fronto*, Quirina of tribes, which marks their origin. (CIL V, 4935).

⁴⁹ InscrIt-10-05, 1168, 1169, 1170, all from Cividate Camuno where perhaps there was an Iseum.

⁵⁰ Breno: *Soli divino / L(ucius) Apisocius / Succ[er]ssus pro / se et pro patro[n]is / M(arco) C(aio) L(ucio) Q(uinto)* (CIL V, 4948).

⁵¹ Costa Volpino: *Aburno et / Aburnae / Lucret(ia) Anapaum(a) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)* (InscrIt-10-05, 1160) e Ossimo: *Alantedoba(e) / Sex(tus) Cornelius / Primus / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)* (CIL V, 4934).

A sumptuous sanctuary, found in 1986, located along the Oglio River not far from Cividate Camuno, was also consecrated to Minerva. The temple was built above a religious site already in use in prehistoric times and dedicated to the worship of water. In the sanctuary it was found a marble statue of the goddess, copy of a Greek sculpture of the fifth century, and produced outside the valley⁵².

In Valle Camonica there are no inscriptions of other tribes except the *Quirina*, but outside the valley there are inscriptions related to *Camunni*.

The most distant archaeological evidence are the epigraphs of three soldiers who ended their lives in various parts of the empire: a *Carnutum* in *Pannonia Superior*⁵³, Corinth in Achaia⁵⁴ and in Ravenna, where an unknown *Camunnus* appears enlisted in the fleet⁵⁵.

Other inscriptions about *Quirina* tribes are spread among the Valtellina⁵⁶, Bergamo⁵⁷, Cremona-Mantua⁵⁸ and perhaps Verona⁵⁹ area, and they may be indicative of the trade routes and of the relationship of the civil population of Valle Camonica.

FINAL COMMENTS

Still in the middle of the first century BC, Caesar for going from the province of Cisalpine Gaul to Italy proper, had to cross the Rubicon River.

In less than fifty years the peninsula territory was extended up to the ridge of the Alps. It was with Augustus that the Italian geography acquired the present shape and the Alpine region was drawn as its end: the extraneous mountainous element nestled in the fertile plains already Romanized, was assimilated, reshaped and reorganized by the sight of Rome⁶⁰.

So the valleys towards Italy were united to *regiones Venetia et Histria and Transpadana*, while other areas, more homogeneous, were elevated to provinces under the direct imperial control (to the west the *Alpes*

⁵² About: Rossi, 2010.

⁵³ Petronell: *Sex(tus) Apo(nius) Sex(ti) f(ilius) Quir(ina) Valens / Camun(nis) mil(es) / leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) M(artiae) / V(ictricis) an(norum) XXXV / stip(endiorum) XI h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / t(estamento) f(ieri) i(nssit) h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)* (AE 1978, 631).

⁵⁴ Corinto: *C(aius) Valerius C(ai) f(ilius) Quir(ina) Valens Cam(unnus) / mil(es) leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) / (centuria) Senuci(onis) vix(it) a[n(nos)] / XXXV mil(itavit) an(nos) XIII her(es) ex testament* (AE 1978, 777).

⁵⁵ Ravenna: *] / nat(ione) Camunn(us) / milit(avit) ann(os) XXIII / vix(it) ann(os) XXXIX / hunc titulum / fecer(unt) Cale et Sa / turnina liber / tae / sibi et patron(o) / de se bene m(erenti) / interveniente Bae / bio Sero vet(e)ran(o) h(erede)* (CIL XI, 42).

⁵⁶ Stazzona: *Pontico / Germani f(ilio) / et Cussae / Graeci f(iliae) / Camunnis / Medussae / Graeci f(iliae) / sorori / hic siti sunt* (CIL V, 8896).

⁵⁷ Calcinatè: *L(ucio) Claudio / L(uci) f(ilio) Quir(ina) / Octaviano / Ilvir(o) i(ure) d(icundo) et / Atiliae L(uci) f(iliae) Marcellae* (CIL V, 5101).

⁵⁸ Calvatone: *]a et Ursiena /]ua civis Camunna / [quae v]ixit annos LI / in coniugio / secundo / [vixit] annos X* (AE 1984, 431).

⁵⁹ Verona: *[Ti(berio) Claudio] / Ti(beri) f(ilio) Quir(ina) Alpino / praef(ecto) alae Gallic(ae) / trib(uno) leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae) / praef(ecto) coh(ortis) II pr(aetoriae) / don(ato) don(is) bello Germ(anico) / Claudia Ti(beri) f(ilia) Marcellina / marito optimo* (CIL V, 3356); *[Ti]b(erio) Claudio / Tib(eri) f(ilio) Quir(ina) / Augustano patri / Bellici Sollertis / proc(uratori) Aug(usti) prov(inciae) Britan(niae) / Claudia Ti(beri) f(ilia) Marcellina / socero optimo p[os]uit*] (CIL V, 3337).

⁶⁰ Bonora Mazzoli-Dolci, 2008.

Cottiae, Altrectianae, Martitimae, Poeninae, to the north *Raetia* and *Noricum*). With Augustus the urban-territorial configuration of the peninsula appears definitively accomplished: the successive emperors will only improve the political-administrative system previously implanted⁶¹.

The Camunni, who had nothing to do with roman events until 16 BC, after the annexation of the valley adapted themselves to the customs of the conquerors adhering to the Romanization process, and their territory passed, in the Augustan period, from being on the border of Italy to be the border of Italy.

⁶¹ Denti, 1991, pp. 10-11.