

Administering Assimilation:

Examining Native and Roman Concepts of Space in Five Case Studies

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## **Abstract**

This paper examines the presence or absence of native conceptions of space in Roman urban centers in the provinces. Utilizing case studies from five different cities, Emporiae, Tarraco, Glanum, Augustodunum, and Thugga, collectively chosen for their high degree of preservation and because they represent varying provinces such as *Gallia Narbonensis*, *Gallia Lugdunensis*, *Hispania Tarraconensis*, and *Africa Proconsularis*, this study explores an underlying pattern in the Romanization and urbanization of the provinces. The analysis focuses on the incorporation or exclusion of indigenous architecture or settlement development within Roman cities and what this interaction indicates about potential underlying reasons for Roman urban planning in the provinces. This work engages archaeological and textual evidence, as well as applies theories of Romanization and urbanization to the cities used as case studies, in order to more fully explicate the process of Roman expansion and the relationship of the Romans with the natives. Cities, once incorporated into the Roman empire, only retain pre-Roman concepts of space if the structures can be reutilized for functions more commonly associated with Roman culture and government. The administrative structures of the cities in the case studies were among the first features to be added to provincial cities, indicating that Roman urbanization was significantly driven by the need for certain structures required for efficient administration of a provincial city. Secondary structures, meant for entertainment and religious purposes, were constructed as well based on the desires of the inhabitants. Whether related to government or leisure, the elite members of the local communities commissioned the Roman structures, demonstrating that the process of Roman urbanism in the case studies was not center-driven.

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## 1. Introduction

The study and definition of identity in the Roman provinces is not a novel pursuit; rather, scholars<sup>1</sup> have been examining and re-examining the interactions between the Romans and the natives of the conquered regions, exploring the concept of Romanization throughout the late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. These studies have attempted to discern the existence of a typical procedure, underlying motive, or other consistent patterns in Roman expansion that could elucidate the development of the Roman mentality regarding territorial growth and cultural assimilation. The majority of studies, such as A. Kaiser's examination of Greek and Roman presence in Emporiae<sup>2</sup> or G. Woolf's discussion of the identity of Gauls during the Roman empire,<sup>3</sup> have directed their attention towards recovering the identity of those incorporated into the Roman empire, discussing the degree to which native populations would consider themselves to be "Roman" and challenging pre-existing definitions of "Roman" employed within the wider scholarship. Beyond its ultimate focus on Romanization, past research has varied in content and intent, ranging from the analysis of the influence of Greek urban planning and architecture on Roman urbanization<sup>4</sup> to the study of consumption of oysters in Provence after the Roman conquest,<sup>5</sup> amid a plethora of other subjects, demonstrating that the cultural process often

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<sup>1</sup> Mattingly (2000, 2011), Woolf (1998), Barrett (1997), and Revell (2009) in particular present thorough examinations of the debate of Romanization, providing analysis and discussion of a range of positions in order to attempt to define, or in some cases denounce, the concept.

<sup>2</sup> Kaiser, 2000. While the majority of Kaiser's work is to examine the urban space of Emporiae, he does discuss the significance of the continued presence of Greek structures in the city, even after Romans absorb it into the empire.

<sup>3</sup> Woolf, 1998. In his work, Woolf discusses reasons for Gauls to include Roman culture into their society, and to what degree one can utilize this occurrence to determine their identity.

<sup>4</sup> Sewell, 2010. Sewell argues that Roman town planning gained much of its characteristics from the Greek culture, such as street grids. He further notes that the Romans only included their own concepts of urban design pertaining to aspects which were entirely their own conception (Sewell 2010: 47, 85).

<sup>5</sup> Hitchner, 1999. Hitchner examines the presence of oysters in Provence and what that might indicate about the identity of the native inhabitants of the area, and observes the correlation between the increase of oyster shells present and the arrival of the Romans in the vicinity.

termed “Romanization” is essential to many historical and archaeological questions, even within the *Caput Mundi* itself.

Comprehension of the operation of identity as a discourse among native populations is integral to advancing the understanding of Roman conquest and expansion, as well as determining to what extent the indigenous population identified themselves as “Roman,” yet there is a surprising lack of discussion regarding the physical incorporation and continuation of native conceptions of urban space within the Roman empire.<sup>6</sup> Many scholars have noted the presence of various aspects of native culture, whether consisting of architecture, art, religious activity, or other social practices, but the interpretation of these occurrences and what they indicate about the process of Roman expansion into new regions has been limited.<sup>7</sup> J. DeLaine suggested that the process of Romanization consisted of two stages: an initial “impetus towards a unifying Roman model provided by Augustus,” largely consisting of structures necessary for the governing of the area, followed by the fulfillment of the needs and demands of the local inhabitants, such as entertainment, religious, and hydraulic structures.<sup>8</sup> In the following case studies, I will investigate textual and archaeological evidence of the establishment and development of

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<sup>6</sup> Scholars have discussed the influence of other cultures on Roman architecture (cf. Sewell, 2010) or the general introduction of Roman architecture into native settlements for the purpose of increasing status (cf. Revell, 2009), but there is a dearth of discussion directly addressing the incorporation, whether purposeful or unintentional, of native architectural features into Romanized cities.

<sup>7</sup> Poinssot (1958) does discuss the continuation of native cultural concepts and structures in Thugga during the Roman empire, but authors such as MacKendrick (1971) discuss the presence of Greek and even Gallic features yet do not analyze the significance of their appearance, or lack thereof, in Glanum.

<sup>8</sup> DeLaine 2008: 115. DeLaine adds that competition is included as a regional need that is subsequently satisfied through the building of inherently Roman structures. Stambaugh briefly mentions this occurrence as well, stating that the first buildings in the forum of Cosa were those most necessary for the colony’s civic life (Stambaugh 1988: 258). Zanker presented a similar argument, asserting that “The Romanization of each city reflected its individual needs...[Citizens outside Rome drew from Rome] more the impetus to erect certain types of buildings rather than specific architectural models” (Zanker 2000: 36). While he does not state that administrative structures were built first, followed by secondary, less necessary structures, he does claim that the inhabitants only constructed the types of buildings they needed.

specific urban centers in the Roman provinces<sup>9</sup> and more fully explicate the evidence for adherence to or utilization of native concepts of space in the planning and construction of their urban centers, whether these sites were founded entirely anew, acquired, or simply garrisoned by the Roman citizens. I will apply DeLaine's theory to the urban planning and architecture of five "Romanized" cities,<sup>10</sup> Glanum in *Gallia Narbonensis*, Augustodunum in *Gallia Lugdunensis*, Emporiae and Tarraco in *Hispania Tarraconensis*, and Thugga in *Africa Proconsularis*, concluding not only that the degree of Romanization<sup>11</sup> varied depending on the location in the empire as well as motivation for expansion into the territory,<sup>12</sup> but also that the inhabitants of the cities, whether Roman citizens or indigenous residents, only maintained native concepts of space in the establishment of these cities if they deemed the previous city and its amenities suitably equipped to administer the *territorium*.<sup>13</sup> This examination will show that DeLaine's arguments are supported by the evidence presented in the five case studies: based on the prevalence of inherently Roman structures over those characteristic of the native populations, structures typically associated with governmental function were commissioned first, with secondary constructions such as facilities for entertainment,

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<sup>9</sup> The evidence on which I will primarily focus is in the form of architecture and street plans, as they more clearly reveal the process of urbanization than other material culture.

<sup>10</sup> I am by no means arguing that the presence of Roman architecture is indicative of a Roman identity; rather, I am merely examining provincial architecture and urban design in order to determine patterns in the process of Romanization, seeking to reveal why certain structures occur in provincial towns and what that indicates about the function and desires of the city.

<sup>11</sup> The use of "Romanization" here is more to describe the adoption of Roman culture and material in the provinces, rather than defining the relationship between Romans and natives or the identity of the indigenous people themselves. Similarly to Mattingly, I believe the concept of "Romanization" and its connotations should be discarded in favor of a new perspective which includes an amalgamation of theories, including hybridity, creolization and diversity (Mattingly 2011: 40, 245).

<sup>12</sup> Discussion with Professor Matthew Harrington, December 7<sup>th</sup>, 2010, 2 pm.

<sup>13</sup> This is not to say that native inhabitants favored Roman architecture as a means of improving the administrative function of their city; rather, in many cases, the indigenous people commissioned Roman structures as a means of improving their own or their city's status (Curchin 1991: 104; Millett 1991: 172; Owens 1991: 122, among others).

baths, and other features being built based on the desires of the inhabitants of the city.

The evidence will show that temples and aqueducts were inconsistently constructed either in the first or second phases of urbanization and that there is no significant difference in the presence of certain structures depending on the status of the city within the hierarchy of Roman urban centers.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, I will conclude that the majority of structures within provincial cities were most likely not built by people from Rome, but instead by local elites vying for a higher status in society for themselves, or a greater status for their city within the urban network of the empire.

Textual and archaeological evidence for Roman perspectives regarding both the natives and their notions of urban space are vital for the methodology and interpretations of this study. Despite their biases and tendency to distort their content for rhetorical or literary effect, textual sources provide insights into the Roman ideology and perception of the native people they encountered. Historians such as Tacitus, Livy, and Caesar include ethnographic descriptions of Gallic, Germanic, and Britannic culture and town planning, incorporating their own personal commentary on the indigenous communities.<sup>15</sup> Even satirists such as Juvenal incorporate subtle hints of Roman views of the “barbarians,” revealing the attitudes of Romans in a non-militaristic setting.<sup>16</sup> Through the close examination of such texts, reactions against native culture can be determined, as well as why some urban centers might exclude it in the development of their provincial

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<sup>14</sup> Cities in the Roman provinces could receive three different statuses: *colonia*, *municipium*, and *civitas*, cf. below or Wachter (1974).

<sup>15</sup> Tacitus *de Vita Iulii Agricolae*, and *de Origine et Situ Germanorum Liber*; Livy *Ab Urbe Condita Libri*, and Caesar *Commentarii Rerum in Gallia Gestarum*, A. Hirti *Commentarius VIII*.

<sup>16</sup> Juvenal *Saturae*. Juvenal’s satires, while by no means accounting military exploits of Rome, provide insights as to the mentality of the Romans regarding “barbarians” or non-citizens, as illustrated through the author’s frequent references to historical events and free assessment of the moral value of all aspects of personal choice.

settlements.<sup>17</sup> While texts communicate cognitive responses to native culture, archaeological evidence presents physical responses to the indigenous population interacting with the Roman people in the vicinity. The presence, or lack thereof, of native architecture during Roman rule, for example, denotes several possible reactions to the native settlements, whether rejecting them as “barbaric” or “primitive,” deeming them as unsatisfactory for the smooth functioning of the empire, or a statement of Roman domination, among other reasons.<sup>18</sup> The careful utilization of textual and archaeological evidence in tandem, therefore, can illuminate potential incentive for maintaining or disregarding native concepts of urban space.

Furthermore, a comparison of cities in different regions of the empire is essential in order to decipher the pattern of urbanization. Scholars including M. Todd have argued that such an evaluation is illogical, as each province differs in social and economic organization and function, therefore making any *comparanda* invalid.<sup>19</sup> By asserting the individual integrity of each province, this position also inhibits any further understanding of the process of expansion: to ignore relationships, whether similar or contrasting, between the establishment and development of sites is to also disregard the fact that the cities are all connected through the Roman empire, a governing body under which each city, once incorporated, must function. It is therefore incorrect to assume that adherence to Roman legislation, taxation, and other requirements would occur divorced from any

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<sup>17</sup> As the authors of such historical texts are quite biased and any view presented consequently skewed, any scholar approaching primary texts should remain cautious.

<sup>18</sup> Additionally, as Cherry emphasizes, the adoption of Roman architecture cannot be the sole index utilized to determine acculturation. However, its use is beneficial for gaining further understanding of identity (Cherry 1998: 82-83).

<sup>19</sup> Todd 1993: 6. Todd’s assertion is part of a lengthy debate regarding the utilization of comparisons of provincial cities, as prior to his statement, disparate areas of the empire were traditionally compared to one another, frequently without considering whether the comparison was appropriate.

underlying method of urbanization. After all, the Roman state annexed territories in Gaul, for example, for reasons similar to their attainment of territories in North Africa, whether for military, agricultural, economic, or other purposes.<sup>20</sup> Even if the motivation behind expansion into different territories is not precisely identical, the process of developing settlements into functional urban centers would not for that reason alone be expected to have differed extensively except for in utilization of and cooperation with the local cultural and physical landscape. In this way, a comparison of the processes of provincial urbanization can elucidate the fundamental characteristics of Roman expansion, illuminating specific features that are necessary for a settlement to be “Roman” and indicating perspectives regarding native concepts of urban space.

An understanding of the parameters of Roman identity and agency in these specific provincial communities forms a key element of the methodology for analysis of the case studies. The identities of the inhabitants of provincial cities were multivalent and fluid, consisting of an amalgamation of Roman and native which constantly evolved throughout the period of Roman *imperium*.<sup>21</sup> The identity of those initiating the urbanization of regions which would become provinces particularly varies depending on the nature of the expansion and the period in which the urbanization occurred. Glanum, for example, was originally colonized by Greeks in the third or second centuries BCE<sup>22</sup> and did not experience Roman interference until C. Marius defeated the Cimbri, a

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<sup>20</sup> Cunliffe similarly argues that the Roman expansion into new territories was due to desire for new land, resources, and wealth, although his perspective is distinctly biased, believing the Romans to be aggressive and insatiable conquerors (Cunliffe 2008: 365-369). There is, however, a difference between conquest and incorporation: the former denotes a sense of assault for the purpose of glory and suppression, whereas the latter has less specifically militaristic or aggressive implications.

<sup>21</sup> This mutability is useful when discussing the identity of the inhabitants during a specific period, but it complicates the study of Romanization, as definitions cannot be applied to the inhabitants of an empire that is constantly changing and inclusive of new cultures.

<sup>22</sup> Fay 1981: 1. For a discussion of more recent excavations at Glanum, cf. Conges (1992).

Germanic tribe, in 101 BCE, although most of the urban growth and elaboration of the city occurred during Augustus' reign.<sup>23</sup> On the other hand, Roman citizens began to occupy the area of Tarraco around 218 BCE when the Roman military established a camp nearby.<sup>24</sup> Urbanization began in the end of the second century CE,<sup>25</sup> and Tarraco continued to be an important city throughout much of the Roman rule, an example of which is when the emperor Galba utilized the city in 68-69 CE as a base during a crisis of succession.<sup>26</sup> Similarly, Romans began occupying Emporiae, previously the Greek colony of Emporion, during the Second Punic War in the late second century BCE,<sup>27</sup> and gradually incorporated the Greek city by the beginning of the first century CE, when the two walls separating the cities were demolished.<sup>28</sup> Bibracte, on the other hand, originated as a native *oppidum*, the capital of the Aedui tribe, which was later functionally replaced by the Roman city Augustodunum, founded in the vicinity in the end of the first century BCE.<sup>29</sup> Finally, Thugga originated as a native *oppidum* which was presided over by Carthage until Romans began significantly populating the city by the first century CE after being incorporated into the Roman empire following the destruction of Carthage in the second century BCE.<sup>30</sup>

Each of these cities were settled under a variety of conditions with vastly differing levels of observable Roman interaction with their process of urbanization and

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<sup>23</sup> MacKendrick 1971: 24. For more on Marius' struggles with the Cimbri, see Plutarch *Mar.* 11.

<sup>24</sup> Keay, 1995: 295. Scipio's military residence at Tarraco is discussed in Polybius 3.76, 10.40; Livy 26.20, 27.17; Pliny *Nat.* 3.4

<sup>25</sup> Raventós 1995: 357. Livy (40.39) discusses the disbandment of veterans at Tarraco during this time.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*: 363.

<sup>27</sup> Tang 2005: 108-110. Polybius (3.76) and Livy (34.62) also describe Scipio's first arrival at Emporiae.

<sup>28</sup> Kaiser 2000: 2. See Strabo (3.4.8) and Livy (34.9) for a description of the chronology of Emporiae, as well as the unification of the Greek and Roman settlements.

<sup>29</sup> Woolf 1998: 9. Also, see Tacitus *Ann.* 3.43 and Caesar *Gal.* 1.23

<sup>30</sup> Rives 2001: 431.

monumentalization. As discussed by ancient sources, Glanum, Tarraco, and Emporiae had early experiences with the Roman military: Glanum invited the military to repel Germanic invaders, whereas both Tarraco and Emporiae had a Roman camp, established as a base for the Roman military in a war with non-Iberian peoples, located nearby. While Augustodunum was established after the Roman conquest of Gaul, it was not primarily a Roman fortress; rather, it functioned as a sort of replacement city which included a mixture of Roman and indigenous inhabitants.<sup>31</sup> On the other hand, Thugga was never primarily a Roman military site, but instead developed gradually with influences by the Numidians, Carthaginians and the Roman settlers.<sup>32</sup>

In these examples, the original body of Roman citizens inhabiting these sites did not necessarily derive primarily from Rome itself;<sup>33</sup> rather, they would be composed of settlers from other territories who, after having served in the Roman auxiliary forces, perhaps received citizenship and were settled in the provinces.<sup>34</sup> It is also possible that such Roman soldiers had never been to Rome and had in fact only seen Roman architecture in other cities at various stages of urban development. Furthermore, Italic settlers were frequently sent to Roman towns in the colonies in order to help secure Roman dominance,<sup>35</sup> although there is no concrete evidence that the settlers of man of the

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<sup>31</sup> Woolf 1998: 9. These inhabitants may have originated in Bibracte, abandoning their *oppidum* for the Roman city.

<sup>32</sup> Poinssot 1958: 9 and Grimal 1983: 152-153, respectively. The majority of the extant remains, however, are Roman in nature, with few remnants of the Numidian rule and even less of the Carthaginian culture.

<sup>33</sup> It should be noted that evidence of Romanization and identity does not always survive: the archaeological record does not preserve structures made from perishable materials, inscriptions can be spoliated and reutilized in other locations, and texts or other artifacts indicating identities do not always survive.

<sup>34</sup> Lassère notes epigraphic evidence of a veteran, A. Pompeius Salvius, in Thugga, indicating that some Roman soldiers settled the city. However, he also observes that the majority of the inscriptions reference citizens of African origin (Lassère 1977: 288, 623).

<sup>35</sup> Additional Roman citizens were sent to *Hispaniae*, for example, between the mid-first century BCE and the early first century CE (Keay 1995: 301).

cities came directly or entirely from *Italia*. Instead, settlers may have come from other *territoria* of the Roman empire, therefore consisting of various different ancestries and cultures that may not originally have been from Roma but who became Roman citizens in the course of Roman expansion. A register of land assigned in the city of Ilici in southern Spain, for example, notes land distributed to some Roman citizens in Spain, men from North Africa, and one man from the Balearic Islands.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, in cases such as Augustodunum, the majority of native Gauls who relocated from Bibracte to the newly established Roman city may never had seen a Roman city, not to mention one in *Italia*.<sup>37</sup> Thus, the “Romans” who were responsible for initiating urbanization of these particular provincial cities were not necessarily as “Roman” as officials who were sent into the provinces as legates or governors originated from a firmly established and well respected patrician family in Rome, and certainly were not as “Roman” as the majority of inhabitants of Roma itself.<sup>38</sup> In this way, the complexity of the identity of the Roman settlers can be just as convoluted as the identity of the indigenous peoples, implying that the cities were multi-cultural communities in which those living in the cities, whether indigenous or foreign, Roman citizen or non-citizen, were responsible for commissioning the structures rather than patrons from a uniform population of inhabitants from Rome.<sup>39</sup> Additionally, individuals may not always agree about the definition of their identities, or limit themselves to a single identity at all time and in all places, nor will they always

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<sup>36</sup> Purcell 2005: 97. It is probable that most, if not all, cities in the provinces consisted of peoples with different nationalities.

<sup>37</sup> This could also be the case in other cities in which indigenous inhabitants moved to a Roman town. The native population of Thugga, for example, would have also not likely seen a Roman city in *Italia*.

<sup>38</sup> It should be noted that the majority of colonists, as with Roman citizens generally, were not upper class *equites* or patricians; rather, the plebeians were more typically sent to colonize certain areas.

<sup>39</sup> Romans, for example, could maintain their elite status while practicing non-Roman cultural activities, such as worshipping non-Roman deities, speaking Punic languages, or living in non-Roman style cities or houses (Purcell 2005: 95).

assert their perspective through physical manifestations of their identity, typically in the form of buildings. This discourse affects not only the process of Romanization but also illuminates reasons for the presence of Roman architecture which differ from those seen in Italian cities like Rome.

## 2. The Roman City as a Construct

Romanization and urbanization cannot be fully comprehended without first considering concepts of urban space which are typically associated with major urban centers of the *Imperium Romanum*, and a thorough understanding of the discourse of Roman architecture is essential in order to decipher the degree of Romanization of the provinces. The quintessential ancient source for Roman architecture is Vitruvius' work *Decem Libri de Architectura*, which is one of the few preserved examples of treatises on architecture written during the Roman empire.<sup>40</sup> In his systematic manual, Vitruvius states that he seeks to record the methods and measurements of architectural design and construction in order to provide a template from which the reader can educate himself in evaluating architecture.<sup>41</sup> He also describes techniques of planning and construction in detail as a guide to architectural design for others who intend to plan and build structures, as well as critiques various contemporaneous construction methods and fashions.

Rowland and Howe emphasize this perspective, stating that he is “arguing a point of view

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<sup>40</sup> It should be noted, however, that Vitruvius is only one author writing on architecture; he is by no means the only opinion in the subject, nor are his ideas strictly adhered to by the Romans. Rather, one should regard his recommendations as a possible answer in response to the less consistent and very chaotic hodge-podge of architecture occurring during the period.

<sup>41</sup> Rowland and Howe 1999: 21. The reader of Vitruvius' work is Emperor Augustus, who, according to Vitruvius, was in the midst of major construction projects in Rome. Vitruvius' *de Architectura*, therefore, was meant as a means of aiding the emperor during this endeavor.

rather than summarizing currently accepted standard practice.”<sup>42</sup> Other scholars such as Boëthius contend that Vitruvius’ description of the orders was a reaction against the innovative and unregulated architecture from the Late Republican period, while others still disparage Vitruvius as incompetent and unknowledgeable.<sup>43</sup> In view of these perspectives, one should read Vitruvius’ works with caution. For example, in his discussion of the forum, Vitruvius advises that “the treasury, the jail, and the senate house should be adjoined to the forum, but in such a way that the scale of their symmetries corresponds to that of the forum itself. And certainly, the senate house in particular should be built above all so as to enhance the dignity of the town or city.”<sup>44</sup> It is highly unlikely that every forum in the empire adhered to this advice; rather, Vitruvius is merely declaring his opinions within the broader discourse rather than observing the actual method of constructing the buildings near the forum. Had the senate house been typically located on the highest point of the city, or been proportionate to the dimensions of the forum, Vitruvius would not need to assert this value judgment; rather, the presence of this recommendation indicates that the architectural practice was variable, but that it generally reflected common practice.<sup>45</sup> Therefore, Vitruvius’ work can be utilized in order to decipher the reality of city planning and design during Augustus’ reign based on the forms of advice that he felt impelled to advance. His opinion is merely that: a

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid 1999: 14. Vitruvius, as mentioned above, is participating in a discourse rather than providing architectural absolutes, implying that his suggestions should not be considered as universally applied. In other words, not all architects agreed with him, and therefore his ideas should be considered with caution.

<sup>43</sup> Idem. The plethora of theories, while different in detail, all essentially assert that Vitruvius’ ideas are hardly universally applied nor are they necessarily representative of a universal practice.

<sup>44</sup> Vitruvius *Arch.* 5.2.1.

<sup>45</sup> Vitruvius would not have written suggestions with which the audience would disagree. Thus, his proposals can be considered to reflect overall architectural traditions and methods of design.

contribution to the continuing conversation concerning construction and design of Roman architecture.<sup>46</sup>

As Kaiser notes, Vitruvius focuses mostly on urban buildings, both public and private, although only one book is devoted to the latter.<sup>47</sup> Somewhat disappointingly, Vitruvius does not dedicate much time to describing the layout of the cities,<sup>48</sup> aside from emphasizing the necessity for incorporating various subjects such as mathematics and music, among others, in determining the proper location, as well as stressing the need for the selection of a site which was less prone to disease or disharmony.<sup>49</sup> His emphasis on balance, harmony, and an elite education in particular is rather idealized and one wonders how frequently such requirements were achieved, a perspective which reflects the purpose of the work as an opinion on ideal architecture rather than observation of reality. Vitruvius' suggestions are representative of one opinion and is not necessarily exemplary of the beliefs of all architects. By comparing Vitruvius' treatise on architecture with the suggestions of other ancient authors and the archaeological remains, the overall discourse on architecture can therefore be determined based on structures and perspectives which constantly recur throughout the evidence.

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<sup>46</sup> Personal communication with Professor Matthew Harrington, February 15, 2011, 3:20 pm.

<sup>47</sup> Kaiser 2000: 19. It seems that Vitruvius only omitted discussion of amphitheaters and circuses. While the absence of the former is due to the lack of a permanent amphitheater in Rome until later in the first century CE, the exclusion of the latter is more confusing (Ibid: 21).

<sup>48</sup> The omission of urban planning is logical for Vitruvius, as he would not have received much experience planning a city. Being an architect, Vitruvius would have gained more experience with buildings than urban design.

<sup>49</sup> Vitruvius, *de Architectura*, Book 1. Orientation must consider, for example, the direction of the wind, and streets especially should be aligned with the regions of the heavens (1.6). In Cicero's discussion of foundation of Rome, he states that cities located along the coast were more exposed to dangers not only of raids but also of the corruption or degeneration of morals due to the constant import of foreign languages and customs (Cicero, *de Re Publica*, 2.5-8).

Vitruvius does mention where certain buildings should be located in relationship to one another. For example, for inland urban centers, *fora* should be located in the center of the town, whereas *fora* in port towns should be located more towards the harbor, and that temples dedicated to the protective deities of the city should be built in the highest location of the city.<sup>50</sup> Temples should be symmetrical, differing in precise measurements and number of columns depending on their particular style.<sup>51</sup> He also mentions the use of Greek architectural elements such as the stylobate and the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian orders,<sup>52</sup> but also incorporates a frontal approach to the temple, which is characteristically Roman.<sup>53</sup> The temple should also be oriented towards the west unless landscape or some other factor impedes it.<sup>54</sup> This mixture of Greek and Roman architectural design indicates that the “ideal” Roman temple in fact incorporates a significant amount of foreign, albeit “cultured,” aspects.<sup>55</sup> Wallace-Hadrill interprets Vitruvius’ recurring utilization of and reference to Greek architecture as a means of laying a Greek foundation upon which Roman design concepts can be built, creating an unavoidable comparison and therefore asserting the Roman identity.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Vitruvius: 1.7.1.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid: 3. 1-3.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid: 3.4.4, 3.5 and Book 4. Vitruvius seems to favor the Ionic style due to his lengthy discussion of the design as well as his separation of it from the other two styles.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid: 3.4.4. Despite the emphasis on the frontal steps, Vitruvius does state in an after-thought that if the steps are to continue around the temple, they should be constructed in the same manner.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid: 4.5.1-2.

<sup>55</sup> Roman temples also are heavily influenced by Etruscan architecture (Sear 1982: 10-12).

Connoisseurship was common among the Romans, particularly with regards to Greek art and culture. Foreign art was frequently acquired by the Romans during conquest or through trade and fashion, and could be utilized in triumphal processions, as dedications, or otherwise luxury decorations. For a discussion of the prevalence of Hellenistic material in Roman society, see Pollitt (1986: 150-163).

<sup>56</sup> Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 144-145. While Vitruvius heavily utilizes Greek theory (Ibid: 146), his language and continual separation of “us (Romans)” from “them (Greeks)” indicates a contrast in cultures (Ibid: 150). Furthermore, the repeated emphasis on Italic designs such as “Tuscanic” *atria* also asserts Roman identity (Ibid: 152).

After temples, Vitruvius turns his attention towards public buildings, such as the forum, basilicas, theaters, and baths.<sup>57</sup> According to Vitruvius, the size of the forum should correspond with the number of people in the city. He recommends the existence of porticoes and shops around the forum, and the basilica should be adjacent to it. Within the forum should be the treasury and senate house.<sup>58</sup> Vitruvius includes both Greek and Roman-style theaters,<sup>59</sup> structures important for the celebration of the gods on feast days, asserting that theaters of the Roman style should have wedges of seats, a *scaenae frons* or scene building, and an orchestra space between the two. Greek theaters,<sup>60</sup> however, cover more of the circumference of the orchestra than a Roman theater does and the action takes place in the orchestra as opposed to the *scaenae frons*. Vitruvius again mentions the importance of choosing healthful locations and orientations for the theaters, emphasizing the harmonic principles associated with theater construction.<sup>61</sup> Vitruvius therefore presents ideal parameters of the typical architectural practices. His suggestions regarding the theater were not adhered to by all architects in the empire, but they do reveal the manner in which architects approached theater design. Furthermore, Vitruvius notes the need of baths of varying temperatures, the *caldaria*, *tepidaria*, and *frigidaria*, which must be placed so that the hottest bath is located nearest to the furnace and the

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<sup>57</sup> Vitruvius does include ports in his work, but as they are not required of every Roman town, they will be omitted in this discussion.

<sup>58</sup> Vitruvius 5.1.1-4, .5.2.1. Of course, not every city would have a senate house, as not every city included a senate. This is one of the instances when it becomes apparent that Vitruvius is not necessarily writing for provincial urban planning and architecture, or at least not for provincial towns with low statuses in the empire.

<sup>59</sup> Theaters were also essential features of Greek cities, and therefore scholars should be careful when relying on the presence of theaters in cities as indication of Roman influence (Downey 2000: 160).

<sup>60</sup> Vitruvius does not indicate from which period the Greek theater design derives. Therefore, the audience must presume he is speaking of theaters both contemporary and prior to his period.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid: 5.6.1-5, 5.3, 5.4, 5.7.1. Vitruvius mentions a shift away from wooden theaters towards stone ones, a transformation which inevitably led to a Roman discourse on morality and whether or not permanent entertainment structures led to the corruption of the people (Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 160, 163-9). For more discussion on the transition from wooden to stone entertainment structures, including amphitheaters, see Welch (1994).

coldest is farthest away.<sup>62</sup> As with theaters, all baths did not adhere to Vitruvius' suggestions; however, the features he includes reflects the discourse surrounding architecture during his time, revealing that architects considered types of baths and the logical placement of them in the overall bath complex.

Features of private buildings indicated by Vitruvius consist of *atria* of various styles, *alae* or wings, a *tablinum* for records and business, peristyle courtyards, and *triclinia* or dining rooms.<sup>63</sup> Greek houses are also described as lacking the *atria* of the Italian house and while adding rooms designated specifically for men.<sup>64</sup> Following the section on private structures, Vitruvius describes methods of finishing structures, including flooring consisting of *opus sectile* or stone inlay, plasterwork, and the styles and techniques of wall painting.<sup>65</sup> Finally, Vitruvius discusses the importance of the water supply and its associated structures, such as reservoirs, piping systems, and *castella* or structures for retaining water upon its arrival in the city, for transporting water to cities.<sup>66</sup>

As aforementioned, Vitruvius' presentation of architectural design, whether concerning placement of the *fora* or measurements of the theater, does not represent the

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid: 5.10.1. He also outlines the type of architecture suggested for the baths, but here it is more important to acknowledge the features of a bath mentioned by the author. Wallace-Hadrill interprets the baths as a Roman "response" to the Greek *gymnasium*, therefore asserting Roman identity in a work that heavily references Greek architecture (Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 175).

<sup>63</sup> Ibid: 6.3. Vitruvius notes that these features depend on the social status of the owner of the house. For example, *atria* are not required for houses of lower class inhabitants, as they are not likely to receive any *clientes*.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid: 6.7.1-4. Not all houses strictly adhered to Roman and Greek formats as described by Vitruvius. Emporiae, for example, has Greek houses with *atria* (Kaiser 2000: 133).

<sup>65</sup> Ibid: 7. These features are characteristic of more elite houses, although less-quality versions are certainly present in lower class structures (Wallace-Hadrill 1994: 143-174).

<sup>66</sup> Ibid: 8.5-6. Leveau and Paillet, however, argue that the mere presence of some water systems like aqueducts are not always necessary for the expansion of urban sites in areas like North Africa, noting that sites like Thuburbo Maius survive well without the presence of an aqueduct (Shaw 1996: 39). In this way, aqueducts may not be essential for a settlement to be an ideal city.

opinion of all architects at the time, nor does it embody urban planning in actuality.<sup>67</sup> For this reason, his recommendations should not be considered as universally utilized; rather, they should be taken as an argument in an overarching discourse on architecture, providing a perspective of design which can be compared to others throughout the empire to determine any underlying patterns in urban planning. Furthermore, Vitruvius' descriptions of structures indicate which buildings he deemed necessary features of a city, suggesting that they were common and critical enough to the smooth functioning of an urban center that Vitruvius had to explain their construction for contemporary and forthcoming architects and patrons. The presence or absence of such structures in the provinces, therefore, can reveal the participation of the inhabitants of the provinces in the discourse on architecture, clarifying the process of Romanization and urbanization.

Vitruvius, however, is not the only ancient author who comments on architecture, although his descriptions of construction methods and design is by far more in-depth and extensive than any other extant work. Marcus Cetus Faventinus, an architect writing no earlier than the third century CE, emphasizes the necessity of aesthetics and measurement in the construction and planning of buildings, discussing materials and domestic design in particular, and generally echoes Vitruvius' perspective on architecture.<sup>68</sup> Sextus Iulius Frontinus, a surveyor writing during the time of Nerva, emphasizes the importance of the aqueducts, devoting two books to the maintenance and catalogue of the structures, as well as numerous lists of prominent figures in society who commissioned and repaired these

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<sup>67</sup> Dwyer's comparison of the measurements of rooms in the House of Marcus Lucretius in Pompeii with the suggestions of Vitruvius exemplifies the divergence from Vitruvian theory, illustrating further that not all architects and patrons followed his advice (1995: 37).

<sup>68</sup> Plommer 1973: 2, 41, 55, 57, 59, 61-70. He also discusses doors and windows facing "healthier" winds and the construction of wells (43, 45-53).

structures, demonstrating their significance to the functioning of urban centers.<sup>69</sup> Both Faventinus and Frontinus parallel Vitruvius in their intent, expanding on the Vitruvian models in order to assert their own suggestions regarding the construction of various buildings and the types of materials to use. The agreement of two additional architects with the methods set by Vitruvius is indicative of the importance of the latter's contribution to the discourse, implying that his perspective was accepted enough or, at minimum, representative enough to be continued throughout much of the existence of the empire.

The majority of ancient authors, however, neglect discussion of precise construction methods<sup>70</sup> in favor of discussion of the social practice associated with the structure, indicating that Vitruvius' focus on form is not necessarily as important to address in the Roman world as the function of the structure.<sup>71</sup> When discussing the quality of women, Juvenal mentions that the theater or colonnades as a venue for observing women,<sup>72</sup> emphasizing the importance of the structures as a means for public

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<sup>69</sup> Frontinus *de Aquaeductu Urbis Romae*. The aqueduct was essential both as a means of competition between cities and prominent members of society, and also as a means of supplying water across vast distances to numerous areas of the empire. The importance of the aqueduct can be seen through fines acquired should people pollute the aqueducts or draw water from the structures without permission (1.97, 1.103 respectively). Frontinus even asserts that the aqueduct is a greater structure than the pyramid or the works of the Greeks (*aut citera inertia set fama celebrate opera Graecorum*) (1.16). The combination of the frequent repair and construction of aqueducts, as well as the heavy fines—in some cases, consisting of 10,000 *sestertii*—imposed on those who abuse their water privileges or endanger the people who depend on the aqueducts for water demonstrates the importance of the feature in Roman society. However, the reliance of certain cities such as Rome on the aqueduct does not necessarily signify its necessity in the functioning of a provincial urban center.

<sup>70</sup> Juvenal, however, does lament the poor quality construction of lower class houses (1.3.190-202).

<sup>71</sup> Many patrons commissioned structures that served social functions, such as baths or temples, serving not only to provide necessary buildings for the populous but also to assert and increase their status in the city. The temples of *Concord*, *Frugifer*, and *Liber Pater* in Thugga, for example, were dedicated by Marcus Gabinius Quirina Bassus in 117/118 CE (Khanoussi and Maurin 2000: 69). As the patron of these important religious structures, Bassus associates his name with commonly used buildings, forcing the residents of Thugga to be consciously aware of his patronage whenever they worshipped at the temples, making him more well-known in the city, and therefore elevating his status.

<sup>72</sup> Juvenal: 2.6.60-62.

display and status. Similarly, he does not describe in detail the process of worship or the structure of the temple, but instead notes the occurrence of prayer, noting the importance of the function of the structure rather than its actual appearance.<sup>73</sup> In a later satire, Juvenal describes the expenditures of homes, narrating the amount spent on and the quality of the materials of the domestic baths, porticoes, and other features, which included imported Numidian marble.<sup>74</sup> For Juvenal, the purpose of structures for social display, whether consisting of flaunting women, worship, or wealth, is more important than the actual design of the structure. Other authors emphasize the splendor of the architectural decoration rather than detail the actual construction of the building. Statius, for example, illustrates the baths of Claudius Etruscus, portraying the gleam of the marble, the ambience of the lighting, and the beauty of the mosaics, doors, and ceilings. He does not, however, describe whether the *caldarium* is located next to the *tepidarium*, as Vitruvius suggests, or how the facilities are heated.<sup>75</sup> Thus, he emphasizes the baths as a means of displaying one's status through the choice of decor rather than focus on its specific engineering or design.<sup>76</sup> Caesar Augustus enumerates, but does not describe in detail, the plethora of building and restoration projects he completed during his rule, listing structures such as the *curia* or senate house, circus, various temples, theaters, and

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<sup>73</sup> Juvenal: 4.10.23-24. It is also important that Juvenal distinguishes a first vow (*prima vota*), indicating that they were the most common.

<sup>74</sup> Juvenal: 3.7.178-185. Juvenal also notes that even after lavishing a vast quantity of money on the materials and size of the house, the owner still could afford a slave to serve each plate, indicating that the *dominus* was wealthy enough to care for numerous slaves. The amount of slaves implied is cast as extravagant.

<sup>75</sup> Statius *Silvae*: 1.5. Statius, born around 40 CE, was a highly successful poet, composing the *Silvae* and the *Thebaid* before his death in 94 CE (Statius: vii-viii). Many of his poems' subjects consist of praises of imperial commissions or figures, particularly of Domitian, suggesting his desire to favor and enter the imperial court (cf. Statius *Silvae*: 1.1, 4.1,2,3,5).

<sup>76</sup> Of course, a patron would most likely hire an architect to address such matters rather than attend to the technicalities themselves.

aqueducts.<sup>77</sup> Pliny the Elder, as well, focuses primarily on the appearance of buildings,<sup>78</sup> describing the seating capacity of the Circus Maximus in Rome, the Phrygian marble used in the Basilica of Paulus, and emphasizes the expensive decoration and grandeur of the house of Marcus Lepidus and theater of Marcus Scaurus. He also describes the importance of the aqueducts of Gaius and Claudius, as they supply the entire city for its various water needs and cross vast tracts of land to do so.<sup>79</sup>

While these authors are not necessarily architects, their commentary on architecture in the Roman world indicates that the importance of the structure was not necessarily the specific plan or measurements of the building, for example, but rather the function it performed.<sup>80</sup> It did not necessarily matter, in the end, whether a temple had three *cellae* or a theater had the proper shaped *scaenae frons*; what mattered was whether the space performed as it should.<sup>81</sup> Structures such as baths and houses, while not necessarily planned in the axial manner that Vitruvius preferred, still fulfilled its greater purpose of displaying the wealth of the owner and therefore allowing the owner to compete with other members of their social class. Ultimately, temples and theaters were

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<sup>77</sup> Augustus *Res Gestae*: 19-21. While his work is heavily biased in favor of his own deeds, the list of architectural structures is helpful in understanding patronage in the Roman world. Augustus, for example, states he restores the capitolium and theater of Pompey but also announces that he does not inscribe his name on either work (20). This is misleading, causing the audience to believe he is humble; rather, by stating that he did not inscribe his name, Augustus is in fact boasting of his humility, overtly displaying his benevolence and therefore accentuating his superiority to others.

<sup>78</sup> The only section in which he discusses the physical construction is when he describes two theaters in Rome made of wood, which pivot and connect to one another to form a single amphitheater (Haberly 1957: 143-144).

<sup>79</sup> Ibid: 139-146. According to Pliny, the two theaters rotated on a pivot. During the morning games, the theaters would face away from one another to avoid the noise, but in the afternoon, they would be rotated towards one another and combined to be one amphitheater. Pliny's inclusion of this in his account of Rome suggests that it was a unique feature (Ibid: 143).

<sup>80</sup> It is impossible to determine whether construction or function were preferred in general by Roman elites; rather, as illustrated here, opinion and taste varied depending on the person.

<sup>81</sup> Taste, however, played a significant role in the view of architecture. Poor taste in design would incur criticism from other members of society. A Capitolium designed without a tripartite *cella* could therefore be regarded as poor taste for inhibiting the proper worship of the Capitoline triad.

used for prayer and for display, respectively, and the considerations regarding orientation and order were inconsequential in comparison to the use of the structure for a larger function. The authors do emphasize the importance of decoration, but unlike Vitruvius, they are for impractical purposes: adornments were more overtly necessary for status and competition purposes, not for their general construction.<sup>82</sup> Therefore, Vitruvius' suggestions participate in the overall discourse and do not necessarily reflect current practices, nor is it apparent that other members of society, whether in Italy or in the provinces, utilized and adhered to them when commissioning their own construction projects. His work, then, becomes useful only for purposes of comparison, as well as providing an initial list of features of a city deemed essential by the author and, perhaps, by his intended audience.

Modern authors have added to the list of buildings important for a Roman town, suggesting structures which consistently appear in Roman cities as the empire expanded to incorporate new territory. W. MacDonald, for example, includes the triumphal arch, circus, storage facility, and *cryptoporticus* as buildings "essential to town life."<sup>83</sup> D. Perring also denotes the crossing of the *cardo maximus* and *decumanus maximus* or major streets in Roman towns, and the tendency for important civic and cultic structures like the forum to congregate near this crossroads.<sup>84</sup> Amphitheaters as well usually are

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<sup>82</sup> Although, of course, it was important for the baths, for example, to be able to function. It would be a problem, for example, if the furnace was constructed poorly and the baths could not be heated.

<sup>83</sup> MacDonald 1986: 111-119. Arches could be located along key roads, leading to or part of gates, or seen in the form of a triumphal arch. Many of the public structures could also be utilized as a method of formalizing order and unity within the city (Favro 1996: 221).

<sup>84</sup> This analysis has bearings on sites such as Pompeii and Timgad (Stambaugh 1988: 260-262, 283-284), although does not seem to hold for Thugga.

located along the periphery, or even outside, of the urban settlements.<sup>85</sup> Other studies have frequently counted the orthogonal street plan as essential to the Roman city, despite its Greek origins and use by the Etruscans, as it is commonly present in urban centers.<sup>86</sup> They argue that many of these structures must be present in order to be considered Roman.<sup>87</sup> Some structures are more important early in the urban development of a city than others, such as administration and cult buildings, but gradually, the accumulation of this constellation of structures in a city simultaneously makes it more urban and more Roman.<sup>88</sup> Through the examination of *comparanda* from numerous Roman cities both in Italy and in its provinces, as well as ancient texts, a pattern is revealed in which specific types of structures constantly recur, suggestive of the desires of the respective cities and indicating that their presence frequently contributes towards the urban status of a settlement. As other authors have proposed, the occurrence of these structures is not required for a city to function as an urban center; however, as will be discussed below, these buildings frequently appear in Roman cities and native settlements as they experience urbanization during the Roman *imperium*.

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<sup>85</sup> Perring 1991: 276-281. An example of a city with an amphitheater close to the walls is Pompeii (Stambaugh 1988: 260-262).

<sup>86</sup> Terrenato 2009: 253. Orthogonal plans, despite their recurrent use in Roman cities, were not created specifically for Roman colonies. Rather, the orthogonal plan was codified by Hippodamus, a Greek architect, during the fifth century BCE, and were heavily utilized by the Etruscans during the same century. Additionally, the plans are not always present in Roman cities. While cities like Ostia and Cosa both heavily utilize the orthogonal grid (Stambaugh 1988: 270-273, 256), others like Glanum do not have evidence suggesting the presence of such urban planning (Goodman 2007: 176).

<sup>87</sup> To be Roman, particularly after the life of Cicero, meant to be a citizen of the world. As Edwards and Woolf say, "there is no part of the world which is not also Rome," especially evident through the extension of Roman law and citizenship, and even the physical fabric of the city (Edwards and Woolf 2003: 3-4). For more on Rome as a cosmopolis, see Edwards and Woolf, editors (2003).

<sup>88</sup> MacDonald 1986: 3.

### 3. Romanization and Urbanization in the Provinces

The various reasons for expansion and foundation of new cities have been discussed thoroughly by numerous archaeologists and historians.<sup>89</sup> The establishment of Roman towns in the provinces typically occurred for the collection of resources and taxes, as well as in the interest of dominating previously seditious and bothersome native groups such as the Gauls.<sup>90</sup> Although the motivations for expansion were numerous and varied greatly by the region being incorporated, most of the purposes for conquest remain the same: resources, aggressive retaliation<sup>91</sup> and protection.<sup>92</sup>

No study of history can be complete without considering the interaction between the Romans and the indigenous people. Several theories regarding Rome's relationship with the native provincials have prevailed since the early 1900s.<sup>93</sup> One early concept of Romanization is that the Romans imposing their culture and society on the local peoples, whom the Romans considered "barbaric" and "uncivilized."<sup>94</sup> Thus the Romans provided a civilization for the natives who, in their opinion, lacked one. In the 1930s, R.G. Collingwood promoted the concept of the fusion and hybridization of Roman and non-Roman cultures, the beginning of the idea of creolization, a theory later emphasized by J. Webster which states that Romans and indigenous people benefited and were influenced

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<sup>89</sup> See Woolf (1997), Creighton (2006), and Curchin (2003) in particular for more in-depth discussions of urbanization in specific provinces and their cities.

<sup>90</sup> Curchin 2003: 57; Woolf 1997: 345; Creighton 2006: 19.

<sup>91</sup> Particularly in the case of Gaul.

<sup>92</sup> Although other benefits came from expansion, such as tribute, taxation, and auxiliary troops.

<sup>93</sup> For an especially thorough discussion of the evolution of the theory of Romanization, see Hingley 2005: 14-48.

<sup>94</sup> Although Zanker proposes an additional definition, stating that it can also consist of how a Roman perceived an ideal "Roman" city should be organized or appear (Zanker 2000: 26). While this is an intriguing concept, it cannot be confidently concluded. It is possible that the plan of an urban center reflects the view of the "founder" of a city, but one cannot determine whether or not this is so. Additionally, it is difficult to believe that Roman citizens establishing cities like Thugga, for example, would consider a disorganized street plan, such as the one at Thugga, to be "ideal."

by each other as opposed to the Romans simply influencing the natives. Furthermore, the Nativist Hypothesis, popular in the 1970s and 1980s, suggested for the first time that the natives actually resisted the Roman invasion.<sup>95</sup> These theories tend to over-simplify the relationship between the conqueror and the conquered,<sup>96</sup> ignoring the spectrum of degrees of depth to which the natives could choose to accept Roman culture, determining for themselves how “Romanized” or indigenous they will become. These theories overlook the provincials’ reasoning for deciding their place on the spectrum in favor of generally defining the entire process.<sup>97</sup>

The range of potential identities has been frequently explored by archaeologists and other scholars. A number of recent studies discuss the various aspects of Roman expansion and native identity, resulting in new perspectives regarding the length and extent of the process. Woolf notes that indigenous people did not become Roman overnight; rather, the procedure was slow and uneven, depending on the area of the empire and the desires of the people. Many tribes, Woolf observes, absorbed differing aspects of Roman culture, and that the motivation for such assimilation could vary from a desire to maintain elite status to gaining legal rights from the Roman government.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Webster 2001: 209-212. This is in opposition to the previous notion that natives welcomed the Roman presence in their territory, completely ignoring the idea that natives would not like a new force demanding taxes and resources encroaching on their land. Hingley adds that through Nativism, “Romanization became no more than a surface gloss beneath which native ways of life continued relatively unaltered.” Nativism was especially popular in Britain during the 1950s due to the decolonization movements at the time (Hingley 2005: 40).

<sup>96</sup> Cicero even observes the variation in the provinces, noting that not all of the assimilated peoples immediately welcomed the Romans: *nulla gens est quae non aut ita sublata sit ut vix exstet, aut ita domita ut quiescat, aut ita pacata ut victoria nostra imperioque laetatur* (there is no nation which is not either so subdued as to hardly exist, or so subdued so that it is at peace, or so pacified that it rejoices with our victory and control) (Cicero, *de Provinciis Consularibus*: 31).

<sup>97</sup> The concept of multi-dimensional identity is also asserted by Gardner and Revell, among others (Revell 2009: 8).

<sup>98</sup> Woolf 1998: 7-16. Cherry further notes that it is frequently impossible to know the indigenous non-elites’ motivation for Romanizing (Cherry 1998: 77).

Additionally, L. Revell best summarizes the process, stating that “a Roman identity is not a fixed point to be reached, but rather a more fluid concept which needs to be continuously worked at through the routines of everyday life.”<sup>99</sup> She further asserts that natives can have both a group and an individual identity, an occurrence which may create tension and conflict among members of the community and within the individual.<sup>100</sup> M. Millett discusses the filtering of Roman culture throughout native society as a result of native, and later Roman, aristocracy, imitating Roman elite material culture.<sup>101</sup> While Woolf, Revell, and Millett do not concretely define the identities of inhabitants of provincial towns, they demonstrate that identity, whether Roman or Other, is constantly in flux, evolving as the empire evolves and expands. Understanding the oscillation of perspective among individuals in the empire allows scholars to decipher the process of Roman expansion, its effects on the indigenous communities, leading to the realization that assimilation does produce a uniform identity.

Other archaeologists have applied the concept of Romanization in other manners, re-evaluating Roman expansion in various territories in the provinces and attempting to determine to what extent the natives of the area had “become Roman.”<sup>102</sup> Some argue for

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<sup>99</sup> Revell 2009: 8. Revell’s work not only discusses the overall debate regarding Romanization, but promotes the use of the concept and therefore opposes scholars such as Barrett (1997) and Hingley (2005).

<sup>100</sup> Idem. This conflict contributes to the overall complexity of the concept of identity, further emphasizing the inability for identity to be categorized into two tidy groups of either “Roman” or “native.” The conflict of and constant evolution of identity indicates that the process of Romanization is ever-changing, revealing that its study is useful for a specific period but cannot apply to the entire chronology of the Roman empire.

<sup>101</sup> Revell 2008: 6-7. Additionally, Revell observes that Roman culture was adopted without the natives necessarily understanding its entire meaning. She uses the example of Cicero and Vergil, questioning whether the natives knew the meaning of practices mentioned by the Roman authors or if they just conformed to the Roman practice (Ibid: 11). However, Cherry points out issues with Millett’s model, stating that there is no evidence for his concept of “self-generating,” nor can his model be quantitatively analyzed to measure Romanization. Millett also only examines material culture, neglecting other sources for assimilation (Cherry 1998: 80).

<sup>102</sup> For additional studies of this process, cf. R. Bruce Hitchner’s work (1999) in Provence which discusses the increase of oyster consumption after Roman colonization, Broughton’s re-evaluation (1959) of the

the abandonment of the concept of “Romanization.” D. Mattingly especially argues for the eradication of the theory, stating that ancient authors do not discuss the process of expansion as a procedure for the purpose of deliberately subjecting the indigenous people to Roman rule and for rewarding those who comply. He further states that Romanization is a faulty concept which suggests that culture flowed from a more advanced to a less sophisticated civilization, as well as one which disregards the continuation of local traditions after being incorporated into the Roman empire.<sup>103</sup> R. Hingley echoes Mattingly’s sentiments, asserting further that the concept derived from a mentality that the non-European “barbarians” were unable to adopt the “gift” of civilization,<sup>104</sup> and objects to the use of the terms “native” and “Roman,” arguing that the identities were much more complex than the two labels.<sup>105</sup> Ultimately, as Mattingly and Hingley suggest, “Romanization” should be discarded for a perspective combining multiple considerations, including hybridity, diversity, and creolization, as cultural identity was not homogenous throughout Roman society.<sup>106</sup>

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Romanization of Iberia as more complex than previously considered, and Nicols’ discussion (1987) of new evidence indicating Rome’s flexibility with many of the indigenous cultures in Hispania. Additionally, Elizabeth Fentress and Susan Alcock’s edited volume (2000) of the proceedings from a 1998 conference on the excavations of Cosa and the question of Romanization explores the affects of Roman expansion on already established settlements in the provinces.

<sup>103</sup> Mattingly 2011: 38. In this work, I am attempting to remedy this lack of emphasis on the continued traditions of the native cultures by examining the presence of indigenous concepts of urban space in cities after the Roman conquest.

<sup>104</sup> Hingley 2005: 28. Hingley also asserts that a lack of communication and awareness exists among the scholars of the various areas of the empire, resulting in different approaches which alters our understanding of the Roman provinces. He then states that the teleological emphasis provides an incorrect assumption that there is a uni-directional progression from native (inferior) to Roman (superior) (Ibid, 16, 37).

<sup>105</sup> Ibid: 48. While I agree that the use of these terms are biased and over-simplistic when regarding the nature of identity, they will be used for the purposes of examining architecture and concept of space.

<sup>106</sup> Mattingly 2011: 40, 245.

While there is an ongoing debate as to whether the theory of Romanization should still be accepted as a concept or whether it should be rejected completely,<sup>107</sup> there is no longer the contention that the Romans merely forced the natives to assimilate; rather, many scholars, led by Webster and the theory of creolization, focus instead on the influence of native people and cultures on the Romans, arguing that the Romans adopted some of the indigenous culture into their own. A. Wallace-Hadrill applied the new perspectives of Romanization to the identity of the Romans themselves, discussing the affects of expansion and the introduction of new cultures on aspects of Roman identity, such as imported luxuries and fashion.<sup>108</sup> P. Freeman examined the manufacture of *terra sigillata* in *Gallia*, stating that its trade throughout the province, as well as *Germania* and *Britannia* does not necessarily indicate a Roman identity of the indigenous people, but rather a connection with their tribesmen in other areas, revealing a connotation of identity other than that of Roman.<sup>109</sup>

Nicola Terrenato presents a new perspective in which the natives began adopting aspects of Roman culture before the Roman conquest.<sup>110</sup> As has been suggested above, the native inhabitants would adopt Roman culture in order to legitimize their status, such as adopting Latin in order to participate in government and local business.<sup>111</sup> Terrenato argues that many native communities were permitted to maintain their political standards,

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<sup>107</sup> Revell, 2009, 7. Mattingly is extensively discussed in this section as one of the main supporters of the discontinuation of the use of “Romanization.”

<sup>108</sup> Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome’s Cultural Revolution*, 2008. In this work, he overall states that Roman expansion introduced Roman citizens to foreign cultures which would be brought back to Rome first as spoils but eventually developing into fashion.

<sup>109</sup> Hingley 2005: 45. This assertion, however, assumes that tribes in various parts of these provinces maintained connections with their kin in other, distant regions.

<sup>110</sup> Terrenato 2009: 237. This can be seen most overtly in the form of architecture, although, as discussed, it also manifested in other aspects such as language.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid*: 240, 246.

especially among the Greek settlements, as long as they were congruent with the needs of the imperial state. For this reason, Rome encouraged and even enforced “Romanization,” especially in areas that they viewed to be more easily utilized for the imperial administration as well as regions that were not really urbanized prior to the conquest.<sup>112</sup> Terrenato’s perspective is an important one: scholars should not assume that Romans always initiated the process of Romanization, nor should they presume that any visible Roman features in a provincial city were commissioned by the Roman government.

Terrenato’s theory, however, cannot be adopted as explanatory for all situations in the provinces. While many natives independently began absorbing Roman culture, many cities, such as Augustodunum, were founded on land that had not been previously urbanized. Other cases, such as Tarraco and Emporiae, were settled by Romans due to their military importance, not necessarily because a group of natives had already begun embracing Roman culture. Therefore, it seems more likely that both Roman citizens and native inhabitants had motivation for initiating the process of Romanization,<sup>113</sup> often concurrently in the same city although not always jointly commencing the procedure together: the former in order to allow for the functioning of the imperial administration, and the latter in order to assert and raise their status in the Roman empire.

In view of the question of motivation, consideration must also be given to J. Tomlinson’s discussion of globalization and deterritorialization. In his work, Tomlinson argues that local inhabitants can feel displaced within their own settlement due to the introduction and popularity of new features which are not unique to their locale.

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<sup>112</sup>Ibid: 241, 239, 249-50.

<sup>113</sup> For the purposes of this work, “Romanization” is utilized as the process of the expansion and incorporation of Roman culture and architecture into urban centers and settlements throughout the provinces.

Furthermore, local identity can change as contact with other cultures increasingly influences even the quotidian activities of the inhabitants. Seemingly insignificant aspects such as the introduction of foreign food, for example, can contribute to the alteration of the identity of a community. Such transformations of culture are gradual and are typically considered “the way life is” rather than a momentous upheaval or divergence from the native culture. Lastly, Tomlinson asserts that the “ties of a culture to its location can never be completely severed, arguing that the indigenous people continue to practice their own cultural traditions in addition to the newly introduced practices.”<sup>114</sup> Despite not specifically addressing the concept of Romanization, Tomlinson’s discussion of globalization is applicable to the debate: the gradual introduction of foreign culture, in this case Roman urban culture, to a local community alters the indigenous identity so that not only do the native inhabitants feel somewhat alienated from their own society but the definition of their identity transforms over time as well. Thus, the juncture of Romanization and identity was a constantly fluid property, continually incorporating influences of other cultures which over time mix with pre-existing traditions in order to form new definitions of identity.<sup>115</sup>

The plethora of works incorporating concepts of Romanization indicates the acceptance of the theory and its importance in the field, signifying progress since the original belief in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that the natives happily, and quickly, adopted Roman culture and identity. Instead, scholars now generally agree that Roman expansion was far more complicated and varying. It is from this perspective that my

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<sup>114</sup> Tomlinson 1999: 107, 113, 125, 149, respectively.

<sup>115</sup> This influx of foreign influence is reflected in Juvenal’s criticism of the prevalence of Greeks in Rome (*Satura* III).

exploration arises, analyzing the extant archaeological and textual evidence to determine whether or to what degree Roman urbanization incorporated indigenous notion of space into the establishment of provincial cities.

The aim of this study is not necessarily to define precisely the identities of the inhabitants of these cities. Such a task is difficult to accomplish, especially when sources are incomplete and when personal perspectives of identity are almost impossible to reconstruct. For the purposes of this study, I will utilize the concept of Romanization merely as the process of the extension and adoption of Roman cultural aspects, particularly with regards to architecture and urban design. In this work, focus is placed on the architecture and city planning, determining the degree to which native concepts of space are incorporated into the subsequent Roman cities. It should be noted that the process of Romanization cannot be thoroughly understood or determined by primarily examining the architectural remains of a provincial city. The complexity of the inhabitants' origins means that not only the founders of the settlements but also the patrons of the structures within the urban centers were seldom strictly Roman; rather, they were composed of a wide spectrum of identities, including but not limited to Italic colonists, provincial soldiers, and even natives who transferred their residency to the Roman settlement.<sup>116</sup> Both Roman citizens and indigenous people, therefore, were commissioning structures, choosing whether to adopt Roman concepts of urban space and design or to maintain the use of native techniques and buildings.<sup>117</sup> In this way, the

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<sup>116</sup> Although his work primarily discusses the role of the Roman in the provinces, Purcell observes the multi-ethnic quality of cities in the Roman empire. In Ilici, for example, he notes the presence of inhabitants from North Africa and the Balearic Islands, as well as Roman citizens in Spain (Purcell 2005: 97).

<sup>117</sup> Likewise, not all cities were established by the Romans; rather, they grew organically, increasingly incorporating Roman culture, and eventually were given an official Roman city status.

inclusion or exclusion of Roman features in provincial cities is quite telling about the degree of Romanization of the area.<sup>118</sup> While the presence or absence of Roman architecture cannot reveal the identity of the inhabitants of the city, the application of the concept of Romanization to a specific material culture such as architecture is still explicatory in a useful way, indicating the motivation behind the adoption of Roman culture and deciphering why certain structures and designs were incorporated over others, therefore advancing the study of Roman expansion.

One last aspect of Romanization that must be considered is the importance of competition between the individuals in a community, as well as between different communities collectively. As discussed above, the commissioning of Roman structures can result from the desire to compete with others, usually to promote the status of the individual or the city.<sup>119</sup> Many inscriptions in Gaul indicate that euergetism was particularly common among local aristocrats, who frequently patronized small towns by commissioning the construction of basilicas, theaters, temples, and baths.<sup>120</sup> For example, Caius Iulius Rufus commissioned the construction of an amphitheater in Lugudunum, thereby elevating his importance in society and increasing the status of the city itself.<sup>121</sup> The presence of an amphitheater in a city greatly increases its importance, drawing inhabitants of neighboring towns into the city to watch games.<sup>122</sup> The association of

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<sup>118</sup> Woolf discusses the possible motivations for native elites to build “Romanized” cities, including reasons such as asserting their legitimacy to power, conformity to the dominant culture, or a means of employing Gauls of lower status (Woolf 1998: 124-126).

<sup>119</sup> DeLaine 2008: 115.

<sup>120</sup> Goudineau, 2000: 479. Elites frequently “Romanized” rapidly, quickly absorbing and commissioning Roman styles in order to receive support from the Roman government during their struggles for power (Whittaker 2000: 544).

<sup>121</sup> King 1990: 66.

<sup>122</sup> The presence of an amphitheater, however, is not always indicative of high status. Dura-Europos, for example, has an amphitheater but is not considered to have a particularly high status in the Roman empire. Downey argues that a poor economy, coupled with the heavy militaristic origins, resulted in the lack of

Rufus' name with such a significant and continually used structure would also result in the elevation of his own status, as anyone entering the amphitheater would automatically see the name of Rufus in correlation with the structure.

Roman houses in Bibracte provide additional examples of elite competition.<sup>123</sup> In a settlement in which the only structures are made of wattle and daub, the introduction of a Roman villa constructed of marble and other expensive stone significantly asserts the owner's wealth and status. Other elites, therefore, commissioned their own structures utilizing Roman methods in order to compete with the initial home owner. This discourse continues throughout the empire, and is seen in a variety of levels, whether among individual elites or between cities themselves. Regardless of their ethnicity, the individuals remained in continual competition with one another, connected by the central government of Rome. The utilization of Roman structures as a means of asserting status is therefore an important feature of the Roman provinces, facilitating and, in many cases, causing the diffusion of Roman culture throughout the empire, and should be considered whenever studying the process of Romanization.

When discussing Romanization and Roman expansion, it is also important to comprehend the concepts of urbanism and urbanization. Urbanization is generally defined as "the creation of cities by a society that formerly lacked urban settlements."<sup>124</sup>

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attempt to really Romanize the city (Downey 2000: 165, 172). It is likely that the city never received elaborately decorated structures because the military population could not afford to commission structures commonly associated with elite competitiveness. Thus, the city has an amphitheater, yet its inconvenient location and lack of ornate architecture would deter others from visiting the city, therefore giving it a lower importance in the empire.

<sup>123</sup> Woolf 1998: 16. Woolf's work in general provides a thorough discussion of the use of Roman material culture as a method of competition. For a discussion of the importance of the Roman *domus* as a means of displaying status, cf. Saller (2000: 829).

<sup>124</sup> Cowgill 2004: 527. Cowgill defines a city as a permanent settlement which exists in a larger territory that is inhabited by a society. The settlement has a multitude of residents "whose activities, roles, practices,

Roman urbanization did not consistently occur in the same manner, as different developments affect its process.<sup>125</sup> Roman citizens were not always the leading force behind the process of urbanization: W. H. Hanson notes that citizens were not always available or willing to settle new cities, and in some cases, many sites in newly-acquired territories originated from the encouragement of local communities to expand into a larger urban center.<sup>126</sup> The Romans commonly adhered to three stages when building a new city: creating a new foundation, organizing the urban space, and erecting monuments or public structures. Domestic housing utilizing “Roman” styles and building materials were also constructed during this process.<sup>127</sup> How exactly, though, did urbanization operate, and why did it occur? Many early theories of urbanization were related to economic theory. M. Weber, the first scholar to relate economic theory to ancient urbanism, claimed that income in the form of rent and taxes on agricultural production was utilized to pay for the maintenance of the city, therefore emphasizing the model of the consumer city.<sup>128</sup> M. Rostovtzeff countered this argument, contending that the middle class helped maintain and build up the city in order to make their lives in the city

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experiences, identities, and attitudes differ significantly from those of other members of the society who identify most closely with ‘rural’ lands outside such settlements” (Ibid: 526). Cowgill further notes that hinterland tends to only belong to cities rather than more rural or smaller communities. His definition, however, presents a negative perspective, arguing that residents of a city differ in all aspects of identity, beliefs, and practices from those in the country, and greatly favors the city over rural inhabitations.

<sup>125</sup> Factors influencing urbanization include but are not limited to the development of the economy, politics, and external pressures.

<sup>126</sup> Hanson 1988: 53-54. Hanson also notes that expansion and urbanization did not always result from population pressure in Italy or other regions, as evident in some provinces through the lack of Romans sent to colonize areas.

<sup>127</sup> Woolf 1998: 113. Of course, not all three stages were always adhered to. Many urban centers, as we will see below, did not reorganize the plan of the city, for example.

<sup>128</sup> Kaiser 2000: 4.

more comfortable.<sup>129</sup> Subsequent scholars influenced by the debate between Weber and Rostovtzeff began to focus more on economics than on the city per se.<sup>130</sup>

Later scholars redirected their attention towards urbanism. As definitions of the city and its necessary components began to develop, however, many scholars faced challenges in studying the provinces. British archaeologists in particular had difficulty with the characterization of a Roman city, since the urban centers in Britain differed so greatly from the ones in *Italia*. By the 1970s, archaeologists generally agreed that components such as orthogonal plans, *fora* with a *capitolium* (temple dedicated to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva), *curiae* (council house), and basilicas, as well as amphitheaters, aqueducts, and triumphal arches constituted a city based on their ubiquitous presence in provincial and Italian urban centers, reflecting the structures enumerated by Vitruvius.<sup>131</sup> As J. Wachter notes, however, many centers in provinces like *Britannia* did not have all of these structures and still functioned like the other Roman cities.<sup>132</sup> Therefore, the definition of a Roman city shifted from a focus on form to function. As long as a native settlement had a structure that could perform the same function as a basilica, its status as a city was not threatened.<sup>133</sup> W. MacDonald continues this line of thought, arguing that all Roman cities were created with similar forms, allowing for Roman visitors to easily

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<sup>129</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*: 5. The gradual attention paid to economics can be seen in Jones (1974), Jongman (1988), and Finley (1973) among others.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*: 6. Grimal specifically listed these structures as necessary for “Roman” cities, believing that Roman urban centers throughout the empire utilized Rome itself as a model for the decoration of the cities (Grimal 1983: 4-5).

<sup>132</sup> *Idem.* Todd, however, presents a different argument, stating that *Britannia*, in particular, was urbanized in a much different scale than provinces like *Hispaniae* or *Narbonensis*, arguing that to compare cities from the various provinces would “be to ignore the workings of entirely different social orders and economic systems” (Todd 1993: 6).

<sup>133</sup> Although if a neighboring city included a basilica, the native settlement would appear inferior by comparison. In this way, competition plays a significant role in the status of a city.

understand the city by following aspects similar to those in their own cities.<sup>134</sup>

Additionally, MacDonald emphasizes that the function of the city is more important than the form: "...neither quantity nor quality is the issue....Such towns may have been poor relations architecturally, but schematically and symbolically they were in close touch with grander places."<sup>135</sup> As long as the urban space contained structures that fulfilled certain functions, whether political, social, or religious, then it would be considered a city.<sup>136</sup>

Other scholars proceeded in different directions. R.G. Fox organized urban centers into different typologies, which were considered too broad by subsequent scholars. V.M. Betz contests J. Miksic's assertion that ancient people avoided cities, stating that cities were invented specifically to attract people by their amenities, as well as religious, administrative, and economic features.<sup>137</sup> In his work, A.T. Fear advanced the argument further, asserting that cities mostly were founded for personal glory and administrative needs, with appearance being a secondary concern.<sup>138</sup> In a different avenue, M. Jones

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<sup>134</sup> Idem.

<sup>135</sup> MacDonald 1986: 272. See also Kaiser (2000: 6). MacDonald further argues that towns grew organically: they may have originated with an emphasis on the central forum or plaza but then accumulated additional foci, typically located outside of the city (Perring 1991: 275).

<sup>136</sup> There are, however, different ranks of cities within the empire. Additionally, Hanson argues that certain towns would not live up to Roman expectations based on their slow development or lack of "Roman" structures. For example, he states, the continued use of the strip building in certain *civitas* capitals demonstrates the local elite's disregard for Roman elite customs, in which the Romans would be disappointed (Hanson 1988: 63). I find this argument rather misleading, as it assumes that the Romans not only paid significant attention to the elite houses of the provinces but also that the Romans would be bothered by the local's maintenance of their indigenous domestic architecture regardless of whether or not the administration of the city was functioning properly. In other words, the Romans had more important matters to attend to than the state of domestic housing.

<sup>137</sup> Cowgill 2004: 536, 542. Betz' proposal is logical, especially when compared to that of Miksic's. Cities would be avoided during times of plague or even raids. For the most part, however, the facilities, worship, trade, government, and even protection, would provide enough incentive to draw people to live in the cities.

<sup>138</sup> Kaiser 2000: 7. Other scholars successively discussed urbanism. Revell states that it is a continuous process rather than a single occurrence and that there is a tendency among scholars to consider more scattered settlements to be less Roman in identity (2009: 55, 67). Wheatley discusses the necessity of the development of cities in order for economic growth to occur, the relationship of growth with specialization

states that Roman urbanization only occurred in areas of the northwest provinces which would be conducive for settling military veterans or where Roman administrators knew the native elites would not be hostile towards the introduction of Roman culture,<sup>139</sup> whereas Hingley asserts that Roman models of life were introduced to areas where there were no “strong, pre-existing tradition of Roman-style urbanization.”<sup>140</sup> Other archaeologists applied urbanism to the archaeological record: R.A. Raper conducted research on spatial patterning in Pompeii and stated that there was none; however, Kaiser and Wallace-Hadrill, respectively, challenged this assertion.<sup>141</sup> Kaiser argues instead that there is some clustering of types of buildings in certain areas of Emporiae, whereas Wallace-Hadrill observes the tendency for brothels and elite houses to collect in specific places in Pompeii.<sup>142</sup> Furthermore, Millett, in his study of villa density, argues that important towns tended to accumulate more villas in the surrounding countryside, and notes that the rural structures were attracted more to the towns with the most important administrative status rather than those with the largest size or population.<sup>143</sup> Sewell, on the other hand, examined the influences on early Roman urbanism, commenting that the

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of labor, and the incorrect tendency to assume that size determines whether a settlement is urban or not (1972: 605). Revell and Wheatley both provide important insights: while it may be so that many cities have a specific founding date, as we will see later, most cities continually evolve, changing in purpose, size, and design. Furthermore, small settlements can also be considered “urban” based on their design and structure, although there are varying degrees of “urban.” London, for example, is more “urban” than Liverpool based on population and area size, as well as available facilities, functions, and design.

<sup>139</sup> Jones 2008: 137. Jones’ claim, however, presents the perspective that the urbanization of the provinces was essentially determined by the Romans themselves without any consultation or decision of the local inhabitants. His generalization, therefore, must be considered with a degree of caution.

<sup>140</sup> Hingley 2005: 77. This new model was introduced through monumental architecture and planning.

<sup>141</sup> Kaiser (2000) and Wallace-Hadrill (1996), respectively.

<sup>142</sup> Hingley 2005: 77. Countless other studies have been conducted. Taylor (1972: 109-111) applied settlement patterns to pre-Saxon Britain, arguing that patterns cannot be deciphered based on archaeology. Row examined urbanization concepts to pre-Hispanic Peru (Wheatley 1972: 612). Hassall as well discusses Roman urbanization in western Europe (1972). Young Jr., on the other hand, discusses urbanization as caused by population increase and its resulting demands on Mesopotamian societies, which then lead to expansion into other areas (1972).

<sup>143</sup> Millett 1991: 172. Perring notes, however, that through the passage of time, towns decline in significance and more importance is placed on private houses as the center of social interaction (Perring 1991: 275).

Romans utilized many aspects of Greek town planning and architecture, especially pertaining to the practical issues of expansion such as defense and axial spatial organization, particularly in the early phases of expansion.<sup>144</sup> Talbert presents another perspective, stating that one means by which Romans organize space is through emulating the “horizontal, linear movement of itineraries over land and sea.”<sup>145</sup> While a valuable perspective and undoubtedly an important concept in understanding early urbanism, Sewell neglects to discuss the Greek influence of axial organization on Roman military *castra*, which also emphasize axial plans and which frequently are the origin of numerous cities in the provinces.

#### 4. The Status of a Provincial Town

Whether Roman or Native, cities inside and outside of Roman rule achieved different statuses, generally categorized by *colonia*, *municipium*, and *civitas*. Each rank of city included its own level of rights allotted to the inhabitants of the city, and the establishment of these statuses typically depended on the natives’ response to Roman interaction and their loyalty to the Roman empire. Many *coloniae*, especially those established early in Roman expansion, originated from the settling of retired Roman veterans who were promised land. Therefore, most of the inhabitants of the *coloniae* were Roman citizens, although there could be groups called *incolae* which included non-

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<sup>144</sup> Sewell 2010: 85. Aspects which the Romans borrow from the Greeks include the placement of gates and the alignment of the street grid. Sewell notes that the only aspects of the colonies that are not influenced by the Greeks are the structures and organization “which Romans had their own distinct ideas,” such as locating the *forum* at high points in the settlement rather than maintain the Greek practice of locating the main administrative space at lower levels of topography (Sewell 2010: 47, 83).

<sup>145</sup> Talbert 2004: 21. This assertion was originally introduced by Whitaker, who is quoted in Talbert’s work.

Romans. Charters called *leges coloniae* were given to each *colonia*, and these documents frequently emulated the laws and practices of Roman government.<sup>146</sup> Cities that were *coloniae* were often treated as allies, given legal autonomy, and were allowed to determine which Roman codes they would incorporate into their municipal laws should they so choose.<sup>147</sup> Existing settlements could also be promoted to the status of *colonia*, especially if they contributed greatly to a Roman cause or were particularly eager to demonstrate their alliance to Rome.<sup>148</sup>

The next level of Roman town in the provinces is the *municipium*, which did not enjoy the same privileges as the *colonia*. While inhabitants of the *coloniae* received full Roman rights, allowing them to participate in government and other Roman practices, it was not always so in the *municipia*; rather, they sometimes had Latin rights and even preserved some of their native laws in addition to the newly acquired Roman ones. *Municipia* with Roman rights mostly consisted of Roman citizens, but those with only Latin rights were mostly inhabited by non-citizens, although the governmental officials of the town and their families would receive Roman citizenship.<sup>149</sup>

The last class of settlement is the *civitas*, which mostly differed from a native town by the establishment of Roman town planning and the construction of Roman amenities such as baths, markets, running water, or entertainment buildings. Many of them were self-governing but their laws and administration were regulated by the Roman

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<sup>146</sup> Wachter 1974: 17-18.

<sup>147</sup> Terrenato 2009: 243. Furthermore, Terrenato points out that Romans did not necessarily establish colonies with the purpose of introducing urban culture to the inhabitants; rather, the status of the *colonia* was mostly granted to societies which had earned Rome's trust, whether through acts of loyalty or other means (Ibid: 251).

<sup>148</sup> Wachter 1997: 17.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid: 18.

government, as a governor had veto power on any objectionable laws or decrees and could intervene at any time, summoning military forces to the town.<sup>150</sup> As Todd notes, however, the definitions of the various ranks are not as concrete as one might presume. For example, in the western provinces, different towns of the same rank did not always achieve the same level of citizenship as others.<sup>151</sup> Regardless, the ability for indigenous towns to be advanced to a higher status resulted in a competition to achieve more Roman rights and favors. The incentives caused indigenous settlements to vie for an elevated status by adopting Roman decorative and building styles, learning Greek and Latin languages and literature, and participating in Roman religious practices.<sup>152</sup> With the influx of the construction of Roman structures, incorporation of Roman practices, and support of Roman administration, the natives' desire for citizenship and services drove the Romanization of their towns, further intensifying urbanization of the provinces.

Not all native centers accepted Roman dominance, yet archaeological evidence suggests that many indigenous peoples accepted Roman customs and culture. How, though, do the Romans regard native culture? I will now turn towards the Roman's perspective of native culture, first considering ancient textual evidence of Roman perceptions of the people indigenous to their acquired provincial territory, and then utilizing specific archaeological case studies in order to determine the degree to which they incorporated native concepts of space in their provincial cities.

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<sup>150</sup> Ibid: 20, 22-23. This spectrum reemphasizes the complexity of Roman expansion, illustrating that cities did not always fit into strict statuses; rather, they sometimes occupied gray areas in-between.

<sup>151</sup> Todd 1993: 6.

<sup>152</sup> Curchin 1991: 104-105. This method was also useful in progressing a sense of superiority among communities (Purcell 2005: 86).

## 5. The Native in Ancient Texts

When discussing the founding of provincial towns and the possible utilization of native structures or concepts of spatial order, it is important to examine the Roman texts which provide commentary on the native culture and the aspects of a provincial town or city that the Romans deemed important. These texts mostly consist of historical accounts describing the conquest of certain areas such as *Gallia*, *Britannia*, and *Germania*. Additionally, they reflect a range of views of people indigenous to these regions, as well as the structures in provincial cities which the Romans viewed as more important in respect to urban expansion. The texts emphasize centuriation,<sup>153</sup> or land division into plots, and religious structures as the more important features of these towns.<sup>154</sup>

While this study does not examine urban centers in *Germania*, the Roman attitudes regarding those peoples supplement our understanding of their attitudes towards many other similar groups of people: as will be illustrated, the Romans viewed many different native peoples as all being barbaric, regardless of any distinction in their genealogy, and likewise were not exclusive in their contempt for their cultures. Many of the works, when discussing natives such as the Gauls, Britons, or Germans, express disdain for their culture and habits. The Britons, for example, are often portrayed as barbaric, blood-thirsty, and racially impure. Suetonius, in his biography of the emperor Claudius, describes the religious cults of the Druids in Britain, stating that the emperor

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<sup>153</sup> In theory, centuriation consisted of dividing the land into roughly 710 m X 710 m (20 *actus* X 20 *actus*) sections oriented in parallel with the main axial roads of the city. The land would usually be farmed by the original veteran colonists or people leasing the land (Keay 1988: 68).

<sup>154</sup> Suetonius, however, does mention the construction of a harbor at the colony of Antium (*Nero* 9.1). Additionally, Tacitus discusses the type of housing and architecture in Germany, but the passage will not be discussed in this work as the focus is primarily on the provinces of *Gallia*, *Hispaniae*, and *Africa* (Tacitus *Ger.* 16.1-4).

abolished “*Druidarum religionem apud Gallos dirae immanitatis*” (the religion of the Druids among the Gauls, a religion of awful excess).<sup>155</sup> Tacitus<sup>156</sup> similarly characterizes the destructive and war-like nature of the Britons: “*non sane alias exercitior magisque in ambiguo Britannia fuit: trucidati veterani, incensae coloniae, intercepti exercitus;*” (truly, at no other time was *Britannia* more troubled and in a more uncertain condition: Veterans had been massacred, colonies had been burned, and the armies were cut off).<sup>157</sup> Tacitus further emphasizes the hereditary impurity of the Britons, asserting that from their varying appearances, as evident through their Germanic, Gallic, and Hispanic physical traits, it can be concluded that they derive from a long occurring intermarriage between several other “barbaric” tribes, automatically insinuating their inferiority to the Romans, a more civilized society descended from loftier peoples.<sup>158</sup> Such so-called barbarians also were seen as being full of spirit and formerly glorious in war, although now they are indolent and cowardly.<sup>159</sup> While Tacitus occasionally utilizes the Britons as a means of expressing his contempt for various aspects of Roman society,<sup>160</sup> his narration of Britannic life also exhibits some derision. Caesar, too, comments on the Britons,

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<sup>155</sup> Suetonius *Cl.*25.5. Caesar also comments on druidic rituals, subtly expressing his opinion that the practices are savage and brutal (Caesar *Gal.* 6.16.2-5).

<sup>156</sup> In *de Vita Iulii Agricolae*, however, Tacitus does provide some speeches against the tyranny of the Romans from the Britons’ perspective. This is frequently considered not so much to be in praise of the Britons but rather a subtle criticism of the Romans. See *Agricola* 15 and 30.

<sup>157</sup> Tacitus *Agricola* 5.3.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*: 11.1-2. The Romans as well are noted for intermarriage (cf. Cherry 1998); however, the importance is in the differentiation between those who only marry other barbarians (the Britons) and those who marry more civilized peoples. Tacitus does note that these similar characteristics could originate from the similarity in climate between the various regions, but he quickly states that he believes the Gauls inhabited Britannia, causing the inheritance of physical traits.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*: 11.5 Tacitus offers this as *comparanda* for the Romans, suggesting that the Gauls and Britons are no longer as celebrated as they once were due to their laziness and weakness, whereas the Romans, by comparison, are active and courageous, and therefore renowned in war. Additionally, Tacitus also criticizes the Romans by insinuating that they are weakened from a long period of peace, resulting in less spirit than the Britons, who, having not known a long period of peace, still retain some “fierceness.” Other criticism of the Roman culture can be seen in *Agricola* 21, and even in the discussion on female deities in *Ger* 8.

<sup>160</sup> See *Agricola* 15, 30, and 31.

describing their practice of dyeing themselves blue and shaving most of their body, as well as their purported habit of sharing wives.<sup>161</sup> According to the ancient authors, indigenous communities in *Britannia* were brutal, war-obsessed, and uncultured, allowing their genealogy to become impure with intermarriage of various different groups of people.<sup>162</sup> While none of these criticisms comment on the architecture of the peoples, this perspective can indicate why native concepts of space, particularly from *Britannia*, may not have been incorporated into Roman cities in the region: it is unlikely that the Romans would adopt architecture of peoples whom they do not respect nor deem as possessing the same level of culture as themselves.

The Gauls, on the other hand, appear to be as uncivilized as the Germans, although equally, if not more, despised by the Romans. Julius Caesar, in his accounts of his campaigns in Gallia, observes the Gaul's bravery and eagerness to engage in war.<sup>163</sup> They also appear to not adhere to proper war-time customs, as they disrespected the rights of the ambassadors of Rome, an offence for which Caesar was forced to punish them.<sup>164</sup> Caesar criticizes the Gauls for their attire, consisting primarily of skins, as well as their practice of bathing in open rivers as opposed to proper bath houses.<sup>165</sup> Through Caesar, the Gauls are seen as primitive in their clothing and are inappropriate in their treatment of ambassadors, although they are perceived as brave in battle. Regardless, they are not viewed as quite as uncivilized as the Britons, suggesting that perhaps the Romans might be less likely to adhere to some of the Gallic concepts of space.

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<sup>161</sup> *Gal.* 5.14.1-4.

<sup>162</sup> This critique is especially hypocritical, as the Romans also intermarried with non-Romans (cf. Cherry 1998: 99-100 for the importance of intermarriage for acculturation).

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*: 2.27 and 3.12, respectively.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*: 3.15.4.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.* 4.1.10. Other criticisms stated by Caesar are their opinion that lands should remain unoccupied (4.3.1), and their fickleness (4.5.1).

Unlike the Britons and Gauls, Tacitus describes the Germans as genetically pure,<sup>166</sup> and unable to withstand intense labor, heat, and thirst.<sup>167</sup> Furthermore, he depicts the Germans as more interested in stealing goods from other than producing for themselves: “*pigrum quin immo et iners videtur sudore adquirere quod possis sanguine parare*” (Indeed, they think it to be dull nay, more precisely, weak to obtain by hard labor what you can obtain with blood).<sup>168</sup> Tacitus even describes some of the tribes as living in filth and sloth.<sup>169</sup> While the Germans do not participate in human sacrifice, much to the pleasure of the Romans, and they focus much of their energies on perfecting martial arts,<sup>170</sup> the Germans also did not focus much of their energy on agriculture, preferring to drive others from their land instead.<sup>171</sup> As with their perspectives of Gauls and Britons, the Romans viewed Germans as “uncivilized” people whose neglect of agriculture inhibited them from producing a sophisticated culture. This belief, although clearly biased, can inform scholars of the Roman opinion of Germanic concepts of space: disregarding aspects of “civilized” settlements, the Germans lacked the type of advanced cities, architecture, and construction technique which the Romans would find useful in urban planning.

However, not all Roman authors were as restrained in conveying their opinions of the “barbarians.” Juvenal, for example, constantly ridicules the natives of the

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<sup>166</sup> *minimeque aliarum gentium adventibus et hospitibus mixtos* (Tacitus *Ger* 2.1, 4.1-2). Interestingly, while the Germans are often considered to be more uncivilized than the Gauls or Britons, they are also considered more racially pure.

<sup>167</sup> *Ger* 4.3.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid*: 14.4.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid*: 46.1.

<sup>170</sup> Caesar (*Gal.* 6.21.1-5). Caesar also notes that the Germans do not have sexual relations with women before they are 20 years of age. While Caesar does not overtly indicate whether or not he lauds this aspect, one cannot help but wonder whether this had any effect on his adopted son, Augustus, and the introduction of the moral code.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid*: 6.22.1-4.

provinces.<sup>172</sup> In *Satura* II, Juvenal utilizes the Greeks and Britons when he critiques men who engage in intercourse with other men. While the Greeks are referenced for their notoriety in participating in same-sex intercourse,<sup>173</sup> Juvenal reminds the reader that even the “barbaric” Britons would not partake in such base activities, illustrating just how disgraceful the sexual relations are: “*arma quidem ultra/ litora Iuvernæ promovimus et modo captas/ Orcadas ac minima contentos nocte Britannos;/ sed quæ nunc populi fiunt victoris in urbe,/ non faciunt illi quos vicimus,*” (Indeed we move forward [our] arms beyond the shores of Iuvena [Ireland] and presently the Orkneys have been seized, and the Britons, with [their] short night, have been secured, but those whom we have conquered would never do the things which now happen in the city of the victorious people.)<sup>174</sup> Juvenal also describes Gallic textiles as being coarse, greasy, and crudely dyed,<sup>175</sup> and observes that the Graeco-Roman world includes Gauls fluently teaching Britannic barristers, an occurrence which would astonish most Romans as Gauls were, as articulated by Tacitus and Caesar, deemed to be less civilized peoples.<sup>176</sup> Agricola himself is described by Tacitus as introducing civilization (*humanitas*) to the Gauls through establishment of judicial courts, education, and Roman dress such as the toga.<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> Although Juvenal criticizes almost everyone, as he is a satirist. Regardless of his lack of discrimination, his comments are useful for scholars in determining Roman perspectives of indigenous people, even though they were intended to criticize the condition of the Roman empire at the time.

<sup>173</sup> Juvenal also criticizes the Greeks in numerous other satires, especially in *Satura* III, in which he laments Greeks altering and polluting Roman culture, and *Satura* VI, in which he complains about women constantly speaking in Greek (ll 6.185-194),

<sup>174</sup> *Satura* II: 157-170.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid* IX. 27-32.

<sup>176</sup> *Gallia caesidicos docuit facunda Britannos,/ de conducendo loquitur iam rhetore Thyle.* (*Ibid*: XV. 110-112). Here, Juvenal criticizes the Egyptians for being inhumane through acts of cannibalism, essentially stating that if even the Gauls and Britons, who are very uncivilized, can participate in higher judicial systems, then Egyptians should know better than to consume corpses.

<sup>177</sup> Tacitus *Agricola* 21.1-3. Hingley acknowledges that this section addresses the spread of vices throughout the Germanic peoples, but asserts that the passage is representative of the Roman attitude that it was their mission to “civilize” the inhabitants of their empire with Roman culture and identity. While there are examples of magistrates and generals actively spreading Roman culture (see Dio 56. 18. 2-3, for

While the initial purpose of this text is to laud the accomplishments and character of his father-in-law, this praise necessitates a critique the state of Roman morality during the period in which it was composed; Tacitus summarizes much of the consensus regarding indigenous peoples such as the Gauls, employing Agricola's "civilizing" deeds to demonstrate the lack of culture among the native peoples.

From examining the works of Suetonius, Tacitus, Caesar, and Juvenal,<sup>178</sup> we can see that many prominent Romans viewed indigenous peoples such as those in *Gallia*, *Germania*, and *Britannia*, as uncivilized and vicious, only acknowledging courage as their most positive characteristic. Otherwise, the culture of the tribes are viewed as undesirable, consisting of strange customs, such as ritual human sacrifice, bathing in open rivers and wearing very little clothing, and sharing wives, which were scorned in Roman society. This perspective likely transferred to the Romans' view of the natives' concepts of space and architecture: it is doubtful that the Romans would incorporate the architecture and urban design of a group of peoples whose culture they did not particularly respect nor admire. In order to fully comprehend the possibility of the Romans incorporating native concepts of urban space into their cities, sources which discuss the buildings of indigenous communities must be now considered.

The Roman attitude in textual sources towards native architecture is relatively similar to that displayed towards native cultures. Structural features in general are not particularly emphasized in many historical accounts, as much of the importance is

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example), it is unconvincing whether the Romans had a general policy to enforce Roman culture or identity as a sort of mission; rather, it seems to be an individual preference of the leader of the period or the region.  
<sup>178</sup> While the authors certainly do not represent the opinion of every Roman in the empire, it is safe to assume that they reflected the views of others, as it is unlikely that their works would have remained popular had they asserted uncommon perspectives.

focused on the action surrounding the locations. Tacitus and Caesar, however, describe some of the native space in *Britannia*, *Gallia*, and *Germania*, providing insight not only into the appearance of many indigenous structures but also into their opinions of such buildings.<sup>179</sup>

Tacitus, for example, observes that the Germans do not believe it appropriate to confine their deities in walls, or in other words, to worship them in a temple or other structure; rather, they seem to worship their deities in woods or groves.<sup>180</sup> Furthermore, Tacitus describes the Germanic tendency to abhor cities, stating that they prefer to scatter their settlements and locate them near springs, woods, or other natural sites which most likely hold some sort of spiritual or religious importance for them. Their dwellings are described as separate from one another, which Tacitus attributes to their lack of knowledge concerning construction techniques, and they tend to use mounds of refuse as insulation against cold weather.<sup>181</sup> Tribes such as the Sarmatae are said to live in wagons and on horses, whereas the Fenni, are described as without homes.<sup>182</sup> Caesar, on the other hand, seems more intrigued by Gallic fortifications in his accounts on his wars in the province: he describes the Gallic town of Cassivellaunus to have natural, and therefore

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<sup>179</sup> While not many indigenous structures, if any, are extant in the archaeological record, many of the materials used by the local inhabitants are similar to those described by the Latin authors. Therefore, because of the lack of remains, one must realize that their accounts might not be accurate and that their descriptions cannot be trusted completely. Instead, one should glean from these works that the Romans did not have a high opinion of indigenous architecture and planning, and that the natives did not use the same construction technique and materials as the Romans.

<sup>180</sup> *ceterum nec cohibere parietibus deos neque in ullam humani oris speciem adsimulare ex magnitudine caelestium arbitrantur: lucos ac nemora consecrant deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud, quod sola reverentia vident* (Tacitus *Ger.* 9.3).

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*: 16.1-4.

<sup>182</sup> *non arma, non equi, non penates* (*Ibid.*: 46.1-3). The concept of not being sedentary was a strange one for the Romans, as nomadic tribes were considered to be uncivilized, as exhibited by this excerpt.

less civilized, defenses made of forests and marshes.<sup>183</sup> In another section, Caesar describes the *Aduatucii* and *Nervii* as having an *oppidum*, or hill fort, “excellently fortified by Nature,” including the steepest cliffs on one side, and heavy rocks with sharpened beams.<sup>184</sup> Livy records an instance in which a city in Macedonia asking the Senate specifically to help them fortify themselves,<sup>185</sup> and Ammianus Marcellinus twice mentions the size of the defensive walls of Augustudunum.<sup>186</sup>

By emphasizing the unsophisticated construction techniques, or even lack of religious and domestic structures altogether, as well as the insufficient utilization of dung, Tacitus demonstrates the importance and praise of proper domestic and spiritual buildings, adequate construction methods, and use of space more characteristic of Roman culture. Moreover, the repeated description of fortification walls, while a narrative device meant to enhance the reader’s understanding of Caesar’s military campaigns, illustrates their significance in the Roman perspective. Dwellings and civic structures are essential to the functioning of the empire, but defenses protect the urban center from outside threats and prevent people like the Romans from claiming a city as their own. Thus, the numerous and detailed accounts of native architecture and use of space reveals not only the opinion of the authors regarding the disparate construction and concepts, but also

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<sup>183</sup> *Ab his cognoscit non longe ex eo loco oppidum Cassivellauni abesse silvis paludibusque munitum*. (Caesar *Gal.* 5.21.2). He also states that some *oppida* were especially difficult to conquer due to their location in the natural topography (3.12).

<sup>184</sup> *unum oppidum egregie natura*. (Caesar *Gal.* 2.29). While the Romans frequently utilized the landscape as means of defense, the presence of sharpened beams of wood and rocks is quite inferior to Roman heavily-fortified walls. Thus, Caesar’s description would automatically be understood as indicating the inferiority of the Gauls’ defense and construction methods.

<sup>185</sup> Livy 43.1.4-5.

<sup>186</sup> *Rerum Gerarum* 15.11.11 and 16.2.1, respectively. Caesar also illustrates the method of wall construction in alarming detail (7.23.1-5), and mentions other methods of Gallic mural construction which apparently inhibited Roman conquest (7.46.3). The emphasis on fortifications, however, is more reflective of the nature in which the Romans are encountering the natives, that is, during battle. It is only logical that these authors would observe the defensive structures of the indigenous people as they were the constructions that the Roman army would encounter most frequently.

indicates the architectural features which the Romans deemed important and would therefore be most likely to consider in their own urban planning.

In contrast to general descriptions of fortifications, which may be natural or artificial, and commentary regarding the architectural concepts and techniques of the indigenous people, Roman historians also emphasize structural components of their culture which are deemed more significant and indicative of the civilized world. For example, historical texts frequently mention land redistribution, or centuriation, when describing colonies. Livy enumerates several instances of land distribution in conquered areas, such as Mutina, Parma, and Saturnia, in which each Roman veteran was allotted a plot of five, eight, or ten *iugera*, respectively, stressing the importance of reallocating and reorganizing newly acquired land.<sup>187</sup> Furthermore, Roman historians mention religious structures in the provinces, specifically when there is a socially meaningful event of an unusual character. The inhabitants of Tarraco, for example, requested permission to build a temple to Augustus.<sup>188</sup> Another account states that a palm is said to have grown on the altar of Augustus in Tarraco, suggesting the importance of the city and the significance of the emperor.<sup>189</sup>

In these excerpts, the ancient historians demonstrate not only their opinions regarding the indigenous concepts of space, construction, and architectural design, but also that the Romans considered fortifications, centuriation, and religious monuments as

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<sup>187</sup> Livy 39.55.6-9. A *iugera* measures roughly 5/8 of an acre or 240 Roman feet in width. Land distribution is also discussed in Livy 6.16.6 and 35.9.6-8.

<sup>188</sup> Tacitus *Ann.* 1.78. Approval was necessary from the senate and emperor in order to construct a temple dedicated to the emperor.

<sup>189</sup> *et Augustus nuntiantibus Tarraconensibus palmam in ara eius enatam, apparet, inquit, quam saepe accendatis.* (And Augustus, with the inhabitants of Tarraco announcing that a palm had sprouted on his altar, said “[that demonstrates] how often you set it on fire.”) (Quintillian 6.4.77). This occurrence is seen as a sign or blessing, as palms are not likely to grow on solid stone objects. Augustus seemed less amused, however, than the Iberians.

the most noteworthy aspects of provincial towns, choosing to include anecdotes of these structures in their works. While there are other structures and technologies that were undoubtedly essential to Roman life, these features repeatedly recur in ancient texts, representing arguably the most important two purposes for establishing provinces: cultivating and taxing the land in an organized and efficient manner, as seen through the presence of centuriation, and spreading devotion to the emperor and Roman culture through the introduction of the imperial cult in some regions as well as worship of the Roman pantheon throughout the empire. As we will see through the subsequent discussion, this emphasis on defense, land division, and religion,<sup>190</sup> as illustrated through referencing fortifications, centuriation, and temples or altars, is reflected in the urban space of Romanized Glanum, Augustodunum, Emporiae, Tarraco, and Thugga, as all of these cities have at least two of the three features.

With Romanization, urbanization, and ancient perspectives in mind, it is possible to proceed with individual case studies. The five cities certainly do not exhibit all the processes of Romanization and urbanization experienced by every city throughout the empire, nor do they represent significantly differing situations, as they do not embody all the juridical types of Roman cities, as they all held relatively the same status as towns, and do not include urban centers from each province in the empire. For the purposes of this study, however, they provide examples of different spaces in the empire, and have relatively well-preserved remains which allow for the application of theories of Romanization. Furthermore, all are examples of significant cities in the Roman empire which originated as indigenous settlements.

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<sup>190</sup> For a more thorough discussion of the spread of Roman cult in the provinces, cf. Woolf 1998: 206-237.

## 6. Case Studies: Emporiae and Tarraco in *Hispania Tarraconensis*

Emporiae, or Emporion, and Tarraco are arguably two of the most important towns in *Hispania Tarraconensis*, having played major roles during Rome's campaign against the Carthaginians during the Second Punic War,<sup>191</sup> in which Rome struggled against Carthage for control of the area between 218 and 206 BCE.<sup>192</sup> Prior to the struggle between the Romans and Carthaginians, however, the Phoenicians and Greeks settled in Spain during the first half of the first millennium BCE, with the first Phoenician settlement dating to around 1100 BCE. More settlements were founded during the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE. The Greeks, on the other hand, established colonies in Emporion and Massalia, among others, in the mid 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>193</sup> After the Second Punic War, the Romans founded Spanish provinces around 197 BCE. However, the natives continuously rebelled against the Romans, with wars and revolts lasting until even the late first century BCE.<sup>194</sup>

Most ancient settlements in regions of Iberia were not continuously occupied: settlements were commonly abandoned between pre-Roman and Roman use. It is difficult, therefore, to understand the development of many of these sites between the pre-Roman settlements and the communities once they had been incorporated within a Roman province.<sup>195</sup> The native settlements, especially in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, tended to consist mostly of defended hill forts or *oppida*, typically surrounded by concentric

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<sup>191</sup> For more detailed discussion of the Second Punic War, please see Curchin (1991). Likewise, for a thorough narration of the native movements and influence prior to Roman conquest, please refer to Curchin (2004).

<sup>192</sup> Keay 1995: 292.

<sup>193</sup> Keay 1988: 12, 14.

<sup>194</sup> Curchin 1991: 9.

<sup>195</sup> Curchin 2004: 69.

defensive walls, indicating the presence of aggression between various tribes.<sup>196</sup> Almost all pre-Roman settlements existed on hills for their natural defense. These *oppida*



Map 1: Roman Spain (Keay 1988: 26). Numbers 3 (Emporiae) and 4 (Tarraco) are of note.

frequently included a walled settlement with rectangular houses (fig. 1) organized in blocks divided by streets, although the curve of the hill tended to skew the lines of the streets. Numantia, one of the best-excavated Celtiberian towns, contains paved streets

<sup>196</sup> Curchin 1991: 17. This aggression frequently inhibits the tribes from unifying, whether against the Romans or other forces.

and houses with three rooms and cellars.<sup>197</sup> However, there no evidence of the existence of public buildings or places of assembly has been recovered. Additionally, the vast majority of the native population was rural.<sup>198</sup> Tribes<sup>199</sup> of these hill forts elected leaders based on prowess in warfare and hereditary aristocracy.<sup>200</sup> Many towns later incorporated under Roman command, including Tarraco, the capital of the province *Hispania Tarraconensis*, and Malaca, became allies of Rome, or *civitates foederatae*, in an attempt to cooperate with the Romans and achieve a greater status.<sup>201</sup>

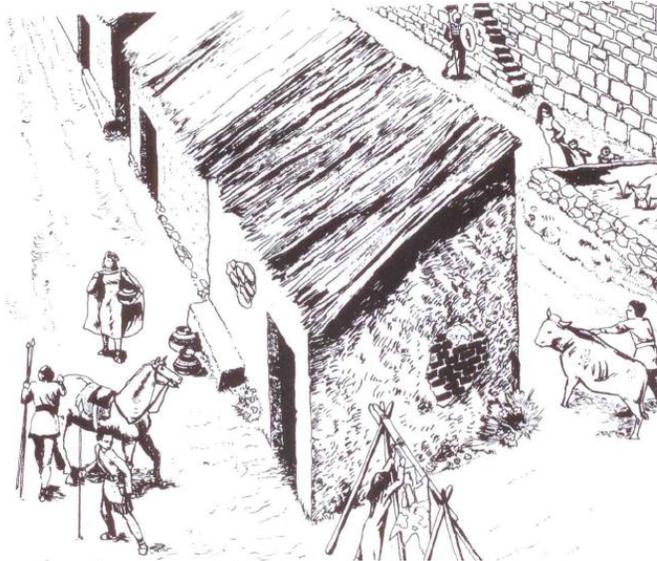


Fig. 1: Reconstruction of Iron Age housing at Complutum, Iberia (drawing by Sebastián Rascón, Servicio de Arqueología, Ayuntamiento de Alcalá de Henares) (Curchin 1991: 28).

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<sup>197</sup> For an example of a reconstructed Iron Age house, please see fig. 5.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid, 72-73, 87, 96.

<sup>199</sup> Curchin (2004) describes in detail the difference between a tribe, a chiefdom, and a state. He also discusses the role of the chiefdom as a middle man between the Romans and the communities, especially through the *conventus*, or division of a region into various types of cities to help with judicial or religious problems (54-57).

<sup>200</sup> Curchin, 1991, 18.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid, 104.

Emporiae (fig. 2) was first inhabited by the native tribe called the Indiketani, who, according to Stephen of Byzantium, resided in the Iberian settlement of Indika.<sup>202</sup> Established by the Phocaeans, Greek settlers who founded a colony, Ἐμπόριον or Emporion, on a small islet, called Palaiapolis, in the Bay of Roses, around 600 BCE.<sup>203</sup> Utilized primarily as an important venue for trade,<sup>204</sup> many also believe that it was established as a location for coastal navigational support during sea travels.<sup>205</sup>

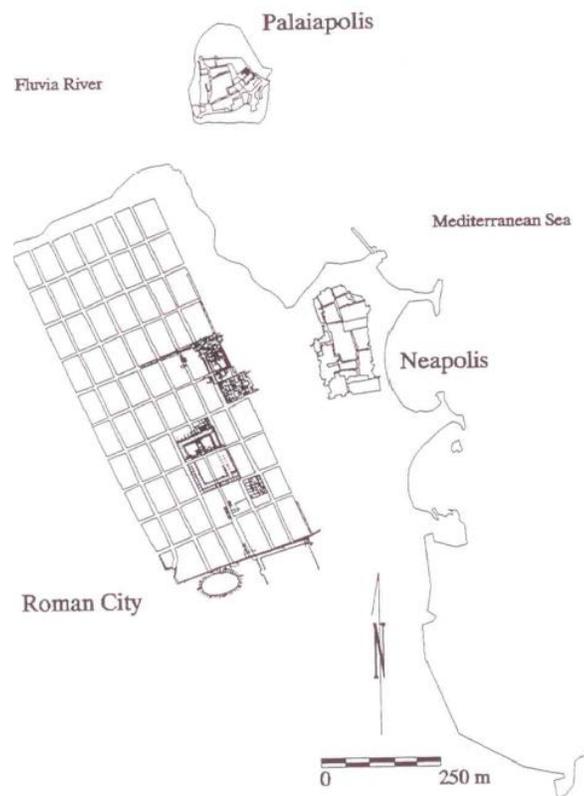


Fig 2: Plan of Emporiae, Neapolis, and Palaiapolis (Kaiser 2000: 77).

<sup>202</sup> Kaiser 2000: 12. Also see Strabo 3.4.8 and Livy 30.4.9.1. Villaronga attests that the reference to the town of Indike is most likely an error made by Stephen of Byzantium due to the chronological and geographical distance of the author from the events. Instead, Villaronga asserts that Stephen of Byzantium mistook the tribe for the existence of an actual city (Villaronga 1977: 1). Evidence such as the presence of coins bearing the native name, as well as a later mention during the Roman period of the legal advocates of the Indiketani, indicates the presence of the town Indike, therefore contending Villaronga's argument (Kaiser 2000: 12).

<sup>203</sup> Aquilué et. al. 2006: 19.

<sup>204</sup> Idem.

<sup>205</sup> Mar & Ruiz de Arbulo 1993: 121.

From the islet, the Greek colony expanded onto the main land, the new site called Neapolis, and continued to be dominated by the Greeks until the Romans arrived in Iberia in 218 BCE, during which the Romans used the vicinity as a base during their struggle against the Carthaginians. Following the Second Punic War, an Iberian revolt erupted, and Marcus Porcius Cato was sent to Emporion to suppress the rebellion.<sup>206</sup> During his time in the region, Cato established a military camp not far from the city.<sup>207</sup> It was the first Iberian city to support Julius Caesar,<sup>208</sup> who began settling his veterans in the Roman city<sup>209</sup> after the battle of Munda in 45 BCE. During the reign of Augustus, the Roman city of Emporiae was joined with the Greek colony, transferring the Greek centers of administration to the Roman town and providing the Greek inhabitants with citizenship.<sup>210</sup>

Due to the lengthy occupation of both the Romans and the Greeks, there are very little remains from the settlement of the native Indiketani. The foundation of Iberian structures like houses have been discovered under part of the Roman city. Indika walls with towers were found underneath a wall dating to around the occupation of Julius

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<sup>206</sup> Aquilué et. al. 2006: 19. Evidence of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE Iberian revolt can be seen from the discovery in Neapolis of an arsenal full of weapons, including sling ammunition and fittings for an arrow-firing weapon (Curchin 1991: 31).

<sup>207</sup> Mar & Ruiz de Arbulo 1993: 152. After the rebellion, the native inhabitants were required to pay a double stipend, provide wheat for 6 months, and wear Roman tunics and robes. Additionally, after 10 years, the king Bilistages became essentially a puppet king for the Romans, allowing them to ensure control over the area.

<sup>208</sup> Almagro Basch 1956: 6.

<sup>209</sup> There is much debate regarding the founder of the Roman military camp. While Mar & Ruiz de Arbulo believe that the city of Emporiae derived from Cato's military camp, Eduardo asserts that the city grew from Scipio's camp (Mar & Ruiz de Arbulo 1990: 206). The point is not that one can certainly be attributed to the founding of the city; rather, it must be acknowledged that two important generals utilized the area for their military headquarters (Kaiser 2000: 13).

<sup>210</sup> Aquilué et. al. 2006: 21.

Caesar. Other evidence of Indikan houses has been found underneath the ruins of Iberian—Greek houses, which themselves were superseded by Roman structures.<sup>211</sup>

Many buildings from the Greek period have survived, as both Palaiapolis and Neapolis were simply incorporated into the Roman city. Originally a small settlement of huts during the 10<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE, Palaiapolis consisted of domestic buildings and workshops with small kilns for the production of pottery and other commercial material, and was later systemized in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>212</sup> Neapolis (fig. 3), which evidence indicates was abandoned during the Flavian period, housed a sanctuary dedicated to Asklepios,<sup>213</sup> established sometime during the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>214</sup> The sanctuary consisted of a temenos wall surrounding a double altar and a large Hellenistic altar; however, during the first half of the second century BCE, the altars were covered by a terrace, and two small tetrastyle temples were built with Roman *opus signinum* pavement.<sup>215</sup> Although the streets in Neapolis were irregular, reflecting a more organic and gradual growth of the urban center, the main streets led from the agora.<sup>216</sup> During the second century BCE, a new agora and stoa, as well as porticoes, were built.<sup>217</sup> Originally, the agora in Neapolis was only one third of its later size, and houses occupied the area to

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<sup>211</sup> Almagro Basch 1956: 33-35. From these remains, as well as the fact that archaeologists have not yet located the site of the Indiketani tribe's settlement, it has been concluded that the center of Indike was located underneath the Roman city (Kaiser 2000: 65-66; Aquilué & Sanmarti I Grego 1984: 75).

<sup>212</sup> Aquilué et. al. 2006: 21.

<sup>213</sup> This has been identified as an Asklepieion due to the presence of a fragment of a marble statue with a serpent, an attribute of depictions of Asklepios (Kaiser 2000: 31).

<sup>214</sup> Although originally outside of Neapolis, the Asklepieion was later incorporated into the city through the expansion of the city walls after the third century BCE (Kaiser 2000: 23). Additionally, it is interesting to note that Strabo references the presence of a temple to the Ephesian Artemis but there has not yet been any discovery of its location (Strabo 3.4.8). Another cultic space, the temple of Serapis, was discovered in Emporiae as well. Its association with the eastern deity derives from the strong similarity of the structure with the plan of the temple of Isis in Pompeii (Almagro Basch 1956: 76).

<sup>215</sup> Kaiser 2000: 31. For a more detailed description of typical Greek architectural design, cf. Lawrence (1983).

<sup>216</sup> Ibid: 24.

<sup>217</sup> Tang 2005: 109-110.

the east. During the second century BCE, the houses were demolished and the agora was expanded.<sup>218</sup>

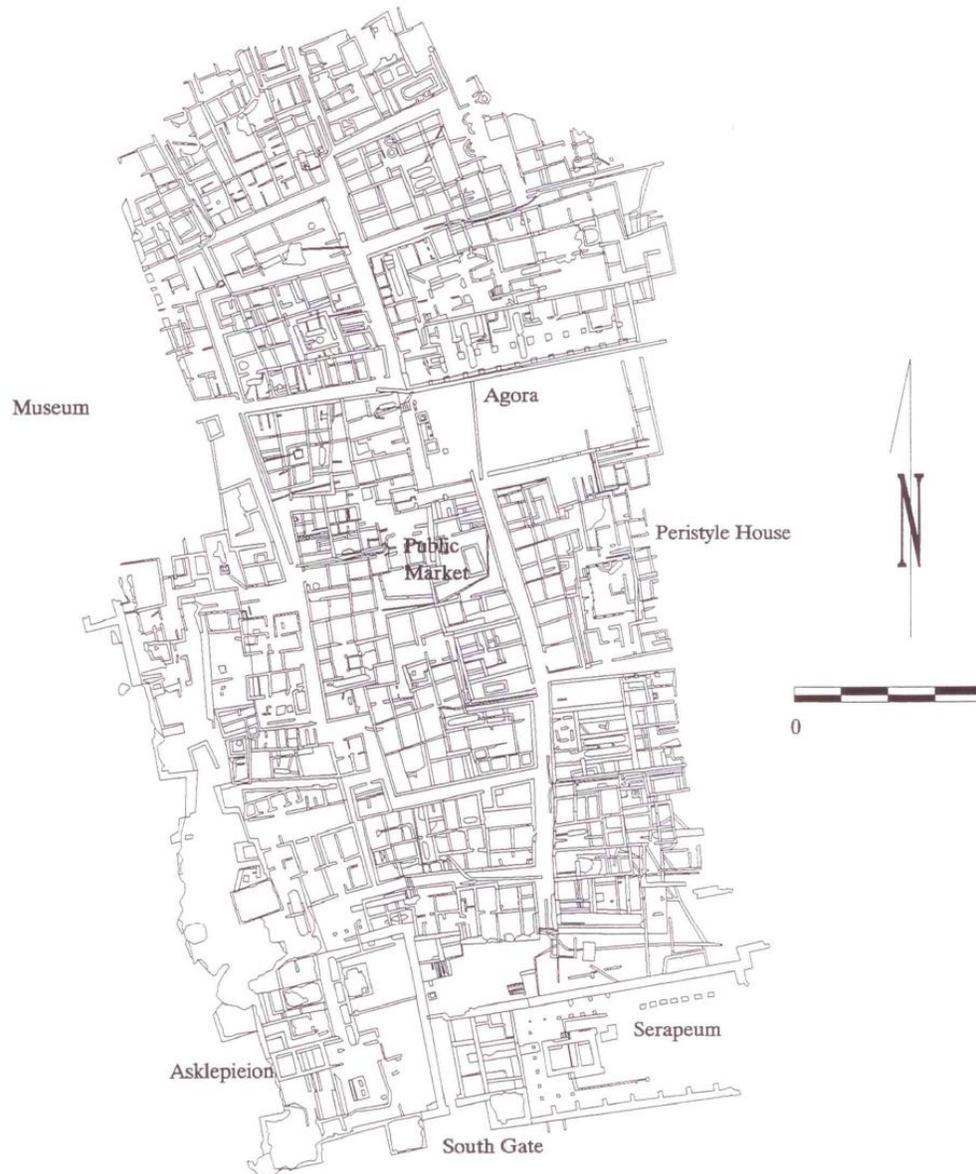


Fig. 3: Plan of Neapolis (Kaiser 2000: 79).

The Roman city (fig. 4),<sup>219</sup> founded anew and separate from the Greek urban center, included characteristics typical of Roman cities: an orthogonal grid consisting of

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<sup>218</sup> Kaiser 2000: 26.

six *cardines* and nine *decumani* streets, laid in the end of the second century BCE, baths, an amphitheater and *palaestra* built outside the walls of the city in the mid first century CE.<sup>220</sup> Additionally, *tabernae*, or rows of shops, were constructed south of forum in 100 BCE. Other Roman structures such as a basilica and a curia were constructed under Augustus.<sup>221</sup> The forum,<sup>222</sup> occupying an area of about four city blocks<sup>223</sup> and therefore consuming a large portion of valuable land in the city, included a total of nine temples in the northern half and underwent construction from the second century BCE through the Flavian period.<sup>224</sup> The transition to the period of Roman control seems to have left the Greek city largely unaffected, despite the union of the Roman and Greek settlements: minor changes were made to Neapolis itself, mostly consisting of the occasional addition of buildings. For example, Temple C in the Asklepieion precinct is a frontal podium temple design - standard for Roman architecture.<sup>225</sup> Other alterations were minor in the general evolution of the site but significant statements of Roman control of the city. Outside the south gate of Neapolis, a Greek cemetery was abandoned for the construction of a Roman building in the second century BCE, with the Greek graves being covered with a structure whose walls consisted of *opus africanum*, a technique particularly

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<sup>219</sup> Emporiae is considered by some to be a *colonia* because it was a complete Roman town with a forum, temples, other public buildings by the second century BCE (Richardson 1995: 346). Kaiser, however, remains doubtful, illustrating that no agreement has been made regarding the matter (Kaiser 2000: 13).

<sup>220</sup> Ibid: 25.

<sup>221</sup> Ibid: 28-29.

<sup>222</sup> Curiously, the forum does not have a curia or comitium, as it normally does in Italic cities, in order to allow for temple with triportico (Mar and Ruiz de Arbulo 1993: 237-8).

<sup>223</sup> Ibid: 26. Dedications commissioned by Paullus Aemilius Lepidus, the patron of the city, were discovered in the excavations of this area (nos. 31 and 32 in Fabre et al. 191: 66). While these may not be associated with architectural structures, they indicate that inhabitants were commissioning buildings in order to increase their status.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid: 27. The central temple, the largest and oldest of the temples, is considered to be the *capitolium*. It is unclear to whom or by whom the temples were dedicated; rather, they are identified as spaces of religious worship based on the type of structure, not from any epigraphic evidence (Tang 2005: 110; Aquilué *et al.* 1984: 104-109).

<sup>225</sup> Mar and Ruiz de Arbulo 1993: 176.

common in Roman architectural design.<sup>226</sup> Finally, workshops were built on the street that had originally been the main thoroughfare of Neapolis, significantly changing the

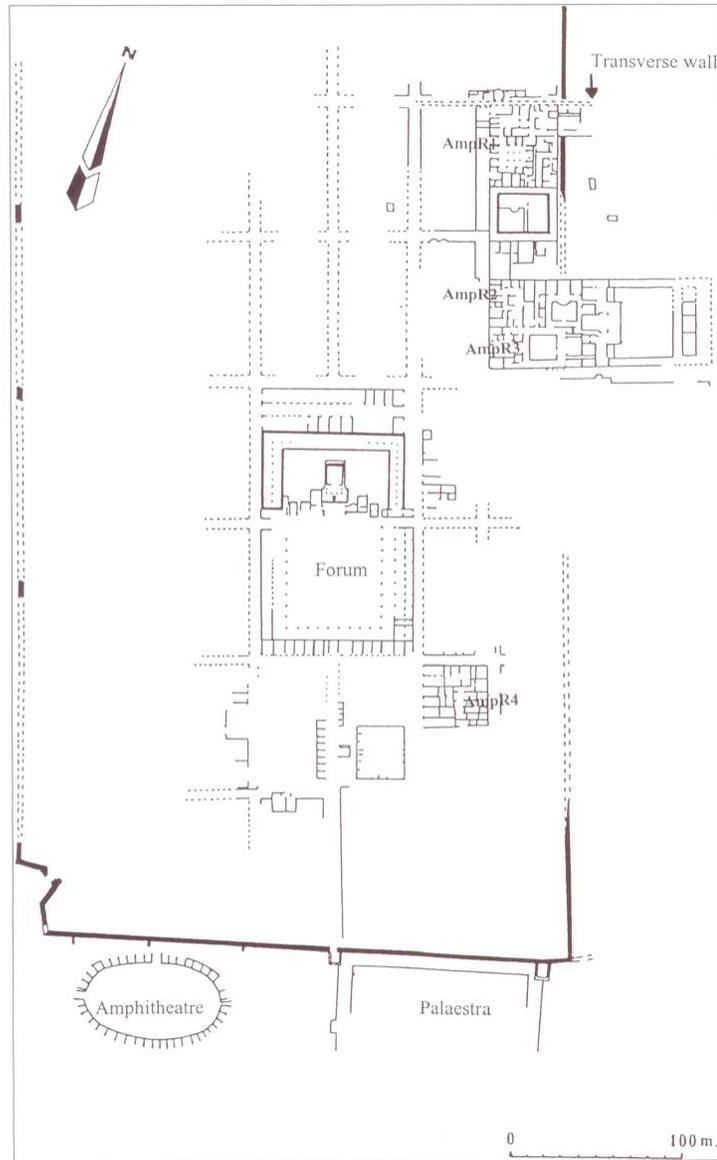


Fig. 4: Roman Emporiae (Tang 2005: 111, after Aquilué et al. 1984: fig. 13). Domestic structures are also shown (AmpR1-4)

<sup>226</sup> Kaiser 2000: 33-34.

nature of the area from a highly populated street to a low class, marginal space, a change which can be interpreted as a repurposing of the area or a general disregard for the previous inhabitant's intended urban design.<sup>227</sup>

While houses in Emporiae mostly exhibit Greek and Roman attributes, Iberian influence can also be seen, particularly regarding domestic space. Eight atrium houses and two peristyle houses have been identified to date (AmpR1 in fig. 4, for example). The pre-existing urban structures in the Greek sectors inhibited the archetypal Roman houses to be constructed in the usual *fauces-atrium-tablinum* plan.<sup>228</sup> Greek housing styles were still maintained, including courtyards with porticoes, peristyles, and the tendency to have the more important room located to the north of the “circulation space.”<sup>229</sup> Iberian housing styles, however, were also maintained in houses consisting only of three or four rooms, as well as the use of local building materials and techniques like mudbrick and pisé walls.<sup>230</sup> Therefore, despite the Roman control of *Hispania*, an amalgamation of all three cultures in the area continued throughout much of the Roman period.

The evolution of the city of Emporiae, from Iberian to Greek and Roman, reveals a hesitancy on the part of the Romans or the inhabitants to heavily alter the Greek settlement. Very little evidence exists of the Iberian town of Indike, suggesting that the inhabitants, whether Roman citizens or native population, of the city significantly

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<sup>227</sup> Aquilué et. al. 2006: 24.

<sup>228</sup> Tang 2005: 128.

<sup>229</sup> Ibid: 133.

<sup>230</sup> Ibid: 148.

demolished it when building new structures for their city.<sup>231</sup> The Greek city of Neapolis, however, only received specific structures and alterations, maintaining most of its original plan and appearance after the merging of Neapolis and Emporiae. Certain structures were added and domestic structures began incorporating Roman features such as the *triclinium*, or a dining room,<sup>232</sup> and the inhabitants began utilizing Roman construction materials and methods; yet, much of the original Greek city remained.

Many reasons for this dearth of physical evidence for Roman cultural dominance will be discussed below, but it has been suggested that the surprising lack of Roman structures and reorganization partially derives from Roman respect for Greek culture, and the Greek population's determination to preserve their cultural identity. During the time of the first Roman camp, Neapolis had no temples, a very small agora, and no significant public structures within the city walls. After the first half of the second century BCE, however, the Greeks had expanded to include the Asklepieion within the city, an action which Kaiser interprets as a method of preserving Greek identity, not only protecting the inherently Greek sanctuary from the Roman "invaders," but also forcing worshippers to travel through Neapolis in order to seek guidance from or make dedications to Asklepios. Additionally, Kaiser argues, the enlargement of the agora during the second century BCE further asserts identity as it is traditionally considered a symbol of political independence in the Greek world.<sup>233</sup> Kaiser's assertion is an intriguing one: it is too idealistic to assume that all inhabitants of an area would be thrilled to have their settlement be encroached upon and taken over by the Romans, and it is logical that they would resist

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<sup>231</sup> The materials out of which indigenous structures would be constructed, however, are less likely to survive, which could be another reason for their absence in the record.

<sup>232</sup> Mar and Ruiz de Arbulo 1993: 334.

<sup>233</sup> Kaiser 2000: 66.

Romanization by emphasizing their own cultural identity. However, as I will argue below, the absence of Roman structures is not necessarily indicative of the Greek resistance; rather, after being incorporated into the Roman empire, inhabitants of the city, whether Roman or native elite, would only build structures that they deemed obligatory for an important trade and urban center to run smoothly. The existence of the Roman city provided such features, making it unnecessary to superfluously add intrinsically Roman structures to the Greek portion of a city.

The Iberian town of Tarraco (fig. 5),<sup>234</sup> on the other hand, has a more obscure history and its settlement remains are less complex than those in Emporiae. The city is mostly, if not completely, Roman in its employment of space, signifying a heavy attempt to Romanize the area. The first site at Tarraco was allegedly Kesse,<sup>235</sup> an *oppidum* located on the lower part of a hill overlooking the nearby port.<sup>236</sup> Kesse was originally the seat of the Cessetani tribe, from which the town derived its name, and was captured by the Scipios in the third century BCE. The only apparent remains from the occupation of the Cessetani is the cyclopean masonry rampart, which was later completed with Roman methods in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE.<sup>237</sup> A military *castrum*, in use during the Second Punic War, was situated on the Tarragona hill some distance from the *oppidum* (fig. 6).<sup>238</sup> The camp and the hill fort co-existed through much of the Republican period, until around 218 BCE, when the Roman army determined that Kesse was an advantageous base for their operations.<sup>239</sup> By the end of the second century BCE, Kesse became a

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<sup>234</sup> Strabo describes the town as being on a bay and with a population rivaling that at Carthage (*Geo.* 3.4.7).

<sup>235</sup> Other names for Kesse include Cissis and Kissa. For simplicity, I will utilize Kesse only.

<sup>236</sup> de Arbulo 2006: 39.

<sup>237</sup> Curchin 1991: 112.

<sup>238</sup> de Arbulo 2006: 39.

<sup>239</sup> Keay 1995: 295.

federated city,<sup>240</sup> and continued urbanization gradually connected the *castrum* and the *oppidum* to create one unified city (fig. 7 ).<sup>241</sup> However, with Roman expansion, the indigenous site of Kesse was covered and replaced with the Roman city of Tarraco, as evident from the comparison of plans of the pre-Roman site with the Roman city (figs. 6 and 7).<sup>242</sup>



Fig. 5: Plan of Tarraco, early imperial period. 1. Iberian nucleus; 2. Roman praesidium;  
3. Republican period cemetery (Raventós 1995: 356).

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<sup>240</sup> Tarraco later would aid Julius Caesar before the battle of Ilerda against Pompey's legates in 49 BCE, resulting from which he offered private and public rewards (de Arbulo 2006: 41).

<sup>241</sup> Raventós 1995: 357. Raventós also states debate in scholars regarding the occupation of the upper and lower parts of the town, illustrating the ongoing disagreement on the matter (357-359).

<sup>242</sup> The upper town seemed to have maintained a primarily administrative function. Additionally, Tarraco itself became an important stop on the Via Domitia and Via Augusta, the latter of which connected Rome with the province, *Hispania Citerior* (Carrete et. al 1995: 31, 33).

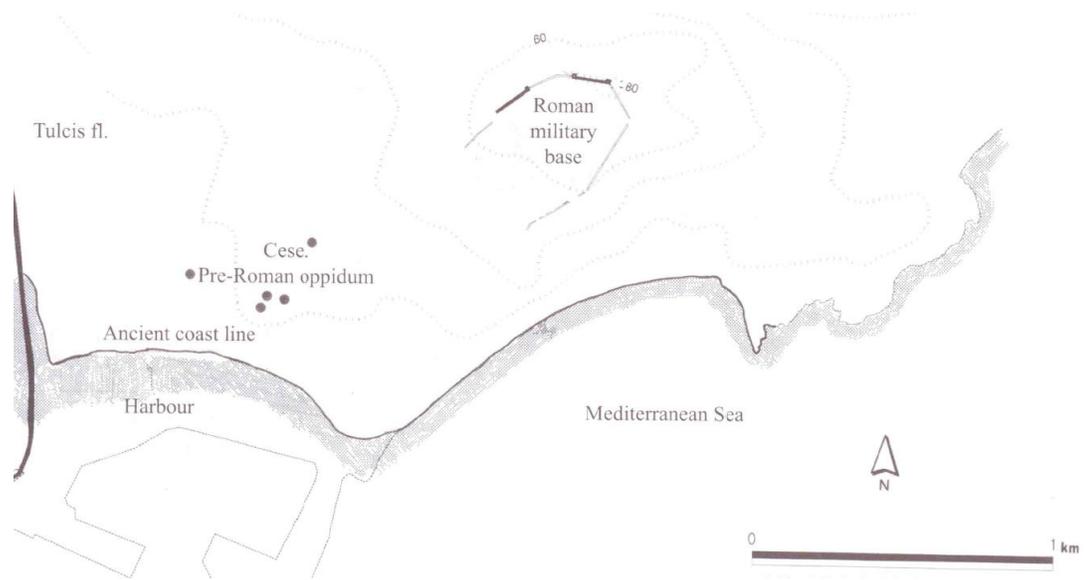


Fig. 6: Plan of Tarraco, 3rd-2nd c. BCE (de Arbulo 2006: 32).

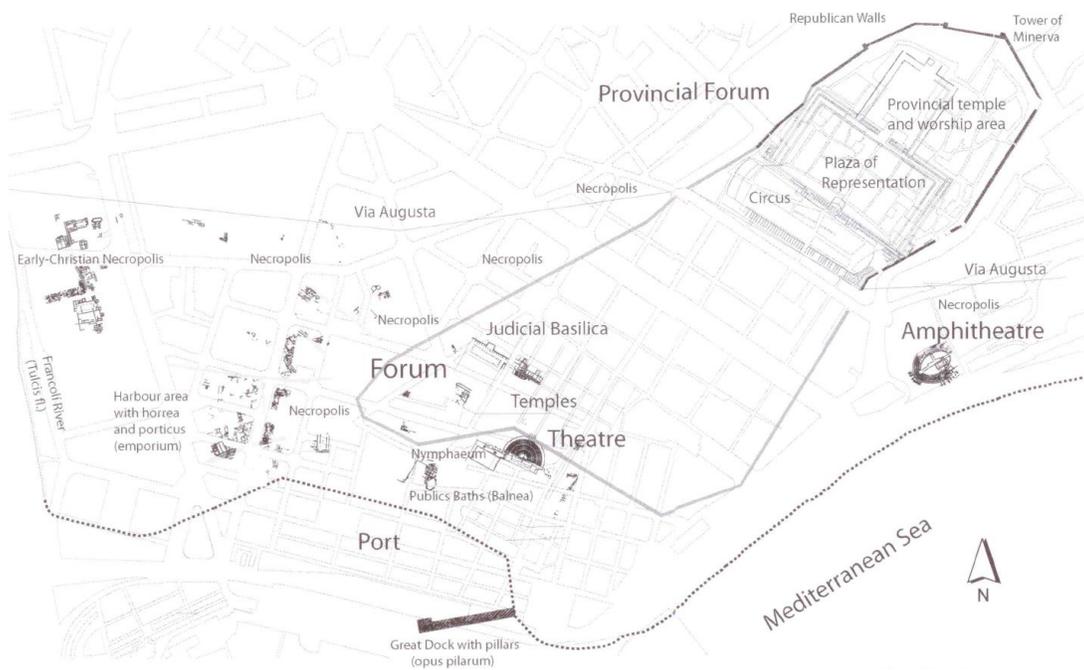


Fig. 7: Plan of Tarraco, Roman period (de Arbulo, 2006, 40).

The Romanization of Tarraco was a gradual process consisting of the slow absorption of Kesse and increasing addition of new, Roman structures.<sup>243</sup> The forum, dating to the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE,<sup>244</sup> was the first monumental construction in Tarraco.<sup>245</sup> However, its creation involved the destruction and leveling one quarter of the Iberian structures in the area. Further excavation in the 1920s indicate that an Augustan period remodeling of the forum resulted in its extension and inclusion of reliefs portraying conquered barbarians.<sup>246</sup> The basilica at Tarraco, a structure type completely unknown in Iberia, parallels the basilicas in Herdonia and Fanum, Italian towns. Its construction is characteristically Roman with a central nave and Corinthian columns.<sup>247</sup> During the reign of Tiberius, a Temple to Augustus was constructed, most likely in the forum area.<sup>248</sup> Another unidentified temple was built by Vespasian and Domitian, as well, probably during the monumentalization of the town during the Flavian period, in which marble was heavily utilized.<sup>249</sup> A theater was constructed on the western slope of the lower town during the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE.<sup>250</sup> Baths are mentioned in an inscription, and an amphitheater, begun in the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE, had a capacity of roughly 11,000 people.<sup>251</sup> Other Roman structures include a *schola*, or meeting house, for *collegia*, and

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<sup>243</sup> This technique was standard for the Romans in Spain, as seen in Saguntum, Azarlar, and Caridad de Caminreal (Keay 1995: 298).

<sup>244</sup> Curchin 1991: 112.

<sup>245</sup> de Arbulo 2006: 39.

<sup>246</sup> Keay 1995: 306 and Raventós 1995: 359. One can imagine the impact this sculptural motif would have on the native Iberians, who would be reminded of the events which transpired when the Romans began inhabiting the area.

<sup>247</sup> Keay 1988: 120. The basilica at Fanum was actually constructed by Vitruvius, an architect most noted for his treatise on architecture.

<sup>248</sup> Keay 1995: 306. This temple housed the altar to Augustus, mentioned in the excerpt of Tacitus (*Ann.* 1.78).

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid.*: 363, 365.

<sup>250</sup> Raventós 1995: 359. Evidence indicates that it ceased to be utilized for theatrical productions during the third century CE.

<sup>251</sup> Curchin 1991: 114. The amphitheater was dedicated by a priest of two important cults of Rome and Augustus (*Flamen Romae Divorum et Augustorum*). By commissioning the structure, the priest is not only

an orthogonal street grid which organizes the *insulae* in the city.<sup>252</sup> Furthermore, a circus was built in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE, capable of housing some 27,000 people.<sup>253</sup> The last Roman structure in Tarraco is the aqueduct of Els Ferres, built in the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE and transferring water from the river Gaia to Tarraco.<sup>254</sup>

While the Roman settlers did utilize some of the preexisting walls of the Cessetanian *oppidum*, it is clear that they built a replacement city, ensuring to include the structures necessary for a Roman town, such as imperial cult temples, an aqueduct, street grids, venues for entertainment, and baths. Flavian emperors even dedicated temples in the city, demonstrating their personal interest in the construction of public buildings as a method of legitimizing their rule.<sup>255</sup> Such building projects required the demolition of Iberian structures, symbolizing not only Rome's domination over the area, but also their disregard of the native *oppidum* plan. There seems to be no other effort to retain any notion of native concepts of space, denoting the more thorough Romanization of the area, as represented through the physical destruction of the Iberian city and its replacement with an emblematic Roman center. The Iberians did not have any previous evidence of public structures, an aspect extremely fundamental to Roman identity, making the Roman forum novel for the indigenous people and its presence a clear indicator for Romanization of the area.

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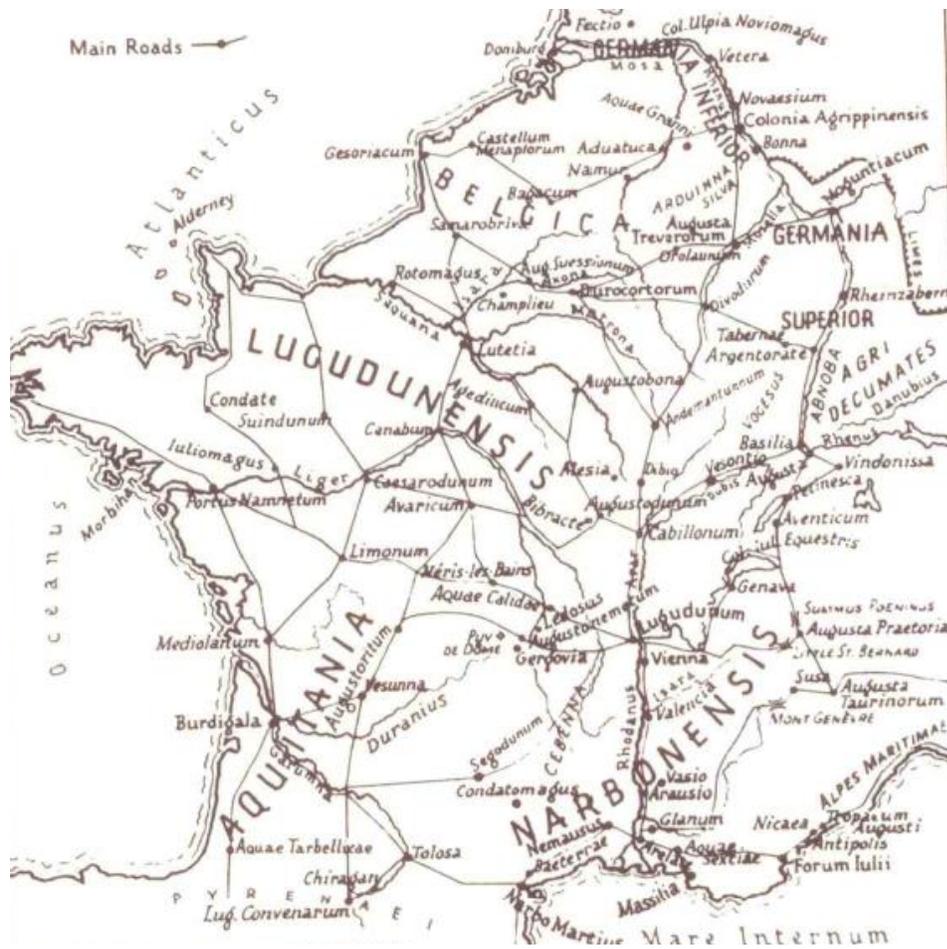
displaying his loyalty to Rome, but also his wealth, seeking to promote his status in the city and Tarraco's status in the empire (Raventós 1995: 363).

<sup>252</sup> Ibid: 360. The presence of the *schola* is intriguing, as archaeologists cannot frequently identify the structures which housed the meetings of the *collegia*.

<sup>253</sup> Curchin 1991: 114. It is interesting that the circus can house more spectators than the amphitheater.

<sup>254</sup> Ibid: 129.

<sup>255</sup> The Flavians constructed a tremendous amount of buildings throughout the empire, commissioning projects in Conimbriga, Londinium, Verulamium, Nicodemia, and Troy among others. A vast quantity of structures, however, were focused in *Hispania*, as Vespasian granted the province Latin rights to communities with peregrine status in order to gain their loyalty and promote their authority. Furthermore, the Flavians, in order to encourage local elites to build for the community, set an example by commissioning their own projects (Colledge 2000: 968; Alföldy 2000: 480; Griffin 2000: 25, 32).



Map 2: Roman Gaul (MacKendrick 1972: 4). Augustodunum is in central Gaul, and Glanum is in the south.

## 7. Case Studies: Glanum in *Gallia Narbonensis* and

### Augustodunum in *Gallia Lugdunensis*

Like Emporiae, Glanum in *Gallia Narbonensis* represents one end of the spectrum in Roman urbanization as the conquerors incorporated a surprising amount of the pre-Roman town. Gaul (fig. 8) was not conquered all at once: *Gallia Transalpina*, later renamed *Gallia Narbonensis*, in the south was acquired in 125 BCE when the Romans aided Marseille against the Ligures, and *Gallia Comata*, later called the “Three Gauls,”

was conquered by Julius Caesar between 58 and 51 BCE. Many indigenous communities were granted the status of a *colonia latina*, and most Gallo-Roman cities were established within 50 years of each other, with Caesar beginning much of Roman urbanization in mid-first century BCE. Augustus finished Caesar's development of the south, and then urbanized *Aquitania*, *Belgica*, and *Lugdunensis*.<sup>256</sup>

The occupation at Glanum (fig. 9) began significantly before the Romans arrived in Gaul. Most Gallic towns consisted of small settlements protected by ramparts, usually, although not always, located on hills. Houses typically were small with one or two rooms, and constructed out of dry-stone.<sup>257</sup> Additionally, large public buildings, spaces, or religious structures were relatively uncommon, only being introduced once Romans began influencing the area. There also seems to be little differentiation of status in the architecture and design of the Gallic town, and many archaeologists consider the settlements to be nucleated, but not necessarily urban, in nature.<sup>258</sup> However, the pre-Roman remains at Glanum are not sufficient in order to determine to what extent the settlement corresponded with the plan and design of most Gallic sites. Originally, Glanum developed in the mouth of a gorge in the Alpilles at the foot of two spurs and expanded from this point. The western spur seems to have housed a native sanctuary including dry-stone terraces accessible by stairs, probably dating to the Bronze Age.<sup>259</sup>

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<sup>256</sup> Goodman 2007: 80-81.

<sup>257</sup> Woolf 1998: 108-109

<sup>258</sup> Idem. However, it must be noted that the settlements in Gaul exhibited a lot of diversity in their town planning, ranging in size and type. Some were *oppida*, for example, while others could be smaller and more mobile.

<sup>259</sup> Févrière 1973: 13.

The shrine is thought by some to be for a healing divinity.<sup>260</sup> Furthermore, a temple to Glanis,<sup>261</sup> a Celtic deity, was discovered, lending its name to the town.<sup>262</sup> Some activity

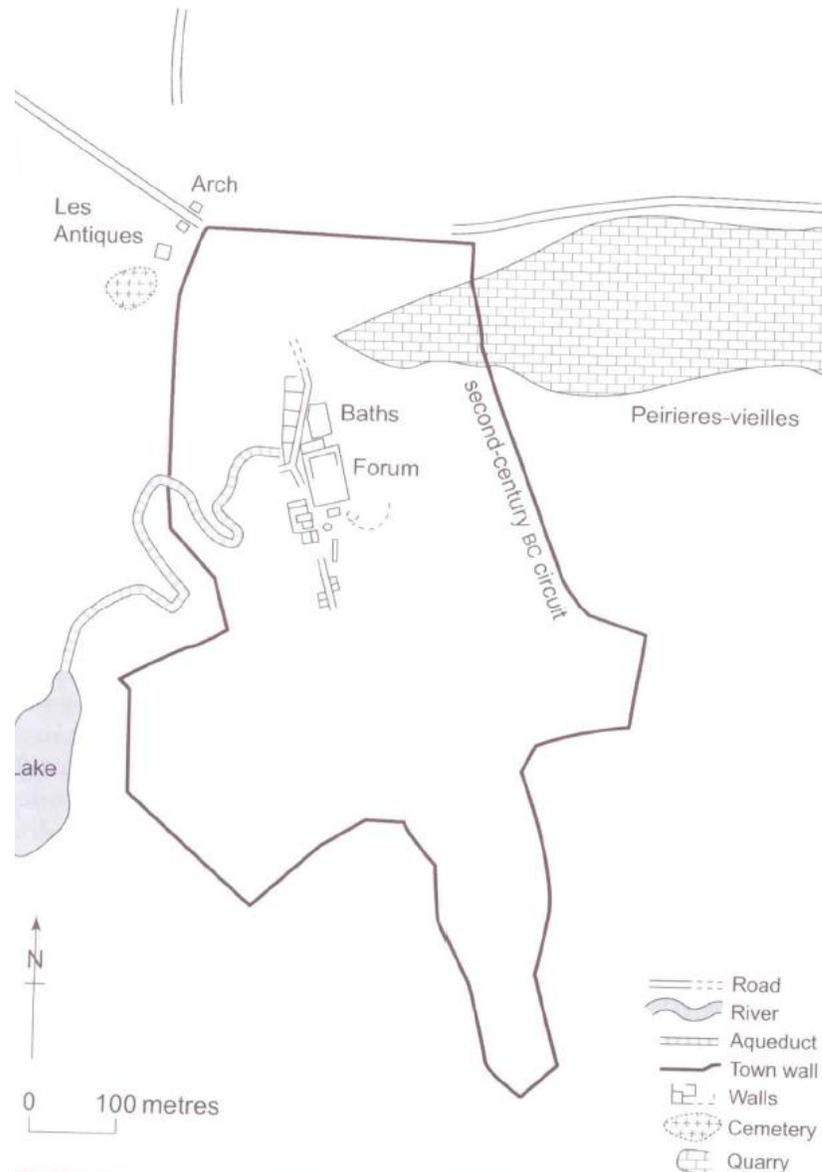


Fig. 8: Plan of Glanum (Goodman 2007: 177).

<sup>260</sup> MacKendrick 1971: 21. Not enough evidence exists to confidently support this assertion, however.

<sup>261</sup> This is determined by the presence of an inscription, GLAN, discovered near the shrines to *Valetudo* and *Hercules* (Ibid: 25).

<sup>262</sup> The temple was later rededicated to the Roman goddess, *Fortuna Redux*, by a veteran soldier in the first century CE. (King 1990: 134).

is apparent from the Neolithic to Iron Age, as evident by the outlines of rectangular stone huts on the southern edge of the city.<sup>263</sup> A Greek community then inhabited Glanum from the third to second centuries BCE, and after the construction associated with the arrival of this community, no new building projects were commissioned at Glanum<sup>264</sup> until under the Roman period, mostly during the early principate of Augustus.<sup>265</sup> The Greek influence most likely arose from the large Greek settlement in nearby Massilia.<sup>266</sup> The two destruction levels at Glanum coincide with the Roman's defeat of the Salyens, around 120s BCE, and then their subsequent uprising in the 90s BCE.<sup>267</sup>

Aside from the stone outlines of prehistoric and Iron Age structures at one end of the city, most of the extant, pre-Roman remains originate with the arrival of the Greek settlers during the Hellenistic period, signifying the maintenance and reuse of the Greek structures throughout the Roman period. Most significant are the presence of the *bouleuterion* or Greek assembly house, agora, porticoes, and peristyle houses.<sup>268</sup> The *bouleuterion*, constructed during the second century BCE,<sup>269</sup> measures 40 by 25 feet (XXII in fig. 9),<sup>270</sup> and has a typical Greek colonnaded portico located to its south dating

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<sup>263</sup> Fay 1981: 1. For a discussion of the excavations at Glanum between 1982 and 1990, cf. Conges (1992).

<sup>264</sup> As Woolf notes (Woolf 1998: 114), there exists a gap in the record of settlement in many Gallic towns between the abandonment of the hill forts in the end of the first century BCE and the first structures from the Gallo-Roman period.

<sup>265</sup> Fay 1981: 1. This is logical, as Gaul was not incorporated in the empire until the last first century BCE.

<sup>266</sup> Ward-Perkins 1970: 2. The exchange of culture through the venue of trade and economic transactions would facilitate the spread of Greek influence.

<sup>267</sup> Bromwich 1996: 204.

<sup>268</sup> Ibid: 68.

<sup>269</sup> Ibid: 210. The *bouleuterion* is a sort of meeting house for a Greek council, similar to a senate house or curia. Essentially, it is an important structure for the functioning of the government.

<sup>270</sup> MacKendrick 1971: 22. For a discussion of more recent excavations at Glanum, cf. Conges (1992).

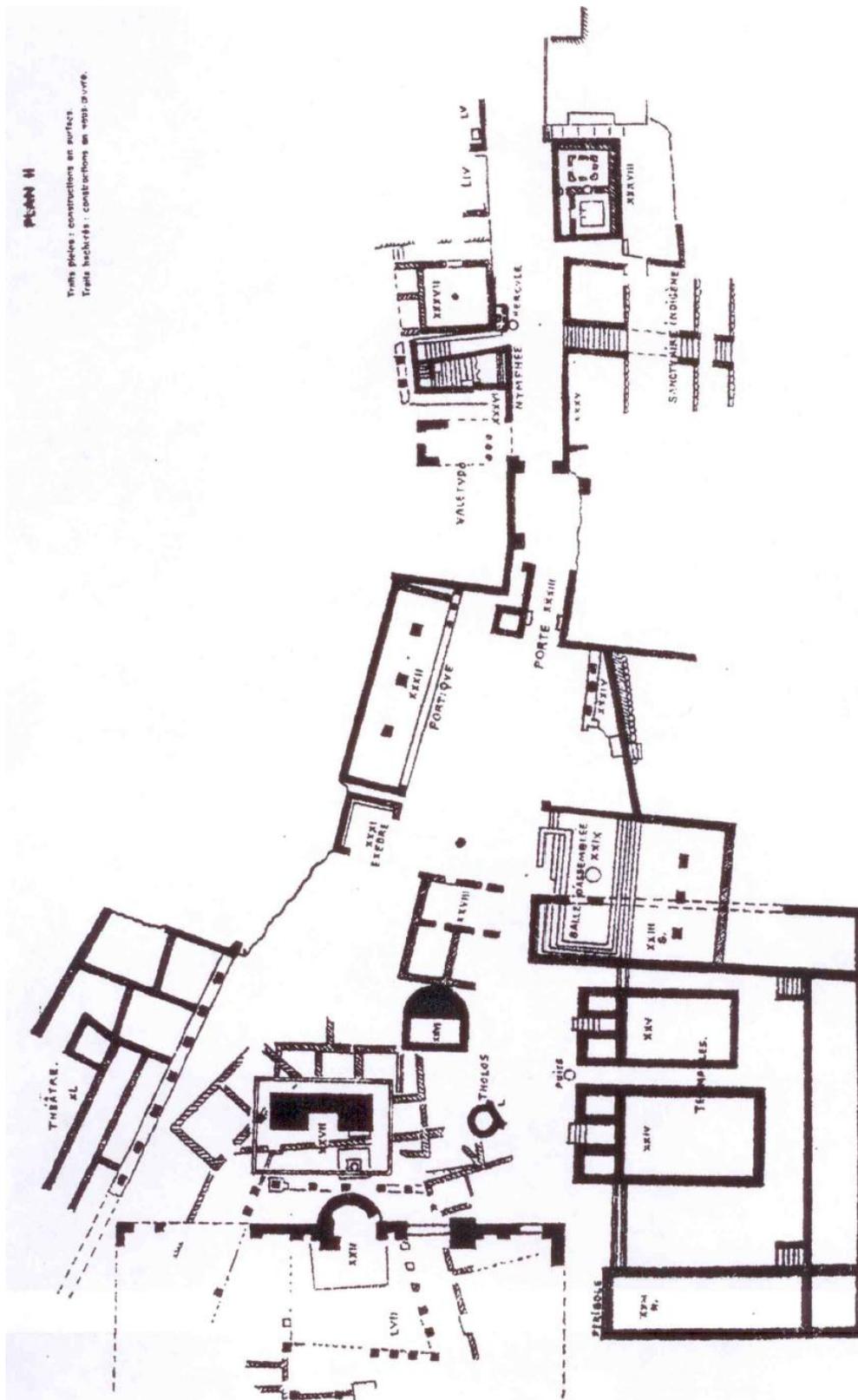


Fig. 9: Plan of Glanum, south end (Fay 1981: Plan II).

to the mid-second century BCE, a structure later built over by the Romans.<sup>271</sup> Another Greek structure in Glanum is the double treasury located opposite the *bouleuterion*, as well as an exedra and a Doric portico (XXVII, XXII, and XXXII in fig. 9).<sup>272</sup> These public buildings all utilize Hellenistic architecture and decorations such as ionic volutes

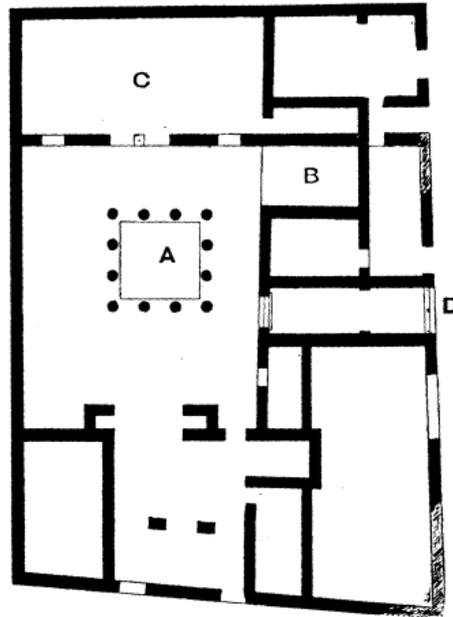


Fig. 10: Plan of House of the Sacred Lake, Delos (Gardner 1901: 297).

with dolphins and wreaths of foliage.<sup>273</sup> Lastly, Hellenistic structures can also be seen through the presence of peristyle houses comparable to those located on the Aegean

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<sup>271</sup> Févrear 1973: 17. This replacement of the Greek structure can be seen as a statement against the Greek culture previously existing at the site, although the Romans could have just as easily replaced the structure due to disrepair or new elites desiring to enhance their statuses and political agendas.

<sup>272</sup> MacKendrick 1971: 22. Rolland also records the presence of a typical Greek theater with an orchestra, stage, and access corridors (1960, 27). However, this might be the same theater attributed to the Roman period by MacKendrick (25).

<sup>273</sup> Rolland 1960: 26. Admittedly, this imagery is also used in the Roman period. However, Rolland dates the decoration to the Hellenistic period.

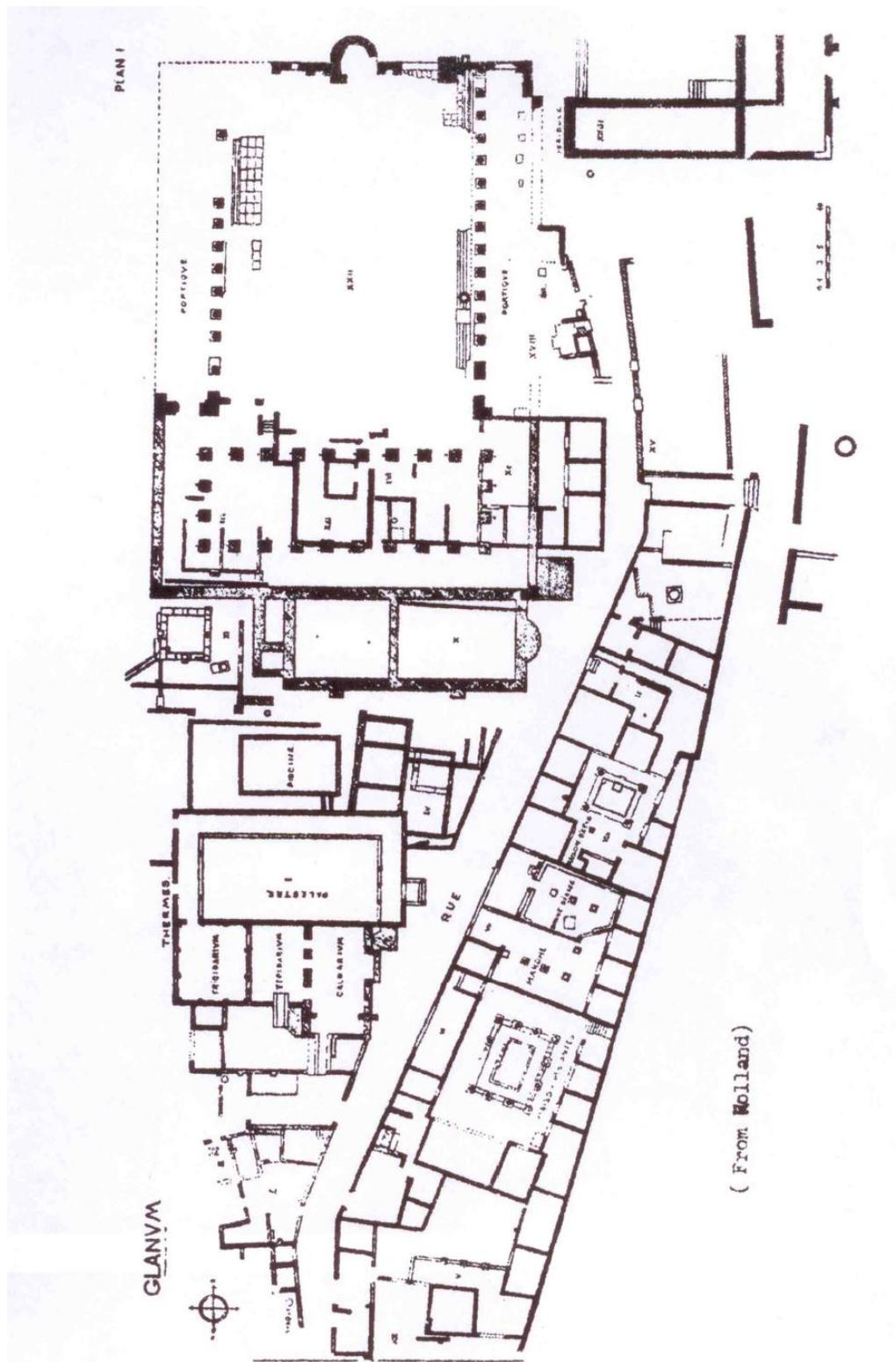


Fig. 11: Plan of Glanum, north end (Fay 1981: Plan I).

island of Delos (fig. 10).<sup>274</sup> The House of the Capricorn at Glanum, for example, was constructed in the Hellenistic period and continued to be occupied through the Gallo-Roman period until eventually becoming covered by the Roman baths and forum.<sup>275</sup>

Unlike the Roman houses, Greek houses do not have an atrium but rather only contain a colonnaded peristyle. It is clear from the extant Hellenistic structures that the Greek notion of space still remained quite prevalent even during the period of Roman administration.

What, then, did the Romans introduce to the Hellenistic city of Glanum? Prior to the Roman conquest of the area, there were no local precedents for the Roman basilica, forum, bath buildings, and amphitheaters.<sup>276</sup> The inhabitants only added structures which they viewed as missing in the Greek city, such as imperial temples, a basilica, a forum, and a few commemorative structures. They built a bath complex not long after 42 BCE, the earliest known example of a Roman bath building in Gaul (I in fig. 11).<sup>277</sup> Built in a style distinctive for the late Republic, the baths had all the necessary accoutrements, including a *frigidarium*, *caldarium*, *tepidarium*, and two furnaces heating the complex.<sup>278</sup> The basilica in Glanum (X in fig. 11) was probably utilized as a law-court and covered market, and is attributed to Augustus' lieutenant and friend, Agrippa, in the late first century BCE.<sup>279</sup> With the basilica located on its north side, the forum was built on top of

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<sup>274</sup> MacKendrick 1971: 22. While Roman houses do contain peristyles, these houses are more similar to the Greek plan than Roman.

<sup>275</sup> Bromwich 1996: 212.

<sup>276</sup> Ward-Perkins 1970: 4. One can imagine how the sudden presence of such vastly differing structures would immensely impact the indigenous inhabitants of the area.

<sup>277</sup> Ibid: 3.

<sup>278</sup> Rolland 1960: 32.

<sup>279</sup> MacKendrick 1971: 25. Agrippa's commissioning of structures in the area of Glanum is important, as his personal involvement indicates the importance of the city, as well as the level of necessity of the construction of the basilica.

older, Hellenistic structures which were leveled in preparation for its construction. It is also possible that Roman foundations were driven into the previous buildings in order to create a more substantial support for the forum. Regardless, after the Romans arrived in Glanum, the previous Hellenistic structures in the area were destroyed in order to build the Roman forum.<sup>280</sup>

Other Roman buildings in Glanum include the so-called “Gemini temples,” constructed in the typical Roman manner, including the high, frontal podium, columned foyer or *pronaos*, and a *cella* for the cult in the rear.<sup>281</sup> Dedicated to Augustus’ grandsons, Gaius and Lucius, the two temples (XXIV in fig. 9) are located southwest of the forum. The well between the temples housed heads of statues of Octavia, and Julia, Augustus’ daughter.<sup>282</sup> Thus, the Corinthian-style temples honor the imperial family, designating the presence of the imperial cult in the city.<sup>283</sup> Furthermore, a monumental arch, located next to a mausoleum,<sup>284</sup> contains reliefs depicting Gallic captives chained to trophies: the western relief displays a Roman freeing a captive Gaul, for example, is a strictly Roman image, confronting the natives of the area with the domination of their people and triumph of the Romans over Gaul.

The aforementioned structures, such as the baths, forum and basilica, and temples, are Roman in design and technique. The majority of Glanum, however, remained

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<sup>280</sup> Bromwich 1996: 211.

<sup>281</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>282</sup> MacKendrick 1971: 25.

<sup>283</sup> Goodman 2007: 187.

<sup>284</sup> Rolland determines this mausoleum as a cenotaph dedicated to the memory of two people, possible Gaius and Lucius Caesar (Rolland 1949: 10). However, MacKendrick describes the mausoleum as being commissioned by rich Gauls with Roman citizenship. It is interesting to note that the mausoleum is decorated with scenes of Greek mythology, such as the Laptish and Centaurs, Calydonian boar hunt, the deaths of Adonis and children of Niobe, and the deeds of Patroclus. Yet despite the Greek nature of these myths, all the figures are represented in Roman attire (MacKendrick 1971: 27).

Hellenistic. The city never received orthogonal layouts, as is typical in Roman provincial settlements, therefore disregarding an aspect which is usually considered to be essential for a city to be “Roman.” The Romans, however, utilized the pre-Roman walls,<sup>285</sup> incorporating, rebuilding, and extending defenses originally constructed from dirt and dry stone in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>286</sup> Additionally, the pre-Roman defensive circuit continued to determine the development of the central part of Glanum.<sup>287</sup> The persistent importance of the Hellenistic structures, whether they are domestic, defensive, or social spaces, demonstrates the lack of interference of the Romans in this particular town: rather than demolish and rebuild the Hellenistic city after the city was incorporated into the Roman empire, the inhabitants add specific structures which facilitate the efficient performance of the administration of the provincial city or fulfill leisure activities.

Unlike Glanum, the Roman city of Augustodunum in *Gallia Lugdunensis* was not established on a native settlement; rather, its origins are more similar to those of Emporiae and Tarraco, in that it was founded in the vicinity of the indigenous town, Bibracte (fig. 12), the capital of the Aedui tribe.<sup>288</sup> A large population began settling in Bibracte around 118 BCE, and the Romans first were introduced to the region when Julius Caesar suppressed the Helvetians in battle a short distance from the *oppidum*.<sup>289</sup> In response to the Roman presence in the area, Vercingetorix, having been declared leader

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<sup>285</sup> The reuse of pre-Roman walls is not unheard of: the indigenous walls at Nîmes, as well as the Hellenistic walls at Marseille, continued to be utilized by Romans through much of their occupation (Goodman 2007: 83).

<sup>286</sup> Goodman 2007: 176, 178.

<sup>287</sup> Ibid: 179.

<sup>288</sup> The Aedui were the oldest allies of Rome in inner *Gallia* as late as the third or early second century BCE, frequently engaging in trade with them (Rebourg & Goudineau 2002: 32). Claudius even allowed elite Aedui to participate in the senate in 48 CE due to their long-standing alliance (Ibid: 39). However, the Aedui revolted in 21 CE when Tiberius suppressed the tax advantages of Augustodunum, illustrating that the natives, and Roman population as well in this case, were not always entirely loyal to Rome (Ibid: 37). For a description of the Aedui rebellion led by Sacrovir, see Tacitus *Ann.* 3.43-46.

<sup>289</sup> For more in-depth description of this insurrection, please refer to Caesar *Gal.* 1.23-30.

of a coalition of Gallic tribes in the area, unsuccessfully attempted to defeat Julius Caesar, who had established winter quarters in the region, in 52 BCE.<sup>290</sup> After the Roman conquest in the first century BCE,<sup>291</sup> the city of Augustodunum was established in 12 BCE, and occupants of Bibracte began migrating to the new city.<sup>292</sup> The *oppidum*<sup>293</sup> was almost completely abandoned by 10 CE with the exception of a few public areas, such as springs and sacred areas, and perhaps a few elite houses.<sup>294</sup>

The area around Bibracte and what would later become Augustodunum seems to have been inhabited as early as the Neolithic period, during which a causewayed camp over 200 m. long and including a palisade fence, some post holes, and large pits were discovered. There has been no extant evidence of architectural features dating to the Bronze Age, although some artifacts such as axes and statuettes have been uncovered.<sup>295</sup> The settlement of the Aedui corresponds very much to the traditional Gallic town plan. Located in the basin of the Siene and Saône rivers,<sup>296</sup> fortifications at Bibracte were originally wooden with iron spikes.<sup>297</sup> There has been no conclusive evidence of the use

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<sup>290</sup> Romero 2006: 16. Julius Caesar writes about Vercingetorix' rebellion in *Gal.* 7.33-90.

<sup>291</sup> Even after the conquest in 58 BCE, many Gallic settlements maintained their own independence. le Roux notes that the process of Romanization in Gaul was rather lengthy, as many of the indigenous tribes had previously established cultures that were already quite "civilized" for Roman standards, as they had been in contact with colonists and traders like the Greeks for some time. These "legacies" made Roman urbanism less jarring for the Gauls, resulting in a more gradual process of acquiring Roman culture (le Roux 2006: 25).

<sup>292</sup> Romero 2006: 24. This is evident from the lack of common artifacts in the stratigraphy during this period.

<sup>293</sup> Woolf states that Bibracte became a Roman city and subsequently was replaced with the new Augustan town (Woolf 1998: 9). However, it remains uncertain whether Bibracte actually became a Roman city. The presence of Romanized structures is not enough evidence to establish that the *oppidum* was converted into a Roman city.

<sup>294</sup> Idem.

<sup>295</sup> Rebourg & Goudineau 2002: 28.

<sup>296</sup> Buchsenschutz 2004: 352. This made the location an important crossroads for trade, and most likely contributes to the Roman motivation for founding a city there as well.

<sup>297</sup> Schutz et. al. 1999: 9. Eventually, the walls were replaced by domestic buildings in the first century BCE.

of stone prior to the Roman conquest.<sup>298</sup> The *oppidum* had two entrances, with workshops for metallurgy, blacksmiths, bronze, steel, and kilns being located adjacent to one of the gates.<sup>299</sup> Also discovered at Bibracte was a stone basin constructed so that it aligns with sunrise during the winter solstice, and has been interpreted by some as the location of founding site of the town.<sup>300</sup>

The domestic structures at Bibracte were largely constructed of wood and pisé, or “rammed earth,” as well as poles inserted into the ground. After the Roman conquest, the walls of the houses consisted of mixed with fragments of amphorae and tiles bound by mortar.<sup>301</sup> The Romans influenced the architecture of Bibracte in other ways: many of the elite houses during this period followed a Greek or Latin plan, including walls constructed of stone, tiled roofs, and painted wall plaster decorating the rooms. One of the largest houses in Bibracte, and perhaps even Gaul, *la Maison du Parx-aux-Chevaux* (fig. 13), has a design comparable to the houses in Pompeii or Herculaneum, including an atrium and peristyle, features distinctive to Greco-Roman domestic structures.<sup>302</sup> The presence of Roman domestic architecture in Bibracte is intriguing, suggesting that the Aedui began implementing Roman design and culture before the Gallic War.<sup>303</sup> Wooden construction, however, does not disappear completely with the introduction of Roman

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<sup>298</sup> Romero 2006: 84. Stone masonry was imported from the Romans, as were clay tiles and columns.

<sup>299</sup> Bertin and Guillaumet 1987: 69.

<sup>300</sup> Goudineau and Peyre 1993: 44-45. No real evidence supports this claim; rather, it seems to be wishful thinking on the part of the authors in order to assign some sort of significance to the structure. Regardless, the astrological orientation of the feature illustrates some sort of religious beliefs and understanding of astronomy (Goudineau and Pyre 1993: 47).

<sup>301</sup> Bertin and Guillaumet 1987: 71. The presence of amphorae and tile confirm that the construction occurred after the Romans began interacting with the Aedui.

<sup>302</sup> Ibid: 73.

<sup>303</sup> Ibid: 74.



Fig 12: Plan of Bibracte (Buchsenschutz et al. 1999: Plan 3).

masonry. Stone buildings seem to only occur in upper-class housing, suggesting that the introduction of Roman architecture was primarily an elite phenomenon.<sup>304</sup> Non-elite housing tends to continue utilizing standard Gallic construction methods, only occasionally adopting more “Roman” materials. Even after the Roman conquest, the most recent structures did not differ in technique or design that much from the oldest

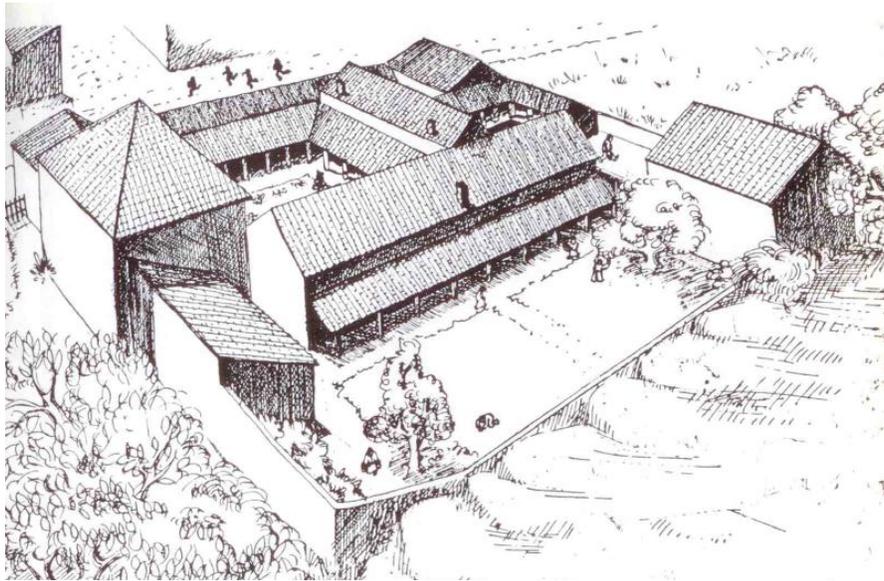


Fig. 13: Reconstruction of *la Maison du Parx-aux-Chevaux* (Bertin and Guillaumet 1987: 73).

buildings.<sup>305</sup> Two observations can be made from this occurrence: first, the Aedui at Bibracte seem to have maintained their *oppidum*, despite the existence of the Roman city of Augustodunum contemporaneous to their settlement, and merely Romanized certain aspects of their town as they gradually migrated to the Roman city.<sup>306</sup> Second, as Lafon

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<sup>304</sup> Buchsenschutz 2004: 359.

<sup>305</sup> Goudineau and Peyre 1993: 79. The continuation of native styles while also utilizing Roman architecture is suggestive of the increasing hierarchic divisions in the Gallic societies, indicating that the lower classes could not afford to utilize Roman materials, unlike the wealthier members of society. Another interpretation is that the lower classes had no interest in “Romanizing” as they were less likely to benefit from assimilating.

<sup>306</sup> Drinkwater 1983: 131. It is interesting that the Aedui, even though they were allies of the Romans, not only desired to maintain their own identity but also were allowed to do so. The Romans never seem to

notes and as can be seen at Emporiae and Glanum, Bibracte never completely became a Roman city, as it preserved much of the pre-Roman culture even after the arrival of the Romans. Yet at the same time, the Celts did not exist completely separated from the Romans, as seen through the presence of Roman goods, architectural design, and construction techniques.<sup>307</sup>

The Roman city of Augustodunum (figs. 14, 15), on the other hand, is Roman in its planning and design, disregarding any native concept of urban space in its plan.<sup>308</sup> Located at an important crossroads, as the Via Agrippa, a road which connects Lyon and Bologne, travels through the city and aligns with its *cardo maximus* or major thoroughfare, Augustodunum contains a typical orthogonal street plan.<sup>309</sup> As the capital of the *civitas Aedorum*, the city had many of the structures commonly associated with Roman urban centers,<sup>310</sup> including monumental stone, not timber or pisé, walls and gates,<sup>311</sup> temples, and even a school by the mid-first century CE.<sup>312</sup> During the reign of Augustus, the city acquired a fortification wall in the irregular shape of a diamond with 54 towers, and the industrial section were relegated to the periphery of the city within the

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force the Aedui to move to Augustodunum. Jones asserts that the Aedui do not abandon Bibracte for Augustodunum because they are resisting Roman rule (Jones 2008: 121). This is an unconvincing argument, however, because the natives incorporate Roman architecture and culture into their native settlement, an action that would not be present had the Aeduans actually been recalcitrant.

<sup>307</sup>Lafon 2006: 76.

<sup>308</sup> Woolf even notes, in a comparison of Bibracte with Augustodunum, that “the precise dimensions of the enclosed area, the walls, and the gates themselves seem to have been designed to rival the very *un-Roman* monumentality of Bibracte on its own terms” (Woolf 2000: 118).

<sup>309</sup> Chardron-Picault 1996: 37-8.

<sup>310</sup> Rebourg and Goudineau 2002: 36. Rebourg and Goudineau assert that Augustodunum was established as a method of promoting pacification and assimilation, although the archaeological record indicates, as discussed above, that the Aedui at Bibracte were Romanizing before Augustodunum was founded.

<sup>311</sup> The gates were typically constructed with *opus caementicium*, an inherently Roman material, and included arches which is also distinctively Roman (Autun and Musée Roun 1987: 55).

<sup>312</sup> Woolf 1998: 9.

walls.<sup>313</sup> The amphitheater was located within the walls of the city, suggesting that the space was reserved specifically for the amphitheater, especially since its placement provides a strong axial alignment with what is most likely the forum. This orientation, as well as its proximity to the theater, implies that this section of the city was perhaps an entertainment sector of the center.<sup>314</sup> Apart from the theater<sup>315</sup> and amphitheater, however, no evidence of monuments which are mentioned in ancient texts have been discovered. The forum's location is particularly elusive.<sup>316</sup> Furthermore, two aqueducts, Montjeu<sup>317</sup> and Montdu, lead to Augustodunum, although they travel short distances, and seem to date to the Flavian period.<sup>318</sup>

Likewise, the domestic spaces in Augustodunum are much as might be expected, including architecture and design that is typical for Roman urban centers.<sup>319</sup> Fifteen houses in the Latin *domus* type have been identified, most of which contain *atria*, peristyles, gardens, and even baths with hypocaust heating systems.<sup>320</sup> Many of the houses also included *triclinia*, floors utilizing the *opus tessellatum* and *opus sectile*

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<sup>313</sup> Autun and Musée Roun 1987: 52.

<sup>314</sup> Goodman 2007: 142, 144.

<sup>315</sup> The theater has a very archetypal structure that is seen in most Roman theater designs, including a *cavea* and orchestra (Rebourg and Goudineau 2002: 59).

<sup>316</sup> Autun and Musée Roun 1987: 52. Several possible locations of the forum have been proposed, although none has been agreed upon.

<sup>317</sup> Rebourg and Goudineau 2002: 78-79. The Montjeu aqueduct seems to be deeply implanted into the embankments that support the terraces of the city, indicating that it was constructed before the organization of the urban center. Therefore, it is possible that the short distance travelled by the aqueducts, as well as their early construction date, denotes that they were built in part to supply Bibracte with water, further signifying the Romanization of the area and the importance of the *oppidum*.

<sup>318</sup> It is not atypical for major construction projects to date to the Flavian period, as noted in the above discussion of Tarraco.

<sup>319</sup> The only uncharacteristic feature in some of the houses are the fireplaces, located against the wall, embedded in the wall, or against the wall, in a "Saracen" manner. What exactly this consists of is undetermined. Archaeologists merely state that the design is more in the Saracen tradition than that of the Romans (Autun and Musée Roun 1987: 97).

<sup>320</sup> Buchsenschutz 2004: 352. Woolf also considers the presence of Latin architectural aspects in the domestic space at Augustodunum to be evidence of the Gallic-Roman aristocracy's awareness of "Roman concepts of civilization" (Woolf 2000: 119).

techniques, and mosaics depicting Greek myths such as Bellerophon, Ganymede, and Neptune.<sup>321</sup> The presence of Latin domestic architecture is unsurprising in

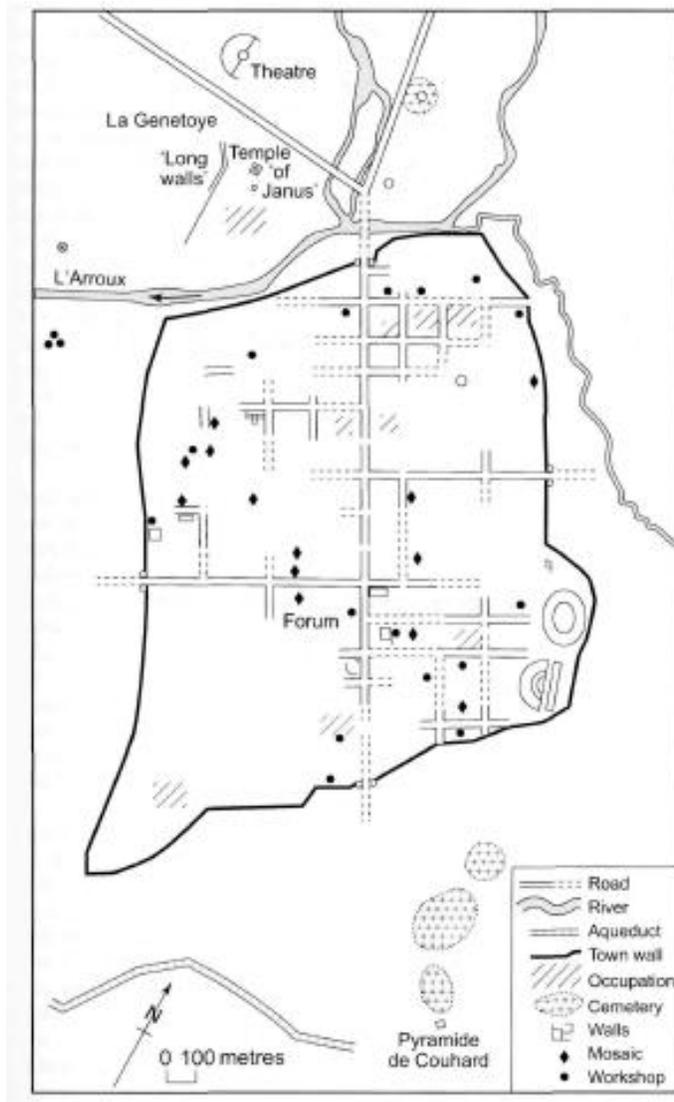


Figure 14: Plan of Augustodunum (Goodman 2007: 97).

<sup>321</sup> Autun and Musée Roun 1987: 97, 78, 314 respectively. The occurrence of Greek myths in Roman mosaics is not uncommon in Italic homes, and should not be considered to be indicative of a “Greek” identity in Roman houses.

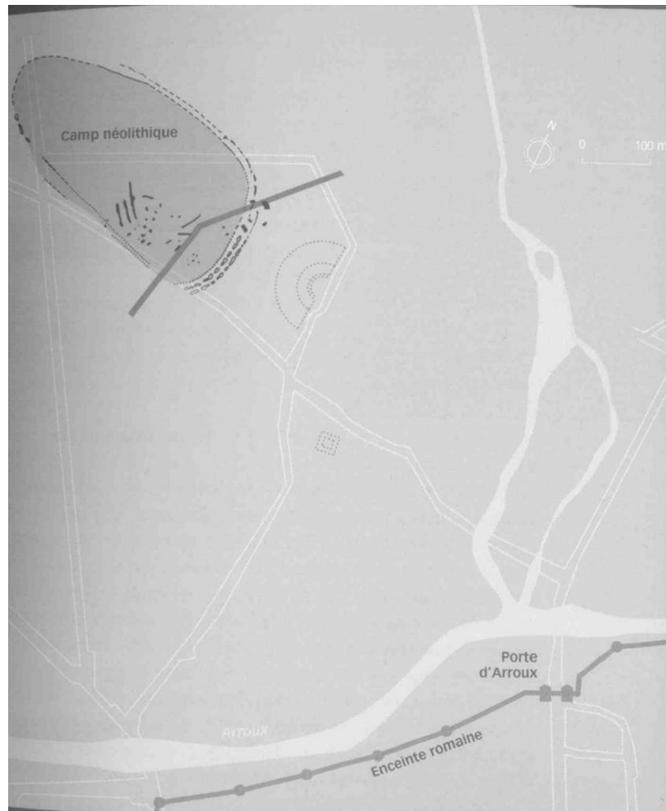


Figure 15: Plan of Augustodunum (bottom) in relation to Bibracte (Rebourg and Goudineau 2002: 27).

Augustodunum, despite its location in *Gallia*, as the Roman city was constructed *ex nihilo*. It is more likely, therefore, that the founders of the city would utilize plans from their own culture rather than build structures in the indigenous custom.

The religious structures in Augustodunum, however, are much less certain. Archaeologists have not yet discovered any shrines in the city; what was previously considered to be a temple dedicated to Pluto and Persephone actually was a funerary monument, and the Temple of Minerva was concluded to be remains of a tower.<sup>322</sup> J. Bulloit, one of the earliest archaeologists of Augustodunum, deciphered an inscription as being a dedication to Mercury Negotiator, and therefore assumed not only that a

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<sup>322</sup> Ibid: 257. The incorrect identification of religious structures seems to be a result of wishful thinking on the part of archaeologists.

sanctuary to the deity existed in the vicinity, but that it also was dedicated to the Gallic god Lug, whom the Romans often equated with their god, Mercury. However, C. Goudineau and C. Peyre contest this interpretation, observing that Bulloit's translation is based on the single letter, M, which he assumed was for Mercury.<sup>323</sup> Additionally, although two texts from the Late Antiquity mention the Aedui worshipping Apollo, no structure has been positively identified as the location of such a religious practice.<sup>324</sup> Some archaeologists have also interpreted a cellar flanked by raised benches as a *mithraea*, or temple dedicated to the eastern deity Mithras, although no other evidence indicates that such a religious structure existed in Augustodunum.<sup>325</sup> A. Rebourg and Goudineau claim that the presence of a bronze votive to the *Dea Bibracte*, or goddess Bibracte, as well as two mislaid inscriptions relating to her, indicates the presence of a shrine dedicated to her nearby. Again, as with the other assertions, no evidence of the actual existence of a structure has been recovered.<sup>326</sup> The primary religious structure, however, is the so-called Temple of Janus (fig. 16). The only substantial remains of a place of worship in the area, the temple is located to the northwest of Augustodunum. Consisting of a *cella* surrounded by upper galleries, the Temple of Janus is considered to

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<sup>323</sup> Goudineau and Pyre 1993: 95. The authors suggest that "M" could stand for Mars. While it cannot be certain to whom the structure was dedicated, or even if such a structure existed, it is apparent from this debate that the presence of religious structures is anything but clear.

<sup>324</sup> Rebourg and Goudineau 2002: 70-71. One of the sources describes the sanctuary as hot springs and sacred groves; however, this argues instead for the location to be in the Bourbon area and for the deity Borvo, who was commonly worshiped in that area and who was typically equated to Apollo. Some archaeologists have associate the Temple of Apollo with the ruins of a *cella* in Augustodunum, but the connection is too vague to be conclusive (Ibid: 70-71).

<sup>325</sup> Goudineau and Peyre 1993: 103-4. Despite the lack of supplemental evidence, Goudineau and Peyre's suggestion is logical. Mithras, who appears in Gaul during the second half of the second century CE, was especially popular among Roman soldiers. Ancient texts have attested to the presence of the Roman military in the area during Julius Caesar's campaigns and the various subsequent revolts that occurred in the Roman city, so it is quite possible that a *mithraea* would exist in Augustodunum (Ibid: 104).

<sup>326</sup> Rebourg and Goudineau 2002: 70.

be a stone translation of a Gallic wooden shrine.<sup>327</sup> The temple is generally understood to be constructed on a site that has been religiously important prior to the Roman arrival in *Gallia*, utilized by the indigenous inhabitants of the area and then continued in significance during the Roman period.<sup>328</sup>

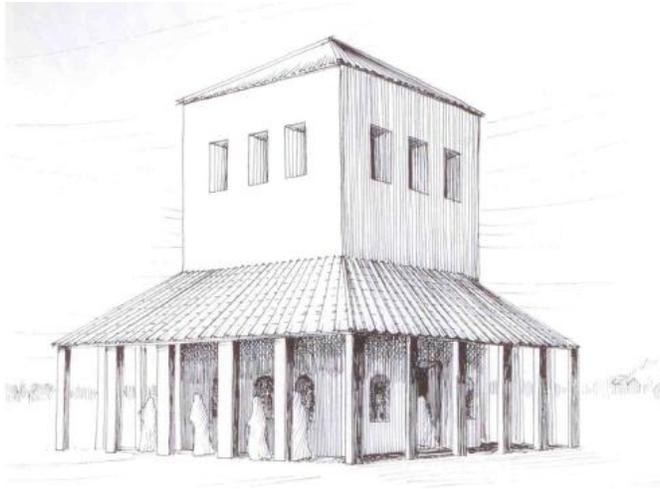


Figure 16: Reconstruction of the Temple of Janus (Bertin and Guillaumet 1987: 76).

The archaeological evidence at Bibracte and Augustodunum, while by no means complete, suggests that after the Roman arrival, the inhabitants did not incorporate many Gallic conceptions of urban space into their city plan and design: aside from the Temple of Janus, the native population, and even then usually only among the elite members of society, adopted Roman culture rather than the other way around.<sup>329</sup> As J.F. Drinkwater aptly notes, “Once the country began to settle down, early Gallic aristocrats put their spare money into expensive urban building-projects...because through these they were

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<sup>327</sup> Autun and Musée Roun 1987: 257. Drinkwater, however, contends that the Temple of Janus was actually dedicated to Mars (Drinkwater 1983: 147). There is insufficient evidence for both allegations. Regardless, the design of the structure is decidedly un-Roman.

<sup>328</sup> Rebourg and Goudineau 2002: 29.

<sup>329</sup> This embracement of Roman culture is reflected in Caesar’s reference to the Aedui as brothers of the Romans: *quod Haeduos fratres consanguineosque saepe numero a senatu appellatos* (since the Aedui had very often been called “brothers” and “kindred” by the senate) (Caesar *Gal.* 1.33).

able most quickly and most dramatically to demonstrate both their own wealth and their own high level of Romanisation.”<sup>330</sup> The presence of Roman structures and building techniques in Bibracte, such as the *domus* and stone construction, indicates that the Aedui were in many ways welcoming Roman concepts of space. Augustodunum, however, does not exhibit any native constructions, nor does it stray from the customary method of town planning, as seen by the presence of Roman buildings such as the aqueducts, baths, and *domus*, and Roman methods of construction. Furthermore, the orthogonal grid in the Roman city provides a regulated framework in which buildings can be arranged, differing significantly from Gallic town planning of the *oppida*, which lacked such strict organization. The only structure that seems to adhere to the indigenous architectural design is the Temple of Janus, the plan of which is unlike those of typical Roman religious buildings. The lack of incorporation of native concepts of space implies that the Romans did not perceive the Gallic urban plans to be sufficient for the functioning a Romanized town, as they did not include the buildings and features, such as aqueducts and orthogonal plans which the Romans deemed necessary for the smooth operation of a major provincial city.<sup>331</sup> Additionally, a certain element of competition is present. While not all the inhabitants were necessarily Roman, the elite natives, seeking an elevated social or provincial status, commissioned Roman structures which emulated those commonly associated with judicial or governmental functions. As an urban center in Gaul, Augustodunum, containing Roman structures and utilizing Roman building materials, would immediately differentiate itself from surrounding towns which still

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<sup>330</sup> Drinkwater 1983: 190. Of course, Romanization did not necessarily only occur due to elite Gauls vying to increase their status or gain Roman favor.

<sup>331</sup> The disregard of Gallic space, in this case, would not result from the Romans’ desire to assert their dominance of the area, as the Aedui were known to be strong allies of the Romans. Therefore, the lack of native concepts of space most likely is due to its ineffectiveness for managing *Gallia Lugdunensis*.

adhere to native concepts of design and construction techniques. Thus, not only do the new structures provide facilities for Roman government to function properly, they also demonstrate the desires of the city's inhabitants to compete with individuals in surrounding settlements, distinguishing themselves as a city full of Roman accoutrements such as a theater and amphitheater, as well as houses of marble rather than wattle and daub.

#### 8. Thugga in *Africa Proconsularis*

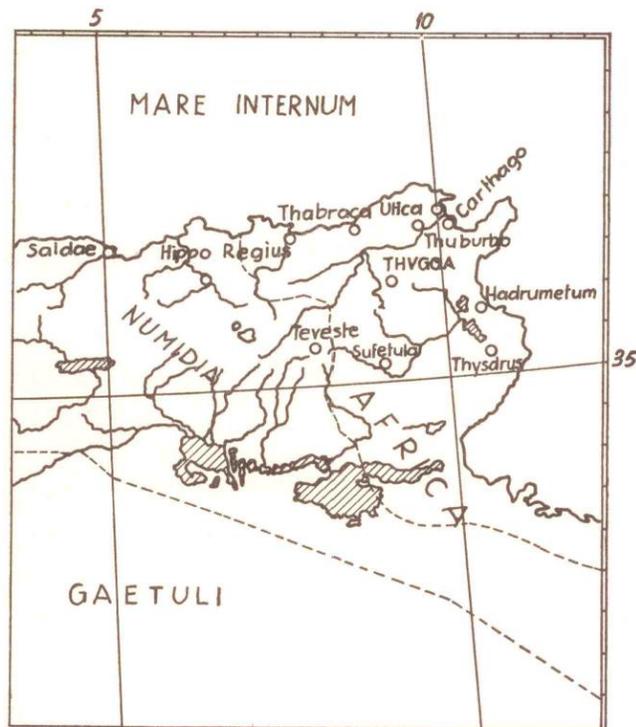
Located south of Carthage in the Numidian hinterland, Thugga experienced continuous occupation until Late Antiquity,<sup>332</sup> although the early prehistory of the Maghreb region is not thoroughly known aside from the migration of the Berber tribes from the eastern Sahara.<sup>333</sup> Thugga is guarded by two natural defenses: a steep cliff to the east and north-east, and steep slopes to the south. Early occupation seems to consist of agricultural peoples who mainly cultivated livestock and cereals. During the late fourth century BCE, Eumachos, a Syracusan lieutenant, seized the settlement. Thugga became one of the residences of the Numidian princes, who had been allies of Rome against Carthage, after the conquests of Massinissa in the second century BCE.<sup>334</sup> Prior to the conquest of Carthage in 146 BCE, Italians had begun to settle the more fertile farmlands in the vicinity; however, after the conquest, Thugga became a *civitas* in the

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<sup>332</sup> Daniels 1983: 7-8. However, there also seems to be a lack of extant structures, making it rather difficult to determine the exact history of the development of the site itself. Regardless, Thugga was the administrative, religious, economic, and entertainment center of the area, and held the highest rank in its community during the Roman period (Golfetto 1961: 25).

<sup>333</sup> Mattingly and Hitchner 1995: 171.

<sup>334</sup> Poinssot 1958: 9. Due to its proximity to Carthage, Thugga was subjected to Carthage for quite some time, which may explain why it was so keen to agree to an alliance with Rome.



Map 3: *Africa Proconsularis* (Golfetto 1961: 10).

Roman province of *Africa*.<sup>335</sup> In 46 BCE, Julius Caesar incorporated *Africa Vetus*, the area of and surrounding Carthage, in which Thugga was included, into the empire after the Battle of Thapsus in modern Tunisia.<sup>336</sup> Thugga was assigned to the jurisdiction of Carthage, and Roman citizens began acquiring property in the city, significantly populating the urban center by the first century CE.<sup>337</sup> Octavian inherited the province of

<sup>335</sup> Grimal 1983: 152-153. The Latin name of “Thugga” supposedly derives from an older, perhaps Numidian, name of “Tukka” (Poinssot 1958: 9).

<sup>336</sup> Wheeler 1966: 14-15. Cassius Dio narrates the events surrounding Caesar’s possession of *Africa*, as well as a curious incident in which Sextius had a dream in which a bull, buried in Thugga (here, Tucca), beseeched Sextius to exhume its head and parade it around on a pole, a premonition which is interpreted as Sextius gaining power (Dio 48.21-23).

<sup>337</sup> Rives 2001: 431. The Carthaginian settlers during the first century BCE are thought to have established the imperial cult at Thugga. There is insufficient evidence to determine whether the natives and Roman or Carthaginian settlers worshipped the imperial cult together or separately, although Rives seems to think they worshipped separate from one another, the introduction of, and Thugga’s participation in, the imperial cult is the first stage of the Romanization of the area (Ibid, 431). A further example of the process of Romanization can be seen by the co-existence of both the Roman *flamen* and the Punic *shofet* or *sufes* (Ibid: 434). The first Roman settlers were perhaps led by Caius Marius after his victory over Jugurtha in 105 BCE

*Africa Nova* from his adoptive father, Julius Caesar, and designated that Lepidus would govern the region which would become the province of *Africa Proconsularis*.<sup>338</sup> The city existed as two distinct sections, the *pagus*, a community of natives and Roman citizens established in the valley south-west of Thugga,<sup>339</sup> and the *civitas*,<sup>340</sup> until 205 CE when both districts were united as a *municipium*.<sup>341</sup> Thugga was promoted to *colonia* status in 261 CE by Gallienus,<sup>342</sup> and was abandoned by 600 CE.<sup>343</sup>

When describing traditional North African settlements before the presence of the Romans, ancient sources have mentioned tents (*texta*), huts or villages (*mapalia*), and towers or refuges (*pyrgoi* and *turres*), as well as the hill fort (*oppidum*) settlement type,<sup>344</sup> which was especially common on the periphery of the Numidian kingdom. Other settlements were located in plains with little natural defense; thus, many of these centers constructed garrisons for additional protection. However, the most common settlement in North Africa seems to be the hill fort, which consistently faced the problem of providing

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(Khanoussi and Maurin 2000: 307). Regardless, the settlement of Thugga did not derive from a systematic colonization resulting from the presence of veterans, unlike many other Romanized cities (Poinsot 1958: 10-11).

<sup>338</sup> Much scholarship has focused on determining the founder of *Africa Proconsularis*. Fishwick and Shaw convincingly attribute the founding to Lepidus, making its creation slightly earlier than previously thought (Fishwick and Shaw 1977: 370-371, 380).

<sup>339</sup> Poinsot 1958: 10-11. Poinsot considers the *pagus* to consist of Roman citizens, whereas Warmington believes they consisted of natives and Romans (Warmington 1954: 50). The latter is more likely, as there is no evidence of the displacement of the indigenous inhabitants.

<sup>340</sup> *Pagus Thuggensis* was an administrative organization independent of the *civitas*, which is said to have enjoyed a large administrative autonomy, as the town became an administrative center of the region. The *pagus* had some influence on the *civitas*, and some citizens were patrons of both districts. Indigenous inhabitants gradually became citizens, as they desired to be able to participate more in Roman society and government (Poinsot 1958: 10-11). Originally, the *pagus* and *civitas* had separate centers, but the *pagus* center, located in the valley, was later backfilled and paved in 36 CE (Poinsot 1958: 38).

<sup>341</sup> Grimal 1983: 152-153. Stutz presents the idea that the *pagus* and *civitas* were joined due to increased wealth resulting from economic and population growth, but there has not been any extensive exploration of the subject (Stutz 2002: 124).

<sup>342</sup> Wheeler 1966: 26. It is interesting to note that Thugga remained a *civitas* for much of its existence, whereas other cities tend to be promoted to a new status.

<sup>343</sup> Grimal 1983: 152-153.

<sup>344</sup> A specific type of *oppidum* seen in North Africa is the so-called oasis-*oppidum*, which consisted of a fortified settlement centered on a perennial spring (Mattingly 2004: 41-2).

water for the people in the area. Indigenous North African cities tend to have irregular, unplanned layouts, and utilize dry-stone construction in their internal buildings and huts.<sup>345</sup> While many of the domestic buildings were constructed with mud brick, some have stone foundations, and many had either palm branches or thatch roofs.<sup>346</sup> Not many pre-Roman structures have been discovered in Thugga. There remains no evidence of a pre-planned urban scheme, a factor which was not modified after the Roman conquest.<sup>347</sup>

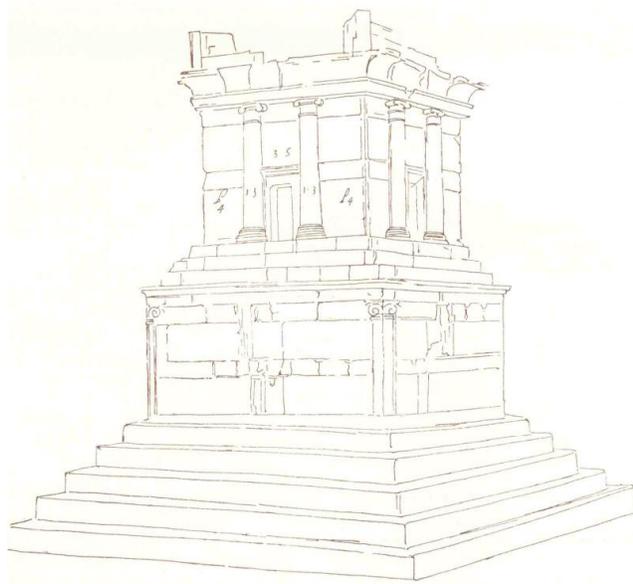


Figure 17: Reconstruction drawing of the Mausoleum to the Numidian prince (Poinssot 1958: 60).

The few pre-Roman buildings that remain include a megalithic wall<sup>348</sup> and dolmens or burials, which cannot date prior to 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE.<sup>349</sup> Additionally, archaeologists

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<sup>345</sup> Mattingly 2004: 41-2. While coastal, Punic cities tend to be well developed and follow this general plan, settlements farther into the interior of North Africa tend to consist of primarily tents (Broughton 1929: 11) or straw huts with mud walls (Cherry 1998: 22).

<sup>346</sup> Cherry 1998: 22. It is important to note that, as Cherry discovered in his work in pre-Roman Algeria, few Protohistoric sites have been investigated (Ibid: 12). This observation can perhaps be applied to Tunisia, as not many pre-Roman sites have been described in detail from the area, resulting in a lack of knowledge concerning Protohistoric Tunisia.

<sup>347</sup> Rossignoli 1992: 574. Other Roman urban centers in North Africa as well do not have overall ground plans (Golfetto 1961: 19).

<sup>348</sup> Excavations indicate that the wall was circular in shape (Golfetto 1961: 18).

discovered a temple dedicated to Massinissa, founded in 138 BCE, constructed out of flat stone blocks.<sup>350</sup> A mausoleum to a Numidian prince (fig. 17) was constructed outside Thugga between the end of the third century BCE and the beginning of the second century BCE,<sup>351</sup> which combines Greek, Anatolian, and Egyptian motifs.<sup>352</sup> Arguably the most intriguing structure, however, is the temple dedicated to Ba'al, later replaced by the Roman temple of Saturn built in 195 CE, which archaeological evidence suggests consisted of a small platform.<sup>353</sup> Other architectural elements of Numidian origin were discovered around the later Roman forum, although not much has been discovered regarding their function.

While the Numidian-Punic settlement was positioned on top of a hill, the Roman town of Thugga (fig. 18) was located further downhill from the indigenous center.<sup>354</sup> There seems to have been no attempt to impose an orthogonal plan in the city of Thugga after Roman conquest: the inhabitants merely added Roman structures to the pre-existing

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<sup>349</sup> Poinssot, 1958: 9) Only a portion of the megalithic wall is extant. The burial chambers are constructed using megalithic blocks as well. Additionally, the presence of many olive presses suggest the prevalence of olive oil tradition in Numidia prior to the Roman imperial age, although no dates have been agreed upon (Migliario 2004: 167).

<sup>350</sup> Hiesel & Strocka 2002: 73. The temple of Massinissa is one of the few known Numidian temples, and is one of the few examples of monuments in the Maghreb that have a fixed, pre-Roman date.

<sup>351</sup> Poinssot 1958: 9. Wheeler, however, disputes this ambiguity, asserting that he was buried in 200 BCE (Wheeler 1966: 104). I am more inclined to believe Poinssot, as the knowledge of specific dates is a less frequent occurrence. This funerary monument, dedicated to Aleban, a Numidian leader at the time Massinissa started to extend his hegemony over the whole territory, consisted of 3 floors, one of which housed a pyramid flanked by four statues at corners and a lion on the top (Poinssot 1958: 58).

<sup>352</sup> Wheeler states that the presence of these cultures reflects the mentality "of a people born to acquire rather than to create" (Wheeler 1966: 104). While this quote is rather dramatic and fanciful, as the Numidians certainly did not merely acquire other material culture from other peoples, it does illustrate the cultural interaction and trade of ideas between Greece, Anatolia, and North Africa.

<sup>353</sup> Poinssot 1958: 66. The worship of Ba'al-Hammon-Saturn continued from the Punic through Roman periods, exhibiting no drastic changes aside from the monumentalization of architecture, as seen through the inclusion of a more open sacred area (Rossignoli 1992: 586).

<sup>354</sup> Rossignoli 1992: 574.

urban design. The landscape,<sup>355</sup> however, was ill-suited for the organization of large groups of buildings, causing Roman structures to be more dispersed across Thugga than would be expected at a more archetypal Roman city. The forum, surrounded by a portico, and market were constructed in the first century CE (fig. 19).<sup>356</sup> Both the forum and *macellum*, or marketplace, are located near the later Capitolium and are thought to be the locations of both the earlier *pagus* and the later *civitas*.<sup>357</sup> The Capitolium, a temple dedicated to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva and dating between 166 and 167 CE, consists of one *cella* preceding a Corinthian portico<sup>358</sup> and was dedicated by two prominent members of the *civitas*, L. Marcius Simplex Regillianus and L. Marcius Simplex.<sup>359</sup> An arch existed for Caligula, which was later rededicated to Claudius after the process of *damnation memoriae*,<sup>360</sup> and another arch was dedicated to Severus Alexander, dating from 222-235 CE.<sup>361</sup> Most of the Roman structures were commissioned by patrons, whether elite or native members of the *civitas*, *pagus*, or united *municipium* or *colonia*. Several prominent patrons exist, such as the Regilliani, who commissioned the Capitolium, and Q. Pacuvius Satorius and Nahania Victoria,<sup>362</sup> who dedicated the Temple

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<sup>355</sup> Much of the landscape seems to have been filled with farms, oil presses, mills, and monumental, hydraulic structures (de Vos 2004: 9; de Vos 2000: 19-20).

<sup>356</sup> Poinssot 1958: 11. The forum from the earlier part of the first century CE is only known from an inscription dating to 36-37 CE, in which it is reported that an existing forum was paved. The previous forum, however, seems to have a different orientation (Hiesel and Strocka 2002: 74).

<sup>357</sup> Dohna, 1997: 468, 471. The natives seem to inhabit the area of the marketplace, according to Dohna. However, this subject has not been extensively explored. There is no conclusive evidence, however, that the *pagus* and *civitas* were physically separate.

<sup>358</sup> Poinssot 1958: 34. While *Capitolia* are characteristic of Roman towns, most have three *cellae* instead of one. Additionally, a statue identified as Jupiter was discovered on the podium, supporting the identification of the structure as a Capitolium (Dohna 1997: 466). Dohna argues that the Capitolium symbolizes the unity of the *pagus* and *civitas* due to its location between the forum and market place, which he considers to be the location of the two districts (Ibid: 474 ).

<sup>359</sup> Khanoussi and Maurin 2000: 87. It is significant that members of the *civitas*, which primarily consisted of native inhabitants, commissioned a temple to the three most important deities in Roman religion.

<sup>360</sup> Ibid: 305.

<sup>361</sup> Poinssot 1958: 71. The arch was dedicated by the *municipium Thuggensis*.

<sup>362</sup> It is interesting to note that while some of these patrons have very Roman names, "Nahania" is not commonly Roman, indicating that she was originally a native who became a Roman citizen.

to Mercury and paid for the construction of a new portico and a market for the *pagus*.<sup>363</sup> The theater complex, constructed between 168 and 169 CE and commissioned by Publius Marcus Quadratus, a priest of Augustus, included traditional accoutrements such as the *cavea*, *scaenae frons*, and orchestra, as well as porticoes and a basilica.<sup>364</sup> A few bath complexes have been discovered as well: the Baths of Liciniens, dating to the third century CE, and the Baths of Cyclopes, constructed on top of houses that are in ruins, both included rooms commonly present in Roman bath complexes.<sup>365</sup> The majority of the structures contracted by patrons consist of temples, of which there was a multitude. For example, the Gabinii family built the temple complex dedicated to *Concord*, *Frugifer*, and *Liber Pater*,<sup>366</sup> whereas at the same time, the Maedii constructed the temple of Fortunate Augustus.<sup>367</sup> Many other temples which I will not discuss in detail, were built as well, including religious sites dedicated to Augustan Piety,<sup>368</sup> Tiberius, Venus,

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<sup>363</sup> Khanoussi 1992: 87, 93-96, 602. Extensive studies of the dedicatory inscriptions of Thugga have been done by Khanoussi and Maurin. Evidence of dedications by the *pagus* and *civitas*, paid for by their own money, exist to Marcus Aurelius and Faustina, Antoninus Pius, and Commodus among others (nos. 5, 6, 8, and 9 for example) as well as inscriptions dedicating various monuments (nos. 23, 24, 31, 26) (Khanoussi and Maurin 2000: 24-25, 28-29, 59, 62-64, 87, and 67). The abundance of dedicatory inscriptions commissioned by patrons demonstrates the active participation of residents of Thugga, whether indigenous or Roman, in Roman architectural discourse.

<sup>364</sup> Poinssot 1958: 27, 30. Although the amphitheater has not been discovered, a depression in a roughly oval shape has been discovered north-east of the arch of Severus Alexander, suggestive of the presence of an amphitheater (Poinssot 1958: 71).

<sup>365</sup> Poinssot 1958: 48, 50, 56. Both seem to have *caldaria*, *frigidaria*, and *tepidaria*, typical features of Roman baths.

<sup>366</sup> The temple complex was dedicated between 128 and 138 CE by A. Gabinius Dans and M. Gabinius Bassus. The *Liber Pater* is often associated with Dionysus or Bacchus, and *Frugifer* is commonly thought to be Pluto (Poinssot 1958: 25, 52). The Gabinii were patrons of the *pagus* and *civitas* (Khanoussi et Maurin 2000: 69).

<sup>367</sup> Khanoussi et Maurin 2000: 264-266. Q. Maedius Severus was also a patron of both the *pagus* and *civitas*.

<sup>368</sup> Poinssot 1958: 32. Dedicated in the second century CE, the temple included features like an apse and architrave frieze.

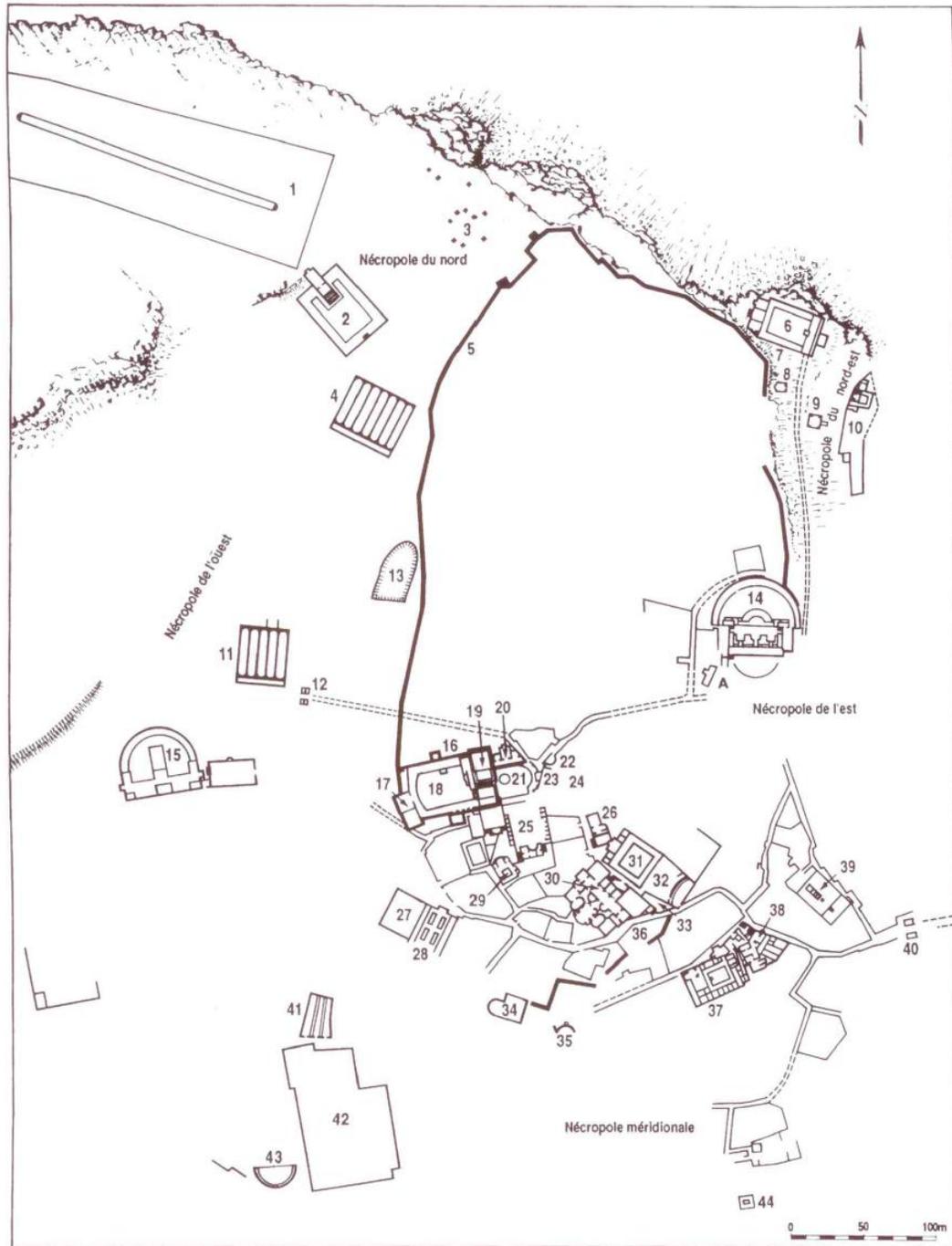


Figure 18: Plan of Roman Thugga (Khanoussi and Maurin 2000: 15). Notable features are 1: city center, 2: Temple of Minerva, 3: dolmens, 6: Temple of Saturn, 7: Temple of Neptune, 12: Arc of Severus Alexander, 13: Amphitheater? 14: Theater, 15: Temple of Caelestis, 19: Capitolium, 20: Temple of Mercury, 21: Place of the Rose of the Winds, 22: Shrine of Augustan Piety, 23: Temple of Fortune, 27: Temple to the German Victory of Caracalla, 29: Temple of Tellus, 31: Temple of *Concordia*, 36: Maison du Labyrinthe, 38: Thermes des Cyclopes, 39: Temple of Pluto, 44: Mausoleum of the Numidian prince.

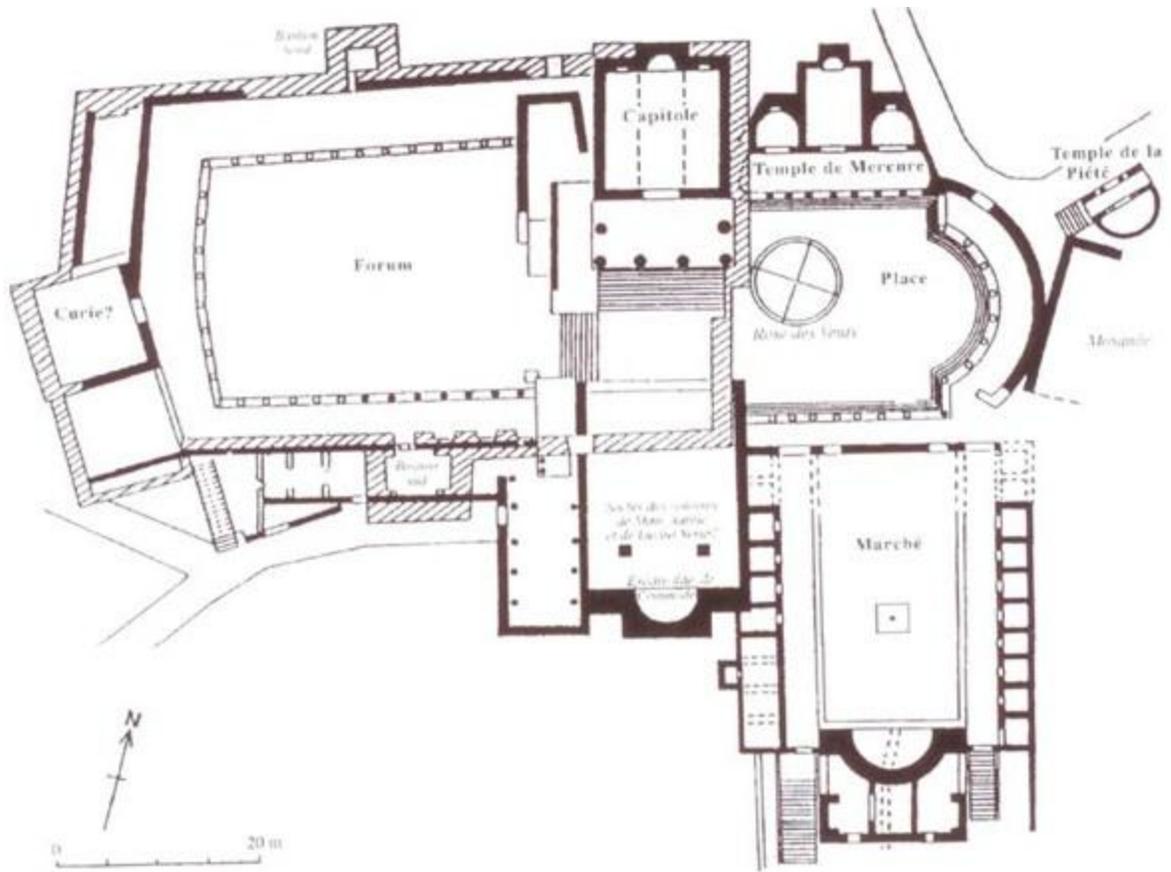


Figure 19: Plan of the forum at Thugga and its surrounding structures, with the market, Capitolium, and Temple of Mercury to the east of the forum (Khanoussi and Maurin 2000: 75)

Minerva, the Victory of Caracalla,<sup>369</sup> and Pluto among others (fig. 18).<sup>370</sup> Four temples in particular, however, should be noted, all of which exhibit African influence. A temple to Tellus, a Roman goddess of the fertile earth, is representative of a widespread devotion to the deity particularly characteristic of North Africa. The landscape of Africa was not always conducive for agricultural production and fertility, making Tellus an attractive deity for the inhabitants of North Africa to worship. Thus, her presence in Thugga is

<sup>369</sup> Khanoussi and Maurin 2000: 305.

<sup>370</sup> The temple to Pluto is debated. Its existence is supposed based on the presence of a bust fragment (Poinssot 1958: 62). It is clear from this enumeration of temples present in Thugga that a significant portion of the Roman pantheon was worshipped in the city, illustrating the level of assimilation of its inhabitants.

logical.<sup>371</sup> The temple of Caelestis, dedicated between 222 and 235 CE, consisted of a typical Roman podium temple. Despite the Roman name and structure, Caelestis, sometimes associated with Juno, is known to have developed from the Punic goddess Tanit, the companion of the god Ba'al,<sup>372</sup> who continued to be worshipped during the Roman period in the guise of Saturn. The sanctuary of Saturn was constructed on the site of the temple to Ba'al, but was considerably altered utilizing Roman technology and material: the temple, for example, was modified to be a traditional three-*cella* structure complete with porticoes.<sup>373</sup> Lastly, the temple of Mercury,<sup>374</sup> built between 180 and 192 CE, appears to be entirely Roman in origin: it consists of three *cellae* with a portico *in antis* and a dedication to Mercury Silvius. The three *cellae*, however, is not a common feature of temples dedicated to Mercury, and it is thought that the trinitarian nature of the possible that this aspect of the cult of Mercury at Thugga is African in origin, as it is not typical of Roman practice (fig. 18, 19).<sup>375</sup>

The preserved evidence of domestic space in Thugga is mainly Roman, as the Punic houses were built over after the city was incorporated into the Roman empire. Local building materials were usually used for the construction. Many Roman houses in North Africa include *triclinia* and fountains or other water basins,<sup>376</sup> and *atria* in general

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<sup>371</sup> Ibid: 45. The temple was constructed in 261 CE .

<sup>372</sup> Ibid: 32, 41. Tanit is also associated with human sacrifice, but as the practice was forbidden by Roman law, it had to be altered during her transition to Caelestis and Juno (Ibid: 32).

<sup>373</sup> Ibid: 32, 63. The Roman temple was continually modified and added to throughout the Roman period, with a significant construction phase in 195 CE.

<sup>374</sup> Located near the temple of Mercury is the so-called Rose of the Winds, dating to the third century CE, the function of which is debated. While some, such as Poinssot, consider it to be primarily decorative, Wheeler asserts it functioned as a wind dial, indicating the direction of 23 different winds (Wheeler 1966: 25, 104).

<sup>375</sup> Poinssot 1958: 32.

<sup>376</sup> The presence of water features was a sign of wealth. The scarcity of water in North Africa meant that any person who could afford to constantly have fresh water was a member of the upper echelon of society (de Haan 2003: 271).

seem to be scarce,<sup>377</sup> although they are present in Thugga. The houses at Thugga do not seem to have the traditional alignment of the Roman *fauces*, as passersby cannot see into the atrium of some of the houses from the street through the *fauces*.<sup>378</sup> Additionally, gardens sometimes replaced the use of the peristyle court.<sup>379</sup> Three examples of the more elite houses in Thugga are the so-called House of Dionysus and Ulysses, the House of the Three Masks, and the House of the Gorgon. The former, named from the presence of a mosaic depicting a scene with Dionysus and Odysseus,<sup>380</sup> included a peristyle *triclinium*, and *lararium*, or a shrine for household deities essential to Roman domestic worship.<sup>381</sup> The House of the Gorgon, another residence named from a mosaic depicting Greco-Roman myths, included an atrium and peristyle,<sup>382</sup> and the House of the Three Masks exhibits the use of Roman construction materials such as *opus africanum* walls and *opus quadratum* pavement, as well as the use of Roman style wall painting, and include a *fauces* which does not seem to adhere to the normal Roman design.<sup>383</sup>

The archaeological remains at Thugga, whether in the form of monumental architecture or domestic structures, demonstrates the dominance of Roman structures in the urban center, as seen through the abundant presence of Roman temples, *fora*, baths, circus, and theater, as well as domestic structures. Certain buildings, however, retain

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<sup>377</sup> Idem.

<sup>378</sup> Poinssot 1958: 19. The *fauces* of Roman architecture was an essential feature, allowing the owner of the house to subtly display their wealth to pedestrians passing their homes. The deviation from the typical plan suggests that the residents of Thugga were not as focused on displaying their social status, at least, not in the same way in which the Romans did.

<sup>379</sup> Idem. Gardens were most likely more common in Africa because cultivatable land was rare or difficult to obtain; thus, inhabitants of Thugga made the most use out of their land by converting their peristyles, not normally utilized for agriculture or floral cultivation, into gardens.

<sup>380</sup> Mosaics in North Africa were traditionally reserved for lining basins or for pavements, and usually portrayed religious themes (Poinssot 1958: 21).

<sup>381</sup> Khanoussi and Strocka 2007: 68, 71.

<sup>382</sup> Poinssot 1958: 57.

<sup>383</sup> Khanoussi and Strocka 2007: 18, 25, 26, 29, 35.

minimal influences of the North-African culture: the religious spaces of Caelestis, Saturn, and Mercury Silvius exhibit remnants of indigenous culture through the continuation of worship of native deities and a temple design characteristic of the region, respectively. Additionally, the preference towards gardens as opposed to peristyles, and the strange alignment of the *fauces* suggests the persistence of local influence on architecture. Furthermore, the dolmens were later utilized by the Romans for their burials.<sup>384</sup> Despite these aspects, the remains largely indicate the heavy incorporation of Roman culture into the North African city by its inhabitants. Although the Roman period inhabitants did not substitute their own orthogonal grid for the more organic street plan of the indigenous city, the presence of typical Roman structures like basilicas, baths, Roman houses, and temples dedicated to Roman deities indicates a preference for structures which facilitate the functioning of Roman society. While it is difficult to compare Roman concepts of urban space with those of the indigenous, Numidian, and even Carthaginian inhabitants, as no extensive studies of pre-Roman North African urban centers have been conducted to my knowledge, the absence of extant remains suggests that the inhabitants did not maintain indigenous architectural styles, nor did the residents of Thugga, whether members of the *pagus* or *civitas*, prefer to continue their previous architectural traditions.<sup>385</sup> It is entirely possible that additional native structures, or buildings made from perishable materials, did not leave detectable traces, resulting in a large gap in the understanding of the development of the city. Regardless of this constant issue, it can

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<sup>384</sup> Golfetto 1961: 11. Golfetto, however, does not elaborate as to how exactly the Romans used the indigenous burials, and no other author has emphasized or explained this phenomenon.

<sup>385</sup> This does not mean that all traces of native identity vanished. Epigraphic evidence suggests that communities of Libyans were maintained after the arrival of Marius, and that the Punic or Numidian inhabitants began to integrate into society while maintaining their own traditions. Lassère notes, for example, that 42 inscriptions include Roman names with African origins, and that there was an increase of texts with “parentage of the old style” during the second century CE (Lassère 1977: 130, 274, 456, 623).

still be observed that Roman structures did not start appearing until the first century CE, indicating some sort of movement to begin incorporating Roman culture. Whether this was driven by local elites or Roman citizens cannot be confidently determined, although the prevalence of inscriptions signifies the commissioning of public structures by Roman citizens, whose families may or may not have been citizens at the beginning of Roman settlement of the area.<sup>386</sup> One can safely assume that the majority of the structures built during the first and second centuries CE were patronized by Roman citizens, as they began occupying the city around 202 BCE.<sup>387</sup> Therefore, the structures were most likely built to provide additional facilities for the function of the city or the enjoyment of the inhabitants, to help promote the status of an individual or the city itself, or a mixture of the two. There is evidence of some persistence of native culture, as seen through the presence of temples dedicated to Roman deities who were associated with African theology, and who were worshipped in Thugga prior to the arrival of the Romans; however, the prevalence of characteristic Roman buildings suggests partiality towards Roman culture and therefore indicating an attempt to enhance the urban space in order to prepare it for administering the region.

## 9. Conclusions: Understanding Urban Conceptions of Space in the Provinces

The five towns examined in these case studies varied in degree of Roman interference: Glanum and Emporiae remained mostly Greek in their utilization of space and architectural content, whereas Thugga maintains subtle evidence of its pre-Roman

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<sup>386</sup> For details regarding the names of the inhabitants of Thugga during the second century CE, especially, see Khanoussi and Maurin (2000).

<sup>387</sup> Golfetto 1961: 18.

culture. Tarraco and Augustodunum are at the other end of the spectrum, as both did not maintain many original structural notion from their culture, although Tarraco did retain some of the walls of the indigenous town. This spectrum illustrates the variance in the degree of Romanization of the provinces, indicating that the Romans did not consistently introduce or, in some cases, force their culture upon others. Rather, the spread of their customs, both with practice and aesthetics, fluctuated depending on the motivation behind the construction, whether consisting of locals desiring to increase their status or Roman citizens creating a more functional and manageable city in the province, Romans asserting their domination of an area, or another reason.

The examination of cities such as Glanum, Augustodunum, Tarraco, Emporiae, and Thugga reveals aspects of the chronological process of Roman conquest and assimilation, clarifying the complexity of Romanization as a fluid process. It should first be remembered that much of the Romanization did not occur immediately; rather, the accumulation of Roman structures and the incorporation of Roman plans transpired gradually. It is easy, therefore, to simply look at a comprehensive plan of a city in the provinces and assume that the Roman buildings and grid system appeared simultaneously and immediately after the foundation of the town. However, this in many instances is incorrect. As indicated by towns such as Tarraco and Thugga, many of the structures arose in the 1<sup>st</sup> through 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries CE. The Temple of Mercury in Thugga, among others, was dedicated around the middle of the second century CE.<sup>388</sup> The identities of the natives, as well as the Romanization of the region, was a continually changing process, developing over many centuries as the local elites or officials may not have

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<sup>388</sup> Wheeler 1966: 25, 104.

desired to commission nor been able to finance the construction of Roman buildings immediately following their integration into the empire. Thus, care must be taken when analyzing the extant material culture.

The sites examined in the case studies, although absorbed by the Romans at differing times and originating from a variety of indigenous settlements, exhibit similar patterns in urbanization and Romanization: they incorporate structures essential to the governing of the Roman city first, with secondary buildings more associated with religion and entertainment, although some cities did construct administrative and secondary structures contemporaneously, a notion revealed by DeLaine in the cities of Ostia, Ephesus, and Lepcis Magna and, subsequently, one which is confirmed in the case of Glanum, Augustodunum, Tarraco, Emporiae, and Thugga.<sup>389</sup> One of the first features constructed in each city was the forum, a logical addition as it is the center of Roman administration. When assimilating a native settlement, especially one that did not yet possess structures appropriate for serving Roman governmental purposes, it was important to ensure that such facilities exist; it is, after all, difficult to administer a distant region without dedicated infrastructure.

Many of the cities in the case study, such as Tarraco, Augustodunum, Thugga, and Glanum, also included basilicas and temples for the imperial cults in their first waves of construction, and Augustodunum, an unplanned Gallic *oppidum* originally, and

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<sup>389</sup> This statement, of course, derives from the extant remains and observations made by previous archaeologists. There is undoubtedly evidence of other structures that did not survive, or that has not yet been discovered, which could skew this conclusion. For discussion of DeLaine's conclusion, please see DeLaine (2008).

Emporiae added an orthogonal early grid in their period of Roman administration.<sup>390</sup>

Typically, theaters, circuses, amphitheaters, baths, and other temples were added after the initial phase of construction, implying that the Romanized cities first required structures necessary for the functioning of the provincial town and then later acquired structures that would fulfill less important purposes, such as religion and entertainment.<sup>391</sup> While the late construction of the secondary structures could be due to the Flavian political agenda or a lack of finances in the provincial city, the observation still remains that governmental structures, if sufficient buildings did not already exist in the settlement, were the first to be commissioned by the inhabitants, followed by the construction of entertainment and religious facilities, depending on the desires of the inhabitants of the city.

Significantly, the two cities of this study set which did not at first receive Roman administrative buildings were Glanum and Emporiae, urban centers which had been occupied by Greeks for some time and therefore had structures like the *bouleuterion*. The presence of such Greek buildings fulfilled the Roman administration necessity, therefore not requiring the construction of Latin structures of the same purpose until much later during the Roman empire. In this way, the Romanization process of the cities utilized previous structures, usually of Greek colonies, when they could and only added

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<sup>390</sup> Augustodunum and Emporiae, however, are unique cases because the Roman cities there were built *ex nihilo*, therefore allowing them to include an orthogonal grid. The other cities were assimilated native settlements, already with well-established features, and therefore could not impose a grid.

<sup>391</sup> Bibracte started constructing Roman domestic buildings before the Romans arrived in the area (Bertin and Guillaumet 1987: 71, 73), suggesting that a different pattern existed in the indigenous, pre-Roman towns, in which emphasis was placed on the construction projects that not only demonstrates adherence to Roman culture but also competes with the other elites and neighboring cities, rather than an emphasis on acquiring buildings that would facilitate the administration of the area. This is logical, as the native peoples most likely viewed the organization of their settlements as adequate, instead of focusing on means of demonstrating and improving their status.

structures when already existing settlements lacked sufficient edifices. In order to conduct government and ensure that, despite the population of indigenous peoples in any given provincial city, the urban centers functioned properly as a “Roman” city, certain structures such as the forum and basilica were necessary. Settlements such as Emporiae and Glanum already had public buildings which could fulfill this purpose. The other case studies, however, did not meet Roman standards: Roman citizens, whether Roman in origin or natives who gained citizenship, could not conduct proper “Roman” business or government in wattle and daub structures. The city’s architecture and design had to reflect the superior culture of the Roman empire: important urban centers controlled by Roman *imperium* could not consist primarily of wattle and daub structures. From the Romans’ perspective, native concepts of space such as those at Tarraco, Augustodunum, and Thugga were ill-equipped to provide for administrative functions as they did not incorporate structures and building materials which were sufficient for a “proper” Roman city, and therefore acquired more Roman structures at an earlier period than those with Greek settlements. Although referencing the specific case of Emporiae, Mar and Ruiz de Arbulo aptly describe the process of Roman urbanization, stating that city planning involved the adapting and removing of structures based on the needs of the city.<sup>392</sup> This process is evident primarily in Greek colonies like Glanum and Emporiae, and to a lesser degree in Tarraco, Augustodunum, and Thugga, where it appears that not many structures, if any at all, were retained or adapted from the previous settlements, most likely because they did not adequately facilitate governmental purposes.<sup>393</sup>

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<sup>392</sup> Mar and Ruiz de Arbulo 1993: 203.

<sup>393</sup> Although the Roman city of Thugga does assimilate certain deities and even structures from the Numidian settlement.

Competition and status will be discussed more thoroughly below, but it must be noted that not every city in this study was founded as a *colonia*; rather, most of them began as a *civitas*, consisting primarily of indigenous peoples and therefore did not receive seats of governmental power or require structures to facilitate such activities. How, then, can we explain the presence of Roman “administrative” structures prior to the elevation of the *civitates* to *coloniae*? Individuals inhabiting the *civitas* could commission inherently Roman structures such as *fora* or basilicas in order to gain the favor of the Roman government, making it more likely for their status as a city to be raised. Furthermore, these structures were among the grandest of the architecture in Roman culture. Commissioning an impressive basilica or forum and temple complex, for example, would impress the other inhabitants in the city, who are accustomed to more “uncivilized” methods of construction and design.<sup>394</sup> The residents of the city would be forced to encounter the patron’s structure in their daily lives, resulting in the elevated social status of the patron. Secondary structures such as theaters, amphitheaters, and circuses would likewise impress the other inhabitants, as well as please the population by providing entertainment. Through euergetism, individuals, therefore, could compete with one another in patronizing not only architectural contributions to the city but also entertainment events themselves. Therefore, although the *civitates* would not necessarily be utilizing a curia for senatorial meetings, the presence of the structure would impress not only the other individuals living in the city, but the Roman government as well, demonstrating the individual’s loyalty to Roman culture and thus aiding in elevating the status of the patron and the provincial city.

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<sup>394</sup> The Roman structures would attempt to persuade the inhabitants assimilate as well. Not all members of indigenous communities welcomed Roman culture, and local elites would attempt to persuade the other members of the settlement to integrate by commissioning their own Roman structures.

The presence of the imperial cult fairly early on in cities, such as Tarraco and Glanum, is also indicative of the importance of provincial loyalty to Rome, and should therefore be addressed. Imperial cult buildings, while providing the opportunity to display one's devotion to the emperor, also were significant symbols of Roman assimilation. While a city did not necessarily have to hold a high status position in the Roman empire, incorporating a temple to Augustus, as in Tarraco, or Augustan Piety, as in Thugga, demonstrated alliance with Rome and active absorption of their culture, whether out of personal belief or merely a desire to increase in favor or status. Therefore, the existence of imperial cult temples early in the Romanization of these cities is indicative of early efforts to obtain favor and exhibit acquiescence to Roman rule. Furthermore, the loyalty of the city to Rome, as displayed through the reverence of the emperor through the imperial cult, helps facilitate the governing of the *territorium*, as the compliance of the indigenous people and the Roman citizens inhabiting the cities. While the imperial cult is not necessary for the empire to function, it only strengthens the bond of the provincial urban centers with Rome.

Not all of the cities, however, constructed imperial cult temples in the first wave of building; rather, Thugga and Augustodunum seem to have acquired their temples quite after their incorporation into the Roman empire: Thugga did not build many of its temples until the second or third centuries CE,<sup>395</sup> and Augustodunum did not until construct temples until the first century CE.<sup>396</sup> Both these cities had been established for at least a century prior to the appearance of many of the temples, suggesting that the

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<sup>395</sup> See Poinssot (1958) for descriptions of the chronology of when the temples were constructed, or section 8 above.

<sup>396</sup> Woolf, 1998, 9. While this date does not seem that late in comparison to a site like Thugga, it must be remembered that the Roman city of Augustodunum was established at least a century prior to the construction of the temples.

presence of religious structures was not as essential to the functioning of the city as the forum, basilica, or curia. Likewise, baths, theaters, amphitheaters, and other structures for entertainment do not appear in the cities examined in the case study until later: Tarraco, Augustodunum, and Emporiae received their theaters, circuses, and amphitheaters in the first to second century CE,<sup>397</sup> despite being established as Roman cities during or before the first century BCE. The delay in the construction of such facilities indicates the secondary necessity for entertainment structures.<sup>398</sup>

Baths as well are not consistently present at the founding of Roman cities, nor are they consistently present generally. Thugga's baths appear much later than the governmental structures, around the third century BCE,<sup>399</sup> whereas urban centers like Emporiae and Glanum built baths relatively early.<sup>400</sup> Regardless of the period in which they were built, baths are not a feature of a provincial city in the Roman empire that is necessary for its function; rather, it appears whenever the inhabitants of the city desire. Aqueducts as well do not seem to be universally essential aspects for city planning, as they appear inconsistently in the provinces. Tarraco and Augustodunum, for example, receive aqueducts in the first century CE, whereas Glanum and Thugga acquired them later.<sup>401</sup> Normally, one would consider aqueducts to be a significant attribute to a provincial town, supplying the baths and fountains in the cities with water. The

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<sup>397</sup>Curchin 1991: 114; Raventós 1995: 359; Goodman 2007: 142, 144; Rebourg and Goudineau 2002: 59; Kaiser 2000: 28-29, respectively. Of course, each city built these structures at different times and in varying degrees. Augustodunum, for example, did not have a circus.

<sup>398</sup> It is true that these buildings are more costly than some other Roman structures, therefore explaining the delay in their construction; however, had they been more important to the functioning of a now-Roman city, like the forum or basilica is, the finances could have been acquired or sought elsewhere, like the Roman government itself, or the construction of other structures like the forum and basilica would have been neglected in favor of saving finances for the entertainment or bathing facilities. Nevertheless, this does not appear to be the case.

<sup>399</sup> Poinssot 1958: 48, 50, 56.

<sup>400</sup> Kaiser 2000: 28-29; Rolland 1960: 32. Emporiae built baths in the first century CE, whereas they appear in Glanum in the late Republic.

<sup>401</sup> Keay 1988: 129; Fay 1981: 3; de Vos 2004: 9 and de Vos 2000: 19-20.

archaeological evidence, however, indicates that the structures were not as necessary to the thriving of an urban center as previously thought. While some cities had access to aqueducts quite early in their urbanization, the structures were not so necessary that they appeared early in every city, as exhibited by Glanum and Thugga. Perhaps, then, aqueducts were more of a secondary structure, one that could be commissioned and constructed should the inhabitants desire so.<sup>402</sup> From these examples, we can see that buildings for entertainment, baths, and aqueducts, though common in cities both in Italy and in the provinces, were not so compulsory that they were among the first features to be added to indigenous urban centers, but instead were only constructed based on the requirements or request of the inhabitants.

Furthermore, there does not seem to be a significant difference between the statuses of the Roman cities and the type of structures they build. Tarraco and Thugga both have circuses,<sup>403</sup> for example, although each were built at different times, but other cities which eventually became *coloniae* do not have evidence of the structure. One could suggest that cities of lower statuses, such as Augustodunum and Glanum, do not have circuses because of their status, but at the same time, *coloniae* do not always have circuses. Additionally, the circuses at Tarraco and Thugga were constructed much after the cities received the status of *colonia*, indicating that the structures were not commissioned as a requirement for obtaining the *colonia* status. Cities that held the

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<sup>402</sup> A correspondence between Trajan and Pliny the Younger, for example, illustrates the necessity of the aqueduct. In the letters, Pliny beseeches Trajan for advice regarding the people of Nicodemia, who have twice raised money for the construction of an aqueduct and have twice allowed it to fall into neglect. Trajan responds that the aqueduct must be built, and an investigation must be held regarding the waste of the money (Pliny the Younger, *Letters* 10.37-38). On one hand, Trajan concedes the finances in order to construct an important supply of water to the city. On the other hand, the supply was not so essential that the Nicodemians maintained the aqueduct. Had the structure been integral to their survival, the Nicodemians would not have allowed it to fall into disrepair and then become abandoned.

<sup>403</sup> Curchin 1991: 114; Poinssot 1958: 68. The former was constructed during the second century CE, the latter during the third century CE.

status of *civitas* did not all commission the same structures at the same time: Tarraco, for example, became a *civitas* in the second century BCE<sup>404</sup> but Roman buildings did not really appear until a century later, and Thugga encountered a similar development.<sup>405</sup> Although the monumental building program at the two *civitates* was delayed a century after its initial establishment as a *civitas*, they had the same structures, mostly consisting of administrative buildings and temples. Yet this occurrence does not necessarily indicate a pattern in the relationship between city status and architecture: Glanum, a *civitas*, also included baths and a theater during its preliminary building after its incorporation into the empire. As with the *colonia*, the *civitas* does not exhibit specific structures unique to its status; rather, numerous types of structures seen in other statuses are present. In this way, the preponderance of evidence indicates that the urban centers built structures based on their local needs, rather than adhering to a general requirement based on status. Augustodunum and Glanum, cities which were *civitates* and *municipiae*, although Augustodunum may have become a *colonia* eventually, include the same structures as the cities which were *coloniae*, such as baths, theaters, amphitheaters, and temples. Therefore, no confident correlation between status and structure can be made.

Additionally, based on the five case studies, no definite correspondence can be made between the establishment of a military camp and the rate or amount of Romanization occurring at a city.<sup>406</sup> Tarraco is the only city of the five in which the presence of a *castrum* can be firmly attested,<sup>407</sup> although Julius Caesar established his

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<sup>404</sup> Keay 1995: 295.

<sup>405</sup> Grimal 1983: 152-153.

<sup>406</sup> Due to the limited scope of this study, many more cities must be examined in order to make any truly conclusive remarks.

<sup>407</sup> de Arbulo 2006: 39. The military was certainly present in the other cities; however, the cities did not arise from the establishment of a *castrum* in the vicinity.

winter quarters at Augustodunum,<sup>408</sup> the city does not include features or structures which other sites lack: Emporiae, Glanum, and Thugga all include the same administrative structures such as *fora*, basilicas, and temples, as well as secondary structures such as entertainment facilities and baths. Therefore, no distinct conclusions can be made regarding the cities originating from *castra* as having experiencing the most thorough or extensive Romanization or urbanization. Rather, it seems that the cities in the study all include similar structures regardless of the level of interaction with the Roman military.

Likewise, the introduction and construction of new architecture and Roman space differed depending on the motivation of the individual or city commissioning the public benefactions. While it is true that Romans did contribute public structures to provincial cities, as seen by Vespasian and Domitian in Tarraco or Agrippa in Glanum, it must not be discounted that the local elites also participated in the discourse of public benefaction in hopes for elevated status, either as an individual in the society or as a city vying for a greater status in the province. A member of the local elite, in order to maintain or assert his position in his community, might commission elaborate baths or arenas for the enjoyment of the public, displaying his wealth and also increasing support for his candidacy for various offices. A provincial city, on the other hand, would contract various building projects in a Roman style or promoting the imperial agenda or cult in order to appeal to the Roman government, possibly resulting in the promotion of their status from a *municipium* to a *colonia*. The advancement of their status resulted in the enhancement of their citizenship and rights within the Roman empire, allowing for them

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<sup>408</sup> Romero 2006: 16. His quarters, however, were not permanent and therefore do not parallel the affect of a *castrum*.

to vote or even participate in government.<sup>409</sup> Thus, it was advantageous for provincial cities such as Emporiae, Augustodunum, Thugga, Glanum, or Tarraco to display their affiliation with and support of Roman control, as acts such as the construction of inherently Roman facilities could result in gaining Roman favor, likewise increasing their status and rights.

When comparing the archaeological evidence of Tarraco, Glanum, Augustodunum, Emporiae, and Thugga with ancient texts which discuss urban planning, both of Rome and of the provinces, it appears that while the cities do not perfectly adhere to Vitruvius' description of the ideal city, they do not exhibit the indigenous structures described by Tacitus.<sup>410</sup> As noted above, very few remains, except those from Greek colonies, of pre-Roman occupation seem to have been utilized in the cities of this study subsequent to the Roman conquest. The presence of religious structures and permanent residences, as well as a more orderly city plan and use of durable materials, indicates that native concepts of architecture, such as those described by ancient authors, were not incorporated into the Roman cities.<sup>411</sup> The urban centers, rather, incorporate aspects of urbanism more along the suggestions of Vitruvius: *fora* generally are surrounded by porticoes and located in the center of a city, temples are frontal and have podiums, and so on.<sup>412</sup> However, the cities in this study also deviate from Vitruvius' expected ideal, as Glanum, Thugga, and the formerly Greek parts of Emporiae do not have orthogonal street

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<sup>409</sup> Curchin 1991: 66. In many cases, it is unclear whether certain structures were commissioned merely to gain favor from Rome, or due to urban necessity. One can assume that structures with more overt function, such as a basilica or aqueduct, fulfill the latter whereas arches, entertainment facilities, or even temples were completed for the former.

<sup>410</sup> See Tacitus *Ger.* 9.3, 16.1-4, 46.1-3; Caesar *Gal.* 5.21.2, 2.29 for their descriptions of native towns and fortifications, respectively.

<sup>411</sup> This is, of course, exempting Greek structures. The Romans had no qualms with maintaining the use of Greek buildings and spaces.

<sup>412</sup> Vitruvius 1.7.1, 3.4.4.

plans (see figs. 8, 3, 18), and Thugga's architecture incorporates aspects that are characteristic of houses and temples in North Africa.<sup>413</sup> Thus, although many of the structures found in these cities are similar to the features described by Vitruvius, they likewise do not entirely resemble his suggestions, emphasizing both the notion that Vitruvius' ideas do not necessarily equal reality, and also that cities in the provinces would incorporate only the architectural features and designs deemed necessary and desired for the specific city. Instead, the structures reflect more the perspective of the other ancient authors:<sup>414</sup> the function of the structures as centers of justice, commerce, and social gatherings is more important than adhering strictly to specific measurements and design such as those suggested by Vitruvius.

That being said, divergence of urban notions of space in the provinces does not indicate that the city did not function as a Roman city. Reynolds argues that a "Roman city" should have certain features, which therefore inspired competitive Romanization between cities.<sup>415</sup> The architectural structures, however, were not required for a city to function as a Roman urban center. As seen in cities like Glanum and Emporiae, Greek structures like the agora and *beuleuterion* were utilized for Roman administrative purposes despite their culture of origin, yet Glanum and Emporiae were still very much Roman cities. As long as the structure was sufficient for administrative and leisure purposes, the Romans would adapt structures of the pre-Roman settlement. The

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<sup>413</sup> de Haan 2003: 271; Poinssot 1958: 32.

<sup>414</sup> For a discussion of the function of structures, cf. Juvenal 2.6.60-63, 4.10.23-34, 3.7.178-185; Statius *Silvae* 1.5; Augustus *Res Gestae* 19-21.

<sup>415</sup> Reynolds 1988: 24. Reynolds also asserts that public structures affects the daily lives of the inhabitants, influencing them to feel more "civilized, urbane, and humane," and therefore giving them a sense of pride of their city (33). While this may be so, the presence of strictly Roman structures in an indigenous settlement would also cause a sentiment of being alienated and continuously reminded of conquerors, especially in an area that was settled by Romans unwillingly.

utilization of native conceptions of urban space did not cause the city to be less Roman or not perform as a Roman city; rather, it allowed the city to operate with less effort spent on constructing or refurbishing the urban plan.

Another important observation to consider is that the appearance or utilization of Roman concepts of space and architecture does not always denote motivation for the complete assimilation or domination of the native populous. It is frequently proposed, and commonly correct, that the presence of Roman structures and plans are intentional symbols of Roman command, placed as permanent reminders that the natives have been subjugated to Roman rule. However, this notion is not necessarily the entire purpose of Romanization. As mentioned previously, the Romans desired cities in the provinces, such as Glanum, Tarraco, Emporiae, Augustodunum, and Thugga, to be able to function like a Roman city once it was absorbed into the empire in case a situation arose in which they had to occupy the city for militaristic or other purposes. Therefore, it is essential to construct or alter towns to allow for the most efficient government of the urban center as possible. A city like Glanum, which already housed a building for the meetings of assemblies and temples to the gods, as well as structures to accommodate economic transactions or the treasury, did not require the addition of many further structures. Rather, the Romans only supplied other structures that the new colonists might enjoy, such as entertainment facilities or baths. Cities like Tarraco or Thugga, however, lacked the provisions to allow for a smooth management of the area. Hill forts or *oppida*, with timber and wattle domestic structures, are not as conducive for controlling a province, especially one with a history of rebellions. Instead, the inhabitants provide plans and structure they know will be favorable for the functioning of a Roman city, one which

makes an allowance for the fast deployment of the retired veterans in case of a future uprising, as well as providing practical and yet pleasing structures in which the judicial, administrative, or leisure activities can occur. Furthermore, techniques such as centuriation or land distribution, a method so commonly discussed by ancient authors, were especially useful for taxation and census purposes, further facilitating the organization and administration of the provincial city. For these reasons, the Romans often ignored the more “uncivilized” native notions of space and architecture in preference for their own, as their concept of space and urban planning were more capable of governing an otherwise unruly or “barbaric” area.

Through examining provincial cities in a more nuanced manner, scholars can begin to understand the extent and complexity of the process of Romanization. The cities of Glanum, Tarraco, Emporiae, Augustodunum, and Thugga all provide examples of fortifications, religious monuments, and land distribution, aspects of conquest and urbanization which Roman authors believed important in the process of Romanization as well as representative of their motivation for expansion. Furthermore, investigation of these cities not only reveals specific instances of Roman expansion and assimilation, as well as the degree of Romanization in five different cities, but also elucidates possible reasons for the increasing presence and prevalence of Roman notions of space and architecture in the provinces, whether consisting of appealing to the Roman government for elevated citizenship or simply facilitating the governing of the region. Lastly, the study illuminated patterns in the process of Roman urbanization, suggesting that administrative facilities appeared first in provincial cities, with the construction of entertainment and leisure structures either contemporaneous to or following the building

of administrative structures, as discussed by DeLaine in her study of Ostia, Ephesus, and Lepcis Magna.<sup>416</sup>

Evidence suggests that, as in Ostia, Ephesus, and Lepcis Magna, the five case studies examined here further support the pattern put forth by DeLaine, suggesting that her observation may not merely pertain to three specific cities, or even eight cities, but instead reveals a universal effect applied in each instance of Romanization and urbanization, therefore further illuminating Roman interaction with indigenous peoples and their settlements. More factors, such as additional cities and sources like epigraphy, must be considered when approaching the subject of Roman expansion, however. Our work is unmistakably far from completion: scholars have yet to address the identities of those constructing the buildings, whether they are Italic, provincial recruits, or local, and what becomes of these workers once their contract is fulfilled. Similar methodology to that utilized in this study can be applied to additional cities in order to determine the larger form and extent of the pattern of Romanization proposed in this work and that of DeLaine. Additional discussion should be conducted regarding the reaction of the natives to the new Roman conception of space. How would a local Iberian or Gaul, for example, respond to the replacement of their *oppidum* and timber huts with marble stone structures and Hippodamian system of streets? Determining identity and cognitive reactions to Roman expansion is difficult to accomplish, yet it is important to consider the native perspective in addition to the physical evidence of Romanization. Whatever the path, it is clear that scholars have more avenues to pursue before they can comprehensively understand the process of Romanization.

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<sup>416</sup> DeLaine 2008: 115.

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