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# The urbanization of the North-Western provinces of the Roman Empire : a juridical and functional approach to town life in Roman Gaul, Germania inferior and Britain

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# THE URBANIZATION OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

## A JURIDICAL AND FUNCTIONAL APPROACH TO TOWN LIFE IN ROMAN GAUL, GERMANIA INFERIOR AND BRITAIN

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# INTRODUCTION

## 1. The study of the urbanization of the North-Western provinces

In 1926 Mikhael Rostovtzeff made the following observation concerning research into processes of urbanization in the early Roman empire:

> No less important was the work of the emperors in urbanizing the Empire, that is to say, the Roman provinces of East and West. Many volumes have been written on the municipal organization of the Empire, but none of them has dealt with this problem of urbanization, by which is meant the development of new cities out of former tribes, villages, temples, and so forth. We urgently need a complete list of cities in various provinces, arranged according to the chronological order of their existence as cities".[1]

In the more than ninety years which have passed since the appearance of the first edition of Rostovtzeff's *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire,* our knowledge of individual cities in the Roman empire has dramatically improved.[2] In addition, some attempts have been undertaken to synthesize the findings of studies dealing with individual cities into a larger picture.[3] In the case of the North-Western provinces, however, existing synthetic studies operate with a purely administrative definition of "city" which results in a very empty "urban" landscape that does not do justice to the multi-layered settlement systems of these areas.

One of the aims of this study is to provide a comprehensive reconstruction of the urban systems of Roman Gaul, Germania Inferior and Roman Britain based on multiple definitions of "city" or "town" some of which make it possible to incorporate into the analysis "town-like" settlements which lacked the juridical status of "city".[4]

In Britain, France, and all the other modern countries this study is involved with (e.g. *Switzerland*, Germany, Luxembourg, Belgium, and the Netherlands) an extensive secondary literature on various types of settlement exists. In line with the general tendency of historical and archaeological studies many early studies of Roman urbanism dealt with cities which were either *coloniae* or *municipia*. During the second half of the twentieth century other types of settlement, such as *civitas* capitals, forts, fortresses and various types of "secondary settlements" were recognized as fundamental nodes of economic, political and religious life and closely scrutinized. However, very few studies took care to study all types of settlements in the contexts in which they developed or the network through which they were connected. An important aim of this thesis is to fill this gap by combining the extensive literature dealing

[1] Rostovtzeff 1926: 81; 2nd ed. 1957: 83.

[2] Cf. Aurousseau 1924: 445: "It is an astonishing fact that the greatest interest has centered upon the individual town. Geography is so deeply concerned with the distribution of things that an interest in town distribution seems to be an obvious consideration".

[3] Bowman and Wilson 2011; Hanson 2016.

[4] This wide-ranging approach to Roman "urbanism" is a general feature of the ERC-funded project "An empire of 2000 cities: urban networks and economic integration in the Roman Empire" which provides the framework for this book.

with individual "urban" settlements with the vast amount of literature which has been focused on "secondary settlements" or rural areas.[5]

While the immense quantity of the secondary literature which has been accumulating during the past 150 years makes it difficult to achieve a comprehensive reconstruction of settlements systems which comprises all agglomerations which displayed at least some "urban" features, this thesis also seeks to push the study of Roman "urbanism" further by trying to account for the shapes of the regional and provincial settlement systems of the North-West provinces. It does so by adopting a variety of perspectives, ranging from diachronic to synchronic and from juridical to functional and relational.

The diachronic perspective takes centre stage in chapters 2 and 3. The most important questions which will be explored in these chapters is "How did the settlement system in the north-western provinces of the Roman Empire develop?", and "How and why did the Romans modify the existing settlement systems of various parts of North-West Europe after their incorporation in the empire?". In chapter 2, the object of study will be the pre-Roman landscape. It will be argued that the history of settlement systems certainly had an impact not only on urban morphologies but also on spatial configurations and functional relationships which can be observed in later periods. In other words, 'history mattered'.

Further pursuing this diachronic line of inquiry, chapter 3 discusses the history of the integration of the north-western provinces into the Roman Empire and the way the Romans (possibly influenced by local elites) framed the landscape in a way that was convenient for administrative and fiscal purposes. As is generally known, one of the effects of the Roman conquest of North-West Europe was the introduction of a clear distinction between "self-governing cities" and "subordinate settlements".[6] Against this background, the following questions may be asked: What impact did the Roman conquest have on the continuity of centres? How do we explain that particular settlements were elevated to self-governing status while other existing settlements were subordinated to these administrative centres? Were Roman decisions regarding the juridical status of settlements taken haphazardly or can at least some basic patterns be discerned? Since archaeological data often do not suffice to trace the bestowal of particular statuses, literary and epigraphic sources will loom larger in my discussion of the self-governing cities of Roman Gaul, Germania Inferior and Britain than in any other chapter.

Maintaining the administrative and juridical focus of the second and third chapters, chapter 4 seeks to deepen our understanding of the impact of settlement status on levels of

[5] In principle only those "secondary" settlements that were permanently inhabited by people who were involved in secondary or tertiary activities will be taken into account, but in some of the regional studies that will be undertaken in the final chapters the focus will be widened to include a wider range of settlements. This approach is rooted in the conviction that a genuine understanding of a particular settlement system can only be achieved by looking at relationships among all constituent elements of that system.

[6] In other parts of the empire we occasionally encounter self-governing communities which lacked a recognizably "urban" centre. In the areas covered by this thesis the civitas capital of the Frisiavones remains undetected, possibly because it was very small and equipped with very few public buildings (Derks 1998: 70).

monumentality. In what types of settlements do we find prestigious edifices, such as spectacle buildings, *fora*, aqueducts or bath complexes? Is it possible to detect a relationship between the various juridical statuses Roman settlements might have and the array of public buildings which we find in these places? The evidence relating to levels of monumentality makes it possible to draw some conclusions regarding the role of cities as 'vitrines de *romanité'* and to assess the influence of concepts such as *urbanitas* and *humanitas* on the morphology of *civitas*-capitals. This chapter fits well within the tradition established by Italian, French, and British scholarship, which underlines the importance *civitas* capitals not only as "centres of power" for dominating and controlling people and resources but as convenient stages for the "manipulation of power" by local elites.

While the general approach used in chapters 2, 3 and 4 focuses on the self-governing cities of the north-western provinces, chapters 5 and 6 widen the study of "urbanism" in these areas by calling attention to the existence of large numbers of settlements which presented a variety of "urban" features, including high levels of monumentality, without ever receiving official urban status. Where were these monumentalized "town-like" places located, and why do we find them only in certain parts of North-West Europe? How did these centres relate to the landscape, to each other and to their hinterlands? And which role, or roles, did "urban centres" of various types play for the rural habitations surrounding them?

One of the greatest challenges of my research was the need to combine macro-scale with micro-scale analysis. A mere observation of large-scale patterns and trends would not suffice to understand the development of the settlement system in the north-western provinces of the Roman Empire. The regional topographical, environmental, socio-economical and historical conditions are too important not to be taken into considerations. Since an exhaustive study of all regional settlement systems of the north-western provinces would require tens of volumes, chapter 5 and 6 will explore these issues by presenting a series of regional case studies. In each case study, the settlement system will be superimposed onto the historic physiognomy of regions and their topography. In line with the relational approach which informs the thesis as a whole the aim is not to describe the individual "urban" settlements, however defined, but rather to understand their roles in the context of the settlement system of entire regions. The complexities and differences that the Western provinces display in terms of the shape, character, and nature of regional settlement hierarchies will be the focus of this chapter.

As will be demonstrated in chapters 5 and 6, adopting a functional and relational approach to "urbanness" has the effect of blurring the neat distinction between "urban" and "rural" which informs many existing studies dealing with the Roman empire. This is not to suggest that the "self-governing cities" which will be studied in chapters 2, 3 and 4 are meaningless objects of inquiry. There can be no doubt, for instance, that settlements which were cities in a juridical sense generally were more monumentalized than other types of agglomerations. Yet it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that studies which focus exclusively on those settlements which were "urban" from an administrative point of view not only provide a very partial picture of "urbanness" in the north-western provinces, thereby making it impossible to achieve a functional understanding of the settlement systems of these parts of the Roman empire.

# CHAPTER 1: OBJECT AND AIMS

## Introduction

This work is a study of the settlement systems of the north-western provinces (more specifically, Gaul Narbonensis, the Western Alps - i.e. the provinces of Alpes Graiae, Alpes Cottiae, and Alpes Maritimae - the Three Gauls, Germania Inferior, and Britannia) when the Roman Empire - in this area - was at its peak (late 2nd century AD) (Figure 1).

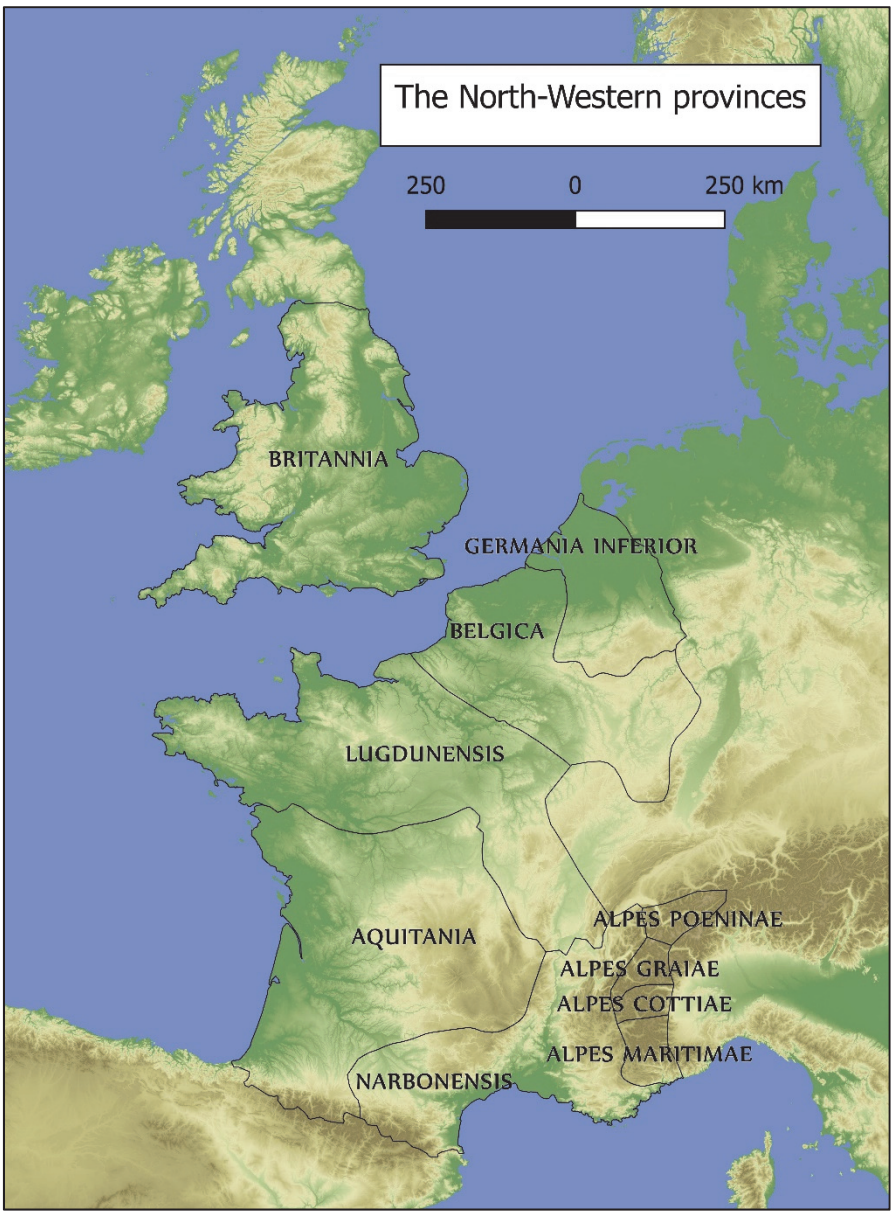


**Figure 1: The north-western provinces of the Roman Empire: Gaul Narbonensis, the Western Alps - i.e. the provinces of Alpes Graiae, Alpes Cottiae, and Alpes Maritimae - the Three Gauls, Germania Inferior, and Britannia.**

Before confronting the data we need to define what constitutes the core and the nodes of settlement systems: the cities. Firstly, we will briefly review the terminology employed in ancient times to define cities. After having discussed the semantic problematics and

complexities that prevent us from making use of the ancient terminology in this work, we will look at the most recent contributions coming from fields as such geography and sociology. Finally, we will illustrate the three-fold (juridical, morphological, and functional) definition of 'urbanism' that we will be working with throughout this work.

## 1.1 Ancient cities: ancient definitions

The ambiguities that we can detect within the ancient sources hint at the difficulty of defining such a complex object as a city. The remarkable complexity of the reality is reflected in the elusive vocabulary the ancients employed when discussing the cities of their time, their level of urbanism, 'urban' typology or status. Generally speaking (we will look more closely at the issue later in this chapter), we can say that 'a city is a relatively large, dense and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals'.[7] It should be acknowledged that the word 'city' as intended in the previous paragraph cannot be exactly translated into Latin. Romans, like us, did not seem to have had a clear definition of what a city was. We know that they employed various words (e.g. *urbs*, *oppidum*, *vicus,* etc.) organized in a hierarchical order of an essentially, but not exclusively, juridical nature.[8] Tarpin believes that in the ancient world agglomerations had never been classified into different categories because that culture lacked our epistemological framework.[9] However, Leveau quite rightly observed that ancient scholars might well have attempted such an academic exercise, although they would probably have experienced the same difficulties. Typologies and categories were not, he argues, concepts that were alien to the ancients. Aristotle, in his Politics, presented the first classification of political regimes. He was also the first intellectual to classify animals into genera and species, according to their anatomy and genres in his Isagoge, successfully distinguishing whales and dolphins from fishes.[10]

The ancient Greek traveller and geographer Pausanias, who wrote in the 2nd century AD, did not bequeath us a definition of what he thought a city was. However, his outraged reaction to the claim of the little town of Panopeus in Phokis, northern Greece, with 'no government buildings, no theatre, no *agora*, no water conducted to a fountain, and […] the people live in hovels like mountain cabins on the edge of a ravine' to be called a 'city' is very telling.[11] We can deduce that the ancients made a distinction between simple agglomerations of people and cities (for which, what mattered the most was independence). Only under certain circumstances - the presence of a specific level of architecture, social organization and amenities - are we confronted with a city. In this regard, Aristotle appears to be of the same opinion when he says

[7] Wirth 1938: 1.

[8] Gros and Torelli 2010. In this list, the word '*civitas*' does not appear because it does not describe a physical city (urban area), but rather a *constitutio populi.* It is the *constitutio* that made the town a *civitas*, as we will discuss in greater detail later on.

[9] '*Le classement des habitats par typologies matérielles appartient épistémologiquement à notre époque et non à l'Antiquité et […] ces typologies ne reléteront jamais la perception des Anciens*' (Tarpin 2002a: 2).

[10] Leveau 2012. Aristotle, in his Politics 1291b24, wrote that Chios was an example of mercantile city, as well as Aegina (8.40.2).

[11] Pausanias, Description of Greece 10.4.1, meaning if lacking those urban elements, such a settlement would have been nothing more than a place where many people lived close to each other.

that the main things that contribute to the success of cities are their defences, their suitability for political activity, and their beauty.[12]

It is, therefore, a difficult task to grasp the essence of the array of settlements which are mentioned in ancient sources or inscriptions and to establish equivalences between them that can be valid for wide-ranging time spans. Unfortunately, much as Marc Bloch regretted, *'au grand désespoir des historiens, les hommes n'ont pas coutume, chaque fois qu'ils changent de mœurs, de changer de vocabulaire'.*[13] Nonetheless, we will try to briefly outline the main terminologies Romans employed when referring to settlements:[14]

- *Urbs:* according to Isidorus of Seville (7th century AD), the term *'urbs'* denotes the actual buildings within a city. He writes that the Latin world *'urbs'* derives from 'circle' (*orbis*) referring either to the circular shape of the walls or to the 'plow-handle' (*urbus*) that was used to plan their circuit.[15]

- *Oppidum:* Isidorus explains that the etymology of this word is uncertain. He thought it could derive from the 'opposing' of its walls (*oppositio*) or the hoarding of wealth or the mutual support against the enemies (*ops*). It appears clear from his account that the *oppida* are pertinent to the first stage of the ancient urbanization process as he recounts that it is where our naked, defenceless ancestors sought protection from beasts. The Latin word*'oppidum'* was as a general term for 'settlement', and thus it also designated the earliest cities in Italy, but could also refer to the cities of the enemies, Latin colonies (and perhaps Roman), *municipia*, part of a prefecture.[16] In Roman times this term did not have a 'barbarian' undertone - which is something it has acquired only in modern times. On the other hand, it was frequently used to designate the central place of a community, even of a certain amplitude, in Italy and abroad.[17] In ancient times the words *'urbs'* and *'oppidum'* could practically be used as synonyms.[18] This is not to imply that these communities had particular political and social institution or organizations, but rather that these communities were perceived as entities. Livy recalls that the Transalpine Celts intended to establish an *oppidum* (*oppidum condere*) in Northern Italy in the 2nd century BC. This suggests that an *oppidum* i. had the attribute of a physical town (or better, settlement), ii. it could be the political centre of a certain entity, which explains why, after the capitulation of the *oppida* in Northern Italy, the whole tribe's territory was incorporated into the Roman

[12] Politics 1330a34ff.
[13] Bloch 1993: 57.
[14] The word '*conciliabula*' has also been excluded since a review of the term has concluded that it does not refer to a specific area, but rather to the act of coming together (see Jacques 1991; and Tarpin 2006: 40-41).
[15] Isidorus, *Etymologiae* 15, De aedificiis et agris. For a good commentary see Barney *et al.* 2006: 305.
[16] Tarpin 1999; Tarpin 2002a: 27-30; and 80; Tarpin 2002a: 23-31. Further complications stem from the fact that most probably a single definition of the word 'oppidum' never existed. If we look at Caesar's use of this word we find hints suggesting that there was no philological coherence.
[17] Tarpin 2002a.
[18] See Thes. Ling. Lat. 9.2.755. In some texts the words *oppidum* and *urbs* are interchangeable (see Festus p. 476.L = 526 Th. = 351 M.). The existence of both might be explained by the fact that *urbs* does not have an Indo-European origin (Tarpin 2002a: 72 n. 91; and Prosdocimi 1978: 54). In the writings of Titus Livius, the great majority of his mentions of urbs refer to Rome (Tarpin 2002a: 73 n. 92).

possessions.[19] As we will see in the chapter dedicated to the Iron Age, modern protohistorians and historians have wrongly been using the Latin word *'oppida'* to inappropriately indicate more or less any upland site (even when no archaeological record has ever been found within the enclosure), while completely disregarding large, lowland agglomerations with an undeniably very dense occupation (e.g. Acy-Romance and Levroux in Gaul). This has created confusions which have had a deleterious effect on the study of this subject.

- *Vicus*: it is often believed to be the lowest rank of the ancient settlement hierarchy (below *colonia*, *municipium*, and *civitas* capitals). Like the word *'oppidum'*, this word has been transposed in modern archaeology's jargon, and it has been used to indicate any agglomeration that was not self-governing. The first scholar who questioned this practice was Wightman, who expressed her reservations about adopting a Latin word to describe a phenomenon that appeared to have an indigenous character.[20] However, there is a much more fundamental issue with using this word to label all agglomerations dating to Roman times and known archaeologically, and that is that we are still unable to grasp the meaning(s) this word held in ancient times.[21]

  The two main literary sources of information regarding the *vicus* are Sextus Pompeius Festus, a grammarian who lived during the late 2nd century AD, and Isidorus, whom we have previously mentioned. Festus, in the long, incomplete and textually corrupted passage which refers to the *vici,* envisages three different connotations: 1. Rural territories not controlled by *villae*. Some of these were united in a commonwealth (*rempublicam*) where the administration of justice (*ius*) could be ensured [i.e. they had a law court]. Others were mere marketplaces where *nundinae* were held and where annual magistrates (*magistri vici*) were elected. 2. Types of buildings which can be found in *oppida* and which are separated by roads and grouped in regions (i.e. districts or wards of a town). 3. Narrow passages to the side of a building which led to a dwelling's entrance whose inhabitants are not called *vicani*, unlike those who live in the first two categories of *vici* (e.g. the *vicus Octavius* in *Velitrae* mentioned by Suetonius).[22]

  Festus' first definition of *vici* has led scholars to call *vicus* any settlement that presumably had limited self-government. This practice appeared to be supported by epigraphic evidence (above all by the presence of inscriptions that attested the existence of *magistri vici*). However, the nature of this magistracy is still highly debated. Evidence suggests that the *magistri vici* were not local magistrates elected by a local community, but rather private individuals (commonly freedmen) who represented the interests of their *patronus* in areas that were under his control.[23] Similarly, the *'curatores vici',* responsible for patrolling a donation and for exercising oversight over games and spectacles mentioned in an

[19] Peyre 1979.
[20] Wightman 1976.
[21] Dondin-Payre 2007.
[22] Suetonius, Aug. 1, 1; Tarpin 2002a: the three definitions that Festus gives do not follow a chronological order: the reference to the urban is the oldest one attested so far.
[23] Christol 2003: 136.

inscription from the *civitas* of the Treveri, might too have been acting on behalf of private parties.[24]

The other main ancient text that helps us to shed some light on this subject is a passage taken from Isidore's *Etymologiae*, where he explains the differences between *oppida*, *vici*, *pagi* and *castella*: *'Vici et castella et pagi hi sunt qui nulla dignitate civitatis ornantur, sed vulgari hominum conventu incoluntur, et propter parvitatem sui maioribus civitatibus adtribuuntur [...]'*.[25] This text supports the idea that the *vicus* was a not self-governing agglomeration but had to rely on the *civitas* capital for administrative and juridical functions. Therefore, they were actually 'secondary agglomerations' in the sense that French scholars writing about this topic from the late 1980s onwards intended, that is secondary to the *civitas* capital where the all political and juridical decisions were made.[26] However, we should not forget that Isidorus lived in the 7th century and his account portrays a situation that may have drastically changed from that of the 2nd century AD.

Given the polysemy, the uncertainties and complexities this word entails, in this work only in the presence of an inscription will we be speaking of *vici.*[27] Michel Tarpin and Capogrossi, who wrote two monographs on the subject, both reached the conclusion that there is no substantial evidence that *vici*, even though some of them had Celtic names, had a pre-Roman origin.[28] On the contrary, evidence suggests they are likely to be Roman creations instrumental to formalizing possession rights on newly conquered territories.[29]

- *Forum*: settlement established by Roman authorities in newly conquered territories to facilitate commerce and social life.[30] In Gaul, it belongs to the generation of roadside settlements that date to the 1st century BC.[31] It is not self-governing; at least not until it is granted, for example, the status of *colonia.*[32]

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[24] Dondin-Payre 1999; Dondin-Payre 2007.

[25] '*Vici* and *castella* and *pagi* are those, which not adorned with any rank of *civitas*, but are inhabited by a common gathering of people, and because of their small size are "attributed" to larger *civitates*' (Isidorus Hispalensis, Orig., XV. 2.11).

[26] Mangin *et al.* 1986: 18.

[27] For the same reason, we will not talk of military *vici*, but rather of extramural settlements. Only those *vici* whose status is attested by an inscription will be called such.

[28] Tarpin 2002a; Capogrossi Colognesi 2002. This topic will be discussed further in chapter 2.

[29] Tarpin 2002a: 245. The old paradigm that has been deployed systematically for an extremely long time (see for example Kornemann 1905; and 1942; La Regina 1970 and 1971; Gabba 1979; and Buonocore 1993) according to which the countryside was organized around the *pagus* (territorial district), the *vicus* (sizeable rural settlement) and a sanctuary, has been recently re-evaluated and strongly criticized. Moreover, the idea that this territorial organization had a pre-Roman origin has been undermined too (see the works of Tarpin 2002a; Tarpin 2009; Capogrossi Colognesi 2002; 2002b, among others).

[30] Tarpin 2009: 137.

[31] Leveau 2012: 167. For example Forum Domitii (which has a toponymic name), which agrees with the evolution that we see in Italy.

[32] The inscriptions of magistrates found there belong therefore to magistrates who had been holding the office in the *colonia,* as attests Siculus Flaccus, 160.4-7 (see Tarpin 2002a: 76 n. 109).

As we have just seen, the Romans used different words to refer to cities, and the ambiguities and intangibility of the ancient vocabulary prevent us from relying on it in this work.

## 1.2 The object of research

This work focuses on the settlements and settlement systems of the north-western provinces.[33] In this section, a comprehensive overview of the basic parameters that have defined the scope of our research will be given. The modern word 'city' is, *per se*, particularly imprecise, and its meaning and content changes depending on time, place and context.[34] Some scholars go so far as to say that it belongs to the realm of representation (*''impensé'*) and thus it does not consist of material realities.[35] While I do not agree with this postmodernist assumption, it is difficult to pinpoint these material realities. In its broadest definition, the city is the most complex form of human organization that can be found. Within the array of human 'settlements', by which we mean any permanently inhabited area whatever its size (it could be a farm, an isolated house, a hamlet, a village), the city is a specific type of 'settlement', the type of settlement that, if we were to outline a hierarchical pyramid, would sit at its top.

Although progress has been achieved in the study of cities, it is still difficult to give a thorough definition of 'city'. Every discipline and branch of knowledge offers its own contribution.[36] For historians, jurists and political scientists the city is a political organization of societies (*polis* or *cité*) that may have various juridical forms of land occupation and social status.[37] Economists insist on the role of the city as a producer of wealth and as a stimulator of the economies of other agglomerations and of the economies of urbanization (profits tied to the use of public buildings).[38] According to demography, a city is a permanent population in a defined space, and it is a context that heavily influences individual biographies and behaviours of the population. From the point of view of sociology, the city is a social organization that favours innovation, thanks to the interactions that promote creativity and stimulate inventions that might lead to a growing complexity of social division of labour.[39]

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[33] Here, we will focus on the ascertained settlements that were occupied in the late 2nd century AD. This means that all the 'supposed' ones (for example those whose existence has been put forward on the basis of literary or archaeological evidence, but no substantial archaeological evidence has been found), as well as those that were abandoned by the early 2nd century AD are omitted.

[34] Maunier 1910; Garmy 2012a; Johnson 1972: 1-2.

[35] Galinié 2000.

[36] For a discussion see Pumain *et al.* 2006.

[37] See Gordon Childe's 1950 article titled 'The Urban Revolution' for an early analysis of the consequences of urbanization and the socio-economic changes that it stimulated, such as increase in population, social division of labour, providing tax-raising power to a 'ruling class' and monumental public building among others (Childe 1950).

[38] Fujita and Thisse 2002.

[39] Bettencourt 2013. Not all scholars have seen 'urbanization', defined as an increase in the proportion of a country's population living in urban centres, as always a step towards progress and development. Some, for example Louis Wirth, an American sociologist and member of the Chicago school, gave his own, pessimistic, definition, arguing how urban life can cause phenomena such as segmentalization and segregation (Wirth 1938: 4). The geographer Kevin Lynch, on the other hand, seemed to have a more optimistic view and emphasized the

All these definitions are valid. However, how does a city, an 'urban' space differ from a 'rural' settlement like a village? It could be on the basis of i. administrative jurisdiction, ii. morphology and size (e.g. concentration of population, buildings, zonation), iii. functions fulfilled (e.g. presence of manufacture and tertiary service and a substantial percentage of inhabitants involved in the secondary and tertiary sectors).

Here we will use a context-dependent definition of city, and we will define as 'urban' only the administrative centres of their respective regions (here referred to as 'self-governing cities') and those secondary settlements that will fall into the category of 'town-like' places. The former are more easily identifiable because their 'urban' status - as transmitted to us through literary and epigraphic sources - was *juridically defined* and hence less open to interpretation than the latter. However, if we were to look only at the 'official cities' within these provinces - as other scholars have previously done (see the work of Bekker-Nielsen)[40] - we would have only a partial view of the nature and dynamics of the settlement systems that must be understood. In fact, we would leave out of the picture all those central places which in so many ways (e.g. size, morphology, and socio-economic complexity) fulfilled 'urban' functions. In order to identify this latter, more ambiguous, category of sites, we need to look at all the physical criteria we have introduced above. They are indeed compelling and quantifiable, and they should not be addressed separately. We should regard them as a whole as they are equally fundamental and important. We now turn to discuss these three aspects in more detail.

### 1.2.1 A juridical definition

The duality between *urbs-rus*, cities and territories, self-governing centres and all the rest of the agglomerations reflects important socio-economic structures of the Roman world, such as its fiscal and administrative system. For this reason, when studying the settlement system of any province of the Roman Empire, this aspect cannot be overlooked. As we will soon see, however, this approach may not apply equally to all regions. Given these premises, we will distinguish two types of agglomerations: those that enjoy local autonomy and are the headquarters of civic and political institutions (and whose 'urban' status is not in doubt), and those that lay within the territory of the autonomous group and are politically dependent on them, some of which, we will see, might have performed some functions (as evidenced by buildings) that might be called urban.[41] The former will be referred to as 'self-governing cities', while for the latter we will use the English translation of the French expression of *'agglomérations secondaires'*. During the conference held in Tours in 1975, the habit of referring to any settlement that was not self-governing as *'vicus'* was criticized for the first time.[42] In 1980, when the first volume of the *Histoire de la France urbaine* was published, the

importance of the city as the place where the community displays its culture and its power, an issue that will become essential, for example, when we discuss self-governing cities (Lynch 1960).

[40] Bekker-Nielsen 1989.

[41] For a list of the self-governing cities of the north-western Empire on the basis of Ptolemy's lists and epigraphic grounds, see Appendix A.

[42] Already in ancient times the word *'vicus'* had different meanings (it could indicate a rural agglomeration or, for example, a neighbourhood). Ancient literary and epigraphic evidence regarding the *'vici'* in the Roman west has

importance of the *'agglomeration secondaire'* was finally acknowledged and the word became commonly used.[43] The expression 'secondary agglomeration' clearly emphasizes the importance of the legal status (rather than the archaeological evidence), but it also has an exceptionally broad meaning.[44] In fact, it indicates all types of agglomerations that are subordinated, on an administrative level, to the *civitas* capital. Thus, while it has the benefit of preventing us from being bogged down in a terminological morass, it does not make scholarly communication any easier (which is why we also have to take into account other parameters, such as central-place functions).[45] In fact, this expression covers a very broad range of settlements, excluding only those in which agriculture and farming were by far the major employer, such as rural villages and hamlets. It is inclusive of everything that can be placed between a rural settlement (e.g. a farm or a villa) and a self-governing city.[46]

In Britain, the analysis of this category of settlements was pioneered by Todd, who referred to them as 'small towns'. He immediately recognized the considerable diversity amongst the sites hitherto included in this umbrella term 'small towns', which would nonetheless enter the jargon of archaeologists, reappearing with great power in the 1990s.[47] In his paper, he suggested we look at specific criteria for assessing a settlement's 'urban' status (i.e. size, planning and buildings, relationship with the countryside, etc.).[48] Unlike the much more neutral expression 'secondary agglomeration', the concept of 'small towns' places the emphasis on the highest ranks of settlements, and, as Burnham rightly observed during the first conference specifically devoted to this subject (whose proceedings were published in a volume edited by Rodwell and

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been comprehensively collected and discussed in Tarpin's monograph (Tarpin 2002a). This has effectively replaced all previous work on the subject.

[43] During this conference Mangin confessed a certain discomfort with using the ancient word *'vicus'* to indicate settlements which were not proved (e.g. through epigraphy) as being such. Instead, he preferred to use a word coined by Roland Martin at a conference in 1971 (but published in 1977): 'secondary agglomeration' (Martin 1977). The expression used by Martin was intended to indicate those sites in Burgundy, which were not self-governing but he regarded as having an 'urban' character (Alesia, Entrains, Les Bolards-Nuits-Saint-Georges and Mâlain). The authors wrote: *'Que ce soit à partir des inscriptions antiques, ou des textes d'historiens du Haut Moyen Age, voire de fouilles, apparaît clairement l'existence de localités secondaires qui n'ont cessé de dépendre du chef-lieu de la cité, même si, un temps ou de façon partielle, elles ont attiré à elles des signes du pouvoir urbain'* (Mangin *et al.* 1986: 7-8). For a detailed and comprehensive literary review of this subject see Baret 2013.

[44] To make the matter worse, there is evidence that suggest *vici* could be *civitas* capitals, e.g. in the case of Agendicum (Sens) - where an enigmatic inscription referring to an *'aedil of the vikani agied(incenses?)'* was found - and Petuaria (Brough-on-Humber), named in an inscription *'vicus Petuariensis'*. In this work we will adopt the idea that secondary agglomerations could not have their own *'territorium'*. This idea was strongly supported by Schulten, who wrote that there could be no internal divisions within the *'territorium urbis'* and the inhabitants of a *vicus* could not administer any land (because that would have belonged to the *civitas*) (s.v. *finis*, Diz. Epigr., 3, 1962: 92, col. 2). This view has been criticized by Leveau, who worries that historians *'avaient du mal à admettre une complexité de l'organisation du territoire qui relevait du pragmatisme romain, en particulier l'existence de délimitations internes à la cité selon une hiérarchie reconnue par l'administration et attestée par la documentation épigraphique en Orient'* (Leveau 1993a; Leveau 1993b: 296-298).

[45] The term '*agglomeration secondaire*' is inclusive of burgs, villages, hamlets and so on (Tarpin 2006).

[46] Petit *et al.* eds 1994.

[47] Burnham 1995. See also Burnham and Wacher 1995 'The "small towns" of Roman Britain'; Brown ed. 1995 'Roman small towns in eastern England and beyond' and most recently in Rust 2006 'Architecture, economics, and identity in Romano-British "small towns"'.

[48] Todd 1970.

Rowley), 'lurking behind all these contributions, however, lay an unresolved issue concerning the initial criteria for inclusion of a "small town"'.[49] Nevertheless, some of its papers were to find echoes in future research, most notably the one by Rivet which dealt with classification. From a methodological point of view, most of the studies that followed focused largely on creating a typology based on the morphology of these settlements, in particular on the presence or absence of particular 'urban' elements (e.g. street grid or traces of deliberate planning, the development of a central core, zonation, type of buildings, defences, and so on). Several attempts to sub-divide 'small towns' were made, but despite the name this category of settlements was given, these typologies often included sites that were nothing like 'towns' and were instead rural settlements and villages.[50]

### 1.2.2 Morphology and size

When we attempt to analyse the planning and buildings in a city, the so-called townscape, we encounter two main obstacles. First of all, the large number of buildings and the variety of their components impede its easy description; secondly, the large number of forces that influence that morphology complicate its explanation.[51] The two most obvious morphological components of a city are the street plan and the buildings. When we look at a plan of a Roman town in the Western provinces, the street plan is generally the most notable feature one can observe.[52] Archaeological evidence shows two general models of street creation: bottom-up grids (created as people build and use the city) and which tend to be unstructured; or top-down grids (consciously planned, often in an orthogonal pattern), which tend to be more structured

[49] Rodwell and Rowley 1995; Burnham 1995: 8.

[50] See, for example, the threefold typology by Burnham 1993: i. Upper-order settlements: covering all the sites traditionally identified as newly elevated cities or as minor towns with developed economic functions. They can all be shown to share in some or all the following features: 1) an urban internal street network, 2) urban core defences, 3) distinctive zones in the plan, 4) a broad range of building types, 5) a broad range of workshop industries, 6) large organized cemetery (e.g. Water Newton, Alchester, Ilchester). ii. Middle-order settlements: they tend to be characterized by distinctive official or religious buildings, strong-points defences or large-scale industrial activities. They sometimes are associated with features already identified in upper-order settlements (e.g. street network) but lower down the scale, they tend to be associated with ribbon developments, increasing agricultural emphasis and the absence of any degree of zoning in the plan. They include spas and religious centres (Springhead and Friford), specialist extractive or manufacturing sites (Charterhouse - lead; Brampton - pottery and metalworking and Middlewich - salt and iron); roadside settlements with imposed official/military functions. iii. Lower-order settlements characterized by the absence of defences, specialized functions, and buildings of any degree of sophistication; similar to rural villages.

[51] Johnson 1972: 25.

[52] Following Morrison 2015, throughout this work 'the term "Roman" serves to identify material that was used in Britain during the time of Roman administration, not material that was Roman in origin' (Morrison 2015: 18, also see Freeman 1993: 444; Cooper 1996: 86). For this reason the more generic and neutral adjective 'Roman' will be favoured over the expressions 'Gallo-Roman' or 'Romano-British' which, even though they are still very popular in the secondary literature, put too much unnecessary emphasis on a (disputable) ethnic and geographical background. In Gaul, the cities of Trier, Avanches, Cologne, Autun, Orange, Arles, Lutèce, Amiens, and Corseul all had, at their core, an orthogonal grid. This grid is lacking in Vienne, Vaison, Nîmes and Tolosa. The grid's *insulae* can be square-shaped (Trier, Autun and Cologne) or rectangular (Fréjus, Corseul, Avanches, Arles).

as in several Roman cities which are founded *ex-novo;*[53] most cities have a combination of both, exhibiting a top-down grid on the large scale (main streets), but bottom-up micro-grids, often peripheral to the core of the city, created by the owners or developers.[54]

The street plan of a Roman city may reflect the careful planning that preceded the development of the city, but also local piecemeal development and changing fashions in what was thought to be an appropriate layout.[55] Once laid down, the street plan can be remarkably persistent and extremely inflexible, partly because of the fixed capital tied up in the streets and in the buildings which face them and partly because of the complicated patterns of landownership which tend to arise.[56]

Secondary elements of the townscape are buildings. They are usually more susceptible to gradual alteration over time, being more influenced by temporary fashion trends and at times serving as unique architectural statements showcasing the owner's taste. Only a few remarkable buildings, cherished for their architectural merit or their religious connotation, are likely to survive for a longer period and might, in the long term, even acquire a completely different function (for example, in Late Antiquity, it is very common for some buildings to be repurposed). Both the street plan and buildings are an integral part of the design of the settlement pattern, and they tend to change at different speeds.

Alongside the physical characteristics of a city and the elements of its 'townscape', its size (used as a proxy for the population that inhabited the town) is also an object of interest in urban studies. In fact, it is fair to assume that the total number of inhabitants of a settlement (or the city size which we use as a proxy) has some implications for the importance of a city, since this figure provides a rough indication of the size of the labour force and the nature of the

[53] For example, at Corseul the street grid was clearly planned in advance by the authority - as observed after excavations were carried out on the site known as 'Salle des Fêtes' (Kerébel 2004). There, the ditches that were meant to be running on the side of a *cardo* were already dug around AD 10-20, although the actual works on the street will start only under the reign of Nero, and the first houses will be built right afterwards (Fichet de Clairefontaine and Le Potier 1987: 89-91). A similar policy can be envisaged on the site of Monterfil II, where the space that will be devoted to the future *decumanus* was limited earlier by two ditches (Kerébel 2001: 26-28). A similar urbanistic expedient seems to have been used in the cities of Autun (Chardron-Picault et Pernot 1999: 19); Paris (Robin 1996: 244); Amiens, Reims and Metz (Coquelet 2001: 11); Jublains (Monteil 2012: 35).

[54] Very often the peripheral quarters ignore the orientation of the general plan (Arles, Fréjus, and Aix); it is not always clear whether they are contemporary or succeed the installation of the orthogonal street plan.

[55] Dominique Pouille, in his monograph dedicated to ancient Rennes, states that the orientation of the ancient lines traced in the *paleosol* and in the rocky sub-layer during the earliest stage of the parcelling of the town seem to have persisted over time as the succeeding archaeological remains seem to maintain the same orientation (Pouille 2008: 291 and 302). The way in which ancient cities have been laid out can indicate the degree of influence of the administrative authorities in charge of overseeing the works, who were often members of the elite. With regards to this last observation, the early town of Silchester shows that the personal interests of the elite were maintained within the nucleus around which the city grew (*Insula* IX) (Fulford and Timby 2000).

[56] Johnson 1972: 23. It is not unusual for the Roman street grid to endure until later times. However, in Late Antiquity we can also see deliberate blocking and gated access; see for example Ostia (Gering 2013).

specialized services which a city has to offer. This is the reason why in this work city sizes will be exploited to unravel changes and continuities in the evolution of cities.[57]

However, to allow demography alone to differentiate between city and non-city might be unwise. I here quote a significant passage from Louis Wirth's 1938 article 'Urbanism as a Way of Life':

> The characterization of a community as urban on the basis of size alone is obviously arbitrary. It is difficult to defend the present census definition which designates a community of 2.500 and above as urban and all others as rural. The situation would be the same if the criterion were 4.000, 8.000, 10.000, 25.000, or 100.000 population, for although in the latter case we might feel that we were more nearly dealing with an urban aggregate than would be the case in communities of lesser size, no definition of urbanism can hope to be completely satisfying as long as numbers are regarded as the sole criterion. Moreover, it is not difficult to demonstrate that communities of less than the arbitrarily set number of inhabitants lying within the range of influence of metropolitan centres have greater claim to recognition as urban communities than do larger ones leading a more isolated existence in a predominantly rural area.[58]

Thus, this approach is obviously context dependent. Historians have adopted different thresholds to divide urban from rural settlements. For example, Bairoch set the bar at 3000-5000 inhabitants, De Vries at 10,000 inhabitants, and De Ligt, basing his observation on the extent of the built-up area, set the limit at 20 ha.[59] However, very pragmatically, De Ligt acknowledges that 'the use of this label [rural] does not in any way imply that the "small towns" of Roman Italy performed no "urban" functions for the populations of their urban areas' and - he admits – 'a purely quantitative concept of "town" can only provide us with a very partial glimpse of a complex settlement hierarchy.'[60]

It should be stressed that any of these cut-off points are always strictly context dependent. Size cannot be used as the sole parameter for establishing whether a place was 'urban' (or performing 'urban' functions). In the north-western provinces, it is not uncommon to find administrative centres (e.g. several self-governing cities in Narbonensis, including Antibes,

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[57] Further aspects of the urban population that could be relevant for understanding a city are the varying demographic structure of the population, measured in term of age and sex, and the rate at which population totals are changing. However, the more interesting demographic characteristics of urban dwellers are those which distinguish them from rural populations, which of course vary from country to country and era to era. Urban areas are often centres of in-migration, and large cities have often provided the greatest attraction for migrants. As a result, cities, on the basis of their demand for labour and the nature of society and technology, are often a significant attraction for migrants. This notion was observed and described by Edward Hassinger in 1957 (Hassinger 1957). He stated that the city is the inhabited area where the main economic interests of the population lie and therefore is subjected to a centripetal force while, on the other hand, villages are subjected to a centrifugal force. Data such as these are nowadays collected in most census enumerations. However, in regard to ancient cities, inscriptions and high quality archaeological evidence such as burials would be crucial. These very interesting and promising studies, however, lie beyond the scope of this research and therefore might not be the object of analyses here.

[58] Wirth 1938: 4.

[59] Bairoch 1989; De Vries 1984; De Ligt 2012.

[60] De Ligt 2012: 201-202. It should be noted that also in this case the choice of setting the limit at 20 ha was merely practical and that - in early modern Italy - there are no reliable lists of 'small towns'.

Apt, Carpentras, Lodève, and Riez) that measure less than 10 ha, and we can also find secondary agglomerations inhabited by *c.* 500-1000 (*c*. 10-20 ha) which are known to have performed several of the 'urban' functions described below.

### 1.2.3 A functional definition

Until now we have looked at how the city is shaped and who/how many people inhabit it. Now, we want to address a third and last element which is essential: 'what is a city's function?', 'what is its *raison d'être*?'[61] The predominance of an array of social and economic activities (like manufacturing, services and trade), not solely related to the rural sphere and which demand a concentration of people within a relatively small area, is rightly believed to be an essential urban feature. However, this parameter alone would exclude the case of agro-towns (such as those of Southern Italy) and also a great number of Greek *poleis*, where most inhabitants were farmers and yet all the extra roles (such as the political and administrative ones) were present.

We can divide 'urban' functions into two main classes: central functions which provide services and activities to the population of the city and to its area of influence (e.g. administrative and commercial functions), and specialized functions which usually owe their existence to specific natural resources, favourable sites or historically and culturally important sites (such as mining, industrial, religious or thermal functions) whose market radius can be wider and more discontinuous.[62] The *'portefeuille d'activités'* of a city, that is the ensemble of economic activities undertaken in a city, allows us to look at the strength of its economy and its sustainability. For example, very specialized cities are usually considered more fragile compared to those which rely on a more diversified economic base, those whose *'portefeuille'* is more heterogeneous. In fact, specialized cities often exist for a limited time: until the resource, the network of suppliers and customers or the local *savoir-faire* that is passed on through collective apprenticeship training is disrupted. Therefore, while specialized cities can experience extraordinary and rapid development, they can also suffer a similarly sudden and rapid decline that may ultimately lead to oblivion if their principal activity is threatened. On the other hand, multifunctional cities, often considerably larger, are more capable of surviving economic transitions and of managing their risks in changing economic cycles.[63]

Here we will briefly list some of the most recurrent functions commonly ascribed to cities:

- Commercial/redistributive function: the prominent role played by trade in the development of cities was already recognized by Max Weber, who wrote that 'the city is a marketplace.'[64]

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[61] The idea that a city performs one or more functions goes back to the 19th century, when the notion of 'urban function' was initially elaborated by geographers. This expression, however, was made popular by Aurousseau, who in the 1920s observed how the function of a city was not only an essential attribute but also deeply influenced its internal organization. We earlier mentioned the demographic contrasts between rural and urban areas (Aurousseau 1921). However, rural and urban areas also differ in terms of function, although these differences are not always easy to point out.

[62] Harris and Ullman 1945.

[63] Pumain *et al.* 2006.

[64] Weber 1921.

The exchange of goods and services is the cornerstone of a city's economy and lies at the basis of every town, whether ancient or modern. Therefore, it is not surprising that it highly influences the shape of the townscape (buildings that are intended for such activities are always numerous and very sensitive to the intensity and orientation of the urban circulation) and the location of the settlement itself (which often lies on transport routes, on the boundaries between major natural regions or at the centre of their own local spheres of influence). Some of these establishments can also be present in smaller settlements (e.g. butchery or a small workshops). To investigate the extent of commercial activity performed by ancient agglomerations is not an easy task.[65] While productive and manufacturing activities might leave some traces on the ground - e.g. features (kilns, hearths) or slags (metallic or ceramic materials, bones etc.), retail spaces (that is 'buildings or rooms where goods were sold, made and/or prepared for sale and sold') are more difficult to identify.[66] We know that as a general rule, *tabernae*, were located at the front of a strip building, and they were in strict association with workshops and warehouses (though there was *no shortage of exceptions, and* we should not forget that non-permanent sale points - e.g. temporary market stalls - might have been very common in ancient settlements). Even though often archaeologists cannot go beyond 'assuming' the presence of sale points, the archaeological evidence gained so far has allowed us to grasp the importance of commerce within settlements. Evidence points to the existence of specified quarters and commercial districts completely dedicated to this activity (both within the core of a settlement or on its periphery), as well as the presence of warehouses (*horrea*) that stored goods ready to be dispatched for long-distance travel.[67]

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[65] The Romans recorded most of their day-to-day transactions by incising the wax covering of wooden tablets. This medium was highly perishable, and we have almost no written records of such transactions after two millennia. We therefore are dependent on four kinds of evidence: 1) casual remarks about the economy in works of literature that have been preserved for other reasons; 2) proclamations or directives important enough to be chiselled into stone; 3) archaeological evidence; 4) *papyri* from Egypt (Temin 2006). Also lead seals for contracts as found in Delos.

[66] MacMahon 2003: 9-10; the author draws to attention to the fact that commercial activities could be performed in both temporary markets (e.g. fairs) and in permanent shops. Also see Lavan 2012 on temporary market stalls.

[67] Commercial districts are known to have had a huge role (and to have covered a huge area) in provincial capitals (Lyon, Cologne and London), but also in other *civitas* capitals and secondary agglomerations. For example in Corseul, which is known through aerial photography to have been an overall low-density inhabited city, with spaces left empty and large houses appearing to stand isolated in courtyards. The main evidence for denser occupation comes from groups of shops ranged along the main roads. The boutiques and the workshops of this commercial district (Monterfil) were initially built in wood and clay. They were later re-built at the same time at the end of the 1st century AD - beginning of the 2nd century AD with the façade having a common *porticus* which opened on the main street that ran east-west (Kérébel and Fichet de Clairfontaine 1988). Warehouses are another archaeological feature that can demonstrate the importance of commerce other than shops within a certain economy. One well-documented example of a warehouse (especially if we compare it with others) is the one excavated in Rezé, set on the estuary of the Loire in the territory of the Pictones. In its first phase (around mid-1st century AD) the settlement was constructed in perishable materials. Around the end of the 1st century AD and the beginning of the 2nd century AD the entire area was completely rebuilt (given the amplitude of the project, it is assumed that it was the municipality which embarked on this major programme, and not private citizens). The high representation of *amphorae* Dressel 20 (commonly used to stock oil) and of shards belonging to *amphorae* used to serve and sell wine hints at this kind of traffic. However, we should not disregard completely the idea that

- Industrial function: by industry, we mean every economic activity that transforms primary material into manufactured good. The first large-scale production cluster of pottery in the north-western provinces was centred in Lyon, the capital of the Three Gauls. The industry flourished between 20-15 BC and Augustan-Tiberian time. The earliest imitations of black and red-slipped pottery date back to 50-40 BC. Thus, they pre-date the Italian *sigillata*'s peak in imports, and the two seem to have co-existed for some time. Most scholars believe that the first workshops established in Lyon and perhaps in Vienne were branch workshops of those in Arezzo.[68] In the peripheral areas of most capital cities (e.g. Cologne and Trier) there are clear signs of abundant industrial production as there are in many other agglomerations, like the ones in Rhenania which for this reason are called *'Industrieanlagen'* and whose industries (metallurgical, tableware industries or quarries) were important for their economy.[69]

- Specialized function: specialized-function cities are dominated by one activity such as thermal, mining, manufacturing, harbour cities etc. In order to avoid misunderstandings, we should start by saying that, at least when applied to Roman archaeology, the notion of 'specialized agglomeration' should not be taken too literally. In fact, while it is undeniable that some ancient agglomerations may have been renowned for one specific activity that dominated the economy, such as mining in the region of Argentomagus ('*Silver* Market') or the exploitation of thermal water in agglomerations such as Vicus Aquensis (Aix-les-Bains) Aquae Calidae (Vichy), Aquae Neri (Néris-les-Bains ), or Aquae Sulis (Bath), we should always keep in mind that other types of activities were certainly conducted.[70]

- Communication function:[71] different social theories are based on the assumption that an increase of social and spatial proximity results in increased social interactions, which in turn increase the probability of spurring innovations. The city is by definition the place where social

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wine produced locally was being traded, too. Presses have been found nearby, at Piriac-sur-Mer and at Parville (Monteil 2012: 296; Hervé-Monteil *et al.* 2011)

[68] Out of the fourteen fragments of moulds which have been discovered in La Muette, two show a distribution of major chemical elements which suggest a provenance from Arezzo. In addition, the major-element distribution of thirteen stamps found in La Muette also indicates the same provenance (Widemann *et al.* 1975). Finally the names (Lasfargues and Vertet 1976) of many masters and slaves of the pottery workshops of Arezzo are found among the signatures of pots unearthed in La Muette (Widemann *et al.* 1975: 45). Woolf points to the complexity and uncertainties that still surround these productions. He underlines the difficulties in establishing the relationship between these new local branches and their Italian counterparts. He also believes that after the experience of Lyon-La Muette these 'branch workshops' stopped working; all the subsequent production of *sigillata* in Gaul, he concludes, will mostly rely on the work of local potters (Woolf 1992: 195).
Only typological and chemical analysis combined allows us to distinguish between the imported goods produced in Italy and local production (Lasfargues and Vertet 1976). With regards to the production of the *Rhône* Valley, it is hard to discriminate between the products produced in Lyon and those manufactured in the middle *Rhône* Valley and Vienne given that similar calcareous clay can be found at all sites (Dangréaux and Desbat 1997).

[69] Hellenkemper 1980; Gilles 1994.

[70] Finley (3rd edtion) 1999: 22.

[71] The crucial role of cities in fostering intergroup and cross-cultural communication became the object of study during the last century, when multiple theories started to be developed (e.g. 'A Communication Theory of urban growth' by Meier, published in 1962 and based on the theory of information previously elaborated by Shannon, Weaver and Brillouin in the 1950s; the works of Melvin Webber etc.); Meier 1962; Shannon and Warren 1949; Brillouin 1956; Webber 1968.

interactions are maximized, hence the importance of the role of the cities in the diffusion of information and ideas. Until the advent of modern technologies, proximity was a fundamental condition for the transmission of information, which was usually conveyed by face-to-face interactions. Besides, these sorts of interactions are still fundamental for yielding specific *savoirs* and *savoir-faire* that the economists call 'tacit knowledge'.[72]

This phenomenon is well depicted in Blaise Pichon's article *'Formes et rythmes de la romanisation dans l'ouest de la Gaule Belgique'*. The author states that the *'goût romain'* first reached the largest cities, which often are *civitas* capitals. The first tangible changes seem to appear already in the Augustan period. Later it timidly appears at other sites (as the presence of baths in Saint-Laurent-Blangy or the wall paintings with figurative motives in Arras and Ribemont-sur-Ancre attest). In the countryside the changes are less noticeable. However, he thinks that it would be wrong to interpret the slow diffusion of Roman practices as evidence of 'cultural resistance' because the imperial power was not carrying out any policy of Romanization that might inspire resistance, at least not in a cultural sense.

### 1.2.4 A three-fold definition

As we have already mentioned, cities are complex and always multifunctional. Certainly, the identification of specialized functions of certain cities can be achieved only by comparing their *'portefeuille d'activités'* with that of other cities, and this exercise can be useful if it is able to reveal important geo-diversities. However, typological analysis should not be taken to an extreme. Pierre Garmy has rightly observed how archaeologists, undoubtedly because of a *déformation professionnelle*, tend to look at the cities as if they were looking at pottery shards: they try to classify them, trying to make them fit into categories and sub-categories, forgetting that they are by nature complex systems.[73] Thus, 'urban' settlements are often categorized into manufacturing, commercial, administrative, religious cities and so on, without any real analysis of their occupational structure.[74] Such a method does not allow for the fact that most towns have many functions and that the most obvious function is not necessarily the most important.

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[72] Also see Bettencourt 2013. The multicultural environment of large cities, along with the increasingly complex division of labour and opportunities for training, education and apprenticeship they offer, and the competitiveness among them, reinforce their status as places *par excellence* for the creation and adoption of innovations (Pumain *et al*. 2006). The geographer Torsten Hägerstrand in the 1950s formalized the spatial distribution of the innovations within cities and concluded that they display a hierarchical diffusion, showing how often innovations are initially accepted in the largest cities, which usually have better infrastructures, more qualified and receptive inhabitants, a higher number of entrepreneurs and more capital at their disposal. They later spread to smaller settlements (Hägerstrand 1953).

[73] Garmy 2012b: 194.

[74] An example regarding Roman Britain is Burnham and Wacher's (1990) division into 'potential city', 'minor town', 'specialized site', 'religious site', 'industrial site', 'fortified site' and 'unfortified site'. Mangin and Tassaux (1992), in a monograph about the secondary settlements of Aquitania, distinguished four different categories of settlements: i. true cities or semi-urban agglomerations: they display traces of secondary and tertiary functions and (monumental) public and private buildings; ii. burgs and *burgades*: they do not display any sign of monumentalization; however, they may have a specialized function or display traces of diverse activities. iii. Agglomerations with a predominant religious function (sanctuaries, complex sanctuaries, and thermal stations); iv. road stations and rural agglomerations.

In reality, the shops of a mining town may make it a more important centre of retail trade than of extractive industry.[75]

However, the questions that we should be asking are not whether a place was a city, but rather 'what was happening there?', 'who lived in those agglomerations?', 'how did these settlements function?', and 'what was their relationship with the rest of the settlement system?'.[76] For this reason, when looking at the settlement system of the north-western provinces, it is also important to look at those 'town-like' places that performed at least some urban functions as towns, although they were not self-governing.[77] In order to effectively do so, it is important not to conceive settlements as mere transit areas. Instead, we should see them as places where different activities were performed and multiple functions concentrated (defence, religion, administration, economics etc.) - the political function being non-mandatory. Here we will focus our attention on those town-like secondary settlements which performed different urban functions and where a substantial percentage of inhabitants were involved in the secondary and tertiary sectors. This means that highly specialized sites deprived of services and urban equipment (e.g. mining cities or villages of potters) have been excluded when they resembled dormitory cities that housed the families of those who were employed in the main local industry.[78] The presence of workshops (secondary sector) becomes therefore fundamental. As mentioned above, they are easier to identify archaeologically than are commercial activities are (trade), although it remains at times hard to characterize them and evaluate their scale. Traces of production of domestic pottery are commonly found, but how extensively these goods were distributed is harder to appraise. Metalwork appears to be less widely distributed, although it is not rare (refuse of smelted metal ore or debris are often found on room floors). Other production activities are less often attested, for example, glass, bone, salt and textile industry, or other activities indirectly related to the primary sector (e.g. food processing).

One of the greatest challenges of this research is to take into account all the settlements that fit any of the threefold definitions presented above. After having examined the transition between the Iron Age and Roman times (chapter 2), we will look at how the territory within these provinces was annexed to the Roman Empire (chapter 3). This will give us the opportunity to touch on aspects such as the political integration and administration of these provinces. Then, acknowledging the duality between *urbs* and *rus*, we will - at first - focus on the self-governing cities only (chapter 4), where the political and administrative functions concentrated. We will do so from a macro-scale perspective, but in order to grasp their additional functions (including those of all the secondary agglomerations that depended on them) as central places, we need to look at them in relation to their own surroundings (hinterland) and in relation to each other. This can be done effectively only by looking at them as part of their own regional settlement

[75] Johnson 1972:73.

[76] These fundamental points were very wisely brought up by Millett in the 1990s but are still valid to this day (Millett 1995).

[77] Thus, the scope of the research will go beyond that of previous scholars, such as that of Bekker-Nielsen (1989), who looked at the distribution of self-governing cities only.

[78] These types of settlements are usually considered as anomalies in the urban hierarchy because of their large numbers of inhabitants and the surprising absence of any additional function that ideally would correspond to their rank.

system (chapters 5 and 6). At the end of each of these last two chapters, we will present our principal findings; in doing so we will engage in an interdisciplinary discussion about the development of urbanism in these provinces and what the distribution of settlements and vertical relationships (i.e. hierarchy) can tell us about the economy, politics, and socio-cultural development of these provinces.

# CHAPTER 2: THE DAWN OF URBANISM

## Introduction

In this chapter, we will discuss the development of urbanism in the north-western provinces. In the first section, we will review the meaning of the term 'urbanization', the process through which a part of the population engaged in secondary or tertiary economic activities (artisanal, commerce, services) gather at a particular site and develop ways of life that differ from those performed in the countryside.[79] We will also look at how new archaeological evidence has changed our perspective on the emergence of this phenomenon in north-western Europe. In fact, from the 19th century until not so long ago, scholars thought that the emergence of urbanism in this region started in the 2nd to 1st centuries BC, with the so-called 'civilization of *oppida*', often considered to mark the beginnings of urbanism and proto-state communities in Europe.[80] This phenomenon was also accompanied by another novelty, that is the appearance of coinage and writing, which suggested an increased social complexity and the existence of state authority. Nowadays scholars, thanks to new evidence, agree that several centres with 'urban' features (implied by their size, density of population and structure of occupations, zonation) of temperate Europe began to appear much earlier than previously thought, that is between the end of the 7th and the 5th centuries BC, at least in the area stretching from Závist in Bohemia to the Heuneburg in Southern Germany and Bourges in Central France.[81] In our study area, the watershed is the 4th century BC, when we see (except in Germania Inferior and the Western alpine provinces) an increasing number of people living side by side in nucleated settlements. However, the evidence in our area of study also suggests that a further increase in settlement hierarchy gives rise, from *c*. 2nd century BC – to a new category of settlements (so-called *oppida* and/or polyfocal complexes) in both Gaul and Britain.[82] They could be very extensive, densely packed and be occupied for many generations. They could also control very large agricultural hinterlands - which in fact appear to be devoid of contemporary nucleated settlements.

After looking at how the character of Greco-Roman urbanism has had a huge impact on archaeologists' and historians' understanding of what is 'urban', creating faulty assumptions

[79] The complexities involved in the study of urbanism have already been introduced in chapter 1. In the second part of this section we will nonetheless return to the issue because it is important to be aware of the many misunderstandings and prejudices that bedevil this field of study. The challenge of looking at this phenomenon on such a large scale is bound to suffer from disparities in quantity and quality of investigations, chronologies and vocabularies. Variation in assemblages, settlement patterns (e.g. hillforts and lowland sites), and quality of the evidence which is the result of the unevenness in the scale, nature and distribution of fieldwork requires scholars to be cautious when interpreting the evidence (Millett 1995).

[80] Fernández-Götz *et al.* eds 2014. Also see Déchelette 1914; Collis 1984; see also Guichard *et al*. eds 2000; Sievers and Schönfelder eds. 2012; Wells 1984; Collis 1980 and 1984; Fichtl 2002; Moore *et al.* 2013; Kaenel 2006; Brun *et al.* 2000: 83.

[81] Fernández-Götz *et al.* eds. 2014. See also Augier *et al.* 2012; Chaume and Mordant 2011; Krausse ed. 2008; Krausse 2010; Milcent 2007. Thus, urbanism in Temperate Europe was characterised since its dawn by important discontinuities and gaps both in terms of temporal and spatial distribution.

[82] These terms are ultimately equivalent, in the sense that often the earliest examples of *oppida* show a polyfocal character.

that have long undermined the study of the development of urbanism, we will look at the most recent discoveries that forced us to change our views on the subject. Thus, we will see that the emergence of urbanism cannot be simply explained with a core-periphery or diffusionist model (as in the case of other phenomena, i.e. orientalizing art, literacy and coinage, which all spread from south to north).[83] The latter is based on the idea that the creation of the Iron Age centres in temperate Europe and the hierarchization of the society in temperate Europe were triggered by long-distance trade (a strong emphasis was placed on the exchange of prestige goods) with Mediterranean societies.[84]

This idea came under criticism as early as the 1980s because of the emphasis put on the causative nature of this process and the disregard of the possibility of an internal process of evolution.[85] It was also observed that societies in the Mediterranean and temperate Europe were more likely to have developed in parallel rather than in sequence.[86] The evidence we now have at our disposal confirms that this model does not stand up to scrutiny.[87] For example, triangular fired-clay loom weights appeared first in Britain and in the Low Countries around the middle of the 1st millennium BC and spread to northern France only later, from *c.* 250 BC.[88] Similarly, long-handled bone or antler 'weaving' combs which were in use in Britain from the later Bronze Age are found sporadically in Picardy and in the Netherlands only from *c*. 500 BC onwards.[89] Finally, the earliest examples of rotary querns known came from eastern Iberia and southern Britain and date to the 5th century BC. They appear to have reached northern France only later, in the 3rd century BC or even early 2nd century BC.[90] It is unclear whether they spread from Iberia to Britain, vice versa, or if they were independently invented in each region.

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[83] Bintliff 1984a; and 1984b. It remains a thorny problem to define the extent to which external influence can account for introducing the idea of city or nucleated settlements (which, *per se*, could be spread in multiple ways). However, it would be certainly fallacious to believe that indigenous communities were only passive recipients of this process. In Gaul and Britain, already from the 4th century BC, economic changes (e.g. a 'rural expansion', i.e. an optimization and increase in *agricultural* production) possibly driven by environmental changes and intensified by an increasing social awareness and *complexity,* had already prepared the grounds for the development of substantial central places (Buchsenschutz *et al.* 2012).

[84] Frankenstein and Rowlands (1978); Rowlands (1984).

[85] Bintliff 1984a,;1984b; 2016.

[86] It is possible that, as an over-reaction to the diffusionist paradigm, scholars have radicalized the discourse by arguing that the nature and process of urbanization in Western Europe was independent and substantially different from that of the Mediterranean (Collis 2014; Pion 2010; Kaenel 2006). For example, Collis writes that they should be seen as 'two distinct zones evolving in parallel with one another. In the south there is the development of the "city-state" and in the north what I have termed the "tribal state", until in the Roman period the two fuse to form the *civitates* as the basic administrative building block of the provinces in Gaul and southern Britain' (Collis 2014: 15; see also Collis 2000). Leaving aside the problem of using the word 'tribal' in this context (to which we will come back later on), this idea also does not adequately take into account the territorial states (*ethnos*) that developed in the Mediterranean world, e.g. the kingdom of Macedonia, and Sparta and, in Italy, the Etruscans. As we will soon see, very large political entities at this time are quite exceptional, but they are not particular to one region.

[87] Here we will offer a few examples, for more details see Webley 2015.

[88] Gautier and Annaert 2006: 39; Malrain and Pinard 2006; Wilhelmi 1987.

[89] Malrain and Pinard 2006; Tuohy 1999.

[90] Wefers 2011.

We will also see how recent evidence underlines the importance of socio-economic changes which occurred between the 4th and the 3rd centuries BC, a period that several scholars have often seen as 'transitional', squeezed between the time of the *Fürstensitze* and ostentatious elite burials (4th to 5th centuries BC) and that of the *oppida* (2nd to 1st centuries BC).[91] These two centuries were extremely important for the changes they brought to Celtic societies and for their effect on the geopolitics of the Mediterranean world. They coincide with the so-called 'Celtic expansionism', that is, with the incursions of the Celts in Italy and later in the Balkans and Anatolia. During the 4th and 3rd centuries BC, Celts were also hired to serve in foreign armies, including those of Philip II of Macedon (382-336 BC), Alexander the Great (336-323 BC), or in the Carthaginian army; they were also employed in Tarentum and Syracuse.[92]

All these changes, together with a demographic increase, climatic improvement, and rural expansion had an impact on societies, facilitating the expansion of agricultural settlements into previously thinly settled areas, and it is likely that the introduction of the systematic use of the iron-tipped plough and rotary querns helped, too.[93] As Champion recently observed, a developing agriculture and craft specialization could have led to more complex relationships in the acquisition and distribution of commodities, which in turn would have provided new opportunities for accumulating wealth and status to those at the head of these processes.[94] In both Gaul and Britain we see signs of an increased centralization of societies.[95] In southern and central England, communities began to concentrate in highly densely inhabited hillforts ('developed hillforts').[96] In France, on the other hand, we witness first the creation of 'special' places which are chosen as central places and that may evolve into the site of an ancient sanctuary.

## 2.1 The process of urbanization

### 2.1.1 Iron Age '*oppida*': terminology and problematics

In chapter 1 we discussed how difficult it is to give a clear definition of the word 'city' and how ancient words such as *'oppidum'* or *'vicus'* are often characterized by semantic inconsistency. For example, Caesar often employs the word '*oppidum*' to indicate a prestigious and fortified indigenous site (e.g. Bibracte, Alesia, Gergovia) while the word *'vicus'* usually indicates a less exceptional or undefended site; however, ambiguities and problematic passages

[91] Buchsenschutz *et al.* 2012: 295.
[92] Livy, XXX, 21, 3-4; Diodorus Siculus XV, 70; Xenophon, Hellenica, II, I, 20/32. This is how we can explain the presence of Macedonian and Punic coins in Gaul.
[93] Haselgrove and McCullagh 2000: 188.
[94] Champion 2016: 155-156.
[95] Here, centralization is intended as the process through which control over the economy is increasingly held in the hands of the elite or a ruling class.
[96] Crellin *et al.* 2016; Haselgrove and Moore eds 2007: 24.

warn us against drawing any hasty conclusions.[97] As we have concluded in chapter 1, the word *'oppidum'* is very vague and designates a 'settlement' that was a central place to a community, even of a certain amplitude, both in Italy and abroad. Titus Livius records that the Celts founded an *oppidum*, Aquileia, and his passage has been interpreted as proof that the Celts - already in the 2nd century BC - had a clear political idea of urban centres.[98]

Archaeologists and historians have applied the term *'oppidum'* indiscriminately by assigning it to all kind of fortified hilltops, even when they were very unlikely to have been political centres of any communities.[99] The origins and dynamics of this phenomenon - also because of the conceptual and terminological problems mentioned above - are still a matter of debate. Far from mitigating the controversy, the multiplied evidence we have seems to complicate our understanding: fortified *oppida*, large agglomerations in plains, sanctuaries, feasting enclosures, aristocratic residences, they all demonstrate a great variability in settlement structures and patterns (see Figure 2).[100]

During the 1980s a number of important excavations were carried out in France, some of which revolutionized our view of pre-Roman temperate Europe. We have already mentioned the excavations at Bibracte, but a further major discovery concerned the sites of Aulnat in Auvergne and Levroux in Berry. Further remarkable excavations have brought additional contributions in the last 25 years.[101] These discoveries led to the disclosure of a new category of unwalled, relatively large inhabited sites (occupying areas of up to 30 ha). These central places could also be characterized by public spaces (roads, squares, sanctuaries) and other functional 'urban' features that we will examine more in detail below.

In the last 30 years, this field of study has made significant progress and numerous international conferences and meetings have increased the quantity and the quality of the evidence at our

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[97] Nouvel 2010. The term *oppidum* - we should not forget – has been used to designate the earliest cities in Italy south of the Alps (Tarpin 1999). For the pitfalls of using these terms see Buchsenschutz 1984. See also Fichtl 2002; Peyre 1979; Tarpin 2008: 15-18.

[98] In Pliny's work the conquest of the tribe's *oppidum* entails its submission. This concept is important when looking at the process of annexation of conquered land by the Romans: it would take more time to conquer those areas that did not have definite and large communities or developed, central *oppida* (e.g. Aquitania, Wales and North England).

[99] This issue has already been raised by Woolf 1993, who pointed out how the term *oppida* could not be seen as a coherent category of settlements due to the large variability between sites. Given the very broad meaning of the word '*oppidum*' (which is usually reserved to upland sites occupied during the last two centuries BC), modern scholars adopted a new vocabulary, with which we will soon be acquainted. In the British literature the archaeological jargon distinguishes between 'hillforts' (unpretentious upland sites that show little evidence of occupation), central places that show more sites of occupation and sophistication ('developed hillforts') and '*oppida*' or 'polyfocal complexes', which usually date to the Late Iron Age and *where the elite presence is strong. The word* 'polyfocal complexes' should be preferred over '*oppidum*' because it is more inclusive (e.g. it may refer to lowland sites).

[100] Poux 2014. In Gallia Belgica, if we were to use Dehn's definition of *oppida* - that is sites larger than 5 ha - around 50 *'oppida'* could be found and they could be dated in conjectural terms to the end of the Iron Age. Most of them are located on the tops of hills or at the bottoms of valleys (Dehn 1961).

[101] Some of the major discoveries of sites on the plain are: Argenton sur Creuse (Indre et Loire), Verdun sur les Doubs (Saône et Loire), Feurs et Roanne (Loire), Besancon and Macon. Also excavations of pre-Roman levels of Roman towns have beencarried out, such as Sens, Auxerre, Tonnerre, Avallon, Dijon and Mirebeau.

disposal. However, there are still some obstacles which make it difficult to reach a general interpretation. We lack, for both Gaul and Britain, a thorough corpus of the whole of these sites (regardless of whether they had walls or not, or they were located upland or lowland). The qualitative and quantitative heterogeneity of the archaeological information present means that not all places can be understood to the same level of accuracy, including from one epoch to another. The few quantifiable data do not always allow for meaningful statistical analysis, and it is difficult to define an area of study to work on. Other biases are linked to the geomorphology of the sites: while few sites are found on the plateau or the sides of the hills, those lying on the plain are likely to be overrepresented. The difficulty also lies in assessing the contemporaneity of sites, some of which were probably used only for a short time (one or two generations, i.e. 25-50 years) and then abandoned. The reason behind these shifts is not always clear, although they follow the millenary tradition of the population living in these temperate and wet areas.[102]

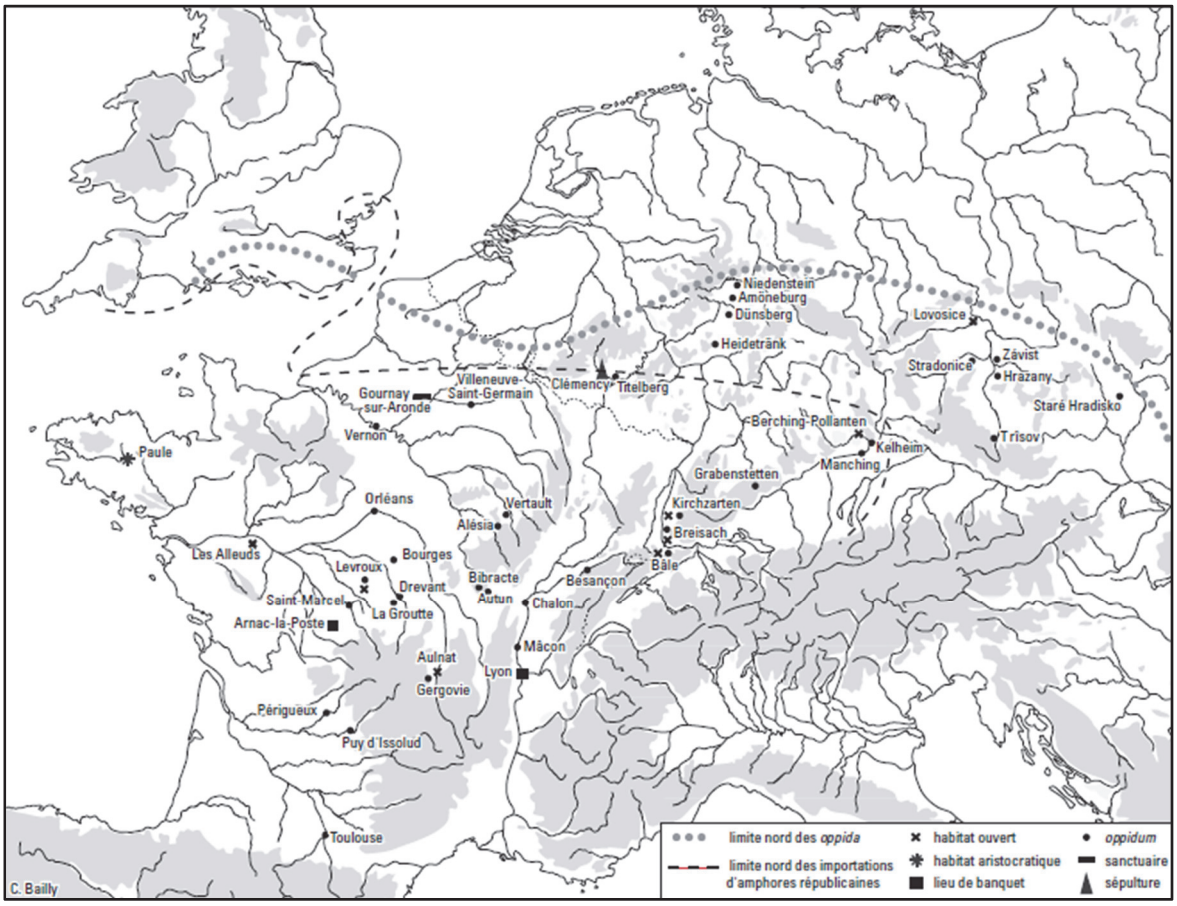


**Figure 2: Map showing the large variety of pre-Roman sites in temperate Europe (Buchsenschutz 2004: 339).**

Further issues developed from the absence of dialogue between Roman archaeologists and protohistorians and the absence of careful valuation of the meaning that protohistorians give to the concept of the city. Concerning this last point, Matthieu Poux warns us against three main

[102] Brun *et al.* 2000: 84-86.

prejudices that continue to be held by scholars (both classicists and protohistorians) and have a negative effect on the study of this subject:[103]

1. Overestimation of the importance of stone and 'hard material' used for fortifications and/or public buildings. Apart from the largest cities and especially Rome, earthen and wooden constructions remained the dominant forms across the Mediterranean until the 1st century BC. Recent excavations in the Latin colony of Norba Latina provide an interesting example: its cyclopean walls dominate the Latium plain and enclose an agglomeration of 40 ha.[104] However, within the walls, the residential areas were entirely built of perishable materials. This raises a question: how different was a Gaulish (or British) *oppidum* from an Italian *oppidum* of the 2nd century BC?[105]

2. Overestimation of the importance of fortifications. Some fortified sites are called *'oppida'* even though no archaeological record has ever been found within the enclosure (e.g. Swiss Mont Vully). On the other hand, large, unfortified, lowland agglomerations with an undeniably very dense occupation, such as Acy-Romance and Levroux in Gaul or Gussage le Saints in Britain, and many others, are classified as 'open settlements' (a category of sites which is still not well understood and might be more common than previously thought; their subordinate character is often implied but seldom fully explored) even though, on the basis of their demography and material wealth, they remain often unmatched on a regional scale.[106]

3. Different conceptions of 'urbanism' exist, such as 'nomadic urbanism' (where cities last only a few generations) and 'multipolar towns' or 'multifocal settlements' (the cohabitation of competing and complementary centres, often lowland settlements associated with a hillfort). According to Poux, in central France (see Figure 3), from the 3rd century BC we see the appearance of the large polyfocal lowland agglomeration of Aulnat. Whereas the site shows some 'urban' features traditionally assigned to *oppida* (a size of more than 150 ha, significant demography, plot organization, and coexistence of a great number of specialized crafts), the lack of ramparts and the existence of burials inside the settlement preclude identification as a traditional 'city' (according to Classical norms). Poux makes an interesting case when he suggests that during the last third of the 2nd century BC, this agglomeration may have coexisted with the religious site on the plateau of Corent, located about 12 km to the south.[107] There, the leaders displayed war and hunting trophies and organized legendary feasts and coin distributions (described by literary sources and attested by the several tons of animal bones, fragments of italic wine *amphorae* and hundreds of coins, the major part of which seem to have been struck on site).[108]

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[103] Poux 2014; Moore and Ponroy 2014.
[104] Quilici Gigli 2003.
[105] Similarly, recent evidence suggest that Mediterranean cities showed large variability in terms of size, layout (e.g. presence of zonation, elite residences, and meeting place) and economic activities (e.g. agriculture, trade, and crafts) (Morgan and Coulton 1997).
[106] Fichtl 2013a; and Moore and Ponroy 2014.
[107] Poux 2012.
[108] See Tchernia 1986; Fichtl 2013b; Loughton 2009.

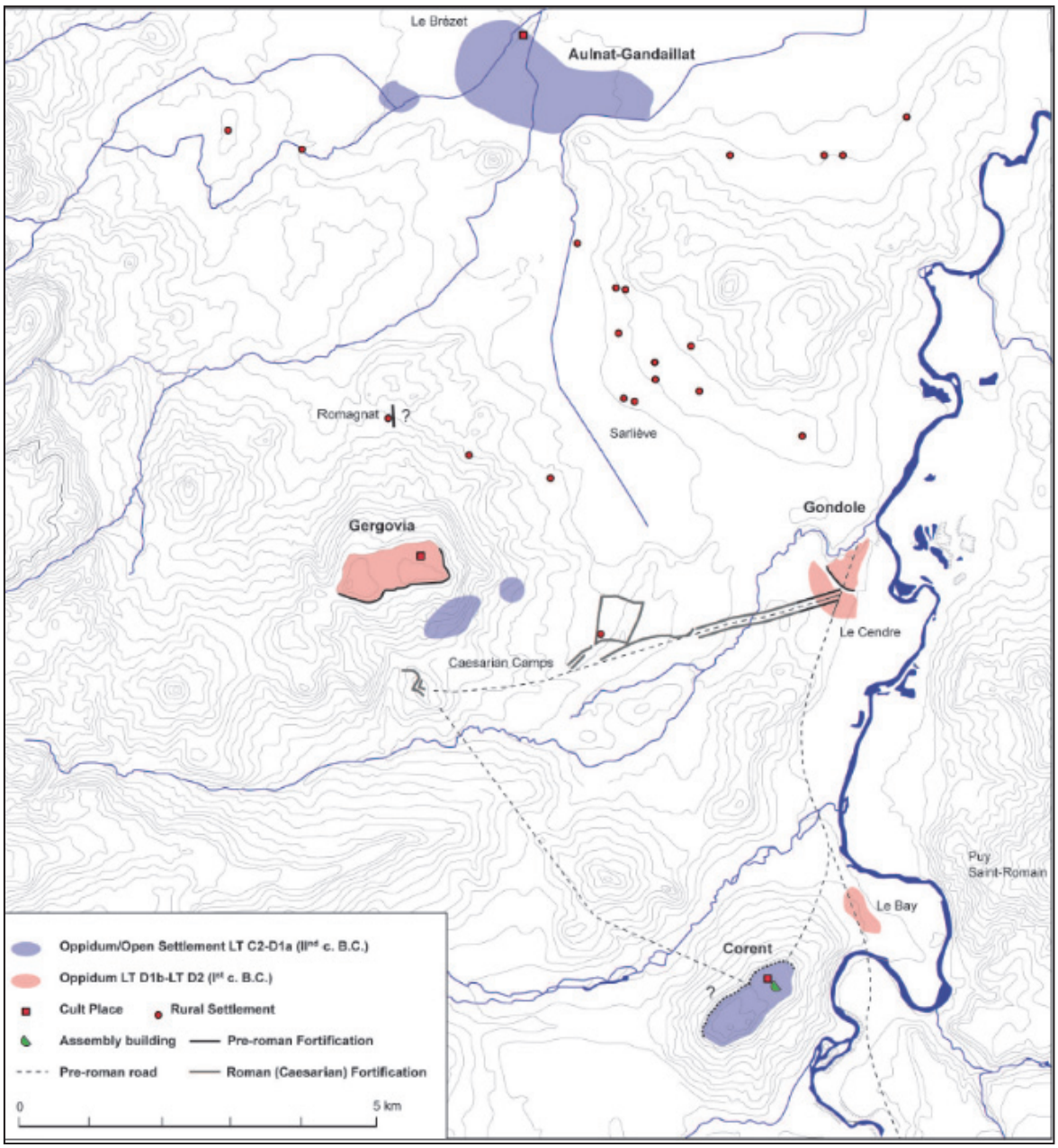


**Figure 3: The polyfocal complex of Aulnat/Corent (Poux 2014: 164).**

Although the chronology of these sites is not well understood and it is difficult to prove/disprove whether these sites were inhabited simultaneously, it is becoming clear that many early sites had a polyfocal character. In Britain, polyfocal complexes such as Gussage le Saints and the early phases of other *oppida* are characterized by activities dispersed over a wide area within an earthwork.[109] The site of Camulodunum (*c*. 5 km south-west of the Roman colony of Colchester), which was defended by a system of earthworks or dykes (Figure 4), for example, was a complex site with multiple foci which consisted of a number of dykes, enclosures, and other foci dispersed over a fairly large area (*c*. 28 km).[110] In particular, it had two main centres of activity: i. Gosbecks, the site of a large, defended enclosure (known as

[109] Bryant 2007: 70; Haselgrove and Millett 1997: 285.
[110] Radford and Gascoyne 2013: 46; Hawkes and Crummy 1995; Rogers 2008; Millett 1990; Garland 2014.

‘Cunobelin's farmstead’) and ii. Sheepen, a site where the predominant activities appeared to have been trading and manufacturing. As in Corent, at this site, we find traces of ritually smashed pottery. However, in this case, they are found in a funerary context, suggesting the presence of the elite practice of entertaining and distributing wine to the rest of the community (here, as part of a burial ceremony).[111]

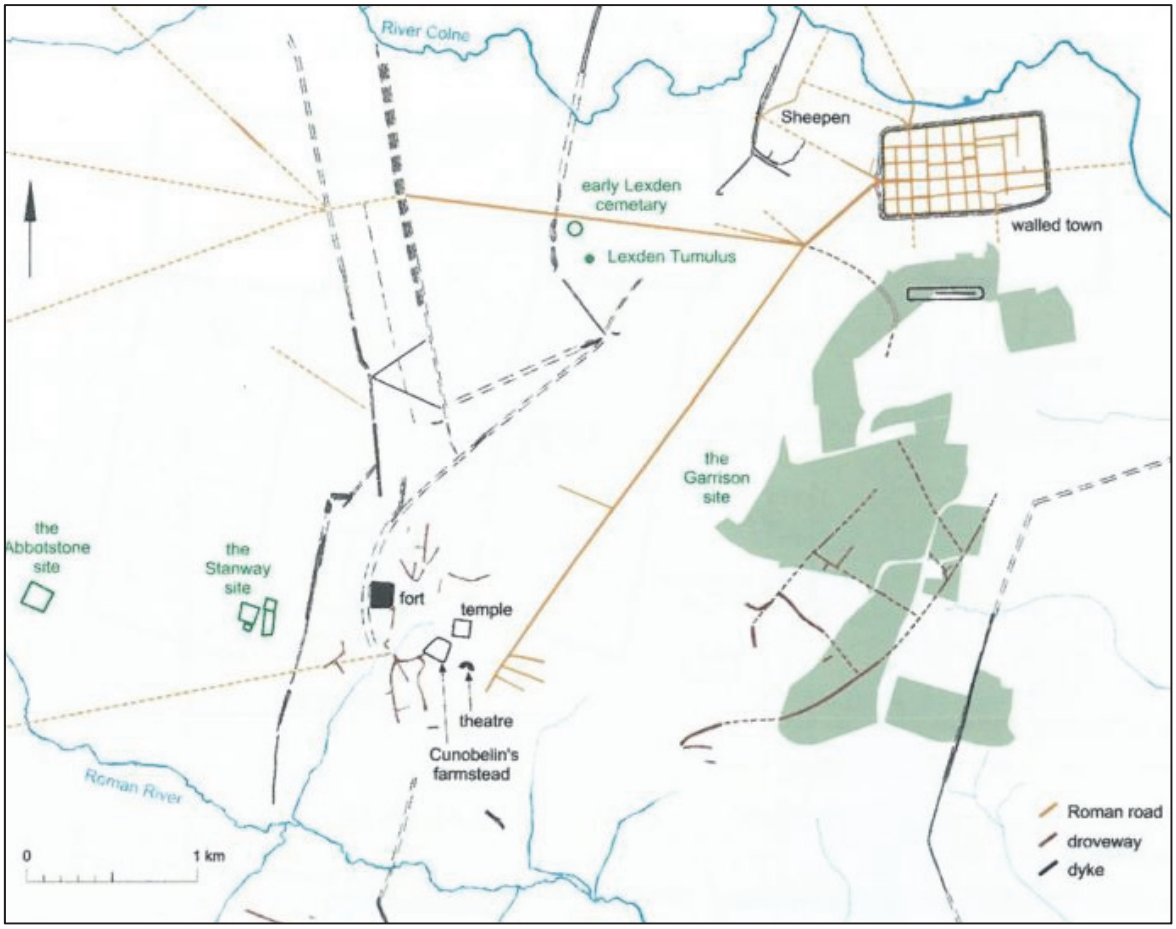


**Figure 4: The polyfocal site of Camulodunum (Fulford 2015: 61).**

### 2.1.2 The process of urbanization

The distinguished Camille Jullian never believed that pre-Roman *oppida* could be seen as cities[112]. It was Dechelette, who excavated the site of Bibracte at the beginning of the 20th century, who first recognized the urban character these sites presented.[113] Later, in 1939, the German scholar Werner also argued in favour of a ‘Celtic town’.[114] Nevertheless, most scholars, including Braudel, kept looking at *oppida* as villages.[115] In 1980, in an influential

[111] Willis 2007: 121. Smashed pottery is found also in other Late Iron Age sites of Britain, e.g. Stanway (Camulodunum) and Verulamium.

[112] For a thorough historical analysis of the semantic meaning of the term *‘oppidum’* as applied by archaeologists and historians see the significant contribution of Lukas 2014 ‘A Historical-Semantic Approach to the Concept of “Oppidum”’.

[113] Déchelette 1914.

[114] Werner 1939.

[115] See one of Greg Woolf’s sub-headings: ‘A world of villages’ (Woolf 1998).

chapter which was eloquently titled *'Les antecedents: y a-t-il une ville protohistoric?'* Goudineau and Kruta concluded that cities never existed in the protohistorical period.[116] Only a few years later, following the important international excavations carried out from 1984 onwards at Mont-Beuvray and at other sites such as Corent and Moulay, a new series of studies and conferences sanctioned the idea that (at least some) *oppida* might have had 'urban' features.[117]

As we have mentioned in chapter 1, the problem is that many scholars like to make general statements, saying either all *oppida* were towns or none were. In reality, it is more likely that some actually presented 'urban' aspects, while others probably did not. This goes back to the issue of the imprecision of the word '*oppidum*'. If by the term 'city' we mean the Classical or Medieval city, then we can easily exclude that what was called by early historians and archaeologists *'oppidum'* could ever be classified as such (see above the arguments by Poux).[118] However, if we follow a functional definition of city – i.e. 'cities owe their existence to the presence of an array of social and economic activities not related to the rural sphere which demands a concentration of people within a relatively small area' - then the definition might well fit at least some of the *oppida*. For example, the large *oppida* of north-eastern and central Gaul (e.g. Bibracte, Villeneuve-Saint-Germain), which were central places (from juridical, political and religious points of view) of an articulated regional network, would fall into this category.

In this sense, the excavations carried out at the site of Manching (Germany) were a real watershed for protohistorian studies. Scholars were forced to reconsider at least partially their views. In the north-western provinces, a similarly important moment was the discovery of the site of Bibracte, whose walled area extended over 197 ha, and, even though it was not all densely occupied, it had public spaces (streets, roads, and sanctuaries), public infrastructures, and an inhabited area where different economic activities were performed (e.g. crafts and trade) (Figure 5).

The discovery of this and other sites, such as Alesia and Gergovia and other large, fortified, perched settlements discovered all over continental Europe, scattered from the British Isles to Slovakia, will encourage the scenario of the *'*civilization of *oppida'*. Thus, the idea of proto-urbanism gained momentum.

Now, whether some of these *oppida* could be called cities is a secondary matter. It is more important for us to understand how and why they developed in the first place. We have already introduced the debate that began in the 1970s on whether they emerged because of exogenous or endogenous factors. Until then, both French and British scholarship took it as a given that urbanism in north-western Europe was introduced by the Romans. This traditional view was based on a severe lack of data and on preconceptions that supported and promoted the idea of colonization. It was also reinforced by the further emphasis put, during the post-war period, on

[116] Goudineau and Kruta 1980.
[117] Bintliff 1984a; Bintliff 1984b; Collis 1984; Guichard *et al.* eds 2000; Fichtl 2002; Buchsenschutz 2004; Kaenel 2006;
[118] Brun *et al.* 2000: 83.

the 'concept of stages of human development and general theorizing about influencing social transformations' as well as by the introduction of neo-evolutionary paradigms.[119] Nowadays, we are re-shaping our view of the genesis of ancient urbanism in temperate Europe. We have anticipated above that town-like places developed long before the emergence of the *oppida* in the 2nd century BC (between the 7th and the 5th centuries BC). More and more evidence indicates that in a few areas of Temperate Europe, several of the so-called *Fürstensitze* of the Late Hallstatt and Early La Téne periods (7th to 5th centuries BC) performed some 'urban' functions, but the genesis of this phenomenon is still not completely understood, and it is still matter of debate.[120]

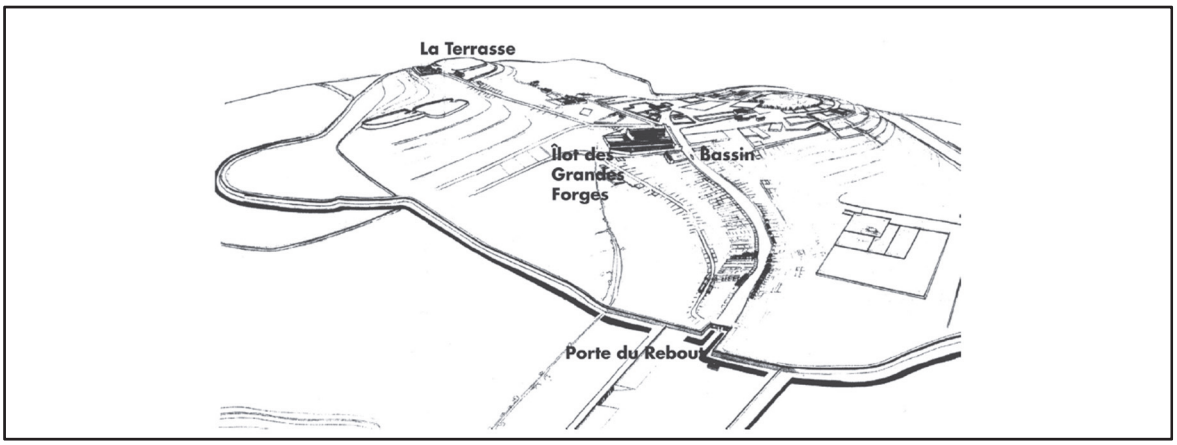


**Figure 5: Reconstruction of the *oppidum* of Bibracte (Fernández-Götz *et al.* 2014b: 5).**

As mentioned above, by the 1970s a number of voices were being raised against the diffusionist model and a more endogenous theory of urban development was being floated.[121] However, the discourse has radicalized, and some scholars support the idea that Mediterranean and Temperate Europe urban development substantially differed from one another and gave rise to two different urban models. For example, Buchsenschutz writes that the *oppida* of Gaul were characterized by very specific topographic choices (e.g. dominant positions in the landscape) for both defensive and religious reasons (Bibracte, Donnersberg), a gigantic and prestigious wall (significantly larger than Roman ones, and which are very rare in Gaul, as we will discuss in ch. 4), and monumental gates. On the other hand, he claims, Roman urbanism privileged lowland, strategic areas (e.g. along terrestrial or fluvial/maritime routes) and took the form of elite-dominated cities. Pion adds that the urban 'model' of the 'oppida' lasted until 25 BC and

[119] Bintliff 1984a: 21. For a more thorough discussion see Bintliff 1984b.

[120] Also see Collectif 1985; Audouze and Buchsenschutz 1989; Guichard *et al.* eds 2000; Collectif 2007. However, the Late La Tène *oppida*, as Fernández-Götz *et al.* 2014b notes, have a much wider geographical distribution and often cover a larger surface area compared to the Late Hallstatt/Early La Tène *Fürstensitze*. Moreover, while the appearance of the *oppida* was certainly accompanied by an internal evolution of the societies of temperate Europe, which became increasingly hierarchical, it is possible that this process accelerated in its final stages thanks to the commercial contacts with the Mediterranean.

[121] Bintliff 1984b. More recently Buchsenschutz 2000; Pion 2010; and Nouvel 2010: XX.

fell under Roman political and ideological pressure, which was incompatible with the previous 'Celtic' ideology.[122]

Nonetheless, as Kaenel states, it is true that there is no need to bring the Romans (or the Mediterranean world) into the picture or any other *Deus ex machina* (such as the Cimbri and Teutones for Gaul, or Belgic migrants for Britain) to explain the origin of urbanization in temperate Europe.[123] The creation of the *oppida* is, in fact, more likely to be the result of a political decision, as it was for the foundation of the cities in the Mediterranean world. Their appearance should not be associated with catastrophic events that would have forced Iron Age communities to protect themselves against their enemies or, in case of Britain, against foreign invasions.

The idea, which held away in the 19th and part of the 20th centuries, that urbanism was adopted because of migrations or invasion from the continent, has also been largely rejected.[124] Regular cross-Channel relationships might be part of the explanation, but in such a long-term, prolonged process other factors must have played an important role (e.g. climate, long-term socio-economic, political, cultural changes, etc.).[125] We need to remember that the most important changes in agriculture date to the 3rd century, and not to the time of the so-called migrations (2nd century BC). As Millett pointed out, many developments previously associated with population movements, e.g. that of Belgae to Britain mentioned by Caesar, should not be a prime cause of change in the Later Pre-Roman Iron Age. No doubt some movement of people might have taken place, but how significant was it? Probably those relationships were based on kinship (*parentela*) and should not be over-estimated.[126]

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[122] Buchsenschutz 2000 'Les oppida celtiques, un phénomène original d'urbanisation'.; Pion 2010 'Oppida et urbanisation en Gaule du Nord avant la Conquête: des faits aux modèles et des modèles à l'Histoire'.

[123] Kaenel 2006: 15; Brun *et al.* 2000 According to the authors, the emergence of these new sites is not related to historical events (such as the invasion of the Cimbri and Teutoni or the conquest of Caesar), which only slightly influenced a local phenomenon. A network of large settlements, nodes of various and concentrated activities starts to develop throughout Continental Europe.

[124] A more recent reference to migrations can be found in Pion 1990: 254, where it is suggested that the development of the first, large open agglomerations in the Aisne Valley (i.e. Condé-sur-Suippe, *Villeneuve-Saint-Germain,* and Pommier) could be explained by the movement of an already hierarchically structured group of Celts from Italy.

[125] Moore 2016. "In British Iron Age studies, as in prehistoric studies as a whole, the early to mid 20th century was an era of culture-historical narratives in which invasions or migrations of people from the Continent played a dominant role.' (Cunliffe 2005 p. 3-20). […] The "invasion hypothesis" underwent sustained critique from the 1960s onwards, notably by Hodson and Clark, who demolished the slender evidence base for most of the supposed folk movements (Hodson 1964, Clark 1966). […] New theoretical perspectives developed in the 1960s and 70s placed more emphasis on the internal workings of social systems. This went in parallel with increased interest in issues such as settlement forms, agriculture and the environment, for which the relevance of overseas contacts was less obvious. There have even been some suggestions that Iron Age communities either side of the Channel could have shared a common culture. Cunliffe (2001) and Henderson (2007) outline an Atlantic Iron Age incorporating maritime western Britain, Ireland, western France and northwest Iberia, defined mainly by comparisons of settlement forms, cross-regional connectivity throughout the period is implied by the sharing of new technologies and artefact types.' (Webley 2015: 123-124). Also see Champion 2016.

[126] Millett 1990: 9. This argument is valid also for other British communities which have the same name as their Gaulish counterparts, e.g. Parisi, see Halkon and Starley 2011; Anthoons 2007.

As Cunliffe very recently pointed out:

> The obsession with 'invaders' is easy to understand. British history as taught in schools spoke of successive waves of invaders from the Continent covering swats of the British Isles: Normans, Danes, Saxons, Romans. It was not unreasonable to back-project this model into the depths of prehistory. Also taught were the glories of empire - of the Roman empire, and of the British empire following proudly in its wake. Primitive people were conquered by superior cultures introducing new religious beliefs, new technologies, and new forms of government, all producing beneficial change. In the mood of high Victorian imperialism, in which leaders like Lord Raglan could believe that natives don't invent things, it was not unnatural to interpret the changes identifiable in the archaeological record as the direct consequence of new people moving in to set up their ascendancy over indigenous populations.[127]

In order to test the old concept of 'cultural diffusionism', which links the movement of ideas and values to the movement of people, we need to wait until DNA studies will finally be able to give us more insights into this matter.

Indeed the development of the *oppida*, as he rightly argued, went far beyond the economic function that the open settlements may have had. Concluding, Fernández-Götz writes, 'in general terms, the main processes that motivated and led to the development of the *oppida* of temperate Europe were the following: 1) the intensification of productive and commercial activities; 2) demographic growth and a resurgence of social hierarchisation; 3) increase in the "social density", i.e. the frequency of communications and interactions between individual persons and groups; and 4) the large-scale establishment and/or reinforcement of political-religious integration and structuring of the territory. Evidently not all these elements were necessarily present in all cases or to the same extent.'[128]
The multifunctionality of these sites reflects the complexity of the reasons behind their development. As well as being the place where the elite and their subjects relocated from the surrounding countryside and defended their surplus and wealth, they became instrumental for political purposes and for strengthening their power. Individual aspirations are bound to have caused tensions and conflicts among the members of the same communities (affecting intra-group relationships and enhancing social complexity) as well as with the neighbouring ones, hence the complex system of dykes and defensive circuits. The materialization of religious beliefs and practices (such as the distribution of food and especially beverages) are likely to have also played a key role in establishing and maintaining these new social relationships, as well as in re-enforcing inter- and intra-group competition and providing a place for individuals to bond through meetings and assemblies.[129] These centres were not, in their earliest stage,

[127] Cunliffe 2012: 32.

[128] Fernández-Götz 2014a: 384; Bintliff 2016.

[129] Many *oppida*, in their earliest phases, show traces of religious activity. This is the case of the *oppida* within the *civitas* of the Bellovaci (Fichtl 2013a), of the site of Corent (Poux 2012) and Bibracte (Fleischer and Rieckhoff 2002). They usually date to the 4th to 3rd centuries BC. In southern Gaul this is true for different sites, such as Nemausus, Entremont, and Glanum (Garcia 2003; and 2006). Around half a dozen of the *oppida* of the Treveri were also in use in the 6th or 5th century. Fernández-Götz 2014a: 379-380 concludes that 'the use of a place for cultic purposes and holding assemblies would have been the cause, and not the consequence, of the development of oppida at these sites'. He also emphasizes the political and religious importance of *oppida*. He observed that long before the appearance of the *oppida* there was already a tendency for the population and the economic and trading activities to concentrate in open settlements. Thus, he concludes, the primary functions of the *oppida* were

densely occupied; nonetheless, they were to play a crucial role in the appearance of a social hierarchy within communities and, on a larger scale, in the emergence of social and political centralized entities. This phenomenon is not dissimilar to what happened in Southern Europe, where early Greek towns grew up around elite groups, who marked their identity by vesting with religious meanings the place where they resided, which was thus under the protection of a deity. Similarly, the elite either attempted to integrate the pre-existing rural sanctuaries by re-enacting rural processions or they simply tried to suppress them or gradually reduce their importance.[130]

## 2.2 The development of urbanism in southern Gaul

Southern Gaul, during the final Bronze Age, experienced a long phase of demographic growth mirrored by an increase in the number of settlements between 0.1 to 30 ha but which - on average - covered only *c*. one hectare.[131] Some of these settlements seem to be bigger than average and required significant medium- or long-term investments (e.g. Baou-Roux and Saint Blaise in Provence or Roque de Viou and La Liquière in Languedoc). However, while we see lots of changes in the 7th century BC - mostly the introduction of iron and an increase in agricultural production - we do not witness urbanization, which was a later development.[132] For example, in Languedoc most settlements were small and ephemeral (*c*. 60-70%). The landscape was not very structured, and sites, whether small and short lived, nucleated, or sanctuaries were irregularly distributed across the landscape, with no catchment-area restrictions in place. The nature of most sites, which were only temporarily (seasonally) occupied, suggests they were occupied by self-sufficient, agro-pastoral communities.

### 2.2.1 The foundation of Marseille

In the 6th century BC, the indigenous communities of southern Gaul were already part of the Mediterranean exchange circuit, with the Etruscans as their intermediary.[133] In 600 BC, the Greek colony of Massalia was founded, and, at the same time we see gradually emerge a new, entrepreneurial attitude among the indigenous community towards agriculture, which enables them to create a surplus and to accumulate wealth.

The settlement patterns changed accordingly, and nucleated and durably occupied nucleated settlements increased in number, whilst the number of temporary sites diminished.[134] In Languedoc, we also see that the indigenous people preferred to settle in locations and microhabitats that maximized both accessibility and agricultural potential, e.g. along the coast, rivers, and in the plain. The first significant indigenous centres developed in the region close to Marseille and in the Lower Rhône (especially in the internal sea of Étang de Berre, see the

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not defensive, artisanal, commercial, etc. - which he thinks were largely a secondary effect - but rather political and religious.

[130] Snodgrass 1980.

[131] Garcia 2002: 88; Lagrand 1968 for Provence; and Py 2012 for territory around *Nîmes*.

[132] Garcia 2002.

[133] Imported luxury goods, at this early stage, are commonly found in funerary contexts (Py 1990: 517-525).

[134] From 70% to 55% in Languedoc.

foundations of Tamaris and Sainte-Blaise[135]). Other *oppida* developed along the major rivers discharging into the Mediterranean Sea (e.g. Montlaurès, Béziers, Bassan, Lattes, Nîmes, Mauressip, Arles etc.).[136] Their surface areas ranged between 0.5-15 ha. A developing hierarchization of sites can be observed: *oppida*, rural or pastoral sites, fortified hamlet or isolated farms that often lasted no longer than one generation, e.g. in the territory around Nîmes. These sites do not seem to diminish the role of central place of the *oppida*; on the contrary, they reveal how dynamic these communities had become, as well as how sophisticated was the control and influence over their countryside territories exercised by these centres.

**Figure 6: Main agglomerations in Southern Gaul (Garcia 2002: 97).**

According to Garcia, the appearance of these more permanent settlements is a direct consequence of the foundation of Marseille. This first encounter, he writes, was followed by a process of socio-economic transformation that would finally take the form of proto-states led by 'big men.[137] However, this idea does not take into account the fact that, as Py rightly observed, already in 8th to 7th centuries BC, several (although not many) important centres had developed, in some cases from pre-existing sanctuaries.[138] Nonetheless, while it is not

[135] Trément 1999: 113-117.

[136] For example, George de Loup, which develops at the site of the confluence between the rivers *Rhône* and *Saône*, will extend at the end of the 6th century BC to over 25 ha.

[137] Garcia 2004.

[138] Py 2012 (this book is reviewed in Buchsenschutz 1993); and Garcia 2003. For the Three Gauls see Fichtl *et al.* eds 2000. The importance of the role of sanctuaries for the general development of sites (focal points at the moment of the site's foundation and they maintain their significance despite the constant transformations of the settlement that followed) comes up repeatedly in the edited book Fernández-Götz *et al.* eds 2014.

necessarily true that Massalia had triggered this process of settlement nucleation, it is very likely that its presence accelerated this process.

Massalia's colonies (e.g. Agde) were all small trading posts concentrated along the sea coasts. Marseille was primarily a commercial power which had created a monopoly that stretched from Agde to the territory of the Ligures. Many settlements – whether their own foundations or indigenous centres (e.g. Lattes, Espeyran), were economically dependent on Marseille and tied to it by commercial agreements, which we know from the inscribed lead tablets. Its prominence is reflected in the distribution of Massilian coinage, which, until the mid-2nd century BC, was the only one to be found in southern France.[139]

In short, Socio-economic changes that took place in this region between the 6th and 5th centuries BC transformed the economy of southern Gaul, moving it beyond subsistence level. In the two centuries that followed, already established agglomerations and new foundations would accumulate enough surplus to grow larger and become more sophisticated.

### 2.2.2 Urban concentration (4th to 2nd centuries BC)

During this phase, we witness three major changes: i. the crystallization of the settlement system; ii. a new preference in the selection of building materials; iii. The appearance of rationally planned and structured agglomerations. In this period very large sites start to develop at the expense of smaller *oppida*, rural sites and temporary sites which are abandoned. New, larger, central places located in strategic places - such as at the foot of hills or mouths of rivers – whose economy is based on agriculture and trade, attract the indigenous population. We can distinguish two type of settlements: i. the larger sites (over 10 ha) which are lie *c*. 20-50 km from each other, which is more or less equivalent to one day's journey;[140] ii. smaller, indigenous agglomerations that cover no more than 5 ha which are distributed in a quite dense pattern. The growing importance of sites like Béziers, Lattes, Nîmes, Arles and other Greek agglomerations like Emporion, Agathe or Massalia at the expense of other smaller sites reflects the development of a new and more centralized way of managing a more defined territory.

In this period we also see the appearance of structures made of hard materials, e.g. quadrangular houses with foundations of hard materials and buildings of stone and bricks, including in modest settlements such as Clos Barthès.[141] Moreover, settlements seem to re-organize themselves internally by organizing into *insulae*, with a densely built city centre, and they began to be rationally planned and structured (e.g. Lattes, Nages).[142] Roads - even small ones

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[139] Clavel-Lévêque 1989: 11.

[140] Garcia 2002; Garcia 2004.

[141] Nuninger 2002: 208; Garcia 2004. In this first phase we see appearing to the left of the *Rhône* the following sites: Ruscino, Naguère, Illiberis, Pech-Maho (Sigean), Le Moulin, Albas, Carcassonne, the *oppidum* of Cros (Caunes), Montlaurès, Mailhac, the *oppidum* of Moulinasse (Salles d'Aude), the *oppidum* of d'Ensérune at Nissan, Montfau (Megalas), *Béziers*. A little before 500 BC the first sedentary sites are founded in the valley of the *Hérault* and *Lodévois,* Agde, Bessan, Florensac or Saint-Simeon (Pézenas), Lattes. To the right of the river *Rhône* we see the following sites: Espeyran, Le Cailar, Arles, Saint-Blaise, Tamaris (Martigues), *oppidum* of Castellan, *oppidum* of Baou (Saint-Marcel), and Vaison.

[142] Garcia 2004: 79.

- and public spaces were kept empty, which is a clear sign that there was some sort of authority that would enforce urban rules. Unfortunately, we do not know enough to determine the nature of this authority, but it is clear that, through the erection of defensive walls, these agglomerations (e.g. Roquecourbe, Ambrussum, and Nages) were affirming their status and independence as well as defending themselves against potential aggressors. These walls were often built in a typically Hellenistic fashion (e.g. Mauressip) which suggests that the contacts between indigenous communities and Greek colonies might have gone beyond the scope of trade agreements and perhaps included military alliances.[143]

According to Garcia, the forms of pre-Roman settlements of southern Gaul conceptually differ from the Classical city since they reflect a different political and religious idea. In the Greek cities, he argues, urbanism developed starting from the public spaces, which are usually located in the historical or geographical centre of the city or in a topographically eminent position. The settlements of southern Gaul, on the other hand, privilege another type of spatial logic, that is, circulation. The main streets are never axial but often parallel to the walls, creating a sort of *'périphérique intérieur'*. This type of route can often be found in the protohistoric sites of the Midi, from the Hérault to East Provence, both on the coastline and in the interior. The cases of Lattes, Nages, l'Ile de Martigues and Entremont are the most representative, but we can also see it in other places such as Notre-Dame-de-Pitié, Baou-Roux and Saint-Pierre-les-Martigues. The public buildings (when they extst) show a direct influence of the Classical societies, but they are not located at the head of a road. Instead, we find them along the road itself. They usually have an oblong shape, surrounded by a *porticus* (e.g. the *fana* of Nages and Roque-de-Viou).[144]

From the 2nd century BC, the settlement system became more polarized: old, as well as new foundations, are likely to have increased their territory of influence and continued to flourish. These included Nîmes, Glanon, and Enaginnum as well as older centres such as Arles (over 30 ha) and Lattes (25-30 ha). In the agglomerations, many sculptural elements were added, public space was embellished and monumentalized in Late Hellenistic style, and domus were also built.

### 2.2.3 The Romans and the construction of a province

In 154 BC, the Roman armies first entered southern Gaul to provide assistance to Rome's ally, Antipolis, against the Ligures who, according to Polybius, were threatening its colonies of Nicaea and Antibes.[145] The Romans took the opportunity to take over southern France: between 125-118 BC they conquered southern Gaul and established the province of Gallia Transpadana, later called Narbonensis. This region, however, was far from being pacified.[146] The indigenous agglomerations in southern Gaul were growing in size and power and began to form alliances

[143] Nuninger 2002: 262.
[144] Garcia 2005: 80.
[145] From the 2nd century BC, the indigenous communities had become more and more hostile towards Massalia. This is very clear from ancient sources: Cicero, Pro L. Flaccus, 63, cit. note 5; Justin, 43. 3, cit. note 27; *Polybius*, Hist., 33, 8-10 ; Silius Italicus, Punica, XV, 162-178 ; Livy, Nart. Hist. XXXVII, 54, 21-22, cit. note 10.
[146] Polybius 33.7-11.

against Greek and Roman imperialism.[147] Such clashes left their marks in the signs of the destruction that many indigenous *oppida* suffered between 125 and 100 BC (e.g. Entremont, Saint-Blaise, Baou-Roux etc.).[148]

During this period of instability, Rome founded the Roman colony of Narbo (118 BC) and further Roman contingents were stationed at Arles, Aix, and Toulouse. The existing settlement system had to be at least partially dismantled in order to accommodate the new Roman creations that were scattered along the most important axes of the province (i.e. the coastal route and the Rhône axis). At Narbo, the programme of centralization was also instrumental in efficiently boosting farming and extractive metallurgy. Development accelerated in the colony's surrounding area as well as, indirectly, in the whole region. As a result, new, significantly large, and increasingly wealthy villages which acted as marketplaces would develop along the major Roman roads (e.g. via Domitia, via Aquitania), which became well-trodden routes travelled by merchants (e.g. La Lagaste and Bram).[149] Thanks to the increasing contacts and level of exchanges with Narbo and through it with Italy, older indigenous centres prospered and became important commercial centres, such as Ruscino, Aumes, and Ensérune.[150]

At the end of the 2nd century BC to the 1st century BC, two different monetary circuits - separated by the river Hérault (Agde) - reflect the areas of influence of Massilia (to the east, which remained unsurpassed) and of Rome (to the west), although here Roman coins circulated along with those of Massilia and other regional issues. To the west, the Iberian influence was visible in the coinage, largely originating from the Greek colony of Emporion in Catalonia (Spain) which at that time was a cultural *melting pot.* The presence of Iberians is documented

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[147] From 125 BC a series of rebellions unfold, in order: the rebellions of the *Salluvii*, Vocontii, and Ligures in 125 BC, of the Allobroges and Arverni in 122-121 BC, of the Volcae *Tectosages* and Toulouse in 106-104 BC, of the *Salluvii* in 90 BC, of the Volcae and Vocontii in 77-72 BC, and the Allobroges in 66 and 62-61 BC. The region also suffered the incursion of the Germanic tribes of the *Cimbri* and the Teutones in *c*. 105 BC.

[148] It cannot be excluded that these clashes were also rooted in the growing polarization of the settlement system, which could be itself the result of conflicts between individual centres or confederated communities. For example, a clash between the people of the *oppidum* of *Roque de Viou (who then relocate to Nages) and those of the oppidum of* Mauressip has been envisaged by Nuninger 2002: 227-226.

[149] Bram would later be called *vicus* Eburomagus (AE 1969-1970, 388; Tabula Peuntingeriana I, 2 A-B) or Hebromagus (Itin. Burdigal. 551, 7). In the 1st century BC the settlement measured *c*. 15 ha. It lay at the crossroads of the Roman road from Narbonne to Toulouse and of the road that linked to the Montagne Noire and Ariège. The settlement grew larger in Augustan times, when all the Via Aquitania (which was 30 m wide) was flanked by numerous shops and workshops. Originally it was probably created by the movement of people *from the surrounding rural area who saw its potential to become* a regional import redistribution centre (i.e. most of the redistributed the goods were received from Narbonne). The resources it depended on came from the plain of Lauragais, which is notoriously very rich. Moreover, nearby metals were extracted. Its surrounding area was organized in a *cadastre* (Passelac 2002).

[150] This was a mining centre which between mid-2nd century BC until mid-1st century BC grew to cover *c.* 20 ha. In the second half of the 1st century BC it was suddenly abandoned, most likely because of a political intervention. It is difficult to say whether (and if so, to what extent) the immigration from Italy of traders, entrepreneurs and middlemen had contributed to this settlement's fortune.

from the beginning of the city's existence.[151] Thus, in western Languedoc, Italian traders had gradually increased their control over trade at the expenses of the Greek colony, which, however, did not leave the scene.[152] Whilst Massilian coinage still dominated the coinage pool in Provence and Lattes, in eastern Languedoc's hinterland the currency minted by Nîmes became particularly prominent.

Overall, archaeology indicates that at this time the landscape was highly fragmented with small, autonomous, independent settlements (e.g. Ambrussum, Mauressip, Nîmes, Lattes etc.) which lay relatively close to one another (*c*. 20 km), had city walls, and issued their own coins (at least in the 2nd century BC). They did not only trade with Greek and Roman foundations, but they also joined forces against them (and possibly against each other as well). Literary texts report the names of several of these entities which, in the absence of any positive evidence and in view of the above, it would be far-reaching to assume were 'ethnic' realities.[153] In fact, they are more likely to have formed, like the Samnites in Italy, a confederation consisting of various peoples and cities.[154] Such an alliance system was certainly in place during times of conflict, although it is possible that also in more peaceful times collaborations regarding the maintenance of defensive architectures or diplomatic relations with other powers were maintained. The map in Figure 7 shows the likely location of these entities which, given their nature, never had fixed borders.

**Figure 7: Possible reconstruction of the territory of main ethnic groups in pre-Roman southern Gaul (Nuninger 2002: 12).**

[151] Tang 2005: 17. The presence of Iberians at Ampurias is indicated by epigraphic and funerary evidence (Almagro 1952: 63-83; Sanmarti-Grego 1993). The presence of the Iberian culture in south-western Gaul dates back to the 6th BC and the presence of Iberian merchants and traders from the 2nd BC is well attested by the inscriptions on *instrumenta domestica (such as writing tablets, pottery, etc.)* (Jud *et al.* 2012; Benquet 2007).
[152] Clavel-Lévêque 1989: 13.
[153] A good review of this topic can be found in Py 2012: 311-314; and Nuninger 2002: 249-260.
[154] David 1994: 254.

The confederation of the Salluvii (Salyes), for example, might have occupied the region between the river Rhône and Antibes, the Cavares the area of the lower Rhône Valley, and the Volcae the region that stretched from the river Rhône to Toulouse.[155] From a few confederated groups mentioned in the literary sources, in Roman times we will arrive at a fragmented territory divided into twenty-three *civitates* (Figure 8). How did that happen? For what reasons?

A first real re-organization of the province into *civitates* was undertaken under Caesar and the second triumvirate and a second one in Augustan times. The first phase, which lasted from late 2nd century BC until the time of Caesar, was characterized by the presence of many small settlements, which Christol refers to as *'républiques villageoises'*.[156] It is very likely that this landscape reflected the old fragmented system with a multiplicity of independent communities lying underneath the confederate supra-structure which was maintained by Rome. We have hints of this fragmented scenario from ancient literary, numismatic, and epigraphic sources.[157] The list of Pliny, and its mention of the 75 *oppida Latina* established (it is now generally agreed that their establishment should be dated to the time when Caesar granted the *ius Latii* to the whole province of Narbonensis and among them to small communities of eastern Languedoc that would later be annexed to the *civitas* of Nîmes), offers us a view of a province with a multiplicity of local powers, which are also partly attested by their coin emissions. In this period, for example, Mauressip and Nîmes still appear to have been equally wealthy and important. Unfortunately, we still know little about Caesar's organization of the province, so it will be easier for us to concentrate on the second phase of the re-organization of the province, which results in the map of the *civitates* that we show in Figure 8.

The map in Figure 8 represents the *civitates* that survived into Augustan times and shows the *civitates* that existed during the High Empire. They are likely to be the result of a second phase of the organization of the province ordered by Augustus (sometime between 27-15 BC), and it is characterized by the re-grouping of the cities into larger *civitates* (this trend would go on until Diocletian times when the size of administrative units drastically decreases[158]). For example, during Augustus' reign, 43 out of the 75 *oppida* lost their autonomy and were integrated into neighbouring communities. Mauressip, for example, is one of the famous victims of such an administrative re-organization, which meant that 19 *oppida ignobilia* and 24 *adtributa* mentioned by Pliny lost their autonomy and were annexed to the territory of Nîmes.[159] The reason why Nîmes was preferred above the rest is unclear; however, this sudden change can be explained only by the direct intervention of Rome.

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[155] If it were correct that the word 'Volcae' derived from the Latin '*vulgus' (common people, people), then we could say* with confidence *but without certainty that these entities might not have had any* notions of national *identity (*Moret 2002: 83).

[156] Christol 2007: 34.

[157] For a study of Ptolemy's place names of Gallia Narbonensis, see de Hoz 2005. For example, the city of the Caenicenses was, according to Pliny, an *oppidum latino*. A fragment of the *cadastre A d'Orange* confirms its presence and locates it south of the Alpilles.

[158] Beaujard 2006.

[159] Christol 1994. Among all these Latin *oppida* were probably the communities that were controlled by Massalia and to which Caesar gave freedom.

**Figure 8: The *civitates* of Gaul Narbonensis (Garcia 2002: 99).**

Now, let us look more closely at the map of the *civitates* that we know existed from the time of Augustus.[160] It clearly shows that the *civitates* of Narbonensis dramatically differed in size. The *civitates* are large in Provence, Languedoc and the sub-alpine regions. On the other hand, *civitates* are smaller when they are located along the most strategic waterway of the region, the Rhône axis. These include Avignon, Carpentras, Cavaillon, Apt, and the Tricastini with their capital Saint-Paul as well as three veteran colonies (Arles, Orange, and Valence).[161] Similarly, Narbonne, Béziers, Lodève, Carcassonne, and Ruscino are sandwiched between the two large *civitates* of the Volcae Tectosages (Toulouse) and the Volcae Arecomici (Nîmes). All of these small *civitates* are in fact Latin colonies, except for the two cities which had sided against Rome during the Second Punic War, i.e. Narbonne and Béziers. Given that the establishment of a Roman veteran colony may have involved the expulsion of the indigenous population from

[160] It is difficult to date certain decisions concerning the re-organization of provinces. We will specify the date or the author of a particular measure only when evidence give us a hint. Otherwise it will be left undefined. Here we have no interest in looking at what happens in later periods, so we will discuss the problem of those self-governing cities that might have lost their independence in the High Empire, namely Ruscino, Glanum and Carcassone, in a later chapter.

[161] Leveau 2000, possibly a Roman creation since they are mentioned very late in the sources (e.g. Livy, Strabo, Cicero and Caesar).

their land, which could be confiscated and redistributed to the discharged soldiers, the colony system's punitive implications should not be neglected.[162]

The area of the protohistoric confederation of the Salluvii, which had opposed Rome at least twice (in 125 and 90 BC), disappeared from the map: its territory was divided into at least three different *civitates*: the Roman colonies of Fréjus, Arles, and Aix.[163] It is possible that some other indigenous confederations kept their (vast) lands although they had also resisted the Romans, e.g. the *civitates* of the Alps, the Vocontii (Vaison) and the Allobroges (Vienne). We also know that Marseille, having sided with Pompey against Caesar did not disappear: its territory was indeed diminished, but it kept its autonomy and its status of *civitas foederata*. Can we explain such different treatments, or should we just file them in the category of whim and chance? Part of the explanation must be Roman pragmatism. Both Caesar and Augustus had an interest in pacifying the area and making it suitable for veterans to settle in. They both needed to find a solution for veterans while increasing their clientele. Strategic and political decisions were therefore always in their minds when they set out to re-organize this province, and we can still see the mark they left on its map.

We can, therefore, conclude that, in the case of Narbonensis, the Romans had a strong impact on the administrative structures of the territory. Security enhancement was especially required at strategic points within the transport system (which were fundamental for military supplies, both in case of possible emergencies or military disputes with communities living across the border). Therefore, the Romans created multiple veteran colonies - i.e. inhabited by discharged soldiers whose presence could help to pacify the region or at least serve as a deterrent against future rebellions - in places that were strategically important: i. along the *isthmus gallicus (*Narbonne and Béziers), which connected Gaul with the Pyrenees (important for their mineral resources); ii. along the coastal route (Arles, Aix, Fréjus); iii. the Rhône River (Orange and Valence).[164] The Romans did not only establish new agglomerations (*fora*, colonies etc.), but most importantly changed the spatial logic of the territory. This will become clearer when we look more closely at the case studies from Narbonensis, For example, whilst in pre-Roman times the indigenous confederations used to include rivers, they are used by the Romans as borders between different *civitates.*[165]

## 2.3 The development of urbanism in the rest of Gaul and Germania Inferior

### 2.3.1 The Late Iron Age

Given the difficulties that prevent us from establishing precise chronologies of all sites, we will be forced to discuss the development of urbanism in the rest of Gaul and Germania Inferior with a certain degree of approximation. In order to take a closer look at the dynamics of this process, let us see how the urbanization process is understood south-east of the Paris Basin, in

[162] Mattingly 2006a: 261-262.
[163] Verdin 1998.
[164] The valley of the *Hérault*, for example, was divided into three different *civitates* (*Béziers*, Lodève, and *Nîmes*).
[165] Garcia 2004: 183.

north-eastern France, one of the best-studied regions in north-western Europe.[166] Then we will turn to different phases of the process of urbanization of the north-western provinces, on the basis of Nouvel's work.[167]

Evidence from the Aisne Valley in north-eastern France indicates that from 400 to 250 BC there was a drop in types of settlements, and only a few burials are found. The landscape here appears to be dominated by a dispersed occupation, although archaeological evidence suggests a structured division of land ownership, possibly associated with kinship.[168] This settlement pattern contrasts with the high level of nucleation of contemporary communities settled in the 'developed hillforts' of south-central Britain (see later in this chapter). From the 2nd century BC onwards, large, fortified and often polyfocal complexes (so-called *oppida*) begin to emerge in the region along with a number of other smaller settlements and rural establishments (both *oppida* and smaller forms of settlements appear to have been used with continuity for up to 50 years. Only from the 1st century BC onwards do they begin to be more long lived).[169] This event does not seem to have had a direct impact on the rest of the landscape: nearby sites are not abandoned nor do they increase in number. The main four agglomerations in the Aisne Valley that potentially performed 'urban' functions were Condé-sur-Suippe/Variscout, Saint-Thomas, Villeneuve-Saint-Germain, and Pommiers. It has been calculated that Villeneuve-Saint-Germain had a minimum of 4000 inhabitants (Manching's population is believed to have been at least 5000).[170] In all of them, there are intensive traces of metallurgic activity (iron, bronze, precious stones and coin mints) and long-distance trade is attested (e.g. imports of wine from Italy). None of these sites was preceded by villages, which leads us to conclude that we are not confronted with a case of gradual synoecism or a transition from a small to a large settlement. Thus, the settlement pattern drastically changes from a dispersed settlement pattern to a more hierarchical system, with several centres inhabited by more than 1000 people. The significant changes that took place in the Aisne Valley and in other Gaulish *oppida* are visible in the archaeological record from the end of the 2nd century BC.[171] The larger and more developed *oppida* could concentrate commercial, economic, religious and possibly political functions and displayed a functional and social differentiation of space.

Increased social stratification is also attested by the appearance of a large spectrum of agglomerations and hierarchical disparities between settlements. A very interesting case involves the so-called aristocratic farms which might have started developing as early as the 5th century BC, although they are likely to have increased in size and become more common

[166] Brun *et al.* 2000.
[167] Nouvel 2010.
[168] Buchsenschutz *et al.* 2012.
[169] In total 66 establishments are attested (4 *oppida*, 37 cemeteries, 25 undetermined sites) Brun *et al*. 2000: 84. These create problems of interpretation of the landscape: were these settlements used contemporaneously or not? Is what we see in Auvergne really a polyfocal site or were those three sites occupied in different times?
[170] Brun *et al.* 2000: 85; Boessneck e*t al.* 1971.
[171] Obviously this process was not at the same stage everywhere. Later on in this chapter, when we will look at regional differences, we will have the chance to discuss how the introduction of urbanism and state formation was more advanced in the eastern and central *civitates* of Belgic Gaul compared to western Gaul, the territory of the Roman *civitates* of the Morini, Eburones and Menapi and Britannia.

between the 3rd and the 2nd centuries BC. The one excavated in Paule (Brittany) is the most notable example of this category of settlement.[172] What was originally a simple, isolated farm gradually grew into a small *oppidum* placed under the control of an aristocratic family, whose members were buried in a rich *necropolis* close by. The Iron Age settlement would endure until Roman times, when it would be replaced by the nearby city of Vorgium. Until then, it certainly functioned as an important central place, although it never reached the dimensions of some of the *oppida* in western France. Within the defensive walls, crops and other natural resources were stored and economic activities (e.g. metalworking, food-processing etc.) performed.

**Figure 9: A reconstruction of the fortified farm and its settlement at Paule.[173]**

### 2.3.2 The *oppidum*

Now we will briefly look at the morphology, size, and functions of the so-called *oppida* located in Gaul and dating to the Late Iron Age. Here I present an example of such a site - the *oppidum* of Titelberg - although many others are well researched (e.g. Bibracte, Corent, Pommiers, Villeneuve-Saint-Germain, Ribemont-Sur-Ancre, Sens etc). The *oppidum* of Titelberg was the site of a large Iron Age settlement in the extreme south-west of Luxembourg. This thriving central place has been identified as the possible capital of the Treveri. This site provides substantial evidence of several 'urban' functions long before the Roman conquest.

- Morphology:

The Titelberg plateau covers an area of some 50 ha, though the densely inhabited area covers only around 30 ha (Figure 10). The urban plan seems to have been regularly planned, and even at later times road alignments would conform to the original scheme. Roads, palisades, but also houses and workshops share a strong resemblance to those found in the countryside, and all

[172] Menez 2009; Buchsenschutz *et al.* 2012: 299 wrote: '*Le plus bel exemple de cette catégorie est l'habitat de Paule (Côtes-d'Armor) qui perdure au même emplacement du Ve siècle av. J.-C. jusqu'à la conquête romaine. Le qualificatif d'« aristocratique » se justifie par la construction à plusieurs reprises d'une véritable fortification autour de l'habitat, par la présence de très grands bâtiments construits sur des plans réguliers, par la découverte de plusieurs sculptures, dont l'une représente un joueur de lyre, et d'un nombre d'amphores à vin exceptionnel en Bretagne. Simple ferme au départ, l'habitat de Paule présente selon les phases une dominante militaire ou agricole, avant le éveloppement d'un quartier artisanal et de grosses structures de stockage au IIe siècle av. J.-C., époque où il atteint les dimensions d'un petit oppidum*'.

[173] http://kreizyarcheo.bzh/sites-archeologiques/sites-caracteristiques/camp-de-saint-symphorien [last accessed: 15-11-2017].

follow a more or less orthogonal plan.[174] Paraphrasing Alphonse Allais, they might be called *'campagne à la ville'*. Unlike the *oppidum* of Paule, this settlement was under the control of multiple families.

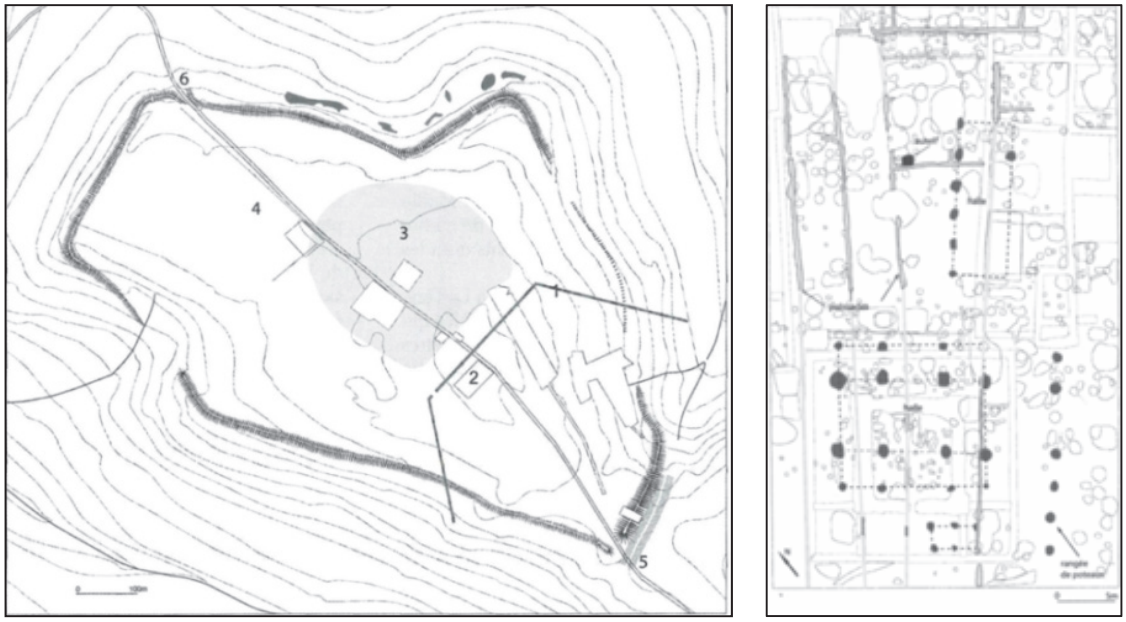


**Figure 10: Left: Plan of the Titelberg plateau: 1: Rampart enclosing the public space; 2: Excavation of the monumental centre; 3: Inhabited centre; 4: Military (?) Roman area (Metzler *et al.* 2006 : 200); 5: Oriental gate; 6: Occidental gate. Right: Monumental centre of Titelberg (Metzler *et al.* 2006 : 205).**

A religious and political area was separated from the rest of the settlement by a rampart: the area enclosed, located in the south-east extremity of the plateau, the highest point, extended over 10 ha. Within its walls, three features can be distinguished. The oldest structure (150-75 BC) on the plateau, an enclosure within which lay a rectangular aisle at least 60 m long that ran parallel to the main street which crossed the city from west to east (which resembled a processional route, like the one that cut through pre-Roman Chichester).[175] It was monumental and resembled, according to Metzer, the temporary voting facility (*saepta*) which can be found in Italian *fora*. This building seems not to be a *unicum* in Gaul (similar structures have been found in Villeneuve-Saint-Germain). Over time this hypothesis, which originally was criticized as being unrealistic, has gained more endorsements. It is also supported by Caesar, who recounts that Indutiomarus - a leading aristocrat of the Treveri – 'proclaims an armed council (this according to the custom of the Gauls in the commencement of war) at which, by a common law, all the youth could assemble in arms, whoever of them comes last is killed in the sight of the whole assembly after being racked with every torture.[176] Around 75 BC, a monumental, open-air, three-nave and almost squared building was added in the most elevated

[174] Buchsenschutz 2000.

[175] Garland 2011.

[176] Caesar, V, 56. For an analysis of the ancient sources dealing with the political reunions of the Gauls (1st century BC – 1st century AD) see García Riaza and Lamoine 2008.

point of the plateau. Its function is still enigmatic. It may have been a religious or a civic building (similar to the *basilica* found in Bibracte which dated to mid-1st century BC). At the end of the 1st century BC, the capital of the Treveri was moved to Trier. The plateau of Titelberg was abandoned until, in Tiberian times, a mysterious, open-air building was built that would later be converted into a temple.

- Function:

Several of the largest *oppida* had centralized commercial, economic, religious and possibly political functions.

1. Political-administrative function: this is possibly the most difficult function to attest.[177] Archaeologically speaking, the most exemplary cases of public squares thought to be the political and administrative focus of pre-Roman cultures are the ones from Titelberg, Villeneuve-Saint-Germain, Bibracte and the three-nave building found at the site of Gournay-sur-Aronde.[178]

2. Economic function: in the settlement on the Titelberg an increased social and economic complexity is attested by the different levels of activities and crafts undertaken on site (metalworking, glass working, potteries, bone production and textile industry). Its economic function remained important throughout Roman times since Pliny recalls that this region exported wool to Rome in his time. In several *oppida*, their economic function is also attested by the presence of a specialized industrial area (e.g. Corent, Bibracte and Moulay).[179] Some workshops regularly produced semi-standardized artefacts meant to be consumed elsewhere. Within the *oppida* different activities are performed, including agriculture: small farms, or at least small buildings that combine a residential area with other annexed spaces and structures, in particular granaries, are found.[180]

3. The religious function of certain sites is attested by the existence of religious buildings where imported ceramic was in use, for example during religious festivals.[181] For some scholars, the religious function was extremely important and played a major role in the

[177] See Tarpin 2008 for the political function of *oppida* in the 2nd century BC (however, he is especially interested in Italian developments. He concludes that some *oppida* have this function and others do not, such as Felsina). Also Peyre 1979, looking at Cisalpina, concludes that Aquileia was meant to become a political centre (*oppidum condere*) of the invading Celts. His assumption is grounded on the fact that when an *oppidum* of northern Italy was captured by the Romans, all the people belonging to that community were automatically subjected.

[178] Fernández-Götz 2012; Metzler *et al.* 2006. A good overview of pre-Roman public spaces can be found in Fichtl and Bouet 2012 'Places publiques et lieux de rassemblement à la fin de l'âge du Fer dans le monde celtique'. Also see Szabó *et al*. 2007.

[179] For Levroux see Berranger and Fluzin 2009. For Bibracte the bibliography is particularly abundant, see for example Meylan 2003.

[180] Buchsenschutz 2004: 347.

[181] As has been suggested for several Iron Age settlements in Britain (e.g. Chichester), the two opposed entrances may indicate their use during ceremonies and ritual processions.

development of urbanism in the north-western provinces, as we will see later in this chapter.[182]

- Size

The size of the walled area is never indicative of the size of the settlement within (when there is a settlement).

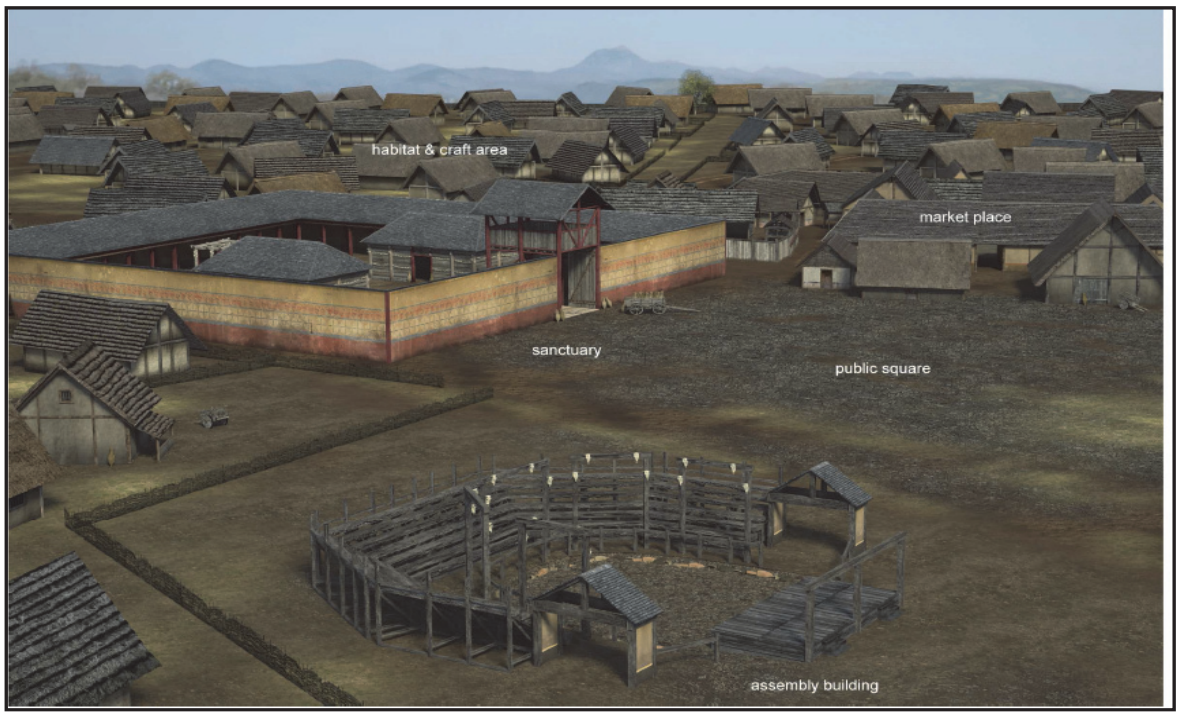


**Figure 11: A reconstruction of the monumental centre of the *oppidum* of Corent (Poux 2014: 163).**

### 2.3.3 Regional differences in character and distribution of Late Iron Age *oppida*

We have already mentioned that the process of urbanization developed at different paces in different parts of the study area. In this section, we will look in detail at the regional differences in the character and distribution of Late Iron Age *oppida*. In the map below (Figure 12), we observe a sharp contrast between western Gaul and the northern part of the future Germania Inferior (the *civitates* of the Morini, Eburones and Menapi) and central/north-eastern France.

The *oppida* in the west of Gaul were fewer and smaller. Moreover, in rare cases they present no traces of a long-term occupation. They also lacked collective spaces dedicated to public or religious functions. Their monetary emissions were fewer and had a reduced circulation. A contrast can also be seen when looking at the distribution of imported Italian *amphorae*: whilst several hundred sherds are found in the eastern and central *oppida*, only a few dozens are found in the west, and mostly in rural, religious or funerary contexts.

[182] see Fichtl *et al*. eds 2000 'Le rôle des sanctuaires dans le processus d'urbanisation'; Creighton 2006; Brunaux ed. 1991; Brunaux 1996; Brunaux and Méniel 1997; Lejars 1991. Similar arguments can be found for Britain in Rogers 2008.

The map in Figure 12 shows the lack of *oppida* in Germania Inferior. For a long time, scholars have interpreted this phenomenon as a sign that the society living in this area did not experience any major changes until the Romans came along. Lately, it has been shown that crucial economic and structural changes occurred in pre-Roman times.[183]

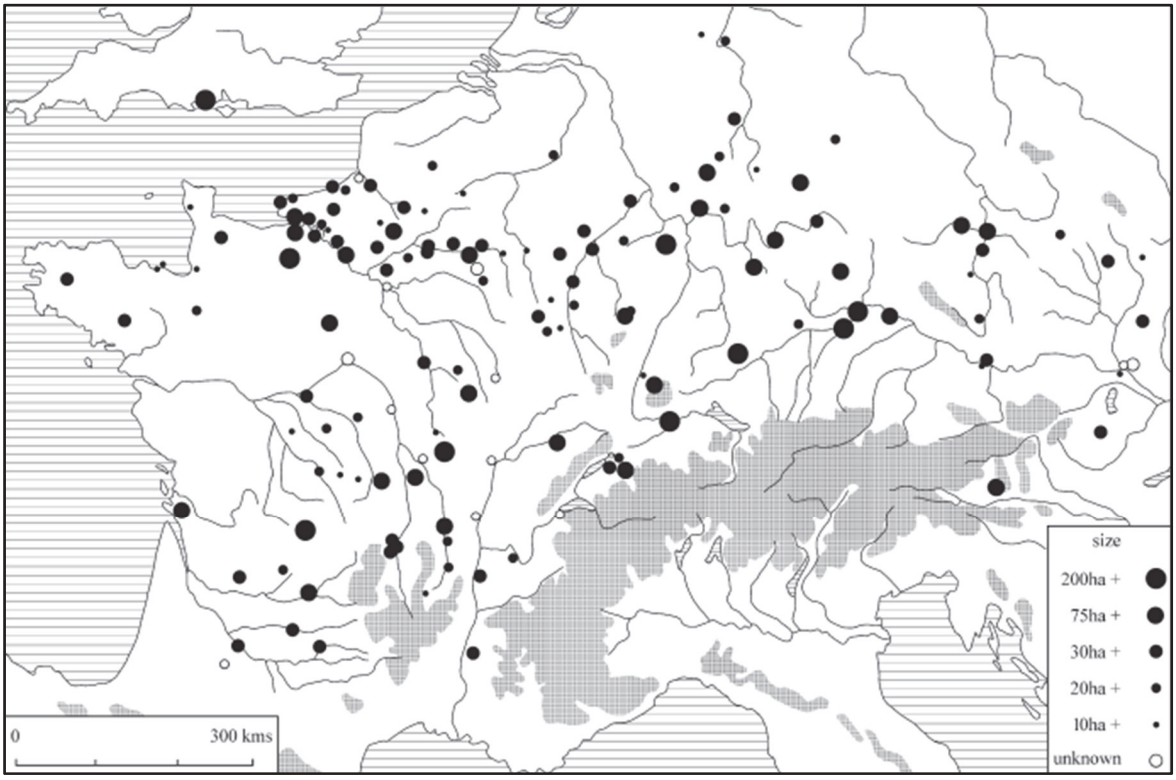


**Figure 12: The distribution and size of Late Iron Age *oppida* in temperate Europe (Collis 2014: 20).**

Starting from the 2nd century BC, the settlement pattern that up until then was characterized by dispersed farmsteads gradually changes (Figure 13). Individual farmsteads are longer lived, and they cluster together in small, nucleated and at times enclosed settlements (however, single-phase, isolated farmsteads remained in use).[184] Many of these settlements were continuously inhabited throughout the course of the 1st century BC and into the Roman period.

Roymans and Gerritsen, whilst admitting that it is possible that the groups to the west and directly north of the Lower Rhine region had a more egalitarian and less centralized society, also have stressed the crucial role of cult places in the growth of social and political complexity. They have also seen the cult as a factor in promoting social cohesion and self-consciousness,

[183] For a discussion of continuity in terms of economics see Van Dijk *et al*. 2013 who argue for in favour of a smooth transition in terms of surplus production between pre-Roman and Roman times.

[184] This trend towards nucleation possibly intensified during the 1st century BC. The case of the settlement of Weert-Laarderweg is exemplary: at least 40 plans of houses of the Alphen-Ekeren type dating between 50 BC and AD 250 were clustered in an enclosure that dated to the 2nd century BC (Gerritsen 2003).

especially in the Dutch Lower Rhine region.[185] Archaeological evidence of cult places, possibly functioning as central places, combined with literary sources (e.g. Tacitus writes that the political meeting place of the Batavian elite was located in a sacred forest[186]) points to the appearance of politicized ethnic identities in the last two centuries BC in parts of the Lower Rhine region, although that is not expressed in the form of *oppida,* and in fact the Batavi were a late creation.

**Figure 13: The nucleated, multi-phase farmsteads (a) from the 1st century BC to the 1st century AD at Weert, situated within (b) a 2nd-century-BC enclosure (Gerritsen *et al.* 2006: 263).**

[185] Gerritsen *et al.* 2006. The best-known example comes from a site located on the river Meuse, close to the modern villages of Kessel and Lith. The site (either a Late Iron Age settlement or poly-focal site consisting of a number of smaller settlements) stretches over *c*. two kilometres. Its extraordinary character is attested by the quantity of pottery and animal bones, dating to the Late Iron Age, found on the site. Large quantities of pottery, animal and human bones, and high-status metalwork were retrieved from the river bed. It is very likely that they were deposited intentionally as part of a cultural practice (Roymans 2004: chapter 7).
[186] Tacitus, Hist. 4.14.

It is difficult to make general assumptions about the level of centralization of pre-Roman societies by looking at the distribution of *oppida* around the landscape, but some interesting observations can be made. For example, the distribution of the largest number of *oppida* coincides with the areas where a social-political cohesion that allowed the formation of proto-states is attested by literary sources. Figure 14 shows which communities are known - mostly from ancient literary sources - to have been hegemonic in Gaul before the arrival of Caesar.[187] If we compare it with the map of the distribution of the *oppida* (Figure 12), we see that the two maps overlap.[188]

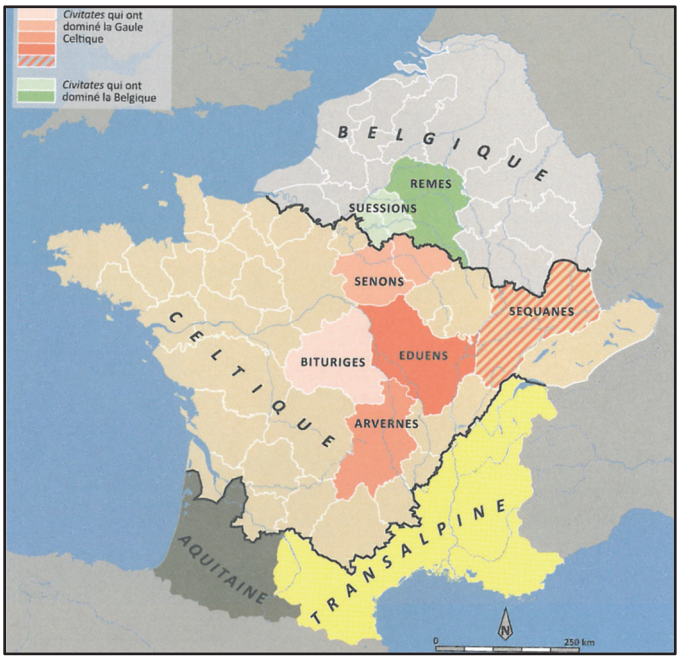


**Figure 14: The hegemonic communities during the Late Iron Age in Gaul (Fichtl 2004: 10).**

It is legitimate to ask why centralized communities appear to be concentrated in central, north-eastern France and they do not appear to be randomly distributed. As was said earlier, urbanization is only one of a number of changes that affected many aspects of society in north-western Europe in the 2nd century BC. We have already discussed how this phenomenon cannot be explained as the result of a mere imitative process. However, it cannot be ruled out that communities living near new-born centralized entities, which were able to control a vast territory through a dense network of settlements could - as a reaction - either centralize their own community or enter into confederations in order to become more capable of defending the integrity of their territory.[189] This concept is known in archaeology as 'peer-polity interaction', and it was developed by Colin Renfrew and John Cherry, who tried to explain cultural change

[187] Verger 2003: 336-337.

[188] Except for southern-western Belgica (e.g. Bellovaci etc.)

[189] Recent evidence suggest that something of the kind is likely to have happened to the indigenous communities of Scotland which, as a reaction to the construction of the Hadrian Wall, had reunited in the north in larger social groups (e.g. the Maeatae and the Picti) (Hodgson 2013).

(e.g. increasing social complexity) as a result of the interactions (such as competition, including warfare, and competitive emulation) between polities of equal scale and power.[190]

All of the communities that we know to have been hegemonic reached an elevated socio-political complexity that is reflected in the archaeological evidence in the complex network of *oppida* that characterized the territory under their control. This supports the 'political' interpretation of the word '*oppida*' as delineated by Peyre when he analysed the *oppida* of northern Italy (Cisalpina). For example, in the Berry, where the powerful community of the Bituriges Cubi lived, the *oppida* were numerous (according to Latin sources, there were twenty).[191] Similarly, the territory of the Remi and Suessones is characterized by a network of *oppida* that included smaller central places and rural agglomerations (which lasted for only 30-50 years), organized around their capitals.

### 2.3.4 The process of 'centralization'

Centralization may be defined as the process through which control over the economy is increasingly held in the hands of the elite or a ruling class. As Nicodemus wrote, 'this includes centralized decision making concerning the production and allocation of resources as well as the development of formal mobilization systems which structure the upward flow of goods and labour via tribute, taxation, or similar institutions.'[192] We have just mentioned how several ancient sources describe the existence of powerful people in the Three Gauls. Indeed, unlike southern Gaul, where the settlement system was polarized around equally large and powerful settlements which were part of confederations and alliances, in the Three Gauls we do have more concrete evidence of larger, more stable and hierarchically organized communities. A few (e.g. Aedui, Arverni, and Bituriges Cubi[193]) could compete in size with equally exceptionally large political units scattered around the Mediterranean world, i.e. the Macedonian kingdom, the Etrurian civilization etc. However, their cohesion and their social and 'political' organization - unlike those of their Mediterranean counterparts - are not clearly described in the ancient sources. Let us look more closely at some of the most advanced settlement patterns known to have existed in Gaul, i.e. the territory of the community of the Bellovaci, the Leuci and Mediomatrici.

Fichtl observed that the territory of the Bellovaci was divided into four different regions, and each of them was organized around a central *oppidum*. Three out of the four central *oppida* (Bailleu-sur-Therain, Gournay-sur-Aronde, and Vendeuil-Caply) were established on the sites of ancient sanctuaries, all of which had been founded long before the development of the

[190] Renfrew and Cherry 1986.

[191] On the Berry see: Batardy *et al.* 2001, where the network at the end of La Tene includes a larger *oppidum* (Avaricum = 60 ha) and other intermediate centres that measure an average of 30 ha. Also see Saligny *et al*. 2008; Buchsenschutz *et al*. 2013; Poirier 2007.

[192] Nicodemus 2014: 1.

[193] For a more detailed discussion of the Iron Age settlement system of the Bituriges see chapter 5.

*oppida* themselves (towards the end of the 4th to the beginning of the 3rd century BC) (Figure 15).[194]

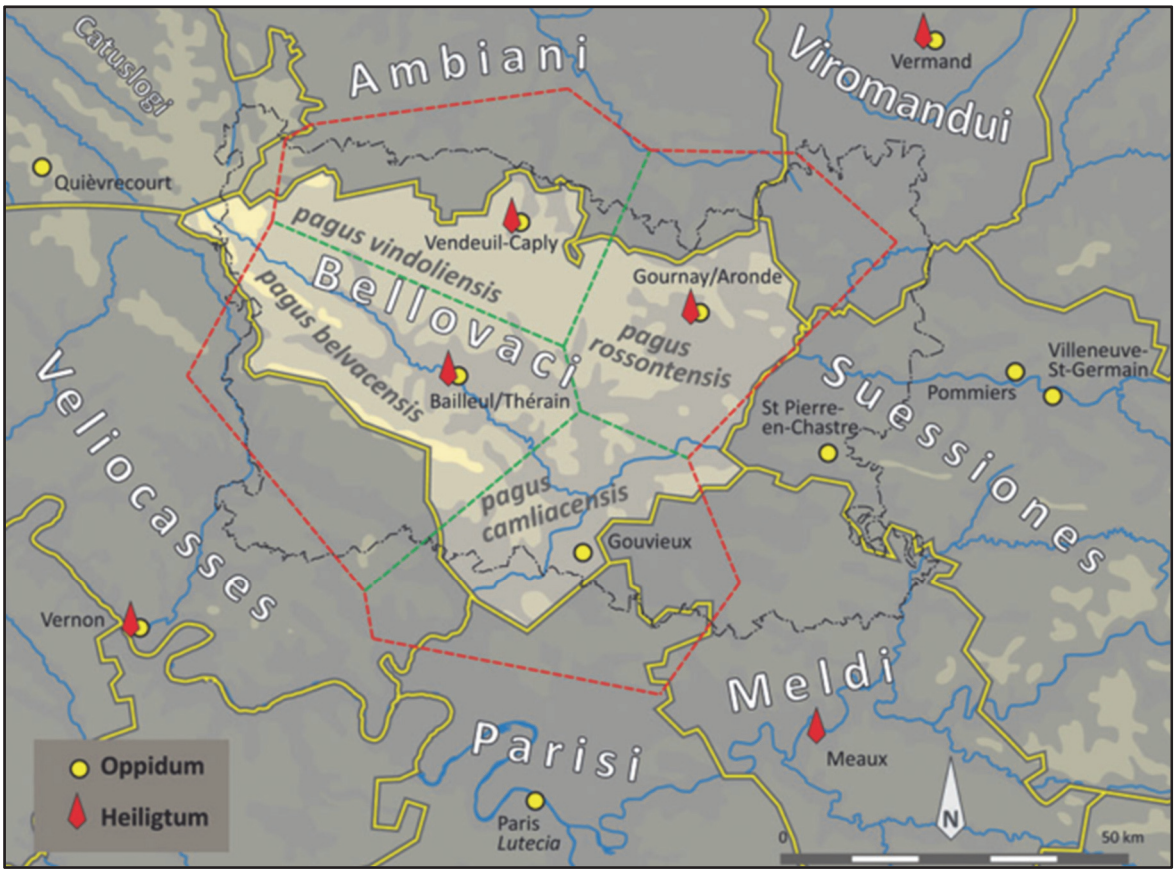


**Figure 15: The territorial organization of the *civitas* of the Bellovaci (Fichtl 2013a: 296).**

Like the *civitas* of the Bellovaci, those of the Leuci and Mediomatrici appear to have been polycentric from the beginning of their existence. In fact, they were more clearly organized around two main *oppida* (interpreted as the capitals). Their complex settlement system included large, intermediary and smaller settlements. The capital cities can be distinguished from secondary sites by their larger size, a greater variety of economic activities performed on site (e.g. glass-working), religious and political functions and the presence of a mint. Large, intermediary, and small central places - regardless of their sizes - were encircled by stone defensive walls which have been interpreted as a sign of internal territorial cohesion (they all belonged to the community), as well as prestige (Figure 16).[195] Intermediary sites (hillforts and open settlement sites) had a prominent economic function attested by the presence of metalworking activities, ceramic workshops and storage facilities. They often lie on the main roads. At the bottom of the pyramidal system of these two neighbouring *civitates* we find smaller fortifications equally distant from the border, which controlled the access to the *civitas*

[194] On the site of Gouvrieux, on the other hand, no sanctuaries or sacred areas have yet been found. Later on, on these sites, four *oppida* will be established: and this division persisted at least until Merovingian times, when they are reflected in the Merovingian *pagi* (*pagus belvacensis*, *pagus vindoliensis*, *pagus rossontentis* and *pagus camliacensis*) (Roblin 1969; 1978). Also Fichtl 2006; Fichtl 2013a; and Lejars 1991. On the important role of sanctuaries in the foundation of Greek cities see Snodgrass 1980; Polignac 1995.

[195] See Fernández-Götz 2014b.

and, according to Féliu, may also have been used for the purposes of customs collection[196]. The countryside was scattered with aristocratic residences and more modest farms.

Thus, we can conclude that in the first half of the 1st century BC these two *civitates* appear to be two political entities with precise and defined boundaries controlled through a dense network of sites strongly interconnected to each other.

It is in this early, multi-polar, organization of the territory and the dispersion of the ruling elite - who would still come together in the capital place to join assemblies when required - that we find the origins of the wealthy and monumentalized Roman 'secondary agglomerations', a specific and unique element of the Gaulish provinces and which are missing, for example, in Roman Britain.[197] The pre-Roman settlement pattern and social-political organization of these territories can explain why several agglomerations of these *civitates* could host prestigious urban elements which had political connotations at that time (such as the *basilicae* or naved buildings). Their presence does not mean they were self-governing cities, but rather that the whole *civitas* (and the whole *civitas'* elite) acknowledged the political stature of the elites settled there. It might also be possible, but we might be going a step too far in speculating, that the close connections and alliances between aristocratic families and their strong connection to their region of provenance explain the presence of the institutions of *vici* there. These were nothing more than an instrument of the elite to institutionalize their relationship with the land they owned, controlled, or had on influence on.

The emergence of these relatively large communities in Gaul is the result of economic developments gathering force from the 4th century BC.[198] Agriculture was fostered with new effective tools: crafts were becoming more specialized (e.g. long-bladed sickles and flour presses) and iron tools were more advanced compared to, for example, those of Roman Italy.[199] A significant trend towards specialization is attested by the introduction of vineyards and fruit trees in Central Gaul (e.g. in the territory of the Bituriges).[200] After the conquest of Narbonensis (end of the 2 nd century BC) it is possible that new animal species were imported, possibly from Italy (e.g. cattle and horses larger in size and more resistant). Cereal growing became more and more systematic, and storage structures became more common (they were often built on a raised floor - most probably controlled by guards - or took the form of silos). An increase in agricultural production along with rural expansion is attested by the burgeoning number of structures and storage pits (e.g. Champagne) for the storage of the products. Thus, as will be shown in more detail in later chapters, often the Roman conquest did not result in drastic changes in the countryside (and often beneath Roman villas lie older, indigenous farms).

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[196] See Féliu 2008; and Féliu 2014.

[197] Such a complex and at the same coherent political and social system will be crystallized in Roman times in the *civitates* of the Bellovaci (north-western Gaul), Bituriges Cubi (central Gaul) and the Allobrogenes (southern Gaul). We will look at the settlement pattern of these three case studies in more detail in chapter 5. In Britain secondary agglomerations were numerous; however, only rarely did they show any signs of grandeur.

[198] Trément 2002.

[199] Wertime 1980.

[200] Dumasy *et al.* 2011.

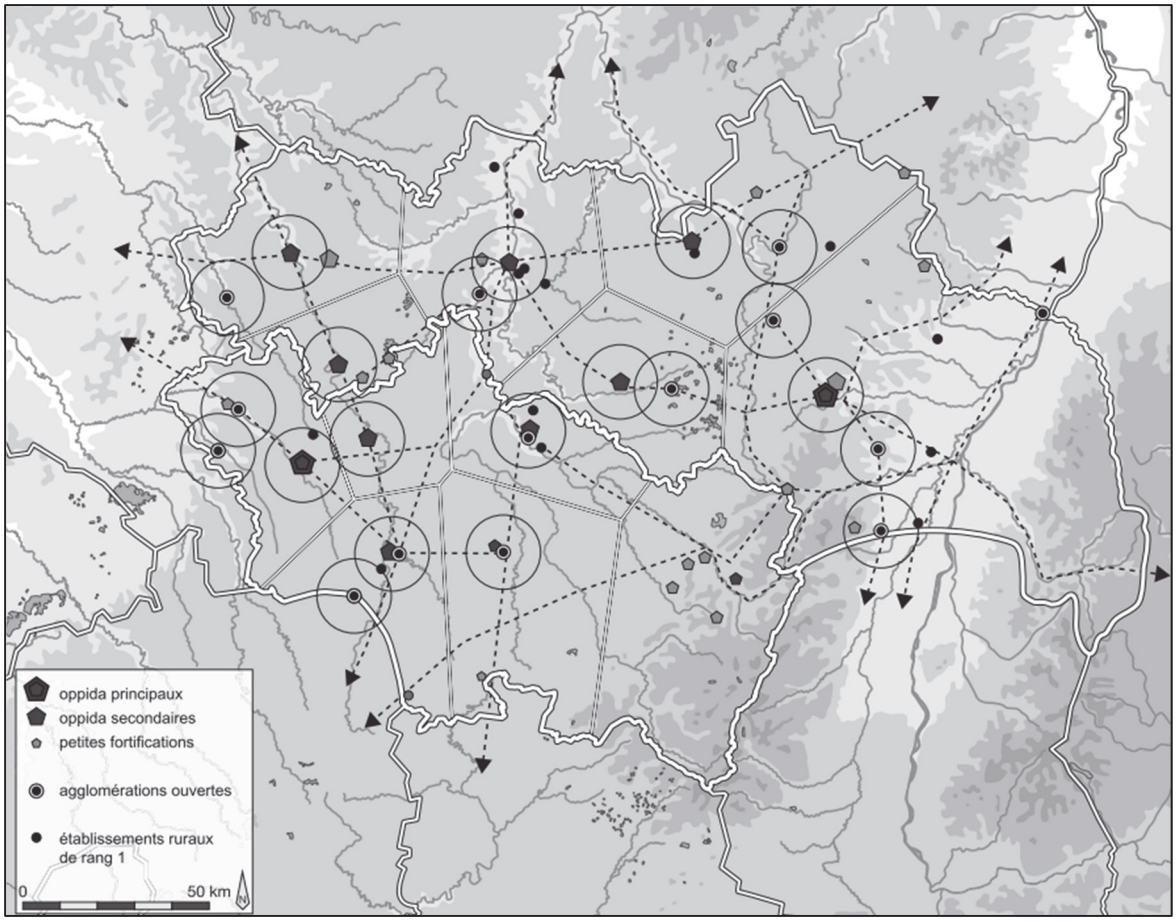


**Figure 16: The pyramidal settlement system of the *civitates* of the Leuci and Mediomatrici. The picture shows the main routes and the *oppida*'s and agglomerations' theoretical territories (Féliu 2014: 237).**

As observed by Trément, this process gave rise, in the 2nd century BC, to the dichotomy *oppidum*-farm (a prelude to the dichotomy city-countryside), which at this time becomes more discernible in the archaeological record, at least in areas such as central and north-eastern Gaul.[201] From this period onwards, in fact, we see agricultural surplus gradually being moved from the isolated farms or rural villages to the *oppida*, where it was hoarded.[202] The surplus in food resources - a precondition for urbanism - allowed a larger percentage of the population to settle in larger settlements where they could engage in activities other than farming. Whilst these socio-economic changes are not yet completely understood, the research on the *'Historie de l'agriculture en Gaule'* has definitely proved that when Gaul entered the Roman Empire, it already enjoyed an expanding, flourishing economy.[203]

[201] Trément 2010.

[202] It is perhaps not a coincidence that one of the possible etymologies of the Latin word '*oppidum*' was 'hoarding of wealth' (Isidorus, *Etymologiae* 15, De aedificiis et agris).

[203] Ferdière *et al.* eds 2006.

## 2.4. The development of urbanism in Britain

### 2.4.1 The British Iron Age

Recent research has demonstrated that Britain and the near continent had continuous contacts from the end of the Ice Age onwards, thus dispelling the myth of 'British isolation' during the Iron Age opposed to the closeness observed during the Bronze Age. The argument for a distinctive British Iron Age society and way of dwelling has been dismissed too, and it has given way to the notion of an 'Atlantic zone' comprising the British Isles, Armorica, the western coast of France, and the north-western Iberian Peninsula based on archaeology, linguistics and genetics.

As Webley explains in a recent article, the myth of 'British isolation' during the first millennium BC was based on a number of biases and prejudices. For example, the disproportionate attention paid to the distribution of fine, decorated objects overshadowed the fact that communities on both sides of the Channel shared a number of objects and technical tools (e.g. domestic artefacts for daily use, pottery, triangular clay loom weights and bone weaving combs).[204] For a long time, roundhouses were seen as a distinctive, British phenomenon, in contrast to continental rectangular longhouses.[205] However, roundhouses comparable to those excavated in the British Islands and dating to the Bronze and Iron Ages have been excavated in northern France since the 1970s. For example, during an excavation in the Cotentin Peninsula, a group of roundhouses[206] which share features similar to those found in southwest Britain from around 500 BC onwards were uncovered.[207] The discovery of further roundhouses at more than 30 sites in northern France dating from the mid-2nd millennium BC to the end of the Iron Age,[208] suggests that this dwelling tradition was more widespread than previously thought. It is now clear that it extended from north-western Iberia to the French coasts of Armorica, Normandy, and Picardy although the predominant type remained the classic rectangular houses.

Funerary practices have also been taken as indicative of the distinctiveness of this island. Until very recently, excarnation - i.e. flesh removal through sub-aerial exposure - was thought to be the most common form of burial rite in Britain.[209] However, recent archaeological and histological analyses suggest that excarnation is not the only explanation for the large number of disarticulated bones found in the archaeological record. In fact, as Sharples and more recently Booth and Madgwick have argued, they might be consistent with the deliberate reopening of Iron Age burials, a practice well attested on the near Continent, too.[210] Thus, quoting Webley, we could say that 'the variety of connections that can now be identified moves

[204] Leman-Delerive 1984; Hurtrelle *et al*. 1990; Blancquaert and Bostyn 1998; Champion 1975; Wilhelmi 1987; Fitzpatrick 2001.
[205] Harding 2009; Albessard 2011.
[206] Lefort 2008, 2011.
[207] Arbousse Bastide 2000; Henderson 2007.
[208] e.g. Dechezleprêtre and Ginoux 2005.
[209] Cunliffe 2012: 251 still writes that excarnation is the norm.
[210] Sharples 2010; Booth and Madgwick 2016; Webley 2015; Diepeveen-Jansen 2001.

us on from seeing contact merely in terms of exchange or emulation between high-status individuals or schools of metalworkers. A wider range of interactions can be envisaged, that may have involved various different sectors of society.'[211]

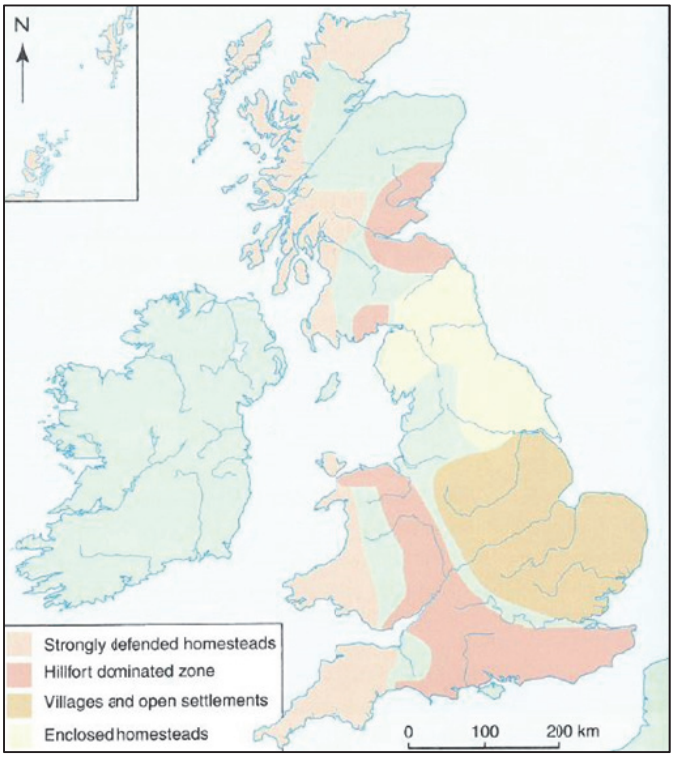


**Figure 17: Regional differences in settlement patterns in Iron Age Britain (Cunliffe 2012: 304).**

Towards the conclusion of the previous section, we lingered on the wave of socio-economic changes that swept through Gaul from *c*. the 4th century BC. As in Gaul, in Britain the 4th century BC appears to be a crucial moment of breakthrough that affected many aspects of society, including settlement pattern, economy, and technical innovations and so on. The whole island did not experience these developments all at the same time.[212] However, in many regions, the volume of artefacts dating to this period increased greatly in scale. Products became more and more standardized and production became increasingly concentrated in the hands of specialized producers.[213] The production of iron also increased: bars of standardized size and weight - so-called currency bars - were introduced, and important centres for iron smelting developed (e.g. in Yorkshire).

Hilltops enclosed by a system of defensive banks and ditches (so-called hillforts) first appeared in Britain and north-western Continental Europe during the Late Bronze Age (9th to 8th centuries). This period coincides with the moment when 'the established system for the

[211] Webley 2015: 137.

[212] This process had begun in the 1st century BC in some regions; in others it will start later (Eastern England, Hertfordshire, Essex etc.). The temporal trends and the high regional variability will be discussed later in this chapter.

[213] Morris 1994; and 1996. E.g. pottery production (especially in the case of fine wares) and quern production: the latter was probably carried out by specialized workers, possibly at the major quarry sites.

negotiation of social relations by the exchange, use, display and deposition of bronzes ceased, to be replaced by a very different type of society.'[214] As in the case of Gaul, few hillfort interiors have been excavated, so that our understanding of these settlements is regrettably poor. Despite their large variability, they are thought to have acted 'as foci for and symbols of the communities that lived in and around them', perhaps a symbolic space appointed for social gatherings and rituals.[215]

However, until *c*. 400 BC, most have little or no evidence of permanent occupation even though their defences kept being renovated (e.g. Maiden Castle, Danebury).[216] Unlike the so-called *Fürstensitze* or 'princely sites' of central France and southwest Germany dating to the 6th to 5th centuries BC, there is little evidence that they were elite residences or centres of coercive power.

Around the 4th to 5th centuries BC we also witness the crystallisation of specific settlement patterns, which would endure until the arrival of the Romans (Fig 18). As we can see from

Figure 17, the hillfort-dominated zone covers an area thinly scattered with smaller settlements that stretches from the south coast to north Wales and from the Solway to the Firth of Tay. To the east, stretching from the Thames to roughly the Humber estuary, the settlement pattern is dominated by villages and open settlements, while north of the Humber enclosed homesteads prevail. To the west, the landscape is characterized by strongly defended homesteads for single-family groups and extended families, corresponding to the later rounds in Cornwall, raths in western Wales, brochs and duns in Scotland.[217]

From the 4th century BC, in Sussex, several early hillforts passed out of use and were abandoned in favour of other more densely occupied hillforts, the so-called 'developed hillforts'. These were maintained (often enlarged and provided with additional defences, e.g. Maiden Castle, Yarnbury Castle, Cadbury Castle) and had two opposing gates (see Figure 18).[218]

These enlarged and strongly re-fortified hillforts most probably could sustain themselves by controlling a larger portion of territory, and in Wessex they appear to be distributed more regularly across the landscape. Some indication of competing *'polities'* comes from areas where the concentration of hillforts was already high, notably Wessex. For example, the hillfort of Danebury, in eastern Hampshire, was equipped with stronger defences in the 3rd century BC, after it was hit by a fire, whilst four neighbouring sites were essentially abandoned. Similarly, Maiden Castle emerges as a central place while neighbouring sites become deserted. Their construction required concerted effort coordinated by an authority. The hillforts were meant to represent the social unity of the group as well as having the more practical task of protecting the community's food and goods from enemies and animals. Once completed, the

[214] Champion 2010.
[215] Webley 2015: 133; Schulze-Forster 2007; Lambrick and Robinson eds. 2009.
[216] The continuous occupation of hillforts is still matter of debate. For example Hill 1996 argues in favour of a seasonal occupation of hillforts, including Danebury.
[217] Cunliffe 2012: 303-306.
[218] Cunliffe 1984; Fitzpatrick *et al*. 2008; Barrett *et al.* 2000.

defences still required maintenance and, therefore, communal labour and commitment. However, competing communities are not the only explanations behind the emergence of these centres, which could just be the result of the nucleation of a scattered population (synoecism).

**Figure 18: Aerial photography of Yarnbury Castle, Wiltshire (Payne 2006: 9).**

The Wessex settlement pattern is better understood than many others in Britain and is worth close examination. There, from the 4th BC onwards, the landscape begins to be densely filled with settlements. One of the most enigmatic types of enclosures that populate the landscapes is the so-called banjo enclosure (Figure 19). This small (generally less than 100 m in diameter and measuring *c.* 0.2-0.6 ha) and roughly circular enclosure was first recognized by Perry.[219] It is characterized by a narrow, elongated entrance consisting of two antennae-like, parallel ditches (thus banjo shaped).

The current resurgence of some illuminating works (e.g. by Moore and Lang) has sparked interesting discussions.[220] The distribution of these sites is weighted towards south-central England. In particular, they have been recorded in the 'upland' areas of southern Britain, that is, the Cotswolds, Dorset, southern Wiltshire, and Hampshire.[221] Unfortunately, as noticed by Lang, they probably still remain under-represented in the archaeological record (of the only 140 known, only 16 have been excavated) and, regrettably, they have been rarely studied in their wider landscape, even if they are often part of larger complexes of enclosures, tracks, or field systems.

[219] Perry 1972.
[220] Moore 2012; Lang 2016.
[221] Hingley 1984; Winton 2003; Moore 2006; Lang 2008.

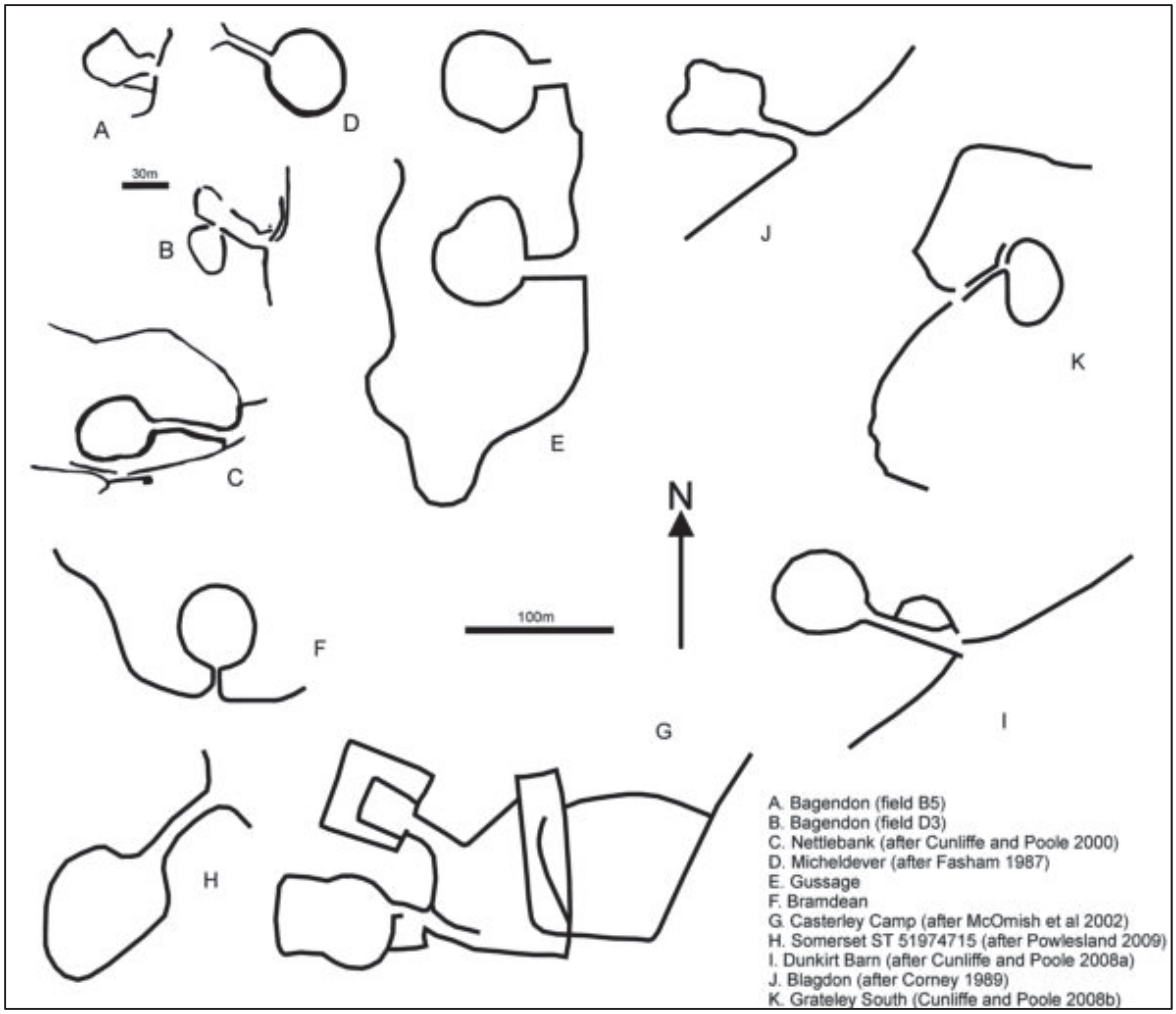


**Figure 19: Examples of banjo enclosures (Moore 2012: 404).**

Another impediment to their full understanding arises from the fact that their chronology is not always clear, and it is difficult to assess their length of occupation.[222] Evidence that they were permanently occupied is ambiguous in southern England, although similar structures appear to have been permanently occupied in West Wales (e.g. Woodside Camp, Dan-y-Coed).[223]

The location of many Wessex banjo enclosures within field systems has suggested that they formed an integral part of agro-pastoral practices in the Late Iron Age. Their small size distinguishes them from indigenous farmsteads, while their peculiar entrance has often been seen as practical for corralling and dividing livestock and, more generally speaking, for animal husbandry.[224] Their large variety in size, form, entrances' shape and length hints at

[222] Their chronology is complicated: the sites show limited use; abandonment is represented by ditches that were left to silt naturally or were filled in within a very short space of time. In some cases banjo enclosures were occupied relatively long term (e.g. Micheldever Wood); at others they were quickly closed and either a new site was constructed in a different form (eg, Owslebury) or the site was abandoned and later served an entirely different purpose (eg, Nettlebank Copse).

[223] Lang 2016; Williams and Mytum 1998; Fitzpatrick *et al*. 2008.

[224] Perry 1972: 71; Papworth 2008: 268. At Nettlebank there is evidence of seasonal husbandry (Cunliffe and Poole 2000: 134). The geophysical surveys undertaken at Bagendon indicate that much of the complex may have been relatively empty and 'the presence of the bank on the external side of the ditch which defined a driveway

multifunctional sites.[225] As well as being considered sites for funnelling stock, the presence of numerous weeds within their enclosures indicates that several could have been used for storage and food processing.[226]

The appearance of banjo enclosures in Britain during the 4th century BC represents just one of a number of changes to patterns of settlement, and, as Lang pointed out, 'these sites are potentially representative of the shift towards more complex settlement landscapes, which are best identified through nucleated settlements, rural establishments and linear dyke systems integrating settlement and funerary landscapes'. They also mark a time when 'there is a far greater emphasis on the enclosure of space and location'.[227] Around the same period, and particularly from the 3rd century BC, we see increasing signs of violence, and warfare appears to be endemic in south-central Britain, or at least this is what the strategic walls (e.g. the forward projecting hornworks and multiple ditches at Maiden Castle), the evidence of fires and the sling stones found nearby at Danebury, and the traces of traumatic wounds consistent with physical violence revealed on skeletal remains from Dorset and Hampshire suggest.[228]

### 2.4.2 The 'developed hillforts'

As mentioned above, from the 4th century onwards in Britain several hillforts developed into quite large, increasingly structured and densely packed settlements. They began to be occupied for relatively long periods of time[229] and appear to be the product of social groups with considerable coordinated communal investment of labour and resources, who controlled quite a large agricultural hinterland, as the fact that it is devoid of contemporary settlements suggests.[230] Within their defences, storage facilities and domestic activities are regularly present in large numbers. Craft activities, however, are less often represented, and evidence that they were elite residences is still lacking. They appear to be rural villages, very different from the *Fürstensitze* of central France and south-west Germany and also from the polyfocal complexes that will develop during the 2nd century BC.

In Gaul, we have seen that the first *oppida* appeared on the sites of earlier sanctuaries. However, in Britain, things are different. In Britain, religion was not expressed through monumental architecture. Evidence of temples, shrines, but also images of deities are still lacking, whilst the prevailing religious practice attested was the intentional deposition or breakage of ritual

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that allowed the collection and corralling of livestock is often present, and here as well is used to argue for such a role' (Moore 2012: 409). Also see Stead 1968: 88.

[225] Cunliffe and Poole 2000: 134.

[226] Their function is a matter of debate (see Perry 1972; Hingley 1984; Lang 2008: 324-6; Lang 2016; Webley 2015). It has also been put forward that the ditch entrances held symbolic meaning and that they could relate to ceremonial pathways or high-status entrances.

[227] Lang 2016: 355. More on this topic in: Bowden and McOmish 1987; Collis 1996; 2006; Hingley 1990; Thomas 1997.

[228] Davis 2013; Cunliffe 2012.

[229] Although this point is still a matter of discussion.

[230] Cunliffe 2012.

objects.[231] Religious activity was embedded in daily life; hence deposits are often found not only in relation to landscape features (such as rivers or high places) but also in connection with structures for daily use (such as enclosure ditches, post-holes etc.).[232] From the layout of houses, farms and forts and their entrance orientations, for example, we can glimpse a cosmological influence.[233]

One of the best-researched 'developed hills' is Ham Hill (Figure 20). It measured 88 ha (Titelberg, mentioned earlier in the chapter, covered *c*. 50 ha). At intervals, its defence consisted of up to three lines of bank and ditch.[234] Its earliest phase was characterized by field boundaries 'which form a coaxial system that sweeps across the plateau area.'[235] In a later phase, the hillfort was provided with opposed entrances on the main road between the two entrances dividing the hillfort in two. It was densely settled with roundhouses, enclosures, and grain storage pits. Further minor roads radiate from the main road, and a number of enclosures respect the orientation.

The excavations have revealed material assemblage mainly associated with domestic waste: e.g. pottery, animal bone, burnt stones, baked clay (possibly daub or loom weights), and sling stones (possibly used in the grinding of cereals).[236] These small finds suggest this was a large, rural village, where the population practised subsistence agriculture and farming and was mostly engaged with domestic activities. In fact, 'the paucity of slag or other metalworking debris would suggest that iron production was not prevalent, if at all present at Ham Hill during the Iron Age, particularly in light of its comparatively common occurrence on farmsteads and smaller forts that imply fairly widespread low-level metalworking practices.'[237]

Another well-documented 'developed hillfort' is Danebury, in Hampshire. Whilst its size is quite unremarkable (the built-up area extended only within the inner rampart, which enclosed a total of 5.3 ha), the density of the settlement evidence and of the assemblages of artefacts and ecofacts was so great that the idea of excavating the whole site had to be abandoned.[238] A sudden increase in the intensity of occupation is attested at Danebury starting from *c*. 270 BC.

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[231] Joy 2011. Evidence of shrines is ambiguous, and all the potential specimens of Iron Age shrines identified present significant interpretational problems (e.g. the possible altar found in the middle of Danebury). Classical authors refer to the importance of natural features and sacred 'groves'.

[232] Fitzpatrick *et al.* 2008: perhaps the most convincing example comes from Cadbury Castle where a small rectangular structure with a porch is interpreted as a shrine (Downes 1997; Barrett *et al.* 2000). Other possible examples include the small enclosure at Uley West Hill that preceded the Roman temple (Woodward and Leach 1993), and, less certainly, there are hints of a predecessor to the Romano-Celtic temple at Maiden Castle (Drury 1980). There is also a building in the Harlyn Bay cemetery (Whimster 1977). There have been doubts about the so-called temple excavated by Grimes at Heathrow. At both Frilford and Woodeaton there were pre-Roman deposits, unusual structures, burials and votive objects, but no definitive evidence for Late Iron Age shrines or temples. At Hayling Island (Hampshire), a rectangular enclosure with a circular inner structure and votive depositions of coinage and metalwork has been interpreted as a possible shrine (King and Soffe 2001).

[233] Only from the 3rd century BC in Danebury (Sharples 2014). Also see Oswald 1997; Hill 1989.

[234] Sharples 2014; Forde-Johnston 1976: 93.

[235] Sharples 2014.

[236] Brittain *et al.* 2013; Adkins and Adkins 1992.

[237] Slater *et al*. 2011: 95. Also see Fitzpatrick *et al*. 2008: 141.

[238] Sharples 2014.

According to Davis, it indicates that households were moving into the hillfort from the surrounding farmsteads.[239] In its earliest phase, the majority of roundhouses concentrated in the peripheral areas of the hillfort, directly behind the ramparts (Figure 21).[240] The centre of the hillfort was, on the other hand, filled with storage structures, i.e. four-post granaries and other storage enclosures. In this early period, the density of occupation was low and each roundhouse appeared to be an independent household *c.* 10-15 m apart from the others.[241] Houses had different designs and sizes, ranging from a diameter of 4.7 meters up to 10 meters, and the entrances did not follow any particular orientation.

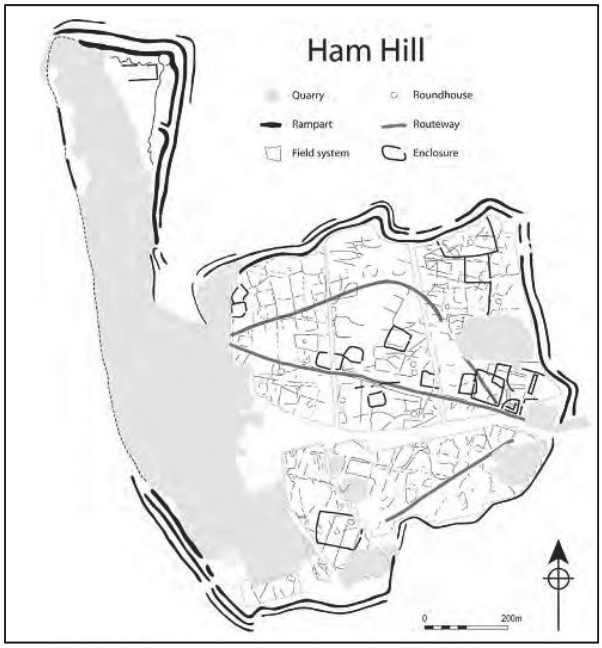


**Figure 20: Ham Hill, Somerset (Sharples 2014: 225).**

During the course of the 3rd century BC, occupation increased and the hillfort was almost completely filled with roundhouses well aligned with the road system. All houses shared a similar shape and size, and they were predominantly oriented towards east or south-east (indicating not only the equal social status of the inhabitants but also the existence of communal architectural rules).

As at Ham Hill, the limited evidence for craft activities within this hillfort is striking, especially if we consider that they are attested in nearby rural enclosures (e.g. Winnall Down).[242] Traces of zoning in domestic activities are present. Different activities were confined to particular areas: for example, spinning and weaving were concentrated in the north-east[243].

As mentioned above, there are several important aspects that distinguish hillforts from the *Fürstensitze* and the polyfocal sites or *oppida* that would develop in Gaul and shortly thereafter

[239] Davis 2013.

[240] This layout vaguely resembles that of the hillforts of Eastern Spain (e.g. Puig Castellar, Els Vilar etc.).

[241] As Sharples 2014 notes, it is likely that the households were linked together by a web of relationships and mutual obligations rather than being completely independent units.

[242] Fasham 1985.

[243] See Osgood 1995: Figure 100.

in Britain (Figure 22). First of all, their hinterlands are much smaller. Moreover, whilst their immediate surroundings might well have been under their direct control, Hill's argument that nearby rural settlements were not dependent on the hillforts - since they were equipped with their own storage facilities - is plausible, and it is becoming widely accepted.[244] Their economic basis was a mixed agricultural and pastoralist economy; trade and specialist production were essentially missing.[245] Houses were homogenous, and there is no trace of elite residences.[246] As mentioned above, the religious practices of pre-Roman Britain did not focus on architectural structures. Thus we cannot exclude that people living in the surrounding area visited the hillforts on the occasion of religious festivals. These would have left few traces, except perhaps large numbers of animal bones, which would be difficult to interpret.[247]

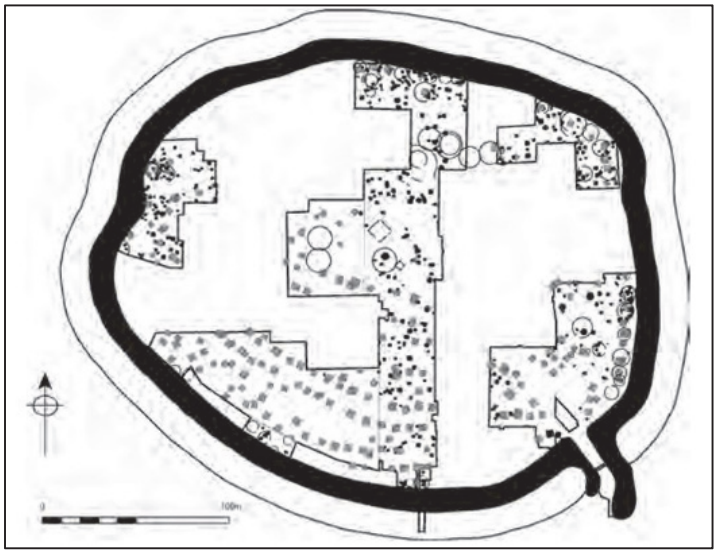

**Figure 21: Danebury, after Cunliffe 1995 (Sharples 2014: 227).**

We can conclude that 'developed hillforts' were exemplary of increased settlement stability and investment in communal labour and resources. Intensified agriculture provided the inhabitants of these large villages with enough resources to be distributed throughout the whole year. Social cohesion among the inhabitants of the hillfort is conveyed by the construction of large and often complex hillfort defences, while inter-regional competition between different communities is indicated by the emphasis on the display of power that aimed at discouraging potential rivals.[248] Evidence of warfare at this time is quite rare and largely problematic.[249] One example is the evidence of a punitive massacre at the site of Fin Cop in Derbyshire.[250] At least

[244] Hill 1996. This weakens the hypothesis that neighbouring villages had to pay a tribute to the hillfort and that the latter was responsible for redistributing the goods, as has been argued by Cunliffe.
[245] Sharples 2014 *contra* Cunliffe 1984.
[246] Marchant 1989; Sharples 2010; Stopford 1987 *contra* Cunliffe 1995 and Cunliffe 2003.
[247] At Danebury, a cluster of unusual buildings, possibly shrines, located in the middle of the hill suggested they might have been used for religious activities near the centre of the hill (Sharples 2010: 196 and 204-205).
[248] Lambrick and Robinson eds 2009:. 342-343 and 358-361.
[249] See chapter 7 in Harding 2012 for an overview and for a more detailed discussion of singular cases.
[250] Waddington 2011; Waddington *et al.* 2012

nine skeletons, belonging to women and children, found in the ditches, suggested a punitive massacre occurred *c*. 440-390 BC. The skeletal analysis showed evidence of interrupted growth, which may be a result of dietary stress, i.e. famine. Nonetheless, the Iron Age societies of this period do not appear to have been strongly hierarchical as is often supposed (i.e. chiefdoms).

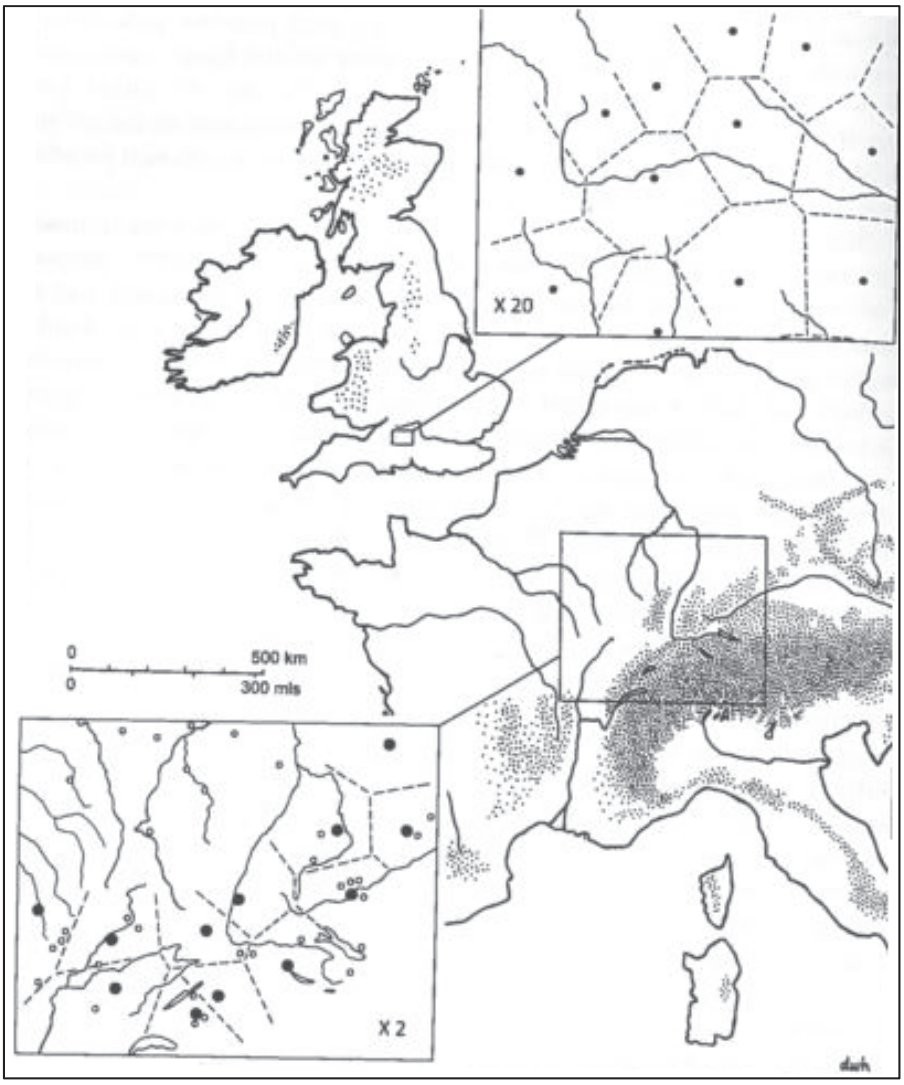


**Figure 22: Hillfort territories in North Wiltshire compared to *Fürstensitze* territories in west-central Europe (Harding 2012: 122).**

These hillforts fell into disuse during the 1st century BC, not long before (or perhaps contemporaneously) we see the appearance of *oppida* and polyfocal complexes. For example, Danebury was largely abandoned by 70 BC. In the Thames Valley Alfred's Castle, Uffington, Segsbury, Rams Hill, Castle Hill, and Taplow appear to be devoid of any significant activity, while at this time other foci started to develop. They were separated by much larger distances, some lying on valley floors (notably Salmonsbury, Dykes Hills and Grims Ditch).[251] From their spatial distribution and the distribution of coins some of them issued, we can presume that they

[251] However, they were not completely abandoned, e.g. At Castle Hill a few sherds dating after 100 BC were found, and it remained a focus of burials (Lambrick and Robinson eds 2009: 361).

controlled a much larger territory compared to previous hillforts. These centres, because of their morphology, are often referred to as 'polyfocal complexes' or *'oppida'*.[252] However, these two definitions essentially overlap, and their importance is strictly related to the increased social complexity that produced them.

### 2.4.3 The polyfocal complexes

During the 2nd to 1st centuries BC, the process of increasing social hierarchy, political centralization and nucleation became more and more visible in the archaeological record, especially in southern and eastern Britain. As in Gaul, these centuries were an important moment of increased political cohesion and centralization of the landscape. Starting from 150 BC, we see the emergence of larger social structures, which are difficult to define (they are often referred to as *'polities'*, tribal confederations etc.). As in Gaul, we find important central places whose structures and archaeological assemblages suggest a higher degree of social complexity and social differentiation, as well as an increased number of economic activities compared to previous hillforts. This political process caused disruptions to the settlement system. In fact, interestingly enough (and counterintuitively), this process of 'centralization' corresponds to a less 'nucleated' phase of the settlement pattern: in fact, these new sites, which will replace the old 'developed hillforts' have a more strongly dispersed character while also showing significant evidence of high-status occupation and far-reaching connections.[253] The presence of items (coins, pottery etc.) of an exotic nature suggests that these complexes were 'integrated into wider economic and social systems than the immediate landscape'.[254] They were also characterized by large enclosed areas, rich finds of pre-Roman coins, traces of metalwork and iron smelting (for example at Silchester and Gussage All Saints there is evidence of the production of horse harnesses), rich burials, and Roman imports.[255] Feasting and drinking appear to have become major activities in the society. For example, at Stanway (the place of an elite burial at Camulodunum), there is evidence of broken pottery found either in burials or in the surrounding enclosure ditches, suggesting in the latter case that feasting and rituals were also performed at communal events, as was the case in Gaul.[256]

Their spatial distribution (Figure 23) suggests they were regional centres with a much larger hinterland compared to the earlier 'developed hillforts'.

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[252] British scholars also refer to them as 'territorial *oppida*'. In the case of polyfocal complexes the emphasis is placed on the fact they are embedded in multiple ditch systems, including a banjo enclosure in the case of Bagendon, or linear ditches at Gussage Hill, and the presence of the elite is attested. Polyfocal sites (Haselgrove 2000: 107) were first recognized by Mark Corney, who referred to them as 'multiple ditch complexes', and he deemed them akin to the *oppida* (Corney 1989: 125; and Corney 1991a).

[253] For example, at Gussage All Saints and at the double banjo complex nearby, a relatively rich assemblage of Late Iron Age brooches and chariot fittings and moulds - possibly produced on site - have been recovered (Corney 1991b: 242; and Spratling 1979: 144). Imports, such as a considerable number of coins and Dressel 1 *amphorae* have also been discovered

[254] Moore 2012: 411.

[255] Corney 1989: 112. Verlamion was an elite burial place; rare cremation burials, sometimes in barrows, might also suggest the presence of individuals with higher status and more wealth than the rest of the society. They are attested at Gussage, Blagdon and possibly Bagendon.

[256] Newman 2007; Crummy *et al.* eds 2007 : 72.

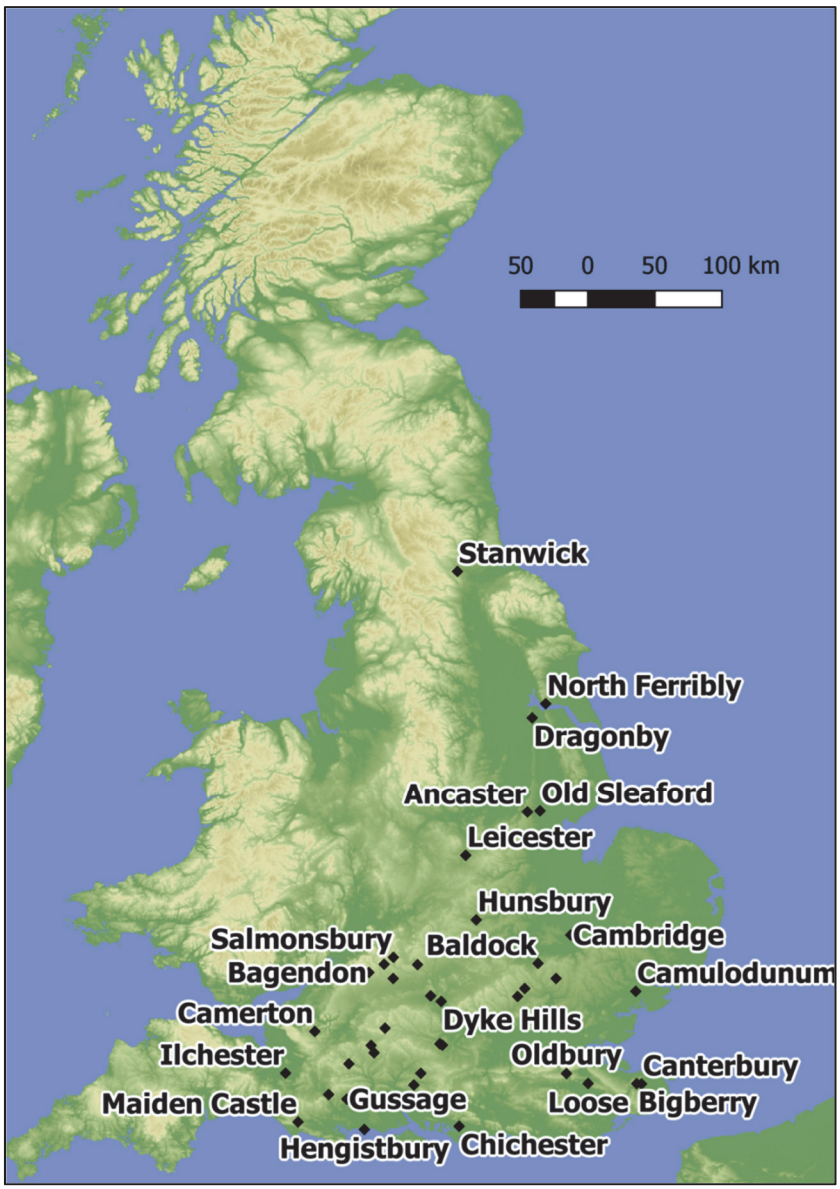


**Figure 23: The distribution of oppida and polyfocal complexes in Britain (after Millett 1990 and Moore 2012).**

The variability among them in terms of size, layout, and topography makes it hard to define what these settlements really were and what they represented.[257] The paucity of evidence of dense occupation (unlike the 'developed hillforts') suggests they were not significant permanent settlements. They were rather 'scattered elite and lower status residential compounds separated by agricultural areas (field systems) and interspersed by discrete designated zones of varying function (agriculture, ritual activity, burial, metalworking, coin production).'[258] Thus, we can say that these sites take the shape of dispersed settlements (Figure 24 to Figure 26).

[257] See Garland 2014; and Bryant 2007. As an example, compare Calleva Atrebatum, a relatively small enclosed settlement (32 ha) with the least extensive dykes and highly structured around a street grid, and Grims Ditch, a major dyke system (Fulford and Timby 2000) and the case of Bagendon, which will be described below.
[258] Garland 2014: 108; also see Haselgrove 1995: 86; Haselgrove 2000: 105: Haselgrove and Millett 1997: 286.

These central places fulfilled different functions: they housed the elites, they had industrial quarters and were used for social and ritual gatherings and funerary spaces.

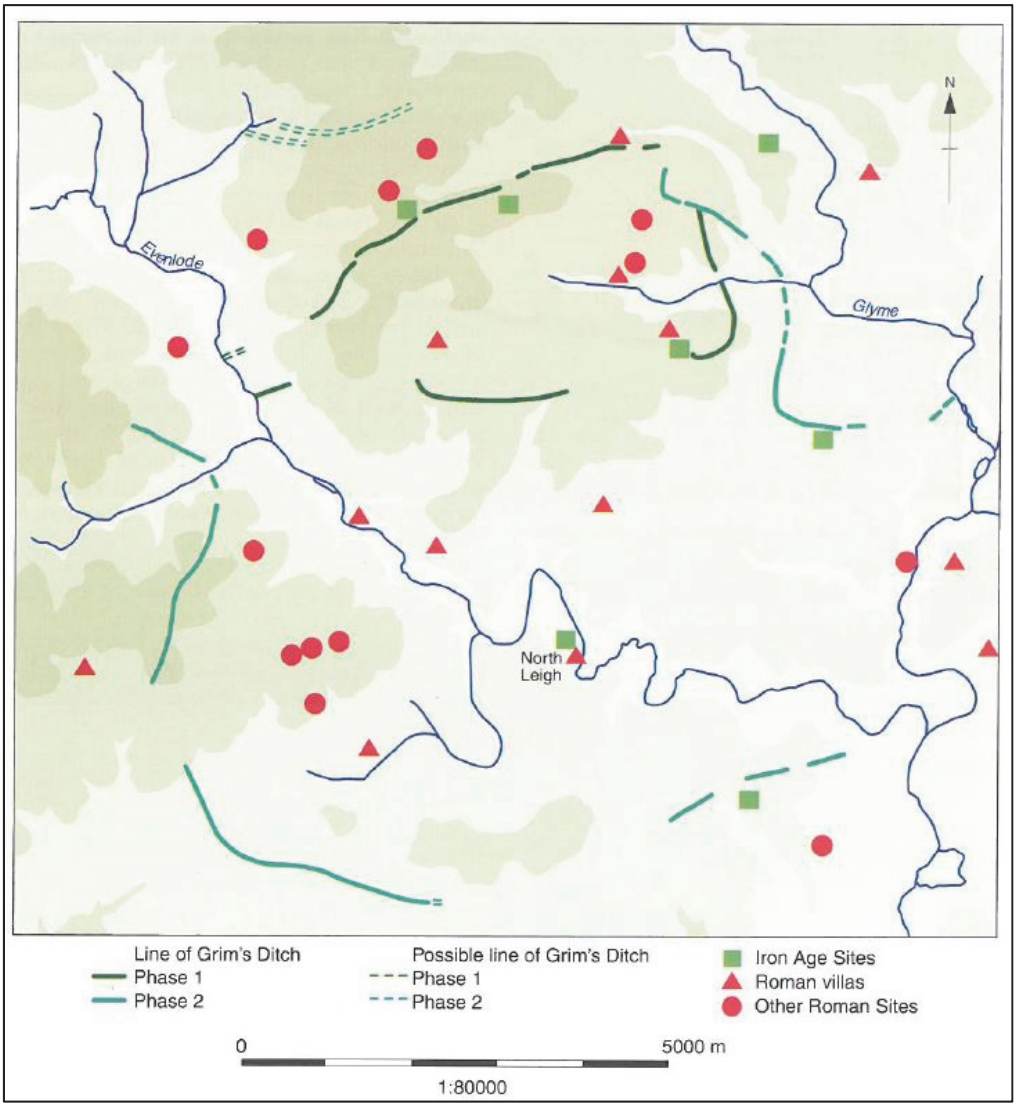


**Figure 24: The polyfocal sites of Grim's Ditch (Lambrick and Robinson eds. 2009: 367).**

Bagendon, lying 3 km north of the Roman city of Corinium, is one impressive example (Figure 25).[259] An extensive dyke system enclosed an area of between 80 and 200 ha. However, the occupation was quite limited and activities were dispersed over a large area instead of being concentrated in a single centre. The presence of metalwork and two banjo enclosures suggests industrial activity and husbandry may have been practised, along with agriculture. Due to the apparent high-status nature of the finds this site has been regarded as the residence of the elite. This idea is reinforced by the presence of rare cremation burials, sometimes in barrows - which suggest 'the presence of individuals who marked themselves out differently within the community.'[260]

[259] Moore 2012: 411. The Bagendon Project, directed by Tom Moore, has recently been engaged in different geophysical surveys and excavations at this site.
[260] Moore 2012: 41.

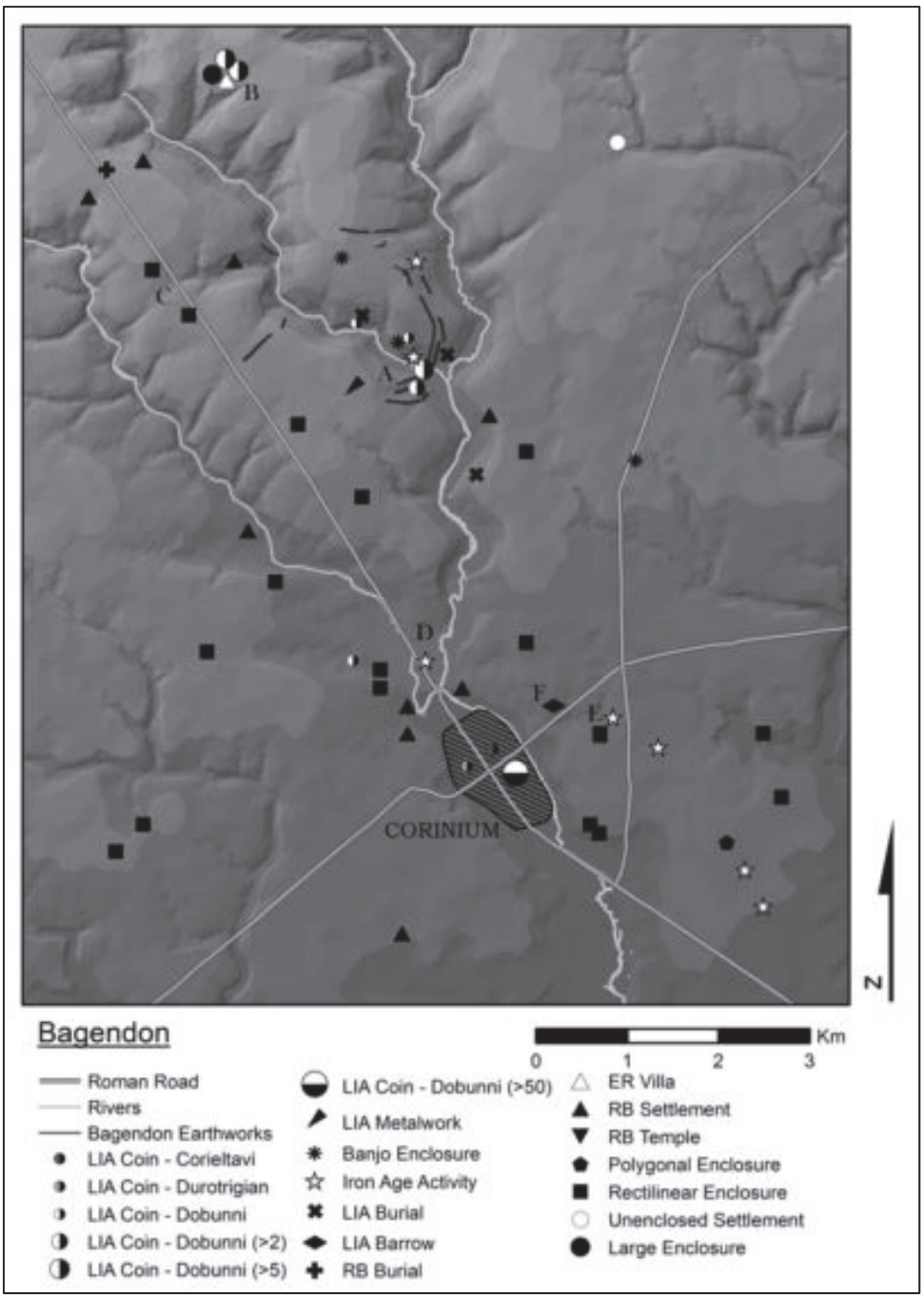


**Figure 25: The polyfocal site of Bagendon (Moore 2012: 393).**

Most of these sites show signs of continuity in Roman times. For example, several developed into *civitas* capitals (e.g. Calleva Atrebatum, Verulamium, Camulodum, Noviomagus Reginorum, Venta Belgarum, Durovernum Cantiacorum, and Ratae Corieltauvorum).[261] Others developed into secondary agglomerations (e.g. Salmonsbury, Abingdon, Baldock, Ancaster, etc.). Others, like Stanwick, were completely abandoned. In other cases, they

[261] Bidwell 2015: 118. Leicester, during the Late Iron Age the area on the west side of the river Soar was occupied by 'a significant settlement of high status' (Morris *et al.* 2011: 15)

continued to exist as sites of high-status rural settlements and, in the 1st century AD, would be occupied by Roman villas (e.g. Bagendon, Grims Ditch[262]).

The question of why these settlements followed different trajectories has not found an answer yet. Ultimately, the Roman authorities (as they did in Gaul and in Germania Inferior) could decide to promote the elite of certain communities at the expense of others or to punish them altogether. For example, we know from Tacitus that the Trinovantes (among the most powerful community of southern Britain at the time of the Roman conquest) had been severely punished by Rome. Camulodunum (whose name means 'the Fortress of Camulos', God of War) was re-founded as a veteran colony. The Trinovantes had been dreadfully humiliated during the process and 'the bitterest animosity was felt against the veterans; who, fresh from their settlement in the colony of Camulodunum, were acting as though they had received a free gift of the entire country, driving the natives from their homes, ejecting them from their lands, - they styled them "captives" and "slaves".'[263] Our understanding of what the foundation of a Roman colony would have entailed on juridical and social levels is regrettably poor.[264] For example, it is still a matter of debate whether it is possible that the Trinovantes were really illegally deprived of their freedom and left at the mercy of the veterans, as the text suggests.[265] Usually, either the *incolae* were ejected from part of their former land (only very rarely and under certain circumstances could they receive any compensation for the eviction[266]), or even more commonly (this was the normal solution), they were allowed to stay in the colony alongside the *cives* and retained their individual rights.[267]

Clearly, Rome's hand fell heavily upon the Trinovantes, but what about the other communities? Usually, the survival of a polyfocal complex and its development into a *civitas* capital has been interpreted as a sign of its pre-existing importance or that its elite were held in very high regard by Rome. However, as Moore very wisely pointed out, it would be naive to believe that those complexes that were abandoned were necessarily sub-centres or satellites of more important settlements.[268] As in the case of Gaul, the Roman administrative boundaries and settlement foci may or may not reflect the pre-existing, indigenous substrata.

As in Gaul, this change in settlement pattern reflects a change in the social structure. As was the case for Gaul, it has often been explained by exogenous factors, such as Caesar's invasion of Britain or an increased relationship between south-east England and northern France supposedly begun around the mid-2nd century BC. The imports of Italian wine *amphorae*,

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[262] Bagendon: Moore 2012; Grim's Ditch: Booth 1999: 47.

[263] '*[...] Acerrimo in veteranos odio. Quippe in coloniam Camulodunum recens deducti quasi cunctam regionem muneri accepissent,*[1] *pellebant domibus, exturbabant agris, captivos, servos appellando*' (Tacitus, Annales, 14, XXXI).

[264] However, among all type of foundations (colonies, *municipia* etc.), Roman colonies are the ones for which we possess the most evidence.

[265] The text, in fact, suggests that what happened to the Trinovantes was illegal. Tacitus assumes they had the right to stay on the land they had tended.

[266] Sic. Flacc. *cond. agr.,* Th. 125.14-17 (the text also says that only land for assignations was taken).

[267] Recent studies that look from a juridical perspective at the relationship between Romans (*cives*) and indigenous people (*incolae*) can be found in Gagliardi 2006; Gagliardi 2011; and Gagliardi 2015.

[268] Moore 2012: 412.

Armorican pottery and coins, 'Gallo-Belgic' gold coins have all been used as evidence. However, a more visible exchange does not necessarily imply an increase in the total exchange.[269] What is of real interest is not a supposed increase in imports or contacts with continental Europe, but the emergence of a small elite which, on the basis of the burial evidence from Stanwick and Colchester, consisted of close family groups.

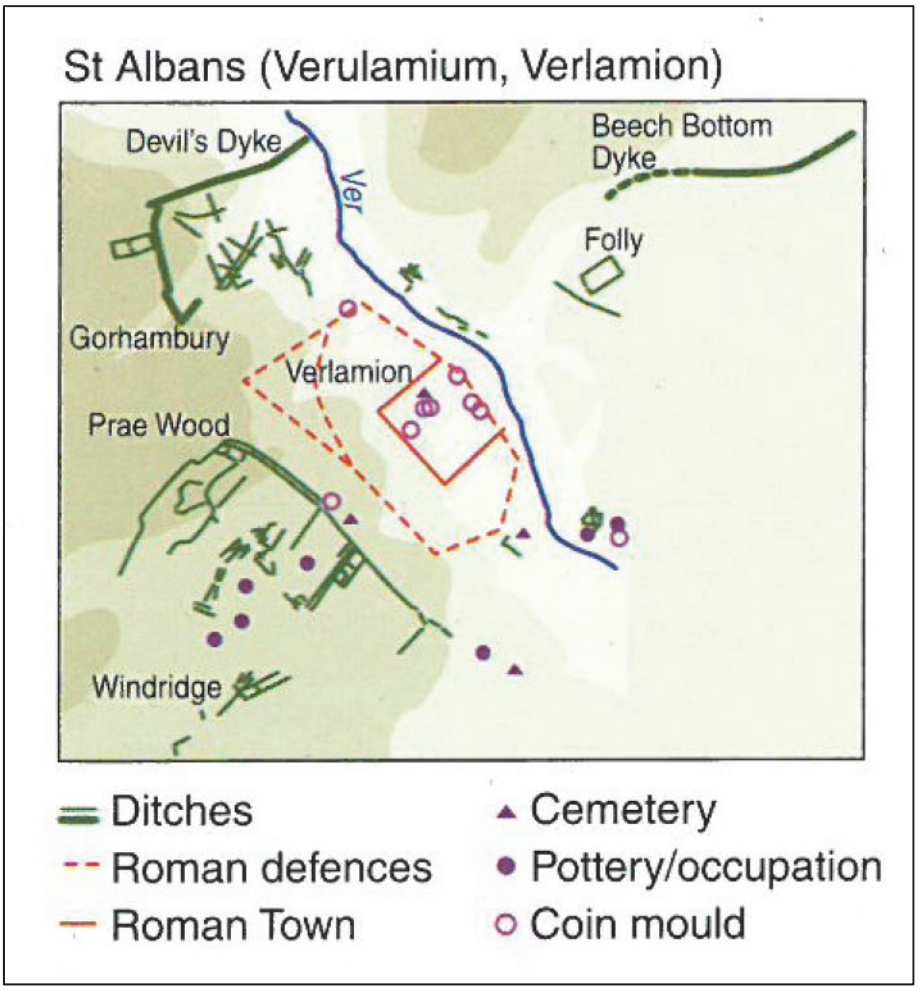


**Figure 26: Verlamion (St. Albans) (Lambrick and Robinson 2009 eds: 366).**

As Nicodemus writes:

> The development of hereditary inequality is a pre-condition for the emergence of centralized polities. While no groups are entirely egalitarian, the shift from achieved to ascribed status has important ramifications for sustained and increasingly asymmetric socio-economic differentiation that characterizes more complex social formations. Vertical transmission of wealth and status within lineages may lead to institutionalization of these distinctions, with permanent elite and commoner kin groups emerging.[270]

Due to a number of factors, such as a rural expansion, demographic increase, and technological innovations that began in the 4th century BC, people started to concentrate in densely packed

[269] As Webley highlights, the numbers of imports actually found in Britain are modest and the cross-Channel exchange was not a new phenomenon (Webley 2015).
[270] Nicodemus 2014: 9.

settlements. In the long run, new opportunities for the accumulation of wealth and status were created, most likely in association with tensions and competition between neighbours. The development of social hierarchies within centralized communities will not be reached until a few centuries later (1st century BC), with the emergence of polyfocal complexes *(oppida)*, whose political nature still eludes us, but nonetheless indicate that power was concentrated in a determinate place and was held in the hands of a minority.[271] The fact that several of these emerging elites developed increasing ties with the Roman rulership has been convincingly argued by Creighton.[272] The formation of these *'polities'* is probably associated with the abandonment of the 'developed hillforts' at the beginning of the 1st century BC and the foundation of new high-status places such as Stanwick (80-70 BC) and slightly later (late 1st century BC) Camulodunum, Verlamion, Silchester, Bagendon, Chichester etc.

The territory of these *'polities'* remains uncertain, and the distribution of coins cannot be used as a definitive argument. We cannot rule out the idea that the re-definition of these *'polities'* was a consequence of a decision by Rome. We have seen how in southern Gaul the impact of the Romans on the territory had been huge, for example in determining the predominance of Nîmes, an *oppidum* like many others, which suddenly came into control of a huge territory. However, as Champion recently wrote, it is important to keep in mind that:

> the distributions of the regional series of coins in southern and eastern England, formerly attributed to such tribes and thought to mark their territories (Williams 2003, 2008), are much more complex, revealing patterns at a variety of scales and making such attribution very problematic (Leins 2008). Like the nature of political authority, the nature of political groupings in the LIA has become much more difficult to discern, and almost certainly much more varied; at the very least, projecting post-conquest structures back into prehistory is unwise.[273]

### 2.4.4 Regional differences in character and distribution of polyfocal complexes and *oppida*

When looking at a map of Britain, we see that a line running south-west/north-east virtually divides it into two. This traditional geographical division of Britain into a Highland and a Lowland Zone is certainly a simplification of a much more complex reality, but it is a useful tool when trying to understand British settlement patterns (Figure 27).

[271] Champion 2016: 155-156.

[272] Creighton 2006.

[273] Champion 2016: 154. Ancient scholars have based their assumptions not only on ancient sources. Coinage has also often been used as an instrument for identifying pre-Roman communities. As Moore observes: 'no coins have tribe names inscribed on them; the only potential exceptions are those inscribed ECEN, although whether this is a tribe (Iceni) or personal name, as seems more likely, is open to question […]. However, recent surveys indicate that the distribution of types represents more complex distributions, sometimes overlapping, which do not represent a coherent entity but fragmented sets of social networks […]. Many have argued too that Late Iron Age coinage was used as part of fluid individual allegiances […] and, as such, its distribution does not reflect tribal identity but an individual's power base […]' (Moore 2011: 350).

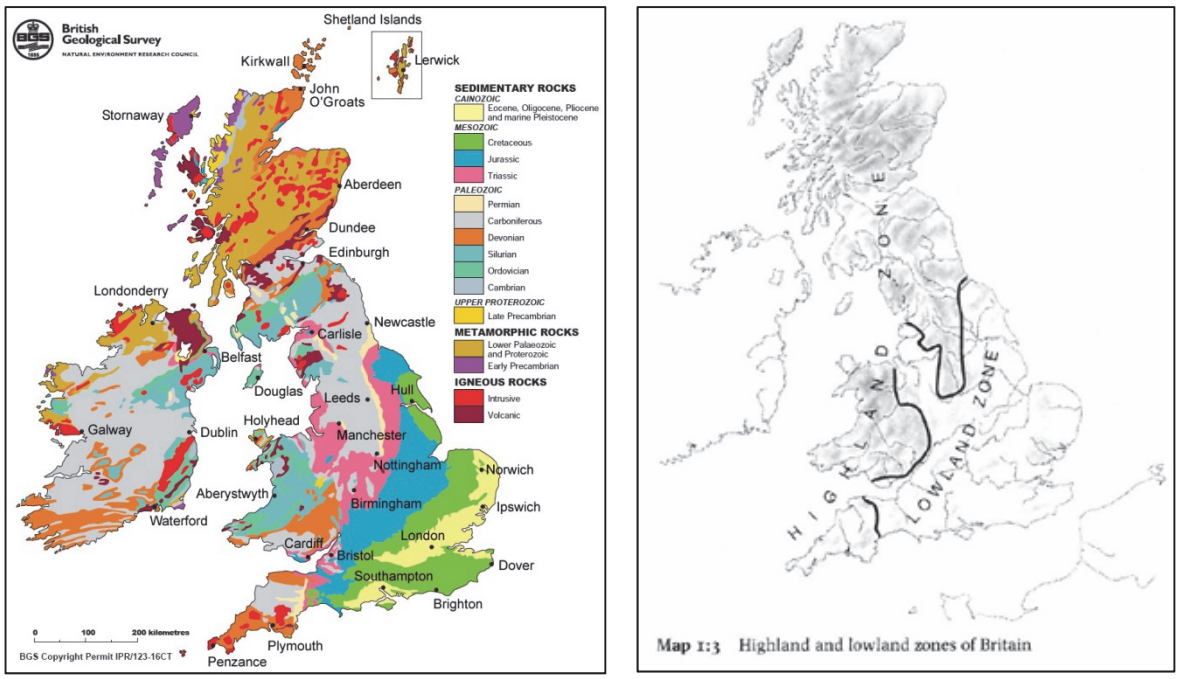


**Figure 27: Left: Geology of Britain (British Geology Survey). Right: the Highland and Lowland Zones (Jones and Mattingly 2002: 3).**

So far we have been mainly concerned with south-central England, which lies in the Lowland Zone. This region is characterized mostly by limestones, chalks, and other sedimentary rocks. It is also covered by abundant alluvium, and it is reasonably well drained. Generally speaking, it provides the best arable land on the island (notable exceptions are the Wash, the Fens, the Weald, part of the South Downs, the Somerset Levels, and the estuary of the Humber River). On the other hand, in the Highland Zone, i.e. the western and northern parts of Britain (which include Wales, Cornwall, northern England and Scotland) most of the older, harder, volcanic and metamorphic rocks are concentrated. This region can be covered with high relief (Scotland), moorland (Cornwall, Wales) or thick beds of peat and is on average less fertile and its climate is more severe.[274] These two regions differ not only in terms of rock types and soils, but also in terms of hydrology. The broad river valleys are concentrated in the east (e.g. Thames, Nene, Trent, Ouse etc.), whilst those in the west - with some notable exceptions (e.g. Severn/Avon, Dee etc.) - are smaller and less penetrative, and this has a direct impact on the communication and settlement systems.[275]

We have already introduced the landscape settlement pattern of south-central England (Figure 28). We said it was intensively farmed and densely settled with hillforts, enclosed and unenclosed settlements, and banjo enclosures. Even marginal areas, such as the Somerset 'Lake Villages', were efficiently exploited. One of the best examples is the village of Glastonbury which, in its final phases, comprised 15 houses. They were built in a swampy area of open

[274] Wacher 2000.
[275] Jones and Mattingly 2002.

water, reeds, and fenwood on an artificial island of timber, stone, and clay.[276] In the south-west of England dispersed settlements and small open settlements were the prevailing form of settlement. In Cornwall the majority of Iron Age sites are enclosed settlements known as 'rounds', most of which date to Roman times. Open settlements and hillforts were also present, as attested by the excavation carried out at Threemilestone. This village comprised a planned layout of approximately ten houses, whilst in the neighbouring area several rounds have been found, one of which was excavated and was possibly contemporary with the unenclosed settlement.[277] As recently observed, 'geophysical surveys and aerial photographs have shown that rounds were often embedded in field systems and were presumably farms',[278], although several of the excavated rounds also have attested extensive metalworking activity. Hillforts in Cornwall rarely show evidence of permanent occupation (with possibly some exceptions, such as Killibury), and they do not show traces of domestic activity.

In Wales, pre-Roman settlements are difficult and at times impossible to date precisely due to the conservatism of artefacts and to the low resolution of radio-carbon dating.[279] Whilst we do not see the presence of large nucleated settlements, several become increasingly long lived and develop complex histories, with a number of roundhouses being rebuilt on the same spot suggesting that the occupation could last for several centuries.[280] However, unlike in Wessex, we do not observe the emergence of 'developed hillforts', although some sites were enlarged during the Middle Iron Age (450-100 BC). This implies that the communities were smaller and controlled smaller territories, although they were able to express inheritance rights or physical rights of access to land, maybe obtained through lineage.[281]

As in Wales, in the north-west region (i.e. Cheshire, Cumbria, Greater Manchester, Lancashire, and Merseyside) we experience serious issues in dating the archaeological evidence. However, well-dated pollen data suggest that in the Iron Age there was widespread clearance activity and an increase in cereal cultivation. As Brennand observed: '[...] few hilltop sites can be securely dated to the Iron Age in the northern part of the region. Until recently no hillforts had produced evidence for continued occupation during the Late Iron Age or at the time of the Roman conquest (Matthews 20002a), although there is artefactual evidence from Mellor for a re-occupation in the later 1st century AD."[282] The predominant recorded settlement sites within the uplands are simple enclosures, with a substantial bank, external ditch and a single entrance.

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[276] Other evidence for the exploitation of wetlands comes from the Avon levels, e.g. Hallen, Northwick, Oldbury. Increased coastal activity is attested around Poole and Christchurch Harbours, but these primarily relied on trade and exchange (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 2008).

[277] Fitzpatrick *et al.* 2008; Schweiso 1974.

[278] Fitzpatrick *et al*. 2008: 129.

[279] In northern Wales some regions remained aceramic throughout the Iron Age. Waddington 2013 when talking about north-western Wales writes that for many areas she could rely on the presence of artefacts which can be placed within typological sequences, as in Wessex.

[280] In north-western Wales, see the sites of Caér Mynydd I, Bryn Eryr, Meillionydd, Erw Wen, Moel y Gerddi and Crawcwellt West (Waddington 2013).

[281] Brück 2007: 29-30.

[282] Brennand Ed. 2006: 52.

Within the enclosures are typically one or more circular roundhouses, and these are usually in the centre of the enclosure away from the outer bank.

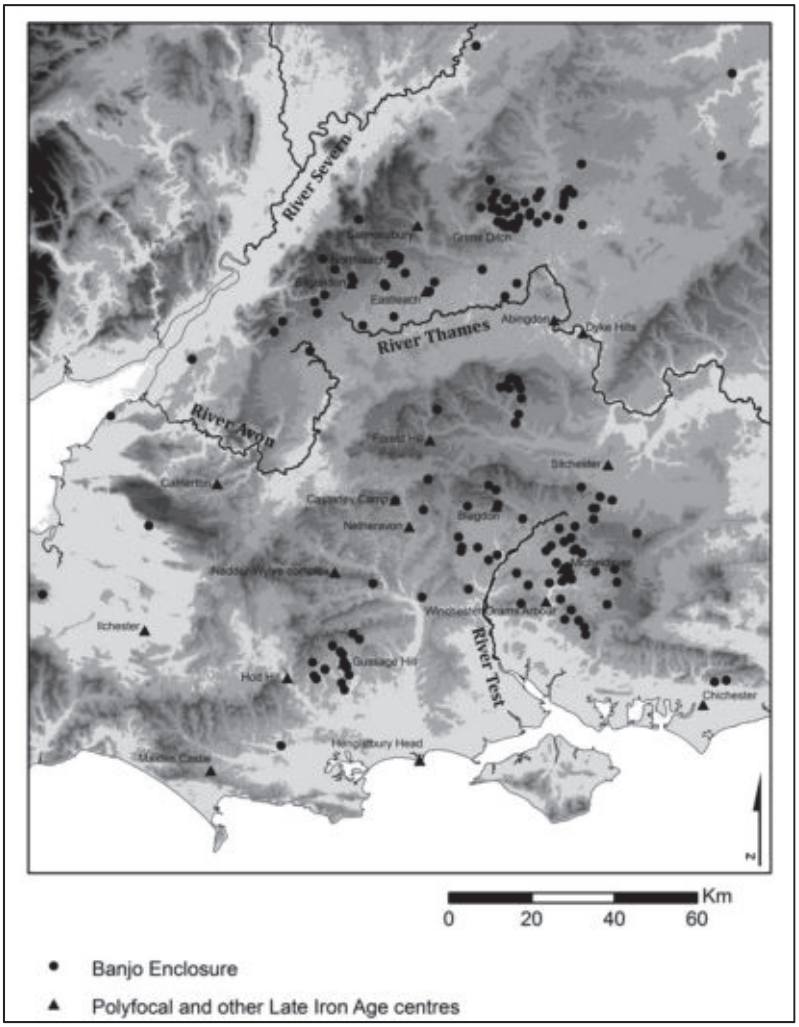


**Figure 28: Distribution of polyfocal sites and banjo enclosures in south-central England (Moore 2012: 396).**

In the north-east, the work by Richard Tipping has suggested that in that region an increase in agriculture dated to the Late Iron Age. Therefore, it preceded the Roman conquest (an opinion now echoed by McCarthy[283]). In Cleveland and east Durham the evidence suggests a tendency towards rectilinear enclosed settlements. Rectilinear enclosures (*c*. 0.25-1 ha) appear to predominate, but unenclosed settlements are also known, such as at South Shields.[284] In the North Pennines the archaeological evidence has shown that simple settlements tended to be small in scale, with only a few houses, often surrounded by an enclosure.

The only site with significant Roman imports is Stanwick. This is an extremely interesting settlement. Archaeologists were able to distinguish different fortified farms within the same earthworks, which likely belonged to the same family group.[285] Its discovery gives a taste of

[283] Tipping 1997; McCarthy 1995; McCarthy 1997.
[284] Hodgson *et al.* 2001.
[285] Haselgrove 2015.

just how large the spectrum of settlements - ranging from unenclosed settlements to *'enclosures within enclosures'* - could be. Above (ch. 2.3.4) we have examined how from the 2nd century BC in Gaul we see the appearance of settlement systems in which two types of sites were dominant: *oppida* and farms (which would be a prelude to the dichotomy city-countryside). However, like the Gaulish aristocratic farms, the site of Stanwick is proof of how blurred the line between '*oppida'* (or nucleated settlement) and 'countryside' could be at this point in history, when different stages of 'enclosed countryside' can be found. Roman imports, including Samian and Gallo-Belgic *amphora* and wares, were reaching Stanwick in significant quantities in the Pre-Roman Late Iron Age. In the nearby sites imported ceramics are very rare (but they are present in smaller proportions at Catcote[286] and Thorpe Thewles[287]), suggesting these did not enter wider circulation.[288] Ceramics have also indirectly provided evidence for another traded good: salt. Briquetage has been found at Stanwick and Kilton Thorpe amongst other sites[289]. Kilton Thorpe has also produced coarse pottery pillars related to the process of salt production. This suggests a local salt industry, probably close to the later salt industries around the mouth of the Tees, perhaps at Coatham. Despite their weight, there is evidence that querns might also have been traded, and important sites such as Stanwick have produced a range of quern stones from different sources, though in other areas, such as Teesdale, analysis has shown that most beehive querns were derived from local sources of stone. Although pottery is not widespread, the North-East is not entirely aceramic, and fewer than 10% of sites have no pottery at all.[290] This is in contrast to areas west of the Pennines, where pottery is typically absent.

In the East Midlands, the 1st century BC saw the beginning of a period of population growth and expansion into previously under-exploited areas. A wide variety of settlement forms are represented. Although many hillforts had fallen out of use, there is evidence for Late Iron Age activity at Burrough Hill, Crow Hill and Hunsbury (the latter a rare example of a 'developed hillfort' ). Smaller defended sites also remain well attested. Whilst the majority of settlements were small farmsteads, an increasing number of large nucleated settlements appear active at this time, particularly in Northamptonshire (e.g. Wilby Way, Crick, Duston, and Twywell) and Leicestershire (e.g. Enderby and Humberstone). In addition, May charts the emergence of a series of 'centres' in northern Lincolnshire, including Ludford, Owmby, Ulceby, Old Sleaford, Old Winteringham, Dragonby and Kirmington. The exact nature of these sites is unclear, although Dragonby (like the Late Iron Age centre at Leicester) has been compared to southern British *oppida* sites. The main difference between these sites and other large settlements appears to be their consumption of metalwork such as coins and brooches, suggesting these sites may have been enmeshed in social networks which gave them access to a wider range of prestige goods. Only Old Sleaford has produced evidence of specialist functions (coin production). Northern Lincolnshire sites such as Dragonby, Owmby, South Ferriby, Kirmington, Nettleton Top and Ludford became centres of metalwork consumption: pre-

[286] Long 1988.
[287] Heslop 1987.
[288] Evans 1995.
[289] Willis 1999; and Willis 2016.
[290] Willis 1999: 85-66.

conquest brooches1 and horse-gear also appear at these sites in large quantities, and there is evidence of brooch production at Owmby. The frequent occurrence of martial miniatures at these centres (including Nettleton Top, Kirmington, Old Sleaford, Dragonby, Ludford, Old Winteringham and Owmby) suggests the emergence of distinctive local votive practices as nucleated settlements developed.

# CHAPTER 3: THE INTEGRATION OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES INTO THE ROMAN EMPIRE

## Introduction

In this chapter, we will look more specifically at the policies implemented by Rome to efficiently exploit, control, and administer and integrate the north-western provinces of the Roman Empire. Before we start, I should clarify a fundamental premise on which this study rests. The duality between *urbs-rus*, cities and territories, self-governing centres and secondary agglomerations will often recur in this work, both because of methodological and illustrative purposes, and because it echoes important socio-economic structures of the Roman world, such as its fiscal and administrative systems.

Some of the earliest attempts made by historians and archaeologists to look at ancient urbanism were based on the analysis of the self-governing cities alone, and urban hierarchies were explored through the lens of their juridical status.[291] As we will soon see, however, this approach may not be applied with the same results to all regions, but it is nonetheless a valid starting point.[292]

Given these premises, a first approach to characterize Roman urbanism will be to consider cities in juridical terms. Thus, we will distinguish two types of agglomerations: those that enjoy some form of local autonomy[293] (i.e. headquarters of civic and political institutions) and those that lay within their territory and are politically dependent on them.[294] We will describe the most common juridical status the cities in the North-West could hold. Then, we will look at the epigraphic attestations of cities' juridical statuses province by province.[295] We need to contextualize these sources in their historical and political settings. It will become clear as we move along in our study that the large differences in the implementation of integration policies, political choices, cultural and epigraphic habits hinder any meaningful inter-provincial comparisons. While this approach has major limitations when employed on the macro-scale level, it can be very valuable when adopted on a provincial scale. We will then proceed to analyse the relationship between city status and its size in each province and present the different patterns we are able to distinguish. At the end of the chapter, we will conclude by

[291] The works of Pounds 1969 and Bekker-Nielsen 1989 dealt only with the self-governing cities. Juridical status is the starting point of Wacher's significant 'The towns of Roman Britain' (Wacher 1975). Other examples come from the Anglo-Saxon literature, which for a long time dealt separately with the study of the self-governing cities and 'small cities' of Roman Britain. Also see Reid 1913; and Millar 1992.

[292] This paradigm is not exempt from exceptions, and while it is relatively robust for the north-western provinces, it would be less so if we were looking at Roman Italy (e.g. a few examples are known from Apulia) or Spain, where it was more common for a *civitas* to be devoid of an *urbs* ( '*civitas sine urbe*' or 'dispersed *civitas*'). See Guzmán 2011; and 2014; Houten 2018.

[293] For a list of the self-governing cities of the north-western Empire on the basis of Ptolemy's lists and epigraphic grounds, see Appendix A.

[294] Nonetheless, they may enjoy monumental buildings whose functions are usually related to the religious or entertainment spheres.

[295] Literary sources are not as reliable as inscriptions, as will be discussed later in the chapter.

discussing a number of issues that undermine the validity of such an approach when applied on a macro-scale level.

## 3.1 The Romans and the political integration of cities

### 3.1.1 The *'civitas'*

The Latin word *'civitas'*, as it is understood in the Early Empire, is a complex and polysemantic word. The primary meaning is not territorial, rather juridical. It refers to the 'citizen body' (of a community).[296] Amongst the different meanings it may take, it also defines a political unit of delimited space or territory, inclusive of its population and institutions appointed for the administration and government of the whole of its territory.[297] In most cases, institutions, and magistrates reside in its main centre *(urbs)*. In the *territoria* of the *civitates,* small villages and rural sites are typical. In the case of the north-western provinces, however, the *territoria* of the *civitates* are so extensive that they very often include large agglomerations which - no matter their size or level of monumentality - are nonetheless politically dependent on the *civitas*' administrative centre (which scholars refer to as *civitas* capital).

The expansion of Rome, from an early phase, was based on the predominance of the *civitas* of Rome over all the others. To receive the *ius civitatis* (here the right to govern itself as a self-governing city) was indeed very advantageous for a city.[298] The acquired sovereignty meant that it could elect its own *ordo decurionum*, magistrates and manage its own affairs. Above all, as the *Lex Irnitana* attests, it was associated with the *fines, agri, vectigalia*, meaning that the *civitas* could levy taxes and collect income from the public land within its boundaries.[299]

The relationship between the *civitas* of Rome and the rest of the *civitates* could take different forms. In the Western Empire, loyal allies like the Remi, Lingones, and Ubii received the privileged federate status of *civitates foederatae*, meaning that they had separate treaties with Rome.[300] Others, (e.g. the *civitates* of the Treveri, Petrucores, Vellavi, Turoni, and Viducassi)

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[296] This is also the meaning in the Digest, see Heumann and Seckel 1958 (9th edition): 71: the term often means 'civic community/municipality' (in German '*Stadtgemeinde*', because most communities had an urban centre), e.g. *civitas* Antiochensium (D. 42.5.37) or *civitas* Tyriorum (D. 50.15.8.4). In D. 50.1.1.1 we find '*recepti in civitatem*', 'admitted to the (Roman) citizen community'.

[297] The political meaning of the term *civitas* can be found in Cicero's works: *'[…] Omnis ergo populus, qui est talis coetus multitudinis qualem exposui, omnis civitas, quae est constitutio populi, omnis res publica, quae ut dixi populi res est, consilio quodam regenda est, ut diuturna sit. id autem consilium primum semper ad eam causam referendum est quae causa genuit civitatem'* (Cicero, De Re Publica I, 25-26). 'Therefore every people, which is such a gathering of large numbers as I have described, every city, which is an orderly settlement of a people, every commonwealth, which, as I said, is "the property of a people," must be governed by some deliberative body if it is to be permanent.' Trad. Loeb Classical Library.

[298] See ILS 6090, where the village of Tymandus, in Pisidia, tried to obtain the status of *civitas*.

[299] A fragment of the pledge addressed to Constantine and the two Caesars (AD 323-326) attests to the aspiration of the secondary agglomeration of Orcistos (Phrygia) to receive the status of *civitas* (Corbier 1991a).

[300] Sánchez 2016 recently argued the status *civitas foederata* could be granted to a *colonia*. He writes that the idea of a *'colonia foederata'* is not a *'monstruosité juridique' contra* Beloch 1926: 195: *'Aber mit seinen eigenen Colonien konnte Rom doch kein foedus abschliessen, denn deren Existenz beruhte ja nur auf Beschlüssen des römischen Volkes, und eine colonia foederata wäre eine staatsrechtliche Ungeheuerlichkeit.'*

were free *civitates (liberae),* meaning that they were exempted from interference by the provincial governor; others could have been *immunes*, that is immune from taxes. When literary and epigraphic sources fall silent on the type of relationship that linked a *civitas* to Rome, scholars tend to interpret it as a sign of a *civitas stipendiaria*, that is subject to tribute.[301] Other *civitates* could be granted the status of *coloniae* and *municipia*, and in the 'Marble of Torigny' we see that the words *colonia*, *civitas,* and *civitas libera* were interchangeable and used as synonyms. It happens very often that a colony calls itself *civitas*, even within the same inscription, precisely because it simply means 'community' (of citizens).[302]

### 3.1.2 Colonies

In the Western provinces, we can distinguish between the Roman veteran colonies, the 'Latin' (i.e. non-veteran) colonies, and the Roman 'honorary"' colonies.

The Roman veteran colonies were founded to settle discharged veterans who held Roman citizenship. Within our study area, they can be found only in areas that had been at one point frontier regions and *theatres of prolonged conflicts*. The presence of veterans was meant to be a deterrent against new conflicts and potential revolts, as well as a source of support for the continuing pacification process.[303] Therefore, they were *instrumental* in strengthening the Roman *grip* on a hostile environment.[304] Security enhancement of this sort was particularly needed in areas which had geographically *strategic* meaning for *military* reasons, i.e. close to the coastline and major rivers. These places were crucial points *within the transport system and were of major importance regarding military supplies and* threats coming from communities across the border. For these reasons they can be found only in Gallia Narbonesis (Narbonne and Béziers, Arles, Aix, Fréjus, Orange, and Valence),[305] the Germanic *limes* (Cologne, Xanten), and in Britannia (Colchester, Gloucester[306]). Given how colonies always involved the confiscation and redistribution of the indigenous population's land to the discharged soldiers, they might have been punitive measures in the case of Narbonne, *Béziers,* and Colchester.[307]

Latin colonies were a phenomenon circumscribed to the late Republic and Early Imperial times. They were pre-existing indigenous communities which, at the time of the award, largely

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[301] Soraci 2010: the word *'stipendiarii'* originally designated the populations conquered by the Romans and subject to the payment of the *'stipendium'*. Later, it could also indicate other types of contributors such as *foederatae*, *liberae* etc. (see Cicero; Livy; and Velleius Paterculus).

[302] See Appendix A.

[303] Ironically, however, this was not always the case. Allegedly, it was the discriminations against the *incolae* (indigenous people living within the colony) by the Roman settlers that contributed to the outbreak of the Boudiccan revolt (Tacitus, Annales, XIV, 31).

[304] Laffi 2007: 34. This is in line with Tacitus' narrative that 'a colony was settled on conquered lands at Camulodunum by a strong detachment of veterans, who were to serve as a bulwark against revolt and to habituate the friendly natives to legal obligations' (Tacitus, Annales, 12.32).

[305] Narbonne and Béziers are known to have sided with Hannibal against Rome, and the Catuvellauni (whose capital was Colchester) had been Rome's strongest enemy.

[306] The status of colony is not epigraphycally attested for the case of Lincoln. However, in the secondaty literature it is often argued that the legionary fortress become a veteran colony after the departure of the legio II Adiutrix in 86 AD (Jones 2004: 166; and Wilson 2006: 5).

[307] Also see Mattingly 2006a: 261-262.

consisted of people who did not hold Roman citizenship. This form of 'colonization without colonists' meant that the territory could go through a reorganization but remained under the authority of the indigenous community that was granted this status.[308] In the north-western provinces this practice was mostly confined to Gaul Narbonensis, where it was widely employed during the Late Republic and Augustan times, as we will see later in the chapter. Finally, the title of Roman honorary colony was very rare in this part of the Empire. It was bestowed only on a few among the largest, richest, and most important cities (e.g. Trier, Vienne, York, etc.).[309] It is possible that a pre-condition for this award was a direct line with Rome (possibly with a senator as an intermediary).[310]

### 3.1.3 Municipia

A *municipium* was a chartered town. According to Chastagnol, *municipia* with Roman rights ceased to be founded when Claudius came to power; *municipia* founded at a later time all enjoyed Latin rights.[311] He argued that neither Strabo nor Pliny ever used the expression '*municipium latinum*' or, more generally, '*municipium*' when they were talking about a community that had Latin rights. Saumagne, on the other hand, believes that this new juridical twist was introduced starting from Claudius's censorship in AD 47-48. Le Roux, who thoroughly examined the evidence from Roman Spain, believes that the appearance of the *municipium Latinum* can be dated to AD 73-74, the year of the conjoined censorship of Vespasian and his son Titus and of the extension of the *ius Latii* to all of Spain.[312] Regardless of when this innovation was first introduced in the north-western provinces, this title is very rarely attested in the epigraphic record (it can be found only in the Alpine provinces and Germania Inferior).

### 3.1.4 Political integration in the Roman Empire: the *ius Latii*

The political integration of allied or conquered communities in the western provinces in Late Republican and Early Imperial times has been a matter of debate for a very long time. Despite all the ink spilt, many aspects remain unclear, and, given the few sources at our disposal and their often contradictory character, it is likely that they will never be settled.[313] The endless discussion over the nature of the so-called 'Latin *oppida* mentioned by Pliny is

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[308] Traces of centuriation have been found around the non-veteran colonies of Avennio and Cabellio.

[309] Several of these colonies (e.g. Vienne) were also granted the *ius Italicum*, which was a very rare privilege and 'conferred the concrete privilege of exemption from *tributum* and also elevated the recipient town in prestige by emphasizing its close ties to the homeland of the Roman people' (Watkins 1988-1989: 117).

[310] E.g. the senators Decimus Valerius Asiaticus (Vienne) and Titus Sennius Sollemnis (a friend of Tiberius Claudius Paulinus, the imperial propraetorial legate of Gallia Lugdunensis) for Vieux.

[311] Chastagnol 1995d.

[312] As Chastagnol pointed out, the case of Sicily teaches us we should be careful and critical when we hear of an emperor who grants *ius Latii* to a whole province. Cicero in a letter writes that Antonius has granted Roman rights to the whole province in 44 BC. However, in Pliny's list there are still *oppida peregrini* and *popoli* with Latin rights. Either he was using a Caesarian source, or these statements were generalizations.

[313] Much ink has been spilt over the origin of the *ius Latii*. The origin of the 'Latin rights' can be traced back to the regal period or to the early years of the Republic. It has often been claimed that its foundations concurred with the stipulation of the Foedus Cassianum (493 BC) (most recently this thesis has been endorsed by Kremer 2007). However, this is a bit of a stretch since the Foedus Cassianum (as transmitted through literary sources) does not make any direct reference to the Latin rights.

exemplary. Here we are not interested in discussing these juridical aspects in great detail. We will be satisfied with a broad view of the issue. Nonetheless, it is undeniable that the bestowal of Latin rights played an important role in the political integration of foreign communities in the Roman Empire.[314] In any case, by the time the *ius Latii* was introduced into the *civitates* of the Western provinces, it had gone through some changes. Most notably, the *ius adipiscendae civitatis per magistratum*, that is the right to acquire Roman citizenship through the holding of municipal office, had been introduced.[315]

All in all, Latin rights were a powerful instrument for the integration of the Italian and, later, provincial populations. Originally conceived as a way of regulating relationships between the communities of Latium, it was later used for colonies. This is the case of the *municipium*, a chartered town, which according to Chastagnol, ceased to have Roman rights after Claudius came to power; *municipia* founded at a later time, he believed, all had Latin rights.[316] Although the *ius Latii* is not yet completely understood and doubts remain over its origin and evolution, it is clear that it was always based on one guiding principle: the promotion and assimilation of the elite and, in general, of the communities that were annexed to the Empire.[317] Whether or not Carteia was the first provincial city enjoying Latin rights, the *ius Latii* started to spread in the north-western provinces started from - at the earliest - Caesarian times or at the time of the second triumvirate.[318] On the basis of epigraphic, numismatic and literary sources we also know that several *oppida Latina* were granted colonial status (e.g. Nîmes, Cavaillon, Carcassone, Die, Digne, and Riez).

## 3.2 A new administrative system

The starting point of this section will be the examination of the administrative structures imposed by the Romans in the north-western provinces *(civitates)*. We will discuss the extent to which they were based on pre-existing boundaries established during the Late Iron Age. We

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[314] Astin *et al.* eds 1990: 362.

[315] The *ius migrandi*, that is the right to go to Rome and acquire Roman citizenship (if it ever existed), had disappeared by this time.

[316] Chastagnol 1995d. The matter is still controversial. Le Roux thinks *municipia* with Latin rights spread from Flavian times onwards. Letta, Mommsen and others (see footnote 361) believed they started to exist already in Augustan times. The change of magistrates from *quattuorviri* to *duumviri* after the Julio-Claudian period suggests that the city received Roman rights, becoming either a Roman or a Latin colony (Gascou 1997: 123-124); for a different opinion see Letta 2007b.

[317] This argument is not affected by the distinction between the so-called *'Latium maius'*, which made all of the councillors in communities Roman citizens, and the *'Latium minus'*, which made Roman citizens only the councillors who held magistracy. On this distinction see Sherwin-White 1973: 255; and Millar 1992: 405-406.

[318]According to Chastagnol, Carteia was a Latin colony in the sense that it hosted people with a Latin background and it did not mean that its citizens enjoyed Latin rights. He believed that Nîmes was the first provincial city to be a 'proper' Latin city in the sense that it had *ius Latii* because it was just after having introduced Nîmes that Strabo felt the need to explain what the *ius Latii* was. Strabo, at that point writes that the *ius Latii* allowed people who had held a local magistrature to automatically be granted Roman citizenship. It might be a coincidence, but as Chastagnol has noticed, Nîmes' coin *'Nem(ausius) col(onia)'* is dated to 42 BC; in the same year in northern Italy the *ius Latii* disappeared. When the *ius Latii* ceased to be used in Italy, it was - he believes - exported into the provinces (Chastagnol 1995e).

will also make a few observations about their sizes and number. When the Romans conquered these provinces, customarily they divided the conquered territory into different *civitates.*[319] They did so for administrative, but perhaps most importantly fiscal purposes.[320]

The first observation we can make is that several of these political entities had a huge territory in comparison to others (Figure 29). The reason behind this, according to Collis, lies in the substantial differences in the nature of urbanization in temperate and Mediterranean Europe. The Mediterranean world was characterised by city-states (*poleis*) whose territories, apart from a few exceptions, were quite modest (around 100 square km). In temperate Europe, on the other hand, he believes communities were organized in a way that was more pertinent to larger communities ('tribal states'). However, this did not have to be necessarily the case, since large, politically centralized, multi-polar entities (or *ethne*) also existed in the Mediterranean world, for example, the communities of the Samnites or the Etruscans. The latter, for example, according to Livy, consisted of a confederation of 12 *city*-states (*duodecim populi*) which met once a year at the Fanum Voltumnae at Volsinii to elect a representative.[321] The differences in size perceived by modern scholars between the *'ethne'* of temperate and Mediterranean Europe therefore, might stem from semantic issues, as well as reflect the differences in the number of *written sources* and third-party observations *available*.

Part of the problem, in this sense, has its roots in the difficulty of distinguishing and understanding the nature of the different political systems of the ancient civilizations that were to be conquered by Rome. Scholars still refer to the pre-Roman communities of the north-western provinces as 'tribes', lumping them all together, even if this practice has been severely criticized.[322] For example, Sastre recently observed that scholars have been naively using: 'one of the most maligned concepts of traditional anthropology […] that of the "tribe", because of the ideological connotations associated with it through colonialism tribes are considered to be a strictly contemporary phenomenon linked with European expansion.'[323]

If we look more closely at the *civitates* of Gaul (Figure 29), we see that they diverge in size. Those in the south and in the north-west look smaller, while those in central and north-east Gaul are indeed larger. The question arises spontaneously: is there a correlation between the size of a community, the level of centralization reached in pre-Roman times and its relationship with Rome around the time of its annexation into the empire?

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[319] The following discussion will deal only with the *civitates* of Gaul, the reason being that in Gaul the borders have been reconstructed through a 'regressive' method on the basis of the Medieval ecclesiastical sources (e.g. French Ancien Régime, Roman Catholic dioceses), epigraphic evidence (boundary stones), *analysis of place names* (e.g. record of words such as '*fines*', etc.)

[320] They will also play a decisive role in conveying a sense of community to later creations, such as the Batavi (Roymans 2004).

[321] See Livy 1.8.3; 4.23.5; 4.61.2; 5.1.5; 5.33.9-10.

[322] Moore 2011.

[323] Sastre 2011: 272-273; also see Fried 1968; Ferguson and Whitehead eds. 1992. In fact, she writes that the concept of tribalization has mostly been interpreted as the process of the construction of regional and collective entities (often referred to as 'chiefdoms') with a specific character, territory, cultural or linguistic tradition etc. However, this is only one side of the coin, since it is known from anthropology that tribalization can also express itself as the atomization of social groups (Fowles 2002).

Twenty or thirty years ago, it was customary to see Roman *civitates* as a legacy of the pre-Roman world.[324] This error was also due to a misunderstanding of the word *'civitas'*, which Caesar often uses quite often (182 times) in his *Commentarium De Bello Gallico*. This word, in his book, can bear different meanings.[325] Most of the times, he used it to refer to a 'community of people', without any further geographical indication of their territory, which suggests that - in most cases at least – their boundaries were not fixed (unlike Roman *civitates*, whose *fines* were clearly defined). When this word was employed by ancient authors with regard to Roman Italy, it always indicated a 'community of citizens' and had a clear juridical meaning.[326] This is not the case for Gaul, and Caesar, in his book, only rarely used it in this respect (*c.* 20 times, for example when implying they were a political entity led by a political figure or assembly).

**Figure 29: The *civitates* of Roman Gaul and Germania Inferior.**

Thanks to new archaeological discoveries, a more critical approach, and the decline in ideological and chauvinistic attitudes, these supposed truisms have begun to be questioned.[327] The traditional idea that Rome conquered the north-western provinces and respectfully kept

[324] E.g. Chastagnol 1995g wrote that the Roman *civitates* reflected the pre-Roman circumscriptions which dated to the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC and which became the basis of the Roman administrative system. Others went so far as to argue that the pre-Roman territorial divisions in Britain persisted in Roman times and in the Early Medieval kingdoms (Yeates 2008; and Karl 2011).

[325] see Fichtl 2004: 14-21.

[326] Cicero, Pro Sestio 91

[327] See Tarpin 2006: 31; Moore 2011.

old territorial borders and local traditions is being challenged.[328] At this time all the previous relationships and hierarchical bonds were disrupted, and, as Caesar claimed, communities were allowed to have only one interlocutor: Rome.[329]

In most cases, continuity between the Iron Age communities and Roman *civitates*[330] is illusory and indemonstrable. For a long time, Classical sources have been the main instrument for reconstructing the pre-Roman political geography of these provinces. However, because of the complexity and subjectivity of these sources, scholars often confront severe contradictions and ambiguities.[331] For example, in Gallia Narbonensis we notice a difference between the number of communities that were mentioned before Augustus and the number of those that survived in the names of the *civitates* at the time of the *formula provinciae* (before 16-14 BC). Some of the communities that did not develop into *civitates* are attested as *pagi* (for example, the Condrusti might have given their name to the *'pagus Condrustis'* located in the *civitas* of the Tungri).[332] At most, we can deduce that at times pre-Roman territorial divisions made their mark and were fossilized into Roman territorial institutions.[333] In the Three Gauls some communities known to Caesar disappeared before Augustan times (e.g. Tulinges, Latobices and Ambarres), while others instead appeared out of nowhere (e.g. Silvanecti). Similarly, in Britain, the Segontiaci, Ancalities, Bibroci and Cassi are mentioned by Caesar but ignored by Ptolemy.[334]

These discrepancies have often been explained with reference to their process of formation: for example, by the emergence of a larger community originating from the joining of several smaller ones. This is, of course, reasonable, and it is possible that several were probably simply not significant enough to pass down through the generations after the merger. However, given how these communities developed in an unstable, fluid context, it is difficult to determine how

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[328] Also provincial borders are more indicative of Roman imperialism than cultural areas. Narbonensis, for example, was founded in order to control two main axes: the way to Spain and the Rhône-*Saône* axis. For this reason the territories of the Arverni and of the Ruteni were not annexed. Thus, Tarpin concludes, it is the act of conquest that gives coherence to the province of Narbonensis.
Caesar explains his sub-division into three provinces of Gallia Comata by citing how they differ from each other in terms of language, costumes and laws, although every province is delimited by a river (*De Bello Gallico* 1, 2). However, he was criticized by Strabo (Geography, 4,1,1), who was sceptical of Caesar's comments and wrote that except for the Aquitani - who shared some traits with the Iberi - the rest of Gallia Celtica was ethnically homogenous and differed only in nuances. Goudineau insists on the difficulty of distinguishing between the Belgae and the Gauls; he just sees a chronological difference and not a cultural one - the Belgae arrived later, around the 3rd century BC (Goudineau 2004: 966-67; Thollard 2009: 117-123).
The fact that some territories could be interchangeable and move from being part of one province to another also seems to collide with the idea that provinces mirrored cultural identities, e.g. the Alpes Poeninae were initially included into the province of Raetia and later annexed to the Alpes Graiae (Wiblé 1998a; 1998b).
[329] See Tarpin 2006: 35.
[330] Reference to *civitates*: De Coulanges 1922: chap. 5; Jullian 1920 t. II p. 3-36, 54-63, 449-542, t. IV: chap. 3; Bloch 1993: 187-203, 334-335, 252-356; Grenier 1931: chaps. 4 and 5. Names and location are known from Caesar, Strabo, Ptolemy, Pliny, Notitia Galliorum.
[331] See Woolf 2011 for a recent and comprehensive study of how Classical authors wrote about the barbarians living in the West.
[332] Dondin-Payre 1999. *Pagi* and *vici* do not stand out for having an 'indigenous' character.
[333] Tarpin 2002b.
[334] *De Bello Gallico* V, 21

they formed and what changes they went through. Moreover, some of these names appear to be catch-all phrases potentially eligible to indicate different groups and not necessarily a specific, unified ethnic or political group. For example, the name 'Brigantes' can be translated 'Upland People' or 'Hill People,[335] and might have been used by the Romans to designate people they were not acquainted with, regardless of their social and economic background.[336] However, it is possible that the Romans did not mean that this group was a coherent 'politie'. The probable late-1st-century-BC source used by the Alexandrian geographer Ptolemy when compiling his Geography, implies that Cumbria and Lancashire belonged to the Brigantes, but did such a territorial arrangement exist? And was it an ancient accomplishment or an innovation introduced by the Roman provincial government?

The analysis of those aspects within the material culture which could potentially be used as indicators of strong group identities - e.g. self-conscious, politicized statements of identity (such as defence systems), or even only coherent unities of burials, *housing*, *eating*, and *drinking* patterns - indicate that the communities within northern Britain (regarded as Brigantian territory) most likely do not qualify as a unified political unity. Similarly, the archaeological evidence does not support the existence of a people known as the Cornovii in the area of Cheshire, Shropshire, north Staffordshire, and north Herefordshire or that of the Setantii in Lancashire in the Iron Age.[337]

*Civitates* are, therefore, Roman creations. However, it is also true that some of the Gaulish and British *civitates* mentioned by Caesar did become *civitates*. We have already highlighted how considerable regional differences existed within our research area in pre-Roman times. We have discussed how in the West the introduction of centralized political entities progressed at different paces in different parts of our research area. In western Gaul, northern Germania Inferior, Wales and northern England, the pace was low and slow when compared to central and north-eastern France or south-central Britain. Therefore, whilst we have evidence that several Roman *civitates* may have crystallized some pre-existing unities (e.g. as happened in the case of the Mediomatrici and Leuci in Belgica), this assertion cannot be maintained for the whole study area.

### 3.2.1 A political explanation

In Narbonensis, the *Salluvii* practically disappeared after their defeat. Their territory was divided into at least three different *civitates*: the Latin colony of Aquae Sextiae and the Roman colonies of Fréjus and Arles. Other groups who had been hostile to Rome (e.g. the *civitates* of the Alps, the Vocontii, and the Allobroges) survived. Even Marseille, which famously sided with Pompey against Caesar, kept part of its territory. The map of the *civitates* of Narbonensis

[335] Moore 2011: 347; Rivet and Smith 1979: 279. Similarly, the name '*Volcae*' might derive from the Latin word 'vulgus' ('people') (Moret 2002: 83). The most common interpretation of the etymology of the names Volcae, Volcae Tectosages and Tektosages (found between Gaul and Anatolia) assumes they derive from the Gaulish '*volca'*, which originally meant 'falcon' (Delamarre 2003: 327). Later they might have assumed a new meaning, that of 'warrior' (Rübekeil 1992: 61).

[336] And this would explain why the Romans used the same name to indicate a group of people in Ireland.

[337] Wigley 2001: 9 and more recently the project on the Roman rural settlements. For a similar argument about the Silures see Gwilt 2007.

in Augustan times suggests that the mark of Rome could be capricious and deeply radical.[338] The *civitates* of Narbonensis were numerous and dramatically differed in size. They were large in Provence, Languedoc, and in the sub-alpine region. On the other hand, the ones stretching along strategic areas such as the Rhône axis, the *'isthmus gallicus'*, and the coastal route were smaller.[339] In fact, as we have discussed in chapter 2, from the end of the 2nd century BC the Romans scattered Roman foundations along these axes. This allowed Rome to use to her economic advantage on these main trade routes while also ensuring these routes could not be used against them (Hannibal, in his attempt to conquer Rome, had already used the route connecting Italy and Gaul). Moreover, they were strategic not only should Rome need to defend herself from the communities living across the border but also in case it wanted to attack them.

The *civitates* of the Three Gauls and Germania Inferior may be compared to 'ideal territories' which can be calculated on the basis of the linear distance between the self-governing cities. This technique allows us to look at the discrepancy between the model and reality. This, however, poses immediate problems for further research.[340] The reason why we drew the map below (Figure 30) - where we superimposed the territories of the *civitates* as predicted by Thiessen polygons (in black) on the territories of the Roman *civitates* of Gaul and Germania Inferior as reconstructed by scholars on the basis of Medieval ecclesiastical sources (French Ancien Régime, Roman Catholic dioceses) and epigraphic evidence - shown in red- is precisely to identify discrepancies and/or anomalies and to suggest, whenever possible, a historical explanation.[341]

The picture below shows how the Thiessen polygons, in spite of being a very deterministic ideal model, are not completely out of touch with reality. Some of the most evident discrepancies between the two maps have a historical explanation.[342] For example, the *civitas* of the Namnetes and that of its southern neighbours, the Pictones, differed significantly from the pattern predicted by geography. According to the Thiessen polygons, the *civitas* of the Namnetes should have been larger than it actually was, while that of the Pictones might have been only half its size. However, we know from literary sources that the Romans decided on an exemplary punishment for the Namnetes, who were deprived of all their possessions south of the river Loire to the advantage of the Pictones, who, in turn, might have doubled the size of their territory. Several Roman allies (e.g. Remi, Aedui, Tungri) might have been granted a territory larger than that which geography alone would have assigned them. Only in the case

[338] It is difficult to date certain decisions concerning the re-organization of provinces. Here we are not interested in looking at what happens in later periods, so we will not discuss the problem of those self-governing cities that lost their independence in the High Empire, such as Ruscino, Glanum, and Carcassone.

[339] The valley of the *Hérault*, for example, was divided into three different *civitates* (*Béziers*, Lodève, and Nîmes).

[340] Thiessen polygons (also known as Voronoi polygons or Voronoi diagrams) are generated around a set of points in a given space by assigning all locations in that space to the closest member of the point set. The boundaries of the polygons are mathematically defined by the perpendicular bisectors of the lines between all points. Diagrams that resembled the Voronoi diagram can be found in the work of French philosopher and mathematician René Descartes (1596 - 1650). Thiessen 1911 is one of the first examples of using the Voronoi diagram for spatial interpolation. (Yamada 2016, Thiessen 1911). Also see Fichtl 2004: 45 who used a similar method.

[341] For an example of how the territory of a *civitas* can be reconstructed using these sources see Féliu 2014.

[342] See Bintliff and Snodgrass 1985.

of the Tungri do we have literary sources that speak of a Roman political strategy: Rome intentionally allowed them to occupy the land that belonged to the Eburones, a tribe that had been severely punished by Caesar and whose name would be relegated to oblivion.[343] The importance of the Iron Age legacy is preponderant in the case of the *civitates* of the Ruteni, Gabali and Vellavi, which in pre-Roman times were already subjugated to the powerful tribe of the Arverni and whose *civitates* were smaller than the Thiessen polygon analysis would have predicted. Similarly, some of the largest territories are found in central Gaul (e.g. Lemovici, Aedui, Bituriges Cubi) and in north-western Gaul (e.g. Remi, Treveri, Mediomatrici, Leuci). These are the areas where we have seen the earliest signs of centralization appear in Gaul.

**Figure 30: The territory of the *civitates* of Gaul and Germania Inferior. In red: the territory of the *civitates* as reconstructed by scholars on the basis of historical and epigraphic evidence; in black: the territory of the *civitas* as predicted by the Thiessen polygons.**

In Britain, our knowledge of the *civitates'* boundaries is much less solid. It is possible that Togidubnus, the client-king of the Regni, because he sided against Boudicca, was rewarded with land that previously belonged to the Atrebates and the Belgae.[344] An interesting hypothesis but, yet again, impossible to prove, is that part of the territory of the Silures was annexed to that of the Dobunni, allies of the Romans, whose territory - as reconstructed by the majority of modern scholars - appears to have been very large.[345]

[343] Tacitus, Germania, II, 2.

[344] Cunliffe 2012: 373.

[345] Jones and Mattingly 2002: 61.

## 3.3. The juridical status in the north-western provinces

### 3.3.1 Gallia Narbonensis

From 125 BC onwards, following a request for help from the Greek colony of Massalia, which was threatened by the powerful Gallic tribes to the north, the presence of Rome in this region became permanent. It became a Roman province, originally under the name Gallia Transalpina ('on the far side of the *Alps'*).[346] Military campaigns were carried out on the right side of the Rhône between 125 and 121 BC and probably ended with the stipulation of different *foedera* for the defeated tribes. These tribes are likely to have kept their autonomy but were forced to render several services to Rome, such as the duty to supply auxiliary troops and the payment of a *stipendium*.

Cicero's speech *'pro Fonteio'*, written around 70 BC, gives us some interesting insights into the status of Gallia Transpadana before Caesar's intervention.[347] From Cicero we learn two main things: i. the province was not yet politically integrated (the only Roman citizens living there were *'publicani, pecuarii, ceteri negotiatores'*[348]); ii. they were living in complete isolation in the only colony they had founded in 118 BC, Narbo. In fact, the colony of Narbo is described as being surrounded only by enemies (*'colonia nostrorum civium, specula populi romani ac propugnaculum istis ipsis nationibus oppositum et objectum'*[349]), except for the allied city of Marseille (*'urbs Massilia, fortissimorum fidelissimorumque sociorum'*).[350]

Prior to Caesar's colonization scheme, the Romans had established two other military sites (Aquae Sextiae, Tolosa), three *fora* (Forum Iulii, Forum Vocontii, Forum Domitii), and a Pompeian foundation (Lugdunum Convenarum). All these settlements were strategically positioned along the route to Spain. We also know of the existence of a number of cities within the territory of Marseille or close to it. These centres were politically linked to the Greek city, and they issued silver and bronze coinage with Greek legends. However, it is difficult to establish the extent to which they were autonomous, and the whole inventory cannot be exhaustive.[351]

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[346] The province of Gallia Transalpina was renamed Gallia Narbonensis in 118 BC, after its newly established capital of Colonia Narbo Martius.
[347] Christol 1999.
[348] Cicero, Pro Fonteio 21.46: 'Tax-collectors, farmers, stock-raisers, and traders' (trad. Loeb Classical Library).
[349] Cicero, Pro Fonteio 5.13: 'A citizen-colony, which stands as a watch-tower and bulwark of the Roman people, and a barrier of defence against these tribes' (trad. Loeb Classical Library).
[350] Cicero, Pro Fonteio 5.13: 'Inhabited by brave and faithful allies' (trad. Loeb Classical Library). The idea that Aix was founded as a Latin colony in 122 BC has been put forward but never found confirmation (Strabo mentioned the presence of a garrison, whilst Livy talks of a foundation of the *Salluvii*). It is possible that Pompey or Fonteius might have started a new wave of occupation of '*italici*', and perhaps traces of this occupation can be found in the pre-colonial *cadastre* of Béziers, so-called Béziers B and others discovered around Narbo, Arausio, Avennio, and Cabellio. Nonetheless, what is striking is that in this period there was neither thorough political organization nor integration.
[351] Christol 1999.

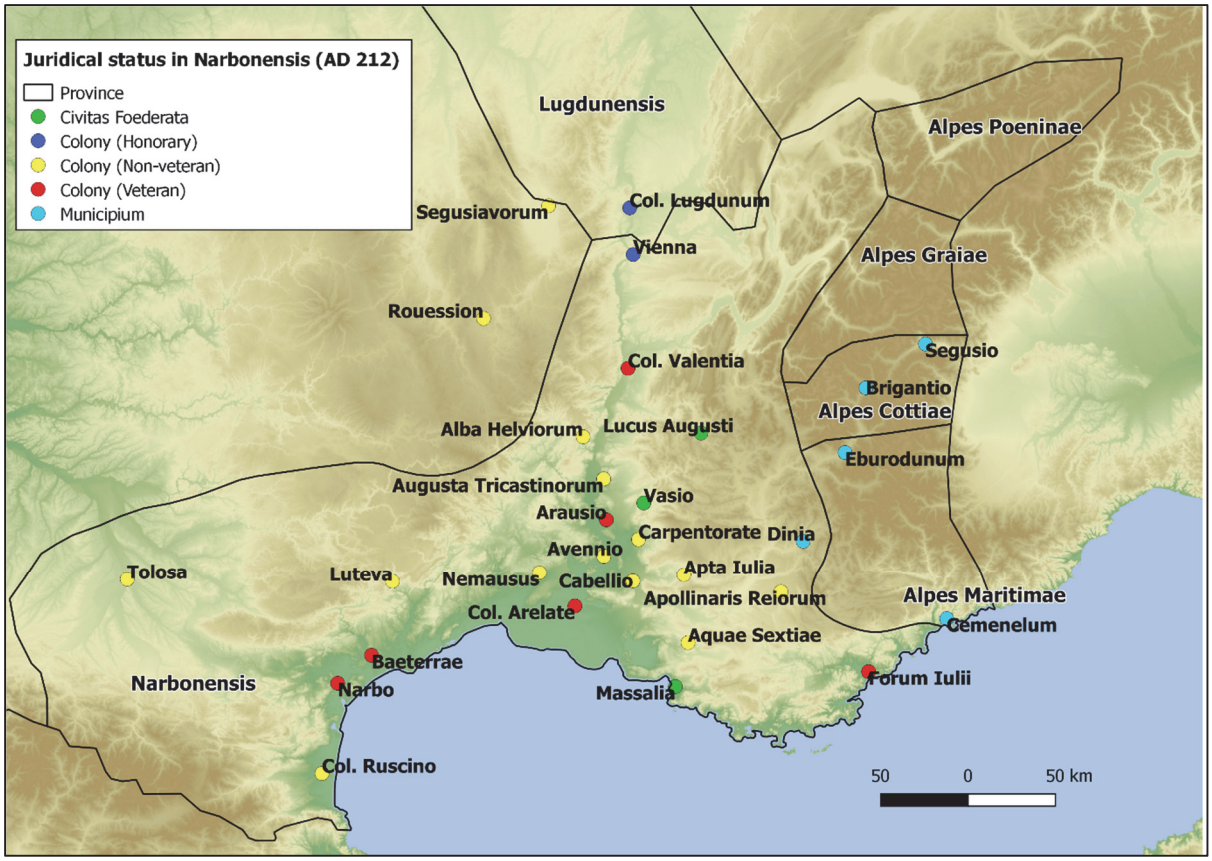


**Figure 31: Cities' juridical status in Narbonensis.**

Caesar was the first Roman statesman to take a personal interest in the political integration of this province. For strategic reasons, after having conquered Gallia Comata, he was committed to re-organizing the adjacent province of Gallia Narbonensis. Following Marseille's betrayal in 49 BC and the defeat of Pompey, he also had to take care of its confiscated territory. Thus, while in power, Caesar set out to organize this province by establishing Roman colonies. We know from Suetonius that Caesar sent Tiberius Claudius (father of the future emperor Tiberius) to establish colonies in Narbonensis. Unfortunately, he does not specify how many. He only mentions two of the several colonies that were part of his colonial programme: the re-founded Narbonne and Arles. Scholars have discussed at length which other colonies might have been Caesarian foundations, and possible candidates are Nîmes, Béziers, Orange, and Fréjus.[352]
As Leveau suggests, it may be possible that at first (Caesarian -Augustan period) Rome focused on managing its own colonial foundations (both veterans and honorary). At a later date – probably not later than Flavian times – there is a renewed interest in organizing the rest of the territory, and the already established, extensive *civitates* of Nîmes and Vienne were used as models. This would explain why between the end of the 1st century BC and the early 1st

[352] Svetonius, Tib., 4, 2. The issue has not yet been resolved. Bowman, Champlin and Lintott 1990 suggest Nîmes, Valence, and Vienne might have become colonies under Caesar. Goudineau, Février, and Fixot thought of Béziers and Nyon (but not Fréjus and Orange which, they believed, were founded at a later stage) (Goudineau *et al.* 1980). Chastagnol 1995b suggested Nîmes (whose archaeological traces belonging to the early phase of the city may have been found, see Christol and Goudineau 1987: 92). Other possible Caesarian colonies could be Béziers, Orange and Fréjus (Le Roux 2014: 444-445).

century AD some previously autonomous centres (like Ruscino and perhaps Glanum) as well as other centres such as Tarascon, Cessero, and Pézenas were attached to larger neighbouring *civitates*, in these cases, those of Narbonne, Arles, and Béziers.[353]

### 3.3.2 The 'redactio in formam provinciae'

The map of the world (or a list of place names and the distances between them, as argued by Brodersen) supposedly engraved in marble and displayed in the Porticus Vipsania (Campus Martius) divided the world into 24 regions, 17 of which were provinces.[354] At the time of formalizing the conquered territory's status as a province, it was necessary to fix its territorial borders and to establish its form of government. For this purpose, sets of laws written specifically for each province (*lex provincialis*) and the so-called *formula provinciae* were issued. The *formula provinciae* determined the extent of the province and listed all the cities that, from that moment onwards, fell within the jurisdiction of a Proconsular governor. Unfortunately, none of these documents has survived, but they are generally assumed to have been read by Pliny the Elder.[355] In his geographical section of the Naturalis Historia (books III to VI), he is likely to have made extensive use of this source.[356] In his books, Pliny proceeds according to Roman provincial divisions, and he lists the subjected *civitates* (*civitates peregrinae*), colonies and *municipia* within a province.

We can have a grasp of the *formula provinciae* of Gallia Narbonensis by looking at Pliny's work (Nat. Hist. III, 31-37). Pliny's main source for compiling his lists probably dated to the beginning of the Augustan period (27-15 BC).[357] In a brief introduction, the author praises the province, described as 'not so much a province as a part of Italy'.[358] After having briefly illustrated his geography, he starts by describing the regions on the coast *(in ora)*.[359] He mentions the colony of Narbo, Castel Roussillon (which had Latin rights), and the federated city of Marseilles with its colony Agde. Then he changes his method and source and proceeds to look at the hinterland *(in mediterraneo)*. He lists the people and cities, which he divides into

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[353] Leveau 1993b: 298-299.

[354] It was prepared by Agrippa (Pliny, Nat. Hist. III.17) and finished by Augustus (Cass. Dio. LV 8.3-4). Brodersen argues that the expression *'orbem terrarum urbi spectandum'* ('to set before the eyes of Rome a survey of the world'. Trad. *Loeb Classical* Library) refers to a text and not a map as it usually does in Pliny's works (Brodersen 1995: 269-70).

[355] Pallu de Lessert 1909.

[356] Nicolet 1989.

[357] *Terminus post quem*: the list follows alphabetical order; and the first city mentioned is Augusta Tricastinorum, which was founded not earlier than 27 BC. *Terminus ante quem*: the *civitas* of Nîmes changed its structure in 16-15 BC, or perhaps in 22 BC. This means that the formula must date earlier than that (Christol 1999). Most scholars believe it dated to 27 BC, the year when Augustus was in Gaul.

[358] Pliny, Nat. Hist. III, 32: *'Agrorum cultu, virorum morumque dignatione, amplitudine opum nulli provinciarum postferenda breviterque Italia verius quam provincia.'* 'Its agriculture, the high repute of its men and manners and the vastness of its wealth make it the equal of any other province: it is, in a word, not so much a province as a part of Italy' (Trad. *Loeb Classical* Library).

[359] Only a few names of the people mentioned by Pliny will recur in the names of the Roman *civitates* of Gaul: the Volcae Tectosages, the Vocontii, and the Allobroges. He lists towns that he qualified as either small or declined in splendour (e.g. Elne, Rhoda etc.). Around a dozen of people's names mentioned by him did not survive into the Roman system of *civitates* (e.g. the Sordones, Consuarani, etc.).

three different categories: colonies, *oppida Latina* and allied states (Marseille and the Vocontii). His list of colonies possibly follows a chronological order: Arles, Béziers, Orange, Valence (all of which are veteran colonies), and Vienne (which became an honorary colony possibly under Caligula).[360] He then lists just under 30 *oppida Latina* (Aix, Avignon, Apt, Glanum, Nîmes etc.), the *'oppida ignobilia XIX'* and the *'XXIV Nemausensibus adtributa'*, whose interpretation is still controversial, but could be translated as 'the unimportant towns to the number of nineteen, as well as twenty-four assigned to the people of Nîmes'.[361] He ends his catalogue by mentioning the confederate state of the Vocontii with its two cities (Vasio and Lucus Augusti) and by saying that the 'emperor Galba added to the list two peoples dwelling in the Alps, the people of Avançon and the Bodiontici, whose town is Dinia.'[362]

On the other hand, the organization of the Three Gauls was completed later, around 12-10 BC, with the division into *civitates,* the establishment of the altar of the Three Gauls, and the introduction of the *sacerdos Romae et Augusti* in its capital, Lyon.[363] In Pliny, we find a

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[360] Pliny, Nat. Hist. III, 36:*'In mediterraneo coloniae Arelate sextanorum, Baeterrae septimanorum, Arausio secundanorum, in agro Cavarum Valentia, Vienna Allobrogum'* 'The colonies in the interior are: Arles, the station of the sixth legion, Béziers of the seventh, Orange of the second, Valence in the territory of the Cavares, and Vienne in that of the Allobroges' (Trad. Loeb Classical Library).

[361] Trad. Loeb Classical Library.

The *oppidum latinum* was 1) a *municipium latinum* according to Mommsen, Espinosa, Andreau, Letta, Garcia *Fernández*; 2) a *colonia latina* according to Le Roux and Chastagnol; 3) something in between an *oppidum stipendiarium* and a *municipium latinum* according to Kremer 2006. Mommsen, Letta, Espinosa, Andreau and Garcia *Fernández* believe that the earliest Latin *municipia* were founded already in Augustan times. Saumagne, on the other hand, believes that this new juridical twist was introduced starting from Claudius's censorship in AD 47-48. Le Roux, who thoroughly examined the evidence from Roman Spain, believes that the appearance of the *municipium latinum* can be fixed to AD 73-74, the year of the conjoined censorship of Vespasian and his son Titus and of the extension of the *ius Latii* to all of Spain. In the case of Sicily, Antonius granted the *ius Latii* to the whole province in 44 BC, but it was soon withdrawn by Octavian. In Pliny's list, therefore, there are still *oppida peregrini* and *populi* with Latin rights.

According to Chastagnol, the *oppida ignobilia* were communities which used to be independent. At a certain point, they are 'attributed' to other communities, whether Roman or Latin. The inhabitants of such *oppida* could not hold any public office in their own community (which was not self-governing). They only could do so in the community to which they were subjected. Pliny mentions the *'adtributio'* when referring to some Alpine communities. Because of the *Lex Pompeia*, they are attributed to the neighbouring *municipium* (see *'Tabula Clesiana'*) (Chastagnol 1995d). Chastagnol defines this kind of status as 'subordinated Latin rights', see Chastagnol 1995e. However, it could also be that those *oppida* were never self-governing. Mommsen and other scholars thought the *Lex Pompeia de Transpadanis* was issued in 89 BC, while Luraschi, (reconsidering a hypothesis put forward first by Savigny), argued in favour of the existence of a *Lex Pompeia de adtributione* that dated to around 41 BC (Luraschi 1988: 68-70; Savigny 1968).

[362] Pliny, Nat. Hist. III, 37: *'Galba imperator ex Inalpinis Avanticos atque Bodionticos, quorum oppidum Dinia'* (Trad. Loeb Classical Library).

[363] We know the number of tribes in Gaul thanks to three different ancient sources:

Strabo, Geography, 4, 3, 2: 'Lugdunum itself, situated on a hill, at the confluence of the Saône and the Rhône, belongs to the Romans. It is the most populous city after Narbonne. It carries on a great commerce, and the Roman prefects here coin both gold and silver money. Before this city, at the confluence of the rivers, is situated the temple dedicated by all the Galatæ in common to Cæsar Augustus. The altar is splendid and has inscribed on it the names of sixty tribes, and images of them, one for each, and also another great altar'.

Ptolemy, Geography, 2, chap. 8, 9, 10: lists of tribes and of their cities.

description of the Three Gauls (*Gallia Comata*) and its subdivision into the three provinces of Belgica, Lugdunensis, and Aquitania.[364] The *civitates* Pliny refers to are intended as *peregrinae* (when nothing else is specified). Province by province, starting with Belgica, he lists its *civitates*, four of which were *liberae* (Nervii, *Suessones*, Ulmanectes, Leuci), two were *foederatae* (Lingones[365] and Remi), one was formerly a free *civitas* (Treveri).[366] The three colonies were Nyon and Augst - which would be annexed to Germania Superior in Flavian times - and Cologne, which would become the capital of Germania Inferior. He then lists the name of the *civitates* of Lugdunensis, two of which were *liberae* (Neldi, Secusiani), two were *foederatae* (Carnuteni, Aedui), and one was a colony (Lyon). In Aquitania, he does the same, and he specifies which ones were *liberae* (Santones, Vivisci, Cubi, Arverni).

### 3.3.3 The introduction of the *ius Latii* in Gaul

The questions of when and by whom the first *oppida Latina* were created and what the *ius Latii* remain unanswered. The idea that it was introduced at the time of the *Lex Pompeia* (89 BC) - the same act that granted the *ius Latii* to the cities of Cisalpina - has been ruled out. Two different scenarios are envisaged: i. the *ius Latii* was granted by Caesar or his successors (52-40 BC); ii. it was granted by Augustus in 27 BC or during the process of establishing the *formula provinciae* (*c*. 27-22 BC). The first hypothesis is supported by the fact that it was Caesar who established the Voltina tribe in Gaul, to which all Latin colonies were assigned. It is also well known that Caesar, in those years, was very concerned with increasing his *clientela*. Whether the *ius Latii* was extended to the whole province of Narbonensis or to individual cities one at the time (as happened, according to Strabo, in Aquitania), is also a matter of debate. Chastagnol did not rule out the possibility that Pliny's source could be *Caesarian* and it could have been Caesar who granted the whole province the *ius Latii* in 52-48 BC. This - assuming that Pliny's source was Caesarian - would explain the large number of *oppida Latina* (75) mentioned by Pliny, then reduced by Augustus to 32.[367]

As mentioned earlier, the triumviral and Augustan periods were also key moments for the organization of the province. When the brief war of Modena ended in 43 BC, a large number of soldiers, along with those soldiers who mutinied, had to be dismissed. Some of them were sent to colonize southern Gaul:[368] in 36-35 BC the colonies of Béziers and Orange were

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Tacitus, Annales 3, 44: 'At Rome meanwhile people said that it was not only the Treveri and Aedui who had revolted, but sixty-four states of Gaul (= *"quattuor et sexaginta Galliarum civitates"*) with the Germans in alliance, while Spain too was disaffected; anything in fact was believed, with rumor's usual exaggeration.'
Sometimes a tribe covers more than one city. It is difficult to understand if he is talking about a tribe or a city, so different scholars have come up with different figures. However, most scholars agree with Fustel de Coulanges, who counts 17 tribes in Aquitania, 25 in Lugdunensis, 22 in Belgica = 64 tribes in the three Gauls (De Coulanges 1922: chap. 5)

[364] Nat. Hist. IV, 17-19.

[365] Later it becomes part of Germania Superior.

[366] It became a colony sometime between Augustan times and mid-1st century AD.

[367] During the Augustan period 43 *oppida* out of 75 lost their autonomy and were integrated into neighbouring communities, for example, 24 were attached to Nîmes (*oppida ignobilia*). Strabo confirms this and writes they had to pay tribute to Nîmes (Chastagnol 1995b). The same opinion is shared by Christol and Goudineau (1987; 90) who also believe it is realistic to conclude that the *ius Latii* was introduced between 52 and 48 BC. Chastagnol also argues that Caesar might have used for Narbonensis the same approach he had previously used for Cisalpina. It is reflected - he adds - in the similar organization that the *civitates* of Narbonensis and Cisalpina shared.

[368] Dio Cassius, 56, 3.

established, and shortly after 27 BC the colony of Fréjus was founded. As for the Three Gauls, we suffer from the lack of ancient sources dealing with this issue. The epigraphic evidence is, unfortunately, less common here than in southern Gaul. Nonetheless, a few observations can be made. Among all these provinces, the *civitates* of Aquitania appear to be among the first to introduce local Roman magistracies. Strabo clearly states that a few Aquitanian *civitates* were granted the *ius Latii* (Conveni, Ausci); the relatively large number of inscriptions attesting magistrates seems to agree with this thesis.[369]

Camille Jullian already noticed that from the reign of Claudius onwards, all magistrates of the Three Gauls had a Roman nomenclature which is characteristic of Latin rights[370], and starting from the middle/late 1st century AD, the number of inscriptions mentioning magistrates increased. We may conclude that the *ius Latii* was extended to the majority of the *civitates* of the Three Gauls during the 1st century AD, but again, we do not have any conclusive evidence that could help us clarify whether this right was given to whole provinces all at once. We know that, according to Tacitus, the Alpes Maritimae were given the *ius Latii* under Nero, the same as Vespasian did for Spain. The idea that the *ius Latii* was granted all at once has been seen as reasonable by different scholars, and a few emperors have been thought of as potential promoters: Claudius, Vespasian, Galba or Hadrian. According to Pliny, Galba had legislated on the status of Digne and of other Alpine districts. Tacitus, in his *Historiae*, writes that Galba, in order to reward the Gauls for supporting him at the time of the civil war, granted them citizenship:

> The Gallic provinces were held to their allegiance, not only by their memory of the failure of Vindex, but also by the recent gift of Roman citizenship, and by the reduction of their taxes for the future; yet the Gallic tribes nearest the armies of Germany had not been treated with the same honour as the rest; some had actually had their lands taken from them, so that they felt equal irritation whether they reckoned up their neighbours' gains or counted their own wrongs.[371]

The same idea is conveyed by a passage of Plutarch, who writes:

> After this, even the reasonable measures of the emperor fell under censure, as, for instance, his treatment of the Gauls who had conspired with Vindex. For they were thought to have obtained their remission of tribute and their civil rights, not through the kindness of the emperor, but by purchase from Vinius.[372]

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[369] Not only would it be the first of the three provinces to adopt Roman institutions, but also several elements peculiar to Roman urbanism (such as *fora*, *basilica* and aqueducts). Some scholars have also tried to imagine which other *civitates* might have enjoyed the *ius* from a very early stage. Both Camille Jullian and Louis Maurin have named the *civitas* of the Santones, which was the capital of the Aquitania, but this is only a speculative hypothesis (Jullian 1920; Maurin 1978).

[370] He encountered only two exceptional inscriptions, which are difficult to date (one concerning a *quaestor* and another a *vergobret*) and are thought to be earlier.

[371] Tacitus, *Historiae*, I, 8.

[372] Plutarch, Life of Galba, 18, 1.

However, the validity of this thesis is still a matter of debate. Another emperor who could have given the *ius Latii* to the Three Gauls is Claudius, who is also known for having granted the elite the possibility of entering the Roman senate.[373]

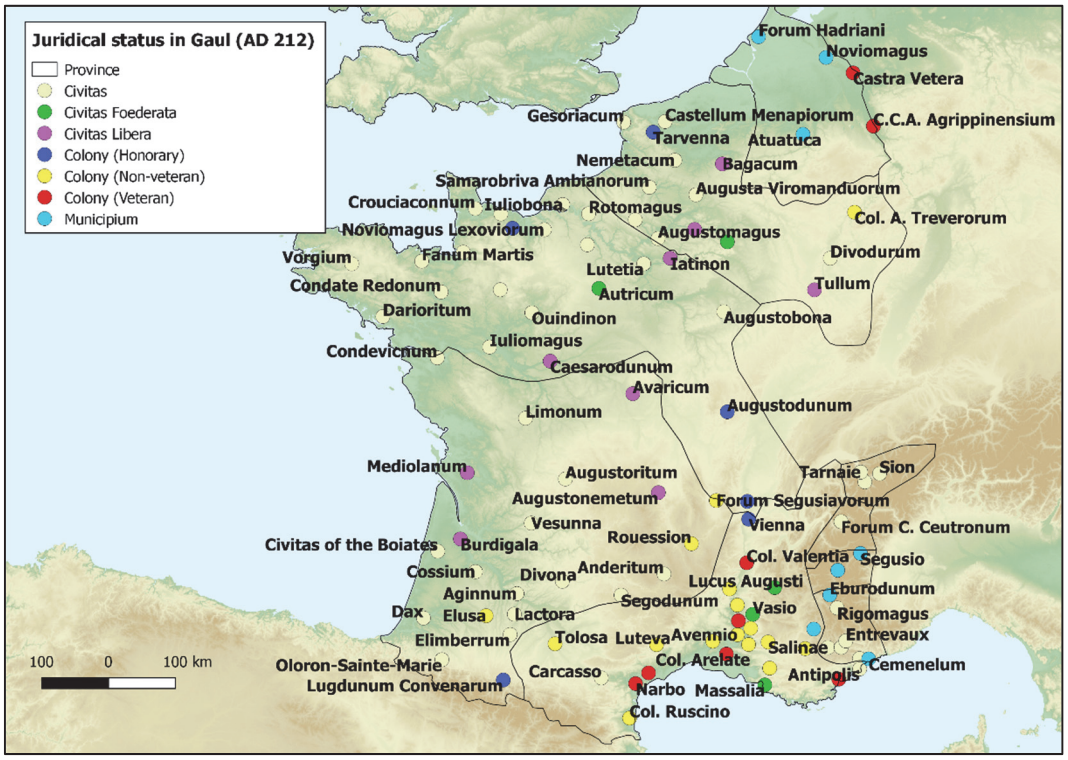


**Figure 32: Cities' juridical status in the Three Gauls in AD 212.**

Thus, the evidence we have is contradictory. The questions of whether all the *civitates* of Gaul received the *ius Latii* and whether that happened all in one wave are far from settled. However, when we look at the map of the distribution of inscriptions that mention local magistrates, we see that overall all of Gaul was politically integrated. From Claudius onwards, we also see the spread of Roman 'honorary colonies' in the Three Gauls (Vellavi, Treviri, Helvetii, Segusiavi). Some scholars have thought of Autun as a possible honorary colony, but the only reference we have is a late source.[374]

### 3.3.4 Status in the Alpine provinces

Before Augustus was able to finally annex the Alpine regions straddling the Alps between modern France and Italy, the Roman presence in this area had been only sporadic and limited to military campaigns, like the one led by Appius Claudius Pulcher in 143 BC, which

[373] CIL XIII 1668 (Lyon Tablet); and Tacitus, Annales, II, 23-24. Tacitus' passage suggests that before Claudius' speech some *civitates* of the Gallia Comata might already have been juridically integrated within the Roman state (through *foedera*, for example). Claudius is also known to have been a meticulous administrator. For example, he found the solutions to different bureaucratic issues (see, for example, the *'Tabula Claudiana'* found at Cles, Italy, where he resolves *'veteres controversiae'* that had lasted since the reign of Tiberius). The role he played in extending citizenship is also recalled by the anonymous author of the *'Apokolokyntosis'*, section 3.
[374] Eumenius, Paneg. Lat. V(IX), 5.

essentially aimed at exploiting gold mines.[375] Caesar recognized the strategic importance of the Alpine passes, and he attempted the military occupation of the Gran San Bernardo. His legate Galba failed,[376] and Caesar's intentions were to be realized by Augustus[377]. After his victory against the *'gentes Alpinae devictae'* the Tropaeum Alpium was erected in 7-6 BC at La Turbie on the border between Narbonensis and Italy. In order to administer this newly annexed territory, this area was divided into four provinces (Alpes Maritimae, Alpes Poeninae, Alpes Cottiae and Alpes Graiae). Originally they were small, not significantly urbanized and poorly connected. Many efforts were made, and a functional road system was extended and improved by Claudius (the earliest milestone along the road through the Great St. Bernard Pass dates to AD 47).

At first, these areas were administrated by *praefecti*. These *praefecti*, who had military functions, also performed important administrative duties. In fact, it was under the *praefectura* that the territory of the Alpes Maritimae, for example, was divided into *civitates*. At the same time, the first Roman citizens made their appearance, together with the first voting tribes.[378] However, the creation and the administration of these regions, together with the juridical status of their *civitates* are still not sufficiently understood. Due to the few, fragmented and inadequate surviving pieces of evidence, it is necessary to resort to speculation and inferences in order to 'fill in the gaps' when reconstructing these aspects.[379]

Tacitus informs us that in AD 63 *'Caesar nationes Alpium maritimarum in ius Latii transtulit.*[380] The Alpes Graiae's privileged relationship with the emperor Claudius seems to be reflected in the name of its capital city (Forum Claudii Ceutronum).[381] For the Alpes Poeninae, the situation is very unclear since the evidence is contradictory and ambiguous. Initially, the *'vallis Poenina'* was under the jurisdiction of Raetia. We also know that it was first governed by a *praefectus* and later by a *procurator*. Scholars have suggested that Claudius created the province and also changed the name of its capital from Octodurus to Forum Claudii Valliensium, and possibly granted the *ius Latii* to the whole province.[382] However, an inscription dating to the reign of Claudius attests that at the time the *'vallis Poenina'* was still under the authority of the *procurator* of Raetia.[383] Finally, the Alpes Cottiae became a procuratorial province in AD 63, after the death of the last 'client-king' Cottius II, who died

[375] Strabo, Geography 4, 6 cfr.; *Cassius Dio* 22, fr. 74, 1-2; Oros. 5, 4, 7.
[376] Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, I, 10, 3-5.
[377] Walser 1994.
[378] Lautier and Rothé 2010.
[379] The juridical history of these provinces is also complicated by the fact that their borders changed over time. Strabo also writes that the coastal area of the Var (e.g. Cimiez) was considered *'italiota'*, a term that may refer to the *ius Latii* (Chastagnol 1995f).
[380] Tacitus, Annales XV, 32. The district of the Alpes Maritimae (Tacitus does not refer to them as a nation, nor as a province) was certainly created before AD 69, since Tacitus mentions Marius Maturus, the *procurator Alpium maritimarum* in AD 69 (Tacitus, *Historiae* III, 42, 2-4).
[381] Letta 2006; Letta 2007a; Pliny, Nat. Hist. III, 24, 135. The first *procurator Alpium Graiarum* known in this province dates to the years AD 85-90 (CIL VI, 3720 = ILS 1418).
[382] Pliny, Nat. Hist III, 24, 135.
[383] CIL V 3936 = ILS 1348.

without heirs.[384] Thus, there is general agreement that the Julio-Claudian dynasty was closely involved in the re-organization and municipalization of several of these provinces.

Some disagreements remain. Cesare Letta, and Theodor Mommsen before him, argued that the *ius Latiii* was granted to the Alpes Cottiae already under the reign of Augustus, when - according to them - Susa became a Latin *municipium*. Letta's interpretation of the decorations engraved on the arch erected by Cottius in Susa in 9-8 BC in honour of Augustus goes in that direction.[385] Finally, although it is difficult to grasp the details of this process, it is clear that by the 2nd century AD this area was fully politically integrated into the Roman Empire.

### 3.3.5 Germania Inferior

The province of Germania Inferior was officially created under the reign of Domitian, and at that moment its territory was probably divided among three legionary camps (Noviomagus, Vetera, Ara Ubiorum) and four different *civitates* (Tungri, Batavi, Cannanefates, Frisiavones). The three legionary fortresses were artificial creations while Cologne (Ara Ubiorum), the provincial capital, was the earliest to develop into a civic urban centre. In AD 50, a veteran colony (whose name - Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium - honoured his wife's birthplace) was founded by Claudius. During Claudius' reign, a chain of forts was erected along the lower Rhine, and the last remaining gaps would be filled by Vespasian. By then, the frontier was guarded by four legionary forts, a fleet base, and 27 auxiliary forts. Castra Vetera became a veteran colony in AD 98,[386] while Noviomagus became a *municipium* either before or at the same time it received the attribute 'Ulpia' (AD 102-104).[387]

It is possible that in Augustan times there was only one large *civitas* - the *civitas* of the Batavi (mentioned by Tacitus) - which included the territory of the Cannanefates and the Frisiavones. This would explain the toponym of Lugdunum Batavorum (Katwijk) and the fact that Ptolemy did not mention the Batavi north of Xanten in his 'Geography'. In Claudian times, two other *civitates* were founded: those of the Cannanefates, Forum Hadriani (*municipium* in AD 162 but probably from at least Hadrian's reign given that its name bears the name of that emperor). Its municipalization was a gradual process, and, together with Tongeren, it is the only self-governing city in Germania Inferior which did not appear to have had a military origin. This

[384] Braund 2014.

[385] On the northern side, the *suovetaurilia* offered by the *legatus Augusti* in the presence of the king and his heir to Jupiter Optimus Maximus was meant, he believes, to celebrate the annexation of the fourteen *civitates Cottianae* into the Empire and the promotion of Cottius to *praefectus*. On the western side, a similar scene depicts 14 *men wearing togas,* who hold either *volumina* (signs of the Roman rights just acquired) or *tabellae* (Latin rights). Both Cottius and the *legatus Augusti* hold a document, which he believes is the *edictum* issued by Augustus, where it was indicated which right was given to which *civitas*. The same edict is held in the right hand of the scribe, who is delivering the documents (Letta 2007b).

[386] Crummy, on the other hand, believes it was promoted in AD 105 (Crummy 2003: 51).

[387] Van Enckervort and Thijssen 2003: 60.

city was a more recent creation, and its development was possible thanks to the flourishing economy spurred by its harbour.[388]

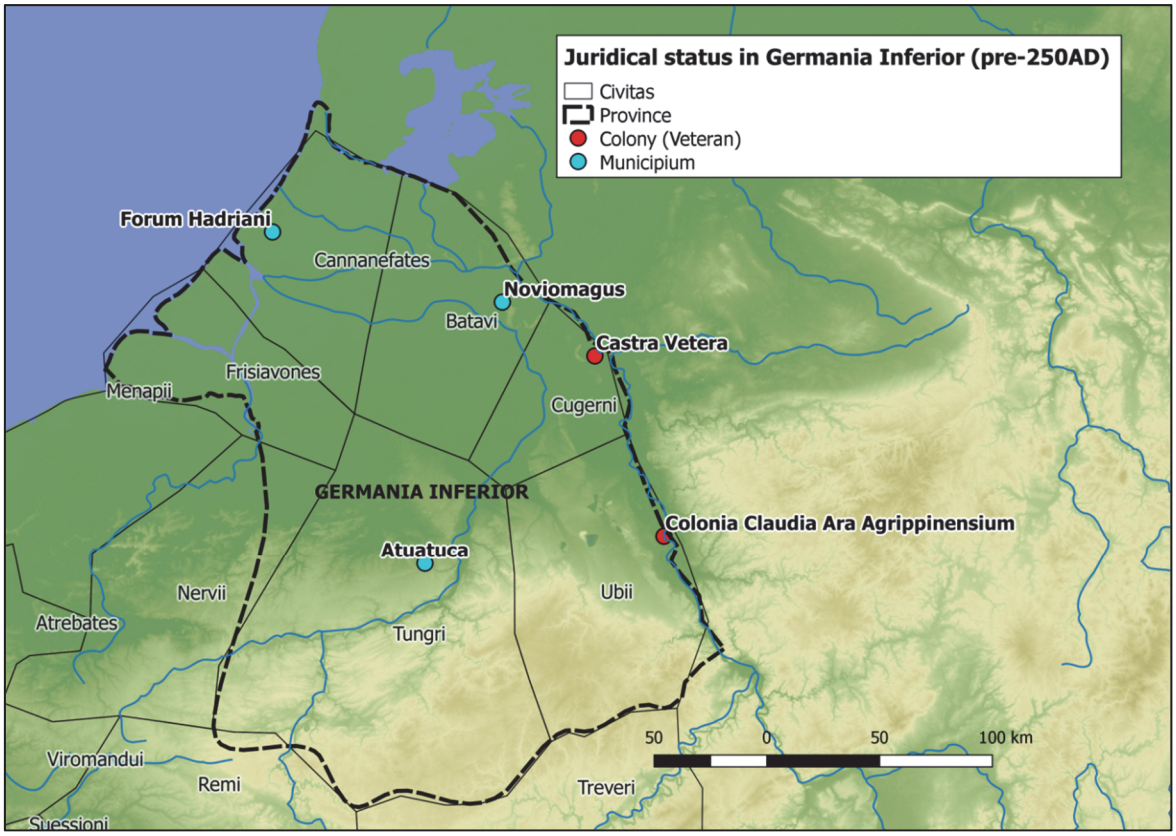


**Figure 33: Cities' juridical status in Germania Inferior.**

The *civitas* of the Frisiavones is the least known. In the first half of the 2nd century AD, or in the mid-2nd century AD, three out of the four *civitates* in Germania had been promoted to *municipia*, The date of foundation of the *civitas* of the Tungri is uncertain as are its borders. The capital (Atuatuca) dates back to Augustan time. The *civitas* of the Batavi has been long thought of as a client state, but this assertion is controversial. Its capital, Ulpia Noviomagus, dates to Augustan times.

We have no inscriptions attesting the *civitas* of the Frisiavones, and an inscription dating to Marcus Aurelius refers to it only as a *'regio'*.[389] Although these people were not mentioned by Ptolemy, they were included in Pliny's list. Its capital is also unknown,[390] and it has been suggested that the Frisiavoni were, in fact, the Frisii, on whom Corbulo imposed Roman institutions (a *senatus*, *magistratus* and *leges*) after giving them the land to settle in.[391]

Except for the *'regio'* of the Frisiavones, all *civitates* of Germania Inferior were granted the status of either *colonia* or *municipium*. This contrast with neighbouring Gallia Belgica is also

[388] The earliest traces of habitation on the site of Voorburg/Forum Hadriani date to the middle of the 1st century AD. Little is known about the nature of the habitation in this early phase (Roymans 2004: 208).
[389] AE 1962 183.
[390] Bogaers thought it might have been Ganuenta (cfr. Bogaers and Gysseling 1972).
[391] Raepsaet-Charlier 1999.

one of the reasons why scholars tend to believe that the *civitas* of the Tungri (whose capital was a *municipium*) was part of Germania Inferior.[392]

### 3.3.6 Britannia

In AD 43, Claudius' general Aulus Plautius was given the command of four legions and other additional auxiliary troops. Along with 40,000 men, he invaded Britain and soon captured the capital of one of the strongest tribes, the Catuvellauni. Rapidly, all south-western Britain and the Midlands were subjugated, and thereupon Claudius' triumph was celebrated.[393] The newly conquered province was maintained under the supervision of a *legatus Augusti pro praetore,* and the first veteran colony - Camulodunum - was founded in AD 49. By AD 51, the south-western peninsula and much of Wales was pacified, and the foundation of two more veteran colonies at the end of the 1st century AD, on the site of two earlier legionary fortresses, is a testament to the fact that by this time these regions had been completely demilitarized. After the advance of the army, new legionary fortresses were established on the island further north and west, namely at Caerleon, Chester, and York. The last named would become an honorary colony before AD 237, as attested by an inscription from York recording the dedication of a Temple of Serapis by the legate of the VI legion, Claudius Hieronymianus.

Epigraphy tells us that southern England and the Midlands were divided into *civitates*, although their form of government is unknown (Figure 34). Several inscriptions are quite late, such as the one mentioning the *civitas* of the Brigantes (AD 369), thus making it difficult to make a judgment on the status they held in Early Imperial times. The scanty evidence for municipal magistrates is not of much help, either: the only ones known are from colonies.[394]

According to Tacitus, Verulamium was a *municipium* at the time of the Boudiccan rebellion (AD 60).[395] His statement led Frere and many other scholars to believe that Verulamium had been promoted to a *municipium* under Claudius. However, Gascou and Chastagnol, faced with a similar assertion that Luc and Antibes were *municipia*, both agreed that this could have been a genuine mistake caused by a *'traduction de l'archaïsme que pouvait représenter [à l'époque de Tacite] une colonie latine.*[396] However, it cannot be excluded that, in certain contexts, the word *'municipium'* might have taken on a more general, neutral meaning (i.e. 'municipality', as pointed out by Millar).[397]

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[392] According to Raepsaet-Charlier 1999: 187, the fact that the city was granted the status of *municipium* suggests that it was annexed to the province of Germania Inferior, where more cities with a juridical status have been found so far. The discussion over whether Tongeren was annexed in AD 85 to the province of Germania Inferior or whether it remained in the province of Gallia Belgica is still open. AE 1994 A279 (second half of the 2nd century AD) *mun(icipium) Tungr(orum)*. However, it is interesting that on the German *limes* cities were more likely to have a municipal or colonial status, while the same did not happen in Britannia.

[393] CIL VI 920 = ILS 216.

[394] A monumental, possibly an imperial dedication, inscription found at Cirencester reads '[...]vir[...]' (RIB III 3058). It could refer to the office of *sevir*, and not to the one of the *duumvir*. Inscription of *sevires* are attested in *civitates peregrinae* (see Bituriges ILS 197; and Mattiaci CIL XIII 7271 = ILS 7092)

[395] Tacitus, Annales XIV, 21-3.

[396] Gascou 1997 on Tacitus, Historiae II, 15, 5; Chastagnol 1990: 363, n. 57; and Goudineau 1979: 267, n. 144.

[397] Millar 1992: 398-400 and 403-407.

Unfortunately, given the meagre data available, any assumptions about the urban administration of the cities (except for colonies) within this province can only be speculative in nature. However, if we compare the epigraphic evidence from Britain with that from other north-western provinces, we see that this province is not under-represented at all levels. For example, Table 1 shows all the epigraphic attestations of the word *'civitas'* found in each province (in all its declinations and abbreviations).

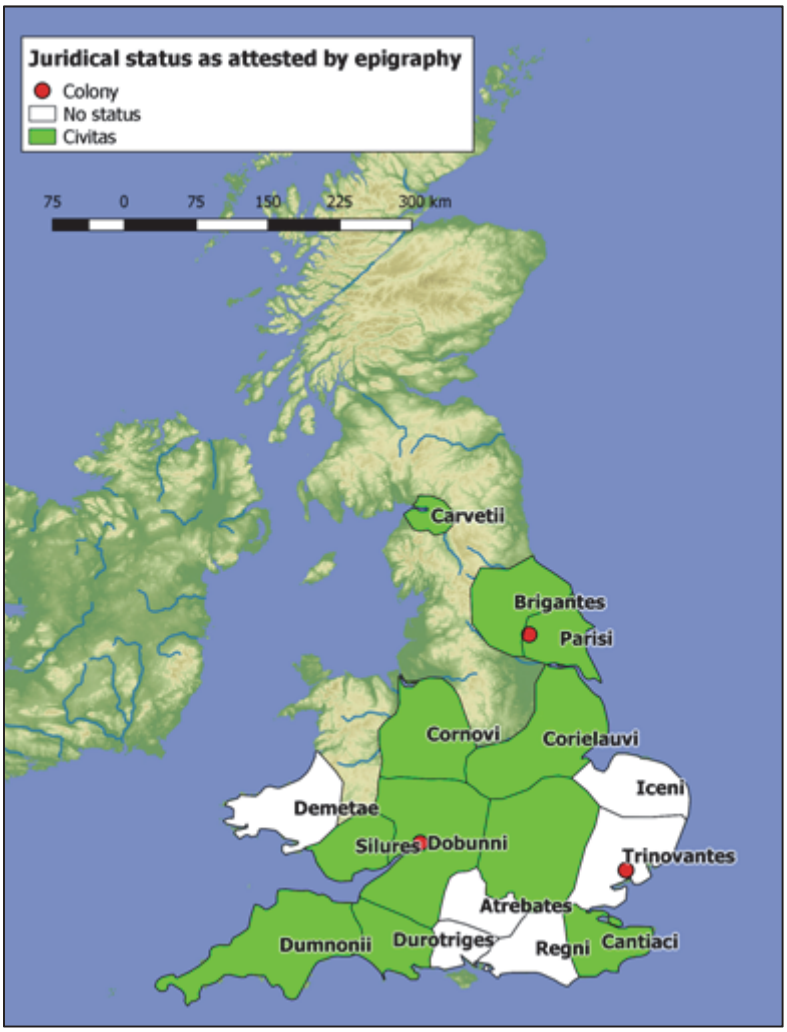


**Figure 34: Cities' juridical status in Roman Britain.**

We notice that in Britain the number and density of *civitates* are not less (in proportion) than in the Three Gauls,[398] and it is no less represented in terms of epigraphic record than most of the other north-western provinces. It is actually better represented than Gallia Lugdunensis, even though the latter was annexed a century earlier. So far, the evidence we have concerning the administration of south-eastern England in Roman times suggests that, like Gaul, it was divided into continuous *civitates*. Mattingly had suggested that some very large (and often very rich in natural resources) regions within south-eastern England (i.e. the Fens, Cornwall, and Somerset) were designated as *ager publicus* or imperial property and therefore remained

[398] Brindle 2016: 149.

outside the control of the *civitas*.[399] While there is no evidence that this was true, this does not necessarily mean that the Roman state did not actively exploit the land and resources and override the local elite when deemed convenient.[400] The same is more debatable for Wales, north-eastern England and, more generally, northern England, where epigraphic evidence concerning urban administration is lacking (although the epigraphic record, possibly because of the huge military presence, was extensive throughout the whole Roman period).[401]

| Provinces | N. of *civitates* epigraphically attested | % |
|---|---|---|
| Belgica (13 civ.) | 9 | 69.23% |
| Narbonensis (24 civ.) | 16 | 66.67% |
| Aquitania (19 civ.) | 12 | 63.16% |
| Lugdunensis (25 civ.) | 12 | 48.00% |
| Germ. Inf. (4 civ.) | 3 | 75.00% |
| Britannia (20 civ.) | 13 | 65.00% |

**Table 1: Number of attestations of the words '*civitas*' per province.**

## 3.4 Juridical status and city rank

Having discussed the juridical statuses of cities and their distribution, we will now turn our attention to the relationship between the above-mentioned juridical statuses and cities' rank within the settlement hierarchy. Commonly in the north-western provinces, self-governing cities are larger than the subordinate central places, and therefore when sizes are plotted on a graph, they tend to lie in the upper tail.[402] However, this relationship significantly changes according to province. Let us proceed in chronological order and start by looking at the province of Narbonensis (Figure 35).

Narbonensis's settlement hierarchy has a peculiar structure, which resembles that of Roman Spain.[403] In the 2nd century AD, some of the smallest agglomerations had been granted the title of honorary colonies (non-veteran). This peculiarity has its roots in the huge wave of colonization that hit this province in Triumviral-Caesarian-Augustan times. While the non-veteran colonies can take different sizes (ranging from a maximum of 200 to a minimum of 3 ha), veteran colonies commonly measure between 60 ha (the size of Cologne in Neronian times, that is, soon after it was promoted to colony by Claudius) and 30 ha. This condition was probably dictated by the practical issues related to the allotment of land to the veterans.

In Aquitania (Figure 36) self-governing cities - with only a few exceptions - all cluster in the upper half of the graph, and the largest cities are *civitas* capitals. However, the fifth largest city in this province was a secondary settlement, and it was followed by many others that stand out

[399] For the Fenlands in particular, this idea was articulated by Salway 1970 and accepted by Jackson and Potter 1996; Malim 2005; Mattingly 2006a: 263. On the other hand, it was criticized by Millett 1990: 120; Taylor 2000; Fincham 2002.
[400] Brindle 2016: 194.
[401] MacMullen 1982.
[402] See Appendix C for the estimated size of the self-governing cities of the north-western provinces. The table will also specify whether the figures refer to the actual built-up surface or to the walled area.
[403] Cfr. Houten's PhD dissertation (forthcoming).

for their dimensions and opulence. Non-veteran colonies, as in Narbonensis, did not necessarily reach a particularly extensive size, measuring between 70 and 35 ha, and most of the smallest agglomerations were secondary agglomerations (this would be the case everywhere except for Narbonensis, where non-veteran colonies could be very small).

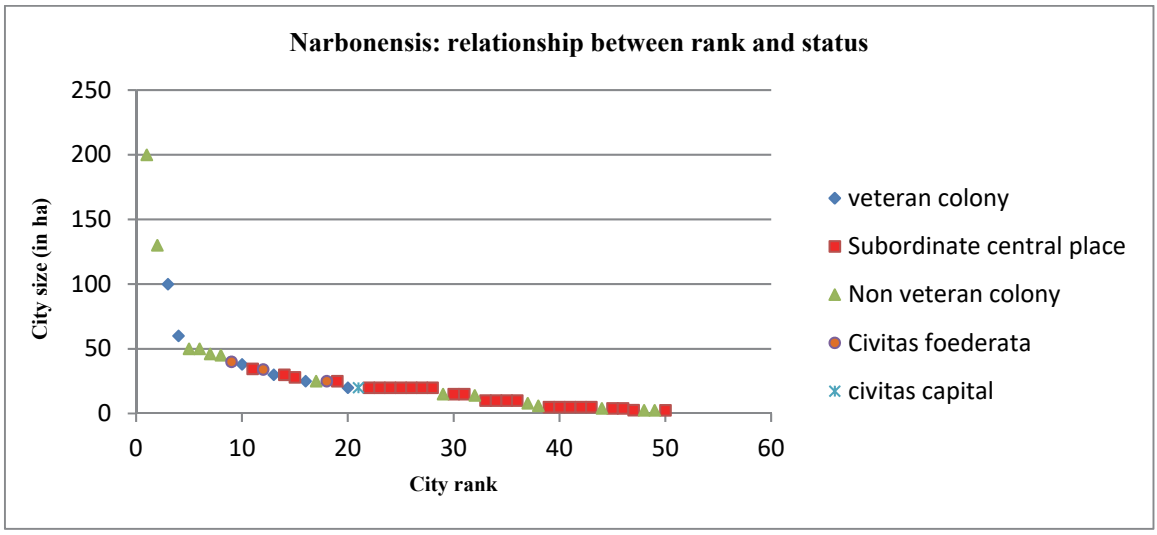


**Figure 35: The relationship between a city's status and its rank within the settlement hierarchy in Narbonensis.**

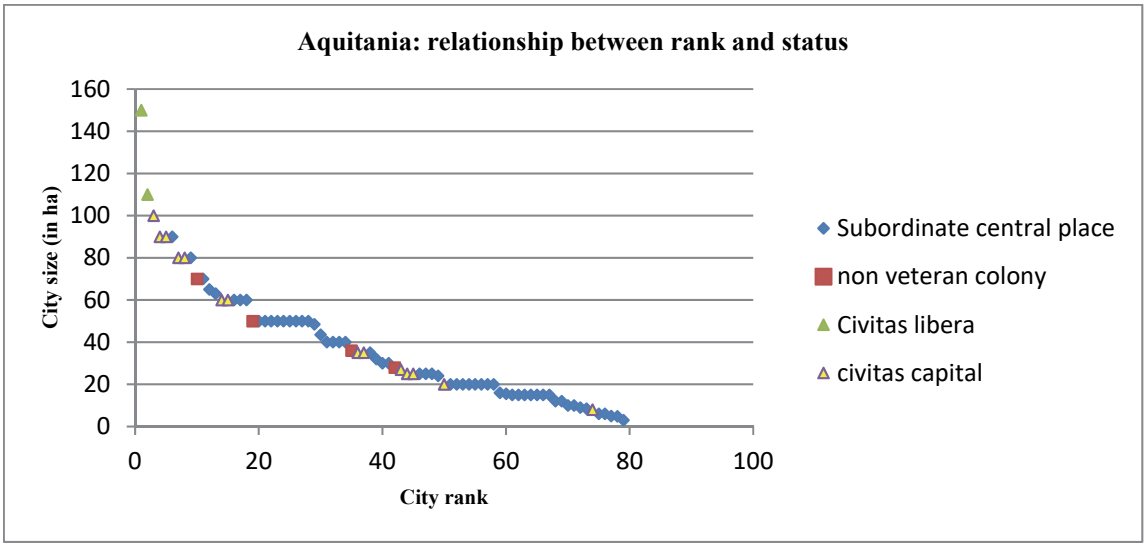


**Figure 36: The relationship between a city's status and its rank within the settlement hierarchy in Aquitania.**

In Belgica (Figure 37), as in Lugdunensis, at the very top of the hierarchy we find an honorary colony followed by two *civitates* (one *libera* and one *foederata*). The fourth largest settlement is a secondary agglomeration. However, compared to Aquitania, the number of exceptionally large secondary agglomerations is lower. All of the agglomerations lying in the lower tail of the histogram are smaller than 30 ha and are secondary agglomerations.

Finally, if we look at the settlement hierarchy of the province of Lugdunensis (Figure 38), we see that the three largest cities had a high juridical status (that is, one is a non-veteran colony and the other two are *civitates foederatae*).

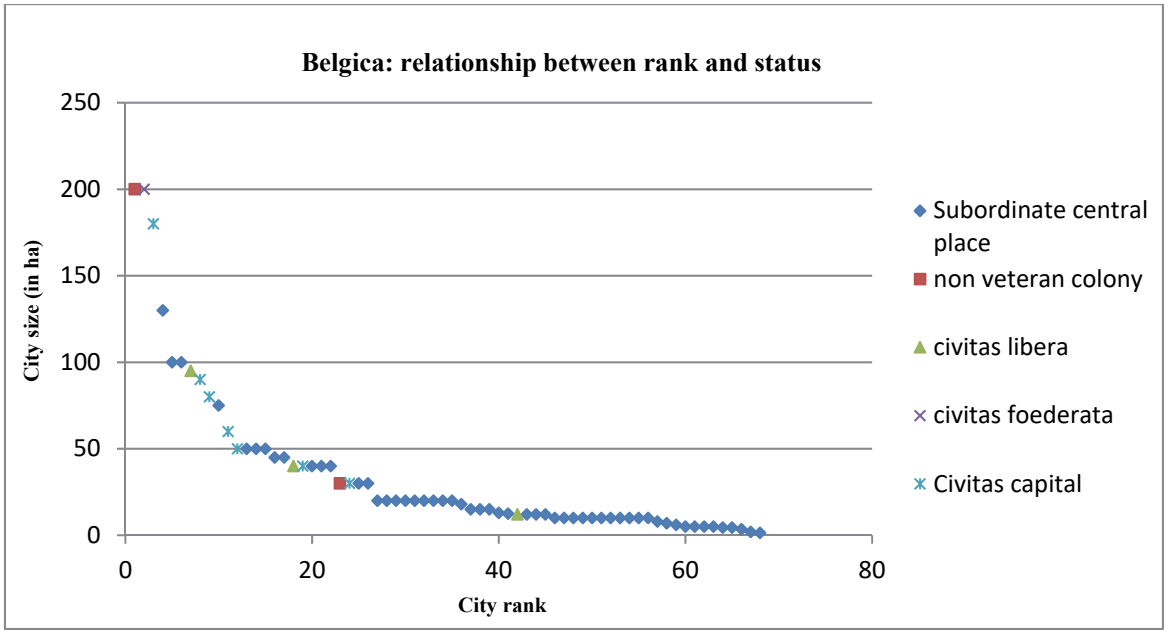


**Figure 37: The relationship between a city's status and its rank within the settlement hierarchy in Belgica.**

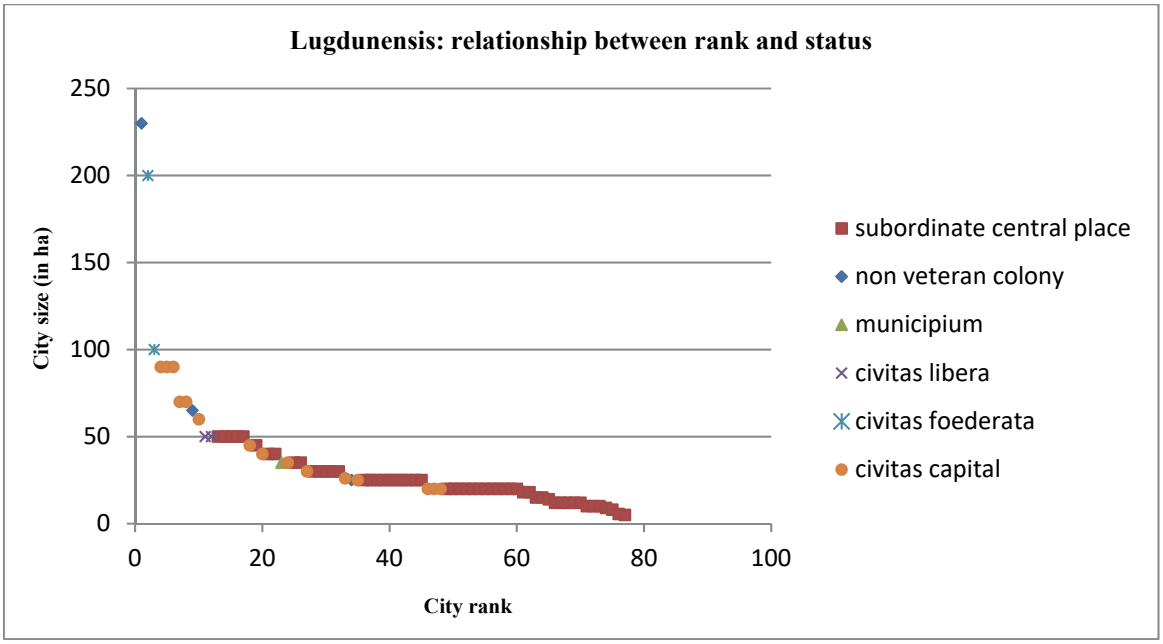


**Figure 38: The relationship between a city's status and its rank within the settlement hierarchy in Lugdunensis.**

Secondary agglomerations appear to be always smaller than 50 ha, and the majority may be smaller than 30 ha. Several *civitas* capitals can also be relatively small, notably those lying in Normandy, which is known for its acidic soil. This region is also less well documented than the rest of Gaul, and the lack of evidence might distort the picture.

In Britannia (Figure 39), the majority of cities larger than 20 ha are self-governing, although there are a few exceptions, such as the legionary fortresses at Chester (50 ha) and Caerleon (45 ha), Worcester (50 ha) in the East Midlands and other secondary settlements lying in the Belt

regions, such as Horncastle, Higham Ferrer, Dorchester-on-Thames, and Bath (all measuring between 60 and 35 ha).

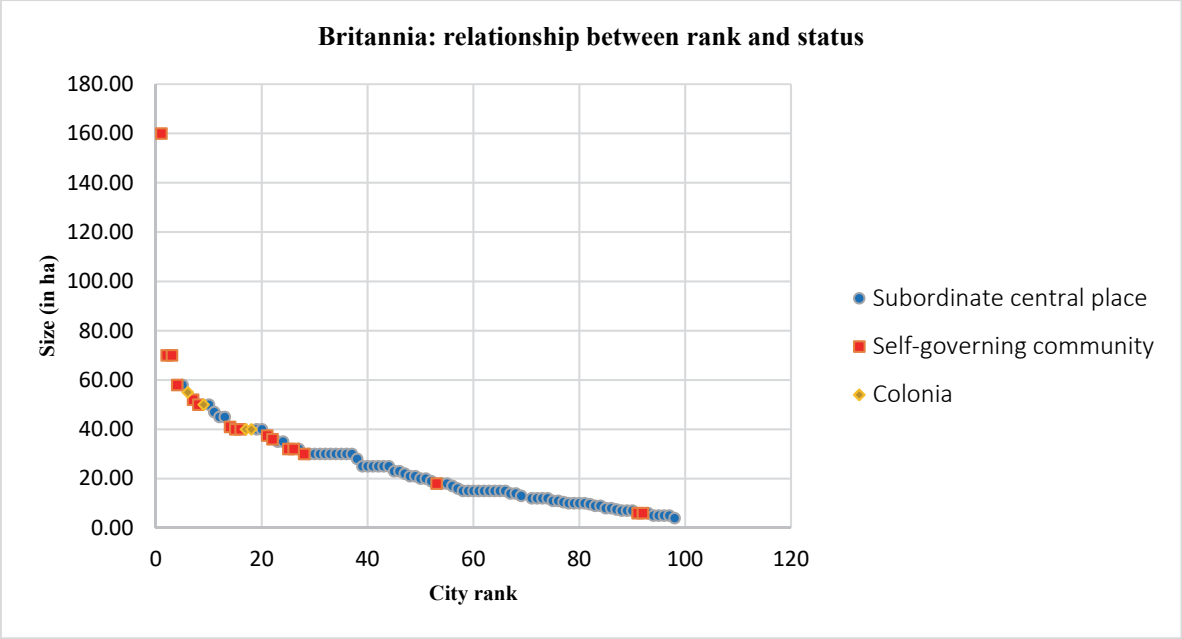


**Figure 39: The relationship between a city's status and its rank within the settlement hierarchy in Britannia.**

With the exception of Narbonensis – where, during the 2nd century AD, non-veteran colonies could be extremely small, in all other provinces cities with a high juridical status usually fall into the upper part of the graphs, meaning that there was a correlation between a city's size and its status. Table 2 shows the average size (in ha) of self-governing cities and subordinate ones by province.

| Status | Narbonensis | Lugdunensis | Aquitania | Belgica | Germania Inferior | Britannia |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Self-governing city | 41.25 | 57.09 | 58.95 | 85.15 | 59.6 | 45.88 |
| Subordinate settlement | 14.06 | 27.5 | 48.44 | 23.57 | 8.27 | 19.79 |

**Table 2: The average size (expressed in hectares) of self-governing cities and subordinate ones.**

The province that stands out from the rest is Aquitania, whose self-governing cities were on average only 20% larger than their subordinates. On the other hand, in Germania Inferior self-governing cities were seven times larger than the secondary settlements, which signals the preponderant presence of a primate urban system in this province.[404] In the remaining provinces (Narbonensis, Belgica, and Lugdunensis), self-governing cities were around two or three times larger their subordinates.

The distribution of juridical statutes (directly attested by ancient inscriptions) is unequal. In particular, we observe that veteran colonies can be found only in regions that at some point had

[404] The urban system of this province is characterized by very large capitals and very small secondary settlements, with almost no intermediate urban settlements.

been at the edge of the Roman Empire: Narbonensis (6), Germania Inferior (2) and Britain (4). Non-veteran (Latin) colonies, on the other hand, were mainly clustered in southern Gaul and along the Rhône axis. *Municipia* were extremely rare, and they were mainly located in the Alpine valleys and Germania Inferior. *Civitates foederatae* are found on the north-south line that connects Calais with the delta of the Rhône, and the *civitates liberae* are mostly concentrated in Aquitania and Belgica. These statuses were reserved for *civitates* that had built a good relationship with Rome in the early days of these provinces.

### 3.4.1 The limitations of the juridical approach

In the previous section, we touched upon the overall lamentable quality and unequal distribution of the evidence relating to the juridical status of cities in the north-western provinces. We also observed how the relationship between the juridical status of a city and its rank within the urban hierarchy differs according to province and has its roots in the historical and cultural contexts in which these cities developed.

If we look at the ancient sources, we sense how much importance was attributed to these juridical statuses, by at least some ancient observers. For example, Tacitus refers to London with the anticipation that it will soon be raised to the status of a colony because of its wealth and its lively economic and social life, suggesting that the status of colony had to be valuable.[405] Gregory of Tours, writing in the 6th century, was appalled that Dijon was not officially the capital of the *civitas* it belonged to.[406] An emblematic passage written by Aulus Gellius records the reaction of the emperor Hadrian to the several *municipia* which had petitioned to have their status raised from *municipium* to *colonia.*[407] In the emperor's opinion, the differences in juridical statuses, together with the rights and obligations they entailed, were not completely understood by the very people who were petitioning to acquire them. For example, he argued, colonies did not really benefit from a *'melior conditio'* when compared to *municipia.*[408] Now, whether this was correct or not (and it was probably incorrect, given that differences between cities' constitutions in the Roman world still persisted[409]) to a great extent these requests were made because a large number of local communities had recently received municipal statuses, leading those who already held that privilege to ask for a promotion.

If we compare the Republican town charters of Italy[410] to those found in southern Spain, dating both to the Caesarian period (e.g. *Lex Colonia Genitiva Urso* composed in 44 BC) and to Flavian times,[411] it appears that by the end of the 1st century AD there were few constitutional

[405] Laurence *et al.* 2011: 66.
[406] Boatwright 2003 p. 36.
[407] Gell. NA 16.13.1-9.
[408] Gell. NA 16.13.3.
[409] see Garnsey and Saller 2015: 41.
[410] Lex Tarantina: CIL I² 590 = ILS 6086 = Abbott and Johnson 1926, #20: 282-84 = Lewis and Reinhold 1990, I:#162: 446-48 = Crawford 1996, #15: 301-12; Tabula Heracleensis: CIL I² 593 = ILS 6085 = Abbott and Johnson 1926, #24: 288-98 = Lewis and Raynhold 1990, I:# 162m: 449-53 = Crawford 1996, #24: 355-91.
[411] Lex Salpensana: CIL II 1963 = ILS 6088 = Abbott and Johnson 1926, #64,: 369-74; lex Malacitana: CIL II 1964 = ILS 6089 = Abbott and Johnson 1926, #65: 374-81 = Lewis and Reinhold 1990, II:#64.

differences among individual *municipia* or between *municipia* and *coloniae.*[412] Inscriptions from Hadrianic municipalities and colonies reveal similar magistracies and socio-political groups, and the fragmentary charter of the *municipium* of Lauriacum (in Noricum) dated to the 3rd century AD, for example, also strongly resembled the Flavian municipal laws.[413] This trend appears to be clear and in compliance with what Menander of Laodicea wrote around AD 270, namely that all cities were governed according to the common laws of Rome, correctly reflecting the principate's gradual assimilation of local law to that of Rome.[414]

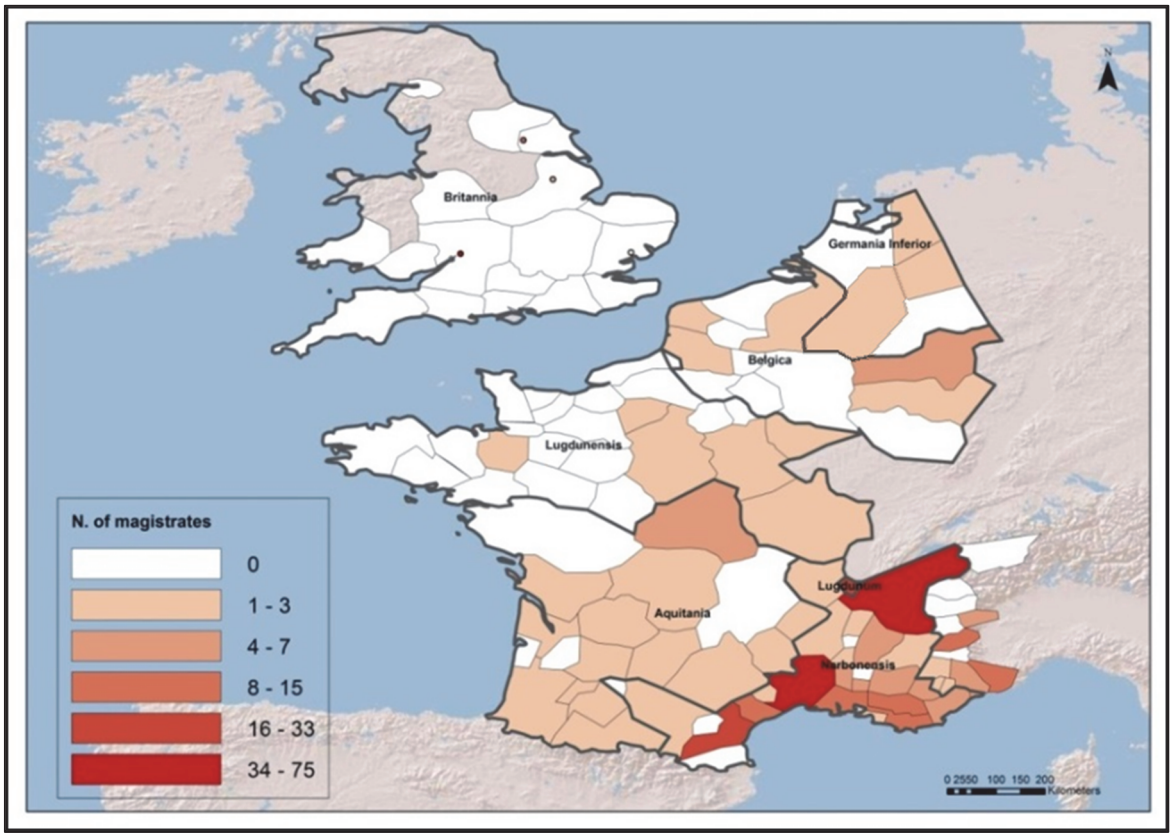


**Figure 40: The distribution of inscriptions mentioning local magistrates in the north-western provinces.**[415]

Therefore, it is likely that the evidence we have about the juridical statuses of the cities in the north-west is likely to reflect the importance attached by a part (and most probably a minority) of the citizenship body. This means that the analysis of the occurrences of juridical statuses

[412] In agreement with Crawford 1988: 128.

[413] Bormann, RLÖ 11, 1910, 155 ff.

[414] Cf. Men. Rhet. 202, 205.

[415] Any attestation of the following magistrates, including abbreviations, have been taken into account: *duumvir* (e.g. *iure dicundo, ab aerario, sine sorte, designatus,* son of *IIvir, duumviralis* etc.); *quattuorvir* (e.g. *praetor IIIIvir etc.*); *aedilis* (only of *civitas*), such as *magister quaestor civitatis or aedil(is) col(onia)*. When nothing is specified, it is assumed that it is a magistrate of the *civitas* (*aediles vici* are therefore excluded); *quaestor* (only of *civitas*, *quaestor pagi* and military offices are not included; thus the *aedilis vici Petu[ar(iensis)* mentioned in RIB 707 does not appear on the map); *ordo decurionum* (only through attestations of '*decuriones*' and '*ordo*', i.e. attestations of *d.d., senatus, curia, d.s.* are excluded). Time constraints have prevented a detailed analysis of all the evidence available, thus other references to magistrates - such as the *[s]ummus magistra(tus) / [c]ivitatis Batavor(um)* (CIL XIII, 8771) or the *senator in civitate Carvetiorum* (RIB 933) have also been excluded.

within the epigraphic record, for example, is better suited to a study of competition for status (and prestige) between cities, rather than their actual administration. As a matter of fact, those provinces that were integrated earliest into the Roman Empire, i.e. Narbonensis and Aquitania, appear to have shown more pride in declaring their status or in the political careers of their elite (Figure 40). Narbonensis had a tradition of civil autonomy, and it showed an ancient familiarity with municipal offices, due also to the influence of its Greek background. Similarly, Aquitania showed an early interest in public offices. Significantly, all the inscriptions mentioning the ancient Gaulish magistracy of *vergobret* come from communities living within this province, notably from those of the Santones, Bituriges Cubi, Lemovices, and Vellavi.[416]

If we look at the distribution of the inscriptions that commemorate municipal magistrates (Figure 40), we see that Gallia Narbonensis is the province that enjoys the largest (and oldest) epigraphic record. There, all levels of magistratures are well represented (Figure 41).[417] However, within Narbonensis, not all *civitates* are equally represented. In the *civitas* of Narbonne, Nîmes, and Vienne a large record of magistrates is attested, while in others, such as the colonies of Lodève and Carpentras, none have been found.[418] In addition, offices are unequally represented: for example, the *quaestores* are completely missing in Orange, Avignon, and Arles, where epigraphic records are otherwise very abundant. In other cities, they are attested, although their position within the *cursus honorum* is uncertain.[419]

With regard to the Three Gauls, we observe different patterns. In Aquitania, which was the earliest of the three provinces to adopt Roman institutions, the largest number of magistrates is found. All the main offices are well represented here. This suggests a certain level of dynamism within the political arena and, more importantly, a preference on the part of candidates from certain distinguished families to express their power and nobility by means of Roman

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[416] The coinage of the Loxoviens (Lugdunensis) mentioning this office dates to the second half of the 1st century BC. However, the body of inscriptions mentioning it dates to *c.* the first half of the 1st century AD. Caesar (*De Bello Gallico* VII, 32) writes of this individual (i.e. not collegial) office when writing about the Aedui (Lugdunensis), and he describes it as an ancient magistracy (Lamoine 2003: 99-108).

[417] For the list of epigraphic sources used to create this map, see Appendix B.

[418] There are no proofs that the *aediles* were a step above the *quaestores* (Christol 1999). Here we are not interested in the sequence of religious offices. Only as a mean of example, in Gaul Narbonensis the *flaminate* is not always the culmination of a religious career. In Vienne the highest religious office is the pontificate, while the *flaminate* is covered at the beginning of the career (Chastagnol 1995b).

[419] In Roman administrative history, scholars define as 'magistrates' those individuals who held one of the offices within the *cursus honorum.* For a long time it has been assumed that, at least in Italy, all the sequential steps of public offices had to be held by magistrates who aspired to the highest office. Dondin Payre already noticed that in this regard the epigraphic record of the Three Gauls was ambiguous. She also suggested caution in drawing conclusions about these offices, especially because *quaestores* and *aediles* in this region appeared to be equivalent, as they both seemed to have been early stages of the municipal career (Dondin-Payre 1999: 148). Scholars had already remarked that in Irni, according to the *lex Irnitana*, *aediles* had powers of jurisdiction equal to those of *duovirs* (see Gonzáles 1986: 200-202; Galsterer 1988: 80-81; Liebenam 1900: 263-65). Elisabetta Folcando in her paper 'Cronologia del cursus honorum municipale' convincingly argued that such a *cursus* was not as strictly regulated as previously thought. Candidates, she writes, did not have to follow a specific *'ordo magistratum'*, at least not until the reign of Antoninus Pius (AD 138 -161). As evidence, she brings together sources of various kinds such as the ancient works of Callistratus and Modestinus, the fragmentary legal codes that come down to us, the evidence of the Fasti and funerary inscriptions of the *colonia* of Venosa (Folcando 1999).

magistracies and priestly offices. In Lugdunensis two different patterns can be discerned: in the south-eastern part of this province magistrates are relatively well represented (e.g. *civitas* of the Aedui), while the northern and north-western parts lack inscriptions of this sort. In Gallia Belgica and Germania Inferior magistrates are less represented: only a few offices are mentioned (*duumviri* and *quaestores* in Belgica, an *aedilis* and two *decuriones* in Germania Inferior).[420] Lower magistrates, such as *aediles* (Figure 42), are more frequently attested in Narbonensis and Aquitania, whilst they are less so in the rest of Gaul, suggesting either a lower level of social dynamism and political competition, a weaker interest in the Roman political traditional, or both.

However, the presence of upper magistrates such as the *duumviri*, as well as the individuals who have completed the *cursus honorum*, is relatively widespread, suggesting that the process of municipalization and political integration had reached at least a large part of the Gaulish provinces (Figure 43 and Figure 44).

It would be wrong to assume that there is a correlation between the number of inscriptions mentioning magistrates and the size of the city (Figure 45).

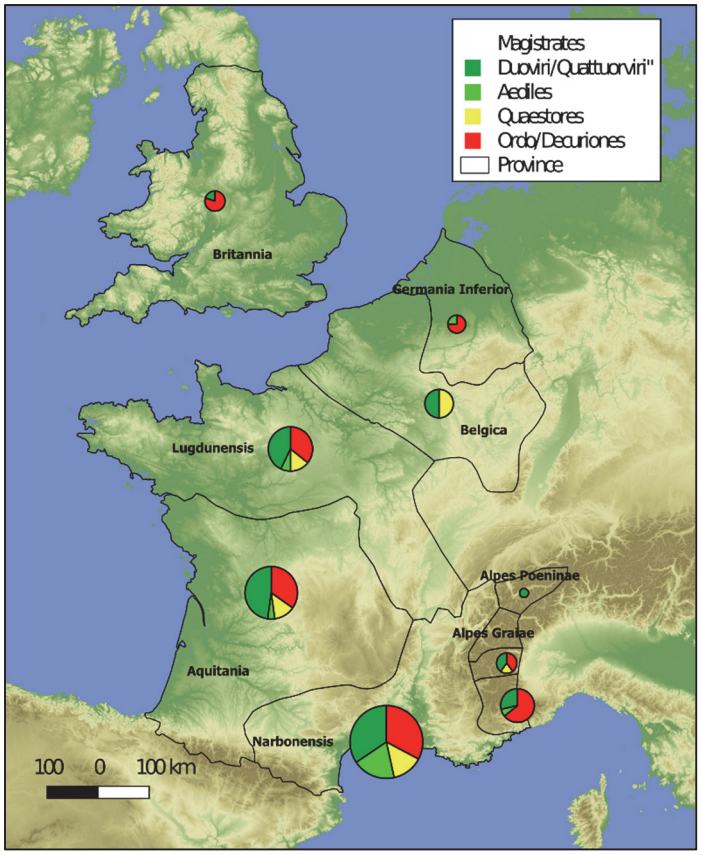


**Figure 41: Pie charts showing the proportion of the different offices attested in the north-western provinces and in the capital Lugdunum.**

[420] Demougin 1999, based on epigraphic evidence (e.g. in Cologne, out of the 24 veterans known, none of them are known to have started a political career, not even holding the lowest offices).

**Figure 42: The distribution of epigraphically attested *aediles*.**

**Figure 43: The distribution of *duumvires* epigraphically attested.**

**Figure 44: The distribution of individuals who had completed their *cursus honorum*; e.g. *'omnibus honoribus'* or *'omnibus honoribus apud suos (or inter eos) functus'*.**

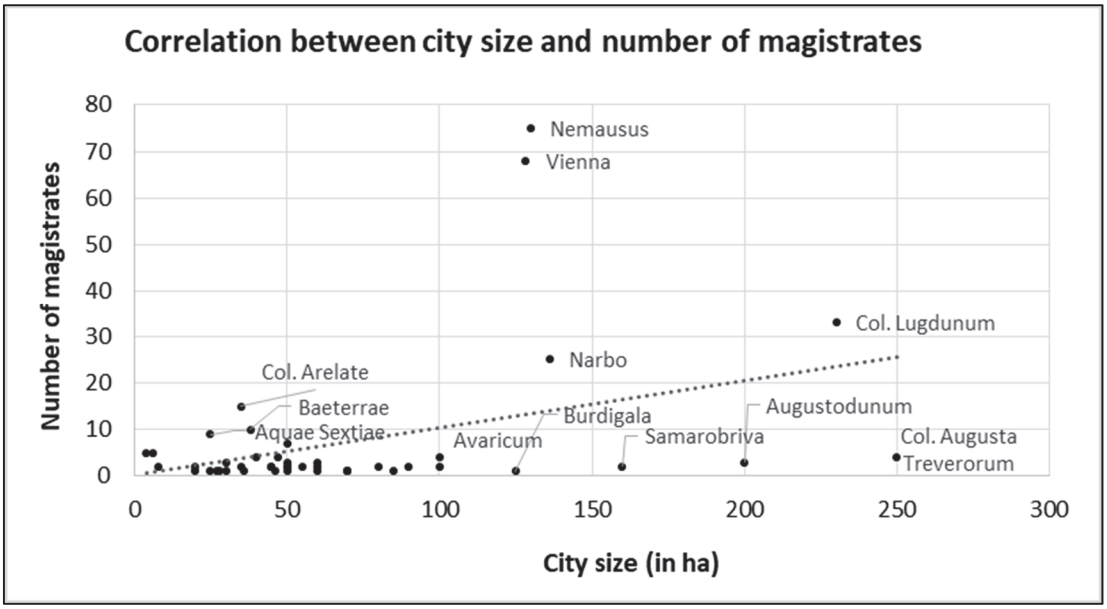


**Figure 45: Scatterplot showing the correlation between city size and status.**

In this chapter, we have seen how cities' juridical status and the epigraphic sources we are dependent on when dealing with it are strongly biased by cultural and epigraphic habits.[421] We have also argued that there is no correlation between the size and the rank of a city or the number of a city's magistrates recorded in the inscriptions. Since it is virtually impossible to

[421] See MacMullen 1982; and Meyer 1990.

define which cities have been *coloniae* and which, for example, *municipia* only by looking at their archaeological remains, in the next chapter we will discuss the self-governing cities as a whole, making references to their juridical status only when meaningful conclusions can be drawn as a result of comparison.[422]

[422] Hence, the approach used here is different from the one employed by Wacher in his 'The Towns of Roman Britain' (Wacher 1975), who divided cities according to their juridical status. He started by describing London, the possible provincial capital. He proceeded to discuss the colonies (in order of foundation): Colchester, Lincoln, Gloucester, and York. He later turned his attention to what he called 'the earliest civitas-capitals' (Canterbury, Verulamium, and Chelmsford etc.), followed by what he described as the client-states (Caistor-by-Norwich, Chichester, Silchester, and Winchester), the centres that were created during the Flavian expansion (Cirencester, Dorchester, Exeter, Leicester, and Wroxeter) and during the Hadrianic stimulation (Caerwent, Carmarthen, Brough-on-Humber, and Aldborough). Finally, he characterizes some exceptions and late developments (Carlisle, Ilchester, and Water Newton).
Although there are several elements of urbanism, such as the stone circuit walls, that - at least in the Early Empire - are tightly associated with juridical statuses. It is possible that some lesser towns that were later fortified had claimed a local status, although more data about their chronology would be desireable.

# CHAPTER 4: THE SELF-GOVERNING CITIES: ELEMENTS AND RHYTHMS OF URBANIZATION

## Introduction

Provincial *civitas* capitals, as had been the case with the cities in the Italian peninsula, required structures that would allow the *cives* to participate in public and political life. This does not translate into the Romans forcing indigenous communities to develop civic spaces.[423] Rather, as Emilio Gabba would say, the Roman government was expecting and encouraging these new semi-autonomous centres and their elites to provide the citizens with suitable areas and buildings where they could fulfil their newly acquired rights and obligations.[424] In this sense, we can understand why the process of urbanization in the north-western provinces followed some common lines, consequential to their political integration in the Empire.[425] At the same time, it is important to remember that this process took place over decades and even centuries. For example, in Belgica, a large majority of cities were not equipped with public buildings until a considerable time had elapsed after they were conquered and annexed to the Roman Empire. Most of the public structures began to be built from AD 50 onwards. In Flavian times construction of imposing infrastructure for public use began on an unprecedented scale. It would reach its full dimensions only in the mid-2nd century AD.[426]

The relatively slow pace of urbanization that characterized the early years of the north-western provinces suggests that sustainable revenues were essential to the development and progress of cities. Thus, a growing fiscal, political, and economic capacity must have been crucial for the implementation of publicly or privately funded urban projects. However, the direct influence of the central government, or its influence through the loyalty of the local elite, becomes apparent when we look at the earliest examples of *fora* adopted in the Western provinces. Stefano Maggi, in a significant paper, writes that monumental Roman *fora* in the West first appear in those sites where the central power was highly influential, e.g. in Emporiae (*opus Scipionum*), Glanum (almost an *opus Agrippae*) and Nemausus, all of which were established not earlier than Augustan times although the settlements already existed.[427]

As we said, the adoption of civic buildings and *fora* responded to the citizen's new political needs and obligations. However, they were also the result of a longing for an illusory uniformity, which ideally had to mould not only the urban landscape but also the juridical, social and cultural spheres, antithetically to the heterogeneity of such a vast empire.[428] Cities were also places where the loyalty towards Rome hit new heights. Their role as *'vitrine de la*

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[423] Which some pre-Roman societies already had, see the case of Titelberg, Bibracte etc.

[424] Moreover, for a city to be granted a high juridical status, it had to be equipped with a range of facilities, as the cities that were given municipal rights in Spain in Flavian times attest (Romero Novella 2016).

[425] Gabba 1972 : 87.

[426] During the 2nd century AD, numerous aqueducts had to be constructed in order to bring water to supply an increased population and a growing number of public baths, latrines, fountains and private households.

[427] See Maggi 2015: 102 note 8 for full references.

[428] Uniformity might also be enforced by the competition or/and emulation among geographically proximate cities.

*romanité'* was observed by Bianchi Bandinelli, who saw in Rome the 'centre of power'.[429] Building on this idea, a whole school of thought began to look at provincial cities as centres through which Rome was trying to exercise the same power abroad.[430] Urbanization, however, not only allowed citizens to perform their political duties or to help display Rome's power; it also partially reflected an attempt to 'convert the spirits' and to embrace other concepts such as *'urbanitas'* and *'humanitas'*. [431]

Gaisser defines *'urbanitas'* as one of the 'most important intangible markers […] which we can translate as "urban sophistication" but only so long as we remember that such terms are not universal and unchanging across society or even over time in the same society.'[432] Exemplary is Varro's prologue to his third book of the *Res Rustica*:

> Though there are traditionally two ways in which men live – one in the country, the other in the city – there is clearly no doubt, Pinnius, that these differ not merely in the matter of place but also in the time at which each had its beginning. Country life is much more ancient – I mean the time when people lived on the land and had no cities. […] and no marvel, since it was divine nature which gave us the country, and man's skill that built the cities; since all arts are said to have been discovered in Greece within a thousand years, while there never was a time when there were not fields on earth that could be tilled.[433]

The seeds of Roman *humanitas* can already be found in Classical Greek and Hellenistic culture. However, the concept was completely re-elaborated by the Romans, and it turned out to include all those specific and austere values which were part of a 'code of conduct' of the Roman citizen such as the *pietas*, *mores*, *dignitas*, *gravitas*, *integritas* and so on. Ancient sources often refer to the 'civilizing mission' of the Empire. An obvious example is Pliny, who celebrated Italy as:

> […] chosen by the providence of the gods to make heaven itself more glorious, to unite scattered empires, to make manners gentle, to draw together in converse by community of language the jarring and uncouth tongues of so many nations, to give mankind civilisation, and in a word to become throughout the world the single fatherland of all the races.[434]

These concepts were not only recurrent in literature but were represented in graphic form, as in the case of the arch of Glanum (Figure 46). On one of its pillars, a 'Gallo-Roman' who exudes *humanitas* and represents the new citizen faces a Celtic captive, whose stature and

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[429] Bianchi Bandinelli 1969.

[430] An expression used by Philippe Leveau when talking about the Roman cities of Mauretania (Leveau 1984).

[431] Woolf 1998: *Urbanitas*; Also see Vu 2015; David 1985; Schadewaldt 1973: 47; Balbo 2012.

[432] Gaisser 2009.

[433] *'Cum duae vitae traditae sint hominum, rustica et urbana dubium non est quin hae non solum loco discretae sint, sed etiam tempore diversam originem habeant. Antiquior enim multo rustica, quod fuit tempus, cum rura colerent homines neque urbem haberent. […] Nec mirum, quod divina natura dedit agros, ars humana aedificavit urbe, cum artes omnes dicantur in Graecia intra mille annorum repertae, agri numquam non fuerint in terris qui coli possint'* (Varro, *Res Rustica*, III, 1).

[434] *'[…] numine deum electa quae caelum ipsum clarius faceret, sparsa congregaret imperia ritusque molliret et tot populorum discordes ferasque linguas sermonis commercio contraheret ad colloquia et humanitatem homini daret, breviterque una cunctarum gentium in toto orbe patria fieret'* (Pliny, Nat. Hist. III, 5, 39-40).

clothing reminds us of 'a rough giant sent from the past'.[435] This image is a representation not only of Roman victory but also of the socio-cultural progress that Romans claimed to bring. No matter how powerful these literary and graphic references may be, we should always keep in mind that these processes were not linear.

The famous passage of Tacitus is exemplary:[436]

> In order that a population scattered and uncivilised, and proportionately ready for war, might be habituated by comfort to peace and quiet, he would exhort individuals, assist communities, to erect temples, market-places, houses: he praised the energetic, rebuked the indolent, and the rivalry for his compliments took the place of coercion.[437]

Agricola encouraged people to build 'temples, market-places, houses', and perhaps he also contributed by putting at their disposal engineers and workforce.[438] The effort of politics aimed at improving urbanism contrasts at times with the indifference (if not the hostility) of a part of the population. This is not peculiar to the north-western provinces, where the famous episodes of the revolt of Boudicca and the Batavi took place, but also in the more 'sophisticated' Eastern Mediterranean. In Asia Minor we know that Dio Chrysostom tried to persuade his co-citizens of the importance of improving the appearance of the city. He was extremely frustrated and complained that he was either ignored or accused of wanting to destroy the city and the life of those living there.[439] Pliny the Younger also writes that the citizens of Nicomedia let part of the monumental centre burn, including the *gerousia*. Here 'oriental' indolence is not the only

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[435] Gros and Torelli 2010: 274-275. In fact, as Woolf describes well in his book, where he observes that the Romans located themselves on a cultural axis with the Eastern Greek and Western barbarian worlds at the antipodal ends (Woolf 2011).

[436] Tacitus, Agricola, 21. This text is very problematic, and it has been often taken too literally by modern historians. For example, cities were seen as 'bulwarks of loyalty' by Collingwood and Richmond 1969: 95 and as instruments of civilization by Richmond 1963: 55. Frere considered Roman towns to have been important for the spread of education and Roman civilization, and he argued that the preceding *oppida* were no more than an 'amorphous collection of roundhouses and unorganized squalor (Frere 1987 192). While it is difficult to establish to what extent they really acted as models for urban development, it is correct to say that they were intended to be instrumental in cultural change.

[437] '*Sequens hiems saluberrimis consiliis absumpta. namque ut homines dispersi ac rudes eoque in bella faciles quieti et otio per voluptates adsuescerent, hortari privatim, adiuvare publice, ut templa fora domos extruerent, laudando promptos, castigando segnes: ita honoris aemulatio pro necessitate erat.'* (Tacitus, Agricola, 20 trad. Loeb). The next lines are also interesting, as they refer directly to the attempt of the Romans to foster cultural change: '*Iam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent. inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frequens toga. paulatimque discessum ad delenimenta vitiorum, porticus et balineas et conviviorum elegantiam. idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset.'* 'Moreover he began to train the sons of the chieftains in a liberal education, and to give a preference to the native talents of the Briton as against the trained abilities of the Gaul. As a result, the nation which used to reject the Latin language began to aspire to rhetoric: further, the wearing of our dress became a distinction, and the toga came into fashion, and little by little the Britons went astray into alluring vices: to the promenade, the bath, the well-appointed dinner table. The simple natives gave the name of "culture" to this factor of their slavery'.

[438] Lefebvre 1970: 16-17: the agrarian phase of history is characterized by a '*ville politique*'.

[439] Dio Chr., Oratio 40, 8. We should be particularly critical towards this source since there is an abundance of rhetorical and moralizing *clichés* typical of the Second Sophistic.

problem, as was implied by Pliny: there is a sense of apathy towards a building that was perceived as being the stronghold of the elites' interests.[440]

The attention and emphasis of central government directed towards cities emerges in the Res Gestae, where Augustus wishes to be remembered as a 'creator of cities'. The case of Nîmes is exemplary: between 23 and 19 BC the city is equipped with several monumental buildings, all linked to Augustus and Agrippa.[441] The city - possibly in 22 BC - had already been honoured with the attribute of 'Augusta' and changed its name to Colonia Augusta Nemausus. Vitruvius in '*de Architectura*' writes that Augustus not only provided for the *communis omnium* and the organization of the state but also for the 'provision of suitable public buildings':

> But I observed that you cared not only about the common life of all men, and the constitution of the state, but also about the provision of suitable public buildings; so that the state was not only made greater through you by its new provinces, but the majesty of the empire also was expressed through the eminent dignity of its public buildings.[442]

The monumentality of public buildings corresponded to the *maiestas imperii*: In this sense, public buildings were used as ideological tools, as had been the practice with Pompey and Caesar.[443]

A Roman historian like Tacitus was never so naïve as to believe that the creation of new cities would, alone, stimulate such a change. To be able to be attracted by a porticated square or a bath implies the acquisition of a certain political and socio-economic organization, without which these features would not survive. And Tacitus, as Gros and Torelli pointed out, with exquisite critical historical judgement, seems to realize that at times the Romans were ahead of their time, trying to anticipate a social transformation in places where people were not ready to accept it.[444] Strabo noted that 'even the cities themselves cannot easily tame their inhabitants when these are outnumbered by the folk that live in the forests for the purpose of working mischief upon their neighbours.'[445]

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[440] Pliny letter X, 30, 2; Gros 1985: 71.

[441] Was it the emperor's money or private money? See Noe 1987. He concludes that there are too many ambiguities and the matter cannot be settled for good. It is difficult to distinguish public money (belonging to the state) from that of the emperor. Noe looks at the period that goes from Augustus to Trajan. All along, there seems to have been two different elements: *erarium* and *fiscus* (p. 28). See Seneca who is critical and says that Nero has his hands on both. Until the end of the 1st century AD, the two things are separated, as the source Plin. Pan. 3 suggests, but the imperial patrimony increases at the expense of the *fiscus*.

[442] '*Cum vero adtenderem te non solum de vita communi omnium curam publicaeque rei constitutionem habere sed etiam de opportunitate publicorum aedificiorum, ut civitas per te non solum provinciis esset aucta, verum etiam ut maiestas imperii publicorum aedificiorum egregias haberet auctoritates'* (Vitruvius, De architectura, I,2). 'But I observed that you cared not only about the common life of all men, and the constitution of the state, but also about the provision of suitable public buildings; so that the state was not only made greater through you by its new provinces, but the majesty of the empire also was expressed through the eminent dignity of its public buildings' (trad. Loeb).

[443] Noe 1987: 33; and Gabba 1980: 49-52. Public constructions as a measure against unemployment: see Brunt 1980: 81-100; Steinby 1983; Woolf 1998.

[444] He also witnessed some of the failures this practice has met, for example in Germania Inferior or Britain (see the famous revolts of Boudicca and the Batavi).

[445] Strabo, Geography, 3, 163; Gros and Torelli 2010: 274-275.

An important aspect that we have so far passed over in silence is the important role played by the local elite in this cultural process. In fact, as has been argued by Millett, the local upper class often found it convenient to *tap into* the imperial ideology for a number of reasons, for example in order to preserve their own status, reiterate their superiority over all other social groups, enhance their political career etc.[446]

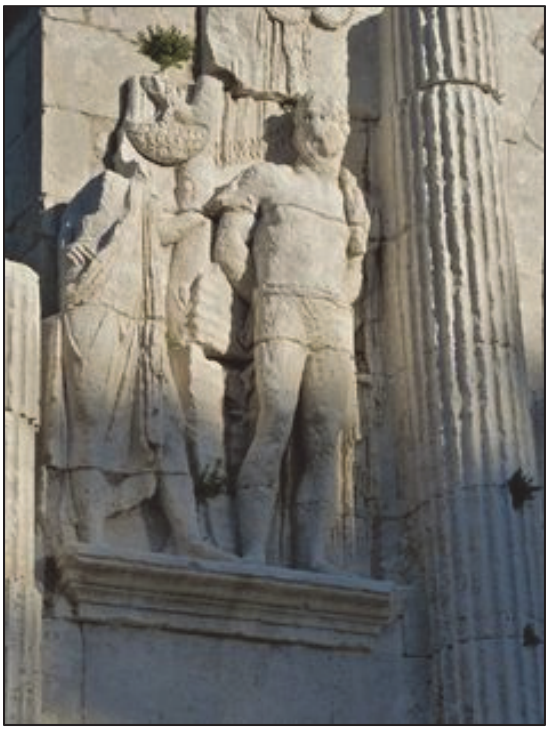

**Figure 46: Detail of the arch of Glanum (http://www.alamy.com/stock-photo-detail-of-the-triumphal-arch-glanum-111311630.html).**

So far, we have anticipated some of the reasons why most Roman cities within the north-western provinces were equipped with common elements of urban infrastructure. As we will soon see, *de facto* many provincial cities enjoyed the same categories of monuments. Since the object of our study is the Roman urban network, this is not the place to discuss the different varieties these buildings can take, and we will focus only on their distribution, their symbolic meaning, and practical function.[447] This set of public buildings and infrastructures includes stone circuit walls, arches, *fora*, *basilica*, spectacle buildings, aqueducts, and baths.

[446] Millett 1990; and Woolf 1998.

[447] The variation in the adoption, deployment and building of monument types across the provinces of the Roman West has been discussed elsewhere; see Gros 2001; Gros and Torelli 2010; Laurence *et al.* 2011; Maggi 2015. The idea of a 'model' Roman city (Zanker 2000) based only on the presence/absence of a set of buildings (e.g. street grid, forum, temple and baths) is problematic. These criteria would misleadingly lead us to the conclusion that all legionary or auxiliary army camps were also cities. A military site can be regarded as a city only when it has a permanent centre inhabited by civilians (e.g. Chester or Vindolanda in Britain). In this case, the civilian settlement should be regarded as complementary to the military one (cf. Russell 1972a; and 1972b).

## 4.2 Urban infrastructures and civic buildings

### 4.2.1 Stone circuit walls

Looking at the distribution of cities featuring stone circuit walls during the High Empire, we observe that in Gaul most of them lie south of the Toulouse-Tongeren axis (Figure 47).[448]

**Figure 47: The walled cities of Gaul, Germania Inferior, and the Western Alps in the High Empire.**

Most of the cities within this area belonged to the province of Narbonensis and dated either to the Hellenistic period or to the second half of the 1st century BC - Augustan times. The only Augustan city walls assured outside of Narbonensis are those of Autun. During the High Empire, in the rest of Gaul and Britain (Figure 48), walled cities remain extremely rare. They start appearing in large number from only AD 250 onwards, both in *civitas* capitals (e.g.

[448] Goudineau 1980. In order to compare like with like, the supposed 2nd-century-AD earthworks of certain cities in Roman Britain will not be taken into considerations. They have been the focus of many studies during the early 19th century, and a renewed attention to ditches and defence is also welcomed. Nonetheless, these urban elements differ too much from the stone Roman walls of Roman Gaul to be comparable. For example, at Verulamium, the so-called 1955 ditch is only a ditch and not a wall. At Chichester, Silchester, and Winchester we find no concrete evidence that such earthworks existed. At Canterbury only the masonry wall dating to the 3rd century AD is known. The revolutionary new dating of York defences through dendrochronological analysis shows how new dating techniques could help us gain a deeper understanding of these monuments, which are still poorly understood. For more details, see Wilson 2006; and Esmonde-Cleary 2003.

Caistor-by-Norwich, Metz) and secondary agglomerations (Great Chesterford, Alet). Their construction was likely to have been carried out by the local communities in concert with the central authorities, and they were part of a new defensive system. In other words, they were meant to provide defensible strong points and, unlike their Early Imperial counterparts, did not have a merely symbolic character, in so far as they were a response to the threats posed by the increasing peril caused by the civil wars in the 3rd century AD.[449] For this reason, they often enclosed a reduced area and were built hastily, relying consistently on *spolia*.[450]

**Figure 48: Stone walls in Britain (*c.* AD 200).**

In Aquitania and in the Alpine provinces no city walls dating to the High Empire have yet been found; in Belgica the only certain case is Trier, and in Lugdunensis it is Autun (the structures excavated in Lyon are now thought to belong to a system of terraces).[451] In Britain, five cities were enclosed by stone circuit walls. The first to be built were those belonging to the colonies of Colchester, Gloucester, Lincoln, and York. They were all built between the 1st century AD

[449] The so-called '3rd-century crisis'- with its rapid turnover of emperors, almost uninterrupted warfare and monetary collapse - reached its peak around the year 260 AD. In this year Britain and Gaul became part of a breakaway empire known as the 'Gallic Empire'. Its government was independent from Rome and controlled the north-western provinces during part of the 3rd century AD. The Gallic Empire was founded by Postumus in AD 260 as a result of growing serious military, political and economic problems.

[450] When they did not follow the traces of previous walls, they were often completely different in shape (featuring a more or less regular plan) and size (in Gaul, they often enclosed only the city centre, that is an average of 15-10 ha).

[451] Esmonde-Cleary 2003: 81; and Perring 2015: 33-34.

and the early 2nd century AD. The city walls of London, on the other hand, were built slightly later, sometime between the 2nd and early 3rd centuries AD.

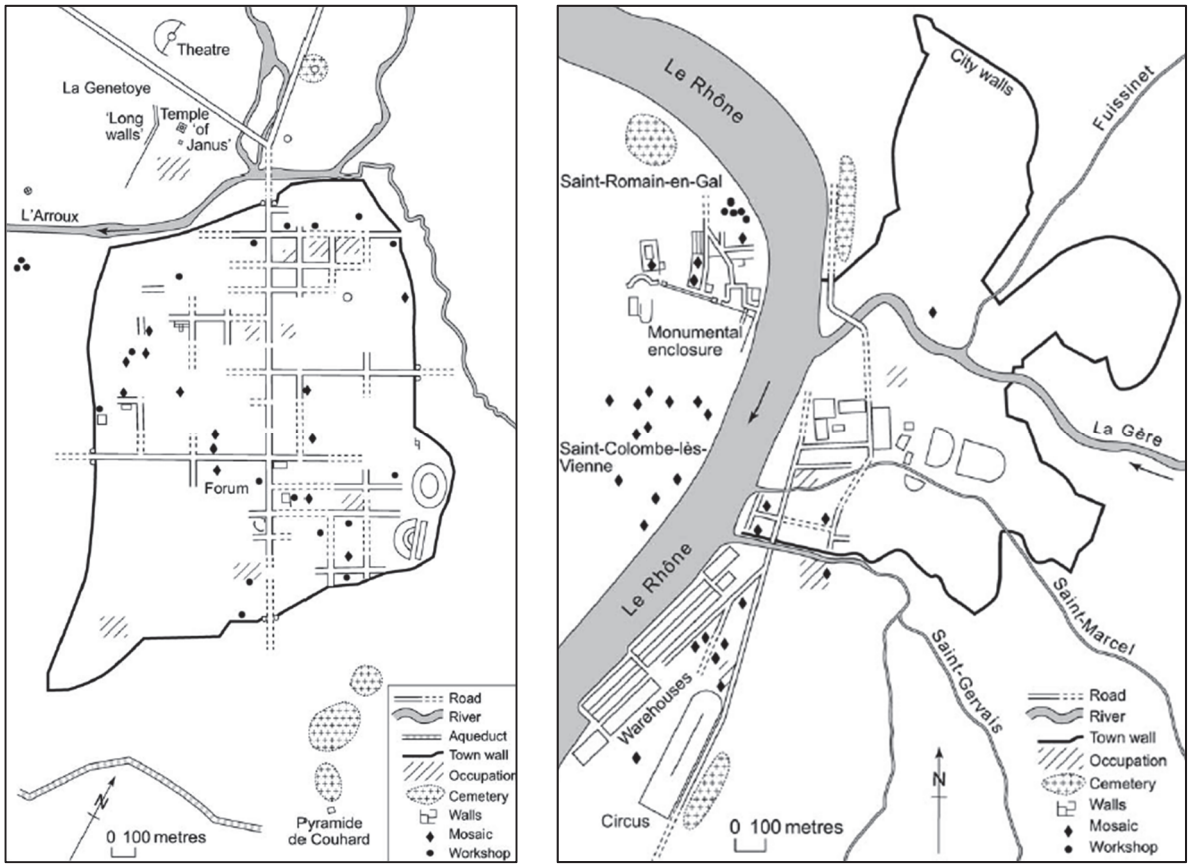


**Figure 49: The city walls of Autun (left) and Vienne (right) (Goodman 2007: 97 and 90).**

The plans of these fortifications were highly influenced by the landscape's topography. Hydrology also played an important role, for example in the case of Cologne, Arles, Trier, and Vienne. Broadly speaking, we can distinguish three types of walled cities. The first group has walls which often take the shape of an irregular polygon and whose size is completely unrelated to the extension of the street grid. This group includes some of the longest city walls of Gaul: Nîmes, Autun and Vienne (Figure 49). They all date to Augustan times, enclosed around 200 ha (often a larger area than was actually built-up, as was the case of Vienne and, most likely, of Autun[452]) and were *c.* 6 km long. Their circuits are also dictated by strategic concerns since ridges and crests were included. However, given that they were built in previously pacified territories, their defensive function was already of low importance, and it had certainly elapsed by the 2nd century AD. The ostentatious monumentality of the gates, the refined aesthetics of the architecture and the conscientious selection of building materials clearly suggest the symbolic significance of the extensive building programmes they were part of. They were built

[452] The built-up surface of Vienne here has been estimated to be 128 ha. In the case of Autun, unfortunately we can rely only on the walled area. As far as we can tell, in the High Empire, the city seems to have been fairly densely inhabited throughout its extension, although some areas have been better researched than others.

in *opus caementicium*, brick-faced, around 2 m wide (7 *pedes*) and with irregularly spaced towers.[453]

The second group consists of cities which feature a rather smaller circuit wall, more proportional to their built-up area (Figure 50). They enclosed approximately between 40 ha and 70 ha, and they sometimes have *extra-moenia* suburbs (e.g. Cologne).[454]

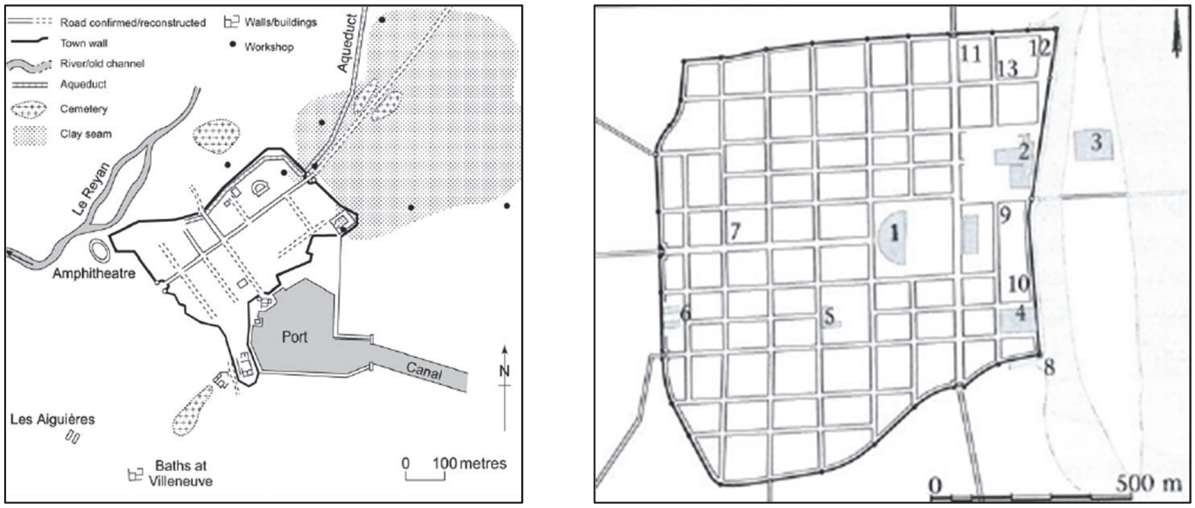


**Figure 50: The city plan of Fréjus (left) and Cologne (right) (Goodman 2007: 110 and Coquelet 2011: 72).**

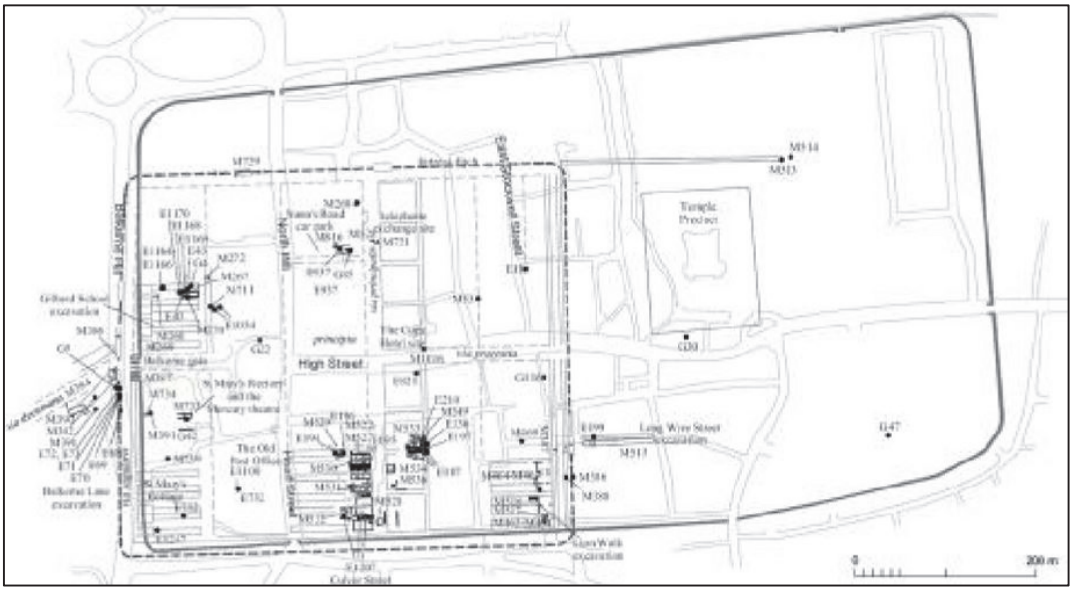


**Figure 51: Colchester city plan.**

The veteran colonies of Narbonensis (e.g. Orange, Fréjus, Toulouse, Aix…), Britain (Colchester, Gloucester) and most self-governing cities of Germania Inferior (Xanten, Nijmegen), all fall into this category. Also in these cases, the military function of the town walls can be questioned. In Arles, the circuit wall was completed only in the areas close to the

[453] Goudineau 1980.

[454] The stone mid-1st-century-AD wall enclosed *c.* 98.6 ha, and it was almost 4 km long. On the basis of the *necropolis* we can say that the city extended over 117 ha (Coquelet 2011: 203).

principal entrance and around the gates, and when the amphitheatre was built, some parts of it had to be demolished. The circuit wall of Fréjus was soon partially demolished and its material re-used to build an aqueduct (as a consequence, the patrol path was transformed into an element of support for the pipeline), whilst in Nîmes, as early as Claudian times, houses were built adjacent to the walls.[455] In these provinces, circuit walls were not extremely thick (around 2.50 m). Nor did they have strong foundations, built, for example, with large stone blocks.[456]

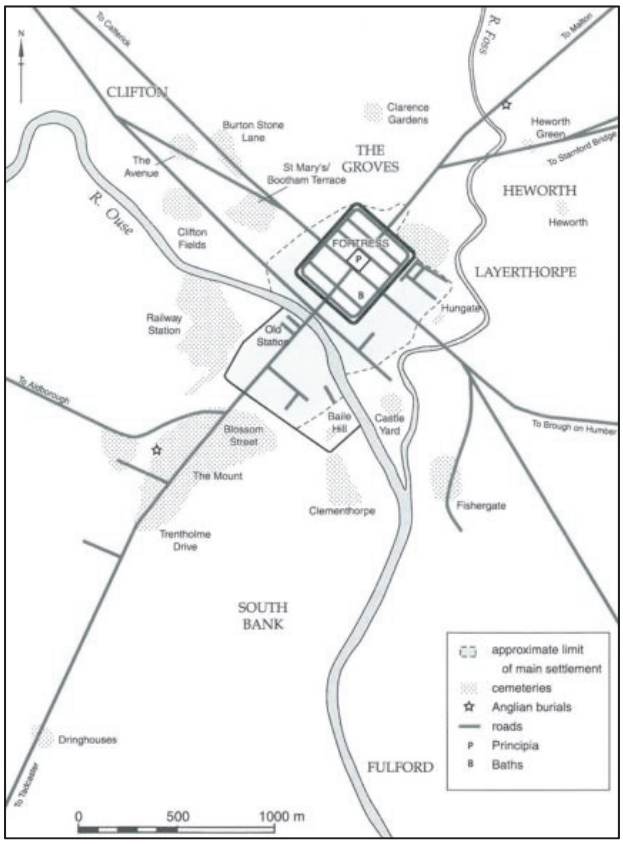


**Figure 52: Roman York - the city had grown far beyond the area enclosed by the circuit walls (Ottaway 2015: 46).**

The walls of Colchester (Figure 51) did not retrace those of the legionary fortress that preceded it. They were built afresh and embellished with elaborate gateways and were the first of their kind to be built in Britain. The walls had a concrete core and were plastered with neatly arranged, parallel courses of clay bricks dug in Essex. The bricks were laid at the same level on both sides, and the mortar joint between the bricks was carefully re-polished to enhance its beauty.[457]

[455] Goudineau 1980: 247.

[456] Strong foundations were only built in those parts of the circuit walls that were built on the plain (e.g. Voorburg) and in direct contact with rivers (i.e. Trier, Cologne, Xanten) or marshy terrain (i.e Tongeren) (Coquelet 2011: 127). In Voorburg and Nijmegen, given the difficulty of supplying materials, fortifications were later used as *spolia*. They are believed to have been relatively thin (between 1.20 m and 1.40 m). The walls in Tongeren were 2.10 m wide. The ones in Xanten that faced the river Rhine were wide (4.15 m) since they had to stabilize the structure (Coquelet 2011: 127).

[457] Radford and Gascoyne 2013; Crummy 2003.

In the third group, the town walls retrace those of the proceeding legionary fortress. This is the case of the colonies of Gloucester, Lincoln, and York (Figure 52 and Figure 53). Because they encircle a quite small area (less than 30 ha), a large number of extra-urban settlements could develop around such settlements.

At York, an extra-mural settlement grew on the opposite bank of the river Ouse, across from the legionary fortress. At Lincoln, the turf-and-timber circuit wall belonging to the legionary fortress was replaced by a rather narrow one (*c*. 1.2 m wide) fronted with stone.[458]

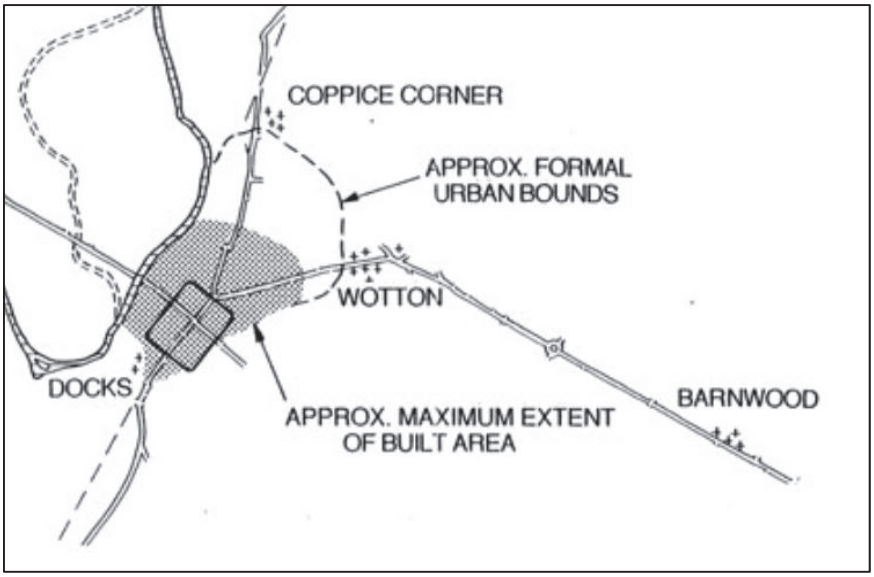


**Figure 53: Roman Gloucester - the extra-mural occupation (Hurst 2005: 295).**

In an influential paper by Esmonde-Cleary, the strict relationship between stone city walls and juridical status was already made clear.[459] After having collected the data on north-western city walls, the same conclusion is reached here (Table 3). All cities provided in the Early Empire with a stone circuit wall were colonies, *municipia* or *civitates foederatae.* Therefore, as he writes, the association with formal grants of superior status is indubitable. Circuit walls were evidently a rare privilege and were an expression of civic and urban pride. Whether the army had any significant role in the logistical supply chain or deployed large labour forces to build them does not prove that they served a defensive function in a military sense.[460] The view that this urban feature was highly correlated with the legal status of a city is corroborated by the fact that in those self-governing cities that were preceded by a legionary fortress but had not been granted one (such as Dorchester and Wroxeter in Britain) the legionary walls seem to have been dismantled.[461] If stone walls indicate that cities held a high juridical status, then it is plausible to conclude that Gloucester - whose walls were built in the late 80s or early 90s AD - had by the Flavian period already been granted the status of colony. The fact that its full title

[458] Wilson 2006: 5.
[459] Esmonde-Cleary 2003.
[460] Wilson 2006: 6.
[461] RIB 1843 (AD 369); 1844 (AD 369); Ellis 2000: 11.

was 'Colonia Nervia Glevensium' might be explained by the *damnatio memoriae* that his predecessor Domitian had suffered.[462]

The importance of the emperor's intervention (be it some form of prior permission to build this monument, a financial contribution, or both) is directly attested only by the inscription at the surviving Roman gate in Nîmes called *'Porte d'Auguste'* reading *'Augustus portas murosque col(oniae) dat trib(unicia) pot(estate) VIII'*. The use of *'dat'* instead of the more common *'dedit'* in this inscription (16-15 BC) has raised doubts over its correct interpretation. Although the issue is still debated, the most likely possibilities are i. Augustus either announced or actually gave as a gift to the city its gates and walls, ii. Augustus gave only the permission to build them.[463]

On these grounds, as Esmonde-Cleary suggests, we might expect to find a Roman wall in those cities that enjoyed the concession of a privileged juridical status where it has not yet been found (for example Lyon, *Carcassonne*, *Béziers*, *Antibes*, and Narbonne). The case of London, due to its strategic importance, size and magnificence, has been long debated. Different hints suggest that London, whose walls are traditionally dated to the 3rd century AD, might have enjoyed an official status, perhaps from as early as the late 1st century.[464] However, the question will remain open until more decisive evidence is discovered.

[462] The same could be assumed to be true for the colony of Lincoln. This city might have become a colony soon after the departure of the Legio II Adiutrix (AD 86). However, the dating of its walls is more unclear (end of the 1st century to the early 2nd century AD), and thus they cannot help us in this sense (Wilson 2006).

[463] CIL XII, 3151.

[464] For example: i. evidence of procuratorial tile stamps; ii. tombstone of Classicianus, the procurator sent by Nero Classicianus in the wake of the Boudican Revolt. Many scholars have suggested that the city in the 2nd century AD was a colony (e.g. Mattingly 2006a: 268 envisages it as an honorary colony; Jones 2004: 166 believes it was a *Conventus civium romanorum*); iii. the adjective *'Augusta'* written on an inscription found in London may refer to its status of '*colonia'* (feminine) since the neutral gender of the word 'Londinium' does not allow a similar conclusion. See Tomlin 2006.

| Ancient name | Modern_name | Province | Date of the walls | Uncertain | Status |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Carcasso | Carcassonne | Narbonensis | Hellenistic | | Colonia |
| Antipolis | Antibes | Narbonensis | Hellenistic | | Colonia |
| Massalia | Marseille | Narbonensis | Hellenistic | | *Civitas* |
| Baeterrae | Béziers | Narbonensis | Hellenistic | | Colonia |
| Narbo Martius | Narbonne | Narbonensis | Late II - early I BC | | Colonia (veteran) |
| Valentia | Valence | Narbonensis | -47 | | Colonia (veteran?) |
| Apta Iulia | Apt | Narbonensis | -40 | ✓ | Colonia |
| Avennio | Avignon | Narbonensis | I BC | ✓ | Colonia |
| Arelate | Arles | Narbonensis | Mid I BC | | Colonia (veteran) |
| Forum Iulii | Fréjus | Narbonensis | I BC-I AD | | Colonia (veteran) |
| Lugdunum | Lyon | Narbonensis | I BC-I AD | ✓ | Colonia |
| Nemausus | Nîmes | Narbonensis | Augustan | | Colonia |
| Vienna | Vienne | Narbonensis | Augustan | | Colonia |
| Arelate | Arles | Narbonensis | Augustan | | Colonia (veteran) |
| Arausio | Orange | Narbonensis | Augustan | | Colonia (veteran) |
| Aquae Sextiae | Aix-en-Provence | Narbonensis | Augustan | | Colonia (veteran) |
| Augusta Tricastinorum | St-Paul-Trois-Châteaux | Narbonensis | Augustan | | Colonia |
| Carcasso | Carcassonne | Narbonensis | Augustan | ✓ | Colonia |
| Tolosa | Toulouse | Narbonensis | Augustan | | Colonia |
| Augustodunum | Autun | Lugdunensis | Augustan | | *Civitas* foederata |
| Durocortorum | Reims | Belgica | Augustan | ✓ | *Civitas* foederata |
| Col. Augusta Treverorum | Trier | Belgica | Late II AD | | Colonia |
| Col. Claudia Ara Agrippinensium | Cologne | Germania Inf. | Mid I AD | | Colonia (veteran) |
| Castra Vetera | Xanten | Germania Inf. | Early II AD | | Colonia (veteran) |
| Atuatuca | Tongeren | Germania Inf. | II AD | | *Municipium* |
| Aurelium Cananefatium | Voorburg | Germania Inf. | Late II AD | | *Municipium* |
| Noviomagus | Nijmegen | Germania Inf. | Late II AD | | *Municipium* |
| Col. Camulodunum Victricensis | Colchester | Britannia | Flavian | | Colonia (veteran) |
| Col. Glevum | Gloucester | Britannia | Flavian | | Colonia (veteran) |
| Colonia Lindum | Lincoln | Britannia | Late I - early II AD | | Colonia (veteran) |
| Eburacum | York | Britannia | Late I - early II AD | | Colonia |
| Londinium | London | Britannia | Late II - early III AD | | Colonia? |

**Table 3: City status and defensive stone walls.**

### 4.2.2 Arches

Like circuit walls, arches were distinctive of self-governing cities with a high juridical status (Figure 54).[465] All cities which were assuredly equipped with an arch were either colonies, *municipia*, or *civitates foederatae* or *liberae* (in the north-western provinces, there is only one exception: Richborough). It is rightly considered as one of the most representative elements of Roman monumentality. This monumental structure in the shape of an archway has nothing but a symbolic function. The earliest *fornices* were built at the end of the 3rd to the beginning of the 2nd century BC when they were erected in honour of the *imperatores* who had obtained permission to celebrate a triumph. When Augustus came to power, although the construction of arches was still being commissioned by the Senate, they clearly became a privilege reserved only to Augustus and the imperial family. The fragments of two large bronze tablets discovered in 1982 near Seville - the so-called *Tabula Siarensis* - bear the text of the *Senatus Consultum de Honoribus Germanici Decernendis* issued in AD 19 and list the funerary honours to Germanicus.[466] One of the honours voted to Germanicus were three monumental arches that had to be built in Rome, Germany and Syria. The decorative and sculptural details that had to be engraved on the arches were prescribed with astonishing precision. This offers an interesting snapshot of the imperial policies in Augustan times (and followed also by his successors),

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[465] In the West there are a few possible exceptions; however, the pattern is clear. A few exceptions to this rule might be found in Africa. For example, two subordinate agglomerations (the *vicus* Phosphorianus and Saltus Massipianus) had one or more arches. An arch was discovered in Ain-Golea, which perhaps was a self-governing place.

[466] *Editio princeps* in: 1984. See also see González and Arce 1988. Tabula Siarensis 1.9-21: *'Placere uti lanus marmoreus extrueretur in circo Flaminio pe[cunia publica, posi]jtus ad eum locum in quo statuae Divo Augusto domuique Augus[tae iam dedicatae es]jsent ab G(aio) Norbano Flacco, cum signis devictarum gentium ina[uratis tituloque]| in fronte eius lani senatum populumque Romanum id monum[entum marmoreum dedi]|casse memoriae Germanici Caesaris, cum {i}is Germanicis bello superatis [et deinceps]l a Gallia summotis receptisque signis militaribus et vindicata frau[dulenta clade]l exercitus p(op- uli) R(omani), ordinato statu Galliarum, proco(n)s(ul) missus in transmarinas pro[vincias Asiae]l in conformandis iis regnisque eiusdem tractus ex mandatis Ti(berii) C(a)esaris Au[g(usti), imposito re]|g(e) Armeniae, non parcens labori suo priusquam decreto sena- tus [ei ovatio conce]Ideretur, ob rem p(ublicam) mortem obisset, supraque eum lanum statua Ger[manici Caesaris po]|neretur in curru triumphali et circa latera eius statuae D[rusi Germanici patris ei]lus, naturalis fratris Ti(berii) Caesaris Aug(usti) et Antoniae matris ei[us et Agrippinae uxoris et Liviae sororis et Ti(berii) Germanici fratris eius et filiorum et fi[liarum eius.]'*. '[The senate decrees] that it pleases that a marble arch be constructed in the Circus Flaminius with public funds, placed near where the statues of the Divine Augustus and the Augustan House have already been dedicated by Gaius Norbanus Flaccus; [the arch will be decorated] with the gilded standards of conquered peoples and a plaque in front [stating that] the senate and Roman people dedicated this marble monument to the memory of Germanicus Caesar, since, after he had overcome the Germans in war and driven them out of Gaul, and recovered the military standards and vindicated the treacherous slaughter of the army of the Roman people, and gave order to the state of the Gauls, having been sent as proconsul to the transmarine provinces of Asia to organize them and the kingdoms of this same region according to the mandates of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, after he had put a king of Armenia in place, not sparing his own labor before he was granted an ovation by decree of the senate, he died for the sake of the res publica; and atop that arch should be placed a statue of Germanicus Caesar in a triumphal chariot, and around the sides of it statues of Drusus Germanicus, his father, the natural brother of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, and of Antonia, his mother, and of Agrippina, his wife, and of Livia, his sister, and of Tiberius Germanicus, his brother, and of his sons and daughters' (trad. in Severy 2000: 323-324).

meant to directly control the aesthetics of public art and commissioned propagandistic works, in order to legitimize and stabilize his power and his dynasty.[467]

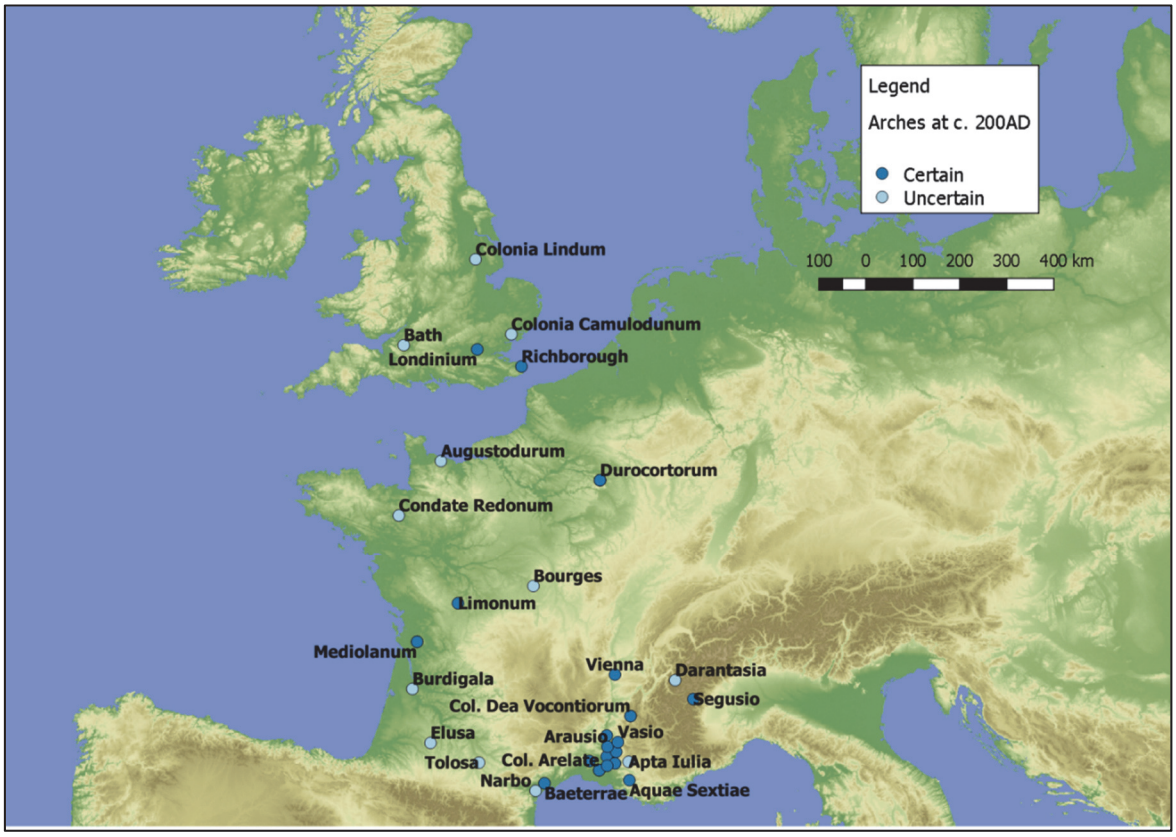


**Figure 54: The arches of the north-western provinces.**

As we can see from the map in Figure 54 and Table 4, most arches were built in Narbonensis, and most of them date to Augustan times. Pierre Gros' study of these arches has significantly contributed to our understanding and the dating of these monuments within the province of Narbonensis.[468] We have already described the scene of a captured enemy engraved on the pillar of the Arch of Glanum and the political message it tried to convey. Similarly, the decoration engraved on the arch of Carpentras depicted German and oriental prisoners as savages. The arch of Tiberius in Orange is also part of this propagandistic program: it features 'civilized' Romans (clothed) and naked 'barbarian' Gauls fighting each other. Further symbolic elements are captives, spoils, and trophies; they all celebrate Rome's supremacy.[469]

All these arches send a clear message of military power, but also one of a newly restored peace.[470] They can be dated to the first quarter of the 1st century AD and are part of a series of monuments unique to the Western provinces, which recalls the similarly phenomenal spread of these monuments in Africa in the 3rd century AD.

[467] Rowe 2002; Zanker 1990.
[468] Gros 1979.
[469] Midford 2014.
[470] S. De Maria, 'Arco onorario e Trionfale' in 'Enciclopedia dell' Arte Antica' 1994.

Within the Three Gauls, the earliest arch dates to Tiberian time (AD 19). It was built by a local magistrate in honour of Germanicus in the capital of Aquitania, Saintes. In the Alpine provinces, we know only of the arch of Susa.[471] Although a few arches may date to Julio-Claudian times (those dedicated to Nero or Domitian have been destroyed because of the *damnatio memoriae* they were subjected to[472]), after Augustan times they became less and less common both in Italy and in Gaul. The reason for the decrease can partially be explained by the time that had elapsed since the actual conquest of Gaul. In addition, the elite found new ways to display their loyalty towards the emperor and his family. For example, the latter were celebrated through the imperial cult and in the *sacella* of the spectacle buildings. Britain was finally conquered in Flavian times, and the two arches dating to the High Empire date soon after, *c.* end of the 1st - beginning of the 2nd century AD.

The only cities that had an arch and whose status is uncertain are Glanum and Richborough. For Glanum, it is common to find publications that refer to it as a colony,[473] although the only primary source we have (CIL XII 1005) is vague and calls it *r(es) p(ublica)*.[474] The quadrifrons arch in Richborough (Kent) was built in 80-90s, most likely to celebrate the supposed ultimate conquest of the province by Agricola. This agglomeration was located on what used to be an island (Isle of Thanet) and was linked to the mainland by a road. As the main access to the province, it was a place filled with symbolism and significance. The Antonine Itinerary recorded only one single channel crossing and entry into Britain, and that was the route Boulogne-Richborough.[475] It was not only the gateway to the province, but also functioned as a major supply base, and, as very recently discovered, it was very close to the place where Caesar's invasion of Britain might have begun (Pegwell Bay, Kent), adding a symbolic value.[476] Recent studies have highlighted the wealth of this major port and town, known to have grown rapidly after the conquest and to have reached its height in the late 1st to early 2nd century AD. The military phase of this agglomeration was quite short, lasting only from 43 to *c*. 85 AD. During this early phase, Richborough was filled with military-type granaries similar to those excavated at the fort of South Shields. The arch was erected in AD 85, during the time of transition from a military to a civilian settlement.

Richborough is not only exceptional because it had an arch, but also because it had an amphitheatre, which in Britain is normally found only in self-governing cities or military

[471] It was briefly mentioned when discussing the juridical statuses in the Alpine provinces, cfr. Footnote 385.

[472] Suetonius, Life of Domitian 13, 2-3.

[473] E.g. Torelli and Gros 2010.

[474] The inscription CIL XII 1005 - which reads *curator peculi r(ei) p(ublicae) Glinico(rum)* and is dated to the Antonine or Severan period - suggests it was independent. However, its self-governance has been questioned, and it has been argued that sometime during the Early Empire, it became dependent on Arles or Avignon (see Leveau 2000 for a review on this issue). I believe the arguments supporting its independence put forward by Christol and Janon 1999 are convincing. However, the matter cannot be definitely settled without additional evidence.

[475] *'A Gessoriaco de Gallis Rutupis in portu Britanniarum'*. Richborough was the starting point of the *'Iter Britanniarum'* (It. Ant. 463, 4; 466, 5; 472, 6).

[476] https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2017/nov/29/caesars-invasion-of-britain-began-from-pegwell-bay-in-kent-say-archaeologists (last accessed 12/12/2017).

sites.[477] It cannot be ruled out that the city was perhaps self-governing even though it is traditionally thought to have been a secondary agglomeration of the Canti.[478] However, if all these distinctive features do not have juridical significance, then they certainly highlight the symbolic relevance of this place whose name 'Rutupinus' was used in ancient times as a variation for 'Britannicus.[479] Whilst only the foundations of the arch have been preserved (thus making it impossible to reconstruct this imposing monument), its position resembles that of the Arch of Trajan in Ancona, one of the main *accessus Italiae.*[480]

Another arch that might have commemorated the conquest of Britain is the one in Colchester. It might have been built as early as Claudius times. The arch in London had one fornix and dates to the early 3rd century AD. Several of its blocks were re-used in the city walls built during the Late Empire. The analysis of its reliefs, such as those of Minerva and Hercules engraved in the side niches and the female figures within the round reliefs, indicate a strong resemblance (in terms of composition and stylistic choice) to the *'Porte Noire'* in Besançon and the *'Porte de Mars'* in Reims. It is very unlikely that the foundations of a structure found in Bath belonged to an arch, while the arches erected in Verulamium were built at the time of the construction of the new city walls, that is after AD 250 (in a period that falls beyond the scope of my inquiries).[481]

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[477] The only exceptions are the very controversial cases of secondary agglomerations of Catterick, Chaster-on-Mendip and Frilford. The pattern is altogether clear. Unfortunately, we still cannot date this amphitheatre. When it was excavated in the 19th century, the monetary finds were mostly dated to the 4th century AD. More recently, a geophysical survey was undertaken, and it showed that it was built at the very edge of the city, on top of pre-existing buildings. For this reason, it has been suggested it could date to the 3rd century AD, when a new fort was built on the site.

[478] Ptolemy mentions three *poleis* within the territory of the Canti. They are: Londinium, Daruernum, Rutupiae. The first two were undoubtedly self-governing cities. The last one might be.

[479] For example, it was used by Lucan, Juvenal, and Paulus Orosius.

[480] The bronze fragments excavated suggest it was surmounted by an equestrian statue.

[481] The structure is more likely to be the monumental *propylaeum* (entrance gateway to the temple precinct) of the temple of *Sulis Minerva* (S. De Maria, 'Arco onorario e Trionfale' in 'Enciclopedia dell' Arte Antica' 1994).

| Modern name | Province | Status | Date of the arch | Uncertain |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Saint-Rémy-de-Provence | Narbonensis | Unknown | Augustan | |
| Béziers | Narbonensis | Colonia | Augustan | |
| Aix-en-Provence | Narbonensis | Colonia (veteran) | Augustan | |
| Toulouse | Narbonensis | Colonia | Augustan | |
| Orange | Narbonensis | Colonia (veteran) | Tiberian | |
| Narbonne | Narbonensis | Colonia (veteran) | | ✓ |
| Apt | Narbonensis | Colonia | | ✓ |
| Cavaillon | Narbonensis | Colonia | | |
| Cavaillon | Narbonensis | Colonia | | |
| Vienne | Narbonensis | Colonia | | |
| Arles | Narbonensis | Colonia (veteran) | | |
| Arles | Narbonensis | Colonia (veteran) | | |
| Nîmes | Narbonensis | Colonia | | |
| Avignon | Narbonensis | Colonia | | |
| Carpentras | Narbonensis | Colonia | Augustan | |
| Vaison-la-Romaine | Narbonensis | *Civitas* foederata | | |
| St-Paul-Trois-Châteaux | Narbonensis | Colonia | | |
| Susa | Alpes Cottiae | *Municipium* | Augustan | |
| Saintes | Aquitania | *Civitas* libera | Augustan | |
| Saintes | Aquitania | *Civitas* libera | | ✓ |
| Poitiers | Aquitania | *Civitas* | Claudian | |
| Bourges | Aquitania | *Civitas* libera | II AD | ✓ |
| Bordeaux | Aquitania | *Civitas* libera | Septimius Severus | ✓ |
| Eauze | Aquitania | Colonia | | ✓ |
| Bayeux | Lugdunensis | *Civitas* | | ✓ |
| Rennes | Lugdunensis | *Civitas* | | ✓ |
| Reims | Belgica | *Civitas* foederata | End II - beginning III AD | |
| Reims | Belgica | *Civitas* foederata | Second half II AD | |
| Reims | Belgica | *Civitas* foederata | | |
| Reims | Belgica | *Civitas* foederata | | |
| Richborough | Britannia | Unknown | AD 80-90 | |
| Colchester | Britannia | Colonia | I AD? | |
| London | Britannia | Unknown | Severan times | |
| St. Albans | Britannia | Unknown | III AD | |
| St. Albans | Britannia | Unknown | III AD | |
| St. Albans | Britannia | Unknown | III AD | |
| Bath | Britannia | Unknown | | ✓ |

**Table 4: Arches in the north-western provinces.**

### 4.2.3 *Forum*

In the north-western provinces, only a small proportion of *fora* are archaeologically attested. Amongst them, several are known only from old archaeological reports, others have been only partially excavated, or we have discovered their plans through geophysical surveys. This leaves us with only a few for which we can make out the plan of the square and buildings and a date. As we see in Figure 55, for many *fora* we have only indirect or circumstantial evidence available ('uncertain'). Their existence and location are often assumed on the basis of different parameters: historical, topographical, archaeological (concentration/dispersion of architectural finds etc.). Overall, we have very little information regarding what is one of the most important elements of Roman urbanism. Most of the evidence for *fora* comes from Narbonensis, Aquitania, and Britannia (Figure 55).

**Figure 55: The distribution of *fora* in the north-western provinces.**

The *forum* was the heart of a Roman city. It was the political, administrative, religious and commercial core of a town. Its centrality is not necessarily reflected by its position in the street grid, but rather by the relationship it held with the other main public buildings, especially in terms of orientation, linearity and spatial axiality.[482] The *forum* was also the *'lieu de*

[482] An early Roman example is the well-known *forum* of Cosa and its spatial relation with the Arx. They were linked through a processional route *'Via Sacra'* (Gros 1990: 36). This is also characteristic of pre-Roman *oppida*; see the cases of Titelberg in Gaul and Verulamium and Colchester (and their relationship with peripheral temples) in Britain (Creighton 2006). This persistence of processional routes was indeed an important element of ancient urbanism.

*mémoire,*"[483] where the imperial family and the eminent members of the local community were celebrated (or auto-celebrated[484]). Together with a more or less regular street plan, the *forum* was one of the first urban elements the city was provided with, immediately upon becoming a self-governing *civitas.*[485] Looking at the chronology, we can distinguish different temporal patterns: the *fora* of Narbonensis and Aquitania were the earliest to be built; the majority date from 40 BC to Tiberian times. In Gallia Belgica, they were built slightly later. Many dated to the Julio-Claudian period, but several to Flavian times. Julio-Claudian times witnessed much forum-building in the Alps and Germania Inferior, whilst in Britain, the majority were completed by the end of the 1st century AD or the mid-2nd century AD.

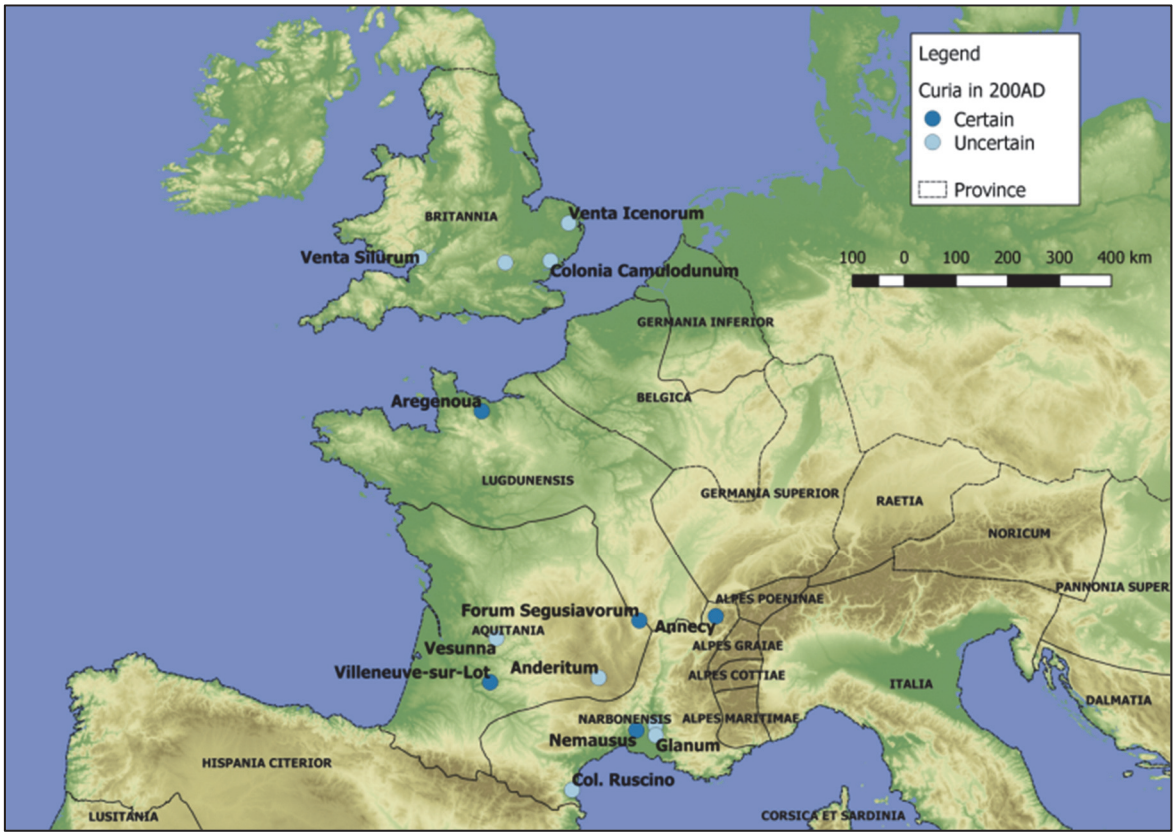


**Figure 56: The distribution of *curiae* in the north-western provinces.**

The *forum* is usually thought to be the sum of three different elements: i. a square; ii. a sacred space (temple); iii. a civic space (e.g. *curia*, *tabularium* etc.).

In the north-western provinces, *fora* are characteristic of self-governing cities, although several secondary agglomerations could also be equipped with a *basilica* facing a public square (see for example the *vicus* of Boutae - Annecy - with its *basilica* and *curia*).[486] This was,

[483] Nora 1978; Nora 1984.

[484] Cébeillac-Gervasoni *et al.* eds 2004.

[485] See Rennes and Verulamium (Pouille 2008; Niblett 2001: 42-43). The study of the *fora* of Spain (Romero Novella 2016) shows that 65% of them were built before the city was granted a high juridical status.

[486] Bouet 2012: 34. The *lex Municipi Tarantini* specifies that the *decuriones* had to own a house in the city (or its territory). It had to be covered by at least 1500 *tegulae* (to be understood as surface). Similarly, the *Colonia Iuliae Genetivae* forced its *decuriones* and *sarcerdos* to have a *domicilium* in the colony or in a range of 1000 *passum*.

nevertheless, a relatively rare phenomenon. Most evidence of this practice comes from very extensive *civitates*, such as those of the Allobroges and the Bituriges Cubi, whose secondary agglomerations could lie over 100 km away from the capital. The presence of civic buildings in these settlements does not imply they were self-governing although it is possible that the *ordo* of the *civitas* could meet there on certain occasions (e.g. during important religious festivals). Epigraphic evidence suggests that the ruling classes of these *civitates* were deeply rooted in their region of provenance (see chapter 5). It is therefore plausible that the high level of territorialization of the *elite families* may have allowed for some sort of factionalism and decentralization.

While, admittedly, in most cities the *forum* consisted of a square enclosed by a *porticus* and surrounded by public civic and religious[487] buildings and *tabernae*, it is not always possible to identify these structures, for most of the times only the foundation walls are preserved. For example, the potential *curiae* so far identified in these provinces are rare (Figure 56).

The arrangement of these three elements (square, religious building and civic space) has been a matter of discussion for a long time. The high variety they display in form, shape and combinations shows that the existence of a 'formula' is not warranted by the archaeological evidence. Moreover, in the past, the focus on the concept of models and their process of adoption and diffusion within the Empire led perhaps to an overestimation of their number. For example, as recently shown by Sablayrolles, the so-called tripartite forum (characterized by a temple and a *basilica* at each end of a central courtyard), does not seem to have been as widespread as previously thought, at least within the north-western provinces. In Aquitania, where the plans of *c*. 10 *fora* are known, only one falls into this category, that of Lugdunum Convenarum (*Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges*). However, even in this case, its plan diverges from the 'standard' in its own unique way because the temple stood at the back of the square instead of having a central position. The cities of Paris, Feurs, Amiens, and Trier could spend lavishly on ambitious urban redevelopment and could afford to build a tripartite forum. However, more modest cities were unable to complete similar large-scale projects: for example, the tripartite forum of Bavay was never completed, possibly because the local council ran out of money.[488] Even if we assume that 'orthodox' urban planning models existed, their

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Gabba believed these regulations aimed at guaranteeing that the *decurio* had enough wealth to access public magistratures, for example, enough wealth to pay the *summa honoraria* upon entering their office, and to ensure that he would attend the local council regularly. I believe that in the case of the north-western provinces, where the *civitas territorium* was particularly large and secondary agglomerations extremely prosperous, such a policy would also allow the concentration of the elite in the capital city, discouraging any 'political' competition between capitals and secondary agglomerations (Gabba 1972; and 1976). On the other hand, agglomerations were allowed to *compete in terms of grandeur* and beauty.

[487] E.g. temples, *curia*, *comitium*, *basilica*, and possibly *tabularium* and *aerarium*.

[488] Vitruvius, *De Architectura,* V, 1 writes: 'The size of the forum is to be proportioned to the population of the place, so that it be not too small to contain the numbers it should hold, nor have the appearance of being too large, from a want of numbers to occupy it.' However, archaeological evidence shows that the size of the *fora* in the 2nd century AD is not necessarily proportional to that of the city or to its importance. For example, in Belgica the forum of Bavay was extremely large (it measured over 2.5 ha). The average *forum* of Gallia Belgica, on the other hand, measured *c*. 1 ha, and Bavay itself was a middle-sized town (40 ha). Its construction programme was obviously too ambitious since the construction of the *forum* would remain incomplete for reasons unknown to us

actual execution was more likely to be the exception than the norm.[489] Topological constraints, tightly occupied urban areas with high development pressure (e.g. presence of pre-existing neighbourhoods, including houses and street layouts liable to changes), and financial aspects are all significant factors that needed to be taken into account during the planning of these works.[490]

Cavalieri's recent study focused on the *fora* and *basilicae* of Gaul sheds some light on the 'origin' and 'diffusion' of these supposed 'models'. His conclusions indicate that the direct influence of the city of Rome on the layout and architecture of the provincial fora was quite limited since it was confined to those places where the members of the upper class were able to supply a direct link with Rome, for example, through provincial senators in Rome who represented their province's interests there.[491] For example, the Forum of Augustus in Rome had a direct influence on the one in Arles. Another myth that has been firmly upheld in the past is that the codification of these 'models' was first tried within Italy and only later transplanted to the other provinces, as was argued by Ward-Perkins with regard to the tripartite *forum.*[492] However, as Cavalieri observed, the new data available suggest new architectonic schemes could be introduced simultaneously in different provinces, as was the case for Narbonensis and Cisalpina.[493]

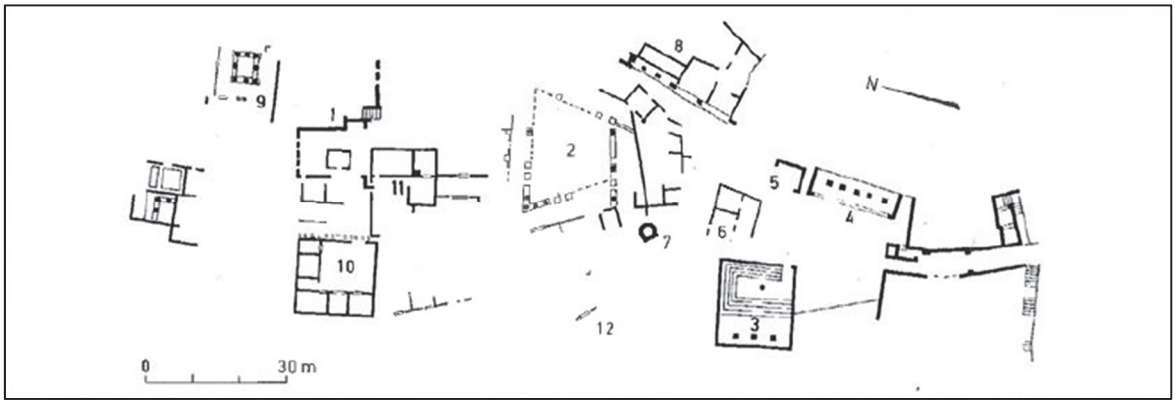


**Figure 57: Glanum in I BC (Gros and Torelli 2010: 302).**

The introduction and subsequent development of *fora* or of any other urban element was never a linear process.[494] It was too dependent on the availability of urban space and the economic

(Pichon 2015). The provincial capitals and the large cities had large *fora* (e.g. the one in Cologne covered up to 4-6 *insulae*).

[489] Zanker 2000; Zanker 2004; Gros 2001: 179, note 9. It is important to remember the drawbacks of referring to a *'formula'* (orthodoxy), which would exercise *'una sorta di pressione sullo spirito di molti archeologi, pressione che fa giudicare eterodossi i casi che non rientrino in quello schema, senza che si sia disposti ad ammettere che un'altra concezione abbia potuto presiedere all'elaborazione di un complesso'* (Maggi 2015: 103). Mansuelli preferred to use a musical metaphor and spoke of "variation on a theme' (Mansuelli 1982: 146-148).

[490] We will discuss the case of Glanum in more detail below. The *forum* of Ruscino was built on top of a residential neighbourhood, and the lack of space affected its layout.

[491] Burnand 1982.

[492] Ward-Perkins 1970.

[493] Cavalieri 2002.

[494] Such a process is often difficult to delineate since we are usually more familiar with their 2nd-century phase. The original plans, often timber-framed, are less well understood.

capacity of the elite and civic authorities, as well as on specific environmental and ecological characteristics of the site. Their development was always susceptible to fire hazards, water management problems and individual personal choices. In Narbonensis, the excavations carried out by Pierre Gros at Glanum, the small settlement in the hinterland of Marseille, allow us to look closely at the phases of the transformation of the Hellenistic *agora* into a Roman *forum*. In 90 BC, after the *Salluvii* rebelled against Rome, the monumental centre of this city was destroyed. At the beginning of the 1st century BC, a new *agora* was built. It comprised a trapezoidal *agora* surrounded by colonnades and a *bouleuterion* (Figure 57).[495]

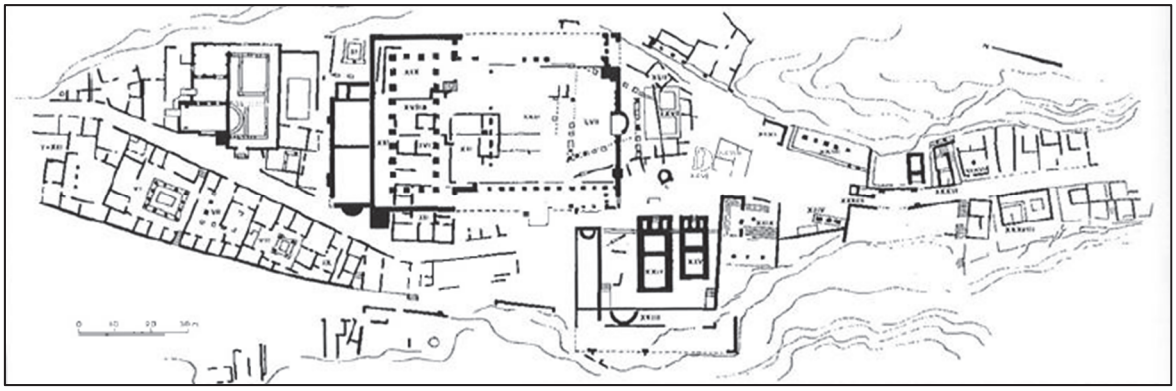

**Figure 58: Glanum in Roman times (Gros and Torelli 2010: 303).**

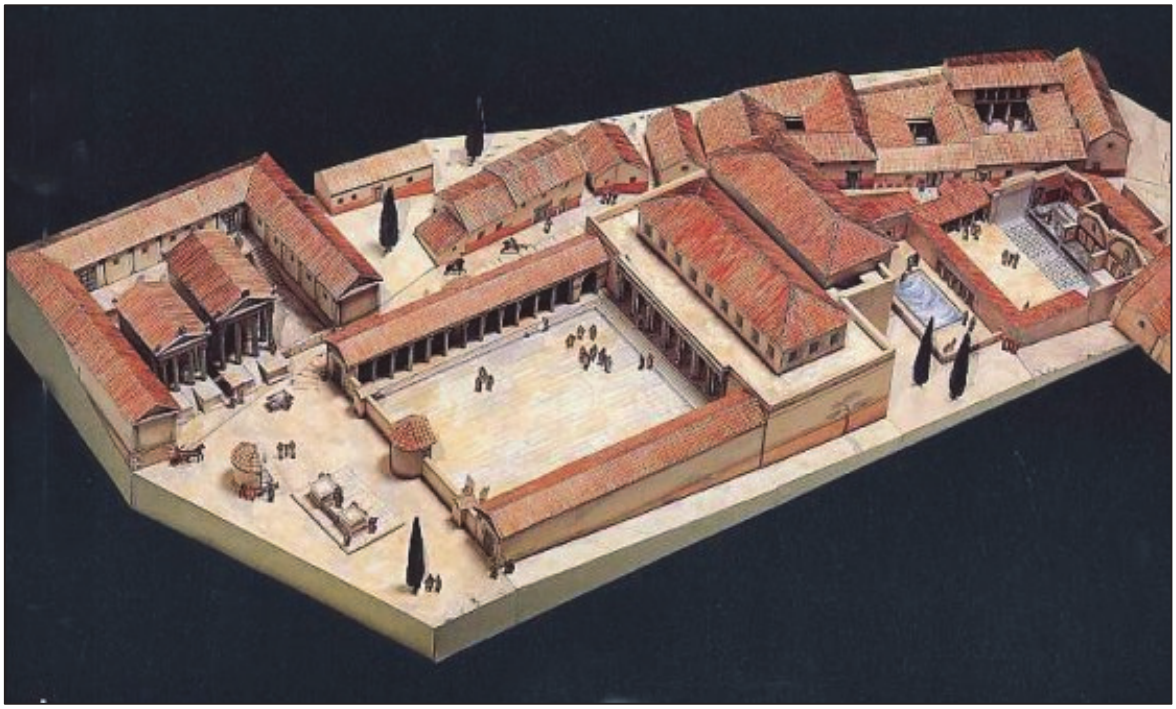

**Figure 59: Glanum - a reconstruction of the *forum*.[496]**

In 40 BC, an extensive building program began; it aimed at renewing, expanding and transforming the Hellenistic square into a Roman *forum*. The trapezoidal *agora* and a part of the Late Hellenistic residential quarter in the north were demolished. Preliminary works

[495] See also Provost 2007.

[496] http://patoune.blog.laprovence.com/les-glanums-a35278

levelled the natural slopes, and a rectangular *forum* was completed by the end of the 30s BC. The square was surrounded by a *porticus* on the eastern and western sides, and a two-nave building closed up the square on its northern side. A sanctuary with two Corinthian temples (*porticus duplex*) was also built, its *peribolos* invading the old *bouleuterion*. Only about ten years later, a larger *forum* was built on top of the old one, but almost at the same level. It was embellished with a large three-nave *basilica*, resting on top of the *porticus duplex* and of the Late Hellenistic residential quarter. Behind the *basilica,* an apsidal *curia* and a *tabularium* were added.

This organic complex was completed with the monumental closure of the southern side of the square, garnished with an axial apse (Figure 58). The lively history of this site shows how dramatic was the impact at least on part of the urban landscape (the residential area was left untouched, except for the site where the thermal complex was built). Nonetheless, among all these radical innovations, we also perceive a longing for continuity: the two proto-Augustan twin temples south-east of the *forum* (re-consecrated to the dynastic cult) were enclosed in a *temenos* that was perpendicular to the *forum* in a consciously systematic and organic scheme (Figure 59).

In the veteran colony of Arles, we also witness a rationalized allocation of space. Placed at the crossing of the two major roads, the square was levelled and a major *cryptoporticus* was built (*c*. 25-10 BC), whose galleries were built into the flank of the hill, making use of the natural *slope* of the land. The same tendency towards a rationalization of space is found in most *fora* in the rest of Gaul. Because we cannot go too deeply into this subject, we will present only the well-known case of the tripartite *forum* of Bavay, which (in Severan times) featured a wide, paved square in the centre of the *forum*, bordered on all sides by a *porticus*.[497]

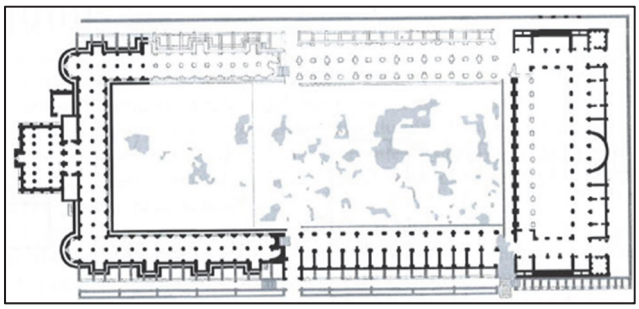

**Figure 60: The *forum* of Bavay (Severan phase) (Coquelet 2011: 131).**

On the eastern side of the esplanade lie the vestiges of a large building, which stood on a higher level: the *basilica*. On the western side, also raised up but smaller in size, the temple stands out (Figure 60). All around, this area was surrounded by porticoes, with *cryptoportici* as foundations.

From an early stage, cities in the Alpine provinces were also provided with a *forum*. The case of Martigny (Switzerland) - the provincial capital of the Alpes Poeninae - is exemplary (Figure 61). The city, possibly the 'Octodurus' mentioned by Caesar, changed its name under Claudius

[497] See Gros 2001; Laurence *et al.* 2011.

into Forum Claudii Vallensium. The *forum*, which occupied a whole central *insula,* was built under Claudius. The square was surrounded by porticoes, and it was closed by a *basilica* on its short, western side. The temple was not located in the *forum* itself but was adjacent to it.[498] At the end of the 1st century AD a fire completely destroyed it, after which it was soon rebuilt with an enlarged *basilica*.

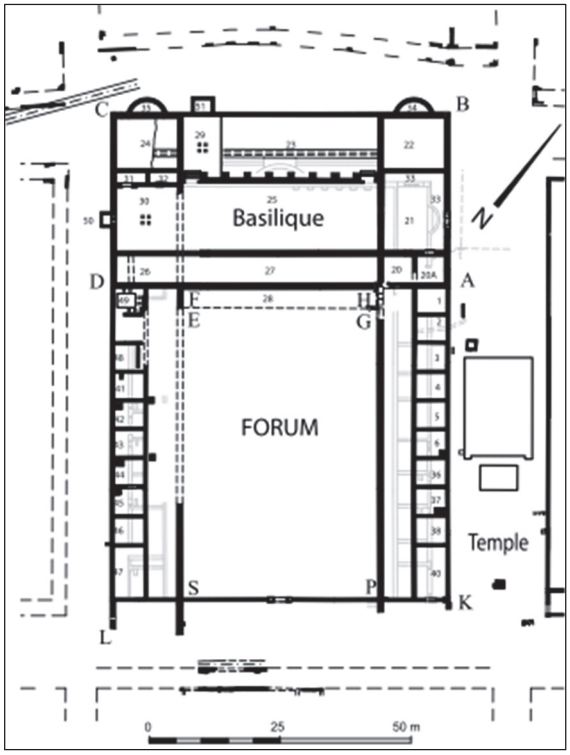


**Figure 61: The *forum* of Martigny (Wiblé 2012: 283)..**

In the cases of Périgueux (in its second phase - mid-2nd century AD) and Vannes (Figure 62), the *basilica* was located right in the middle of two squares, separating them. In both cases, no temple has yet been found, and we do not know whether it has yet to be located or simply was not there.[499]

In several cities of the north-western provinces, the *basilica* was the focal point of the whole *forum*. This is the case, for example, in Martigny and Glanum, but also in Velleia and Ruscino (Figure 63), where the *forum* consisted of a *collonaded* area with a *basilica* lying on one of the short sides. Here, too, due to the lack of a temple, the *forum* has a square shape.
In fact, from Augustan times onwards, the presence of a temple within the *forum* becomes - at least in these provinces - less frequent because the *basilica* played a pivotal role comparable to that of a sanctuary devoted to the imperial cult. In its first phase, i.e. Tiberian or Claudian times, the *forum* of Périgueux featured only one of the two squares (Figure 64), and it consisted of a *basilica* flanked by two porticoes. On its northern side it had a small room (which appears to

[498] See also Avenches (Switzerland), where the religious buildings are contiguous to the square.
[499] As we will soon see, the *basilica* was generally used for the imperial cult, so a separate temple was not necessary.

have been a fine, decorated chapel), and to the south a slightly larger space which might be identified as the *curia*. No traces of a temple have yet been found.

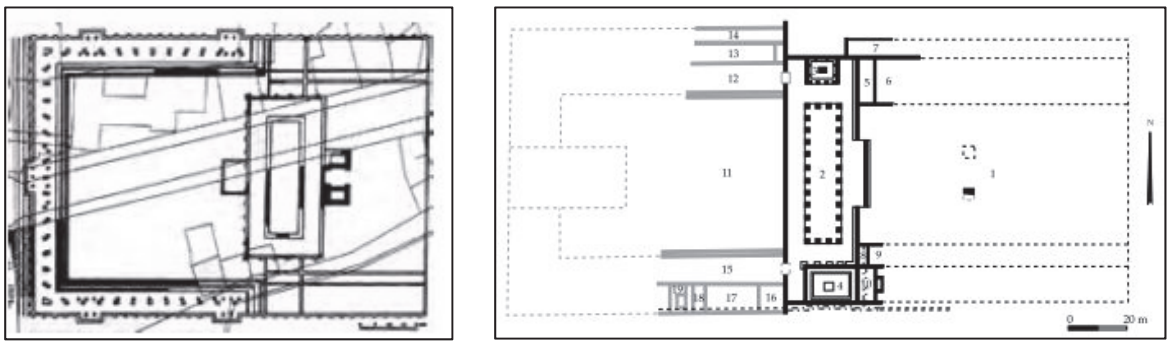

**Figure 62: Left - the *forum* of Vannes (Bouet 2012a: 26). Right - the second phase (mid-2nd century AD) of the *forum* of Périgueux (Bouet 2012b: 106).**

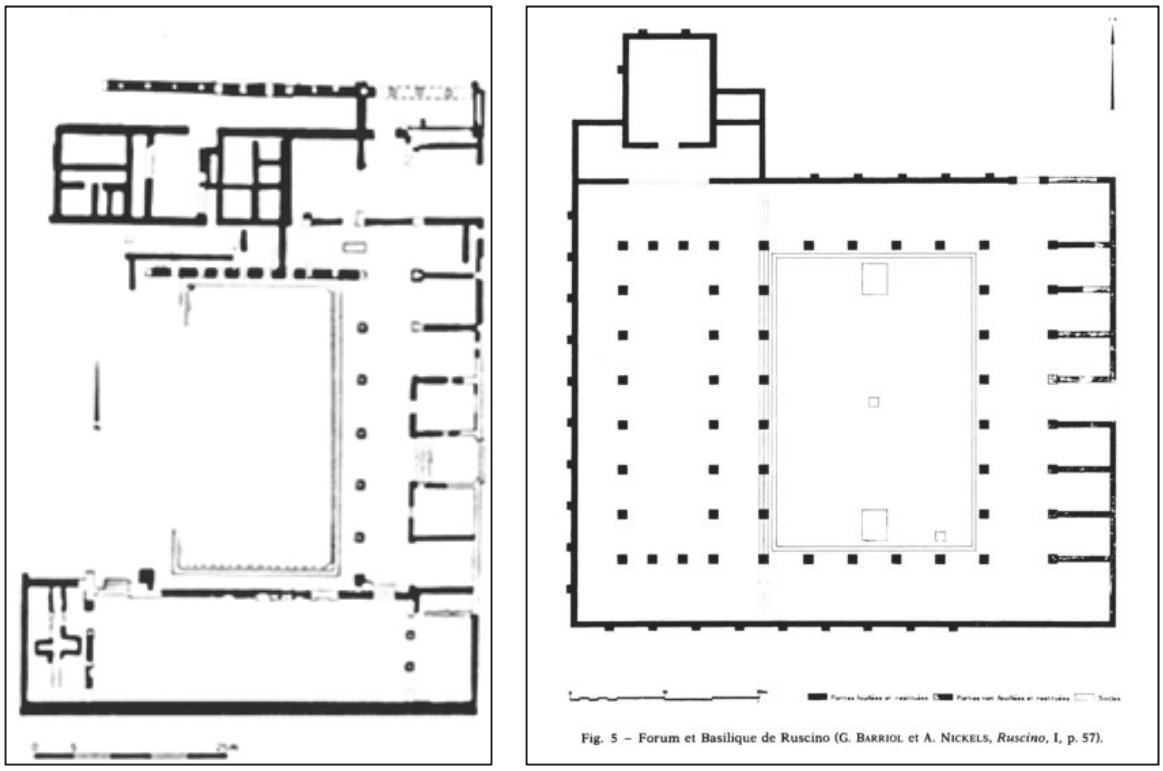


**Figure 63: The *forum* of Velleia (left) and Ruscino (right) (Gros 1990: 49 and 60).**

Similar square *fora* were particularly common in Britain and have been found, for example, at London, Silchester, and St. Albans (Figure 65).[500] Euzennat and Hallier have labelled this type of *fora 'Lagerfora'* and argued that their shape derived from the *principia* in auxiliary camps. They claim they are proof of the strong influence exercised by the military on the urban development of frontier provinces. Whilst we do not want to fall into a chicken-or-egg

[500] However, a temple can often be found lying adjacent to it or very close (e.g. Glanum, Ruscino, Xanten, Martigny, London, Caerwent, Caistor-by-Norwich, Canterbury, Chichester, Silchester etc.).

conundrum, this theory appears to be biased by stereotypes that have been proved to be incorrect.

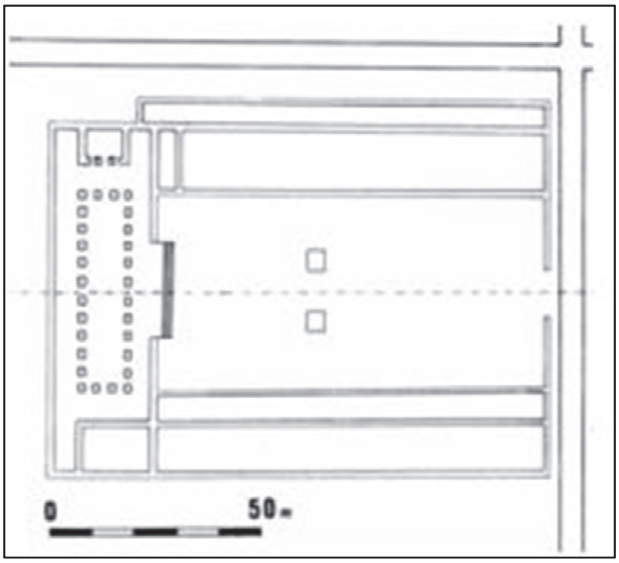


**Figure 64: The *forum* of Périgueux in its first phase (Tiberian-Claudian time) (Bouet 2012a: 27).**

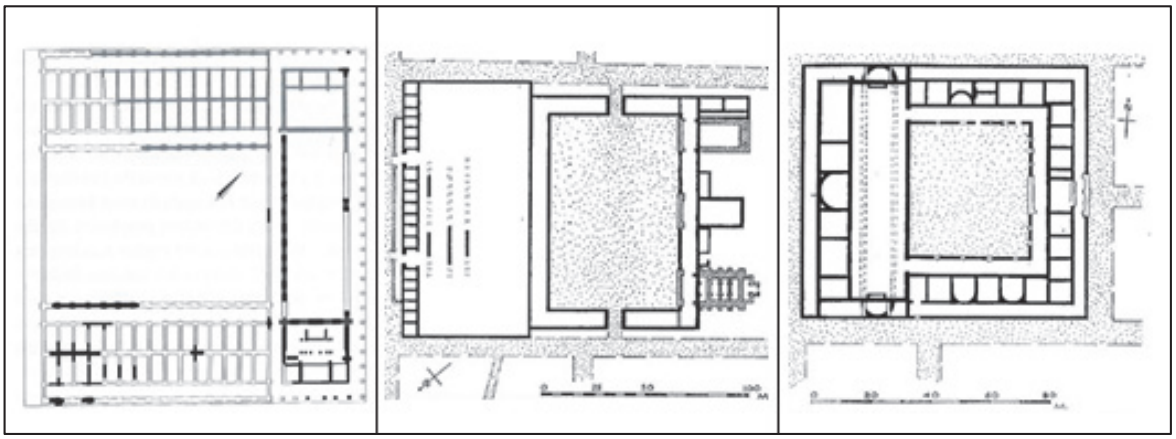

**Figure 65: From left: the *forum* of Xanten (Coquelet 2011: 139), Verulamium, and Silchester, where the *basilicae* have all been dated to *c.* AD 80 (Gros and Torelli 2010: 385).**

To begin with, this idea stems from the perception that construction activities in cities of Roman Britain relied heavily on military workforce and engineers, a theory which has been rejected on archaeological grounds.[501] Moreover, at least central and south-eastern Britain, by the time of their urban development (mid-1st to 2nd century AD), had ceased being a highly militarized area.[502]

[501] *Contra* Webster 1988. Vitruvius, who was a Roman *architect* and military engineer, shows that these professional figures were taught theoretic knowledge and technical skills of both military and civic spheres and they *could engage with both.* His book bears witness since it combines the study of i. civic architecture, ii. military architecture, iii. hydraulic. In agreement with Millett 1990; and Wilmott 2008.

[502] Apart from the perennial fort at the edges of London, the other Roman forts in the region have fallen into disuse during the I AD.

Secondly, as mentioned above, square-shaped *fora* with *basilicae* as their focal elements can be found in areas that were not under the influence of the military, such as Italy, Narbonensis, and Aquitania. The new, central role the *basilica* held was more likely to have been induced by a change in ideology. The centralization of administrative and political power in the hands of the *princeps* encouraged a centralizing imperial strategy that favoured the expression of the unlimited power of the ruler in local communities.

By the time the *basilica* became the central structure of the Roman *forum*, it no longer was a purely civic building. By then, it had become the most sacred place in the city. It was there that the emperor and the imperial family were worshipped, and its presence guaranteed divine protection to the city. This new paradigm was soon adopted in Rome as well. The Basilica Ulpia, in Trajan's Forum (Figure 66), is exemplary in this sense.

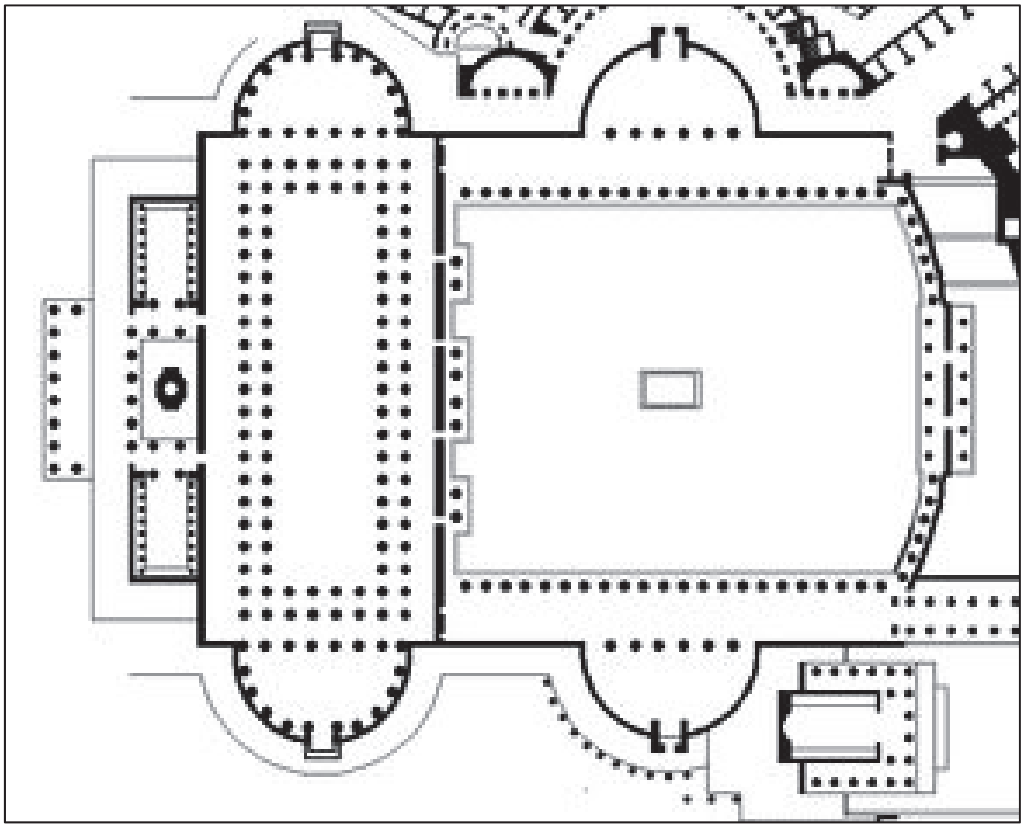

**Figure 66: The *forum* of Trajan (Rome).**

### 4.2.4 Basilica

Among the buildings that were commonly situated in the *forum*, we will be looking closely only at the *basilica*: first of all, because it is found in every self-governing city of the north-western provinces; secondly, because its size and characteristic shape make it is less complicated to identify, at least in comparison with other civic buildings, e.g. the *curia*; thirdly, because of the symbolic importance it held from Augustan times onwards.

The first *basilicae* to be archaeologically attested date to the 2nd century BC (e.g. Basilica Porcia, 184 BC), although the Roman playwright Plautus (*c*. 254 - 184 BC) refers to them

slightly earlier in some of his works.[503] Initially, this building served commercial and judicial functions and often occupied a marginal position within the *forum*, at least until Augustan times.[504] As has already been noted, it is in Augustan times that the *basilica* goes through some radical changes in terms of shape, position and function. Vitruvius, when he designed the *basilica* at Fanum - a small city in the Marche region of Italy - decided to place the *aedes Augusti* (a small sanctuary dedicated to Augustus) in the short side of the *basilica* (where, for example in the *basilica* of Cosa, the *tribunal* of the local magistrates used to be). In order to emphasize further the centrality of this small sanctuary and increase its visibility, he also removed two of the columns that were standing in front of it, which would otherwise obstruct the view. Thus, the *aedes Augusti* not only became the pivotal space within the building itself; at the same time, its spatial relationship with the *tribunal* (seat of the local magistrates) ensured that it overpowered the magistrates' seat. The presence of a small sanctuary dedicated to the deified emperor and his dynasty provides a clear indication of the different functions performed by this building. Its presence entails that the local government became the passive subject, in a state of political subjection to the emperor, who had centralized the judicial power at its expense. In David's words:

> que ce soit par incorporation, juxtaposition, déplacement ou remplacement, l'espace judiciaire se soumet désormais à celui qui s'exprime dans l'aedes Augusti.[505]

These major adjustments to the imperial ideology had far-reaching consequences. They were felt not only in those provinces which lay - geographically speaking - at a distance from Rome and where the Roman or local administrators might have been concerned that the presence of the emperor was not strong enough. In Rome, the *tabernae* of the Basilica Julia were closed and its name changed to *'Basilica Gai et Luci'* in honour of the designated *principes*. The *basilica*, from being a *locum adiunctum,* becomes one of the most significant buildings in the *forum*.

In the *basilica* of Ruscino, a number of dedications to the members of the imperial family have been found, along with those celebrating several local magistrates. In Britain, a few fragments of statues suggest the presence of an imperial cult, although the evidence is not as rich as elsewhere. For example, the small, bronze eagle found in the *basilica* of Silchester was most probably part of a larger statue, representing either Jupiter or an emperor (Figure 68).[506] Everywhere in the north-western provinces, the *basilica* was extremely well adorned. The *basilica* in Cirencester was decorated with mouldings of Purbeck and Italian marble. In one of the apsides, evidence for statuary has been found: the eye of a life-size, unidentified, bronze statue.

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[503] Curculio 470-484; Captive 813-815.

[504] In Republican times *a prominent role and position was occupied by those buildings which hosted* popular a*ssemblies, such as the curia or the comitium (e.g.* Pompei, Cosa) (David 1983; Gros 1990; Balty 1994).

[505] David 1983.

[506] Durham and Fulford 2013.

**Figure 67: The *basilicae* of the north-western provinces.**

**Figure 68: The Silchester bronze eagle (Durham and Fulford 2013: Illus. I).**

## 4.3 Spectacle buildings

We have already discussed how variants of public building designs show how flexible the contemporary trends in architecture were. New architectural designs were adopted and experimented with throughout the north-western provinces. However, it is in the construction of spectacle buildings that we witness the emergence of the most creative, successful and long-lived provincial architectural experiments. Originalities, in the construction of these structures, were not only permitted but even encouraged and favoured.[507]

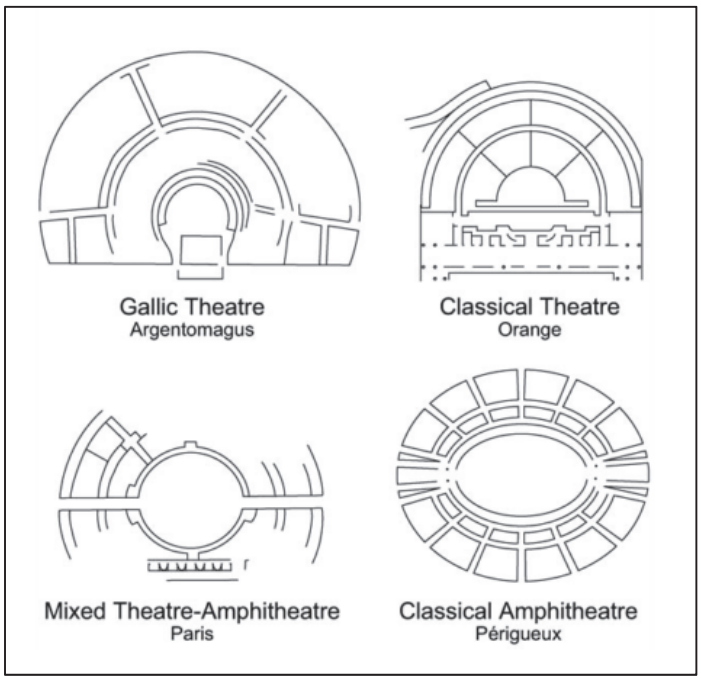


**Figure 69: Typology of spectacle buildings (Goodman 2007: 88).**

The area we are concerned with is also one of the richest of the whole Empire in terms of spectacle buildings. In fact, Gaul has fewer such buildings than Italy, but more than Africa[508]. Here we will only be talking about the ones located in self-governing cities. This means that in this chapter, we will cover the totality of *circuses* in the north-western provinces and almost the entirety of the theatres and urban amphitheatres of Gallia Narbonensis, Germania Inferior and Britain.[509] In the case of the Three Gauls, we will be looking at about half of the total

[507] Dumasy and Fincker 1992; Dumasy 2011.

[508] A study of Roman theatres has recently been published by Isler (Isler 2018). Regrettably its catalogue - with respect to the Gaulish provinces - is severely incomplete. The author only mentions a small proportion of the theatres known to have existed in Gaul. The theatres of several self-governing cities are missing from the catalogue (e.g. Bourges) as well as the majority of those belonging to secondary settlements (e.g. those found in Argenton-Saint-Marcel, Néris-les-Bains, Drevant).

[509] By 'urban amphitheatres' we mean the 'amphitheatres built in the immediate vicinity of or within large towns of different types such as district capitals and important commercial or administrative centres', that is self-governing cities and secondary agglomerations (Deniger 1998: 174). We will also discuss the amphitheatres of the self-governing cities that belonged, initially, to legionary fortresses (e.g. Chester). These were among the earliest and finest examples of amphitheatres in Britain and Germania Inferior. We will disregard the so-called

number of theatres - the rest will be discussed in the chapter about secondary agglomerations - and at the largest part of the amphitheatres.

Part of the reason why self-governing cities were commonly equipped with at least one type of spectacle building is that spectacles were an integral part of the religious life in the Roman world.[510] Thus, they should not be seen as purely leisure or recreational buildings; they were associated with important rituals and sacred festivities as well as with religious festivals.[511] The connection with the religious sphere could find expression through the presence of i. altars (as found in the theatres of Arles, Vendeuil-Caply, and Dalheim); ii. small temples (*sacella*) often located in the area of the *cavea*, as seen with the theatre of Pompey in Rome, which had a temple dedicated to Venus Victrix built near the top of the *cavea* (e.g. Vienne, Vendeuil-Caply), iii. A spatial relationship between the theatre and a religious building (e.g. a sanctuary or a temple), according to a tradition that referred back to the Republican sanctuaries of central Italy (e.g. Nîmes, where the so-called Augusteum - a sanctuary - was aligned with the theatre)[512]

The north-western provinces also include some of the finest theatres and some of the largest amphitheatres of the Roman world built in the Roman period. For example, the amphitheatres of Autun and Poitiers were larger than the one in El Djem, and the legionary amphitheatres of Caerleon and Chester were at least as sophisticated as those in the rest of the Empire.

### 4.3.1 Theatres

The north-western provinces were a place of architectonic experimentation, and the local differences in the plan, size, and structure prove how much flexibility was allowed. Figure 69 synthesizes the different shapes that spectacle buildings could take in these provinces. These categories (mostly based on the *cavea* design) should be taken as imprecise simplifications of a much more complex reality. Alongside the 'Classical' theatre and amphitheatre, we also find new typologies, which are characteristic of the Western Empire and commonly grouped under the category of 'Gallic theatre' and the 'mixed theatre-amphitheatre' (or *édifice à arène*) (Figure 69). The former was generally characterized by a circular orchestra and an extended seating area. Empirically speaking, however, the so-called Gallic theatre can take countless different forms. They were, after all, the results of many experiments. One of the first examples is that of Jublains, a theatre whose *cavea* was almost circular. Only at the end of the 1st century and beginning of the 2nd century AD do the plans of these buildings become more 'standardized', although they all differ from one another.[513]

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military amphitheatres, which are associated with military installations (for further discussion of this category of site, see Sommer 2009. For more general studies see Wilmott 2008; and Deniger 1998).

[510] The municipal law of the colony of Urso, in particular chapters LXX and LXXI, discusses the *ludi scaenici* and the *munera*.

[511] *Ludi scaeninici* have a religious origin according to Tertullian (De Spectaculis 10, 1-5). For the link between spectacle buildings and religion in Gaul see Dumasy 2011.

[512] Sear 2006.

[513] Dumasy 2007.

Broadly speaking, we can say that in Narbonensis most theatres belong to the 'Classical" category (Figure 70).

In the Three Gauls (Figure 71) most self-governing cities also had a building built in the 'Classical' manner. The so-called Gallic theatres have been recently reviewed by Futrell. It was revealed that the vast majority (24 out of the 35 identified in Gaul) were located in secondary agglomerations or rural landscapes, and they had an average seating capacity of about 7000 spectators. When theatres of the Gallic type were built in administrative centres, they were located in the urban periphery and never in the city centre. Penelope Goodman concluded that: 'wealthy Gallo-Roman benefactors may simply have considered that theatres within the urban centre were best built in a classical style to suit and enhance the sophisticated *Romanitas* of the surrounding urban fabric. Meanwhile, in the urban periphery, a more localised style became acceptable: especially if the theatre was associated with a temple which also deviated from the classical tradition.'[514]

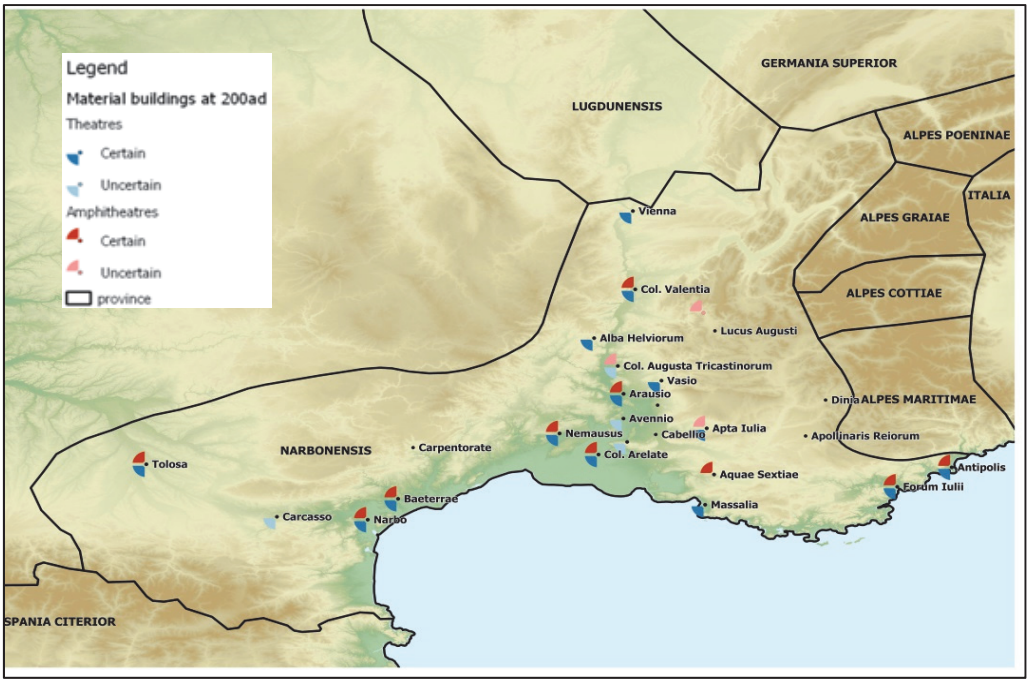


**Figure 70: The spectacle buildings of the self-governing cities of Narbonensis.**

In Britain, theatres are found exclusively in self-governing cities. Only four cities are known to have had a theatre: Colchester, Cirencester, Canterbury, and Verulamium.[515] With the sole

[514] Goodman 2007: 141-142.

[515] Three theatres are uncertain. i. The case of Petuaria is in doubt since we have the inscription but not the theatre. The inscription RIB 707 recalls the existence of a theatre stage, *proscaenium*, donated by an *aedil* of the *vicus* between 140 and 144 AD. The theatre has not been found. It is possible it was located in the vicinity and not at Brough itself. ii. At Castor-by-Norwich, two concentric curving geophysical anomalies have tentatively been interpreted as a theatre, 'an identification that is suggested by its topographical position and its proximity to two temples'. If it is a theatre, then it is a rather small one (smaller than the one of Verulamium and three times smaller the one at Gosbecks) (Bowden 2013: 157); iii. Possibly a theatre has been found in Leicester (Mattingly, pers comm.).

exception of the one of Verulamium,[516] whose elites were, perhaps, more receptive to Gaulish cultural influences from the Continent, they were all of the Classical type.[517] The provincial capital, Colchester, had two theatres. The earliest one, which was located in the city centre, was of the Classical type while the one on its periphery, (Gosbecks), was Gallo-Roman.

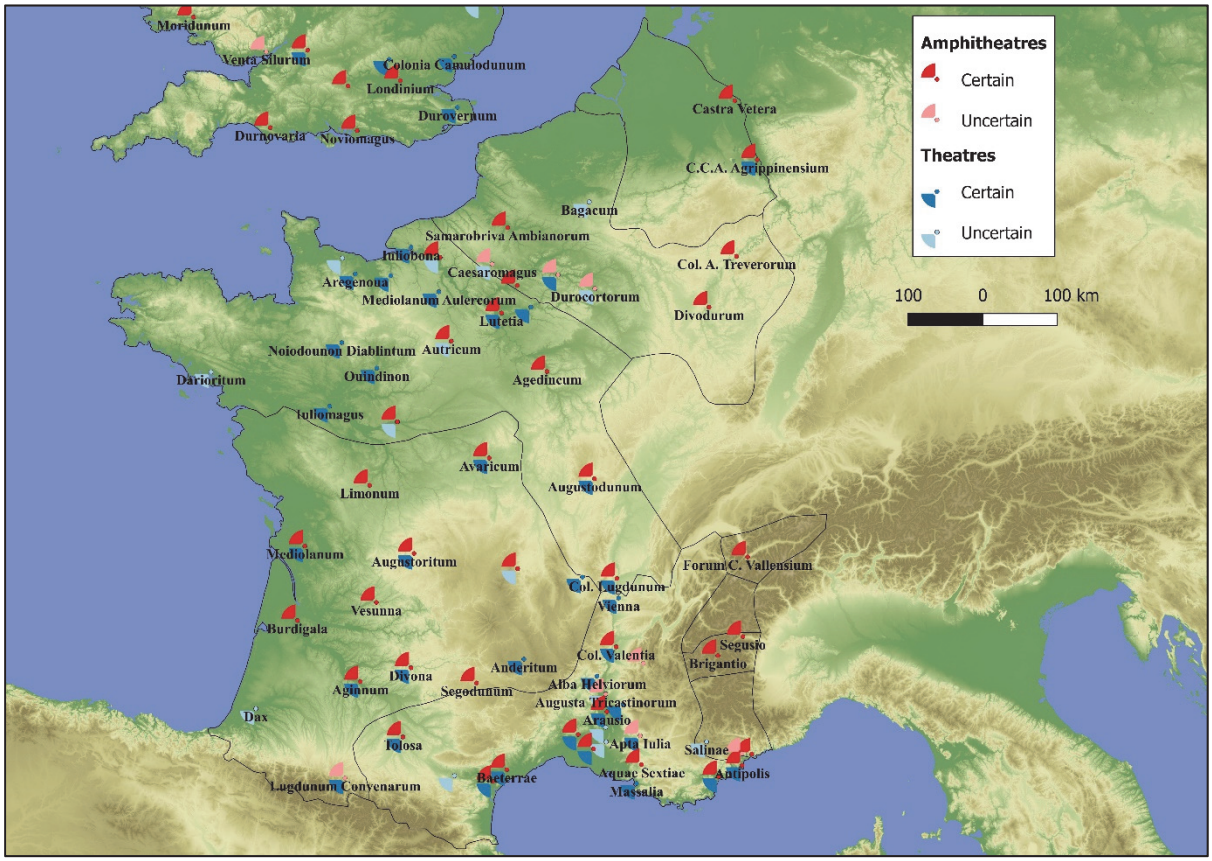


**Figure 71: The theatres and amphitheatres of the self-governing cities of Gaul and Germania Inferior[518].**

If we look at the chronology of these buildings, we see that despite the early foundation of Massalia (Marseille) in about 600 BC, so far no Greek/Hellenistic theatre has been identified with any certainty in Gaul.[519] Among the earliest to be built were those of Alba (late 1st century

[516] They were allies of Rome. It may indicate the autonomy of the choice made because of taste or because they were more familiar with that type or to enhance their sense of identity. Its special status in early times is also noticed in terms of diet.

[517] The orchestra of the theatre in Canterbury has been recently excavated (*Current Archaeology* 256: 2011): the earliest theatre dates to AD 90 and was associated with a temple. It is possible that in its first phase the theatre of Canterbury was a Gallic theatre and was converted into a Classical theatre in the early 3rd century AD (Sear 2006: 196; Wilmott 2007: 127).

[518] This map shows the distribution of the spectacle buildings within self-governing cities. For the distribution of these monuments in both self-governing cities and secondary agglomerations see chapter 5.3.

[519] This is clearly surprising, and it is likely due to lack of evidence. In fact, we know that the Greek colony of Massalia had built a treasury at *Delphi, where t*he games in honour of Apollo (Pythian Games) were held every four years. They featured competitions for art and dance so it is certain the city had a theatre at that time.

BC) and of the veteran colony of Arles (30-20 BC), whose development is known to have been fostered by Augustus.[520] Augustus played a key role in the diffusion of this building in the Western provinces and in Italy itself. Before his reign, they could be found mainly in the Greek and Samnite cities of Campania and Sicily. Only exceptionally were they found in Latium (e.g. in sanctuaries of Tibur, Praeneste, and Gabii).[521] Other monumental theatres in Narbonensis also belong to Augustan times. Several were built on the emperor's personal initiative or through his Roman officials (e.g. Agrippa). Many of them were associated with a temple or a sanctuary dedicated to the imperial cult (e.g. Nîmes, Orange, Glanum). This should not come as a surprise, as we know that Augustus was the first to use monumental buildings as a medium for propaganda on such a large scale.[522] In fact, the theatre was important not only for its religious function, but also for political and social reasons.[523] The *'discrimina ordinum'*, a rule according to which the audience had to sit according to its *'gradus dignitatis'*, emphasized the importance of social hierarchy and status in the Roman world.[524]

In the Three Gauls, we observe that in Aquitania theatres appeared earlier than elsewhere. In most cases, they were built in Augustan times or during the 1st century AD. In Lugdunensis theatres spread out from the mid-1st century onwards, and wooden ones are commonly attested throughout the Imperial period. Excluding Lyon, in the Three Gauls theatres built in hard materials dated from the Flavian period onwards but mostly to the 2nd century AD. In Britain, the chronology of theatres is not well established. However, while some theatres are thought to have been built as early as the 1st century AD (such as the one with an earthen bank - *c.* AD 80-90 - at Canterbury[525]), the majority date to the 2nd century AD. In the provincial capital, Colchester, a theatre - according to Tacitus - already existed at the time of the fire caused by Boudicca (AD 60). However, the theatre excavated in an adjoining *insula* of the *forum* dates to the 2nd or 3rd century AD at the earliest, whilst the timber theatre at Gosbeck was Hadrianic or Early Antonine and was rebuilt in stone (c. AD 150-200). Similarly, the amphitheatre of Verulamium was built in stone around the mid-2nd century AD and refurbished in the 3rd century AD. Overall, it appears that in Britain, as in Gaul, most of the stone theatres were erected from the 2nd century AD onwards.

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Archaeologists were able to recognize one phase of its theatre (approximately dating to Claudian-Flavian times). It replaced an earlier theatre, of which, unfortunately, we have very little evidence.

[520] It was built with very expensive materials, most probably by Italian or Greek workers. See Gros 1987.

[521] In Vitruvius' treatise, where he discusses the civil buildings peculiar to urban life, theatres come just after the *fora*.

[522] The first one was Pompey, see his theatre in Rome.

[523] The Roman theatre had other important functions aside from showing comedies or dramas; it was, for example, a venue for celebrations that praised the emperor as well as a place where the local elite could display its status and *liberalitas*.

[524] Evidence for *'discrimina ordinum'* can be found in both theatres and amphitheatres. Also see Sear 2006: 12, who writes: 'The audience gazed down on the wealthy and powerful seated around the rim of the orchestra, the presiding magistrates in their boxes close to the stage, the stage decked out with fine hangings and scenery, the majestic tiers of marble columns rising behind, the inscriptions with their message of imperial power, and the images of rulers past and present'.

[525] The earliest theatre dates to *c.* AD 90.

What is striking is that the majority of theatres of Britannia are located in the south-east, where they outnumber amphitheatres. A similar preference can be attested in the nearby province of Belgica, where numerous secondary agglomerations were also equipped with theatres.[526]

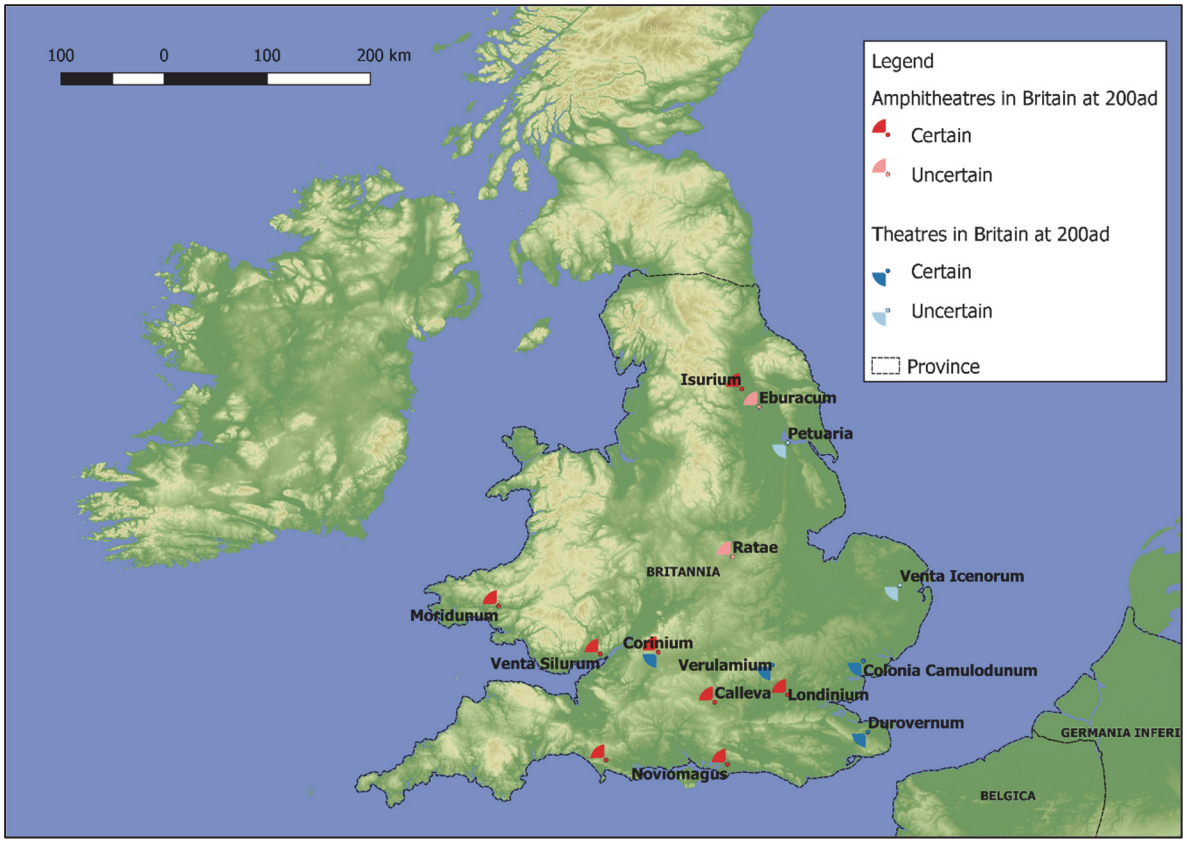


**Figure 72: The spectacle buildings of Britain.**

### 4.3.2 Amphitheatres

When Goodman looked at the distribution of 'Classical' amphitheatres in Gaul, she noticed that they all belonged to administrative cities. On the other hand, only a few self-governing cities had a mixed theatre-amphitheatre.[527]

[526] The strong connections that for centuries before the arrival of the Romans linked the two sides of the Channel, continued in Roman times as is corroborated by the diffusion of Romano-Celtic temples on both shores. For a recent review on the subject see Moore 2016.

[527] She writes '[…] most of the cities which constructed these mixed edifices could be characterised as belonging to the smaller and less monumental end of the urban spectrum. Apart from Paris, they include Angers, Bourges, Carhaix, Senlis and Vieux: all *civitas* capitals, but yielding little evidence for the kind of sophisticated and competitive monumentalism known at cities like Trier, Lyon, Vienne or Arles'[527] (Goodman 2007: 147). In Vieux the original theatre was changed into a mixed theatre-amphitheatre. Its first phase dated to the end of the 1st and beginning of the 2nd century AD, and it was converted into an arena between AD 125 and AD 150. In Carhaix there is no evidence of a spectacle building. Moreover, this argument does not stand up to critical scrutiny. Bourges was a very rich city and was the capital of an equally rich *civitas*.

| Name | Arena Total Surface ($m^2$) | Seating Surface Capacity ($m^2$) | City Size (Ha) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Arelate | 2166 | 9342 | 35 |
| Augusta Treverorum | 2708 | 3497 | 250 |
| Augustodunum | 2848 | 12876 | 200 |
| Augustoritum | 2564 | 9918 | 90 |
| Baeterrae | 2581 | 3441 | 38 |
| Burdigala | 2560 | 8932 | 125 |
| Cemenelum | 1257 | 1698 | 20 |
| Colonia Ulpia Traiana (2) | 2251 | 4342 | 30 |
| Divodurum Med. | 2122 | 12327 | 70 |
| Forum Iulii | 2111 | 5542 | 47 |
| Iuliobona | 1696 | 2898 | 35 |
| Limonum Pictonum | 2669 | 13300 | 80 |
| Lugdunum (2) | 2231 | 10982 | 230 |
| Lugdunum Convenarum | 1078 | 2508 | 36 |
| Mediolanum Santonum | 2007 | 8079 | 110 |
| Narbo Martius | 2745 | 6156 | 136 |
| Nemausus | 2084 | 8540 | 130 |
| Samarobriva | 1814 | 7139 | 200 |
| Segodunum | 962 | 7419 | 27 |
| Segusium | 1244 | 1206 | 30 |
| Tolosa (2) | 2271 | 6535 | 50 |
| Vesunna Petrucoriorum | 2114 | 8565 | 60 |
| Vetera | 1853 | 4613 | 73 |
| Octodurus | 3603 | 6220 | 25 |

**Table 5: Sizes of cities (c. AD 200) and amphitheatres of the Roman West (Golvin 1988: 284-288).**

In Gaul, amphitheatres were introduced quite slowly. The first one to be built in the Three Gauls was that in Lyon (offered by a notable from Saintes, C. Julius Rufus, in AD 19). However, in all the rest of Gaul, they appear quite late. In the Alps and in Germania Inferior they are preferred over theatres (the only theatre known in this region is the one in Cologne). In north-western Gaul, on the other hand, there is a strong preference for Gallic theatres and no amphitheatres were built. For the rest of Gaul, no other clear distribution patterns can be distinguished. The choice was probably more dependent on the elites' taste. For example, several cities had both theatres and amphitheatres: e.g. Amiens, Reims, Saintes, Paris, and

Trier. Others, like Tours, had only a theatre. For other cities, we perhaps lack enough information. The small number of spectacle buildings in the south-western corner of Aquitania is perhaps explained by the fact that these cities were very small and were already abandoned during the 2nd century AD.

If we look at Britain, although it is possible that some of the urban theatres have not yet been found (maybe because they were built in perishable materials and never rebuilt in stone), it appears they are slightly rarer than amphitheatres.[528] Moreover, theatres seem to have been concentrated in south-central Britain, whilst amphitheatres were slightly more dispersed.[529] The first amphitheatre to be built in Britannia was the one at the legionary fortress of Chester. It was built in the *extra-moenia* area in timber in *c*. AD 76-78 by the legionaries of the Legio II Adiutrix, and, like that in the legionary fortress of Caerleon, it was built in stone from the beginning.[530] Compared to theatres, they seem to have been introduced earlier in the island, in 1st century AD or early 2nd century AD.[531]

The amphitheatres of Britain are characterized by the absence of an outer retaining wall for the *cavea* (e.g. Silchester, Cirencester) and by being built in timber. None of them was free-standing; rather they were supported on cut-and-fill earth embankment structures.[532] While the presence of the army might have had an influence on the spread of amphitheatres as an imitative process, it is important to remember that as in the west of Gaul there was a preference for theatres. It is possible that in Britain, too, the erection of theatres was more a matter of taste rather than anything else. As Wilmott demonstrated successfully, there was no need for Roman

[528] Amphitheatres have been found in seven different cities (while theatres only in four). Urban amphitheatres were located only in self-governing cities (that is, if Richbourough was a self-governing city). The only exceptions are the very controversial cases of secondary agglomerations of Catterick, Chaster-on-Mendip and Frilford.

[529] Uncertain amphitheatres: i. York: nearby Mount School (Driffield Terrace), a cemetery of *c.* 80 males of above average body height was excavated by Hunter-Mann in 2004-5. The evidence of weapons-inflicted wounds and decapitations suggests these bodies might have belonged to gladiators, although it is also possible they belonged to men punished by martial law or executed for their crimes (it was very common to carry out punishments in the amphitheatre). No archaeological evidence of the amphitheatre has been found yet. ii. Leicester: new archaeological evidence may have come to light. A potsherd makes an indirect reference to it with the graffiti: *'Verecunda Ludia: Lucius gladiator'* ('Verecunda the actress, Lucius the gladiator'). iii. Caerwent: very dubious. Discovered at the beginning of the 20th century it was badly reported. Supposedly, it lies within the city walls which, *per se*, would be very uncommon since in Britain, all amphitheatres attested, were built at the edge of the city. Moreover, it would be atypical in other ways (e.g. its date, construction).

[530] That of Caerleon, the legionary fortress in south of Wales, was also quite early. It was built soon after AD 78 by the soldiers of the Legio II Augusta.

[531] For example at Silchester the timber amphitheatre has been dated to Neronian-Early Flavian times (Creighton 2006). In the first half of the 2nd century AD, it was rebuilt in timber. The pollen evidence shows that it fell into disuse until the early 3rd century AD, when it was rebuilt in stone. At London the first, timber phase is likely to be Flavian. It was then enlarged in *c*. AD 125 and monumentalized. Similarly, at Chichester, the masonry amphitheatre dated to the end of 1st – beginning of the 2nd century AD. At Cirencester, its first phase is dated by a coin of Trajan issued between AD 104-107. On this basis, it is presumed it was erected in early 2nd century AD. In mid-2nd century AD it was completely rebuilt and further restored at the end of the 2nd century AD.

[532] Deniger 1998: 176; Wilmott 2007.

military architectural expertise to construct amphitheatres, so the presence of the army is irrelevant in this sense.[533]

Finally, let us look at the relationship between the size of the amphitheatre and of the city. To do this, we look at the continental side of our research area (Gaul and Germania Inferior).

Table 5 is concerned with the sizes of cities and amphitheatres in these regions.[534]

As we can see from the normal probability plot shown in Figure 73, when the arena surfaces are plotted against a theoretical normal distribution, the points form a straight line. This means the data set is approximately normally distributed: the 'normal' size being *c*. 2000 sqm. The fact that arenas, whether they belonged to small cities or to internationally famous major towns (e.g. Trier, Lyon etc.), had a relatively 'standardized measure' could have a very simple explanatiion. Above a certain limit, the disadvantages of an extremely large arena would greatly outweigh the benefits: the ability of the spectators to see, hear and enjoy the show would be impaired if the arena size was too great.

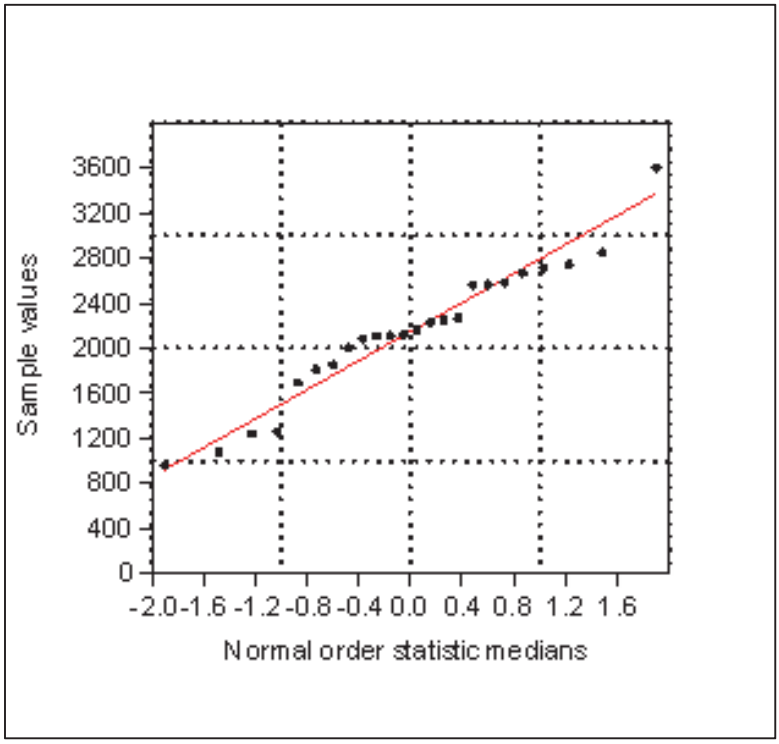


**Figure 73: The relationship between the estimated empirical arena's surfaces and a theoretical normal distribution. The correlation coefficient is R=0.97.**

If we look at the graphs in Figure 74, we see that the size of the cities and that of the arena or amphitheatres bear no relationship.

A somewhat stronger relationship (but still overall weak, the correlation coefficient is only 0.36) can be seen between the amphitheatre's capacity and city size (Figure 75). Very rich

[533] In agreement with Millett 1990: 72.

[534] The estimates of city sizes (as well as the specification of whether they reflect the built-up area or the walled area) can be found in Appendix C. The data on the amphitheatres' measurements are derived from Golvin 1988: 284-8.

cities, such as Lyon and Autun, did have an abnormally large amphitheatre; however, this last graph also shows that the distribution is heteroscedastic: small x values tend to be fairly close to the line, while those with large x values are much more dispersed. This suggests that in small and medium-sized towns the number of seats in amphitheatres is far more dependent on the town's size than in the case of the largest cities.

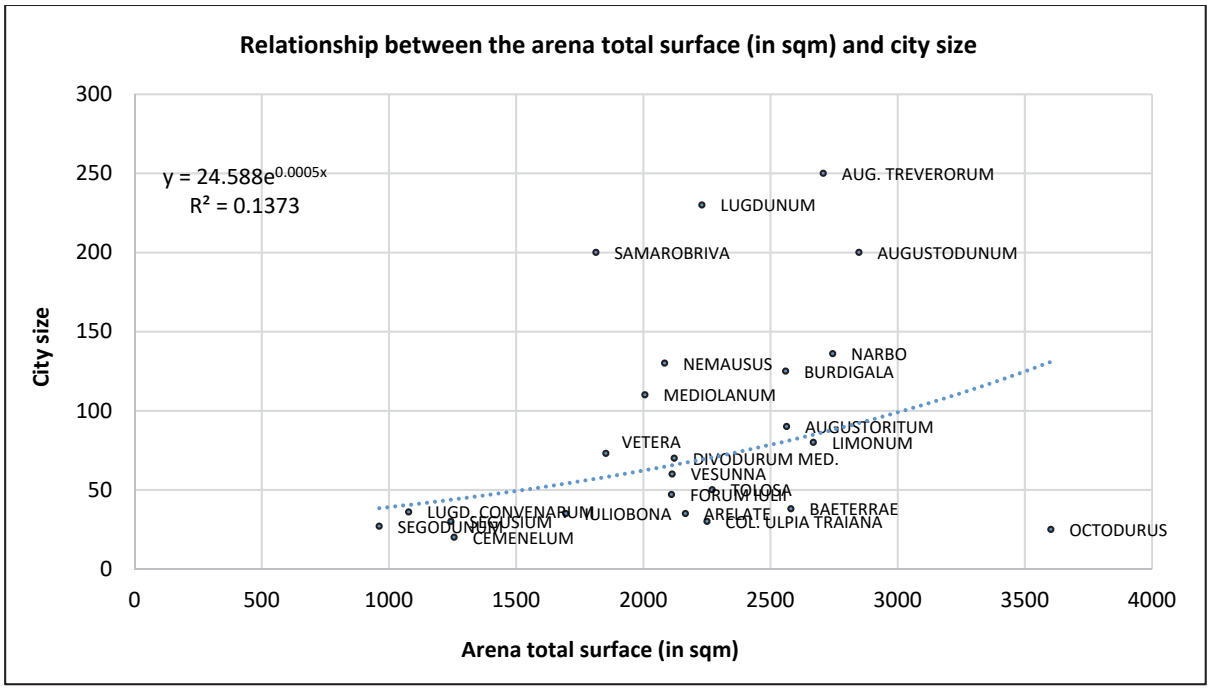


**Figure 74: Scatterplot showing the arena surface's (as indicated by Golvin) against city size.**

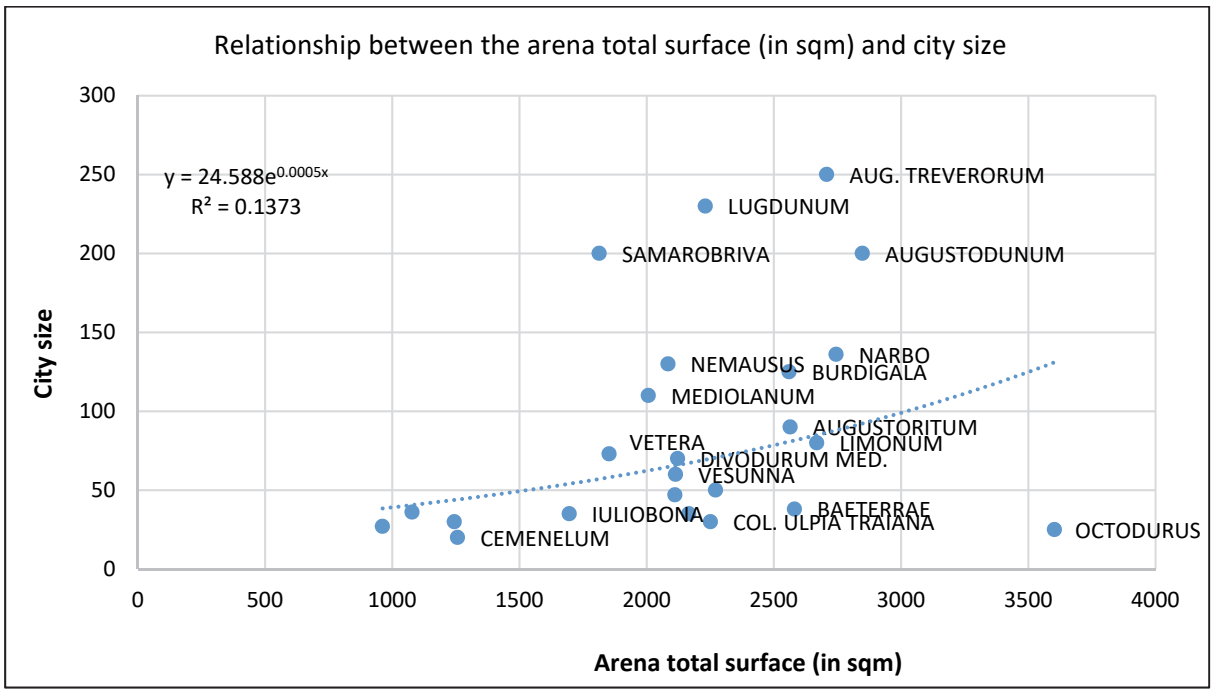


**Figure 75: Scatterplot showing the amphitheatre's seating surface capacity against city size.**

This suggests cities were seeking prestige not by enlarging their spectacle buildings, rather by investing in their decoration and embellishment. The technique and building materials used to

build the frame of these buildings (stone, brick etc.), as well as those in which architectonic and statuary decorations were carved, tell us more about the amount of money spent, the place of the city in the long-distance trade of prized polychrome stone, and the wealth of the city or the local elite.[535] Very large and rich cities (such as Lyon, Vienne, Amiens, Cologne, Reims etc.) would find other ways to stand out, such as equipping themselves with a multiplicity of spectacle buildings (for example Lyon and Vienne built an *odeion* - a small theatre reserved for musical contests; the only two assured in the north-western provinces).

### 4.3.3 Circus

A last category of spectacle buildings remains to be discussed: *circuses* (Figure 76). These Roman chariot-racing buildings were extremely rare in the north-western provinces.[536] Only a few examples are known from this region. The *circus* of Lyon (Hadrianic times?) remains to be located and is known only from inscriptions.[537] Those in Vienne, Arles, and Trier are most probably late (4th century AD). The presence of a *circus* in Valence, Paris, and Saintes is also controversial. In Valence a *circus* is traditionally assumed to have existed, but has not been archaeologically attested.[538] The one in Paris is also highly debated: there is doubt whether it was a hippodrome or a *circus* and whether it was built in Merovingian or Roman times.

The only well-understood *circus* certainly dating to the High Empire is the only one identified in the provincial capital of Britannia: Colchester.[539] It was discovered in 2004 and was a monumental structure that could host over 8000 spectators. It was built in stone probably in the 2nd century A.D. It lay about 400 m south of the walls, in an east-west alignment with the city.

The small number of inscriptions mentioning *ludi circenses* and other types of games and the lack of detailed *circus* iconography, especially when compared to North Africa or Spain, suggest that this type of entertainment was not popular in these provinces. Recreational activities were rather directed towards other forms of entertainment, mainly hosted in the numerous theatres, amphitheatres and mixed buildings. Nevertheless, as Humprey writes in his monograph, 'the indirect evidence of the Lyon *circus* mosaic and the Lyon inscriptions has suggested that the *circus* was largely built of wood, not stone: and if the *circus* at the capital of the Three Gauls was built largely of wood and remained so for some time, it strengthens the possibility that other *circuses* of this date also were'.[540]

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[535] For example, the one in Cahors was initially built with low-quality material, and, at a later stage, it became necessary to add buttresses and improve the mortar's quality (Rivière 2016).

[536] *Circuses* should not be confused with *stadia*, which were never introduced in these provinces. A possible exception is the city of Massalia, where an inscription dating to AD 150 mentions one. *Circuses* were Roman chariot-racing buildings whilst stadia were built to host athletic contests (although, in Imperial times, they did sporadically host chariot races, too). Stadia were usually half the size of the *circuses* and did not have a *spina*.

[537] CIL XIII, 1805, 1919-1921.

[538] An inscription only mentions seats offered to the residents (CIL XII 1753).

[539] Dating evidence is imprecise but suggests it was built sometime in the 2nd century AD (Crummy 2008).

[540] Humphrey 1986: 428. If that were the case, they would be more difficult to find. Humphrey suggests other possible cities that might have hosted a *circus*: Bordeaux (finds of sculptures and possibly late capital of Aquitania), Orange (evidence of chariot races), Reims, Limoges, Angers, and Cologne. However, these hypotheses do not rely on any substantial evidence.

A final aspect should be taken into account: chronology. Chariot races and circuses rose in importance in the first half of the 3rd century (e.g. in Africa), when in north-western Europe towns had started to shrink and decline. In our regions, they would be adopted only in those centres that were promoted in the Late Roman period (such as Vienne, Arles).

**Figure 76: The distribution of circuses.**

### 4.3.4 Urban location

Spectacle buildings were always carefully integrated within the city layout in ways that were practical and emblematic at the same time. In fact, whilst their centrality was not always reflected by their topographical position (they were very often located on the edge of the town), their social centrality was always guaranteed by their distinctive spatial relationship (i.e. proximity, axiality of alignment) to the monumentalized city centre. Theatres were less bulky and also less likely - compared to amphitheatres - to be the stage of wild fights between rival groups. Whilst we know only of a serious fight that broke out in AD 59 between the inhabitants of Nuceria and Pompeii, and led to a massacre, this possibility may have been an enduring

cause of concern for urban planners.[541] Theatres were quite safe even when they were located close to the *forum,* and this is where they can often be found. In the case of St. Albans and Colchester, for example, it appears that a slot close to the *forum* was left empty from the very beginning. At other times, they were aligned with the sanctuary or built on top of a hill, in a prominent position overlooking the town, as in the case of Vienne or Orange.

Most of the amphitheatres, for reasons related to their large dimensions, late development (at least in the case of Gaul) and concerns about public order, were built at the edge of the town. Those situated close to the civic centre were quite rare, but we know of a few cases, like that of Amiens.[542] Sometimes, when they were built within a town, their construction caused drastic changes to the landscape. This was the case of Arles and Nîmes, where the construction of the amphitheatre entailed the destruction of residential quarters. Other times both theatres and amphitheatres were assembled together as in the case of Autun, where they lie in the south-east of the city, within the walls.

## 4.4 How large were self-governing cities?

Another way to look at self-governing cities is by looking at their built-up area. This approach is not always trouble-free; Roman self-governing cities are often hidden below modern cities, and they have not all been excavated to the same level. Thus, our understanding depends on how well and for how long they have been the object of study, as well as on how much they involve urban development and, therefore, how likely they are to be the object of commercial archaeology. Commercial archaeology can contribute to our knowledge of these sites.[543] So far we have focused on those aspects (such as the presence of typical Roman public buildings) that emphasized their common aspects. However, the differences in size give us some hints on their different natures and the various roles they must have played.

A precise estimate of a city built-up area is never utterly accurate. The urban density varied not only city by city, but also within cities themselves and changed over time. A common assumption is that peripheral areas were less densely built than urban cores. This argument often stands, but the nuances are numerous and impossible to account for. For example, the excavations at the former County Hospital site in Dorchester gave us a reasonably good insight into the occupation of the south-western corner of the city.

In the 1st century AD two small timber houses lay at a distance of 45 m from each other and were separated by an open area scattered with pits (Figure 77). At a distance, at the back, there were two further buildings. These were built in a fashion typical of the Late Iron Age and were used for purposes other than domestic use, such as perhaps storage. In the 2nd century AD, the two houses were demolished and two new buildings were built just behind. Whilst most of the

[541] Tacitus, Annales XIV, 17, fresco found in the house of Actius Anicetus (Pompeii).

[542] The amphitheatre lay on the *insula* next to the *forum* with access aligned with that of the *forum*.

[543] On the contribution of commercial archaeology, its limits (e.g. grey literature) and potentials (e.g. larger use of dating techniques and new biological data) see Fulford and Holbrook eds. 2015. Most contributions focus on the peripheral areas of the ancient towns, since these are the ones to be more affected by modern urban development.

pits were filled, large empty spaces remained unoccupied.[544] In the city of Rennes, only the area around the *forum* appears to have been densely occupied, whilst the rest of the urban fabric is relatively sparsely settled and has large fields and gardens.[545] Similarly, Carhaix had many areas within the city which were uninhabited and possibly used as fields or gardens.[546] At Vieux (Figure 77), the north-eastern corner of the city is filled with limestone quarries (one of them was excavated and was *c*. 2-3 m deep). With the exception of a few buildings, i.e. a *domus* (site 15) which, too, had a quarry in its garden, the peripheral area was largely empty (e.g. as the picture shows, south of the *decamunus* the city was completely empty).[547]

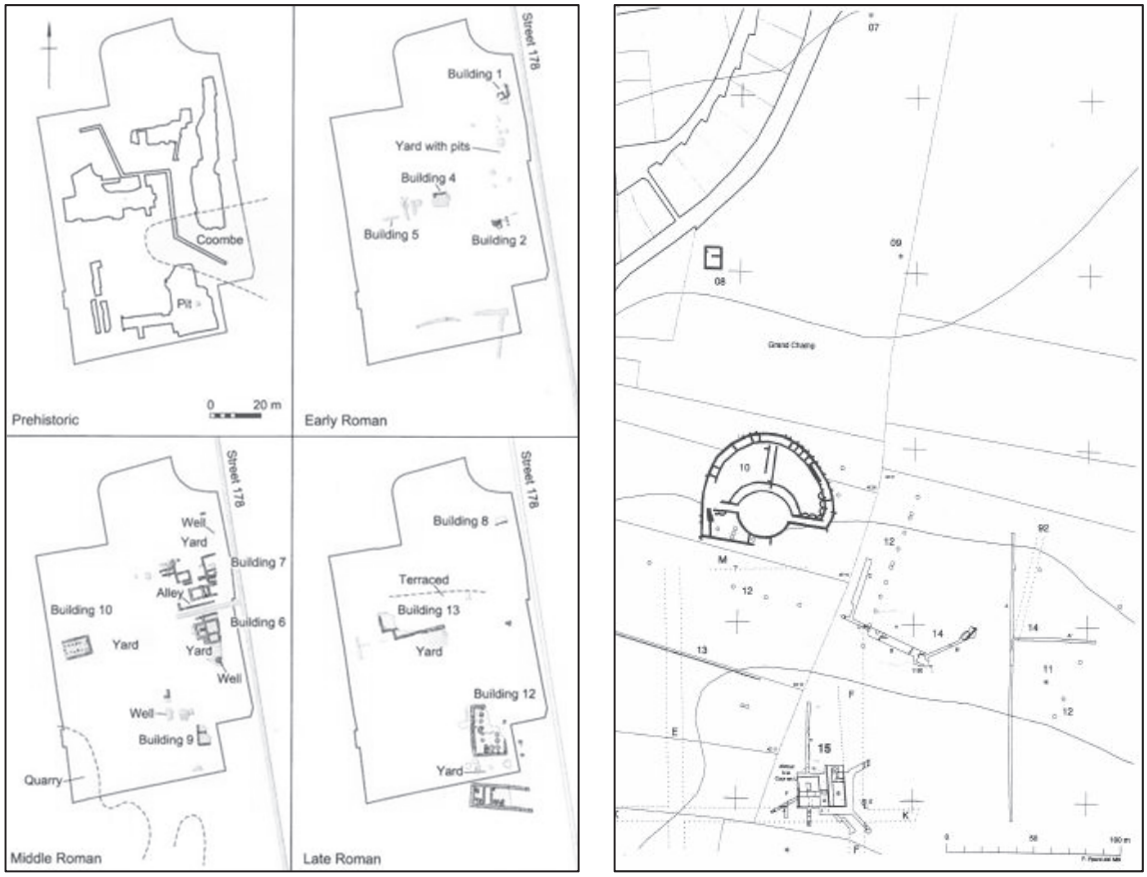


**Figure 77: Left: Excavations at the former County Hospital site, south-western corner of Dorchester (Holbrook 2015: 102). Right: Reconstruction of the north-east corner of the city of Vieux (Vipard 2002: 198).**

In general, we see a decrease in building density from the edge of the city centre to peripheral areas. This pattern finds an explanation in the ancient writings of Servius (*c*. late 4th century AD), who wrote that the inhabitants of a city had to leave an open area of 3000 *passus* to be used as gardens for the sustainability of the population.[548] Given their extent, the idea that city

[544] Holbrook 2015.
[545] Pouille 2008.
[546] Monteil 2012: 31; Galliou 1991; and 2005
[547] Vipard 2002.
[548] Servius, *Commentary on the Eclogues of Vergil* IX, 10. This principle it is by no means indisputable. However, it confirms a c*ommonplace* understanding.

gardens and open spaces, in general, were aesthetically pleasing is likely to be an overstatement.

This custom was, therefore, quite common in less densely inhabited regions of the Western provinces (e.g. Bretagne, Normandy, East Anglia and south-western England). However, it occurs elsewhere, too, e.g. Gaul Narbonensis and south-eastern England. Moreover, it does not always involve the edge of the cities. [549] In this sense, the recent data from Britain are extremely enlightening. At Vine Street, Leicester, in the north-eastern quarter of the town, the excavators were able to identify early Roman fence enclosures containing small fields or animal pens (pig slurry was detected).[550] However, in AD 160-170, on the site were built three strip houses and, in the early 3rd century AD, a *domus*.

Not only do we have evidence of empty spaces in the periphery of official towns (e.g. in the north-western corner of Winchester and the already mentioned case of Dorchester), but micromorphology and the analysis of insects at Vine Street, Leicester and *Insula* IX, Silchester prove the presence of insect remains and mineralized coprolites in the soil, which in turn suggest the presence of domestic animals being bred within the towns.[551] In a central area of the city of Exeter, an area was left empty throughout the whole Roman period. It was probably occupied by gardens, farmland or designated for pastured animals; however, it is hard to make assumptions on whether this land was owned collectively or by one person. An increasing amount of evidence argues in favour of farming occurring within official cities also. Livestock was probably kept in and around towns, as the presence of fodder attests.[552]

The evidence so far has shown that the cities of western Lugdunensis and Britannia seem to have been characterized by a low level of occupation. While it is possible that in these two provinces the primary sector (agriculture, quarrying, farming etc.) has performed a more important role in comparison to other areas, such activities were quite typical for pre-industrial towns. Even if, in comparison to other areas, a larger proportion of the urban population might have been involved in primary activities, such as farming, the archaeological remains of civic and religious buildings, infrastractures, industrial-craft *insulae*, and wealthy *domus* indicate they performed many 'urban' function (such as defence, religion, administration, economics, politics, etc.) and were symbols of '*urbanitas*'.

Given how city size undergoes constant modifications in response to changing socio-economic processes, we will focus our attention on a particular period of time, i.e. mid-late 2nd century AD. This will allow us to look at cities at their peak, on the assumption that almost none of

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[549] Caistor by Norwich: the walls enclosed 36 ha, but the estimate for the built-up area is *c*. 25 ha (Bowden and Bescoby 2008; and Bowden 2013). Aquae Sextiae: the polygonal wall was built in stone under Augustus or Tiberius. It was 3380 m long and included over 60 ha (Esmonde-Cleary 2003: 75). The city expanded until the 2nd century AD, and the first signs of recessions appear during the 3rd century AD. At its peak only 25 ha were built-up. Fréjus: It appears that not the whole of the area inside the walls was occupied: the south-eastern corner, in particular, seems to have been uninhabited (gardens and open space). Moreover, it took at least 30-40 years for its northern section to be fully occupied (Goudineau 1980).

[550] Bidwell 2015: 126-127.

[551] Morris *et al.* 2011: 29; Robinson *et al.* 2006' Robinson 2011.

[552] Silchester: Ingrem 2006: 179-180; Ingrem 2011: 162-64; Winchester: Maltby 2010: 287-291.

their quarters had yet been abandoned. The majority of size estimates are postulated on the basis of their street-grid extension and the position of the *necropoleis* or circuit walls. All of these parameters are beset by issues. For example, in Britain, the walled area becomes a substitute for the built-up area when the latter cannot be understood more fully. However, it has become clear that it is not always representative of the actual built-up surface either because it does not acknowledge the potential sprawling development or because some areas could have remained empty (as was, for example, the case for the cities of Caistor by Norwich and Aquae Sextiae). The extent of the street grid is another problematic measure since it does not take account of the urban density. The position of the *necropoleis* is problematic, too.[553] However, even if our data are bound to be imperfect, for interpretative purposes what we mostly need is rather the order of magnitude of their extent rather than a precise figure.

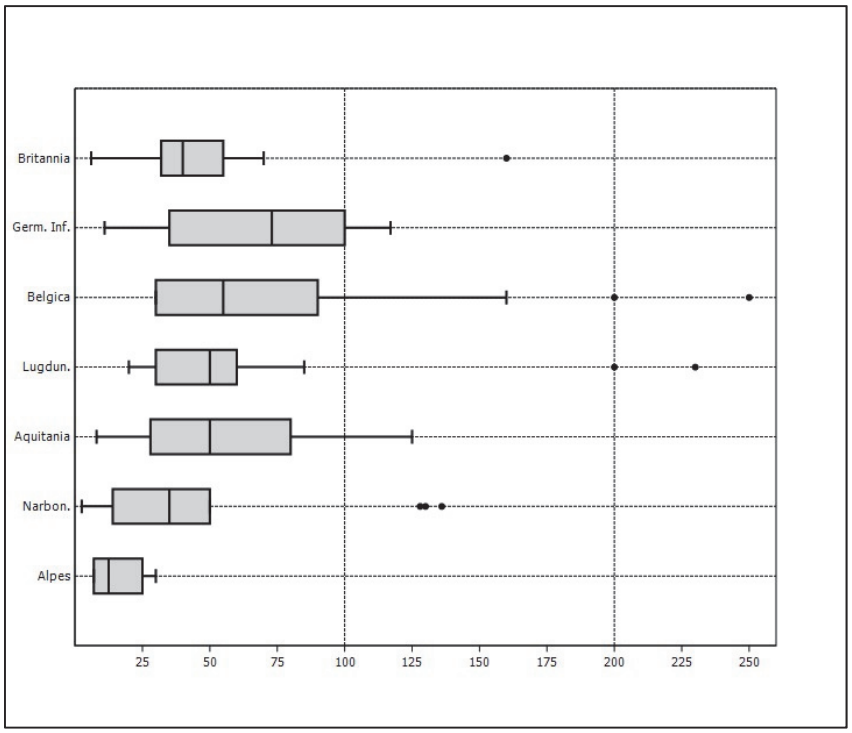


**Figure 78: Box plot for comparing the sizes (in hectares, on the horizontal axis) of self-governing cities in different provinces. The scores are sorted into four equal-sized groups, that is 25% of all scores are placed in each group. The middle 'box' represents the middle 50% of scores for the group and the two whiskers each represent 25% of the scores. The points lying outside the box plot are called 'outliers' and because they are at least 1.5 times the interquartile range.**

In Figure 78 we see a box plot comparing self-governing cities of the different provinces within the north-western Empire.[554] On a macro-scale, we see that those belonging to the Alpine

[553] Sens: the urban space delimited by the *necropolis* extended over 200 ha. However, this space was not equally inhabited. On the basis of Perrugot's map of the distribution of mosaics a very approximate figure of the built-up area can be estimated as around 90 ha. However, difficulties in distinguishing urban *domus* and extra-urban villas may invalidate this figure, too. The effective built-up area of Sens might have been slightly smaller, *c.* 60-70 ha (Perrugot 1990; Perrugot 1996).

[554] The figures given here refer only to the actual urban area. Military fortresses are excluded, even when they were adjacent to the cities (e.g. York).

provinces were all particularly small (max 30 ha) compared to the others. Those of Britain and Lugdunensis were quite similar in the fact that the range – i.e. the difference between the largest and smallest values - was relatively small. However, a few outliers stand out from an otherwise quite homogenous distribution (i.e. London, Lyon, and Autun). On the other hand, a minority of cities attracted an unusually high flow of resources, which allowed them to grow exceptionally large.

In the Alps, self-governing cities were relatively small and measured between *c*. 20 and 30 ha.[555]

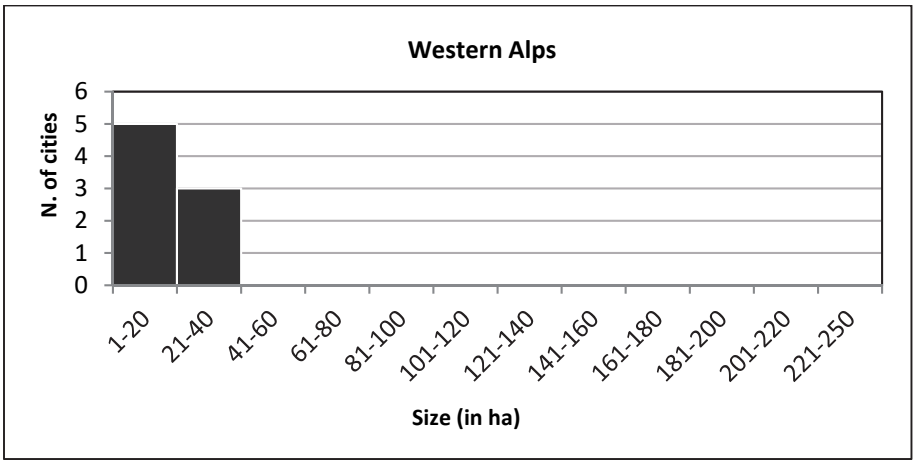


**Figure 79: Size of the self-governing cities of the Western Alps.**

Others, such as Glanate (Entreveux) and Brigomagus (Briançonnet), were much smaller (*c.* 7-10 ha). However, the idea of a *'civilisatione alpine'* that opposed and resisted Roman rule is unfounded.[556] These provinces were politically integrated, and their cities were equipped with all the typical elements of Roman urbanism (amphitheatres, *fora*, aqueducts etc.). They were not farther apart from each other or fewer in number compared to other regions (there is one every 30 km). Their modest size is not a peculiarity, but rather a characteristic they maintained throughout their history. This specificity is due to the geography, connectivity and exploitation of the territory.[557] As Leveau and Palet pointed out, in mountainous regions - because of the constraint imposed by the landscape, with their high peaks and the linearity of their valleys - each settlement is a *'ville naturelle, avec les montagnes en lieu et place d'un mur d'enceinte, et des cols en guise de porte'*, and reaches its optimum size, which is more or less equivalent to that of others.[558]

[555] Briançon could have reached 30 hectares if the area between the centre and the amphitheatre was all built-up. Martigny measured between 20 and 25 ha. According to Segard 2009, it could have been slightly larger, between 30-35 ha. However, we do not have definitive evidence yet. Susa measured *c.* 30 ha. The supposedly self-governing cities of Eburodunum, Rigomagus, Senez, Valdeblore, and Vintium are obscure and not always precisely located, thus no size estimate can be provided.

[556] Leveau and Palet *contra* Bocquet 1997 and Bocquet 1999.

[557] Leveau and Rémy eds 2008.

[558] Racine 1999: 112. This expression was used by Karl W. Deutsch, when talking about the mountainous cantons in Switzerland (Deutsch 1976).

The majority of self-governing cities of Narbonensis were relatively small because of the political fragmentation this province went through and which we have discussed in chapter 2 (Figure 80). The distance between them was also limited; thus their modest size is not remarkable. In fact, while in the rest of Gaul there were many secondary agglomerations scattered between capital cities, there were hardly any here. When they did exist, they were extremely small and covered only a few hectares.

Looking at the graph, we can distinguish three categories of cities: small (1-20 ha), middle-sized (20-40 ha) and large ones (over 100 ha). To the first group belong several small cities which had been granted the status of honorary colonies, but remained extremely modest (between 4 and 10 ha). Among these are, for example, Antipolis, Apta, Carpentorate, Luteva, and Apollinaris Reiorum.

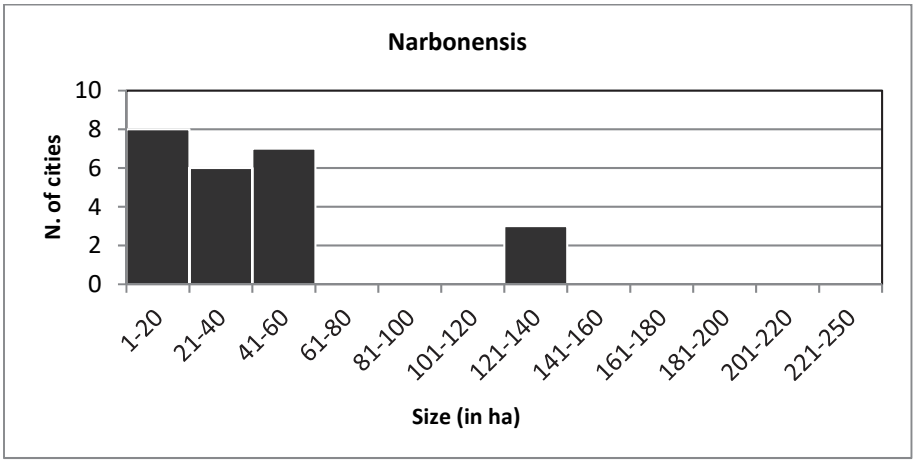


**Figure 80: Size of the self-governing cities of Narbonensis.**

A number of medium-sized colonies measured between 21-40 ha. Several among these were veteran colonies founded in Triumviral/Caesarian times, such as Aquae Sextiae, Col. Valentia, Col. Arelate, Baeterrae.[559] Important harbour cities - such as the Greek Marseille, the Roman colony of Fréjus, and Arles were usually provided with very extensive port facilities.[560] With Augustus' Germanic wars and the opening of the German frontier, the Rhône axis became more and more critical to the army supply. It is possibly for this reason that cities like Narbonne and Marseille, which enjoyed a privileged position in Republican times, lost part of their benefits during the Empire, having to share the stage with cities like Arles and Nîmes.[561] The large cities of Narbonensis were the colonies of Narbo, Nemausus, and Vienna, among the most important harbour cities of Narbonensis.

In Aquitania, the pattern is different (Figure 82). The cities, except for those lying on the Garonne axis, are further apart from each other (often they can be over 50 km apart). Only very

[559] The size of veteran colonies ranged between 30 and 60 ha. Such a regular pattern was probably dictated by the size of the *allotments* and the number of colonists they received.

[560] After its defeat in 49 BC, Massalia remained as large as it was earlier (Trézigny 1995). Its maritime domains were limited to *Nicaea* and the Stoechades islands. Fréjus' harbour covered c. 20 ha.

[561] Nonetheless, they continued to be dynamic centres of trade, as the regular works of restorations show Christol 2010: 623- 624.

few cities were smaller than 20 ha (e.g. Cossium, and Dax[562]). Most cities were middle-sized (21-60 ha), such as Elimberrum, Segodunum, Rouession, Anderitum, Condevicnum, Lugdunum Convenarum, and Lactora. These were mostly located either in mountainous regions (e.g. Midi-Pyrenees, the southern edge of the Massif Central etc.) or south of the river Garonne. Larger cities (over 80 ha) were more numerous than in the provinces discussed above, and their presence can be explained by their rich and fertile territory, as proved by the high number of villas and rural settlements excavated around them: Clermont (90 ha), Poitiers (80 ha), Bourges (100 ha).

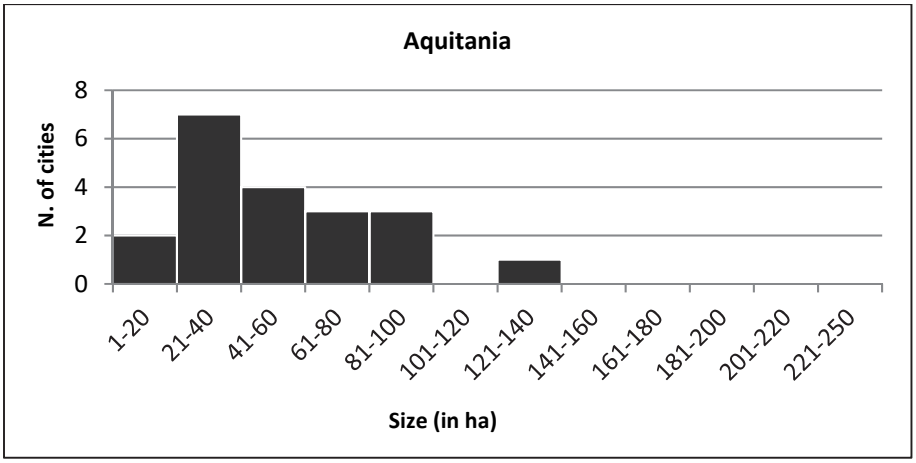


**Figure 81: Size of the self-governing cities of Aquitania.**

Bordeaux (between 100 and 150 ha) was a nodal point on the Atlantic route, and from there goods coming in from the Mediterranean area through the Garonne River were redistributed southwards to the Spanish coasts of Asturias, Galicia and Lusitania[563] and northwards, in the direction of Armorica and Bretagne.[564] The steady increase in the wealth of Bordeaux at the expense of Saintes supports the idea that it became a provincial capital sometime between the end of the 2nd century AD and the beginning of 3rd.[565] Saintes, which had been the provincial capital up to then, measured 110 ha. It developed in Augustan times and reached its apogee in Flavian and Early Antonine times. It was during this period, in fact, that the city extended to the eastern bank of the river Charente. At the end of the 2nd century AD, the city had already begun to shrink, and numerous houses were abandoned, especially those on the northern side of the city. Public buildings also show signs of abandonment.[566] Other cities in the south-west of this province began to show signs of decline from quite early on. The city of Agen, for example, at the end of the 1st and beginning of the 2nd century AD measured around 80 ha and

[562] The plan of the city of Dax extended further south of the actual built-up area, suggesting that part of the area that was initially planned to be occupied remained empty. The orthogonal grid of Bazas, in south-western Aquitania, is mostly known thanks to aerial photography. Its street grid is not dated and extended over 7-9 ha. However, so far few elements suggest that it was an actual city (Réchin 2004: 36; Esmonde-Cleary 2004).
[563] Martin 1999.
[564] Galliou 1982: 122.
[565] Bordeaux went through a significant phase of monumentalization during the Severans (Tassaux 2003: 59).
[566] Bedon 2001: 78.

in the 2nd century AD it shrank to 50 ha.[567] This could be due to a combination of cultural and economic reasons. In fact, these regions were more difficult to exploit in terms of agriculture - which required steady investments in soil, crop and farm management[568] - and pastoralism (which relied on the seasonal migration of livestock and pastoralists between higher and lower pastures) was historically fundamental to the economy of this territory.[569]

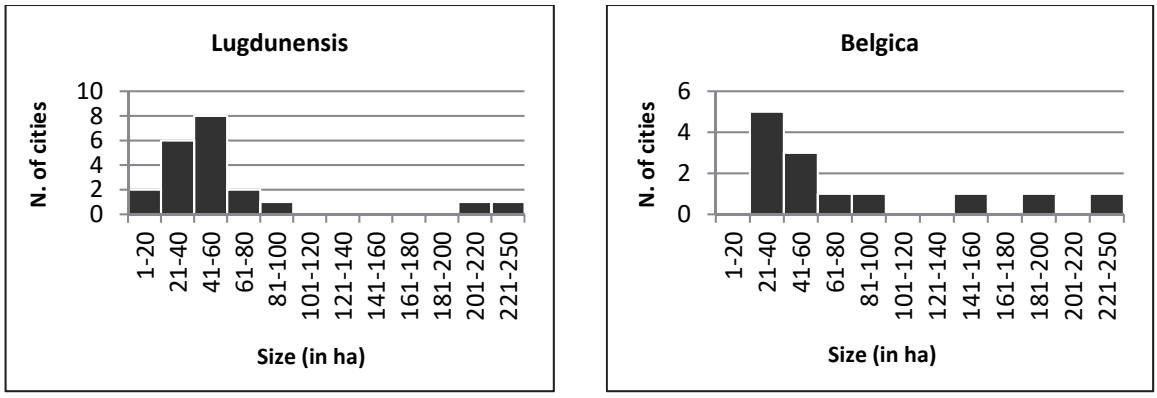


**Figure 82: Size of the self-governing cities of Lugdunensis and Belgica.**

The shape of the distribution of city sizes of Gaul Lugdunensis is more or less similar to that of Narbonensis, in the sense that it is also skewed right and large cities were more exceptional than they were in Aquitania (Figure 82). On average, the self-governing cities within this province are more distanced from each other, except for those of Normandy, which were also smaller (e.g. Vieux, Evreux, Lisieux, Le Mans, Avranches). Middle-sized towns (50-60 ha) can be found in Bretagne (e.g. Rennes, Corseul, Carhaix). The soils of north-western France were overall acidic, and, generally speaking, this region was relatively less densely inhabited compared to other more fertile regions (e.g. Berry and Picardy). Many cities were quite large in terms of their surface area, but their population density is questionable. For example, the street grid of Carhaix, extended between 90 and 130 ha, but many areas within the city were probably uninhabited (possibly used as fields and gardens). The built-up area is more likely to have covered *c*. 60 ha.[570] Another example is Rennes. The street grid of the city in the High Empire extended over around 80 ha. However, not all of this area was densely inhabited, and an approximation of its built-up area might be around two-thirds of the total, that is around 50

[567] This was also the case of Iluro. This agglomeration measured maximum 20 ha. It might have been smaller (e.g. some evidence might have pertained to a villa). We also do not know how densely inhabited it was. The agglomeration begins to decrease in size already in the 2nd century, which is not odd for the cities lying in south-western Aquitania (or Spain), e.g. Beneharnum (Réchin and Barraud 2008: 169-170).

[568] An agriculture that is dependent on investment widens the possibility of inequality, as attested by the increase of *domus* in these cities at the expense of more modest houses.

[569] See chapter 5 and the study of the Western Pyrenees.

[570] Monteil 2012: 31; Galliou 1991; and 2005. Le Cloirec indicates that, on the basis of the modern street grid of the city and the location of the *castellum divisorium* and the *necropolis*, the city could have reached 130 ha (Le Cloirec 2004: 381). Galliou thinks the city might have been even larger, up to 150 ha, but he admits that many areas within the city were probably uninhabited. Monteil also believes that the street grid extended between 90 and 130 ha, but he also asserts that this figure is undoubtedly overestimated (Monteil 2012: 31). As an approximation, we can imagine that the built-up area covered only two-thirds of the city.

ha (on the basis of the distribution of sites found so far - which is unfortunately incomplete given the limited number of excavationss undertaken so far).

Troyes measured at most 80 ha. Again, this figure is more descriptive of the extension of the city rather than the built-up area. The area south of the Place de Préau, for example, was little inhabited given that it was probably marshy and subject to flooding. Similarly, in Vannes, the regular plan extends over *c*. 50 ha. However, not all of it was densely inhabited (Ferdière suggested that the built area covered around 40 ha).[571] In Vieux, only 25 ha of the city were certainly occupied. In the north-eastern part of the city there were open stone quarries, some of which continued to be used even when the city was at its peak in the 2nd century AD. Tours, on the other hand, measured 50 ha, but its western quarters seem to have been abandoned already in the mid-2nd century AD. Chartres and Rouen were as large as at least 80 ha. Lugdunensis had two abnormally large cities: the provincial capital Lyon (230 ha) and Autun (200 ha), two cities which were pivotal in the transport system (at least six major routes radiated from Autun connecting it with other main centres of Gaul, e.g. Bourges, Clermont etc.).

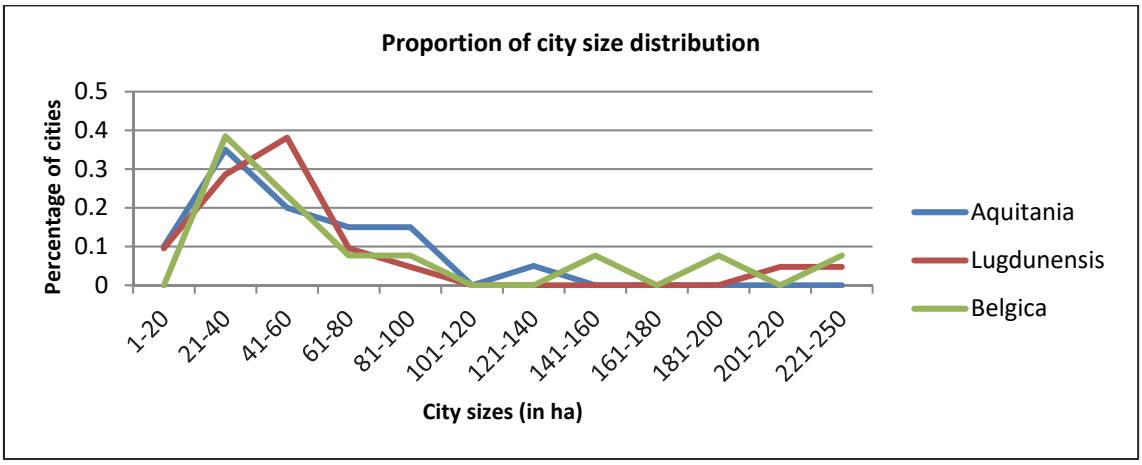


**Figure 83: The city sizes of Aquitania, Lugdunensis, and Belgica compared.**

Belgica is quite similar to Lugdunensis (Figure 83).[572] On average the cities of this province are larger, but, as we have pointed out earlier, many of them have proved to be sparsely occupied.[573] In the region north-east of Paris, which - as evidenced by the high density of villas in the territory - was extremely productive, cities lie relatively close to each other (*c*. 25-50 km). The graph shows that Belgica had three very large self-governing cities: the capital Reims (250 ha), Trier (200 ha) and Amiens (160 ha). All the others were smaller than 100 ha. For Germania Inferior we know of only three cities smaller than 40 ha (Forum Hadriani, Noviomagus and Xanten[574]). The provincial capital was Cologne; it measured 117 ha and was

[571] Ferdière 2011: 36, Tab 2.

[572] Unknown size: Gesoriacum and Castellum Menapiourum.

[573] The average city size was 63 ha in Lugdunensis, 56 ha in Aquitania, 42 ha in Narbonensis, 46 ha in Britain and 84 ha in Belgica.

[574] For Coriovallum an estimated size could not be calculated since the city has not been precisely located. In this work the size estimate of Forum Hadriani has been calculated to be 11 ha. However, it should be noted that a PhD dissertation that has been published very recently gives an even smaller estimate of maximum 6.5 ha (5.5 ha for the intramural settlement plus a maximum of 1 ha if extramural habitation is included) (De Bruin 2017: 179).

densely occupied while Tongeren was also quite large, but not the entire area was occupied (100 ha).

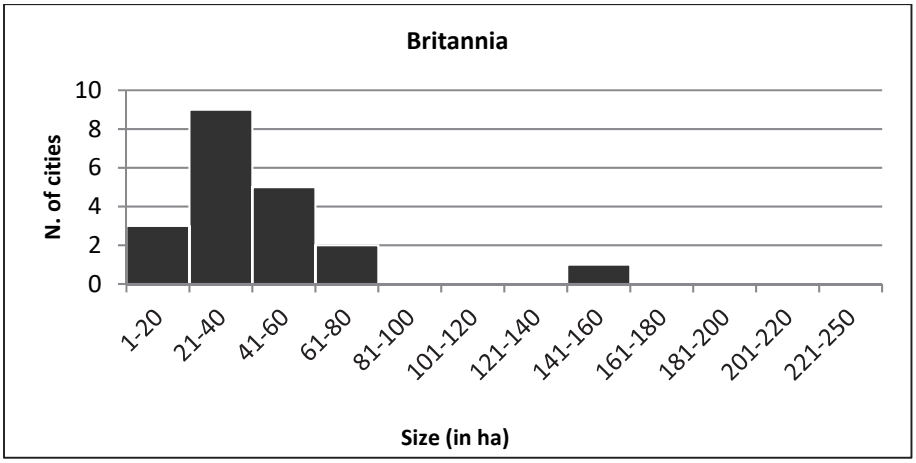


**Figure 84: Size of the self-governing cities of Britannia.**

In Britain (Figure 84), very small cities (>20) were distributed in the north and east of the province (Moridunum, Petuaria, Venta Silurum). The rest of them were mostly middle-sized (21-60 ha), except for Verulamium and Corinium (*c*. 70 ha). London was exceptionally large, measuring up to 160 ha.

Looking at the study area in its entirety (Gaul, Germania Inferior, Britain and Alpine provinces), we see that the general shape of the distribution is right-skewed (Figure 85).[575] The administrative centres were mostly small-to-medium sized cities (10-40 ha), and very few would grow to be exceptionally large.

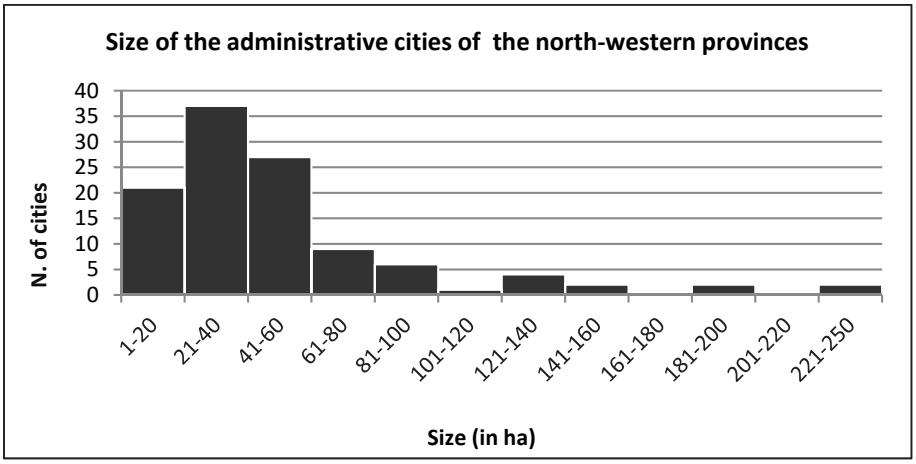


**Figure 85: Size of the self-governing cities of the north-western provinces.**

Anyhow, the *municipium* of Forum Hadriani remains one of the smallest self-governing, civilian settlements of northern Gaul and Germania Inferior. Its major importance as a harbour was the reason for its foundation, high juridical status and its official name - Municipium Aelium Cananefatium -Aelius being the family name of Hadrian.

[575] Compare de Ligt's graph (De Ligt 2016: 35).

## 4.5 Understanding temporal rhythms: dating the erection of public buildings in the self-governing cities

Table 6 summarizes the chronological data I have collected on the following categories of public buildings: theatres, amphitheatres, circuses, aqueducts, *basilicae*, baths, and *fora*. Restorations works are not included. When I did not have a precise date, but only a range of time, I have systematically calculated the average. In addition (as the table shows), for some provinces the actual number of dated buildings is rather small (at times extremely small), therefore caution in interpreting these data is necessary.

| Date | Narb. | Aquitania | Western Alps | Belgica | Lugd. | Germ. Inf. | Britannia (South-East) | Britannia (North and West) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| -25-1 | 17 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1-25 | 4 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 26-50 | 6 | 6 | 2 | 4 | 7 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 51-75 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 9 | 1 | 7 | 1 |
| 76-100 | 6 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 6 | 1 |
| 101- | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 2 |
| 126- | 7 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 5 | 0 | 5 | 3 |
| 151- | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 176- | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 201- | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 226- | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 251- | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 276- | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 301- | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| TOT. | 49 | 33 | 6 | 16 | 36 | 5 | 26 | 8 |

**Table 6: Dating of monuments (per province) from 25 BC to AD 325.**

Four different temporal patterns can be distinguished:

1. Narbonensis and Aquitania show a very similar pattern (Figure 86). Narbonensis reaches its peak in Augustan time. Slightly later, in Aquitania, a great surge in construction occurred in Late Tiberian times, which continued through Claudian times and reached its peak under the Flavians. In both provinces, the peaks dating to the end of 1st century AD and the first half of the 2nd century AD coincide.

   In Aquitania, the urban development of cities started to drop from the mid-2nd century AD. From that moment, not only did buildings stop being built but several of those still standing were left to decay. For example, the theatre of Agen was abandoned in the 2nd century AD, perhaps because the overflowing of the river Garonne was endangering its foundation walls. Similarly, the theatre in Javols (built in mid-late 1st century AD) was used until the end of the 2nd century AD, when it slowly fell into decay. Cities also shrank in size: entire peripheral quarters were gradually abandoned, and while this did

not happen abruptly (it took at least 50 years or more), it resulted in a severe reduction of size.

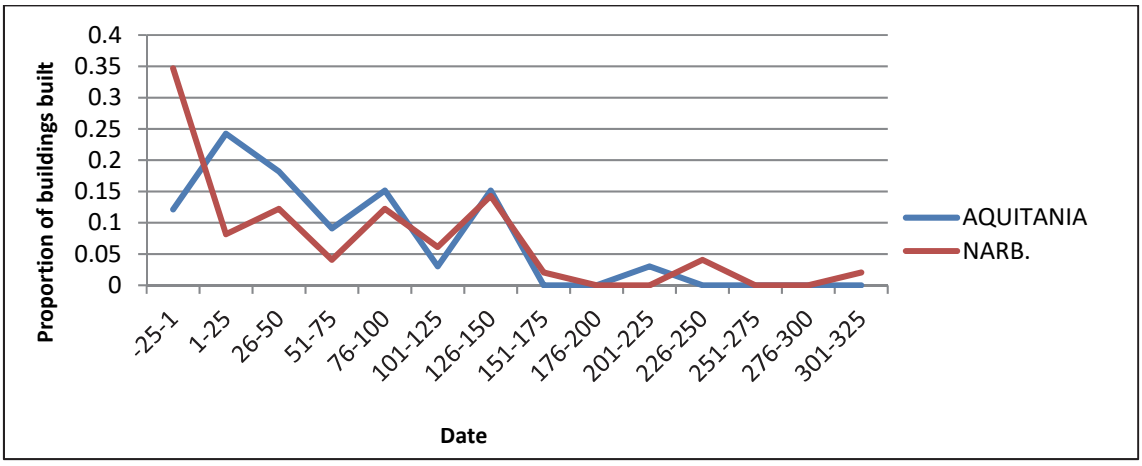


**Figure 86: Rhythms of monumentalization in Narbonensis and Aquitania.**

2. Gallia Lugdunensis and Gallia Belgica also show a similar pattern. Belgica, with the early development of cities like Amiens and Arras, was slightly more precocious compared to Lugdunensis, where in certain cities (e.g. Thérouanne) the Augustan-Tiberian phase is almost absent. The peaks, however, do not always coincide (Figure 87). South-eastern Britain and Belgica follow an even more similar trend, although urbanization in south-eastern Britain begins half a century later. A huge peak in monumentalization was reached in Flavian times when often cities also expanded (e.g. London) and their street grids were enlarged, usually following new orientations. In mid- 1st century AD, many public buildings were still being built, until the beginning of the 2nd century AD. Building construction (not restoration) dramatically dropped after mid-2nd century AD.

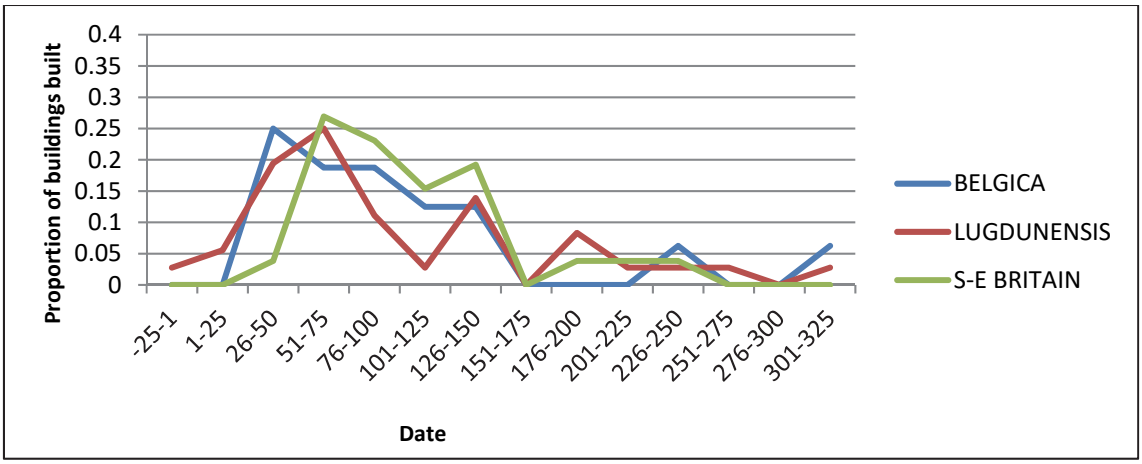


**Figure 87: Rhythms of monumentalization in Lugdunensis, Belgica, and south-east Britain.**

3. Patterns for Germania Inferior and north-western Britannia are extremely similar in their shape, although they occur at different points in time (Figure 88). Urbanization in Germania Inferior had already significantly started in Julio-Claudian times, but it was from Flavian times onwards that an even larger number of buildings were built. In

contrast to north-western Britannia, construction in Germania Inferior drastically dropped from the beginning of the 2nd century onwards, although we have seen that it was during this period that some *civitates* appear to have been given a privileged juridical status. Northern and western Britain, on the other hand, experienced a similar peak in mid-2nd century AD. What is interesting is that the trend is not gradual. The number of constructions rose suddenly and collapsed soon afterwards. This phenomenon is more in line with a sudden and short-lived injection of financial investments into urban development.

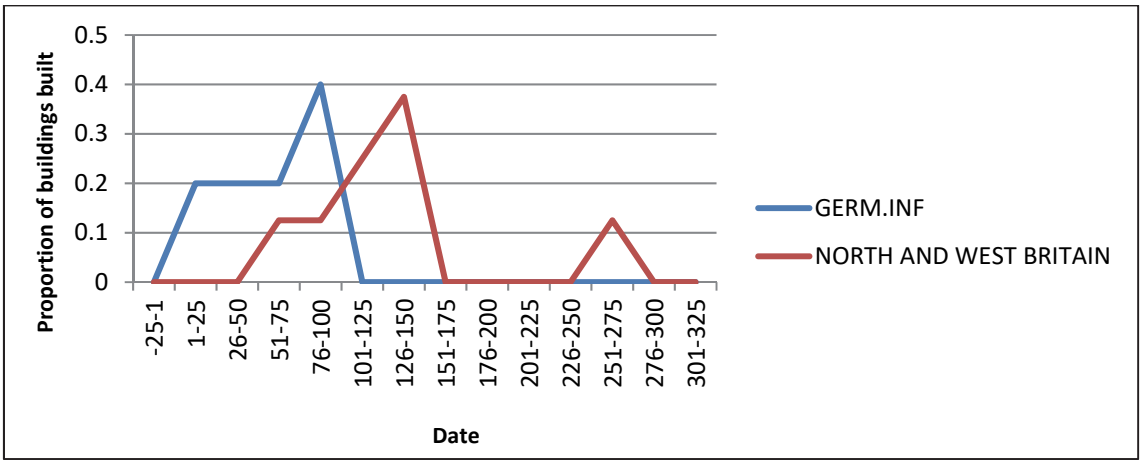


**Figure 88: Rhythms of monumentalization in Germania Inferior, and northern and eastern Britannia.**

4. In the Western Alps (Figure 89), we see a peak in Claudian-Neronian times (as expected, since this period coincided with the process of re-organization and municipalization of several of these provinces) and another one at the end of the 1st century and beginning of the 2nd century AD. Then it slowly decreased until it dropped drastically at the end of the 2nd century century.

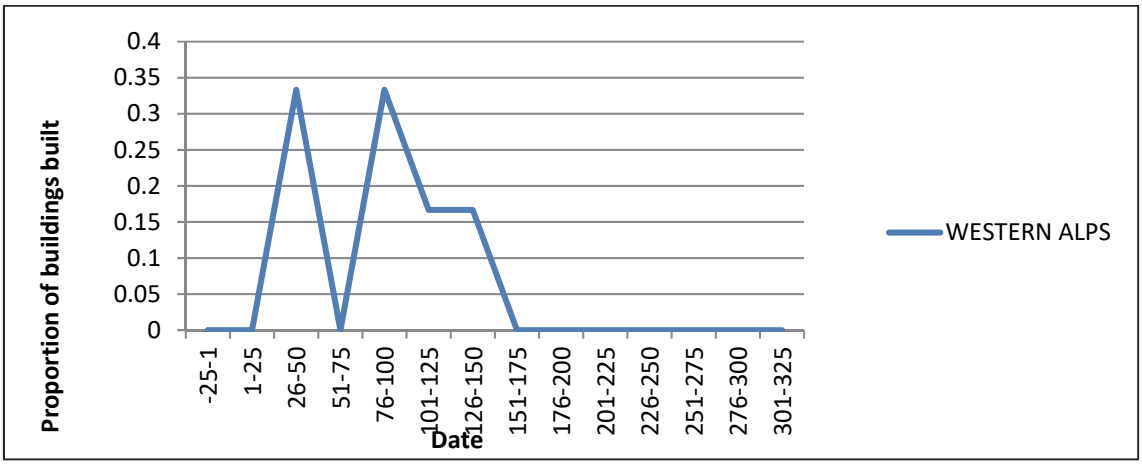


**Figure 89: Rhythms of monumentalization in the Roman Western Alps.**

We can conclude that all provinces show a sudden increase in monumentalization following their annexation. However, the way the urban development evolves through time differs from province to province. We can distinguish two groups. In certain provinces (e.g. Gaul and south-

eastern Britain), the decrease in building construction is more gradual than in others. This may indicate that in these provinces cities developed steadily but gradually, and possibly this growth depended on the resources that were available in their territories. In other provinces, such as Germania Inferior, the Alps and northern and western Britain, the construction of monuments was concentrated in a short period. This could be due to different factors: i. the construction works were either financed or heavily encouraged by political directives; ii. the resources were still available at later times, but it was preferred to direct them towards other types of investments; iii. cities were not able to keep building as in other provinces because their economic resources had drastically decreased. This last scenario does not stand up to scrutiny. In fact, in Germania Inferior and north-western Britain were characterized by a steady increase in agricultural output following the Roman conquest. The Western Alpine provinces, on the other hand, maintained the same economy as in pre-Roman times. In fact, no signs of clearance of land (commonly linked to an increase of agriculture) have been found. Transhumance, too, remained as it was in pre-Roman times and never reached the level of the Middle Ages.[576]

## 4.6 The distribution of self-governing cities

If we look at the geographical distribution of the cities we have just discussed (Figure 90), we see that most cities measuring below 30 ha lay close to each other (*c*. 30 km).

They are mostly found in regions which have in common relatively poor terrain (e.g. the Alpine valleys, the southern edge of the Massif Central, Lower Aquitania, and Normandy).[577] Some of the least connected cities often display physical and topographical peculiarities. For example, the cities of Segonodunum, Anderitum and Rousselion are the capitals of the three most southern *civitates* set in the Massif Central, the largest range of mountains in France, whose average altitude is 700 m and which is characterized by a mid-altitude mountain climate.[578] Similarly, the city of Lugdunum Convenarum (Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges), one of the earliest cities founded in Gaul - it was set up by Pompey in 72 BC on the way back from the military campaign he led against Sertorius - stands on a spur of rock at 515 m, at the foot of the Pyrenees. This city was highly dependent upon the terrestrial route that linked it to Toulouse and the river Garonne, whose stream could be rough during the descent and difficult during the ascent, especially near the confluence with the river Salat.[579]

Cities measuring between 20 and 60 ha lie close to each other only when they are located on important commercial routes (e.g. Rhône and Garonne axis). Otherwise, they lie at a more or less regular distance of *c*. 40-80 km from each other. The minimum distance between cities of 80-120 ha is 120 km, although on average it is around 150 km. Cities larger than 120 ha are very distant from each other (minimum 150 km), with the sole exception of the pair Lyon-

[576] Leveau 2003.

[577] The geographical aspects of these provinces have been discussed in the previous chapter.

[578] Trément 2011.

[579] Moreover, seasonality also played an important role. For example, at the end of the summer, the river flow was quite reduced (Sillières 2001).

Vienne. They are also located on focal points of the route systems: Nîmes (Mediterranean route), Bordeaux (Atlantic route), Lyon, Vienne, Reims, Trier, and Amiens.[580]

The rank-size graph shows the typical convexity that has already been noticed for Roman cities in the Italian peninsula (Figure 91).

**Figure 90: City-sizes: five main classes.[581]**

As has been discussed above, this 'bulge' is made by the majority of self-governing cities which are characterized by a medium size and predominate in the network. Their high proportion suggests that most Roman cities mainly relied on the resources within their own territories and could not have grown exceedingly large. As Luuk de Ligt concluded in his paper about the urban system of Early Imperial Italy, we might be confronted with an urban system which 'can be conceptualised as consisting of a series of "modules" each of which contained

[580] Aginnum decreases to 50 ha and Nemausus to 100 ha.

[581] When the size of *civitas* capitals are not displayed, they are considered 'not applicable' (*N/A*). For example, for Roman Canterbury (Durovernum) we know that the walls dating to the end of the 3rd century AD enclosed 52 ha; however, its actual built-up area is not certain for Roman times.

one city and its territory.'[582] The largest cities (top left of the graph) appear to be relatively similar in size, and thus they fit less well the power trend line. This hints at the possibility that they may not have been on different tiers within one urban hierarchy and that each of them might have been the apex of its own pyramid.[583]

If this were the case, then it would become imperative to investigate further the character and shape these different hierarchies can take. This step will be taken in the next chapter, for now we can observe that generally speaking, the distribution of city size does not seem to be in line with Krugman's power law: larger cities were not randomly distributed in the landscape and their location was highly dependent on factors such as the fertility of the land, the distribution of natural resources, and the proximity to harbours, river confluences, and key transport routes. These large cities (except for the duo Lugdunum-Vienna), all lie too far away from each other to enter into direct competition or to be a threat to each other's resources and economies.

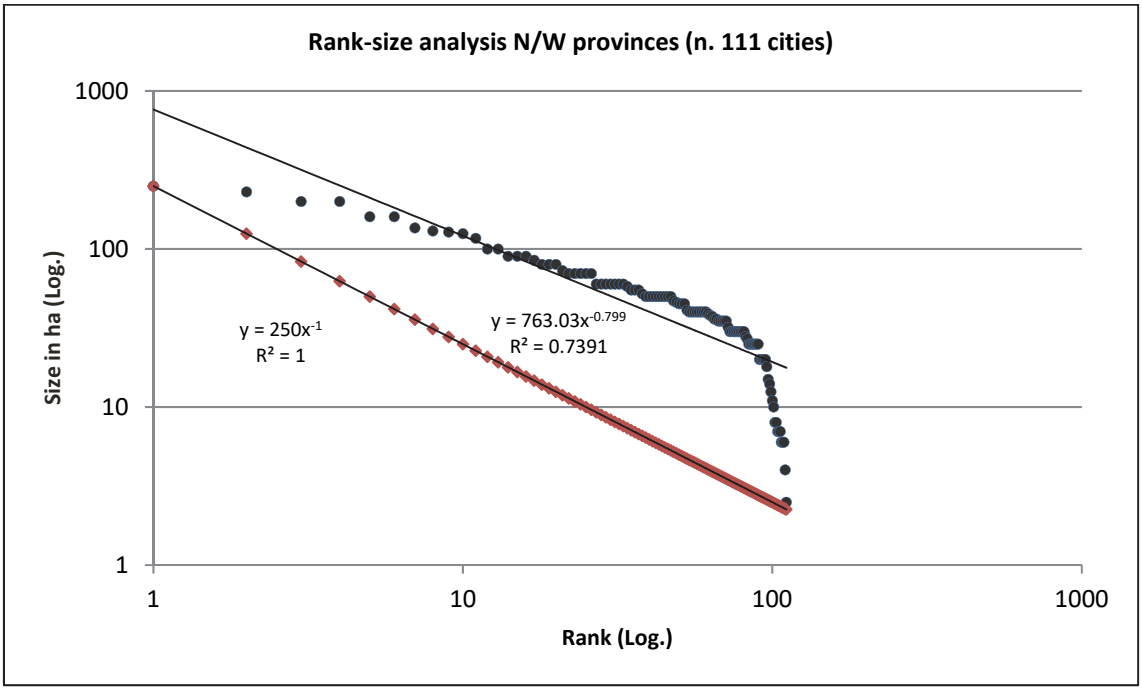


**Figure 91: Rank-size analysis of the administrative cities of north-western provinces.**

Christaller's theory looks at how the relationships between central places unfold in different urban systems. [584] One of his main assumptions is that the larger a city is, the wider the range of services, goods and functions it is likely to provide. The level of centrality of a place is therefore mirrored by the complexity of its function, its social organization and its size. Consequently, Johnson explains, 'there has been a parallel interest among geographers in the classification of cities according to the specialisation of their services. Such studies largely began as descriptive exercises, but there has also been a concern among geographers to

[582] De Ligt 2016: 39.

[583] For very small cities (e.g. covering less than 10 hectares), this graph is essentially meaningless because even very small *measurement errors* will be significant with respect to the relationship rank-size that we are trying to measure.

[584] Christaller 1933.

establish the precise relationship between the size of a settlement (also measured in terms of its population), and the range of services which it offers. These attempts have been fundamental for the development of abstract theories concerning the size and distribution of central places.'[585] Central-place theory has been tested and theoretically applied also by archaeologists who borrowed largely from geographers.[586]

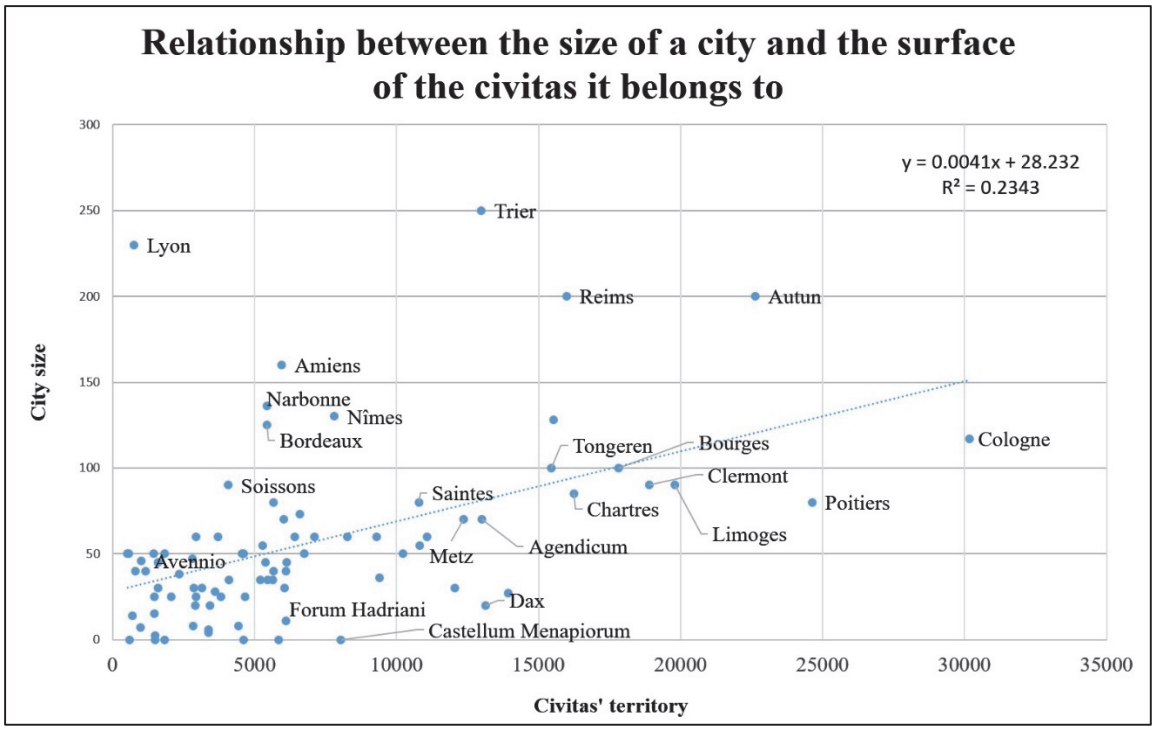


**Figure 92: Scatterplot showing a very weak relationship between city size and the area of the *civitas* it administers.**

Central-place theory, as we said, aims to explain the number, size and location of cities in an urban system. Christaller's model suggests that, in a place where the surface is flat and without geographical variations in its topography or infrastructures (transportation costs are equal in all directions and proportional to distance), both population and resources are evenly distributed, there is perfect competition between sellers, and all consumers have the same purchasing power and are served by the nearest market, centres of different size will emerge. Places attract a part of the territory (range) and are characterized by a certain level of functions which in turn depend upon their position in the hierarchy (threshold). Thus, the goods and services offered in the central places are grouped, according to their range and their threshold, in different levels: the result is a hierarchy of central places. The larger the settlements, the fewer in number and the larger the distance between them, the area of influence and the number of services provided. This theory was further developed by Lösch, who calculated that in order to minimize

[585] Johnson 1972: 99.

[586] e.g. Hodder and Hassall 1971; Kunow 1988; Kunow 1992; also see Bintliff 2002. One of the limits of this theory is that the distribution of the sizes of the central places expected is different from the one which is empirically observed. Whilst the central place theory envisages a discontinuous and terraced distribution of city size, the empirical distribution of sizes has a continuous shape (Pumain 1982).

transportation costs for a given density of central places, the market areas had to be hexagonal.[587]

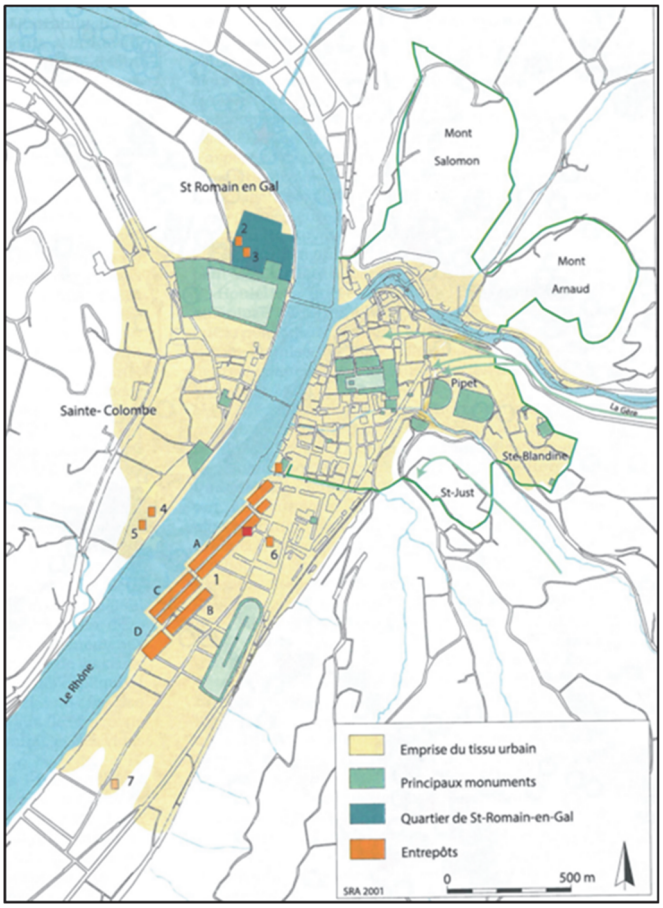


**Figure 93: The *horrea* of Vienne (in orange) (Adjajd 2014: 143).**

As the graph above shows (Figure 92), there is a very weak relationship between the city size and the size of the *civitas* it belongs to (R=0.2906). Several large cities - e.g. Lugdunum (Lyon), Arausio (Orange), and Burdigala (Bordeaux) - have an extremely small territory given how large they are. Others, e.g. Vienna (Vienne), Col. Augusta Treverorum (Trier), Autricum (Chartres), and Augustodum (Autun), are very large compared to their territories as well, but they were surrounded by a large number of villas that certainly created an economic surplus from which, perhaps, the city itself could benefit. On the other hand, a few cities have remarkably large territory compared to their small size. That phenomenon seems the most common in Aquitania: e.g. Lugdunum Convenarum (Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges), Aquae Terebellicae (Dax), Segodumun (Rodez) and Augustoritum (Limoges).

Thus, while most of the cities in the network were dependent on their hinterland, there were some extraordinary exceptions which can be explained only by means of trade, supply and distribution of goods. In his paper 'Corridors: a theory of urban system', Whebell defines the term 'corridor' as 'a linear pattern of major towns joined by highly developed "bundles" of transport routes' that often transcend national boundaries. Notably, accessibility is also highly

[587] Fujita *et al.* 2001: 26-2.

intertwined with the management of infrastructures, and it is crucial for the analysis of traffic-related effects across regions since reducing transport costs, in turn, increases the economic and social opportunities of a region. As we said, 'urban corridors' are characterized by an alignment of cities and smaller agglomerations along certain axes (often in the proximity to rivers). They are influenced by different factors such as culture gradient, least effort and inertia of the pre-existing urban pattern. They tend to be extremely persistent throughout history, underlining their constant role as media through which innovation and progress spread from place to place.[588]

We can distinguish at least five different possible 'corridors' running across the provinces of Gaul and Germania Inferior. They run along the axes Rhône-Saône, the river Garonne, on the route connecting Lyon to Cologne (*Col. Claudia Ara Agrippinensis*), Cologne to Boulogne-sur-Mer (*Gesoriacum*), and Reims (*Durocurtum*) to Boulogne-sur-Mer. These last three axes gained major importance during Roman times, when they became vital military supply lines. They also have in common that at their extremities they all feature major port cities.[589] Nevertheless, this map also shows how some areas, on the other hand, are characterized by a low density of agglomerations which are also less accessible (e.g. Armorica and Burgundy).

These larger cities were very significant nodes within the urban system of the Western Roman Empire. They held an extremely important position in long-distance trade and in the fiscal and political economy of the Roman Empire.[590] Given their strategic position and their function of redistribution of goods on a grand scale, these cities can be regarded as 'anomalies'. In these cities, we have evidence of huge (and most probably public) *horrea* - the only infrastructures that could support these activities (and that could have been undertaken only by Rome). Unfortunately, so far not enough attention has been given to the *horrea* located in an urban environment. In our region, the best examples come from the cities of Vienne and Cologne. In the southern part of Vienne, along the river Rhône, a whole new quarter was established *ex nihilo* in Augustan times (Figure 93).[591] Extensive works were carried out in an area that measured in total 5 ha.[592] Five large warehouses were built, the largest covered 9200 sqm (and measured over 200 x *c*. 50 m). All this area was organized around a very regular road network. The warehouse of Vienne shared a similar plan, with narrow rooms (12.50 x 5.20 m) opening on a central corridor.[593] The storage capacity of these *horrea* was discussed during a conference

[588] 'The innovations diagnostic of changes in the economic system' - he states – 'appear first in corridors, and diffuse outwards in a sequential pattern termed a culture gradient' (Whebell 1969: 1).

[589] Evidence shows that *fibulae*, Etruscan statuettes and imports related to the consumption of wine (such as *situlae* and bronze cups) reached Interior Gaul either through the Toulouse-Bordeaux or the *Rhône* Valley-Loire-Nantes routes (Galliou 2005).

[590] What Mattingly called 'administrative trade', intended to support the mechanism of the state (food supply for Rome and frontiers etc.) (Mattingly 2006b).

[591] In Vienne, there were also smaller warehouses, including in the heart of the city - and not necessarily on the river. They were smaller and probably private.

[592] The foundations of the buildings were built just after the sewers. The storage area was over 4 ha.

[593] This typology resembles that of other *horrea*, such as those excavated in Ostia, but also in Patara and Myra (Asia Minor), Cuicul-Djemila (Algeria), and Leptis Magna (Libya) See Arce and Goffaux 2011; Rickman 1971; Rickman 1980; Alzon 1965; Babled 1892; Marin and Virlouvet eds. 2003. For a rich bibliography on *horrea militaria* see Domínguez 2011.

whose proceedings have not been published. The authors reached the conclusion that these warehouses' capacity largely exceeded the needs of the city. They were more likely, on the other hand, to have contained the tax-grain (*annona*) of a large part of Gaul that had to be shipped to Rome or, as attested by Tacitus, to the frontiers (e.g. possibly food supply for Rome, but certainly for the frontiers).[594]

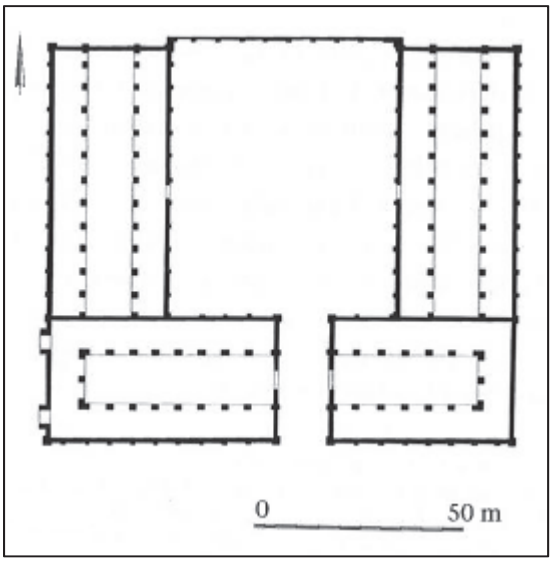


**Figure 94: The *horrea* of Cologne (Coquelet 2011: 166).**

In Belgica and Germania Inferior, *horrea* have so far been found only in Cologne, Reims, Amiens and Tongeren.[595] The ones in Cologne, given their large size, were most probably public (Figure 94). They lay on an ancient isle in the Rhine River and covered some older structures. They consisted of four rectangular buildings arranged around a central courtyard.

In Amiens, eight warehouses were located on the border of the river Avre. They all measured around 35x10 m and were surrounded by porticoes on all the external sides. They also appear to exceed the city's needs.

With regard to Bordeaux and Lyon, we, unfortunately, lack evidence. The ancient harbour of Bordeaux is known from the texts of Ausonius and Paulinus of Pella. It lay in the very heart of the city, and, like London, it experienced problems with tides.[596] However, it is very unlikely that in the Early Empire the whole infrastructure rested solely on this basin, which covered only 1.5 ha. Given Bordeaux's importance within the maritime Atlantic route, it is likely that

[594] Tacitus mentions convoys of supplies coming from Gaul and directed to the Rhine (Tacitus, Hist. V, 23). In an online paper, Anne LeBot-Helly and Benoit Helly analysed the *horrea* of Vienne, and they calculated how many *modii* were sent from Gaul to Rome. See the homepage of the project ANR *'Entrepôts et lieux de stockage du monde gréco-romain antique'* (www.entrepots-anr.fr). The conference was organized at Aix-en-Provence in 2009.
[595] It has been argued that Metz also had one, but this has not yet been confirmed (Coquelet 2011).
[596] Perring 2015: 28: In Britain the largest city is London, and it has *horrea* on the quay (built around AD 60) as well as a row of open front *tabernae* as part of the new quay (from AD 63). One of the workshops was making luxury glass before AD 70. In another lead ingots buried beneath the floor were stamped as the product of British silver mines and the property of the emperor Vespasian, probably coming from an official consignment shipped through London.

it was much larger.[597] In Lyon, the harbour also remains to be located. It is possible that the *horrea* were located on the isle of the Kanabae, which was a natural *emporium* and was headquarters of the administration of the *nautae* (of Saône and Rhône).[598]

Therefore, we can conclude that a few self-governing cities significantly exceeded the average and should be seen as a special kind of urban form, with distinctive traits and markers. These 'imperial' cities had major political, economic, and symbolic power that found expression in urban structures which, in turn, would serve perfectly as representations of the administrative and ideological institutions of Rome and its whole empire.[599] This class of cities only partly consists of actual provincial capitals (e.g. Lyon, Reims, etc.). However, here, the word 'imperial' relates to the fact that the planners and architects who designed and built these cities, as well as the people who commissioned these works (e.g. see Augustus who committed the construction of the circuit walls in Nîmes), were trying to communicate a political message at an international level. The high degree of standardization of the forms of civic buildings across the cities of the north-western provinces more simply communicated another kind of message: 'the common participation of the local elite in a regionally extensive noble class with an established canon of public architecture'.[600]

From the elaborated layout and zoning of these 'imperial cities' transpired the ideological circumstances which are the basis of their foundations and which were expressed in terms of spatial relationships between the main urban elements. They were a perfect combination of the actual built environments and the ideal forces that generated them. When the origins of these 'imperial capitals' are considered, it is immediately apparent that their emergence is frequently the result of a successful bid (as discussed in chapter 2; the case of Nîmes is exemplary) and their growth advanced at a dramatic pace which soon left behind the others.[601] In material terms, this typically translated into a display of the newly acquired importance by means of ambitious construction programmes. Large public infrastructures (e.g. the aqueducts of Lyon and Vienne), lavish public buildings (e.g. the baths of Trier), impressive *fora* and other sophisticated urban amenities are found densely packed within these cities. These building projects were not only excessive in terms of their actual size and number, but they also implied enormous investments and efforts. The colossal architecture peculiar to these cities proclaimed the greatness and invincibility of Rome to their subjects, and to their enemies at the same time, and were the living proof that Rome, assisted by its state machine that comprised bureaucrats, civil servants, and senior officials of the military forces, was able to command the enormous labour required for the quarrying, the transport over long distances, and the erection of these colossal buildings.

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[597] Gerber 2004: 10-11; Gerber 2005: 77-83; Gerber 2010.

[598] Audin 1986.

[599] Looking from the perspective of Architectural Communication Theory (Smith 2011: 174), they are 'deliberate statements about identity, status, wealth' and power (Rapoport 1988; 1990). For the concept of 'materialization of ideology' see DeMarrais *et al.* 1996.

[600] Smith 2011: 175.

[601] This and many of the following arguments are analogous with those by Gutiérrez, Terrenato, and Otto who were looking at the ancient 'imperial cities' (Gutiérrez *et al*. 2015).

Whatever their formation process, these capitals concentrated vast amounts of wealth. A precondition for this level of monumentality is, of course, the heavy flow of all kinds of wealth from all over the empire to the city. Such movements of resources typically enhanced and reinforced their status as the largest and the most sophisticated focal points within complex networks and hierarchies of subordinated settlements. Trade networks create another layer of centrality around the imperial cities with exchange routes that can extend beyond the imperial frontiers, and the convergence of the highest elites and enslaved prisoners in the same place necessarily produces a broader vertical socioeconomic range than elsewhere in the empire. Economic, human, and symbolic capital moves to the centre in massive quantities as a result, among many other factors, of elite and commoner migration, of external investment and of internal growth. An equal, if not greater, variability is displayed horizontally in terms of functional and craft specialization. Hyperspecialized workshops, particular trades, and unique productions can all be supported only at the intersection of elite demand for competing display. Complex religious and intellectual professions also tend to emerge, as high priests, magicians, doctors, lawyers, engineers, astronomers, philosophers, artists, musicians, dancers, actors, and chefs all find the discerning customer base without which they cannot exist at a high level of refinement.

Wierschowski was able to distinguish unusually high patterns of immigration and emigration among private individuals within these cities, and the more likely explanation for this phenomenon is the huge opportunities they could offer to people from all social classes, ranging from the beggar to the rich man, the merchant, the bureaucrat and the most powerful men in the Empire. As mighty stages for the display of wealth, influence, and power, they naturally became gigantic political magnets. They could attract the highest elites of the neighbouring *civitates* as well as provinces. It is thus likely that - compared to smaller cities - a higher proportion of money invested in the embellishment of these cities originated elsewhere, money from individuals who owned their land and made their fortunes elsewhere (presumably in their own region of provenance), but - for their own personal advantage - decided to invest their money in these major cities. For example, the amphitheatre in Lyon was built by a citizen of the *civitas* of the Santones (along with his son and nephew) who was a priest of the federal cult of the Three Gauls in Lyon. We also know of at least two *decuriones* who resided in a different *civitates* (*nomine incolatus*) but who were allowed to hold the same office in the colony. These are just a few examples of how these cities might have been able to attract money and resources.

# CHAPTER 5: THE SECONDARY AGGLOMERATIONS OF GAUL

## Introduction

In the previous chapter, we have seen how the self-governing cities of the north-western provinces differed in terms of status, monumentality, and size. On the map below - which shows all the self-governing cities of the Roman Empire - we can observe that the number and density of self-governing cities in the north-western provinces are significantly lower than in other areas of the Roman Empire (e.g. Greece, Asia Minor, Tunisia, and Italy).[602] On average, the cities were also farther apart. As previously discussed in chapter 2, this peculiarity has its roots in the Iron Age, when centralized communities developed in parallel and independently from the city-states of the Mediterranean world. In chapter 2 we saw how archaeological evidence attests that at least in some areas of temperate Europe (such as central Gaul), these communities could control a very wide territory which was organized around a main centre (e.g. the Aedui and their capital Bibracte or the Bituriges Cubi and Avaricum). It is against this background that the Roman administrative boundaries were established, along with the self-governing cities.

**Figure 95: The self-governing cities of the Roman Empire.**

Nevertheless, this map does not reflect the complete settlement system of these provinces. Rather, it shows the distribution of only those cities that had served as the 'official' political and administrative centres in Roman times. In the 1980s Bekker-Nielsen, when analysing the

[602] This map is based on the data collected by the 'An Empire of 2000 cities project' (retrieved: 08/02/2018).

distribution of 'official' cities in the north-western provinces, was startled by their low numbers and scattered distribution (in comparison with other parts of the Roman Empire). He thus wondered whether such a loose urban network could have hampered the ability of these cities to create a functional, efficient and spatially integrated urban system.[603] Quite rightly, he observed that many capital cities lie well beyond daily-access journey times and could be neither efficient nor functional markets for much of the community living within their territory. However, Bekker-Nielsen was looking only at the 'official cities', those that were the seat of local government.

In this chapter, we will bring into the picture, along with the already discussed self-governing cities, the other settlements that were likely to have performed 'urban' functions. F*ailing to do so would* ultimately hinder our understanding of the whole urban network of these provinces.

By including these settlements in the study, we will finally be able to grasp the complexity and efficiency that provincial and regional urban system(s) could reach, In fact, many of the gaps in the map in Figure 95 would be filled, if we included the secondary agglomerations in our analysis (Figure 96).

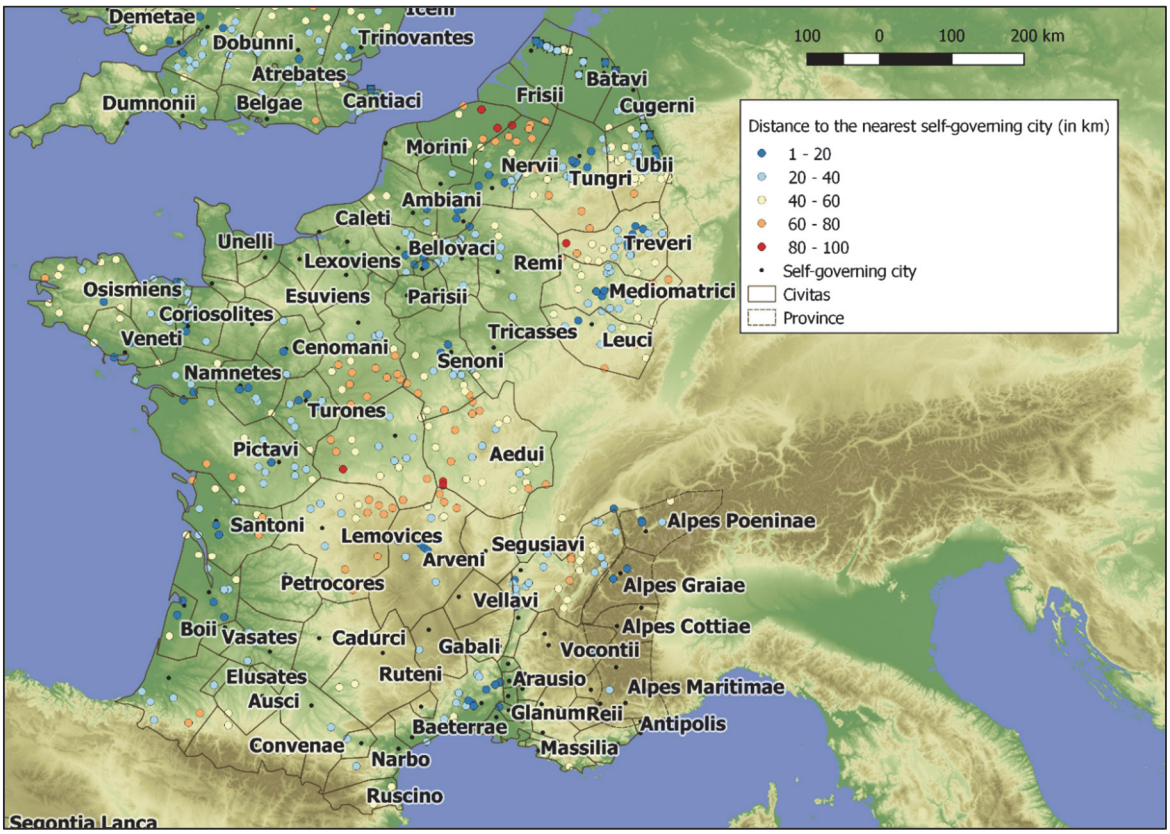


**Figure 96: This map shows how far a secondary agglomeration lies from the closest self-governing cities (black dot). Red dots represent agglomerations that lie distant from them; blue dots those which lie closer to them.**

The map above shows how different the picture is if we add in the secondary agglomerations. It also shows how distant secondary agglomerations could lie from the closest self-governing cities. In those areas where red dots are preponderant, self-governing cities lie quite far apart

[603] Bekker-Nielsen 1989.

from each other (100-200 km) and in between them, we can identify a significant number of secondary agglomerations. There is not always a direct relationship between the inter-distance of self-governing cities and secondary settlements and their level of monumentality and prosperity. For example, 'red dots' (i.e. secondary agglomerations that lie distant from a self-governing city) can be large and monumental in some areas (for example in the region corresponding to the *civitates* of the Pictones and Bituriges Cubi, which are populated by some of the largest and richest secondary agglomerations of Roman Gaul) and can be small and lack any sign of monumentality elsewhere (for example in north-eastern Belgica or in Germania Inferior).

The same is true for their size. The map below (Figure 97) shows exactly this: while in Germania Inferior most secondary agglomerations did not reach 10 ha, in the *civitates* of the Pictones and Bituriges Cubi many agglomerations exceeded that threshold and many covered between 40 and 80 ha.

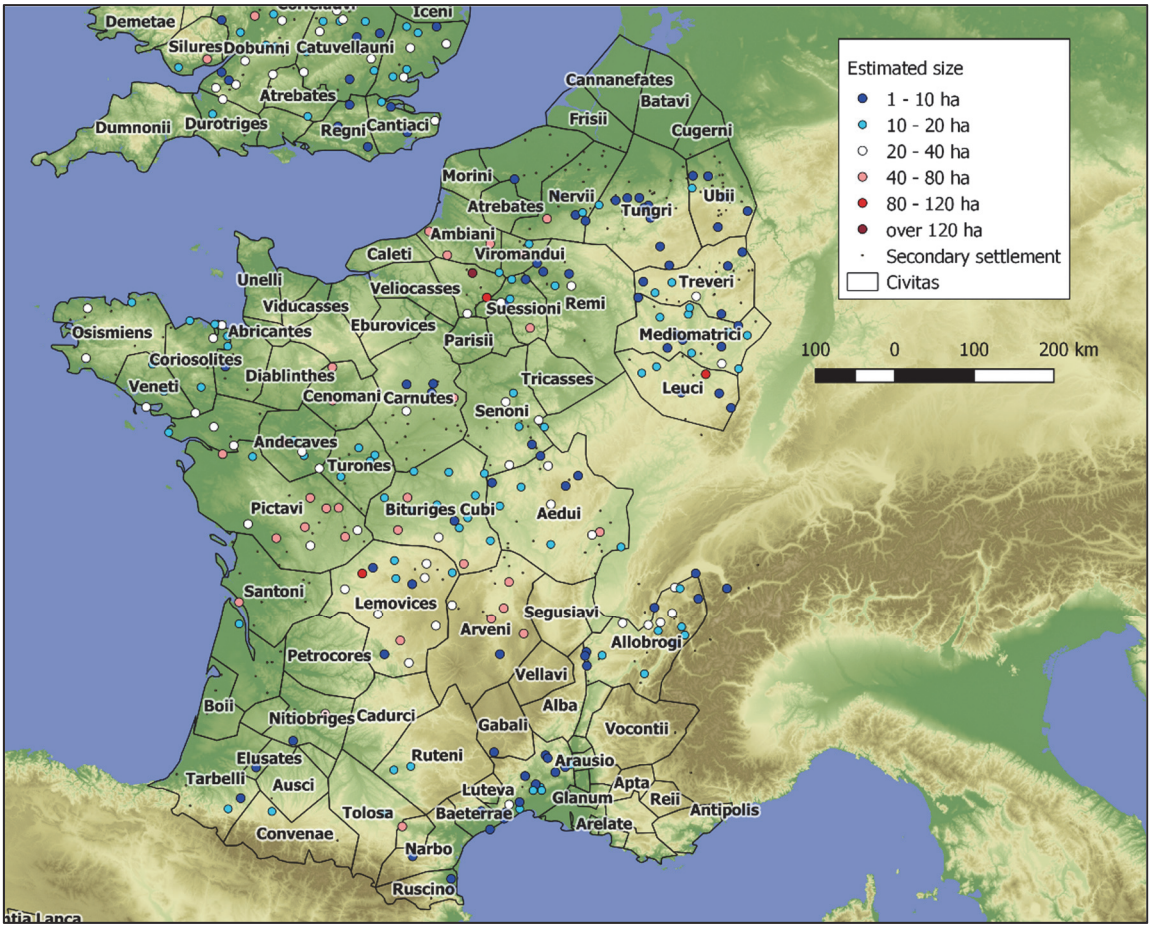


**Figure 97: The estimated size of the secondary agglomerations in Gaul and Germania Inferior.**

It should be clear by now that the complexities entailed in the analysis of the settlement system of the north-western provinces do not allow for general statements or explanations. Case studies, on the other hand, provide in-depth insights into the various densities and distributions of settlements. Eight case studies have been selected for their relevance in terms of socio-

cultural and economic attributes to showcase the multiple types of settlement systems and urban forms which existed in terms of physical and spatial configuration (Figure 98).

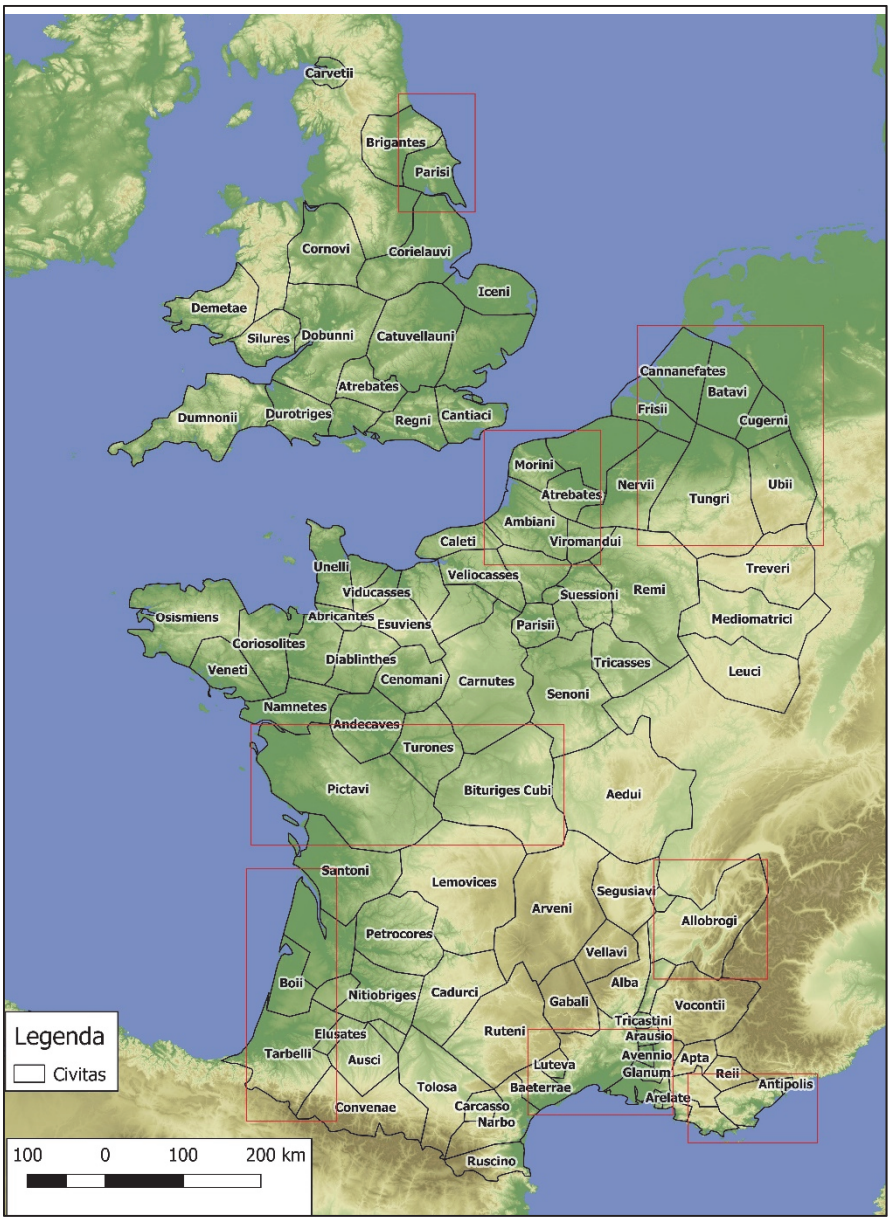


**Figure 98: The areas selected for the analysis of the settlement system in the North-Western provinces.**

## 5.1 The distribution of secondary agglomerations in Narbonensis

The extreme diversity in climate, topography, soil, distribution of resources, juridical and administrative status and population concentration in Narbonensis makes it impossible to determine one type of settlement system. Thus comparative settlement study will be attempted; five research-areas have been selected.

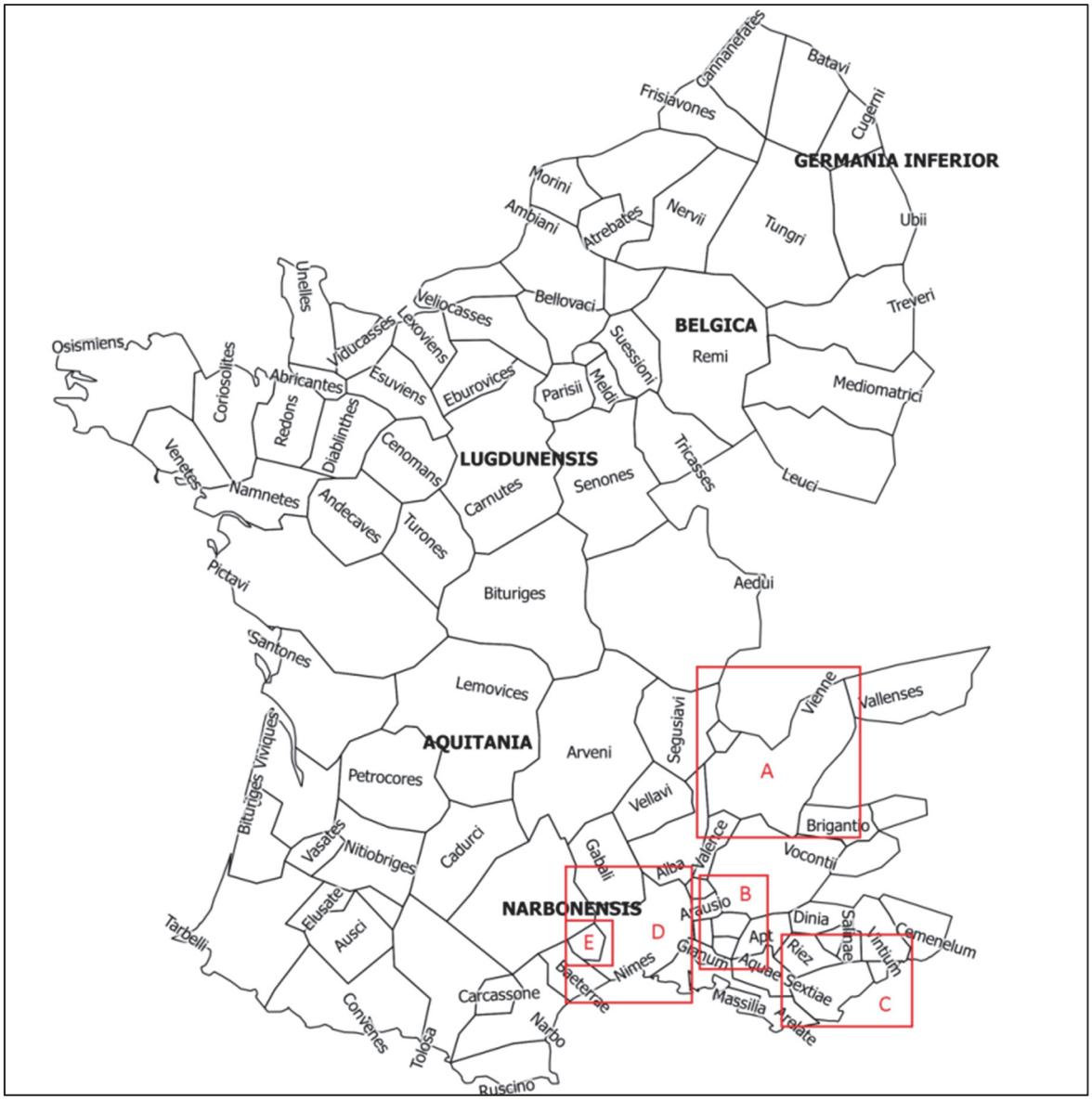


**Figure 99: The case studies selected for the analysis of settlement hierarchies in Narbonensis.**

A. The *civitas* of the Allobroges, which extended from the Rhône River to Lake Geneva (modern France and Switzerland). Its capital was Vienne, one of the richest cities in Roman Gaul and which controlled a vast territory of over 10,000 km².

B. The department of the Vaucluse, which was bordered by the Rhône to the west and the river Durance to the south. This area of *c*. 3567 km² is mountainous on a significant proportion of its eastern half and in Roman times it was fragmented into a multitude of colonies (Apta, Arausio, Avennio, Cabellio, Carpentorate, and Vasio).

C. South-eastern Gaul (Fréjus, Antibes, Vence, Briançonnet), which is characterized by a wide variety of contrasting landforms and landscapes (coastal areas, mountain glacial landscapes, plains).

D. Nîmes and its large territory, in modern Languedoc-Roussillon, one of the best-studied communities of southern Gaul.

E. The city of Luteva and its small territory, strategically located between the southern plains and lower hills, and the southern slopes of the Massif Central.

### 5.1.1 The *civitas* of the Allobroges (Vienne)

The colony of Vienne (which extended over *c*. 130 ha) controlled one of the largest *civitates* in southern Gaul. Given how close it lies to Lyon (it was quite exceptional in the north-western provinces that two such large cities could develop so close to each other) it is clear that its port benefited from the proximity to Lyon, the capital of the Gaulish provinces. The huge warehouses lined along the Rhône indicate that this city was an important hub on the Rhône River. It was a key strategic economic crossroad between the Mediterranean Sea, the Alps, and the rest of the Gaulish and Germanic provinces and along the supply lines that were vital for the success of military campaigns and for sustaining the permanent forts stationed at the *limes*. It probably functioned as a sort of 'satellite' port for Lyon, and some of the traffic was deliberately diverted there to avoid the congestion of the capital.

As we can see on the map below, agglomerations were concentrated either in the eastern portion of the *civitas* territory (particularly along the river Rhône and the road connecting Vienne to the colony of Valence) or in its western half, along important transalpine axes.[604] Aoste, Genève, and Grenoble, which would become self-governing cities in the Late Empire, were established at the frontiers with other provinces (Raetia and Alpes Graiae). Châteauneuf and Gilly, in the valley of the Isère, were positioned at the entrance of the valley that leads to the Petit-Saint-Bernard Pass.[605] These two different groups of agglomerations differed not only in their location but also in terms of morphology, size, and functions.

[604] Most settlements lay on important alpine and transalpine axes of communication (e.g. Grenoble, Annecy, and Genève). As Torricelli pointed out, this is one of the long-lasting characteristics of the urbanization of the Alps: *'Contrairement aux apparences, les Alpes ont aussi été, très tôt, le berceau d'un type particulier de ville et de vie urbaine, qui, bien qu'en valorisant les ressources locales, était étroitement liée à la circulation transalpine. Si l'on voulait identifier le 'trait spécifique' de la ville dans les Alpes, on prendrait en premier lieu des fonctions étroitement liées à la traversée du massif, comme la transition, le passage ou le carrefour'* (Torricelli 2002 : 26-27).

[605] The economic development of the Alps is shaped by three main factors: the mass and the altitude of the peaks, and the large glacial valleys that penetrate these masses and that allow for communication between Gaul, Germany and Italy. The plains and hills that develop in the periphery, therefore, are in opposition to the inner mountain valleys (Leveau 2003: 44). The existence of a frontier meant that customs duties needed to be collected. J. France (2003) looked at this lucrative activity in his study on the *'quadragesima Galliarum'* and highlighted the profits that the Alpine tribes could make from this practice. G. Walser 1989: 92 drew attention to the importance of professional associations *(collegia)* dedicated to transport, like the one of the *'corpus mercatorum Cisalpinorum et Transalpinorum'*, whose members are recorded in the Alpine provinces and in the cities of Lyon, Milan, Avenches, and Augst (Leveau 2003: 45). Also see France 2001.

**Figure 100: The agglomerations of the *civitas* of the Allobroges.**

As we can see from Figure 101, the agglomerations closer to the capital Vienne were much smaller and closer to each other than their counterparts in the east. On average, they occupied areas of around 10 ha, whilst those in the east were significantly larger. At least five covered c. 20-30 ha (Genève, Annecy, Aoste, Albens, and Grenoble), others measured 10-20 ha (Aix-les-Bains, Annemasse, Faverges, and Gilly-sur-Isère). Figure 102 shows that settlements lying in the western part of the *civitas* were not only larger, but they also featured a larger number of public monuments (which was still quite modest compared to other *civitates* in Aquitania or Belgica). The most common monuments were religious buildings (temples and sanctuaries), followed by elements related to the management of water like aqueducts and baths, the latter occasionally being invested with a cultural role, for example in spa towns like Aix-les-Bains. These agglomerations displayed a large number of urban elements. For example, the agglomeration of Annecy had a public square (80x64 $m^2$) surrounded by porticoes and shops, public baths, a theatre (whose *cavea* was probably built in wood and could host *c*. 1000 people), a *basilica* (which is only known through an inscription[606]), an unidentified public building (possibly a *palaestra*), a *horologium*[607], a number of altars and at least 50 wells (private and public).[608] They also stand out for the diversity of economic activities in which their inhabitants were involved.

[606] CIL XII, 2533.
[607] Offered by a magistrate (CIL XII, 2522).
[608] Also known through inscriptions (CIL XII 2525; CIL XII 2526; CIL XII 2529-2531).

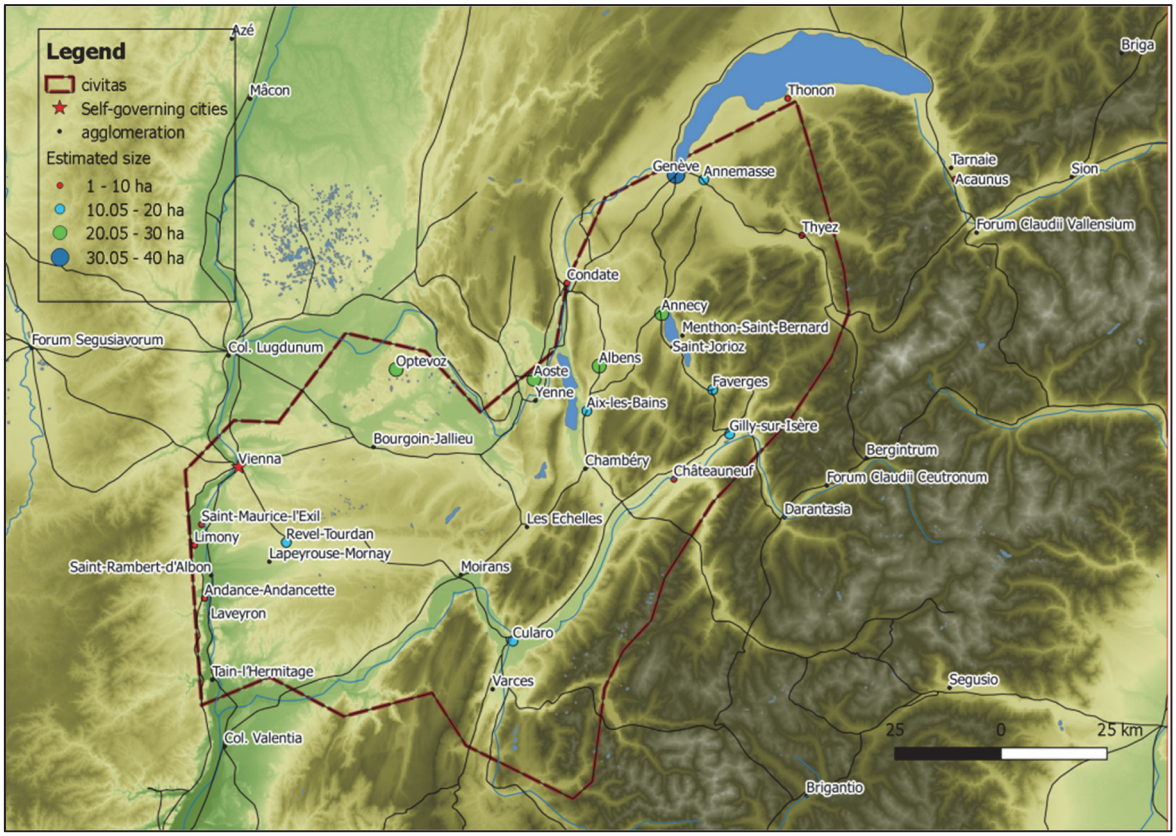


**Figure 101: The size of the agglomerations in the *civitas* of the Allobroges.**

Artisanal quarters are attested in Aoste, Grenoble, and Annecy, along with luxurious *domus* (Aoste, Annecy, and Grenoble) and more humble dwellings. Imported marble (e.g. Carrara marble) and precious stone were used in private and public buildings. Rémy and Jospin tried to reconstruct the society of one these agglomerations - Aoste - by looking at its epigraphic record. The picture they gained was that of a dynamic and thriving community[609] with a number of independent artisans engaging in different activities: glassmakers, potters[610], plumbers and so on. Several businesses, such as the one set up by the Atisii, transcended the regional sphere, and their mortars were exported to other provinces in the West. While the traces of metalwork (furnaces and *scoriae*) are more ambiguous, the presence of ten iron bars suggests that semi-finished goods were traded.

[609] Rémy and Jospin 1998.

[610] A division of labour is attested for potters. For example a man called Macer decorated vases's molds, Noster (I, n° 28) was an artisan-potter, etc. (Rémy and Jospin 1998: 82).

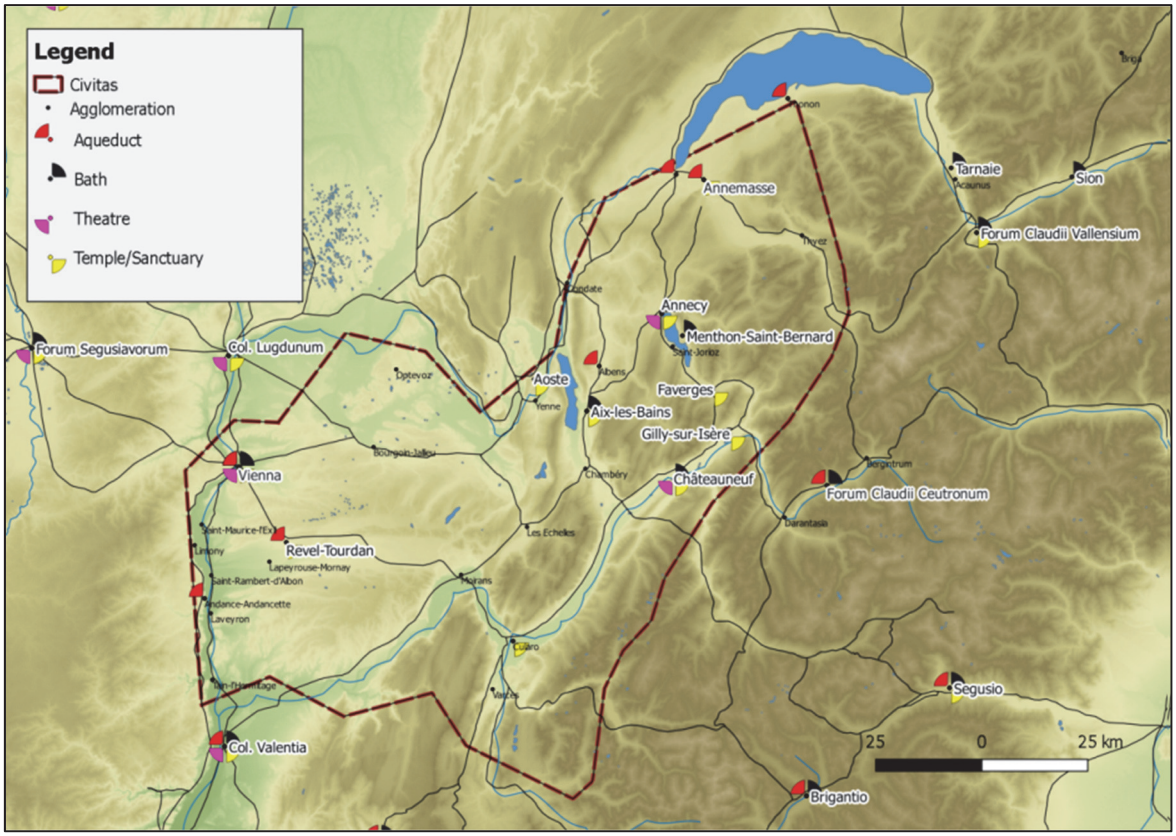


**Figure 102: The monumentality of the agglomerations in the *civitas* of the Allobroges.**

On the other hand, in the east, agglomerations did not show as many signs of monumentality (except for the aqueduct and the sanctuary located beyond the edge of the settlement at Andance-Andacette). According to Béal, this pattern could be the consequence of the strong presence of villas (acknowledged at least near Limony or Andace). However, around ten villas were also established around Annecy, so this argument is weak. Their lack of infrastructures can be better explained by the fact that none was needed since amenities could be found in the colonies of Vienne and Valence, which were not very far away. A few considerations about their spatial configuration can be made, too. If we look at the map below (Figure 103), we see that the majority lie along the road Vienne-Valence, at a distance of about 5-10 km from each other.[611] These settlements are quite poorly understood. They present signs of economic activities (e.g. potters) and *necropoleis*.[612] Most of these agglomerations developed on only one side of the river, but they might also have some small (and possibly overstated) *'suburbia'* on the other side. This is the case of Andance-Andacette, a small settlement of 4-5 ha which is

[611] Traditionally, in the bibliography, they are referred to as *'mansio'* (see for example Béal 2005 and Leveau 1993b). As for the Roman agglomerations of modern Belgium - which are too often referred to as *mansio* or *statio* in the literature - there are not effective proofs of their being such.

[612] The quality of the evidence concerning this region is poor. Little is known about the layout of most of these settlements (often calculated based on the location of the *necropoleis*). Some settlements have been successfully identified with the route stations mentioned in ancient itineraries (e.g. Tain = Tegna, Leveyron = Ursoli). Other times their identification is more problematic. For example, the agglomeration named 'Figlinae', mentioned in the Tabula Peuntingeriana (II, 1) and in the Ravenna Cosmography (IV, 26) remains to be located. It was the first station on the route that linked Vienne to Valence, (17 *milia* south of Vienne and 16 north of Tain). The toponymal *'figalinae'* recalls the production of pottery, and it is believed to have been located in the area of Saint-Rambert-d'Albon. The map shows only sites that are archaeologically attested.

often taken as an example for these so-called *sites doubles* (or *villes-doublets*) characteristic of the Rhône Valley.

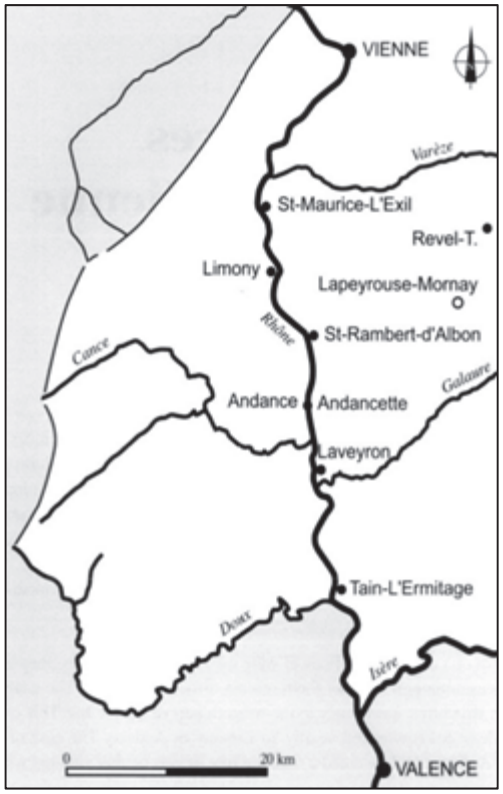


**Figure 103: The agglomerations south of Vienne (Béal 2005: 16).**

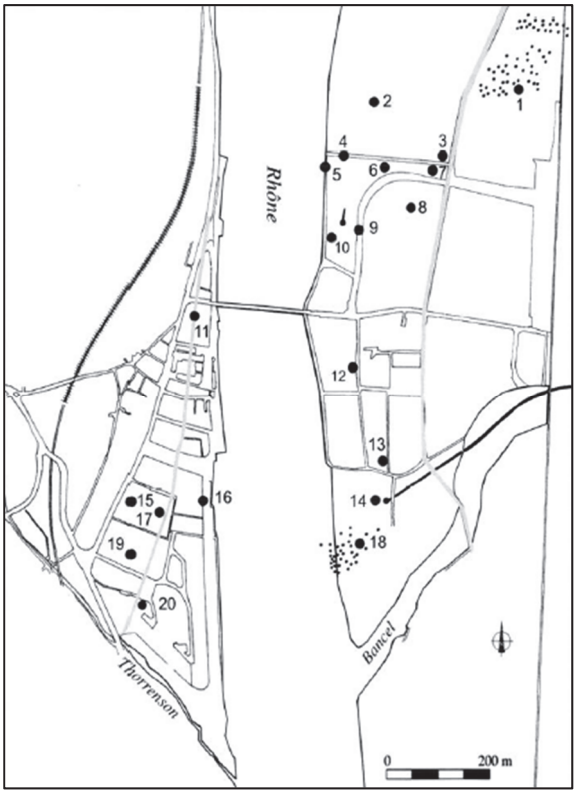


**Figure 104: The site of Andance-Andacette and the location of archaeological remains (Béal 2005: 20).**

For example, Andance-Andacette (Figure 104) lies on the right bank of the Rhône, but two *necropoleis* and a pottery workshop (possibly part of an artisanal quarter?) are attested on the left bank.[613] These two groups of agglomerations also differ in 'juridical' terms. In fact, if we look at the map below, we see that the agglomerations known to have been *'vici'* lie in the west, especially on routes of supra-provincial importance (Figure 105). They are all at least 50 km distant from Vienne.[614] It is possible that given how large the territory of the *civitas* was, in very distant regions subordinated administrative centres were needed (not to mention that a cultural factor is also predominant here since, as Tarpin observed, the epigraphy in this area *'est marquée par un formulaire italien et par une onomastique de type latin.'*[615]

[613] Other examples are: Tain-l'Hermitage (26), Tournon (07), Valence (26), Granges-lès-Valence (07), Bourg-Saint-Andéol (07), and Pierrelatte (26) (Béal and Odiot 1999). Béal criticizes this tradition and believes these sites are overemphasized since most of them, he writes, must have been only settlements for river crossing.

[614] Except for the enigmatic '*vicus Rep[entinus ?]'* which remains to be located, but could be placed around Reventin-Vaugris, which lies 10 km south of Vienne. The *vicus* of Turedonnum (Revel-Tourdan), which lies around 20 km east of Vienne, is not epigraphically attested; it is known only from the Tabula Peuntingeriana. The inscriptions always mention *'vicani'*, and not directly the *'vici'* R.A.N., t. 38-39, 2005-2006: 7-13. (Leveau and Rémy 2005).

[615] Tarpin 2002a: 265. Gascou, in the I.L.N. volume on Vienne, argues that each *vicus* may have had a college of priests (Gascou 2004: 52).

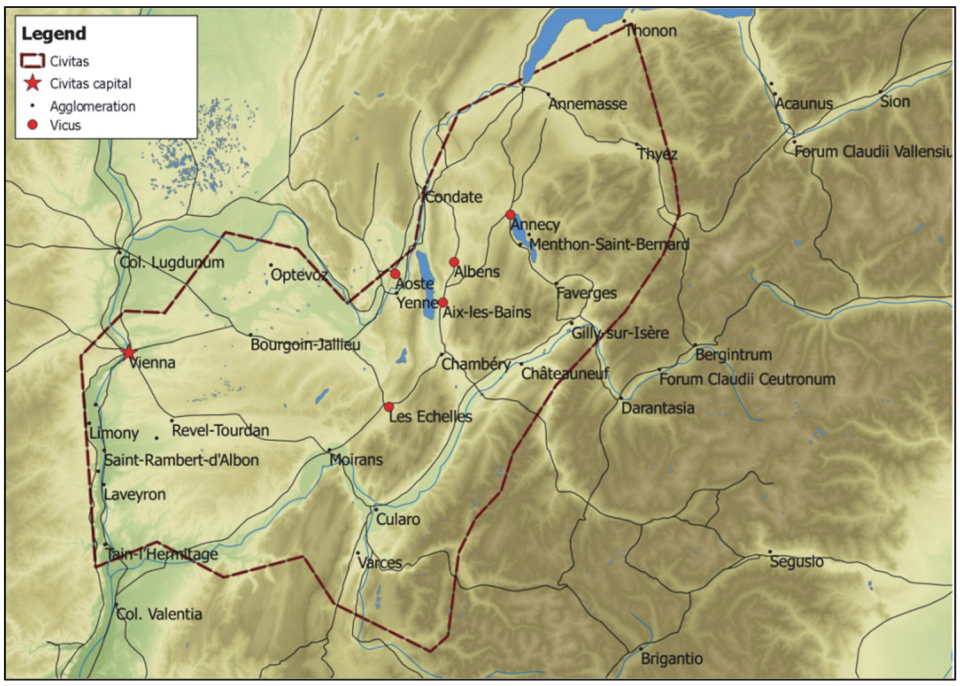


**Figure 105: The *vici* of the *civitas* of the Allobroges.**

**Figure 106: The *'arc of Campanus'* (Leveau *et al.* 2007: 281).**

As mentioned above, one common element shared by the agglomerations of this *civitas* is that often members of the regional elite and sub-elite were buried there.[616] At times, their *necropoleis* were more monumentalized than the agglomeration itself. The agglomeration of

[616] Similarly, in the territory of Arles, the *libertus* Marcus Frontonius Euporus (CIL XII 982 = ILS 6986) *sevir Augustalis* at Aquae Sextiae and patron of the *navicularii* in Arles was buried in the obscure settlement of Arnagine (Saint-Gabriel, Tarascon, Bouches-du-Rhône).

Aix-les-Bains, which lay on the beautiful shores of the largest natural lake of glacial origin in France, Lake Bourget, was a popular spa town.[617] This site is known to us through its large number of inscriptions (which also passed on to us its name and status: *'vicani Aquenses'*) and the remains of a thermal complex, in addition to two other outstanding monuments, the *'arc de Campanus'* (Figure 106) and the *'temple de Diane'*. Only recently, a critical architectonic re-evaluation of the evidence revealed that these two monuments were not public buildings belonging to the civic centre of this ancient town, but funerary monuments.[618]

Does this mean that in light of this new evidence, what has for long been seen as a 'true town' should now be declassed to a lower rank or lose its character of 'urbanity'? Certainly not. As Leveau observed, these monuments were symbols of *'urbanitas'*, the image of a 'civilized world' in opposition to the *'ferocitas'*, the indomitability of rural space.[619] This is perhaps a key to the reading of the relationship between the municipal and local elites in these agglomerations. Members of the elite were not only buried there, but, as Février observed in an influential article, they also invested in their development, namely through euergetic acts.[620] Tarpin observed that *'certaines grandes familles ont leur mausolée à proximité de l'un ou l'autre vicus'*.[621] The arch of Campanus, for example, belonged to the family of the Pompeii, one of the two of the most prominent families known in Aix. Of course, this city was not like any other city, in the sense that it was, given its beautiful location and its character as a thermal city, visited by the nobility devoted to their *otium.*[622] However, this was not exceptional. Rémy, who studied the distribution of inscriptions in this *civitas* concluded that the majority of the inscriptions came from secondary agglomerations (36.7%), 31.1% from the capital (Vienne) and 32.2% from the countryside. Among those found in secondary agglomerations or immediate surroundings, almost a half (44.6%) were recovered in the *vici* of Genève (22), Annecy (9), Aoste (7), Albens (5), Aix-les-Bains (4) and in the agglomerations of Seyssel (3), Briord (2) and Châteauneuf (1). Local and municipal magistrates were also buried in smaller

[617] Also mentioned in ancient sources, see Pliny Hist. Nat. XXXI, III, 5-8 or XXI, II, 2.

[618] Leveau *et al.* 2007. Scholars had favoured a funerary character, mostly based on an architectural analysis (e.g. Prieur 1977). However, it was hard to break with the tradition that saw them as belonging to the monumental centres of a town since funeral arches, in the Western provinces, are quite unusual.

[619] Different scholars had raised questions because they thought these were funerary monuments. However, this idea was rejected since it seemed impossible that funerary monuments could be located in the middle of a city. Other examples of elite graves in civic centres come from Ephesos, Manticia, and Argos. For a discussion of the so-called *tombeau-temple* see Gros 2001: 444-454.

[620] Février 1981. Many examples come from this *civitas*, especially from the Alpine region: Albens (Caius Sennius Sabinus, CIL XII 2993 and 2994), Genève (Lucius Iulius Brocchus Valerius Bassus, magistrate of Nyon CIL XII 2606 = ILS 7004), Briord (Camullia Attica). Other examples come from the nearby *civitates*, such as the one of the Vocontii (Alabons or Alarant). His conclusions have been too often simplistically translated into the elite investing money in these settlements only because their reserve of workforce (workers in their nearby villas) was living there.

[621] Tarpin 2002a: 266.

[622] See Riez (Alpes-de-Haute-Provence), an obscure agglomeration known for its spa where a dedication to Faustina proves it had links with the imperial family. Other examples come from Aquae Griselidae (Chastagnol 1992: no 38; Bérard 1997: 222-223) and Balaruc-les-Bains (between Montpellier and Béziers); all these places, however small, were visited by the elite.

sites, like the settlement of Limony,[623] where in the mid-1st century AD Apronia Clodilla commemorated her parents.[624]

Only a minority of burials concerned territorial magistrates, while most of them held municipal or religious offices in Vienne.[625] This has led Février to believe that the highest ranks of municipal offices were spending most of their time in the countryside and went to the capital only when required.[626] This pattern contrasts with that of the nearby *civitas* of Nîmes, where the evidence of public or religious buildings being erected by benefactors in secondary agglomerations is much more limited.[627]

In some cases the quality of the evidence allows us to trace the influence of the elite on the development of the settlement system back to the pre-Roman period. The *vicus* and the territory of Revel-Tourdane (Turedonnum), 20 km southeast of Vienne, have recently been the object of study.[628] From 140-130 BC, in the eastern area of this agglomeration (on the site of Champ-Martin), a densely occupied open settlement developed which extended over more than 10 ha. Evidence of aristocratic presence - whose nature is still not completely understood, it might belong to an aristocratic residence - is attested, along with ritual activities (banquets). On the site, there is also evidence of animal butchery and storage facilities. While the agglomeration was developing, a few kilometres away - on the lower terraces and plains (in a transitional area between loamy and wet soil) - several rural establishments started to appear. In Roman times, on the site of Champ-Martin, a large and monumental sanctuary was built on top of the old structures; two temples were established in the central area of the agglomeration while a further

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[623] This settlement is also little understood. The road *'est formée d'un conglomérat de cailloux et de terre argileuse d'une extrême dureté'* (Collange 1924 : 103 and fig. p. 102). Structures (such as walls and pavements), small finds, and traces of a road 6 m wide are attested. Only the edges are known (based on the location of *necropolis*). Possibly, the whole central part was occupied.

[624] Her father, Eutropus was an epicurean doctor and *sevir* of the *civitas*; given his title, his daughter must have belonged to a wealthy family. This practice is not uncommon for the Western provinces. In Tain two inscriptions recalling magistrates have also been found (CIL, XII, 1782 and ILN, V, 1, n. 303 = CIL, XII, 1793).

[625] According to some scholars (Van der Wielen 1999: 39; Tarpin 2002a: 88-95), after the revolt of the chief of the Allobroges Catugnatus in 61 BC, the region of Aoste was confiscated and given to those families that had been loyal to Rome, e.g. the Iulii, Pompeii, Valerii, and possibly the Attii.

The idea that land was concentrated into the hands of a few, extremely powerful families shines through Rémy's analysis of the occurrences of family names. In 25.5 % of cases the name appears only once; in 41.9 % it belongs to 12 families: the Iulii are the most common (30 occurrences; 689 in Narbonensis) and hint at the important impact of Caesar and Augustus in the history of southern Gaul. Then come the Valerii (15 occurrences), the Pompeii (12 occurrences), the Attii (6 occurrences), the Coelii (6 occurrences), the Cassii (5 occurrences), the Marii (5 occurrences), the Sennii (5 occurrences), the Apronii (4 occurrences), the Tincii (4 occurrences), the Titii (4 occurrences) and the Vibrii (4 occurrences) (Rémy 1998: 93).

[626] *'Il est donc clair qu'une bonne partie des notables des couches supérieures de la cité avaient choisi, dès les Julio-Claudiens (cinq inscriptions à Grenoble, deux à Aoste, neuf à Genève...) et pendant toute la période (inscriptions à Aix-les-Bains, Aoste, Genève, Grenoble...), d'établir leur résidence principale dans les agglomérations urbaines secondaires et non dans la capitale. Ils ne devaient se rendre à Vienne que pour leurs affaires ou celles de la cité. […]. Une telle répartition géographique des inscriptions confirme, si besoin était, le lien très étroit des élites municipales avec la terre qui devait constituer la base de leur patrimoine. Comme le notait le regretté P. -A. Février "on voit nettement que dans le vécu d'un magistrat ou d'un sévir, charges à la ville et séjour rural sont les deux faces d'une même réalité". Pour ces notables, leur domaine campagnard, qui n'était sans doute pas toujours de très grandes dimensions, était le lieu de otium, où ils prenaient le temps de se cultiver, de rencontrer leurs amis et où ils finissaient leur vie. Comme le prouve le fait que ces inscriptions sont presque toutes des épitaphes'* (Rémy 1998 : 87-89).

[627] Christol 2003. At Balaruc-les-Bains, in a spa town at the eastern edge of the *civitas* of Nîmes, a Roman *eques* offered an aqueduct to the local community.

[628] Varennes 2010a and 2010b.

one was erected *c.* 300 m to the east. With time, its territory appears to become more and more hierarchically structured: rural establishments increase in number and a dense network of villas tend to polarize the rural landscape.

### 5.1.2 The agglomerations in Vaucluse (Apta, Arausio, Avennio, Cabellio, Carpentorate and Vasio)

Regrettably, the quality of the evidence regarding the Vaucluse area is not as good as one may have desired.[629] Nonetheless, a few considerations about the settlement system of this region will be made. The area was occupied by the veteran colony of Arausio and five other colonies, which all lay *c.* 25 km from each other. Despite their high juridical status, those settlements which lie in the eastern and mountainous part were actually quite small (for example Apt extended over only 6-10 ha and Cabellio over 14 ha). Overall, however, it was a rich and densely inhabited area. In the 1st century BC the exploitation of land became more intensive; colonial and indigenous communities created a large number of new farms and rural exploitations. The small number of protohistoric sites (which usually date to after the 2nd century BC) contrasts with the multitude of sites dating to the High Empire. Rural exploitations increased everywhere in Lower Provence. A large surplus was derived from specialized cultures, like those of oil and wine, through the introduction of new tools like the watermill (e.g. the Barbegal Mill), but also through the exploitations of mines (Lubéron[630]) or the production of tiles (Rustrel, Puy-Loubier). Most people attested from epigraphy were members of the elite and landowners. Their *cognomina* appear to have had a Celtic origin, which might suggest continuity between a pre-Roman aristocracy and the later owners of villas.

This leads to the conclusion that the rural space began to be organized as early as the 1st to 2nd centuries BC, when scattered small rural establishments started to grow.[631]

In Roman times (Figure 107), the landscape of this region consists of:

1. Self-governing cities (i.e. *coloniae*).

2. Hill-top settlements: most of the old *'oppida'* were still occupied during the High Empire, although they lost their role of political and socio-economic centres.

3. Rural settlements and dispersed settlements: no secondary agglomerations with 'urban' feature are known to have existed in this area. Broise retained only ten rural agglomerations, all ranging between *c*. 4-10 ha. The majority of them lie on the plain and often along a road. Some of them - the settlements known only from the Itineraria, e.g. Cypresseta and Ad Letoce (both on the *via Agrippa*) or Ad Fines (on the *via Domitia*) - are often referred to by scholars as *mansiones* (although there are no archaeological proofs and sometimes their location remains uncertain).

[629] See for example the lamentable state of knowledge of the territory of Orange denounced in the *'Carte archéologique de la Gaule 84/3. Orange et sa region'* (Roumégous 2009).
[630] Cfr. Bachimon 2004: 39 for the natural resources of Lubéron.
[631] Haeussler 2008.

If we look at Table 7, we also see that they rarely displayed any signs of wealth (e.g. mosaics, marble, architectural elements, hypocausts or painted plaster), although several have produced a number of inscriptions.

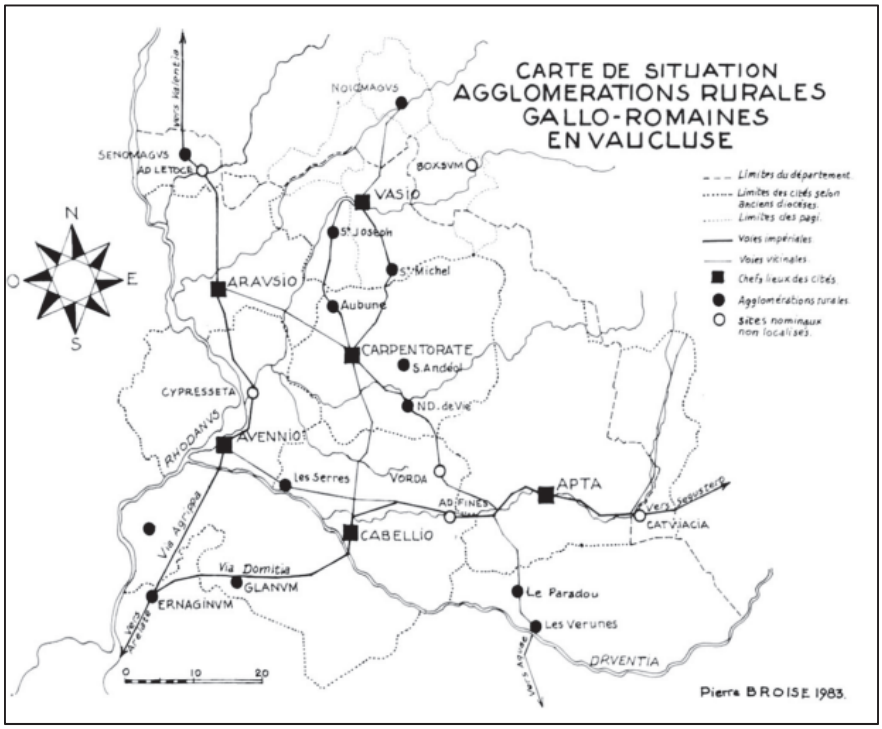


**Figure 107: The agglomerations in Vaucluse (Broise 1984: 268).**

4. Farms and other rural sites, whose number kept increasing after the 2nd to 1st centuries BC. Villas were important nodes in the settlement system of this area. The number of villas is quite high. In the territory of Orange, for example, out of 115 rural establishments, 68 are villas.[632] As has been mentioned above, this area was very productive. Fields were covered with vineyards and cereals; probably olives were grown too and animal husbandry was practised. Any evidence of the presence of an agglomeration is very scarce. An inscription mentions a *'pagus Minervius'*; however, the structures and number of tiles found in the proximity of the site do not allow us to establish whether they belong to a settlement, a villa or another type of occupation. The site of Saint-Pierre-de-Sénos has also been identified as the site of a potential town-like agglomeration because of the high concentration of domestic pottery, mosaics, architectural elements, burials and steles recovered. However, it remains very poorly understood, and, again, it is difficult to determine its nature. In the territory of Orange, no traces of public monuments (including temples or sanctuaries) have been found. However, findings of statues and shrines show that some religious activity was present in the countryside.

[632] Mostly known through surveys; excavation data are very rare (Roumégous 2009). Traces of artisanal production have also been found. Namely, two tileries, one pottery workshop, two metal workshops, two glassmakers, and possibly one workshop that made statues. Their chronology cannot be precisely established.

TABLEAU D'AGGLOMERATIONS RURALES G.-R. EN VAUCLUSE

| Communes | Lieux dits | Superficies en hectares | Eléments somptuaires | Inscriptions locales et voisines | Oppida proches | Voies proches | Saints patrons | Noms latins | Civitates ou pagi |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| BEAUMES | Aubune | 10 | | 5+(1) | Durban à 600m | de Carpentras à Vaison | Notre Dame d'Aubune | *ALBVNA | MEMINI |
| CADENET | Les Verunes | 8 | | 7+(5) | Castellar à 1.300m | d'Aix au Pont Julien | Notre Dame des Anges | LANOVALVS? | AQVAE DEXIVATES |
| CAUMONT | Les Serres | 6 | mosaïques marbres fresques | 2 | Bonpas à 1.200m | Camin Roumieu | Saint Symphorien | MACHO ? | CABELLIO CAVARES |
| LOURMARIN | Le Paradou | 4 | marbres fresques | 6 | Château Sarrazin | d'Aix au Pont Julien | | | AQVAE DEXIVATES |
| MALAUCENE | St Michel | 7 | fresques | (7) | Clairier à 900m | de Carpentras à Vaison | Saint Michel | | VOCONTII P.VASIONENSIS |
| MAZAN | St Andéol | 4 | | 3 | Notre Dame des Anges à 2.750m | Centuriations | Saint Andéol | | MEMINI |
| SEGURET | St Joseph | 5 | | 2 | Aubusson ? | de Carpentras à Vaison | Saint Joseph | DEOB... | VOCONTII P.DEOBENSIS |
| VENASQUE | N.D. de Vie | ? | | 4 (+9) | Vénasque | de Carpentras à Gordes | Notre Dame de Vie | VICVS | MEMINI |
| BEAUMETTES | | | | | | Via Domitia | | AD FINES | CAVARES VULGIENTES |
| BOLLENE | | | | | | Via Agrippae | | ADLETOCE | TRICASTINI |
| SORGUES | | | | | | Via Agrippae | | CYPRESSETA | CAVARES |

**Table 7: The rural agglomerations in Vaucluse (Broise 1984: 271).**

We can conclude that the settlement pattern of this region resembles that of the rural settlements located between Vienne and Valence, along the Rhône.

### 5.1.3 The agglomerations in south-eastern Gaul (Fréjus, Antibes, Vence, Briançonnet)

This region of study corresponds to part of Provence. It includes two different geographical districts (Figure 108). In the north-east, we find the Alps of Provence and the Maritime Alps. To the southwest, in Lower Provence, we find a series of well-marked limestone ranges (the Massif des Maures in the south and limestone ridges in the north) running from east to west, and separated by relatively broad lowland basins.[633] This is a region full of contrasts, with a Mediterranean facade, a mountainous and pre-Alpine landscape and a hinterland characterized by lowland basins and hilly landscapes.[634] This contrast becomes even stronger in the *civitates* of Antipolis and Vence, which lie only 20 km from the sea shore, but where mountains can be as high as 1778 m.

[633] Great Britain. Naval Intelligence Division 1942; Bertoncello 2002; 2005; Bertoncello *et al.* 2012.
[634] Lautier and Rothé 2010: 114, 243, 700; Morabito 2010: 54, 139, 173: Arnaud and Gazenbeek eds 2002.

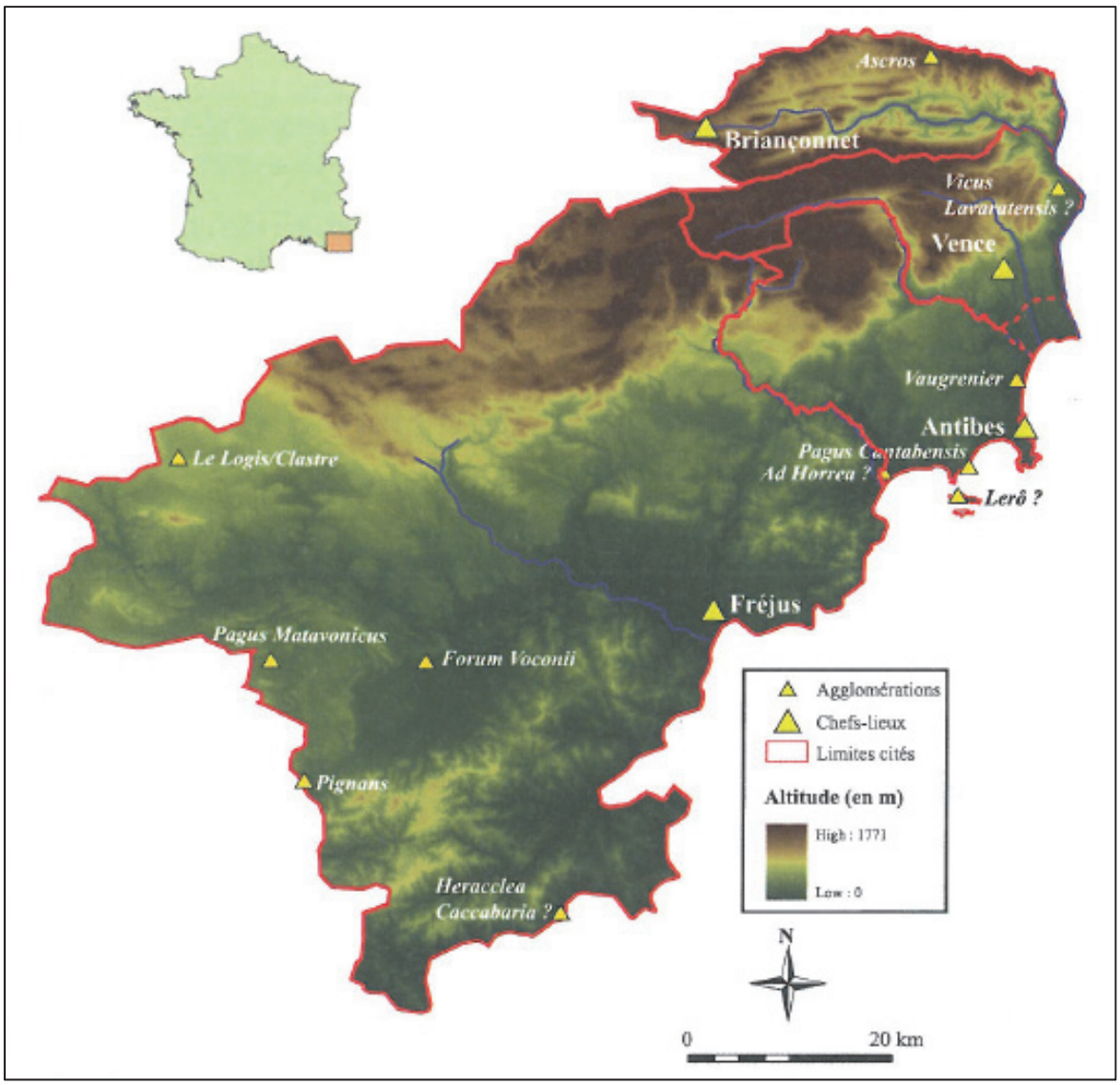


**Figure 108: The geography of the *civitates* of Fréjus, Antibes, Vence, and Briançonnet (Bertoncello and Lautier 2013: 196).**

Everywhere in this region, which has been very well researched, the dispersed settlements are predominant. However, we can see a stark contrast between the *civitas* of Fréjus (Lower Provence) and those of Antibes, Vence and Briançonnet (Alpes-Maritimes). During the High Empire, in the latter group the nucleated settlements were around 23-39% of all settlements, whilst in the *civitas* of Fréjus they did not exceed 6%. Similarly, in the Alpes-Maritime, there were fewer villas than there were in the territory of Fréjus (Figure 109).

If we look at Figure 110, the pattern becomes even clearer: two different models of land occupation were in place, one based on a dense network of villas (Fréjus), and another characteristic of the Alpes-Maritimes (Antibes, Vence and Briançonnet), where nuclear agglomerations had as much space as dispersed sites and villas. These nuclear agglomerations also displayed a number of mausoleums (e.g. Encourdoules, Vaugrenier or Carros) which are linked with the presence of the elite.[635] They were mostly created during the Late Iron Age

[635] For the epigraphic record of the Alpes Maritimes (Arnaud 2000).

(56%) and, in this pre-Alpine area, they mostly take the form of hill-top sites, especially so in the *civitates* of Antibes and Vence.

On the other hand, the *civitas* of Fréjus has, on average, fewer nucleated settlements, and they mostly lie in the plain. Its landscape resembles more closely the rest of Provence, which is similarly dominated by dispersed settlements. Villas are numerous and occupy the top of the settlement hierarchy (if we exclude the capital Fréjus). Only in the area of the Massif of the Maures do we have a more mixed landscape inherited from the Late Iron Age, consisting of (small) dispersed and grouped settlements.[636]

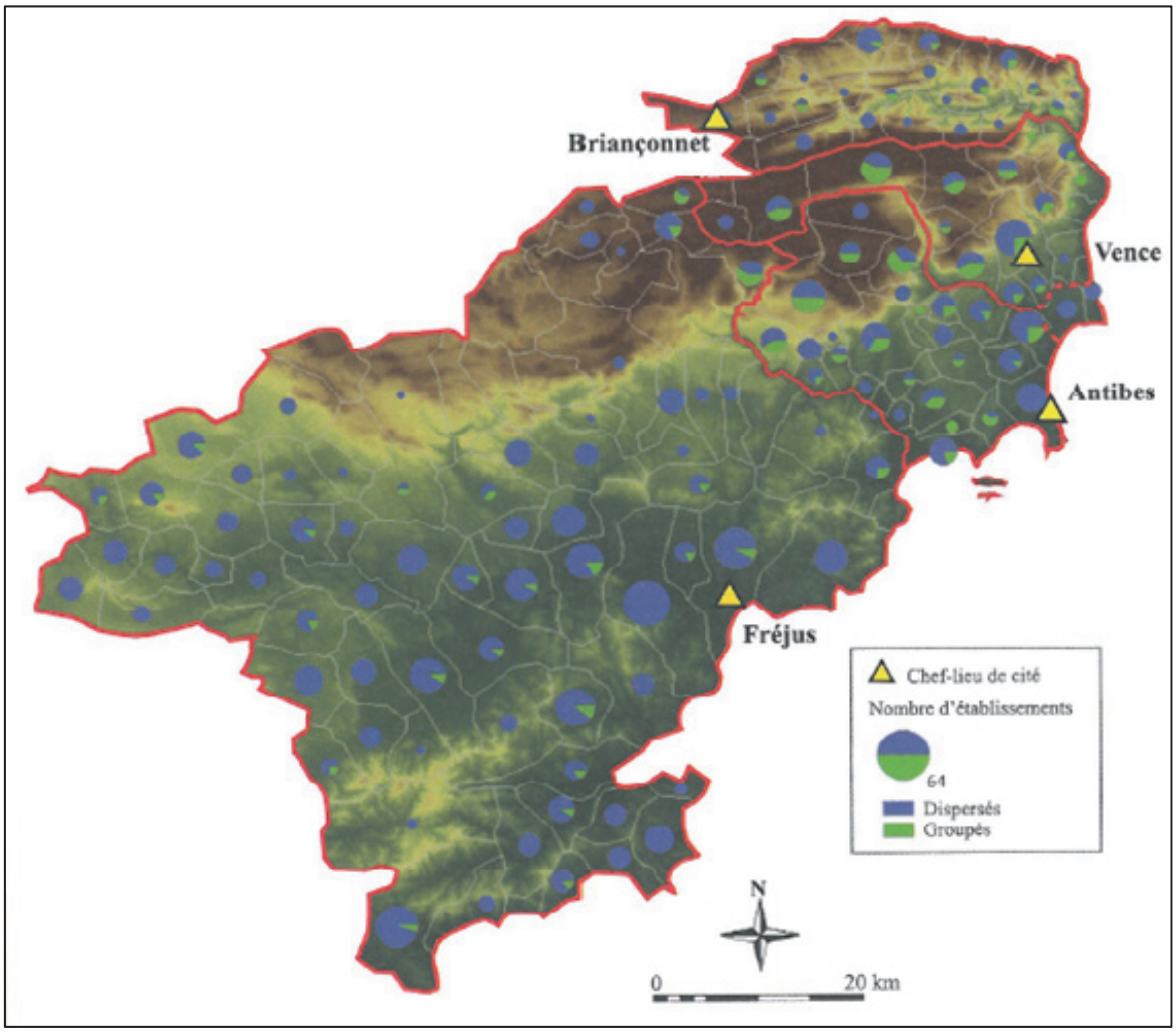


**Figure 109: The proportion of nucleated agglomerations (green) and dispersed ones (blue) in south-eastern Gaul (Bertoncello and Lautier 2013: 205).**

According to Bertoncello and Lautier, this dichotomy does not have an historical explanation (for example the fact that Fréjus was a veteran colony and land was distributed in allotments), but rather a geographical one: the *civitas* of Fréjus is more similar to the others in Provence, with a Mediterranean climate and a rolling landscape very suitable for agriculture. The others, on the other hand, are characterized by a much more elevated and fragmented landscape. In

[636] Bertoncello 2005. This duality has also been seen by Leveau in the territory of Caesarea (Mauretania): the greater the distance from the city, villas become fewer while smaller rural settlements increase in number (Leveau 1984: 483-485).

this pre-alpine climate and landscape, the economy was more reliant on husbandry (in particular sheep, but also pigs).[637]

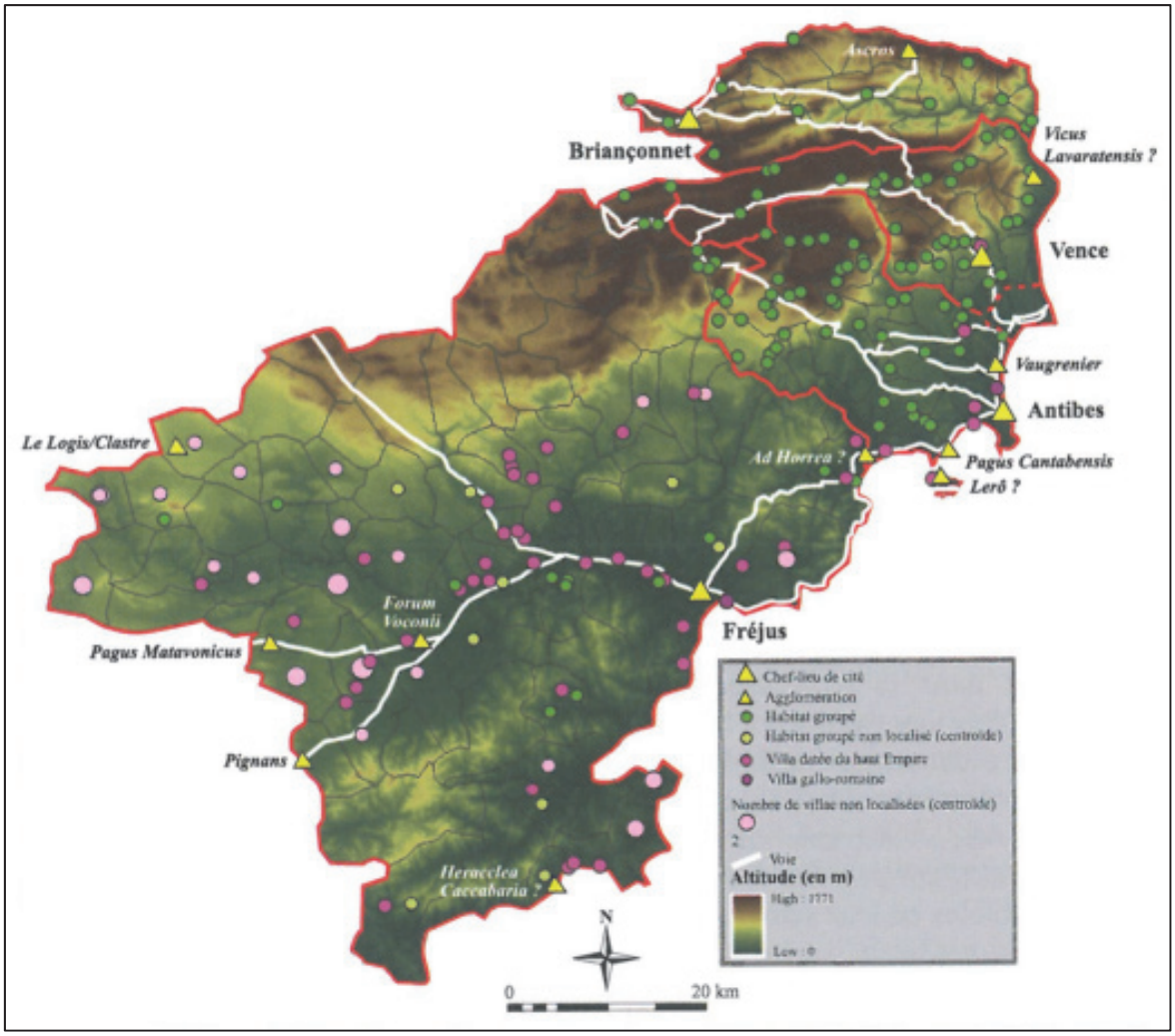


**Figure 110: The distribution of different types of settlements in south-eastern Gaul. Pink dots (villas) are concentrated in the western part of the case-study area, which corresponds to the territory of Fréjus; to the east, the nucleated settlements (green dots) are predominant (Bertoncello and Lautier 2013: 207).**

### 5.1.4 The *civitas* of Nîmes

As we have seen in chapter 2, in Eastern Languedoc a hierarchized settlement system was already in place before the arrival of the Romans. It is on top of this 'hybrid' landscape - quite difficult for us to decode - populated with Greek colonies and native settlements that the new Roman implantations were imposed.[638] The Roman settlement system adapted to what was already a well-organized mix of Greek outposts (concentrated along the coastline) and

[637] Bertoncello 2005.

[638] Favory *et al.* 2009. This network was formed essentially by old-established *oppida*, most of which dated from the first Iron Age and were hillforts: Nemausus, Mauressip, Sextantio, Villevielle were founded between 7th and 5th centuries BC. Others, such as Nages and Ambrussum, dated to the 3rd century BC. Several were located in a strategic position and had access to and control of rivers; others controlled the access to the sea and had a commercial function, such as Lattara, Virinnae, and Espeyran-Rhodonausia.

indigenous occupations. As recently suggested, 'this network of *oppida* formed a relatively tight-knit network of agglomerations of varying dates, sizes and probably statuses. […] Before the Roman conquest, the network of *oppida* was evenly spaced, with the estimated size of territories ranging from 75 to 150 square km.'[639] They were evenly spread out: *c*. 8-14 km from their nearest neighbour.[640] At the top of the hierarchy lies the capital Nemausus (30 ha):[641] it was followed by several agglomerations that measured around one-third to two-thirds of its size (10-20 ha) (Mauressip, Viellevielle, Lattara, Nages, Sextantio).[642] In the lowest rank, we find the *oppida* that were smaller than 5 ha (e.g. Ambrussum, Espeyran Rhodonausia, Virinnae).

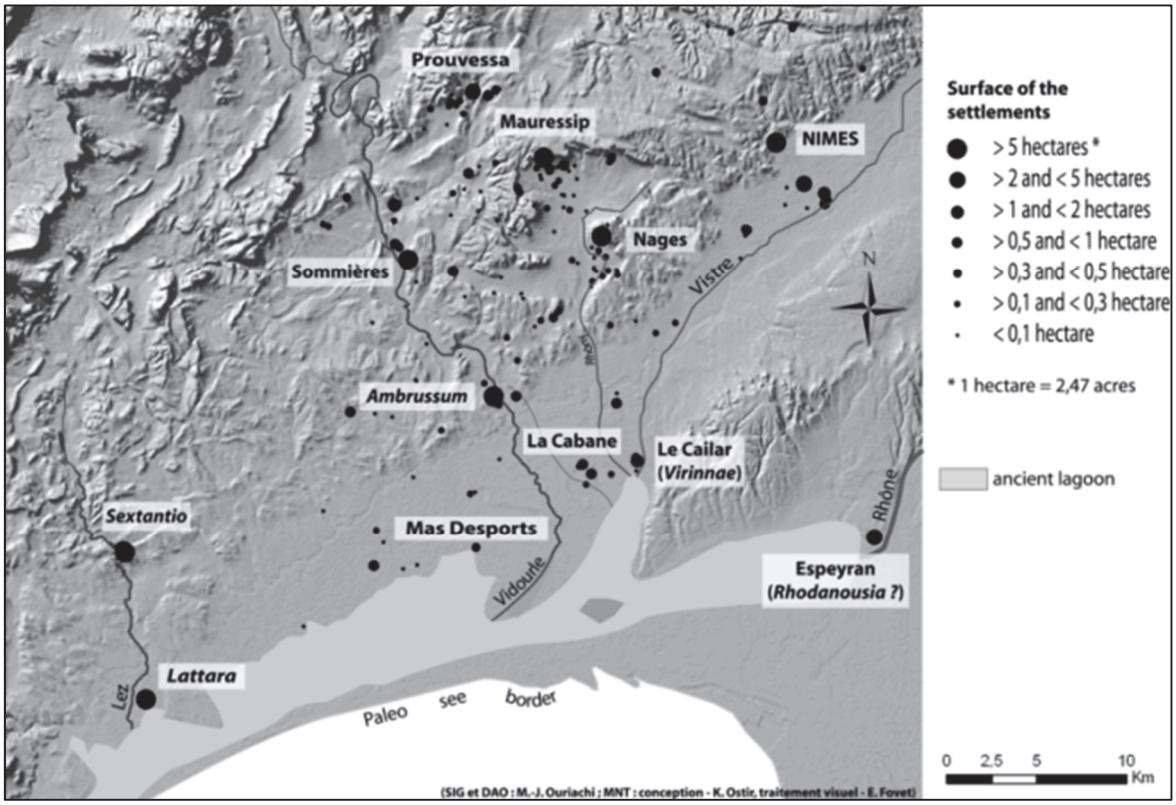


**Figure 111: The settlement system in Eastern Languedoc in the 1st century BC (Favory *et al.* 2009: 162).**

From the 2nd century BC, the number of dispersed settlements started to increase. Their number continued to grow until the 2nd century AD, when the smallest isolated establishments began to disappear. In spatial terms, as we can see from Figure 111, the distribution of these small establishments is closely associated with the existing *oppida* (which appear to be growing in size), as they were generally set up at their foot or in the nearby lowland, marking the

[639] Favory *et al.* 2009: 157. Also see Py 1990: 180, Fig. 77; Fiches 2002: 74.

[640] (2-3 hours' walking distance). Py 1990: 180, Fig. 77; Fiches 2002: 74. The only exceptions being the short distance of just 5 km between Mauressip and Nages, which were in competition for the territory (Nuninger 2002: 219-222).

[641] Monteil 1999: 327.

[642] During the project, Durand-Dastès *et al.* 1998 concluded that most of the villas were established around the mid-1st century AD, but more often in Flavian times. A significant proportion developed on top of the indigenous farms, especially in the areas around the Rhône or on the coastal plains. Around the end of the 2nd and beginning of the 3rd century AD the smallest sites would be abandoned, but the larger exploitations, like villas, would endure until Medieval times and would remain poles within the network, as villages.

geographical outreach of the *oppida* into the surrounding area.[643] This pattern is consistent with the model of rural occupation we have just described for case studies B and C (Vaucluse and south-eastern Gaul), but also for other regions of Gaul that will be introduced later, like Berry and Yonne.[644] In Caesarian-Triumviral times, along with the increase of settlements, we start to see the effects of centuriation on the territory.[645] Its role in structuring the settlement system, the road system, the division of land and the position of individual dwellings is incontrovertible. For example, the agglomeration of Lunel-Viel, founded in mid-1st century AD, was located at the crossroads of a secondary *decumanus* with a line parallel to the *cardines*.[646]

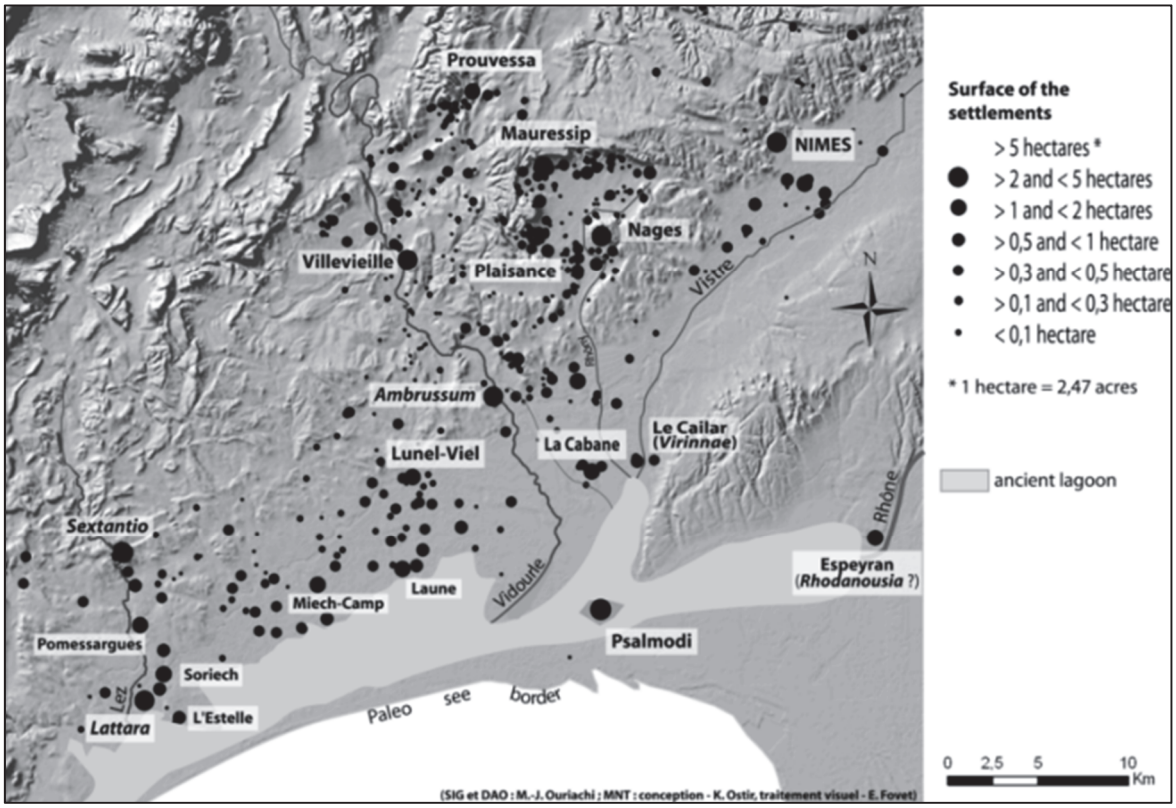


**Figure 112: The settlement system in Eastern Languedoc in 1st century AD (Favory *et al.* 2009: 165).**

These changes occurred gradually, and it was perhaps in mid-1st century AD that we see a radical increase in new foundations, whose arrangement superseded the one inherited from the Late Iron Age and, at the same time, changed it into something new (Figure 112). Nucleated settlements of protohistoric origin continued to exist and were flanked by other forms of settlements, including villas. Some of the newer settlements were created near those of

[643] Py 1990: 750-751. The important role played by the *oppida* during the 2nd to 1st centuries BC in the spread of rural establishment was also observed by the scholars who worked on the Archaeomedes project. The agglomerations, in fact, boosted the productivity of the rural landscape by fostering the agricultural exploitations of (yet) unoccupied land (Durand-Dastès *et al.* 1998).

[644] We see peaks in foundations elsewhere: 51% in Berry and 44% in Yonne (Gandini *et al.* eds 2008; Favory *et al.* 2008).

[645] Favory *et al.* 2009.

[646] The influence of centuriation is also recorded around Lattara, see Favory *et al.* 2009 for more details. Also see Raynaud ed. 2007: 88.

protohistorical origin while others were set in areas that had not yet been occupied, notably the lowlands, creating *de facto* competition with the old *oppida* (and in fact, in the 2nd century AD a number of *oppida* were abandoned, e.g. Ambrussum, Mauressip) (Figure 113).

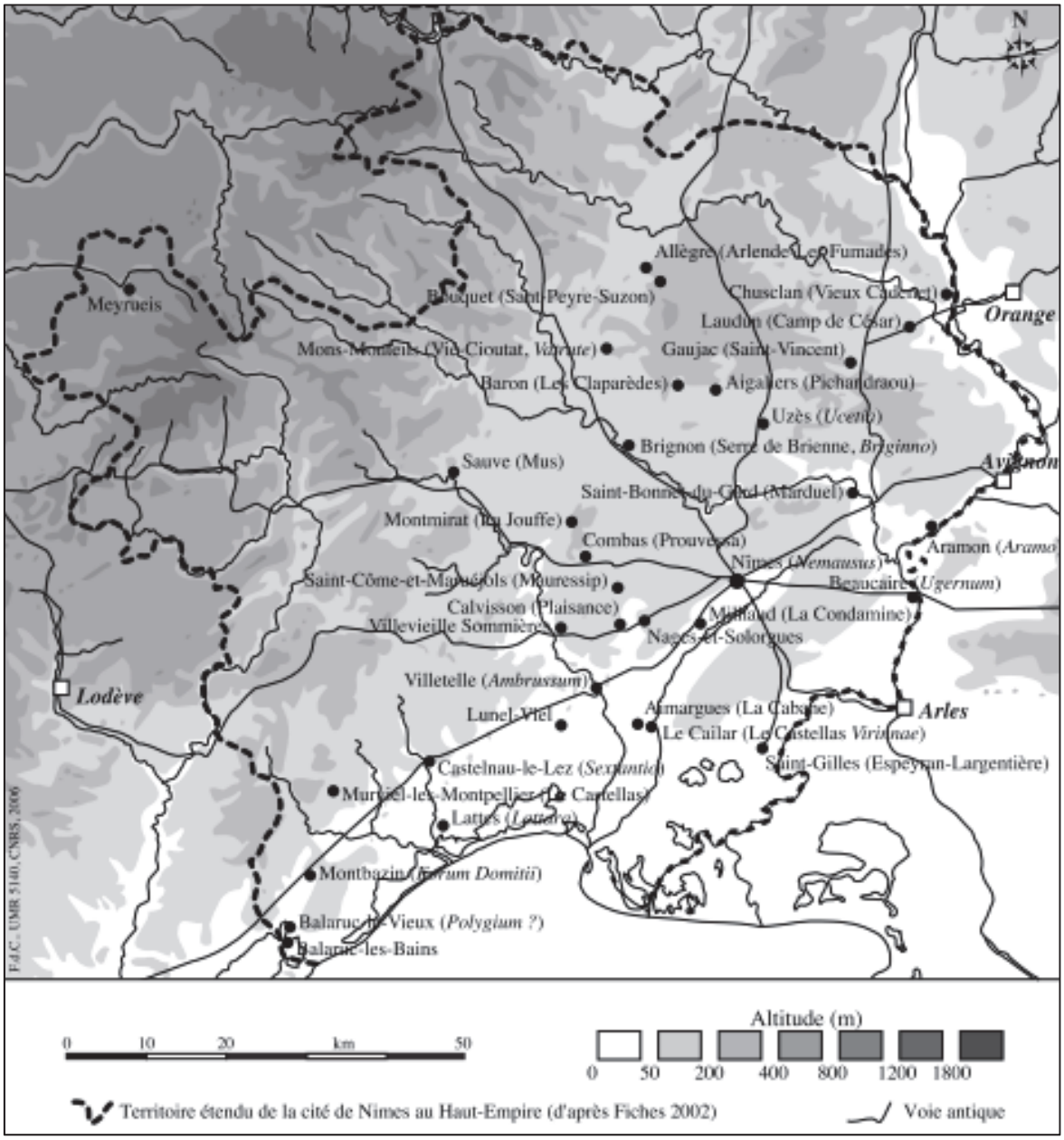


**Figure 113: The agglomerations in the territory of Nîmes (Garmy 2012b: 256).**

Centres arose at Lunel-Viel and Miech Camp, and a port settlement grew at La Piscine. A similar densification and hierarchization occurred in the Combas area, to the north, which until then had been only sparsely populated with only one sizeable settlement.[647] However, this burst of settlements was fragile and ephemeral, both quantitatively and qualitatively. Eastern Languedoc was indeed one of the most prolific regions of southern Gaul in terms of number of foundations. However, it was also the one with the highest rate of abandonment during the 2nd

[647] The Archaedyn programme has revealed foundation rates of 65% in Haute-Provence, 60% in Limagne and 41% in the Argens Valley and the Massif des Maures.

century AD. Claude Raynaud's research has shown that the greatest contribution to the 1st-century-AD peak came from small dwellings and outbuildings. Their disappearance did not jeopardize the broad settlement system since (large) villas and enduring farmsteads ensured an uninterrupted occupation of the countryside.

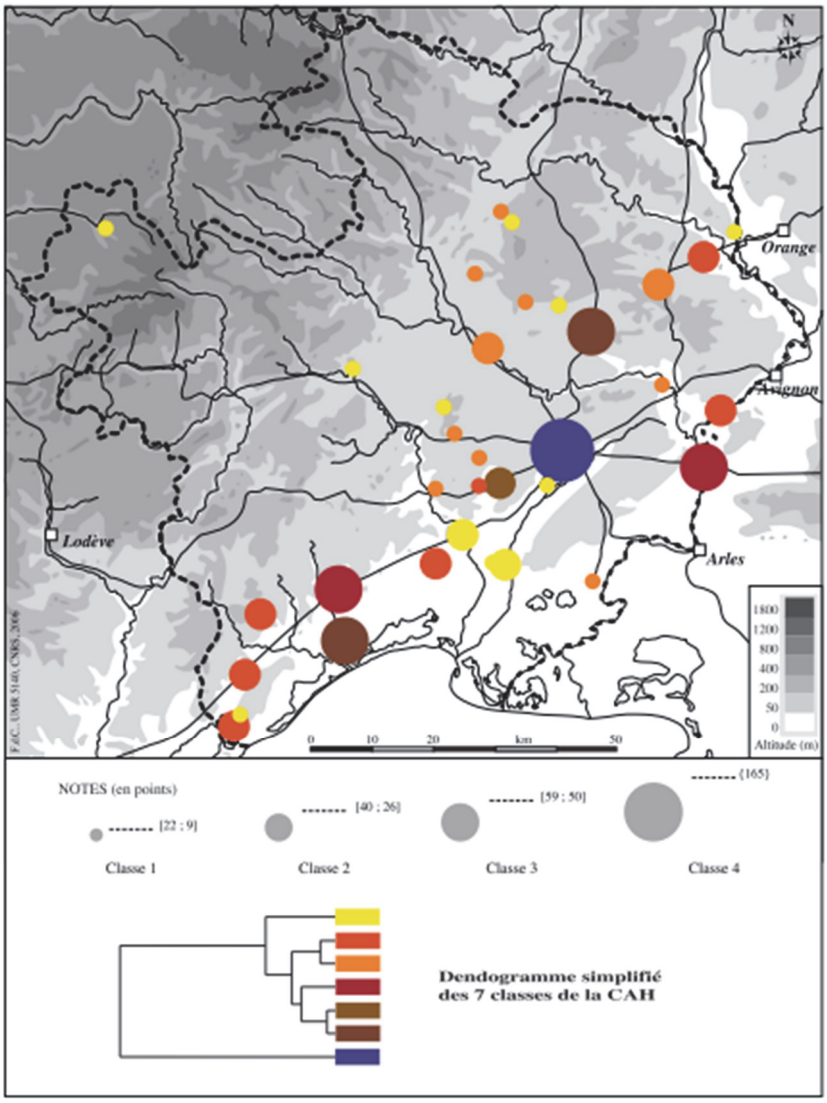


**Figure 114: Hierarchical classification of the agglomerations of Nîmes (Garmy 2012: 294).**

The settlement system was polarized around agglomerations among which, as mentioned above, several could have a pre-Roman origin and were soon reached by a Mediterranean influence. Evidence can be traced in the changes that affected the architecture of elite housing (for example in Lattara Italic-style houses were built with a central courtyard from the 3rd century BC, but the same is attested for Ambrussum, Sextantio, Villevieille etc.).[648] The agglomerations at the top of the hierarchy often had a public area (e.g. the porticated square and the baths in Ambrassum), although the street grid is missing in the oldest ones. In these agglomerations along with the elite there were inhabitants of more modest dwellings, which attest a certain degree of social diversity. Some of these settlements were, however, short lived.

[648] However, even the elite's *domus* displayed a mixture of Roman and more indigenous traditions.

Some scholars believe that this decline is associated with the fact that these *oppida* were 'attributed' to Nîmes and lost their autonomy.

The agglomerations in the *civitas* of Nîmes were not homogenously distributed. They mostly concentrate in the plain (below 200 m above sea level), and especially in its southern portion, close to the Domitian road and to the river Rhône. While Nîmes is one of the largest capitals of Gaul (130 ha), its secondary agglomerations are on average quite small and struggled to reach 20 ha (the largest were Lattara and Muressip, which both measured 18 ha). Other agglomerations ranged between 15 to 12 ha (e.g. Villevieille-Sommieres, Sextantio, Nages), while still others measured 7 ha or less (e.g. Ambrussum)[649]. Pierre Garmy looked at the settlement hierarchy of this *civitas*, using both quantitative and qualitative criteria along with indicators of socio-economic value (e.g. aqueduct, urban plan, toponym, the number of inscriptions, the number of public monuments and so on).[650] He distinguished six different classes. The normal trend is that at the top of the hierarchy lie those that have a longer history (they are occupied from protohistory); the most recent ones, on the other hand, were abandoned sooner.

The settlement system in Roman times appears to be dominated by the capital, Nîmes, which was five times larger than the other agglomerations (the relationships had changed since pre-Roman times, when it used to be at most two or three times larger). The increasing force of attraction of Nîmes on its territory can be perceived also through the analysis of the epigraphic record. In fact, in the 1st century AD, inscriptions celebrating members of the most influential family of the *civitas* (namely the Antonii, the Pompeii, and the Valerii) are found in a variety of small agglomerations, such as Lattara, Ambrussum, Brigno, Alès, Uzès, Gaujac, and Laudun. In the 2nd century AD, however, they are massively concentrated in Nîmes. A few are found in settlements like Lattara, Laudun, Beaucaire-Ugernum, and Espeyran-Rhodonousia, attesting a major shift eastwards, towards the capital or towards the coast.[651]

The displacing of the pre-existing elites to the capital city was the result of locational choices made by the wealthy, one of a series of selections relating to the maximization of opportunity and security, for themselves and for their capital. In Nîmes, the extremely wealthy could both lobby the highest governmental officials and be courted and supported by a large cadre of cultural, financial and political intermediaries. The massive concentration of money power drawn to Nîmes and the 'geographical dimension' of this phenomenon (which could be interpreted within the city-countryside and core-periphery paradigms) would, therefore,

[649] In the late 2nd century AD some ancient *oppida* were abandoned (e.g. Ambrassum, Mauressip, Lattara) and by the 3rd century AD Sextantio was abandoned, too, along with other agglomerations that were founded in the 1st century AD (e.g. Villevielle, Prouvesa etc.) (Favory *et al.* 2009).

[650] He then performed a hierarchical cluster analysis and compared the results of this multivariate statistical analysis with the size. He found out that size is a discrete proxy for hierarchy since there was a correlation of 0.89. This means that in 62% of cases the two analyses have classified sites in the same way, in 35% of cases there was a difference of one class and only in 3% of the cases was it larger.

[651] See the published thesis: Ouriachi 2009. The considerable drawing power of Nîmes has been detrimental to several 'urban' elements of secondary agglomerations (e.g. morphology and functions). In fact, several seem to have declined in terms of monumentality and socio-economic dynamism. The connection with their rural estates was maintained as the location of the foliage-decorated tombstones shows (Favory *et al.* 2009: 175, Fig. 11)

increase the size and political influence of the elites, while at the same time raising the level of competitiveness of the political career in Nîmes.

In a city where so many individuals from all social classes found it convenient to relocate, the likelihood of political career advancements diminished. For example, within the clan of the Valerii (more than 400 members recorded in Narbonensis and more than 100 in the only *civitas* of Nîmes), no one appears to have been able to reach the equestrian or senatorial rank.[652]

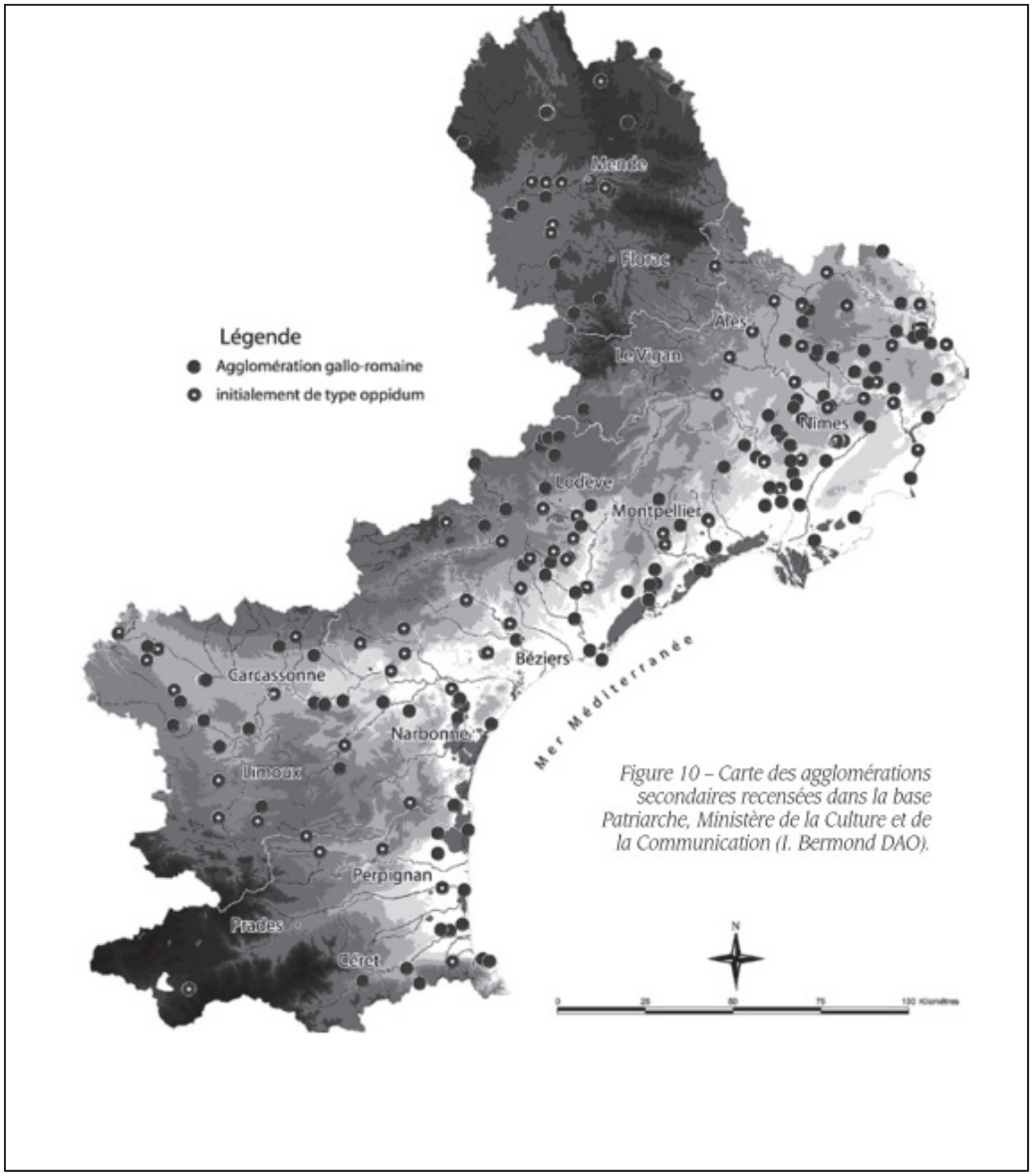


**Figure 115: The agglomerations of Languedoc-Roussillon (black dots) and the surviving *oppida* (white dots) (Bermond *et al.* 2012: 94).**

In western Languedoc and Roussillon, the network of agglomerations was significantly less dense than in the territory of Nîmes, and villas were a central component of the settlement system (Figure 116). Pellecuer was able to look at the evolution of the agglomeration of Mèze (in the basin de Thau), whose territory slowly became occupied by newly established villas.[653]

[652] Christol 1992. Also see Ouriachi 2009, in particular chapter 2.3 *'Une société composite'*.
[653] Pellecuer 2005.

In the Iron Age, this agglomeration lay *c.* 15 km away from the *massaliote* foundation of Agde and appeared to be an important regional pole of population, with no direct competitors in a range of 10 km (Figure 117 A). A large number of Massalian sherds and archaeological finds were detected in a semicircular area (*c.* 400 ha), which suggests this was the area intensively exploited by the settlement for its own subsistence (crop cultivations). Five kilometres away from the settlement there was a second sphere of influence. It was more extensively exploited, possibly to complement the activities performed near the agglomeration. A few installations were probably used in the land furthest away.

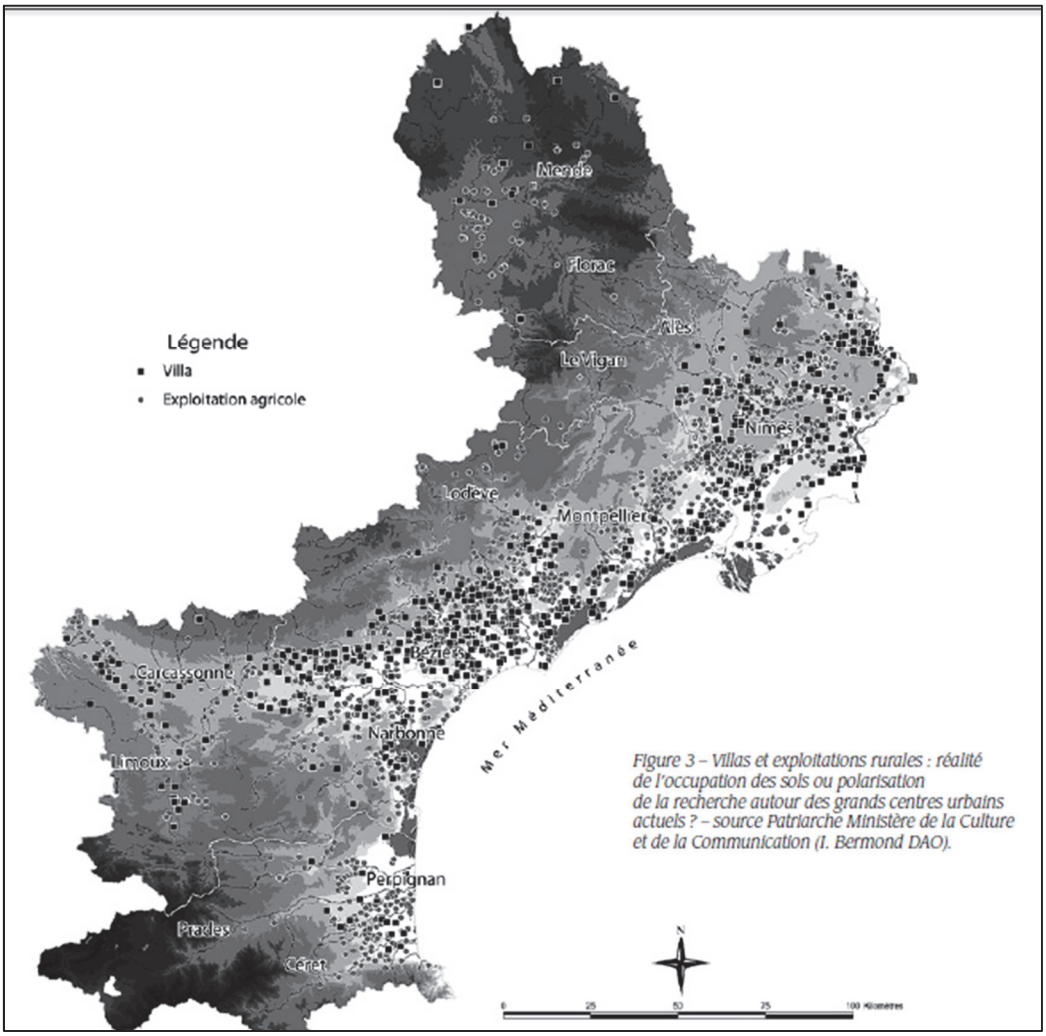


**Figure 116: The rural settlement of Languedoc-Roussillon. Villas (large squares) and other establishments (small squares). (Bermond *et al.* 2012: 98)**

In Roman times, this space was filled up with villas and smaller rural establishments, which were perhaps part of their domains (Figure 117 B). These villas possibly had some small ancillary installations and satellites with complementary functions (for example, sites on the coast served as quays). While it is possible that this growth in number of settlements did not necessarily come at the expense of Mèze, it is obvious that beyond the first inner semicircle new large exploitations appeared, and it is unlikely that these new structures depended on this agglomeration, as was probably the case during the Iron Age. The existence of independent

quays that served the most important villas directly suggests in fact the latter were independent and managed alone the flux of goods that went in and out.[654] Finally, although we cannot say the agglomeration lost its role as a central place, we may have doubts about its relevance. In fact, the agglomeration and the largest villas may have fulfilled similar roles - and therefore be at the same rank within the settlement hierarchy and be poles of equal importance.[655]

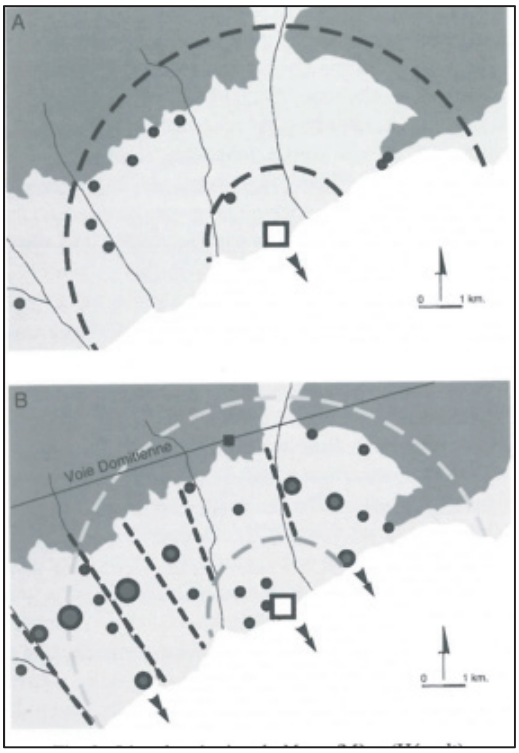


**Figure 117: The agglomeration of Mèze, Hérault (Pellecuer 2005: 103).**

### 5.1.5 The *civitas* of Luteva

The city of Luteva controlled a territory of *c.* 800 square km.[656] The settlement system of this region appears to have been very different from that of nearby Nîmes. While it was based on rural agglomerations, this time the centrality of the capital Lodève (Luteva) appears to have been minimal. In fact, this *civitas* capital measured only 7 ha, and up to now, no public buildings are known. Its influence on the other agglomerations (which were more or less the same size) appears to have been very weak as well.[657] The territory of this *civitas* is characterized by two contrasting types of landscape: the plain in the south (less than 300 m above sea level) and the plateau of Larzac on the southern edge of the Massif Central (*c*. 800 m above sea level). The transition between these two different regions is quite brutal and makes

[654] Similarly to what Morley 1996 observed for Campania, villas were integrated in a competitive, dendritic market system. They did not necessarily rely on *intermediary trading* centres (e.g. villages, nucleated settlements). Some landowners were wealthy enough to take care of their own distribution to urban markets in the country of production and even to other countries (Bintliff 2002: 229).
[655] Pellecuer 2005. Also read Ouzoulias 2012.
[656] Garmy and Schneider 1998.
[657] Perhaps it became a colony: CIL XII, 4247: C(olonia ?) Claudia Luteva (see Garmy *et al*. 2004: 7; Gascou 1995).

communication hard. If we look at the spatial layout of the sites, we see how influential geography was.

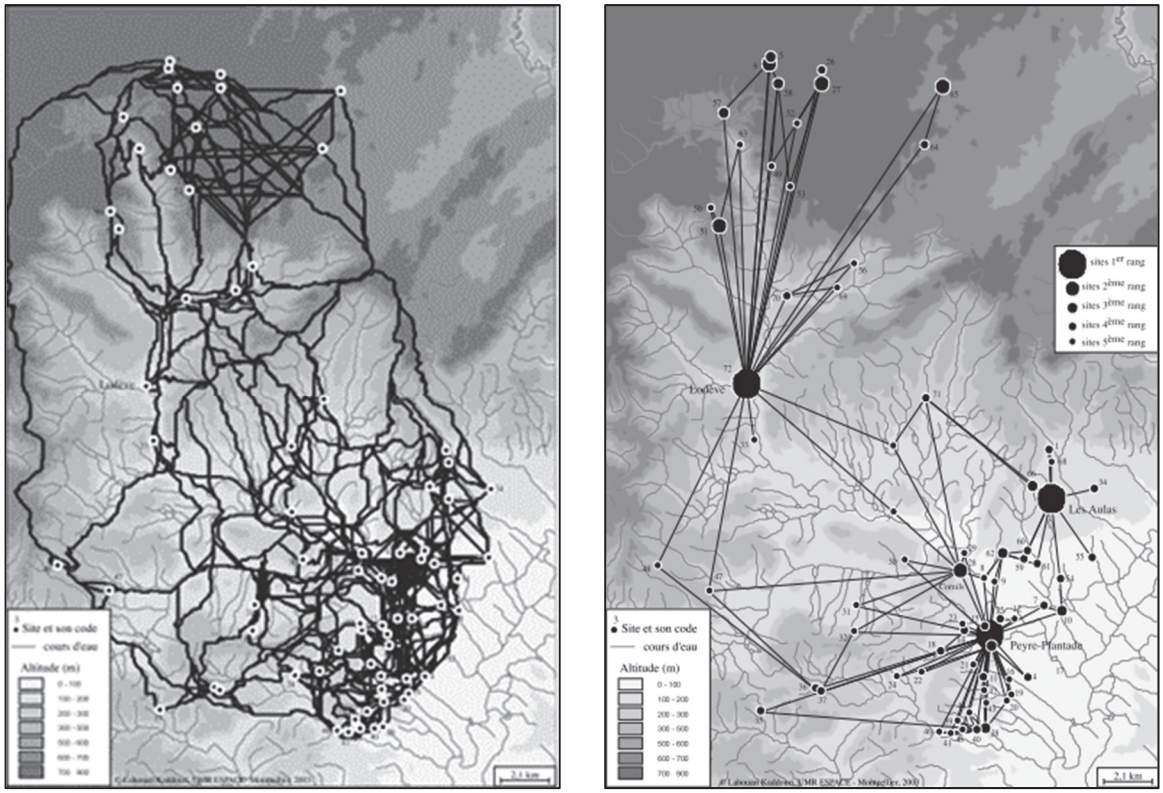


**Figure 118: Left - analysis of the potential paths, the centrality of the city of Lodève is debatable, while the one of Les Aulas appears to be higher than previously thought. Right - ranks and areas of influence of the agglomerations within this civitas (Garmy 2012b: 241 and 246).**

During the High Empire, sites concentrated in two different sectors i. the sites located on the plateau, hard to access, ii. those on the plain, with the city of Lodève in an intermediary position (at an average distance of 6 hours' walk from the other sites). Given how difficult to access this city was and the alternative potential paths (Figure 118 left), the idea that Lodève played a strategic part in the trade of La Graufesenque pottery appears fragile. The agglomeration of Les Aulas, which could be reached by different paths and hosted workshops (possibly branches of those at La Graufesenque), is a potential alternative. An analysis of centrality performed on these sites demonstrated that within the *civitas* four sites were able to become regional centres with their own areas of influence: Lodève, Peyre Plantade, Les Aulas (rank 1), and Cornils (rank 2) (Figure 118 right). On the plateau, on the other hand, individual sites appear to be more autonomous and not hierarchically organized like the ones on the plain.

The influence of the agglomeration of Les Aulas, for example, is calculated to mostly reach as far as 1-hour's walking distance and a maximum of 3.30 hours. These agglomerations were modest and had a rural character (they were small and did not have any public buildings). However, they were a point of reference for the countryside. Peyre Planade, in mid-1st century AD, had a number of cellars aligned along the main road, which must be linked to the presence of viticulture, which was probably practised along with other activities (cultivation of fruits, olives, cereals and so on). Quite clearly, these agglomerations were not making much profit

from these activities, as the lack of luxury items suggests. We can conclude that we are faced with a multipolar system, not very hierarchized, with a strong dichotomy between north and south and between the plain and the plateau which is based on rural agglomerations. However, the system was well integrated and was sustained thanks to a variety of resources. In Medieval times the sites in the north would be abandoned and the level of integration would decrease.

## 5.2 The distribution of secondary agglomerations in Aquitania

Given the regional diversification in Aquitania in terms of geography, demography, history, and socio-economic aspects, a number of case studies will be presented.

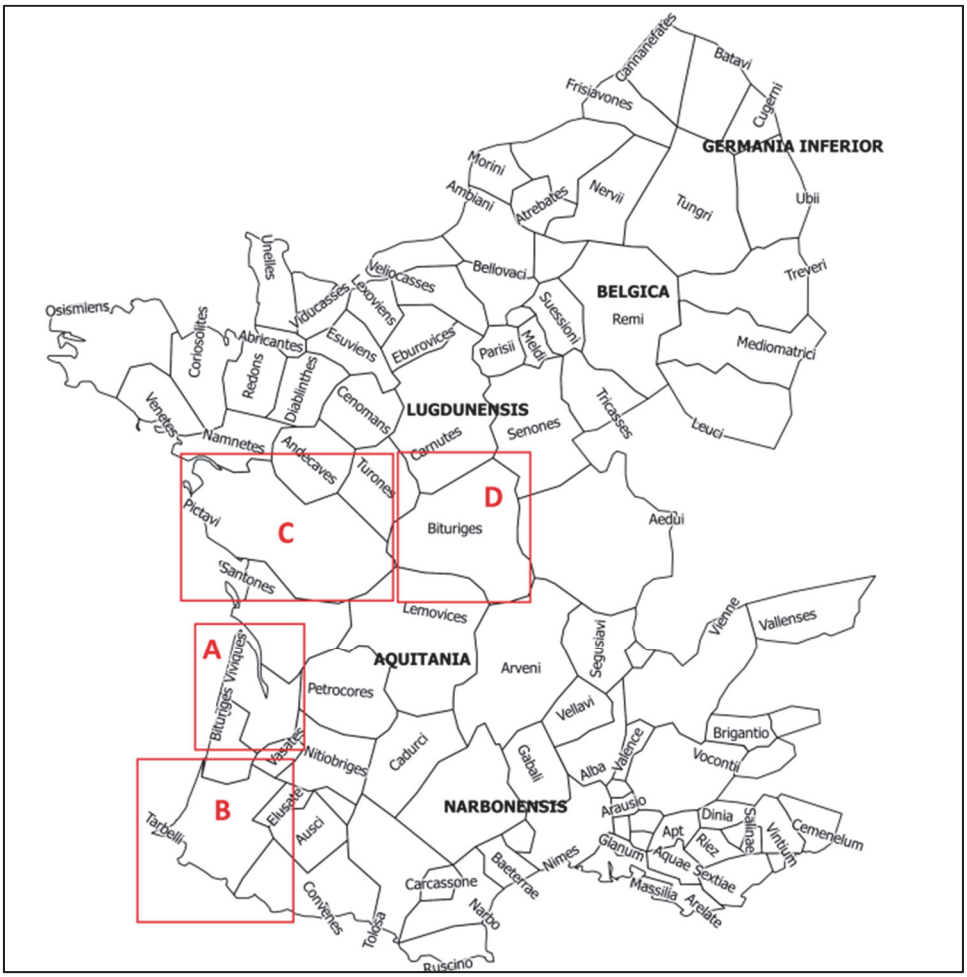


**Figure 119: Case studies selected for the analysis of settlement systems in Aquitania.**

- Case study A: The Gironde and the area that stretched from the Gironde southward, in a region characterized by a low landscape, lagoons, sandy dunes and marshy wetland.

- Case study B: The western Pyrenees, a peripheral area whose settlement pattern was highly influenced by topography: i. the Landes, on the west, a sandy country lying behind the barrier of coastal dunes and covering a very large proportion of the area, and the low-lying inland country which was covered with swamps and lakes; ii. to the east a stony plateau with radiating valleys covered with villas and temporary indigenous structures.

- Case study C: The *civitas* of the Pictones, a *civitas* that, in its eastern half, has some of the largest and most monumentalized secondary agglomerations of Gaul.
- Case D: The *civitas* of the Bituriges Cubi, with large and rich agglomerations as monumentalized as those of the Pictones, and for which we also have information on its pre-Roman network.

### 5.2.1 The Gironde

This case-study area includes portions of three different *civitates* with their respective *civitas* capitals: the one of the Bituriges Vivisci (Bordeaux), the Vasati (Bazas) and the Boiati (Biganos or possibly Andernos[658]).

The itineraries recall a significant number of agglomerations (Figure 120); however, those archaeologically attested are much fewer. Part of the problem lies in the poor evidence available, but also in the fact that these agglomerations had a rural character and, on average, were modest, little structured, and did not have any signs of monumentality. They were sparsely inhabited and left few traces.

Five roads left from Bordeaux. Two went towards Spain: one stretching along the coast and one running slightly more in the hinterland; they re-joined in Dax. Another ran northwards, towards Saintes, and another north-east, towards Périgueux. The last one headed southeast, towards Bazas. Only two sites are attested archaeologically along the two roads that go to Spain. A few structures were found in Segosa and Losa.[659]

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[658] In the High Empire we have evidence of the existence of the *civitas* of the Boiati. It is named in a funerary inscription found in Bordeaux (CIL XIII 615), which mentions Saturninus, *civis Boias*, who died at the age of 37. The Notitia Galliarum mentions a *civitas*, the *civitas* Boatium, that scholars often identify with the Roman one, despite the lack of hard evidence. Most probably this *civitas* was annexed to the territory of Bordeaux in Late Antiquity. The size of its territory is unknown.
Boios seems to have been a 'phantom city' in the sense that it is known only by a few literary sources, but we have no certainty about its real location. The city is mentioned in the Antonine Itinerary (456, 4): it is the first stop on the road travelling from Bordeaux to Dax. Archaeological excavations have been undertaken on the exact spot where the Itinerary indicated, but no archaeological evidence has been found.
The city is often identified by scholars as corresponding to modern day Biganos (which is the location we are using in this work). However, it has been suggested that it was located at the modern Bois-de-Lamothe, the small agglomeration excavated by Peyneau that seems to have been continuously occupied from the 1st to the 4th centuries AD century. In its first phase, only a few small farms and rudimental structures, in addition to a cremation *necropoleis,* were found. Later three new buildings built in hard materials, a residential building and, perhaps, a public monument surrounded by a *porticus* were built. A small *fanum* was found south of the agglomeration measuring 3.60 x 3.60 m. All these structures date to the High Empire; most coins date from the second half of the 2nd century to the mid-4th century (from Hadrian to Arcadius), and the pottery dates to the 1st to 4th centuries. Ferdière ed. 2004 dedicates two chapters to this city and mentions it in his introduction, too; also see Jouannet 1829: 199.
A last possibility is that the capital was located at Andernos, which was perhaps a seat of a bishopric (CIL XIII 11036, V AD) (Thierry 1999; Maurin 2003).

[659] Losa (Sanguinet) is an extremely interesting site within the *civitas* of the Boiati, on the route that connected Bordeaux to Dax. It was located where the river Gourgue was crossed. The area was marshy: Roman engineers had to build artificial dry passages using the techniques of the '*pontes longos'* (Tacitus, Annales, I, 63, 4-5). The site is now partially submerged. According to Rorison, its high percentage of imported pottery (70%) corresponds to its commercial function. It has yielded a high number of small finds (pottery shreds, coins, jewelry). Houses were built mainly in wood. In the 3rd century AD the site was moved eastward because of the rise in the lake level. Garmy 2012b: 217; Rorison 2001: 106-107; and Bost *et al*. eds 2004.

**Figure 120: The agglomerations in the Gironde known from ancient sources (Garmy 2012b: 216).**

In the latter, we know that pitch was manufactured and a temple was erected. On the road to Saintes the agglomeration of Blavia is supposed to have played a strategic role; however, no significant evidence has ever been found.[660] The site of Tannum in the neighbouring *civitas* of the Santones was not far. It covered up to 50 ha and had a temple, a theatre, an aqueduct, baths and a *horreum.*[661] On the road towards Périgueux we know of the existence of the *stationes* of Varatedo (Vayes)[662] and Corterate (Coutras),[663] of which we know very little further. The site of Condatis, on the other hand, remains to be located (possibly, it lay not far from Libourne,

[660] Blavia (Blaye) was an agglomeration in the *civitas* of the Bituriges Vivisci, on the right bank of the Garonne, and on an important road that went from Bordeaux to Saintes. This road station is mentioned on both the Antonine Itinerary and Tabula Peuntingeriana. The site is very little understood but was of strategic importance for reaching the large cities in the north of Aquitaine, such as Saintes and Poitiers. The road north of Blaye is known for its *miliares* (milestones) (for example one was found at the site of Saint-Ciers-sur-Gironde). In the Late Empire it becomes a military site, particularly strategic for defending Bordeaux. A fortress hosted the *'milites Garronenses',* and Ausone calls it *'Blavia militaris'*. Until the First World War it kept a military role.

[661] Tannum (Barzan-Talmont) was an agglomeration within the *civitas* of the Santones located on the right bank of the river Gironde, on a major road that connected Saintes to Bordeaux. It was, perhaps, the harbour of the city of Saintes. The Roman agglomeration lasted between 1st and 3rd centuries; it was preceded by a rich Iron Age phase (Tranoy 2010: 122). Aerial photography revealed it was a scattered settlement. There is evidence of marble. An altar bears the name of an euerget, a man - possibly from Lyon or Spain - who is also known from an inscription from Niort (ILTG 153).

[662] Site in the *civitas* of the Bituriges Vivisci, located on the place where the main road crosses the river Dordogne. The site has produced many small finds, stretching from Iron Age up to the Roman period. Pottery production end 1st century AD, regional scale (Garmy 2012b: 218).

[663] Corterate (Coutras). Site in the *civitas* of the Bituriges Vivisci, at the confluence of the rivers Dronne and Isle. There is evidence of occupation from Iron Age up to Merovingian times. It lay on the road to Limoges.

but it is not certain[664]). The road to Bazas is known from the Itinerarium Burdigalese (which dates to AD 312-460), which in part complicates things. One of these road stations was probably under the modern Isle-Saint-Georges (*Stomata*?), possibly on the island in the river Garonne. There is evidence of a few houses and workshops.[665] Another one was probably Alingo (Langon), which also has yielded little evidence.[666]

If we look at the distribution of public buildings in this region (Figure 121), we see that most agglomerations do not present any significant signs of prestige and wealth. The only exceptions are Brion, the largest of them (10-15 ha), and Sanguenet, which have theatres. Their monumentality, however, is quite poor when compared to one of the other secondary agglomerations, such as the already mentioned Talmont.[667] This agglomeration was part of the *civitas* of the Santones located on the right bank of the river Gironde, on a major road that connected Saintes to Bordeaux. It was, perhaps, the harbour of the city of Saintes.

Garmy has attempted a reconstruction of the settlement hierarchy of this region, to which he adds - as a point of comparison - the agglomeration of Talmont.[668] Using various criteria and analysing the data collected by performing a hierarchical ascending cluster analysis, he was able to distinguish three different classes of agglomerations:

- Rank 1: Bordeaux
- Rank 2a: other *civitas* capitals, such as Biganos-Andernos and Bazas, both lying at quite a distance from Bordeaux.
- Rank 2b: Brion and Talmont, secondary agglomerations, far from the field of attraction of capitals and possibly capital of *pagi* themselves (not enough evidence to confirm it).
- Rank 3: a monolithic and undistinctive mass of agglomerations (partly due to the poor evidence we have, and partly due to the fact that they were small and little structured). Their role as road *stationes* appears to be implicit given their mention in the ancient itineraries. We can imagine that in some cases they functioned as marketplaces and artisanal centres.

[664] Garmy 2012b: 219.
[665] Rorison 2001: 104.
[666] Garmy 2012b: 221.
[667] Evidence of marble. The Roman agglomeration lasted between the 1st and 3rd centuries; it was preceded by a rich Latenian phase (Tranoy 2010: 122). Aerial photography revealed it was a scattered settlement. An altar bears the name of the benefactor, a man (possibly from Lyon or Spain, who is also known from an inscription from Niort (ILTG 153).
[668] Garmy 2012b.

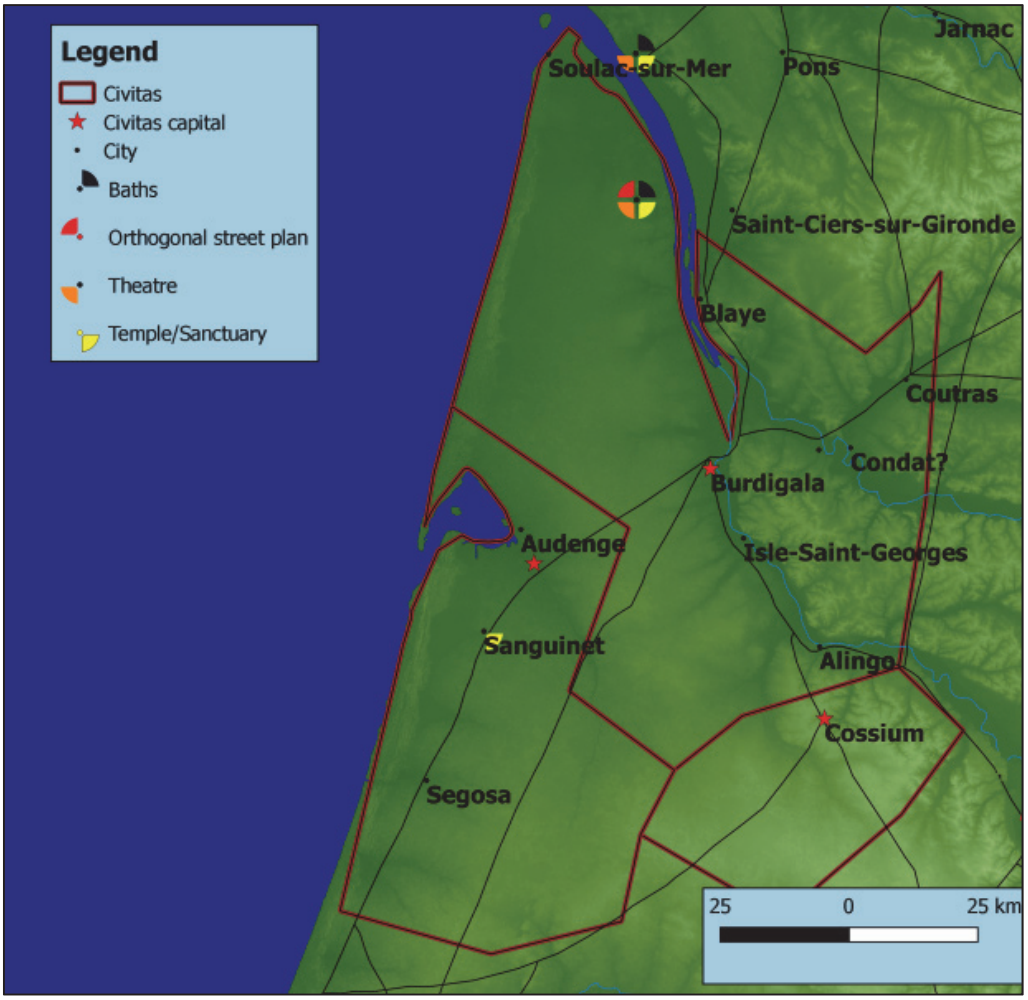


**Figure 121: The public buildings in the Gironde.**

Thus, here the settlement system is polarized around a few agglomerations. Bordeaux (100 ha), which was at the top of the settlement hierarchy, had a massive force of attraction. The only settlement that appears to become a substantial pole is Brion (almost ten times smaller). The roads on which these agglomerations (or road stations) developed would become central in the Late Empire (as the number of milestones confirms); however, in the High Empire much of the trade operated through the Garonne and the Atlantic Ocean.[669]

### 5.2.2 The western Pyrenees

The western Pyrenees is a region offering extremely varied environments, with its sandy dunes and wet country in the west, and a stony plateau in the east. The higher parts are dry and sterile, affording only pasture, but in the lower country, steep slopes are wooded, and gentler slopes and valley bottoms lie amidst arable fields. The western Pyrenees are characterized by a settlement system with roots in protohistoric times. The economy of this region is partly based on agriculture, seasonal pastoralism, and transhumance.

[669] Cfr. East Anglia (Gurney 1995).

The precarious and temporary installations established in the foothills consisted of simple buildings built of perishable materials, at times enclosed in dry stone walls, covered with a light lean-to roof and paved with cobblestones. No tiles, bricks, or mortar were used to build the elevation. These sites were short lived and left few traces on the ground. The rudimentary hearths (built in half an hour or so), allow us to recognize them. As mentioned above, this peculiar form of occupation began in protohistoric times (middle - final Bronze Age) and persisted in Roman times (from Augustus to the 4th or 5th centuries AD). Most of these temporary camps can be found in the area north of Lescar and south of the Landes of Gascony.

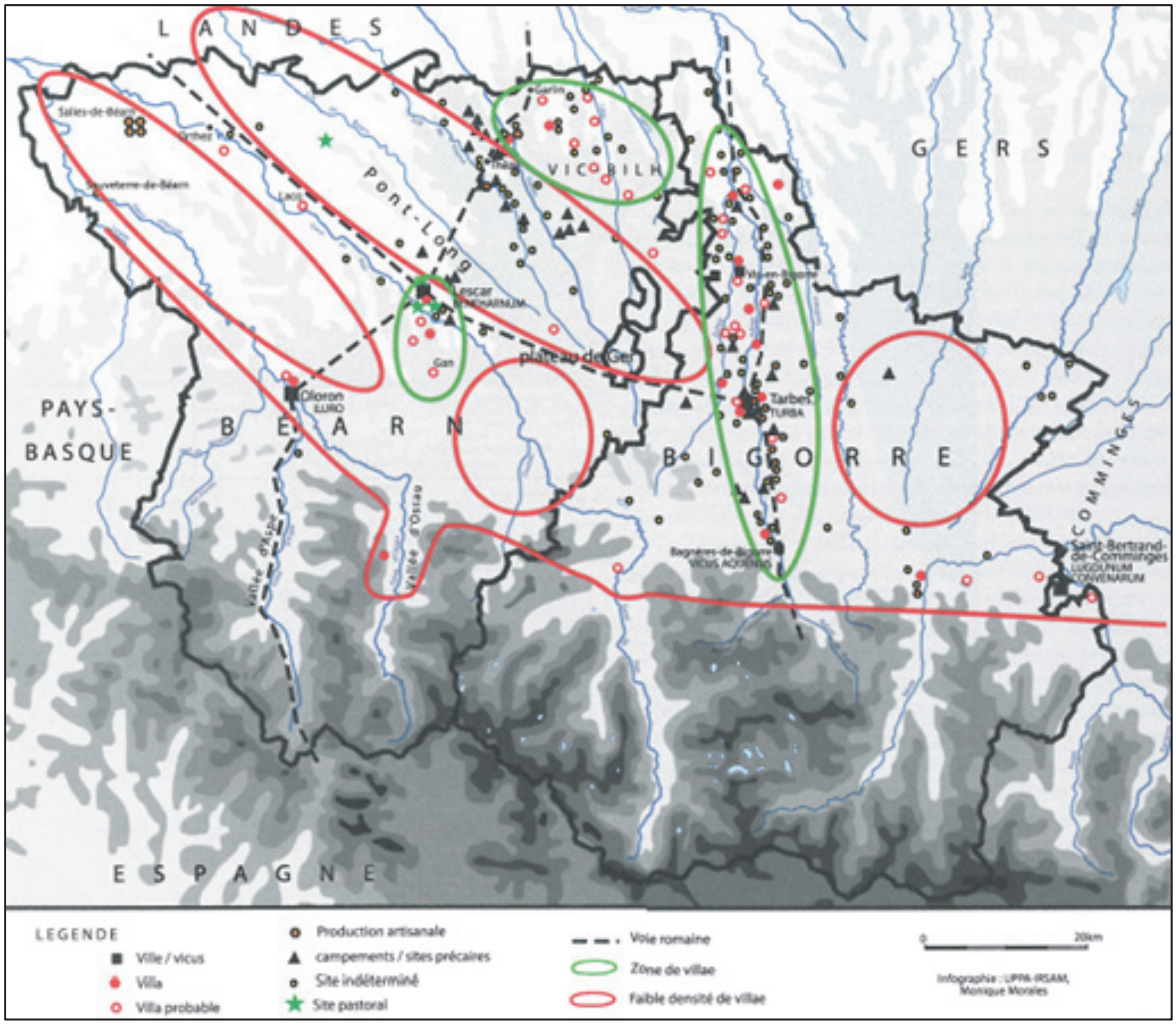


**Figure 122: The main rural establishments in part of the *civitas* of the Tarbelli. Red circles: non-villa landscape. Green circles: landscape filled with villas (red dots) and temporary structures (black triangles) (Réchin *et al.* 2013: 225).**

From quite early on (*c.* AD 10-15), villas started to appear (Figure 122). They co-existed with the indigenous establishments and probably engaged not only in agriculture but also in animal husbandry, which was a key economic resource. This suggests that there was no real opposition between a 'romanized' countryside and a peripheral indigenous one; rather it is more likely that these two systems not only co-existed but also worked in synergy. Basic artisanal objects also continued to be produced according to the protohistoric tradition. For example, in Roman times pottery was still handmade and reached only a regional distribution. Wheel-made pottery was almost absent and can be found only in villas or in agglomerations, such as Lescar. This is

a striking feature for a region belonging to Roman Gaul, where the quantity of handmade pottery significantly decreases everywhere from the reign of Augustus and Tiberius onwards and disappears in most regions. There were, of course, several exceptions: for example, some mountainous areas in western Narbonensis (e.g. Montagne Noire). Other exceptions belonged to the periphery of the Empire, far from Mediterranean influences, such as some regions in Germania Inferior and northern Belgica[670] or Dacia.[671] However, even closer analogies can be found in the nearby area of north-western Spain (e.g. The Basque Country and High Aragon[672]).

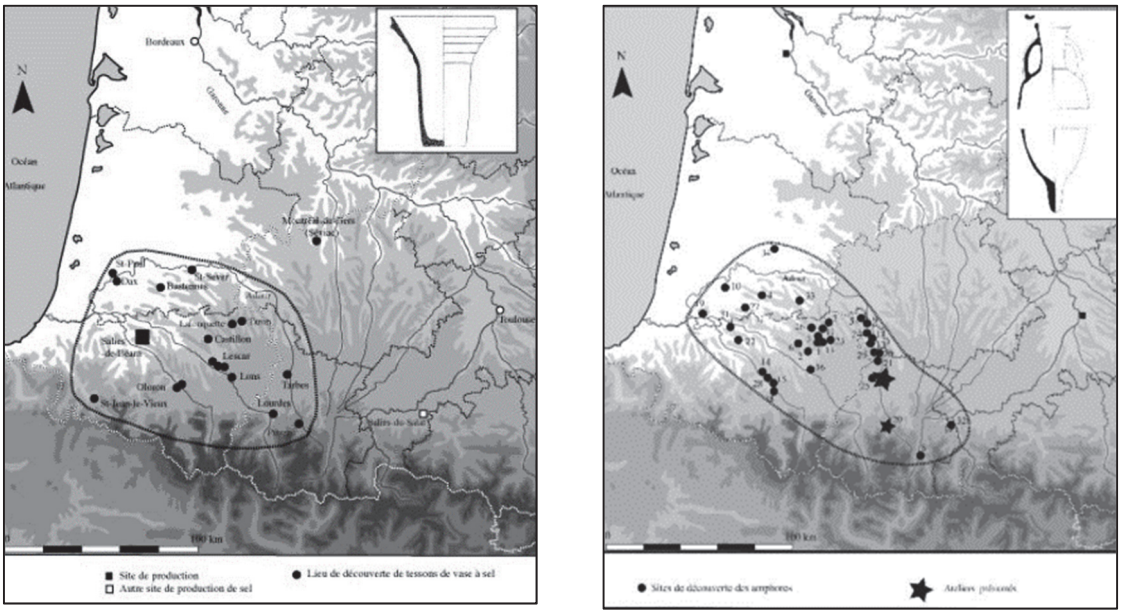


**Figure 123: Left: the distribution of the salt from Salies-de-Béarn (Réchin 2014: 380). Right: the distribution of wine from Bigorre (Réchin 2014: 380 and 385).**

The handmade pottery produced in the western Pyrenees was quite conservative in its shape as well.[673] Potters were clearly not professionals; rather, they were men (or maybe women) who devoted only a short period of the year to this activity: seasonal workers aiming at satisfying a basic need. In the High Empire, this pottery had a maximum distribution radius of 30-80 km (Figure 124). Ethnographic studies show that this type of distribution is compatible with a direct sale from the producer (potter's family) to the customer, with no intermediate traders.[674] Other economic activities had protohistoric roots and a short-range distribution, e.g. the salt production from Salies-de-Béarn [675] (Figure 123, right), the iron industry,[676] and the wine production from Bigorre (Figure 123, left). In addition, religion, language, and culture bear much evidence of continuity, as the onomastic and linguistic studies hint at (there is a close link with south of the Pyrenees).[677]

[670] Handmade pottery counts for *c.* 86% in the sandy region of the Flandre (Stuurman 1968; Van Es 1968; Van Tent 1987; Vermeulen 1992).
[671] Up to 45 % in the countryside (Negru 2003; Réchin 2008b: 145-148).
[672] Réchin 2015: 67.
[673] Several types have an Iron Age origin. At least for what concerns the types 'Béarnese' and 'Landais'.
[674] Andreau 2010 : 169.
[675] Saule 2006 : 13-14.
[676] Especially in Bigorre and Saint-Paul-lès-Dax (Réchin *et al.* 2000 ; Fabre *et al.* 2001 : 130-131 and 136-137).
[677] Fabre 1992.

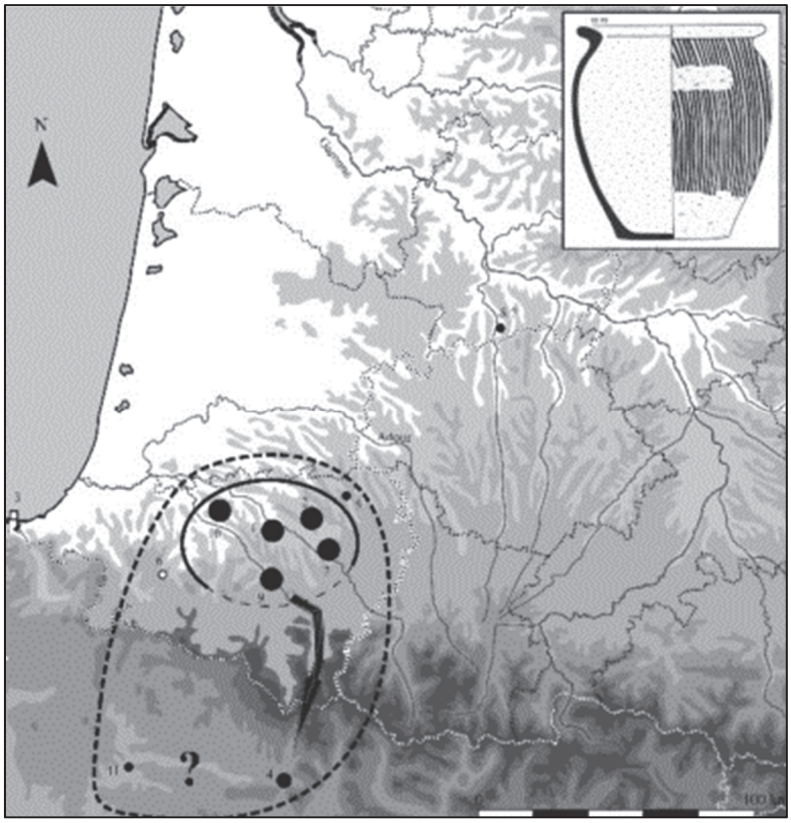


**Figure 124: The distribution of handmade pottery (Réchin 2014: 387).**

It is in this context, where Iron Age '*oppida'* had been extremely small and very close to each other, that new foundations (alien to the preceding culture) were established. Secondary agglomerations like Lescar and Oloron measured between 10-15 ha, and most agglomerations were even smaller. Their establishment was quite early (as the findings of Augustan coins and the embryonic city centres show), and public infrastructures and buildings often date to the foundation phase. They start declining quite early on, when public investment and investment by the local elite weakened. However, at the same time, we see private buildings being enlarged and becoming more and more luxurious, while modest buildings started to disappear. Here, as in the western part of the *civitas* of the Allobroges, the most common public building within the agglomerations is the bath. In both regions, the priority seemed to be control of specific lines of communication (Figure 125).[678] The care that was taken to build roads in compliance with the criteria typical of the early imperial period also suggests this priority.[679]

[678] Baths can also be quite large, given the size of the city. For example the one at Oloron was enlarged.

[679] One of the characteristics of the roads in these small agglomerations is that they are often very large. For example at Lescar they measure between 18 and 20 m; at Oloron 15-18 m. A few explanations have been given: 1) the roads were used by the animal herds, which would give these settlements a very rural character; 2) more likely, they were built in a way that promoted drainage, given that in south of Aquitania the landscape was marked by numerous volatile streams and water management was essential.

The small size of these agglomerations can be explained by the fact that the surplus they could gain from their territory was undoubtedly modest (as the pottery manufacture shows).[680]

The small number, size and monumentality of these settlements are not a consequence of low-quality evidence. The limited number of technological innovations, together with a form of occupation of the land, should not be mistaken for signs of resistance. These cultural and economic landscapes were a rational choice of the community to adapt to the landscape's physical and social dimensions. This translated into an extensive (and not-intensive) management and exploitation of the land.[681]

Their relationship to the road system, we have seen, is central to the development of the nucleated agglomerations.

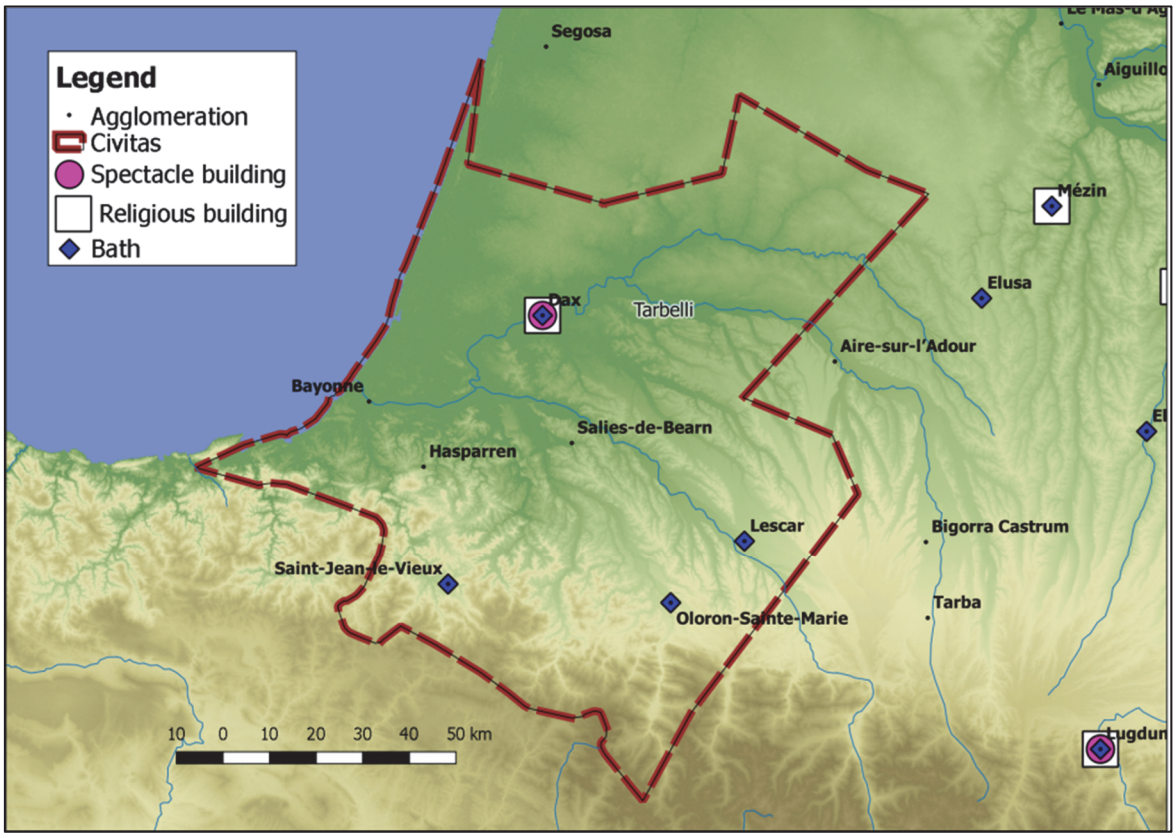


**Figure 125: The public buildings within the *civitas* of the Tarbelli.**

The settlement system is nonetheless coherent and solid, also thanks to well-distributed agglomerations and large villas which were particularly long lived. As in the case of the territory of Béziers, there appears to have been nothing in between the few agglomerations (*'vitrine de romanité'*) and the temporary camps except for villas, which might have played an important role in the spatial structure. Their presence at the foot of the mountains and their close relationships to the indigenous temporary camps, among which they were pursuing agro-

[680] To the north of Lescar, for example, there was the large, marshy plateau of Pont-Long (extended over 18,000 km$^2$) which had not been parceled, nor drained or permanently occupied as the plain of Gave to the south was. The analysis of carbonized archaeological remains and palynological research show that the landscape was dominated by forests and pastures.
[681] Leveau and Palet 2010; Mitterauer 1992.

pastoral activities, show how well integrated into the system they were and how plains and mountains interacted effectively.[682] Agglomerations established at the foot of the mountains functioned as a bridge between two different spaces; they were *'physiquement à la charnière de deux univers':* the mountains in the south, with their pastoralism and natural resources, and the plain in the north, rich, fertile, and easier to access.[683] The concept of economic integration founded on the systematic exploitation of available resources was recognized as a sign of civilization in the Greek and Hellenistic worlds (and non-Hellenistic ones, like the Punic culture); it later became part of the Roman culture as well. Agglomerations (and villas) in this region were not alien to the mountains and shared the same values and resources, although the scale of their economy (compared for example to small individual farms) was much larger and more open to trade.[684]

### 5.2.3 The *civitas* of the Pictones

The Pictones were a tribe inhabiting a region of western Gaul, a land that lay on the Bay of Biscay, on the south bank of the Loire. This ancient people started to mint coins from the end of the 2nd century BC. They are known for having helped Julius Caesar in naval battles and particularly with the naval victory over the Veneti. The Romans, who depended on their shipbuilding skills for their fleet on the Loire, rewarded their loyalty by letting them control a part of the territory that belonged to the Veneti.

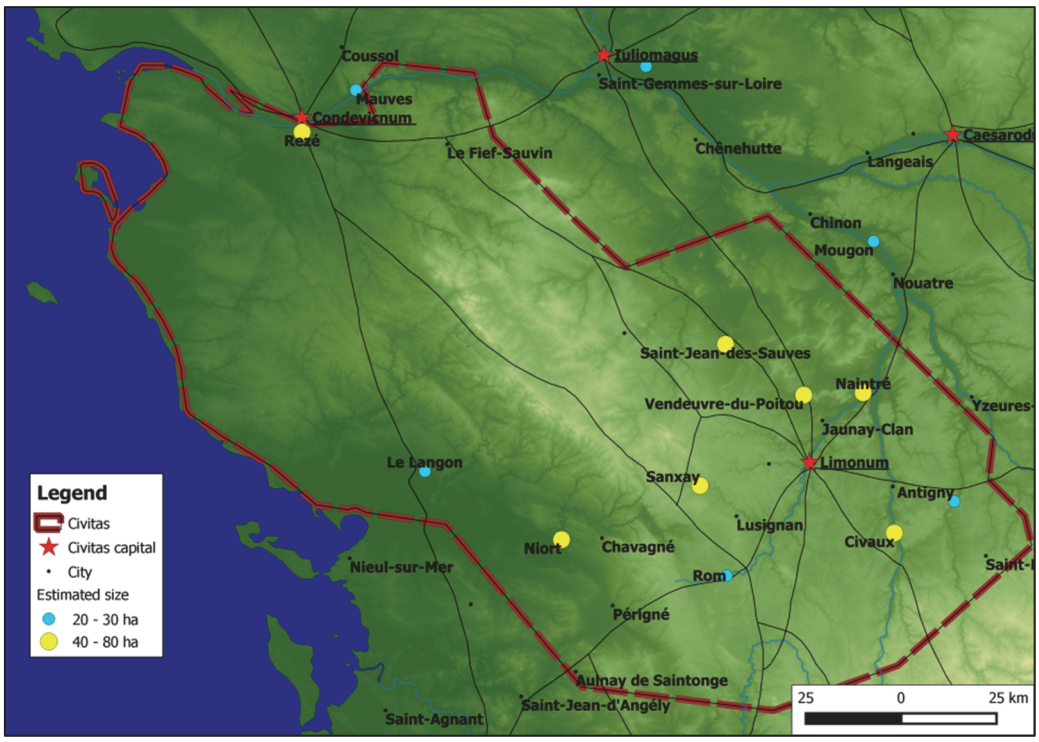


**Figure 126: The distribution and size of the agglomerations within the *civitas* of the Pictones.**

[682] Horden and Purcell 2000; Leveau and Palet 2010.
[683] Sablayrolles, 2005: 141, writing about the eastern Pyrenees and the agglomeration of Lugdunum Convenarum.
[684] Leveau and Palet 2010; Sablayrolles 2005: 141: also see Sablayrolles 2006.

If we look at the distribution of the agglomerations within this *civitas* (Figure 126), we see a strong contrast between its western part, which had fewer agglomerations, and its eastern one where, on the other hand, there were many more and where they were also much larger. This contrast surely has a geographical explanation. The west is characterized by inhospitable regions. The estuary of the Loire, especially to the north, was wet and marshy. South of the Loire, the old rocks of ancient Armorica reappear and form a plateau dissected by streams into hill masses. The central zone is a belt of granitic rocks, flanked to the north-west and southwest by alternate beds of softer schists and slates. The soils of the granite are sandy and infertile, making it a difficult and inhospitable country for the farmer. It is therefore sparsely populated. To the south-west, we find the last fringes of the Massif Armorican: the '*Bocage vendéen'*. This region is crossed by numerous rivers which enter the Loire estuary, but its agricultural potential is not particularly high.[685]

On the contrary, to the east, the Vendean plain is a rich and fertile land; this area of cereal cultivation contrasts with the meadows and enclosed fields of the adjoining upland. In the east, a dense network of large agglomerations existed, including the *civitas*-capital Limonum (Poitiers). Agglomerations developed around every 30 km, and the landscape was occupied by a large number of rural establishments, including numerous villas. The agglomerations were not only of considerable size (40-80 ha);[686] they also exhibited clear signs of planning (orthogonal street grid organized around a central square) and monuments (Figure 127 and Figure 128).

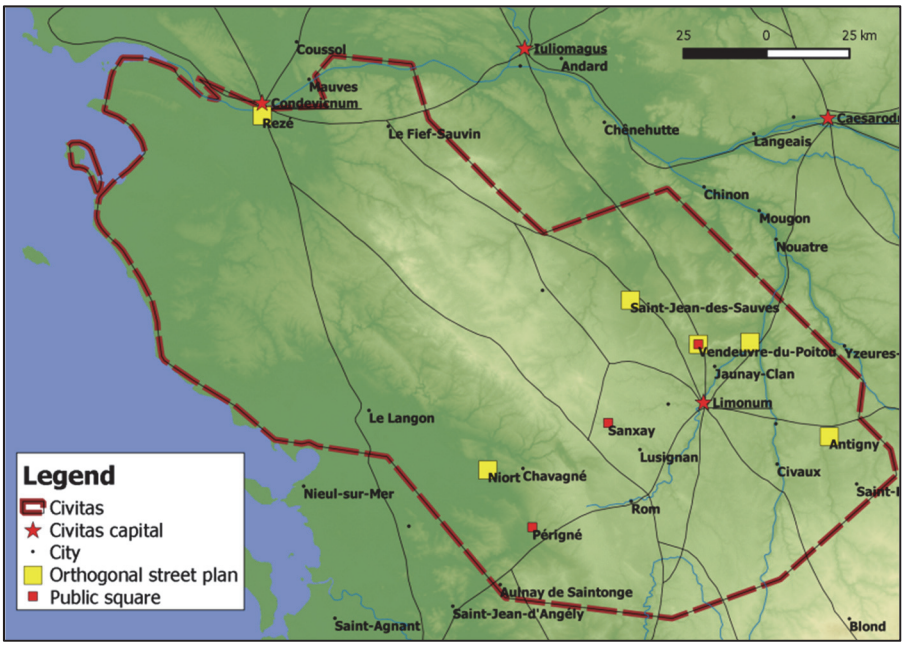


**Figure 127: Street grids and public squares in the agglomerations of the Pictones.**

The most common monuments are religious buildings, which can often be found in association with other buildings, such as theatres and baths. These sanctuaries could reach a considerable

[685] Great Britain. Naval Intelligence Division 1942

[686] The sizes of these sites are probably on the high side since they are mostly known through aerial photography and their boundaries are difficult to delineate precisely.

size and display opulent wealth (e.g. Sanxay, Antigny, Vendreuve);[687] others were much more modest.

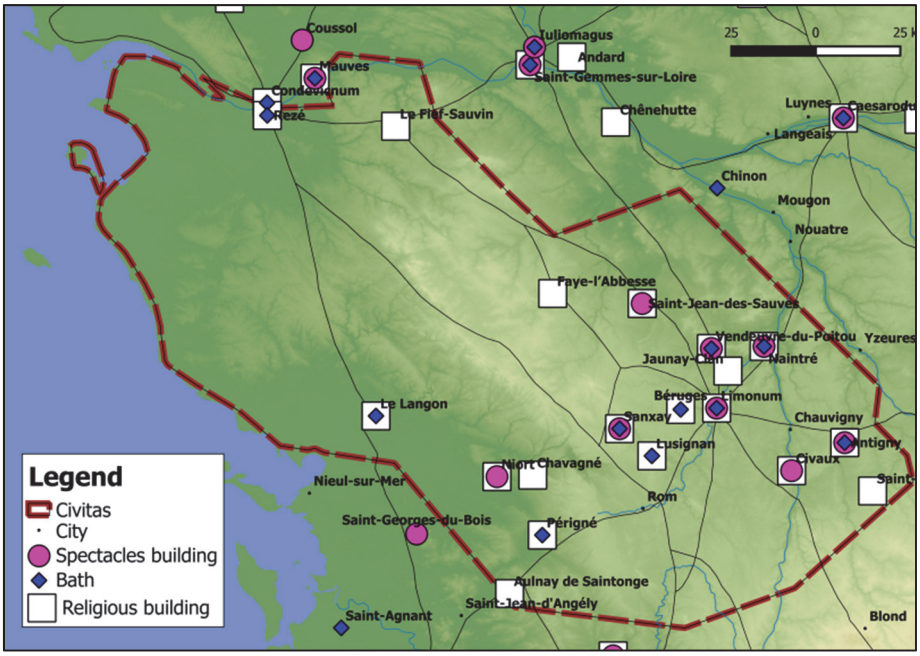


**Figure 128: The public buildings in the agglomerations of the Pictones.**

The distribution of these sanctuaries followed the same pattern as that for agglomerations and villas. They were all established during the 1st century AD, some of them as early as Augustan times (e.g. Vendeuvre), and often have traces of reconstructions dating to the 2nd century AD (Vieux-Poitiers, and possibly Vendeuvre). Several were abandoned in the 3rd century AD, or possibly already at the end of the 2nd century AD (e.g. Sanxay, Antigny, Vendeuvre).

The agglomeration of modern Naintré-Vieux-Poitier extended over 65 ha, on the right bank of the river Clain, three kilometres away from its confluence with the river Vienne. In its urban centre, a Gallo-Latin inscription records its ancient name, Briga. The first phase (i.e. western quarter) dated back to the first half the 2nd century BC. Back then, it was probably already a religious centre, and it was around this area that the Roman agglomeration developed. The agglomeration gradually expanded, as we can see from the different orientations of the street grid. Aerial photography shows quite clearly the layout of this site, and on close inspection, we can distinguish *insulae* of different dimensions with shops aligned along the roads, houses, temples, and a craftsmen's quarter with potters' stalls and ovens. Some quarters appear to have been more densely inhabited than others, and, peripheral to the agglomerations, we can find monumental areas, such as the one to the south. On the east side, another monumental area includes a sanctuary, a theatre (which could host *c.* 10,000 people) and other undefined public buildings. According to Cécile Merel, who is responsible for this site, the town counted *c*. 4000 inhabitants.

[687] Vieux-Poitiers and Vendeuvre have monuments decorated with imported stone from Africa, but mostly from Greece.

### 5.2.4 The *civitas* of the Bituriges Cubi

The *Champagne berrichonne* (Berry) is a relatively level plain lying some 150-200 m above sea level and, generally speaking, is a country of rich loamy soils and prosperous agriculture. The upper valleys of the Indre, Cher, Allier, and Loire lead south into the Massif Central. Mineral resources are scattered almost everywhere within the *civitas*, and this allows us to investigate whether they were exploited everywhere with the same intensity.[688] The capital, Bourges, is located close to the 'geometrical centre' of France and its central position on the open limestone route north-east /south-west across the middle of France accounts for its early prominence. As in the case of the neighbouring western part of the *civitas* of the Pictones, the territory of this *civitas* was polarized around a number of agglomerations which were quite regularly distributed (*c.* every 30 km).[689]

A settlement hierarchy distribution had already developed during the Iron Age (Figure 129). The capital was Bourges (60 ha), and all other *oppida* were *c.* 30 ha. Some *oppida* were quite old, such as Levroux and Saint-Marcel (Mediolanum), which started to import Republican *amphorae* from quite early on. In the countryside, we find smaller establishments along with aristocratic residences. The analysis of the *tumuli* in the Berry and the identification of small, medium and large *necropoleis* suggest a regular and homogenous distribution of this type of burials, which in turn reflects a homogenous social hierarchy and population distribution.[690] The persistence of groups of elite burials during the early Roman period is a clear sign of the power of certain aristocratic families over the countryside and the isolated farms. The picture is one of a pre-Roman regular network of hierarchically organized settlements whose general shape appears unchanged in Roman times, although some arrangements undoubtedly took place. The analysis of the settlements and burials also shows the continuity of wealth and power that would continue to be displayed both in settlements and in the countryside. In fact, elite burials endured in Roman times, and the local aristocracy was gradually integrated into the Roman political system, holding magistracies and gaining access to Roman citizenship.[691]

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[688] Overall, metallurgic activities were intensively practised in three areas of the *civitas*, where they did not interfere with agricultural activities. These are i. north of Bourges, close to the forest of Allogny; ii. South-east of the *civitas* (close to the forest of Tronçais), iii. Argentomagus, which we will discuss.
Ancient sources attest that mineral extraction and transformation were practised from pre-Roman times up to at least Late Antiquity (Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, VII, 22; Ptolemy, Geography, IV, 2, 2; Notitia Dignitatum, Occ. 9, 31).

[689] There were slightly fewer in the northern and western parts.

[690] Similar to the ones enclosed by a *murus gallicus,* i.e. a masonry wall, at Luan and Meunet-Planches (Buchsenschutz *et al* 2013).

[691] See Blanc and Lamoine 2013, which address the subject of *elite continuity in Roman times.* When looking at the epigraphic record from the *civitas* of the Lemovices, which lies south of the *civitas* of the Bituriges, they observed that *a family (i.e. the Licinii)* could have been politically active for several generations (from the 1st century AD until mid-2nd century AD).

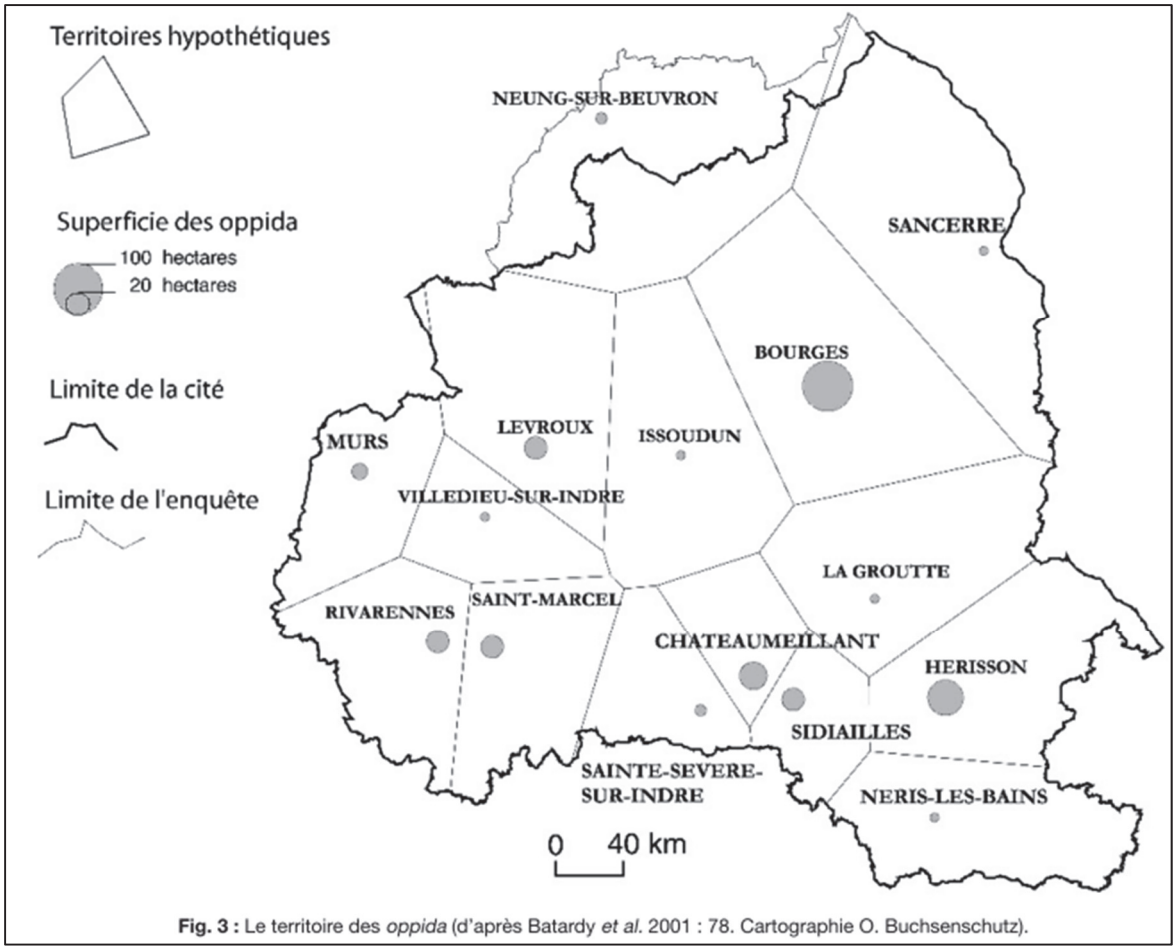


**Figure 129: The *oppida* of the Bituriges Cubi (Batardy 2004: 256)**

As said earlier, the largest Roman agglomerations are often preceded by *oppida*. Examples include Bourges, Saint-Marcel, Néris-les-Bains, and Châteaumeillant. Other pre-Roman sites were abandoned (e.g. Rivannes, Saint-Severe, Sidialles Herisson) in favour of sites in a better position with regards to the road system. Several of these agglomerations lay on major roads, such as the ones of Saint Ambroix (Bourges-Argenton-sur-Creuse, at the junction of three roads coming from Châteaumeillant, Gièvres and Levroux), Gièvres (Bourges-Tours), Allichamps-Bruère (Bourges-Néris, at the junction with a minor road connecting to Châteaumeillant), and Saint-Satur (on the route Bourges-Auxerre, at the crossing of the river Loire).

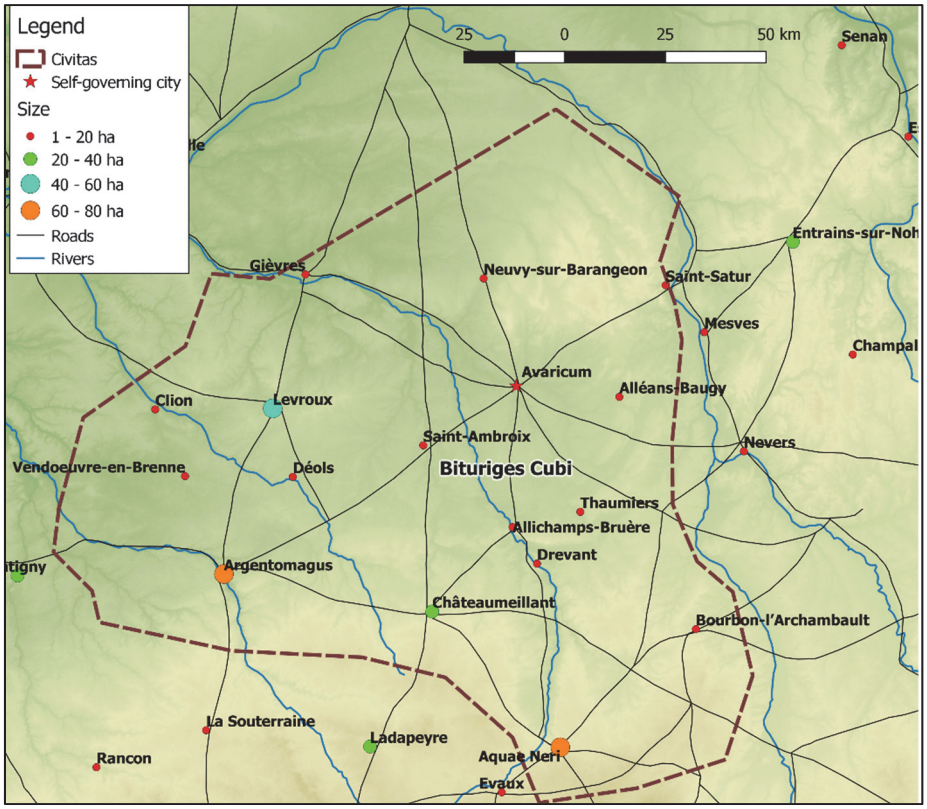


**Figure 130: The settlement system of the *civitas* of the Bituriges (2nd century AD).**

With a few exceptions, notably Saint-Marcel (Argentomagus), we know very little about them. A few of them are known only through literary sources or inscriptions (e.g. Favigny and Venedouevres-en-Brenne). For others, we have data only on their monuments. Given the lamentable state of the evidence, it is hard to generalize about the presence or absence of 'urban' features, such as public buildings, and it is even a tougher task to make assumptions about their layout.[692] The settlement hierarchy consists of i. the capital Bourges (100 ha); ii. the agglomerations of Argenton-Saint-Marcel (84 km to the west, 70 ha) and Nèris-les-Bains (90 km to the south, 80 ha). The agglomeration of Argenton-Saint-Marcel is quite well understood since it has been the object of excavations for many years. A sanctuary, monumental fountain, theatre, amphitheatre, and baths have all been excavated, and they clearly show how opulent this settlement was (Figure 131). iii. the agglomerations of Levroux (60 ha), Châteaumeillant (24 ha) and Drevant (20 ha), iv. other settlements, even when they were smaller than 20 ha, fulfilled various central-place functions (e.g. economic, religious), and several displayed signs of monumentality (such as temples, baths, and spectacle buildings).

Small and medium-sized agglomerations provide clear evidence of a thriving and dynamic society. For example, the site of Saint Ambroix (ancient Ernodurum), 26 km southeast of Bourges, is known from aerial photography, which revealed a number of buildings aligned to the main road. At least seven villas lie just outside the agglomeration. This site is famous for the large number of inscriptions recovered (of which 44 are funerary steles) cut into the stone from Ambrault, a site 18 km south-west of the city. Given how little we know about the

[692] Bellet *et al.* eds 1999: 15.

settlement (the presence of an inhabited area is clear, but no structures have yet been excavated), the inscriptions can help us to shed some light on what was happening on this site and who was living in it. On the steles, a number of local trades are represented (an armourer, a corn merchant, multiple weavers, a pottery merchant, a goldsmith etc.). Their homogeneity of style and the fact that some of them are unfinished suggest they were probably produced locally.[693] Two larger-than-life-size statues were wearing the *toga*. They were maybe part of a funerary monument or perhaps they were displayed in the public square or in the so-called *basilica*. The presence of a storehouse and an inscription of a grain merchant suggest the agglomeration might have been a marketplace for cereals cultivated in the adjacent countryside.

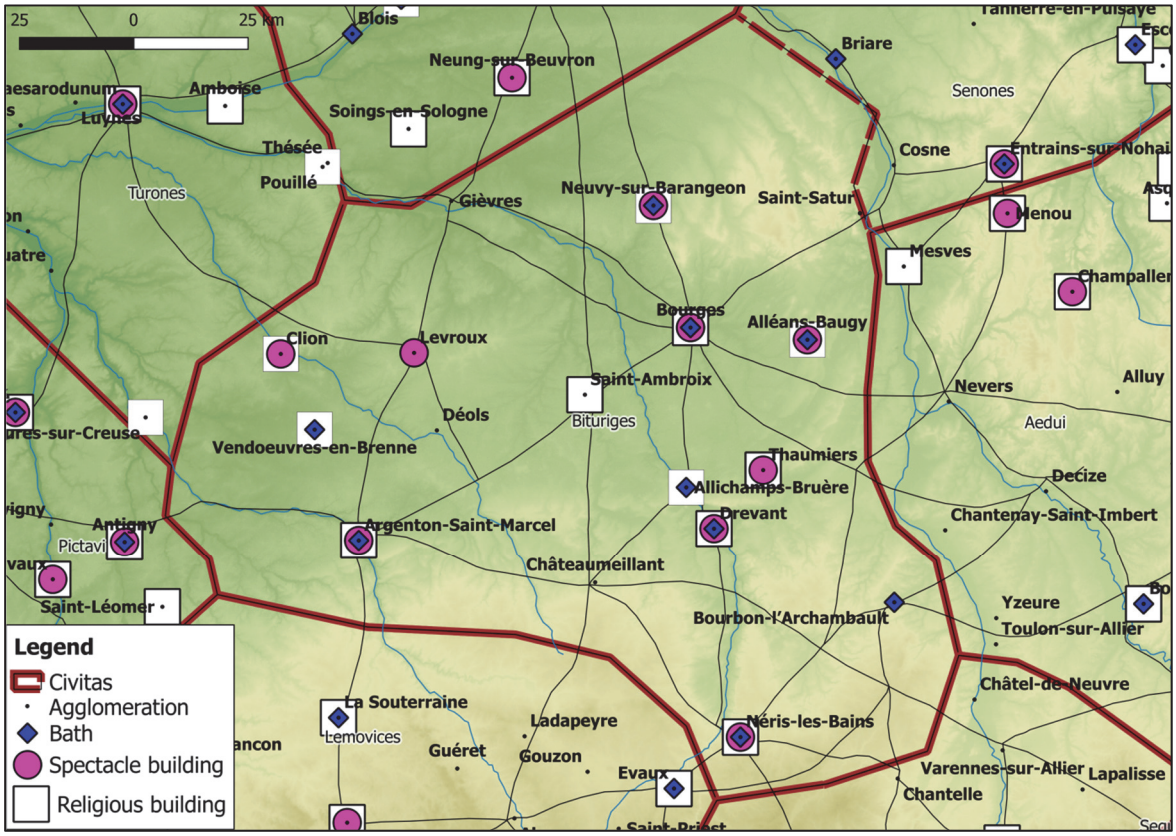


**Figure 131: The monuments within the agglomerations of the Bituriges Cubi.**

Artisanal activities were central in these agglomerations. In Gièvre, which is also poorly understood, there are traces of pottery production and weaving. For Bruère-Allichamps we have available only dated archaeological reports: they attest the presence of quarrying and stone production, pottery manufacture and metalworking. Here too, inscriptions can enlighten us a bit more about the different activities that occupied the inhabitants of this agglomeration: we know of a carpenter, a cobbler, and a scribe. At the site of Saint-Satur, on the border with the *civitas* of the Aedui, a pottery kiln, and possibly metalwork are attested, too, together with a boat, which was carrying a cargo of building stone coming from a site nearby. This site too is poorly known. However, it seems to have been densely inhabited, at least in its northern section. Small finds include small sculptures, coins, and imported terracotta; fragments of mosaics were found, too. At Alléans-Baugy the epigraphic evidence also included fine

[693] Leday 1980: 294-310.

inscriptions and steles reproducing local trades (a saddler, a textile dyer, a woodcutter etc.). Archaeological evidence also indicates that this place had many economic functions, as there is evidence of different workshops (pottery, metalworking, masonry and food processing).

The territory of the Bituriges is rich in resources, and a series of very fine studies have shown how these were exploited in the various sub-regions.[694] As mentioned above, fertile land and mineral resources are present over the whole territory. However, as observed in an influential article by Gandini, Dumasy and Laüt, we can distinguish different *'paysages économiques'*.[695] In the Champagne Berrichonne (the area between Déols and Saint-Ambroix), metallurgic activity is almost absent, except in very small districts (Figure 132). On the other hand, we see a very high density of rural establishments, some of which can be quite large (villas). This high density of rural sites points to a very intensive agricultural exploitation, whilst metal extraction and transformation remained marginal.

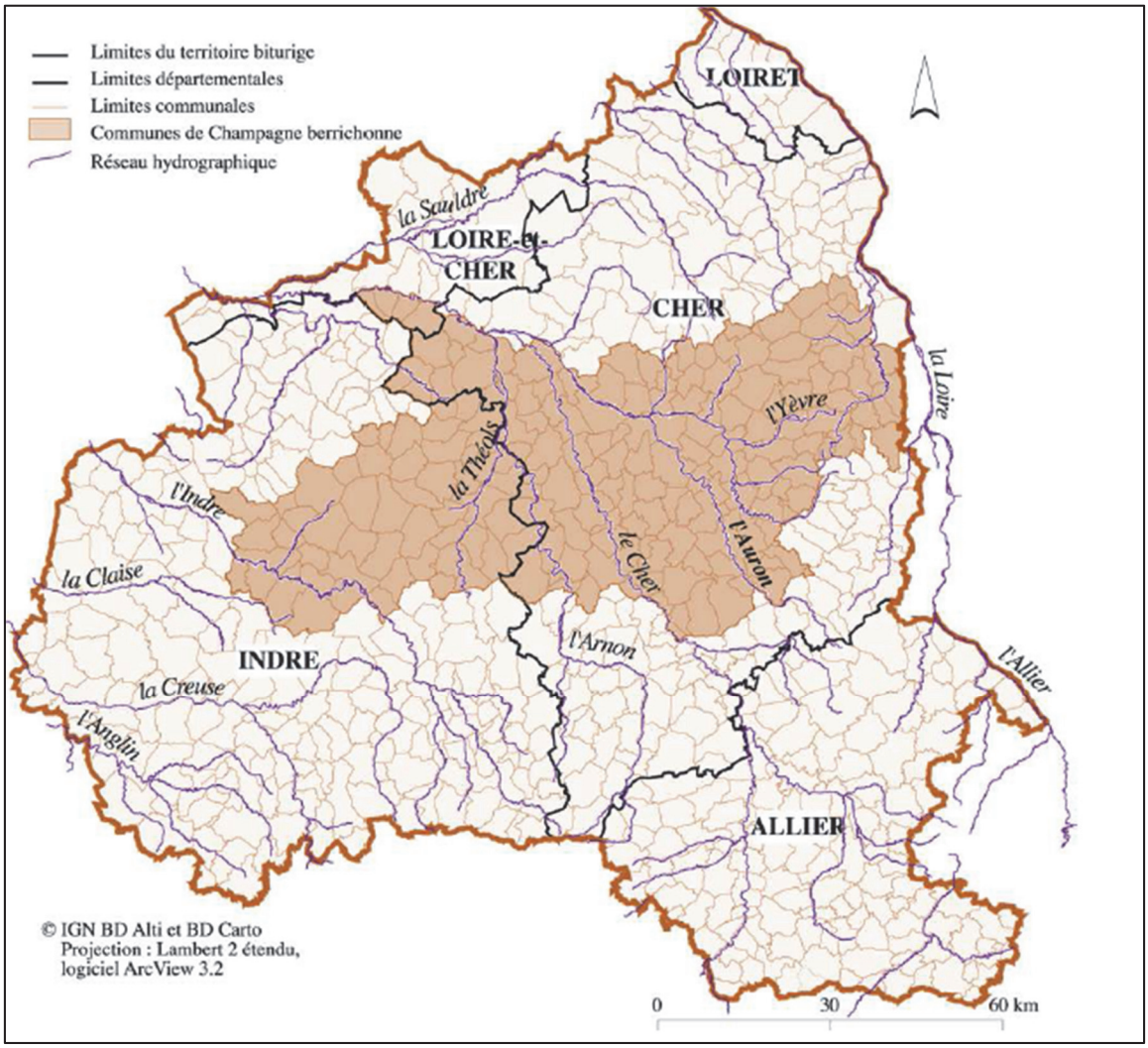


**Figure 132: The Champagne Berrichonne (Maussion 2004: 399).**

[694] Dieudonné-Glad 1996; Dumasy 1994; Gandini and Maussion 2003; Maussion 2003; and Gandini 2006.
[695] Gandini *et al.* 2013.

Clearly, the community inhabiting this region (or the elite who controlled it) elected agro-pastoral activities as the main source of profit, and the presence of numerous farms dating to the Iron Age suggests that this decision was taken quite early on, before the Roman conquest. The annexation of this *civitas* into the wider circuit of the Roman Empire did not change the way in which this economic space was exploited and managed, but merely its scale. During the 1st century AD (maybe in the second half - end of 1st century AD) the spread of viticulture (suitable varieties were found to be the *vitis silvestris,* a single specimen of *vitis vinifera* was found in the *necropoleis* of Faverdines) allowed the Bituriges to reap the benefits of this lucrative trade.[696] The number of rural establishments started to increase, together with the size of the settlements where these primary resources were exchanged (as the presence of a grain merchant proves) and products of farming were further processed (textile production, food processing etc.).

The area of Argentomagus ('Silver Market'), on the Mersans plateau, was occupied at least from the Neolithic Age. Since the end of the Iron Age (*c.* 2nd century BC), workshops for iron-working could be found near rural establishments and metal workshops. In Roman times, workshops for the reduction of ores are present in almost 40% of the rural establishments, as well as in the city. The nearby presence of extensive forests supplied fuel for this kind of activity and the limited agricultural potential of land probably fostered this choice. Nonetheless, this specialization did not mean that agro-pastoral activities were neglected. In fact, they can be found everywhere in the region and their co-existence with metallurgic activities suggests that these two fields were complementary. Iron bars were often transformed into semi-finished products in villas or farms. Probably the owners of these farms and villas had control over the workshops (and the forests), and even if the number of villas is smaller than in Champagne, they are no less opulent. The agglomerations and the countryside appear to have been complementary, and both fell under the influence of landowners (who invested in them through many euergetic acts); partly this will not change in Late Antiquity, since it is the large exploitations that will survive, while small ones disappear.[697]

The spatial configuration of this *civitas* was polarized around agglomerations, on the one hand, and road stations, on the other. These two elements of the landscape, in turn, seem to have polarized the rural settlements around them. Holmgren and Leday observed this trend and noticed *'couronnes'* of rural establishments (e.g. villas, farms) around urban settlements. In addition, evidence coming from the excavations related to construction of the motorway A 71 also highlighted this tendency.[698] In her Ph.D. thesis, Anne Maussion has re-investigated this relationship by means of GIS. She drew a circle of 5 km radius around the agglomerations and road stations within this *civitas.*[699] Her results show that out of 763 rural establishments, 156

[696] See new archaeological discoveries (pips, pruning-knives), iconographical documentation and the presence of regional *amphorae*. Dumasy *et al.* 2011 looked at the current state of knowledge about this subject and also explored the idea that the *vitis biturica* mentioned by Columella, Pliny the Elder and Isidore of Seville might have been born here, in the *civitas* of the Bituriges Cubi, and not in the area of Bordeaux, *civitas*-capital of the Bituriges Vivisci.

[697] For example, we have evidence of one family, which had a close relationship with the agglomeration of Néris-le-Bains for multiple generations.

[698] Further evidence in favour of this conclusion came during construction of the motorway A 71, when the countryside around Bruère-Allichamps was investigated (Ferdière and Rialland 1994).

[699] Maussion 2003.

(22%) were located at less than 5 kilometres from an urban or town-like settlement (Figure 133, left). In particular, a dense *'couronne'* can be seen in the proximity of Bourges, Levroux, Déols, Saint-Marcel, Saint-Ambroix, and Bruère-Allichamps.[700]

For farms and villas, the correlation was even stronger (Figure 133, centre and right): 38% of the farms[701] and 27% of villas were situated within a radius of 5 km from an urban or town-like settlement. However, this correlation is surprisingly weak. A possible explanation is that a radius of 5 km is likely to be too small for measuring the catchment area of nodes within the marketing of rural surplus. A radius of 15 km (i.e. a 2-3 hours' walk) would suit better and would also result in a higher correlation.[702]

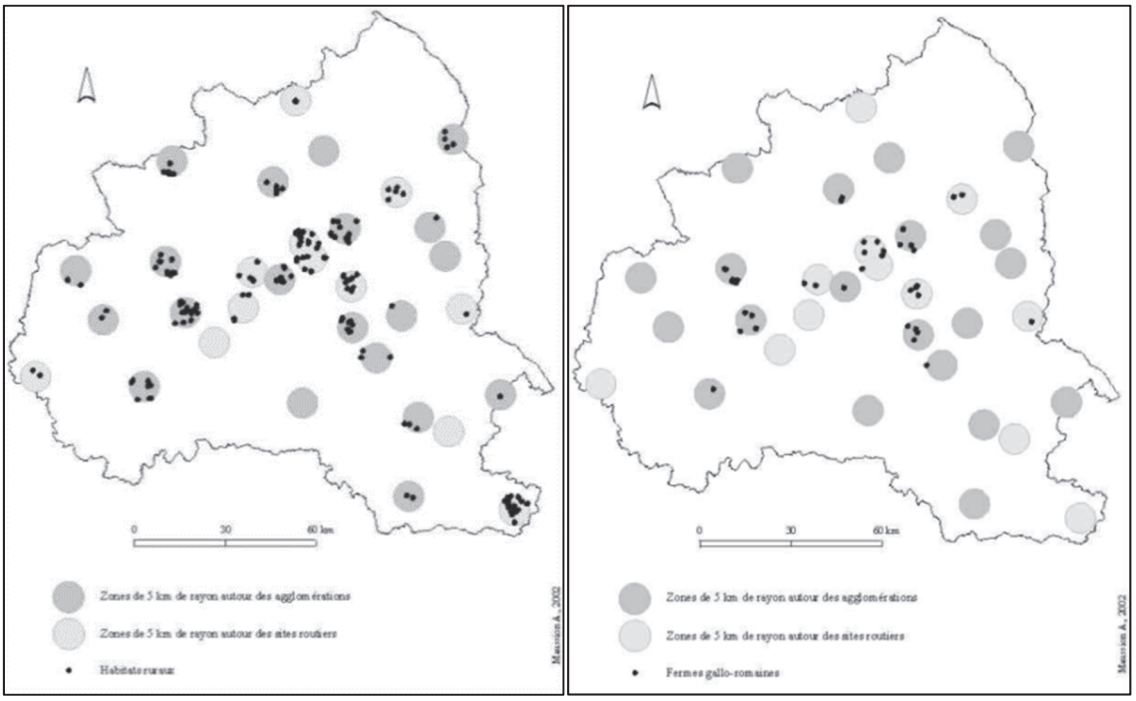


**Figure 133: Rural sites situated within a radius of 5 km from an agglomeration or road station. Left: the totality of rural establishments (Maussion 2003: 162). Right: isolated farms (Maussion 2003: 163).**

In the case of isolated farms - especially when built of perishable material - it is more hazardous to determine whether they were contemporary to the agglomerations and therefore to validate the correlation between the two form of settlements. On the other hand, we know villas were contemporary to the agglomerations, and therefore we can deduce they had been established in their vicinity because they were attracted by them. This relationship demonstrated the strong interactions between the two.

[700] So far, none have been found around Neuvy-sur-Barangeon, Châteaumeillant, and Nérondes. A similar phenomenon was recognized by Hodder and Hassall in Britain.

[701] Out of the 38 farms, 23 were close to an agglomeration (particularly dense around Bourges, Bruère-Allichamps, Déols and Levroux) and 15 to road stations.

[702] Bintliff 2002.

**Figure 134: Villas situated in a radius of 5 km from an agglomeration or road station (Maussion 2003: 164).**

### 5.2.5 The distribution of secondary agglomerations in Belgica

So far, we have seen that medium-sized to large agglomerations (over 40 ha) usually develop quite far (over 50 km) from the *civitas* capital. At least, this was the case in the *civitates* of the Allobroges, Pictones, and Bituriges Cubi (and of other *civitates* of central Gaul, such as the Lemovices, Aedui, Senones, Carnutes etc.). On the other hand, in western Belgica, middle-sized to large secondary agglomerations and capitals coexisted at a relatively short distance (*c*. 20-30 km). This region covers part of the Paris Basin, which consists of a wide chalk upland (200 m above sea level) divided into separate blocks of country by the river valleys. The landscape is flat and monotonous; for the most part, the chalk is covered by lime or clay-with-flints soil, which is very fertile and can be easily cultivated. In the northwest, the landscape becomes more undulating; surface streams are more numerous, and it is covered by extended forests.[703]

As early as the 5th century BC, the north of Gaul was rich in farms. However, this land was hit by a new wave of intensive land use at the end of the 2nd and beginning of the 1st centuries BC. This practice had a huge impact on the landscape, and traces of those changes can still be seen after 2000 years in the form of ditches visible through aerial photography. Over time, in fact, we can witness an increase in ditches (farms). Moreover, the settlement pattern became more dispersed, shifting from the use of longer-lived collective *necropoleis* to small ones, which have a more 'familial' character. Malrain François closely analysed these ditches and concluded that they show clear signs of a hierarchized society: aristocratic farms had wider

[703] Great Britain. Naval Intelligence Division 1942.

ditches (several meters wide), and within them - together with the owner's residence - there were some other smaller annexes (possibly for the subordinates and for storing goods). Graves also show signs of hierarchy.[704] As we said, before the Romans' arrival agriculture in Gaul was already flourishing.[705] In Roman times, it continued to expand: vineyards and wine presses were introduced in temperate Gaul and perhaps the edict of Domitian - which abandoned the plantings of any new vineyards in Italy and ordered the uprooting of half of the vineyards in the provinces - aimed at halting its diffusion (Figure 135).

Here, villas started to appear quite late (mid-late 1 st century AD, more often early 2nd century AD, and only the last phases are built of hard materials).[706]

**Figure 135: Viticulture in temperate Gaul. Black dots: wine-making establishments; grey dots: traces of plantation (Brun 2011: 2).**

In Roman times, this case-study area included five different *civitates*: the Ambiani, Viromandui, Bellovaci, Silvanecti, and Suessones. Picardy, on average, was very rich in villas, some of which could be very extensive (10 ha), although they most commonly measured around 2 ha. Within these *civitates*, a dense network of secondary agglomerations started to develop in the first half of the 1st century AD, growing perhaps with some delay compared to their *civitas*-capitals (Figure 136).[707]

[704] Malrain and Maréchal 2008.

[705] Ferdière *et al*. eds 2006 ; Trément 2010.

[706] Agache et Bréart 1975; Agache 1978. However, overall, villas in Gaul started to appear quite late and never date to just after the time of the conquest. In Narbonensis, they were also introduced quite late (end of the 1st century BC, first half 1st century AD); in the territory of Nîmes, they appear in mid-1st century AD, but they mostly date to Flavian times (Durand-Dastès *et al.* 1998). Thus, it would be wrong to look at villas to date cultural changes. If they reflected cultural changes, we would expect them to have been introduced much earlier in Narbonensis than in the Three Gauls, which is not the case (villas might be more properly used as indicator of incorporation into the Roman Empire in cases where they were introduced all of a sudden, as might be the case for the Campi Decumates .Trément 2010).

[707] Pichon 2013.

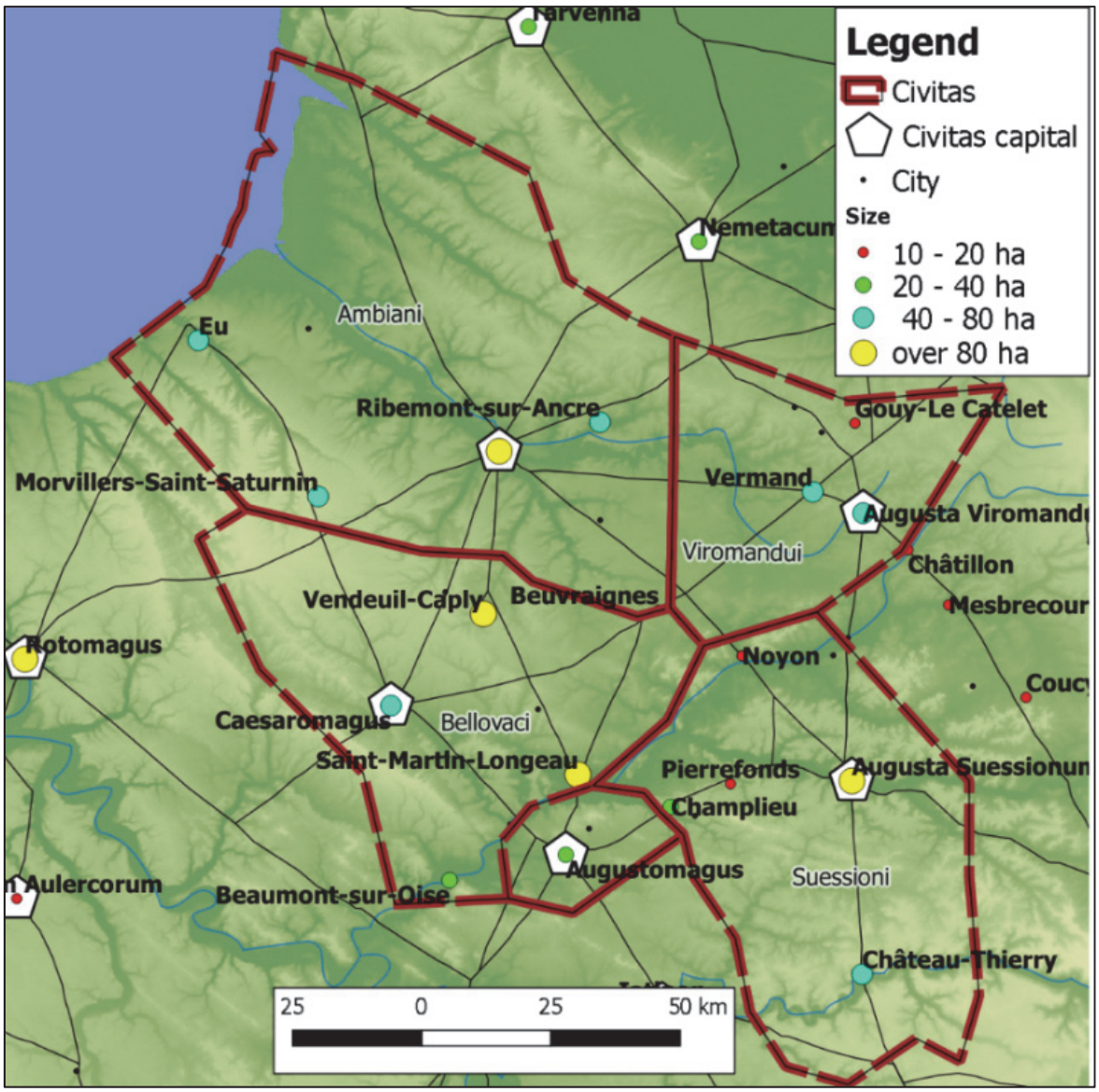


**Figure 136: The agglomerations of western Belgica.**

Several of these agglomerations had a pre-Roman occupation (e.g. Vermand, Saint-Martin-Longueau, and Vendueil-Caply), and they all were thriving in Flavian times. The high density of middle-large agglomerations, and the high productivity of the land, was complemented by the presence of significant commercial exchange stimulated by the river Oise and the terrestrial routes, for example the one that connected Senlis to Soissons.

Others appear to be founded *ex nihilo* (although caution is required because future research might invalidate this last assertion), with the exception of Saint-Laurent-Blangy, Vermand, and a few more agglomerations which were established near pre-existing sanctuaries (e.g. Ribemont-sur-Ancre and Eu 'Bois l'Abbé').[708] At the same time, secondary agglomerations were also starting to grow although their *'parure monumentale'* remained very limited at least until the Flavians.[709] These agglomerations had a street grid and a central square (Figure 137).

[708] Pichon 2009.

[709] Pichon 2009. For the chronological monumentalization of this area see Pichon 2009; and Pichon 2015.

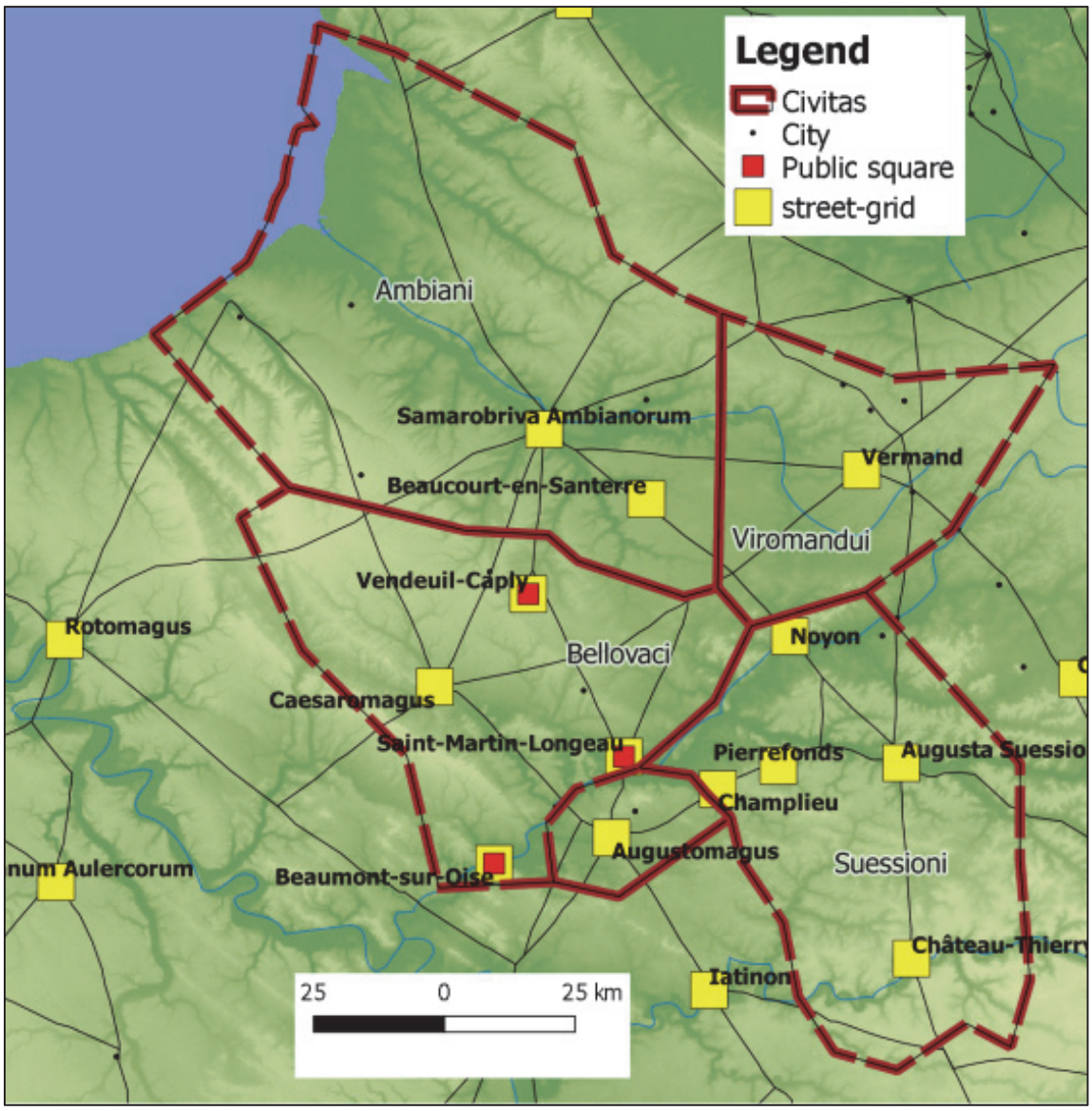


**Figure 137: Street grids and *fora* in the agglomerations of western Belgica.**

Several were not only extensive and quite populated; during the 2nd century AD they were also equipped with monumental buildings either within the cities or in their immediate surroundings (Figure 138). For example, Ribemont-sur-Ancre and Eu (Ambiani), Beaumont-sur-Oise and Vendeuil-Caply (Bellovaci), Orrouy (Suessones). All of these secondary agglomerations had numerous dwellings and spaces for artisanal production. For example, pottery production, which was the most common activity on these sites, covered a regional market at least at the end of the 2nd century AD. Several other secondary agglomerations have specialized workshops for the working of iron (Beaumont-sur-Oise and Château-Thierry), bronze (Saint-Martin-Longueau and Venduil-Caply) or textiles (Ribemont-sur-Ancre and Saint-Martin-Longueau). However, several of these centre places did more than just supply the local and regional demand for pottery and iron tools. In fact, temples, baths and spectacle buildings (in particular theatres) were among the most common monuments that can be found in several of these settlements. Two *basilica*-like buildings have also been found, one at Eu and one at Vendeuil-Caply.

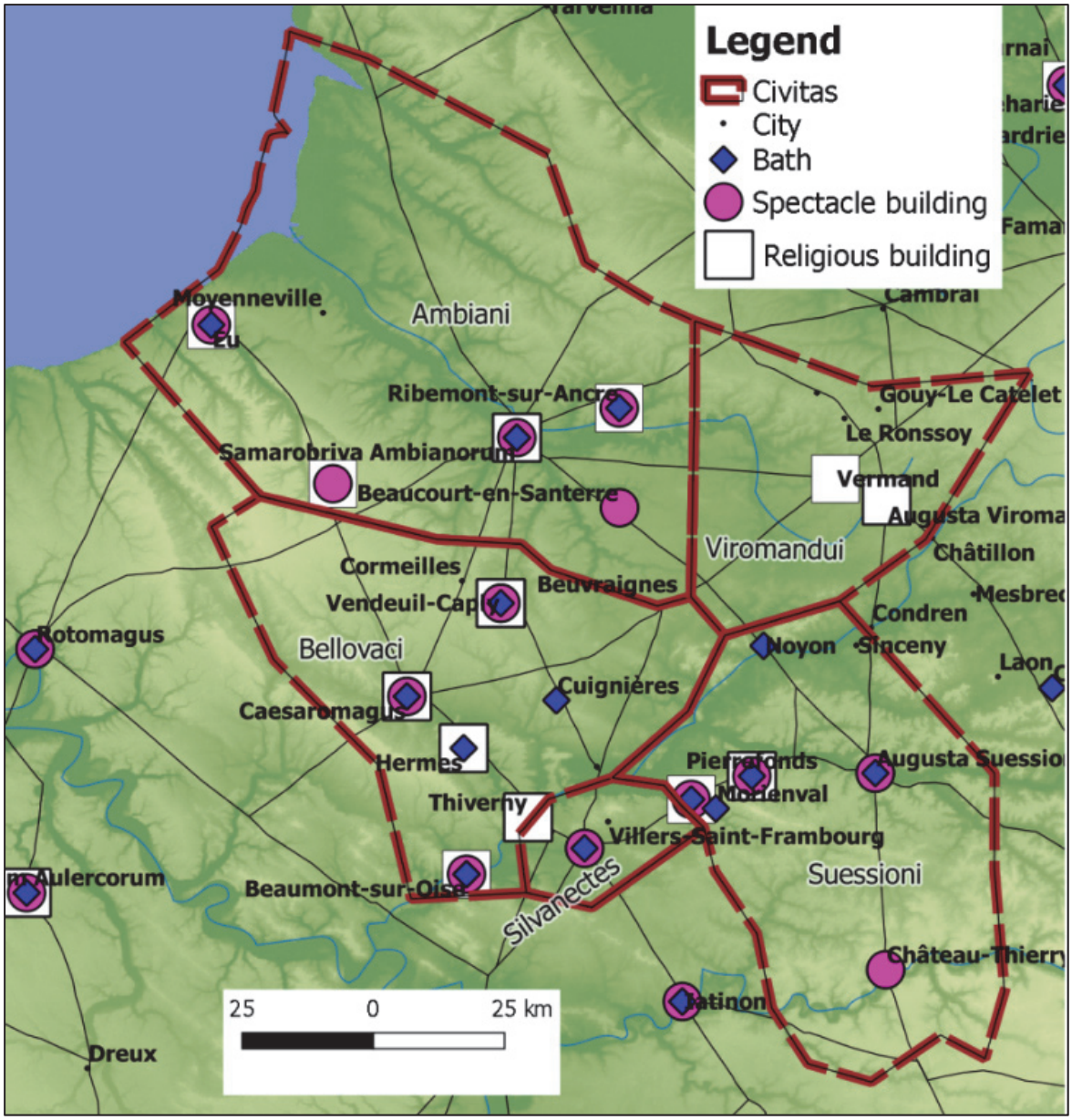


**Figure 138: The monuments in the agglomerations of north-western Belgica.**

Archaeological remains belonging to a public building have been identified at Hermes and Saint-Martin-Longeau; they may belong to a *basilica* or a *horreum*. Interestingly, in the High Empire the capital of the *civitas* of the Bellovaci, Beauvais, covered a surface of *c.* 60 ha, whilst the secondary agglomeration of Saint-Martin-Longueau grew to become 100 ha and Vendeuil-Caply, with its 130 ha, was almost twice as large.[710] Vendeuil-Caply possessed a temple, two theatres, public baths and a forum. Its first occupation goes back to the end of the reign of Augustus.[711] During this early phase, buildings were built with wood and clay, and only after being destroyed by a fire in Claudian times were they rebuilt with stone foundations and wattle

[710] The estimated surface area should be taken as an order of magnitude because we, unfortunately, lack precise data on the density of the agglomeration of these sites and whether the entire surface was actually occupied. It cannot be excluded that this centre was less densely inhabited compared to the capital.

[711] Underneath the temple some remains (very few) dating to the Iron Age have been found.

and daub walls, at times decorated with wall paintings.[712] Its importance and prosperity have been linked to its geographical position: it lay just a few kilometres away from the border with the *civitas* of the Ambiani and not far from the road that connected Beauvais to Amiens. Its location might also have given the agglomeration the function of rural market for artisans and merchants who worked in the countryside.[713]

'Bois l'Abbé' (Briga) is a well-excavated site. It had one of the largest theatres of the province. To the north of the monumental centre, there was a quarter which was organized around *insulae* and streets (with orientation north-south/east-west), with some adjustments to the topography. The *insulae* were quite irregular (they could be rectangular or trapezoidal). The first houses were built in the third quarter of the 1st century AD and, at the beginning, they appeared to have had a very simple layout consisting of just one room, at most two. Over time, they increased in size and complexity (they acquired corridors, galleries, porticoes etc.) and became more regularly aligned with the roads. In their last phase, around the 3rd century AD, some of these *insulae* hosted very large dwellings (150 to 300 m²), which possibly had more than one floor in their central part. Although there were signs of social hierarchy, there seem to be few traces of private baths or heating systems. Moreover, dwellings were built in wattle and daub, and the use of hard material was kept to a minimum. Archaeological surveys and the analysis of the ancient remains have proved the existence of a network of small and isolated rural establishments separated by an average distance of 500-600 m, with small *necropoleis.*[714] Some indirect traces of artisanal activities have also been found, like tools or material debris, but no workshops have yet been excavated.

Large villas were less numerous and quite modest. They had few signs of luxury (mosaics, etc.), and only the villa of Trente, on the river of the Bresle, has given evidence of hypocausts and possibly baths. Some villas show a late phase in hard materials, as often happens in the Somme:[715] a central building with a gallery on the facade. These villas, however, are a minority, and most are more modest, with few architectural elements. Overall these agglomerations appear to have had multiple 'urban' functions. They provided services, and they might have had administrative functions (if the *basilica*-like buildings were built for such purposes). Religious and entertaining functions are attested by the presence of religious buildings, baths, and spectacle buildings (in Vermand the sacred area extended over 15 ha). The public square may have hosted a market; workshops and artisanal activities are also attested. At Beaumont-sur-Oise, for example, we have traces of production of domestic pottery and food processing but also iron production, reducing, smelting, and forging. Very recently, in Vermand (rue Charles de Gaulle) five kilns for domestic local pottery were found.[716] Glass working is also attested. Again, these agglomerations were linked to the products coming from the countryside, as they certainly had a role in the transformation and distribution of agricultural goods (the silos found in the agglomeration of Nizy - which lies very close to this area - might be evidence). At Thiverny there was a quarry, at Beuvraignes a large workshop for pottery. Bone

[712] Piton and Dufour 1984.
[713] Pichon 2009.
[714] Mantel *et al.* 2006.
[715] Agache 1978.
[716] URL: http://www.inrap.fr/sites/inrap.fr/files/atoms/files/cp_vermand_ok.pdf.

work is attested in Vermand and Saint-Martin-Longueau, and the few weights found hint at some textile work.

## 5.3 An overview of the settlement systems within the Gaulish provinces

This chapter began by discussing why some of the earlier attempts to analyse the overall settlement system of the north-western provinces have failed to grasp its complexity and its high level of connectedness. This was due to the fact that the scope of these studies was confined to the analysis of the 'official cities'. However, the evidence shows that the self-governing cities were only a small fraction of the total number of agglomerations that made up the whole settlement system (they counted only around 25%). The long-lived narrative about how the north-western provinces were under-urbanized and economically under-developed, held back by a dysfunctional system of central places unable to serve the majority of the rural communities, still persists, but the evidence (when thoroughly analysed), suggests the opposite.[717]

Only when - as has been done in this work - we go beyond the mere juridical definition of 'city' and we redefine it to include all settlements that were likely to have fulfilled 'urban' functions, can we hope to understand the settlement system (and hierarchy) of these provinces in a meaningful way. If we do not take such places into account, we cannot hope to achieve a satisfactory understanding of the settlement system or of the role played by self-governing cities in that system.

In fact, asTable 8 shows, the vast majority of the settlements of the north-western provinces belonged to the category of 'secondary settlements' (*c*. 75%).

| Province | Self-governing cities | Secondary agglomerations | Total number of agglomerations attested |
|---|---|---|---|
| Aquitania | 21 | 108 | +129 |
| Lugdunensis | 23 | 120 | +143 |
| Belgica | 14 | 112 | +126 |
| Narbonensis | 26 | 60 | +86 |
| Alpes Poeninae | 1 | 4 | +5 |
| Alpes Graiae | 1 | 2 | +3 |
| Alpes Cottiae | 2 | 0 | +2 |
| Alpes Maritimae | 9 | 2 | +11 |
| **Totals** | **97** | **+408** | **+505** |

**Table 8: The number and type of settlements in the Gaulish provinces and western Alps.**

[717] Still present in Hanson 2016.

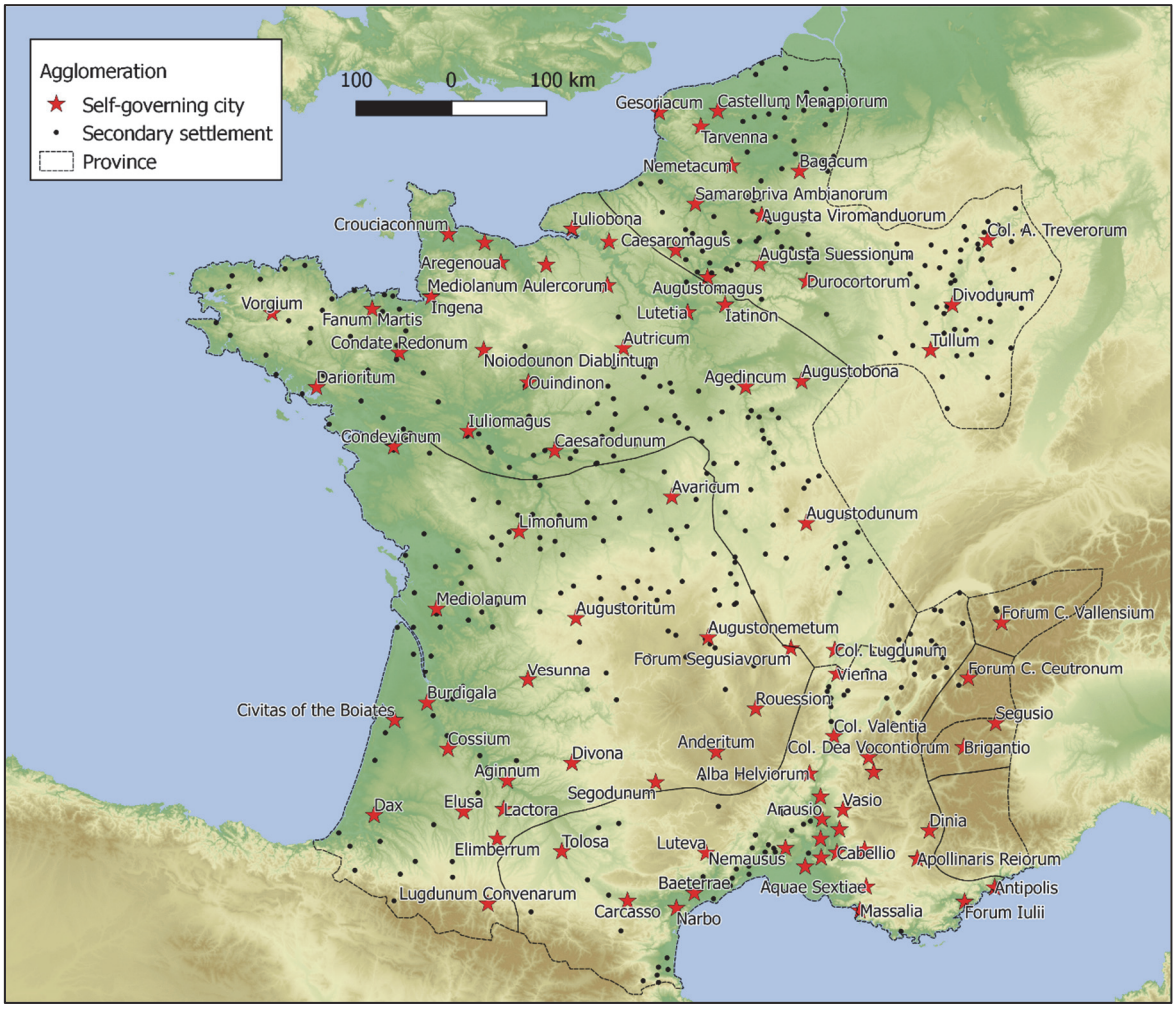


**Figure 139: Map showing the self-governing cities and secondary agglomerations of Gaul and Western Alps.**

Figure 139 shows how unequal was the distribution of settlements. The map is certainly biased by the quality, quantity, and consistency of the available archaeological evidence in the secondary literature. For example, several parts of the present-day administrative region of 'Centre-Val de Loire' (for example the departments in its northern section, such as the region of Eure-et-Loir), the Loire-Atlantique, or that strip of land left empty that goes from Dieppe (Seine-Maritime) to Troyes (Aube), are perhaps under-represented.[718] Nonetheless, some significant patterns can still be discerned. One of the most basic factors affecting settlement patterns, in general, is the physical geography of the land. France is a country highly favoured by nature from the point of view of agricultural production, and, if pastoral pursuits and forestry are included, there is hardly a corner of the country left unproductive.[719]

However, some regions are more fertile than others, and this seems to have had a substantial effect on their demography, economy, and therefore on the distribution of secondary

[718] However, in this area *villae* are well attested. It is thus possible that, as was the case for several regions in Narbonensis (e.g. *civitas* of Fréjus and western Languedoc), villas were the prevalent and pivotal *type* of *settlement* pattern.

[719] Naval handbooks, France: vol. 3, 101.

settlements. If we draw hypothetical urban 'buffers' of 15 km radius around each self-governing city and secondary settlement (as shown in Figure 140), it becomes clear that a significant proportion of the rural population was living within reach of an 'urban' or 'town-like' settlement and was able to obtain goods and services from local centres. These interactions were critical for regional economic development and for the social, economic, and political integration of these provinces.

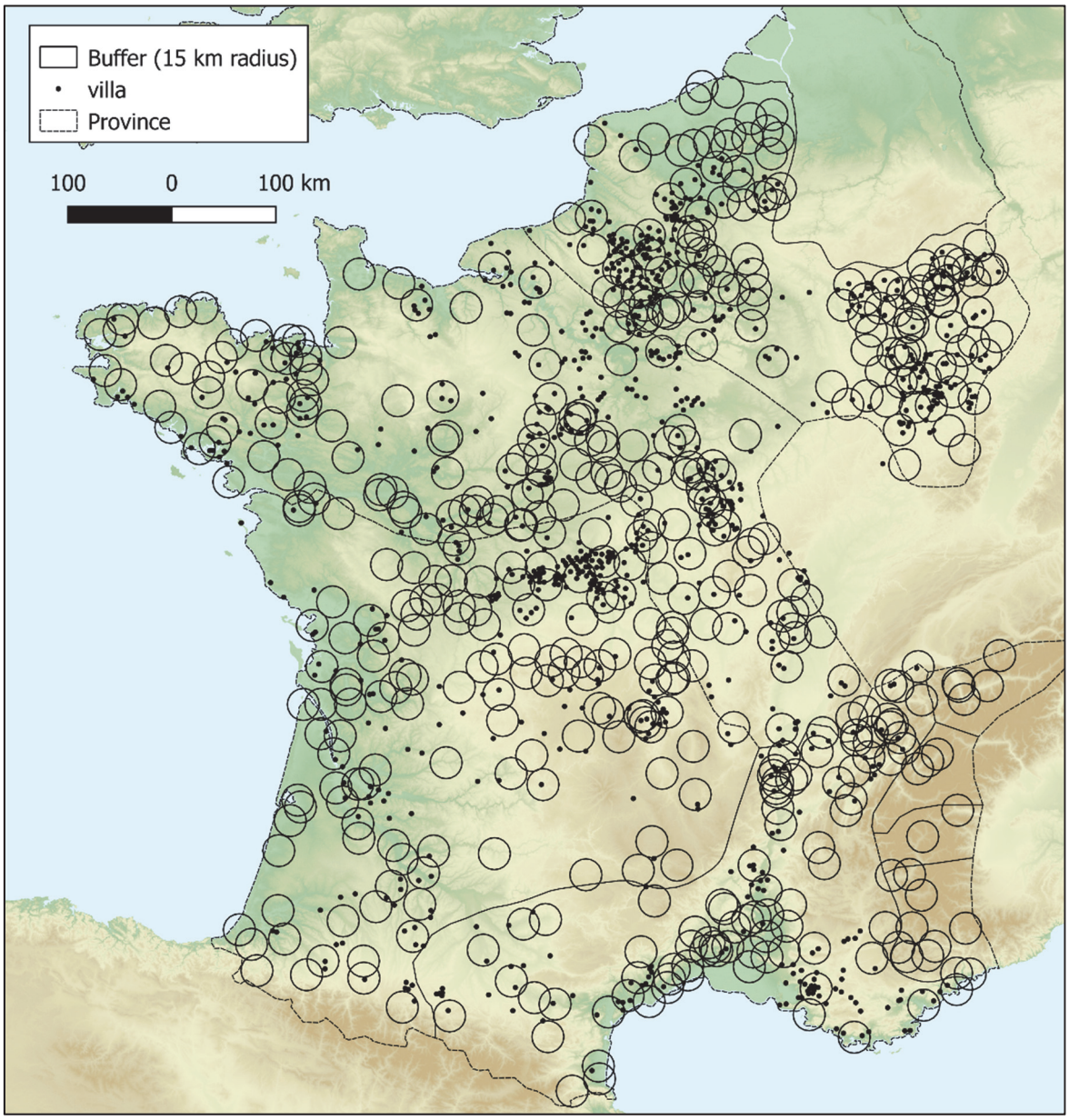


**Figure 140: Map showing how the majority of villas fall within the 15 km radius of either self-governing cities and secondary agglomerations.**

Overall, the evidence argues in favour of a correlation between the density of agglomerations (i.e. the areas with overlapping buffers) and favourable land. For example, a large number of settlements developed in correspondence with some of the most important wheatlands of Gaul, that is north and east of Paris and on the alluvial terraces of the Seine and its tributaries. Other areas of high yield were Languedoc, middle Rhône, lower Charente region (in northern

Aquitaine), and the upper valleys of the Mayenne and the Sarthe. These were all areas which, in Roman times, stood out for the high density of secondary settlements (cf. Figure 97). Uplands regions (such the Massif Central or the foothills of the Alps or the Pyrenees) and areas with poor, acidic soils more suitable for a pastoral economy (for example Normandy and the Massif Armorican) appear to be less settled. High mountain regions and wetlands (such as the Landes in France, the coastal area Belgium and the Netherlands) were even less suitable for agricultural purposes and were among the least densely inhabited areas of all.

Thus, while it does not come as a surprise that the distribution of settlements overall is similar to that of villa estates (the greatest producers of agricultural surplus in Roman times), some additional considerations are in order. Given how thin and acidic the soils of Brittany were, and how dispersed the distribution of villas was, this region appears to be surprisingly rich in agglomerations. On its much-indented coast, there were at least 14 coastal agglomerations and ports. These sites not only supplied sea-going ships with fresh water by means of ingenious pumping engines (e.g. Alet), but their small harbours also offered shelter for boats and housed *horrea* (storehouses), where goods could be stored either for redistributions around the region or to be re-loaded on other ships heading to more distant destinations. The importance of maritime transport in this region is crucial to understanding its settlement system. However, the stark contrast between Brittany and nearby Normandy makes one wonder whether the differences were actual or a product of a research bias (i.e. Brittany has been better researched and published).

The establishment of villas does not depend only on the productivity of the land. In fact, their adoption is always the result of specific choices made by the members of the elite, who may or may not have been keen to adopt any elements of Roman culture. A case study of the *civitas* of the Tarbelli was presented earlier in this chapter. There, at the foothills of the Pyrenees, the economy had been characterized by an extensive (i.e. not-intensive) management and exploitation of the land since pre-Roman times. Some land which could have potentially sustained a 'villa-estate economy' (for example the area between the villa of Lalonquette and Lescar[720]) was left void of such structures, almost certainly as a consequence of cultural factors rather than of economic and ecological ones. On the other hand, in the *civitas* of Fréjus (Provence), villas were a central component of the settlement system. Whether their predominance over nucleated settlements was due to historical and political legacies (Fréjus was a veteran colony and its land had been distributed in allotments) or to geography - as Bertoncello and Lautier have suggested (the landscape was characterized by low hills and plains, highly suitable for agriculture) - is still open to debate.[721] The main point is that different economic and political processes unfolded in diverse ecological settings and in landscapes inhabited by people with different cultural traditions. As a consequence, a variety of distinctive regional settlement patterns, societies, and landscapes emerged.

In addition, not all the secondary agglomerations which we have discussed in this chapter were alike in terms of morphology or functions performed. While they all shared some basic, common elements (for example they all had substantial evidence of dwellings and

[720] Réchin 2014.
[721] Bertoncello and Lautier 2013.

manufacturing/commercial structures), only a minority of them stood out for their highly complex and heterogeneous socioeconomic stratification (i.e. they were inhabited by the elite and presented a complex division of labour where many different trades and employments coexisted). Similarly, only a minority had important elements typical of an 'urban' townscape, for example an orthogonal planned street grid (which suggests some sort of deliberate planning), separate areas devoted to the public, private, and religious space (for example, a central, public square), or provided a large variety of services (as evidenced by the buildings and including, for example, those related to the religious and recreational spheres).

If we compare Figure 141 and Figure 142, we observe that those settlements that fulfilled all the above-mentioned requirements - and can, therefore, be considered 'town-like' - were geographically clustered in central Gaul, Gallia Belgica, and the north-eastern part of the *civitas* of the Allobroges.

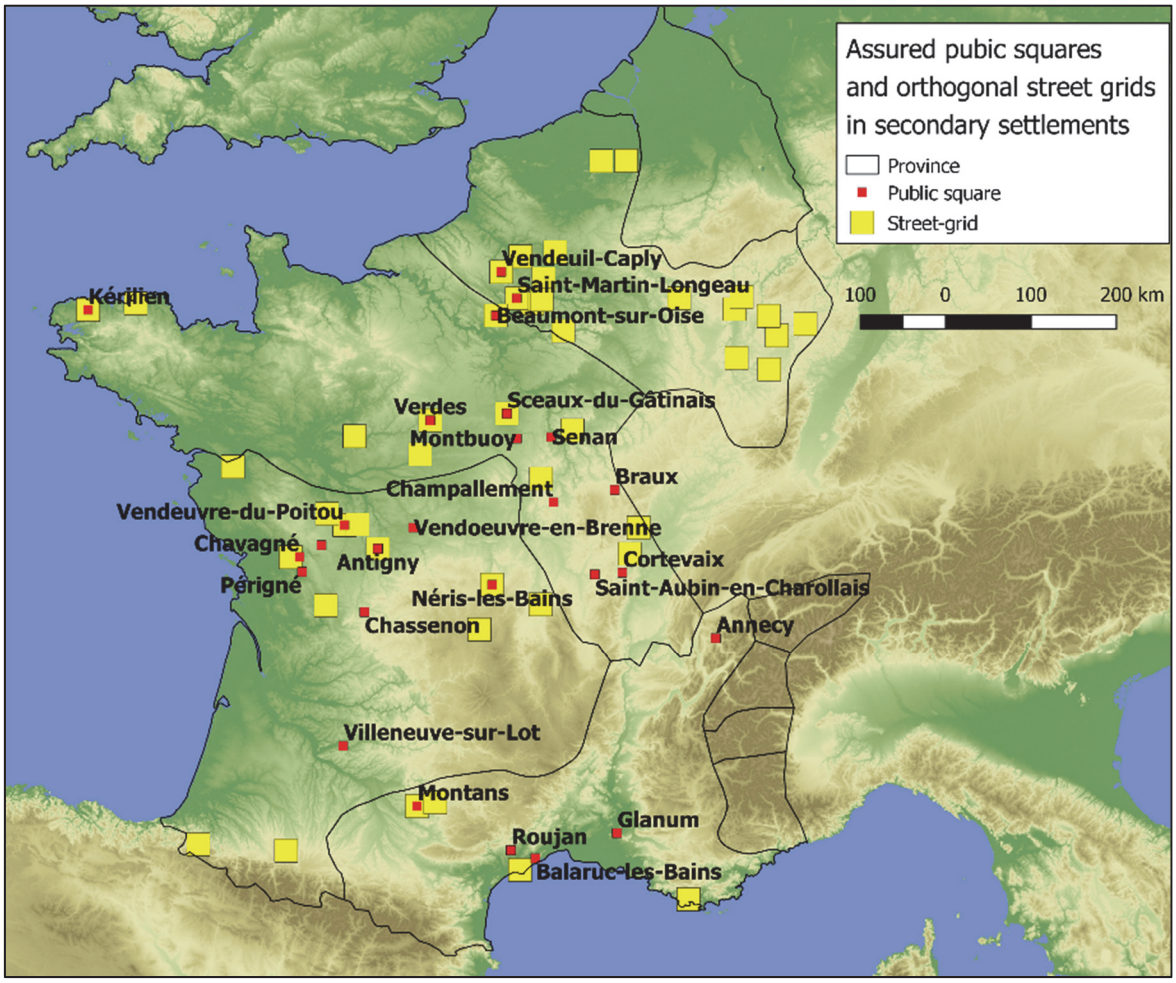


**Figure 141: The layout of secondary agglomerations and the distribution of the ascertained public squares and street grids.**

The fact that these 'town-like' agglomerations often display a monumental architecture (intended to convey civic pride and prestige) indicates strong elite connections with rural areas. This durable and robust relationship is likely to have its roots in the polycentric past that already characterized the pre-Roman settlement pattern in these regions.

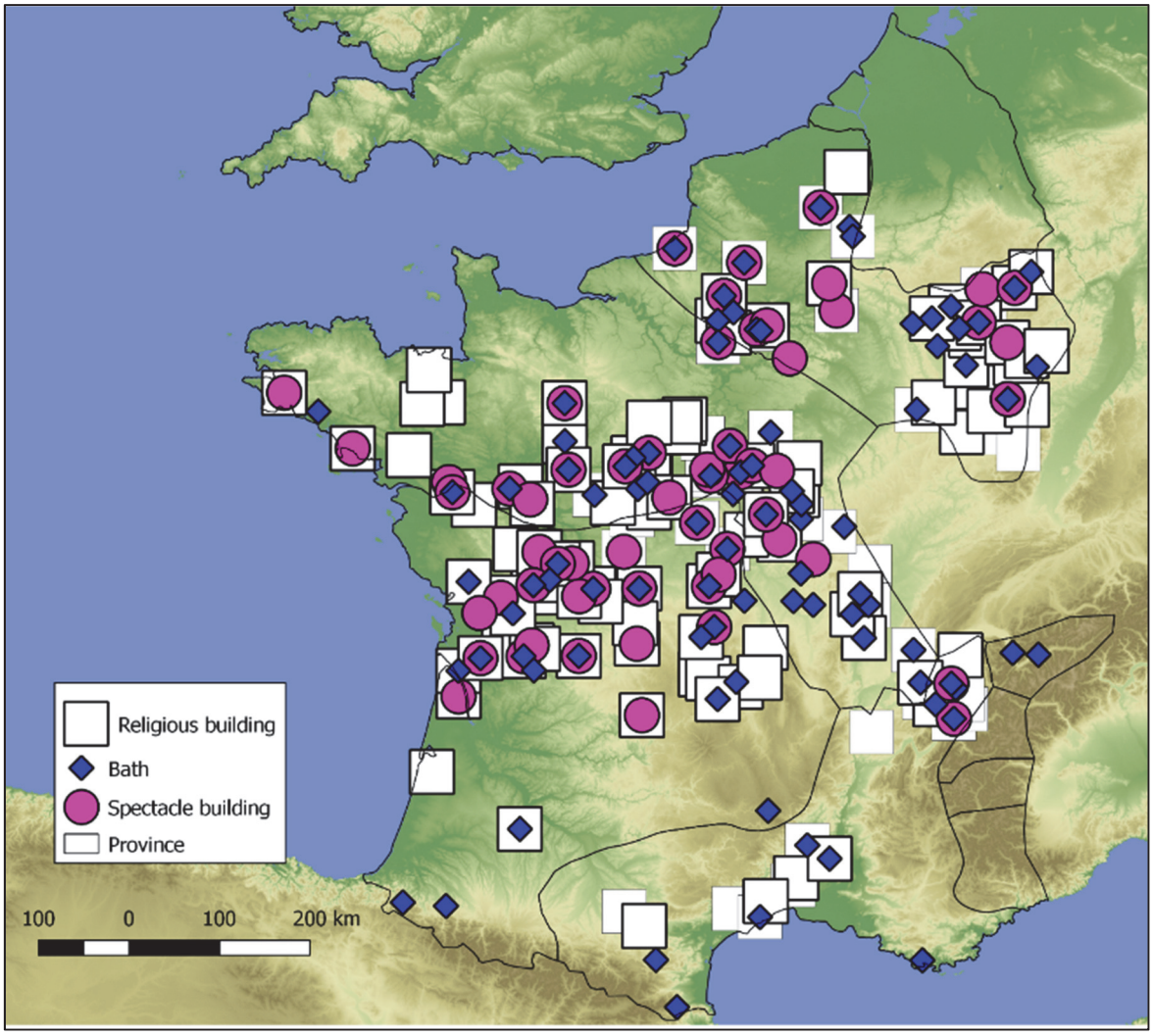


**Figure 142: The monumentality of secondary settlements in Gaul. Distribution of the ascertained i. religious buildings (temples and sanctuaries), ii. spectacle buildings, iii. baths.**

This observation is confirmed by the fact that central Gaul and Belgica are the only areas where remains of *basilicae* have been discovered in secondary agglomerations, and perhaps also by the fact that the only inscriptions which mention a *basilica* in a secondary settlement were found at Vendeuvre-du-Poitou, Vendoeuvre-en-Brenne, and possibly Annecy (Figure 143). This pattern suggests that not only the dispersion of the elite within the territory of the whole *civitas* was maintained (unlike what had occurred in the *civitas* of Nemausus), but also that this dispersion was showcased (at least on a symbolic level) by buildings that had a political connotation.

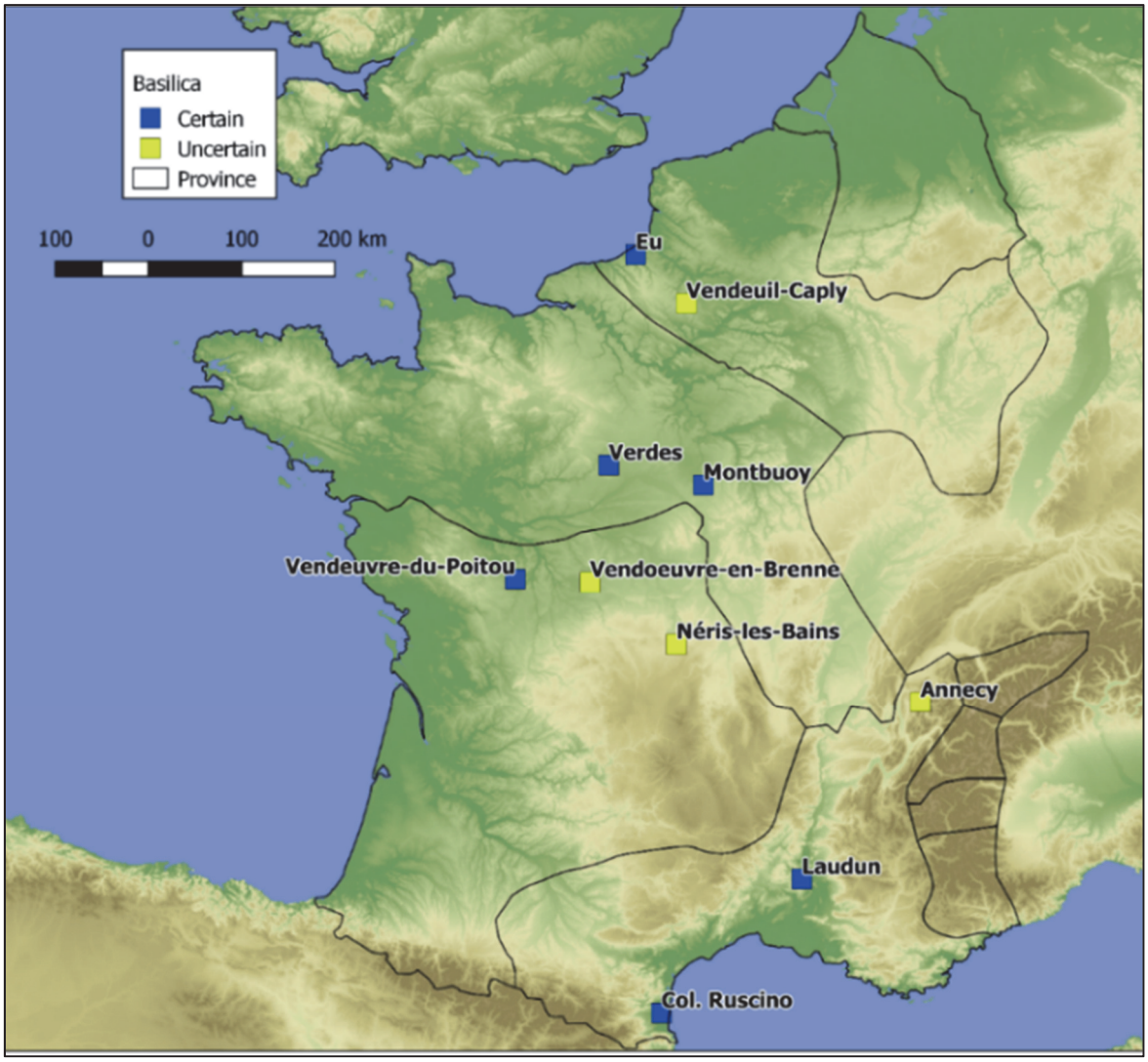


**Figure 143: The *basilicae* in the secondary agglomerations.**

As a final step, we can raise our analysis to a more theoretical level. When looking at inter-city interactions, we can either inspect the horizontal frame of their relationships, which is indicated by their spacing and their location, or the vertical relationship which is mirrored by the hierarchy, that is to say by the differences in size that exists between them. We will engage only with the latter approach because the first one is highly dependent on region-specific factors relating to ecology, topography etc. obstructing any attempt to make generalizations. The evidence we have reviewed for Gaul suggests that - on a general and abstract level - at least two different models of settlement hierarchy could exist alongside each other. In some regions we encounter a multi-layered settlement system comprising a variety of higher-order and lower-order centres (e.g. the *civitas* of the Bituriges Cubi) (Figure 144 and Figure 145). On the top of the settlement hierarchy would lie the administrative capital - headquarters of civic and political institutions and possibly the city where the members of the elite who aspired to hold civic magistratures had to reside (or at least own a house[722]). A second order of settlements consisted of 'town-like' secondary agglomerations which provided a smaller

[722] Cfr. Footnote 486.

number of services compared to the capital, but still had extensive and (at times) more specialized functions.

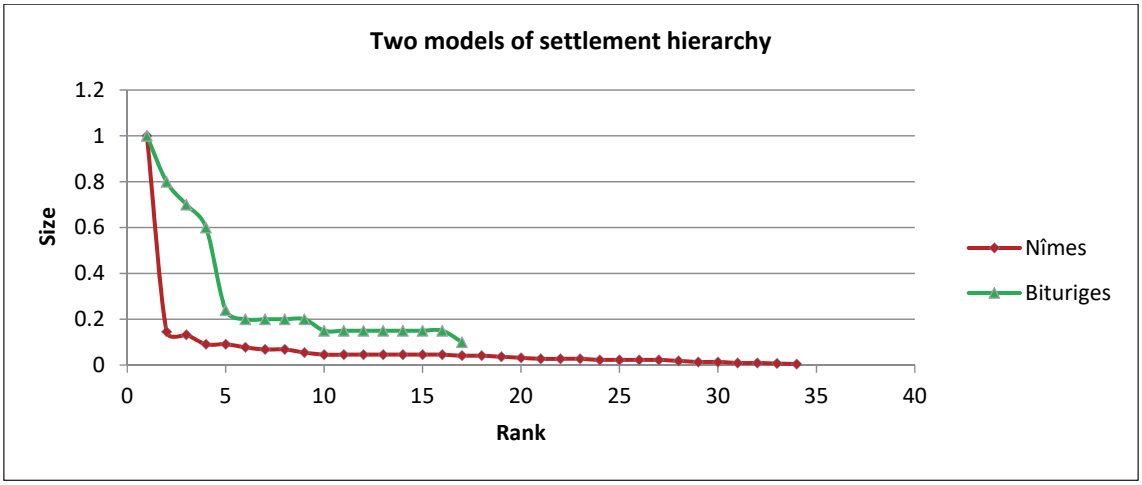


**Figure 144: Two different models of settlement hierarchy. In order to make the comparison between the two series of value meaningful, they have been normalized (that is standardized) and constrained between [0, 1]).**

They could, for example, be home to important religious sanctuaries and festivals that have a supra-regional reputation, offer communal baths, or - as in the case of Argentomagus or Aquae Neri - have a well-developed and thriving mining-metallurgic industry. From a theoretical point of view one would expect to find an inversely proportional relationship between their spatial distance and hierarchical distance, but in reality such a spatial regularity, like the one envisaged by Christaller's central-place theory, could occur only on a flat and isotropic surface where population and resources were evenly distributed, transportation costs were equal in all directions and directly proportional to distance, consumers all had similar purchasing power and there was a perfect competition between sellers.

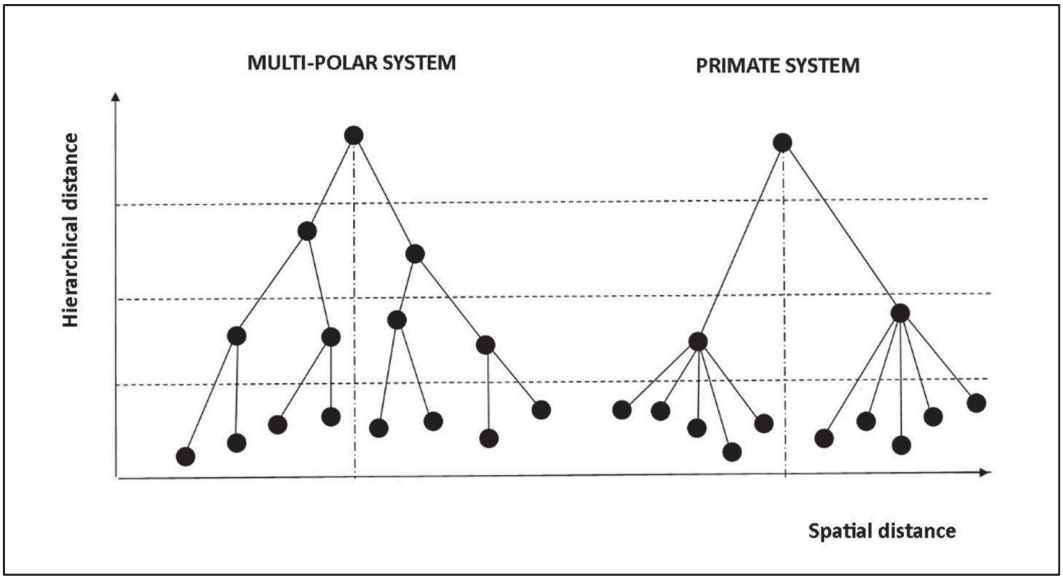


**Figure 145: Two ideal-types of settlement hierarchy.**

A second type of settlement system (primate system) is characterized by a very large capital and very small settlements with almost no intermediate urban settlements (e.g. *civitas* of Nemausus). Geography alone cannot explain this pattern which occurs in areas very different in terms of climate, topography, soil and accessibility. Thus, it is much more likely that, again, the pre-Roman settlement pattern and its subsequent evolution were major factors in determining what model of settlement would be produced.

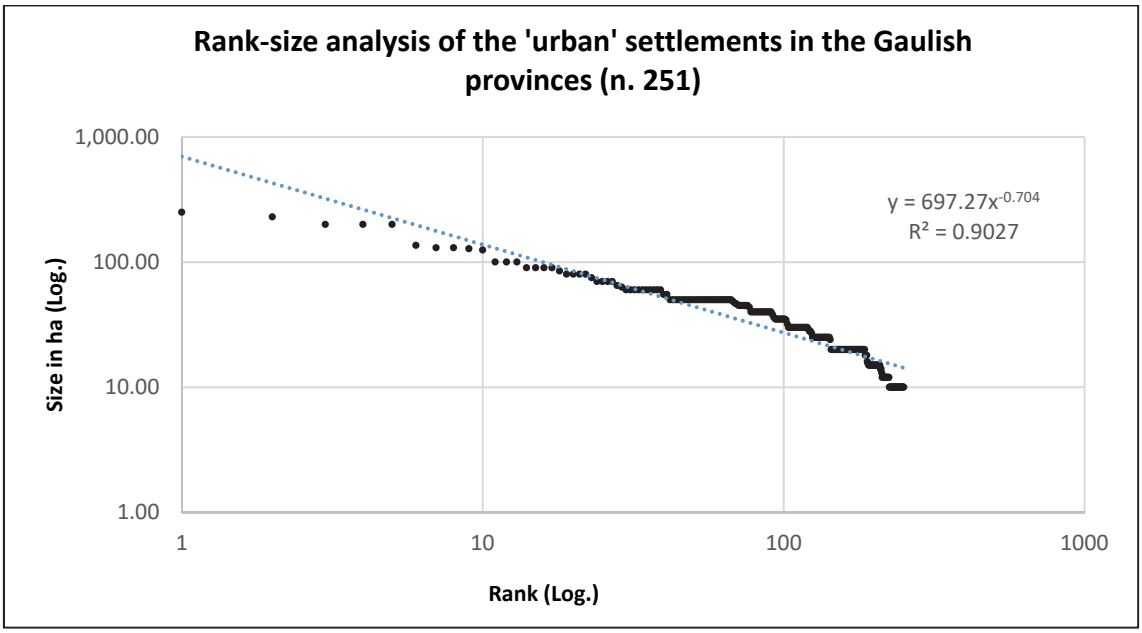


**Figure 146: Rank-size analysis of the whole "urban" system of Gaul.**

The graph above shows that the rank-size analysis, when applied to all the 'urban' agglomerations known in the Gaulish provinces (i.e. 251 settlements which were either self-governing cities or displayed town-like features), has a similar result to when it is applied to the self-governing cities only. In particular, we observe that the overall shape of the 'urban' network of Gaul does not appear to be consistent with the hypothesis of a hierarchical system dominated by a single city. On the contrary, the data indicates that the urban system of Gaul consisted of a combination of various regional hierarchies, each controlled by a different 'regional capital'.

Analysing the "urban" system of Gaul as a whole, we can conclude that almost 90% of the settlements were small or medium-sized cities (10-60 ha). Such cities and "town-like" settlements could be sustained by the agricultural resources located in the catchment area of 15 km. Only around 7% of all settlements were large cities with an estimated size of >60 ha (e.g. Bourges, *Soissons*, *Clermont-Ferrand*). The relatively few cities which belonged to this category laid along the main urban and transport corridors and were nodal points within the urban system. These unusually large centres attracted the wealthiest members of the regional elite (and their money). It is worth noting that most of these cities had probably access to sufficient resources within their area of influence (which may have been coincident with their administrative territory, in the case of self-governing cities). Finally, only 3% of the urban network consisted of very large cities (>100 ha). These were most likely dependent on resources generated outside their catchment area.

The map below (Figure 147) gives us an impressionistic representation of this phenomenon. The Thiessen polygons in the picture were built by taking into account the settlements' sizes and their Euclidean inter-distances. While they are not to be taken literally, they give an impression of the probable spheres of influence of major centres over their neighbours. A few cities (including the provincial capitals and other major cities such as Amiens and Autun) could have a major influence over many neighbouring, smaller settlements. The figure shows us how complex, multi-leveled, rich, sophisticated, fragmented and - at the same time - well integrated were the regional and supra-regional settlement systems of these provinces.[723]

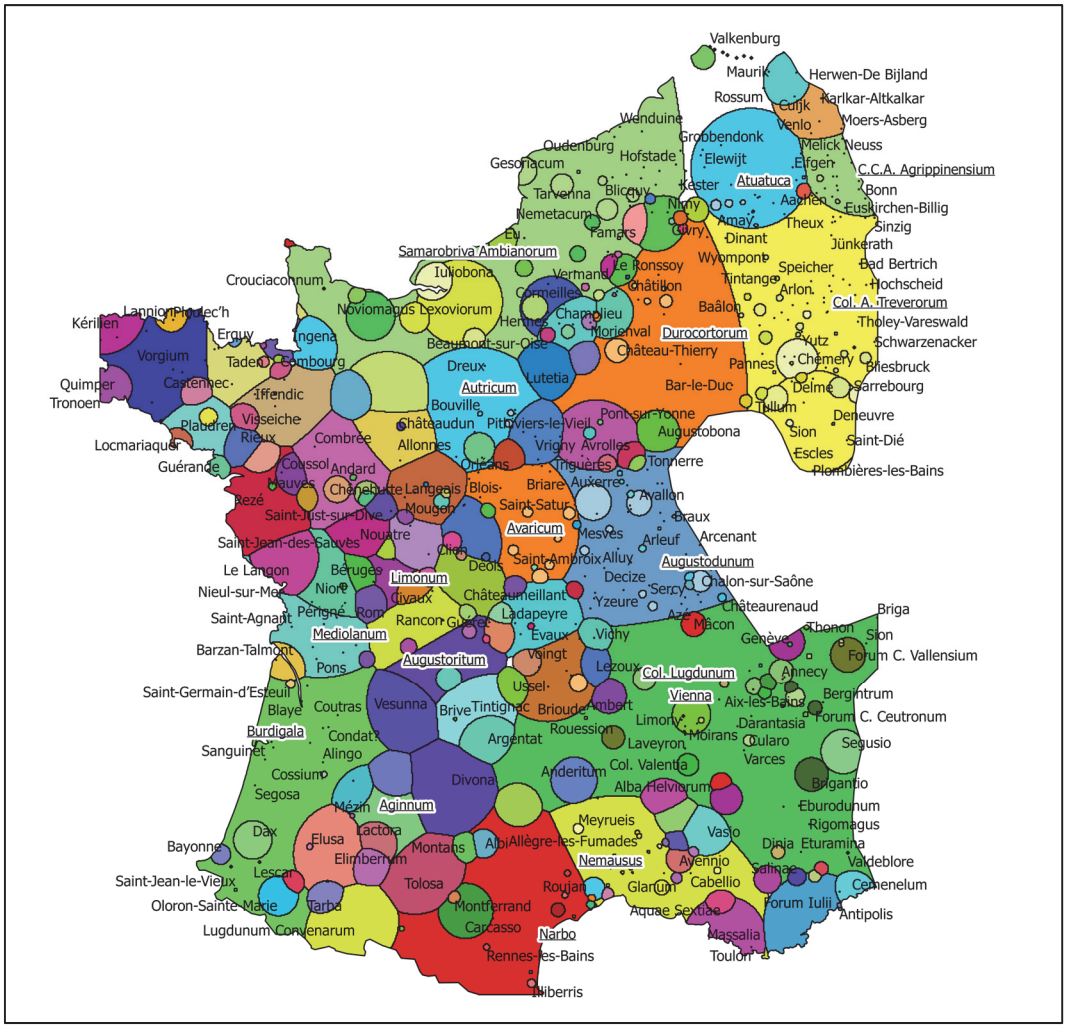


**Figure 147: The settlement system of Gaul (and Germania Inferior) analysed through a weighted Thiessen polygon analysis. Polygons are defined by settlement sizes and their Euclidean inter-distances. The map clearly shows that several cities extended their influence over an exceptionally large territory; for example, this was the case for Nîmes and Trier (yellow), Narbonne (red), Bordeaux, Lyon, and Amiens (green), Autun (blue), Reims (orange).**

[723] For each pixel in the map, the distance to all settlements is calculated (in a straight line, i.e. topography is not taken into account) and then divided by the size of the settlement. The pixel is then assigned to the city which has the lowest value, meaning it is the 'closest' for the purposes of this algorithm. The weighting is linear, which means that a 20-ha city is assigned twice the sphere of influence of a 10-ha city. This model presents an abstract view of a reality which is impossible to positively verify. Nonetheless, it is still arguably closer to reality than a standard Thiessen model would be.

# CHAPTER 6: THE SECONDARY AGGLOMERATIONS OF GERMANIA INFERIOR AND BRITANNIA

## Introduction

This last chapter will be concerned with the analyses of the secondary agglomerations within the provinces of Germania Inferior and Britannia. There are several reasons for dealing with these two regions together, the most obvious being that they both lie at the edge of the Empire and - at their borders - hosted a chain of Roman military camps and watchtowers. These lines of frontier fortifications - the *Limes Britannicus* and the *Limes Germanicus* - had a huge impact on the life of the people who inhabited this land, and, in turn, they have deeply affected the subsequent settlement location strategy.[724] These two provinces were also regions of high demand for imported products and - especially in the early stages of their conquest - the bulk of the local needs was sustained by goods that were imported and transported via Rhône-Rhine or Rhône-Moselle. As a side effect, the movement of the troops and traders/suppliers meant that these main axes became pivotal to the regional economy and, as a consequence, a high proportion of agglomerations developed along these axes (often in the form of ribbon-developments). An emphasis on the infrastructures related to the transport and communication of people and goods and aimed at improving and expanding the mobility of travellers and businesses (e.g. baths and - more controversially because they are more difficult to identify - *mansiones*) also indicates the important link between settlement's location and major supply routes.

The secondary literature concerning the subordinate settlements within these provinces is abundant. In Britain, the discussion has revolved around the concept of 'small towns', which is *per se* a very problematic notion. First of all, it places too much emphasis on the highest ranks of settlements whilst - by definition - excluding those settlements that were not town-like but still performed important roles as central places. In fact, paradoxically, in the typology proposed by several scholars (e.g. Burnham) settlements that have the connotations of rural villages are still included although the evidence is far from depicting them as town-like, only because from a practical and scholastic point of view, they are too important to be left out. Second of all, the discussion was soon hijacked and - as Millett rightly pointed out - it 'has led to an explosion in the identification of "small towns" across Roman Britain, with little or no attempt made to provide further evidence for the conferment of urban status.'[725]

In Belgium and in the Netherlands, the equivalent of the English 'small town' is the word '*vicus*'. There it is still widely used to indicate any secondary settlements, regardless of whether an inscription mentioning it as such was ever found. In light of the above and of what has been

[724] As we have seen when discussing the temporal patterns in building constructions in chapter 4, Britain cannot be seen as a unique entity. Here we will take a case study from the north of England, one of the parts where military influence was prolonged compared to the south. As for Germania Inferior, the whole area will be taken into analysis, although particular attention will be devoted to those settlements between Cambrai and Cologne.
[725] Fulford 2012: 8.

argued in chapter 1, the more neutral and inclusive French definition of 'secondary agglomeration' will thus be deployed. This definition includes a large spectrum of settlements, ranging from town-like settlements to rural villages. In this study, however, we will be interested only in those that present at least several 'urban features' (i.e. display at least some monumentality, occupational diversity, or it can be assumed that a substantial percentage of inhabitants were involved in the secondary and tertiary sectors). As discussed in chapter 1, it is difficult, if not impossible, to establish a clear line between purely agrarian and town-like settlements, for the obvious reason that such a dividing line does not exist. However, it should be noted that the maps below will show only those places that have been regarded as 'urban'. On the other hand, for example, settlements for which we have evidence only of ceramic production will not be taken into account for the time being (and therefore will not appear on maps).

A final element of discussion relates to the key concept of 'garrison settlements' (also known in the literature as 'military *vici*' or 'extra-mural settlements'). In our study area, this category of sites - which often take the form ribbon developments that emerge along the roads that radiate from the forts - is confined to these two provinces. Garrison settlements made up a considerable proportion of settlements (*c*. 20% in Britain and 30% in Germania Inferior), and for this reasons the case studies selected will both deal with them later in this chapter (Table 9).

| Province | Self-governing cities | Secondary agglomerations | Garrison settlement | Total number of agglomerations attested |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Britannia | 21 | 119 | 32 | +172 |
| Germania Inferior | 5 | 54 | 21 | +80 |
| **Totals** | **26** | **173** | **53** | **+252** |

**Table 9: The number and type of settlements in Britannia and Germania Inferior.**

As the map below shows, they were geographically clustered in specific areas, i.e. Wales, northern England, and the eastern border of Germania Inferior (Figure 148).

In geography, urban clusters are a well-known phenomenon. However, they are usually known for developing around specific natural resources (e.g. a mine, a quarry etc.). The garrison settlements along the *limes*, however, have a more distinctive Roman mark and mirror the defensive techniques and geopolitical strategies (i.e. static defence) of ancient Rome.[726] Since it was deemed important to look closely at garrison settlements and their influence on the landscape, the case study selected for the analysis of Britannia is the region of Eastern Yorkshire, in northern England. In the south of England and in the Eastern Midlands the impact of the army on the settlement pattern appears to have been less. As seen in chapters 3 and 4, by the end of the 1st century AD the self-governing cities of south-eastern England were already politically integrated into the Roman Empire and were equipped with the same civic and religious buildings as their Gaulish counterparts.

[726]A combination of the two aspects can be seen in the establishment of some forts close to natural resources, such as the fort of Dolauchothi-Pumsaint in Wales, which developed close to a gold mine.

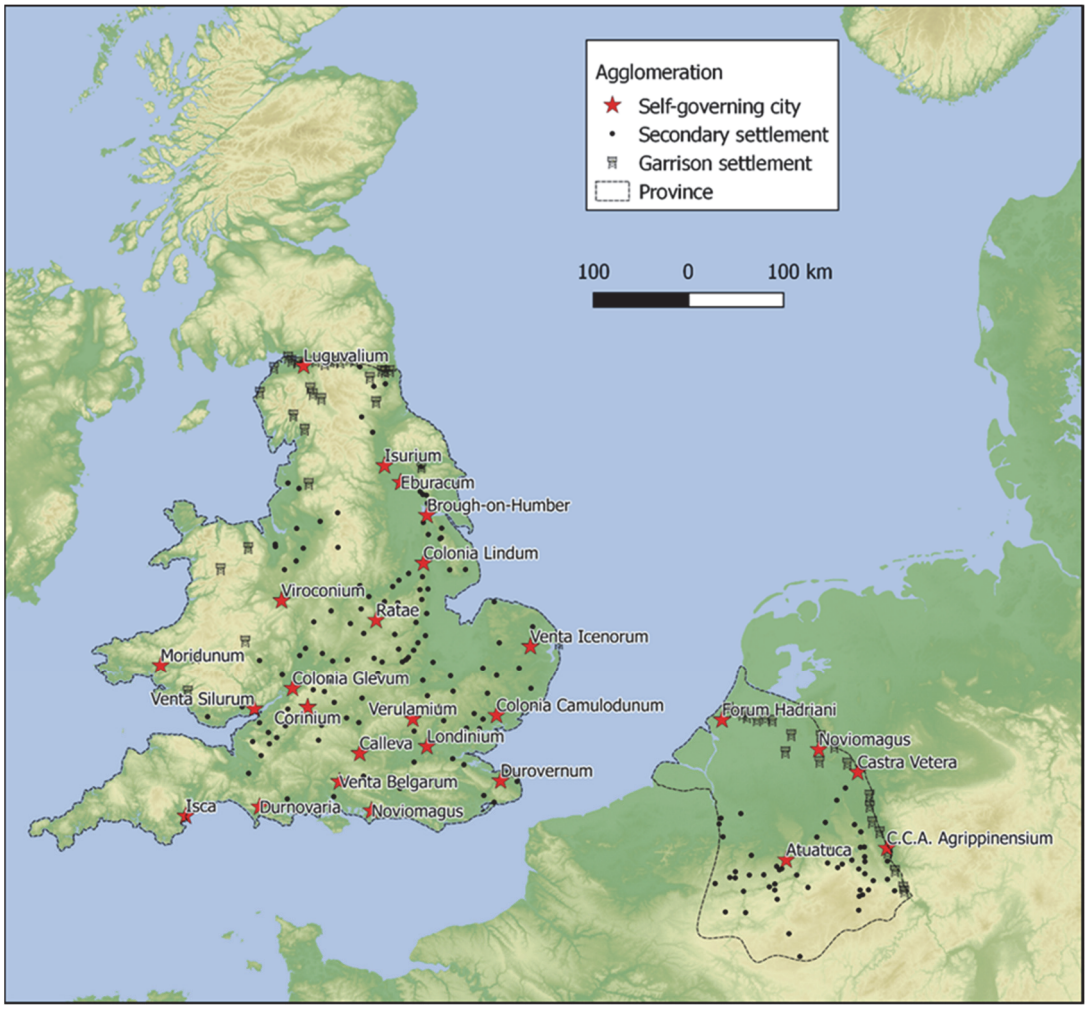


**Figure 148: The self-governing cities, secondary agglomerations and garrison settlements of Britain and Germania Inferior.**

## 6.1 Germania Inferior

This province of Germania Inferior had several peculiar characteristics. From a geographical point of view we see that two different landscapes can be distinguished (Figure 149). Geographically speaking, Germania Inferior can be divided into three regions: i. the Northern Lowland, ii. the Central Uplands, and iii. the Ardenne. The Northern Lowland comprises the dunes, the polders, and low and flat plains. The narrow, almost continuous strip of sand dunes between the French and Dutch borders had almost no agricultural importance. Whilst the closeness to the sea meant there was a constant influx of salty water which hindered agriculture, the presence of *salinatores* (saltmakers) indicate that soon this resource was being exploited.[727] Behind the dunes, to the south, along the coast and the Scheldt estuary, we find the marshy sedimentary clayey terrains

[727] An inscription (CIL XI 390) found in Rimini and dating to Flavian times mentions the *salinatores* of the *civitas Menapiorum*.

These terrains were unsuitable for intensive agriculture, and only in their southern areas, close to the central plains, do we see a slight improvement in the soil. The Central Uplands include the most important agricultural areas, and in Roman times they were scattered with Roman villas (thus, villa landscape). This was a smooth, slowly rising area which was irrigated by many waterways. The significant factor that made these valleys very fertile was the fact that the underlying layers of clay, sands, and chalk were covered by alluvial soils that were relatively rich in organic matter, and thus both fertile and easier to work. The third geographical region, the Ardenne, is a thickly forested plateau, very rocky and not very good for farming, which extends into northern France and in Germany where it is named Eifel.[728] These regional variations had important consequences for the settlement system of this area. For example, while in the north the most common types of dwellings were the Germanic-style long-houses, to the south villas were attested, too. Moreover, from a historical point of view, this province differs from those described in the previous chapter because it was, at least partly, occupied permanently by the army (on its eastern border) and by auxiliary camps (in the west).

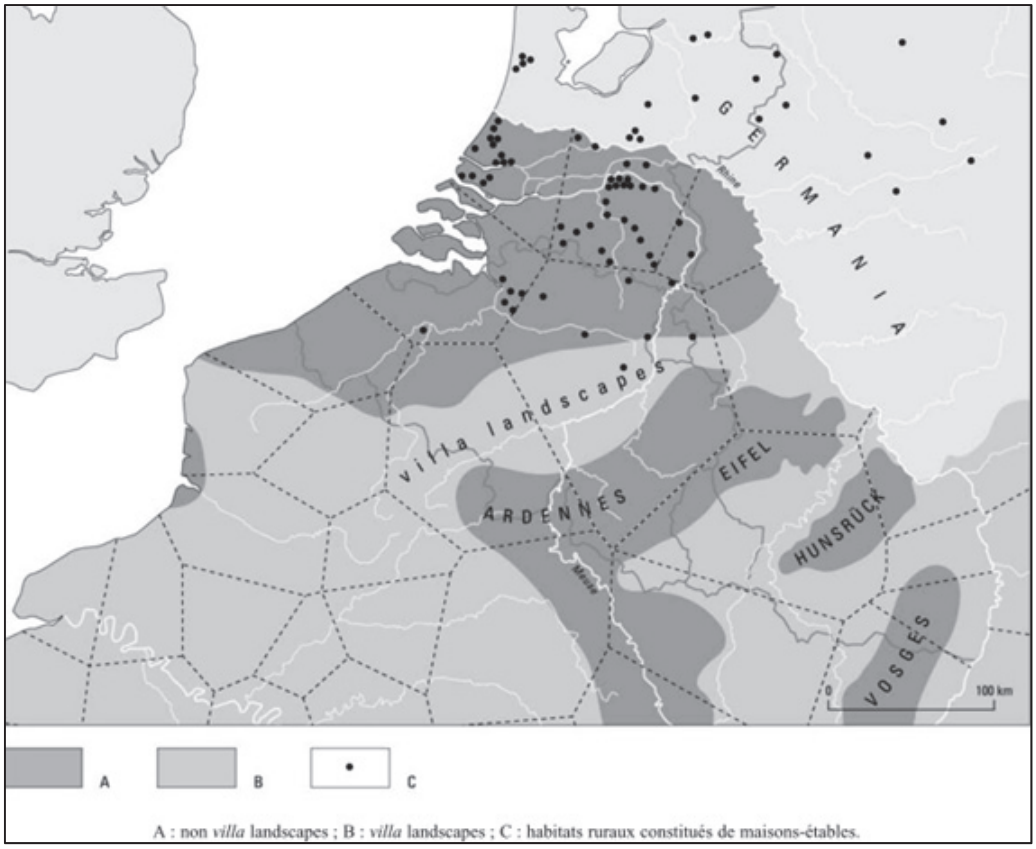


**Figure 149: The landscape of Germania Inferior (Roymans and Heeren 2004: 23).**

In Roman times, very few agglomerations had developed in the area of the Netherlands and northern Belgium, and these were small. They are also characterized by an indigenous type of occupation of the land, with settlements that were rarely inhabited for more than three generations and consisting of one or multiple habitations built according to the native tradition (*maisons-étable*). While they have pre-Roman origins, they continued to be the most common

[728] Naval handbook of Belgium: 233-241.

form of dwelling in Roman times (Figure 150). These buildings were characterized by a rectangular hall (which could be between 20-40 m long and 4-8 m wide) which, on one side, was devoted to living quarters and on the other end had a stable used for livestock. Palynological studies have shown that the economy of the dwellers was characterized by a combination of farming and animal husbandry.[729] From Flavian times, probably as a consequence of an intensification of breeding, these buildings were built with below-ground floors for keeping an increased amount of livestock, mainly cattle.[730]

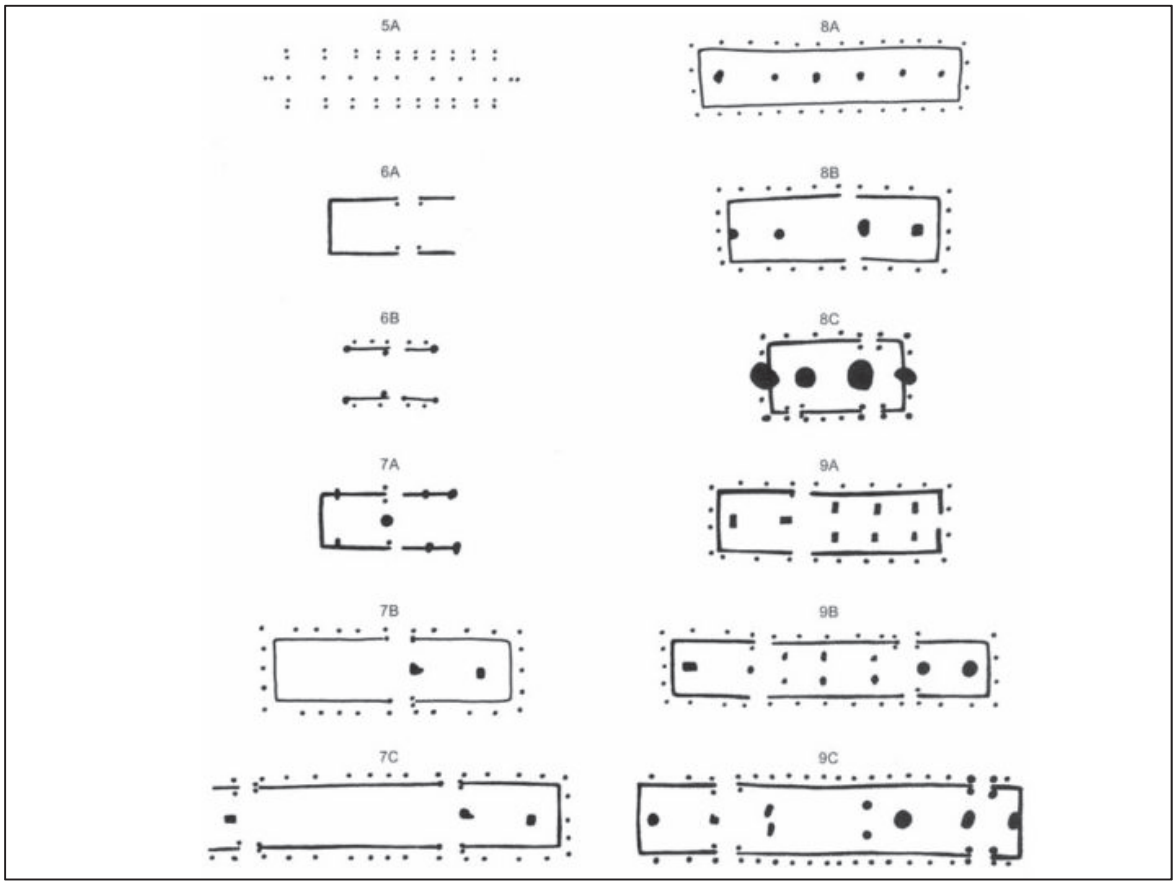


**Figure 150: The variation between the stable-houses of Roman times excavated at Oss (Roymans and Heeren 2004: 24).**

However, the settlement pattern did not drastically change, and agglomerations remained being rare.[731] Most of them developed along communication axes, and for this reason, Belgian bibliography often refers to them as *mansiones*, *stationes*, or *vici*, without any definitive evidence supporting this terminology (Figure 151).[732] Several developed on or near the junction of two major roads (e.g. Arlon, Asse, Tienen, Velzeke, and possibly Blicquy-Camp Romain). Magerman looked at the agglomerations of Flanders and observed that 40% of the agglomerations lay on a river (e.g. Wervik, Kort, Destelbergen, Namen, Huy, Amay,

[729] Roymans and Heeren 2004.
[730] Bayard and De Clerq 2013.
[731] Slofstra 1991.
[732] Hiddink 1991: 207-213.

Pommeroeul en Waasmunster-Pontrave).[733] Sixty% were located on a plateau (e.g. Asse, Kester, Elewijt, Velzeke, Kontich, Grobbendonk, Braives, Liberchies, Vervoz, Arlon, etc), and several developed in transitional zones, such as Asse and Velzeke (transition from sand to clay loam), and Kruishoutem, Grobbendonk and Elewijt (transition from sand to sandy loam).

**Figure 151: The settlement system in Germania Inferior.**

Some of these settlements appear to have had a street grid (e.g. Braives, Liberchies, and Grobbendonk). Other settlements may have had such a grid (e.g. Velzeke), although several may have consisted of multiple cores (e.g. Amay, Huy and possibly Blicquy) (Figure 152). Comparative research has revealed different layouts. A clear majority of the so-called *vici* were characterized by ribbon development: Braives, Grobbendonk, Liberchies, Pommeroeul, Taviers, Vervoz, Waasmunster-'Pontrave' and Waudrez.

[733] Magerman 2006. We can assume that ports were located along their banks. However, only in Pommeroeul have traces of port activities been detected. For the Scheldt, we know that some agglomerations were supplied with many goods from other regions, and other were shipped out (Strydonck and Van de Mulder 2000: 71-76).

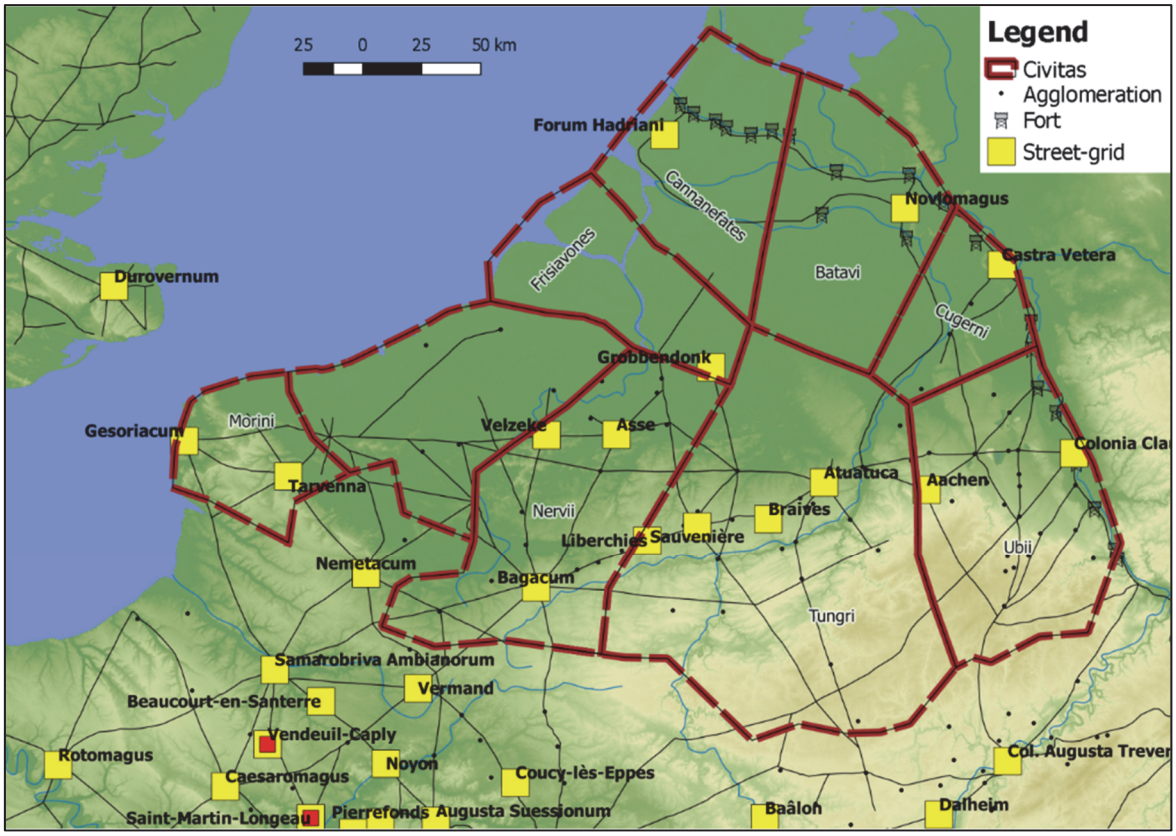


**Figure 152: Street grids in the agglomerations of Germania Inferior.**

South of this area, agglomerations developed in strict association with two important supra-provincial routes: the one passing through Velzeke, Asse[734], and Elewijt, and the one a little to the south that went through Kester. They probably joined at Tienen. This region is also characterized by the presence of indigenous houses.[735] The only public buildings attested so far (except for temples) are baths (Velzeke, Grobbendonk, and Tienen).[736]

[734] According to tradition, this was the place where the military camp of Quintus Cicero was established. However, excavation in the 1970s did not provide sufficient evidence to prove it. Thus, the theory that sees the Roman settlement arising around this military camp is controversial. The settlement of Asse developed during the 1st century AD at the junction of Roman roads. The agglomeration reached its peak from mid-1st to 3rd century AD. Several strip houses were found, along with wells. Traces of white plaster were found, too, but no public buildings (at least, so far) have been found. Great care in the construction of the foundations (limestone and mortar residue) is attested. Based on a preliminary review of the findings and dendro-chronological analysis of the wood found in a well excavated in 2010, it is thought these buildings date from the second half of the 2nd century AD and/or beginning of the 3rd century AD. Production of pottery (including imitation of *terra nigra*) and metalworking is attested. Several villas have been found close by. Many small finds, also related to religious cults (especially clay figurines) have been found.

[735] Habermehl 2014.

[736] In many *vici* some hints were found, such as clay figurines (Asse, Elewijt, Kester and Rumst). In Kruishoutem the presence of a temple remains unclear. The square gravel foundation from Velzeke was perhaps part of a temple and the presence of more than 30 bronze idols could confirm this hypothesis. Shrines were found at Velzeke, Grobbendonk, and Kontich (Magerman 2006).

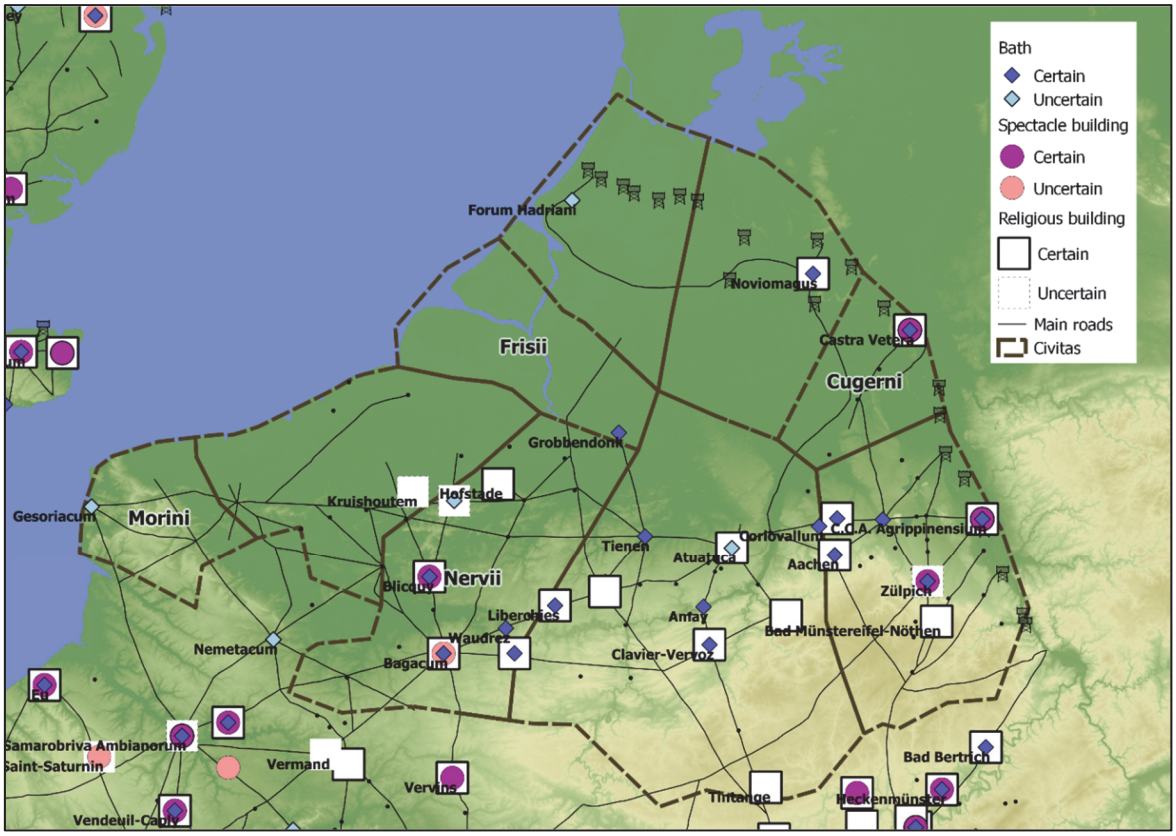


**Figure 153: The monuments in the agglomerations of Germania Inferior.**

Artisanal activities, like metalwork, were present at all sites. However, it is striking that only the *vicus* of Tienen had a continuous ceramic production. The agglomerations on the road Bavay-Cologne were regularly spaced with an inter-distance of *c.* 20 km. Several showed signs of complexity and luxury (marble is attested at Givry, Waudrez, and Liberchies). They all lay in a lime and fertile land and were surrounded by villas. A higher number of them were equipped with religious buildings and baths (Figure 153).[737] Economic activities are attested, too.[738]

The origin of these agglomerations is still debated. Kontich developed during the Iron Age, and maybe Asse, Blicquy, Kester and Kruishoutem did too. The regular distance between them might be a sign of Roman implantation, although a displacement of pre-existing sites cannot be ruled out. No settlement has shown signs of a military origin, apart from the *civitas* capital of the Tungri (Tongeren). This is perhaps due to the difficulty of finding traces of temporary

[737] The most common public buildings within the secondary agglomerations of Germania Inferior were temples and baths. Baths can be found at Grobbendonk, Aarlen, Liberchies, Tienen and Vervoz and possibly at Verzeke. Spectacle buildings were very rare (only found in Bliqui and Zulpich). Often the bibliography associates them to their role of *mansio*. Two buildings found at Velzeke and Clavier-Vervoz remain undetermined.

[738] Waudrez: evidence for metalworking and pottery. Liberchies: the surrounding land was intensively farmed (10 villas lay within a range of 5 km). Along the main road, dwellings were aligned and faced the road with a *porticus*. There is evidence of storage, pottery production, metalworking, glass, bone-working, and boutiques. Presence of marble and painted plaster is attested, too. Sauvenière: evidence of workshops (metalwork). Taviers: evidence of shops. Jülich: iron, bronze, glass and bone-working, textile industry, and production of domestic pottery.

camps or to the lamentable state of the evidence, but it could also mean that the role of the army has simply been over-estimated. Moreover, agglomerations did not arise all at once, although they all came into existence during the 1st century AD. Some settlements emerged in the Augustan period (e.g. Liberchies, Braives, Blicquy, Velzeke and, based on coinage, maybe also Asse, Kruishoutem, and Grobbendonk). Others in Tiberian-Claudian times (e.g. Pommeroeul, Taviers, Tienen, Givry, Clavier-Vervoz, Kester, and Elewijt). Only at Kontich, Waasmunster, Pont Rave, and Huy did occupation seem to have started after the Batavian uprising (AD 69). Most *vici* flourished between the Flavian periods and the 2nd century AD. It is often during this time that some of their wattle-and-daub buildings (or at least their foundations) were re-built in hard materials.[739] Continuity of settlements from Roman times to the Early Middle Age is also rarely attested. During the last quarter of the 3rd century, the pressures coming from invading peoples and the general political instability of the Roman Empire increased. In particular, from AD 275 several agglomerations were abandoned and disappeared (especially those in the north). Only Kruishoutem and Asse appeared to have been occupied for a longer time. Along the road Bavay-Cologne settlements endured, and this is partly due to the establishment of military posts along the road. However, several of these settlements disappeared during the 4th century AD, whilst other survived until the early 5th century AD.

Overall, in Roman times, these settlements were places for religious and artisanal activities.[740] In almost all agglomerations, metal industry is attested: when the iron was available it was extracted; otherwise, it was brought from elsewhere. Traces of crafts and food processing are also attested: bakeries, wood- and bone-working, textile industry, tile production, glass production possibly at Liberchies, Rumst and Tienen. It remains unclear whether these goods were intended only for a local market. Exports cannot be ruled out, at least for some products (e.g. glass).

Not all these activities were carried out in a single settlement. After all, the size of these sites was quite modest (Figure 154). It could vary widely from 2-3 and 10-12 ha (e.g. Amay, Baudecet, Grobbendonk, etc.). Notable exceptions are Elewijt, Waasmunster-'Pontrave', Velzeke and Waudrez (15-35 ha).[741]

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[739] Hiddink 1991: 216 suggested that the transition from timber to stone construction in a settlement could be related to the disappearance of the agricultural function of a settlement. However, this is very unlikely. Such a change in construction method is better explained by the cultural change the dwellers have gone through, rather than an actual change in the functions performed by the building.

[740] For most temples their exact date is unclear. We can therefore say only with caution that the shrines in most *vici* knew their origin in the second half of the 1st AD - beginning of the 2nd century AD. An exception is Blicquy-'Ville d'Anderlecht', where the temple may have already emerged in the Augustan period. Most temples known prove to have a wooden predecessor. Temples are in most cases located away from the actual core of the *vicus*. Their distance from the actual settlement and their location vary. The majority of the temples had a NW-SE orientation. The entrance to the building is, in most cases, along the south-eastern side. This corresponds to other temples in the rest of Gaul and Britain that were built according to indigenous tradition. In most cases, they are the typical Gallo Roman *fanum* with a central *cella*, a *porticus* and a possible *temenos*. In any case, they clearly differ from the Classical Italic temples described by Vitruvius.

[741] The size of Tienen has been estimated to be 60 hectares (Martens 2012: 303) but this very high figure needs revision.

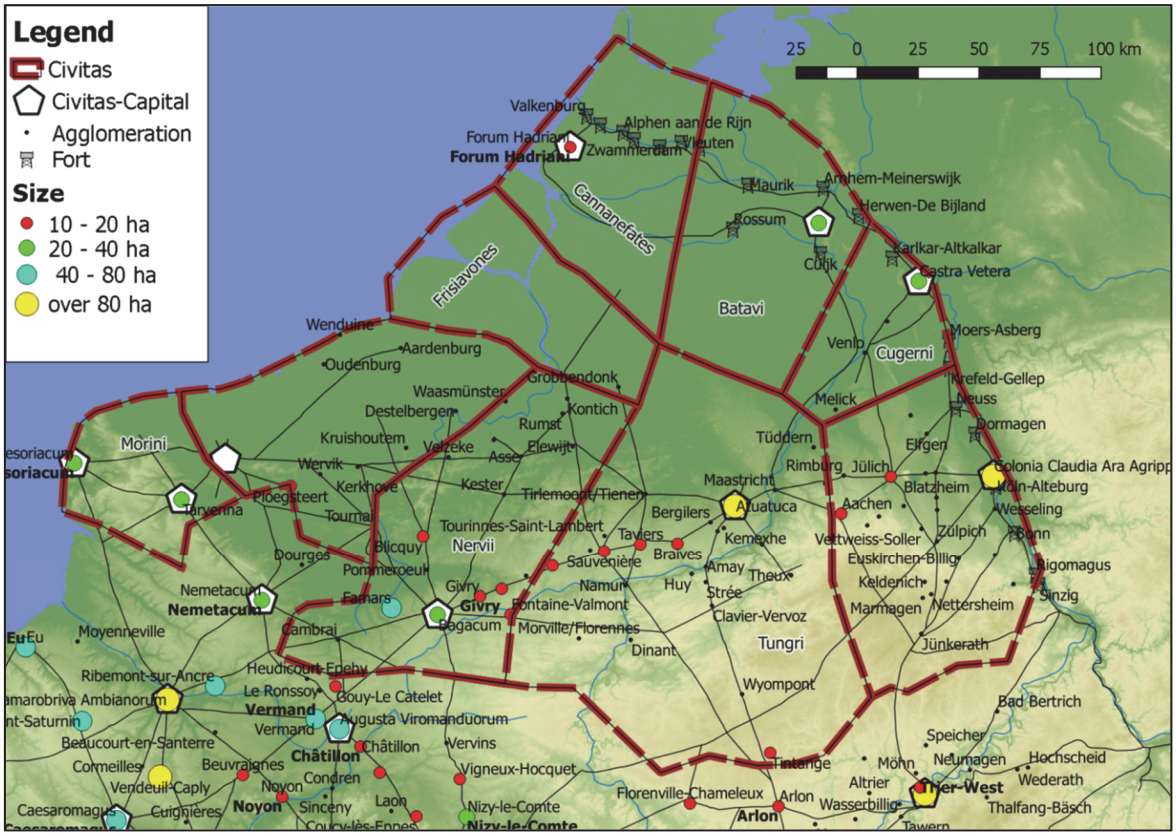


**Figure 154: The size of the agglomerations in Germania Inferior.**

Finally, it can be said that in the *necropoleis* most graves were very simple and modest. Nevertheless, elite burials may also be present (e.g. tumulus or a monumental construction).[742]

Topography was indeed also very important in the establishment of Roman forts on the *Limes*. For example, those built from AD 40 onwards in the western part of the Lower Rhine were built remarkably close to each other, at irregular distances but always only a few kilometres apart. They were meant to control the routes that provided a natural access to the river, such as the estuary (Katwijck, Valkenburg) or the bifurcation of the river Vecht (Utrecht). The mouths of the numerous minor tributaries were also watched over (Woerden, Bodegraven, Zwammerdam, Alphen aan den Rijn). Thus, a safe corridor was created to supply the Roman army invading Britain which only later on, presumably after the creation of the province of Germania Inferior in Flavian times, became a permanent frontier zone.[743] During the 1st century AD, no traces of any extramural settlements (so-called 'military *vici*') have been found near these forts, except for the one located outside Vechten, (dating to the beginning of the 1st century AD) and the one at De Meern (middle of the 1st century). The absence of 'military *vici*' has been explained by a lack of research or disturbances of the subsoil. It is also possible, as argued by De Weerd, that during the 1st century AD forts were still being occupied only

[742] Most of the stone monuments are located in the more southern *vici* (e.g. Vervoz, Amay, Taviers and Braives). This may not be surprising because stone was more readily accessible. In northern and central Belgium tumuli are more common (e.g. Braives, Tienen).

[743] Van Dinter 2013: 26; Kooistra *et al.* 2013; Polak *et al.* 2004: 249-250.

sporadically, when strictly necessary.[744] Some forts, however, must have been occupied because the Romans controlled the shipping on the Lower Rhine (at least during the shipping season, i.e. from March to October).[745]

As in the case of Britain - as we will soon see - a sustainable frontier required a well-organized food supply and appropriate supplies of, for example, building material. The presence of permanent troops residing within forts along the borders of the Empire has been long recognized as stimulating the economy of those regions. Groot calculates that, including Katwijk and Bodegraven, ten forts were established between Vechten and Katwijk. Based on an occupation of maximum 1 *cohors*, approximately 480 men per fort and possibly twice as many for Vechten, the maximum size of the delta army is estimated to be around 5000 men. After the creation of the province of Germania Inferior the countryside to the south of the Rhine developed quickly and the number of settlements increased.[746] Scholars have been looking at the changes in the landscape of Roman Netherlands after the establishment of the *limes* and have been eager to ascertain whether the arrival of the Roman troops had an impact on the production of agricultural goods, farming and perhaps industry. The results of these studies showed that after the Batavian revolt (AD 69-70) most of the cereals required to feed the troops were still imported from outside the region and that the number and size of the rural structures still suggested a subsistence economy, where no surplus was produced. But over time, farming in the region seems to have increased, and this has been explained by an attempt (whether forced or spontaneous) to meet the army's demand for cattle and possibly, but to a much lesser extent, sheep.[747] Farmsteads like the one found at Houten, 3 km away from the Roman military site of Vechten, seem to have been integrated into the Roman surplus economy. In return for supplies, they imported items of daily use and building materials such as timber, silver, fir, pine, roof tiles, pipes (*tubuli*), and tufa stone.[748]

## 6.2 Eastern Yorkshire

This case study will take into consideration the region that nowadays corresponds to eastern Yorkshire. This region did not include a military frontier; however, the presence of the army appears to have had considerable influence on the evolution of settlement patterns from pre-Roman to Roman times. It has been traditionally thought to be occupied by the Parisi, a community mentioned by Ptolemy,[749] who also wrote that they migrated from Gaul to Britain. Much ink has been spilt about the possible continental origin of this people, particularly in relation to their use of square barrows and chariot burials (which are very rare in the rest of Britain but can be found in high concentrations in some parts of France and Germany).[750] We

[744] Kooistra *et al.* 2013.
[745] De Weerd 2006; Groenhuijzen and Verhagen 2015; for shipping season see Fulford 2000: 42; Vegentius, Book 4, 39.
[746] Groot *et al* 2009; Heeren 2009; and Vos 2009.
[747] Cavallo *et al.* 2008.
[748] Carroll 2001: 65-66.
[749] Geography 2.3.17.
[750] In France they are typical of the Marne and Champagne; in Germany they are found in the Hunsrück -Eifel region (Halkon 2013: ch. 4).

cannot say whether this region coincided with a Roman administrative region, but it can be seen as a unified entity because of its geography. In fact, the region is crossed by three river systems - those of the river Hull, the river Derwent, and the river Ouse - all of which drain into the river Humber.[751]

This region has recently been the object of a good number of well-run investigations which provide us with very intriguing evidence which has the potential to (re)shape and deepen our understanding of Roman imperial policy and the attitude of indigenous communities towards it.[752] Geographically speaking, this region consists of four different landscape units (Figure 155): i. the generally poorly drained plains of Holderness and the wet areas surrounding the Hull River (coastal erosion has worn away large tracts of the coastline, and it is difficult to reconstruct the ancient coastline); ii. the fertile and well-drained chalk plateau of the Yorkshire Wolds; iii. the large, flat Vale of York which is traversed by the river Drevent and its many tributaries as well as by the river Foulness; iv. the Vale of Pickering, a low-lying flat area oriented in an east-west direction and drained by the river Derwent that separates the Wolds from the North York Moors.

The Roman army conquered this region in the 70s AD; and soon afterwards a legionary fortress (York) and other smaller forts such as the ones at Hayton, Malton, and Brough were founded. 'So far as we know' - writes Martin Millett – 'there was no great battle for East Yorkshire when Roman military units overran the region in the AD 70s.'[753] Thus, these forts should not be seen as bases from where attack sorties were launched, but rather as parts of a military infrastructure created by Rome to keep recently subjugated territory under control. The site of Hayton, which has been the object of both geophysical surveys and excavations, was established along the Iron Age path that runs through Brough and led to York, at the junction with the road which connected the lowland to the Wolds.[754] However sudden and disruptive the foundation of a military fort may have been for people's lives, its presence lasted for a relatively short time (*c.* 20 years).[755] Overall, it does not seem to have caused any sudden drastic changes in the settlement pattern.[756] Soon after its foundation, two large roundhouses were built just next to the fort. Given that 'there is some evidence that a few farmsteads further up the valley were going out of use,' Martin Millett speaks of a 'relocation' of individual households. According to him, this may have been a sign that locals were cosying up to the newly dominant

[751] Roskams and Whyman 2005.

[752] The geology and the property of the soils that cover this region affect not only the resources and the environmental conditions this land offered but also its settlement pattern. They also have a huge impact on the 'visibility' of the sites on the terrain. 'The chalk and limestone bedrocks of the Wolds and Pennine foothills, and the extensive arable agriculture practised on them over the past two centuries, have led to the recognition of archaeological sites both on the ground and from the air […]. In contrast, large areas of drift geology in the lowlands, and swathes of 'piedmont' gritstone landscapes, used primarily for pasture and often subject to extensive re-organisation in the 18th and 19th centuries, are far less well researched and understood archaeologically.' (Roskams and Whyman 2005: 5-6).

[753] Millett, *Current Archaeology* 314: 26.

[754] Both these cities are thought to have become - during the course of the 1st and 2nd centuries - two self-governing cities, even though for Brough we do not have definitive evidence.

[755] Millett calculates that it could host a maximum number of 500 soldiers (Millett, *Current Archaeology* 314).

[756] Halkon, Millett and Woodhouse 2015.

authority.[757] However, soon after the fort was abandoned, more changes occurred. By then it had probably become clear that the Romans were going to stay. The northern frontier was supplied with an improved road network, capable of coping with the constant demand generated by the presence of the army on the *limes*. The Iron Age route, which up to then was key to Roman's military operations, was replaced with a Roman road. At the same time, more and more people - but still a small minority of the population from the surrounding countryside (or perhaps from further away, e.g. Lincolnshire) relocated closer to the abandoned forts or to new small secondary agglomerations that sprouted along the road.[758]

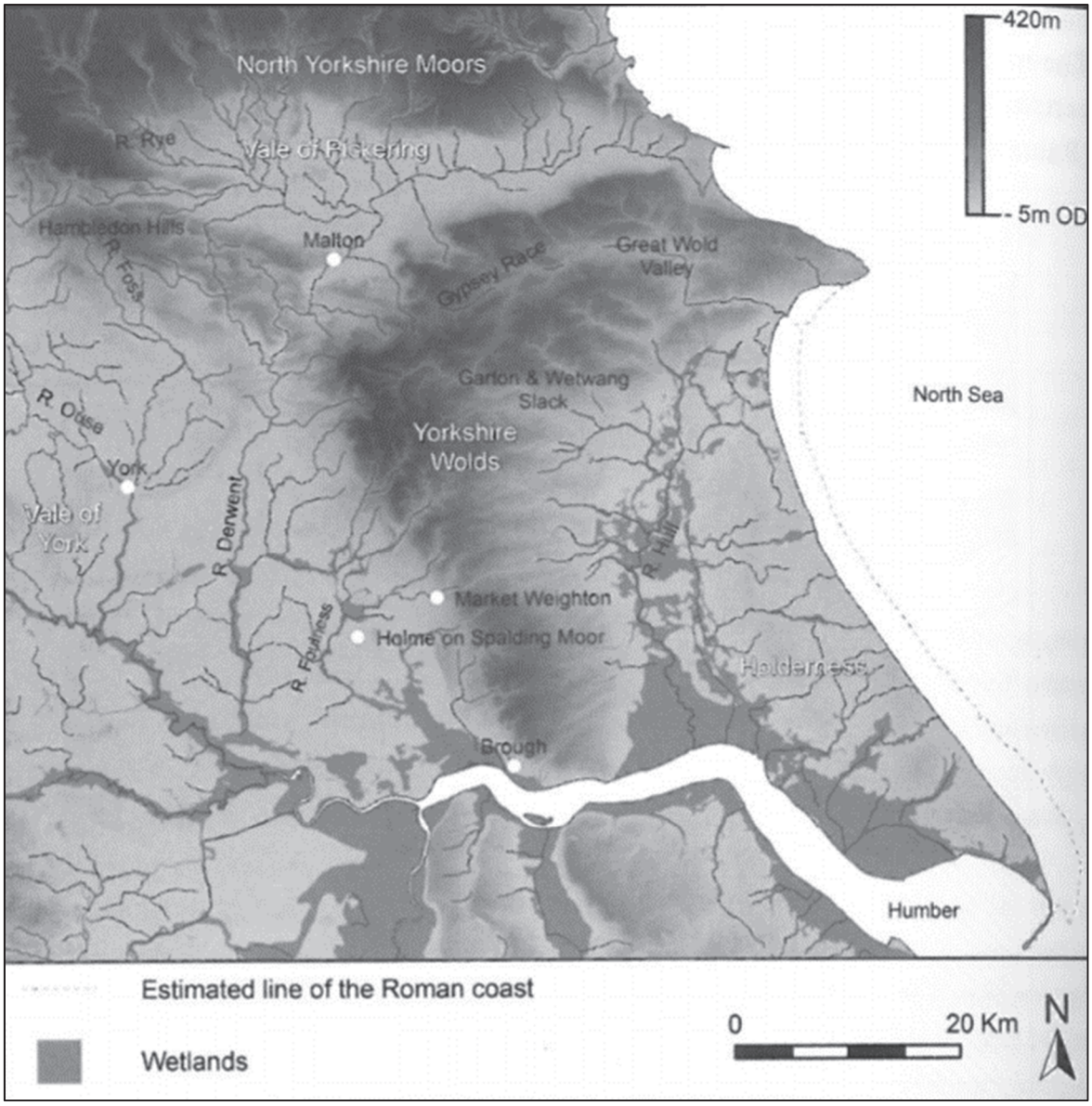


**Figure 155: The major topographical features of eastern Yorkshire (Halkon 2013: 44).**

At Hayton, a substantial concentration of metal-detected finds has been discovered, which has been interpreted as evidence of a seasonal market or fair, where livestock brought down the

[757] Millett 2016.

[758] They appear to have brought with them their traditional way of dwelling and managing land (roundhouses and enclosures) and re-built them in a new context.

valley might have been sold. The metal finds include many objects associated with horse harnesses and carts, as well as a number of items associated with the military, including a lead seal of *Legio VI Victrix*, which was based at York from the time of Hadrian. These finds indicate that there was probably a lot more to the fair than just the selling of sheep, and we may well envisage a more varied event. This phenomenon can be clearly seen in Hayton but may have also occurred at Malton, Shipthorpe, Rudstone Walk and other small secondary agglomerations. Except for the colony of York - which grew to *c*. 40 hectares (military garrison excluded) - all the rest of the agglomerations, including the supposed *civitas* capital of Brough, are unlikely to have measured more than 10 ha (Figure 156).

As mentioned above, these small settlements were located at strategic positions along key trade routes. Dringhouses - a potential settlement of which we know very little - was located *c.* 3 km south of York, along the major route that linked the legionary fortress to Tadcaster.[759] Malton and Stamford Bridge were both located at the crossing of the river Derwent while Hayton, Shipthorpe, Goodmanham and Rudstone Walk were all positioned along the road that linked Brough to York and which, in Roman times, was of logistic importance for the supply of the army on the northern frontier. So far, no substantial settlement has been found within the region of the Hull Valley and the Holderness. Lower site visibility and fewer fieldworks and excavations undertaken in the area might partially explain this void. However, given how wet and potentially afflicted by flooding this region was, it is also possible that the main form of land occupation continued to be individual farmsteads, for which we have evidence in the archaeological record.

**Figure 156: The agglomerations of Shiptonthorpe (left) and Hayton (right) based on crop marks (Halkon 2013: 139 and 141).**

As was the case with Germania Inferior, all of these secondary agglomerations appear largely as ribbon developments, and their internal morphology (orientation of buildings and enclosures) seems to have been largely organic and focused along trackways - whether they

[759] In mid-2 nd century AD, too, there is evidence for two masonry strip buildings aligned adjacent to the road, which are not very long lived. Roman rural settlements project.

were established close to a military fort (e.g. Hayton, Malton) or not.[760] Secondary agglomerations within this region do not show any sign of monumentality, and they also have no traces of pre-existing religious cults, leaving an origin associated with economic factors more plausible.[761] Traces of various economic activities, ranging from farming, manufacturing, food processing and most likely trade, have indeed been recognized at the best-researched sites, and most evidence can commonly date to late 2nd – 3rd centuries AD.[762] At Malton, for example, greyware pottery manufacture reached a quite significant scale in the 3rd century AD, when it was attested by a half dozen kilns. An intriguing inscription (also dated to the 3rd century AD) mentions the presence of a goldsmith (RIB 712), and the small golden finds discovered by metal detectorists in the region - and recorded in the Portable Antiquities Scheme - makes this possibility realistic. In Hayton roundhouses and enclosures were transformed during the second century with the construction of two new-style rectangular timber buildings, a small courtyard house, and an aisled hall within a new enclosure. Shiptonthorpe appears to have been a less wealthy agglomeration (most houses continued to be built in timber), but at the same time, it might have been a central place for the redistribution of crops. As this area is not one with much evidence for large-scale intensive cereal farming, we might tentatively suggest that it acted as a gathering point between smaller-scale producers and consumers (or intermediaries). This agglomeration, which lies *c.* 6 km south-east of Hayton, began to develop soon after the road was built in the early 2nd century AD. A series of enclosures was built on both sides of the road for *c.* 800 m, which may have been used for settlement, gardening, farming or even funerary depositions.[763] Millet estimated that around 20 families were living in the agglomeration, that is around 480 people.[764]

The chronology and evolution of Hayton and the rest of these agglomerations are of particular interest. As mentioned above, Hayton started to develop soon after the military abandoned the fort and after the road was built. This suggests that the presence of up to 500 soldiers *per se* did not make the fort attractive for indigenous people to move close by. Interestingly enough, in Germania Inferior we witness a similar phenomenon (see above). In fact, there is a lack of evidence of extramural settlements (so-called military *vici*) dating to the 1st century AD. As had been the case in Germania Inferior, the local economy in Yorkshire may have started to contribute to the supply of crops and animal by-products (meat, wool, leather) only at a second stage. This might explain the presence of 43 quern stones discovered at Shiptonthorpe. This evidence, together with the fragments of writing tablets found at this settlement, hints at a centralization/optimization of the harvest and at a crop redistribution so extensive that

[760] In literature they are referred to as roadside settlements and do not show any sign of monumentality

[761] Religious activities are attested, e.g. a statue of an altar base has been found in Malton (RIB 711), but we do not know whether it was in a private or a public context. A shrine - or possibly a temple - might have been located at Eelmswell and Millington. Unfortunately, definitive evidence is lacking (*Current Archaeology* 326: 25).

[762] The Roman Rural Settlements of Britain project has observed that in Britain agglomerations do not seem to have attracted large number of farms in their proximity. In fact, only one-fourth of farms lie within 20 km of agglomerations. It is possible that, since there is evidence of farming both within self-governing cities (see chapter 4) and secondary agglomerations, there was less need for farms in the neighbourhood to supply agricultural goods.

[763] Halkon 2013: 140. The presence of field systems around some of them (e.g. Dringhouses) indicate that they were integrated with small-scale farming.

[764] Millett 2006: 311.

bureaucracy and bookkeeping procedures were required in order to manage surplus agricultural resources and/or to supervise tax collection.[765]

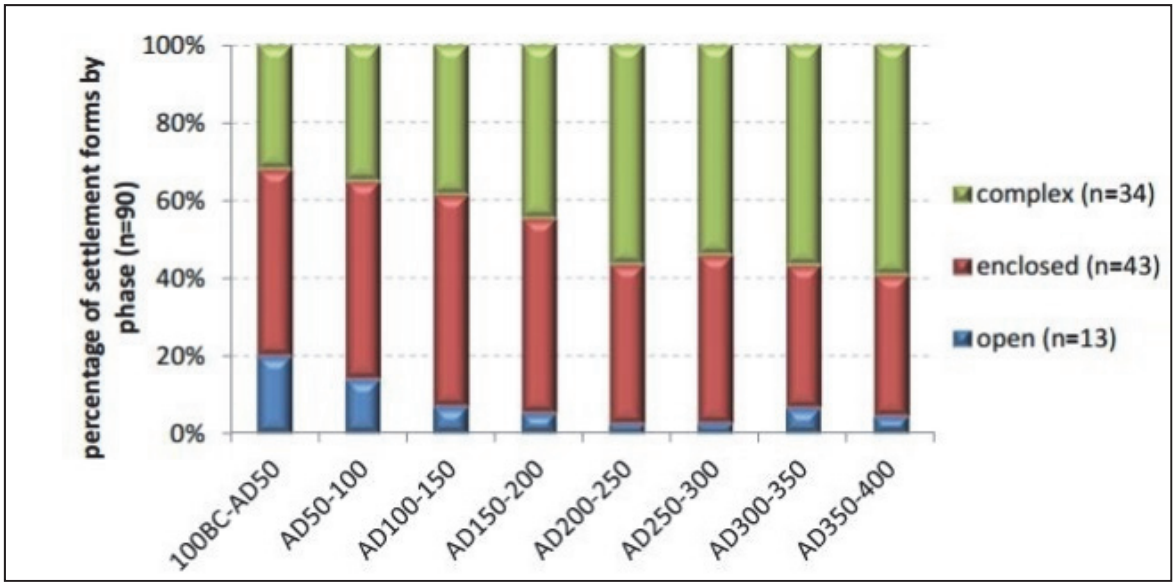


**Figure 157: Temporal changes in the frequency of settlement in north-eastern England.**

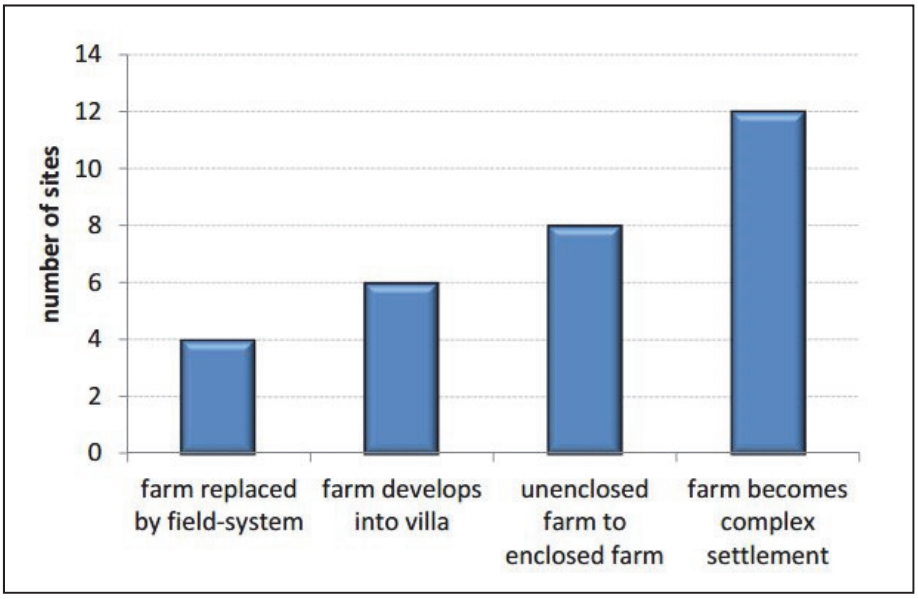


**Figure 158: Types of changes in farming settlements in north-eastern England.**

A major project dedicated to the study of rural agglomeration of Roman Britain766 looked at the rural settlements of north-eastern England (thus, the data presented below concern a much wider territory that stretches from North Yorkshire and County Durham in the north to north Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire), and we can see some of the patterns this project was able to identify. The graphs in Figure 157 and Figure 158 show how the complexity of individual farms increased over time. Farms became more enclosed and gradually more complex with the

[765] Millett 2006: 309.

[766] The Rural Settlement of Roman Britain (http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/romangl/index.cfm, last accessed: 12/03/2018).

addition of internal subdivisions or conjoint enclosures which 'tend to reflect the desire to keep livestock, storage, processing, industrial and domestic activities separate from each other, and often appear to be the result of careful planning and take the shape of villas.'767

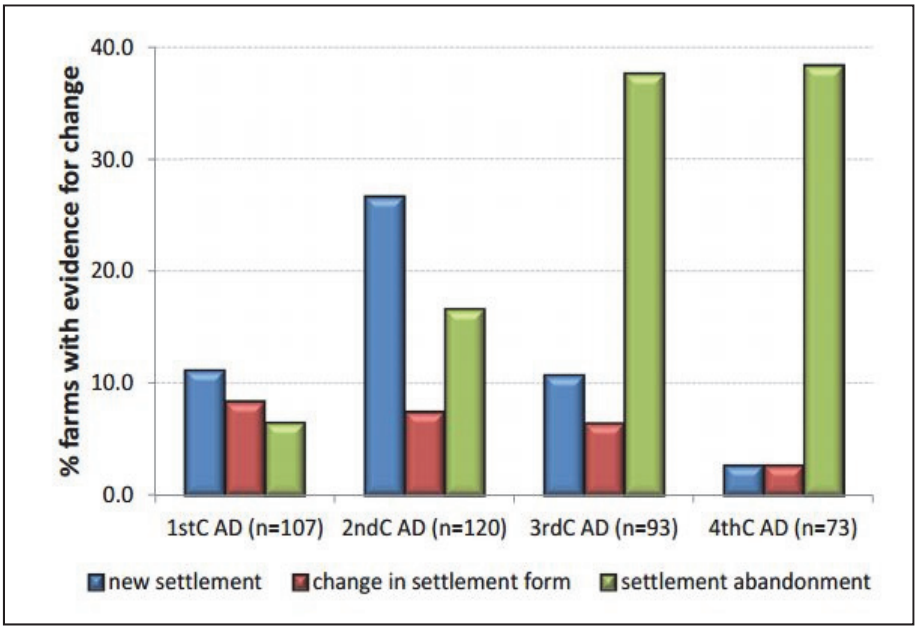


**Figure 159: Settlement development and dynamics of change in the North East.**

The graph in Figure 159 indicates three main things: i. there was a strong continuity from the Late Iron Age - *c.* 93% of farms occupied in later 1st century AD had an Iron Age origin; ii. the 2nd century AD witnessed the largest number of farms while the periods of the greatest abandonment were the 3rd to 4th centuries AD (disproving the old idea - based on the evidence from villas - that the Romano-British countryside flourished in the 3rd to 4th centuries AD); iii. in the first two centuries AD, the countryside was much more dynamic than during the periods that followed.

While more and more circular buildings were being replaced with rectangular ones (which have the intrinsic architectural advantage of allowing a higher degree of diversification and extension), new varieties of forms of settlements (e.g. villas, agglomerations etc.) and buildings started to appear, too. For example, buildings with a sunken cellar ('cellared farms') which resemble the sunken *maison-etablés* excavated in Belgium. They were used for a variety of activities, including crop and meat processing, grain drying, cooking, and smithing and, as was the case in Belgium, could be an answer to an increased productivity.[768]

[767] *Current Archaeology* 326: 23.

[768] In Britain 105 have been recognized so far. At Wattle Syke (West Yorkshire) 15 Roman cellared buildings were found (*Current Archaeology* 326: 27).

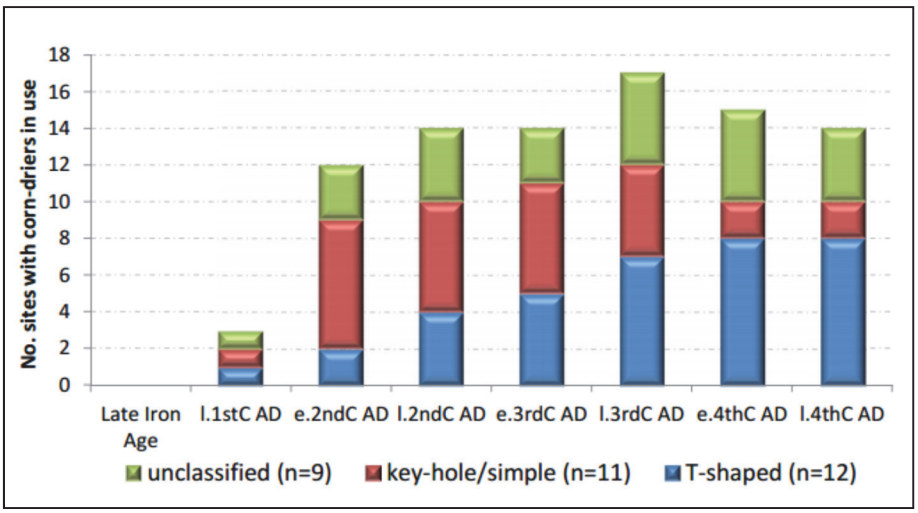


**Figure 160: The increased use of corn-drying ovens through time in north-eastern England.**

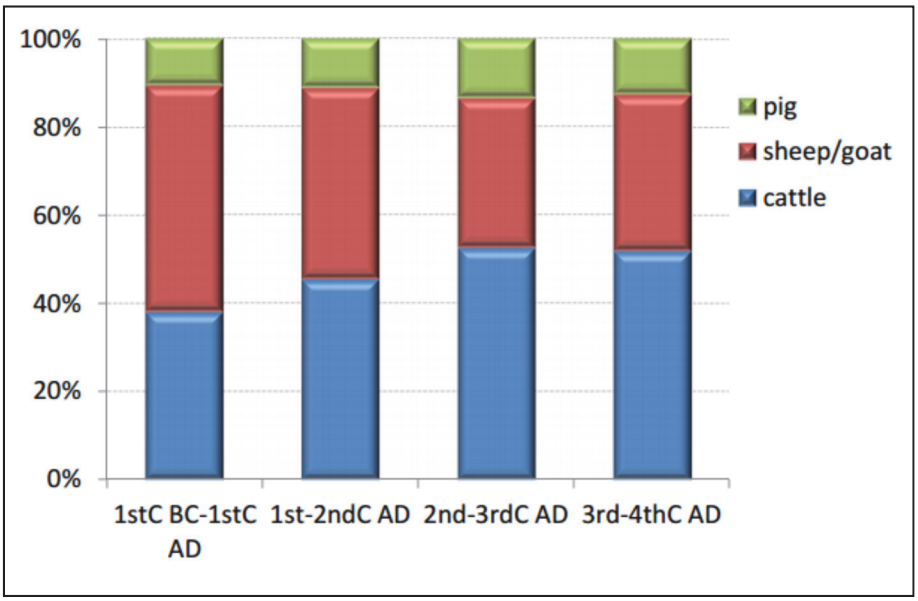


**Figure 161: The increased farming of cattle and pig over sheep in north-eastern England.**

Another interesting discovery of this project was the identification of chronological trends in local husbandry and agricultural practices. Figure 160 shows that an increase in the use of corn-drying ovens occurred between the 2nd and 4th centuries AD. Figure 161, on the other hand, shows an increasing preference for cattle and pigs over sheep. A proportional increase of cattle has also been noticed in Germania Inferior where it has been explained as a response to a rapidly increasing demand for livestock to supply the army and for taxation.[769]

[769] Groot, by examining 30,000 animal bones collected during the excavation of two rural settlements at the site of Tiel-Passewaaij, was led more or less to the same conclusion. Evidence showed an increase in the proportion of sheep bones; the animals were also killed at an older age, suggesting that in the second half of the 1st century meat and wool started to become important and were produced in surplus, most probably meeting the demands of an increased market. A similar pattern is found in other settlements around the Dutch River Area, where high percentages of sheep are common in the 1st century AD, although not everywhere (a possible explanation could

Thus, the gradual change in the settlement pattern was not a mere response to the construction of the road; rather it represented an adjustment of the relationship between the indigenous people and the newcomers and their increased contribution to the army supply. As such, as in the case of Germania Inferior, the Roman conquest did not have an immediate effect on the local settlement pattern and economy (i.e. animal husbandry, farming). Changes become more evident at a later stage, in the second half of the 1st century AD. Indeed, we should not forget that within the north-western provinces a steady increase in the number of settlements reflects the continuation of a long-term trend that had started in pre-Roman times.[770]

It is possible that it was the steady presence of the Roman army nearby (in the legionary fortress of York and on the northern frontier) that boosted the local economy. This, in turn, might have enabled the local population to amass a trading surplus, opening up opportunities for those ready to take the chance to accumulate wealth. This process was gradual but can be perceived by looking at the evolution of dwellings (several of which, in their later phases, were rebuilt with stone and mortar, and were provided with underfloor heating, and embellished with mosaics and painted plaster) and by the increasing number of small finds recovered there (metal objects, jewelry, coins, etc.). It is clear that the inhabitants of eastern Yorkshire came to enjoy some level of comfort. Whatever economic activities they engaged in (e.g. farming, iron metallurgy, bronze crafts, bakery, and pottery manufacture), it appears that the owners of these houses were making profits from their work, which they could re-invest into renovating them.

It remains complicated to reconstruct how this wealth was accumulated, although continuity in field systems and land divisions suggest that social hierarchies were not disrupted. At the site at Welton Wald, four different roundhouses lay next to each other and might have belonged to four different families, one of which already appeared to have been dominant. On the same site, an early *villa* was built, no later than the beginning of the 2nd century AD, along with a new roundhouse (built in traditional Iron Age style). This *villa* was a small cottage-style corridor structure, accompanied by the laying out of an extensive complex of enclosures, an aisled building, another stone building, two timber houses, two stock pens, quarries, trackways, field-systems, at least nine corn-driers, a well, a five-poster granary, and a possible shrine/mausoleum. The complex stretched over 8-10 ha. The activities on the site were mostly farming, combined with the exploitation of chalk quarries whose stone was probably needed to make the mortar that was used to build the nearby cities of Brough and York.

## 6.3 An overview of the settlement systems of Germania Inferior and Britannia

The case studies presented in this chapter dealt with regions whose settlement patterns have been strongly influenced by the presence of the Roman army. In accordance with the 'transport principle', theorized by Christaller, in both cases small central places (measuring less than 10 ha) were located on the main transport routes linking the higher-order secondary settlements

be differential specializations among settlements, perhaps related to the differences in the landscape) (Groot 2008).

[770] Millett, *Current Archaeology* 326: 28.

and self-governing cities. In this system of nesting, the alignment of places along a road was compelling, and it had a direct impact on the shape that settlements took. In fact, the majority - if not the totality - of the secondary agglomerations described above were ribbon-developments.

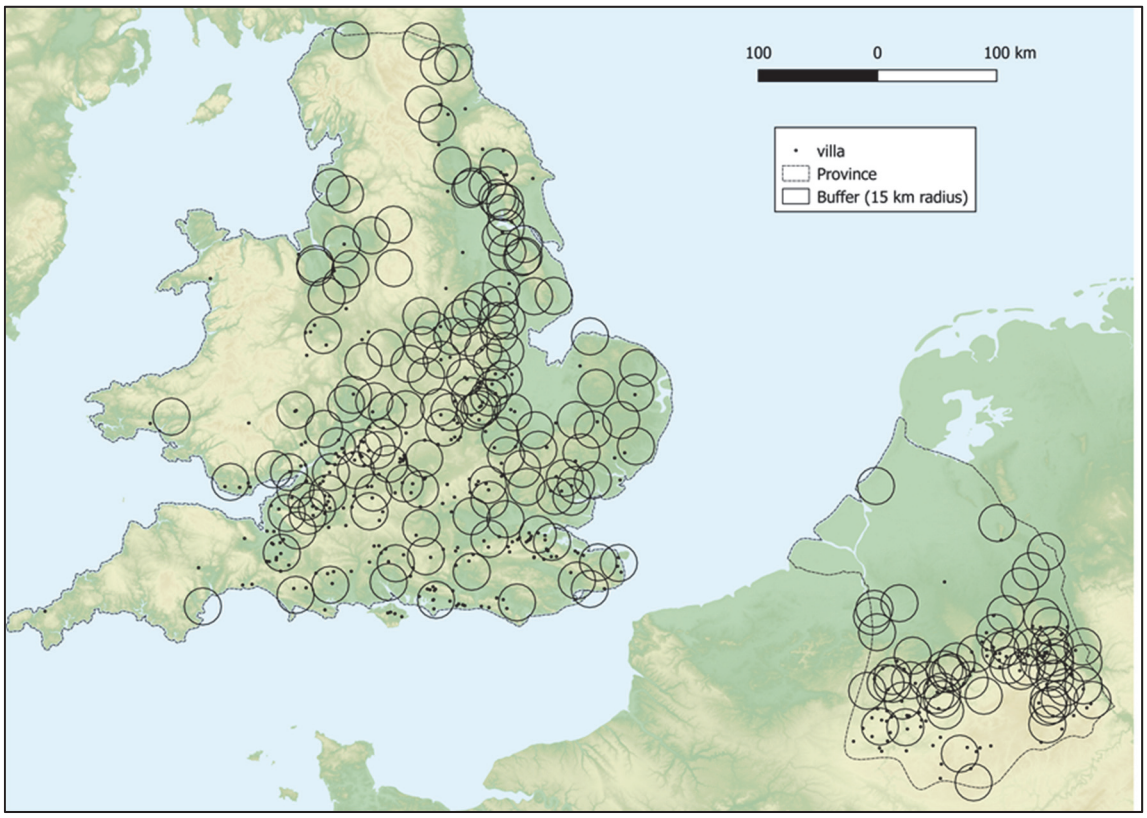


**Figure 162: Map showing the distribution of villas and buffers of 15 km radius around the self-governing cities and secondary agglomerations of Britannia and Germania Inferior.**

However, if we broaden our perspective, it can be observed that, as with Gaul, the distribution of secondary settlements in these provinces was noticeably unequal (cf. Figure 148).

As in Gaul, in Britannia and Germania Inferior the most important fertile areas were, by far, the most densely settled. In the former, the Central Belt - which was irrigated by some major rivers such as the Severn, Avon, Thames, Trent, Nene, and Ouse - and in the latter the Central Uplands, were densely scattered with agglomerations and villas (Figure 162).

Regions with poor, acidic soils (such as Cornwall, Wales, the North-West, and the High Weald in Britain; the Ardennes in Germania Inferior) appear to have been less settled. Finally, the wetlands areas - such as the Washes in Britain and the coastal area of Belgium and the Netherlands in Germania Inferior[771]- were even less settled (or completely empty) since they were largely unsuitable for agricultural purposes.[772]

[771] The area in the north of the *civitas* Menapiorum and more generally in north-western Gallia Belgica andthe south-west of the Netherlands.

[772] Here we will not dwell too long on the subject of demography. However, settlements need to be reachable by the people who use them. Hence, their location (and size) is linked to general population distribution. In fact, few would argue, apart from nuances, with the following statement: 'population must become dense enough for the

The map above, also shows how certain regions (e.g. East Anglia and the Cheshire Plain) although being void of villas were still quite rich in agglomerations. To draw the conclusion that these regions were under-populated or economically underdeveloped would be, however, incorrect. In fact, they were both densely scattered with farms, and several agglomerations (Figure 163) have left important traces of industrial productions.[773] Among those lying in the north-west, a few have produced evidence of quite large productions of salt (i.e. Middlewich, Nantwich) and metalwork (e.g. Heronbridge, Wilderspool). Similarly, in East-Anglia at least two secondary settlements have been proved to be the focus of important artisanal pottery production: Brampton (where evidence of at least 132 pottery furnaces has been discovered) and Hacheston.

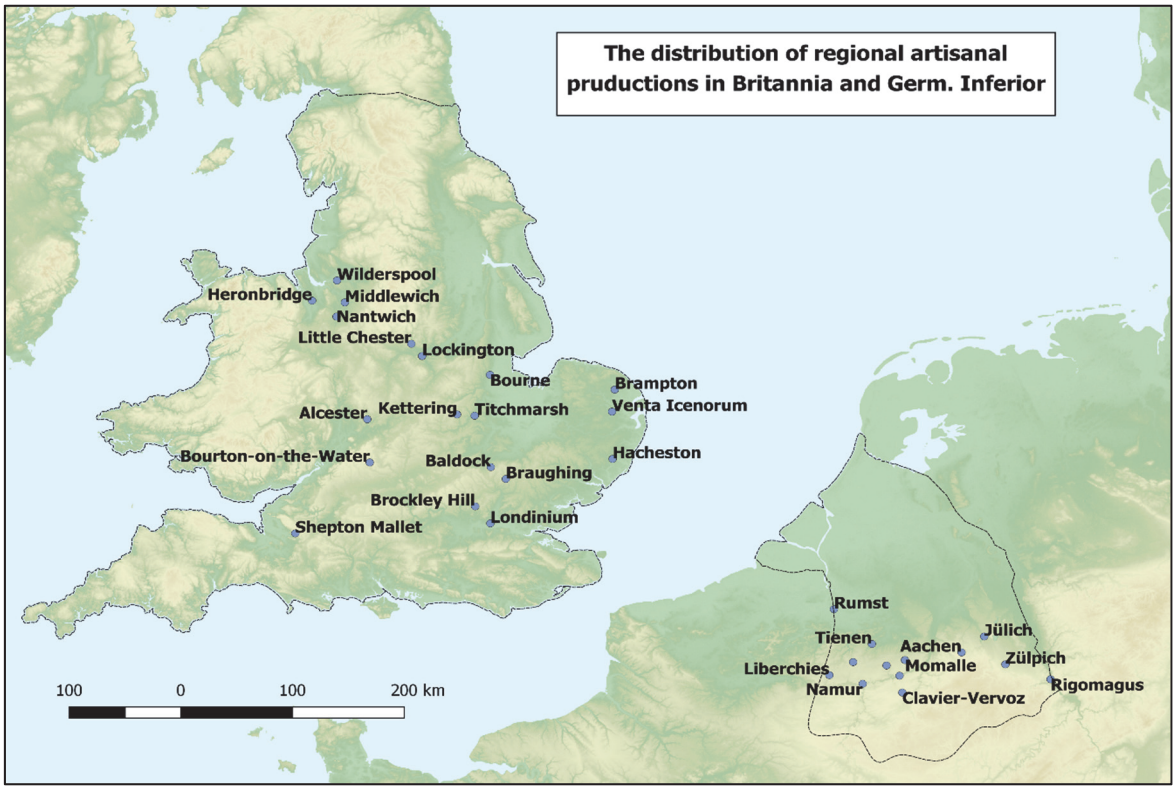


**Figure 163: The secondary agglomerations of Britannia and Germania Inferior in which evidence of considerably large artisanal/industrial productions has been discovered.**

division of labor to expand through the emergence of new cities' and the number of cities increases with the size of the total population (Fujita and Thisse 2002: 384). In places where the population is usually low, it is impossible for cities to grow. Adam Smith was referring to the same principle when he wrote that 'in the lone houses and very small villages which are scattered about in so desert a country as the Highlands of Scotland, every farmer must be butcher, baker and brewer for his own family' (Smith 1965 5th edition: 17). This means that when resources are unevenly distributed, then the population - and consequently the settlements which serve it - will also be unevenly distributed. Areas like Brittany, Lower Normandy, the Massif Central, Wales, and Cornwall have been persistently less urbanized than other areas throughout history. Geography - specifically poorer land with a high pastoral tradition - can explain this long-term pattern. Highly fertile land can feed more people.

[773] See the recent contributions of Smith 2016 and Brindle 2016 within the project 'The Rural Settlements of Roman Britain'.

What we have just observed suggests that agglomerations could develop even in areas where agricultural surplus was not optimized (or, better, where the economy had an extensive character).

However, it is now time to look more closely at the character of the secondary agglomerations of Britannia and Germania Inferior. The case studies that have been presented earlier in this chapter emphasized the aspects that these provinces had in common. However, the box plot for Germania Inferior (Figure 164) suggests that in terms of settlement-size distribution large differences exist between the two. In Germania Inferior, secondary settlements' size is quite homogenous. Half of them (the middle 'box' in the graph) were smaller than 10 ha and none of them larger than 20 ha.

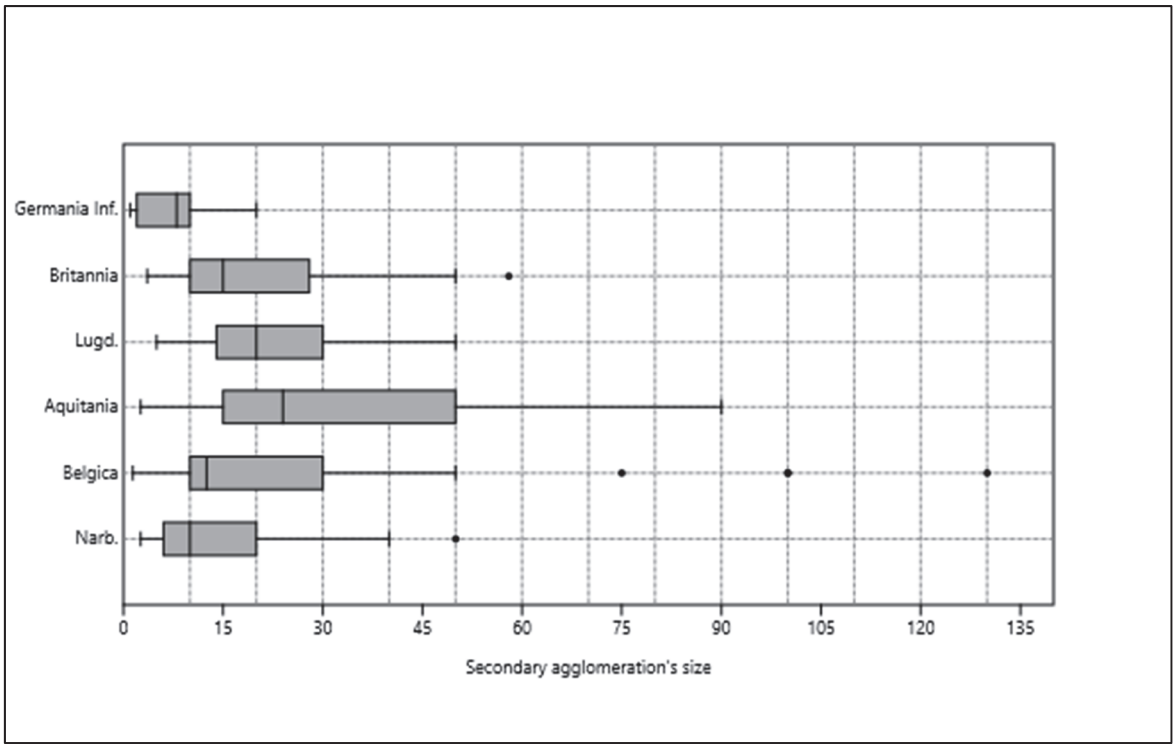


**Figure 164: Box plot comparing the size of the secondary settlements (i.e. garrison settlements are excluded) of the north-western provinces.**

The size distribution of secondary settlements in Britain, on the other hand, resembled more closely those of Lugdunensis and Belgica. In fact, they present a much larger variability in terms of size. Moreover, they are on average larger: around a half of their agglomerations range from *c.* 10-30 ha. There is much greater variability among them, especially in Belgica which has a larger proportion of settlements that measure between 10-15 ha but also has anomalously large secondary settlements. Thus, the size of the secondary agglomeration in Britain and Lugdunensis appears to be more homogenous than that in Belgica.

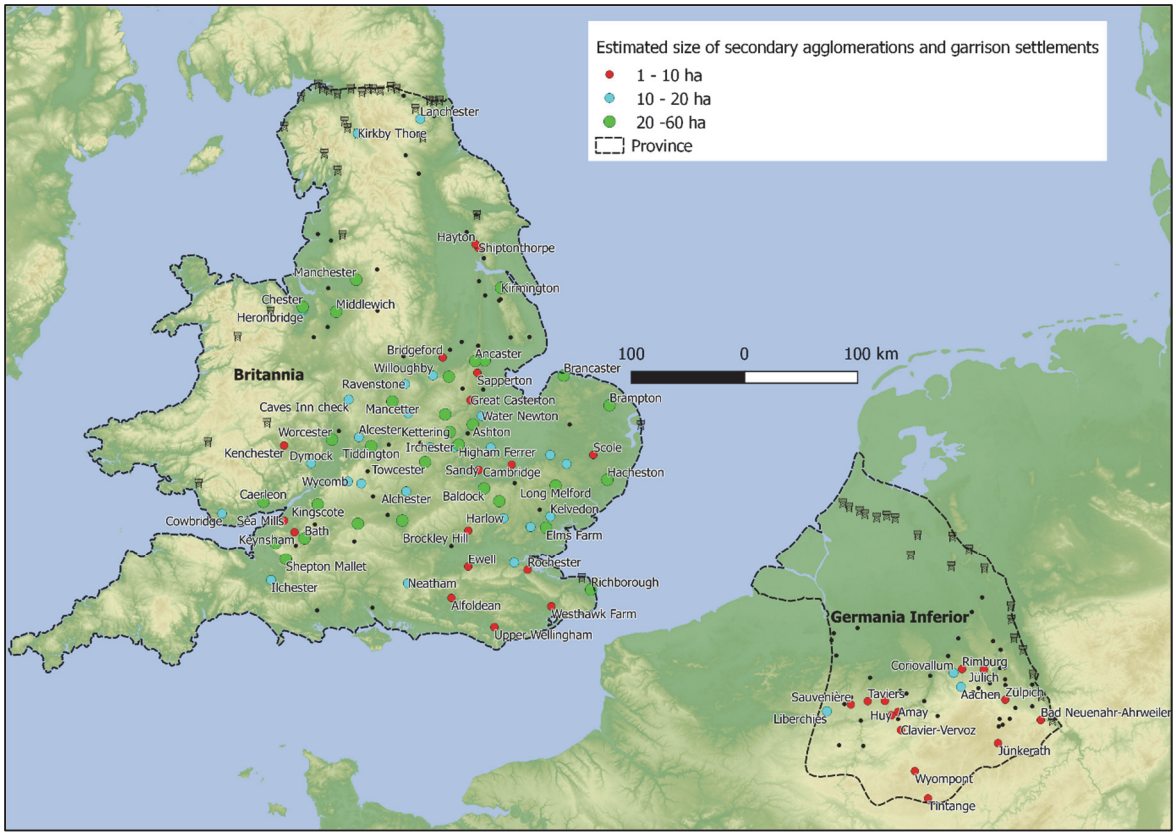


**Figure 165: The size of secondary agglomerations of Britannia and Germania Inferior.**

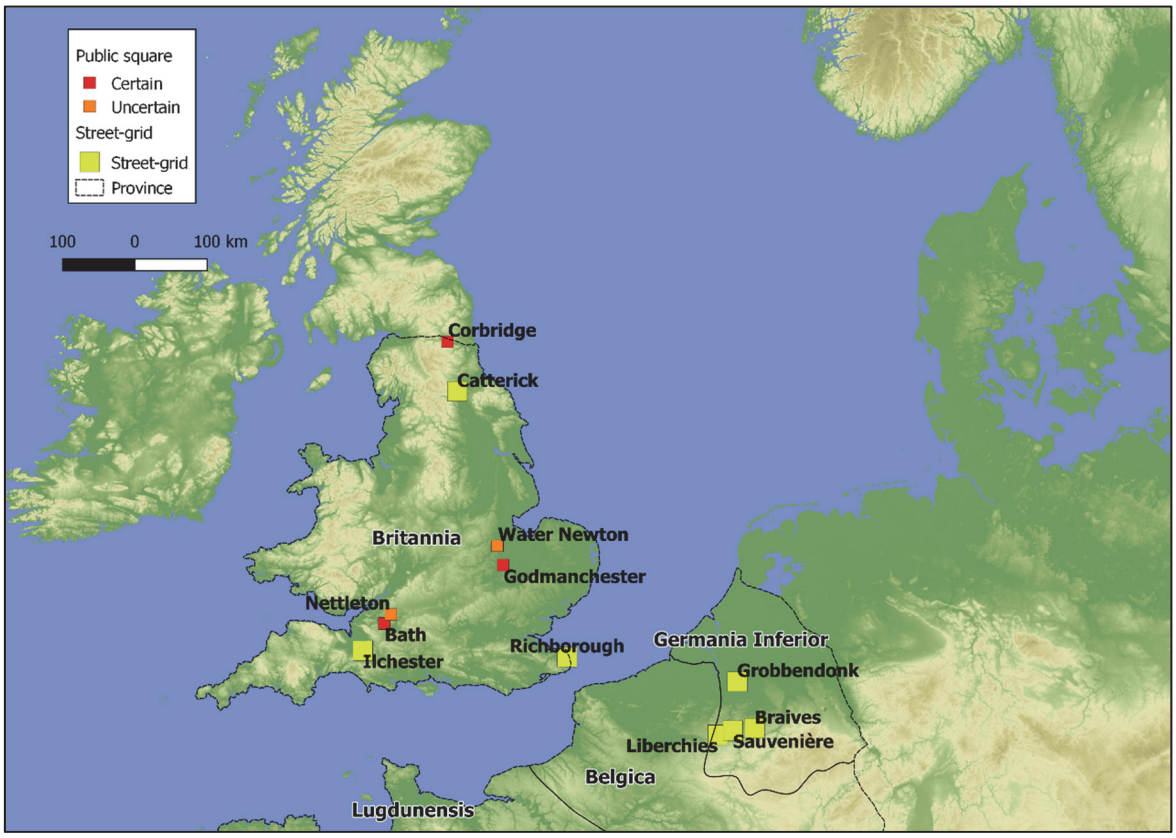


**Figure 166: The layout of secondary agglomerations and the distribution of the ascertained public squares and street grids.**

However, unlike Lugdunensis (except for its western part), neither Britain nor Germania Inferior had a large proportion of settlements that stood out for their monumentality, the complexity of their layout or the heterogeneous socioeconomic stratification of their society (Figure 166). They all present substantial evidence of dwellings and manufacturing/commercial structures, but only a minority of them have yielded evidence of elite dwellings or of a complex division of labour involving people practising many different occupations. In other words, only a few of these settlements stood out in terms of economic complexity or social stratification. At the same time, few of them displayed spatial features typical of 'urban' townscapes, such as orthogonal street grids (suggesting some sort of deliberate planning) or separate areas devoted to public, private and religious activities (for example, a central, public square). Finally, only a handful of the secondary settlements of Britain and Germania Inferior provided a large variety of services to the inhabitants of the surrounding region, as evidenced by religious or recreational buildings.

Figure 167 shows that, apart from the legionary fortresses of Caerleon and Chester and the town of Richborough (which in chapter 4 we have identified as a potential self-governing city), spectacle buildings are completely absent from secondary settlements of Britain, and one was perhaps found at Zülpich in Germania Inferior.

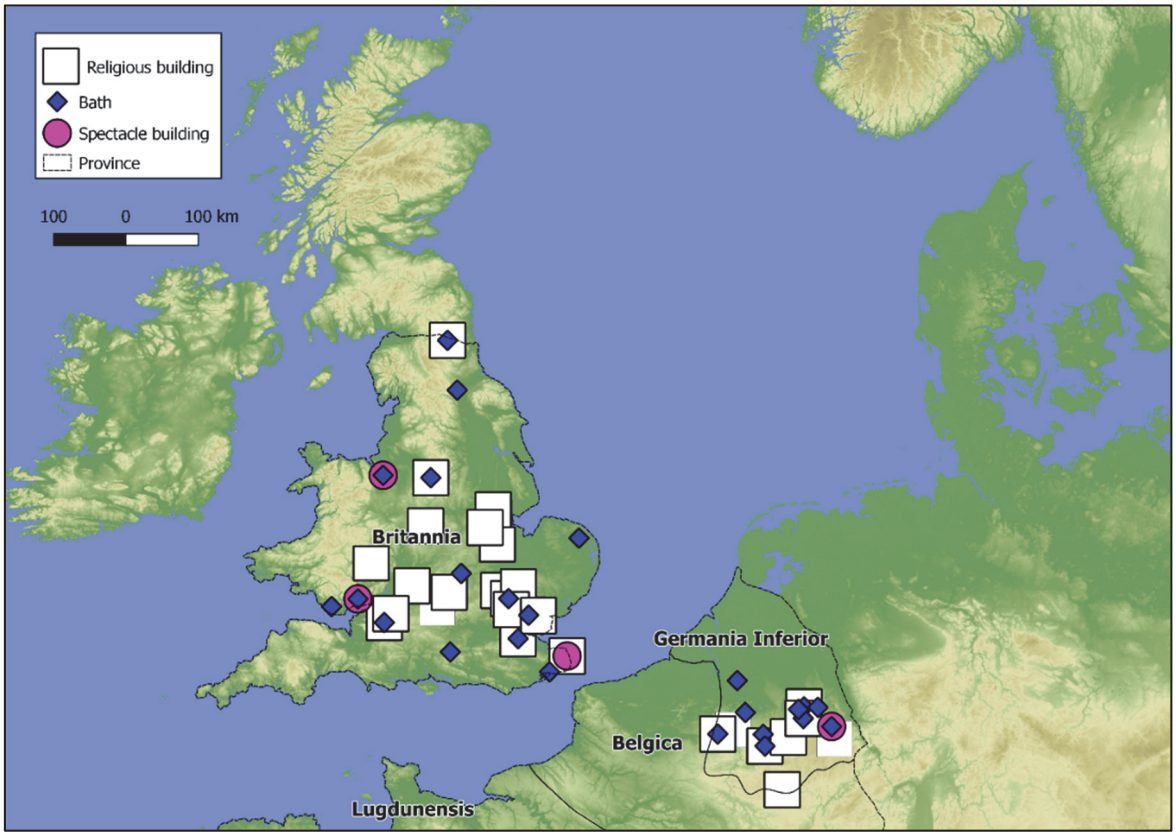


**Figure 167: The monumentality of secondary settlements. Distribution of the ascertained i. religious buildings (temples and sanctuaries), ii. spectacle buildings, iii. baths.**

In both provinces, however, the number of thermal complexes is particularly high. While it remains difficult to establish if - especially for Britain - these structures were public or more

likely belonged to *mansiones*, it is still of interests to observe how these facilities (so important for travellers) were so common along the main routes that crossed these provinces.

Overall, the number of public building within these two provinces was relatively low. A major factor was probably played by the different attitudes the elite had with regards to the rest of the population and the place they were living. This has probably its roots in pre-Roman times and could be explained either by the low level of centralization reached by the Iron Age communities living in these areas or (less likely) by a political fragmentation that was implemented by the Romans.

As we can see from the graph below, Britannia, unlike Gaul, was dominated by a single city: the capital Londinium. Compared to Gaul, a larger percentage of 'urban' settlements (96%) were middle-sized towns (10-60 ha) and only two cities could be considered as large (Corinium and Verulamium).

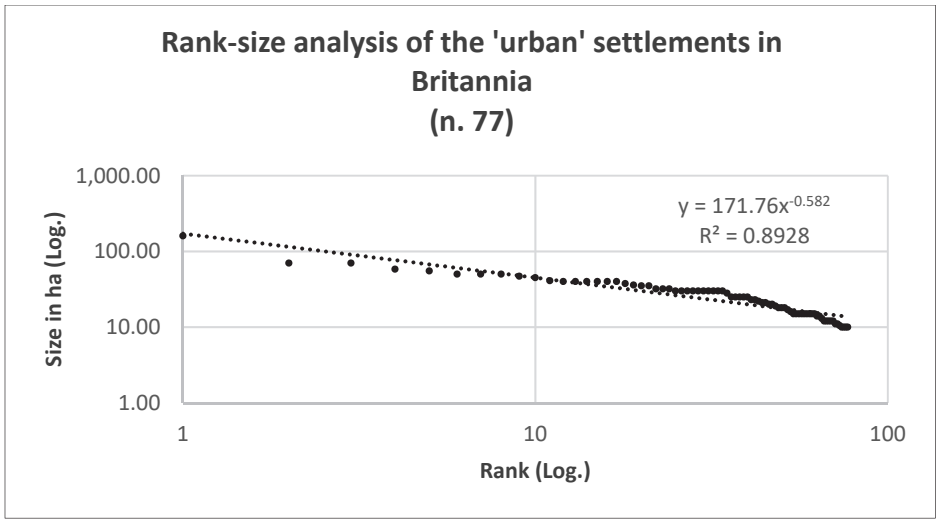


**Figure 168: Rank-size analysis of the whole "urban" system of Britannia**

Londinium remained unparalleled in the whole province in terms of size, and this is reflected in the map below, where the 'ideal' territory of London (in red) can be seen to extend over places unreached by other agglomerations (e.g. Cornwall, Wales, and the present-day Lake District) (Figure 169).[774] Apart from the undisputed supremacy of its capital, another point of interest is how relatively small the territories of the three veteran colonies (Colonia Glevum, Colonia Camulodunum, and Colonia Lindum) and - in general - the self-governing cities were, compared to those of the three legionary fortresses (Isca, Deva, Eburacum), the self-governing city of Viroconium, which had hosted the legionary fortress before it was moved to Deva, and the auxiliary fortress of Luguvalium. Overall, the provincial settlement hierarchy of Britain appears to be dominated by the provincial capital, legionary fortresses and other settlements with a deep military connection, leaving relatively little space for manoeuvre to the rest of the agglomerations.

[774] It should be kept in mind that the model in Figure 169 is an idealistic, impressionistic view of an unknown reality. More about the techique and its limitations in footnote 723.

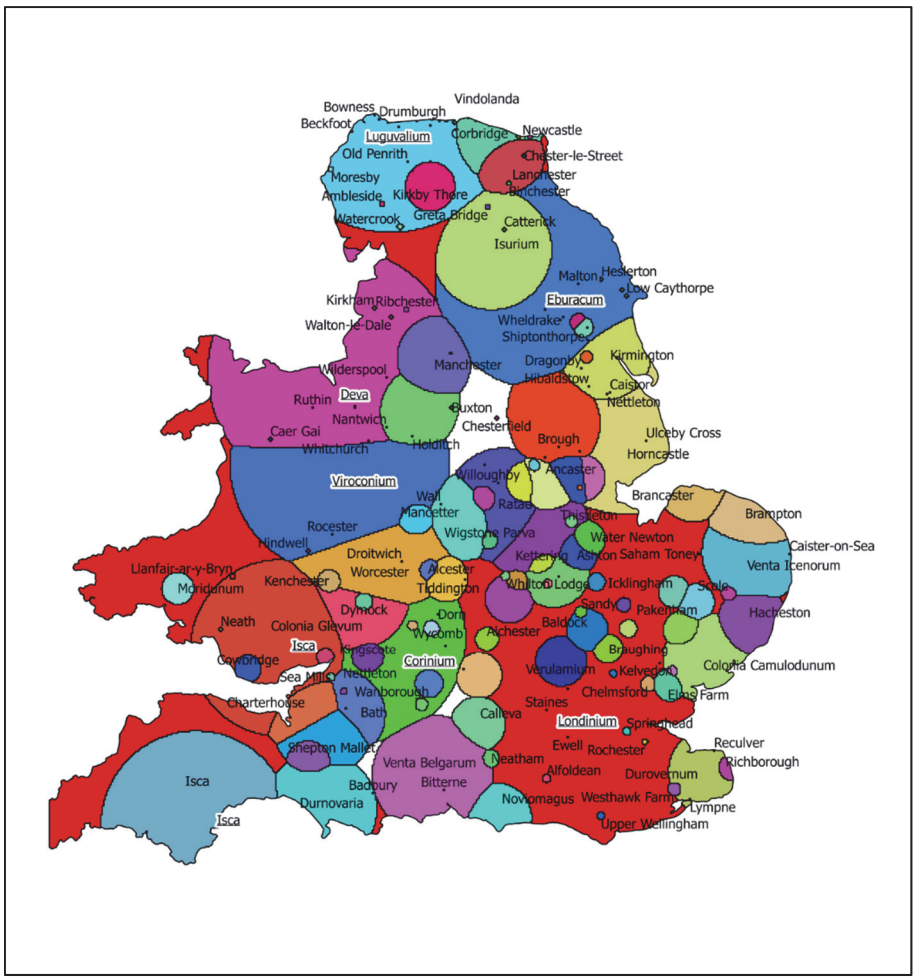


**Figure 169: The settlement system of Britannia analysed through a weighted Thiessen polygon analysis. Each polygon is defined by the distance between agglomerations and their size.**

# CONCLUSIONS

This work has investigated the development of urbanism in the North-Western provinces and examined the nature, characteristics and shapes that settlement systems could take during the first 250 years of the imperial period. Its purpose is to contribute to the debate on urbanization as a result of, and as a driving force behind, the changes brought by Roman imperialism and of the internal, socio-economic and political processes that existed within indigenous societies which triggered the process of settlement nucleation. No existing publication examines this cluster of problems from the large-scale perspective adopted in this thesis.

In order to arrive at a more or less reliable reconstruction of urban patterns and settlement patterns large amounts of sources have been consulted, including literary texts, epigraphic corpora, monographs concerning monuments and architectural buildings, archaeological reports and publications focusing on individual towns, regions, or a particular type of settlements (e.g. colonies, secondary agglomerations, vici or villas). To prepare the ground for an analysis of the urban configurations of and settlement systems of the first-to-third centuries AD, an updated review and discussion was given of the transition from pre-Roman to Roman times and of the process of political integration of the annexed provinces. The most important conclusion which emerged from this survey was that these processes were far from uniform across the huge study area covered by my investigations. On the basis of this assessment it was decided to combine a macro-scale approach with at least some micro-scale analyses. The mere observation of large-scale patterns – however interesting they may be – would have obscured the important role that micro-regional physiography, topography, history, socio-economic and political aspects played in the development and evolution of settlement patterns.

The principal aim of this work was to reconstruct the "urban systems" of the north-western provinces of the Roman empire and to explain why they looked the way they did. What, at first sight, may appear to be a relatively simple task is actually very complicated. First of all, before we can even begin to investigate urban systems, we have to define what the word "urban" means. In this thesis a three-fold definition was employed, meaning that a settlement could be characterized as "urban" when they met at least *one* of the following conditions: 1. they enjoyed a certain degree of administrative autonomy, 2. they had the appearance of a town (for example, they were relatively extensive - i.e. larger than 10ha - and had traces of permanent occupation), 3. they fulfilled "urban" or "central-place" functions (i.e. they provided a number of services and activities to the population living in the city and in its territory, such as administration, religious services, commercial functions etc.).

If we were to focus exclusively on the first criterion, we would only consider those settlements that enjoyed some levels of self-governance (i.e. "self-governing cities"). In order to reconstruct and analyse the urban hierarchies of the study area from this angle, epigraphic corpora as well as a vast amount of bibliography - mostly written by French, German, and Italian scholars - were consulted in order to establish the validity of juridical statuses which have been ascribed to various types of agglomerations. This task was complicated by the fact that often claims advanced by previous scholars were not substantiated by any material evidence. After a critical assessment of the epigraphic evidence, it was decided to tackle this

topic from a provincial perspective. Part of the justification for this approach stems from the fact that the moment at which various provinces were incorporated within the Empire appears to have had a strong impact on the legal statuses of the cities in these provinces. For example, in Narbonensis, the Caesarean/Augustan policy of granting settlements the status of honorary colonies meant that this province had a much larger number of these settlements than other provinces. Military considerations and geography were major factors in the establishment of Roman veteran colonies. Settling groups of retired soldiers was seen as an effective way of preventing or quelling revolts. For this reason, such colonies are to be found primarily in proximity to a frontier, or in strategic points within the transport system which had a fundamental importance in respect to military supplies.

If we use an exclusively juridical definition of "cities", the "urban" systems of the north-western provinces was composed of very few settlements: no more than 84 cities in Gaul, 5 in Germania Inferior, and 21 in Britain. As a general rule, these were the most monumentalized places and some of the earliest to be monumentalized. Their role as '*vitrines de romanité'* is suggested by their early development. Their size, their geographical distribution and their public monuments (many of which were erected at an early date) reflect their initial role as administrative centres (which sometimes faded away with the passing of time – as was probably the case for the cities of southern Aquitania). Their monumentality also shows they were important 'theatres' where the local elite and the Roman authorities displayed their wealth, influence, and power.

However, as Bekker-Nielsen observed almost 30 years ago, the "official cities" of Roman Gaul and Britain were often separated by very large distances. This implies not only that many of these cities controlled very extensive territories, but also that a large proportion of the "rural" population must have lived outside the areas from which these administrative centres could be reached within two or three hours. If the "urban" systems of the north-western provinces only relied on these few centres, we would have to conclude that these provinces had completely dysfunctional market-systems in terms of the needs of the vast majority of the rural population and that there must have been very little economic integration at a regional level. Thus, while an analysis of "urban" hierarchies in the north-western provinces from a purely juridical perspective certainly provides interesting insights into processes of political integration and municipalization, such an approach provides us only with a partial glimpse of "urbanism" and cannot result in a convincing interpretation of the settlement systems of these provinces as a whole.

In order to overcome the limitations of a purely juridical approach, "town-like" secondary agglomerations (definition 2) and other places that fulfilled "urban" functions (definition 3) must be included into the picture. Against this background chapters 5 and 6 of this thesis present large amounts of data relating to the size of "town-like" settlements which are likely to have performed at least some "urban" functions and to the presence of monumental buildings in these "secondary" settlements, on the assumption that the existence of monumental buildings in agglomerations which were not "official cities" tells us something about the functions which such settlements performed for the inhabitants of the surrounding areas.

Using this wide-ranging approach more than 500 "town-like" settlements and minor central places could be identified. In addition, evidence for the presence of more than 1,000 monumental buildings or other "urban" features (such as street grids) was collected. In 400 cases the sizes of these "town-like" settlements or central places could be established with a reasonable degree of confidence. Based on this large amount of data it proved possible to identify several factors that appear to have had a huge role in the development of settlement systems. These factors include a. The influence of the *limes*; b. The settlement strategy of the Roman authorities, which encouraged the new semi-autonomous centres and their elites to provide local communities with public areas and buildings where they could fulfill their newly acquired rights and obligations and where loyalty to Rome could be advertised; c. Military considerations, ranging from the foundation of veteran colonies to host the surplus of soldiers after the end of the civil wars to a conscious policy aimed at strengthening the Roman grip on a potentially hostile environment; d. The impact of supply routes (e.g. military supply lines with cities being separated by a distance which could be covered in a single day); e. The presence of natural resources such as mines or quarries that facilitated the accumulation of wealth which could be invested in the construction of opulent public buildings or private dwellings; f. The availability or non-availability of good agricultural land; g. The existence of pre-Roman (including Greek) settlements; g. Access and control of roads and waterways (i.e. road junctions, waterway crossings, transportation bottlenecks such as a mountain passes etc.). Generally speaking, the more factors interacted with each other, the denser the network of the settlement could become.

As has already been explained, the heterogeneity of the provinces covered by this thesis would have made a mere macroscopic approach unduly superficial and would have made it impossible to explain reconstructed patterns of "urbanism" and settlement. Therefore a small series of regional "urban systems" were subjected to closer analysis. In at least some cases the spatial distribution of various types of central places which can be observed in Roman times appears to have continued pre-Roman patterns, strongly suggesting that we are dealing with a form of "path dependence".

The pre-Roman central places that have been identified in certain areas (e.g. in central and north-west Gaul and in Britain) often were far more than simple "villages"[775]. In the existing literature the power that certain pre-Roman communities were able to establish over very extensive territories and the efficient systems through which they controlled and exploited these territories are often overlooked. A close study of the available evidence reveals that several pre-Roman communities reached a considerable level of regional economic integration which found expression in complex and highly hierarchical settlement systems. For example, in the Late Iron Age the Bituriges were able to thrive thanks to the effective exploitation of multiple sub-regions and "*paysages économiques*" within their territory. In the case of the Bituriges Cubi, the network of *oppida* that developed in pre-Roman times persisted in Roman times (in slightly altered form), perhaps because it was determined political and economic relationships very similar to those which had existed in the Iron Age.

[775] A word used by Woolf in his book Becoming Roman (Woolf 1998).

The persistence of groups of elite burials (tumuli) in rural areas is a clear sign of the power that certain aristocratic families retained over the countryside and its agricultural and mineral resources. While local aristocracies were gradually integrated into the Roman political system, gaining access to Roman citizenship by holding civic magistracies, the geographical dispersion of these elites and their uninterrupted power in rural areas helps to explain why so many "secondary agglomerations" (especially in Gaul) hosted opulent and prestigious monuments in the first and second centuries AD.

However, while in the case of the *civitas* of the Bituriges Cubi, integration within the Roman empire occurred without any major disruptions, in other regions the process involved drastic changes. The establishment of veteran colonies (e.g. in Narbonensis) and the presence of the Roman army (e.g. in Germania Inferior and along the Hadrian Wall) had a huge impact on regional settlements. In the process the economy of these regions became highly affected. In frontier regions, such as Germania Inferior and Britain, the establishment of forts resulted not only in an increase in nucleated settlements but also in an increase in economic output (especially in husbandry).

It has often been observed that regional "urban systems" can be part of a larger system, which is also characterized by a hierarchical structure. Starting from this premise many scholars have tried to assess levels of economic integration by examining the spatial properties of settlement systems of large geographical areas or by focusing on the shapes of rank-size graphs representing the distribution of the settlements of such large systems through various size brackets. In the case of Gaul there is often a sense that this part of the empire (with the exception of Narbonensis) was sparsely urbanized and economically under-developed. However, the rank-size graphs that can be drawn on the basis of archaeological data relating to settlement size turn out to be of limited use in this regard. It has often been suggested, for instance, a concave rank-size graph might point to limited economic integration. However, some of the evidence discussed in this thesis suggests the opposite. For example, the case studies dealing with the Western Pyrenees and the *civitas* of Luteva show how effectively plains and mountains interacted in Roman times. In both regions the agglomerations established at the foot of the mountains functioned as a bridges between the two different spaces.[776]

If we take a look at the urban system of Gaulish provinces (using a broad definition of "urban" which allows for the existence of "town-like" settlements outside the "official cities") almost 90% of the components of this system were small or medium-sized cities (10-60 ha). Such cities and "town-like" places could easily be sustained by their territories. Only 9% of all settlements which were "urban" to at least some degree were large cities (> 60 ha). The relatively few cities which belonged to this category lay along the main urban and transport corridors and were nodal points within the urban system. These unusually large centres attracted the wealthiest members of the regional elite (and their money). Yet even most of these cities could probably be sustained by the agricultural resources located of their immediate catchment areas (with a radius of 15 km). Finally, only 3% of the urban network consisted of extremely large cities that cannot not have been sustained but their own hinterlands. These

[776] In the case of Luteva, the level of integration would decrease in Medieval times.

exceptional cities must have been depended on external sources of income (including income from estates which were located in other parts of Gaul or even in other parts of the empire).[777] Of this tiny group of Lyon, Narbo, Burdigala and Reims were the provincial capitals of Gallia Lugdunensis, Narbonensis, Aquitania, and Belgica respectively, and this role implies that they were at the top of the urban hierarchy. It must be conceded, however, that the surviving evidence does not allow us to assess the economic implications of having this elevated status.

The regional and supra-regional "urban systems" of the north-western provinces were certainly bound together by economic interactions, but it remains very difficult to assess what this interdependence actually implies in terms of the geographical distribution of economic activities, specializations, and functions. While the regional "urban systems" of Roman Gaul were dominated by the four large cities just referred to, the urban system of Germania Inferior system was dominated more or less to the same degree by the provincial capital (Cologne) and by the large cities of Xanten, Castra Vetera and Atuatuca. In Britain the urban system seems to have been dominated by the provincial capital Londinium, although centres which had a connection with the military sphere also seem to have played an important role.

Although progress has been made, many questions concerning the complexity of the urban systems of the north-western provinces and levels of interaction among cities remain unresolved at this stage. Aside from the data inadequacies which archaeologists and historians have to live with, the conceptual vagueness of many publications and a regrettable lack of recent large-scale research programmes mean that only fragmentary descriptions of the "urban systems" of these areas can be provided. In addition, general statements about levels of economic integration or interaction tell us very little of what was going in individual cities. Additional research would help to overcome at least some these limitations. For example, an in-depth analysis of the internal structure of Roman towns compared to their predecessors, as well as research into the social and economic composition of the populations of these towns might well shed new light on functional changes which took place during the transition from pre-Roman to early-imperial times. Another promising line of inquiry would be a cross-period comparison, for example between the cities and "town-like" settlements of Roman Gaul and the urban system of medieval or early modern France. Finally, in view of the large amounts of new data on the rural settlements of the north-western provinces made available by various recent research projects, it seems a safe bet that a more detailed exploration of relationships between town and country will shed new light on the role of various types of "urban" settlements within their regional contexts.

[777] For example, the amphitheatre in Lyon was built by a citizen of the civitas of the Santones (together with his son and nephew) who was a priest of the federal cult of the Three Gauls in Lyon. For elite income from rural estates situated in the territories of neighbouring cities see Chapter 4.

# ENGLISH SUMMARY

This monograph investigates the development of urbanism in the North-Western Roman provinces (i.e. nowadays France, Britain, Belgium, and Netherlands), the main foci being on the nature, characteristics, and shapes that settlement systems took during the first 250 years of the imperial period. In view of the ambiguous nature of the term "urban", three complementary definitions and approaches are used, based on juridical, morphological and functional criteria (chapter 1). This means that the scope of the research undertaken in this book extends beyond the study of the "official" Roman cities (i.e. centres which enjoyed some level of self-governance and which are known from ancient literary and epigraphic sources), comprising all settlements which have yielded evidence of monumental architecture and/or of extensive non-agricultural activities.

The principal aims of this work are to reconstruct the "urban systems" of the study area in Roman times and to explain why these systems looked the way they did. In order to establish the degree of continuity or discontinuity between pre-Roman and Roman forms of "urbanism", it was deemed necessary to delineate the broad contours of the settlement systems of the Late Iron Age (chapter 2). In most cases the spatial distribution of cities and town-like central places which can be observed in Roman times appears to have been resembled pre-Roman patterns, strongly suggesting that we are dealing with a form of "path dependence". This was the case, for example, in central and north-western France and south-eastern England, where various long-term changes – i.e. climatic improvement, population growth and rural expansion – which had occurred between the fourth and third centuries BC had laid the basis for the formation of the large communities and their territories on which the Roman urban system was superimposed. However, in other regions the process of integration caused major disruptions. For example, the establishment of veteran colonies (e.g. in Narbonensis) and the presence of the Roman army (e.g. in Germania Inferior and along the Hadrian Wall) had a huge impact on regional settlements.

The pre-Roman legacy also appears to have influenced not only the overall shapes of the urban systems of the north-western provinces, but also the density of 'official' cities and their juridical status (chapter 3). For example, the pre-Roman landscape in Gallia Narbonensis was highly fragmented. Many important, indigenous centres lay relatively close to one another, and the Caesarean/Augustan policy of granting settlements the status of honorary colonies meant that this province had a much larger number of these settlements than other provinces. In contrast, the other hand, in Central France for example, pre-Roman communities had vast territories which were organized around '*civitas*-capitals'. These areas contained large numbers of subordinate settlements. These region-specific patterns persisted after the Roman conquest.

In the last three chapters, various aspects of the urban hierarchies of the Roman period are investigated. Chapter 4 looks at the distribution and monumentalisation of the "official towns" (i.e. the self-governing cities) and discusses to what extent their size, geographical their distribution and their levels of monumentality reflect their role as administrative centers.

The high degree of standardization of the forms of civic buildings across these cities can be understood as reflecting a longing for an illusory uniformity in a vast and heterogeneous empire. At the same these large-scale expenditure on public buildings broadcasts the membership of local elites of a regional elite with an established canon of public architecture.

The heterogeneity of the provinces covered by this thesis would have made a mere macroscopic approach unduly superficial and would have made it impossible to explain reconstructed patterns of "urbanism" and settlement. Therefore a small series of "regional urban systems" were subjected to closer analysis. The evidence relating to these systems suggests that, on a general and abstract level, at least two different types of settlement hierarchy can be discerned.

Some regions, such as central France, had multi-layered settlement systems comprising a variety of higher-order and lower-order centers. At the top of these settlement hierarchies we find the administrative capital – the headquarters of civic and political institutions and usually the place where those members of the elite who aspired to civic magistracies had to reside (or at least had to own a house). The second tier consisted of "town-like" secondary agglomerations which provided a smaller number of services compared to the capital but still had extensive and (at times) more specialised functions. They could, for example, be home to public baths or to sanctuaries and religious festivals of supra-regional significance. The fact that these "town-like" agglomerations often display a significant level of monumental architecture (intended to convey civic pride and prestige) indicates strong elite connections with rural areas. This durable and robust relationship is likely to have its roots in the polycentric societies and settlement systems of the pre-Roman period.

The second type of regional settlement system is characterized by a very large capital and very small subordinate settlements with almost no intermediate urban settlements. Such a pattern is found in the *civitas* of Nemausus. Geography alone cannot explain this pattern which occurs in areas with very different climates, soils, topographies and degrees of accessibility. It is much more likely that again the pre-Roman settlement pattern and its subsequent evolution were major factors in shaping the settlement hierarchy of early-imperial times.

All these regional systems were, in turn, part of a larger system, which was also characterized by a hierarchical structure. The regional urban system of Roman Gaul seems to have been dominated by four large cities, Lyon, Narbo, Burdigala, and Reims, which were the provincial capitals of Gallia Lugdunensis, Narbonensis, Aquitania, and Belgica respectively. The urban system of Germania Inferior was dominated more or less to the same degree by the provincial capital (Cologne) and by the large cities of Xanten, Castra Vetera, and Atuatuca. In Britain, the urban system was clearly dominated by the provincial capital Londinium, although centers which had a connection with the military sphere also seem to have played an important role. These regional and supra-regional "urban systems" were certainly bound together by economic interactions, but it remains very difficult to assess what this interdependence actually implies in terms of the geographical distribution of economic activities, specializations, and functions.

# DUTCH SUMMARY - NEDERLANDSE SAMENVATTING

Dit proefschrift onderzoekt de ontwikkeling van stedelijke nederzettingsvormen in de noordwestelijke provincies van het Romeinse rijk gedurende de eerste 250 jaar van de Keizertijd. Het onderzochte gebied omvat het gebied van vier Europese landen: Frankrijk, het Verenigd Koninkrijk, België en Nederland. Eén van de doelstellingen van het uitgevoerde onderzoek is om te achterhalen hoe de stedelijke systemen van dit uitgestrekte gebied eruit zagen; een tweede doelstelling is een verklaring te bieden voor de specifieke gedaante van deze stedelijke systemen zoals die uit met namen de archeologische bronnen naar voren komt. In beide gevallen gaat de aandacht vooral uit naar kwantitatieve aspecten, zoals de omvang van de onderzochte steden, naar de aanwezigheid van publieke gebouwen en heiligdommen en naar archeologisch materiaal dat wijst op de uitoefening van niet-agrarische beroepen.

Een eerste moeilijkheid bij de bestudering van 'stedelijke' systemen is dat het onmogelijk is om een sluitende definitie van 'stad' te geven die op alle gebieden en tijdvakken van toepassing is. Om die reden worden in dit proefschrift drie verschillende definities gehanteerd. Concreet betekent dit dat niet alleen gekeken wordt naar 'steden' in juridische zin, maar ook naar steden in morfologische zin en naar nederzettingen die vanuit een functionele optiek als 'stedelijk' of 'stadachtig' getypeerd kunnen worden. Hoewel deze drie benaderingen in de praktijk van het onderzoek soms tot soortgelijke uitkomsten leiden, belichten zij ieder een verschillend aspect van de 'stedelijkheid' van verschillende soorten van nederzettingen (hoofdstuk 1).

In hoofdstuk 2 wordt de mate van continuïteit en discontinuïteit onderzocht tussen de stedelijke en stadachtige nederzettingen van Noord-West Europa vóór de komst van de Romeinen en de stedelijke systemen van de vroege Keizertijd. In veel gebieden vertoont de geografische spreiding van nederzettingen met urbane kenmerken in de Romeinse tijd een grote mate van gelijkenis met die welke in de pre-Romeinse tijd bestond. Dit wijst er op dat er sprake was van een aanzienlijke mate van 'path dependence'. Gebieden met een hoge mate van continuïteit zijn Midden-Gallië, Noord-West Gallië en Zuid-Oost Brittannië. In al dezen gebieden creëerden klimatologische en demografische ontwikkelingen reeds in de vierde en derde eeuw v. Chr. een gunstige voedingsbodem voor de opkomst van grote etnische groepen en allianties met grote territoria. Het bestuurssysteem en het stedelijke systeem van de vroege Keizertijd bouwde voort op deze bestaande structuren. Er waren echter ook regio's waar het nederzettingssysteem na de komst van de Romeinen ingrijpend veranderde. Voorbeelden zijn de ingrijpende herstructurering van het nederzettingssysteem van Gallia Narbonensis ten gevolge van de stichting van veteranenkolonies en de verstrekkende gevolgen van de oprichting van legioenskampen en kleinere forten in Germania Inferior en langs de Muur van Hadrianus.

Het uitgevoerde onderzoek wijst uit dat de Romeinse neiging om voort te bouwen op bestaande bestuursstructuren en nederzettingssystemen een belangrijk deel van de verklaring vormt voor de opvallende verschillen in dichtheid van stedelijke systemen binnen het onderzochte gebied. In de pre-Romeinse tijd werd het gebied van de latere provincie Gallia Narbonensis gekenmerkt door een grote mate van politieke fragmentatie. Als gevolg hiervan telde dit gebied een groot

aantal belangrijke nederzettingen die op relatief kleine afstand van elkaar waren gelegen. Veel van deze centra werden door Caesar of Augustus tot 'ere-kolonies' gepromoveerd. Daardoor had Narbonensis in de vroege Keizertijd een veel dichter stedelijk netwerk dan andere delen van Gallië. Daarentegen kende Midden-Gallië vóór de komst van de Romeinen een relatief klein aantal gemeenschappen die elk een enorm territorium controleerden. Binnen deze territoria functioneerde één nederzetting als 'hoofdstad' van de civitas. Daarnaast bestond echter een groot aantal 'ondergeschikte' nederzettingen waarvan een groot aantal één of meer 'stedelijke' kenmerken vertoonde. In de vroege Keizertijd bleef dit patroon bestaan.

In de laatste drie hoofdstukken van dit proefschrift wordt een aantal aspecten van de 'stedelijke' systemen van Romeins Noord-West Europa aan een nader onderzoek onderworpen. In hoofdstuk 4 staan de geografische spreiding van de autonome steden en de aanwezigheid van monumentale gebouwen in deze steden centraal. Betoogd wordt dat de opvallende mate van standaardisering op het terrein van de stedelijke monumentale architectuur begrepen kan worden als uiting van een streven om in het heterogene Romeinse imperium van de eerste eeuwen na het begin van de Christelijke jaartelling een zekere mate van optische uniformiteit te bewerkstelligen. Tegelijkertijd kan de bereidheid van plaatselijke elites om de bekostiging van dergelijke gebouwen voor hun rekening te nemen worden begrepen als een manier om te laten zien dat zij deel uitmaakten van een regionale elite die zich bediende van een breed gedeelde canon op het terrein van de publieke architectuur.

Ondanks het bestaan van een relatief uniforme publieke architectuur vertoonden de stedelijke systemen van de onderzochte enorme verschillen, bijvoorbeeld waar het gaat om de rolverdeling tussen hoofdsteden van civitates en 'secundaire' nederzettingen met stedelijke kenmerken. Binnen het bestek van deze dissertatie kon deze enorme diversiteit niet volledig in kaart worden gebracht. Om toch enig zicht te bieden op de grote verscheidenheid aan stedelijke systemen, worden in hoofdstukken 5 en 6 de nederzettingshiërarchieën van een beperkt aantal regio's onderzocht. Daarbij kunnen in ieder geval twee verschillende typen hiërarchie van elkaar worden onderscheiden.

De nederzettingssystemen van sommige gebieden, waaronder Midden-Gallië, werden gekenmerkt door een grote variëteit aan nederzettingen van verschillende grootte. Aan de top van de nederzettingshiërarchie van deze gebieden vinden we de hoofdplaats van de civitas. Deze centrale nederzetting functioneerde als het bestuurlijke en sociale centrum van de civitas. Leden van de regionale elite die magistraatsfuncties ambieerden, moesten hier woonachtig zijn of althans tijdelijk kunnen wonen. Naast de hoofdplaats van de civitas bestond er echter een flink aantal 'secundaire' nederzettingen met stedelijke kenmerken. Het scala aan 'stedelijke' goederen en diensten dat in deze secundaire centra verkrijgbaar was, was kleiner dan in het geval van de hoofdplaats van de civitas. Niettemin kenden dergelijke nederzettingen een aanzienlijke diversiteit aan beroepen en functioneerden zij 'centrale plaatsen' voor de bewoners van het omliggende platteland. Veel van deze secundaire nederzettingen hadden badgebouwen of belangrijke heiligdommen. In sommige gevallen hadden zij ook theaters of andere publieke gebouwen. De aanwezigheid van dergelijke monumentale gebouwen wijst erop dat leden van de politieke en economische elites van dergelijke civitates zich nauw verbonden voelde met plaatsen buiten de hoofdstad. Naar alle waarschijnlijk was deze spreiding van 'stedelijke'

functies binnen de territoria van deze civitates een voortzetting van het poly-centrische patroon dat zich in de Late IJzertijd had ontwikkeld.

In de civitas van Nemausus (Nîmes) en sommige andere regio's vinden we een totaal ander nederzettingssysteem. Kenmerkend voor deze tweede groep gebieden zijn de dominante positie van de hoofdplaats van de civitas en het ontbreken van een 'tussenlaag' van middelgrote nederzettingen. Met andere woorden, naast de hoofdstad van de civitas vinden we alleen kleine nederzettingen die vrijwel geen stedelijke kenmerken vertonen. Omdat nederzettingssystemen van dit tweede type te vinden zijn in gebieden met zeer verschillende klimaten, landschappen en grondsoorten, kan het bestaan ervan niet uit geografische omstandigheden worden verklaard. Wederom dringt zich de conclusie op dat de doorwerking van pre-Romeinse nederzettingspatronen en sociale structuren een belangrijke factor in de vormgeving van de nederzettingssystemen van de Romeinse periode is geweest.

De vele regionale systemen van het onderzochte gebied waren op hun beurt deel van grotere urbane systeem die ook zelf weer hiërarchische kenmerken vertoonden. Het stedelijke systeem van Romeins Gallië werd gedomineerd door Lyon, Narbo, Burdigala en Reims. Dit waren de hoofdsteden van Gallia Lugdunensis, Narbonensis, Aquitania en Belgica. Het stedelijke systeem van Germania Inferior werd niet alleen gedomineerd door de provinciehoofdstad Keulen, maar ook door andere grote steden, zoals Xanten, Castra Vetera en Atuatuca. Londinium was veruit de belangrijkste stad van Romeins Brittannië. Daarnaast lijken enkele legioenskampen voormalige legioenskampen echter een dominante positie te hebben gehad binnen de nederzettingssystemen van een aantal perifere gebieden van deze provincie. Op basis van het archeologische materiaal kan met zekerheid worden vastgesteld dat er sprake was van aanzienlijke goederenstromen tussen de steden van deze provinciale systemen. Het blijft echter moeilijk om te bepalen hoe belangrijk deze goederenstromen waren binnen het geheel van de regionale economieën van de onderzochte gebieden en in hoeverre er sprake was van een economische taakverdeling tussen complementaire regio's met gespecialiseerde productieactiviteiten.

# APPENDIX A: LIST OF CIVITATES IN THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND THEIR JURIDICAL STATUS AND DATING (EITHER DATE OR REIGN)

## A.1 NARBONENSIS

| *CIVITAS* | INSCRIPTION MENTIONING '*MUNICIPIUM*' | INSCRIPTION MENTIONING '*CIVITAS*' | INSCRIPTION MENTIONING '*COLONIA*' |
|---|---|---|---|
| Carcassone | | | |
| Tolosa | | CIL XII 5674 (mil 317-337) C T | |
| Narbo | | CIL XII 4355 (IV AD) civitati | CIL XII 4333 (AD 11 ) c(olonia) I(uliae) P(aternae) N(arbonis) M(arti) |
| Baeterrae | | | ILGN 558 (under Augustus); AE 2006, 795=CIL XII, 2930. |
| Luteva: solo un'epigrafe trovata a Baeterrae | | | CIL XII 4247 C CLAUD LUTEVA (Possibly Claudian times) |
| Nimes | | CIL XII 5624? C(ivitas or colonia) N (293-305AD) | ILGN 417 (BC 13-12) COL AUG NEM |
| Arelate | | AE 1952, 107 (337-340AD) | CIL XII 694 (I AD) |
| Aquae Sextiae | | | CIL XII 408 (second half I AD) |
| Massilia | | | |
| Forum Iulii | | CIL V 7907 (Commodus) | CIL XII 261 (I AD - Hadrian) |
| Antipolis | | | |
| Dinia, Da quando f parte delle alpi marittime vedi ILN-Dugn,3 | AE 1961, 156 (Commodus) | AE 1961, 156 (Commodus) | CIL XII 6037 (I AD) |
| Sogiontii | | CIL XII 1871 (II AD) | |
| Apollinaris Reiorum (Riez) | | | CIL XII 360 (I AD) |
| Apta | | | CIL XII 1116 (I-II AD) |
| Cabellio | | | |
| Avennio | | | CIL XII 1120 (Hadrian – end II AD) |
| Arausio | | CIL VI 1549 (second half II AD) | Piganiol S. 128 fig. (Augustus) |
| Tricastini | | CIL XIII 1913 (III-IV AD) | AE 1962, 143 (from Vespasian to end II AD) |
| Vocontii (Vaison, Luc-en Dios, Die) | | CIL XII 1567 (245 AD) | |
| Alba | | CIL XII 1567 (245 AD) | |
| Valentia | | CIL XII 1567 | CIL XII 1755 (III AD)? possibly C(ivitas) VA(lentina) |
| Vienne | | CIL XIII 2453 (III AD) | CIL XIII 1668 II, 9 (Claudius) |

# A.2 AQUITANIA

| *CIVITATES* | PTOLEMY'S TRIBES (ἔθνη) | PTOLEMY'S CITIES (πόλις) | INSCRIPTION MENTIONING '*CIVITAS*' | INSCRIPTION MENTIONING '*COLONIA*' | INSCRIPTIONS (OTHER) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Arvernes** | Averni | Augustonemetum | CIL XVII 341 (mil., 244-249), 343 (mil. 121), 351 (mil. 275), 353 (mil. 262-267) | | |
| **Ausci** | Ausci | Augusta | | | |
| **Bituriges Cubes** | Biturbici Cubi | Avaricum | CIL XIII 1378, 1379, 1380 | | RIB 678 (York): M(arcus) Verec(undinus) Diogenes sevir col(oniae) Ebor(acensis) idem qu[uinq(uennalis) et] cives Biturix Cubus. |
| **Bituriges Vivisque** | Biturgines Vibixci | Noviomagus Burdigala | CIL XIII 566 = ILS 7038 | | AE 2008 892 - res p(ublica) b(iturgum) v(iviscorum) |
| **Cadurci** | Cadurci | Dueona | | | |
| **Convenes** | Convenae | Lugdunum colonia | CIL XIII 254, 255 (also colonia), CIL XVII 308 (mil. 260-269) | ILTG 59 and 76-78 (impendio c[ | |
| **Elusates** | Dati | Tasta | CIL XIII 563 (also colonia) | CIL XIII 546 (II-II AD) | |
| **Gabales** | Gabali | Anderetum | CIL XIII 1571, CIL XVIII 333 (mil. 260-269) and 334 (mil. 267 or 268) | | |
| **Lactorates** | | | CIL XIII 511 | | |
| **Lemovices** | Lemovices | Augustoritum | CIL XIII 1803, CIL XVII 354-357 (mil. 243-260), 365 (twice, mil. 271-274) | | |
| **Nitiobroges** | Nitionbriges | Aginnum | CIL XVII 370 (mil. 293-305) | | |
| **Petrucores** | Petrocori | Vesuna | CIL XIII 971, 11040 (?), CIL XVII 369 (C P L = libera) (mil 276) | | |
| **Pictons** | Pictones | Ratiatum Limonum | CIL XIII 1114, 1129, CIL XVII 432 (mil. 271-274) and 433 (mil 276), 440, 442 (?) (mil. 286-293?) | | |
| **Rutenes** | RutanI | Segodunum | CIL XVII 337 (mil., undated, doubtful), 338 (mil. 324-337) | | |
| **Santones** | Santones | Mediolanum | | | |
| **Tarbeli** | Tarbeli | Aquae Augustae | | | |
| **Vassari** | Vassari | Cossium | | | |
| **Vellaves** | Velauni | Ruessium | CIL XIII 1576 (end II- beginning III), 1591 (civitas V. libera, 249-250 AD), 1592, 1614 (also colonia, 238-244 AD), CIL XVII 319 (mil. 275), 320 (mil. 222-235), 320 (mil. 222-235), 324 (mil.. 244-247), 329 (mil. 251-253), 330 (mil. 244-247), 331 (mil. 260-268) | CIL XIII 1577 (Julio-Claudian) | |

# A.3 BELGICA

| *CIVITATES* | PTOLEMY'S TRIBES (5ἔθνη) | PTOLEMY'S CITIES (πόλις) | INSCRIPTION MENTIONING '*CIVITAS*' | INSCRIPTION MENTIONING '*COLONIA*' | INSCRIPTIONS (OTHER) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Atribati** | Atribati | Metacum | | | |
| **Bellovici** | Bellovici | Caesaromagus | | | RIB III 3014 c(iis) Bell(ovacus) (cfr. CIL XIII 611 Bordeaux civ(is) Bel(lovaci) |
| **Leuques** | Leuci | Tullium Nasium | CIL XVII 534 (mil. 317-326), 535 (mil. 317-337) | | |
| **Mediomatriques** | Mediomatrices | Dividurum | CIL XIII 4290, 4291 (also colonia), XVII 517 (mil. 97), 536 (mil. 213), 537 (mil. 117-138), 538 (mil. 269) | CIL XIII 11359 (doubtful, also civitas) | |
| **Menapi** | Menapi | Castellum | | | |
| **Morins** | Morini | Tarvanna | CIL XIII 3560 cf. CIL XI 391, CIL XI 391 (also colonia) | CIL XIII 8727 (IIvir colon. Morinorum, also civitas, II AD) | |
| **Nerviens** | Nervi | Begacum | CIL XIII 3571, 3573, | | |
| **Remes** | Remi | Durocotturum | CIL X 1705 (foederata), CIL XII 1855 (foederata espilicitata), CIL XII 1869 (foederata, fragmented), CIL XII 1870 (foederata), CIL XII 2613, CIL XIII 3255, CIL XVII 509 (mil. 269-270) | | |
| **Silvanectes** | | | ILTG 357 | | |
| **Suession** | Vessenose | Augusta Vessonum | CIL XII 3528 | | |
| **Tongres** | Tungri | Atuatucum | CIL XIII 3599 | | |
| **Trevires** | Treveri | Augusta Treverorum | CIL XIII 1911, 3693, 3694, 6800, 11179, AE 1968 321, F322 (also colonia) | F 17, S-H 84 (= AE 1968 321, civitas, colonia Treverorum AD I ) and mil. CIL XVII 543 (121), 544 (100), 561 (139), 552 (121), 553 (139) | |
| **Viromandues** | Viromandues | Augusta Viromandues | | | |

# A.4 LUGDUNENSIS

| *CIVITATES* | PTOLEMY'S TRIBES (5ἔθνη) | PTOLEMY'S CITIES (POLEIS) | INSCRIPTION MENTIONING '*CIVITAS*' | INSCRIPTION MENTIONING '*COLONIA*' | INSCRIPTIONS (OTHER) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Abrincatui** | Anbrincatui | Ingena | | | |
| **Ambarres** | | | | | |
| **Andicavae** | Andicavae | Iuliomagus | | | |
| **Arvi** | Arvi | Vagoritum | | | |
| **Aulircii Diablitae** | Aulircii Diablitae | Noeodunum | | | |
| **Aulirei Cenomani** | Aulirei Cenomani | Vindinum | | | |
| **Aulerques Eburovices** | Aulirci Eburaici | Mediolanium | CIL XIII 1390 | | |
| **Biducasi Viducasses** | Biducasi | Aregenua | CIL XIII 3076, 3077 (libera) | CIL XIII 3162 = ILTG 341 = AE 1949 136-137 (AD 238) | |
| **Calatae** | Calatae | Iuliobana | | | |
| **Carnutae** | Carnutae | Autricum e Cenabum | | | RIB 149 (Bath) cives Car[nu]tenus |
| **Coriosolites** | | | CIL XVII 419 (mil. 293-305), 423 (mil. 269-270) | | |
| **Eduens** | Aedui | Augustodurum, Cabyllinum, Lugdunum metropolis | CIL XIII 25658, 2924 (perhaps misinterpreted in CIL) | | |
| **Lexubi** | Lexubi | Neomagus | | | |
| **Meldes** | Meldae | Latinum | CIL XIII 2924 (perhaps misinterpreted in CIL) | | |
| **Nanmetes** | Namnetae | Condivincum | CIL XVII 387 (mil. 269-270), 391 (?) (undated and doubtful: C N O) | | |
| **Osismi** | Osismi | Vorganium | | | |
| **Parisii** | Parisi | Lucotecia | CIL XIII 2924 (perhaps misinterpreted in CIL), 3034, CIL XVII 494 (mil. 305-309) | | |
| **Riedons** | Redones | Condate | AE 1969-70 405, CIL XVII 424 (mil. 273-274), 463 (mil. 261-269), 467 (mil. 269-270), 469?, 270? (both undated, doubtful and very fragmented), 471 (mil. 237), 472 (mil. 237), 473 (mil. 269-270), 474 (mil. 269-270), 476 and 477 (both undated, doubtful) | | |
| **Segusiaves** | Segusiavi | Rhodumna e Forum Segusianorum | CIL XIII 1629 (?), 1632 civitat Segusiav., 1645 (Iad), 1646, 1712 (also colonia) | CIL XVII 346 (mil. 98-117, also civitas) | |
| **Samnites** | Samnites | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Senoni** | Senones | Agendicum | CIL CIL XIII 2924, 2926, 2942, 2949 = ILS 7049 (colonia) | CIL XIII 1684 (found in Lyon, also civitas) | |
| **Tricasses** | Tricasi | Augustobona | AE 1953 56, CIL XIII 2924 (perhaps misinterpreted in CIL), 2957 | | |
| **Turons** | Turoni | Caesarondunum | CIL XIII 3076, 3077 (libera) | | |
| **Vadicasi** | Vadicasi | Neomagus | | | |
| **Veliocasses** | Veneliocasi | Ratomagus | | | |
| **Venelli** | Venelli | Crociatonnum | | | |
| **Veneti** | Veneti | Darioritum | | | |
| **Viducasses** | | | CIL XIII 3166, 3162 = ILTG 341 = AE 1949 136-137 (civitate Vinducassium, libera, also colonia). RIB III 3195 (York) domo [civitate] Veliocas(s)ium | CIL XIII 341 = AE 1949 136-137 (also civitas) | |

# A.5 ALPINE PROVINCES

| *CIVITATES* | *MUNICIPIUM* | ISCRIPTION MENTIONING *'CIVITAS'* |
|---|---|---|
| **Alpes Maritimae** | | |
| **Cemenelum Nice (Cimiez)** | AE 1965, 193 (II AD at the latest) | CIL V 7905 (II AD) |
| **Vintium** | | CIL XII 9 (239 AD) |
| **Brigantio** | | |
| **Salinae** | | CIL XII 66 (late I AD - beginning II AD) |
| **Sanitum** | | |
| **Alpes Cottiae** | | |
| **Chorges** | | CIL V 7231 (9-8 BC); CIL XII 78 (Diocletian) |
| **Eburodunum** | | CIL V 7259 |
| **Brigantio** | | |
| **Segusini** | CIL V 7235 (II AD) | CIL V 7231 (9-8 BC); CIL V 7247 (III AD) |
| **Alpes Graiae et Poeninae** | | |
| **Vallenses (Martigny)** | | |
| **Nantuates** | | |
| **Cularo** | | |

# A.6 GERMANIA INFERIOR

| *CIVITATES* | PTOLEMY'S TRIBES (ἔθνη) | PTOLEMY'S CITIES (POLEIS) | INSCRIPTION MENTIONING *'CIVITAS'* | INSCRIPTIONS (OTHER) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Tungri** | | Atuatuca | CIL XIII 3599=ILB 21 c(ivitas) T(ungrorum), uncertain dating; CIL III 14416=ILS 7178? (III AD) buleuta civitat(is) Tungrorum? | AE 1994 A279 (second half II AD) mun(icipium) Tungr(orum); AE 1962 183 (M.Aurelio) regio Tungrorum AE 1962 183. |
| **Batavi** | | Batavodurum | CIL XIII 8771 (first half I AD) civitas Batavorum | AE 1959 10 = N-L 261 (150-250 AD) m(unicipium Bat(avorum); AE 1975 630 (150-250) m(unicipium) B(atavorum); AE 1975 646 (227AD) m(unicipium) B(atavorum) ; AE 1962 183 (M. Aurelio) regio Batavorum; CIL XIII 8771 (first half Iad) summus magistratus civitatis Batavorum |
| **Cannanefates** | | Canninefates | AE 2003, 1232 ab civitate leug(ae) | CIL XIII 9165 = XVII 588 M(unicipium) Ae(lium) or A(urelium) and C(anninefatium); AE 1994 1286 mun(icipium); AE 2003 1229: a m(unicipio) A(elio) C(ananefatium). (151 AD). |
| **Frisioni** | | Frisiavones | | AE 1962 183 (M.Aurelius) regio Frisiavonum |
| **C.C.A. Agrippinensium** | | | | AE 1984, 0661 c(oloniae) C(laudiae) A(rae) A(grippinensium); AE 1974, 0459; AE 1968, 0396 = CIL XVII, 02, 00560; AE 1967, 0341b; AE 1958, 0012; AE 1935, 0102; AE 1907, 0101; AE 1928, 0091; AE 1931, 0018; AE 1931, 0019; AE 1931, 0031 = CIL XVII, 02, 00559; AE 1930, 0019; AE 1925, 0079 = AE 1994, 1266; AE 1923, 0106 = AE 1994, 1269; AE 1994, 1265; AE 1994, 1267; AE 1994, 1268; AE 1994, 1304; AE 2004, 0981; AE 2012, 0976; CIL XIII, 09154; CIL XIII, 08261; CIL XIII, 08333; CIL XIII, 08602; B. Galsterer - H. Galsterer, Die römischen Steininschriften aus Köln, IKöln (2. Aufl.) (Mainz 2010) 192-193, Nr. 215. |
| **Castra Vetera** | | | | AE 1959, 0009 C(oloniae) U(lpiae) T(raianae) |

# APPENDIX B: ASSURED MAGISTRATES OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES

## B.1 NARBONENSIS

| *CIVITATES* | *DECURIONES* | *DUUMVIRS* | *IIIIVIRI* | *AEDILES* | *QUAESTORES* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Carcassone** | | | | | |
| **Tolosa** | | | (1) CIL XII 5387 | | (1) CIL XII 5387 |
| **Narbo** | (2) CIL XII 4402; CIL XII 4418 | (9) CIL XII 4389 = CIL I 2282; CIL XII 4396; ILNG 634; CIL XII 4426 =AE 1998 932 ; CIL XII 4401; CIL XII 4432; CIL XII 5964; CIL XIII 969; AE 1951, 62 | | (12) CIL XII 4379 = AE 2000 915; CIL XII 4387; CIL XII 4389; CIL XII 4396; CIL XII 4420; CIL XII 4423; CIL XII 4417; CIL XII 969; CIL XII 4401; ILN 631; CIL XII 4363, CIL XIII 4363 | (2) CIL XII 4426 = AE 1998 932; CIL XIII 969 |
| **Baeterrae** | | (5) CIL XII 4238; CIL XII 4232; CIL XII 4247 (=AE 1977, 532); CIL XII 4250; CIL XII 4251; | | (2) CIL XII 4238; ILGN 559= AE 1999 1034 | (3) CIL XII 4238; CIL XII 4232; CIL XII 4247 |
| **Luteva** | (1) CIL XII 4247 | | | | |
| **Nimes** | (16) CIL XII 3267; CIL XII 3191; CIL XII 3200; CIL XII 3221; CIL XII 3245; CIL XII 3249; CIL XII 4068; ILGN 431; CIL XII 3288; CIL XII 3291; ILGN 423; ILGN 424; CIL XII 3203; CIL XII 4081; CIL XII 3253; CIL XII 3219. | | (26) CIL XII 3175; ILGN 421; CIL XII 3210; CIL XII 3212-13; CIL XII 3214; CIL XII 3215; ILGN 521 bis = AE 1031; CIL XII 4071; CIL XII 3166; CIL XII 3222; CIL XII 3232; CIL XII 3180 = AE 2005 1005; CIL XII 3235; CIL XII 3247; CIL XII 3252; CIL XII 3179; CIL XII 3233; CIL XII 3274; CIL XII 3184; CIL XII 2794; CIL XII 3295; CIL XII 3296, CIL XII 2774; CIL XII 3300; CIL XII 3301; AE 1969-1970, 376; | (19) CIL XII 3193; CIL XII 3195 = ILGN 426; CIL XII 3196; CIL XII 3196; CIL XII 3217 ; CIL XII 3227; CIL XII 3228; CIL XII 3239; CIL XII 3257; CIL XII 3261; CIL XII 5891; CIL XII 3273; CIL XII 3282; CIL XII 3292; AE 1955,107; CIL XII 2808; CIL XII 4190; CIL XII 4190 | (13) CIL XII 4104; CIL XII 3206; CIL XII 3094; CIL XII 5902; CIL XII 3263; CIL XII 3265; CIL XII 3267; CIL XII 3272; ILGN 425; CIL XII 3283; CIL XII 3285; CIL XII 3299; AE 1982, 686 |
| **Arelate** | (2) CIL XII 701; AE 2002, 921 | (9) CIL XII 692; CIL XII 698; CIL XII 696; CIL XII 697; CIL XII 701; Benoit S. 109; AE 1954, 104 = ILGN 109; CIL XII 712; AE 2002, 922 | | (4) CIL XII 696; CIL XII 710; CIL XII 711; AE 1988, 859 | |
| **Aquae Sextiae** | (2) CIL XII 525; CIL XII 522 | (1) CIL XII 516 | | (4) CIL XII 522; CIL XII 525; CIL XII 4363; CIL XII 529 | (1) CIL XII 525 |
| **Massilia** | (1) CIL XII 407 | (1) CIL V 7914 | | | (1) CIL V 7914 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Forum Iulii** | | (3) CIL X 4848 = ILS, 2688; CIL V 7907= ILS,6759); CIL XII 261 = ILN Frejus, 19 | | (1) CIL XIII 351 | |
| **Antipolis** | (2) CIL XII 179; CIL XII 179 | (2) CIL XII 175 = ILN-ANTIBES, 12; CIL XII 179 | (1) ILN-ANTIBES, 11 | | |
| **Dinia** | (1) AE 1961, 156 | | | (1) CIL XII 6037a | |
| **Sogiontii** | (1) CIL XII 1871 | | | | |
| **Apollinaris Reiorum** | (2) CIL XII 3200; CIL XII 3291 | | (2) CIL XII 367; CIL XII 983 | | |
| **Apta** | | | (4) CIL XII 1114; CIL XII 1116; CIL XII 1119; CIL XII 1120 | (1) CIL XII 707 | |
| **Cabellio** | | | (5) CIL XII 1051; CIL XII 1050; CIL XII 1051; CIL XII 1051; CIL XII 1051 | | |
| **Avennio** | | | (1) CIL XII 1029 | | |
| **Arausio** | | (3) AE 1940, 139= CIL XIII 1237; CIL XII 1236; CIL XII 1237 | | (1) CIL XII 1235 | |
| **Tricastini** | | | | | |
| **Vocontii (Vaison, Luc-en Dios, Die)** | (3) CIL XIII 1835; CIL XII 2420; CIL XII 1589 | | | (4) CIL XII 1375 (=ILGN, 208); CIL XII 1514; CIL XII 1579; CIL XII 1564; | |
| **Alba** | | | (2) CIL XII 2675; CIL XII 2676 | | |
| **Valentia** | (1) CIL XII 1752 | (2) AE 1986, 475; AE 1976, 393 | | | |
| **Vienne** | (9) CIL XII 2453; CIL XII 5864; CIL XII 2240; CIL XII 5864b; CIL XII 2243; CIL XII 3238; CIL XII 1896; CIL XII 2246; CIL XII 2391-92; | (32) ILGN 348; AE 1935, 5, CIL XIII, 1918; AE 1961, 160; CIL XII 1902; CIL XII 1906; CIL XII 2207-2208; CIL XII 2238; CIL XII 2324; CIL XII 2327 = ILS, 6995; CIL XII 2337; CIL XII 2346; CIL XII 2350; CIL XII 2606-07; CIL XII 1783; CIL XII 1867; CIL XII 1868; CIL XII 1869-70; CIL XII 1877; CIL XII 1897; CIL XII 1901, CIL XII 1903; CIL XII 2192; CIL XII 2249; CIL XII 2333 CIL XII 2334; ; CIL XII 2349; CIL XII 2537; CIL XII 2583; CIL XII 2608; CIL XII 2613; CIL XII 2615. | (9) CIL XII 2600; AE 1926,2; CIL XII 2430; CIL XII 1882-89; ILN 267; CIL XII 2393; CIL XII 1872; CIL XII 1882-89; ILN 267 | (9) CIL XII 1877; CIL XII 2215; CIL XII 1867; CIL XII 1821; CIL XII 2245; CIL XII 1895; CIL XII 1882-89; ILN 267; CIL XII 1875 | (9) AE 1934,168; CIL XII 5864a, CIL XII 5864b; CIL XII 2245; CIL XII 1891; CIL XII 1892; CIL XII 1783; CIL XII 1903; CIL XII 1876 |

## B.2 AQUITANIA

| *CIVITATES* | *DECURIONES* | *DUUMVIRS* | *IIIIVIRI* | *AEDILES* | *QUAESTORES* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Arvernes | | | | | |
| Ausci | | (1) CIL XIII 446 | | | |
| Bituriges Cubes | | (4) CIL XIII 1197; CIL XIII 1376; CIL XIII 1377; CIL XIII 11151 | | | |
| Bituriges Vivisque | | | | | (1) CIL XIII 604 |
| Cadurci | | | | | |
| Convenes | | | (1) ILTG 76-80 | | |
| Elusates | | (1) CIL XIII 548 | | | (1) CIL XIII 548 |
| Gabales | | | | | |
| Lactorates | | | | | |
| Lemovices | | (2) ILTG 174, ILTG 174 | | | |
| Nitiobroges | | | | (1) CIL XIII 916 = ILA Nitiobroges 17 | |
| Petrucores | | (2) CIL XIII 966; CIL XIII 968 | | | |
| Pictons | | | | | |
| Rutenes | | | | | |
| Santones | | (1) CIL XIII 100008 | | (1) ILA santons 20 | |
| Tarbelli | | (1) CIL XIII 412 | | (1) CIL XIII 412 | |
| Vassari | | | | | |
| Vellaves | | (1) CIL XIII 1577 = ILA Vellaves 25 | | | |

# B.3 BELGICA

| *CIVITATES* | *DECURIONES* | *DUUMVIRS* | *IIIIVIRI* | *AEDILES* | *QUAESTORES* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ambiens | | | (1) AE 1978 501 = 1982 716 | | |
| Atribati | | | | | |
| Bellovici | | | | | |
| Leuques | | | | | |
| Mediomatriques | | | | | (1) CIL XIII 4291 |
| Menapi | | | | | |
| Morins | | (1) CIL XIII 8727 | | | |
| Nerviens | | (1) ILBelg Sec 180 IIvir | | | (1) CIL XIII 3573 |
| Remes | | | | | |
| Silvanectes | | | | | |
| Suession | | | | | |
| Tongres | (1) ILB 60 | | | | |
| Trevires | | (2) CIL XIII 3693; CIL XIII 4030 = AE 1973 361 | | | (2) AE 1968 321 = 1976 505; CIL XIII 7555a = ILS 7075 |
| Viromandues | | | | | |

## B.4 LUGDUNENSIS

| *CIVITATES* | *DECURIONES* | *DUUMVIRS* | *IIIIVIRI* | *AEDILES* | *QUAESTORES* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Andicavae** | | | | | |
| **Arvi** | | | | | |
| **Aulircii Diablitae** | | | | | |
| **Aulirei Cenomani** | | | | | |
| **Aulerques Eburovices** | (1) CIL XIII 1390 | | | | |
| **Biducasi Viducasses** | | | | | |
| **Calatae** | | | | | |
| **Carnutae** | | (1) CIL XI 716 | | | |
| **Coriosolites** | | | | | |
| **Eduens** | | (2) CIL XIII 2585; CIL XIII 2670 | | | (1) CIL XIII 2585 |
| **Lexubi** | | | | | |
| **Meldes** | | | | | |
| **Nanmetes** | | | | | |
| **Osismi** | | | | | |
| **Parisii** | | | | | |
| **Riedons** | | (1) AE 1969-70 405 | | | |
| **Segusiaves** | | (1) CIL XIII 1632 | | | |
| **Samnites** | | | | | |
| **Senoni** | | (1) CIL 2949 | | | |
| **Tricasses** | | | | | |
| **Turons** | | | | | |
| **Vadicasi** | | | | | |
| **Veliocasses** | | | | | |
| **Venelli** | | | | | |
| **Veneti** | | | | | |
| **Viducasses** | | (2) CIL XIII 3162 = ILTG 341 = AE 2008 909; CIL XIII 3166 | | | |

# B.5 ALPINE PROVINCES

| *CIVITATES* | *DECURIONES* | *DUUMVIRS* | *IIIIVIRI* | *AEDILES* | *QUAESTORES* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Cemenelum Nice (Cimiez)** | (4) AE 1967,281; CIL V 7913; CIL V 7915. CIL V 7903 | (6) CIL V 7905; CIL V 7912; CIL V 7913; CIL V 7915; AE 1953, 191; ILN 6 | | (2) ILN 6; CIL V 7919 | |
| **Vintium** | (2) CIL XII 18; CIL XII 20 | (3) CIL XII 18; ILN 1; ILN 1; | | | |
| **Brigantio** | | (1) CIL XII 59 | | | |
| **Salinae** | (3) CIL V 7907; CIL XII 66; CIL XII 66 | | | | |
| **Sanitum** | (1) CIL XII 3288 | | | | |
| **Chorges** | | | | | |
| **Eburodunum** | (5) CIL XII 81; CIL XII 81; CIL V 7259; CIL XII 82; CIL XII 84 | (4) CIL XII 81; CIL V 7259; CIL 82; CIL XII 84 | | | |
| **Brigantio** | | | | | (1) CIL XII 95 |
| **Segusini** | (3) CIL V 7236; CIL V 7260; CIL V 7233 | (2) CIL V 7236; CIL V 7260; CIL V 7233 | | | |
| **Vallenses (Martigny)** | | (4) AE 1961, 294; CIL XII 140; CIL XII 151; AE 1879, 3 | | | |
| **Nantuates** | | | | | |
| **Cularo** | | | | | |

## B.6 GERMANIA INFERIOR

| *CIVITATES* | *DECURIONES* | *DUUMVIRS* | *IIIIVIRI* | *AEDILES* | *QUAESTORES* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Tungri** | (1) F 3 = AE 1921 66 = ILB 60 | | | (1) CIL XIII 3599=ILB 21 | |
| **Batavi** | (2) AE 1975 630; AE 1975 646 | | | | |
| **Cannanefates** | (1) AE 1994 1286 | | | | |
| **Frisioni** | | | | | |

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