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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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*

[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

[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]

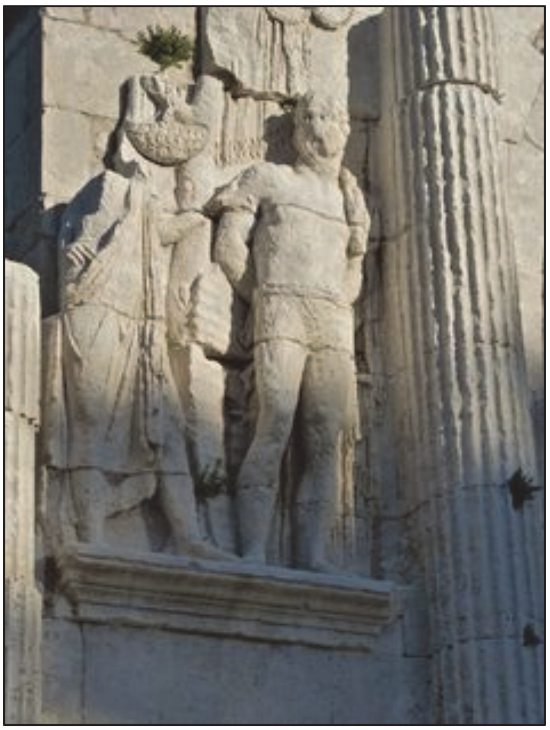

Figure 46: Detail of the arch of Glanum (http://www.alamy.com/stock-photo-detail-of-the-triumphal-arch-glanum-111311630.html).

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.

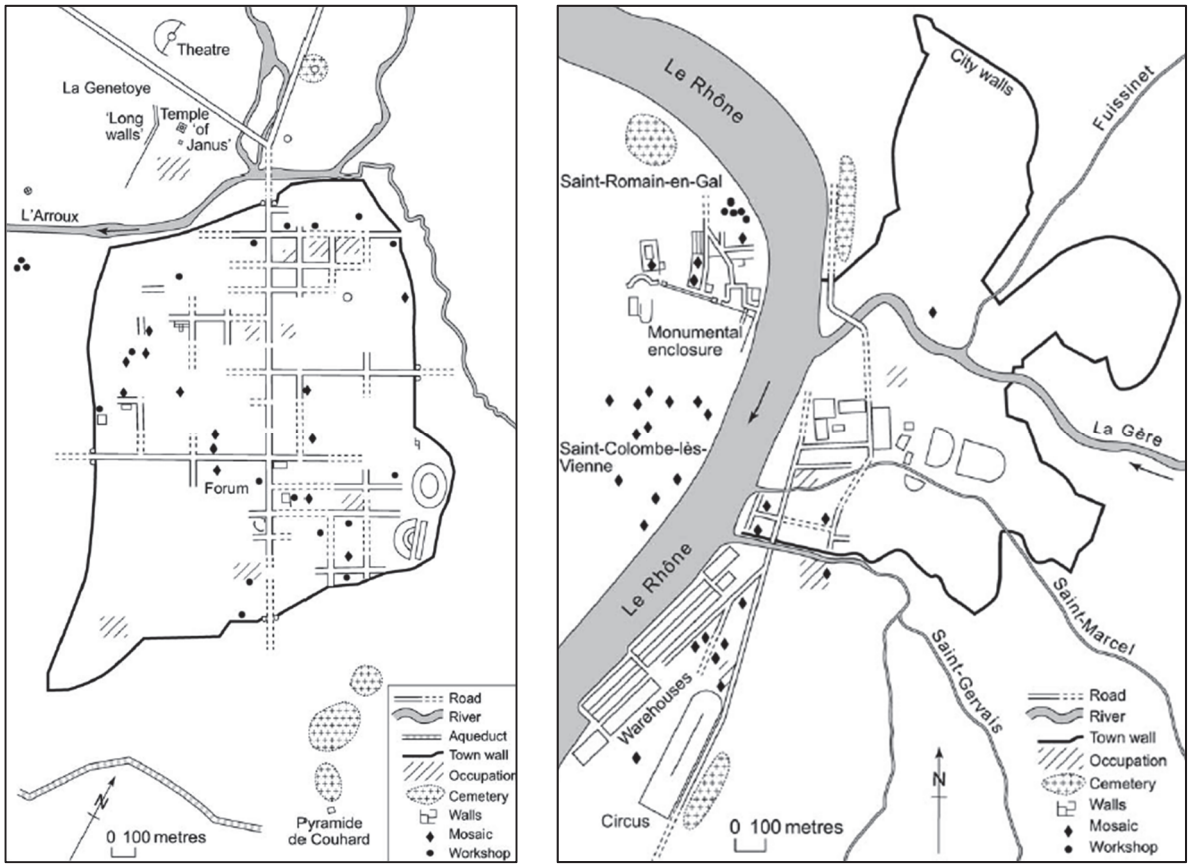

Figure 49: The city walls of Autun (left) and Vienne (right) (Goodman 2007: 97 and 90).

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]

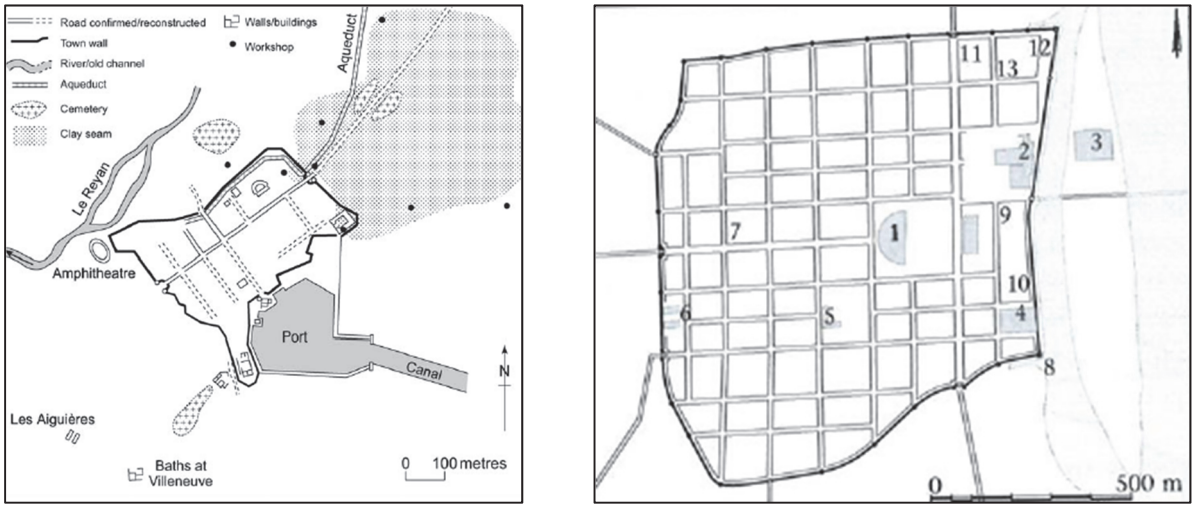

Figure 50: The city plan of Fréjus (left) and Cologne (right) (Goodman 2007: 110 and Coquelet 2011: 72).

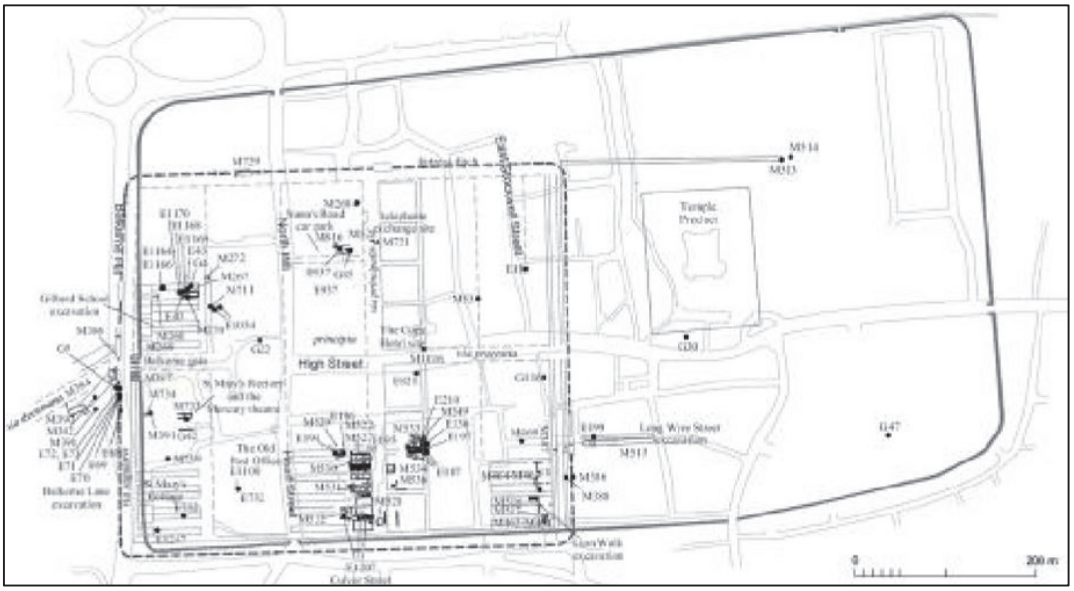

Figure 51: Colchester city plan.

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]

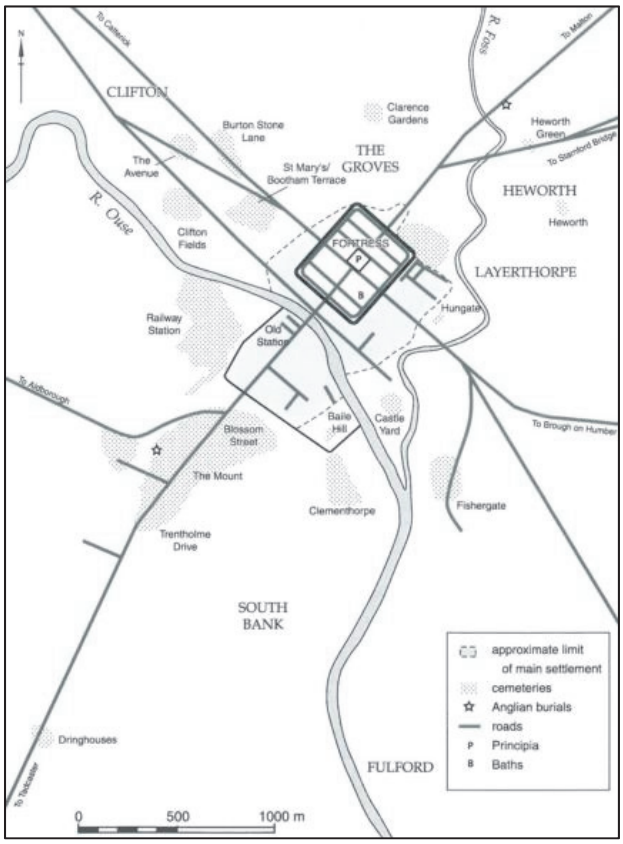

Figure 52: Roman York - the city had grown far beyond the area enclosed by the circuit walls (Ottaway 2015: 46).

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]

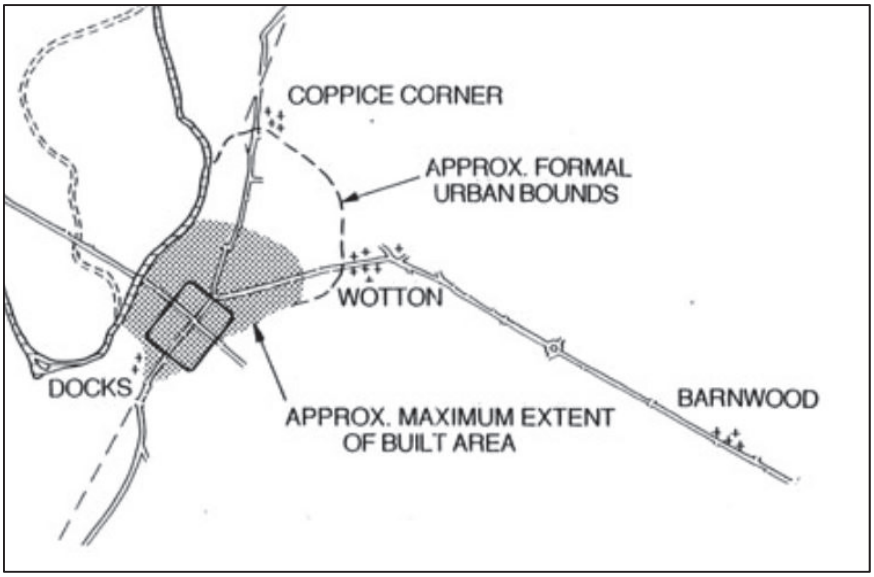

Figure 53: Roman Gloucester - the extra-mural occupation (Hurst 2005: 295).

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),

[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]

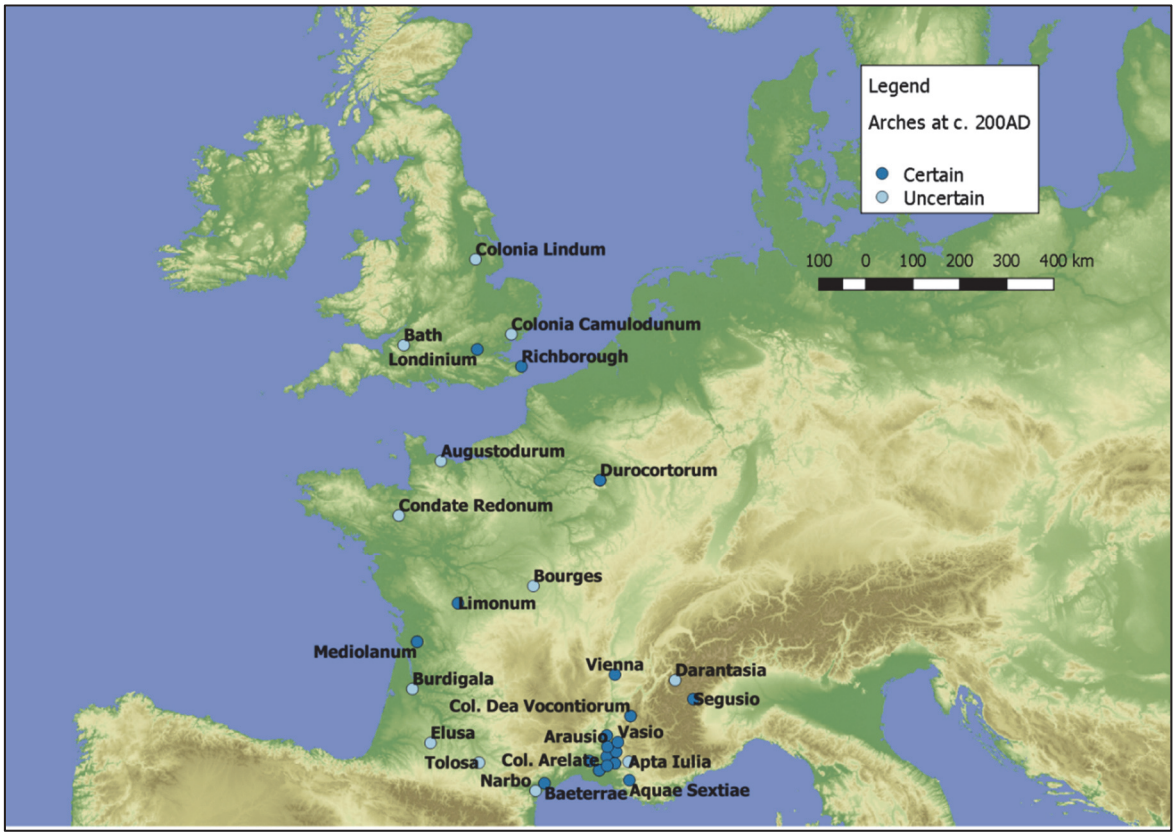

Figure 54: The arches of the north-western provinces.

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]

[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.

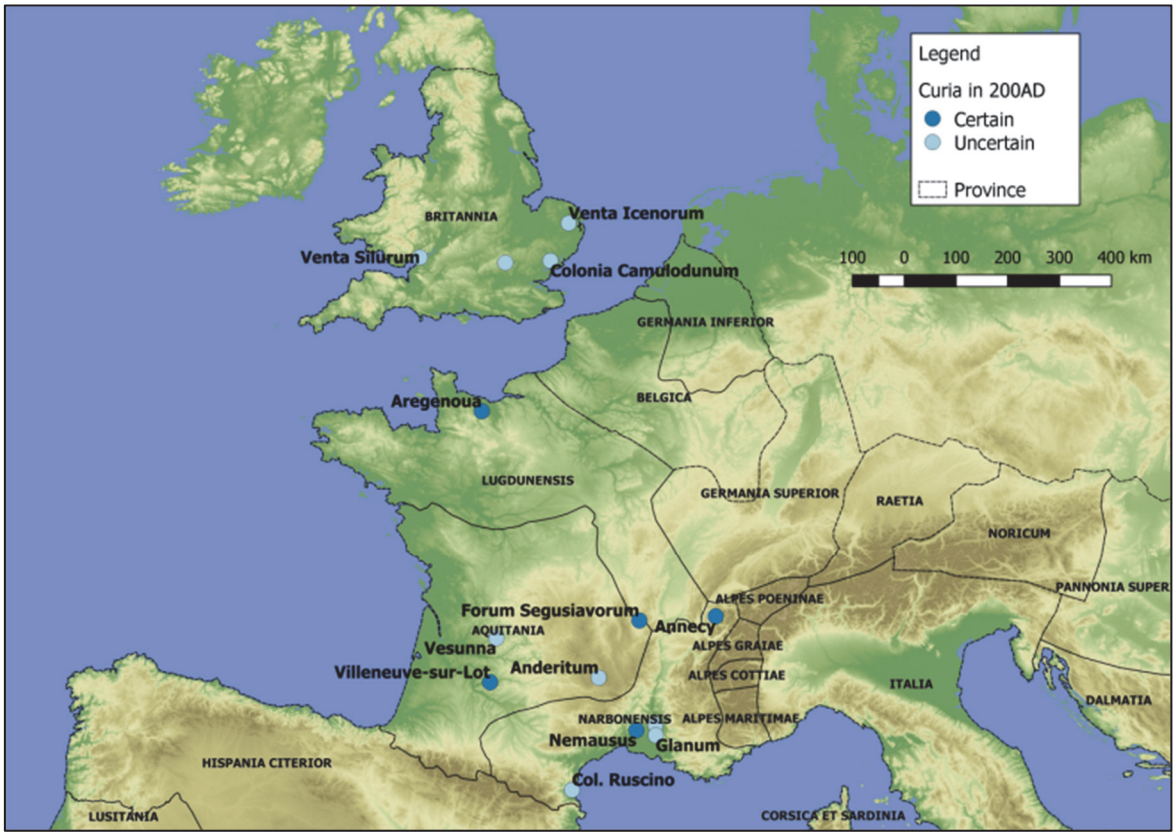

Figure 56: The distribution of *curiae* in the north-western provinces.

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]

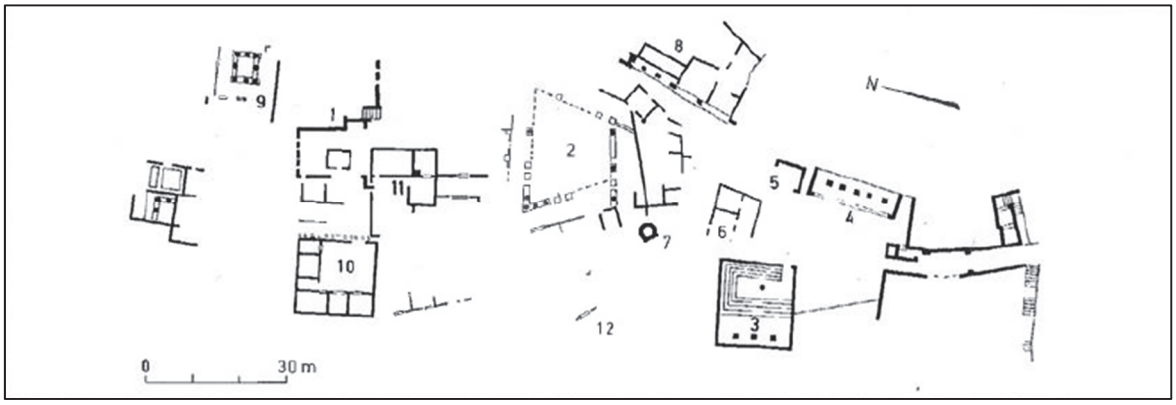

Figure 57: Glanum in I BC (Gros and Torelli 2010: 302).

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]

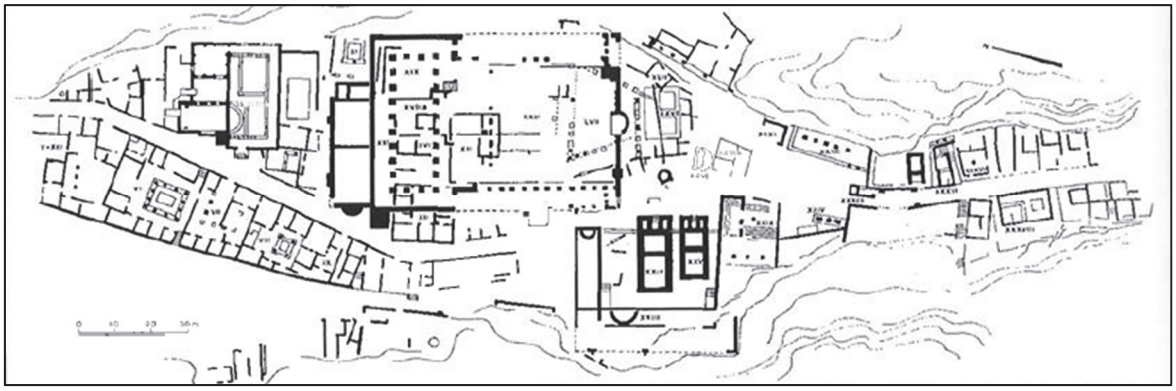

Figure 58: Glanum in Roman times (Gros and Torelli 2010: 303).

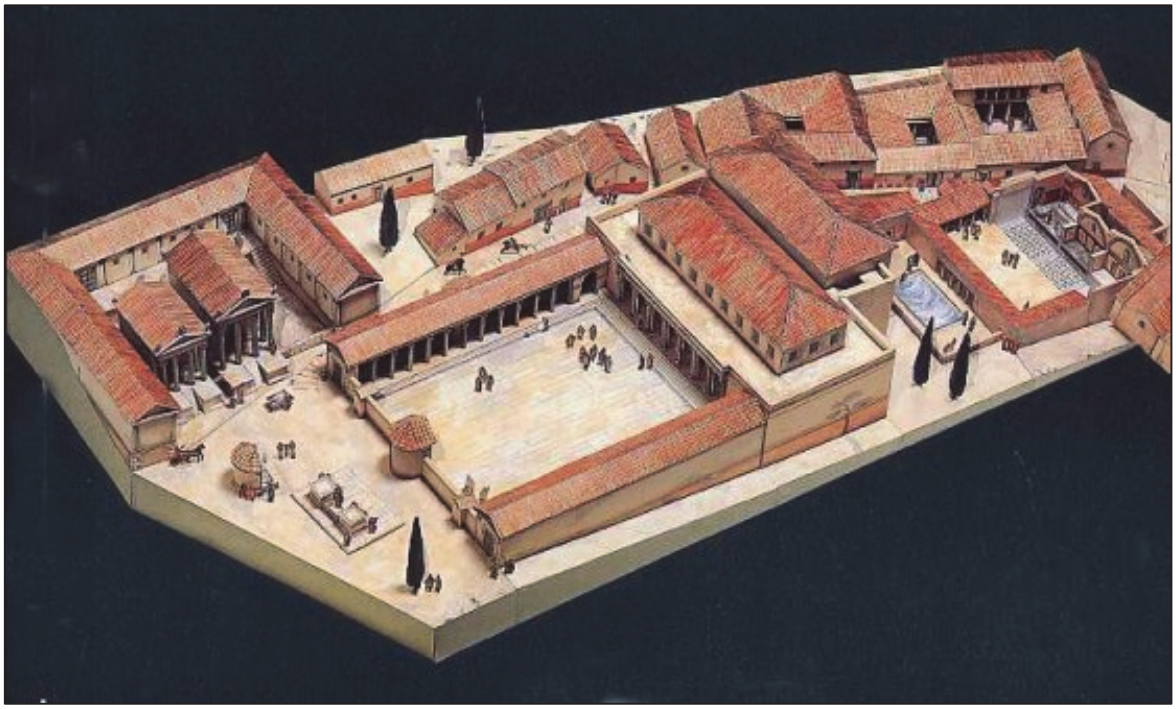

Figure 59: Glanum - a reconstruction of the *forum*.[496]

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]

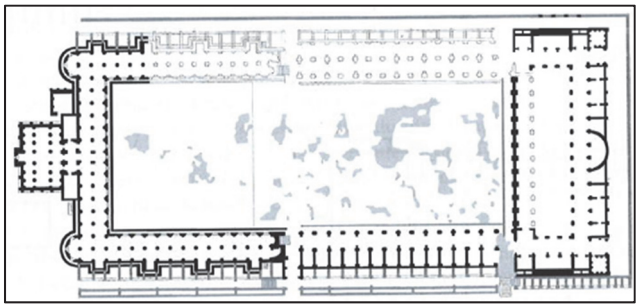

Figure 60: The *forum* of Bavay (Severan phase) (Coquelet 2011: 131).

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*.

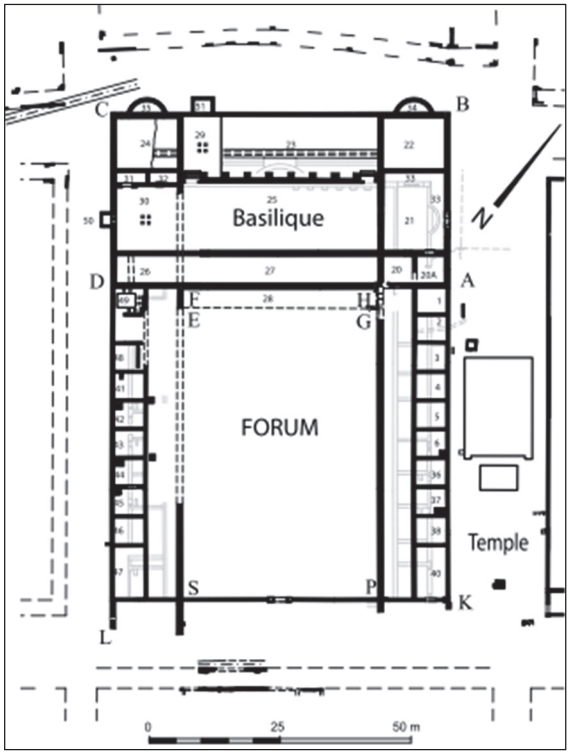

Figure 61: The *forum* of Martigny (Wiblé 2012: 283)..

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.

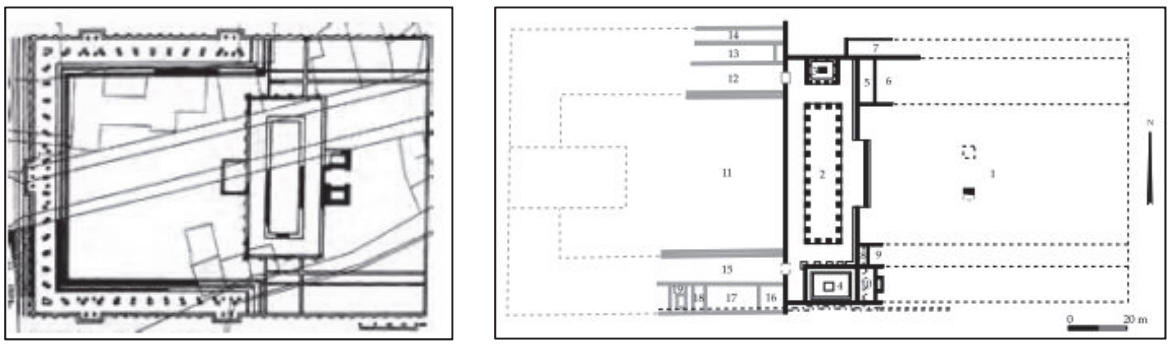

Figure 62: Left - the *forum* of Vannes (Bouet 2012a: 26). Right - the second phase (mid-2nd century AD) of the *forum* of Périgueux (Bouet 2012b: 106).

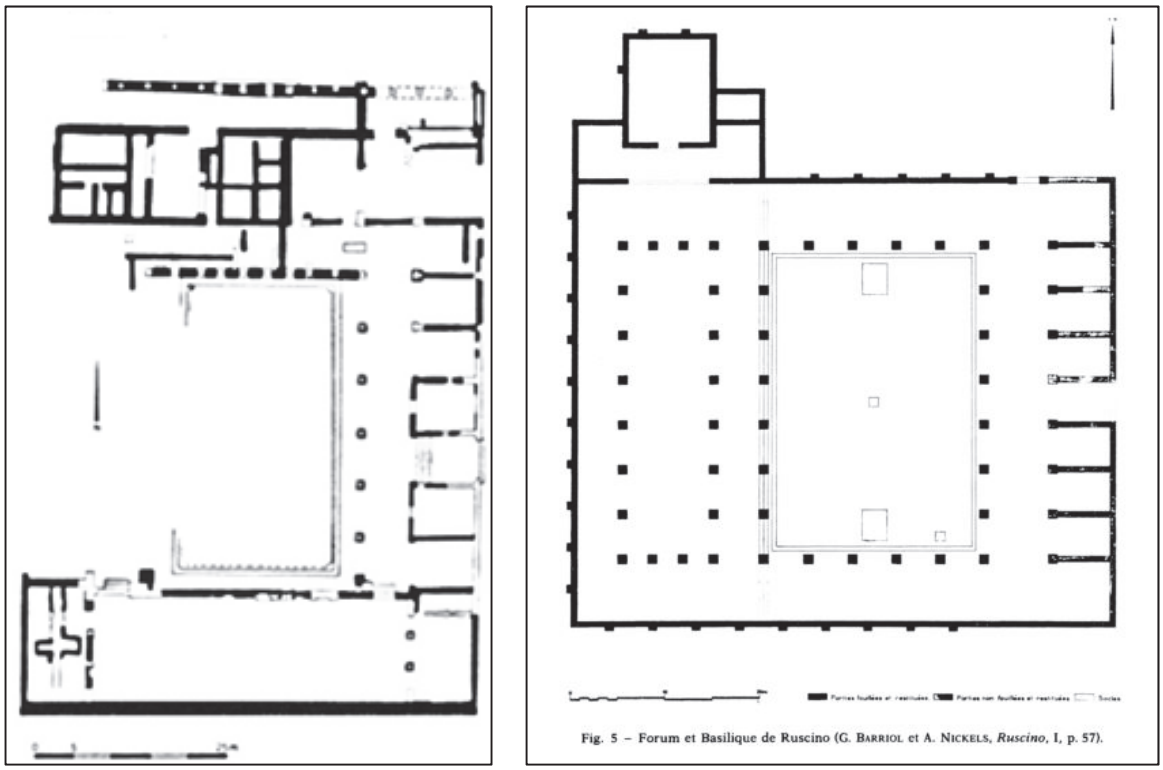

Figure 63: The *forum* of Velleia (left) and Ruscino (right) (Gros 1990: 49 and 60).

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.

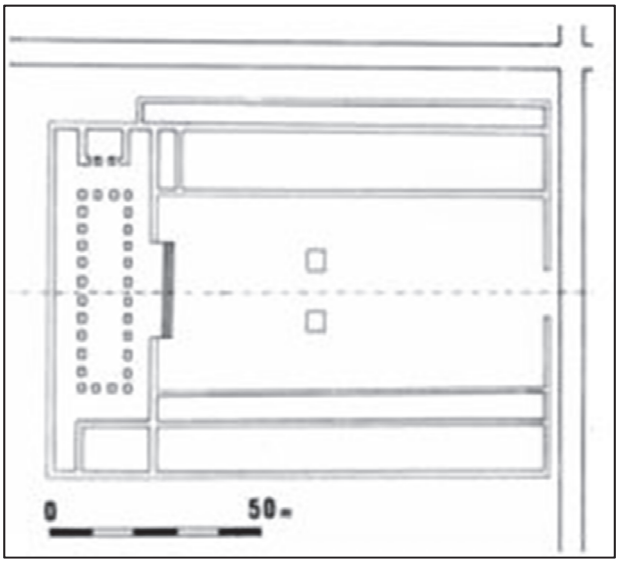

Figure 64: The *forum* of Périgueux in its first phase (Tiberian-Claudian time) (Bouet 2012a: 27).

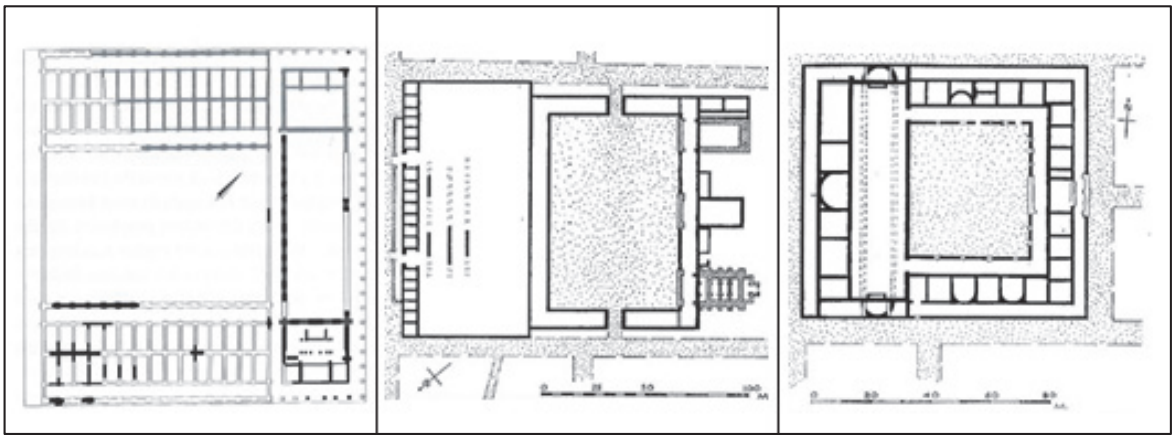

Figure 65: From left: the *forum* of Xanten (Coquelet 2011: 139), Verulamium, and Silchester, where the *basilicae* have all been dated to *c.* AD 80 (Gros and Torelli 2010: 385).

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.

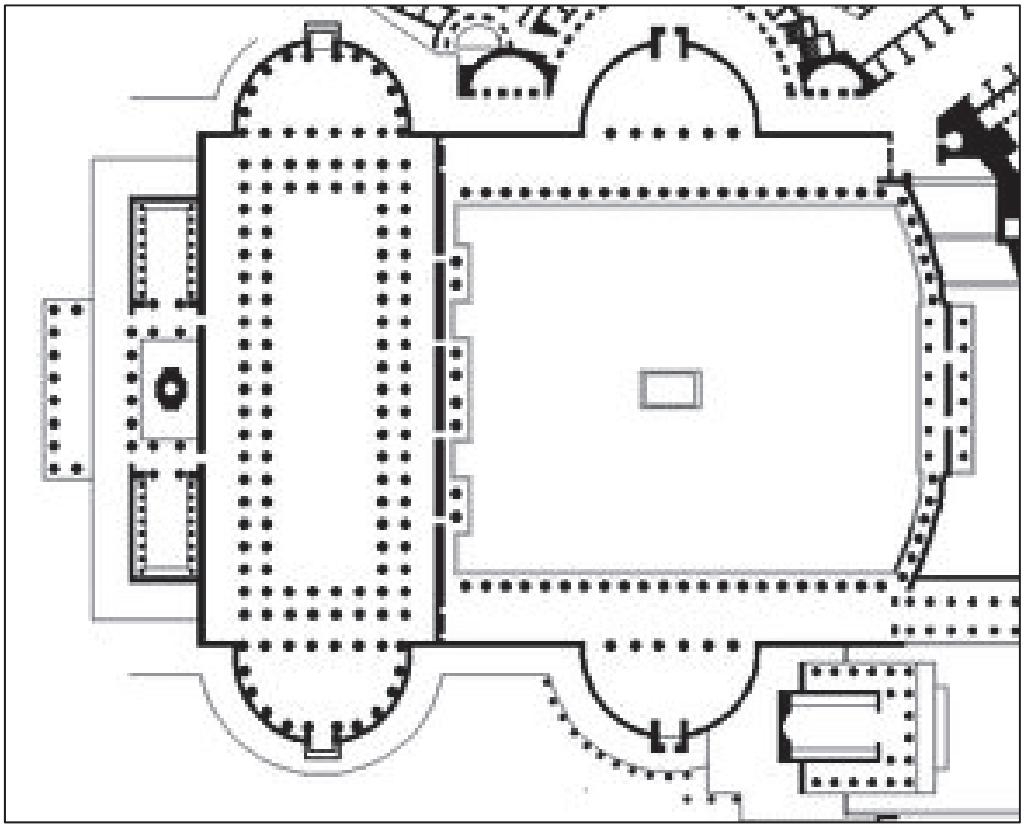

Figure 66: The *forum* of Trajan (Rome).

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.

[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]

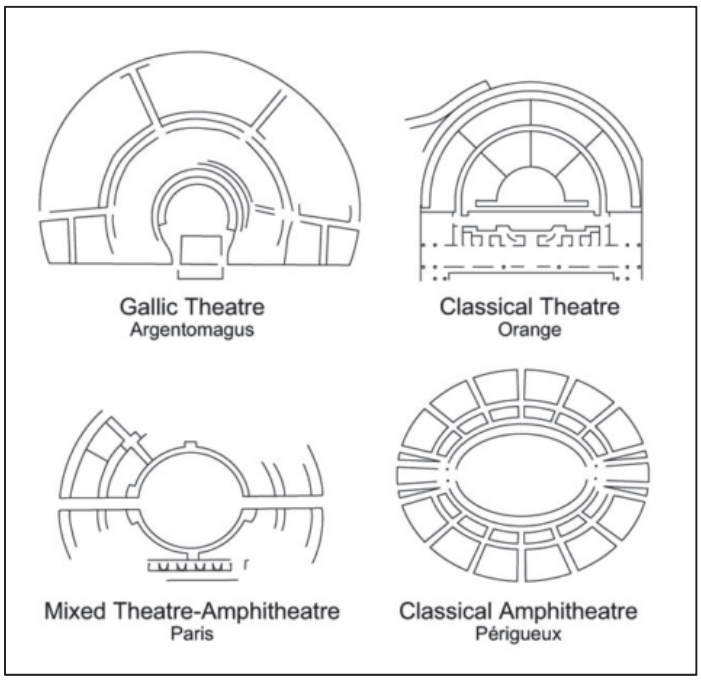

Figure 69: Typology of spectacle buildings (Goodman 2007: 88).

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]

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]

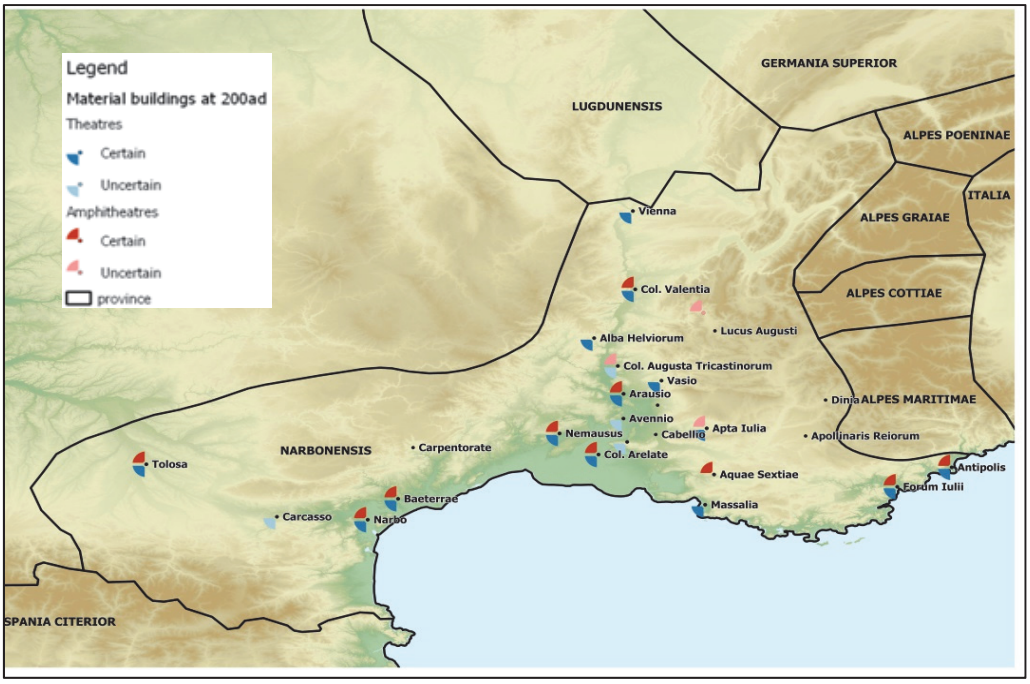

Figure 70: The spectacle buildings of the self-governing cities of Narbonensis.

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.

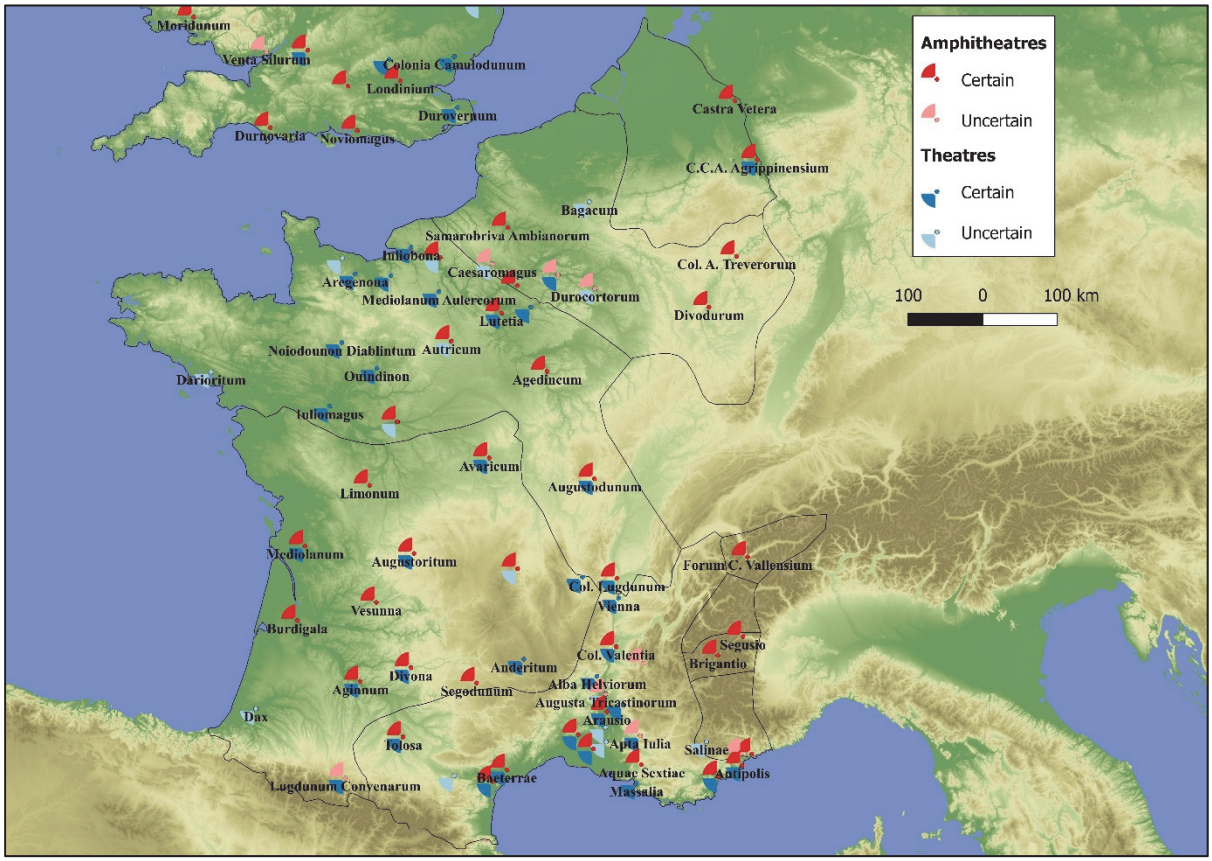

Figure 71: The theatres and amphitheatres of the self-governing cities of Gaul and Germania Inferior[518].

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.

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]

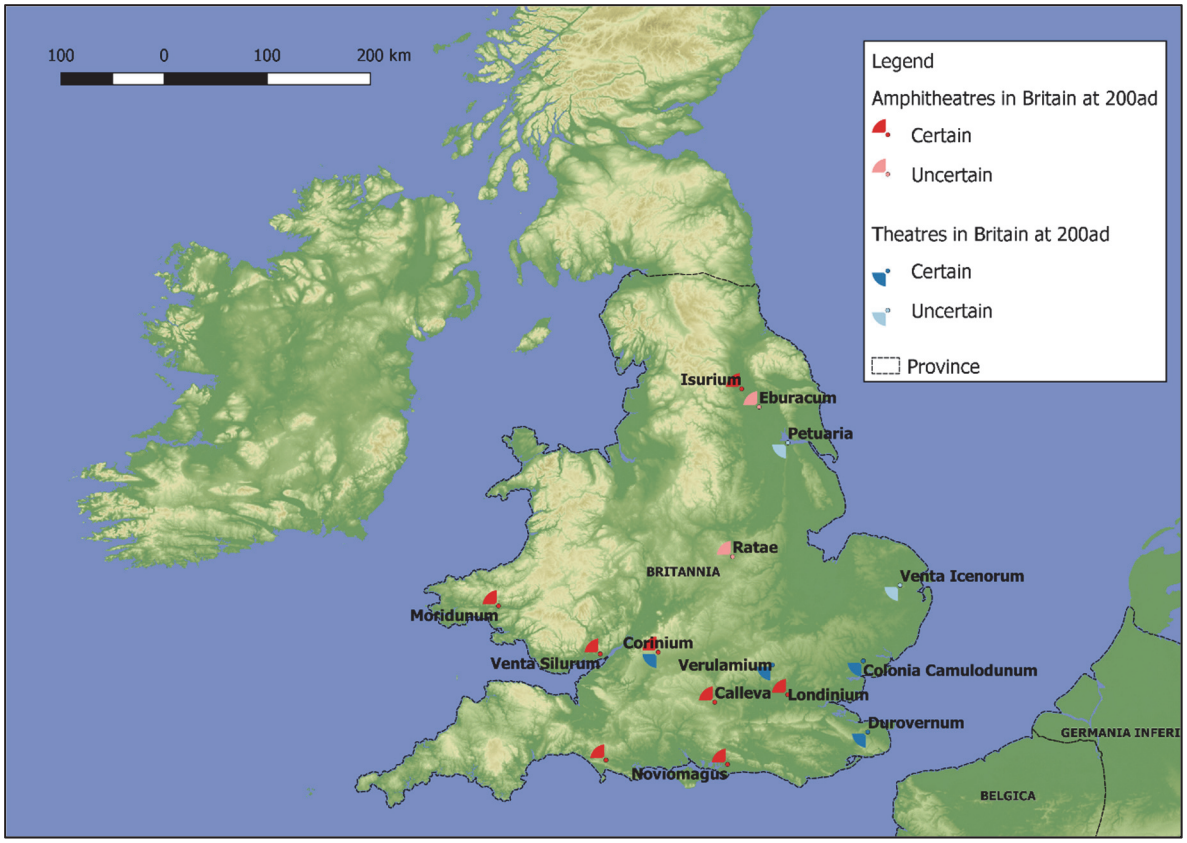

Figure 72: The spectacle buildings of Britain.

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.

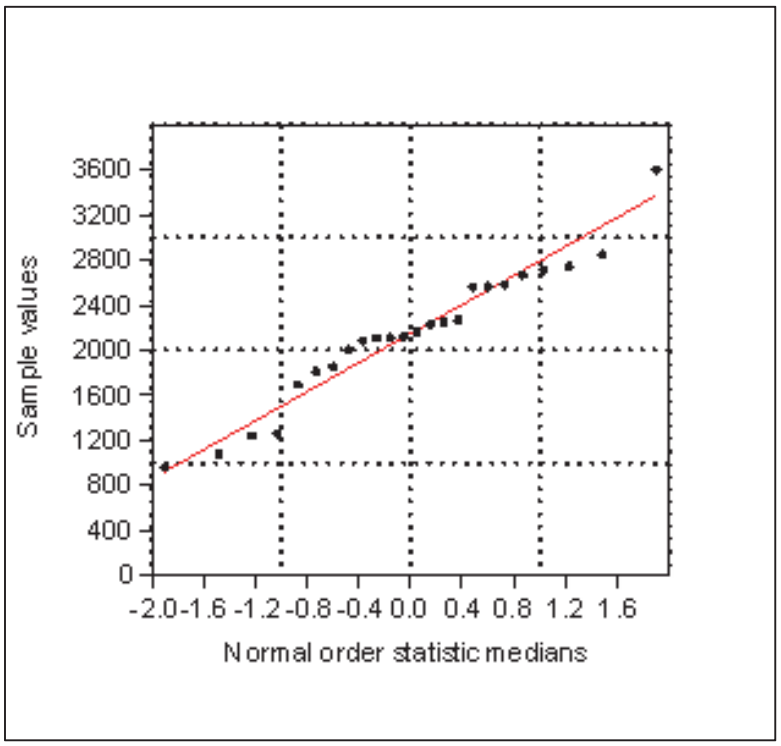

Figure 73: The relationship between the estimated empirical arena's surfaces and a theoretical normal distribution. The correlation coefficient is R=0.97.

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.

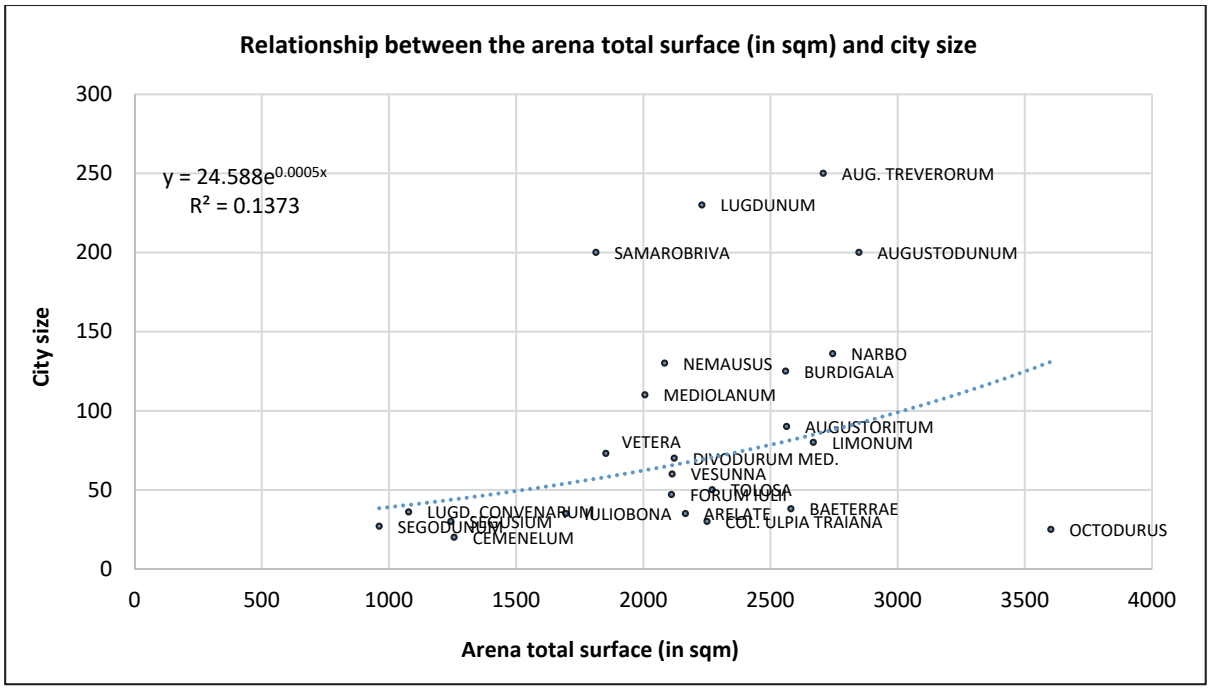

Figure 74: Scatterplot showing the arena surface's (as indicated by Golvin) against city size.

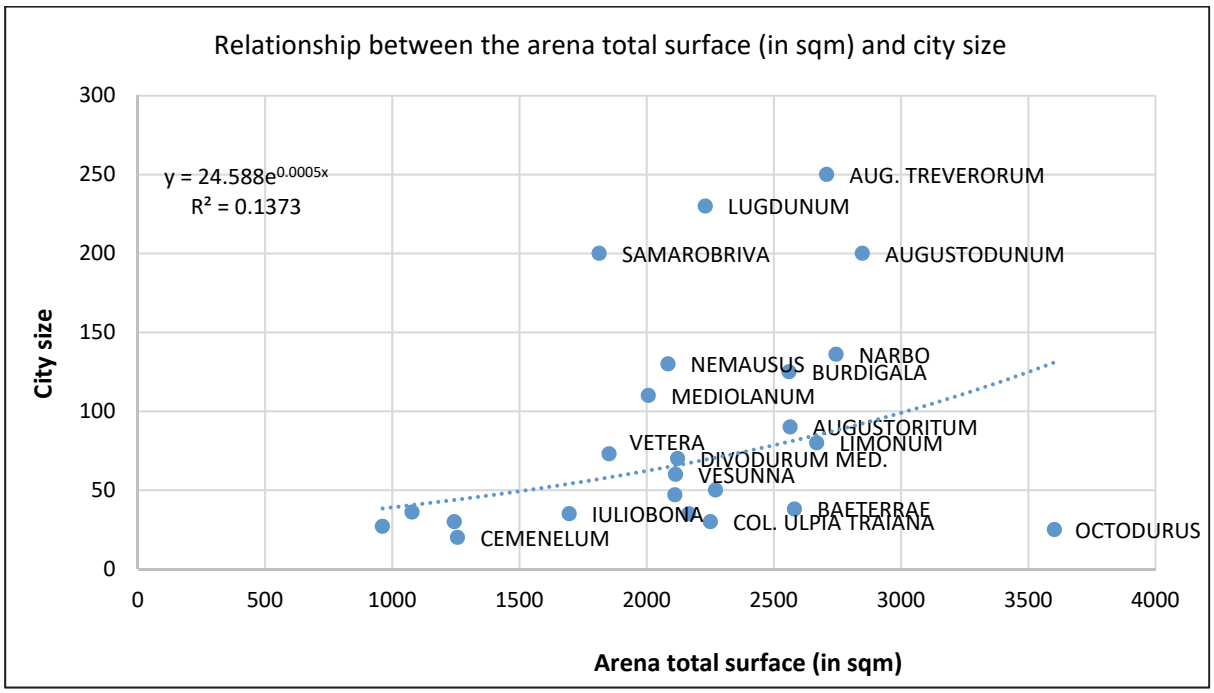

Figure 75: Scatterplot showing the amphitheatre's seating surface capacity against city size.

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]

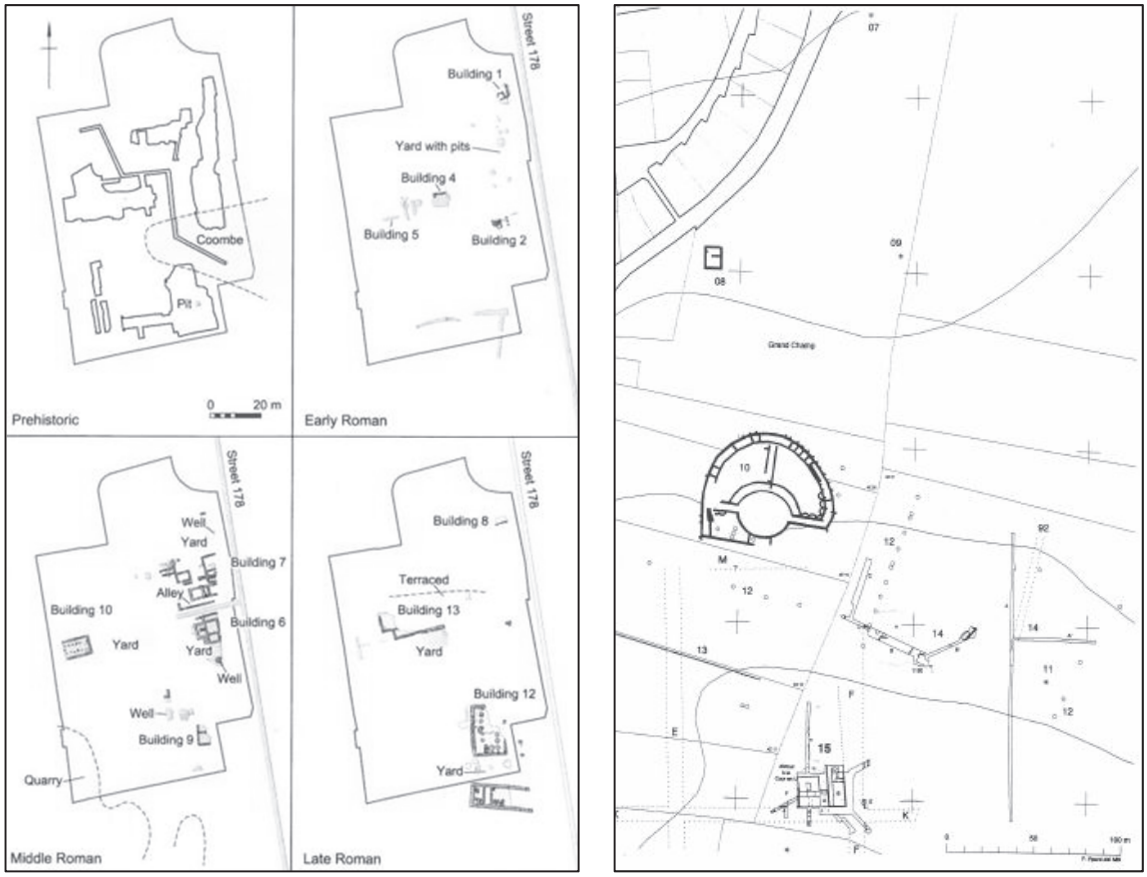

Figure 77: Left: Excavations at the former County Hospital site, south-western corner of Dorchester (Holbrook 2015: 102). Right: Reconstruction of the north-east corner of the city of Vieux (Vipard 2002: 198).

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

[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.

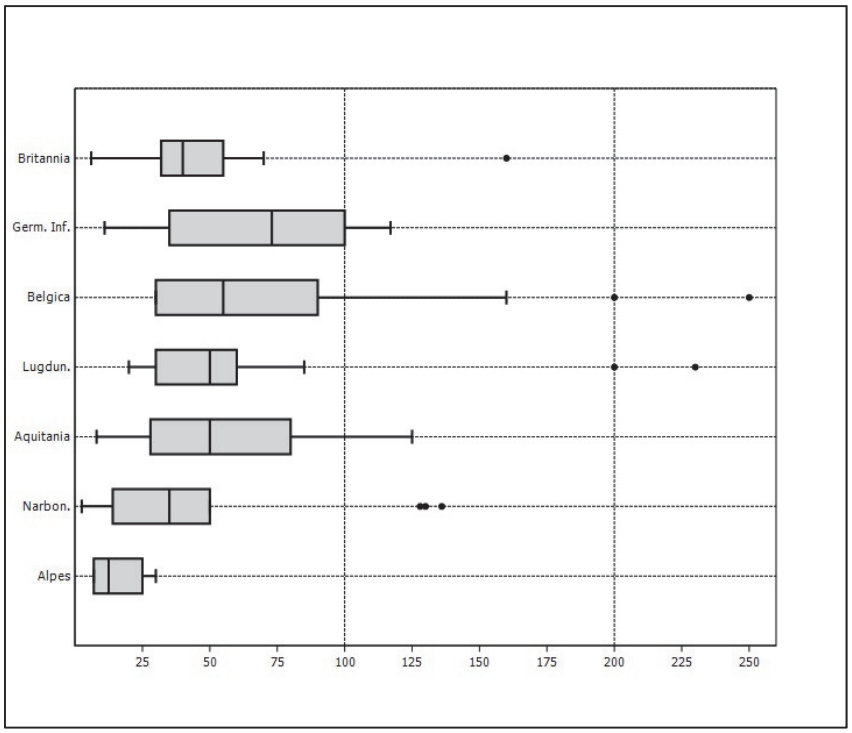

Figure 78: Box plot for comparing the sizes (in hectares, on the horizontal axis) of self-governing cities in different provinces. The scores are sorted into four equal-sized groups, that is 25% of all scores are placed in each group. The middle 'box' represents the middle 50% of scores for the group 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]

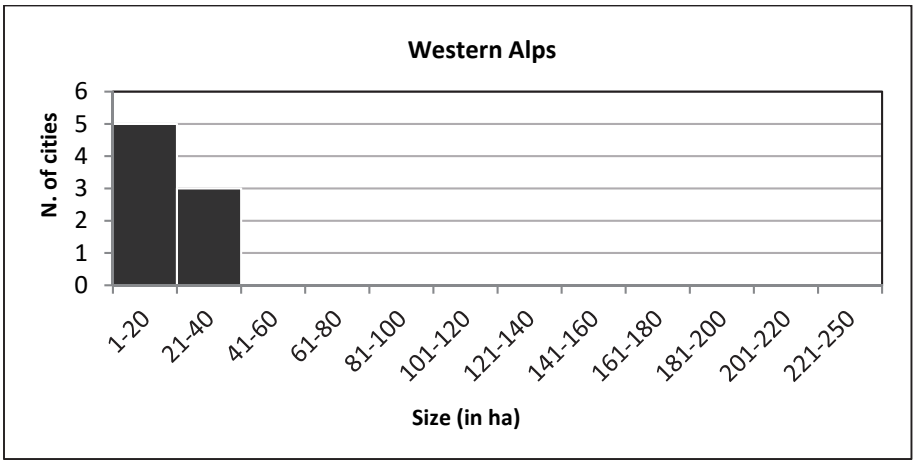

Figure 79: Size of the self-governing cities of the Western Alps.

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.

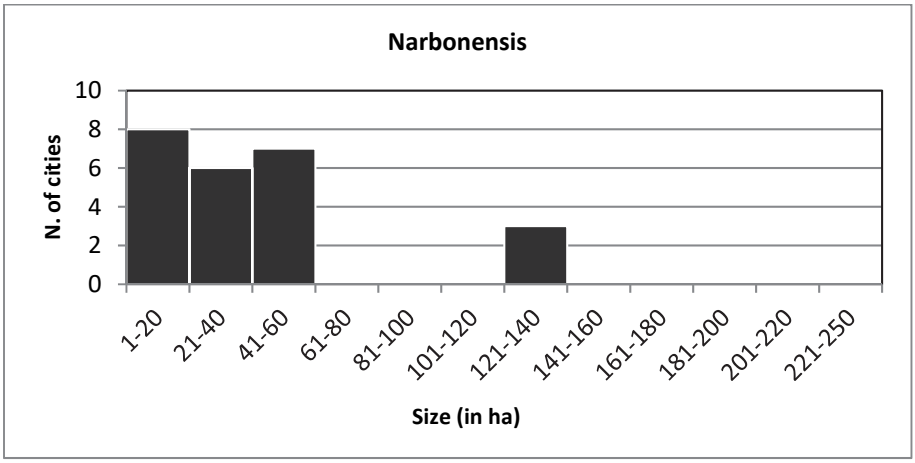

Figure 80: Size of the self-governing cities of Narbonensis.

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).

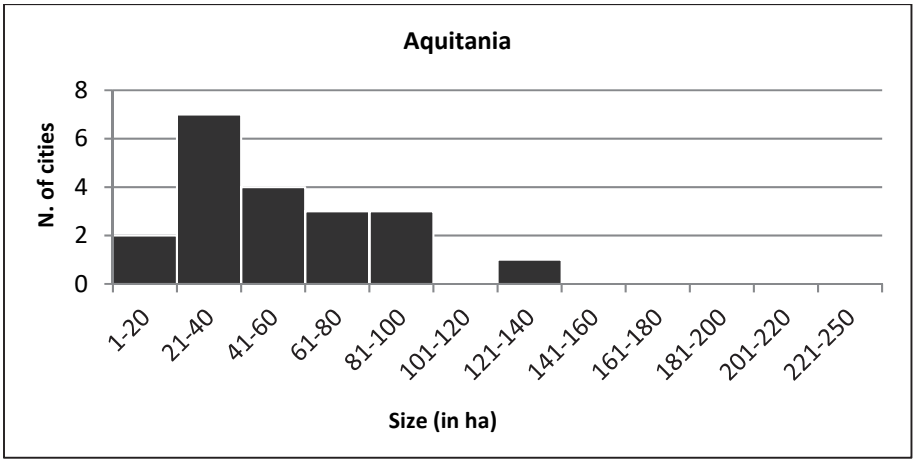

Figure 81: Size of the self-governing cities of Aquitania.

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]

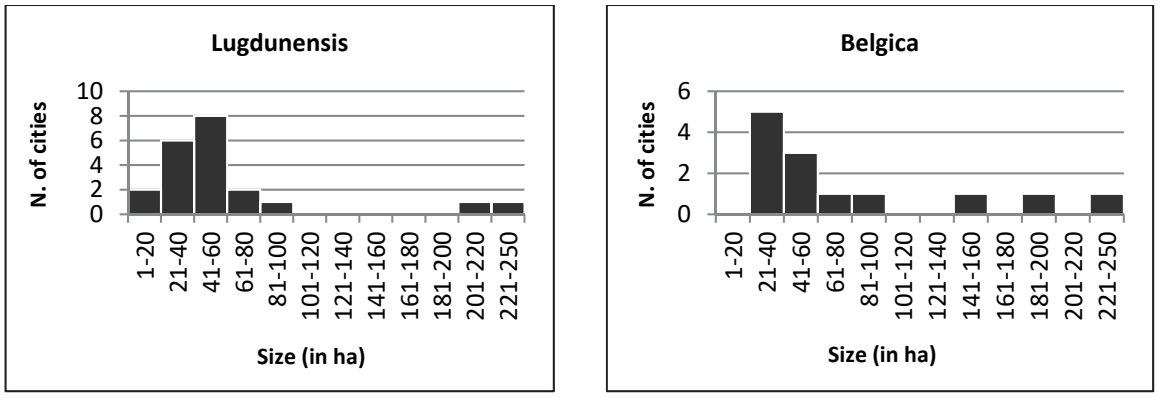

Figure 82: Size of the self-governing cities of Lugdunensis and Belgica.

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.).

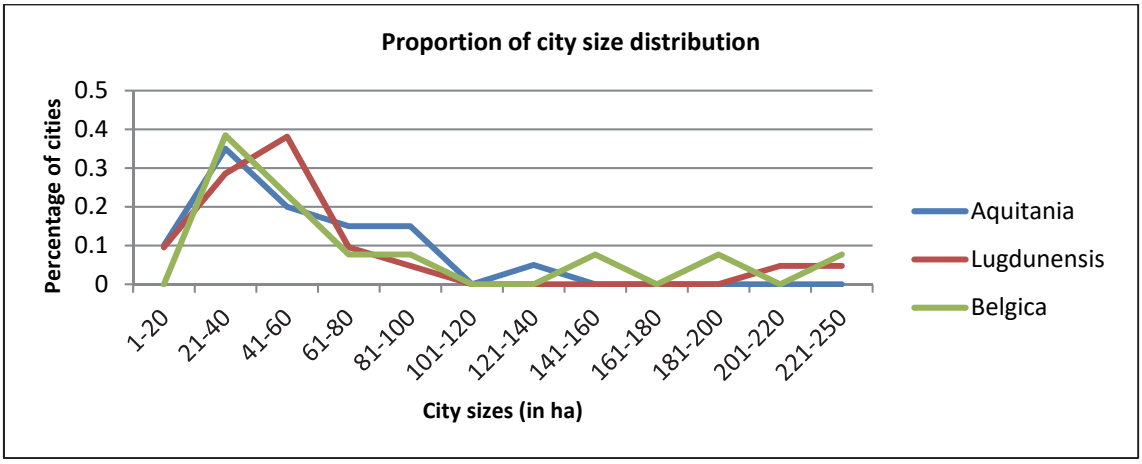

Figure 83: The city sizes of Aquitania, Lugdunensis, and Belgica compared.

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).

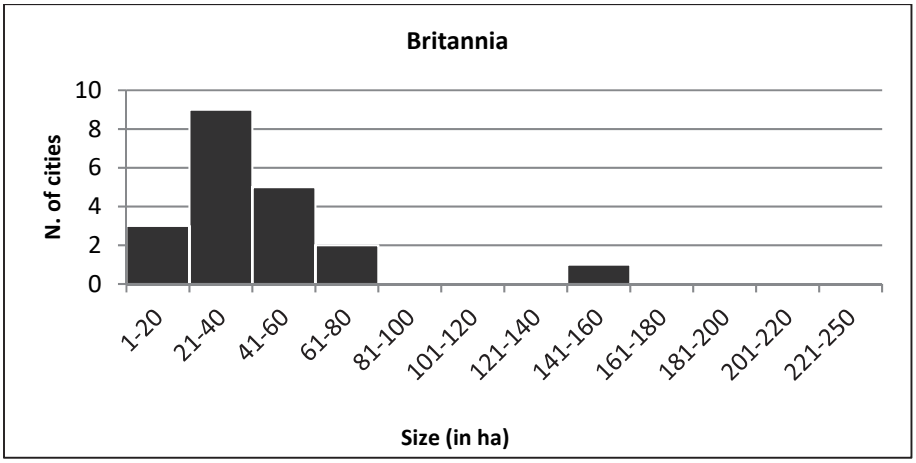

Figure 84: Size of the self-governing cities of Britannia.

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.

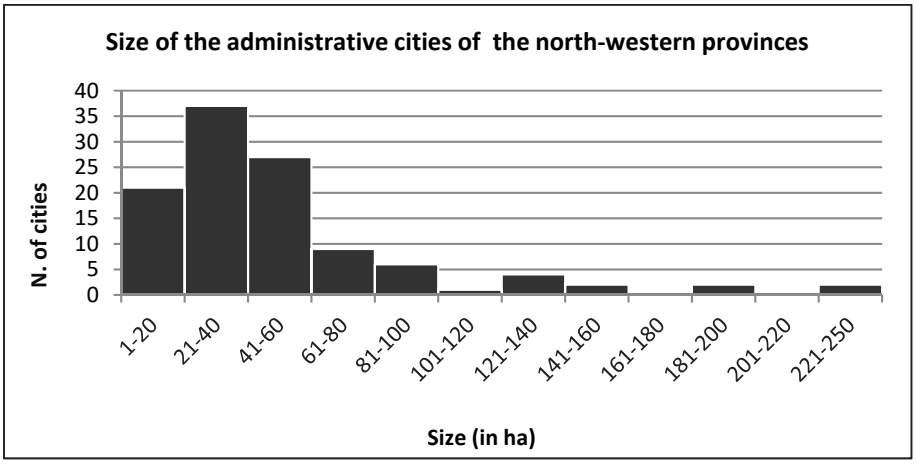

Figure 85: Size of the self-governing cities of the north-western provinces.

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.

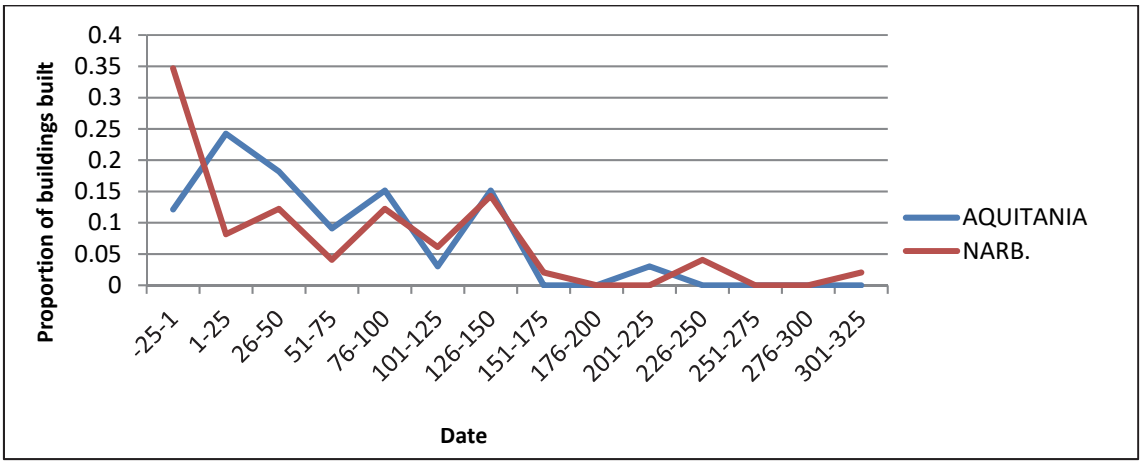

Figure 86: Rhythms of monumentalization in Narbonensis and Aquitania.

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.

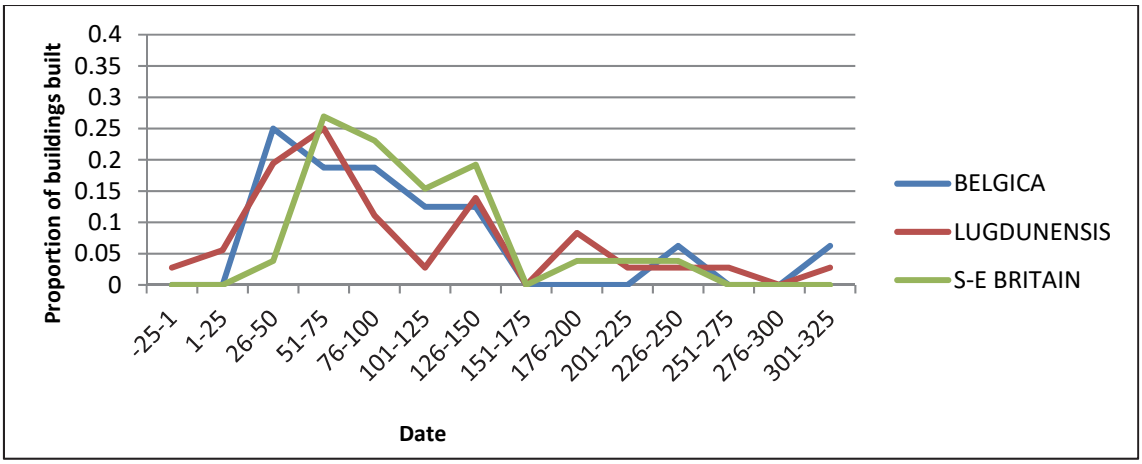

Figure 87: Rhythms of monumentalization in Lugdunensis, Belgica, and south-east Britain.

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.

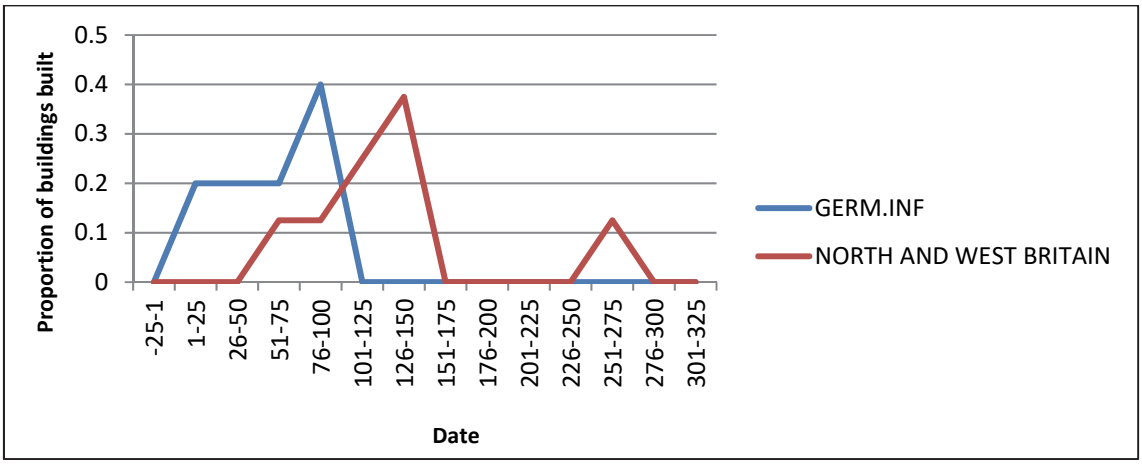

Figure 88: Rhythms of monumentalization in Germania Inferior, and northern and eastern Britannia.

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.

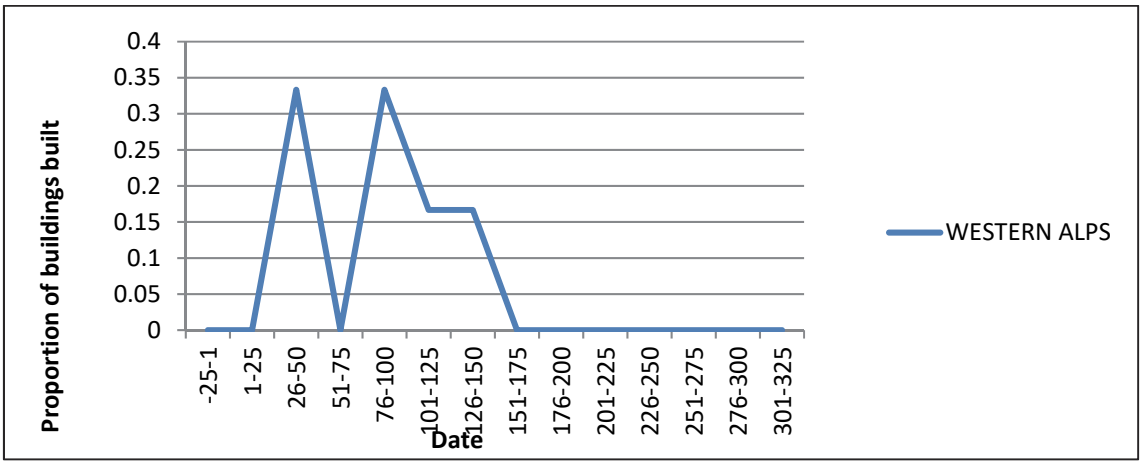

Figure 89: Rhythms of monumentalization in the Roman Western Alps.

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.

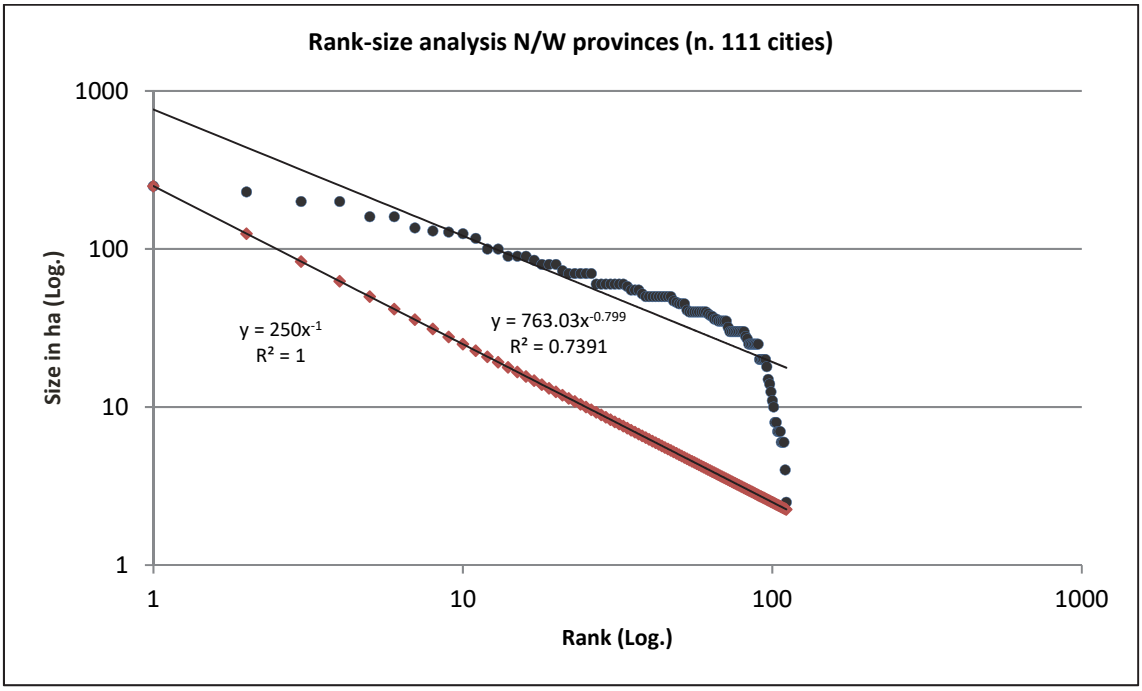

Figure 91: Rank-size analysis of the administrative cities of north-western provinces.

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]

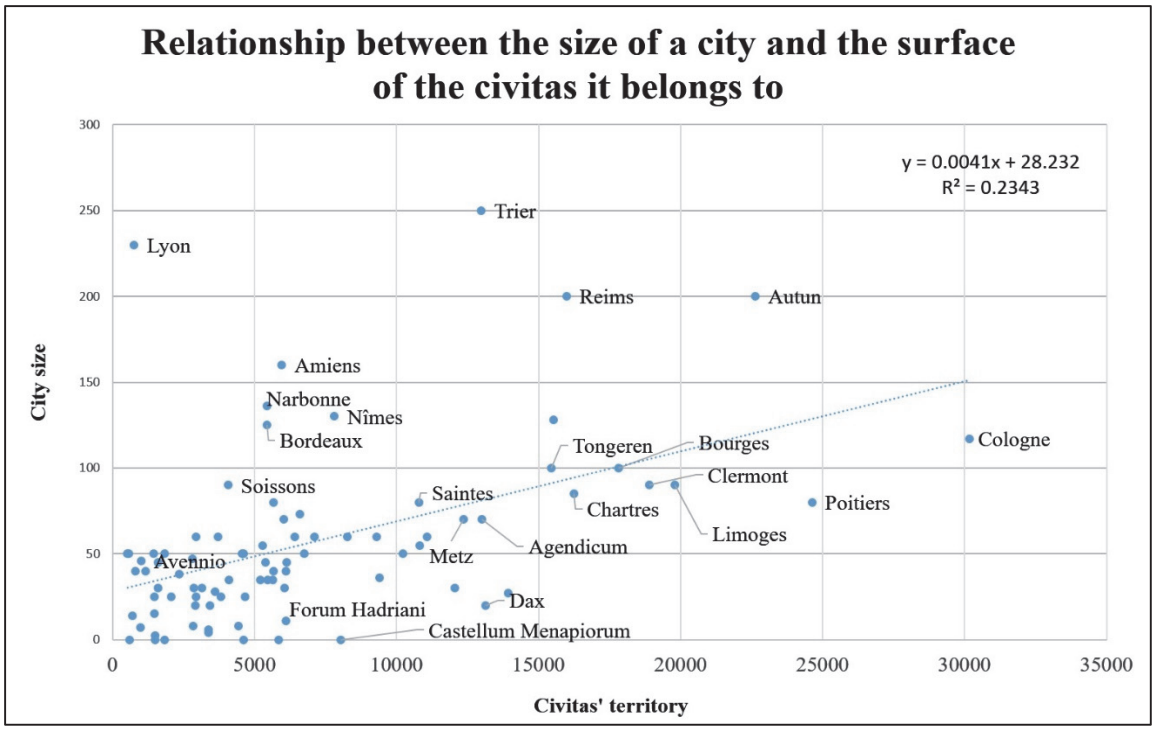

Figure 92: Scatterplot showing a very weak relationship between city size and the area of the *civitas* it administers.

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]

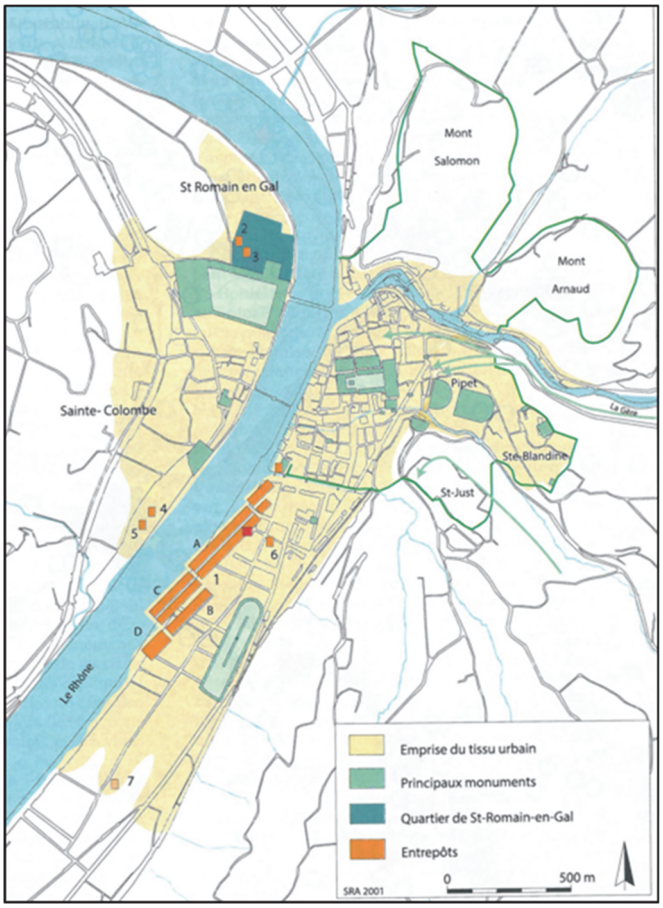

Figure 93: The *horrea* of Vienne (in orange) (Adjajd 2014: 143).

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]

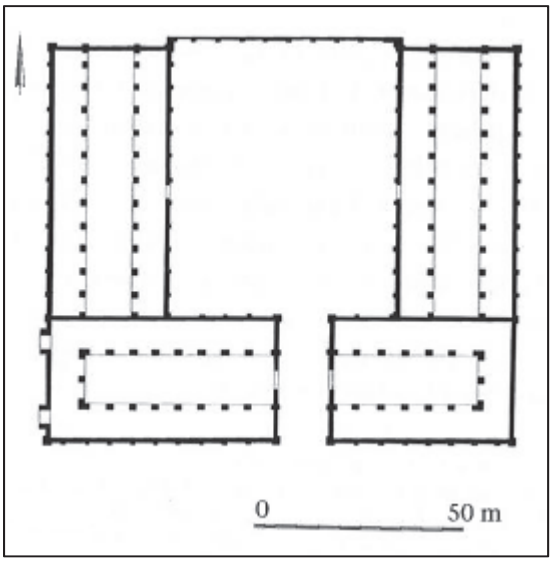

Figure 94: The *horrea* of Cologne (Coquelet 2011: 166).

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.